Tal Berman

Public Participation as a Tool for Integrating Local Knowledge into Spatial Planning

Planning, Participation, and Knowledge

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This book focuses on a comparison of the capabilities of unilateral and collaborative public participation practices to uncover local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables.

The case of Israel as exemplifying global participatory processes.

Preface

This book is based on my Ph.D. work and is dedicated with deep appreciation to Prof. Izhak Schnell, who guided me in my doctoral research study and in the writing of my dissertation inspired thereby. Professor Schnell, a scientist, intellectual, humanist and individual of integrity, will continue to be a role model to me, and I will always think of him with gratitude. I extend my heartfelt thanks to him for his professional instruction and his philosophical and spiritual insight, as well as for his moral support throughout our work together.

This book is the fruit of 5 years of research and 2 years of writing. However, the conceptual and philosophical seeds of this work were sowed more than 10 years ago while I was at the Department of Geography and Human Environment at Tel Aviv University, writing my master's thesis on effective ways to empower the community through planning. I conducted interpretive field research among an underserved and disempowered population in south Tel Aviv to explore effective means of determining their genuine spatial needs and perspectives (i.e., local knowledge) and to use the results to build operative planning knowledge.

The strong desire to make a breakthrough in our ability to adapt the planning product to residents' needs drove me to continue to research the subject in a doctoral framework at Tel Aviv University. During this period, I conducted a comparative study of the abilities of various public participation methods to obtain local knowledge and incorporate it into the planning process.

In addition to introducing a new conceptual framework for public participation in planning, the theory formulated following my doctoral research constitutes the state of the art and generates innovative thought in planning theory and knowledge study based on an empirical comparative examination of the efficacy of various participatory processes, leading to practical solutions for public participation alongside new frameworks and tools.

One of the tools built during this research was the Participatory Methods Ladder, which classifies various participatory methods, practices and procedures according to their abilities to capture local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables. The Participatory Methods Ladder constitutes an innovative development that can calibrate participatory processes according to certain criteria to

improve their respective abilities to extract local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables. My dissertation has been elaborated and rewritten, and the result is presented in this book under the title 'Public participation as a tool for integrating local knowledge into spatial planning'.

During my doctoral studies, I initiated and developed the extra-academic course "Public Participation in Urban and Regional Planning" for the Standards Institution of Israel. This initiative stemmed from a genuine desire to improve the practices employed in public participation in addition to their theoretical development. To my knowledge, this was the first extra-academic course of its kind with the objective of teaching professional planners, bureaucrats, and decision-makers, as well as environmentalists and interested residents, how to involve the public in planning processes and thereby improve the congruency between planning deliverables and residents' needs. This extra-academic endeavor and experience not only strengthened my research quality but also generated credible practical guidelines for actual planning.

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Chapter 1
Abstract

This book contributes to the growing interest in incorporating local knowledge into planning processes and connects the debate regarding the essence and role of local knowledge to public involvement and participation in planning. In turn, this connection furthers the planning discourse, which until now has been conducted along two distinct paths that rarely intersect.

The contribution of this book lies in its elucidation of the mechanisms by which local knowledge is revealed and included in planning processes. In addition to conducting a critical analysis, the book strives to find practical solutions to acute problems in public participation and to highlight methods for incorporating the public's needs and desires into planning.

Although this book recognizes a growing perception that it is impracticable to truly involve the public in planning, it nonetheless seeks to promote an optimistic outlook on participatory processes and searches for means, conditions, and guidelines that may enable participation through the incorporation of local knowledge into planning decisions and processes.

Public participation in planning relates to the involvement of the public in urban and regional planning processes and encompasses many types of participatory practices that aim to enable a better understanding of residents' genuine spatial needs, perceptions and desires (i.e., local knowledge) and to catalyze the incorporation of local knowledge into planning decision-making processes. Nonetheless, in many cases, participatory planning deliverables do not reflect local knowledge; in some cases, planning actually conflicts with local knowledge, which compromises community sustainability and residents' quality of life. This issue gives rise to the following question: Which participatory practices are most efficacious in capturing local knowledge and incorporating it into plans?

Participatory practices differ from one another along many parameters, including the identity of the facilitator(s); the types of procedures and tools employed; the configurations of communication between participants; the types of information elicited from residents; modes of processing the elicited information; and the means by which the processed information is incorporated into plans.

The objective of the book is to examine how the aforementioned parameters (could) influence the capacity of participatory practices to effectively extract residents' spatial needs and desires and incorporate them into plans. In other words, the research described herein seeks to study how to better incorporate residents' genuine spatial needs into planning.

The research methodology is based on comparisons of the abilities of various participatory practices to reveal local knowledge and to incorporate this knowledge into planning processes. The research described in the book elucidates the epistemological, societal, and political mechanisms of various participatory methods. The findings clearly show that unidirectional participatory procedures do not capture genuine local knowledge and do not incorporate local knowledge into plans. In contrast, collaborative initiatives are shown to facilitate the extraction of local knowledge and its incorporation into planning.

This study improves upon the current understanding of the elements that affect the capacity of public participatory practices to enable the incorporation of residents' preferences, ideas, opinions, desires, and needs into plans. In addition, the book tackles long-running debates in the public participation discipline, including public representativeness, public notification, planners' functions, power imbalances, and other issues, all of which are grounded in an innovative understanding and sense of local knowledge.

The findings and conclusions of this study will contribute to the development of intelligent, rational frameworks and tools for improving participatory processes and the incorporation of local knowledge into planning, which in turn will lead to improvements in urban and regional planning, community sustainability, and residents' quality of life.

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The term "public participation" refers to the involvement of the public in the formulation, creation, transmission, and implementation of public policy (Niemeyer and Spash 2001) and encompasses multiple processes related to a broad range of planning, spatial, and social issues (Lowndes et al. 2001a, b; Sharp 1986). The underlying assumption is that public involvement is worthy and desirable: Worthy because of the need—in jurisdictional encouragement and implementation of democratic decision-making (Harvey 1973; Healy 1997)—to craft modern democracy as a system that responds to public needs (Gofer and Golan 2000), and desirable due to the practical need of decision-makers to implement policy that is agreeable to the broadest possible spectrum of the public. Public involvement will reduce conflicts (Churchman and Sadan 2003) and ensure the stability of chosen solutions (Gofer and Golan 2000). Jurisdictions felt that they were unable to make decisions and implement changes without the support of organizations and the community stamp of approval (Hopkins 2007; Innes and Booher 2004).

Churchman claimed in her 2008 manifest that one of the principles underlying the value of participation, beyond the fulfillment of democracy and attainment of legitimacy, is the ability of the public to express personal knowledge and needs. Recognition of the importance and legitimacy of local knowledge—i.e., the

knowledge of the residents themselves—coexists with professional knowledge. In light of this principle, the objectives of public involvement are to enable extraction of the public's preferences in a manner that allows those preferences to be taken into consideration in the decision-making process and to improve planning decisions through the incorporation of inhabitants' local knowledge (Innes and Booher 2004).

Thus, public participation should be employed as a tool for acknowledging and understanding a range of communities, as well as their various needs and desires (Forester 1999; Healey 1997; Sandercock 1998). Today, it is understood that the planning process entails public involvement and that residents' positions, opinions, desires, and needs constitute important contributions to the planning process and to planning deliverables (Adiv et al. 2003).

The present study considers public involvement in planning as a means to include residents' needs, opinions, and desires in planning processes. Participation practices will be studied as tools for extracting residents' local knowledge and incorporating that knowledge into the planning decision-making process to improve the planning products, or *deliverables*. *Local knowledge* refers to individual and communal knowledge that represents the perspectives of local people, including inhabitants (local residents), business owners, and others who use the affected geographical area on a regular basis, who might be affected by future plans or existing environmental nuisances.

There are two main methods of public participation. One is controlled and manipulated by authorities in a top-down manner and is based on unilateral procedures such as public hearings, SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) analysis,[1] focus groups,[2] or structured questionnaires; the other, which is used by not-for-profit organizations and grassroots coalitions, generates ongoing, collaborative dialog between various local communities and environmentalists and operates in a bottom-up manner.

The objective of the research described herein is to examine the differences between unilateral and collaborative approaches to public participation, comparing their respective abilities to extract local knowledge and integrate it into the planning process.

Case studies of both approaches conducted in Haifa and Tel Aviv indicate that unilateral procedures failed to uncover local knowledge and to incorporate local knowledge into plans, whereas collaborative deliberations succeeded. The findings show that collaborative procedures enable the extraction, collection, and processing of a mass of local knowledge; allow the combination of this local knowledge with professional knowledge; and produce a deliverable that takes into account locals' spatial needs and interests and is ready for incorporation into plans. Successive

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[1]The SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats) model of strategic management gives participants the opportunity to note strengths and weaknesses of a specific project, plan, neighborhood, or city.

[2]In public participation, a focus group is perceived as a form of qualitative research. It is controlled by a facilitator and involves asking a group of people about their perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes regarding an environmental issue, plan, planning provision, concept, or problem.

deliberative discussions conducted in open not-for-profit social networks comprising both diverse local lay people and planning professionals encourage participants to collectively expose local knowledge; learn together about disputes; compromise; and make operative planning decisions and solid professional recommendations based on broad agreements to consensus among the participants regarding planning solutions to environmental problems.

In contrast to the collaborative participation process, a unilateral procedure exposes only superficial aspects of local knowledge, such as momentary opinions, random statements, isolated words, and contradictory views, none of which provide significant knowledge or contain any planning value. Moreover, unilateral participation does not facilitate transparency vis-à-vis professional knowledge; rather, it allows manipulative communication that perpetuates distrust between residents and jurisdictions. Unilateral participation suppresses citizens' desire to join jurisdictional initiatives of public participation in planning and simultaneously increases the number of residents participating in collaborative participation processes.

The collaborative method is based on reciprocity and cooperation. It encourages acceptance of and respect for local knowledge and fosters an understanding of professional planning knowledge. Moreover, the collaborative method stimulates dialectic and reciprocity between the two knowledge systems and serves as a community platform that invites residents to actively participate in grassroots initiatives.

In addition, the collaborative method stimulates the building of social capital, which in turn enables, preserves, and strengthens collaboration and accelerates the flow of local knowledge and operative planning knowledge. The formulation of planning knowledge rests on myriad types of local knowledge that are detailed, well argued, soundly explained, consolidated, corroborated, and adequate. Because unilateral procedures lack communicative interaction among participants, social capital is not promoted and the local knowledge exposed thereby is scant, inexplicit, lacking in relevant detail, and insufficiently reliable to constitute raw material for worthy planning knowledge.

Furthermore, the ability of collaborative public participation processes to harness key stakeholders—such as planning boards and developers—to the collaborative planning discourse stimulates the incorporation of the operative professional knowledge produced thereby into statutory plans. In this regard, the unilateral method tends to trivialize exposure to and incorporation of residents' genuine needs and desires. In contrast, collaborative public participation processes narrow the untenable yet inherent gap between local knowledge and planning; advance community and environmental sustainability; and improve residents' quality of life.

The comparison between the two differing participation methods enables the construction of an evaluation tool comprising parameters against which public participation processes in planning can be evaluated. Such parameters include motivations for public participation; the procedures and tools employed; interaction between stakeholders; exposure to and processing of local knowledge; the nature, characteristics, and quality of local knowledge; and public participation deliverables and their incorporation into statutory planning. The evaluation tool enables the

calibration of participation methods to improve the abilities of such methods to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables.

The two participation methods studied herein contain entirely different mechanisms for public participation in planning. Whereas the unilateral method fails to incorporate local knowledge into planning deliverables, the collaborative mechanism succeeds in this regard. Thus, each method can be located at either end of a spectrum measuring participation methods in terms of their ability to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning.

Numerous prototypes of other participation methods are proposed—*improved unilateral*, *network*, and *radical*—which can be specified as follows: The improved unilateral method refines the unilateral participation method; the network participation method abandons unilateral tools and adopts collaborative procedures used in deliberative social networks; and the radical participation method encourages residents to initiate and mobilize collaborative participation processes.

Each of the proposed methods is located on the scale between the unilateral and collaborative methods. The more a method is based on collaborative procedures and tools for public participation, the closer it will be to the collaborative end of the scale and the further it will be from the unilateral end. In addition, the efficacy of a method in terms of exposing local knowledge and incorporating it into planning deliverables increases as it moves closer to the collaborative end of the scale.

Thus, we obtain a scale that can be called the Participatory Methods Ladder, which ranks the various public participation methods by their respective abilities to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into statutory deliverables. On one end is the unilateral method, which has the lowest capability; then we move through the three proposed methods in ascending order—the improved unilateral, the network, and the radical—up to the collaborative, which has the highest capability.

The scale shows that the less unilateral and more collaborative a given participation method is, the more power and control it gives to the residents; the more local knowledge is incorporated into planning deliverables; the better the accord between planning deliverables and the local knowledge; and the narrower the inherent gap between local knowledge and statutory planning.

The Participatory Methods Ladder corresponds to and elaborates on Arnstein's ladder, which is a 1969 theoretical landmark and was rooted in the literature of participatory planning. Arnstein's model proposes a ladder of participation levels such that a higher rung represents stronger citizen control over the planning processes. Arnstein's ladder is proposed as a tool for identifying the actual level of influence that citizens have on the planning processes out of a sense of obligation to build a society where the voices, including marginalized groups, are heard and taken into account when crafting urban policy and when drafting plans. However, Arnstein's model does not tell us how to ascend the ladder and how to increase the level of citizen participation. The Participatory Methods Ladder is aimed at adding this practical dimension by classifying participatory practices according to their ability to incorporate residents' perspectives and needs into planning. This classification leads to a prominent research conclusion: if a participatory method confers more control to residents over the planning process, the method has a greater ability

to incorporate local knowledge into the plans and ascends to a higher level on both ladders.

It is reasonable to assume that Arnstein's model was based less on empirical data than the present research because actual public participation was then in its infancy. The rich repertoire of unilateral and collaborative participation practices that has developed during the 50 years separating the Arnstein's ladder and the Participatory Methods Ladder provides a challenging field of research upon which this book is based.

Chapter 2
Introduction

Public participation may be identified as a *contested concept* because it lacks an agreed-upon, fixed definition (Alfasi 2003; Day 1997). Moreover, various individuals and groups, e.g., planning professionals and lay residents, may define the concept differently depending on such factors as familiarity with the concept, how that individual or group perceives the concept, or whether that individual or group has participated in a participatory planning process.

Regardless, the literature uses the term *public participation* to refer to the participation of the public in city and regional planning processes (Dukes et al. 2001; Lowndes et al. 2001a). Today, this concept encompasses many types of practices and collaborative participation processes that address a wide range of planning issues, both physical and social. Examples of such issues include ecology, environmental protection, transportation, utilities, and zoning (Beierle 1999; Bryner 2001; Chess 2000; Cvetkovich and Earle 1994; White 2001).

Public participation in planning encourages democratic jurisdictional governance (Dryzek 1990; Healy 1997; Niemeyer and Spash 2001); strengthens civil society through the redistribution of power between jurisdictions and residents; and enhances trust among participants and facilitators (Churchman and Sadán 2003). In addition, participatory planning is an essential component of social and environmental justice (Fainstein and Fainstein 2013; Innes and Booher 2004). This type of planning is vital to the enhancement of sustainable development (Amado et al. 2009) and 'knowledge generation' (Petts and Brooks 2006, p. 1045), and its initial practical goals are the exposure of residents' local knowledge and the incorporation of that knowledge into the planning and decision-making processes (Innes and Booher 2000, 2004; Lowndes et al. 2001a).

Local knowledge encompasses the individual and communal knowledge of citizens, which represents the perspective of local citizens, i.e., individuals and communities who could be affected by plans. The epistemological intricacy of local knowledge reflects the city's/jurisdiction's social complexity and cultural variance. The ability of governments and planners to efficiently (fairly and sustainably) plan the city is dependent on the availability of local knowledge.

Toward the end of the 20th century, the recognition of the value of local knowledge and the significance of experimental knowledge—which go beyond experts' professional knowledge, governance knowledge, and the knowledge of other stakeholders such as entrepreneurs—is considered a historical turning point in planning thought and theory (Sandercock 1998).

Public participation practice includes a vast inventory of procedures that can be categorized into two basic methods:

- The *unidirectional method*, whereby planners on behalf of authorities use various means to extract local knowledge from the public that could be affected by plans to integrate such knowledge into the planning process.
- The *deliberative method*, whereby local residents together with planners generate an ongoing, collaborative dialog among various stakeholders during the planning process to extract the local knowledge and incorporate it into the plans.

The unidirectional method is a top-down participatory configuration, i.e., citizen participation is a jurisdictional initiative conducted during the planning process as per jurisdictional considerations, whereas the deliberative method is an involvement from below (in a bottom-up configuration) in the form of civil initiative and protest based on project-specific grassroots considerations (Veransky et al. 1999).

The assumption herein is that the specific participatory techniques, as well as other elements used by each method, can affect the degree of success in attaining broad, effective public involvement and "constitute another important factor contributing to the possibility that the participation process will affect planning decisions" (Alterman et al. 1984, p. 181).

Samuel et al. (2003, p. 250) distinguish between two public participation approaches: "collaborative" and "one-way communication". In their research, the "one-way communication" approach—represented mainly by public hearings, the most popular technique among the jurisdictions in the sample—and the "collaborative" approach included a variety of techniques, such as "open meetings" wherein residents talked to planning staff and coordinated workshops, charrettes, and community forums. Their research explored differences between the two approaches in terms of the extent to which citizens are involved, informed and educated and the degree of citizen empowerment associated with each practice.

In all things related to knowledge variables, although the emphasis of Samuel et al. (2003) is on procedural information and professional knowledge transmitted from facilitators to participants, the present study tests the knowledge variables of participants (local knowledge); the methods of observing, gathering, and processing local knowledge throughout the involvement process; and the incorporation of local knowledge into planning.

Each public participation method assumes that its suggested procedures are capable of uncovering local knowledge and rendering it an active component of the knowledge reservoir upon which the planner can base his/her plans. The question is whether those assumptions stand up to empirical examination of the critical inquiry of planning processes.

There is unanimity in the academic discourse regarding the importance of local knowledge to the planning product (Corburn 2003; Irwin 1995; Krimsky 1984; Wates 2000; Webler 1995; Yearley 2000). Moreover, public participation has frequently demonstrated the ability to extract local knowledge and enable its incorporation into planning products (Hopkins 2007; Innes and Booher 2000, 2004; Lowndes et al. 2001a). Nonetheless, researchers recognize that the integration of local knowledge into the planning process presents a substantial challenge because local knowledge is raw and unripe, i.e., it contains a vast array of knowledge items and information types, some of which are specific and others that are general and abstract, which renders its categorization and interpretation difficult (Alfasi 2003; Campbell and Marshall 2000; Rantanen 2007). At this juncture, there is a need to examine the extent to which various public participation practices can both expose local knowledge and process such knowledge into practical planning information.

There is no mention in the scientific literature of a study or model for evaluating public participation methods/procedures[1] in terms of their abilities to expose, extract, or interpret local knowledge or to incorporate such knowledge into planning. This gap in the literature confirms the importance of the proposed research, the purpose of which is to compare the collaborative and unidirectional methods to discern their respective efficacies in uncovering local knowledge and incorporating such knowledge into plans. At this point, three main research questions arise:

1. To what extent do public participation processes—either collaborative or unilateral—expose local knowledge?
2. To what extent does public participation incorporate the exposed local knowledge into plans?
3. Is the collaborative public participation method more efficacious than the unilateral method in exposing local knowledge?

The research objective is to evaluate participation methods in terms of their exposure and incorporation of local knowledge, which in turn will provide the basis for recommendations to improve public participation in planning. This research should constitute a building block for the development of a smart model for sustainable planning that is based on substantial accord between the planning deliverable and the needs of residents. As Rantanen (2007) stated, we must study and

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[1]At least 10 models for evaluating public participation procedures appear in the literature. These models variously consider procedural elements (Hopkins 2007, p. 639); the scope of participation (Lowndes et al. 2001a, b); profiles of the participating groups and individuals (Plein et al. 1998); the extent of commitment perceived by participants (Marshall and Ozawa 2001); the scope and type of issues addressed in the cooperative process (Dukes et al. 2001); the type of information relayed in the process (Alterman et al. 1984); whether the process is conducted within or outside the establishment (Innes and Booher 2000); the source of the initiative for the process (Beierle and Konisky 2000); the directing of the process vis-à-vis horizon and time frame and whether the process is process-oriented or results-oriented (Plein et al. 1998); and the power of citizens' participation on the Arnstein scale (Arnstein 1969), which comprises manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control.

develop new knowledge management practices that incorporate local knowledge into planning processes.

To accomplish the research objective, two planning processes were studied, one in Haifa and the other in Tel Aviv. Each of these processes included both a unilateral public participation process and a collaborative public participation process. The total sample thus includes four test cases, or four public participation processes in planning, two unilateral and two collaborative.

The research methodology was based on field studies that were conducted for each case selected from the sample. Each field study included three components: interviews conducted via semi-structured questionnaires, the collection and analysis of professional materials, and anthropological research.

Interviewees included both practitioners of the public participation processes and members of the public who participated in these processes. The researcher explored how the various participation processes had been conducted from the perspective of the interviewees and examined various aspects related to the manners in which the processes were conducted and to the modes of exposure and processing of local knowledge used therein.

In addition to the interviews, the researcher analyzed statutory and professional materials that had been prepared during the public participation processes to assess various elements related thereto. These materials included statutory documents, blueprints, simulations, plans, maps, and various texts (e.g., meeting minutes, position papers, letters, and online correspondence).

Moreover, the researcher conducted an anthropological field study among the publics that might be affected by the planning products to uncover their local knowledge, e.g., spatial conducts, needs, and outlooks regarding current environmental and planning issues. The researcher used several accepted anthropology research tools: participatory observation, spontaneous conversation (or unstructured interview), in-depth interviews, and mental maps.

Anthropological fieldwork is documented in the scientific literature as an accepted, effective, and appropriate means of exposing local knowledge. Therefore, the local knowledge exposed in the anthropological study was a significant component of this thesis and underwent comparisons to both the local knowledge exposed and documented in the records of the participation process and the opinions of participants that emerged in their interviews.

The book is structured as follows: first the conceptual context is outlined (see Chap. 3) and the methodology is described (see Chap. 4). Next, each of the two test cases are presented separately (see Chaps. 5 and 6); these presentations include comparisons of the collaborative and unilateral processes used therein. Thereafter, the two participation methods are compared in terms of the inventory of criteria related to the exposure of local knowledge and its incorporation into the planning deliverables based on information gathered during the research (see Chap. 7). Further on, theoretical and practical conclusions will be drawn, a discussion will be conducted, and the main conclusions vis-à-vis the literature will be presented (see Chaps. 8, 9 and 10).

Chapter 3
Conceptual Context

3.1 Local Knowledge

A preoccupation with redefining the concept of *knowledge* arose in recent decades. Latour (1999) explained the renewed interest in the changing modernist view thusly: the dilemma of enlightenment regarding the dualism between nature and society is resolved by the evolution of positivist-empirical language and objective knowledge of experts in academic institutions or in the establishment.

At the foundation of Latour's view lies the notion of examining space not only as a static, measurable, physical entity but also as a social entity (Lefebvre 1974) that is neither static nor measurable but rather an outcome of a social product formed by the participation and cooperation of people engaged in everyday life (Harvey 1973; Lefebvre 1974; Wynne 2002). Space contains not only road networks for the transfer of materials but also communication networks for the transfer of information (Lefebvre 1974). As conveyors of everyday interactions among individuals, communication networks are the element that links the individuals who compose the public to collective structures (Giddens 1984).

The placement of everyday practices at the heart of the debate over social structure rests on the assumption that everyday activities create tacit knowledge that is imperceptible to experts—i.e., local knowledge. This tacit knowledge has a dialectical relationship to institutional social structures. Thus, local knowledge constitutes a significant body of knowledge that may be used in successful spatial planning (Krimsky 1984).

In expert and scientific circles, knowledge emerges as universal and professional, whereas in lay circles, it evolves from the personal and collective day-to-day experience. 'Whereas scientific knowledge is conceived of as deriving from objective measurements, verifiable, tested, and using distinctive techniques in its generation, ordinary or lay knowledge is based in common sense—more casual, perhaps even serendipitous, speculative, but still thoughtful' (Petts and Brooks 2006, p. 1046, referring to Lindblom and Cohen 1979).

It can be assumed that professional knowledge is based on scientific knowledge, which by its nature is universal and has been called "Oxbridge knowledge" (Ma Reha 1998, in Fenster and Yaacobi 2005). Such academic knowledge is produced within a discourse of researchers inside the halls of academia, particularly in the West, and this is the knowledge upon which planning professionals ultimately rely. Fenster and Yacobi (2005) distinguish between professional knowledge acquired through formal studies and local (or lay) knowledge of residents, who build perceptions and images of their city/surroundings intuitively over the course of their day-to-day routines.

Haring (1996) claimed that all knowledge is local because it is a product of local and specific circumstances; therefore, Oxbridge knowledge may be perceived as local. In Haring's opinion, the differences among various local knowledge systems lies in the division of power embedded in social structures that label a given type of knowledge "professional" and "universal" and another type of knowledge "local".

Bradford (2005) spoke of the knowledge of a community, distinguishing between several knowledge categories: knowledge of the community; knowledge about the community, and knowledge aimed at changing the community. Bradford's typology can be expanded to understand knowledge of the community as local knowledge accumulated and contained therein, whereas knowledge aimed at changing the community is an entity external to the community, i.e., professional knowledge, and knowledge about the community is operative planning knowledge aimed at modifying the community's environment.

These concepts of redefined knowledge have a direct relationship to planning, particularly with regard to the need to acknowledge the plethora of knowledge types and sources (Beck 1992) and to be mindful of the value of local knowledge (Rydin 2007; Sandercock 1998).

Active public participation implies both recognition of the value of local knowledge in planning and environmental intervention and a challenge to the professional and specialized knowledge that is considered the best solution in the social sphere (Churchman and Sadan 2003). It is unlikely that the various objectives of public involvement will be fulfilled unless we employ practices that enable its exposure and its incorporation into decision-making processes.

It is certainly difficult to imagine a democracy wherein citizens' opinions are not expressed in policy, and we will certainly not succeed in reducing conflicts between jurisdictions and citizens if we fail to consider the latter's desires and needs when crafting policy. In other words, the failure to incorporate local knowledge into planning deliverables will compromise at the outset the achievement of public empowerment and the declared objectives of public participation.

Democracy, which is a fundamental objective of public participation, will not be strengthened if the participatory process does not identify, extract, clarify, and incorporate into planning decisions the real perceptions, desires and spatial needs of the various communities that are liable to be affected by the plans at hand. Only after local knowledge is exposed and incorporated into plans can we assume that democracy may be slightly strengthened.

Another objective of public participation is to obtain legitimacy from the public to implement a plan. This objective is not automatically achieved by performing one or another type of participatory practice. Rather, we can assume that legitimacy is obtained only after the plan is modified according to the needs and perceptions of the real public. Similarly, the goal of public participation to fulfill/increase the level of social and environmental justice could be achieved if the genuine needs and wills of all communities liable to be affected by the plans at hand are resolved and considered when crafting policy (Corburn 2003).

It is important to examine how various public involvement processes relate to and address local knowledge, as well as how the planning process uses local knowledge in formulating the planning deliverable (if at all). An efficient planning process requires that the planning institution gathers and processes local knowledge, thereby bridging the heretofore perpetuated and reproduced gaps among experts, citizens, and community organizations (Bradford 2005).

It appears that theoretically, there is unanimity regarding the necessity of local knowledge to improve decision-making processes in the planning arena. At the same time, however, an absence of academic discourse on the essence and types of local knowledge is noted. The sense is that the content and epistemological significance of local knowledge is taken for granted, given that differing uses and connotations of the term exist in various textual and epistemological contexts. Naturally, local knowledge represents the perspective of individuals in a given time and locale (Sanford 2004). Moreover, all communities possess such knowledge— whether rural or urban, settled or nomadic, natives or newcomers (UN 2007).

Common references to local knowledge relate to locals' desires and needs (Churchman and Sadan 2003; Innes and Booher 2004; Lindblom and Cohen 1979, UN 2007) and locals' cultural values and social customs (Corburn 2003; Geertz 1983), as well as to other areas, such as complaints regarding daily problems and environmental nuisances, e.g., abandoned structures, noise, filth, and odor (see Fenster and Yacobi 2005), which are manifestations of jurisdictional handling, social order, the spatial situation, and cultural norms in a given geographical and political context.

In addition to the aforementioned types of local knowledge, a 2007 UN scientific paper indicates that local knowledge contains elements whereby locals perceive, measure, and evaluate their environment; solve problems; and ascertain new information, including processes whereby knowledge is produced, stored, used, and transmitted.

In summary, it can be broadly stated that the local knowledge entity is a large, complex epistemological system related to a broad conceptual scope that includes perceptions, desires, grievances, opinions, ideas, beliefs, thoughts, speculations, preferences, common sense, feelings and sensations. It also addresses needs, cultural codes, spatial conducts, social relations, societal norms, and everyday life scenarios and practices, all of which are rooted in the locals' everyday reality (Berman and Schnell 2012).

It appears that the local knowledge system lends itself to both categorization and the layering/stratification of various types of knowledge. Categorization

distinguishes, for example, among a lack of parking (a spatial situation), double parking (a spatial scenario), and speculation on the parts of residents who tie high-rise construction to the worsening parking problem. Layering distinguishes, for example, between locals' desire for cycling routes and their non-motorized environmental spatial-ideological perceptions. In other words, layering distinguishes between superficial manifestations of the local knowledge system and manifestations that stem from a deeper layer of local knowledge.

Local knowledge is generated by members of given community over time while they engage in their everyday lives; it is thus based on dynamic experience that has become an integral part of the group's culture and day-to-day life. Local knowledge is rooted in a specific locale(s), reflects the particular circumstances of the time and culture, and evolves through the local individuals' everyday coping with their physical and social environments (Corburn 2003; Freire 1968; Geertz 1983; Hayek 1948; UN 2007).

Understanding the local knowledge system enables planning the locals' living environments in a manner that suits their everyday reality and improves their quality of life (Wates 2000). Therefore, it is reasonable to claim that local knowledge is vital to the generation of better planning and decision-making processes (Corburn 2003) and that the integration of experiential, authentic, locale-based knowledge into planning processes produces planning products that better suit community needs and preferences (Bradford 2005; Lowndes et al. 2001b; Scott 1998; Wilson 1999).

Public participation in planning catalyzes a dialectic between locale-based knowledge and expert knowledge that is critical to urban planning (Staffans 2004). In addition, it improves the accord between the environment and its users' needs, thereby minimizing the environmental damage caused by users' everyday practices and vice versa (Warburton and Martin 1999; Wynne 1996).

Corburn (2003) claimed that local knowledge is a basic resource for enhancing social justice and sustainable planning, strengthening democracy, and promoting equitable distribution of environmental burdens. The recognition within local knowledge of various cultural groups and the legitimacy of multiculturalism as part of a pluralistic and democratic worldview promotes fair planning. Fair planning in turn emphasizes cultural variance and reflects the diversity of the affected communities and individuals, as well as their actual desires (Schnell and Egoz 2008).

3.2 Extracting Local Knowledge

The definition of *local knowledge* is a conceptual elaboration on the anthropological term *indigenous knowledge* (UN 2007), which itself has been broadened and adjusted according to global changes in social structures, industrialization, urbanization, and globalization. All of these changes lie within the sphere of spatial planning and recognition of the importance of the local knowledge that emerges throughout the transition toward postmodernism and multicultural societies

(Berman and Schnell 2012; Sandercock 1998). Both the anthropological and planning approaches offer means and facilities aimed at extracting and collecting local knowledge from communities and individuals. The anthropological approach proposes fieldwork tools for exposing local knowledge, whereas planners use public participation techniques and procedures.

Local knowledge is frequently envisaged as lying dormant within communities (Campbell and Marshall 2000). It is presented as personal or communal knowledge that is informal, elusive, and to which access is not taken for granted. In contrast, professional knowledge is presented as formal, explicit, and documented in books, records, and other items to which we have access (Collins 2010; Kenneth 2007; Polanyi 1966). That being established, to render local knowledge explicit and usable, it is necessary to adopt procedures and tools that will enable its revelation to be activated and documented (Grant 2007) and ensure that its impact on and incorporation into plans is executed and upheld.

Krimsky (1984) and Corburn (2003) emphasized *tacit knowledge* as a prominent feature of a significant portion of the local knowledge system. Tacit knowledge is delivered neither verbally nor in writing; in many cases, it is not documented at all, even by indirect reference (Collins 2001; Gill 2000; Polanyi 1958). Moreover, tacit knowledge is frequently taken for granted and therefore not articulated. These characteristics of local knowledge limit its availability to planners because they hinder its extraction. The research challenge herein is to discover whether public participation techniques are capable of extracting the tacit aspects of hidden local knowledge.

In his field study, which was conducted in 2000 by the US Environmental Protection Agency and revealed significant local knowledge, Corburn (2003) described how researchers identified hundreds of sources of air pollution that had been missed by the jurisdictional monitoring system. The detailed mapping of pollution sources was made possible by the exposure and extraction of information gleaned via residents' senses of smell and sound and which had been hidden among residents' individual feelings. The extraction of these data led to the detection of the loci of air pollution sources in the Greenpoint and Williamsburg neighborhoods of Brooklyn, NY. Samara Swanston, the director of the study, opined that this local knowledge could not have been exposed other than via anthropological fieldwork using observations and spontaneous conversations.

Anthropological fieldwork is documented in the scientific literature as an accepted, effective, and appropriate means of exposing local knowledge. An inventory of anthropological fieldwork instruments mentioned in connection with the exposure of local knowledge includes field observations; visits to local individuals in their respective spaces; spontaneous conversations; in-depth interviews with key figures and experts from the community; examination of cultural and artistic creations; reading and listening to people's stories; conducting games for the exploration of local knowledge; and using diagrams and maps to expose the locals' environmental, social, and cultural conceptions (Geertz 1983; Ley 1989; Van der Ploeg 1993; Warburton and Martin 1999).

Emerson et al. (2001) claimed that it is difficult to prepare a structured questionnaire or specification of categories for the recording of observations prior to an anthropological field study because the field has not yet been learned. DeWalt et al. (1998) maintains that opinion, participatory observation, spontaneous conversation, and mental maps are fieldwork tools that enable exposure of hidden information channels and authentic local knowledge. None of these tools compels the researcher to force the exposed information into a ready-made theoretical framework that might ultimately be found inappropriate for the purpose of the research.

The common element in the methods cited above, which expose local knowledge via anthropological fieldwork, is the assumption that the residents are not fully aware of the depth of their own local knowledge. This lack of awareness is due to the nature of space and its significance being taken for granted as per phenomenological geography (Buttimer 1976; Relph 1976). Therefore, it is incumbent upon the researcher and the planner to employ critical research methods to expose this knowledge that lies hidden within the community.

A long-term anthropological method is a superior means of acquiring an insider's understanding of social values, norms, and preferences. However, public participation techniques are quicker and less costly and can be expected to expose local knowledge effectively enough to incorporate it into planning. Nonetheless, the public participation method has been the subject of increasing criticism because of its limited ability to expose and integrate local knowledge into the planning process (Innes and Booher 2000, 2004; Rantanen 2007). The issue considered herein is the extent to which public participation methods are sufficiently efficacious means of exposing local knowledge and incorporating it into the planning process, as compared to anthropological methods.

In this thesis, the researcher compares local knowledge revealed via an anthropological field study with that exposed through public participation processes and examines whether public participation processes do in fact expose local knowledge and enable its incorporation into planning deliverables.

Public participation methods are not conducted in a manner similar to anthropological fieldwork (i.e., in the natural day-to-day setting of the community) and do not use anthropological tools (such as observations) to expose the local knowledge of the participating public. Moreover, anthropological fieldwork is not documented in the scientific literature as a method of public participation in planning but rather as an accepted, effective, and appropriate means of exposing local knowledge.

The present thesis poses this question: To what extent is local knowledge exposable not only by anthropological fieldwork tools but also by unilateral and deliberative public participation practices? Furthermore, the study will assess the relative efficacy of the public participation methods in terms of their ability to extract local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables.

Alternatively, the research goal could be framed as a comparison of the local knowledge flow between unilateral public participation processes and collaborative public participation processes. The flow of local knowledge through

EXPLICIT
K n o w l e d g e

Statutory
Knowledge

OPERATIONAL
k n o w l e d g e

Operative
Knowledge

Public
participation
deliverables

Operational
Knowledge

Stage 3:
Operationa
l formation

Stage 2:
Interpretation

Raw
Knowledge

Statutory
deliverables

Professional
Knowledge

Professional
Knowledge

Stage 1:
Extraction

Stage 4:
Implementation

Local Knowledge

TACIT
k n o w l e d g e

Community
& Place
Knowledge

CONCRETE
k n o w l e d g e

Knowledge Category

Planning deliverable

Knowledge Usage

Knowledge flow direction

Chart 3.1 Local knowledge flow

participatory processes is roughly illustrated in the Local Knowledge Flow chart
(see Chart 3.1, p. 17). The flow as described therein transforms the local knowledge
through its ripening stages, beginning with its extraction from the community's
individuals, progressing through the processing and interpretation process toward

the consolidation of operative knowledge and generation of deliverables. The deliverables are then adjusted to generate operational planning knowledge by means of additional statutory knowledge, after which it is ready for incorporation into the planning deliverables (i.e., plans and provisions) and for implementation. A description of the four main stages of the local knowledge flow is provided below:

At the initial stage, local knowledge is extracted. It is revealed and collected using professional tools, such as anthropological fieldwork or public participation procedures. Whereas anthropological fieldwork includes tools such as observation, spontaneous conversations, mental maps, and in-depth interviews, unilateral public participation is based on procedures including SWOT analysis, focus groups, and structured questionnaires, and collaborative public participation is based on deliberative procedures such as dialog among lay residents, environmentalists, and professionals. The outcome of the extraction phase is *raw local knowledge*, which undergoes the second stage, processing and interpretation, which is aimed at obtaining solid and relatively explicit *operative knowledge*, upon which the participation's deliverables are formed. Modification of the operative knowledge to fit statutory provisions occurs in the third stage and is aimed at obtaining *operational knowledge*, which either constitutes the planning deliverables or can be incorporated into the deliverables. According to the Local Knowledge Chart, at the final stage, the knowledge returns to the community in the form of concrete planning knowledge that is expected to benefit the locals and suit their needs and environmental circumstances.

This study does not address the final phase of plan implementation but rather traces the path of local knowledge from the minds of the community, through its exposure and processing, to its ultimate incorporation into planning deliverables, i.e., public involvement deliverables (which are obtained at the end of the second phase) and statutory planning deliverables (which are obtained at the end of the third phase).

3.3   Public Participation and the Planning Process

3.3.1   The Transition to the Postmodern Era

The spatial planning process can be understood in a historical context that begins in the modern age, during which extensive use was made of scientific and professional knowledge, and continues through the transition to the postmodern era alongside the growing recognition of the importance of local knowledge. Modern planning did not consider the human being to be a producer of knowledge and significances that can change spatial and social structures; thus, modern planning focused on a physical-mechanistic—as opposed to holistic-societal—examination of space

(Gunstone 1988; Johnston et al. 1990). In contrast, postmodern planning criticizes modernist planning as impotent and incapable of facing the postmodern spatial reality, which is characterized by spatial and societal complexities.

Le Corbusier, a founder of the modern school of urban planning, published a manifesto (1929) inspired by the science of physics and William Armstrong Fairburn's (1917) *Machine Age*, wherein the city and its houses are described as machines whose role is strictly functional and the planning is based on acquired scientific knowledge.

Postmodernist planning began to evolve at the end of the 1960s, alongside the development of humanistic approaches in geography. According to these approaches, knowledge begins as a direct, personal, local, intuitive experience in a dialectic with spatial phenomena in everyday life in an ongoing fashion (Harvey 1990; Relph 1981; Smith 1984). The positivist philosophy, according to which knowledge is acquired methodically and empirically and which sets forth deterministic rules that decrease the individual's ability to influence his/her own destiny, was perceived by humanists as narrow and unsuited to a dynamic society that is diverse and rich in social needs and opinions (Cloke et al. 1991).

This is not to suggest the devaluation or demotion of science but rather that scientific expertise must be complemented by lay input, or what has been described as *interactiv*e knowledge (Lindblom and Cohen 1979), that is generated by all participating actors, both expert and lay. In Habermasian terms, this represents a shift away from acceptance of the predominance or elitism of scientific rationality in decision making and toward recognition of the power of communicative rationality (Habermas 1984), which builds on knowledge from multiple domains (Petts and Brooks 2006).

During the transition to the postmodern era toward the end of the 20th century, a theory emerged regarding new and radical ways of planning that involve the public (in contrast to the previous monopolization of planning knowledge by experts) and recognize the value of local, experiential knowledge (Sandercock 1998).

3.3.2 The Transition to Participatory Planning

Following World War II, as planning evolved as a discipline, rational-comprehensive planning theory emerged. This theory drove the legitimization of professionals drafting planning alternatives based on scientific knowledge and of elected officials selecting the optimal option from their perspective as public administrators (Camhis 1979; Lindblom 1959). Planning based on the rational-comprehensive approach was conducted without public participation and frequently made assumptions regarding locals' needs (Fried and Gleicher 1961; Gans 1965).

An example of rational-comprehensive planning can be found in Gans's (1965) and Fried's (1961) descriptions of how residents of Boston's low-income West End experienced trauma after being transferred to new neighborhoods on the city's

outskirts. The exposure of local knowledge thereafter by researchers led to the conclusion that the uprooted West Enders had not perceived themselves as slum dwellers, despite the objective physical conditions in the West End, but rather viewed themselves as part of a warm, supportive community and environment that enabled a livelihood and a cultural life. The exposure of the extent of their trauma upon being uprooted and forced to cut strong family ties and leave sources of livelihood was a turning point for the previously unquestioned status of rational-comprehensive planning and indicated the dawn of seeking alternatives thereto.

The first challenge to the rational-comprehensive theory was the concept of advocacy planning (Davidoff 1965), which is sensitive to locals' views and emphasizes public representation and participation in the planning decision process. Davidoff argued that the public interest constituted the rational foundation for the planner's work and would produce better plans and advance a fair and effective planning process. Arnstein (1969) believed that involving the public was a means to stimulate social reform by reapportioning the power between the public and policy-setters.

In her article, Sandercock (2006) identifies the 1960s as a turning point in what she calls the "democratization of planning", during which voices in the US, Britain, and France were heard advocating for the public in planning processes and a civic society began to evolve. This civic society pressured the planning establishment to create opportunities for expanding the public's participation. Sandercock points to a number of state governments in Australia that in the 1970s were the first to pass planning laws that required public consultation to be an integral part of the planning process. Since the 1970s, numerous laws in New Zealand (e.g., those concerning the local government and environmental management) require government officials to "consult" those affected by a matter and to take their views into consideration when making decisions.

In the same vein, Bratt and Reardon (2013) noted that in the 1980s, in the US, authorities that up until then had been federally administered began to be decentralized and delegated to the states and incorporated jurisdictions. This process led to the evolution of new configurations of the dialectic between local communities and planning authorities regarding plans and disputes related thereto. These in turn increased citizen participation and initiative in planning issues and their participation in alternative participation processes.

Alternative participation begins as a citizen initiative, which generates an ongoing and evolving dialog both among the residents and between the residents and planners, professionals, and environmentalists. By means of collaborative and deliberative procedures, these groups work together to create planning deliverables in the form of professional recommendations and planning options.

In this age of globalization, public concern is growing over the weakening power of governments; the influence of multi-national companies on political, economic, and social agendas; deregulation of the housing and monetary markets; and privatization of companies and public services. This concern is accompanied by a sharp drop in public faith in the ability of the elite to manage the economy or

provide basic services (Bratt and Reardon 2013). The combination of these factors is driving citizens to initiate alternative participation processes and to exert pressure on jurisdictions to involve the public in policy decision-making processes.

In response, American planning institutions have voluntarily broadened options for participating in planning and environmental issues (White 2001). Federal environmental policy in the US obligates organizations to conduct participatory processes on planning and decision making. In a number of states, the participation of citizens "external" to public decision making is not uncommon; in the Department of Defense alone, for example, there are over 300 citizen advisors on various environmental issues (Chess 2000).

In Britain, the central administration involves the greater public in various important matters. For that purpose, the administration conducts a variety of processes, such as the People's Panel (Cabinet Office 1999), and asks local jurisdictions to consult and involve the public in decision making on important issues such as the provision of public services, community planning, and community security (DETR 1998, 1999). The Ministry of Justice (Governance of Britain 2008) has launched a national framework for greater citizen engagement that calls for the reinvigoration of representative democracy through engagement mechanisms including referendums, deliberative forums and petitions.

The New Planning System for New South Wales is aimed at transparency, early participation and use of various participatory techniques, including not only deliberative processes but also the use of electronic applications and information technologies to improve, simplify and increase accessibility to planning information and processes. The Planning White Papers (2013)[1] include the following statement: "The Community Participation Charter will strengthen rights for individuals and groups by allowing every person in the community to be a part of an upfront planning process… aimed at taking into account the different cultures and backgrounds within the community and the manner in which their different needs will be addressed".

Communicative planning theory, which was conceived in the early 1990s, proposes replacing the rational planning process with one that is conducted in the public sphere and shaped by public discourse (Fainstein 2000; Forester 1992; Healey 1992; Taylor 1998). The shift in planning philosophy during the 1990s—or what is referred to as the *communicative turn*—championed deliberative (discursive) democracy. According to deliberative democracy, public participation in planning is conducted based on discussion that gives expression to varied opinions, and planning decisions are reached through logic, critical thinking, and a combination of professional knowledge and in-depth, local, experiential knowledge of those who live a given situation and know it from the inside (Cooke 2000; Healey 1993, 1996; Martens 2001).

Hartz-Karp (2004) tied deliberative participatory planning to an alternative process of public participation and identified five key principles of this process:

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[1]http://www.planning.nsw.gov.au/a-new-planning-system-for-nsw.

1. The participants are representatives of the population;
2. Emphasis is placed on understanding the issues at hand and the entirety of their significances;
3. A range of values and points of view are taken into consideration;
4. Consensus and common ground are sought; and
5. Policy and decision-making are influenced from the ground up.

3.4   Public Participation and Civil Society

The concept "civil society" describes a phenomenon that evolved in the 18th century—particularly in Europe and the US—in which both formal and informal meetings independent of the regime take place in the public space, wherein individuals can gather, connect, exchange opinions, read, present and form a new community; organize around an idea; and push forward an agenda—regardless of their religious, social, gender, or ethnic affiliations (Edwards 2004).

Muthiah Alapappa (2004) defined civil society as the aggregate of non-governmental organizations and institutions that manifest the interests and will of citizens. Civil society begins to take shape when its organizations and citizens speak out against the regime or demand a government response to social needs.

The litmus tests of civil society are its autonomy vis-à-vis the state, the types of claims brought by it to the state, and its ability to catalyze citizens to participate in public life (including in the planning arena), thereby planting the seeds of civic values (Salamon and Anheier 1998). Beginning in the late 20th century, with the rise of the anti-Communism and anti-globalization movements and the concurrent broadening of the scope of NGO activities (which act around social, economic, and environmental agendas), the concept "civil society" has become an essential part of public and academic discourse in the West (Rosenblum and Post 2001).

The term "civil society" is perceived as abstract, describing an arena occupied by institutions, organizations, networks, and individuals, as well as values; it is situated somewhere in the nexus of the family, the state, and the free market and is committed to an agreed-upon system of social rules; people voluntarily unite around it to realize individual, group, and collective goals; to advance common interests; and to achieve social and public benefits (Gidron et al. 2000).

According to Innes and Booher (2004), building a civil society is based on the self-organization of a regime (civil regime) that is willing to constantly work to expose injustice and to grapple therewith. Therefore, civil society is essential to the existence and durability of the state and society, particularly to pluralism and participatory democracy, both of which are characterized by the values of human dignity and justice.

Participatory democracy is a political, democratic idea that advances public participation in various decision-making forums. It emphasizes political activism by civil society as a means of increasing the number of participants engaged in

decision-making processes in the organization, community, state, and international network. Its manifestations are observable in shared budgets, opinion polls, citizen legislative initiatives, community management, public participation in urban planning, and other pursuits related to public involvement and participation in the public and statutory decision-making process (Held 2006; McCowan 2009).

According to Ishay Menuhin (2003), civil society is based on the premise that in modern democratic society, individuals find it difficult—or perhaps impossible—to realize their autonomy vis-à-vis the state without the organization and coming together of various identities, as well as a collective (shared) identity, to bolster their power and empowerment. Therefore, individuals create or come together to form organizations that enable them to influence the operation of their society, i.e., they communalize as a means of achieving a society based on a system of democratic values and on four fundamental mechanisms that enable the expression of such values: citizen involvement in decision-making, the freedom to gather, open access to the mechanisms of justice, and open access to information.

Thus, according to Nancy Rosenblum and Robert Post (2001), independent groups and associations of civil society will perform at least three functions that have special importance for democracies. First, they serve as a center of collective political resistance against capricious and oppressive government. Second, they organize people for democratic participation (including in planning). The third function performed by civil society groups and associations concerns the socialization of political values necessary for self-government.

In the opinions of Arza Churchman and Elisheva Sadan (2003), significant and genuine public involvement processes generate important social values, including social accountability, both to each other and to the environment, and a commitment to care for the public space that goes beyond personal and private interests. When shared by a group of individuals, this commitment creates a community. Consequently, new democratic, participatory structures are established and spaces are created wherein people meet, express themselves, and develop civil society.

In addition to civil society's important role in strengthening democracy, it is necessary to evaluate the success of civil society in generating change on the ground that benefits the common citizen and community. In this regard, the question is whether public participation in planning—as a practice that enables civil society to take part, in one form or another—succeed in generating spatial change that is consistent with individuals, their community, and their habitats? The present study will examine this question while studying the ability of various public participation procedures used in planning to expose and incorporate the desires, needs, and demands (local knowledge) of residents into plans.

Ronen Gofer (2003) claimed that jurisdictions and the experts who work for them lack full knowledge of spatial planning and problem solving. Most problems of the modern state—such as poverty, violence, environmental harm, and the lack of good transportation—are complex, which demands complex solutions. The knowledge needed to solve these problems is not possessed by a single individual from one discipline or jurisdiction but rather by an array of parties, including

decision-makers, professionals and academics, as well as the citizens and groups that compose what we call "civil society".

In most cases, the members of civil society are not asked to contribute their knowledge to problem solving. In this regard, practices that stimulate democratic involvement give better expression to problem solving using an array of knowledge, particularly civil knowledge and local knowledge. Therefore, jurisdictions that genuinely wish to solve problems must adopt such holistic methods of involvement, in addition to allowing civil society organizations to initiate grassroots participatory processes and recognizing the importance thereof.

Civil society is a significant organism in which the structural aspects of public participation can be institutionalized as NGOs and interest associations, which facilitates formal and informal access to, and participation in, planning decision making processes (Alexander 2008). Moreover, civic-driven change places trust in individuals' own sources of knowledge-making, which are not necessarily correct but nonetheless constitute the well-spring for learning and self-capacitation (Fowler and Biekart 2013).

It is an accepted practice to evaluate the robustness of civil society by its ability to contain, develop, and drive social movements, including collaborative social networks that involve citizens in planning processes. Their number, identity, activism, influence and power have a critical impact on the strength and effectiveness of public participation in a particular society. These movements involve groups that lie outside the boundaries of the political system (Piven and Cloward 1979; Rootes 1999) and are generally opposed to existing political parties (McCarthy and Zald 1977) or statutory planning bodies.

Social movements should be viewed as both distributors of material resources and creators of change at the ideological or symbolic level. This dual nature of a social movement is what allows us to distinguish it from a political party, which tends to focus more on material resources, and from religious groups or similar spiritual movements, which tend to operate more in the ideological realm.

The mobility of social movements between the ideological and material spheres may gives them the capacity to recruit people from contradictory groups, such as the religious and the secular, the rich and the poor. Regardless the group's level of heterogeneity/homogeneousness, all of the individuals within a group are eager to cure their spatial problems, i.e., the everyday environmental hardships caused by planning policy.

Social movements begin in response to grievances, which may arise from circumstances in which people's reality does not match their expectations or because there is an ideological mismatch between those in power and a particular subgroup (Davies 1963; Turner and Killian 1987; Walsh and Warland 1983). This theory allows for the possibility that both material and ideological conflicts can inspire social movements (Castells 1983; Pickvance 2003; Mayer 2006).

Movements of civil society loosen the grip of capital on the city and return residents to the core of the decision-making process (Harvey and Potter 2009; Harvey 2012; Marcuse 2009). This solution puts the residents of a city in charge of

the campaign for the "good" city and ensures that this campaign will move toward just outcomes, i.e., fair planning and the equal distribution of resources.

Based on Lefebvre's "right to the city" idea (1968), Marcuse (2009) identifies social movements as the enforcers his vision of the "good" city (2009, p. 195):

> The ultimate goal of most social movements, and certainly of the Right to the City movement, necessarily leads in this direction: they are not after profit, but seek a decent and supportive living environment… Thus, the culturally alienated and the immediately deprived have a common enemy. And that is increasingly recognized, even if its name is not always the same: capitalism, neo-liberalism, greed, multinationals, power elite, the bourgeoisie, the capitalist class. Above all, eliminating profit as means and motivation in the political sector, eliminating the role of wealth and the power linked to it from public decisions, is a key requirement for both the immediately opposed and the alienated.

That proponents of the Right to the City movement would view social movements as potential champions of the cause is not surprising. The Right to the City implies a radical reordering of politics as usual, as well as a redistribution of resources, and social movements, i.e., civil society, are equipped to operate on both of these levels.

Based on this view of social movements, the main objective of civil society is to embody social and environmental justice, among other forms of justice, by means of social movements and the implementation of various public interventions and participatory procedures in decision-making and policy-crafting processes. The present study will examine which public participation method—unilateral or collaborative—is better equipped to achieve justice through the inclusion of local knowledge in planning decision-making processes.

An important factor affecting public participation in planning is the manner in which civil society forms participatory movements within the planning arena; how those movements express and capture civil knowledge and integrate that knowledge into planning deliverables; and how they integrate civil/local knowledge (if at all) into formal planning and statutory deliverables. This can occur through formal and informal consultation, representation, and unilateral and collaborative participatory procedures. All of these modes are of considerable interest in the systematic analysis of public participation in planning.

3.5 Methods of Public Participation

Public participation is a process whereby residents who are not policy makers take part in planning decision-making processes pertaining to issues related to their everyday lives (Churchman and Sadán 2003). The planner's professional knowledge by definition lacks the local-human perspective, and public participation is the path to overcoming this deficiency. In particular, public participation seeks to fill this knowledge gap by creating opportunities for residents and other stakeholders to express themselves and influence the decision-making process at the appropriate time and in appropriate social and practical contexts (King et al. 1998).

Public participation encompasses both unilateral and collaborative methods of participatory processes, each of which includes a range of formal and non-formal participatory practices, techniques, procedures, and tools (Rowe et al. 2005; Sanoff 1999).

In addition to municipal elections, formal public participatory practices began evolving in the 1960s, mainly in the form of public hearings. During such hearings in the US, the average speaking time allotted to a citizen was 3 min. Within this brief time frame, the citizen had to express him- or herself in the language used by planners and present arguments acceptable in the planning discourse, all without adequate qualifications or training and without the right to any feedback from the jurisdictional authority.

Testimony from public hearings (a formal unilateral procedure) conducted in 2002 regarding the building plan for a garbage collection station in Brooklyn, New York show that the focus of the hearing was on the technical details of the plan. Citizens who wished to raise matters of wellbeing and justice were escorted out of the building, whereas the query of an attorney representing a real estate firm received an exhaustive, 10 min answer. A group of environmentalists were advised to peruse documents, and citizens could obtain information only on planning options that had already been chosen and accepted by the jurisdiction. One of those present described the communication in this case as distorted and misleading, given the discriminatory manner in which facilitators related to those voicing opinions, silenced dialog, and exerted full control over the agenda.

Innes and Booher (2000) indicated that in their efforts to involve the public, planners and officials use informal procedures adopted from social science research methods, i.e., focus groups, public opinion surveys, and structured questionnaires.

In 2003–2005, as part of a metropolitan planning process in Perth, a public participation process called Dialog with the City was conducted. Touted as the broadest participation process in the southern hemisphere, the process included a choice between four alternative models prepared in advance by the jurisdiction (via an Alternatives Selection tool): a decentralized city, a compact city, a multi-node city, and a grid city. In addition, the jurisdiction used structured questionnaires completed by 1100 citizens (from a sample of 8000 citizens to whom the questionnaires were sent). Finally, a series of heterogeneous focus groups were conducted (Hopkins 2007).

The common denominator of formal and informal procedures mentioned above, is their unidirectional nature. Each involves two stakeholders—the jurisdiction and the citizen—an operates in a manner that scripts, restricts, maneuvers, measures, and defines the process of local knowledge exposure by authorities in a top-down approach. It is reasonable to assume that participatory procedures based on unidirectional communication (i.e., without feedback) tend to exclude the public from planning and political systems (Innes and Booher 2004). This approach not only places the sides at odds with each other but also exacerbates disputes between them (Lowendes et al. 2001b), frustrates the public, decreases the level of public trust in the institutions of the regime (Beierle and Konisky 2000; White 2001), and

negatively affects the public's willingness to participate in jurisdiction-initiated participatory processes (Lowendes et al. 2001b).

The consequent sense of alienation among citizens and residents likely stimulates their bottom-up participation (e.g., the formation of residents' committees and NGOs) and strengthens social coalitions that reveal local knowledge and amass professional knowledge and political power, all of which are necessary to change planning processes and policies. These social networks constitute the human and political infrastructure that fosters the development of collaborations, including communications among various interested parties that consolidate among the players to put forth ideas, plans, and policies around a general or specific issue (Veransky et al. 1999). Thereafter, these collaborations act to push the plan or policy through or to implement it via the local government. The deliberative initiatives of public participation based on collaborative networks have evolved in communities around the world since the end of the 20th century alongside unidirectional public participation procedures.

Innes and Booher (2000) describe 20 discussion-based public participation initiatives that were created in California, one of which was aimed at examining directions for the fair and intelligent growth of cities and generated a 6-year dialog among stakeholders from the fields of economics, environmental protection, and social justice. The process ultimately yielded guiding principles and practices that were implemented collaboratively by lay and government leaders who aimed to change the prevailing opinions and assumptions about patterns and means of advancing growth.

Trist (1985) presented the *Search Conference* process, pursuant to which invitations are issued to everyone in the community. The Search Conference convenes annually for several days, during which small group discussions take place to enable the exposure of local knowledge (e.g., the expression of various viewpoints) in a format that gives all individuals and stakeholders the opportunity to speak and be heard with a minimum of enmity. In Britain, between 500 and 5000 attend Search Conference sessions on local, regional, or national matters using digital technology, including online voting. Such meetings combine the advantages of face-to-face encounters in small groups with those of decision-making processes in larger forums.

Joint discursive procedures empower the community and strengthen deliberative democracy and civic society because they give equal opportunity to all citizens to participate as individuals or as members of organizations and social networks (Bohman 1996; Dryzek 2000). Moreover, digital technologies enable the simultaneous participation of many citizens in the process and allows citizens to participate remotely, anonymously, and at their convenience over online social networks that transfer information among members and promote deliberative cooperation processes (Barber 1998–9; Rowe et al. 2004; Sandercock and Attili 2010).

In the 21st century, the use of computerized tools to gather and transfer information among individuals in the community has increased, particularly ICT (Information Communication Technologies) and GIS (Geographical Information Systems) (Kingston 2002; Nuojua 2008; Rantanen 2007). The variety of software

and online applications expands the range of possible planning practices and enriches the planning lexicon and creativity of planners, allowing the creation of a virtual space in which traditional, unilateral ways of participation (e.g., structured questionnaire) are enhanced while new, more interactive and collaborative methods are invented.

During the past decade, in certain boroughs of London (e.g., Harringay and Croydon), citizen participation processes have been conducted by environmentalists using varied interactive/responsive online techniques, such as webcasting, that enable the transfer of information and its publication live, in real time or at any other time; online consultation of professionals and jurisdictional personnel; and online forums that enable continuous, ongoing dialog among citizens.

Planning for Real is a method of public participation accepted in Britain that is not based on virtual space. Rather, in the Planning for Real method, participants design a 3D model of their residential surroundings and execute their desired changes therein, thereby creating a sense of belonging to the place and ownership of the process. In 2007, a Planning for Real public participation process was conducted in Leicester by 60 schoolchildren, who—with the help of their teachers—built a 3D model of their neighborhood. A total of 544 residents attended 18 meetings, and 2546 desires for improvement were expressed by participants on dedicated cards. These desires were prioritized by the participants according to three time frames: immediate, mid-term, and long-term.

Planning for Real procedures are sometimes associated with Participation Action Research (PAR),[2] which addresses various forms of participatory procedures that involve all stakeholders in an active shared study of issues defined as problematic, with the objective of changing or improving those issues. For example, PAR can be conducted among a group of disabled citizens to learn how to provide better access to public transportation based on their needs.

In the 21st century, the use of the *charrette* has proliferated (mainly in USA and Canada) as a participation procedure based on a social network. "Charrette" means "wagon" or "cart" in French and is used in this context to denote the collection of student papers after students have engaged in intensive work under a short deadline established by the school. Today, the term has come to mean a conference or session wherein all stakeholders, including lay residents, continue to discuss a given issue on the agenda until they have drafted a plan.

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[2]PAR is a known form of experiential research that focuses on the direct practical effect of the researcher's activity in the framework of the participating community. The objective of PAR is to improve the appearance of the community or specific domains of interest therein (Dick 2004; McNiff and Whitehead 2006; Reason and Bradbury 2001). It is also a means of increasing understanding about how changes in individual activities or behaviors can benefit the participants or the community (Reason and Bradbury 2001). PAR's origin is rooted in the post-modern movement, according to which experience is a valid path to producing knowledge (Fals-Borda and Rahman 1991). It appears that PAR should encourage exposure, creation, and adaptation of local knowledge (indigenous and traditional) alongside the shared activity of individuals and their personal and group empowerment (Warren et al. 1995).

The US National Charrette Institute website states that the charrette is a cooperative, creative, and intensive planning process attended by a professional team and all stakeholders in a given plan. The charrette gathers all decision makers in one place, and all involved parties sit together in the vicinity of the site at issue for a period of days, during which they hammer out a feasible plan.

Another deliberative participation procedure is the citizen-based conference, which originated in Denmark in 1987, when the Danish parliament decided to examine the possibility of allowing lay citizens to contribute to the decision-making process, particularly with respect to important and complex issues that ordinarily are the purview of experts. According to this procedure, a total of 15 citizens who are chosen to participate conduct lengthy discussions among themselves and between them and professionals and experts from the field at issue (Ronen Gofer 2003). The objective of the citizen-based conference is to formulate a responsible and consensual citizen position regarding complex issues, thereby injecting the public discourse and decision-making discussions with a new component, i.e., processed local knowledge.

Since its implementation in Denmark, the citizen-based conference has been used to address various issues, including air pollution, genetic modification in the food industry and agriculture, and the future of private transportation, among others. Its procedures have been adopted in other European countries and were even tried in Israel for the first time in 2000 (see p. 33).

A Citizens' Jury is a type of participation comprising a panel of approximately one dozen lay residents in a jury configuration who examine a contentious public issue in detail and produce an appropriate decision, or "ruling" (Crosby et al. 1986). Although the Citizens' Jury is appropriate for locale-specific disputes or environmental events, it necessitates an immediate solution, whereas a citizen-based conference entails a discussion on a general issue from within a professional and/or broad public discourse and thus requires a long-term working plan. Nevertheless, the National Framework for Greater Citizen Engagement (Governance of Britain 2008) calls for a citizens' jury to be configured on a national scale to address national policy issues, i.e., 50–100 participants who are as demographically representative as possible would participate in several sequential sessions taking place over 1–2 days.

Due to the ineffectiveness of the government in post-Katrina (2005) New Orleans, residents of the eastern neighborhoods were compelled to take it upon themselves to develop initiatives for community and environmental development. With the help of the New Orleans City Planning Commission and the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), residents raised money and drafted rehabilitation plans together with universities and private planners. One architect whose services were hired said: "For five months we worked closely with individual residents, neighborhood associations, and public agencies, holding over 100 community meetings to plan and submit for citizen approval 50 'bricks and mortar' proposals for funding by the Louisiana Recovery Authority and other state and federal programs".

Since the 1960s, the range of public participation methods in planning has broadened to include an increasing number of deliberative procedures. This range has stretched from the unilateral procedures of public hearing and structured questionnaire to the collaborative procedures of citizens' juries, charrettes and collaborative grassroots initiatives. Those two main categories of participatory practices will undergo a comparative investigation of their respective capabilities to reveal local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables.

3.6   Public Participation in Israel

Since its enactment in 1965, the Building and Planning Law has remained the main legislation regulating spatial planning processes in Israel. As per clause 100 of this law, the only channel through which the public can express its opinion on plans is the formal submission of objections to plans. Notably, objections to plans are possible only after the authorities have made their selection from the options available to them and the plans have been submitted. From that moment, anyone opposing the plan has 60 or 90 days to act (the *deposit stage*[3]) and thus opposing parties must be aware of the plan, learn it in its entirety, and come up with an objection strategy within a 60 or 90 day time frame. Although the authorities consider the deposit stage to be final, the law requires that objection be heard at this point, which potentially could result in changes to the slated plan(s) (Forester et al. 2001; Shmueli 2005).

Shmueli (2005) noted that although the broadened definition of "the public"[4] whose right it is to object to the plans (according to the law) encompasses a wider range of groups and individuals, participation continues to be depicted by definition as negative and is viewed by jurisdictions and developers as an obstacle to implementation and growth. Regardless, although public objections at the submission stage may result in project delay, they rarely bring about significant changes to or cancellation of the proposed project.

Totari-Jabareen (2007) claims that the provisions of the law do not enable proper participation of citizens in planning processes because the public participation procedure (i.e., the submission of formal objections) commences too late in the process, when the planning is already at an advanced phase. Moreover, the provisions of the law enable the public to participate only through the expression of negative opinions. Furthermore, in T-J's opinion, the law does not take into account social, economic, and cultural factors in consideration of the effects of a given spatial plan on the local community.

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[3]The length of the deposit stage depends upon the plan's scope. For example, in the case of a master plan or an outline scheme, the public usually has 90 days to oppose it.

[4]In the past, "the public" had been narrowly limited to community groups, individuals, and selected NGOs that could prove a direct relationship to the land in question.

Druckman and Alterman (2010) identified the weaknesses of the publication and notification processes in Israel's planning system, which they claim impede the public from receiving information within the statutory time frame for filing objections. However, they also note a strength of the law, namely, that it obligates planning authorities to argue any rejection of citizen objections and to send such arguments to the plan's opponents, although the latter has ordinarily already heard these arguments.

Ordinary citizens find it difficult to implement the objection procedure because it demands both planning knowledge and legal expertise, which is ordinarily unavailable to them. Thus, formal objections to plans have become one of the many participatory tools used in collaborative public participation processes by neighborhood coalitions and environmental protection organizations such as Adám, Teva, v'Dìn[5] and SPNI.[6]

Public participation in planning is not a built-in component of planning processes in Israel. Although there is broad agreement that nothing in the Building and Planning Law prevents broader public participation throughout the entirety of the planning process, many planning processes are conducted out of sight of the public that is likely to be affected by the resultant plan, thereby preventing public awareness that a plan is being drafted or that affected individuals have the right to respond and even to influence the planning deliverable.

Ernest Alexander (2008) indicates that the submission of formal objections to plans is one of three channels offered by the Israeli statutory planning system for interaction with civil society. The two other channels are NGOs and interest associations that are involved in the planning process and aspire to affect planning decisions. One channel entails public representation on statutory planning bodies, which is prescribed by law and controlled by the Interior Ministry. The Israeli organizations that represent civil society are professional associations, academic bodies, and the Society for Nature Protection in Israel (SPNI), the veteran advocate for environmental interests. An additional channel is found in the provision of the law that gives selected organizations standing to represent the public interest in statutory planning provisions. The list includes four quangos (including the Jewish Agency), six professional associations (representing architects, landscape architects, planners, and contractors), and five environmental and conservation organizations (including SPNI).

Nonetheless, most of the aforementioned "entitled" NGOs are clearly organizations of the establishment, and the list of organizations with standing illustrates the relegation of the bulk of Israeli civil society to the opposition. Moreover, the listed organizations are not consulted during the planning process except through their representatives on planning bodies. Their standing allows them to lodge objections and appeals to deposited plans only based on the claim of harm to the

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[5]Hebrew for "Humans, Nature, and Law"—The Israel Union for Environmental Defense; http://www.adamTeva.org.il/english.

[6]The Society for the Protection of Nature in Israel; http://natureIsrael.org/.

broader public interest, whereas all other members of Israel's civil society can oppose planning decisions only if they can establish a nexus between the plan's potential impact and their specific private interest. This step constitutes the first channel—'objection to plans'—of formal interaction with civil society in the planning process. In summary, Israel is characterized by an adversarial relationship to civil society, perhaps due in part to its administrative culture, and certainly because it is institutionalized to be that way (Alexander 2008).

Churchman and Silverman (2012) expand upon the matter of public participation beyond the opposition procedures that are codified in law. They claim that the Israeli planning system contains an imbalance between the attention paid to people and considerations related to infrastructure, such as land use and transportation. They propose five main channels for including social considerations in planning in Israel, one of which is the "improvement of public involvement in planning processes".

According to Churchman and Silverman (2012), there is currently no institutional entity in the planning system that considers itself responsible for representing the social aspects of planning, particularly with respect to the needs of weak populations. Moreover, they note that the purview of the Social Affairs Advisor in Israel is very constrained compared to those in other Western locales. They refer to two tools that have been formulated in Israel for evaluating and including social considerations in planning: the environmental impact study, which has been in use for over 20 years, and the social-community appendix, which was drafted in 2006 but has not yet been used.

In addition to these tools, a number of other mechanisms have been proposed for evaluating the social impacts of spatial planning. These tools, which were developed by countries and NGOs and are recommended for "import" to Israel, evaluate social situations and needs by quantifying social variables such as accessibility, participation, social capital, and health and safety. The assimilation of significances arising from the implementation of these tools in planning decision-making processes should constitute an additional channel for public involvement in planning, even if such involvement is passive from the public perspective.

Nonetheless, there remains a conspicuous lack of clarity regarding public participation, and the requirements for public participation in planning are still too general. For example, most requirements fail to specify that the planning team must include an expert consultant; there is no definition of a minimum required level and scope of participation; no budgetary backing is defined for the participatory process; there is no guidance regarding the procedures or tools to be used; and there is no obligation to address public input. Despite attempts to institutionalize public participation in planning, a clearly defined framework for such participation remains lacking.

Against this backdrop, during the past decade, several informal public participation techniques have established themselves as professional norms in Israel. According to one such technique, planners acting on behalf of authorities initiate participatory procedures based on the SWOT model of strategic management, thereby giving participants the opportunity to identify strengths and weaknesses of a specific project, plan, neighborhood, or city. Another common technique, called Alternatives Selection, allows participants to rank or prioritize planning alternatives

previously drafted by professionals or officials. A third common technique, Criteria Prioritization, provides a list of urban (or planning) issues and asks recipients to select several issues that must be addressed urgently.

The cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa employed the above-mentioned unilateral techniques in the drafting of their 21st−century master plans. Although an official directive in bids for the master plan of the planning authority of the Interior Ministry requires the implementation of participatory planning processes, it does not specify a method for involving the public. In the absence of such instructions, the cities employed informal unilateral public participation methods rooted in the Israeli planning system, i.e., Criteria Prioritization, Alternatives Selection, and SWOT Analysis.

Another example of the use of unilateral techniques is found in the planning process for revamping Dizengoff Circle in Tel Aviv. In this case, the city conducted a participatory process via a structured questionnaire survey designed to elicit comparisons among three alternatives that had been prepared by the city beforehand, with no public participation, and the ranking of those alternatives. The survey was conducted during May and June 2011 via a two-part structured questionnaire. In the first part, interviewees were asked to state the advantages and disadvantages of each alternative, consistent with the SWOT technique of public participation. In the second part, interviewees were asked to rank and prioritize the three alternatives, as per the Alternatives Selection technique of public participation.

Recently, the town of Pardes Hana-Karkur conducted a unilateral public participation process wherein residents were invited to choose between two planning alternatives for the town's main thoroughfare (i.e., the Alternatives Selection technique). One alternative presented the thoroughfare as a traffic corridor, whereas the other included more commercial and leisure land uses along its length.

Israel has an extensive and active civil society that is comparable to other western democracies (Ernest 2008). Social welfare and environmental protection organizations in Israel constitute a professional and organizational infrastructure that is dynamic, enduring, and capable of activating several public participation procedures—both unilateral and collaborative—simultaneously. An example is the Jerusalem Society for Community Management, which, beginning in 1980, has developed extensive social networks via neighborhood branches. These networks provide residents access to professional knowledge and encourage them to complete questionnaires and to attend moderated discussions with planners (City of Jerusalem 2005). Another example is from the late 1990s, when a number of organizations working under the aegis of SPNI conducted two participatory processes aimed at opposing plans to build in the Jerusalem Forest and plans for the Sela Observation Tower. In this case, 10,000 residents expressed opposition according to the provisions of the law, discussions were held with professionals and decision-makers, alternative plans were presented, and demonstrations were organized at the slated construction sites (Tzur 2011).

In Kiryat Shmona, a collaborative participation process—specifically, the *charrette*—was implemented in 2008 to plan the downtown district. According to its initiator, architect Irit Sulsi (2010), the Kiryat Shmona charrette included heated round-table debates held near the slated site. The debates were attended by all

stakeholders (a total of 130 participants) and continued for several consecutive days until an implementable plan was produced.

Gofer and Golan (2000) described the first citizen-based conference held in Israel in 2000, which addressed the future of Israeli transportation, as follows: "The conference comprised lay citizens who contribute to a decision-making process based on ongoing discussions among attendees of the conference and between them and planning professionals".

A unique collaborative participation process was conducted among Petach Tikva schoolchildren who participated in the planning and design of a park. In the opinions of the process facilitators, Davidovich-Marton and Carmeli (2003, 2007), a new model of public participation gave the younger generation basic tools for participating in planning and development processes affecting their environment through learning, creativity, interaction, experimentation, and group discussion.

Since 2010, hundreds of residents of towns and villages along the Carmel coast have protested plans to build an intake facility for natural gas extracted from Israel's offshore drilling sites, which would entail changes to the current agriculture land-use designation and thus cause environmental disruptions in and around the traditionally rural district. The SPNI recently joined the residents' network to transform the local initiative into a more organized collaborative participation process.

The objective of the research described in this book was to choose comparable test cases and to conduct a comparison of the methods used therein. An emphasis was placed on the participation processes that constituted excellent examples of each of the methods to enable a reliable and accurate comparison between the methods. Therefore, two examples from each end of the scale were selected: two examples of a typical unilateral process rooted in the Israeli planning system and two example of an organic, grassroots collaborative participation process initiated by residents. Overall, the research sample included two pairs of examples, each of which consisted of one unilateral participatory process and one collaborative participatory process. Each pair of various participatory processes was related to the development of a main urban artery: one in Haifa and one in Tel Aviv (see Chaps. 5 and 6, respectively). Comparisons will be drawn both between the unilateral and collaborative methods in terms of their respective capacities to expose local knowledge and to incorporate such knowledge into plans and between public participation methods and an anthropological field study in terms of the types of local knowledge exposed by each technique among the populations liable to be affected by the plans (see Chap. 7). Furthermore, theoretical and practical conclusions will be drawn, a discussion will be conducted, and the main conclusions vis-à-vis the literature will be presented (see Chaps. 8, 9 and 10).

(*See the following* Chap. 4 *for a detailed description of the methodology and the research activities carried out*).

Chapter 4
Research Methodology

4.1 Research Sample

The research sample comprised two planning processes, each of which conducted both a unilateral public participation process and a collaborative public participation process. The total sample thus includes four test cases, or four public participation processes in planning: two unilateral and two collaborative.

The objective was to choose comparable test cases that permitted a comparison of the methods used. An emphasis was placed on participation processes that constituted excellent examples of each method to enable a reliable and accurate comparison between them. Thus, two examples from each end of the scale were chosen: two examples of a typical unilateral process rooted in the Israeli planning system and two examples of an organic, grassroots collaborative participation process initiated by residents.

Public participation processes that recently ended or were nearing completion were selected. In addition, preference was given to processes for which the researcher had access to individuals and groups active in the process and to the original materials used therein. The two planning processes chosen for the sample are as follows:

- The planning of Haifa's Carmel Range (or Ridge) Artery
- The planning of Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery

In each of the above-referenced planning processes, two public participation processes were conducted: one unilateral and one collaborative. The total sample thus includes four public participation processes in planning. Details regarding each test case is provided below.

Haifa's Carmel Range Artery. The collaborative public participation process in the Carmel district that lies along the Range Artery began in 1997 and was conducted by residents affected by various planning issues related to the Range Artery. The process included discussions among groups of residents and between residents and

professionals and other stakeholders. Toward 2006, the city began drafting its master
plan, which included the Range Artery plan. Throughout the drafting of the plan, the
city conducted a public participation process employing unilateral participation tools
such as SWOT. Two participatory processes are addressed herein: the collaborative
and the unilateral. In addition to studying the two participatory processes, anthro-
pological fieldwork was conducted using the tools of observation, spontaneous
conversations (unstructured quetionnaires), in-depth interviews, and mental maps.

South Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery. The collaborative participation process began
in 2007, when Neve Tzedek residents reacted to the city's plan to build an artery
through their neighborhood. In the following years, the collaborative social network
grew as it was joined by residents of other south Tel Aviv neighborhoods, pro-
fessionals, and a number of social welfare organizations. Toward 2007, the city
began drafting its master plan, which included the Shlavim Artery plan. In 2008,
during the drafting of the master plan, the city conducted a unilateral participation
process with unilateral participation tools. Among other procedures, residents were
invited to choose between various planning options for the Shlavim Artery.
Two participatory processes are addressed herein: the collaborative and the uni-
lateral. In addition to studying the participatory processes, anthropological field-
work   was   conducted   using   the   tools   of   observation,   spontaneous
conversations (structured quetionnaires), in-depth interviews, and mental maps.

Three comparisons will be made between unilateral public participation methods
and collaborative public participation methods, in the following order:

Comparison between the collaborative participation process and the unilateral
participation process for Haifa's Range Artery (in Chap. 5). These public partici-
pation processes were conducted as part of the same plan for the Carmel Range
Artery but differed in terms of the public participation method employed.
A comparison is appropriate because the various public participation processes
involved the same plan, meaning that influences that might stem from differences in
plan characteristics are eliminated from the outset. In addition, a comparison
between each of the public participation processes (the unilateral and the collabo-
rative) and the anthropological fieldwork was made.

Comparison between the collaborative public participation process and the
unilateral public participation process for Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery (in Chap. 6).
These public participation processes were conducted as part of the same plan for
paving the Shlavim Artery but differed in terms of the public participation method
employed. The comparison is appropriate because the various public participation
processes were conducted with regard to the same plan, meaning that influences
that might stem from differences in plan characteristics are eliminated from the
outset. In addition, a comparison between each of the public participation processes
(the unilateral and the collaborative) and the anthropological fieldwork was
conducted.

Comparison between the unilateral participation processes in Haifa and Tel Aviv
and the collaborative participation processes in Haifa and Tel Aviv (in Chap. 7).
This comparison is appropriate because the plans in the two cities are similar in

nature and scope. Specifically, both are plans for main traffic arteries, that are approximately the same length, and that pass through a number of mixed and residential districts, as well as main intersections. In addition, a comparison between each of the public participation processes (the unilateral and the collaborative) and the anthropological fieldwork was conducted.

4.2   Methodology's Conceptual Context

The research is based on the concept of a methodology that is anchored in the field and that builds a theory based on the analysis of how informants experienced a given phenomenon and of their explanations therefor, as well as an analysis of links between the variables and of repeating patterns to establish conclusions related to the studied space (Shkedi 2003).

Specifically, we speak of a theory conceptualized based on data gathered in the field, under the assumption that the study subjects have social and psychological patterns in common, which are described via main themes, such that these offer a complete explanation for the studied phenomenon. For the most part, researchers embark on the study of a phenomenon without making any hypotheses and try to understand how the people in the field perceive the studied phenomenon.

In Shkedi's opinion, despite the fact that researchers are aided by theoretical literature throughout the phases of the study, they must take care not to adopt the theoretical expressions appearing therein but rather use only the concepts and language of the informants. The theory formulated gradually from an analysis of the data at a certain time and place becomes the theoretical explanation for the given phenomenon, which can then be applied to other cases.

The application of the above-described theory demands meticulous fieldwork, a high sensitivity to events taking place and to possible scenarios, and the ability to forge empathic relations and have lengthy conversations with social agents and informants, in addition to building mutual trust between researcher and subject.

In addition to semi-structured questionnaires, based on which the pre-scripted interviews are scheduled in advance, anthropological tools should suit the character of the study, which is anchored in the field. The adaption of anthropological tools to the character of the study entails observations combined with spontaneous conversations, which should develop into in-depth interviews. In addition, the use of mental maps strengthens the anthropologist's foothold in the field.

According to the American Anthropological Association,[1] within the humanities and social sciences, anthropology is the organization of human social and cultural relations, institutions, and social conflicts. Sociocultural anthropology has been

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[1]www.aaanet.org/about/WhatIsAnthropology.cfm.

heavily influenced by structuralism[2] and postmodern theories, resulting in an epistemological shift away from the positivist traditions that had largely informed the discipline. In this sense, anthropology helps develop our understanding of social structures, typically those of others and "othered" populations, e.g., minorities, subgroups, dissidents and underserved communities. Sociocultural anthropology covers political organizations, official and unofficial political institutions, conflict resolution, infrastructure, ethnicity, socialization, recreation, worldview, values, and language—all of which are related to spatial planning research.

Since the 1980s, it has become common for social and cultural anthropologists to view ethnographic research as the examination of connections between locations rather than limited to a single locale. There has also been a related shift toward a broader focus, beyond the daily life of ordinary people. Increasingly, research is conducted in settings such as social movements, state agencies, and NGOs (Fischer 2003).

Moreover, environmental anthropology and urban anthropology have developed since the 1960s, suggesting specific approaches to spatial planning research. Environmental anthropology takes an active role in examining the relationships between humans and their environment across space and time (Kottak 1999). Many characterize this new perspective/field as more informed by culture, politics and power, globalization, localized issues, and regional analysis (Pyke 1984).

The focus and data interpretation in environmental anthropology is often the basis for arguments for or against the creation of policy and for the prevention of corporate exploitation and damage of land and natural resources. Often, the observer has become an active part of the struggle, either directly (e.g., organizing, participating) or indirectly (e.g., through articles, documentaries, books, ethnographies) (Checker 2005).

Urban anthropology is the study of the city conceived as a community. Ulf Hannerz quoted a remark that traditional anthropologists were "a notoriously agoraphobic lot, anti-urban by definition" (Hannerz 1980). Among the various individual scholars who contributed to laying the foundations of what urban anthropology has become today is the sociologist Louis Wirth. Wirth's essay, "Urbanism as a Way of Life", proved essential in distinguishing urbanism as a unique form of society that could be studied from three perspectives: "as a physical structure, as a system of social organization, and as a set of attitudes and ideas" (Ingold 1996).

Another notable academic in the field of urban anthropology, Lloyd Warner, led the "Community Study" approach and was one of the first anthropologists to

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[2]Structuralism is a theoretical paradigm in sociology, anthropology, linguistics, and semiotics positing that elements of human culture must be understood in terms of their relationship to a larger, overarching system or structure. Structuralism seeks to reveal the structures that underlie everything that humans do, think, perceive, and feel. Alternatively, as summarized by philosopher Simon Blackburn, structuralism is "the belief that phenomena of human life are not intelligible except through their interrelations. These relations constitute a structure, and behind local variations in the surface phenomena there are constant laws of abstract culture." (Blackburn 2008).

unequivocally transition from the exploration of indigenous cultures (the aborigines in his case) to the study of urban cities using similar anthropological methods. The Community Study approach was an important factor leading to the study of the city as a community. William Whyte later expanded Warner's methods for studying small urban centers in his study of larger neighborhoods (Murdock and Douglas 1969).

Urban anthropologists define the city/neighborhood as either the independent or dependent variable. Thus, the study contemplates the city either as a factor of some parameter, such as immigration or construction, or as a response to some parameter, such as citizens' needs or an increase in motorization level (Spitulnik 1993). One of the central approaches to the anthropological study of cities is power and knowledge (Low 2005), upon which the research described herein is based. Specifically, this approach considers how the city is planned and plans by studying local and supralocal spheres and the link between the two degrees of units in the city, as well as through comparisons of various planning and social processes in different communities and locales. The inquiry is guided/informed by cultural relativism, i.e., the attempt to understand other societies/communities in terms of one's own cultural symbols, values, and spatial circumstances (Ingold 1994).

4.3   Research Activities

The research methodology herein is based on <u>field studies</u> that the researcher conducted in each of the case studies in the sample. Each field study included three components: <u>interviews conducted using semi-structured questionnaires</u>; <u>collection and analysis of professional materials</u>; and <u>anthropological research</u>. Details regarding each field study component are provided below:

Interviews conducted using semi-structured questionnaires—the interviewees included both facilitators of the public participation and planning processes and members of the public subjected to the participatory procedures and tools. Four semi-structured questionnaires were formulated:

1. Semi-structured questionnaire for interviewing participants in unilateral participation processes. In Haifa, 15 participants in the unilateral process were interviewed; in Tel Aviv, 21 participants were interviewed, most of whom were also planning professionals.
2. Semi-structured questionnaire for interviewing leaders (facilitators and practitioners) and other participants of the collaborative participation processes. In each locale, approximately 20 interviewees participated in the collaborative initiative, a few of whom were planning professionals who also participated in the unilateral processes. At least 5 of the participants in each locale were facilitators of the collaborative processes.
3. Semi-structured questionnaire for interviewing facilitators and planners of the unilateral processes. The interviewees in this category included both planners

working for the cities and the management and staff of the outsourcing companies that conducted the unilateral processes together with city personnel. Several interviewees worked for both cities (Haifa and Tel Aviv). There were a total of 7 interviews.

4. Semi-structured questionnaire for interviewing decision makers. In each locale, there were approximately four interviewees who were city personnel or members of the city council or local/district planning board. Several interviewees were both city council members and had participated in either the unilateral or the collaborative participation process. Note that the city engineers and the mayors' long-term planning staffs refused to be interviewed.

A total of 92 interviews were conducted, comprising approximately 45 interviews in each field study (i.e., in each city)—44 in Haifa and 48 in Tel Aviv—based on which we elucidated how participation processes were conducted from the perspective of the participants. The researcher examined their authentic desires and preferences for spatial changes related to the respective plans and considered information regarding the extent to which the interviewees felt that their involvement could affect the planning deliverables. Additionally, the researcher interviewed the planners and other planning professionals, studying their attitudes toward the participatory processes and their roles in these processes. The researcher also interviewed the initiators of the collaborative participation processes, as well as professionals working for the city and for the companies hired by the city who were involved in the unilateral participation process. Additionally, the researcher interviewed several policy makers who were involved, directly or indirectly, in the participatory processes and studied their roles in and attitudes toward those processes. Finally, through interviews, the researcher studied the various means by which local knowledge was exposed and processed throughout the various participatory processes.

The interviews were scheduled in advance by telephone/email and conducted face to face; supplementary interviews were conducted by e-mail and telephone. Each interview lasted between 30 and 100 min. The interviews were transcribed and analyzed, separately and together, to create an interpretive integration.

Collection and analysis of professional materials—In addition to the interviews, the researcher gathered and analyzed statutory and professional materials that were prepared during the public participation and planning processes to study various elements related thereto. These materials were also examined to determine the local knowledge that was discussed, how such knowledge had been exposed and incorporated into plans, and the manifestation of local knowledge in the planning deliverables. Studied materials included documents, blueprints, simulations, plans, maps, and various texts (e.g., meeting minutes, position papers, letters, and online correspondence). Provided below is a list of the materials that provided highly significant information during the fieldwork:

1. Online correspondence between members of the collaborative networks during the collaborative participation processes, including both e-mails and chats.

2. Summaries of the unilateral participation processes written by the outsourcing companies on behalf of the cities.
3. Master plans drafted by the cities and a broad range of statutory plans, zoning laws, and ordinances.
4. Minutes of meetings of both jurisdictional authorities (e.g., planning boards and city councils) and resident networks (e.g., group discussions and formulation of position papers).

Anthropological research—an anthropological field study was conducted among the public likely to be affected by the planning deliverables to uncover their local knowledge. The local knowledge uncovered thereby included spatial conducts, outlooks, perceptions, critiques, desires, and other types and aspects of local knowledge related to environmental and planning matters on the agenda.

The anthropological research in Tel Aviv and Haifa was conducted simultaneously and alternately for three months among the residents of the various neighborhoods along the Range and the Shlavim Arteries and among other communities (e.g., commuters and property owners) that would be affected by the plans, particularly changes in the land use mix, building privileges, building heights, traffic volume, the mix of residence types, the street character, building permits, business licenses, and city ordinances.

Several anthropological research methods were used—participatory observation, spontaneous conversation, in-depth interviews, and mental maps—to maximize exposure of the local knowledge system and uncover the broadest range of local knowledge types related to the issues at hand. The researcher ensured that the methodology used and the intensity level of the anthropological research was similar in both cases, i.e., Haifa and Tel Aviv.

The observations were deliberately not conducted pursuant to a structured specification, at least in the initial phases, to engender deep and authentic familiarity with the observed territory and an "open end" to the observation (Silverman, 1998). First, the researcher drove along the arteries to map the communities alongside them and to ensure that each community would be observed separately. Spontaneous conversations were incorporated into the observations with the aim of exposing hidden knowledge that would not be exposed by structured queries prepared in advance or by semi-structured questionnaires.

During the anthropological fieldwork, meetings/encounters with a total of 133 people were documented (73 in Tel Aviv and 60 in Haifa), including local residents, commuters, public and private transportation users, business owners, and passers-by. The communication between the anthropologist and each of the locals was initiated through spontaneous conversations, which in many cases eventually transformed into in-depth interviews. Thirty-one subjects also drew mental maps.

During the anthropological fieldwork, the mental mapping tool was employed together with in-depth interviews, in addition to other tools, i.e., observations and spontaneous conversations. Mental maps were used as a cognitive tool to expose locals' spatial activities, outlooks, and perceptions regarding environmental and planning matters on the agenda. The mental map specification included a request

for a drawing or illustration of the community environment as perceived by the interviewee. The map functioned as a focal point of the extensive, open, in-depth interview, wherein the interviewee explained the map in detail, including how the integrative characteristics of map elements related to the entire space depicted and how it reflected both environmental issues and desired environmental modifications. The mental maps constituted an excellent catalyst for the extraction of local knowledge and thus enhanced the fieldwork. A total of 31 mental maps were drawn by locals during the anthropological research (18 in the Shlavim Artery case and 13 in the Range Artery case), yielding significant research information (see Sect. 7.6).

At this stage, the researcher conducted a comparison between the local knowledge that emerged from the participatory processes and the local knowledge exposed during the anthropological field study. The local knowledge emerged during the anthropological fieldwork served as a significant component of this research and passed the comparison test, both in terms of the local knowledge exposed and documented in the participation processes report and with respect to participants' opinions that emerged in the interviews.

The objective was to examine whether local knowledge was exposed during the planning process and whether the participants' opinions were addressed in the public participation process and in the planning deliverable. These aspects were analyzed using the report and the materials documenting the planning and public participation processes, as well as the testimony of the planners and the participating public.

Upon completion of the field studies and the anthropological studies, the researcher conducted a comparison between unilateral public participation procedures and collaborative participation procedures. The comparison was based on variables that evaluated the local knowledge exposure process and the incorporation of local knowledge into plans.

The comparison was conducted on a number of levels: facilitator and stakeholder identities; motivators of public participation; the nature of the interaction among the participants and between participants and facilitators; interaction among stakeholders; public representation and level of involvement; public trust and confidence in planning authorities; the sense of participants that they were indeed involved; process methodology and procedural mode; procedures and tools used to extract and process local knowledge; the types and layers of local knowledge revealed and those that may have remained hidden; differences between local knowledge exposed in the participatory processes and that exposed in the anthropological research; the dialectic between local knowledge and professional knowledge; amassing of operative planning knowledge; processing of the local knowledge and obtaining public participation deliverables; incorporation of participatory deliverables into the planning process; incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables; promotion of consensus among participants regarding a planning alternative; the gap between the knowledge exposed in the participatory process and its expression in the plans; the gap between participants' desires as expressed in the interviews and their respective manifestations in the planning

deliverables; and communities and individuals excluded from the participatory processes.

The comparison of the various public participation methods revealed variables and elements that affect the process of gathering planning knowledge during the planning process and the abiity of the various participation methods to incorporate local knowledge into planning deliverables. Exposing the mechanisms of the various participation methods in the wake of the findings that emerged in the geographical arenas of the specific case studies allows broader theoretical structuring, which in turn enables the evaluation of any participation processes in and of themselves/on their own merits. The findings that emerged from the field studies of the two geographical arenas of the selected planning case studies reveal qualitative categories that reflect the quality of knowledge emerging from the planning process, based on which we can study other test cases in addition to those in this study's sample.

In the final phase of the study, the researcher conducted interpretive integration of the research deliverables for the purpose of drawing conclusions and making recommendations, as well as to answer the research questions and address the objectives and purpose of the research.

Chapter 5
Test Case: The Planning Process of Haifa's [Carmel] Range Artery

5.1 Introduction

The case study presented in this paper is the planning process of the Range Artery in Haifa, Israel's third largest city. Two methods of public participation were used simultaneously, i.e., unidirectional public participation process was conducted by the city as collaborative process was initiated and conducted by not-for-profit organizations and citizen coalitions.

Topographically, Haifa can be divided into three main districts: the Mediterranean coast to the west; the bay to the north; and the Carmel Range stretching from north to south and reaching an altitude of 400 m (see Map 5.1).

The Range Artery is a winding thoroughfare approximately 4.5 km long that stretches along the Carmel range and comprises three successive segments: Horev, Moriah, and HaNassì. It connects the mountainous Carmel neighborhoods with each other and with Carmel Center, a recreational, commercial, business, and tourism district that sprawls across parts of Moriah and HaNassi Boulevards and contains shops, restaurants, hotels, offices, public venues including an auditorium, and access to the popular Louis Promenade and lookouts over Haifa Bay (see Map 5.2).

The only high-rises along the Range Artery are two hotels in Carmel Center. At a height of 300 m, these hotels offer breathtaking views of both Haifa Bay to the west and the hills of the Galilee to the east. With the exception of these towers, the Carmel district neighborhoods are characterized by low-density, low-rise (3–6 stories) residences built on the inclines of the mountain's extensions among woods and natural copses that lend the area a pastoral character.

A collaborative public participation process was initiated in 1997 as a response of artery residents to emerging plans for high-rises around Carmel Center, at several sites near Moriah Street. These collaborative processes resumed in 2006 following implications derived from changes in the street's character and use as it became more commercial and active.
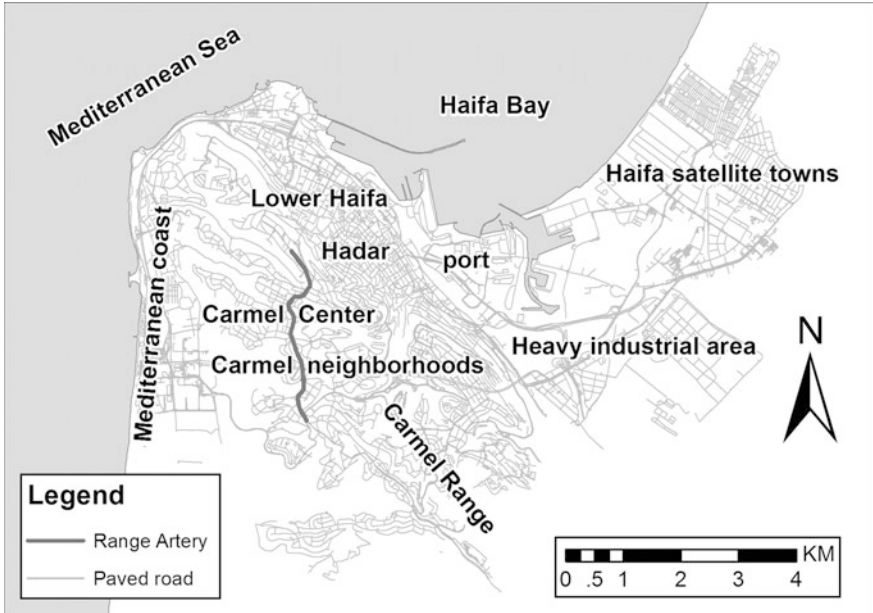
Map 5.1 Metropolitan Haifa. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)
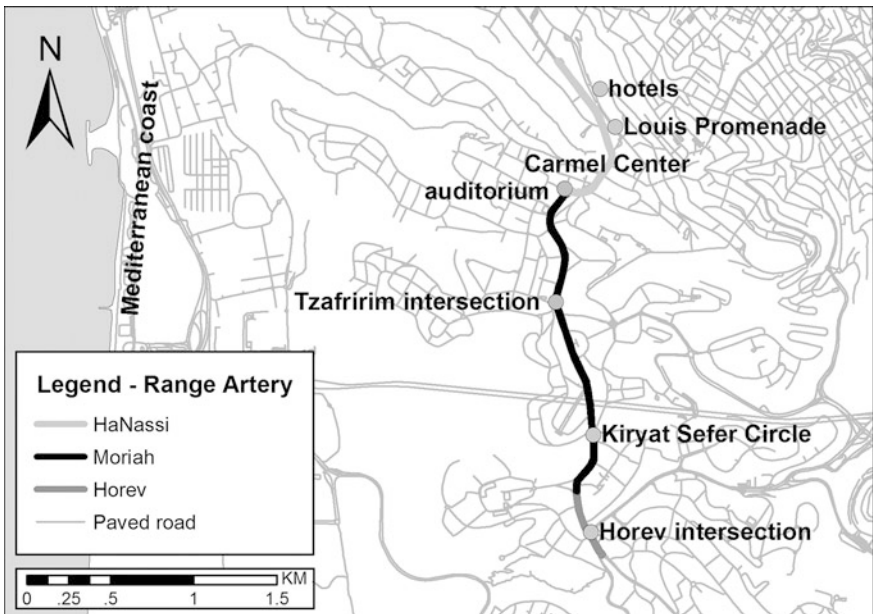
Map 5.2 Haifa's [Carmel] Range Artery. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)

Also in 2006, the city began drafting its master plan and initiated a unidirectional public participation process comprising three sequential procedures: first, a notice with a short structured questionnaire designed to elicit Criteria Prioritization was sent to households and businesses and was available on the city's website for residents to complete; second, a SWOT analysis was conducted by public representatives; and third, using the Alternatives Selection procedure, residents were invited to prioritize various options for Moriah Street that had been prepared by the city in advance.

5.2 Collaborative Public Participation

5.2.1 Haifa's Environmental Traumas

Three environmental traumas hit Haifa at the end of the 20th century. First, air pollution caused by heavy industry in the bay led to a broad public awakening at the end of the 1980s. Second, in the mid-1990s, outsized residential high-rises and hotels built on the coast became a symbol of the struggle to preserve Israel's coastline. During the same period, a third trauma occurred when it emerged that developers sought to build 40-story high-rises in Carmel Center, which spurred the founding of the Public Forum for the Carmel (PFC) in 1997. PFC is an umbrella organization of several non-profits and neighborhood committees whose main activity is the opposition of high-rise construction that may negatively affect their members. Professionals in planning and architecture were joined by high-tech personnel, property owners, shipping company owners, attorneys, and others, all of whom are Carmel residents.

5.2.2 Oranìm ["Pines"] Tower

The first project discussed among the PFC members was Oranim Tower on Moriah Street in Carmel Center (see Map 5.2, p. 46). Oranim's plans called for a 25-story tower on top of an ancient six-story structure slated for preservation. Oranim would eventually reach 100 m and include three levels of underground parking. The plan called for 400% saturation and contradicted an existing zoning ordinance that allowed only 66% saturation of 3- to 4-story pillared buildings (i.e., over a pillared entry).

An interview with a city planner and an architect (*October 22, 2012*) who were key PFC activists indicated that then-Mayor Amram Mitzna had tried to "wake up" Haifa in the 1990s by removing obstacles to the availability of land, thereby fast-tracking developers and allowing them to 'land grab'. The Oranim plan (zoning

plan no. 1589) entered statutory proceedings, and in 2002, the District Planning Board[1] approved construction of up to 20 stories and deposited[2] the plan for citizen objections.

The entrustment was rescinded following a petition submitted by the PFC and the Nature Protection Society that detailed the hazards created by the plan: an additional 800–1000 cars would travel on roads that already carried heavy traffic, which would necessitate widening of the roads at the expense of peoples' front yards, storefronts, trees, parks, and sidewalks, thereby ruining one of the Carmel's most charming neighborhoods, whose uniqueness was recognized by the city in the 1967 master plan (*zoning plan no. 1400*) and in the Carmel Landscape Plan (*zoning plan no. 2022*) as having preservation-worthy environmental value. In addition, the tower would cast a 100-meter-long shadow, causing many residences to be dark for inordinately long periods of the day; noise and air pollution would increase to a level commensurate with the added traffic congestion and air conditioners; the wind would blow harder due to climatological changes that accompany high-rise construction; and parking would become scarce, as would utilities, schools, and parks.

Opposition to Oranim was expressed by professionals, which led to a collaborative process involving extended discussions among residents and experts conducted in parlor meetings and via telephone. In addition, resident meetings were held in public venues, as were street protests.

PFC members did not stop after the collection and presentation of knowledge to the District Planning Board. Instead, they formed a lobby that pressured the developer and insisted on a face-to-face meeting. The encounter took place in a local auditorium rented for the purpose, which the developer viewed as an opportunity to market his project and thus presented his plan to the audience. Upon seeing that the hundreds of attendees were unresponsive to his efforts, he realized that he was not speaking to potential buyers but rather to opponents of his project.

This unmediated encounter between two stakeholders—a developer and residents—enabled residents to express their position unambiguously. The PFC tactic was to use local knowledge, both in the form of raw emotional opposition to the developer and in the form of processed professional knowledge presented to the District Planning Board as a formal petition. The cooperation generated in opposition to the Oranim plan was the result of interaction among residents and various other stakeholders, i.e., the developer and experts. This encounter presents a stark contrast to unilateral public participation processes initiated by authorities, which are characterized by the absence of ongoing, fruitful interactions among residents and between residents and other stakeholders.

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[1]Israel's planning boards were formed pursuant to the Building and Planning Law of 1965 and are composed of representatives of government agencies, local jurisdictions, planning and building experts, and lay citizens. The boards are organized in a planning hierarchy that includes the National Planning Board, District Planning Boards, and Local Planning Boards.

[2]A plan is deposited by decision of the District Planning Board for a period of 60 or 90 days (the *pending/deposit stage*), during which the public can formally oppose the plan pursuant to the Building and Planning Law of 1965.

In addition to the Oranim plan, a number of other high-rise plans for Carmel Center were in the offing, but not a single one was approved. During these events, the city was required to submit to the District Planning Board a comprehensive policy document for high-rise construction in Carmel Center. PFC requests that residents be allowed to help draft the document were rejected by the city, which claimed that the document must be drafted by experts. In response, several non-profits, including the PFC and the Nature Protection Society, began collaborating to draft their own policy document, with the goal of finishing it quickly, before the city could present its document.

Throughout 2001, the citizen coalition held both resident-only meetings and meetings of residents with architects, city and landscape planners, civil and transportation engineers, sociologists, and policy and preservation experts. Professionals, particularly those who resided on the Carmel, were the main activists, and in November 2001, the Carmel Range Artery and Carmel Center Planning Policy Document was published, led by urban planner Prof. Pnina Plaut, architect Pe'era Goldman, and engineer Tomah Ronen (*an interview with Pnina Plaut and Pe'era Goldman was conducted on October 16, 2012*).

In addition, the coalition raised ₪10,000 (New Israeli Shekel) to draft, publish, and distribute the document to the city engineering authority and key personnel in the local government and community. Using text and graphics, the document presented the plan that was formulated during an intensive process of public collaboration, wherein local knowledge was exposed in deliberative discussions and whose objective was to address the maximum number of desires, claims, and needs expressed by residents. The main issues related to high-rise construction and its environmental implications. The document declared that such construction negatively impacts the landscape and portions of the mountain range; alters the serene nature of the city; causes crowding; and increases traffic congestion. A simulated image accompanying the document showed the Carmel Center area with the proposed towers, making the catastrophe that would be caused by the plan's approval palpable to readers of the document.

The citizen policy document depicted the over-the-top nature of the range artery along its entire length (4.5 km) if plans were approved and showed the impact of an alternative plan, one with a maximum building height of six stories and 22 m, which would allow the addition of more residential units than the Oranim plan offered while preserving the Carmel's tranquil physical texture and uniform skyline (see Simulation 5.1, p. 50). The citizen plan permitted ground floor, street-level commercial activity that would stimulate business along the artery's length, whereas its distribution of building additions would mitigate traffic congestion and enable the use of open areas to add public institutions such as schools, which were needed in light of the area's growing population.

The citizen plan also called for the establishment of a bus rapid transit route to ensure convenient cross-Carmel travel that did not depend on a car (see Simulation 5.2, p. 50). In addition, it proposed a large supply of housing units appropriate for a varied demographic, with varied plans and price points. Criteria were formulated for determining building heights commensurate with street width

Simulation 5.1 Alternative plan for residential buildings along the Range Artery. *Source* Policy plan for developing Carmel Center and the Carmel Range Artery, by urban planner Prof. Pnina Plaut, architect Pe'era Goldman, and engineer Tomah Ronen, November 2001

Simulation 5.2 Alternative plan for bus rapid transit route along the Range Artery. *Source* Policy plan for developing Carmel Center and the Carmel Range Artery, by urban planner Prof. Pnina Plaut, architect Pe'era Goldman, and engineer Tomah Ronen, November 2001

that would permit sunlight exposure and air flow both indoors and in areas surrounding construction sites, ensuring a minimum of 4 h per day of sunlight in mid-winter while preserving the Carmel landscape and sense of space.

The citizen proposal offers a busy street with many services that is supported by public transportation and offers increasing equality of (supervised) construction privileges while preserving the Carmel's pastoral character. Architect Goldman explained as follows (*Interview, October 16, 2012*): "At the foundation of our proposal lay the principles of sustainable development; public participation in planning; and comprehensive planning that takes into account social, economic, urban, transportation, and ecological issues."

Almost immediately, the city drafted its own policy document, which was based heavily on the grassroots document and even copied portions of its text and adopted its main ideas, particularly those related to the advantages of low-rise construction

and the importance of mixed use along Moriah Blvd. to improve street life. The city's document was drafted by the city engineers (*zoning plan no. 2168*), approved by the Local Planning Board, and adopted by the District Planning Board in October 2004.

The city's policy document relates specifically to Carmel Center and reiterates construction privileges that exist in most of the built-up areas and a number of support areas along Moriah Blvd. that are zoned for visitor accommodations, residences, and businesses. Maximum construction height in these support areas was set at nine stories; which was higher than that in existing plans but significantly lower than that proposed in developers' plans.

Coalition members expressed satisfaction and viewed the city document as an outcome of their activity. The limit on the number of stories ended their struggle, which had commenced in 1997 in opposition to Oranim. Furthermore, collaborative public participation enabled the exposure of local knowledge in addition to professional knowledge and presented the former in the citizens' document, parts of which were adopted by the city and incorporated into an official document that was approved by the District Planning Board.

Ultimately, certain types of local knowledge (e.g., the maximum building height) were incorporated into the planning deliverable, whereas other types (e.g., the dedicated public transportation artery) were not. In the municipal elections of 2003, Yona Yahav was elected mayor after promising not to build high-rises along the Carmel range. Yahav understood the residents' desires, and upon entering office, he ordered the suspension of all high-rise plans for Carmel Center. He still serves as mayor of Haifa.

5.2.3   The Commercialization of Moriah Boulevard

The 21st century brought accelerated commercialization along Moriah (the middle segment of the Range Artery, see Map 5.2, p. 46), transforming it from a quiet residential area where only indoor professional offices were permitted to a 24/7 mixed-use entertainment zone bursting with cafés, restaurants, pubs, and clubs, as well as boutiques. Moriah's commercialization was encouraged by the city through the issuance of variance permits that contradicted then-existing city construction plans. Because the commercialization had far-reaching implications for residents' quality of life, particularly for those living either on Moriah or on adjacent streets, residents began grumbling. Their main complaints concerned increased traffic congestion and its associated problems, namely, traffic jams, pollution, and lack of parking.

Interviews with residents (*Dec 2012 and January 2013*) who had participated in the collaborative process revealed that club patrons were using unauthorized parking and parking illegally all along Moriah and its adjacent streets, blocking residents' entranceways and cars. Moreover, the city and police were not enforcing the laws, even when explicitly asked to do so by residents. Businesses along the

length of Moriah were in violation of municipal ordinances governing opening hours, noise, odor, and debris. PFC activist Hadara Ben-Yosef added (*Dec. 10, 2012*) that the high concentration of leisure establishments resulted in drunkenness, with inebriated patrons damaging residents' cars, shouting, and defecating and urinating in yards and stairwells, causing passers-by and residents to feel unsafe.

One member of an online social network that evolved as part of the collaboration wrote: "I live next to Moriah. Life here is unbearable. I can't sleep at night, and there's no parking. It's not just the noise of the business establishments but also of their patrons. All of the businesses along Moriah are unlawful; even those that are licensed were issued licenses in contravention of the law. They [the city] say they're going to issue licenses, but they ignore the fact that you can't live here. Mayor Yahav says we need to come to terms with it and that we need to come to some sort of agreement with the cocky pub owners who are constantly crowing in our faces. Even if we did come to an agreement, what about their patrons? Are we supposed to negotiate with every patron?" (*The Marker Café online forum on* "*the tragedy of Moriah artery*"*, posted 06/10/2008*). This resident's rhetorical questions reflect the helplessness felt by residents, who felt that the city had abandoned them, no longer concerned about their needs or the environmental nuisances making their lives miserable.

The residents' main complaints centered on the decrease in property values following Moriah's commercialization. In response to residents' complaints, the city lowered the residential property tax on Moriah to compensate residents for the nuisances, but this was not a genuine solution to their troubles. Nonetheless, the tax reduction was a gain achieved by the collaborative process, which had brought political pressure to bear on the city. Despite this victory, residents claimed that the reduction in their property taxes was not truly a burden on the city because the city was collecting higher taxes from the entertainment venues. Residents further claimed that compensation was not the only technique used by the city to pacify them; city employees were heard to frame the development of Moriah as a strategy for preventing the flight of young people, for whom Moriah had become the main stomping grounds.

However, scare tactics warning of the flight of young people out of Haifa were unsuccessful, according to collaboration participants. It appears that the collaborative process creates dialog not only among residents but also between residents and experts and between residents and city hall. This finding is based on testimony regarding the participation of city hall in public debates, both through tangible acts, such as monetary compensation, and through verbal feedback, including justification. That is, the collaborative process succeeded in creating a social network that was extensive enough to stimulate a resonant public dialog that prompted the city to respond to complaints coming out of "the trenches". The power of the collaborative method was revealed by its ability to harness the city as a stakeholder that took part in the public debate on the commercialization of the Range Artery.

In the midst of this heated debate, a proposal for a long-term, far-reaching solution was formulated: the promotion of alternative leisure venues throughout the city—for example, in Lower Haifa (downtown, see Map 5.1, p. 46)—such that, in

time, these areas would become Haifa's main leisure districts, thereby diverting the patron load away from the Carmel and solving the Moriah problem. The city invested huge sums to develop Lower Haifa, the unchallenged entertainment hub, with its abundant parking, few residents, and central business district that is busy during the day but empty at night.

Nonetheless, some residents claimed that instead of offering incentives to leisure business owners to move to Lower Haifa, the city was encouraging them to remain on Moriah by failing to enforce municipal ordinances, which allowed illegal construction to continue with impunity. Contradictory planning activity on the part of the city was inconsistent with a clear planning strategy and provoked the debate on matters concerning the Range Artery. Thus, it appears that although exposing the distress of the Carmel residents motivated the city to react, the city's contradictory planning measures spurred the residents to counter-react, thereby creating an ongoing interface between local knowledge and statutory-planning knowledge.

In 2006, the PFC exposed a city-backed document that granted automatic legitimacy to all leisure venues along Moriah between the Kiryát Sèfer and Horev traffic circles (see Map 5.2, p. 46). It emerged that the city had approved the document on a local level, completely ignoring the PFC's claims. The city's plan was rejected at the District Planning Board level, requiring the city to issue a separate permit to each individual business. During the hearings before the District Planning Board, demonstrations against Moriah's commercialization took place on the street outside. In addition, in September 2007, the PFC sent letters to the Local Planning Board and the District Planning Board declaring, among other things, that the residents had not been given the opportunity to submit any formal opposition to the city's policy and that the plan did not obligate the city to consider public opposition.

The letter also alleged that not only did the city oppose public involvement in the decision-making process, its policy of encouraging new businesses on Moriah severely compromised residents' quality of life, causing the quality population to leave Moriah, which in turn was causing the area to deteriorate rather than revitalize. The letter demanded increased enforcement against illegal construction and a firm commitment by the mayor to issue a demolition order within seven days of receiving any report of illegal construction.

To develop an intelligent plan to increase parking, the city was required to conduct a comprehensive survey to study parking along the Range Artery, counting the number of available spaces and the number of needed spaces around the clock. The District Planning Board was convinced of the legitimacy of residents' claims and demanded that the city draft a policy document to codify the relationship between business owners and residents on Moriah and neighboring streets and to establish principles for developing the area. The residents asked the city to involve them in drafting the document to ensure that their positions were incorporated therein, but the city rejected their request. Consequently, the document drafted by the city disregarded local knowledge and resolved that all businesses would be issued retroactive permits.

Meanwhile, the District Planning Board ruled that the existence of a development policy for the Range Artery was a precondition for a hearing on a privilege

and variance plan therefor. In response, the city backpedaled and drafted a Range Artery policy document (*zoning plan no. 2270*) that was approved by the Local Planning Board at a February 6, 2007 meeting. On September 25, 2007, the District Planning Board partially adopted this policy document, subject to significant restrictions and conditions ("*Minutes no. 2007017*"). Specifically, the District Planning Board rejected retroactive business licensing, declaring that a policy document cannot make permissible uses that are not permitted by law. The board rescinded all mentions of retroactive licensing of existing structures and uses, meaning that no illegally operating business or leisure establishment along the artery could be collectively licensed if it did not meet the applicable standards and provide parking for its patrons.

In addition, the parking fees paid by businesses in exchange for exemptions from parking regulations were declared illegal by the District Planning Board on the grounds that the city had no plans (to use that money) to construct public parking. For the purpose of increasing parking, the Local Planning Board was authorized to approve parking that exceeded requirements, to condition any construction privileges upon the business contributing to a fund for public needs, and to give preference to projects with public parking that exceeded requirements.

Regarding zoning plans, the main land use was declared to be residential. To protect residential areas along the artery and separate them from leisure venues, the delineation of segments separated by nodes was recommended. Traffic circles and main intersections along the artery were designated as nodes, and the areas between nodes were designated as segments. Intensive development and varied use, including retail and eating establishments, would be allowed exclusively at existing nodes along the artery, (*i.e., Carmel Center, Tzafrirìm Circle, Kiryát Sèfer Circle, and Horev*—see Map 5.2, p. 46). Only residences and offices with building heights of 6–9 stories would be allowed within the segments. Taller buildings would be permitted within the nodes on an individual basis.

The policy document appeared to codify smart development along the Range Artery by finding a balance between residents' demands and the city's need to grow. However, a number of residents' demands were not addressed, including one demand for an increased police presence to tackle ongoing violations of city ordinances. In other words, although local knowledge regarding major issues were incorporated into the statutory system, certain items of local knowledge related to smaller issues were not.

To conclude, the case of the commercialization of Moriah shows exemplifies a successful collaborative public cooperation process characterized by dialog among residents and between residents and the government; the exposure of local knowledge; and the formulation of operative recommendations and demands, some of which were adopted by the District Planning Board. Thus, in addition to uncovering local knowledge, the collaborative process enabled the formulation and integration of a statutory planning decision-making process. For example, an effort was made to separate residences from entertainment and leisure establishments by means of changes to the land use mix along the artery. In addition, clear directives for increasing parking were issued.

Using a public collaborative participation process, local knowledge was successfully incorporated into the planning deliverable despite repeated rejections by the city of appeals from environmental groups to conduct a formal public participation process. Moreover, the role of the District Planning Board both in curbing the city's planning "policy" and as an advocate for the residents' needs is notable. Whereas the decisions of the Local Planning Board reflected the narrow interests of the city, decisions of the District Planning Board manifested concern for the welfare of residents of the Range Artery and Carmel. The District Planning Board thus brokered a compromise between the city's unilateral policy and residents' needs by creating a "menu" of statutory solutions that appropriately addressed the local knowledge exposed during the collaborative cooperation process.

5.2.4   Kiryát Sèfer Tower

Although Mayor Yahav declared upon taking office in 2003 that no high-rises would be built on the Carmel, on November 9, 2009, the Local Planning Council, headed by the mayor, approved an 80-meter, 22-story tower at Kiryát Sèfer Circle (*a designated node,* see Map 5.2, p. 46). Plans for the tower included 55 residential units and a 100-space parking lot, adjacent to which buildings of only six stories were permitted (*zoning plan no. 2158*). The contractor had presented two options to the committee, the 22-story option and a 13-story option, and had managed to convince the Local Planning Board to choose the taller of the two, so that when the District Planning Board rejected this plan, as it was almost certain to do, it would permit the lower-rise structure to be built.

It appears that the developers knew the planning mechanisms well and "played them" in a sophisticated fashion. Approval at the local level brought with it broad protests from both planners and residents. One PFC member said (*January 4, 2013*), "When Yahav was elected mayor in 2003, I was pleased and believed that it meant an end to the reign of the developers who had been coddled by Mitzna, but unfortunately I notice that Yahav doesn't fall far from Mitzna in regard to developers, and perhaps even exceeds him." The open collaboration between the city and developers made residents feel that they had been duped and thus appeared to challenge this collaboration. This situation motivated residents to join a social network formed as part of collaborative public participation process as a means of taking part in the "knowledge front" and participating in the residents' fight for their rights.

One flier announced, "No to high-rises in Kiryat Sefer! This is your home, our home, all of our homes!—[signed] the Committee to Save the Carmel Artery and Achuza[3] zir.moria@gmail.com—Pass it on!" A popular petition site announced, "Carmel Artery and Achuza residents, and all Haifaites who care about life and the

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[3]A Carmel neighborhood.

environment in their city, call upon the mayor and City Hall to immediately stop work on the building plans for the artery and Kiryat Sefer and provide all reliable and accurate information regarding these plans to us so that we can begin a genuine process of public participation in planning our surroundings!" (*Atzuma online, posted 29.12.2010*).

Twice during 2010, the PFC organized demonstrations outside Local Planning Board meetings convened to discuss the Kiryát Sèfer Tower plan. Before the District Planning Board met to discuss this issue on June 15, 2011, the residents, with the help of the PFC, prepared a position paper in which they asserted that Kiryát Sèfer Tower was at extreme variance from its surroundings and constituted a dangerous precedent. Accompanying the paper was a professional assessment that recommended against building at those heights on the Range Artery because of catastrophic implications for the environment and transportation; an argument was also made that grant of construction privileges in this location would expand the built-up area and cause runoff problems along the Carmel watershed line.

One resident, an expert in contamination and toxicity, explained (*Dec. 3, 2012*) that high-rise buildings would cause a narrower dispersion of air pollutants produced by traffic congestion, increasing health hazards to residents. In addition, the tower was declared to be beyond the financial reach of young people, whom it was so important to attract to the city. A claim was also made regarding the erosion of public space in favor of private enterprise because the plan included the annexation of public space. In addition to the position paper, a petition was distributed, claiming that the plan's data were not shown to residents and that no one asked the public for its opinion about the implications of the planned tower. In other words, the petition challenged the lack of transparency and the exclusion of the public from the planning process.

At the District Planning Board meeting of June 9, 2012, the floor was turned over to a PFC member who was also a representative of the opposition in the City Council. Inviting members of the public to speak shows the desire of the District Planning Board to expose local knowledge and to take into account the needs and opinions of the public. Thus, the board approved the permit for the 13-story option (including two commercial stories) on top of a 100-space parking lot. The site of the plan was in an area defined in the 2007 policy document as a locus of building privileges, as well as an area slated for landmarks wherein buildings over nine stories were permitted. Despite all of its drawbacks and negative implications, the plan did offer more parking, thus addressing residents' parking complaints.

Notably, the residents and City Hall were now dependent upon a single developer who, in exchange for large building quotas, agreed to build a parking lot that would benefit the public. This case confirms that no public means were being diverted to address planning issues such as parking. Thus, a situation was created wherein to obtain a parking lot, the public had to compromise on high-rise construction, with all of its catastrophic implications. In other words, to incorporate one type of local knowledge into a plan, the public was compelled to forfeit the incorporation of another type.

Like the cases of Oranim and the commercialization of Moriah, the Kiryát Sèfer Tower case entailed the exposure of local knowledge through a deliberative procedure, the consolidation of that knowledge by means of expert knowledge to enable planning understandings, and the presentation of processed local knowledge to the District Planning Board. Thus, the board was able to address the public's desires and knowledge, which led to the board's demand for a compromise on the part of the city and the developer. In this sense, the District Planning Board acted as a bridge between the locals on one side and city hall and the developer on the other.

5.3 Unilateral Public Participation

5.3.1 Introduction

In 2006, Haifa began drafting its master plan, and in 2010 and 2012, the District Planning Board decided to push the plan through based on the objectives formulated therein. Planning of the Range Artery was one of seven topics included in the Haifa master plan. The drafting of the plan was accompanied by a unilateral public participation process initiated by the city, during which three procedures were conducted by a city-hired facilitator:

1. A letter was sent to residents containing a structured question on the prioritization of citywide planning issues, as per the Criteria Prioritization technique.
2. A meeting with residents was organized to explore the strengths and weaknesses of the city's various districts (e.g., Carmel), as per the SWOT model.
3. A meeting with residents was organized to select a planning alternative, as per the Alternatives Selection technique.

5.3.2 Criteria Prioritization via the Letter

In September 2006, a letter was sent to 130,000 Haifa households and businesses asking recipients to choose three issues (from a list of 15) that should be addressed in an urgent manner. The letter was also published on the city's website, where it could be answered online. A total of 2796 replies were received, over half of which came from the Carmel district (Har-Lev 2009). The top three issues selected for urgent handling were rehabilitation of the bay; economic growth; and safe, smooth traffic flow. In addition, some recipients used the blank space in the letter to add one or two issues that were not listed by the city but nonetheless required urgent handling; the issues most frequently noted in this manner related to environmental utilities and quality. Although the options listed by the city for handling were relevant, there was no opportunity for residents to state their reasons or motivations for choosing a particular issue.

Although unilateral participation via letter enabled residents to choose issues for handling, it did not allow residents to expand on their choices, unlike an open questionnaire, in-depth interview, or deliberative discussion. Collaborative cooperation is based on an ongoing, open dialog that enables residents to raise various aspects of an issue, present problems related thereto, analyze the causes of the problem, and propose solutions. Thus, the deliberative method enables exposure of a vast pool of local knowledge that is more comprehensible and reliable (elucidated and adequate) than a reply to a letter. For example, the issue of environmental quality was broadly discussed at collaborative procedures by both locals and professionals, who described the expected impact of high-rise construction and the resultant increase in motorization level, traffic congestion, and particulate air pollution dispersion; the impact of the construction on the Carmel main watershed line was also discussed. Moreover, in contrast to the letter, the deliberation generated solutions to the above-mentioned environmental problems, which were presented in position papers and alternative programs.

In the letter, 'traffic' referred to traffic congestion at a citywide level not a neighborhood level. In contrast, the collaborative public participation process exposed local knowledge of traffic congestion that included information on specific, unique, local nuisances related to both traffic and parking, such as the inordinately heavy congestion at the Horev intersection, along Moriah, and parking vehicles in a way that blocks the entrances to stores and buildings due to a lack of parking. It is reasonable to assume that if the list generated by the city had included a "parking" option, many Carmel residents would have selected this issue as urgently needing attention. Although it is likely that many Carmel residents used the blank space in the letter to add parking to the list, this issue did not appear on the final list for statistical reasons.

During the collaborative process, residents described incidents wherein patrons exiting bars on Moriah committed violent acts, such as deliberately shattering beer bottles on the sidewalk, urinating and defecating in gardens, and intentionally setting off car alarms. However, the issue of street violence did not appear on the list of issues provided in the letter, due to a lack of awareness by the letter's author of the importance of this issue to residents.

The letter was composed and distributed unilaterally, meaning that the issues listed therein were chosen without first consulting the residents. Consequently, issues such as street violence, parking, and high-rise construction were omitted. Thus, the use of unilateral participation is likely to fail to expose certain types of local knowledge. The collaborative method is relatively superior in this regard because deliberative procedures stimulate participants to expose local knowledge freely, unconstrained by advance instructions. This enables participants not only to express preferences and ideas regarding the issue but also to provide detailed and information-rich local knowledge.

Because the collaborative method of public participation is based on ongoing interaction between individuals and communities over time, it enables the broad exposure of types of local knowledge that relate to unique, locale-specific circumstances, including environmental problems and the complexities thereof. The

advantage of collaborative participation lies in its ability to retrieve many types of detailed local knowledge that more accurately reflect the reality of residents' everyday lives. In contrast, unilateral public participation exposes local knowledge that is scant, superficial, and lacking in informative details.

Collaborative participation tends to retrieve hidden knowledge, individual items, local cases, idiosyncrasies, and heretofore-concealed incidents from the deeper level of the local knowledge system. The differences between the types of local knowledge exposed via each method are closely tied to the various characteristics of public participation tools: Whereas the letter contained a single, closed, short, one-time "canned" question, collaborative participation stimulated a torrent of local knowledge over time and through intimate and empathetic interactions and deliberations.

5.3.3   The SWOT Model

To conduct the other two participation procedures—SWOT and Alternatives Selection—two committees were formed to represent the public at participation meetings. One committee comprised an inter-neighborhood group of 40 residents and activists and 40 neighborhood committee representatives; the other was an inter-sectoral committee of 30 representatives of various sectors, such as industry, vendors, academics, youth, immigrants, students, educators, and health and environmental protection groups (Har-Lev 2009). Each committee attended separate public participation meetings in January and February 2007 (see Pictures 5.1 and 5.2), during which the SWOT model was activated as part of the preparatory, preliminary phase of the master plan, aiming to prompt an analysis of the current situation.

Picture 5.1 Public participation meeting in January 29, 2007—the participants. *Source* Modus, Ltd. on behalf of the City of Haifa (Haifa, January 29, 2007)

Picture 5.2 Public
participation meeting in
January 29, 2007—the
facilitators. *Source* Modus,
Ltd. on behalf of the City of
Haifa (Haifa, January 29,
2007)

The participants were asked to list the strengths and weaknesses of Haifa's various districts. Regarding the Carmel, strengths and opportunities mentioned by participants included the view of the Mediterranean; a green city; a pretty Carmel with special natural features; a special, pretty city; quality of life; abundant trees and greenery; a city that's fun to live in; nightlife and a plethora of cafes; quieter than Tel Aviv. Participants also identified weaknesses and threats: lack of new utilities; air pollution; lack of uniformity along the Range Artery; skyscrapers that ruin the skyline; the volume of above-ground transportation; dense construction; high-rise construction that disrupts the view and blocks light; multiple environmental nuisances; lack of contiguous entertainment districts; lack of safety at night; traffic congestion; lack of public transportation; lack of parking; lack of law enforcement; lack of environmental protection; flawed communication between the city and the residents; the deterioration of Hadár (a district at mid-elevation between Carmel Range and Lower Haifa—see Map 5.1, p. 46) and Lower Haifa; and damage to the Carmel Range.

The above statements regarding weaknesses and threats are brief and provide information that is so scant and general that it can scarcely be addressed on a professional planning level. It is neither well defined nor locale- or case-specific. For example, it is not possible to address "lack of new utilities" because this statement fails to identify a specific locale or a particular utility, such as roads, public transportation, or water. Moreover, the SWOT method yielded no explanation for the causes of the cited weaknesses, making it impossible to link one weakness to another; instead, the cited weaknesses and threats constituted no more than a "grocery list". Thus, for example, we cannot conclude that "volume of above-ground transportation" is due to the plethora of leisure venues along Moriah, whereas this relation was exposed during the collaborative participation.

By the same token, although participants mentioned "lack of personal safety at night" and "lack of law enforcement", nothing was mentioned regarding the reasons for such problems. The failure to enforce ordinances was not cited, nor did anyone

make the logical link between the two. In contrast, in the collaborative participation process, residents cited the lack of law enforcement as the cause of the perceived lack of safety because the late closing of the leisure venues contributed to the rowdiness of drunken patrons and street crime. Compared to unilateral participation, collaboration exposes meaningful local knowledge regarding the context of problems and situations in the city, as well as detailed information about their causes, significance, and environmental implications.

Another difference between unilateral participation and collaborative participation is that in the latter, the continued participation of professionals in the discussions enables and stimulates the accumulation of operative knowledge and the formulation of a planning alternative. In contrast, unilateral procedures do not enable productive, deliberative interaction between residents and professionals; as a result, only raw individual knowledge that lacks operative planning recommendations is obtained. For example, an individual who attended the SWOT meeting described a weakness of the Carmel neighborhoods in a short statement: "high-rise construction that disrupts the view". This brief sentence contains knowledge that is neither sufficiently expert nor operative to elucidate the problem and its solutions. In contrast, the policy documents for the development of Carmel Center and the Range Artery, which were the products of collaborative participation, intelligently elaborate and explain all of the implications of high-rise construction such as the Oranim and Kiryát Sèfer Towers.

Moreover, in the collaborative process that evolved around Oranim, an alternative plan was obtained based on planning knowledge garnered through dialog between residents and experts and through a combination of local knowledge and professional knowledge. Whereas in the SWOT procedure no participant indicated what height would be considered a "high rise", professionals in the collaborative process concluded based on technical and architectural considerations that a building greater than 22 m would cause ecological disruption and block light and views, in addition to diminishing the sense of place, thereby validating and quantifying local knowledge.

In addition, it is frequently difficult to understand the relationship between parts of sentences uttered by SWOT participants. For example, one resident identified a threat as follows: "deteriorating Hadár [district] and Lower Haifa; and damage to the Carmel Range". This sentence is unexplained, leaving a sense of mystery regarding the reasons why these three parts of the city are in a state of collapse. In contrast, the knowledge consolidated in the public discourse that evolved throughout the collaborative process explained the speaker's intended meaning: Hadar and Lower Haifa are deteriorating because they are failing to attract business and leisure establishments despite efforts and investment by the city; the status of the Range Artery as a leisure magnet is having a negative impact on the quality of life on the Carmel. In sum, unlike unilateral participation, collaborative participation enables a collective accumulation of solid local knowledge that explains urban spatial dynamics.

5.3.4 Alternatives Selection: Choosing Between Planning Alternatives

A widely attended meeting of the citizen coalitions and members of various sectors was held at city hall on June 17, 2009, signifying the final phase of the public participation process of selecting the new Haifa master plan. 120 committee members were in attendance to give feedback on the various planning options (Har-Lev 2009). The question directed at the attendees regarding the Range Artery was worded thusly: "How shall we develop the Carmel Range Artery in the relevant stretch between Horev and Carmel Center? As a busy yet pedestrian-friendly street? Or inter alia as a traffic thoroughfare?" The professional team representing the city presented the advantages and disadvantages of the two options. Regarding the "street" option, it was stated that although the street would be lively, there would be heavy traffic congestion, whereas the "thoroughfare" option would allow traffic to flow smoothly but would necessitate widening the street at the expense of front entrances.

Attendees' responses were varied and even contradictory. For example, some attendees opposed commercialization of the artery, whereas others supported it. Some expressed a desire to choose the pedestrian-friendly street, preserve the residential character of the area and even to expand it in the face of the growing business and leisure presence; others argued that development of the artery met the needs of the young population looking for entertainment and culture. Still, all participants could not give up the traffic thoroughfare option that results in a solution to traffic distress. At the same time, few residents raised concerns with respect to the drawbacks of the car-oriented artery.

It appears that in the unilateral participation process, many claims were made, some that contradicted each other. In contrast, the collaborative process was characterized by unanimity, with opposition to the artery's commercialization constituting the collective ideological basis for participants' actions. The varied statements heard at the unilateral participation meeting reflect a range of ideologies, outlooks, and views, making the organization, interpretation, and consolidation of planning knowledge extremely difficult.

The unilateral participation procedures for choosing between planning alternatives enable participants to prioritize options and to be heard once or twice at specified and limited times. The unilateral process does not developing a discussion around the options and does not consolidate an agreement on alternative versions. In contrast, the collaborative process stimulates deliberations that provide longer and more continued exposure to participants' statements. This leads to a collaborative accumulation of planning knowledge and to the creation of planning alternatives based on broad agreement. Unilateral public participation in the form of procedures designed to allow participants to choose between planning alternatives produces an unreasoned ranking on the part of participants; at best, a list of momentary, disconnected claims is generated. In contrast, the output of collaborative participation is consolidated, operative, stable, well-argued knowledge.

Participants in the SWOT and the Alternatives Selection processes described them as follows: "It was all bullshit. There wasn't actually participation"; "Big deal. The city took a few residents, talked to them, and having performed its official duty, proceeds to do what it likes"; "There was nothing, nothing!" In addition, it was claimed that many of the invited residents did not show up and that the atmosphere at the meeting was "buttoned up", i.e., the interaction between the city representatives and the attendees was formal, neither discursive nor operative, and practical ideas were not proposed. One participant described the meeting as being similar to a class with strangers with whom you neither feel comfortable nor want to associate. In addition, participants were dissatisfied with what they determined to be lack of transparency of the professional and statutory knowledge, as well as the poor presentation.

A delegate who represented the Chamber of Commerce in the unilateral meetings said, "It's exhausting to constantly explain yourself, particularly when you know that the city bulldozers are moving, and they couldn't care less about you; most essential planning decisions are made out of the public eye, without the public's having any possibility of responding; instead the city asks the public about the marginal and insignificant, minute details".

It thus emerges not only that the unilateral tools failed to extract quality (explained and explicit) local knowledge but also that the communication and interface between the city and the attendees were not conducted in good faith, did not uncover authentic local knowledge, and did not create a mutual understanding toward the generation of solutions for environmental disputes and slated plans.

5.4   Incorporating Local Knowledge into the City Master Plan

Seven areas of Haifa were pinpointed for intervention in the city's master plan, one of which was the Range Artery (City of Haifa 2010). The master plan encouraged and enabled development of the Range Artery as a special throughway and declared mixed use by means of increased construction privileges, similar to the model codified in the policy document of 2007. The plan envisioned a mix of residences and offices along the streets, and at certain nodes (Horev, Kiryát Sèfer Circle, Tzafririm intersection, and Carmel Center—see Map 5.2, p. 46), the mix would also include businesses, eateries, leisure establishments, and visitor accommodations. Along the streets, a maximum building height of six stories was established, with specific variances of up to nine stories, whereas at the nodes, certain other variances of up to 15 stories were possible. Such variances could be permitted by the District Planning Board only.

Traffic congestion and parking problems were identified as concerns during the collaborative process, and professional solutions were presented in the plans by means of visual imaging aids. In the master plan, as in the policy documents that

preceded it, the incorporation of residents' local knowledge is notable, showing that the city made efforts to find solutions to parking distress as it increased construction quotas. Among others provisions, the plan declared that the Local Planning Board was authorized to demand a number of parking places greater than the number specified in the standard.

The residents were not the only participants who made compromises. The developer(s) accepted buildings that were half the height and number of stories originally requested; in addition, developers were obligated to add public parking. A compromise achieved in the master plan between contractors' economic needs and residents' environmental needs lessened the degree to which local knowledge was incorporated into the plan: Residents were forced to compromise on building height and skyline uniformity along Moriah and at the nodes in exchange for more parking. Developers' financial power thus strengthens their positions as key stakeholders in planning processes and compromises the incorporation of residents' local knowledge into the plan. Investments in city development from the state coffers should neutralize the developers' power, resulting in greater incorporation of local knowledge into plans.

In addition to parking, the master plan made efforts to provide spatial solutions to traffic congestion problems. Whereas the alternative plan had called for the designation of a Bus Rapid Transit route, the master plan proposed other solutions, such as a mass transit tunnel underneath the range boulevards to mitigate congestion and air pollution and a network of pedestrian and cycling routes linking the Range Artery with the mountainside and with satellite neighborhoods to reduce the use of private vehicles by locals. A city officer asserted that a dedicated high-speed public transportation route was impracticable due to the narrow width of the artery and that the substitute solutions proposed in the master plan were more feasible.

It appears that the experts working on behalf of the city made an effort to devise creative planning solutions to narrow the gap between statutory planning and the everyday realities of residents. In this regard, they rezoned certain areas to separate residential and leisure land uses; provided parking solutions included a street parking provision; and proposed transportation plans that would ease traffic congestion and decrease pollution. Note that the master plan reinforced planning objectives established in the policy documents issued in 2001, 2004, and 2007, which reflects a dualistic, compromise-based planning strategy that both takes into account local knowledge and residents' needs and protects developers' interests.

For years, Haifa mayors have made efforts to advance the development of residential towers along the Range Artery, transforming the Range Artery into a commercial and entertainment center. However, the master plan presents a more reasoned vision that takes into account the good of all interested parties by adopting a holistic view of an urban array: intensive development of a central business district in Lower Haifa; commercial, cultural, leisure, and tourism uses in new spurs along the port and in the Hadar; and moderate, intelligent development of the Range Artery. This strategy should slow the pace of commercialization of the Range Artery and thus incorporates the outcomes of the collaborative participation of Carmel residents, who advocated for a residential fabric and quality of life on the Carmel.

The incorporation of local knowledge in the master plan creates more congruence between statutory planning and spatial management of Carmel residents, which lessens the impact of urban planning assumptions on the human environment and advances social existence. Thus, the plan to control construction quotas, add parking, implement transportation solutions, and separate residential from other uses improves residents' quality of life. Although major aspects of the local knowledge extracted through the collaborative process were incorporated into the master plan, two items were not: public transportation to ease traffic congestion and decrease pollution and a large quantity of housing units accessible to a varied demographic and with varied plans and price points to ensure affordable housing for all residents.

Regarding the unilateral procedures of SWOT, of 17 weaknesses raised by participants, only one (i.e., "lack of parking") was addressed in the master plan through provisions that offered a reasonable resolution thereto. Six weaknesses (i.e., "traffic congestion", "air pollution", "volume of above-ground transportation", "dense construction", "skyscrapers that ruin the skyline" and "high-rise construction that disrupts the view and blocks light") were only partially solved by provisions in the master plan, and another six (i.e., "unsafe at night", "lack of public transportation", "lack of law enforcement", "flawed communication between the city and the residents", "lack of uniformity along the range artery", and "lack of contiguous entertainment districts") were not incorporated into the master plan.

The remaining four weaknesses identified during SWOT (i.e., "multiple environmental nuisances", "lack of environmental protection", "lack of new utilities", "deteriorating Hadár and Lower Haifa and damage to the Carmel Range") were unexplained, inexplicit, and insufficiently comprehensible to be assessed. Summarizing the SWOT outcome, at least 10 of the 17 issues mentioned by participants were not addressed at all in the master plan, and only one issue was fully incorporated therein.

In addition, contradictions among the items of local knowledge exposed during the Alternatives Selection procedure (likely dozens of contradictions in all) effectively prevented its incorporation into the master plan. Similarly, of five criteria chosen through the Criteria Prioritization procedure, three (i.e., economic growth, environmental utility, and environmental quality) were ambiguous, preventing their incorporation into the master plan; one (i.e., rehabilitating the bay) was related to a district other than the Carmel; and only one criteria (i.e., safe, smooth traffic flow) was partially incorporated into the master plan.

In sum, whereas most of the local knowledge elements extracted through the collaborative public participation process were incorporated into the master plan, most items of local knowledge exposed via the unilateral procedures were not. Moreover, the collaborative process enabled the production of operative professional planning knowledge based on local knowledge. In contrast, the unilateral tools and procedures generated scant, poor quality knowledge that was not explicit, consolidated, operative, tangible, or ripe enough for incorporation into planning deliverables.

Chapter 6
Test Case: The Planning Process of Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery

6.1 Introduction

The case study presented in this chapter is the planning process of the Shlavìm Artery in Tel Aviv, Israel's second most populous city and its largest metropolis. Two methods of public participation were employed contemporaneously, i.e., unidirectional procedures of public participation were conducted by the city while a collaborative process was initiated and advanced by not-for-profit organizations and citizen coalitions. Because Tel Aviv is a flat city, it is customary to divide it into five "boroughs": North, East, Center, South, and Jaffa. Each borough is differentiated by both urban and socioeconomic characteristics (see Map 6.1).

The Shlavim plan entailed the widening of several adjoining streets in south Tel Aviv—Heinrich-Heine, Shlavim, and Eliphèlet—plus another new paved stretch of road running northward to Eliphelet, crossing Neve Tzedek [neighborhood/quarter], to create one main, multi-lane thoroughfare called Shlavim Artery that connects Ayalón Freeway in the south to the city center (see Maps 6.1 and 6.2). The total length of Shlavim Artery is approximately 4 km. In addition to creating a metropolitan thoroughfare, the plan designates 75% of the land along the length of the artery for business, although today its path crosses through several residential districts, light-industrial areas, and vacant areas.

The collaborative process was initiated in 2004 by Neve Tzedek residents in response to the city's South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan, which aimed to widen a narrow neighborhood street into a four-lane thoroughfare as part of the Shlavim Artery plan. Over the years, the collaborative coalition expanded due to the acceleration and growing intensity of the local debate on the ramifications of the Shlavim plan.
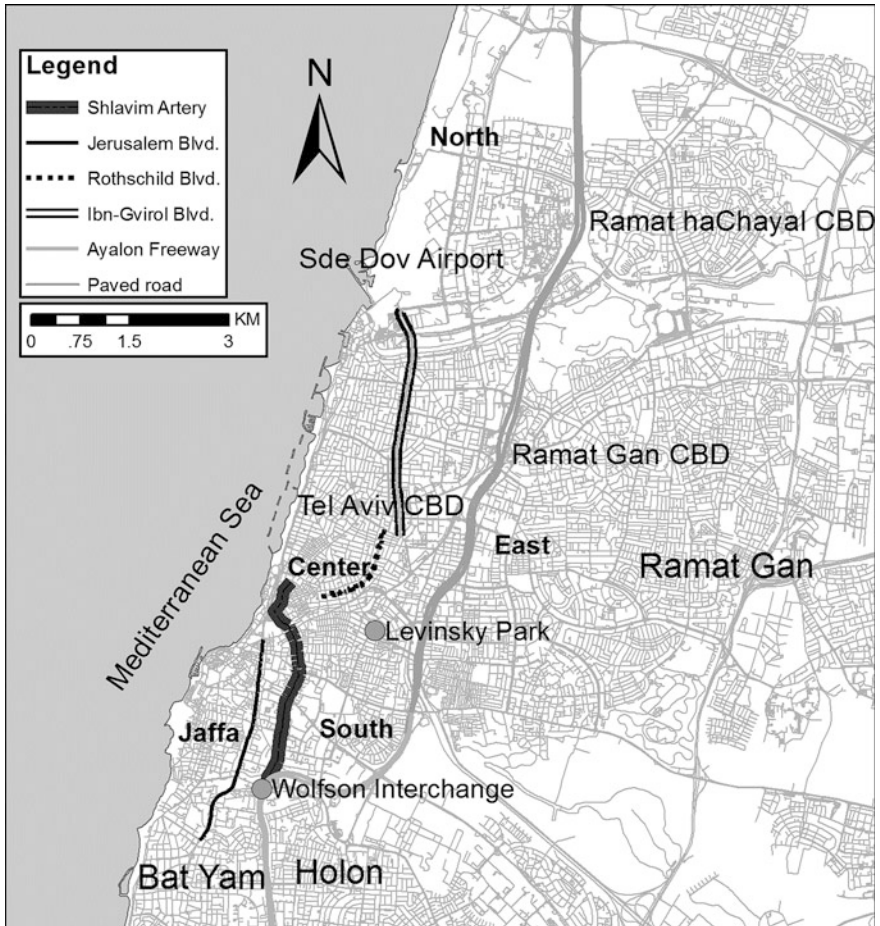
Map 6.1 Tel Aviv metropolitan area. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)

In 2008, during the drafting of the Tel Aviv master plan, a unidirectional public participation process was conducted by the city. The main components of this unidirectional process were the Criteria Prioritization of planning issues, a SWOT analysis of the Shlavim Artery plan, and an Alternatives Selection procedure for choosing between planning alternatives that had been "packaged" by the city in advance.

Legend

- Yitzhak Elhanan street
- Hamered Street
- Brandt Street
- Eliphelet Street
- Shlavim Street
- Heinrich Heine Street
- Rothschild Blvd.
- Professor Yechezkel Koifman Street
- Jerusalem Blvd.
- Yaffo Road
- Salma Road
- Kibutz Galuyot Road
- Ben-Tzvi Road
- Ayalon Freeway
- Paved road

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KM
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Mediterranean Sea

City Center
Manshiya
Neve Tzedek
Levinsky Park
Florentine
Light Industrial area
Old Jaffa
Shapira
Mevuot Yaffo
Tel Aviv College
Maccabi Jaffa compound
Nes leGosim compound
Jaffa
Neve Ofer
Wolfson Interchange

Map 6.2 Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery [original plan]. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)

6.2 Collaborative Public Participation

6.2.1 South Tel Aviv's Environmental Traumas

In the 1990s, two grandiose plans for dramatically changing South Tel Aviv generated opposition from many residents, particularly in Neve Tzedek: the Manshiya Plan and the Shlavim Plan. The former called for building towers between Neve Tzedek and the sea, which would cause Neve Tzedek, with its quaint historical character and low-rise construction, to "bump up against" high-rises. The Shlavim Artery plan called for paving a 10-lane thoroughfare parallel to the seashore, bisecting South Tel Aviv. The original Shlavim Artery plan called for widening existing streets, paving a new stretch that threatened to split Neve Tzedek in two, and massive business development along its length. These plans were the impetus for the collaborative participation process.

6.2.2   The South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan

In the 1990s, the city presented a comprehensive plan for the Manshiya district (*zoning plan no. 1200*) that proposed high-rises be built Neve Tzedek to the west, north, and south of Neve Tzedek. Although Neve Tzedek residents were infuriated, they did not know how to proceed. Neve Tzedek resident and attorney Uri Bergman spotted an administrative glitch in the planning process and, based thereon, petitioned the High Court in objection. The High Court ruled in the residents' favor, causing the plan to fall through.

Thereafter, the city realized that it could not plan the Manshiya area as a self-contained unit but rather would have to address the area in pieces. One such piece was the South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan (*zoning plan no. 3501*), which the city presented to the residents in 2004. The plan's Blue Line [a line demarcating a city's zoning plan] included the better part (in terms of area, not quality) of Neve Tzedek up to Brandt Street in the south, where the Shlavim Artery is labeled (see Brandt Street, Map 6.2, p. 69).

Residents were astounded to discover that the plan called for widening Brandt Street to four lanes, taking over private lots, routing Brandt Street alongside homes, and splitting Neve Tzedek in two, the southern portion of which would be excluded from the rehabilitation, conservation, physical fabric, and utility improvement described in the South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan.

Including the entirety of Neve Tzedek inside the Blue Line would preclude the widening of streets, including Brandt, because the South Neve Tzedek Contiguity Plan emphasizes the current physical fabric and preservation of the district's quaintness and pastoral character. Residents of southern Neve Tzedek argued that the planning logic called for the Blue Line to encompass the entire Neve Tzedek district as a single unit. Otherwise, residents who for decades have resided in the south part of the district would have their property rights governed by anachronistic plans instead of the new plan. The overall sense among residents was that the plan rationalized the Shlavim Artery, and the smoking gun was the arbitrary drawing of the Blue Line smack in the middle of their neighborhood.

One Brandt resident whose home was slated for demolition to make way for the plan claimed that he began opposing the South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan by joining with other residents to form the non-profit "Our Neve Tzedek" [Neve Tzedek Shelanu] (hereinafter: "ONT"), and together they drafted letters of protest that were sent to the city.

The city's first response to the "seeds of rebellion" was a declaration of apparent justifications that have not proven credible. For example, the city insisted that the Shlavim plan was mandated by the Higher Planning Board (which decides issues initially and on principle before opening them up to opposition or discussion) for the purpose of replacing Jerusalem Ave., which had a rail route planned on two of its traffic lanes. Tel Aviv Engineering and Planning Dept. personnel came up with another justification, namely, connecting Tel Aviv's southern suburbs and satellite towns to the city center because there is no southern entrance to the city.

The city's justifications were important because they constituted a response to the residents' "uprising" and because the city in fact became a stakeholder in the collaborative public participation process that was gathering momentum.

ONT members rejected the city's justifications for the plan and demanded changes thereto. When their phone and mail inquiries went unanswered, they educated themselves on urban planning to plan their next move. Over the next several years, ONT members learned how planning mechanisms work and how to get involved in the planning process.

One option they used was to submit statutory objections through an attorney; however, most of their objections were rejected during the District Planning Board meeting on March 10, 2010. Despite the board's rejection of the statutory objections, once the authorities realized that the residents had initiated a collective process of submitting objections, it became easy for the ONT members to persuade them to come to Neve Tzedek and see the "train wreck" called the Neve Tzedek Contiguity Plan. In other words, when the residents began taking aggressive, professional measures, the authorities were compelled to respond, reluctantly jumping into the fray surrounding the plan.

After city council members and the local planning board took a tour organized by the ONT on Dec. 21, 2009, the former were convinced that the southern boundary of Neve Tzedek extended south from Brandt St. and thus recommended that the Blue Line be drawn as running along the historic Neve Tzedek boundary, thereby including the entirety of Neve Tzedek in the new plan.

However, despite the local planning board's recommendations and residents' objections, on August 31, 2010, the original plan was submitted. Although the District Planning Board considered opponents' request to include Brandt and the southern streets in the plan, it ultimately decided not to expand the plan's boundaries. Rather, it instructed the Local Planning Board to submit a separate plan for the southern portion of Neve Tzedek within one year (*Objections Sub-committee, meeting no. 1058*).

Activist residents accused the District Planning Board of colluding with the city, acting as the mayor's rubber-stamp, and failing to represent either the city council or the Local Planning Board. Nonetheless, the demand of the District Planning Board that the city specifically address the southern portion of Neve Tzedek gave the residents some measure of hope. Additionally, an idea emerged from the discussion: an alternative route to part of Shlavim Artery could bypass Neve Tzedek, instead paving a thruway through an open area south of the neighborhood, more than 100 meters away from any residences (see Map 6.5, p. 87).

Residents that had opposed the Neve Tzedek Contiguity Plan claimed that if the ONT had not initiated and maintained the debate and catalyzed the participation of government stakeholders, bulldozers would be widening the pastoral residential streets of Neve Tzedek at the expense of the private property of long-time residents. This would have directly contradicted the will of residents, disrupting their present and future lives without fair compensation.

6.2.3 The Shlavim Artery

The collaborative participation process born in the wake of the Neve Tzedek Contiguity Plan continued to grow, with hundreds of members joining the activist network. In addition to ONT, the process was joined by other neighborhood groups, such as the Florentine Activists and the Jaffa People's Association; citywide organizations, such as city4all and OpenTLV for Transparency, Openness, and Innovation; and professional organizations, such as People of South Tel Aviv, which was led by architects residing in south Tel Aviv, from Jaffa in the west to Shapira in the east (see Map 6.2, p. 69).

Environmental organizations also joining the collaborative process, including the SPINI'S Green Forum and Adám, Tèva, v'Dìn, which were headed by professionals and had a wide activist base. In addition, a number of city council members who had participated in the collaborative participation process initiated dialogs with residents and consolidated a bloc of support within the city council. All told, a broad collaborative network was formed of those deeply invested in the outcome of the Shlavim Artery plan because the implementation of this plan was likely to affect their daily lives—as well as the lives of many others—for years to come.

ONT also hired the services of Aviv El Hasid [PR outsourcing] to help the collaborative network to promote its alternative ideas among residents, the city council, and the planning boards. They acted via letters, position papers, private meetings, the written media, and a website to generate a political front that could resist the powerful stakeholders, e.g., the city. As the head of ONT put it, "The city related and relates constantly with suspicion toward ONT…they withhold information…for instance, there's no transparency regarding property ownership along the length of Shlavim Artery". Regarding the property map, it was claimed by the PR company (*October 12, 2012*) that before a large-scale plan can be granted a permit, the public must be informed—or at least the city council should be informed—of the identities of property owners in locales slated for massive development. The same rule applies to certain lots along Shlavim Artery that belong to the city and thus are intended for public use.

Some of those joining the collaborative participation process were actually defectors from the unilateral public participation process conducted by the city during 2008. Architect Liát Izikov, who had dropped out of the city's public participation process and joined the collaborative process, is fond of saying (*September 23, 2012*), "We realized that the city's idea of involving us was unilateral, not joint, and was going nowhere. It was a waste of time. Whereas, here [in the collaborative process] we're coming from a position that is local, a residents' perspective. While I realize that we haven't involved everybody, we've been operating and holding discussions among various residents and have gotten

feedback from residents in scheduled meetings, happenstance meetings, and protest tents at Levinsky [Park] and Rothschild [Boulevard] (see Map 6.2, p. 69) that we set up in summer 2011.[1]"

During the 2011 tent protests, local knowledge regarding residents' needs and desires for affordable housing was exposed. Although the protesters could not explain how and where this affordable housing should be erected, the professional members of the collaborative network knew to combine their professional knowledge with the protesters' local knowledge in such a way that the protesters learned how to lay out their arguments and exploit the potential that lay in south Tel Aviv's open spaces for less costly real estate on property with lower values relative to property in the north and center of the city.

Professionals supported the proposal and even argued that it would contribute to the social sustainability of south Tel Aviv communities while preventing gentrification and preserving the cultural fabric. Because the concept of gentrification was not one with which many locals were familiar, the professionals explained it to them, using Jaffa as an example, noting that many veteran residents were uprooted when wealthy populations came in. Based on this example, the south Tel Avivians understood the significance of gentrification and used it to support their arguments and demands regarding affordable housing.

Regarding the Shlavim Artery plan, the collaborative network members demanded that the city place them and their needs at the top of the agenda in general, focusing on the need for affordable housing in particular. According to the deliberative network members, rare publicly owned compounds, such as Nes leGoyìm and the Maccabi Jaffa compounds (see Map 6.2, p. 69), should have included affordable housing projects. City council members opposed to the existing Shlavim Artery plan claimed that the mayor wanted to give priority to large apartments of over 100 sq. meters. They also asserted that the plan sought to change the character of the area to a business-residential axis for the wealthy, which would strengthen and expand the gentrification process, ultimately transforming it into an explicit evacuation of underserved populations from south Tel Aviv to locales outside the city. As one architect said, "The city's plan is intended to push weak populations out of south Tel Aviv instead of to help them remain, upgrade, and improve their quality of life in the city."

In a meeting with residents in September 2011, Tel Aviv City Council member Meitál Lehavi claimed that the proposed solutions for affordable housing could materialize only if the Shlavim Artery plan was based on a land use mix that focused on residential rather than business and transportation, as the city intended. Lehavi claimed that building the Shlavim Artery, widening adjoining streets,

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[1]The Tent Protest was a series of demonstrations that took place nationwide in the summer of 2011, beginning with Daphne Leef protesting the housing market after she was unable to find a rental in Tel Aviv. The protest expanded to include many socioeconomic issues across the board. It began as a Facebook group and led to the erection of tents along Tel Aviv's "old money" Rothschild Blvd., expanding to Levinsky Park and other cities, with hundreds of tents and 24/7 activity lasting into the fall.

permitting high-rise construction and increasing business density would bring vehicular traffic, commuters and walk-by—as opposed to walk-in—business, and would therefore neither benefit the locals nor resolve the issue of housing in the area, which has the potential for affordable housing.

Residents joined Lehavi in expressing trepidation regarding the building of a highway and aggressive high-rise construction, which would transform their low-rise, comfortable neighborhood into a gleaming CBD (central business district) that at best would leave them in its abandoned backyard and at worst case compel them to leave the area due to gentrification.

Later in the discussions, the participants formulated their demands regarding the plan and drafted them into a position paper (*September 22, 2012*): "We demand changing the land use mix from a business-focused to a residential-focused one; significantly decreasing the building height; leaving the existing roadways in place; and not building a metropolitan thoroughfare that will serve as a heavy traffic corridor."

Some residents spoke at length about the lack of amenities, such as parks, in south Tel Aviv. One resident even made the following statement (*interviews: October 12, 2015; October 18, 2012*): "South Tel Aviv's a dump. A real dump. The city wants more asphalt. As long as the mayor [who resides in north Tel Aviv] has it good." Professionals sensed that the locals felt that they got the short end of the stick in relation to north Tel Aviv and wanted to rectify this situation. One professional said, "The locals want a different agenda at City Hall. They want space for people, not cars, businesses, and junkyards."

Shapira [quarter] resident and architect Sharón Rothbard, a key activist in the collaborative participation process, claimed (*interview, October 15, 2012*) that the new plan perpetuated injustice and the widening gap between north and south Tel Aviv in everything related to developing residential areas: green spaces, schools, health care, and culture and leisure venues. Evidence of this gap on the coalition website includes comparative figures for various parameters, such as number of pharmacies, incidence of violence, and number of square meters of green space per capita.

It appeared that as local knowledge exposed residents' subjective feelings about their surroundings, professional knowledge supported these feelings with objective facts that showed discrimination against the south in many planning and environmental matters. According to Rothbard, we should view the city master plan, and the Shlavim Artery plan in particular, as an opportunity to bridge the social and spatial gap between north and south.

Members of the collaborative network who were also planning professionals leveled harsh criticism at the failure of both the master plan in general and the Shlavim Artery plan in particular to fulfil their responsibility to identify and designate public spaces in the south, especially given that the city master plan defines public spaces (i.e., traffic circles and plazas) for north Tel Aviv, such as in the zone to be vacated at Sdè Dóv Airport (see Map 6.1, p. 68). A letter written at a collaborative network meeting stated as follows: "Quality of life cannot be assured to the residents without defining and planning in advance parks, schools, and

services. It's a scandal that the master plan, which is tax-funded, has labeled on it private zoning for businesses and residences, yet neglects the work of identifying public spaces, instead marking them faintly, leaving them for developers to snatch up, whose interests are narrow and don't take the public into account." The aforementioned position paper was sent to the city Planning and Engineering Department, as well as to every city council member.

Architects and planners who had joined the citizen coalition claimed that despite the lack of public spaces in south Tel Aviv, and despite the designation of such spaces being a fundamental urban planning task, particularly in a city master plan, the proposed plan would compel the Local Planning Board to conduct negotiations with developers on every building plan submitted to assure minimum open public spaces and services. The findings show that the Shlavim Artery plan leaves the matter of open spaces and public buildings to be decided through negotiations between the city and private developers, which sharply increases developers' power as stakeholders. In contrast, the residents have no voice on the future of their property and nearby services.

In Rothbard's opinion, one cannot plan a city based on profit motives: "The CBD planned along the Shlavim Artery is a product of a gang of stakeholders: the city, the Israel Lands Authority,[2] and a few property owners and developers, who have banded together with the purpose of taking over property with economic potential and profiting by means of business construction and office buildings that will pay high municipal taxes."

It was further averred during the deliberative discussions that such massive business construction, on a scale of 1.5 million m^2, had never been issued a permit anywhere else in the city—certainly not in open spaces in north Tel Aviv. Another example raised by professionals at coalition meetings illustrates the glaring difference between north and south Tel Aviv: The Shlavim Artery area is labeled a CBD, whereas Ramát haChayál [a dense business park in the north, see Map 6.1, p. 68], is slated for "local business use" or "urban business" only, and not as a CBD.

In the wake of discussions with professionals, local residents realized that the Shlavim Artery plan was nothing but the fruit of private developers in the guise of city planners. It was designed to maximize developers' profits at the expense of south Tel Aviv communities, completely ignoring residents' needs and their network of local knowledge. These communities found themselves in a spatial reality wherein they protested being uprooted from their homes due to gentrification.

With the help of professionals, the local residents formulated a planning approach that differed in its essence from that of the city because it was based on planning ideology that places people at its center (see Maps 6.3 and 6.4, p. 76). The residents wrote (*September 22, 2011*), "South Tel Aviv is first and foremost for the people, for them to reside and live their lives there with quality public services. We therefore christen the alternative plan "South Tel Aviv for the People", its purpose

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[2]The Israel Lands Authority is in charge of all state land, which accounts for 93% of all land in Israel. It acts by force of the Basic Law: Israel Lands of 1960.

Map 6.3 South Tel Aviv land-use map—current situation. *Legend*: *purple*—employment (retail and light industry); *grey*—mix used: empty spaces, residence and light industry; *yellow*—residence; *red*—transportation; *green*—open spaces (parks); *brown*—institutional (public buildings and utilities). *Source* South Tel Aviv for the People coalition, July 2010 (published online on Oct 22, 2011)

Map 6.4 South Tel Aviv land-use map—alternative plan. *Legend*: *purple*—employment (retail and light industry); *grey*—mix used: empty spaces, residence and light industry; *yellow*—residence; *red*—transportation; *green*—open spaces (parks); *brown*—institutional (public buildings and utilities). *Source* South Tel Aviv for the People coalition, July 2010 (published online on Oct 22, 2011)

being to strengthen existing residential areas and develop new ones, in addition to engaging in intensive development of public buildings and cultural and educational institutions, as well as open green spaces."

The city tried to prevent discussions among the collaborative network by refusing to allow it to hold meetings in city-owned public venues, even when the PR firm suggested payment in exchange for the use of the venues. As a result of the city's hostile attitude, the network held meetings in homes, cafes, and even via e-mail.

The South Tel Aviv for the People "manifesto" called for zoning changes—from business to residential—and first and foremost among those changes was the cancellation of the CBD along the Shlavim Artery. As an alternative, it was proposed that the Shlavim Artery adhere to the development of the central Tel Aviv CBD, northeastern along the length of the Ayalón [freeway], with the intention of linking it to the Ramát Gán [Tel Aviv's neighboring city] CBD to create a single metropolitan CBD unit (see Map 6.1, p. 68). The proposed alternative to the Shlavim Artery CBD constitutes an example of a planning recommendation that was consolidated via the collaborative participation process.

According to the residents' "gospel", the purpose of the Shlavim Artery to serve its CBD disappears with the cancellation of the CBD. Therefore, the plan was left with its other original purpose to connect the south and the center parts of the metropolis. It was claimed that if the Shlavim Artery plan were forfeited in favor of the downtown area, an influx of hundreds of cars per day into the city center would result, running counter to all contemporary planning approaches worldwide. Most of these cars would end up on roads adjoining the sea and on the narrow streets of the historic part of the city center, which are already congested and suffer a severe lack of parking. Collaborative network professionals claimed that although parking is a prime transportation issue, it is not addressed in either the master plan or the Shlavim Artery plan. It was argued that in Jerusalem, for example, the parking standard is part of the city master plan.

In addition, it was argued that the Shlavim Artery would run through neighborhoods, cutting them off from one another, in addition to isolating Jaffa from Tel Aviv and separating the southern neighborhoods from the sea, penning residents in between the Ayalon and Shlavim Freeways, instead of supporting the existing road network and ensuring contextual development that links rather than separates the southern neighborhoods.

Many individuals and groups challenged the plan, emphasizing that the role of the Shlavim Artery was solely to provide a metropolitan corridor for cars, which contradicted the city vision[3] that spoke of prioritizing public transportation and foot traffic while strengthening the urban streetside. Liat Izikov summed it up thusly: "The city promised in the City Vision document to draft a master plan 'with its face to the south', but instead turned its back on the south." Except for a portion of Florentine, no part of the south is defined in the master plan as a pedestrian zone; instead, motorized traffic is encouraged in the south by means of Shlavim Artery.

In contrast, South Tel Aviv for the People designates the entirety of south Tel Aviv as pedestrian and minimizes motorized traffic while restoring public spaces to

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[3]"City Vision" is the name of a strategic plan for Tel Aviv drafted in 2005 that presents a future picture of Tel Aviv-Jaffa. It addresses all areas of city life, including social, economic, physical, transportation, environmental preservation, and administration. It was drafted based on the participation of city residents and others who depend on Tel Aviv for services, all in order to jointly discuss various issues and reach agreement thereon. Citizens, public representatives, city hall personnel, government agency personnel, and members of social, economic, and green organizations (both governmental and NGO) that are active in the city drafted City Vision together.

pedestrians and cyclists. The emphasis on development of contiguous green spaces is aimed at creating a welcoming space for residents and a pedestrian corridor enabling community life and social transaction.

The demand of the collaborative coalition was to draft a "green grid" map that defined a stretch of green spaces and combining those spaces with cultural hubs, footpaths, retail establishments, bus stops, and the planned train stations, all within a radius of up to 2 km from Shlavim Artery, thus linking all of the southern neighborhoods while reviving declining areas between them.

A key provision of South Tel Aviv for the People calls for preservation of the physical fabric of the historic roadways that intersect and run parallel to Shlavim Artery and serve the residents first and foremost, while simultaneously empowering the character of each main street individually (e.g., Jaffa Road as a commercial axis containing historic monuments; Salma Road as a residential, leisure, and culture strip; Kibútz Galuyót Road as a green and commercial street; and Ben-Tzvi Road as a green residential corridor with an emphasis on its cultural-historic heritage—see Map 6.2, p. 69).

The alternative plan for Shlavim Artery was formulated through the participation in the deliberative network of planning professionals whose interactions with lay residents generated planning knowledge based on local knowledge. Prior to the City Hall hearing on the south Tel Aviv master plan (including Shlavim Artery) held on September 22, 2011, the collaborative network conveyed its positions to the city's Planning and Engineering Department, the Local Planning Board, and city council members: "We, residents of southern Tel Aviv-Jaffa, call upon the city council members who serve on the Local Planning Board, demanding essential changes to the plan such that it answers the needs of the south Tel Aviv residents and provides real solutions to the distress of the local population, in agreement and consensus. We call upon you not to approve the master plan in its present version, and demand changes that seriously address claims that have arisen among large numbers of south Tel Aviv residents in the (collaborative) public participation process."

6.3 Unilateral Public Participation

6.3.1 Introduction

In 2008, the city initiated a unilateral public participation process as part of the drafting process of the city master plan. Shlavim Artery was one of several plans that were included in the Southern Quarter master plan. Two main public participation sessions addressed the Shlavim Artery issue, each one using a different procedure and conducted by a facilitator hired by the city.

In the first session, a total of 140 city residents participated in five separate meetings (25–30 residents from each quarter participated in each meeting). Participants were asked to prioritize criteria for evaluation using a list that was generated based on the objectives of the city's master plan.

In the second session, 28 south Tel Aviv residents participated and were asked per a SWOT analysis to cite the strengths and weaknesses of the Shlavim plan and asked per an Alternatives Selection procedure to choose between two options for each of two planning components: two land use mix options and two street section options.

6.3.2 Criteria Prioritization

This procedure comprised structured queries regarding the prioritization of citywide planning criteria using a list of 12 issues that had been designated as master plan targets. An analysis of the results shows that as stated in the summary of the city's public participation process, a city planning team deemed citywide criteria (i.e., strengthening the southern and eastern portions of the city; bolstering the city's economy and its status as a primary city; and strengthening the city's status as a cultural center) to be most important, whereas the public considered environmental criteria (i.e., development that ensured environmental quality; improving the network of green spaces; and strengthening the relationship between the city and the sea) to be most important (Har-Lev and Lerner 2010: p. 7). It was written that both sides considered planning criteria for a varied-mix transportation system to be important.

Despite the fact that the public procedure participants did not explicitly choose "strengthening the southern and eastern portions of the city", it cannot be reasonably concluded that tens of thousands of south Tel Avivians consider the strengthening of their neighborhoods to be unimportant. A statistical situation arose wherein at most 30 south Tel Aviv residents responded to this query, out of tens of thousands of residents, indicating that the local knowledge exposed thereby was not necessarily credible and that the findings were not accurate. In contrast, in the collaborative public participation process, hundreds of south Tel Aviv residents unequivocally expressed their adamancy regarding the strengthening of their neighborhoods by amassing planning knowledge and developing educated, operative recommendations that are sensitive to their needs.

In addition, the city's questionnaire was a closed one, as opposed to an open deliberative discussion, and therefore participants were not given the opportunity to express their positions on issues, explain their priorities, or propose ideas and planning solutions. In contrast, in the collaborative process, participants built new knowledge together via discussions; for example, regarding the criterion "improving the green spaces network", the deliberative network raised the idea of linking all open spaces in the south to create a contiguous urban pedestrian corridor. In other words, collaborative participation enabled the exposure of ideas and the creation of grounded planning knowledge, whereas the unilateral participation achieved nothing more than a single "headline".

The criteria on the city's list relate to an entire entity—in fact, the entire city— rather than discussing individual items or local incidents, as was done in the

collaborative participation. For example, residents chose "strengthening the rela-tionship between the city and the sea" as important for planning treatment but were not given the opportunity to expand thereon or give examples of phenomena throughout the city that were weakening the relationship between the city and the sea. Moreover, residents were not asked to suggest a plan for strengthening this relationship.

Conversely, in the collaborative participation process, Shlavim Artery was described by the residents as physically blocking the relationship between south Tel Aviv and the sea. The alternative plan formulated by collaborative network members proposed possible solutions that would prevent Shlavim Artery from becoming an obstructive traffic corridor and maintain it as a pedestrian-friendly street containing the existing urban fabric, such that it would not cut through Shapira, Florentine, and Neve Tzedek and between them and the sea.

Moreover, in hindsight, it is likely that criteria not included on the list, such as "preserving the existing fabric" and "developing standards for affordable housing", would have been popular choices had they been available. Criteria omitted by activators of the unilateral participation tools were raised by collaborative network members during open discussions regarding issues relevant to residents' daily lives.

6.3.3 Alternatives Selection: Choosing Between Planning Alternatives

Two sets of options were presented to participants for prioritization. The first set comprised two land use mix options, and the second set comprised two street section options.

6.3.3.1 Land Use Mix Options

Residents of the southern quarter were invited to choose between two options for the land use mix of Shlavim Artery. One option was a residential-oriented axis that included employment land use, and the other was an employment-oriented axis that included residential land use. The first option was derived from the planning phi-losophy of one major CBD in Tel Aviv at its original location in the city center and developing northeastward; the second was derived from the philosophy of a CBD network stimulating the development of minor CBDs, one of which would be located along Shlavim Artery (City of Tel Aviv 2009: pp. 5–8).

In the residential-oriented land use mix, at least 75% of the construction permits along the length of Shlavim Artery would be aimed at increasing the scope of permitted housing units; no more than 25% of all permitted construction would be for employment use. Maximum construction height would be 12 stories, except for certain isolated concessions.

In the employment-oriented land use mix, at least 75% of construction permits along the length of Shlavim Artery would be allocated to employment (business) construction, with the objective of developing a CBD along the length of Shlavim Artery. Residential construction would not exceed 25% of all legal construction by area. Along the length of Shlavim Artery, 25-story towers would be permitted over seven base stories, serving mainly commercial and parking needs. Buildings of up to 40 stories would be permitted in isolated instances.

Although the event at which one of the above options would be selected was publicized as being open to all south Tel Aviv and Jaffa residents, only 28 residents attended the meeting (Har-Lev and Lerner 2010: p. 21). Moreover, most residents in attendance were also planning professionals; only a handful of lay residents attended. Only 24 participants completed the evaluation forms. Regarding the Shlavim zone, the employment-oriented option received slightly more support than the residential-oriented option.

During the same period, the city also held several workshops for urban planners and professionals, who were invited in advance to express their opinions on proposals for several projects. Participants in the workshop on the Shlavim Artery project favored the employment-oriented alternative over the residential one. Thus, the public participation process summary (Har Lev and Lerner 2010: p. 36) claimed a congruity of opinion between the public and the planners with respect to implementing the employment-oriented land use mix option in the Shlavim zone.

This alleged congruity is contradicted by the development in the collaborative public participation process of an alternative plan that designates property along the length of Shlavim Artery for residences and public amenities. This alternative plan supported the city's plan for a single CBD and opposes the CBD network alternative, which gave rise to the proposed CBD along the length of Shlavim.

The extremely small number of lay residents that participated in the meeting indicates that the local knowledge exposed therein did not reflect the knowledge of the residents. Moreover, one can surmise that the large number of participating planning professionals was disproportionate to their share of the south Tel Aviv population and stemmed from a concatenation within a specific professional social network in a "one friend brings another"-type configuration. In other words, we can assume that a failure of lay resident accessibility to participation workshops occurred in the initial phase of the process. This failure could be due to cutting corners in the notification process or a deep-seated lack of trust between the local populations and the authorities, either of which could have affected the number of participants in the unilateral participation workshop.

In addition, a city planner who participated in the Alternatives Selection unilateral meeting spoke of the lack of congruity between the zoning map presented and the verbal representations of City Hall personnel regarding planned land uses along Shlavim Artery. According to the planner, when he noted this incongruity, a city representative replied evasively (and unprofessionally), "It's mixed use. It's mixed use." This testimony exemplified the glibness with which city personnel addressed the preparation of professional tools such as maps and the misleading nature of the material presented to residents as a result thereof. Because lay

residents were not equipped with professional knowledge regarding traditional color-coding for land uses, they did not notice errors or incongruities. In contrast, planning professionals who were also residents possessed both local knowledge and professional knowledge and therefore detected the incongruities between the colors on the maps and the statements of city personnel, as well as how the residents and laypeople failed to understand the spatial significance of the colors. One could argue, therefore, that using color as a visual signal either consciously or unconsciously created a façade that allowed the city to manipulate the community.

In addition to its weak public presentation, it can also be argued that the Alternatives Selection procedure failed to establish authentic and trustworthy communication between the city and the participants, which could further impede appropriate and complete extraction of genuine local knowledge.

Another example of the unprofessionalism noted by planning professionals was that the employment-oriented configuration presented by the city for the Shlavim Artery contained contradictory elements in the planning sense. For instance, although simulations of high-rise construction were concentrated at four intersections, the blueprints showed 25-story construction along the entire length of the artery. This discrepancy reinforces the suspicion that the city intentionally avoided presenting one final plan and instead left various components unspecified to give itself maximum freedom in the planning process. If this suspicion is accurate, then the city actually deliberately misled and manipulated the community.

6.3.3.2 Street Section Options

In addition to the use mix options, two street section options were presented (Har Lev and Lerner 2009: pp. 15–17), one a thoroughfare and the other a street.

- Thoroughfare: Shlavim Artery as a three-lane (at least) thoroughfare in each direction, with a narrow sidewalk and no parking or bike lanes.
- Urban roadway: Shlavim Artery as a two-lane roadway in each direction, with parking and bike lanes and a wide sidewalk.

Sweeping support was expressed for the segment that transforms Shlavim into an urban roadway with commercial activity, as exemplified by Ibn-Gvirol Blvd. (see Map 6.1, p. 68), one of Tel Aviv's most vibrant streets, which bisects the city from north to south. Ibn-Gvirol features two lanes in each direction, parking and bike lanes, and wide sidewalks; its land use mix comprises residences, public services, open spaces (such as plazas), various commercial establishments, eateries, and entertainment and leisure venues (Har-Lev and Lerner 2009: p. 17).

Support for the urban roadway underscores participants' preference for a lively street over a traffic thoroughfare leading to and from the city center, which is consistent with their preference for employment- (business-) oriented land use. One of the planning queries following the workshops was whether an urban roadway can meet the transportation access needs of a CBD with soaring office towers and

multiple business hubs. In other words, does the business-oriented land use option automatically assume a main thoroughfare, and not an urban roadway? Do the findings show that different types of local knowledge regarding the same subject matter contradict one another to the extent that planning recommendations based on the local knowledge system should be disregarded? This conundrum provides further evidence of the weakness of the unilateral method for exposing local knowledge that can be integrated into explicit planning knowledge and a solid deliverable.

Urban planner Omer Cohen, who participated as a Florentine resident in the unilateral participation meeting at which attendees chose between the two Shlavim Artery options, argues that the public should not only be offered more than two options but also be allowed to propose its own option(s): "What about a third option? Maybe we do not need the artery at all! Maybe we need a public transport-oriented artery". In contrast to the unilateral process, the collaborative public participation process stimulated many ideas and more options than those presented by the city. Thus, ultimately, a coherent, implementable, and tangible planning option was formulated, according to which Shlavim Artery became a pedestrian-friendly roadway as part of a "green grid" plan based on residential-oriented land use.

A pre-packaged selection procedure established by planners and other city personnel induces a mechanism of participation from above that is scripted and unyielding, which obstructs a flow of other opinions and precludes significant achievements by residents. The unilateral method assumes that the residents are susceptible to ready-made tools for exposing knowledge and that the designers of such tools know which types of local knowledge must be exposed; as a result, this method is insufficiently flexible to expose other, concealed types of local knowledge.

Moreover, at the Alternatives Selection procedure, there were conflicting reports by the city regarding the northern portion of the artery, specifically with respect to its distance from Neve Tzedek residences and the number of lanes planned. It was claimed that the materials presented to participants contained significant contradictions, which led to widely divergent interpretations of the contents of the plan. The variety of interpretations created a "fog" that made it difficult for residents and civic organizations to genuinely participate in formulating directions for the future development of the city. The city's plans were confused and vague, which preventing the residents from issuing solid, specific reactions. Thus, the interaction between the city and the residents was flawed, which in turn exposed local knowledge of poor quality.

6.3.4   The SWOT Model

In addition to choosing between planning options, participants were asked to identify strengths and weaknesses of the options. Although the business-oriented

planning option won majority support among participants at the Alternatives Selection meeting, the majority of those at the SWOT meeting noted its weaknesses, in particular, that it restricts the quantity of housing units and public spaces. In the SWOT procedure, participants raised weaknesses and threats that cast a pall over the option chosen during the Alternatives Selection procedure.

A number of participants cited weaknesses in the urban roadway option that garnered significant support among those at the meeting; namely, this option did not contain a lane for public transportation and no solution was offered for the separation of levels originally planned along the length of the artery. These weaknesses raised doubts about the feasibility of the pedestrian-friendly option chosen.

In sum, the procedure used by the city to involve the public in the planning of Shlavim Artery revealed elements of local knowledge that contradicted each other and could not be assimilated. The procedures and tools used by the unilateral method to expose local knowledge yield a profusion of inconsistent results that cannot be resolved. Thus, the local knowledge exposed is not amenable to implementation and cannot be the basis for developing planning knowledge.

Because many professionals took part in the resident participation meeting, a number of professional statements were heard in the limited time allotted for participants' responses to the options presented. For example, it was noted that no option gave precedence to the development of public space, open spaces, parks, schools, and culture and leisure venues, which according to the professionals are people's primary concerns when choosing where to live, as well as the main obstacles to renewal (Har-Lev and Lerner 2009: p. 11).

It was further asserted that the development of an employment district does not guarantee the relocation of employers to the Shlavim vicinity; instead, it might lead directly to a situation wherein business districts are cut off from residential districts. The prospect of a surplus of empty offices was raised, and participants warned that such a plan must be considered with the utmost caution. In other words, professional assessments exposed the drawbacks of the business-friendly option chosen by participants.

It appears that although unilateral participation via SWOT generated a multiplicity of opinions and objectives, it did not succeed in advancing a unified, intelligent, and well-defined planning strategy upon which there was wide agreement, never mind a consensus. An interesting point emerging from the findings is that despite the presentation of professional explanations and insights, the appropriate conditions for stimulating a deliberative discussion that could provide the basis for planning knowledge were lacking. Exposure time was short, and there was neither interaction nor debate among the participants. Thus, only sporadic and random remarks were offered, with no clear relationships among them. In contrast, in the collaborative participation process, ongoing discussions were conducted among lay people and between the lay people and professionals, which allowed the sides to talk and reach a relatively broad agreement while formulating a solid planning option.

Toward the end of the SWOT meeting, there were those who proposed adding construction percentages to residences at the expense of businesses, as well as

adding public spaces. At the same time, others proposed that to spur CBD development, the development of public facilities in the area should be pursued, perhaps by relocating a district courthouse and expanding Tel Aviv-Jaffa College, which is located in Mevuót Yaffo in the Shlavim vicinity. In addition, some participants suggested the possibility of developing the area without significant new construction at the outset, by developing the public space, upgrading utilities, and changing the area's land-use function (Har-Lev and Lerner 2010: p. 27). Thus, participants proposed various planning ideas other than those prepared by the city during its unilateral process to select a planning option.

The result of the unilateral participation via SWOT included a variety of suggestions; a hodgepodge of speculation, insight, and contradictory views; and miscellaneous types and pieces of knowledge. These elements of knowledge were drawn from the local knowledge system and had little or no professional basis or logical relationships among them. They did not support each other and were not blended to obtain usable knowledge or professional explanation. Moreover, no strategy or coherent planning deliverable was formulated.

Liat Izikov, who participated in the unilateral SWOT exercise, claimed that there was no true public participation at this meeting. Her sense was that the goal of this meeting was to create a confused public while hearing many brief opinions to ultimately enable the city to do what it wanted. In other words, the intent was to leave the local knowledge mute; there was no interest in exposing this knowledge coherently and explicitly or in incorporating it into planning deliverables.

Testimony by the participants in the Tel Aviv unilateral SWOT procedure reveals that lay participants raised issues relevant to their everyday lives that were not addressed by the plan on the agenda. Therefore, the City Engineer and other senior personnel not only ignored the residents but actually walked out of the meeting, claiming that they already knew what the residents were going to say. In contrast, throughout the collaborative process, participants were able to interact freely among themselves and with the facilitators, whose status was the same as their own.

One possible reason for the seemingly irrelevant issues raised by participants at the SWOT meeting is the lack of an explanation of what a public participation process is and what is expected of participants. It can therefore be argued that the SWOT procedure failed to establish productive and authentic communication between the city and the participants.

6.4   Incorporating Local Knowledge into the City Master Plan

There is no definitive evidence that any local knowledge exposed during the unilateral process was incorporated into the master plan. The bulk of the local knowledge extracted during the Alternatives Selection and SWOT procedures

comprised epistemological contradictions that effectively prevented any incorporation of the extracted knowledge into the master plan. Nevertheless, the master plan addressed—partially and indirectly and probably not intentionally—two criteria that were raised at the Criteria Prioritization procedure:

1. The "Development ensuring environmental quality" criterion was addressed by reducing the height of high-rises and the building ratio, as well as the expected decrease in motorization level.
2. The "Strengthening the relationship between the city and the sea" criterion was addressed by reducing the number of artery lanes and changing it into an urban roadway, thereby reducing its presence as both a physical and a mental barrier.

Although the business-oriented option barely won a majority at the Alternatives Selection procedure and many of those present at the SWOT meeting identified significant and fundamental weaknesses from a planning standpoint, the option was declared and documented as being chosen through a unilateral participation process. However, the unilateral outcome was ultimately rejected and the master plan was drafted based on the alternative plan that had been prepared by the collaborative network.

Significant portions of the local knowledge that had been exposed during the collaborative participation process were incorporated into the Shlavim Artery section of the Tel Aviv master plan. The intensive collective action of the collaborative network members enabled both exposure of local knowledge and the building of professional planning knowledge based thereon. In contrast, the unilateral procedures for public participation did not yield exposure of clear, established local knowledge; therefore, the building of planning knowledge consistent with the local knowledge system was not enabled thereby.

Moreover, the collaborative process enabled the development of operative professional planning knowledge accumulated over the years, the dissemination of this knowledge among various parties in local government, and lobbying efforts among the city council members, who were eventually persuaded by the planning approach presented in the alternative plan and thus voted against the city's original plan. Council members demanded that the city execute far-reaching changes in the master plan, including the incorporation of large portions of the alternative plan drafted by members of the collaborative network.

Tel Aviv Mayor Rón Huldai and City Engineering Department planners bowed to the pressure placed on them by city council members in a meeting on December 18, 2011. According to the testimony of those present, Huldai rose dramatically and declared, "Okay. I propose 25% business/75% residences, two lanes each direction from Wolfson [interchange at Ayalon freeway] to the Railway Road, and from the Railway, one lane each direction up to Professor Yechezkel Koifman [Street parallel to the coastline] with a spur into Neve Tzedek (see Map 6.5, p. 87). Thank you" (*meeting protocol, page 81*).

The plenum of the Tel Aviv Local Planning Board announced its decision to convert Shlavim Artery to a residential area, rather than business, after a lengthy
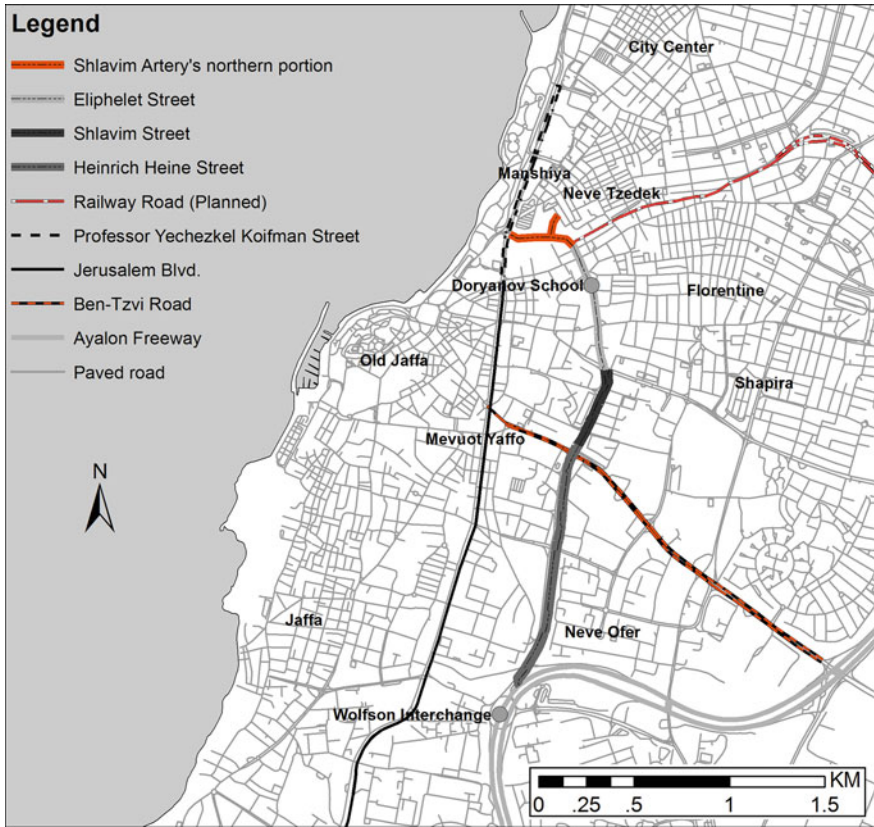
Map 6.5 Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery; master plan. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)

discussion that included intensive intervention by Huldai, who won the negotiation between the planners and the city council. It was decided to convert the area to 75% residential and a minority of low-rise businesses of 6–8 stories, with 12 stories allowed in certain main stretches. In addition, it was decided that the street would be defined in the master plan as an "urban roadway with commercial activity at ground level similar to Ibn-Gvirol Blvd.'s fabric" (*meeting protocol, pp. 66–67*).

In the southern portion, from the Wolfson Interchange to the Railway, Shlavim Street would be 2–3 lanes each direction, with wide sidewalks and a bike lane. The artery's northern portion, from the Railway to Professor Yechezkel Koifman street, would move to a vacant area southward, distancing the artery from Brandt street and the homes of Neve Tzedek by a few hundred meters, and would have one lane each direction, with a sidewalk and a bike lane. The tunneling planned at Shlavim-Ben-Zvi intersection was shelved, and more parking along the street would be studied. In addition, it was agreed that the blueprints would be updated to incorporate these changes.

Residents' organizations expressed great satisfaction with the decision and declared it "a great achievement for south Tel Avivians now and in the future." The head of ONT, David Eitan, and several other activists of the collaborative network maintained that their alternative plan would not have been incorporated into the master plan without the lobby cultivated via interpersonal connections between key residents and members of the city council.

Sharon Rothbard, a central activist in the collaborative participation network, claimed that without residents' participation, the revolution could not have taken place. In his opinion, the local knowledge would not have been incorporated as it had been at the "major turning point". In the same context, Rothbard recalled that 2 years earlier, city engineer Chezi Berkovich had showed him a CBD plan that called for 40 stories along Shlavim Artery, prompting Rothbard to exclaim, "Are you out of your mind?" Chezi had responded, "Nothing will help you. It's going to happen!" However, against the will of the city engineer and other professional personnel in his department, the collaborative participation method successfully forced a dramatic change in the towers plan, drastically decreasing the number of stories.

Key types of local knowledge exposed in the collaborative participation process were incorporated into the master plan for Shlavim Artery, leading in particular to the change in zoning from business to residential, which in turn caused cancellation of the grandiose plan for a CBD and transformed the character and function of the artery from a metropolitan thoroughfare providing a substitute for Ayalon Freeway to a commercial city street that would be pedestrian friendly and full of life.

Although operative recommendations based on local knowledge for developing public buildings and green spaces as infrastructure for residences were not fully incorporated at this phase, the seed for planning schools on a large area adjacent to Shlavim Artery was definitely planted. This plan entailed the allotment of 17,000 square meters for a school compound opposite Doryanov School (see Map 6.5, p. 87), which is occupied today by garages that lease the land from the city. At least 18 elementary classrooms, several preschools, and even a high school could be erected on this land if the need exists.

Several professional recommendations formulated during the collaborative public participation process were not incorporated into the master plan; in particular, the social dimension that would preserve the social fabric and cultural diversity by means of affordable housing to prevent gentrification was omitted. In addition, recommendations to preserve the history of the area through preservation provisions, which existed in other (northern) quarters of the city, were not incorporated; the professional recommendation for developing a mass transportation system (for example, allotting one lane as a BRT lane) was also not addressed. Moreover, there was no mention of the demands by collaborative network members for continued public participation in the final drafting of the plans.

Nevertheless, the city adopted drastic changes based on an environmentally friendly ideology that was less "friendly" to city coffers and developers' pockets. Municipal taxes on residences should be lower than those on businesses, and it is reasonable to assume that developers' profits on low-rise residences are lower than

those for offices four-times as high. In addition, both residents and developers compromised on building height: Residents were compelled to accept a higher height than initially desired, just as developers accepted a lower height. Whereas residents compromised on environmental elements such as light, shade, and physical fabric, the city and developers compromised on anticipated financial gains. It was thus proven that residents have power as stakeholders in planning processes and that elements of local knowledge can be incorporated into plans, even at the expense of the profits of other stakeholders, both government and private. Nevertheless, the incorporation of local knowledge systems was neither complete nor hermetic; certain types were incorporated, others were not.

Ultimately, the new plan embodied the primary needs and demands of south Tel Avivians that were exposed through the collaborative public participation process. It is thus proven that the collaborative process can effect drastic changes in planning deliverables by causing the incorporation of significant parts of the local knowledge system in a way that narrows the gap between local knowledge and statutory plans, which in turn should enhance local residents' quality of life.

Whereas the local knowledge exposed in the unilateral participation process was of insufficient quality (corroborated and consolidated) to be incorporated into the master plan, the collaborative participation process generated not only solid *professional planning knowledge* based on local knowledge but also *political power*, both of which enabled the community to compel the incorporation of local knowledge into the master plan.

Chapter 7
Evaluation of the Participation Methods' Effectiveness

The objective of this section is to understand the differences between the two public participation methods—unilateral and collaborative—in terms of their abilities to expose local knowledge and to incorporate that knowledge into planning deliverables. In this section, the unilateral method of participation is compared with the collaborative method based on the findings of the two test cases: Haifa's Range Artery and Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery (described in Chaps. 5 and 6, respectively).

7.1 The Motivators for Public Participation Processes

Unilateral public participation processes on matters involving Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery and Haifa's Range Artery were conducted at the initiative of the cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa, respectively, as part of broader public participation processes implemented during the drafting of the cities' master plans. In contrast, the collaborative public participation processes were initiated by a group of citizens who resided next to the loci of environmental nuisances that were produced or threatened to be produced by the plans or actions of authorities and developers.

The collaborative public participation processes on Shlavim Artery were conducted at the initiative of a group of Neve Tzedek residents who opposed the city's South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan, according to which Brandt Street (the northern extension of the slated Shlavim Artery) would be widened. Similarly, a collaborative public participation process on Haifa's Range Artery was conducted at the initiative of a group of Carmel residents who opposed both developers' plans to build high-rises along the artery and developer activity to establish and operate entertainment venues along Moriah Blvd.

Whereas the collaborative public participation processes were motivated by resident opposition to the plans and actions of authorities and developers that entailed disruptive spatial implications, the unilateral public participation processes

were motivated by city policy that mandated public involvement in the drafting of city master plans. In Tel Aviv, the policy of public participation in planning was codified in the Tel Aviv-Jaffa local master plan as follows (Har Lev and Lerner 2008: p. 4): "Drafting the city master plan includes implementation of principles formulated in the City Vision, which emphasizes resident participation and public participation and offers the public an opportunity to affect city development in the framework of drafting the master plan."

In the same vein, the website of the City of Haifa (2006) states as follows: "Planning trends in Israel and abroad call for public involvement in the planning process to create dialog that will mitigate disputes and improve planning quality. The City of Haifa and its partners in drafting the master plan attribute great importance to residents' opinions in all areas addressed by the plan. Public participation will inform the planners at the time of drafting the plan of the entirety of residents' expectations, hopes, and desires regarding the city plan."

The unilateral processes employed by both cities were anchored in an official directive in bids of the planning authority of the Interior Ministry for the master plan, which states the following: "Preparing and conducting the participation process throughout the length of the planning [process] for the sake of learning the character of the community and its population and as per the directives of the steering committee". In addition, the bidding instructions include a requirement to "address the logistical facet, including by organizing meeting places." Beyond that, there are no instructions regarding the method or methodology to be employed for involving the public. In the absence of such instructions, the cities, via a third-party company, employed informal unilateral public participation methods. These methods, including one-time meetings to prioritize criteria, choose between planning options, or apply the SWOT model to elicit the strengths and weaknesses of various options, are rooted in the Israeli planning system.

In contrast, the collaborative public participation processes initiated by groups of Tel Avivians and Haifaites in their respective cities employed a different methodology, according to which procedures were conducted by means of voluntary coalitions in the form of registered not-for-profits and NGOs that enabled motivating residents to join a deliberative social network and conduct a variety of activities over time, including discussions, lawful protests, demonstrations, promotions, and educational campaigns, to pursue their objectives.

Modus, a firm of experts in the facilitation of joint processes, was hired by both cities to run their respective participation processes and to consult in the area of public participation in planning. In fact, Modus was appointed together with planners from the cities' Planning and Engineering departments to handle the administrative aspects and moderation of participation meetings. Whereas a commercial entity was hired by the cities to manage the unilateral public participation processes, the non-profits formed by residents and the few planning professionals who joined them managed the collaborative public participation processes. Specifically, the collaborative public participation processes on Shlavim Artery were run and directed by Our Neve Tzedek (hereinafter: ONT), which was founded by the first group of residents to oppose the South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan

and later joined by planning professionals. These professionals mainly comprised architects and urban planners residing in south Tel Aviv-Jaffa who were disappointed with the unilateral public participation process in which they had participated. The collaborative public participation process on the Range Artery was run and directed by the Carmel Public Forum (hereinafter: CPF), which was founded by the first group of residents to oppose the Oranim Tower plan and was subsequently joined by planning professionals, most of whom were Carmel residents.

The residents began exposing local knowledge on their own at the moment they initiated the collaborative participation processes by talking to each other about environmental nuisances. In contrast, the cities, as external stakeholders, began to extract residents' local knowledge only years later by activating designated practices during preparation of their respective master plans.

One Neve Tzedek resident living on Brandt St., whose house would have been demolished as a consequence of the widening of the street per the Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan, explained that his activism stemmed from a NIMBY mindset, but he needed others—each with his/her own NIMBY justification—to succeed in overturning the plan; together, these residents formed ONT. Thus, the founding of ONT was based on a specific environmental problem, i.e., consensus on a common problem constituted a condition for the formation of a non-profit network.

Similarly, CPF was founded by citizens who resided adjacent to the slated site of the Oranim Tower and opposed its construction. Thus, ONT and CPF each became a force that activated and led collaborative public participation processes. Whereas the cities initiated, managed, and facilitated the unilateral public participation processes, local residents initiated, managed, and led the collaborative public participation processes.

The cities involved the public because they were obligated to do so by the provisions cited above, which were decreed by a higher authority (the Interior Ministry), whereas residents were motivated by personal desire and a strong need to take action as part of the ideological and consciousness array of the local knowledge system. Whereas the cities' main motivations for involving the public were dictated by the state in a top-down policy configuration, the residents were motivated through a bottom-up configuration instigated by annoyances that threatened to disrupt their daily routines and make their lives unpleasant in their own neighborhoods.

A summary of motivator parameters for each type of public participation process is shown in Table 7.1.

7.2 Public Notification of Public Participation Processes

Among the requirements of the Interior Ministry Planning Authority for bidding on master plans related to the public participation process is a provision that requires the city to "address the logistical facet, including notifying the public". This provision is general and addresses neither the method of notification nor its scope.

Table 7.1 Motivators for public participation processes (Sect. 7.1)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
The motivator	Jurisdictional authorities	Local residents
The motives	1. Formal provisions 2. Policy 3. Professional norm	1. A plan 2. Consensus on environmental nuisances
Mode of local knowledge exposure	Top-down	Bottom-up
Start time of local knowledge exposure	Drafting of the master plan	Identification of the environmental nuisance

Prior to the unilateral public participation processes for the Tel Aviv and Haifa master plans, the respective cities conducted publicity drives to invite the public to participate.

The City of Tel Aviv formally notified the public of the participatory meetings via the city website and through notices by precinct administrations and in local newspapers. In addition, an informal process of notification evolved through e-mail activity among planning professionals residing in south Tel Aviv-Jaffa in a "bring-a-friend" configuration. The informal notification process eventually over-shadowed the official process, the result of which was that more professional planner-residents than lay residents attended the unilateral meetings. The small number of lay attendees was proof of the cities' failure to notify residents of the participation process.

The City of Haifa chose at the outset not to notify the general public of its participation process but rather to notify only a specific population selected by the city to participate in each unilateral procedure. Therefore, for the official letter procedure (which included the Criteria Prioritization tool), a direct appeal was issued to 130,000 randomly selected households and businesses, such that sending them the letter constituted both the notification process and the participation tool. The city employed different notification fashions for the SWOT and Alternatives Selection meetings using personal letters to invite 110 hand-picked sector repre-sentatives to attend.

The notification processes for the collaborative public participation processes in both cities were conducted by the participants themselves (i.e., the collaborative network members) primarily employing two well-known tactics: direct notification and indirect notification. Direct notification was accomplished through personal communications that connected neighbors, colleagues, and online users in a "bring-along-a-friend" configuration. Indirect notification used the mass media to reach all individuals to participate in the collaborative public participation pro-cesses. Indirect notification was conducted in a manner similar to marketing and advertising, using fliers and position papers, collecting signatures for petitions, and publicizing agendas on the ONT and CPF websites, as well as the website of the South Tel Aviv for the People coalition.

ONT even hired the services of a PR firm to advance the marketing of ideas to residents, professionals, and city administrators. The campaign clearly succeeded in putting the network's issues on the public agenda, as evidenced by dozens of articles in a variety of local and national publications, both lay and professional, on issues directly related to Shlavim Artery and high-rise construction on the Range Artery. The speculation is that the combined direct and indirect campaigns recruited hundreds of residents to join each collaborative networks, as a result of which each network ultimately boasted 500–1000 members engaged in all types, levels, and frequencies of activity.

Whereas the rigid framework of the unilateral procedures did not encourage participants to promote the participation process, the collaborative framework encouraged participants to use any means possible not only to notify residents of the collaborative network activity but also to convince them to join the collective effort. Although the unilateral framework left the notification process mainly to the city, a small number of residents, mainly professionals, personally notified friends, colleagues, or neighbors; in contrast, the collaborative framework gave participants free rein and full authorization to notify the public.

The sense is that the cities made efforts to notify the public due both to a clarified reality compelled by a central authority and the professional community and to the practical need to motivate enough people to attend the participation meetings to generate a sufficient turnout for holding the meetings and documenting that they took place. In contrast, it appears that participants in the collaborative process endeavored to notify the public out of sheer ideological belief in the democratic process, as well as a sincere desire to resolve environmental disputes through the broadest agreement possible. A member of the south Tel Aviv collaborative network proclaimed, "We want the maximum number of residents participating to enable the broadest agreements possible on our reasoning, methods, and products."

The unilateral notification process for Shlavim Artery meetings was conducted during the drafting of the south Tel Aviv master plan through the city website and by the precinct administrations, which posted an increasing number of notices on bulletin board kiosks. It was conducted based on narrow interests and thus no emphasis was placed on broad, multi-means notification or on notification of each community adjacent to the Shlavim Artery. Consequently, no Neve Ofèr or Mevu'ót Yaffo residents were present. Moreover, according to the findings of the anthropological fieldwork, Neve Ofer residents did not use the city website and thus did not see the invitation to the participation meetings. The claim that city officers placed Hebrew-language notices in newspapers serving communities that are not primarily Hebrew speaking has not been proven; in any event, many Neve Ofer and Mevu'ot Yaffo residents do not read Hebrew.

The unilateral notification process for the Range Artery meetings was conducted in connection with the drafting of the city master plan and was directed at hand-picked residents who were selected in advance or at only one-half of the city's population (via letter). Thus, for all intents and purposes, broad notification to the entire Haifa public did not occur, and a large portion of Carmel residents residing along the Range Artery were excluded from this process.

Whereas the notification process was conducted by the cities themselves as a series of isolated, one-time publicity events that employed specific procedures to reach specific populations, the collaborative notification process was run continuously by participants and was directed at all individuals who might possibly be interested in advancing the upcoming environmental agenda. Thus, neither the unilateral participation process nor the collaborative participation process notified all segments of the public; the isolated notification methods in the unilateral process did not purport to notify all residents and thus intentionally excluded residents from the notification process, whereas the collaborative notification process was aimed at everyone but nonetheless excluded those who did not share the same problems or environmental agenda.

The research findings show that neither participation process was adequate to notify all of the individuals who might be affected by the plans. Spontaneous conversations and in-depth interviews conducted with dozens of locals during the anthropological field study revealed that none of them knew of the public participation process conducted by the city in connection with the drafting of the city master plan or of the collaborative participation process conducted by the community; therefore, not a single interviewee participated in either process. Partial notification compromises the ability of the public participation process to represent the entire public and all of its components, which makes it impossible to expose the entire local knowledge system.

People were left with the impression that the cities employed isolated, narrow notification measures to intentionally avoid reaching too large an audience, which would have exceeded the number of seats in the meeting venues and impaired the ability of the cities to control the procedural processes and to employ unilateral tools at the times and in the fashions they chose. In contrast, the collaborative network members were interested in involving as many residents as possible and therefore employed aggressive, broad, and open notification measures, using a wide variety of communication and marketing channels, both direct and indirect.

The unilateral method assumed that residents were not aware of the need to conduct a public participation process when drafting the master plan and that it would therefore be simple to control the number of residents at the meetings using isolated notification methods. In contrast, the collaborative method assumed that residents are aware of the importance of their participation in the public participation process and that the concepts of democracy and civic action alone would motivate public participation, making it easy to increase the number of participants in the process. In other words, whereas the unilateral method implemented a notification strategy designed to control the number and identity of participants, the collaborative method encouraged everyone to join the social network and take part in the public participation process.

The findings of the anthropological field study show that although many residents were completely unaware of the public participation process, they expressed a desire to participate in such a process after it had been explained to them, and most claimed that they would have participated in one of the processes studied herein if they had known of its existence in advance. Many residents who met with the

anthropologist identified with and expressed support of the collaborative public participation process, adding that they would not have participated in the city-sponsored processes due to their distrust in authorities, their abilities, and their commitment to work on behalf of residents and represent residents' interests.

It is reasonable to assume that notification methods that were highly likely to motivate more locals to participate in the unilateral public participation process were not employed. For example, the city could have conducted notification in the field, on the streets and in the neighborhoods, or even held workshops or lectures as part of the notification process to explain the concept and value of the public participation process to residents. It emerged from the testimony of participants in Tel Aviv's unilateral process for Shlavim Artery that not a single explanation of the public participation process or what was expected of process participants was provided, even at the meetings themselves. As mentioned previously, a deep and broad notification process that includes an anthropological field study can engender direct interaction with residents in their own environs, which in turn may spur residents to participate.

The collaborative network members interacted mainly with neighbors who shared the same environmental problems and were sufficiently environmentally aware to understand the significance of the issues necessitating their involvement in the public participation process. Moreover, these residents had sufficient civic awareness to believe that they had the power to influence statutory planning decisions. Further, the research findings show that collaborative network members found it difficult to recruit not only residents who lacked a high level of civic awareness but also residents that did not speak the same language or use e-mail.

Throughout the anthropological study, most residents of Neve Ofer who met with the anthropologist revealed low levels of understanding and awareness of the "environment" concept and the significance of the term "planning", and not one of them had ever participated in a protest or demonstration or had signed a petition related to environmental issues. In addition, it emerged that many Neve Ofer residents do not speak or write Hebrew but rather are Russian, and some do not have 24/7 Internet access; if they do have constant Internet access, they do not regularly engage in virtual interactions regarding the environment.

The communication blocks related to cultural traits and social norms that emerged in the anthropological field study on the local knowledge system explain, at least partially, the absence of Neve Ofer residents from the collaborative network that developed around the Shlavim Artery plan. If the collaborative network members had recruited Russian-speaking residents and had adapted their notification and educational channels to address this population, it is likely that both the quantity and variety of participants in the collaborative public participation processes would have increased.

The anthropological study therefore appears to be an excellent tool for notifying residents of participation processes, as well as for studying their life routines, communication practices, languages and styles of interaction. These studies facilitate the adaption of communication channels to target various populations through

notification processes. A field study of this type would thus likely lead to an increase in the ultimate number of participants in the public participation process.

Whereas the unilateral process does not enable broad notification but rather permits narrow and isolated forms of notification, the collaborative process facilitates broad notification through intensive publicity campaigns and even aggressive marketing. Due to all of the drawbacks of selective notification (based on the anthropological study), the notification methods used in the collaborative process yielded the participation of many more people, including those with similar levels of environmental awareness and those who were highly motivated to work together to resolve disputes or problems. Many collaborative network members claimed that any individual who is aware of an environmental problem that is truly important and close to his/her heart will ultimately join the collaborative network and work within it at some level of activism.

Moreover, the anthropological field research findings show that there was a lack of public representation in both the unilateral and collaborative public participation processes. In particular, the anthropological study revealed groups and communities whose members did not participate in either public participation process. For example, the residents of Neve Ofer were unaware of the public participation process, as were individuals used one or the other artery frequently but lived farther away (for example, individuals who used Shlavim Artery as a transit axis, either as drivers or passengers, and individuals who patronized the leisure establishments along the Range Artery).

The anthropological fieldwork also revealed yet another group of individuals who were powerless and desired relations with City Hall but were not notified of the participation processes: Property owners on the west side of Eliphelet Street (the middle segment of the planned Shlavim Artery), who had been disenfranchised years ago when the city expropriated their properties—without compensation—to widen the street. In other words, individuals who may have been directly affected by the plans did not know and were not notified of the participation processes and thus did not participate in any of them.

Overall, despite its flaws, the collaborative public participation process attracted more of the population than the unilateral process did. In other words, in terms of representing the local population, the collaborative participation process enabled greater and more complete exposure of the local knowledge system than the unilateral process did. Nonetheless, both processes fell short of including the entire local population that would be affected by the plans. The anthropological study enabled the exposure of local knowledge among groups and communities that did not participate in any of the public participation processes, which demonstrates the importance of the anthropological study in filling gaps in the local knowledge system.

Furthermore, the anthropological research findings show that many of the locals who did not participate in the public participation processes nevertheless supported the collaborative agenda and its achievements and were not convinced of the candor of the unilateral process. The anthropological field study shows that at best, locals supported the results of the collaborative process and its deliverables and in less

optimal cases, were indifferent thereto. For example, the desires of Neve Ofer residents were consistent with the alternative Shlavim Artery plan drafted by collaborative network members (although the desires of certain Neve Ofer residents were not addressed), and patrons of the leisure establishments on Haifa's Moriah Blvd. who did not reside on the Carmel were indifferent toward the building heights along the Range Artery. Thus, in contrast to the unilateral public participation process, the collaborative process managed to represent communities that did not participate in the public participation process and who were not integrated into the collaborative network. Therefore, the collaborative participation process enabled more complete exposure of the local knowledge system than the unilateral process did.

A summary of the public notification parameters of public participation processes is shown in Table 7.2.

7.3   Procedures and Tools in Public Participation Processes

The main procedure that was repeatedly used in the unilateral public participation process was a face-to-face meeting (i.e., live, not online), which was held at least twice in each process (Tel Aviv's Shlavim Artery and Haifa's Range Artery). In each meeting, at least one of four tools was activated: choosing three citywide planning issues from a prepared list of 12-15 issues; choosing one of two planning options drafted by the city in advance; noting strengths and weaknesses of the city per the SWOT model; or noting strengths and weaknesses of the planning options per the SWOT model. In addition to the meetings, in the Range Artery case, a letter procedure was activated that did not entail a face-to-face meeting; rather, a letter sent to residents asked recipients to choose three issues from a list of 15 planning issues (guidelines) that that they believed required urgent planning action.

Whereas the unilateral procedures primarily comprised live meetings, the collaborative public participation process utilized a range of procedures, including—in addition to live meetings—online meetings, documents (such as letters, educational campaigns, petitions, and formal objections), and street events, such as demonstrations and the collection of signatures for petitions. Whereas the unilateral meetings used one of two tools (i.e., choosing between options/among an inventory of issues or indicating strengths and weaknesses using SWOT) the collaborative public participation processes employed a wide range of tools, including live debates, online correspondence, writing and publicizing position papers, drafting petitions and collecting signatures, demonstrations, and filing formal objections to plans.

Deliberative, face-to-face gatherings were conducted mainly in the form of parlor meetings in homes and public places such as auditoriums. In addition, there were e-mail conferences and chats on Facebook and other social media. Accounts by participants of the collaborative public participation processes also tell of substantial telephone usage for (often lengthy) discussions, as well as information transfers,

Table 7.2 Public notification of public participation processes (Sect. 7.2)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Notifier	Jurisdictional authority	Network of residents and participants
Motive for notification	1. Formal provision 2. Professional norm	Strengthen the participation process by getting as many people involved as possible
Notification goal	Limited number and variety of participants	Maximum (unlimited) number and variety of participants
Notification means	Few specific means, e.g., newspapers, street notices, personal letters	Variety of direct (e.g., snowball) and indirect (e.g., fliers, websites) communicative means
Notification characteristics	Series of one-time isolated publicity events directed at specific populations/individuals	Aggressive promotion conducted continuously and directed at all affected individuals
Working assumption of notification	Residents are unaware of the importance of public participation	Residents are aware of the importance of public participation
Notification strategy	Enable documentary evidence of public participation process	Enable broadest possible agreement on the goals, agenda, and products/outcomes of participation process
Exclusion of certain communities from the participatory process	Residents who: • Were not notified • Distrust the jurisdictional and planning authorities • Have low environmental and civic awareness • Are not locals but use the locale frequently, e.g., transportation passengers, employees of area businesses, patrons of leisure establishments	Residents who: • Do not suffer from the same environmental nuisance(s) or do not share the agenda of network participants • Have low environmental and civic awareness • Are not locals but use the locale frequently, e.g., transportation passengers, employees of area businesses, patrons of leisure establishments • Differ from network participants in terms of cultural characteristics (e.g., language)
Degree of local knowledge exposure derived from notification	Narrow	Broad, includes aspects of local knowledge of locals who were excluded from the notification process
Missing methods of notification	• Anthropological fieldwork • Education, explanation	• Anthropological fieldwork

updates, and publicizing events such as demonstrations. Also conspicuous in the collaborative public participation processes were spontaneous and random encounters between neighbors in various public places frequented in residents' daily routines, such as stairwells, day care, shopping centers, bus stops, cafes, and parks.

Unilateral participation meetings were planned, convened, and run by facilitators (city hall); were held on a one-time basis and limited in duration; took place in closed conference rooms in city institutions such as community centers; and utilized a single type or types of participation tools. In contrast, collaborative public participation meetings were held on multiple occasions over a long period of time at the initiative of both facilitators/activists (heads of non-profits) and participants. Collaborative participation meetings were held at various locales throughout the city, both private and public, and used a wide inventory of media, communication, and participation tools.

Whereas the unilateral method offered a rigid, fixed procedural schema more or less configured as one-time live meetings at which two types of tools were employed (choosing between options and SWOT), the collaborative method offered a flexible framework that made available a variety of procedures and a wide range of participation tools that were adapted to diverse tastes and constraints. These tools were adapted to the day-to-day lives of the locals, the digital age, and the online environment, as well as to the dynamic social environment manifested by specific circumstances and events. It is thus worth noting the around-the-clock discussions held during the tent protests on Tel Aviv's Rothschild Boulevard and Levinsky Park, among others, regarding Shlavim Artery and the future of south Tel Aviv—all at the initiative of activists in the deliberative network and as part of the collaborative participation process.

The collaborative network was capable of organizing events with little notice, such as protests outside the offices of the District Planning Board, which were timed to occur precisely when the board was meeting to discuss the issues at hand. In addition, the collaborative method enabled individuals to activate personal connections to relay local knowledge and urge its incorporation into the plan, as in the case of the collaborative public participation process on Shlavim Artery, wherein the influence of certain Neve Tzedek residents on the city council was palpable in the days leading up to the final vote against the original city master plan.

Whereas the collaborative approach to public participation gave participants freedom and allowed them to find and implement unique and individual paths to accelerate the public participation process, the unilateral public participation process did not encourage participants to generate ideas or to devise original methods to accelerate the participation process and expose local knowledge. Facilitators of the unilateral method did not even pretend to expose local knowledge beyond certain specific types of knowledge revealed via an exposure tool prepared in advance, whereas the collaborative process blatantly encouraged its participants to expose local knowledge freely and by a variety of means.

The unilateral procedures and tools scheduled and limited the exposure of local knowledge and thwarted significant and ongoing interaction among participants. In contrast, the deliberative interaction and direct, ongoing interpersonal relationships formed among participants in the collaborative process enabled a free-flowing exposure of local knowledge. The unilateral process did not produce results generated by the collective participation of all participants, whereas the collaborative

participation procedure yielded a number of collective results, such as position papers drafted based on joint agreements as to their content.

On numerous occasions during the collaborative process, position papers were drafted by a group as recorded minutes of both live and online discussions of deliberative network members. These papers were widely publicized via fliers and dedicated websites. Similarly, letters were drafted and sent to stakeholders, including developers, City Hall, city council members, and local and district planning boards. In addition, deliberative network members in certain cases authored formal writs of objection.

The ongoing collaborative and reciprocal interaction stimulated throughout the collaborative public participation processes by mutual trust enabled its lay participants to expose local knowledge, combine it with professional knowledge, and amass professional, planning, and operative knowledge in addition to social capital and civic power, which they used against other stakeholders, such as the cities, to advance their goals.

Whereas the collaborative method placed many diverse options for both planned and spontaneous activity at its participants' disposal, the unilateral method implemented a rigid framework of pre-packaged procedures that had been shaped and scheduled by the facilitators based on their own considerations. The unilateral participation procedures were prepared in advance by the cities; in contrast, the collaborative participation procedures were shaped by the participants in a self-organized[1] configuration that evolved from the participation process and was influenced by developments in the planning process and by social and environmental circumstances related to the plans.

The unilateral participation process was structured in advance as a rigid framework of procedures scheduled to occur at certain specific points in time throughout the planning process, ultimately leading to its completion. In contrast, the collaborative participation process continually evolved and lengthened sequentially in conjunction with the planning process by means of a sequence of open, flexible, and dynamic procedures, mainly deliberative, that were employed by the social network.

The unilateral participation tools were based mainly on a closed, structured query, in contrast to the tools of the collaborative participation process, which were based on open and either unstructured or semi-structured deliberations. Whereas the unilateral procedures were structured in advance to expose a few specific types of local knowledge within brief, specified time slots, the collaborative procedures used deliberative participation tools that generated the continuous exposure of many and varied types of local knowledge over long periods.

Thus, the assumptions underlying the unilateral method was that participants were not aware of the local knowledge system and that facilitators knew which

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[1]Self-organizing refers to a scientific theory used to study complex systems in all disciplines. In the case of collaborative public participation, the context is sociology, including the formation of public opinion and cooperation or competition between individuals or social groups (Portugali 1999).

types of local knowledge needed to be exposed, leading facilitators to design dedicated tools to extract these types of knowledge from participants. In contrast, the assumption underlying the collaborative method was that participants are aware of the local knowledge system and are capable of relaying that knowledge; therefore, participants should be enabled to expose local knowledge freely and openly, according to their own schedule, in a manner that they choose, and based on their considerations.

Whereas the unilateral procedures were characterized by one-way communication at one-time, time-constrained (a maximum of 2 h) events, the collaborative procedures were based on ongoing, dialectical, and discursive communication among participants, both live and online and at times anonymous, that was unconstrained by time and in some instances continued for long periods, from days to years. The collaborative procedures were not conducted on a regular basis over the years but rather were employed on an as-needed basis (i.e., each time an environmental problem arose that demanded their attention) until the appropriate planning deliverables were obtained to answer residents' needs and desires.

The collaborative processes in south Tel Aviv began with the establishment of ONT in 2004, when the South Neve Tzedek "Contiguity" Plan was publicized; in Haifa, the collaborative processes commenced with the establishment of the CPF in 1997, when plans for high-rise construction along the Range Artery were being advanced. Each of these processes accelerated any time civic intervention was needed due to irregular or disruptive spatial activity on the part of developers or city authorities. For example, the CPF ramped up interaction among its members and concentrated most of its efforts on specific issues such as the Oranim Tower plan in the late 1990s; the commercialization of Moriah in the early 2000s; the revelation of the city document that automatically permitted the opening of businesses along Moriah in 2006, and the Kiryát Sèfer plan in 2009. Likewise, ONT ramped up its activity in 2008 when dozens of individuals—both lay and professional—joined the collaborative network and expanded their activity beyond the period of the unilateral public participation process because of their disappointment in the nature of the interaction between the city and participants. During the past few years, ONT has activated at least two more participatory processes, one opposing the Yitzhak Elhanan [street] high-rises and the other calling for more schools in Neve Tzedek.

The unilateral public participation process is a one-time event that is limited to a period of several months during which several public participation sessions are scheduled in advance. At these sessions, unilateral procedures are conducted using specific tools prepared by the facilitator in advance, which are activated by means of unidirectional communication to direct the limited exposure of a few types of local knowledge.

The collaborative public participation process continues over a period of years, eventually becoming a part of the community's social structure as an organized institution run by residents using a broad, flexible system of varied tools and procedures aimed at exposing a free flow of various types of local knowledge.

A summary of the procedure and tool parameters in public participation processes is shown in Table 7.3.

Table 7.3 Procedures and tools in public participation processes (Sect. 7.3)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Facilitators	Jurisdictional authority or company acting on its behalf	Residents (participant network)
Operational framework	Rigid framework of pre-determined procedures and tools	Flexible framework of procedures and tools activated in real-time based on evolving considerations
Frequency of operation	Restricted in time to several months during which a small number of public participation sessions are scheduled in advance	Continues over a period of years, becoming rooted over time in the social structure of the community
Types of procedures	Mainly live meetings	Wide variety, including live and online meetings; documents (e.g., letters, position papers); and street events (e.g., demonstrations, collecting signatures for petitions)
Procedural characteristics	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained (two hours maximum) event	Ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication among participants, unconstrained by time, continuing for long periods ranging from days to years
Types of tools	Two tools: Choosing between options/from an inventory of issues and indicating strengths and weaknesses using SWOT	Wide range of tools, e.g., live debates, online correspondence, telephone conversations, encounters between neighbors, writing and publicizing position papers, drafting petitions and collecting signatures, demonstrations, and lodging formal objections to plans
Tool characteristics	Pre-determined	Spontaneous, random
Venue	Closed conference rooms in city institutions (e.g., community centers)	Private venues (e.g., homes) and various public venues (e.g., staircase, street, park, cafe, bus stop, day care, shopping center, auditorium)
Overlap with planning process	Isolated, occurs toward the end of the planning process	Successive, initiated at early stage of the planning process
Local knowledge exposure	Limited exposure of a few specific types of local knowledge chosen in advance	Self-organized exposure, free flow of a wide variety of local knowledge
Facilitators' assumptions	Residents are unaware of their local knowledge system; facilitators know which types of local knowledge need to be exposed and thus prepare dedicated tools to extract these types of knowledge from participants	Participants are aware of the local knowledge system and are capable of transferring the knowledge; therefore, they should be enabled to expose local knowledge freely and openly, on their own schedule, in a manner that they choose and based on their considerations

7.4   Enlistment of Stakeholders

More stakeholders were involved in the collaborative public participation processes than in the unilateral processes. In the latter, two types of stakeholders were involved: the city and participating residents. In the collaborative process, in addition to the city and participating residents, stakeholders included the residents who initiated and led the process, planning professionals, organizations, neighborhood committees, environmental and social welfare organizations, developers, personnel from the city planning department, city council members, and the Local and District Planning Boards.

As the initiator of the unilateral process, the city invited residents to participate as a single collective stakeholder at a one-time meeting, thereby preventing residents from interacting with each other and—from the outset—preventing interaction between residents and any other stakeholder. In contrast, the residents who initiated the collaborative process catalyzed and conducted an ongoing, interactive process among participants and between participants and other stakeholders, thereby generating a widespread, diverse stakeholder map and a branched relationship configuration.

Through its unilateral public participation process, the city involved a group of residents that functioned as a single stakeholder. In contrast, the collaborative public participation process conducted by residents recruited to their campaign—which evolved throughout the process—a number of other stakeholders, beginning with resident organizations, house and neighborhood committees, professionals, and environmental and social welfare organizations such as SPNI; later (and more reluctant) participants included stakeholders from the private sector, such as developers, as well as jurisdictional stakeholders, such as the city itself and the various planning boards.

Thus, for example, the cities of Tel Aviv and Haifa were mobilized to the planning debate that evolved as a component of the collaborative public participation processes when they were compelled to justify their sides of the planning debates to the protesting public. In the case of Tel Aviv, the city justified the Shlavim Artery plan both as compliant with the demand of the Interior Ministry to build a transportation corridor to replace lanes on Jerusalem Boulevard that would be appropriated by rail lines and as necessitated by the need to regulate southern entry into and exit from the city. In Haifa, the city justified the Moriah commercialization process on the pretext that it would strengthen the leisure culture in Haifa, which in turn would preventing the emigration of young people from the city.

In addition, the cities were compelled to join the collaborative public participation process to respond to the needs and requests of participating residents. Tel Aviv city council members accepted invitations extended by Neve Tzedek residents to a tour of their neighborhood in order for the residents to "demonstrate live" their

anticipated distress in the wake of the planned Shlavim Artery. However, later on in the collaborative process, the city refused ONT's request to use the community center for a residents meeting, refusing to budge even when funds were offered to compensate for use of the space. For its part, the city of Haifa granted a discount on property taxes on Moriah Blvd. in response to resident complaints about decreasing property values due to the commercialization of the street.

In addition to including the city of Haifa as a stakeholder, participants in the collaborative public participation process on Oranim Tower engaged the developer in the debate by inviting him to meet with them at Carmèl Center Auditorium. The developer arrived believing that the meeting was an opportunity to market his residential units but quickly realized that the 300 Carmel residents in attendance had convened this meeting to express their adamant opposition to his plan. This meeting constituted an interaction between two stakeholders—residents and developer—that was typical of the collaborative participation processes but did not occur in the unilateral public participation processes.

The study's findings show that the economic power of developers renders them central stakeholders in the collaborative public participation process. As wealthy individuals, they are often expected to invest in public utilities for the benefit of all, in exchange for which they demand additional building permits, which enable them to pad their own pockets. In the case of the collaborative public participation process on Kiryat Sefer Tower, the developer was asked to build public parking lots needed by Carmel residents in exchange for the grant of high-rise construction permits. The residents were thus compelled to accept high-rise construction at a variance of eight stories over existing area buildings in exchange for extra parking.

In the collaborative public participation process on Shlavim Artery, developers were compelled to alter their plans from business zoning to residential zoning in exchange for residents' concession on building heights. These compromises generated by the collaborative public participation processes are reflected in the planning deliverables, which tend to incorporate a few types of local knowledge at the expense of excluding others.

During the Kiryát Sèfer collaborative public participation process, residents were invited to a hearing of the District Planning Board, which wanted to hear their demands in addition to those of the developers and the city. The assumption of the District Planning Board of the role of mediator between residents' needs and the needs of the developer and the city was significant in the debate that evolved among the various stakeholders (e.g., the residents, the developer, the city, and the District Planning Board). The District Planning Board became the most influential entity in the process because it determined which elements of local knowledge would be incorporated into the statutory planning deliverables. Whereas in Haifa, the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory plans was accomplished by the District Planning Board, in Tel Aviv, it was orchestrated by city council members who voted against the original Shlavim Artery plan, which led to modifications based on the local knowledge exposed among the residents who participated in the collaborative public participation process.

Jurisdictional stakeholders did not officially participate in the unilateral public participation process were mobilized to the debate in the collaborative public participation process "in the line of duty" to incorporate local knowledge into the planning deliverables. However, it was in the interests of stakeholders from the business sector to prevent the incorporation of local knowledge that would compromise the profitability of their projects. Thus, an ongoing discussion evolved among stakeholders in the collaborative process to reach acceptable compromises on how the planning deliverable would look and which types of local knowledge would be incorporated therein.

In contrast to the unilateral process, which did not include the entire universe of stakeholders that influenced decision-making, the collaborative process enabled stakeholders to respond to local knowledge that was exposed by the locals themselves. This process created solid communication among a variety of stakeholders regarding possible solutions to environmental annoyances and other problems arising from the plans. Thus, the debate advanced the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning deliverables.

A summary of the parameters related to the enlistment of stakeholders is shown in Table 7.4.

Table 7.4 Enlistment of stakeholders (Sect. 7.4)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Number of stakeholders	Two: residents (participants) and jurisdiction	Several: residents (network participants), jurisdiction, planning boards, developers, etc.
Interaction between participants	Restricted, worthless	Free-flowing, communicative
Interaction between participants and other stakeholders	Limited unidirectional interaction with jurisdictional authority only	Communicative interaction among several stakeholders
Resident enlistment	Narrow public notification	Broad intensive campaign
Private and public stakeholder enlistment (other than residents)	None	Enlistment in two stages: 1. Neighborhood committees, NGOs 2. Jurisdictional and planning authorities, developers, and entrepreneurs
Stakeholders participating in local knowledge incorporation	Unilateral decision by jurisdictional authority only	All stakeholders, through negotiation and mediation
Stakeholders who prevent better incorporation of local knowledge	Jurisdictional authority	Private developers
Movement of participants between processes	Participants move between unilateral process and collaborative process	Participants who left the unilateral process join the collaborative network

7.5 The Interaction Among Stakeholders

No communication between and among participants occurred in any unilateral procedure; rather, the only communication was between them and the city representatives. Whereas the unilateral meetings involved physical interaction among participants, given that they were present in the same space, the letter procedure entailed no interaction among participants, neither physical nor communicative, because each participant received the letter independently at home. Moreover, any interaction that did occur between the city and participants was unidirectional; i.e., the communication between them was controlled and scripted by the city. The participants were constrained by the limited time allotted for their responses to structured queries that required them to select citywide criteria, choose between planning options, or indicate the strengths and weaknesses of their cities.

Moreover, participants in the unilateral procedures indicated that they felt silenced because of the limited interaction permitted among the attendees: "We could not talk with each other. When we began talking, they [the facilitators] stopped us and said that we were 'disrupting the continuity' of the workshop". In contrast, the collaborative procedures enabled and encouraged free interaction among participants, and the interface among participants during the collaborative process was continuous and never restricted by the facilitators, who actually occupied the same status as other participants.

Interviews with participants revealed that the atmosphere of the unilateral meetings was glum and that participants' lack of trust in the facilitators was conspicuous. In contrast, a pleasant atmosphere prevailed in the collaborative processes, wherein the evolving, ongoing collective interaction built trust, which in turn gave the participants self-confidence and further encouraged their participation in the campaign.

In addition, the research findings show that the interaction between the city and participants in the unilateral process was of poor quality, prompting a number of participants to describe the lack of reciprocity between the two stakeholders as "talking past each other." Disappointment in the unilateral meeting caused many residents to drop out of the process, band together, and join the collaborative participation process, which developed among south Tel Aviv residents and constituted an ideal alternative for them.

An academic who participated in the Alternatives Selection and SWOT procedures conducted during the city-sponsored public participation process in Haifa argued that the public representatives did not understand how the planning mechanism worked or how to influence the mechanism by means of participatory meetings. The academic further claimed that the city exploited this convenient weakness, failing to stimulate genuine discussions surrounding major disputes.

As such, the city continually refrained from conveying its professional knowledge in a coherent manner, thereby misleading participants by exploiting their lack of familiarity with and understanding of the planning discipline. Thus, cooperation between the city and the residents did not ensue. The city did not provide solid

information to the residents; failed to stimulate a dialog on controversial issues; and blocked the advancement of solutions to problems that were certain to arise from implementation of the plans. Such solutions would have emerged if the true plans—and their implications—had been presented to participants in a candid and professional manner, which in turn would have enabled participants to expose relevant local knowledge. Instead, the lack of interaction among participants throughout the unilateral participation procedure, as well as the manipulative attitude of the city, led to the scant exposure of insignificant pieces of knowledge that did not necessarily reflect the local knowledge. In contrast, the collaborative participation process extracted the authentic local knowledge that was not extracted during the unilateral process.

The research findings show that the lack of interaction between the city and its residents is a recurrent problem in public participation processes, including collaborative processes. The city's disregard and lack of cooperation with the public in the collaborative public participation processes was manifested by the refusal of the city of Haifa to involve collaborative network members in drafting the policy documents required by the District Planning Board, both in the case of Oranim Tower and in the case of the commercialization of Moriah Blvd. In Tel Aviv, the city refused to provide the collaborative network with meeting venues and refused to furnish the land map that indicated the identities of property owners. After long periods during which both cities avoided responding to the public and remained absent from the evolving debate over the disputes at hand, they reluctantly entered the collaborative public participation process. In the unilateral public participation process, the cities were free to manipulate the information "fed" by them to participants and to compartmentalize information conveyed to them by participants. In contrast, in the collaborative processes, the cities could not mislead residents for long because they encountered an organized, critical coalition of residents who had built sturdy "barricades of professional knowledge", as well as social capital, which they used to compel the cities to join the process as equal stakeholders and to become a party to the debate regarding the plans rather than "running the show" and "calling the shots".

It appears that ongoing, direct, unmediated interaction among collaborative public participation process participants enabled them to collectively create, in addition to a knowledge front, civic power and social capital, which they used to enlist stakeholders (i.e., the cities and the developers) in the public campaign that evolved around the issues at stake. This contrasts starkly with the unilateral process, wherein interaction among the participants was blocked, thereby neutralizing their collective power and preventing them from developing knowledge and accumulating social capital. Consequently, it kept participants from interacting with other stakeholders and from having any control over the process to expose and incorporate local knowledge into the planning deliverables.

Two interactional phases can be identified in each collaborative process. The first is interaction between the residents and collaborative network members, which comprised both planning professionals and lay people. In the second phase, other stakeholders were enlisted, including in particular non-resident planning

professionals; jurisdictional stakeholders, such as city personnel and District Planning Board members; and private stakeholders, including investors, contractors, business owners, and developers.

It was during this second phase that multi-directional and deliberative interaction occurred, which advanced understandings among stakeholders, which in turn enabled the sides to compromise and move toward the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning deliverables. What stood out in each collaborative process was the sequence of interactions stemming from the power accrued by collaborative network members (in the first phase) by building both a collective knowledge front and civic power. This in turn enabled participants to interact with other stakeholders and motivated them to act in a manner that advanced both their respective agendas and the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning deliverables.

In the Shlavim Artery collaborative public participation process, an alternative plan was developed by the collaborative network coalition, which conveyed the main points of the plan to city council members via letters, e-mails, and live meetings. Council members then worked with city planners to incorporate parts of local knowledge into the master plan.

Incorporation of local knowledge into the Range Artery plan was also accomplished through a sequence of interactions among various stakeholders. Specifically, the city drafted a plan for the Range Artery and Central Carmel based on an alternative plan proposed by the residents, and the city's modified plan ultimately obtained statutory approval from the District Planning Board. In other words, the multi-directional, multi-means interaction among stakeholders in the collaborative processes played a decisive role in the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables. In contrast, the unilateral public participation processes did not enable the exposure and incorporation of local knowledge because interactions, mutual feedback, and dialectical relationships among the parties never occurred.

Developers were major stakeholders in the Haifa collaborative public participation process. Their activities aimed at developing leisure venues and building high-rise residences along Moriah Blvd. triggered local residents' resistance, which led to the collaborative public participation process. Whereas the developer was invisible in the unilateral public participation process, the collaborative process enabled interaction between residents and the developer. The developer's appearance as a main stakeholder in the discourse immediately signaled an interactive process characterized by bridging differences and compromising.

In the case of Oranim Tower, the collaborative network members initiated an unmediated encounter with the developer; in other cases, the involvement of developers in the debate is mediated by a third party, usually a state stakeholder (specifically, a District Planning Board). For example, in the case of Kiryát Sèfer Tower, the District Planning Board mediated a compromise between the developer and residents, allowing each stakeholder to take the floor and present its side directly to the board.

The conclusion that emerges from the accumulated findings is that unilateral procedures are facilitator-centered and -directed and are controlled by tools known to generate a unidirectional, manipulative configuration of interaction and communication between the city and participants. In contrast, collaborative procedures are centered on participants and based on deliberative, free interactions among participants and between participants and other stakeholders, which catalyzes a concatenation of multi-directional interactions among various stakeholders that continues until local knowledge is successfully incorporated into the planning deliverables.

A summary of the parameters that influence interaction among stakeholders is shown in Table 7.5.

Table 7.5 Interaction among stakeholders (Sect. 7.5)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Stakeholders	Residents (participants) and the jurisdictional authority	Residents (participants' network), jurisdictional authorities, planning boards, NGOs, developers
Control over interaction (focused)	Jurisdictional authority (the facilitator)	Residents (participants' network)
Interaction among participants	Limited/lack of communicative interaction	• Free communicative interaction • Enhanced interaction between lay people and professionals
Interaction between participants and other stakeholders	Limited interaction with jurisdictional authorities	Two stages of communicative interaction: 1. With residents and NGOs 2. With jurisdictional authorities and committees, planning boards and developers
Interaction characteristics	Top-down; facilitators control the participation process and conduct unidirectional communication	Bottom-up, free-flowing, deliberative, and multidirectional; facilitators have the same status as participants
Atmosphere	Glum; interaction is characterized by poor quality, "talking past each other", and a lack of reciprocity between the two stakeholders. The participants' lack of trust in the facilitators was conspicuous and caused many residents to drop out of the process	Pleasant, ongoing, collective interaction that built trust, which gave participants self-confidence and further encouraged their participation in the campaign

(continued)

Table 7.5 (continued)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Manipulative interaction	The jurisdiction did not: • Provide concrete information to the residents • Convey its professional knowledge, thereby misleading the participants by exploiting their lack of familiarity with and understanding of the planning discipline • Extract authentic local knowledge • Incorporate local knowledge into planning deliverables	Two stages: 1. The jurisdiction ignores, misleads, and does not cooperate with the participants' network. 2. The jurisdiction is reluctantly compelled to enter the collaborative public participation process and thus halts its efforts to manipulate residents
Stages of interaction	One continuous stage of unidirectional communication and manipulation	Two stages: 1. Communicative interaction among participants 2. Stakeholders join the process as equals and parties to the debate
Promotion of social capital	Thwarted by the lack of communicative interaction among participants	Engenders the building of social capital
Amassing planning knowledge	Thwarted by the lack of communicative interaction between lay residents and the professionals	Enabled due to communicative interaction between lay residents and professionals and a dialectic between local knowledge and professional knowledge
Exposing and processing local knowledge	Neither exposure nor processing of authentic local knowledge was enabled	Both extraction and processing of authentic local knowledge were enabled

7.6   Exposure of Local Knowledge

In the unilateral public participation process, the flow of local knowledge was controlled, scripted, and limited by the facilitator in a top-down configuration, whereas in the collaborative public participation process, it was "self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration. The instances of local knowledge exposure in the unilateral procedure were isolated and fixed; in the collaborative public participation process, the exposure of local knowledge was ongoing and episodic in nature.

The unilateral public participation tools were pre-designed to expose specific types of local knowledge, whereas the tools used in the collaborative process enabled the ongoing exposure of a variety of local knowledge types. The cities controlled the types and quantity of local knowledge exposed through the rigid implementation of unidirectional cooperation tools, each of which utilized a single, structured query aimed at exposing a specific type of local knowledge; exposing or reacting to local

knowledge that fell outside the query framework was suppressed. Thus, unlike the collaborative public participation process, the unilateral public participation process did not encourage the exposure of a variety of types of local knowledge.

The unilateral method generates a unidirectional flow of local knowledge from the residents to city representatives; the release of information from city representatives to residents is deliberately kept to a minimum. In contrast, the collaborative method is based on open, multidirectional communication among collaborative network members and between them and other stakeholders, including planning professionals, the city, developers, and statutory planning entities.

The city pre-determines the types of local knowledge that will be exposed at unilateral public participation meetings and retains the right not to expose certain types of local knowledge and/or to make planning decisions independent of such local knowledge. As stated in the summary report of the Tel Aviv master plan public participation process: "Note that not all of the issues are open to [citizen] participation, and that the participation process does not derogate from the authority of planning institutions to make decisions" (Har Lev and Lerner 2008: p. 4). In contrast, there is no intention to manipulate or limit the types of local knowledge exposed in the collaborative participation process; rather, a prevailing atmosphere of deliberative freedom encourages the uninhibited exposure of many and varied types and aspects of local knowledge based on participants' considerations.

The research findings show that each local knowledge exposure tool extracted specific types of local knowledge from the local knowledge system. In general, it can be stated that unilateral tools exposed dry descriptions and facts, as well as participants' preferences among options presented to them. In contrast, the collaborative procedure exposed local knowledge that invited criticality and intelligent explanations regarding scenarios from everyday life, including causes/elements and opinions on specific environmental situations and processes.

For example, in the Haifa SWOT process, one resident broadly noted the Carmel's beauty and high quality of life as a strength, whereas collaborative network members generated an inventory of the potential negative effects of high-rise construction on the Carmel's beauty and quality of life. Specifically, collaborative participants asserted that such construction not only threatened the physical space with air pollution and a reduced runoff that jeopardized the watershed but also endangered the community sphere via heavy traffic, lack of sunlight, an altered skyline, and reduced public services.

Participation tools such as SWOT enable the exposure of specific types of local knowledge through the identification of the strengths and weaknesses of the city or respective planning options. The application of the SWOT method exposed the following types of local knowledge, which describe a broad range of facts related to the city, city life, and certain plans:

- Physical descriptions (e.g., "the Mediterranean view" and "quiet streets and foliage")
- Lifestyle descriptions (e.g., "nightlife" and "a variety of cafes")
- General feelings (e.g., "I do not feel safe after dark" and "a city that's fun to live in")

- Environmental problems (e.g., "heavy traffic" and "lack of parking")
- Reservations (e.g., "high-rise construction blocks sunlight and the view" and "no public transportation lanes are in the plans")
- Complaints (e.g., "lack of communication between the city and the residents")

The research also revealed that discussions occurred at the end of certain unilateral SWOT meetings that exposed other types of local knowledge. For example, at the Shlavim Artery meeting, residents voiced specific ideas, including "increasing building permits" and "developing the public space", and concerns, such as "a surplus of vacant offices could harm the area" and "business development does not guarantee that workers will relocate to the area".

In sum, deliberative procedures enable the exposure of local knowledge types that enable the further extraction of residents' opinions, speculations, and ideas regarding issues, plans, and environmental situations. In contrast, discussions that evolved through the SWOT procedure were truncated, one-time interactions. Moreover, a variety of stakeholders were not present at the SWOT meetings to add their opinions and references, which would have enabled the generation of collective planning knowledge pursuant to broad agreement, as occurred in the collaborative processes.

The participatory tools used by the cities that offered residents the opportunity to choose between planning options (Alternatives Selection) or from a list of criteria or planning issues (Criteria Prioritization) were aimed at exposing one type of knowledge: preferences. This knowledge type reveals which available option is favored by residents or which environmental issues they consider more urgent than others but expose no other types of knowledge. Toward the end of the discussion at the option-choosing meeting on the Range Artery, various types of local knowledge were recorded, including desires, such as "preserving the artery's residential character"; opinions, such as "objection to the artery's commercialization"; ideas, such as "widening the artery to reduce traffic"; and needs, such as "the young population seeks entertainment and culture". Thus, the brief discussion at the end of the unilateral meeting exposed other knowledge types, such as desires and opinions, that could help explain the preferences exposed by the unilateral choosing-between-options tool.

A variety of local knowledge types, including ideas, philosophies, and even ideologies, are frequently exposed in collaborative public participation processes. For example, the research findings show that the collaborative network members who participated in the south Tel Aviv process challenged the city master plan and proposed a drastically revised planning alternative that rested on completely different planning philosophies. Whereas the original master plan emphasized narrow economic, business, and real estate interests and created a car- and business-heavy space, the ideology that emerged among the collaborative network members was social in essence. Thus, the alternative plan rested on a planning philosophy that sought to reinforce the existing physical and sociocultural fabric and prevent gentrification while developing pedestrian-friendly public spaces and zoning most undeveloped property into residences and public spaces, including affordable housing. In contrast, the unilateral public participation processes were not deliberative and did not aim for a fruitful dialectic

between residents' local knowledge and professionals' planning knowledge and thus did not enable participants to formulate shared ideas or philosophies.

One community revealed by the anthropological study to possess local knowledge that remained unexposed by the public participation process comprised property-owners along the west side of Eliphelet (the middle segment of the planned Shlavim Artery). The unexposed local knowledge unique to this community was the city's blatant furtherance of its economic interests and the lack of compensation for properties that had been confiscated by the city decades ago. Thus, these residents perceived a problem related to the compensation of property owners that remained unexposed and unincorporated into the planning deliverables.

Another type of local knowledge exposed as a consequence of identifying this community of property owners was information on property ownership, which the city had refused to provide throughout the planning process despite requests by collaborative network members to do so. Thus, the anthropological research exposed stakeholder local knowledge in the form of information that the city had tried to conceal and refused to disclose.

The mental map shown below was drawn by an owner of property that abuts Eliphelet Street, to the west. According to the Shlavim plan, Eliphelet would be widened by paving additional lanes on its west side.
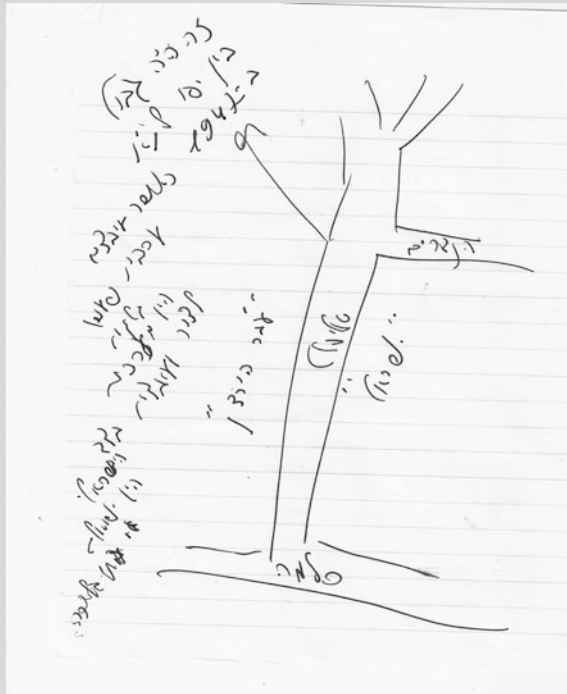
Mental Map 7.1: Eliphelet

When the property owner was asked to draw a map of the area of his business, he chose to note the essential difference that exists between the zoning on either side of the street. He referred to the east side of Eliphelet as "Israel" but called the west side "over the Jordan", explaining as follows: "Over there, on the other [east] side of the street, property owners are allowed to build garages for auto repair and other lucrative businesses and earn a good livelihood, whereas here, it's 'not Israel'. At one time [until 1947], this is where the border between Tel Aviv and Jaffa lay, so here we're in Jaffa, where Arabs produced bricks for construction on the other side of the road; in Tel Aviv, and up until today that's how it's been because, on this land, which belongs to Jaffa, we're not allowed to build; the city wants it for itself."

This mental map helped its drawer demonstrate how he sees Eliphelet Street as a border carved between Tel Aviv and Jaffa that distinguishes between him as a Jaffa resident, who suffers from discrimination, and the Tel Avivians on the other side of the road. The names "Israel" and "over the Jordan" are an allegory for the emotional and geographical perceptions of the map-drawer, who describes himself as having been shut out of his country and deprived of equal rights.

The allegory itself demonstrates the unbearable mental distress that property owners on the west side of Eliphelet suffer as "deportees" from Tel Aviv due to the deprivation of their property ownership rights. As explained by this man, the city appropriated the land in 1960 to widen Eliphelet; in 1989, the city collected money from property owners to pay for the widening of the street, as well as for building sidewalks and moving water mains, but none of these plans were ever implemented. He went on to say that the appropriation was conducted unilaterally, without any input from the property owners, and the city completely ignored the property owners' desires and the economic distress in which they were mired for years due to restrictions on the use of their properties, which left them depressed, anxious, and hurting.

When asked about his desires for the future of the area, the property owner replied that he would like to receive economic compensation for his property and to be allowed to earn an income from his property, just as property owners on the other side of Eliphelet can. The mental map as an anthropological tool constituted a focal point for an in-depth conversation that evolved between the local and the anthropologist and accelerated the process of exposing local knowledge from the perspective of the population of property owners in the shadow of the Shlavim Artery plan, under which they felt the fate of their properties hanging in the balance.

Anthropological field research tools enabled the extraction of concealed local knowledge from a deep layer of the local knowledge system, thereby exposing a weakness of the collaborative public participation process that despite its myriad strengths and advantages, does not enable holistic exposure.

The anthropological field study tool known as observations exposed local knowledge regarding spatial conducts of Neve Ofer residents that had not been exposed by either public participation process. In particular, two population groups cross Heinrich Heine Street (a southern segment of Shlavim Artery) on a daily basis: women who do their grocery shopping at the Jerusalem Blvd. shopping center and schoolchildren on their way to and from Weizman Elementary School and Ajyal High School (see Map 7.1, p. 117).

The Shlavim Artery proposal, which purported to conform to residents' spatial needs, failed in this respect because the plan to widen Shlavim Street added traffic without providing elevated or underground crossings needed by Neve Ofer pedestrians. Notably, the plans included the creation of a direct link between Neve Ofer and Shlavim Artery by lengthening Meir Grossman Street westward (see Map 7.1, p. 117), which residents vehemently opposed because it would add traffic and thus erode the cozy character of their neighborhood.
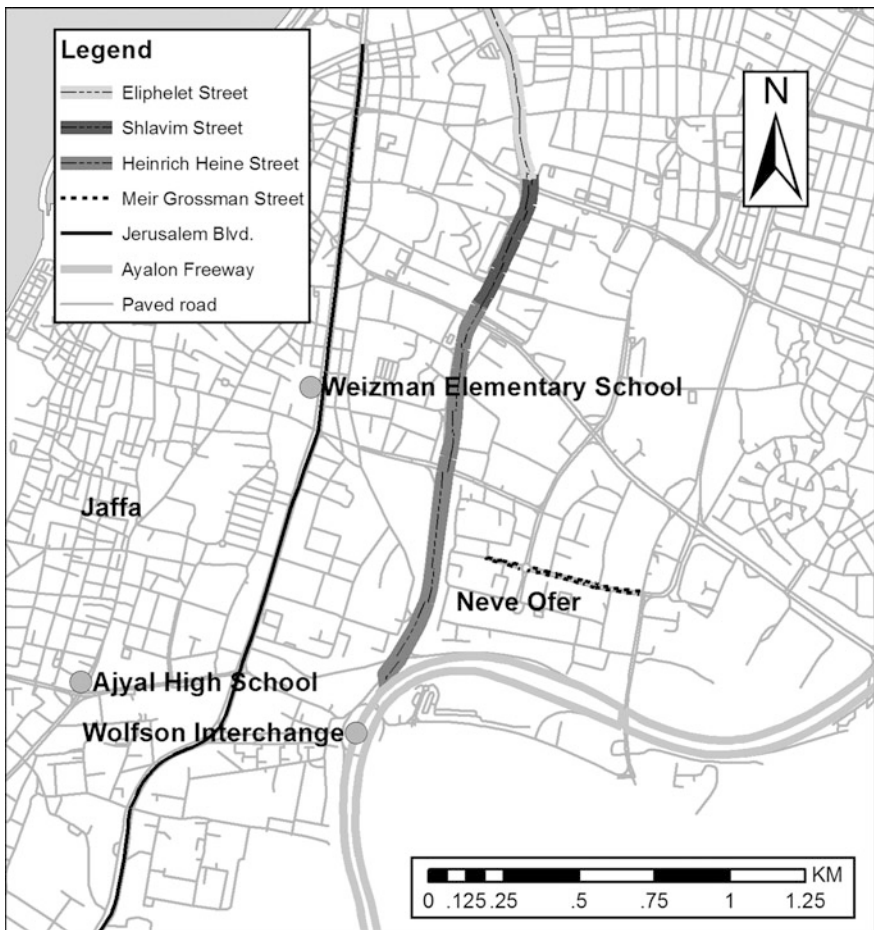
Map 7.1 Neve Ofer. GIS software custom-designed map (February 2014)

In addition to linking Neve Ofer directly to Shlavim Artery, the anthropological field study revealed the advancement of an intensive demolish-and-rebuild (D&R) project in the neighborhood, which suggested that the plan to link Neve Ofer to the artery was in preparation for the anticipated rise in motorization due to the implementation of the D&R project. The exposure of D&R events as part of the local knowledge system is another example of the power of anthropological research to uncover spatial events that were omitted from city presentations and perhaps even deliberately concealed.

The mental map shown below was drawn by the head of the Neve Ofer neighborhood committee at the request of the anthropologist to illustrate a problem being described by the committee head.
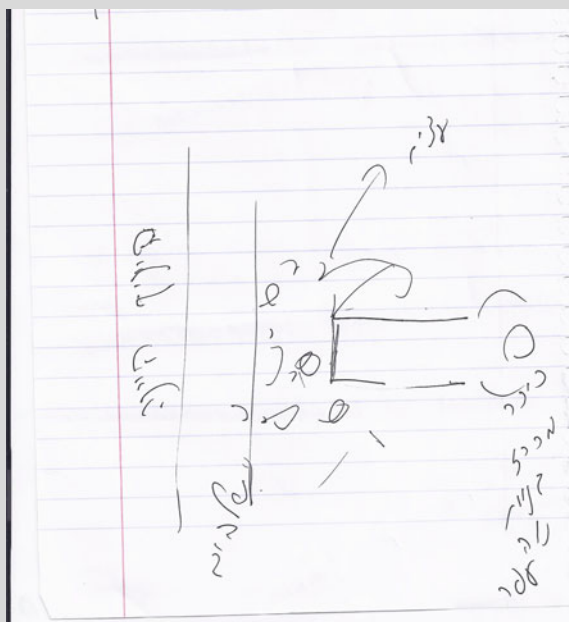
Mental Map 7.2: Neve Ofer

The map shows the west side of Meir Grossman Street, with no exit *(see the right-hand side of the map)*. Using the mental map, the activist demonstrated the extent of the problem that would be created if Meir Grossman was linked to Heinereich Henne Street, which is the southern end of the proposed Shlavim Artery: "Lengthening Meir Grossman will cut the neighborhood in two. Meir Grossman will go from being the heart of the neighborhood to being a knife that slices the neighborhood. If we link it to Shlavim, it'll cause World War Three. Heavy traffic'll come in; our children will be in danger. The residents won't let it happen! There's a nice entryway and exit 150 meters north, so opening us up to Shlavim gives us nothing. It's the height of insanity."

In the first phase, the activist drew a map to show the area between the exit from Meir Grossman and Heinereich Henne in the past, when it had been vacant for years. When he was asked to draw a present-day map, he added several trees to the vacant area, which he believed had been planted by the city without developing the area as a park, giving the area a sense of ambiguity and obfuscating the city's intentions for the area.

It is believed that the city planted the trees to quell residents' suspicions of its plan to lengthen Meir Grossman street, thereby preventing an outcry from residents, at least until the bulldozers arrive. Inquiries made by the neighborhood committee head to the city were not answered. He said, "I guess there is someone sly sitting up there [in City Hall] who's saying that it's better to leave them [Neve Ofer residents] twisting in the wind. The city didn't give us an answer. They do not have an answer. They actually do not know what's going to happen. Their way of thinking is downright disturbing."

In addition, the neighborhood committee head claimed that the tree-planting was intended to appropriate public land to prevent developers from asking for building permits: "[This way], the city can rationalize not issuing building permits by saying that it's unlawful to uproot trees [thereby reserving for itself the Shlavim option]." Note that the city's planning policy is rife with stealthy moves and processes designed to hide things from the public. Thus, the city totally controls planning information and withholds it from the public.

The anthropologist, together with the activist, set out for the place illustrated on the mental map, and while they were conversing spontaneously with passersby, it became apparent that there was a genuine fear among residents that the linking of their neighborhood street to the slated main artery would irreversibly damage the neighborly feel of their home.

The city's plans to directly connect Neve Ofer to Shlavim Artery were reinforced by maps drawn by the city that were found by the anthropologist in the possession of primary activists in the collaborative participation process. Moreover, the city's plans for this area were consistent with other city plans exposed by anthropological tools. For example, teardown/demolish-and-rebuild (D&R) plans to add hundreds of housing units to Neve Ofer were advanced by compelling many residents to endorse the project against their will. The teardown plans would add residents to the neighborhood, creating the need for better transportation access to and from the area. It came to light that the city had deliberately refrained from exposing the entirety of the plan and did not explain the existence of a shelved plan to link the neighborhood to Shlavim Artery.

The local knowledge exposed by the mental map helped the researcher form a complete picture of the issues and was invaluable in exposing the city's stealth strategy for widening Heinereich Henne Street and linking it to the heart of Neve Ofer by lengthening Meir Grossman Street, as well as significantly increasing the construction privileges in the heart of the neighborhood and adjacent areas by means of a teardown/demolish-and-rebuild policy. The city did not involve the locals in planning, did not show them the plans, and did not take into account local knowledge.

When the neighborhood committee was asked what it wanted for the future of Neve Ofer, it described its desire to have the vacant area transformed into a park containing benches and playgrounds. In this case, the mental map as an anthropological tool accelerated the process of exposing local knowledge from the perspective of the neighborhood residents who will be directly affected by the slated plans.

Note that the owners of expropriated property, as well as Neve Ofer residents and other similar communities, were not involved in the unilateral participation process and did not participate in the collaborative participation process. Significant items from the local knowledge system of these communities were exposed using the anthropological toolkit, including the mental map, which turned out to be a significant trigger for the exposure of knowledge that existed "below the surface". Moreover, the findings of the anthropological research allow us to conclude that the Shlavim Artery plan is merely groundwork for massive development in the area and aggressive city initiatives (e.g., D&R projects) have not incorporated local knowledge. Locals are trampled by the bureaucracy, with the city playing the "helpless victim" and exhibiting reprehensible disregard for residents' needs and desires. Plans were drafted unilaterally in back rooms without genuine public participation and without incorporating residents' needs therein.

It can be stated unequivocally that anthropological research tools—observations, spontaneous conversations, in-depth interviews, and mental maps—are tremendously effective in exposing significant types of local knowledge that cannot be exposed via public participation process tools and procedures, in particular the local knowledge of individuals and communities that did not participate in public participation processes but will be affected by the plans. Thus, anthropological research contributes to the full exposure of the local knowledge system, including items related to the spatial conducts of both residents and the city and knowledge that explains urban phenomena and processes.

Whereas unilateral tools limit the type and quantity of local knowledge exposed, collaborative and deliberative tools, in addition to anthropological tools, enable locals to expose a greater quantity and variety of local knowledge, freely and undisrupted over time, from a place of empathy and openness.

The unilateral process exposed mainly factual knowledge regarding environmental matters; in contrast, the collaborative public participation process exposed other types of local knowledge, including explanations, ideas, philosophies, and even ideologies related to the environmental matters at stake.

The proximity of anthropology to the research field enables it to identify communities that did not participate in the public participation processes and expose various city events that would not have been discernible from afar or discoverable by means of other research or participation tools; thus, anthropology enables the collection of more concealed types of local knowledge.

The merits of the anthropological method are manifested in its ability to both observe people in their spaces in real time during everyday realities and to activate

dialectical and deliberative tools such as spontaneous conversations and in-depth interviews. These tools enable undisrupted, free-flowing exposure of varied types of local knowledge among various individuals, groups, and communities. The mechanism of the anthropological field study combines collaborative (and not unilateral) exposure tools that constitute the source of its methodological and epistemological power.

The aforementioned findings provide additional proof of the efficacy of the collaborative method of local knowledge exposure. Similar to anthropological tools, the collaborative procedures are capable of exposing rich local knowledge previously concealed from community life. Examples of this knowledge exposure include revelations that stairwells in Carmel residences were being vandalized by drunken patrons of nearby establishments and that residents of Shapira experienced a sense of claustrophobia because they felt "caged in" between Ayalon Freeway and the planned Shlavim Artery. The ability of the collaborative method to expose concealed knowledge similar to that exposed by anthropological tool supports the appropriateness and fitness of the collaborative public participation process as a method of mining the local knowledge system. Needless to say, the unilateral method does not enable the exposure of knowledge concealed deep within the local knowledge system but rather leads only to the exposure of isolated, scant, and superficial local knowledge.

A summary of the parameters that influence the exposure of local knowledge is shown in Table 7.6.

7.7 Scope and Depth of Local Knowledge

Throughout the study, myriad types and aspects of local knowledge were identified, isolated, and examined. This local knowledge was uncovered and documented through planning involvement processes that used various procedures and tools of public participation, both unilateral and collaborative. In addition, an anthropological study was conducted among the local populations to evaluate which of the participatory methods best enables the exposure of local knowledge. A comparison of the local knowledge exposed via the anthropological study and the knowledge exposed via the participatory methods indicates that the collaborative method enables deeper and broader exposure of local knowledge than the unilateral method. Provided below are several examples that demonstrate the difference between the local knowledge exposed by each participation method.

Spatial functioning such as daily routes was exposed clearly and completely during observations and spontaneous interviews conducted in Nevè Ofer (as part of the anthropological toolkit). Two populations, schoolchildren and women, were observed crossing the path of the planned artery on a daily basis on their way to and from school and the shopping strip. The local knowledge exposed in Nevè Ofer shows an acute spatial need of locals and indicates the necessity of a safe pedestrian passage over or under the planned artery. Daily pedestrian routes in locals' routines are a type of local knowledge that is relevant—even critical—to better planning.

Table 7.6 Exposure of local knowledge (Sect. 7.6)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Facilitator	Jurisdictional authority	Residents (participants' network)
Exposure mechanism	Tools designed in advance to control the types and quantities of local knowledge	Tools designed to enable self-organized, ongoing exposure of a substantial volume and variety of local knowledge
Exposure means	Tools prepared in advance by the jurisdiction	Deliberative discussions, conversations and campaign documents
Configuration of local knowledge flow	Local knowledge flow is controlled, scripted, and defined by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration
Exposure times	Isolated and fixed	Ongoing and episodic in nature
Exposure direction	Unidirectional: From participants (residents) to the jurisdiction	Multidirectional: Among participants and between participants (residents) and all stakeholders
Types of local knowledge exposed	Dry descriptions and facts, preferences regarding general issues or options presented by the facilitator	Types of knowledge that invite criticality and intelligent explanations regarding scenarios from everyday life, such as causes/elements, opinions, speculations, philosophies, ideologies, and views on specific environmental situations and processes
Layers of the local knowledge system	Superficial: isolated and scant knowledge	Deeper layer: concealed types of local knowledge
Types of local knowledge not exposed	At the outset, the jurisdiction retains the right not to expose certain types of local knowledge and to make planning decisions independent of local knowledge. In addition, the local knowledge of certain communities and individuals who could be affected by the plans was not exposed	No intention to manipulate or limit the types of local knowledge exposed; rather, a deliberative freedom that encourages uninhibited exposure of many varied types and aspects of local knowledge based on participants' considerations. Nevertheless, the local knowledge of certain communities and individuals who could be affected by the plans was not exposed
Missing procedures and tools	Collaborative-deliberative procedures, and anthropological fieldwork tools	Anthropological fieldwork tools

Note that the collaborative public participation process on Shlavim Artery clearly documented the words of Neve Tzedek resident and activist David Eitan regarding his desire for unimpeded access from Neve Tzedek to the sea because he takes his grandchildren to the beach every weekend and does not want to see the planned route of Shlavim Artery run from the western part of Neve Tzedek, which would drive a wedge between Neve Tzedek and the beach.

During the unilateral participation process, participants identified 'strengthening the relationship between the city and the sea' as having high priority, but it was difficult to understand precisely what residents wanted in this regard—i.e., was there an access problem or a wedge between them and the sea? Did residents want a transportation link between their neighborhoods and the beach? Pedestrian walkways leading to the beach? Or more access points allowing residents to descend from the promenade to the beach?

Whereas the unilateral participation process made it difficult to pinpoint the locals spatial needs and at the most presented overly general knowledge, the collaborative participation process exposed spatial needs that were genuine, clearly identified, and relevant to planning, such as daily pedestrian routes. Moreover, the anthropological study exposed hidden but nonetheless significant and relevant local knowledge regarding the daily routes taken by the locals. Daily routes, a significant element of the local knowledge system, were well exposed by anthropological tools and to a lesser extent by the collaborative participation process.

The anthropological study conducted along the Carmel Range artery showed that certain populations residing in satellite towns of the metropolis regularly travel to the Range artery for entertainment and leisure. Over the years, a leisure culture has evolved on the artery among Druse, Muslims, and Jews of all ages, who frequent cafes, restaurants, and bars at all hours. Exposure of the preferences of this community regarding entertainment districts and their movement through the metropolis is relevant to long-term planning, particularly in the case of the Carmel, where there is a growing demand by the locals to move the entertainment loci elsewhere in the city. The challenge is to develop an alternative leisure and entertainment district that is just as appealing and will attract the same patron population as that on the Carmel.

The anthropological study also revealed that leisure patrons who do not reside on the artery are indifferent to its skyline and to the parking shortage that affects the locals: "Either we find parking or we take a cab…[either way], it won't stop us from coming…it's a quality district…nice people." Unlike leisure patrons, the local residents feel strongly about both the skyline and the parking shortage.

Although the collaborative participation process in Haifa did not reveal the patrons' identity nor their routes through the city, as the anthropological study did, it nonetheless succeeded in revealing environmental scenarios—nuisances, in fact—created by the patrons, which were confirmed by the anthropological field study: parking that violated traffic laws and accepted norms, shattered beer bottles on sidewalks, and defecation in public spaces. It is likely that the collaborative network members chose not to emphasize the cultural clash revealed by the

anthropological study to avoid generalizing about or offending certain patron populations.

Although the SWOT exercise conducted in the unilateral participation process revealed vague, random hints of the aforementioned environmental nuisances through residents' identification of weaknesses, the SWOT exercise did not enable an in-depth or specific understanding of events "on the ground". In contrast, the anthropological study exposed the regular routes used by patrons to traverse the metropolitan space and enabled a better understanding of the social makeup and range of opinions of the various communities that use the Range artery, including residents, businesses, and leisure patrons. The collaborative participation process enabled exposure of environmental nuisance scenarios, whereas the unilateral participation process failed to extract knowledge that was essential or even relevant to planning.

This example demonstrates the considerable power of both anthropological tools and the collaborative participation process to uncover significant local knowledge regarding spatial orders and conducts.

The anthropological study exposed elements of the local knowledge system that revealed individuals' levels of environmental awareness and environmental values, for example, their perceptions of concepts such as "sustainable development", "planning", "environment", "Nature Protection Society", and "environmental quality". In addition, individuals' tendencies to participate in social-environmental activism, visit the websites of environmental groups, and sign environmental protection petitions were exposed. Moreover, the means by which knowledge of environmental nuisances was transmitted among individuals was exposed, as was the ability of these individuals to form a social network and act as a collective to resolve the nuisances. For example, it was revealed that the transmission of information on environmental issues by e-mail and through random encounters in various public spaces was key to the creation of social networks. Neve TzedekAlthough collaborative networks with clear environmental agendas arose in the Carmel and Neve Tzedek districts, the local conditions necessary to form such networks did not exist in other districts due, inter alia, to low environmental awareness and the failure to transmit environmental information on an ongoing basis.

The manner in which various populations perceive environmental issues/matters— i.e., how they interpret key concepts in the public discourse, define nuisances, form social networks, and act in concert to minimize environmental damage—constitutes an essential aspect of the local knowledge system. Whereas the anthropological study exposed the local mechanisms for forming collaborative networks and conducted comparisons between communities in which such networks were formed and communities in which they did not form, the collaborative participation process exposed only the former type of knowledge. In other words, the anthropological study demonstrates a powerful ability to expose elements of the local knowledge system that affect a community's ability to advance collaborative participation because it compares various communities with each other. In contrast, the collaborative participation process does not

compare communities but rather only exposes those communities that have successfully formed collaborative networks.

The anthropological study also proved its ability to identify the characteristics of individuals in communities that failed to connect to collaborative networks, in addition to exposing cultural elements of the local knowledge system, such as spoken language, written language, and Internet use. A community's ability to form collaborative social networks is influenced not only by individuals' levels of environmental awareness but also by their habits and the nature of their interpersonal activities. In addition, it was revealed that the formation of an active collaborative network requires a consensus on the negative implications of a given environmental nuisance and on a proposed agenda for action. Such consensuses are formed in homogenous groups whose members possess high levels of environmental awareness, communication abilities, and the civic awareness that they have the power to change an existing environmental situation.

Collaborative public participation demonstrates the ability of certain communities to interpret environmental information, build new planning knowledge based on that information, and disseminate that knowledge to facilitates its incorporation into plans and thereby improve quality of life. The anthropological study not only confirmed the ability of certain communities in this regard but also proved that other communities lack the ability to interpret, transmit, and build knowledge. As such, one can argue that the collaborative participation process, like the anthropological study, expose types of local knowledge that reveal how a community interprets and transmits information and builds new knowledge based thereon.

Levels of environmental awareness among Neve Tzedek and Carmel residents are higher than those of Nevè Ofer residents and the non-resident leisure patrons of Moriah. Collaborative participation networks were successfully formed in both communities in which individuals possessed high levels of environmental awareness because these individuals not only understood how to identify environmental nuisances but also knew how to establish a concrete, clear, and agreed-upon environmental action plan.

Environmental ideology was fully and clearly exposed as a significant element of local knowledge in the collaborative public participation process, during which this ideology was documented in writing (position papers, etc.) and analyzed by the collaborative network members, both as an alternative to the city's plans and as a basis for comparison with the ideology that guided the city's plan. Conversely, the unilateral method did not expose residents' ideologies. There is no indication that the unilateral method is capable of exposing participants' ideologies or of formulating a shared ideology, nor is there evidence of any intent on the part of the city to do so.

The anthropological study was outstanding in its exposure of the long experiential learning process undertaken by the leaders of the collaborative participation process. Learning the "planning umbrella" took years, and the leaders continue to learn by experience. Huge investments of time, intellectual and psychic effort, and economic resources reflect a belief in the ability to change existing plans and evince the arduous path taken by members of the collaborative network to disseminate new

planning knowledge. This information was not exposed in public participation processes, indicating that the anthropological study has the wherewithal to expose both hidden mechanisms for forming social networks and elements of local knowledge hidden within deeper layers of social behaviors.

The various means by which communities identify environmental nuisances, build new knowledge for resolving them, and establish a solid environmental ideology were exposed throughout the anthropological field study and proven by the fact that the collaborative participation processes took place. In contrast, the unilateral participation process failed to enable the exposure of any aspects or layers of local knowledge.

The anthropological study revealed that social relations in communities that formed social networks were characterized by mutual trust. Most individuals in these communities expressed full trust in the leaders of the collaborative participation process, supported them and their activities, donated money to them, and lent them moral support. In contrast, community members in Nevè Ofer did not express trust of community leaders, did not agree to fund their activism, and did not view them as truly representing the community. Whereas the close relations and mutual trust among collaborative network members were proven by the collaborative participation process itself, the anthropological study exposed support from individuals who were not active members of the collaborative networks and conducted a comparison of various communities, leading to the conclusion that no collaborative public participation networks were formed in communities wherein residents did not trust the representatives.

It also appears that that the anthropological study enabled broader and deeper exposure of the element of local knowledge pertaining to social relations (and interpersonal ties). Unlike the anthropological study and the collaborative participation process, the unilateral participation process did not expose local knowledge regarding social relations. Indeed, the unilateral participation process was not only uninterested in this type of local knowledge but also deliberately blocked the development of social relations among participants, which might have provided information on the quality of interpersonal relations among them.

The anthropological study exposed that a group of property owners from the western side of Eliphelet Street whose properties were confiscated 30 years ago have not managed since then to form a collaborative participation network aimed at changing the city's policy regarding their community. The findings show that social relations are absent among these property owners and that "each one has his or her own issues and demands of the city … Not everyone's story is the same" (see mental map, p. 159). In other words, less-than-ideal interpersonal relations among the property owners have prevented them from forming a network to address a planning problem that affects all of them. In addition, the property owners were found to lack faith in their ability to successfully oppose the city: "The land is worth many money, it's choice property, but they won't offer us realistic compensation. I happen to know that you always get less than you ask for. They'd screw us over. City Hall's a bunch of thieves. Fighting them is like tilting at windmills. The city's

just pulling the wool over our eyes." Another property owner said, "We need to hire a lawyer. Those without the means [to do so] will get screwed."

Note that the confiscation process was unilateral and did not involve the property owners. Moreover, despite their confiscation by the city, building on these properties was severely restricted for decades, during which no city-planned projects were undertaken. Moreover, the city completely ignored the property owners and the dire financial situations in which they found themselves due their inability to develop the properties, leaving the property owners hurting, distressed, angry, and despondent.

This example demonstrates the ability of the anthropological study to expose a concealed event that exemplifies the foul unidirectional relations between the city and a certain group of residents, and the bitter way things played out between them, which remained unexposed by the participation processes.

The lack of residents' trust in the jurisdiction is rooted in the structure of the relations between the residents and the local regime regarding all projects studied in this research. Poor relations between the residents and the city were exposed by both the anthropological study and the collaborative participation processes. The anthropological study exposed cases in which residents were damaged both economically and mentally as a result of city policy. These cases, which involve the overt confiscation of property from its owners, the forced expulsion of residents from their homes (in favor of a road or a teardown/demolish-and-rebuild project), or the deliberate failure to disclose complete and truthful information about plans that would affect residents' finances and everyday lives during public participation processes, have gone on for decades. Residents and professionals who participated in unilateral participation processes later joined collaborative networks and documented the humiliating treatment, manipulation, and lack of professionalism displayed by the city in the unilateral procedures.

Whereas the collaborative participation process exposed the dire state of jurisdiction-resident relations vis-à-vis the level of public participation initiated by the city, the anthropological research exposed cases in which the jurisdiction not only excluded residents from the policy-setting process but also severely harmed them for no apparent reason, without appropriate management of or compensation for the distress caused to these residents by the city's unilateral treatment.

The anthropological research also revealed elements of local knowledge related to jurisdiction-resident relations by exposing a broader range of incidents among population groups along the Shlavim Artery, including property confiscation, teardown/demolish-and-rebuild projects, plans for linking arteries to neighborhood streets, and neighborhood "development", all of which occurred without an evaluation of the genuine needs of the affected populations and without consideration for other aspects of local knowledge, such as objections, feelings, desires, and opinions. The unilateral participation process inherently proves that city-resident relations were problematic, and the distrust and lack of cooperation between the sides were easily discernible throughout the unilateral participation process meetings.

Residents' speculations surrounding the city's plans were exposed many times over the course of the anthropological fieldwork. For example, Neve Ofer residents engaged in significant speculation about the myriad plans about which they heard from various sources, but never received clear and precise information from the jurisdiction. The neighborhood committee head did not know whether the plan to widen Heinreich Heine (as part of Shlavim Artery) would actually be implemented, and if so, whether an acoustic wall would also be built; nor did he know whether Neve Ofer would be linked to the new artery.

Likewise, Neve Ofer residents speculated about future plans for their neighborhood, even if their speculation was based only on rumors. The despair stemming from their uncertain situation was palpable; although the neighborhood committee had approached the city, no information was forthcoming. Note that most residents were not even aware of the city's plans; after expressing surprise upon hearing about them, they began a feverish rush of speculation, linking one rumor to another.

Throughout the collaborative participation process, as well as during the short discussions that occurred during the unilateral process, speculation arose on the part of the participants about the details of the Shlavim Artery plan, including the possible development of a business strip along the artery and the feasibility of implementing a mixed-use residential-employment development. The speculation spurred a discourse about the plans and gave rise to proposals to upgrade, improve, and change the plans to suit residents' needs and desires. Thus, speculation was exposed as an important component of local knowledge over the course of deliberative procedures that enabled the participants to think, respond, and hold a discussion.

The plans of Tel Aviv and Haifa to widen existing arteries and increase construction quotas around them prompted varied objections from residents of Neve Tzedek and Carmel, respectively. Over the course of the collaborative participation processes, residents Neve Tzedekraised objections related to building heights, skylines, parking, traffic, lack of schools, and air pollution. These objections lend themselves quantifiable physical values that enable calculation of property values.

Over the course of the anthropological study, Neve Ofer residents raised other objections, mainly stemming from their fear that increased neighborhood traffic threatened the safety of their children. They place great importance on the sense of community that characterizes their neighborhood and perceive the public space as a place where children can wander freely and play. In contrast to residents of the more prosperous neighborhoods, residents of Neve Ofer raised objections that are not easily quantified; they are not concerned about the depreciation of property values, nor do they discuss the possibility that property values will increase in the wake of the city's plan. Thus, the anthropological study exposed differences between community priorities: Whereas certain communities considered property values to be a central planning/social value, others considered a sense of community and the safety of their children to be more important.

During the unilateral public participation processes, participants were asked to rank planning issues that they believed needed attention. Because participants were a heterogeneous group, their rankings did not expose differences between various

communities. In addition, the planning issues participants were asked to rank included very general topics that would be difficult to translate into operative planning knowledge.

In conclusion, the anthropological study enabled a deeper investigation of numerous factors, including procedures, participation tools, and the exposure of social processes and structures, which helped explain the differences in local knowledge among communities that would be affected by the plans. Thus, the anthropological method enabled broader and deeper exposure of the local knowledge system, both of a given community and of the system of communities that comprise the geographic space at issue.

Anthropological research is outstanding in its ability to expose a fuller (and multi-dimensional) picture of the local knowledge system, due both to its capacity to identify communities that did not take part in participation processes and to its enablement of comparisons among various communities. Comparisons of communities as a methodology of urban anthropology allows the exposure of deeper layers of local knowledge, such as social order, norms, spatial behaviors, environmental ideologies, group agendas, resident-jurisdiction relations, and aspects of the interpretation, transmission, and building of knowledge.

The role of anthropological fieldwork in this study was to investigate whether local knowledge was also exposed via the public participation processes. The comparison between the anthropological study and both public participation processes shows that the collaborative participation process was better than the unilateral process at uncovering local knowledge. In particular, the local knowledge system exposed by the collaborative process was both broader and deeper than that exposed by the unilateral process. The following table summarizes the findings (Table 7.7).

Based on the research findings, the three methods for exposing local knowledge can be ranked as follows (see Chart 7.1, p. 131): The anthropological method enables fuller and deeper exposure of the local knowledge system than the public participation methods do. In any case, the collaborative method enables better exposure than the unilateral method because it exposes the local knowledge of a much greater number of communities and extracts aspects of local knowledge from deeper layers of the local knowledge system. Although the collaborative method is preferable to the unilateral method, anthropological research yields a number of additional findings that cannot be exposed through public participation methods and is therefore worth using for planning purposes. The following are several examples provided in this section that merit another mention:

1. **Spatial behaviors,** such as **daily routes,** are much better exposed by anthropological fieldwork than by participatory procedures and play an important role in drafting plans that meet the genuine needs of locals.
2. **Environmental (nuisance) scenarios** exposed via anthropological research reinforce scenarios revealed in the collaborative participation process and thus provide specific examples of local scenarios that did not emerge in the

Table 7.7 Scope and quality of exposed local knowledge parameters (Sect. 7.7)

Local knowledge parameter/aspect	Unilateral participation process exposure	Collaborative participation process exposure	Anthropological study exposure
Daily routes	Local knowledge was too general and unfocused for planning purposes	Local knowledge was partial/site specific but relevant to planning	Local knowledge was relatively complete and relevant to planning
Environmental nuisance scenarios	Local knowledge was random, general, and unfocused	Local knowledge was specific, detailed, and relevant	Local knowledge was relatively complete and relevant
Spatial orders and conducts	Local knowledge was random, general, and unfocused	Local knowledge was partial but relevant	Local knowledge was relatively complete and relevant
Environmental awareness and values; cultural codes	These aspects of local knowledge were not exposed	Local knowledge was partial but relevant	Local knowledge was relatively complete and relevant
Interpretation, transmission, and building of environmental knowledge	These aspects of local knowledge were not exposed	Exposed local knowledge through the fact of its existence (proof)	Complete local knowledge exposed
Mechanisms for forming social networks	These aspects of local knowledge were not exposed	Exposed local knowledge through the fact of its existence (proof)	Total exposure regarding all communities and comparisons among them
Ideologies	Not exposed	Completely exposed, regarding participating group(s)	Completely exposed, regarding all communities and comparisons among them
Social relations	Local knowledge of this type was not exposed	Exposed local knowledge through the fact of its existence (proof)	Completely exposed
Resident-jurisdiction relations	Partial exposure through the fact of its existence	Relevant, partial exposure	Completely exposed
Speculation	Situation-specific exposure when deliberation was enabled	Relevant, partial exposure	Considerable/complete exposure
Community priorities	Situation-specific exposure of random, heterogeneous groups	Partial, regarding participating group(s)	Total, regarding all communities and comparisons among them
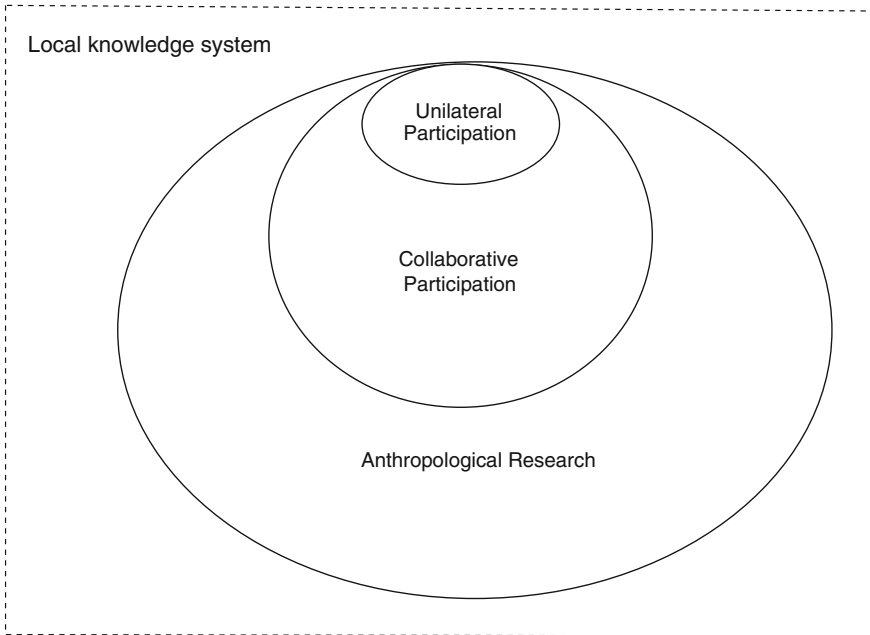
Chart 7.1 Scope of local knowledge

    collaborative participation process but help broaden and sharpen the picture of
    the area for planning purposes.
3. **Environmental awareness and values and cultural codes** are brought to the
surface by anthropological fieldwork among the various communities of the
geographical area at issue, thereby clarifying barriers that might be preventing
certain communities from forming collaborative networks. Based on this
knowledge, an implementable outline for overcoming those barriers could be
drafted.
4. Because **injustices to residents** (such as confiscation of property and
teardown/demolish-and-rebuild projects) are not exposed in participation pro-
cesses, it is extremely important to expose these injustices through anthropo-
logical fieldwork and then to use this information to discern the jurisdiction's
plan(s). The role of NGOs in exposing this type of knowledge is crucial
because the jurisdiction cannot be expected to volunteer information about such
injustices.
5. Because the means of **interpreting, transmitting, and building community
knowledge** are not fully exposed by the collaborative process, the exposure of
these mechanisms by the anthropological method enables appropriate inter-
vention to expedite the process of building planning knowledge during the
collaborative participation process. Indeed, in the cases described herein, NGOs
could play a major role in identifying this type of local knowledge and in

intervening to expedite resident initiatives because the jurisdiction cannot be expected to intervene transparently in grassroots initiatives, despite the fact that such initiatives should be encouraged.

6. Although **ideologies** were exposed to similar extents by anthropological research and the collaborative process, if the only participation process conducted is unilateral in nature, the implementation of anthropological tools is recommended to expose the true ideologies of locals because these ideologies may be used to formulate a plan that better fits locals' environmental perceptions and planning ideologies. Because the jurisdiction cannot be expected to expose this type of knowledge, NGOs could undertake this process.

7. Although **social and interpersonal relations** among communities are liable to be affected by slated plans, they are not fully exposed by the collaborative method. Therefore, an anthropological study is recommended to expose these relations so that the community can be encouraged to support grassroots initiatives. Assuming that collaborative networks in general spur grassroots cooperative processes, the importance of exposing social ties in the community is obvious: it will enable a better understanding of how best to intervene to assist the community in forming a collaborative network that can successfully advance a collaborative participation process.

8. Although **resident-jurisdiction relations** are often assumed, the research findings show that anthropological fieldwork exposes specific and unique incidents related to such relations. It is important to expose every relevant incident in this regard to enable the handling of each one based on its specific circumstances. For example, the case of the property owners on the west side of Eliphelet differs from the case of the Neve Ofer residents, and it is therefore optimal to expose and treat each case differently.

9. **Speculation** that was not exposed during the collaborative process but was exposed by the anthropological method constitutes a catalyst that spurs the community to talk, bring various issues to the surface, and analyze and find solutions to those issues. Therefore, it is advantageous to expose speculation and even to urge discussion among community members based on that speculation as part of the anthropological fieldwork.

10. Exposing **community priorities** via anthropological fieldwork is important because it enables the formulation of professional recommendations and alternative plans that are tailored to the local knowledge of specific populations. Thus, in Neve Ofer, the top priority should be children's safety, whereas in Neve Tzedek and the Carmel, parameters such as the skyline should be incorporated into plans.

The Scope of Local Knowledge diagram presented above (see Chart 7.1) provides a rough illustration of the relative scope of local knowledge exposed by anthropological research, collaborative participation and unilateral participation.

A summary of the parameters that influencing the scope and depth of local knowledge is provided below in Table 7.8.

Table 7.8 Scope and depth of local knowledge (Sect. 7.7)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Depth of the local knowledge system	Exposure of aspects from deep layers of the local knowledge system was not enabled	Exposed a greater number of layers of the local knowledge system, including layers related to social structure, daily routines, spatial order, and cultural aspects
Scope of the local knowledge system	Very few (if any) relevant aspects of local knowledge were exposed	Broad range of aspects and parts of the local knowledge system were exposed
Quality of local knowledge	Local knowledge was random, general, and unfocused	Local knowledge was specific, detailed, and relevant
Aspects of local knowledge recommended for exposure by the participatory method	None, although situation-specific exposure occurred when deliberation was enabled	Mechanisms for forming social networks; interpretation, transmission, and building of environmental knowledge; environmental awareness and values; cultural codes; spatial orders and conducts; environmental nuisance scenarios; ideologies; social relations; resident-jurisdiction relations; speculation; community priorities
Missing methods of local knowledge exposure	Collaborative participatory method and anthropological research	Anthropological research, which enables broader and deeper exposure of the local knowledge system, both of a given community and of the system of communities that compose the geographic space at hand

7.8   Characteristics of Local Knowledge

Whereas collaborative tools and procedures enable open, spontaneous, and free-flowing discussions, unilateral tools are based on closed queries that are prepared in advance, set rigidly within a procedure, and not given to change or openness. For example, the Criteria Prioritization tool for choosing issues (from a prepared list) that demanded urgent planning action did not enable participants to explain their motives or personal reasons for favoring certain issues. Although participants in the unilateral process to draft the Haifa master plan selected "traffic flow", they were not given the opportunity to describe the specific locales where traffic did not flow, thereby preventing the exposure of local knowledge that was relevant to city planning.

In contrast, the collaborative network, which enabled participating members to discuss the Range Artery, both exposed local knowledge regarding the traffic around the entertainment establishments on Moriah and revealed residents' related fear of heavy traffic caused by the implementation of plans for high-rises, which would bring more residents and consequently more motorization to the area.

The local knowledge exposed in the collaborative process was characterized by locale-specific information that cites and addresses particular plans. Thus, this local knowledge can direct urban plans in a manner that will alleviate spatial disturbances in the day-to-day lives of locals. In addition, the local knowledge exposed regarding locale-specific environmental problems is more concrete, accurate, and credible than that obtained in the unilateral process, which is neither concrete nor tangible but rather general and detached from locals' day-to-day realities.

This scenario arose in the unilateral participation process for Tel Aviv's master plan when participants in the Criteria Prioritization procedure chose three criteria ("development ensuring environmental quality", "strengthening the southern and eastern portions of the city" and "strengthening the relationship between the city and the sea") as important for planning treatment. However, participants did not have the opportunity to expand thereon or give locale-specific examples, nor could they offer explanations or planning recommendations, as they could during the collaborative participation process. Thus, the unilateral Criteria Prioritization tool for choosing from a list of options yielded an inventory of 'headline-only' issues that were devoid of content.

During the discursive procedures, the local knowledge was well-argued and processed into concrete planning recommendations based on comprehensive and detailed explanations of urban dynamics. In contrast, in the unilateral process, the knowledge exposed by participants was neither ripe nor implementable. For example, during the SWOT procedure in Haifa, although 17 weaknesses of the Carmel were identified by the attendees, the neglect of local knowledge extracted through the collaborative process left the unilateral outcome unexplained and inexplicit.

Unilateral participation tools encourage participants to expose brief "bytes", impulsive utterances, transient opinions, and isolated words or concepts that do not yield valuable or significant planning information. For example, the concept of "environmental quality" was raised at various junctures by participants in both the Haifa and Tel Aviv unilateral procedures, but participants were not allowed to explain what they meant by this term. Although the term is bandied about widely in public discourse, it has many associations and interpretations and its meaning in a particular context is not obvious. In this case, are the residents concerned about air quality, public landscaping, street cleanliness, upkeep of abandoned construction or quarries, the cleanup of polluted creek beds, solid waste management, household waste removal, recycling, or a disproportional skyline? All of these connotations can be derived from the term "environmental quality" (see example of 'environmental pollution' in Petts and Brooks 2006, p. 1047). In contrast, collaborative procedures enable the exposure of local knowledge in a specific context and allow participants to explain its meaning clearly and comprehensively, thereby enabling an understanding of the affected public's concerns.

The concept of "environmental quality" was mentioned by collaborative participation participants with respect to the Range Artery in the context of the noise and air pollution that would result from increased motorization caused by an increase in the number of residents and in area density in the event that plans for high-rise construction were implemented. In the collaborative participation process on Shlavim Artery, the participants mentioned environmental quality in connection with their desire for parks, as well as for additional residential districts in the future.

The unilateral SWOT tool yielded mainly isolated items and half-sentences whose meanings and relations could not be discerned. Thus, it was impossible to create broader knowledge regarding the matter at stake or to build significant planning knowledge. In addition to preferences, the unilateral tool for choosing between planning options (Alternatives Selection) exposes only brief mentions of each option, truncated opinions, and random positions, all of which frequently contradict one another and cannot be linked to consolidate new knowledge.

Furthermore, the outcomes of the two Alternatives Selection procedures for the Shlavim Artery—one for choosing between land use mix options and one for choosing between street section options—contradicted each other, leading to a dead end. This outcome stands in stark contrast to the agreements reached between participants of the collaborative participation processes.

One conspicuous characteristic of both tools requiring a selection among or between choices (Criteria Prioritization and Alternatives Selection) is that both the options and the list are prepared in advance, preventing the inclusion of alternatives not considered by the preparers of the tool, which creates the risk that local knowledge might be missed. Thus, elements of local knowledge that are not included in the structured choice queries cannot be exposed by unilateral procedures. In contrast, the collaborative procedures enabled participants to expose opinions and address topics without constraints, encouraging them to generate ideas and solutions on their own, which decreased the likelihood that environmental or other aspects of local knowledge would not be exposed.

Differences between the characteristics of the tools used in each method leads to differences between the types of local knowledge exposed thereby. Collaborative participation is characterized by lengthy exposure time stemming from ongoing discussions, which enables collective development of knowledge that is corroborated by many individuals and community representatives. In contrast, unilateral participation is characterized by short speaking times allotted to a small number of participants in response to individual preference or SWOT queries, without discursive interaction. This generates transient positions and brief or truncated utterances on general planning issues. Whereas the deliverable of unilateral participation is a collection of random sentences—"headlines", or at most single sentences—the collaborative deliverable includes detailed, elaborated, articulated explanations that contain logical links between citywide circumstances and the consequent situations in residents' everyday lives. Therefore, the collaborative method extracts more explicit, tangible, and qualitative knowledge that is "riper" for processing toward the construction of new knowledge.

Table 7.9 Characteristics of local knowledge (Sect. 7.8)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Geographical perimeters	General, citywide	Locale-specific
Authenticity	Random, momentary, impulsive, intuitive	Adequate, reliable, genuine, authentic
Stratification	Visible, obvious, superficial	Hidden, concealed, sub-surface, tacit
Explicitness	Inexplicit, hodgepodge	Explicit, explained
Ripeness	Unripe	Ripe, well-argued, corroborated
Relations between aspects	Inconsistent, contradictory	Consistent, consolidated, unified, explained
Agreement	None (no agreement among participants)	Yes (broad agreement between participants)
Overall quality of visible local knowledge	Low	High

A summary of the parameters that influence the characteristics of local knowledge exposed is shown in Table 7.9.

7.9 Processing Local Knowledge and Obtaining Public Participation Deliverables

Whereas the unilateral procedures failed to expose knowledge of sufficient quality to serve as raw material for operative planning knowledge, the collaborative procedures exposed local knowledge and processed that knowledge to obtain new knowledge and even operative planning recommendations. Whereas the collaborative public participation process yielded planning knowledge based on the local knowledge system, the unilateral process exposed only pieces of information from the local knowledge system. The causality of such information is either inexplicable or contradictory, preventing its consolidation and formulation into new knowledge.

The unilateral public participation process deliverables were of two main types: statistical distributions and lists of topics, talking points, and opinions. Statistical distributions of participants' choices between options or planning criteria (Alternatives Selection) were presented in public participation reports as components of the drafting of the master plans in both cities. For example, the Haifa public participation report showed a bar graph depicting the statistical breakdown of participants' selections among 15 topics presented to letter recipients. In the summary of the public participation process on drafting the Tel Aviv master plan, a table was depicted as showing the preferences of participants for planning options for various projects in south Tel Aviv, including Shlavim Artery, that had emerged from the meetings.

The second type of unilateral public participation process deliverable was lists, including lists of planning issues that required action according to participants; strengths and weaknesses of the planning options or the city a whole; and random opinions of the participants on plans or options. For example, during the SWOT procedure conducted on the Haifa master plan, lists of dozens of strengths and weaknesses were recorded, which contained participants' statements about various districts, including the Carmel. Another example of a unilateral public participation process deliverable is a list of momentary, random opinions of participants that was recorded during the procedure to choose between planning options for Shlavim Artery.

Whereas the unilateral method emphasizes the aggregation of local knowledge items and their presentation in the form of lists, diagrams, tables, or drawings, the collaborative method aims to process local knowledge by combining it with professional knowledge to obtain operative planning knowledge. Thus, the collaborative method does not focus on the gathering and recording of local knowledge but rather on its processing via discussion and discourse.

The plan presented in the Range Artery and Carmel Policy Document and the alternative plan for Shlavim Artery are excellent examples of collaborative public participation process deliverables shaped by deliberative processes. In these cases, residents exposed local knowledge through discourse and, by combining that knowledge with professional knowledge, yielded operative planning deliverables. Because these deliverables were built by locals in a team process based on local knowledge that they exposed and processed together with professionals, the deliverables truly reflect the main components of the local knowledge system related to the plans and upon which there is broad agreement among the collaborative network members. In contrast, the unilateral process not only failed to yield an agreement but also, in many cases, generated contradictory pieces of local knowledge from different participants.

For example, in the course of discussions held during the collaborative public participation process on Oranim Tower, one type of local knowledge exposed included objections to high-rise construction along the lines of, "Are you crazy? 40 stories? What planet are you on?" In response, the planning professionals involved in the discussions explained the technical aspects of high-rise construction to residents. Thereafter, the residents reacted in a manner that shifted the discussion toward a lengthy dialectic between local knowledge and professional knowledge. For instance, the professionals addressed the residents' objections to high-rise construction by listing the potential effects of such construction on the quantities of sunlight and shade; pollutants; population density; traffic; city services; and other factors. The residents responded to the professional expertise with additional questions, and in turn, the professionals queried the residents to achieve a better match between the alternative plan they were designing and the residents' requirements, needs, and other aspects of their local knowledge. At the end of the process, an operative plan emerged that addressed all of the issues raised by the residents and that included a spatial problem resolution mechanism that was acceptable to both the professionals and the lay residents.

One solution proposed to address residents' objections to high-rise construction was to limit construction along the length of the Range Artery to 22 m, a height calculated based on the width of the street, the distance between buildings, and the angles of the sun's rays throughout the day. This proposal provided a "cap" on building height and maximized light during the day, as per residents' desires. To draft the plan, the professionals used their specialized knowledge, which included 3D geometric calculations. This process of processing knowledge was characterized by a dialectic between residents and professionals whereby local knowledge guided professional knowledge, and vice versa.

Another example of such a dialectic involves "gentrification", a term that was unfamiliar to lay locals at the beginning of the south Tel Aviv collaborative participation process. During the process, they were guided by the network's professionals, and vice versa, thereby generating an ongoing, two-way learning process that led not only to a collective comprehension of gentrification but also to solid planning recommendations for avoiding it.

The collaborative procedure of knowledge exposure and processing was conducted by all participants, sequentially and continuously, until operative planning knowledge was obtained. In contrast, the unilateral process of gathering and documenting local knowledge was conducted by the facilitators on behalf of the city. The uninhibited interaction among the collaborative network members and between them and the professionals enabled the exposure and processing of local knowledge. In contrast, in the unilateral process, interaction between the city and participants was unidirectional, which prevented significant communication among and between the participants. Because the city prevented participants from obtaining professional or local knowledge, the local knowledge that was extracted remained crude. In contrast, the dialectic that evolved between the lay residents and the professionals in the collaborative process enabled the development of operative planning knowledge based on local knowledge.

The unilateral method confers upon the city a monopoly on professional knowledge, in contrast to the collaborative method, wherein the participants are guided by professional knowledge and even use professional knowledge to process local knowledge, which enables the formulation of operative planning knowledge by means of a dialectic between the two knowledge systems. Because the unilateral public participation process did not enable the participants to understand the professional knowledge relevant to the matter at stake, the city did not encourage (to say the least) the learning and internalization processes entailed thereby.

Because schools do not ordinarily teach planning as part of the regular curriculum, the lay residents had no planning training. The testimony of residents who took part in the collaborative process indicates that it took between three and seven years of learning, through experiences with the authorities and discussions with professionals, to understand the planning system and how the planning mechanism works "on the ground".

To facilitate the comprehension and internalization of professional planning knowledge, the collaborative method allows both the time and the interaction

needed among stakeholders. In addition, the collaborative network members had the desire and the passion to invest their time in learning the planning discipline, which would advance their agenda and ultimately lead to results that would make their effort worthwhile. Moreover, the local professionals who participated in the collaborative network possessed both professional knowledge and local knowledge, making their contribution to the guidance of the lay people particularly efficacious because they also had a stake in the neighborhood and were thus less affected by non-resident city planners.

The unilateral public participation process does not provide the basic conditions needed for learning professional knowledge. First, the unilateral meetings are one-time only and do not enable the sequentiality needed to learn a complex subject such as planning. In addition, the unilateral process is scripted to allow the city to control the professional knowledge and keep it under a heavy fog through a strategy of non-transparency and the controlled transfer of information and professional materials. An architect who participated in the meetings organized by the city on Shlavim Artery claimed that the participants did not understand the drawings, simulations, and data presented by the city and that "No effort was made to use lay language. It was like they were speaking Greek. Basic concepts like 'building rights' and 'street sections' weren't understood by the residents". Moreover, it was revealed that the simulations and land use maps prepared by the city were unprofessional, misleading and ambiguous and reflected neither actual situations nor authentic plans.

The findings show that residents' lack of comprehension of the materials presented by the city effectively silenced them, such that the local knowledge exposed was neither relevant nor authentic in the context of the slated plans. Moreover, the city structured and managed public participation meetings in a configuration that prevented interaction among and between the participants, between the lay and the professional participants, and between local and professional knowledge.

The findings show that residents rarely understood the practical implications of the plans on the agenda. For example, residents never suspected that the building permits presented by the city of Tel Aviv for the Shlavim Artery were triple those granted for the construction of the Ramat Gan CBD (see Map 6.1, p. 68), which the lay residents perceived as a large volume for a CBD. In other words, residents who supported the business-heavy option did so despite their aversion to such a high density of high-rise business buildings. Their lack of professional experience and inability to imagine the significance of the plans presented to them caused them to choose an option that in reality they did not want.

In other words, in the unilateral process, the local knowledge was disembodied from the professional knowledge because the latter did not guide the former. The city acted in a manner that prevented the clear and proper conveyance of the city planners' professional knowledge to the participants. Thus, the lay participants' 'knowledge deficit' (Wynne 1991) increased, further excluding the locals from the professional planning debate (Eden 1998; Persons 1990).

In contrast, in the collaborative process, professional knowledge guided the local knowledge from a genuine desire on the part of the professionals to elucidate all of the environmental implications of the slated plan. For example, in the collaborative process on the Range Artery, architects who were members of the deliberative participation network prepared a 3D simulation of the Carmel Artery that incorporated all of the high-rise building plans to demonstrate to residents the volume, magnitude, and proportions of the plans.

In contrast to the unilateral process, wherein the city used jargon as a means of advancing narrow and isolated interests, planning professionals in the collaborative process used professional knowledge to guide local knowledge in a manner that contributed to the process of formulating operative planning knowledge.

Moreover, the collaborative process also enabled experts to negotiate and bridge the gap between local knowledge and professional knowledge while finding planning solutions that reduce the gaps between the needs of locals and the needs of the entire city population. For example, although the Range Artery residents challenged the commercialization of their streets, the city wanted to preserve the entertainment district. Against this backdrop, experts recommended the separation of residential zones and entertainment zones, concentrating mixed use (including options for increasing building percentages) exclusively at main intersections along the artery. Thus, residents would enjoy relative quiet and city-dwellers could continue to patronize entertainment loci along the artery. Ultimately, these solutions were adopted by the District Planning Board.

The interaction between the city and the participants was unidirectional, manipulative, and characterized by flawed communication, effectively disabling residents from comprehending both the matter at stake and its implications. Such comprehension is necessary to catalyze residents to generate, consolidate, and convey their local knowledge, opinions, objections, and needs. In contrast, the collaborative participation was characterized by empathic and mutual communication and is motivated by mutual trust and collective adherence to the shared goal.

Moreover, the collaborative process enabled the participants to develop knowledge together, to process and consolidate it to obtain a mass of concrete and coherent planning knowledge on which there was broad agreement. Whereas the collaborative process encouraged participants to reach a consensus, the unilateral process did not purport to lead participants to collective decisions on the matters at hand; indeed, the unilateral process not only failed to encourage consensus but also perpetuated differences by exposing and documenting pieces of local knowledge that contradicted one another.

Consensus as an expression of agreement between partners constitutes an integral part of the collaborative process. At the beginning of the partnership process, there is consensus among those joining the collaborative network regarding the identification of an environmental problem, the need to resolve it, and the path thereto. Consensus of this type increases interaction, communication, and trust among the network members and stimulates the interaction and deliberation needed to expose and process the local knowledge.

Later in the process, there is greater synthesis toward a consensus among participants regarding the planning solutions formulated through a broad, steady effort to find appropriate solutions to a common problem. Whereas the collaborative process is based on consensus among the participants, the consensus in the unilateral process is formed solely among the facilitators, i.e., representatives, personnel, and planners of city hall and those active in the process on the city's behalf. It is virtually certain that these stakeholders share a common interest or at a minimum have agreed in principle regarding the types of local knowledge that should be exposed, how that local knowledge should be exposed, and the tools that should be employed to do so. The consensus among the facilitators in the unilateral process virtually guarantees that they will maintain control over the "participation" process.

The unilateral process prevented the processing of local knowledge, separated the amassed local knowledge from the professional knowledge, and prevented a dialectic between the two types of knowledge by hindering the transparency of professional materials and preventing interaction among the residents and between residents and city personnel. In contrast, the collaborative process stimulated a dialectic between local knowledge and professional knowledge and created the conditions necessary to process the local knowledge into new knowledge, i.e., operative planning knowledge and public participation deliverables.

A summary of the parameters that influenced the processing of local knowledge and obtaining public participation deliverables is shown in Table 7.10.

Table 7.10 Processing local knowledge and obtaining public participation deliverables (Sect. 7.9)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Local knowledge processing procedures	1. Gathering, aggregation 2. Categorization 3. Statistical analysis	Deliberation and dialectic between lay people and professionals
The role of professional knowledge	Controlling the processing of local knowledge through manipulation	Professional knowledge guides the local knowledge, and vice versa
Professional knowledge ownership/possession	Jurisdiction/governance; no transparency of professional knowledge	Common; lay residents learn professional knowledge
Local knowledge processing outcome (public participation deliverables)	Raw local knowledge items recorded in the form of lists, diagrams, tables, or drawings	Operative professional knowledge, planning recommendations
Extent of agreement upon public participation deliverables	No agreement between participants; agreement among jurisdictional personnel only	Broad, toward consensus among participants
Effect of public participation deliverables	Alienation, detachment, breakdown between residents and jurisdictional/planning authorities	Reduced gaps between needs of locals and needs of the entire city population

7.10   Incorporation of Local Knowledge into Planning Deliverables

The research findings show that in the unilateral method of public participation, local knowledge is exposed, gathered, and undergoes brief statistical processing and compilation to obtain a "public participation summary" that is included as an appendix to a master plan document. This process does not include the identification of local knowledge items incorporated into the master plan. For example, in the Shlavim Artery case, the master plan not only barely contained any element of local knowledge exposed during the unilateral public participation process but also rested on a contradictory planning philosophy: In the master plan, a space was earmarked for residences and pedestrian traffic, as per the collaborative planning recommendations; in the deliverables of the unilateral process, that same space was slated for business and vehicles.

In the Range Artery case, the master plan scarcely contained a single instance of local knowledge exposed during the unilateral public participation process; rather, it rested on significant concepts and aspects of local knowledge exposed through the collaborative process, i.e., separation between residential and leisure land uses; development of substitutional commercial centers citywide; limits on building heights; and formulation of solutions for relieving traffic congestion.

The low quality of local knowledge exposed in the unilateral processes prevented its use as a source for planning insights; therefore, it was impossible to identify local knowledge that had been incorporated into the master plans. In contrast, fundamental elements of high-quality planning knowledge generated in the collaborative processes were clearly identifiable in the master plans. Nonetheless, the master plans included provisions that partially addressed a few aspects of local knowledge that were exposed during the unilateral processes. Because there is no clear-cut evidence of any action taken by the city to ensure the incorporation of these items of local knowledge into the master plans, it is reasonable to assume that the incorporation was not direct and deliberate but rather passive, occurring as the result of the direct incorporation of knowledge generated in the collaborative process through negotiations among stakeholders.

The collaborative processes succeeded both in exposing large components of the local knowledge system and in processing those components into operative planning knowledge, significant portions of which were incorporated into the public participation process deliverables. Elements of the public participation process deliverables were in turn incorporated into statutory planning deliverables in policy documents, statutory provisions, and the city master plans. Thus, although the collaborative public participation process deliverables incorporated most aspects of the local knowledge obtained from residents, the statutory planning deliverables incorporated only a portion of the collaborative participation process deliverables, i.e., only some of the local knowledge aspects. Although certain aspects and types of the local knowledge incorporated into the public participation deliverables was also incorporated into the statutory deliverables, others were not. The reasons for

the gap between the levels of incorporation of local knowledge in the public participation planning deliverables and the statutory deliverables stems from compromises with other stakeholders, such as developers, the city, and the District Planning Board; compromises that compelled all parties to give in to some extent.

In the case of Shlavim Artery, the city made significant changes to the master plan based on the alternative plan formulated by locals in the collaborative public participation process. The main changes involved shifting the character of the artery from metropolitan thoroughfare to urban roadway (e.g., reducing the number of lanes, widening the sidewalk, and adding bike lanes), modifying the zoning proportions in favor of residential zoning, and reducing the building heights. In turn, residents were compelled to compromise on their demands that the city incorporate elements of affordable housing, historical site preservation, and the designation of a public transportation lane.

In the case of the Range Artery, the District Planning Board ensured that its statutory documents incorporated provisions designed to alleviate residents' distress as exposed by the collaborative public participation process. These provisions included zoning that favored quiet residential and encouraging developers to add public parking. In turn, residents were compelled to compromise with the city and the rest of the population by accepting mixed-use loci combining business and entertainment along the length of the artery. In the Haifa master plan, the city's desire to continue the zoning policy of zoning is prominent, as is the provision of creative solutions to traffic and density problems on the Carmel. Nonetheless, it appears that the residents were compelled to compromise with the developer on building permits and heights that favored the city's growth needs.

As the study shows, incorporation of local knowledge into statutory plans is aided by the intervention of additional stakeholders such as the Haifa District Planning Board, which uses its legal legitimacy to make statutory policy decisions that compromise between locals' needs and those of developers while finding operative planning solutions. In Tel Aviv, the city council members exploited their power as official representatives in the vote to approve the master plan to reverse the original vote, thereby dictating a new master plan agenda based on collaborative public participation process deliverables.

Participants in the collaborative public participation process, i.e., the collaborative network members, proved their perseverance and their ability to stay focused on their goal by continuing to advance the process until their local knowledge had been incorporated not only into the public participation deliverables but also into the statutory plans. In contrast to the unilateral processes, which were characterized by one-time-only meetings, the collaborative processes continued steadily for years, during which members conducted deliberative procedures and amassed operative professional knowledge based on mutual trust and civic power. All of these factors helped collaborative network members establish their status as major stakeholders, which allowed them to influence the stakeholders responsible for making statutory decisions.

Our discussion regarding the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables is divided into two phases: the incorporation of local knowledge into

public participation deliverables and its subsequent incorporation into statutory deliverables.

As a dependent variable, the incorporation of local knowledge into public participation deliverables depends upon a number of independent variables, the most significant of which are the identity of the facilitators; the configuration of communication between the facilitators and the participants; the characteristics of the procedures and participation tools used; and the characteristics of the interaction among participants. These variables affect the building of social capital; the nature of the exposure and processing of local knowledge; the process of amassing operative planning knowledge; and the extent to which the operative planning knowledge is incorporated into the public participation deliverable. Building knowledge and social capital is accomplished simultaneously and is the result of consistent, decisive, sequential, and intensive activity. In addition to discussions between residents and professionals, this activity includes intensive and multi-pronged educational campaigns, all of which are conducted under the aegis of an open, flexible, and collaborative social network.

As a dependent variable, the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables depends on a number of independent variables, the most significant of which are the quality of the social capital and planning knowledge fronts, the quality of the public participation deliverable, the identities of the stakeholders, and the nature of the interaction between them and the participants. All of these factors affect the degree to which the local knowledge is implementable and the scope of its incorporation into statutory planning deliverables.

The collaborative public participation process is remarkable in terms of its ability to develop professional planning recommendations (public participation deliverables) based on local knowledge and according to a consensus and its capacity to build social capital that fosters both the cohesion of the group and its functioning as a major stakeholder facing other stakeholders and decision-makers. It develops these resources in a manner that resolves spatial problems and disputes through compromise. The compromises thus achieved determine both the outline of the planning deliverable and the aspects of local knowledge incorporated into (and excluded from) the deliverable.

It can be assumed that incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables reduces the gap between statutory planning and the day-to-day reality and conduct of local residents. If this is how it appears on the surface, the collaborative process should enhance residents' quality of life while reducing environmental threats, both social and physical. Collaborative public participation therefore advocates the synergy of local knowledge and planning knowledge and a consensus thereon, which in turn strengthens social capital, facilitates the incorporation of local knowledge into plans, and stimulates sustainable development.

A summary of the parameters that influence the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables is shown in Table 7.11.

Table 7.11 Incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables (Sect. 7.10)

Evaluation parameters	Unilateral participation	Collaborative participation
Degree of implementability of public participation deliverables	Low	High
Incorporation procedures	Random and not intentional/premeditated; deliberate by city personnel	Mediation and bridging gaps (negotiation) between stakeholders and compromises made by all parties
Scope of local knowledge to be incorporated	Scant aspects	Significant portions (even ideologies)
Incorporation outcome	Appendix to the planning portfolio	Plans, policy documents, statutory provisions
Consistency between planning deliverables and local knowledge	Deliverables frequently contradict local knowledge	Congruence between deliverables and local knowledge

7.11   Outcomes and Conclusions Derived from the Analysis of Findings

7.11.1   Interrelations Among Criteria of Participatory Processes

The findings indicate that there is a certain sequence of correlations among the main criteria. The motives influence the motivators, which in turn influence configurations of both notification and participatory procedures. Notification influences the number of participants and the level of the public's representation in the participation process. Participatory procedures determine the modes of communication, and the modes of communication impact the level of social capital. Both levels of representation and social capital influence the extent of local knowledge exposure.

Social capital influences political power (or political capital), which in turn influences the enlistment of and negotiations among stakeholders. Negotiations among stakeholders influence the extent of local knowledge incorporated into statutory deliverables. In addition, it can be concluded that social capital affects the quality of local knowledge extracted and that the availability of professional knowledge influences the interrelationship between local knowledge and professional knowledge, which in turn determine the operative planning knowledge amassed. Another conspicuous correlation is observed between social capital and consensus on the operative planning knowledge amassed.

Another option for describing the concatenation of interrelations among the main criteria can be stated thusly: The facilitator's identity determines the participatory methodology (i.e., the procedures and tools employed), which in turn determines

the interaction and communication among the participants. The interface among participants affects four fundamental capabilities, namely, amassing social capital, exposing quality local knowledge, amassing operative knowledge, and reaching consensus. The four capabilities influence both the incorporation of local knowledge into public participation deliverables and the building of political power. Political power influences the enlistment of stakeholders—as well as the interactions, negotiations, and mediations among stakeholders—all of which have a significant impact on the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables.

The research findings show that the collaborative method can catalyze the participation process through its completion, whereas the unilateral method stops at the communication/interaction phase because it lacks the capability to advance the process through the extraction and incorporation phases (see Chart 7.2, next page). The main conclusion based on these findings is that the interface configuration among participants is a fundamental criterion of participatory processes and that collaborative interaction and deliberative communication are the key elements of effective public participation.

In addition, the collaborative process has the overall capacity to enhance community sustainability (and likely environmental sustainability), as well as to strengthen civil society—the very soil from which the process grew.

7.11.2   *Evaluation Parameters (Evaluation Tool)*

A summary of the parameters that influence participatory processes is displayed in ten tables (see Tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.8, 7.9, 7.10 and 7.11), which together constitute an **Evaluation Tool** appropriate for assessing the abilities of public participation processes to uncover local knowledge and to incorporate that knowledge into planning deliverables. The Evaluation Tool is useful for calibrating/adjusting participatory practices based on certain parameters. The Evaluation Tool also suggests dozens of parameters according to which any given public participation project can and should be adjusted/calibrated. A suggested set of directions for designing an effective participatory process is provided below (see Table 7.12). The directions are based on evaluation parameters/criteria (of the Evaluation Tool), which have been taken from the "Collaborative column" in Tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.10 and 7.11. Obviously, the collaborative method is recommended because it has the capacity to expose quality local knowledge and to process that knowledge and incorporate it into planning. Thus, the suggested directions in Table 7.12 follow collaborative participatory modes, configurations, and progressions.

The directions presented above aim to foster a participatory configuration that enables locals to form a task force in network form in response to an environmental nuisance or a harmful plan. The guidelines target the extraction, collection, and processing of a mass of local knowledge; the combination of that local knowledge with professional knowledge; and the production of an operative deliverable that

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                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │        Motivators        │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
                                 ▼                          Unilateral
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │   Procedures and Tools   │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
                                 ▼
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │ Interaction and Communication │
                    │     among participants    │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                                 │
                                 ▼
                    ┌─────────────────────────┐
                    │ Capabilities: Building Social Capital, │     Collaborative
                    │ Extracting Quality Local Knowledge,    │
                    │ Amassing Operative Knowledge,          │
                    │ Reaching Consensus                     │
                    └─────────────────────────┘
                        │                    │
                        ▼                    ▼
        ┌──────────────────────┐   ┌──────────────────────┐
        │ Incorporating Local  │   │ Building Political Power │
        │ Knowledge into       │   │                        │
        │ Participatory deliverables │ └──────────────────────┘
        └──────────────────────┘              │
                        │                      ▼
                        │         ┌──────────────────────┐
                        │         │ Enlisting Stakeholders │
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                        └────────▶│ Incorporating Local   │
                                  │ Knowledge into         │
                                  │ Statutory Deliverables │
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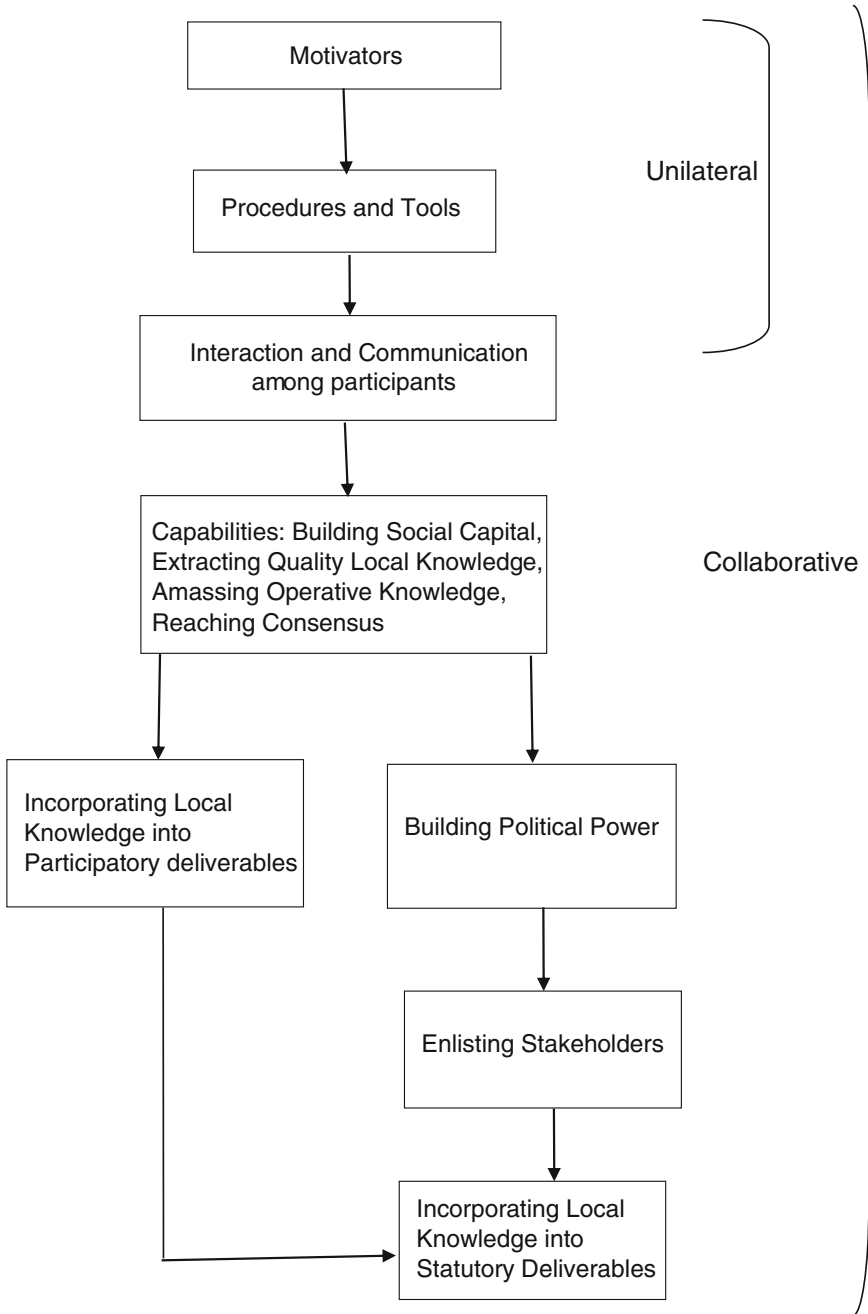
Chart 7.2 Concatenation of interrelations among criteria

takes into account the locals' spatial needs and interests and is ripe for incorporation into plans. Successive deliberative discussions in open, not-for-profit social networks between diverse local lay people and planning professionals encourages participants to expose local knowledge collectively; learn about disputes together; compromise; and formulate operative planning decisions and concrete professional recommendations for planning solutions to environmental problems that are based on broad agreement toward consensus among the participants.

In addition, practices designed according to the suggested directions may stimulate the building of social capital, which in turn enables, preserves, and strengthens collaboration and accelerates the flow of local knowledge and the formulation of operative planning knowledge, which is based on a wide range of local knowledge types that are detailed, well-argued, explained, consolidated, corroborated, and adequate. Moreover, the ability of a collaborative network to recruit key stakeholders, such as planning boards and developers, to the collaborative planning debate stimulates the incorporation of operative professional knowledge into statutory plans.

The evaluation tool shall direct initiators, facilitators and participants of the participatory processes (e.g., residents, NGOs, not-for-profit coalitions) on how to design and conduct an effective process that is capable of carrying out all the above-mentioned stages, activities, operations and dynamics.

7.11.3   Participatory Procedures Classification

Per the evaluation parameters (see Tables 7.1, 7.2, 7.3, 7.4, 7.5, 7.6, 7.8, 7.9, 7.10 and 7.11), various participatory procedures are (roughly) rankable by their level of collaboration, from most unilateral to most collaborative, as follows:

Municipal Election, Public Hearing, Structured Questionnaire, Alternatives Selection, Criteria Prioritization, SWOT Analysis—Focus Group—Planning for Real, Citizens Jury, Search Conference, Citizen-based Conference (People's Panel), Charrette, Participation Action Research (PAR), and Grassroots Movement.

(Tables 7.13 and 7.14 *illustrate this ranking of participatory procedures according to seven evaluation parameters taken from* Tables 7.3, 7.4, and 7.6).

The focus group can be termed a *transitional procedure* because it is located precisely at the boundary between unilateral procedure and collaborative procedure. Focus groups possess both unilateral and collaborative traits: Although they enable groups of people to engage in a higher level of communication than unilateral procedures, they are still controlled to a not-negligible extent by the facilitator, whereas collaborative procedures enable freer and more unconstrained communication [as per the evaluation parameter "Configuration of flow of local knowledge", see Tables 7.6 and 7.13]. A citizen-based conference is more collaborative than Alternatives Selection as it engenders more self-organized deliberative discussions that expose substantial volume and variety of local knowledge [as per the

Table 7.12 Directions for designing effective public participation processes

Evaluation criteria	Directions
Motivators for public participation processes (Table 7.1)	Promote consensus on environmental nuisances and slated plans among local residents; encourage locals to act and to initiate a grassroots participatory process
Public notification of public participation processes (Table 7.2)	Strengthen the participation process by involving as many people as possible; use a variety of direct (e.g., snowball) and indirect (e.g., fliers, websites) communicative means; implement steady, aggressive promotion directed at all affected individuals; enable broadest agreement possible among participants regarding the goals, agenda, and outcomes of the participation process
Procedures and tools in public participation processes (Table 7.3)	Generate ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication among participants, unconstrained by time, continuing for long periods running from days to years; use a wide variety of procedures, including live and online meetings, online correspondence, telephone conversations, documents (e.g., letters, position papers, and formal objections to plans), and street events (e.g., demonstrations, collecting signatures for petitions)
The Interaction among participants (Table 7.5)	Debate by free-flowing, deliberative, multidirectional communications among participants engenders the building of social capital and civic power
Enlistment of stakeholders (Table 7.4)	Encourage participants to generate a network that includes not only lay and professional residents who are affected by the environmental nuisances and slated plans but also other stakeholders, such as neighborhood committees, NGOs, and (no less importantly) jurisdictional and planning authorities, developers, and entrepreneurs
Processing local knowledge and obtaining public participation deliverables (Table 7.10)	Emphasize deliberation and dialectic between lay people and professionals; encourage the guidance of professional knowledge by local knowledge, and vice versa, i.e., lay residents learn professional knowledge and professionals learn local knowledge. Local knowledge processing outcome, i.e., public participation deliverables, includes operative professional knowledge and planning recommendations
Incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables (Table 7.11)	Encourage all stakeholders to find solutions to environmental nuisances, and to assimilate as much as local knowledge as possible into plans and other statutory planning deliverables, through mediation and bridging gaps (negotiation) among stakeholders, as well as compromises by all parties

evaluation parameters "Exposure means" and "Exposure mechanism", see Tables 7.6 and 7.14].

PAR and grassroots procedures offer a wider range of communication tools and applications than the other collaborative procedures, whereas each unilateral procedure offers only one tool for exposing local knowledge [as per the evaluation parameter "Types of tools", see Tables 7.3 and 7.13].

Another example is in the case of the charrette, which is more collaborative than SWOT. The SWOT offers one-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained (2 h maximum) event, whereas the charrette is based on ongoing, dialectical, and

Table 7.13 Participatory procedures classification according to evaluation parameters

Evaluation parameter → Participatory procedure ↓	"Configuration of flow of local knowledge" (Table 7.6)	"Types of tools" (Table 7.3)	"Types of procedures" (Table 7.3)	"Tools' characteristics" (Table 7.3)
Public hearing	Controlled by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Structured questionnaire	Controlled by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Alternatives selection	Controlled by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Criteria prioritization	Controlled by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
SWOT analysis	Controlled by the facilitator in a top-down configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Focus group	Controlled mainly by the facilitator and to some extent by the participants	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Planning for real	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Citizens jury	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	One tool	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set
Search Conference	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	Relatively wide range of tools	Mainly live and online meetings	Pre-set
Citizen-based conference (people's panel)	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	Relatively wide range of tools	Mainly live meetings	Pre-set and spontaneous/random
Charrette	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	Relatively wide range of tools	Broad variety	Pre-set and spontaneous/random
Participation action research (PAR)	"Self-woven" by the participants in a bottom-up configuration	Wide range of tools	Broad variety	Pre-set and spontaneous/random
Grassroots movement	Totally "Self-woven" by the residents in a bottom-up configuration	The widest range of tools	The broadest variety	Spontaneous and random

discursive communication continuing for long periods, ranging from days to a week [as per the evaluation parameter "procedural characteristics", see Tables 7.3 and 7.14]. In addition, whereas in the charrette professional knowledge genuinely guides the local knowledge, at SWOT, professional knowledge is locked and manipulatively used by the jurisdiction controlling the processing of local knowledge through manipulation [as per the evaluation parameter "The role of professional knowledge", see Table 7.10].

Table 7.14 Participatory procedures classification according to evaluation parameters

Evaluation parameter → Participatory procedure ↓	"Procedures characteristics" (Table 7.3)	"Interaction between participants" (Table 7.4)	"Exposure Mechanism" (Table 7.6)
Public hearing	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Restricted, worthless	Procedure is designed in advance with the aim of controlling the types and quantities of local knowledge
Structured questionnaire	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Restricted, worthless	Tool is designed in advance with the aim of controlling the types and quantities of local knowledge
Alternatives selection	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Usually Restricted	Tool is designed in advance with the aim of controlling the types and quantities of local knowledge
Criteria prioritization	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Usually restricted	Tool is designed in advance with the aim of controlling the types and quantities of local knowledge
SWOT analysis	One-way communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Usually restricted	Tool is designed in advance with the aim of controlling the types and quantities of local knowledge
Focus group	Dialectical, discursive communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Usually limited/restricted	Procedure both controls the types and quantities of local knowledge and enables exposure of various types of local knowledge
Planning for real	Non-discursive communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Usually limited	Procedure enables self-organized exposure of various types of local knowledge

Table 7.14 (continued)

Evaluation parameter → Participatory procedure ↓	"Procedures characteristics" (Table 7.3)	"Interaction between participants" (Table 7.4)	"Exposure Mechanism" (Table 7.6)
Citizens jury	Dialectical, discursive communication at a one-time, time-constrained event	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedure enables self-organized exposure of various types of local knowledge
Search conference	Dialectical, discursive communication at a one-time, time-constrained, annual event	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedures and tools enable self-organized, ongoing exposure of a mass of various types of local knowledge
Citizen-based Conference (people's panel)	Ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication, unconstrained by time, continuing for months	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedure enables self-organized, ongoing exposure of a mass of various types of local knowledge
Charrette	Ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication, unconstrained by time, continuing successively for days	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedures and tools enable self-organized, ongoing exposure of a mass of various types of local knowledge
Participation action research (PAR)	Ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication, unconstrained by time, continuing for months	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedures and tools enable self-organized, ongoing exposure of a mass of various types of local knowledge
Grassroots movement	Ongoing, dialectical, discursive communication between the participants, unconstrained by time, continuing for years	Free-flowing, communicative	Procedures and tools enable self-organized, ongoing exposure of a mass of various types of local knowledge

7.11.4 Superiority of Anthropological Tools in Exposing Local Knowledge

The research findings indicate that anthropological research is a superior method for extracting and capturing multiple layers and concealed parts, types, and aspects of the local knowledge system. Thus, an important conclusion is that anthropological tools should be activated within planning processes to enable proper, holistic, genuine, and broad exposure of the local knowledge system and thereby ensure better planning and livable cities. The research also shows that anthropological

fieldwork should be used as an adjunct tool for notifying the public of participatory processes.

The comparison between the anthropological method and both participatory methods indicates that the collaborative method is more capable than the unilateral method in terms of exposing a broader range and a wider variety of aspects of the local knowledge system. One can reasonably assume that the more collaborative a procedure is, the better its ability to expose the local knowledge system will be. For example, the grassroots movement is expected to expose the local knowledge system better than the structured questionnaire, and the Charrette would likely do a better job in this regard than the SWOT analysis.

Chapter 8
Discussion: Comparison of Methods of Public Participation

The analysis of findings enables a better understanding of the differences among the mechanisms of various participation methods in terms of their respective capabilities to expose local knowledge and to incorporate that knowledge into planning deliverables. It emerges from the analysis that the main differences lie on four levels, namely, the capabilities of the participation methods to do the following:

1. Use local knowledge as the basis for building operative planning knowledge that is ripe (i.e., reliable, consolidated and corroborated) for incorporation into planning deliverables.
2. Advance consensus around operative knowledge and planning deliverables.
3. Build social capital that advances the accumulation of the community's civic and political power, which in turn establishes communal capacity to negotiate with external stakeholders on the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables and to promote community sustainability.
4. Strengthen civil society. The collaborative process has the capability to strengthen civil society.

A detailed discussion on each of these levels is presented below.

8.1 Public Participation as a Way of Amassing Operative Professional Knowledge

The thesis findings are consistent with Arnstein's (1969, p. 216) claim that "there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having real power". Arnstein addressed the "level of control" in a widely cited "ladder" of participation, the lowest rung of which is occupied by "manipulation", followed in ascending order by "therapy", "informing", "consultation", "placation", "partnership", and "delegated power". Actual citizen control occupies the top rung.

Whereas the mayor and city officials may be unwilling to relinquish control and therefore promote unidirectional participatory techniques, a successful collaborative public participation process would aim toward the top of the ladder.

The unilateral participation process is controlled, scheduled, and defined by a facilitator working on the behalf of an authority. This facilitator manipulates the procedures in a top-down fashion, effectively disabling participants from conducting a dialog or developing a dialectic among themselves. This facilitator, together with personnel and experts working for the city, determines in advance the types of local knowledge that s/he wants to extract from participants; toward that end, s/he prepares dedicated tools such as letters, SWOT analyses, and choosing between planning alternatives. In contrast, the collaborative process is organized by individuals who conduct an ongoing, deliberate dialectic among themselves, accompanied by exchanges of information, updates, and ideas related to the matters at hand. In this way, local knowledge is exposed through deliberation. The ability to respond and react enables the conduct of discourse and discussion, which in turn builds new knowledge (Creasy et al. 2008).

Local knowledge in and of itself has no operative property but rather is solely informative in nature and thus requires processing before operative planning conclusions can be drawn. The test cases in Haifa and Tel Aviv show that operative knowledge is obtained in the collaborative participation process by processing local knowledge with expert knowledge, and the latter is furnished by professionals—usually locals—who participate in and even lead discussions.

Rydin (2007) claimed that the combination of expert knowledge with lay knowledge depends upon the translatability of the latter into the former. A professional adapts professional terminology and knowledge to local circumstances based on discussions with both locals and colleagues, documenting the salient points therein, and translates his/her conclusions into planning applications. The lay knowledge exposed by individuals in the community interfaces with professional knowledge to produce operative planning knowledge that should positively affect statutory planning outcomes.

Under collaborative participatory conditions, the role of the public is not merely to verify experts' claims but rather to challenge the quality of existing knowledge and the claims of its robustness (Petts and Brooks 2006). Locals' responses are judgments and speculations about the quality of knowledge and of experts' claims based thereon. Lay people not only contribute their own knowledge about their local environment but also reflect on their relationships to experts and on the epistemological status of local versus outside knowledge (Wynne 1992).

In the deliberative participatory model, lay input is inherent to and integrated with the process, playing a functional role that is similar to that of the expert; that is, lay input provides knowledge input for assessment and for arguments to aid the interpretation and evaluation thereof (Renn 1995). In the deliberative model, lay input 'opens up' (Stirling 2004) the process of choice by posing alternative questions, testing sensitivities to various methods, considering previously ignored uncertainties, and examining new options or different possibilities. Thus, experts and the public cogenerate decision-relevant knowledge (Petts and Brooks 2006).

The Carmel Range Artery and Carmel Center Planning and Development policy document submitted to the District Planning Board in 2001 regarding high-rise construction is an example of an operative planning deliverable that includes visual imaging and was drafted by professionals who acknowledged the entirety of local knowledge issues exposed in discussions with residents. Similarly, the petition submitted to the District Planning Board regarding Oranim, the letters sent to the Local and District Planning Boards regarding the commercialization of Moriah, and the position paper submitted to the District Planning Board regarding Kiryát Sèfer Plaza all contained professional knowledge that could not have been generated without experts in the various relevant fields acting as integral parts of the locals' deliberative networks. It thus appears that the collaborative participation method offers a planning process that enables professionals to develop operative planning knowledge while incorporating local knowledge into positions and plans. Thus, experts propose professional solutions to environmental problems based on dialogs thereon.

In contrast to the unilateral participation process, the expert in a deliberative process is not exclusively an officeholder conducting the procedure of local knowledge exposure but rather an active participant who encourages and supports the residents by joining open discussions that seek to externalize their individual tacit local knowledge, which according to Ernesto (2000) is important for three reasons. Specifically, externalization assists individuals in moving from vague mental conceptions to the concrete presentation of an idea; provides means for others to address, respond to, and conduct a constructive dialog around individual knowledge; and provides an opportunity to create a common language to understand a problem or matter. In other words, deliberation enables the externalization, presentation, and elucidation of local knowledge; facilitates discussions regarding local knowledge to enhance understanding; and contributes to the formulation of a uniform language and broad agreement toward the establishment of professional conclusions.

According to Schön (1983), the process of environmental implementation wherein many participants externalize individual knowledge is orchestrated by a *symmetry of ignorance*. That is to say, all individuals who possess knowledge are aware that despite their possession of relevant knowledge, none of them possesses all of the relevant knowledge. This compels each individual to behave as a *reflective practitioner* and not as an omniscient expert. This environment generates a fruitful dialectic between local knowledge and professional knowledge; between the lay residents who "shuttle between" the local knowledge of neighbors and professional explanations, insights, and solutions and the professionals who are thirsty for both local knowledge and circumstances and the expert knowledge of colleagues.

There are a number of advantages of the collaborative public participation method over the unilateral public participation method, including the following:

- The collaborative method enables the creation of a large, open, dynamic, and enduring network of various stakeholders.

- The participation process is ongoing, takes place over time and promotes social capital.
- Interaction between residents and professionals is unmediated, such that local knowledge both guides and is guided by professional knowledge.
- The collaborative method is capable of amassing operative professional knowledge that includes planning alternatives and of promoting consensus among participants.
- Activism aimed at the exposure of local knowledge, including demonstrations, media involvement, and the dissemination of position papers to planning and building boards, is mobilized.

These advantages empower the holders of local knowledge (i.e., the residents) as a party to the urban planning debate. Thus, it appears that collaborative public participation process empowers the residents facing the city and developers, who tend to work in concert and in a manner inconsistent with local knowledge.

First, collaborative participation enables the exposure of city and development plans, such as high-rise construction, which otherwise would remain hidden from the broad public consciousness. Thus, the city and the developer are compelled to explain their plans, which stimulates urban debate on the subject. When the city of Haifa tried unsuccessfully to silence residents by means of gestures such as lowering property taxes, the District Planning Board was enlisted in the debate as a mediating stakeholder. In that case, the board issued statutory directives to change the land use mix along the Range Artery and in Lower Haifa and the Hadar. The outcome proves itself; collaborative participation led to the incorporation of salient types of local knowledge into planning deliverables and products in the form of policy documents and master plans.

Despite the economic power of developers, they have been compelled to forfeit profits as a result of the incorporation of local knowledge into plans. The findings of the Haifa test case show that the inability of the parties (i.e., collaborative network, city and planning boards) to incorporate all of the accumulated operative local knowledge into the Haifa master plan reflects weakness stemming from the lack of public funding and the consequent over dependency on developers and private interests. It can therefore be assumed that in the absence of the collaborative public participation process, no local knowledge would have been incorporated into planning deliverables. Unilateral participation generates little value because it neither equips the residents with professional knowledge nor gives them political power. In sum, the unilateral participation process would likely have led to the regular construction of high-rises on the Carmel.

Moreover, the findings of the Haifa test case show that unlike the unilateral public participation method, which exposes scant and truncated local knowledge items that are not amenable to processing, the collaborative public participation method enables the exposure of enduring and concrete local knowledge that is worthy of professional feedback. Local knowledge is exposed clearly and extensively in the collaborative process and thus includes previously hidden items that

address specific and unique local issues that arise in residents' everyday lives (Berman and Schnell 2012).

The quality of local knowledge exposed in the collaborative process therefore enables appropriate responses from professionals; it also enables the generation of operative solutions that are consistent with both local knowledge and professional requirements and can narrow the gaps between local knowledge and statutory provisions.

8.2   Public Participation as a Practice that Precedes and Advances Consensus on Planning Deliverables

The debate that arose following the findings shows fundamental and significant structural, procedural, and epistemological differences between the two methods of public participation in planning. These differences are the result of two fundamentally different mechanisms for exposing local knowledge and incorporating it into planning deliverables. According to Cheyne (1999), public participation mechanisms determine whether the democracy of public participation is deliberative or aggregate. Per this distinction, the collaborative method is driven by *deliberative democracy,* wherein the exposure and processing of local knowledge occur by means of discussions, whereas the unilateral method is driven by *aggregate democracy,* wherein the exposure of local knowledge is conducted via structured questions and votes on planning alternatives.

According to Perote-Pena and Piggins (2011), the deliberative method assumes that the individual is meant to change his/her mind over the course of the discussion and that the individual's awareness will increase via learning and persuasion. In contrast, the aggregate method assumes that the individual's choices are static. Unilateral procedures focus on the exposure of local knowledge and are designed to aggregate it, making it likely that raw and unprocessed local knowledge items will reach the city clerk or statistician. In contrast, the collaborative method focuses on the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning process, such that knowledge is exposed by the participants implicitly, as a frequent variable within the evolution of discussion, and gradually becomes operative knowledge.

A number of supporters of the deliberative method, such as Elster (1998), claim that deliberation leads to unanimity; thus, there should be no concern about aggregation. In other words, the deliberative participation procedure ultimately leads to a consensus among participants, making the aggregation of local knowledge through unilateral procedures unnecessary. In unilateral procedures, the aggregation of local knowledge items tends to remain as an addendum, separate from the planning portfolio, as occurred in the Haifa and Tel Aviv cases; in other cases, the aggregated local knowledge undergoes manipulation by knowledge processors working on behalf of the jurisdiction. Because collaborative

participation endeavors to reach consensus, it is frequently described as the enlightened option for public participation:

> A change in the culture of planning means changing from 'public participation' (led by the planning authority and built around the assumption that their plan already represents a basis for consensus) to 'participatory planning' (wherein diverse groups and agencies come together to exchange information, explore common ground, and negotiate in an attempt to achieve consensus). (ODPM 2003)

Arefi (2003) identifies consensus building as a "shared interest" and agreement among various players and stakeholders to induce collective action, as in collaborative public participation. Consensus is an advantage of the collaborative method because it has the ability to lead to a planning deliverable that rests on broad public agreement. The drawback of the collaborative method is its assumption that the public shares the same ideology or collectively views a given matter—such as the commercialization of the Range Artery, the development of a CBD, or high-rise construction—as a problem. Thus, the collaborative mechanism does not enable the involvement of individuals who do not perceive themselves to be suffering from a shared environmental problem.

The failure of the collaborative method to account for the local knowledge of individuals who do not share the specific problem on the agenda can manifest as deliberate partial exposure of the local knowledge system. Occasionally, shared ideology is a fundamental condition for participation in the collaborative process, and in these instances, individuals and communities that do not share a particular ideology or do not perceive themselves as suffering from a particular environmental problem are excluded from the process. The same is true for individuals who express opinions that contradict the majority of the collaborating population (Snow and Benford 1988).

In contrast, in unilateral public participation, it is acceptable to express contradictory opinions or to proceed based on contradictory assumptions. For example, in the Planning Alternatives Selection procedure, opinions both in favor of and in opposition to the commercialization of Moriah and high-rise construction on the Carmel were heard. However, a conspicuous drawback of the unilateral method is its impotence to organize and process a variety of statements and pieces of local knowledge into comprehensible, consolidated knowledge with planning or operative significance. In addition, the unilateral method does not enable reaching a consensus.

Unilateral public participation procedures in planning do not enable stakeholders to process local knowledge, reach agreements, and develop new knowledge. In contrast, the mechanisms of deliberative procedures encourage participants to consider disputes together, compromise, and formulate operative decisions upon which as broad an agreement as possible is reached (Brownill and Carpenter 2007). A consensual outcome or product can be derived only through communicatively rational processes and procedures (Habermas 1990: 87–9). Hiller (2003) argues that according to Habermas, the point of deliberative communication is to bring about

an agreement that terminates in the intersubjective mutuality of reciprocal under-standing, shared knowledge, mutual trust, and accord among participants.

The outcome of deliberative participation is a single, consolidated deliverable that embodies the entirety of opinions, needs, and interests of the participants and is ready and relatively ripe for advancement toward its integration into plans. Deliberative participation encompasses processes related to the processing and interpretation of local knowledge, which eases the massive challenge faced by planners to consolidate many (frequently contradictory) pieces of information produced through the process of local knowledge exposure. As Cheyne (1999, p. 218) stated,

> Deliberative procedures can more adequately encompass the diverse perspectives and experiences in contemporary communities.

Moreover, deliberative methods enable the participants to use local knowledge as raw material for generating new and more significant knowledge looking toward the future. According to Gutmann and Thompson (1996), the deliberative approach promotes open dialogue and encourages the emergence of shared solutions through the uncovering of new forms of knowledge and understandings. Discursive methods encourage the use of local knowledge and catalyze its honing over time, thereby increasing social interaction between various stakeholders. It is also aimed at gen-erating new planning knowledge through the interface between the local knowledge of one stakeholder and that of another, as well as through the dialectic between the local and professional knowledge of planners. Over the course of the deliberations, the local knowledge is expressed through exchanges of words, language, and statements, thus deepening and transforming the debate over the matter at hand into an intensive, dynamic entity that grows over time (Wodak and Meyer 2009).

Through deliberation, residents become familiar with each other's knowledge and are exposed to needs and limitations that cause them to view the matter at hand in a different light. This configuration of interaction and debate enables the group to progress toward as broad an agreement as possible based on mutual understanding, respect for each other, and the desire to address the needs of individuals in the community. Thus, the concept "consensus" is based on the exposure of deep, intimate knowledge of the individuals involved and entails cautiously listening to others' points of view (Roseland 2000). It is also based on participants' multi-lateral familiarity with each other's relevant limitations (Habermas 1990), all of which leads to what Snow et al. (1986) called *frame alignment*. Frame alignment occurs when individual frames[1] become linked congruently and complementarily. Frame

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[1]In social theory, *framing* refers to a schema of interpretation or a collection of anecdotes and stereotypes upon which individuals rely to understand and respond to events (Goffman 1974). In other words, we build a series of mental filters based on biological and cultural influences and use these filters to make sense of the world. The choices we make are thus influenced by the frame they create. Frame plays a role in filtering perceptions, interpretations, and understandings of specific situations (Shmueli 2008).

alignment is arguably an important element in social mobilization or movement through consensus.

The objective of consensus is to achieve a decision with which everyone agrees. The advantage of consensus is that it produces intelligent decisions by combining the best thoughts of each participant. This process increases the likelihood of smart, new proposals and significantly lessens the possibility that the minority will feel that an unacceptable decision was foisted upon it (Cormick 1989). Whereas the possibility of tyranny of the majority is low in the collaborative participation process due to the pursuit of consensus, the unilateral participation process by definition entails some degree of tyranny by the establishment. The establishment is perceived as manipulating the participants through procedures that never purport to aim for consensus.

8.3   Public Participation as a Way of Building Social Capital and Advancing Sustainability

Deliberative participation procedures relate to local knowledge as human capital of the participants (UN 2007). At the same time, deliberative procedures use human capital to amass social capital, as Coleman (1988) defines it, by means of modifying relationships among people to enable cooperation and interaction among them. In contrast, unilateral procedures do not relate to local knowledge as a source of development of social capital and thus do not enable participants to jointly develop ideas and planning knowledge.

Although unilateral procedures enable the simultaneous exposure of the knowledge of individuals, they do not engender communication practices that facilitate the joint development of knowledge or the creation of social capital. Social capital is a necessary outcome of joint activity among people, on behalf of both themselves and their group; without the creation of social capital, neither individual nor collective objectives will be achieved (Bourdieu 1985).

The creation of capital is identified with investment, and the objective of capital is identified with the return thereon (Marx 1933 in Lin 2001). Investment in the public participation process embodies mainly the dedication of time and knowledge (or expertise) by the participants to expose local knowledge for the purpose of deliberations and joint actions (e.g., demonstrations and drafting position papers). The return on the investment is related to social capital, which in our case should take the form of the incorporation of local knowledge into plans, which improves the lives of the locals.

Collaborative participation processes enable the development of social capital through features and values of social organization such as trust, sympathy, responsibility, mutuality, reciprocity, participation, shared norms, volunteerism, and cooperation. In addition, collaborative participation processes enable informal social relations and networks that can improve the efficacy of society by facilitating

coordinated actions (Carpenter et al. 2004; Coleman 1990; Newton 1997; Onyx and Bullen 2000; Putnam 1993, p. 167; Woolcock and Narayan 2001). As Coleman (1988, p. 88) stated,

> Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible.

Social inequality reduces levels of social capital (Goodwin 2003); thus, social capital tends to be high in networks that are relatively homogeneous in terms of income and ethnic background (Alesina and Ferrara 2000; Zak and Knack 2001), as well as religion, perceptions of justice, and professional standards (Svendsen 1998). These factors explain both the formation of social networks on the Carmel and in Neve Tzedek and the lack of cooperation by Neve Ofer residents, due to differences in their *cultural capital*.[2]

Homogeneity ensures high *bonding social capital*[3] and accord among residents' views of faith, ideology, and the relevance of the matter at issue to their everyday realities. Homogeneity also affects how residents identify an environmental problem, as well as its causes or who is to blame, before they commit to a movement to resolve it (Snow and Benford 1988). The aforementioned conditions are the foundation for the development of social networks in collaborative planning processes and should determine both the extent of response from jurisdictional planning authorities (Sander and Lowney 2003) and the degree of success in exposing and incorporating local knowledge.

Alongside the benefits of homogeneity in a collaborative network lie the drawbacks of precluding heterogeneity therein. Impeding deliberative interaction between individuals of various cultural backgrounds reproduces the lack of interaction between communities and neighborhoods in the geographical area at hand and even reinforces spatial, social, and conceptual segregation. Moreover, if a heterogeneous network were enabled, it would likely be productive and might even create inter-community social capital. The research findings show that the conditions for network formation lead not only to its homogeneity but also to its comprisal of individuals with high environmental and civic awareness and high socio-economic levels, thus forming a network that can be expected to represent the elite, not the "everyman".

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[2]*Cultural capital* reflects how we "know the world" and how we act therein, as well as our traditions and language. It includes *cosmovision* (spirituality and how the various parts of the universe are connected), ways of knowing, food and language, ways of being, and views of what can be changed in the world. Cultural capital influences what voices are heard and acknowledged, which voices have influence in which area, and how creativity, innovation, and influence emerge and are nurtured. Hegemony confers privileges on the cultural capital of dominant groups (Bourdieu 1985).

[3]*Bonding social capital* refers to the close ties that build community cohesion and ties among individuals who are similar to each other in certain respects (e.g., age, sex, ethnicity, social class). *Bridging social capital* involves loose ties that bridge the gaps among groups and communities and ties among individuals who differ from one another, promoting tolerance and cross-cultural understanding (Daasgupta and Serageldin 2000; Narayan 1999).

An analysis of the findings shows that the collaborative network formed in Neve Tzedek built operative planning knowledge that not only represented the interests of Neve Tzedek residents (who supposedly represent the elite) but also, in retrospect, represented certain interests of Neve Ofer residents (e.g., urban roadway instead of multi-lane metropolitan thoroughfare). However, because few residences in Lower Haifa (if any) are located adjacent to businesses that are busy at night, it can be assumed that the locals' quality of life is less likely to be threatened by commercialization in Lower Haifa than in the Carmel.

Although the above examples do not indicate that the incorporation of local knowledge by "elite" networks poses an inevitable threat to weaker populations, such a threat is theoretically likely (Taylor 2003). Therefore, it is important to base any plan on as broad a local knowledge system and geographical radius as possible to ensure that it accounts for the interests and elements of communities that will likely be influenced, either directly or indirectly, by the plan being consolidated.

Difficulties likely to arise from collaborative network activity include situations in which the interests and needs represented by the network do not jibe with those of another community, or the local knowledge gathered relating to one plan is inconsistent with that gathered regarding another plan proposed for the same geographic zone. That being established, it is clear that balance and compromise among interests is needed throughout the process, both to minimize threats to residents and community interests and to maximize incorporation of the local knowledge system into plans.

The question is whether the collaborative network, which by definition works to advance its members' interests, is able to take into account the interests, needs, and desires of other groups to promote the good of all. Can a collaborative network be expected to take broad responsibility and demand that the local knowledge incorporated into one plan not harm the interests or plans of other groups or communities, or might a planning situation arise that is inconsistent with the local knowledge of another community? Because the collaborative network is highly motivated by the removal of environmental hazards that cause its members hardship, we can reasonably assume that it will focus on its own, narrow interests, and not take the above-described broad responsibility.

High levels of social capital enable the organization of local volunteers in a task force dedicated to developing solutions to problems that cannot be resolved via market forces or whose appropriate solution lies neither in statutory plans (Bridger and Luloff 2001) nor in unilateral participation processes. Thus, on the Carmel, residents were "plugged into" large, dynamic social networks of volunteers that had the power to develop knowledge and solutions pertaining to environmental problems that surfaced in the wake of developers' activities. In the case of Oranim, the CPF (Carmel Public Forum) intervened in market forces by directly manipulating the plan's initiator, inviting him to a meeting that he believed would introduce him to potential buyers in the free housing market but was actually convened to give residents an opportunity to voice their opposition to the plan.

In another example, the commercialization of Moriah, the residents succeeded in incorporating their desire for separation of uses into statutory provisions that until

then had not provided a solution to problems created by mixed residential and entertainment uses. The mixed uses were the outcome of both the invisible hand of the free market and unilateral acts by the municipality. In this case, social capital enabled citizens to balance market forces and even tilt them in favor of residents' demands for environmental products and services while neutralizing the forces of the jurisdiction and developers.

In summary, a high level of social capital enables a collaborative network to amass knowledge and momentum that can alter the balance of power in the planning arena regardless of economic capital. The Haifa network acted without collective funding, being fueled instead by the aggregate of its members' individual investments in terms of time and minimal monetary contributions. Although social capital should accelerate collective activity aimed at obtaining outside funding (Bratt and Reardon 2013; DeFilippis 2001), the present research findings show that building planning knowledge and the accumulation of political power do not necessarily rest on economic capital but rather may be supported by social capital.

Compared to the Haifa case, the Tel Aviv network used a greater amount of private funding, hiring PR services to help it lobby the city. In any case, the success of public participation in planning depends upon the ability of social capital not merely to obtain funding but first and foremost to accelerate the processes of knowledge building and strengthening the group's political power—resources without which monetary funding has no value. Moreover, within participatory processes, it could be the knowledge, not necessarily the funding, that enhances political power.

The professional and operative knowledge generated throughout the collaborative process is held in trust by a collective of its generators, and according to Goodwin (2003), this knowledge constitutes a significant portion of the network's social capital. Unilateral public participation procedures do not enable the accumulation of collective knowledge because their mechanism prevents the creation of social capital. Specifically, a paucity of participants (Kathleen and Martin 1991), short meetings manipulated by an outside facilitator, and a minimum of interaction among the participants are the main barriers to the generation of social capital in the unilateral process. For example, in the letter procedure in Haifa, although many residents participated, there was no interaction between participants because the letter was sent via postal mail to each participant independently. In the SWOT and Alternatives Selection procedures in Haifa and Tel Aviv, the main dialectic took place between the facilitator on behalf of the city and the participants; unmediated interaction between individual participants was essentially nonexistent. We thus see that in the unilateral process, there is no means of establishing credibility and reciprocity over time and at an appropriate level for the development of social capital. In contrast, the collaborative method stimulates the creation of the social capital necessary to expose local knowledge and amass operative planning knowledge based thereon.

Social capital constitutes a device for creating "shared humanity" (Barber 1984; Mansbridge 1980), which in turn is the foundation for "participatory democracy" (Yishai 2002), according to which citizens make the decisions that affect their lives

by, among other activities, their continued participation in the management of local matters in their communities (Pateman 1970). In contrast, unilateral participation places the decision-making process in the hands of an elected few, as exemplified by "representative democracy" (Yishai 2002), which limits public participation to institutions that are established in advance, such as elections (Cronin 1989) or one-time "participation" meetings. By building social capital, the collaborative participation process functions as a preserver of democracy at all times and everywhere.

Purdue (2001) draws an interesting distinction between two types of social capital: *communal social capital*, which relates to ties between leaders of collaborative processes and local residents, and *collaborative social capital*, which relates to relationships with extra-community parties, such as the city and private developers, who constitute major stakeholders in urban processes. In the collaborative processes that developed in Haifa around the Range Artery, strong relationships were forged between the heads of the CPF and the residents who joined the social network as activists. Together, they succeeded in building communal social capital that included shared, collective knowledge, based on which they consolidated operative planning deliverables. However, the leaders of the collaborative processes did not succeed in building collaborative social capital because their relationships with the stakeholders outside the community became combative and did not generate trust or the pursuit of consensus.

The District Planning Board filled the vacuum left by the absence of collaborative social capital and became an entity linking the main stakeholders. Led by the District Planning Board, the city was compelled to adopt community proposals that emerged as outcomes of the collaborative process, such as increasing parking. In addition, developers and contractors representing the free market were compelled more than once to forgo their plans for high-rise construction as a result of opposition from residents.

Most researchers agree that communal social capital is both private and public in nature (Lin 2001). As a private product, social capital relates to our day-to-day lives as a resource that helps us solve everyday problems while establishing norms of reciprocal trust and social ties. As a public product, social capital helps solve problems at the system level and creates benefits to the entire community, not merely individual benefits. The results obtaining from use of social capital determine its character as either a public or private (Briggs 2004). For example, restricting high-rise construction is an example of social capital as both a public and a private product: public because it enables solutions that affect the entire public, such as preserving a low, uniform skyline, and private because it enables a solution of individual problems, such as the blocking of sunlight from people's homes. Involving the public in intentional planning creates social capital as both a public and a private product because the agenda is to overcome environmental problems that touch both the community and the individual.

Recently, more researchers are claiming that the development of mixed use schemes, wherein residents reside, shop, and work, increases social capital (DFID 2000; Leyden 2003; Sander 2002). The plan presented in the 2001 Range

Artery-Carmel Center Planning and Development policy document, which was drafted by the residents (guided by professionals), constitutes a good example of a planning strategy that champions mixed use (i.e., residences alongside commerce and offices), transforming the Range Artery into an axis for both pedestrian traffic and public transportation.

The new Haifa master plan was being drafted to integrate ideas drawn from local knowledge and includes a compendium of plans to reduce vehicular use and transform the public space into a pedestrian axis. In particular, it proposes a network of footpaths and cycling paths that will link the Carmel neighborhoods to the Range Artery, thereby making the Carmel walkable. According to Appleyard (1980) and Kang (2006), the residents of walkable neighborhoods know their neighbors better, are more politically involved, trust others and are more likely to join social protests.

Moreover, a walkable environment should increase options for creating social networks and interaction, which are the cornerstones of social capital and collaborative public participation processes. Thus, the social capital built among Carmel residents is likely to be preserved in the future and even increase with the implementation of the new plans. Similarly, the alternative Shlavim Artery plan proposes transforming the area into a pedestrian and bicycle-oriented space while preserving the existing grid of roadways; a planned network of footpaths and open spaces will link residential, institutional, and public transportation uses. This plan should raise the level of day-to-day interaction among residents and enable the growth of social capital, in contrast to the original format, which included a main artery that would have bisected neighborhoods, separated residents, and prevented the empowerment of the surrounding community.

Social capital constitutes a collective resource that can be both used in the present and developed for use by coming generations; it also advances sustainable solutions. Therefore, we recommend the continuous strengthening of community social capital to expedite collaborative participation processes whenever necessary, e.g., when an environmental dispute arises. Maintaining a high level of social capital over time constitutes a long-term group and individual investment.

Increased social capital is an outcome of empathic interpersonal relations and values and norms of reciprocity, as is physical spatial design that stimulates social interaction. The same can be said for educational efforts aimed at increasing civic awareness (Putnam 1996) and the employment of online devices to stimulate apathetic locals (Barber 1988–9). As such, the planner should fill a creative role in generating spatial conditions in both the physical and societal spheres that will lead to the development of social capital.

Collaborative public participation processes lead not only to increased social capital but also to sustainable development (Roseland 2000). Narayan and Pritchett (2000, p. 285) claim that sustainable development is determined by the quantity and quality of participation and the empowerment of individuals; planning and the decision-making process must be conducted in a manner that encourages comprehensive participation by all stakeholders, i.e., using the mechanisms employed in collaborative public participation processes and avoiding unilateral procedures such

as public hearings or SWOT models, which may be fair in the strict sense of the word but do not achieve enduring results commensurate with residents' needs.

To demonstrate, the unilateral plan formulated in Tel Aviv would have expanded gentrification in the neighborhoods adjacent to the Shlavim Artery and isolated Arab families[4] that have lived there for generations, effectively destroying the community, the local culture, and the social capital that has developed in this community over generations. The alternative plan not only honors the desires and futures of locals but also promotes community sustainability.

Pretty (2003) proposes that the concept *social capital* encompasses social norms and ties of the type that arise from collaborative public participation processes and that these norms and ties are critical to sustainable development. Moobela et al. (2007) and Killerby (2001) claim that in locales where the level of social capital is high, people are more confident about investing in collective action because they assume that others will do the same to foster a healthy and sustainable community and environment. In addition, an increasing number of testimonials suggest that the size and density of social networks, organizations, and daily interactions are significant factors in the development of sustainable projects and initiatives (Simpson 2005). We can therefore conclude with a reasonable degree of confidence that collaborative public participation processes constitute an effective tool for sustainable development because they are based on a dense, active, and intensive social network that focuses on a specific objective, cultivates ties among its members, and stimulates negotiations among stakeholders.

Britain's sustainable development policy emphasizes that a community is a place adapted to the various needs of its residents (ODPM 2003). Therefore, a sustainable development strategy should include a significant component of resident participation and should favor approaches that support grassroots movements over top-down processes (Brohman 1996).

Collaborative public participation processes should bring about sustainable development by exposing local knowledge in a grassroots configuration and amassing planning knowledge that matches community needs. Ostrom (2000) claims that local knowledge is essential to building social capital that effectively achieves sustainable solutions. Social capital is maintained by the local population, which is "captive" to an enduring network of interpersonal ties through which information and local knowledge pass. This knowledge is transformed into collective, operative knowledge that can be used to create sustainable methods of coping with environmental problems now and in the future (Roseland 2000). Kennedy (2007, p. 25) claims that a good planning project should leave a community not only with more immediate products but also with an increased capacity to meet future needs.

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[4]Gentrification contemplated by the Shlavim plan threatened to isolate a mixed population. Although there is no evidence of any intention to harm the Arab population in particular, it is appropriate to cite this group as an example of a community potentially harmed by gentrification because they have been settled on the land for many generations and have built a solid culture and traditions.

Sustainable development is characterized by high levels of social capital that is sensitive to its environment, protects against pollution and physical hazards, and fosters social inclusion and increased justice and fairness in society (Brohman 1996; Gran 1987). Sustainable locales are characterized by well-planned, efficient spaces and by direct participation of residents and users (Owens 1990; Roseland 2000). It can therefore be stated with confidence that we should participate in decisions and processes that affect our lives and that it is essential to use local knowledge, in all its forms and significances, to produce better plans.

Haifa's new master plan reflects planning that integrates sustainable thinking, including the local knowledge of residents that was exposed and processed in a collaborative public participation process. Examples of integrated planning include the strategy for reducing private vehicle use combined with sustainable thinking for reducing air pollution, encouraging social interaction, and increasing social capital; upholding moderate construction privileges combined with sustainable thinking to prevent the felling of trees; and avoiding the reduction of runoff gullies on the Carmel slopes, thereby preserving the human and geographic fabric of the area.

It has been proposed that we distinguish between *civil social capital* and *government social capital* (Ahn and Hemming 2000; Knack 1999), both of which play a role in overcoming collective problems. *Civil social capital* is the level of trust, norms, cooperation, and civic commitment in the society/community/locale, whereas *government social capital* reflects the efficacy of institutions (government, social structure) in enabling/assisting collective action. In unilateral participation processes, the government neither aids nor enables a social structure for collective action. In contrast, collaborative participation processes enable cooperation among participants and foster the generation of civil social capital. Because unilateral participation based on the official establishment "assembly line" approach generates neither government nor civil capital, it cannot be used to overcome problems on the public agenda. The impotence of official institutions causes citizens to depend upon informal structures (Grootaert 1998), such as neighborhood committees, environmental protection NGOs, and social networks, that have their own social capital and are able to initiate, direct, and manage collaborative public participation processes that effectively enable collective action for overcoming collective problems (Aron 1998; Fukuyama 1995, pp. 4–5).

According to Collier (1998, p. 15), civil social capital and government social capital are complementary and exchangeable (substitutional). Social capital amassed through collaborative participation processes is exchangeable for both civil social capital and government social capital. Further, civil and governmental capital are complementary to each other and together constitute the overall collective social capital of the collaborative network. In unilateral participation, both forms of capital are conspicuous by their absence; the resulting sense of alienation pushes people to join collaborative processes that strengthen civil social capital. In other words, the collaborative process becomes the favored option because it can replace the unilateral process. Therefore, in Tel Aviv, dozens of residents who participated in unilateral meetings organized by the city soon "deserted" and joined the collaborative network. Similarly, many participants in the collaborative process in Haifa

claimed that they did not participate in the unilateral process because they did not know about it, and even if they had known, they would not have participated because they do not trust the city. Therefore, such participants joined the CPF, which succeeded in creating both government and civil social capital, which, in turn, fostered both community and physical sustainability.

8.4 Public Participation as a Means of Strengthening Civil Society

The research findings show that civil society has the capacity to successfully drive and complement collaborative participation processes, whereas the regime lacks the ability to expose local knowledge and to incorporate that knowledge into plans. Moreover, the collaborative network is a grassroots social movement and thus operates in the civil society arena, strengthening civil society and enabling it to constitute an enduring platform for achieving the goals of the individual and the community, including the goal of blocking undesirable spatial modifications (Morrison 1971). In contrast, although the unilateral participation method activates participation procedures among a group of citizens, it does not enable those citizens to act freely, as in the civil society arena.

Mathie and Cunningham (2008) indicated that in general, CDC (Civic-Driven Change) is infused with the desire to change domains of life within society; thus, the CDC narrative is often about the politics of people moving from being *clients* to being *citizens*. Whereas unilateral participation maintains participants' status as clients of the jurisdiction, collaborative public participation enables participants to transition to the status of citizens in the full sense of the word. Collaborative participation is based on individuals' freedom to act based on their own considerations and in a manner that enables them to exercise their rights as citizens. In contrast, unilateral participation is based on the jurisdiction's control over participating residents, and its mechanisms impede civil freedom of action.

Civil society manifests in research as social networks that form and act on a voluntary basis as a social movement, with the objective of advancing individual and shared community interests. The research findings show that local collaborative networks succeed in forming, amassing and acting upon social capital and political power, as well as in influencing the incorporation of local knowledge into planning, without any observable help from established environmental advocacy NGOs such as SPNI or Adam, Teva, veDin. Such established environmental organizations are larger, better known, and more highly visible than local collaborative networks and act pursuant to agendas that are not necessarily local but rather relevant to society at large.

The initiators of collaborative participation are a small number of private individuals, as opposed to the inherently organizational initiative that characterizes the activity of civic organizations. Moreover, the initiators of collaborative participation

are individuals who are directly affected by a specific issue on the agenda, i.e., people residing in the vicinity of an environmental nuisance whose daily routines have been harmed, in contrast to members of large organizations, who are not necessarily directly affected by the environmental nuisances on the agenda.

Citizens who are imbued with the strong motivation that stems from the desire to right a planning injustice that impacts them directly can advance more successful participation processes than large organizations such as jurisdictions or established civic associations. Civil society succeeds best by involving the public through collaborative networks, not through large, high-visibility organizations or unilateral participation processes controlled by instructions from "on high", i.e., the local jurisdiction, which lies outside the civil society arena.

During the collaborative participation processes in Tel Aviv and Haifa, a number of representatives from SPNI's Green Forum attended collaborative network meetings but did not become active or continue to participate throughout the entire process. However, local residents, both lay people and planning professionals, succeeded in driving a complex, multi-stage participation process outside of classic civil society—a process that ultimately succeeded in incorporating local knowledge into plans. In the vacuum left by the Green Forum, ONT and PFC operated as civil society entities with enduring local social platforms worthy and supportive of the participation process.

In contrast to neighborhood forums, which derive power and motivational ability from participation processes, higher-visibility civil society organizations in many cases fail to see their initiatives through to completion; do not adequately influence decision-makers; protect their own interests as independent entities; forget to advocate for the citizens, even manipulating them from above; frequently create a political environment of docility or tyranny; represent the elite, rather than the weaker or ordinary individual; are economically oriented; and are preoccupied by a constant struggle for funding (Alfasi 2003; Cooke and Kothari 2001; Cruikshank 1999; Gregory 1998; McQuarrie 2013; Ortega y Gasset 1994; Wolin 2008).

The research findings show that the listed drawbacks of established civil society organizations do not apply to collaborative networks, which are differentiated by their advantages over other civil society entities. Thus, regarding over-representation of the elite, the research proves that at the completion of the process, the collaborative network is remarkable for its incorporation—at least to a partial extent—of local knowledge of weaker communities. Based on the potential advantages of communal social movements as they appear in the literature and as shown by the research findings of the present study, a number of qualities can be attributed to the collaborative network that enable it to strengthen civil society. In particular, the collaborative network engenders authentic deliberation (Mansbridge 1980); provides broad access to forms of civil knowledge that are possessed by academics and policy elites; produces citizens that have greater concern for the environment, local issues, and urban planning (Briggs 2008); furthers the democratization of society (Fung and Wright 2003; Putnam 1994); and, according to the current findings, succeeds in incorporating local knowledge into plans and receives positive feedback, thereby empowering civil society (Weeks 2002).

Peter Eisinger describes political opportunity structures as elements of the political system that "taken individually or collectively, serve in various ways to obstruct or facilitate citizen activity in pursuit of political goals" (Eisinger 1973, p. 11). Eisinger conceptualizes this structure as varying in its open or closed nature, with an open system being one in which "groups are likely to be able to gain access to power and to manipulate the political system" (Eisinger 1973, p. 25). An open regime has defined pathways by which new voices and positions can be brought to the attention of those in power, whereas in a closed regime, it is dangerous or impossible for "non-established actors" (Rootes 1999, p. 2) to be heard by the regime.

As per the aforementioned doctrine, we can speak of the characteristically closed nature of the unilateral participation mechanism, which deliberately prevents exposure of genuine local knowledge, as opposed to the open nature of the collaborative participation process, which enables and encourages the organization of networks, autonomous citizen action, and free-flowing exposure of knowledge. The success of the collaborative participation process speaks to its endurance and sophistication as a civil society social movement.

> Fainstein sees social movements as the bearers of the Just City torch (2000, p. 468):
>
> While the target audience for this endeavor has remained vaguely defined, by inference, one can deduce that the principal target group is the leadership of urban social movements… Whereas the communicative planning theorists primarily speak to planners employed by government, calling on them to mediate among diverse interests, Just City theorists assume neither the neutrality nor the benevolence of government (Marcuse 1986). For them, the purpose of their vision is to mobilize a public rather than to prescribe a methodology to those in office.

Fainstein's words are consistent with the research findings, which show that proper planning should be generated not by professionals, who work for the jurisdictions, but by encouraging citizens to initiate and form social movements such as collaborative networks. Civil society, in contrast to the establishment, should advance social and environmental justice and thereby accelerate community sustainability.

The notion of sustainable development, which is ubiquitous in spatial planning, gives expression to a view that represents civil society as being structured of interrelations and activity between two spheres: that of the society and that of the state (Ben-Eliezer 2005). Manifested in the society sphere are ideological innovation, an alternative environmental outlook, an alternative consciousness, and ongoing reexamination of the public's opinion, on behalf of which planning is carried out. In the state sphere, innovation is manifested through struggles undertaken by collaborative network members facing developers and jurisdictions, as per the rules of the conventional political game, the structure of the planning system, and statutory rules.

In Ben-Eliezer's (2005) opinion, the activities of social networks are conducted on two planes—the society and the state—and entail both separation and blending of the two planes. Blending ensures that conventional political activity reflects the

cultural innovation emerging from its corridors by incorporating local knowledge into statutory planning deliverables, whereas separation ensures that activity in the political system does not compromise this innovation and does not intervene in the process of exposing local knowledge or in the building of operative (and innovative) planning knowledge based on the local knowledge. Ben-Eliezer (2005) called the above-described process "the new politics", a term that suggests the success of this model, wherein social innovation influences the entire political system.

Whereas civil society enables the generation of alternative communal social initiatives that influence the political system via innovation; the unilateral participation mechanism does not enable social innovation. Collaborative networks that form in the civil society arena constitute an alternative to institutionalized (unilateral) public participation in planning and are aimed at incorporating local knowledge into statutory plans. These new social movement configurations render the planning arena broader and more flexible.

In stretching the planning arena, civil society defies the hegemony of the "experts" (both jurisdictions and planners) and of professional knowledge and brings local knowledge to the fore in negotiations on the formulation of planning deliverables and on the incorporation of locals' perspectives into the decision-making process.

Civil society plays a significant role in incorporating local knowledge into the planning decision-making process by rendering the planning system broader and nimbler. Citizens' communal initiatives strengthen civil society, establishing it as an arena with a significant role in public participation in planning.

Chapter 9
Public Participation: Between Theory and Practice

For the purposes of public participation in planning, our comparison of the two methods—as different as they are—enables an undisputed and enhanced understanding of the main differences between them. A recommendation emerges naturally therefrom on the correct way to involve the public to enable ongoing deliberation between various stakeholders. This deliberation occurs in the framework of an open network wherein both members and professional residents take an active part in and lead processes of facilitation and knowledge development. Adopting this practice in every public participation process, whether deliberative or unilateral, is therefore recommended.

Rabinovitch and Leitman (1996) described a unique case wherein a jurisdiction successfully adopted collaborative participation procedures:

> Curitiba, Brazil has received international acclaim as a city that works for integrated transportation and land use planning, and for its waste management programs. Both are good examples of sustainable community planning. But, how did Curitiba manage to become a positive example for cities in both developed and developing countries? In part, the city's success can be attributed to strong leadership—city officials focused on developing simple, flexible, and affordable solutions that could be realized at the local level and adapted to changing conditions. In addition, the government promoted a strong sense of public participation. Officials were encouraged to look at problems, talk to the people, discuss the main issues, and only then reach for the pen.

The case of Curitiba proves that decision makers in jurisdictions have the ability to adopt practical procedures from the collaborative strategy of public participation, pursuant to which a discursive dialectic is initiated with the public to expose local knowledge prior to drafting plans. This contrasts with the unilateral strategy, whereby planning options are laid out by city hall planners before even meeting with residents. Regarding the Israeli experience, Shmueli (2005) claims that planning policy-makers and bureaucrats have, for the most part, regarded collaboration, transparency, and shared decision-making as impediments to their existing rational, technical planning models.

Kahn (2006) claims that the case of Curitiba shows that the true measure of environmental policy is whether the regime creates and implements policy in response to the demands and ideas of society with honest intent, not manipulation.

Kahn's words can be expanded upon to argue that that adaptation of collaborative procedures (and tools) of public participation by the local jurisdiction with the aim of advancing incorporation of local knowledge into the planning deliverables is not unattainable.

A prominent deliverable of this study is the two-phase Participatory Model for public participation processes, which combines local knowledge with planning processes. The model comprises two sequential phases: in the first phase, public participation deliverables are created, and in the second phase, participation outcomes are incorporated into the planning deliverables. The model places the variables that might affect the progress of the process in each phase, as follows:

1. **Creating public participation deliverables**:
   This phase includes the exposure and processing of local knowledge to obtain operative planning knowledge. Development of the knowledge is enabled by building social capital. Both fronts—the knowledge front, which includes recommendations and operative planning alternatives, and the social capital front—constitute the public participation process deliverables.

Choosing the procedures and tools for exposing and incorporating local knowledge is critical because such methods can work to prevent, delay, or accelerate the building of the two fronts. The characteristics of the procedures and tools employed determine to a great extent the values of the following variables:

- Types and aspects of local knowledge exposed—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable a flood of exposure of local knowledge in long intervals, unconstrained by closed queries prepared in advance.
- Interaction—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable direct deliberative interaction among the participants and between them and the professionals.
- Communication and dialectic—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable multi-directional communication among the participants and between them and the professionals, as well as between and among the professionals.
- Communication, such as face-to-face encounters, online chatting, and phone calls. Recommended: procedures and tools that enable varied communications through multiple means.
- Continuity of interaction—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable ongoing and continuous interaction that persists throughout the planning process.
- The participant network—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable a large, flexible, and open network.
- Publicity events, such as marketing ideas and demonstrations. Recommended: procedures and tools that enable an intensive education campaign over many channels and a variety of means.
- Quality of planning knowledge amassed—Recommended: procedures and tools that enable maximum interface between lay residents and professional residents, i.e., maximize "mutual feeding" between local and professional knowledge.

If the above recommendations are implemented, progress on both fronts—the knowledge front and the social capital front—will be accelerated. Moreover, both fronts affect each other; the higher the level of social capital, the greater the development of planning knowledge (by means of the accelerated exposure of local knowledge and its processing). Conversely, a greater production of planning knowledge, in terms of collective capital and community investment, increases the level of social capital.

An important deliverable of the dialectic between the two fronts is the consensus around the public participation deliverables. It is reasonable to assume that a high level of social capital combined with quality operative planning knowledge based on the local knowledge system should enable broad agreement, if not consensus, on planning solutions and deliverables.

At this phase of creating public participation deliverables, the enlistment of other stakeholders into the process, such as developers and the city, begins. Typically, developers and/or the city are compelled participate to respond to complaints, objections, or requests raised and heard as expressions of local knowledge.

2. **Incorporation of the public participation outcomes into the planning deliverables**:

   Both fronts—planning knowledge and social capital—form the foundation of the community's status as a primary stakeholder in the planning arena, particularly when facing decision makers in the form of private stakeholders, such as developers, and jurisdictional stakeholders, such as the city and the planning boards. Robust fronts confer what may be called "civic power" upon the residents, which the agencies tasked with statutory planning cannot ignore and whose local knowledge system they must consider, whether willingly or reluctantly. Thus, civic power begets political capital among the collaborative network members, which in turn provides the capacity to exert political influence (Ferguson and Dickens 1999).

The knowledge and social capital fronts act as community resources that aid the community in overcoming a hostile environment created by the other stakeholders and transforming it into a supportive environment, as shown in the chart entitled "Attributes of local environments that affect resident participation strategies" in Bratt and Reardon (2013). The transformation from hostile environment to supportive environment in turn enables a challenging environment wherein organizing residents adopt a self-help approach to external spatial interventions and threats while pursuing a protest strategy involving legal action to prevent powerful outside players from destroying the community.

A supportive environment is achieved by obtaining control over developers and key plans for the community's development. A supportive environment is manifested by the other stakeholders, both private and public, agreeing to compromise on residents' demands, which are derived from the local knowledge system. Thereby, local knowledge, in the form of public participation outcomes, is incorporated into the planning deliverables.

Both models, the Two-phase Participatory Model and the Bratt and Reardon model, view the acquisition of resources as a crucial tool for bringing external stakeholders into the negotiation process, which in turn enables the incorporation of community needs and desires into plans. Whereas the Bratt and Reardon model (2013) does not propose to measure the extent to which the external environment has shifted from hostile to supportive, the Two-phase Participatory Model empirically measures the strength of the support received by the community. Increasing the significance and amount of local knowledge incorporated into planning deliverables is associated with increased support for and decreased hostility toward the community.

The success of the second phase, wherein the local knowledge is incorporated into the planning deliverables, naturally depends on the degree to which public participation deliverables are incorporated into the statutory planning deliverables. Four variables are proposed that affect the degree of incorporation success:

1. The ability to enlist major stakeholders who will likely affect the degree to which local knowledge is incorporated into the planning deliverables, including both private stakeholders, such as developers, and government stakeholders, such as jurisdictional authorities and planning boards.
2. The ability to advance and intervene in the mediation process among various stakeholders, as well as to participate therein until the local knowledge is incorporated.
3. The ability to organize the main stakeholders into a lobby that represents residents' interests.
4. The ability to obtain public economic resources, which will likely neutralize the influence of private holders of wealth, i.e., developers and contractors.

Although these four variables depend mainly on the endurance of the planning knowledge and social capital fronts (which were built in the first phase), they also depend to a significant degree on the manner in which power and capital are used, as well as on the power of knowledge. In this regard, a range of activities based both on personal connections and the creation of a front are needed, as well as the commitment of the collaborative network members to oppose slated plans, which they do by demonstrating their opposition, posting position papers, and meeting with main stakeholders to explain the advantages of the alternative plans that they wish to advance.

Operative recommendations stemming from the Two-phase Participatory Model, which should catalyze both the exposure of local knowledge and its incorporation into planning deliverables, are as follows:

• Clearly, collaborative processes should be encouraged (or at least favored).
• Cities should discontinue unilateral public participation procedures and adopt collaborative procedures, thereby delegating more power to the citizens. The objective is to build social capital and create operative planning knowledge based on local knowledge. These actions will improve participatory democracy, increase the public's trust in the city, facilitate the development of sustainable

planning solutions and of consensus around them, increase the dissemination of ideas, bring stakeholders into the debate, and advance the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables.

• In every instance of public participation, whether collaborative or unilateral, preference should be given to procedures that enable maximum participation of residents, professionals, and other stakeholders in an open network characterized by direct empathic interaction and deliberative, multi-directional, ongoing, and continuous communication.

Bratt and Reardon (2013, p. 374) examined the means by which US citizens implement grassroots participation initiatives and proposed three variables that influence the efficacy and success of such initiatives:

1. The level of economic resources amassed by residents
2. The level of support enlisted for their proposed agenda
3. The level of centralization of power in the community challenging the regime

The findings of the present study enable the following elaboration on the Bratt and Reardon model:

In addition to economic resources, there is a need to develop social capital and planning knowledge; both are essential resources for establishing community power to challenge stakeholders in the planning arena. Development of the planning knowledge resource depends on the development of social capital, and knowledge development based on local knowledge is essential to the clear and professional articulation of demands and operative recommendations that are based on genuine needs. Moreover, planning knowledge and social capital should precede consensus around the proposed solutions, for which Bratt and Reardon do not present a path to achievement.

In addition, Bratt and Reardon do not distinguish between different types of entities that may enter as funding stakeholders. Based on the findings of the present study, an important distinction is drawn between funding from for-profit entities that have a clear economic interest in the plan at hand and funding provided as a contribution that the community is entitled to use as it sees fit. In the former case, it has been proven that residents are likely to compromise on the incorporation of certain types of local knowledge in plans. In contrast, in the latter case, economic empowerment of the community is likely to increase the scope and variety of local knowledge incorporated into planning deliverables.

As Bratt and Reardon note, the level of support for the agenda depends upon the residents' ability to conduct negotiations with entities external to the community, followed by mediating processes designed to enable collaboration with such entities. In the same vein, it must be noted that the proper choice of procedures and tools to enable ongoing, multi-directional and multi-means deliberation in the social network is also crucial. These tools enable the accumulation of social capital and planning knowledge and strengthen residents' ability not only to recruit other stakeholders to the cause but also to ensure the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables.

According to Bratt and Reardon, the conferral of power upon the community is indicated when negotiations are enabled in a manner that permits the creation of partnerships with external parties. The Two-phase Participatory Model views negotiations as continuation of the process of conferring power on the community, which begins during the first phase of the participation process, when the configuration of interactive communication among participating network members is taking shape. In this context, the contribution of the Two-phase Participatory Model is the identification of the type or types of participatory procedures employed as a main variable that affects not only the configuration of communication but also the strength of the resources amassed by the community, which in turn influences on the community's ability to enlist and negotiate with external stakeholders.

Although the transfer of power to residents is an ideal result of the model, we should not dismiss the possibility that the local jurisdiction might exploit its power to enable fair, reciprocal, empathic participation of residents by employing collaborative and deliberative procedures for public participation. In other words, the local jurisdiction can be guided toward methods that will improve public involvement in planning; thus, we should not be satisfied with guiding the public only, as Bratt and Reardon are.

Moreover, the model proposed by Bratt and Reardon directs residents in the advancement toward a lone initiative by means of a process that repeats itself in its entirety for each new initiative. In contrast, the model developed herein guides and directs residents to develop a new tier of resources, i.e., social capital and planning knowledge, in an aggregative fashion over the course of time. This process should lead to higher levels of willingness and readiness in the community to take the next initiative when the eventuality arises.

Bratt and Reardon urge residents to look for financial capital, which is a fluid and volatile resource. In contrast, the framework proposed herein emphasizes the essentiality of acquiring durable capital resources, i.e., social capital and planning knowledge. Thus, the new model proposed herein is sustainable and can constitute a long-term strategy for bolstering the community in the planning arena and for increasing the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables.

Examples of such communities are Public Forum for the Carmel (PFC) and Our Neve Tzedek (ONT), both of which have, over the years, built and strengthened their social capital and planning knowledge fronts, thereby improving their endurance and preparedness to drive collaborative participation processes whenever residents' intervention is needed, without having to begin from scratch. PFC's establishment emerged naturally out of long-time activity among Haifa residents, particularly those residing on the eastern slopes of the Carmel range, who in the 1980s were the first group in Israel to initiate a grassroots participation process in the wake of significant increases in pollution levels caused by the increase in heavy industry and petroleum refining in Haifa Bay.

In recent years, the number of lay planning initiatives in Israel has increased. Such initiatives can be described as a new participation method that is taking root in Israeli society. Because the unilateral participation method creates a lack of trust in government and a sense of alienation among the populace, the populace is finding

alternative ways to oppose slated plans in the form of extra-institutional community initiatives that come "from the bottom". Whereas unilateral procedures and tools such as SWOT are employed by the "long arm" of official statutory planning, resident initiatives developed in the community provide a non-statutory framework operating either alongside or in opposition to unilateral participation.

Since the construction of monstrous towers on Haifa's coast in the 1990s, several developer and jurisdictional plans for construction on Israel's Mediterranean shoreline have prompted residents to action, leading to fruitful collaborative participation processes. One such process is the citizen initiative to save Tel Aviv's shoreline, which gathered momentum in 2013 in reaction to the city's plan to widen the promenade and build on the beach, installing wooden terraces (based on the rationale that they would link the city to the sea) and cement paths (rationalizing that these would provide disabled access to the water).

The initiative that began as a spontaneous gathering in a beachfront bar near the slated construction site quickly attracted citizens of all stripes who formed a Facebook network comprising nearly 6500 members. These members held targeted meetings, demonstrations, and study days; published position papers; and held meetings with academics and professionals—including attorneys, marine ecologists, architects, and urban planners—while drafting and consolidating alternative plans based on local knowledge.

In Tel Aviv-Jaffa District Court of April 14, 2013 (*District Court convening 13-04-8105*), in response to the petition submitted by the Network to Save the Tel Aviv Shoreline, Judge Dr. Michal Agmon-Gonen wrote the following:

> Following the completion of work on part of the beach (approximately two weeks from now), an environmental study shall be conducted regarding the entire project, and an additional process of public participation shall be held, meaning as broad participation as is possible, in the framework of which the public shall be able to express its opinion on the need for continuation of the project at all, or parts thereof.

It was the first time that an Israeli court had expressed itself plainly and definitively through an order that not only required the city to conduct a public participation process but also challenged the unilateral public participation process previously conducted by the city, which in the court's opinion was not sufficiently broad-based. Clearly, the residents had succeeded in building both social capital and an enduring front of professional planning knowledge, the combination of which led to the success of their petition.

The unilateral public participation process conducted by the City of Tel Aviv on the matter of the promenade consisted of a single meeting held on April 14, 2010, wherein 108 residents participated in roundtable discussions (in a configuration similar to that of a focus group). Although participating residents offered a variety of opinions and assertions regarding the city's plan, these statements could not be consolidated into planning knowledge. Instead, the public participation deliverable (City of Tel Aviv-Jaffa 2010) comprised lists of opinions on the plan, which were divided into three categories: (1) The promenade; (2) Seating area, shade, and the lower promenade; and (3) The beach. Although the summary mentioned three

channels for disseminating the public participation deliverable, it did not describe the content thereof, professional recommendations, or planning alternatives.

The above example accords with the finding that a "pure" collaborative public participation process that develops naturally as an opposing grassroots initiative is the superior choice from among the inventory of accepted public participation methods. At the other extreme, unilateral participation is the least effective option. Between these two options lie three additional methods for public participation in planning—namely, *improved unilateral*, *network*, and *radical*—bringing the number of participation options to five, which can be ranked in terms of their abilities to expose local knowledge and incorporate that knowledge into the planning deliverable as follows (going from worst to best): the unilateral method, which offers the lowest level of local knowledge exposure and incorporation; the improved unilateral method; the network participation method; the radical method; and the pure collaborative method. The collaborative method—which is the only method based fully and solely on citizen initiative, is positioned at the top because of its proven ability to expose local knowledge and to incorporate that knowledge into planning deliverables.

The three intermediate methods aim to improve the ability of the unilateral method to expose quality local knowledge and to produce operative planning knowledge based thereon. In addition, all three intermediate methods offer upgrades to the unilateral participation process (which is currently used in Israel through the incorporation of procedural and instrumental "collaborative elements" whose efficacy is proven in this study.

Whereas the improved unilateral method improves existing unilateral procedures and tools, the network participation method replaces those tools with new collaborative tools that rest on resident networks; the radical method goes even further by encouraging residents to take the leading role in driving collaborative participation processes. The paragraphs below expand upon the three intermediate methods of public participation.

Although the **Improved Unilateral Participation Method** continues to rest on procedurally structured meetings, it proposes increasing the number and frequency of meetings; conducting meetings throughout the entire planning process; lengthening the meetings; and enabling both lay residents and professionals to participate equally and to engage in deliberative communication with each other. The improved method recommends perfecting each unilateral tool as follows:

- Criteria Prioritization—Modify the tool to enable participants not only to choose issues from a list but also to explain their choices in writing and/or orally. In addition, participants must be allowed to raise other criteria. Deliberative discussion among participants following the ranking phase should also be added, as should an additional ranking phase following a series of discussions. The assumption is that participants will emerge from the discussions more reasoned and grounded and less spontaneous and random, thereby enhancing local knowledge system exposure. Moreover, discussions regarding issues on the list should be encouraged and stimulated to clarify various aspects of local

knowledge that are relevant to the criteria listed and to facilitate the compre-hension of participants' needs and desires, as well as their reasons for choosing certain criteria and not others. The discussions will likely identify issues that urgently need treatment but are not on the list; reveal previously hidden aspects of local knowledge; produce possible solutions to environmental problems related to the slated criteria; and lead to the consolidation of operative planning recommendations.

- Alternatives Selection—The findings show that this tool often exposes contra-dictory aspects of local knowledge; therefore, adding lengthy, deliberative discussions on proposed alternatives is recommended. Such discussions will enable resolution of contradictions and the consolidation of coherent planning knowledge that is ripe for incorporation into plans. In addition to choosing between and clarifying alternatives, this procedure should enable participants to modify the planning alternatives presented by the city.
- SWOT—The research findings prove that this tool typically exposes random statements and dry facts offered by participants in the context of brief opinions. Therefore, it is recommended that each participant be given as much time as possible to address the shortcomings and strengths identified by him/her. In addition, participants should be permitted to explain their choices coherently, e.g., by relating scenarios from their day-to-day lives. It is also critical to conduct lengthy discussions between lay citizens and professionals regarding shortcomings to enable consolidation of operative planning knowledge that will address the problems in residents' day-to-day lives in their spaces.

In addition to the unilateral procedures described above, structured question-naires have become a common tool used worldwide to elicit information from the public regarding planning needs, despite the failure of such questionnaires to produce interaction among individuals in the community, engender discussion or dialog, or facilitate the cooperative building of new planning knowledge and agreement on planning deliverables. Rather, structured questionnaires mainly gather personal socio-demographic data or spatial information, such as the mobility habits of people in the space affected by the plan.

Structured questionnaires are formulated by experts who determine in advance the types of local knowledge that should be drawn from the population. Moreover, the data gathered thereby undergo coding and quantification for the purpose of statistical processing; consequently, important data—such as locals' opinions, conceptualizations, and ideas that are not susceptible to statistical or quantitative processing—are not likely to be exposed, which means that meaningful information is not taken into account in the decision-making process.

According to the improved unilateral method, structured questionnaires should be modified into semi-structured questionnaires by adding open questions (for both written and oral responses); in addition, conversational interviews between facili-tators (as interviewers) and participants (as interviewees) should be promoted.

Compared to the original unilateral method—which does not employ discursive procedures—the improved public participation method should produce a public

participation deliverable that is riper and readier for incorporation into statutory planning deliverables. However, the actual incorporation of improved unilateral public participation deliverables into statutory deliverables remains in the hands of the jurisdiction, not the citizenry. In other words, although residents have more power than they do with the original unilateral method, the majority of the power remains in the hands of the jurisdiction.

The **Network Participation Method** proposes replacing unilateral procedures and tools with collaborative methods rooted in a deliberative residents' network that meets frequently throughout the entire planning process. In other words, the network participation method envisions a large, dynamic, and flexible residents' network that employs ongoing deliberative procedures and enables both the exposure of quality local knowledge and the accretion of operative planning knowledge. Although the jurisdiction retains control over all matters related to the schedule and target of the planning process, participants enjoy uninhibited communication and lengthy periods of local knowledge exposure, as well as reciprocal communication with planning professionals to amass operative planning knowledge. The network participation method enables the jurisdiction or persons acting on its behalf to create a network encompassing a range of stakeholders in the slated plan; employ discursive, in-person and online procedures; draft position papers; and consolidate planning alternatives.

The network participation method represents and encompasses several common participation procedures, including the charrette, in which the jurisdiction or persons acting on its behalf convene residents, planners representing the jurisdiction, and other stakeholders in the slated plan for an ongoing series of discussions held over a number of days at the site of the slated plan. Discussions continue until a plan is consolidated (see Sects. 3.5, 3.6, and 7.11.3).

The West St. Lawrence Neighbourhood Charrette was conducted in Toronto in September 2004 with five teams of 3–15 participants each. One initiator described the charrette as being organized to involve all participants in feedback circles; the voice of every participant was heard equally, which generated significant cooperation, which in turn led to the creation of a positive problem-solving and dispute resolution process. The charrette promoted full transparency and enabled participants to work rapidly against a tight timetable. As shown by this example, a successful charrette in urban planning advances shared ownership of planning solutions and neutralizes common conflicts among competing approaches, among residents, and between residents and city planners (Solsi 2010).

As shown in the present research, the charrette procedure can be extended by conducting several sequential workshops, which allows more locals, professionals, and stakeholders to join an open, dynamic network and enables participants to establish and consolidate high-quality planning deliverables slowly, deliberately, and professionally.

The PAR (Participation Action Research) family of tools and the Citizens' Jury, Citizens-based Conference, and Planning for Real procedures (see Sects. 3.5 and 7.11.3) exemplify the network method. The efficacy of these methods should increase as the frequency and duration of meetings (online as well as live) increase.

Moreover, the greater the number of participants and the longer they collaborate, the more fruitful local knowledge exposure processes will be and the better knowledge processing will be.

Among methods that can be considered network participatory procedures, the focus group appears to be the least collaborative.[1] Specifically, a focus group takes place over a relatively short time period and is tightly controlled. In contrast, the charrette lasts for days or longer, during which an ongoing dialog flows among all stakeholders in a more collaborative configuration. Whereas a focus group entails a single, facilitated, live meeting, PAR enables ongoing discussions in a collaborative configuration over a period of months. Such discussions are supported by visual aids, models, games, and/or online means, making the PAR an efficacious mechanism for resolving conflicts over spatial-geographic matters (Chevalier and Buckles 2013).

Both the focus group and the citizen-based conference involve 12–15 participants; however, the citizen-based conference features lengthy discussions among participants and between participants and professionals and experts from the field at issue, which enables the production of new group knowledge through a dialectic between citizens' individual (and local) knowledge and experts' professional knowledge (Gofer 2003). Ronen Gofer (2003) claims that new group knowledge emerges from the discussions themselves and is manifested in a document of shared policy recommendations based on citizen agreement—an uncommon and even innovative result of public discourse. According to Gofer, the citizen-based conference is a participatory and deliberative democratic practice that engenders well-argued and prolific consideration of issues, unlike an ordinary discussion, public hearing or focus group.

Thus, focus group procedures must be calibrated and longer meetings must be conducted at closer intervals. In addition, the current practice of unilateral facilitation by a single expert should be phased out, and the number of professionals who participate and conduct a dialectic among themselves and with lay residents must be increased.

In contrast to the improved unilateral method, the network participation method is likely to liberate the participants and spur them to approach other stakeholders, even planning boards, to advance the incorporation of local knowledge and public participation deliverables into statutory planning deliverables. According to this method, the jurisdiction is responsible for laying the deliberative groundwork that enables the residents' network to build social capital and planning knowledge and enlists both private and jurisdictional stakeholders in the process of incorporating knowledge into and shaping the statutory deliverable. Although residents have greater power in the incorporation phase than under unilateral methods, the

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[1]The focus group is also frequently regarded as a unilateral procedure due to its unidirectional facilitation. The focus group is arguable the most collaborative method of the unilateral procedures because it has a more collaborative configuration/ network communication. The focus group can be termed a *transitional procedure* because it possesses both unilateral and collaborative traits (see Sect. 7.11.3).

jurisdiction initiates the network participation; thus, its power is not eliminated as it is in the collaborative method. Therefore, the network participation methods obtains a situation of power parity between the community and the jurisdiction.

The network participation method is a counterpart of Leonie Sandercock's (1998) Social Learning and Communicative Action Model, which is based on study and reciprocal contact between experts and communities. In this regard, Friedmann (1987) contends that the professional planner should exploit the social approbation that enables him/her to plan the urban space and to learn from the residents and their life experiences while involving them in planning dilemmas. To do so, s/he must bring together individuals from various sectors and enable dialectical learning about issues on the agenda. This model underscores Sandercock's (1998, p. 95) contention that the conflict between professional knowledge acquired empirically and ongoing personal experiential knowledge is actually a semantic conflict that intensifies the polarization between the jurisdiction's experts and their "clients", i.e., between planners and communities. This model proposes reducing the gap between the sides through a dialectical learning process wherein personal relations are developed between experts and lay residents. The learning dialectic must be based on each side accepting the authenticity of the other; the meeting of minds and hearts; listening to the words of the other side; acknowledging the importance of non-verbal communication (body language); and being willing to work in a contentious environment. The model presents a configuration of intervention based on speech, listening, observations, questioning, and learning how, via dialog, to get attention.

What is critical here is the transition from a static, fixed conceptualization of knowledge (such as that espoused in the unilateral methods) to an environment that welcomes the public to a dynamic conceptualization and is characterized by metaphoric and professional learning and by deliberation that combines various types of knowledge and varied epistemological aspects. Network participation proposes the extraction of planning knowledge that develops and takes shape through dialectical learning between experts and communities. In contrast unilateral participation ends predictably at recording documents and implements tools that are structured before the participation is conducted.

Under the network method, planning knowledge is built through strategic action that occurs gradually in real time, not via truncated unilateral feedback that is gathered artificially and separately from the production of planning knowledge. Knowledge consolidated among the participants through the network method is recompiled through interaction and dialectical learning; public participation deliverables that should be incorporated into statutory deliverables are derived based on residents' participation; and community interests are protected during the incorporation phase.

The **Radical Participation Method** proposes that the jurisdiction, through its planners, spur residents affected by the slated plans—whether geographically or emotionally—to initiate a collaborative, participatory process that is extra-institutional but remains within the institutional framework. The radical participation process is not run like the collaborative process, i.e., "naturally" at the

residents' initiative, but rather at the initiative of the jurisdiction or of a planning entity (such as an independent planner) acting on behalf of the jurisdiction.

The radical method is more radical than the other methods in the sense that it delegates more power to the community than the unilateral and network methods. Thus, the public interest is refined and the power and control of the jurisdiction are reduced. The aim of the radical method is to reduce the jurisdiction's role in the process to the greatest extent possible to not compromise the quality of the knowledge management process or the efficacy of the exposure, processing and incorporation of local knowledge. Toward that end, it is proposed that planners be integrated as central activists in the resident-driven collaborative process. The jurisdiction's priority is to delegate the radical participation task to the planners, who are local residents.

Since the end of the 20th century, in light of planning failures, a number of US jurisdictions have implemented a creative radical measure toward the public participation process. Specifically, a grant is awarded to a community by a selected committee or entity, or is funded thereby. The entire grant is dedicated to holistic community planning based on the community's views and priorities for investing the money. Using this framework, $800,000 was granted to the Harlem Commonwealth Council, and in 18 months, the neighborhood association successfully launched numerous wide-ranging initiatives, including two supermarkets, a car care and repair center (which included a personnel training program), a company that provides financial aid to families earning less than $4000 a year, and the refurbishment of a disused foundry.

The Bedouin minority in the Negev[2] felt disenfranchised and worried that the future of their lands was in jeopardy. Thus, beginning in the 1990s, this community created a grassroots movement to oppose state policy toward them and to improve their quality of life. Their oppositional public participation was enabled by planner Amar al-Huzeil,[3] who established an unofficial public participation space that directed the group toward the desired changes and provided a framework for resident participation in decision-making using a variety of techniques, including public meetings, panels, juries, surveys and questionnaires, focus groups, the preparation of a master plan by residents assisted by professionals, community empowerment through social cohesion, and all-encompassing mutual aid. As a result of this alternative approach, the state recognized five previously unrecognized communities[4] and adopted a long-range plan for the ultimate recognition of 18 more. This radical participation method, called "oppositional public participation"

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[2]The Bedouin are one of Israel's ethnic groups and comprise 3.5% of the population. The Negev, Israel's southern desert, is home to the bulk of the Bedouin (more than 220,000), some of whom lead a semi-nomadic life.

[3]Amar al-Huzeil is a resident of Rahat, the largest Bedouin town, where he works as a strategic planner. He earned his doctorate in Germany.

[4]"Unrecognized community" is a term used for a settlement built without permits. Such settlements are unrecognized by authorities and thus do not receive any welfare services or utilities.

(Jabareen 2003), stands as an example for minority and disenfranchised communities throughout the world.

The radical processes in Harlem and the Negev included deliberative and practical community work that rested on authentic knowledge of locals, as well as social ties and local cultural codes, underlain by the assumption that any outside expert would be unable to understand the situation or to motivate the locals to participate in a development process. Because the jurisdictional personnel and planners who initiated the process were invisible throughout, the success of this type of participation process strengthens the argument that collaborative public participation processes resting on grassroots resident initiatives are likely to be both successful and practicable.

Radical public participation accords with Sandercock's (1998) Radical Planning Model, according to which planners are allied with the community and help residents elucidate objectives and achieve collective community determination (Friedmann 1987; Heskin 1991). The role of the planner in radical participation is not to hermetically control the participation process, as is expected in unilateral methods and to a certain degree in network participation, but rather to motivate, spur, and affirm political processes and to guide knowledge management processes. Leavitt (1994) describes how she inserted herself into the lives of the community, gained the trust of community members, and allotted time for processes, listening, mediation, and mainly letting others speak. Her experience shows that a significant amount of time must be invested in developing good relationships with community members to create the right atmosphere and conditions for launching a collective challenge and for empowering the community socially and politically. In addition, "The planners recognize the value of local knowledge in this evolving context, in addition to [that of] dialectical learning, mutual trust, and radical openness" (Sandercock 1998, p. 99). The planner sees himself/herself as an ally of the community who aids community members to elucidate both environmental problems on the agenda and their objectives regarding these problems and who enables residents to achieve community self-determination, will, and perseverance throughout the process, until local knowledge is incorporated into the statutory planning deliverables.

The common element in the three intermediate participation methods is a deliberate process in which both lay residents and professionals participate. The improved unilateral participation method adds a deliberative element to existing unilateral tools; the network participation method is based on a deliberative participation network; and the radical participation method stimulates deliberative procedures among residents. Because the debate between lay people and professionals is crucial to the exposure and processing of local knowledge and to a great extent determines the quality of the participation deliverable, it is desirable to invite non-local planners into the process if there is a dearth of local planning professionals in the relevant fields.

The priority given to local professionals accords with the Chinese Boxes theory (Dahl 1989), which argues that the closer a matter is to a citizen's heart, home, or her/his expertise, the greater the likelihood of her/his participation and resultant

influence over decision-making processes. Therefore, instead of mass participation, the Chinese Boxes theory proposes involving a small group of locals who are not only familiar with local knowledge but also experts or very interested in the subject at hand or equipped with a background that allows them to form an assessment, which ensures that the planning knowledge built thereby will not only correspond to the local knowledge but also be professional.

In addition to the prioritization of local professionals, it is recommended that each intermediate method facilitate transparency and utilize clear, modern, and tangible means to relay pertinent professional material and information from the jurisdiction to participants. This feature ensures that there is no manipulation, whether deliberate or inadvertent, of the participating public. Moreover, the jurisdiction should be attentive to residents' requests, cooperate with residents, ensure that residents understand the professional material conveyed to them, and address residents empathically and considerately. The assumption is that the risk of manipulation increases as the level of initiative taken by the jurisdiction in the process increases, whereas as this risk decreases as the method ascends higher on the proposed scale—i.e., as the participation method becomes more collaborative.

The dialectic between professionals and lay people, transparency and empathy on the part of institutions, and notification and broad representation of all communities likely to be affected by slated plans are essential to the success of exposing and processing local knowledge through public participation, regardless of which participation method is used.

Although the radical method is optimal, it is feasible only in socially mature communities characterized by high levels of civic and environmental awareness, and these features do not necessarily exist in any real-world social system. Thus, the selection of a participatory method that strikes an appropriate balance between recognizing the social (im)maturity of the community and maximizing resident participation is recommended. In addition, it is reasonable to assume that jurisdictions accustomed to a specific configuration of unilateral procedures will find it difficult to adopt collaborative procedures. Therefore, the gradual ascension of jurisdictions on the proposed scale toward collaboration should be facilitated by new theories and tools, appropriate personnel placement, the intelligent allocation of resources, and the adaption of organizational structures to the new, collaborative practices.

In addition, it is recommended that all public participation processes include a field study (using an anthropological format) with five main objectives:

1. Notify locals of the planned participation process and invite them to take part, which will ensure both a large number of participants and broad community representation.
2. Hold discussions and explanatory workshops with residents to clarify the objectives of the participation process and explain why resident participation is important, which will help increase the number of local participants, raise locals' awareness of environmental, civic, and planning matters, and increase locals' trust in planning and jurisdictional authorities.

3. Enhance local cultural characteristics related to interpersonal communication, such as language proficiency (both written and read) and online use habits, and adapt participation procedures and tools and participant interaction to the widest possible range of locals, which will ensure that the maximum quantity and variety of participants have access to the participatory process.

4. Use anthropological research to yield substantial local knowledge that cannot be exposed by public participation methods. The knowledge exposed by anthropological research is both broader and deeper than that exposed by public participation methods and includes spatial behaviors (e.g., daily routes); environmental (nuisance) scenarios; environmental awareness and values; cultural codes; injustices experienced by residents; resident-jurisdiction relations; the interpretation, transmission, and building of community knowledge; ideologies; social and interpersonal relations;; resident speculations; and community priorities.

5. Use anthropological fieldwork to mitigate the disadvantages of collaborative participation methods. For example, incomplete community representation, over-representation of the elite, and large "holes" in local knowledge are all satisfactorily rectified by anthropological research, which exposes a more complete picture of the local knowledge system and thereby enables broader representation of the communities comprising the geographical area under study.

The final recommendation is to attempt to teach cities by means of organizational and philosophical changes how to conduct better public participation processes, i.e., processes that are both more collaborative and more "anthropological". The optimistic assumption is that cities will undergo (voluntarily or otherwise) a drawn-out transition process from manipulative unilateral activity to inclusive, collaborative activity. The pessimistic assumption is that cities are incapable of changing in the foreseeable future because cities (and city planners) are characterized by an inherent anomaly, i.e., they innately crave development and, thus, do not represent residents' interests. Consequently, residents are compelled to organize independently and to fight for the quality of the built environment.

The question is thus who should fill the vacuum created by the absence of genuine facilitation of public involvement in planning processes, if not the cities.

We understand our case study as an academic journey into the boundary zone between the 'dark' and 'bright' sides of planning. Our understanding of the 'dark' side of planning is borrowed from Yiftachèl's (1998) groundbreaking paper in which he attempts to "shed light on the darker side of planning by exploring its links to state mechanisms of social control and oppression" (p. 395). In alluding to the 'bright' side, Yiftachèl refers to a series of academic publications that address the communicative turn in planning and present collaborative planning as a viable, progressive, and normatively appealing standard for the planning profession (pp. 403–404; e.g., Healy 1992; Innes 1995).

The bright and enlightened communicative side of planning includes civil society in the process, which enables the formation of social network-based

alternative involvement processes. The civil society arena has become a sphere wherein citizens can independently and freely meet, discuss environmental problems, exchange information, and work together for environmental justice.

It is likely that highly visible civil society entities that gain citizens' trust will constitute an alternative to the cities as facilitators of network and radical participatory processes. Notwithstanding the ongoing discourse regarding the nature and extent (if any) of the influence of civil society organizations on public participation processes in planning (see p. 190), it appears that these organizations are capable of assuming a significant role in driving the network and radical participation processes.

Cooperation between researchers who study public participation and civil society organizations should advance a new agenda for organizations that champion social justice. Such organizations are not a substitute for neighborhood forums or collaborative networks and do not compete with them; rather, these organizations encourage resident-based collaborative networks to advance and drive the participation process from below. Based on the research findings, we recommend that civil society organizations foster maximal independence and empowerment of collaborative networks and resident forums, as opposed to creating an alternative or competing platform.

In addition, highly visible civil society associations should assume the anthropological function of capturing the local knowledge system as broadly and as deeply as possible, notify residents of the importance of their participation in participatory processes and encourage residents to initiate or join collaborative networks.

The present study describes five methods of public participation in planning that can be ranked on a "Participatory Methods Ladder" based on their relative abilities to expose local knowledge and to incorporate such knowledge into planning deliverables as follows: Unilateral participation; improved unilateral participation; network participation; radical participation; and Collaborative participation. The higher one climbs on the ladder, the greater the likelihood that local knowledge will be exposed and incorporated into statutory planning deliverables.

Ascension on the Participatory Methods Ladder also increases the power delegated to the community. A Unilateral participation process withholds all power from the community and is fully controlled by the jurisdiction; it even has built-in methods of manipulation. The improved unilateral process confers greater power upon participants by allowing lengthier periods of local knowledge exposure and a greater range of tools for exposing and processing local knowledge, such as open discussion. The network participation method enables residents to freely expose local knowledge, process that knowledge via deliberation, and structure resources (i.e., social capital and planning knowledge), each of which increases their power and influence over the broader incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables. Radical participation leaves minimal power in the hands of the jurisdiction to steer and intervene invisibly (through the "backdoor"), delegating maximum power to residents. Finally, Collaborative participation is the fruit of citizen initiative, and citizens have complete control over the participation process.

An interesting finding that emerges at this stage is that the ranking of participation processes in terms of their abilities to expose and incorporate local knowledge (i.e., the Participatory Methods Ladder) more or less corresponds with Arnstein's (1969) scale of power delegation, as shown in this chart (see Table 9.1).

According to Arnstein (1969), the bottom rungs of the ladder are Manipulation and Therapy, which describe levels of "non-participation" that have been contrived to substitute for genuine participation. The real objective of Manipulation and Therapy is not to enable people to participate in planning but rather to enable powerholders to use or "cure" participants, which is precisely what is done in the Unilateral Method and does not lead to incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables. Rather, it provides evidence that the powerholders allowed the public to participate. One could argue that unilateral participation is not commensurate with Therapy but rather only with Manipulation because it intensifies frustration and decreases trust in jurisdictional and planning authorities.

Rungs 3 and 4 reach to levels of "Tokenism" that allow the "have-nots" to hear and be heard by powerholders, i.e., (3) Informing and (4) Consultation. When these methods constitute the total extent of participation, citizens may indeed hear and be heard in the strict sense but lack the power to ensure that their views will be heeded by the powerful. There is no follow-through, no "teeth", and hence no assurance of changing the status quo. This is exactly the case in the improved unilateral participation Method: Although it is more capable than the original Unilateral Method of obtaining quality knowledge through consultation, it nonetheless prevents participants from participating in the incorporation stage. However, powerholders obtain evidence that they have gone through the required motions to involve the public.

Rung (5), Placation, is simply a higher level of tokenism. Although its ground rules allow residents to advise the powerholders retain the right to make the ultimate decisions.

Table 9.1 Ladders of public participation

Rung number	Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969)		Berman's Ladder of Participatory Methods (Berman, 2016)
	Levels of citizen control over planning		Participation methods ranked by their abilities to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables
1	Manipulation	Nonparticipation	Unilateral participation
2	Therapy		
3	Informing	Tokenism	Improved unilateral participation
4	Consultation		
5	Placation		
6	Partnership	Citizen power	Network participation
7	Delegated power		Radical participation
8	Citizen control		Collaborative participation

Farther up the Arnstein's ladder are levels of "citizen power" with increasing degrees of decision-making clout. For example, citizens can enter into a (6) Partnership, which enables them to negotiate and engage in trade-offs with traditional powerholders. Similarly, the network participation method is the first rung on the Participatory Methods Ladder that enables participants to amass social capital and build planning knowledge fronts, which are resources that give residents a degree of genuine bargaining power over the outcome of the plan. In other words, participants can engage with powerful stakeholders to urge the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables. At this rung of the ladder (and even more so on higher rungs), power is in fact redistributed through negotiations among residents, professionals, and powerful stakeholders; agreements on planning deliverables are achieved through such structures as lay-professional networks, joint policy boards, and mechanisms for resolving impasses; and there is some form of give-and-take in the establishment of planning provisions and the design of statutory products.

At the topmost rungs, (7) Delegated Power and (8) Citizen Control, residents obtain the decision-making power to ensure that they control the participation process. These levels resemble radical participation methods, which confer full power upon the residents to run the participation process and leave the city the minimum power necessary to spur activists and follow up on the knowledge processing procedure. At the eighth and topmost rung, residents obtain full managerial power, similar to the Collaborative Participation Method, wherein the process of local knowledge extraction and incorporation is fully controlled by participants.

The conclusion is that there is correlation between the level of citizen control over public participation processes in planning and the ability of the participation method to expose and incorporate local knowledge. Therefore, the higher the level of residents' control, the greater the ability of the participation process to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables. In other words, granting residents the power to plan their spaces has not only democratic importance but also practical planning importance because it improves the planning deliverable. The delegation of power to the community in participation processes advances the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning process and improves the planning deliverable. In other words, the higher the level of citizen control over the public participation process, the better the execution of the local knowledge exposure process and the greater the incorporation of local knowledge into the planning deliverable. Therefore, we must favor participation methods that delegate more power to the community.

Since the 1960s, the range of public participation methods in planning has expanded to include an increasing number of alternative procedures, i.e., extra-jurisdictional initiatives that lie within the civic society sphere. This range has extended beyond the public hearing and SWOT analysis techniques that shunt the public into the "nosebleed section" of the planning arena and leave them vulnerable to manipulation by the holders of power and now encompasses successful grassroots initiatives that position the public as a primary stakeholder that influences the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables.

Expanding the range of public participation procedures in planning can be described in two phases. First, planners working for jurisdictions were the first to modify unilateral participation procedures by activating participation tools that enabled the public to freely express itself through more varied means and in a collaborative and deliberative framework. Second, citizens became initiators of complex participation processes based on social networks, thereby providing an implementable alternative for public participation in planning.

To implement deliverables derived from alternative methods of public participation, it is usually necessary to submit them for jurisdictional approval via a statutory mechanism. Thus, we can conclude that the relative flexibility of alternative participation processes strengthens non-statutory planning (and civic society) without rendering the rigid mechanism of statutory decision-making superfluous. As such, the question arises whether the statutory system needs to be broadened to include requirements and directives for public participation in planning or whether we should strengthen public participation as an extra-statutory, civil society component of the planning arena.

The answer is "yes" and "yes": Yes to the encouragement of alternative initiatives, and yes to the expansion of statutory directives in the domain of public participation in planning. The balance and the fit between the forces "from below" and those "from above" should affect the robustness of the planning system and its ability to support the increase and expansion of public participation in planning in the 21st century. By the same token, the stability of the planning system depends upon its ability to control spatial planning to a reasonable degree by adapting to the alternatives and transformations occurring in civil society. Although jurisdictions are expected to lose power as a result of public participation procedures generated by civil society, the network method—and even the radical method—reserve a certain degree of power for jurisdictions.

Broadening jurisdictional authority in planning to include oversight of public participation is gathering momentum in some developed countries as a means to ensure citizens' participation in planning decision-making processes and to accelerate both local knowledge exposure among residents and the incorporation of such knowledge into planning deliverables.

The White Paper of the New Planning System for New South Wales (2013) proposes an inventory of participation procedures based on social networks, which corresponds to the network method for involving the public in planning processes and enhancing access to local knowledge. Among others, the following procedures were mentioned: citizens' jury; advisory committees and public meetings; panels and workshops; community research; and a consultative panel comprising between 600 and 1200 randomly selected participants. Numerous online deliberative techniques, such as online forums combined with interactive maps, were also mentioned.

Recognizing the diverse characteristics of both public participation procedures and participating communities, it was suggested that to maximize public participation, various procedures must be combined and activated in a variety of configurations, and each configuration must be adapted both to the project, in terms of

its characteristics, scope, and purpose, and to the affected community, in terms of its social and cultural characteristics. The White paper states, "Each approach has advantages and disadvantages, with some working better than others in particular circumstances or communities… A combination of methods, tailored to projects and local communities, will produce the most effective approach… The Director–General of the Department of Planning and Infrastructure will establish an expert panel to audit Community Participation Plans and will request planning authorities to amend Community Participation Plans that are not effective".

The establishment of a new planning system in New South Wales indicates that the NSW government appreciates both the responsibility of the statutory system to provide instructions related to the types of procedures that should be activated in public participation processes and the importance of choosing these procedures over other alternatives because of the significance influence of procedure on planning deliverables. The government's awareness corresponds with the conclusion of this research that the participatory approach and procedures have a decisive impact on the ability of the process to extract local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables.

Moreover, because Australia has been among the trailblazers in the democratization of planning processes since the 1970s (see Sect. 3.3.2), the New South Wales case indicates that in the not-too-distant future, we should see governments refining unilateral methods, and even abandoning some, as they come to recognize the advantages of more collaborative procedures and the network method in terms of fostering a genuine partnership and exposing reliable local knowledge. The New Plan calls for early, genuine and successive participation through a wide variety of procedures aimed at activating a representative sample of the community liable to be affected by the plan at hand: "Early and effective community participation in planning is central in the new planning system for New South Wales. Genuine community participation requires authorities to commit resourcing to planning processes to create a culture that values ideas, knowledge and contributions from all parts of the community…This means that the opportunity for the community to participate at the start of the planning process and on an ongoing basis will be prioritized and integral to setting the vision and ground rules for local areas. It also means there will be a wider range of tools and techniques to interest and engage a representative and sizable proportion of the community in the planning process…"

This participatory approach corresponds with several research recommendations that are reflected in the Evaluation Tool, namely, continuing participation beginning at an early stage of the planning process [as per the evaluation parameter "Overlap with planning process", see Table 7.3, p. 104]; maximization of the variety of participants [as per the evaluation parameter "Notification goal", see Table 7.2, p. 100]; a flexible framework of procedures and tools activated based on real-time changing considerations [as per the evaluation parameter "Operational framework", see Table 7.3, p. 104]; a wide variety of both live and online meetings; ongoing dialectical and discursive communication among the participants [as per the evaluation parameters "Types of procedures" and "Procedure characteristics", see Table 7.3, p. 104]; an assumption by the facilitators that participants are aware of

the local knowledge system and capable of transferring this knowledge [as per the evaluation parameter "Facilitators' assumptions", see Table 7.3, p. 104]; and the potential continuation of the participation process for a period of years, allowing it to take root over time not only in the statutory planning system but also in the social and cultural structure of the community [as per the evaluation parameter "Frequency of operation", see Table 7.3, p. 104].

Recalibrating the participatory approach according to additional parameters of the Evaluation Tool could enhance the effectiveness of the participation process; for example, according the parameter "Interaction among participants" (see Table 7.5, p. 111), the interaction between lay people and professionals should be accelerated, which maximizes "mutual feeding" between local and professional knowledge. The National Framework for Greater Citizen Engagement (Governance of Britain 2008) surpasses itself by emphasizing the importance of deliberative forums, i.e., citizens' juries and citizens' summits, to enable participants to engage in dialogue with experts, organizations and political leaders.

Although the alternative-collaborative participation method should be superior to the network method, little to no disgruntlement is anticipated because the increasing acceptability of launching network procedures while abandoning unilateral procedures is clearly a good omen, as is the fact that alternative participatory processes are gathering momentum outside of statutory corridors. These developments show net progress up the Participatory Methods Ladder through the use of better methods for community participation in spatial planning.

Ascension up the Participatory Methods Ladder can be viewed as indicative of an increasing awareness among both professionals and lay people of the importance of planning and the public's role therein. The concept of public participation is perceived as an integral part of the planning process. The term "participatory planning" is becoming established jargon and is virtually synonymous with "planning", suggesting the inherent inclusion of public participation in planning. Nevertheless, public participation is faced with both practical and theoretical difficulties, among which are the political and epistemological obstacles that threaten to castrate it, thereby rendering the profession a mere bureaucratic front or a labyrinth of jurisdictions led, perpetuated, and reproduced by the neo-liberal economy.

Planning has recently been criticized by free market economists as a needless intrusion into market functioning, and neoliberalism seeks to redefine and re-imagine professions such as planning in more market-oriented terms (Clifford and Tewdwr-Jones 2013). Thus, facing market demands for rapid development, the planner finds his/her commitment to public participation and consultation difficult to implement.

Strengthening the power of planners relative to market forces demands that their role be redefined. Doctrine and theory must be modified to equip planners with innovative tools that enable them to cope with the formidable responsibility of engaging in fair, considered, just, and sustainable participatory planning processes when the market dictates rapid development "without many talk".

The conventional planner often embodies the worst aspects of the planner as bureaucrat, favoring inertia over innovation and reducing planning to little more than administration. However, the art of planning requires an informed appreciation of his/her responsibilities, the ability to recognize when and where to seek out additional information, a flexible approach to knowledge and perspectives, and the capacity to develop interpretative frameworks that enable public participation and commensurate conclusions based thereon (Bauman 1990; Campbell and Marshall 2000). In this way, public participation is more likely to strengthen the planning profession and its durability relative to economic and political forces.

It appears that the planning profession is in need of renewal and intelligent empowerment to enable its practitioners to play an influential role in spatial planning, both in the halls of government and in the free market. The transition from "planner" to "participatory planner" in the 21st century ought to enhance the relevance of the profession by presenting it with real solutions to the gamut of physical and social difficulties involved in decision-making, which conventional planning does not do.

Planning solutions based on local knowledge should improve the quality of plans by emphasizing intelligent elements and added values that create qualitative (and even quantitative and/or economic) distinctions compared with "instant" or "off-the-shelf" plans. It is crucial to shape theoretical and practical solutions that synergize various types of knowledge, which in turn leads to better plans. The path to establishing the status of the profession lies in extending professional knowledge bases to include innovative, system-wide, and intelligent abilities that enable the incorporation of lay knowledge and spatial and social desires and needs into plans.

The conventional planner perceives the planning role as walking a tightrope between two methods of decision making: one that rests on the professional judgment of experts and one that entails public participation (Sagar 1994). In contrast, the participatory planner views public participation as an integral and inherent part of the decision-making process. Based on the research findings, the planner's responsibilities include the incorporation of local knowledge into the decision-making process by means of many and varied measures related to mediation and arbitration among stakeholders (Corburn 2003); construction, calibration, and activation of participatory tools and procedures; spurring communities to act (even "undercover") to initiate participation; the execution of field studies (anthropological and others) to notify locals and extract information from communities; the exchange and acquisition of professional and local knowledge; and the integration of numerous knowledge systems to formulate planning knowledge. Knowledge and information in the context of planning and development is constantly produced by stakeholders and planners who are trying to amalgamate and interpret knowledge (knowledge management) to obtain a broad understanding of all issues (Campbell and Marshall 2000; Rantanen 2007; van Herzele and Woerkum 2008).

To adapt the training of planners to the 21st-century context, it is incumbent upon the profession to reevaluate the customary curriculum and to add courses that feature both multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches. Topics/subjects

from disciplines such as epistemology, anthropology, discourse analysis, ethics, mediation, information mining, and knowledge management, among others, should be considered for inclusion in the curriculum. In addition, it is recommended that professional training include community outreach as a means of demonstrating to students the importance of a planner's commitment to the public that s/he serves.

In addition to expanding the planning curriculum, the provision of short, extra-academic, focused courses on Public Participation in City, Regional, and Environmental Planning is recommended for the purpose of training architects; city engineers; environmental consultants; geographers; city and jurisdictional administrators; elected officials; executives in private and state companies; NGO and non-profit personnel; environmentalists; and residents who are interested in sustainable development.

Chapter 10
Summary of Outcomes and Conclusions

A comparative study of the respective abilities of the unilateral public participation method and the collaborative method to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables revealed the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables is enabled by a concatenation of links among variables that can be depicted in four stages,[1] as follows:

- Stage 1: Identify the initiators of the participation process (e.g., jurisdictions or citizens) as an independent variable that affects the characteristics of the procedures and tools employed to expose local knowledge.
- Stage 2: The procedures and tools employed to expose local knowledge affect the configurations of interaction and communication among participants (including both lay people and professionals) and between them and the facilitators of the participatory procedures and exposure tools.
- Stage 3: The interaction and communication affect four capabilities: the building of social capital; the exposure of quality local knowledge that is ripe (reliable, consolidated and corroborated) for processing; the accretion of operative planning knowledge based on local knowledge; and the achievement of consensus on the operative knowledge.
- Stage 4: The four capabilities affect the ability of participants to incorporate local knowledge into planning deliverables, both in public participation outcomes and in statutory deliverables, as follows:

  (a) The four capabilities affect participants' ability to frame the community's environmental philosophy and planning ideology and to incorporate local knowledge into public participation deliverables, which include operative recommendations and even planning alternatives.

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[1]The stages proposed herein correspond with the Two-phase Participatory Model (see Chap. 9), as follows: Phase 1, creating participatory deliverables, is included in stages 2 and 3, and Phase 2, incorporating participatory deliverables, is included in stage 4.

(b) The four capabilities affect the participants' ability to build political power and to enlist stakeholders (for example, private developers and state planning boards) in the discourse on the planning matters at hand. In a later stage, the discourse both establishes the participants (the community) as a central stakeholder, in addition to the traditional stakeholders, and becomes a mediation and negotiation process among all powerful stakeholders regarding which elements of the public participation deliverables (i.e., local knowledge) can be incorporated into statutory deliverables and how this can be accomplished.

By providing unrestricted time, space, mobility, interaction and deliberation (stage 2), the procedures involved in the collaborative method increase the opportunities of residents to express their perceptions, perspectives and ideas and to formulate and consolidate their viewpoints to accumulate planning knowledge (based on real spatial needs and desires) and to draft operative plans (stage 3). In addition to planning knowledge, the dynamic social network generates social capital and political power (stage 3) and exploits these resources to gain influence in negotiations with powerful stakeholders regarding the inclusion of participating planning alternatives into statutory plans (stage 4).

The research shows that whereas the collaborative method of public participation permits the aforementioned mechanisms to continue throughout the process, the unilateral method terminates the concatenation of effects among the variables as early as Stage 2. Thus, the procedures and tools selected and designed by the jurisdiction for exposing local knowledge obstruct communication and interaction among the participants, prevent the accumulation of social capital, and inhibit the exposure of genuine local knowledge. Consequently, the accretion of planning knowledge and achievement of a consensus is not enabled. Chart 10.1, shows the interrelations among criteria that determine the efficacy of participatory mechanisms.

As this diagram illustrates, the use of procedures and tools aimed at exposing local knowledge as early as Stage 2 of the participation mechanism is essential and will likely determine the fate of the local knowledge exposure and incorporation processes. Therefore, the following recommendations can be made: select procedures and tools that enable uninhibited interaction among the participants, including between lay people and professionals (i.e., that enable reciprocity between local and professional knowledge); conduct multi-media, live, and online discussions that continue throughout the planning process; encourage ongoing, continuous, and free-flowing exposure of local knowledge in an open configuration and avoid closed queries prepared in advance; form a large, open, flexible network that acts pursuant to a shared agenda and fosters cooperation and shared trust among members; disseminate knowledge extracted and consolidated to the broader public, potential participants, and other stakeholders, such as developers and jurisdictions.

In Stage 3 of the mechanism, the aforementioned variables, which stem from the characteristics of the procedures and tools, determine the capability of the participation process to build social capital, to amass operative planning knowledge based on local
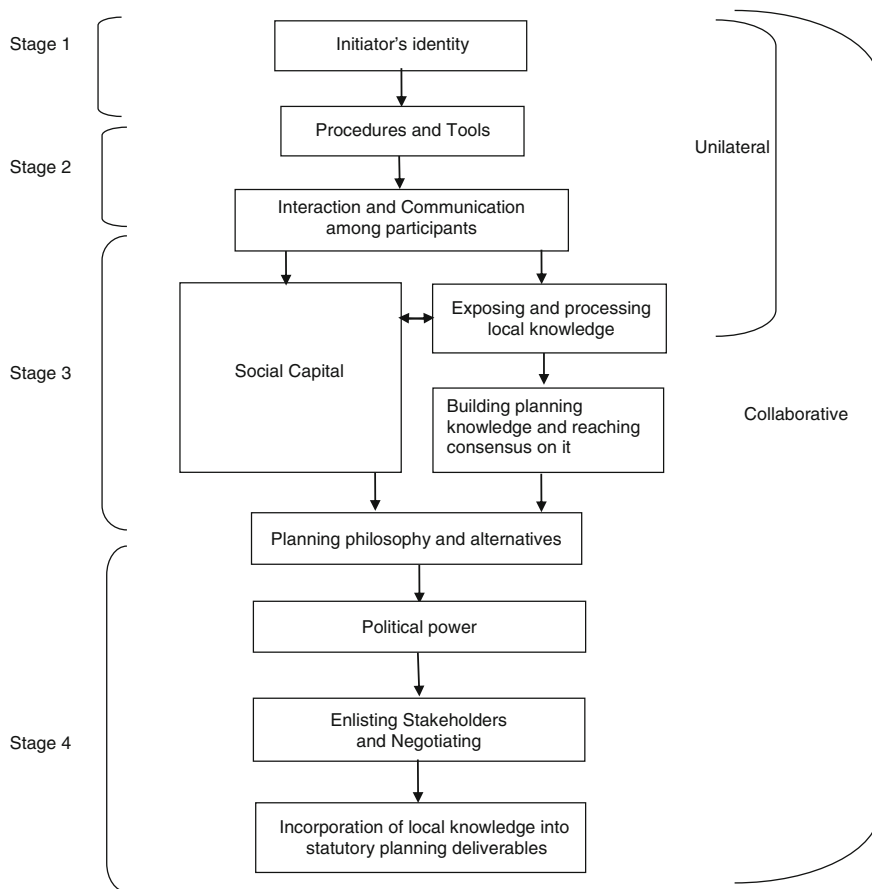
Chart 10.1 Interrelations among criteria that determine the efficacy of participatory mechanisms

knowledge and to achieve a consensus on such operating knowledge. Note that a consensus forms in a social environment characterized by high levels of both social capital and operative planning knowledge. This process results in the shared group exposure of local knowledge and the accretion of planning knowledge based thereon.

Stage 4 of the participation mechanism is enabled when the social network establishes enduring fronts of both social capital and operative planning knowledge. These fronts enable the building of public participation deliverables that include both operative planning recommendations and planning alternatives. To incorporate public participation deliverables into statutory deliverables, participants must exploit their knowledge and social capital fronts to bring other stakeholders, such as developers and jurisdictions, into the planning discourse and negotiate with these stakeholders to incorporate as much local knowledge as possible into statutory deliverables.

The collaborative method of public participation is not only more efficacious than the unilateral method but also enables the incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables, which is not the case for the unilateral method. It can therefore be stated unequivocally that where the unilateral method has failed, the collaborative method will succeed at incorporating local knowledge into planning deliverables.

Were, we can locate each of the methods—unilateral and collaborative—on either end of the Participatory Methods Ladder based on their respective capacities to expose and incorporate local knowledge. Three additional participation methods, which are located on the scale between the unilateral and collaborative methods, are also proposed, as follows:

1. The improved unilateral method, which upgrades existing unilateral procedures and tools to enable participants to engage in more deliberative communication interaction that is both broader in scope and longer in time, but the jurisdiction retains most of the control over the process and limits the levels of planning knowledge and social capital generated thereby. Thus, the group cannot progress to Stage 4 in the participation mechanism, i.e., incorporation. Nonetheless, the jurisdiction has gained operative planning knowledge that is more consolidated and riper for incorporation into planning deliverables than the knowledge gained through the unilateral method.

2. The network participation method abandons unilateral tools and procedures, opting instead for a deliberative social network, which enhances discursive communication, increases the participation of professionals in the process, and is likely to build social capital and planning knowledge fronts. These resources shall be exploited to enlist other stakeholders in the process and progress to the Incorporation Stage. However, the transition to Stage 4 remains uncertain; although it is more tangible than in the unilateral methods it is still less tangible than in the collaborative process and will depend on the distribution of control between citizens and facilitators. Through network-based participation and the implementation of collaborative, deliberative procedures, the network method mechanism confers a non-negligible level of power to network members but leaves the facilitator with the power to control, to a certain extent, the nature of communicative interaction among participants. Thus, the power of participating citizens and the power of the jurisdiction or NGO that is facilitating network participation are roughly equal.

3. The radical participation method proposes delegating maximum power to citizens/residents and encouraging them to initiate and drive collaborative participation processes that enable them to progress toward the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory planning deliverables. The radical method reduces the jurisdiction's role to the minimum necessary to mobilize residents to participate and to oversee, to some extent, the formulation of planning knowledge and the incorporation process, unlike the collaborative method, which gives residents full control over the participation process.

Compared to the network, unilateral and improved unilateral methods, the radical participatory method better ensures the community's ability to accumulate resources (i.e., social and political capital and operative planning knowledge) that will help it continue to Stage 4 of the model, which involves harnessing external stakeholders and negotiating with them to incorporate local knowledge. The collaborative grassroots method confers more power on residents than all other methods, leaving the jurisdiction with virtually no power over the participation process except during Stage 4, when it is enlisted by residents—willingly or unwillingly—to become a stakeholder in the evolving discourse regarding the incorporation of knowledge into the plans.

The various participation methods can be ranked by the degree of power conferred on the community, from the least to the most, as follows: the unilateral method, the improved unilateral method, the network method, the radical method, and the collaborative method. Although this ranking is based on the conferral of power, it is identical to the ranking based on the degree to which local knowledge is exposed and incorporated into plans. This ranking, which we call the Participatory Methods Ladder, shows the correlation between the level of citizen control over public participation processes in planning and the ability of the method to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into plans. The Participatory Methods Ladder is consistent with Arnstein (1969), who ranks levels of citizen control over the planning process from the lowest (Nonparticipation) to the highest (Citizen Control) as shown in Chart 10.2.

The correspondence of the two ladders in Chart 10.2 shows that the more control residents have over the participation process, the greater the ability of the process to reveal local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables. Therefore, participation methods that confer more power on residents are preferable, in terms of both democracy and the improvement of planning deliverables through the incorporation of residents' needs, perspectives and desires into planning. The collaborative grassroots method tops both ladders, which means that the modification of any participation process based on its directives should improve the

Arnstein's Ladder of Citizen Participation (Arnstein, 1969)		Berman's Ladder of Participatory Methods (Berman, 2016)
Citizen control	-----------	Collaborative method
Delegated power	-----------	Radical method
Partnership	-----------	Network method
Tokenism	-----------	Improved unilateral method
Nonparticipation	-----------	Unilateral method

----------- Connection / correspondence

Chart 10.2 Ladders of public participation

planning deliverable in terms of the incorporation of local knowledge into plans through maximum citizen/resident[2] control over the participation process.

The Participatory Methods Ladder shows that as the unilateral aspects of a given participation method decrease and the collaborative aspects increase, more power and control are conferred on residents; more and better local knowledge is incorporated into planning deliverables; the accord between the planning deliverable and local knowledge is improved; and the inherent gap between local knowledge and statutory planning is narrowed. We see, therefore, that the selection of a participation method located as close as possible to the Collaborative end of the Participatory Methods Ladder is recommended.

The two ladders complement, reinforce, and validate each other. Together, they produce a broader and more solid theoretical framework. Arnstein's ladder supports the conferral of power on residents as a means of ensuring a fair participation process in which weak voices are heard. The Participatory Methods Ladder confers power on residents as a means to achieve the incorporation of their perspectives, desires, and needs into plans.

However, the Participatory Methods Ladder provides practical guidelines (proven by research) for "climbing" both ladders to improve planning deliverables (in terms of the incorporation of local knowledge), whereas Arnstein's ladder does not offer guidance on how to avoid manipulation and advance to higher levels of participation. Moreover, Arnstein did not prove that higher levels of participation produce better planning deliverables (Bratt and Reardon 2013), as was proven by the research on which the Participatory Methods Ladder is based.

The innovation of the Participatory Methods Ladder lies in this index, which describes how to "climb up" Arnstein's ladder by implementing participatory practices that confer more power on residents, thereby enabling better exposure of local knowledge and better incorporation of that knowledge into planning decision processes. As a theoretical landmark rooted in the literature of participatory planning, Arnstein's ladder anchors the Participation Methods Ladder to theory, and the new ladder improves on Arnstein's ladder by including a practical index.

It is reasonable to assume that Arnstein's ladder was based less on empirical data than current research because actual public participation was in its infancy when this ladder was conceived. The rich repertoire of unilateral and collaborative participation practices that have developed during the past 50 years that separate the two ladders provides a challenging field of research and enables comparisons among various participatory practices, as was done in the research described in this book. This comparison led to the development of a new Ladder and an elaboration on participatory planning theory.

The Participatory Methods Ladder offers an opportunity to better understand and appreciate the strength of Arnstein's ladder while articulating the need for a broader theoretical and practical framework in the area of public participation in planning

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[2]Whereas Arnstein speaks of "citizens", Bratt and Reardon (2013) propose replacing "citizens" with "residents" to include those who are not citizens but are likely to be affected by slated plans.

decision processes. The new ladder adapts Arnstein's ladder to configurations and complexities of public participation arrays in the 21st century.

The proliferation of collaborative (grassroots) participation processes in the 21st century undoubtedly strengthens civil society and simultaneously threatens the hegemony of jurisdictions in planning. In turn, a stronger civil society not only enriches the repertoire of participation methods but may also facilitate the use of more efficacious tools for incorporating local knowledge into statutory planning deliverables.

In a society with a strong, active civil society, the directives of the collaborative methods are completely implementable, whether by citizens using a grassroots method or by external entities (e.g., the jurisdiction and NGOs) using the radical method. In a society with a weak or inactive civil society, public participation depends on the jurisdiction, which is called upon to modify its tools based on the collaborative method and to ascend the Participatory Methods Ladder, at least to the improved unilateral level.

The mechanism of the collaborative method is based on resident initiative. Therefore, the most collaborative method that jurisdictions can initiate is the radical method. Broad implementation of the radical method has progressed very slowly, and the ascension from unilateral methods to network methods should not to be taken for granted because it requires philosophical, organizational and paradigm shifts.

The tendency of citizens to adopt the collaborative grassroots participatory approach and the tendency of jurisdictions to adopt more collaborative-deliberative types of procedures can be described as the "collaborization" of public participation in planning, i.e., movement to higher rungs on both ladders. Currently, collaborization occurs primarily through the first mentioned tendency, but we may see more cases of the latter tendency in the near future, as well as an overall intensification of the collaborization process throughout the 21st century.

Statutory planning entities will be compelled to adapt to the increasing number and variety of public participation alternatives that are evolving in the civil society arena while maintaining control over planning by balancing statutes with a civic mindset and balancing professional statutory planning knowledge with civic and local knowledge. Statutory planning entities will be compelled to address more interventions by external civil society organizations and citizens' coalitions as opposed to merely responding to formal plans initiated by the statutory planning entities themselves.

In addition to transitioning to more collaborative types of participatory methods (i.e., improved unilateral, network and radical), jurisdictions and planners that are drafting plans should in general consider all parameters that potentially bolster social capital, make cities more walkable, and increase the accessibility and livability of public and open spaces—all of which could stimulate spontaneous interactions and consolidation of grassroots networks and participatory initiatives.

In addition, non-profits entities and NGOs should be urged to facilitate network and radical types of public participation processes. Although NGOs usually join collaborative networks at one point or another during the collaborative participation

process (in Israel, they usually join to aid citizens in submitting objections to plans), they lack the initiative to facilitate holistic, methodological public participation processes beyond their issue-specific participation. Beyond the declared agendas of such organizations, they guard the public interest and work toward social justice, whereas local jurisdictions frequently manipulate their constituencies. Therefore, the entry of NGOs as primary stakeholders in the public participation arena should improve both the participation process outcomes and the incorporation of local knowledge into statutory deliverables.

One of the notable outcome of the research described herein relates to anthropology. All initiators and facilitators of any type of participatory process should bear in mind the significance of anthropological fieldwork. Adopting the anthropological method and adapting it to the participatory planning system not only provides a means of notifying the public but also—and more importantly—constitutes a tool for broad and deep exposure of the local knowledge system. The anthropological field study yields the widest possible scope of notification, thereby enabling as many communities as possible to participate in the participation processes (both the grassroots and jurisdictional initiatives) and exposing knowledge hidden among communities, groups, and individuals who do not participate in participatory processes. The recommendation is to conduct a full anthropological notification that "reaches into the residents' living rooms," reduces existing tensions between the public and the planning authorities, stimulates numerous and varied communities to participate in any available participation processes, and initiates collaborative alternative processes. Anthropological fieldwork enables individuals and communities to support an agenda about which there is broad agreement, usually regarding a specific plan or environmental nuisance, and establishes a social network that can initiate a collaborative grassroots participation process.

The tasks necessary to move toward collaborization are not insignificant. The professional knowledge base must be elaborated, the curriculum of the planning discipline must be expanded to include a broader scope of interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary courses (e.g., Mediation, Anthropology and Geography of Knowledge), and efforts should be made to deepen the sense of obligation of future planners to the community. In addition, extra-academic courses are recommended for training professionals.

In the search for the optimal path to expose local knowledge and incorporate it into planning deliverables, it appears that the arena of public participation in planning faces a number of challenges at the beginning of the 21st century but nonetheless aims to create a reality in which plans are based on the thorough profiling of residents' needs and opinions and consideration of the nuisances, hazards, and hardships that plague them. Conditions and compatibilities recommended by frameworks and tools derived from the investigations described herein (in this book) should help overcome the challenges and shape this reality. The Evaluation Tool (see Sect. 7.11.2), Two-phase Participatory Model (see Chap. 9), Anthropological Fieldwork (see Sect. 7.11.4), and Participatory Methods Ladder (see Chap. 9 and this chapter) were all built with a focus on the conditions and factors that can influence outcomes (Orr et al. 2008); they are also capable of

measuring the level of public involvement in various participation processes conducted in various locales and countries. Evaluation results are essential to a reflective practice because they enable the development of the know-how required to design, implement, and recalibrate public participation processes (Kaufman et al. 2013) and the implementation of participatory procedures and tools that enable the successful incorporation of local knowledge into planning deliverables.

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