

Money Time - When Alternative Theory Meets Practice: How Non Governmental Idealist Professionals Exercise Participatory Urban Planning and what can we learn about participatory planning theory?

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Abstract: The paper points to a conflict of values in the practice of participatory urban planning and to a need to revise the normative scales commonly used in evaluating participatory initiatives. Public participation processes, especially those concerning deprived populations, have been extensively researched. Such studies are generally led by a normative concept of participation that emphasizes citizen control and does not encompass professional values. This approach suffers from a significant blind spot: the importance of professional values and the need to make a distinction between professionalism and governmental control.

The importance and dominance of professional values are demonstrated through the entrepreneurial efforts of an Israeli NGO, which advocates alternative and equitable planning and is publicly committed to citizen participation in policy formation. The paper describes this NGO's first attempt to design an alternative outline plan for Isawiyah - an Arab Muslim neighborhood in Jerusalem.

The findings, based on two years of observations, in-depth interviews and examination of documentation, point to an inadequacy in current theory regarding participatory planning and the normative imperatives it presents. The result of this dissonance is reflected by the dissatisfaction described in contemporary writing concerning participatory initiatives. This discontent should be addressed according to the theory to which these initiatives are evaluated.

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Introduction

Since the 60's, planning theorists have been occupied with questions regarding the relationship between planning and political power. This major and formative research question lead to extensive academic research focused on the relationship between urban planners and the public. The 60's were also a turning point for the sociological theory of professionalism. New critical views of the professions emerged, conceptualizing the professions as a status category and as an institutional structure which enables division of labor based on expert knowledge and protected by strong jurisdictional claims (Wilansky, 1964, Freidson, 1988, Friedson, 1994, Brint, 1994, Abbott, 1988).

American political scientist Alan Altshuler (1965a, 1965b) applied these new critical perspectives to urban planning professionals, emphasizing the political role of land usage and the power structure of professionalism in the planning domain, and thus created one of the most significant bases and incentives for conceptualizing the public's role in planning. Following Altshuler's pioneering work, a massive body of knowledge began to develop, focusing and theorizing on the relationship between planners and the public, usually considering planners as representatives of different official bureaucracies.

Preoccupation with public participation in planning did not lessen over the years. On the contrary – it grew and developed. The ethical code of planners, in the US, Israel and other countries, now includes the duty to involve the public in the planning process. Arnstien's oft-cited article (1969), which offers a normative scale by which to measure levels of public participation¹ – remains an anchor for the evaluation of participatory practices and the development of new participatory measures. Radical and new scholarly writing is flourishing, promoting a planning process that will bring citizens, professionals and bureaucrats to act together, without hierarchy or power division, in order to initiate and produce plans (Department for Communities and Local Government - UK, 2003). The literature also offers some critique – technical by nature – of the participatory process. Few of these critical views examine the general benefit of public participation (Cooke and Kothari, 2004) and seldom will we find a critique about the focus given to participation, when trying to deal with the power imbalance of the planning process (Yiftachel and Huxley, 2000). The vast literature regarding public participation in planning and development does not clarify the meaning of the term "public participation" and mainly offers numerous goals of the participatory process and reasons to justify it.

The research question that forms the basis of this article asks how professional homogeneity in an ideologically committed pro-participation NGO affects the design and process of participatory planning. This question follows a more general research question concerned with what happens to the participation process when planners are ideologically committed to public participation (Cohen-Blankshtain and Perez, 2007). In our work on this question we rejected the hypothesis that a participation process that is led by an ideologically committed actor would resemble higher ranks of participation such as those described by Arenstein's leader, and would aim for the goal of community empowerment.

This article hypothesizes that since professional values are dominant they overcome contesting values. The planners follow professional codes, but still hold an ideological

commitment. This dilemma results in frustration and discontent with the participatory process, similar to those feelings expressed by participants, planners and researchers in a vast majority of case studies of participation processes from around the world, as commonly found in the literature of participation in urban planning.

H1: Professional homogeneity leads to a preference of professional values over contesting values; and therefore, H2: Although lead by non-governmental planners, professional homogeneity will result in a limited participatory process which resembles government-led "official" processes.

The professional dominance hypothesis was researched through a unique case study known as "The Kaminker Project". Sara Kaminker was a planner and political activist and one of the founders of 'Bimkom'. After her death her family donated the money for the project to memorialize her legacy. The case examined here, the preparation of a master plan for the Arab neighborhood of Isawiyah in East Jerusalem, provides a unique opportunity to observe a planning process led by avowedly committed ideological planners. The plan was initiated and managed by 'Bimkom', an NGO especially founded to promote public participation in the planning process and help powerless communities to influence planning in their neighborhoods. Therefore, when examining the participation process, it may be assumed that an honest effort was made to maintain a significant and meaningful participation process.

The next section (I) will briefly describe basic sociological concepts and views of the professions while focusing specifically on urban planning and architecture. Section II discusses the connection between the two theoretical bodies – participatory planning and professionalism. Section III and IV will present the case study, the research method and the collected data, illustrating how even non-governmental, idealist urban planners, prefer professional values over participatory values. Section V discusses the findings and section VI concludes the research and points to an inadequacy in current theory regarding participatory planning and the normative imperatives it presents.

I. Professionalism

The sociological term "profession" has been a subject of research for more than a century. Research of the professions deals with the origins and development of institutionalized professional knowledge; strives to define what is this wide professional category which is based on expert knowledge and called a profession; deals with what is professional behavior; examines what is the secret of the power some professions hold while other professions vanish; analyzes what are the interactions among professions and between professions, be they public, political and bureaucratic powers and so on (among major scholars: Freidson, 1988; Abbott, 1988; Brint, 1994).

Despite the vague and numerous definitions of the term, there is a general understanding that the professions are a pattern of organization that enable division of labor in modern society. In general there is also an agreement that this form of organization is also a category of status. The history of the professions is tangled with the history of the industrial revolution and scientific progress, the growing complexity and specialization of labor and the development of higher education. The term describes

the organization and unionization of holders of formal knowledge in different social areas requiring specific training. The professions have a socially and legally accepted domain where they exercise their professional jurisdiction. Entrance to the profession is guarded by the profession's members by means such as licensing, qualifying examinations and supervision of training programs. Many professions adhere to an ethical code. Wilansky (1964:138), one of the pioneering scholars of the professions, puts it well in a nut shell:

"Any occupation wishing to exercise professional authority must find a technical basis for it, assert an exclusive jurisdiction, link both skill and jurisdiction to standards of training, and convince the public that its services are uniquely trustworthy".

Until the 1960's, research focused on description of the professions (Friedson, 1994:1-10). During the 60's, research began to focus on the professions role as a means of gaining and practicing power as well as a social status category. The old concepts – of professional neutrality and acting for the common interest and common values instead of maximizing self-interests and particularistic views of the good – were challenged².

Simultaneously, historical research of how modern professions came about was emerging. Brint (1994) describes this development as a four stage process which began by on the job training of aristocrats in the fields of law, medicine and the clergy, followed by the development of other professions such as architecture and science, but maintaining at the same time the prime principle of the professions:

"The key characteristic of professional classes at mid-century remains social exclusiveness" (p.30).

The next phase happened during the end of the 19th century while professions, universities and governments formed the status quo according to which the universities train professionals and the government regulates them. Brint's fourth phase began during the 1960's, where two main professional ideals were contested – the concept of Social Trustee and the concept of Expert Professionalism (ibid, 39-44. for historical research see also: Lewis and Maude, 1952: 14-31 and Elliott, 1972:14-58):

*"The dominant form of professionalism, however, combined civic-minded **moral** appeals and circumscribed **technical** appeals: a commitment to the public welfare and high ethical standards combined with a claim to specialized authority over a limited sphere of formal knowledge" (Brint, ibid, p.36).*

Wilnasky offers us an account of the development of architecture, which is an old profession, as well as the young profession of urban planning. The milestones in their development illustrate the institutionalization of the professions by requiring official training, establishing professional associations, requiring licensing and so on. Table 1, describes his data:

	Became Full-Time Occupation	First Training School	First University Program	First Local Professional Association	First National Professional Association	First State License Law	Formal Code of Ethics
Architecture	18 th cent.	1865	1868	1815	1857	1897	1909
City Planning	19 th cent.	1909	1909	1947	1917	1963	1948

Origin: Wilensky, Harold L. (1964). The Professionalization of Everyone?, *The American Journal of sociology*, Vol. 70 (2). p: 143. Original table title: The Process of Professionalization.

Establishing an exclusive area of professional jurisdiction is a necessary condition for the existence of a profession. The jurisdiction is the domain whereby a profession enjoys exclusiveness and through which only activities carried out by members of a profession are legally allowed and socially desired. The profession's exclusive expertises are the reason for this privilege. Abbott marks three arenas for making a professional jurisdictional claim: the legal system, public opinion and the work place (ibid, 59-68). He specifically mentions the professional appeal to public opinion as:

*"A jurisdictional claim made before the public is generally a claim for the legitimate control of a particular kind of work. This control means first and foremost **a right to perform the work as professionals see fit**".* (ibid: 60, my highlighting – A.P).

Friedson emphasizes that part of the justification for professional jurisdiction is due to the prosaic reason of labor division – while theoretically any of us can become full time professionals in any of the professions - technically, we cannot master them all (ibid: 163-164).

Jurisdictional levels

Not all professions enjoy the highest level of legal and public recognition – the full jurisdiction. Other mechanisms for regulating professional jurisdictional claims exist, among which are: giving full jurisdiction over a specific part of the profession's work; dividing responsibilities among several professions; giving exclusive advisory roles; division of labor according to the client (rather than according to the job) and so on.

However these pragmatic arrangements are very common, and leading researchers tend to agree that any professions' main aspiration is achieving a full jurisdiction:

"Full jurisdictional claims are, in general, the goal of all other types of settlements. ...This control should be legitimated within the culture by the authority of the professions' knowledge. ...Every profession aims not only to possess such a heartland, but to defend and expand it." (Abbott: ibid: 71. Also see Friedson, 1994:69).

The importance of jurisdictional borders

As all professions aim to broaden their jurisdiction, an inherent tension among professions is built into society (as Abbott describes well in his canonic book "The System of Professions", where he uses a system approach to analyze professional

interrelations). The results of the "fight" over defining professional borders can have severe implications – a change of borders can result in dwindling of a profession, in subordinating one profession to another (think of nursing and medicine) and so on.

Contemporary scholarship focuses on the concept of professional borders in two main aspects: Ethics wise, research is conducted on the question of professional loyalties in cases where certain professional codes or professional values collide with other professional codes or values. For example, Wallace (1995) researched how professionals perform in non-professional environments. Her research shows that lawyers who work in non-legal organizations (i.e. in organizations which are not based on the legal profession) found ways to preserve their professional obligations, even if to a lesser degree than lawyers working within professional organizations (such as law firms etc.) Higgs-Kleyn and Kapelianis (1999) researched professional and organizational conflict of values. They reviewed the answers of 217 professionals and discovered that even though a situation of direct conflict of values is rare, nevertheless:

*"An overwhelming proportion of respondents (82.9% of those who completed the question) indicated that they **would adhere to a professional code of conduct over a corporate code** in the event of a conflict between the two" (ibid: 371, my highlighting – A.P).*

The second line of research examines the institutionalization of power or authority, and focuses on border changes among the professions – how a profession receives new roles, how it loses others, how and why it is being subordinated to another profession and what are the conditions for it disappearing? A body of knowledge dealing with modeling the professions interactions and border setting, even before they gain official governmental recognition (Oliver and Montgomery, 2005) has developed during the time since Wilansky's (1964) work.

II. Linking Professionalism and Public Participation

The literature concerning public participation in planning relies heavily on deliberative theory (Habermas, 1996). Using titles such as "transactive planning" (Friedmann 1973), "communicative planning" (Forester 1989; Healey 1992), "consensus-building based planning" (Innes 1996), the "discourse model of planning" (Taylor 1998), and "collaborative planning" (Healey 1997; Innes and Booher 1999) they all emphasize an interactive approach (Margerum, 2002) focusing on the place that should be given to the public in the planning process, by trying to redefine the role of planners by ignoring or by-passing professionalism in order to justify the planning profession after the rational-neutral conception of planning was challenged.

Waves of criticism of the participatory "trend" did not focus on the problematic consequences of ignoring the professional domain. Instead, most of these critiques focused on three main issues: **first**, the fiscal/technical aspects of the participatory process – critiques emphasized time and money costs and poor performance due to planners' lack of proper skills and methods to engage the public (Cooke and Kothari, 2004, Almer and Koontz, 2004; Cole and Caputo, 1984, Chess and Purcell, 1999, Plumlee et al., 1985). The **second** line of critique is theoretical and normative and relates to concerns about the ability of the process to represent the public (Baum, 1998;

Carr and Halvorsen, 2001), paying attention to the problem of overrepresentation of affluent actors (Baum, 1998; McCann, 2001; Raco, 2000), the difficulties of achieving participation in a community which is poor in resources (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004) and the difficulties of public engagement in long and demanding projects (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004). The **third** type of criticism is more rare and challenges the value of the public's input by questioning the genuineness of local knowledge (Mosse, 2001).

One would probably expect that the second type of criticism, which exposes planner weakness in facilitating the participatory process, will lead to a debate of both ends of the problem – the methods of participation and community attributes as well as the concept and theory of participation in the urban planning process. However, researchers focused mainly on the first aspect, as proponents of public participation were encouraged to seek ways to confront the weakness of the process and to identify factors that are essential for its success. The literature offers explanations such as a need to adjust the procedure to the community (Irvin and Stansbury, 2004), to the participation goals and to the nature of the planning theme (Burby, 2003; Bloomfield et al., 2001). Local-communal factors were researched pertaining to community characteristics: Irvin and Stansbury (2004) emphasize socio-economic characteristics which make some communities better suited for participation than others, while others demonstrate how civic culture in neighborhoods (Docherty et al., 2001) and the extent of public trust in the participation process and its premises (Julian et al., 1997) effect participation. In addition, a more homogeneous community is likely to gain more from the process than a fragmented and multifaceted community (Julian et al., 1997), although even in a community that is perceived as relatively homogeneous, different groups can be identified (Shirlow and Murtagh, 2004). These findings, which point to many principal and profound difficulties and to complex social problems such as poverty, did not lead to a line of thought which could define the planners' role among other agents of social change.

Another line of research in that direction questioned the planners' commitment to the participation process and its underlying goals. When planners have negative attitudes towards public participation, it is no wonder that the process becomes narrow, rhetorical and ends up with limited results (King et al., 1998; Healey and Gilroy, 1990). However, it is more common to find neutrality, rather than distrust in public participation, reflecting the self-image of a neutral and competent administrator (Yang, 2005). Such an attitude may explain the insufficient efforts made by planners to stimulate and deepen public participation processes and consequently, the disappointing results of participation processes. In the case study that is examined here, a participatory process led by non-governmental and ideologically committed planners is examined. The findings suggest that the problem does not solely lie with intentions.

As a result of the discovery that professionals are not impartial and all-knowing, professionalism became a synonym for control, requiring those who want to change the power structure to tame it by overcoming jargon (Tauxe, 1995), or by using professional knowledge to bring about change through advocacy (Davidoff, 1965) and thereby risking patronizing the empowered, or by suggesting changes to the profession that do not take into account the dynamics of professionalism by challenging the education, role and jurisdiction of urban planners (Checkoway, 1986, Innes, 1996). All of these approaches share one main perception as a result of the attack on professionalism – they

do not accept the fact that in modern societies an institutional form exists named “profession” and do not acknowledge its virtues as well as its operative mechanisms. Therefore, these central theoretical approaches fail to give professional values a role in the participatory planning process. On the contrary – the participatory process is conceptualized in a way that seeks to overcome professionals (and bureaucrats).

Although we can find writing about the difficulties and challenges of "planning in the face of power" (Forester, 1989), at this point it is important to note that the theory of planning is missing a conceptual distinction, that is important in the theory of the professions, between professionals and bureaucrats (see for example: Perlman Krefetz and Goodman, 1973). This strange mix might be understood as an historical misconception – since third sector and profession based third sector organizations developed to a great extent only at the end of the second half of the 20th century (Skocpol, 2004, 2006).

The other possible explanation of the continuing discontent with the participatory planning process – questioning the theory on the basis of an institutional understanding of the professions and re-examining the place professional planners should and can take in the planning process – was a road not taken. The deliberative ideal was re-enforced despite the accumulation of case studies questioning participatory planning processes on many levels. In this light, it is not surprising that most normative and other scales for evaluating public participation in planning do not encompass professional values³. This is the case despite the fact that research teaches us that professional values make strong codes of conduct which in many instances overcome other values when a conflict of values occurs (Wallace, 1995, Higgs-Kleyn and Kapelianis, 1999: 371) and that borders lie in the heart of professional existence.

Why is this important?

It is important that we can understand the meaning of highly deliberative models to professional structures. Planners, as professionals practicing the planning profession, are not only challenged methodically but also face a significant "existential" threat. The desired participatory process that emerges from the literature sets ideals that planners are just not especially trained for – in other words, many scholars suggest using participatory planning methods that require skills that planners do not possess. It is evident in the frequent recommendations to involve other professionals in the planning process, such as social workers, community organizers etc, and by the alternatively frequent idea of changing planners' roles into mediators, entrepreneurs or facilitators. Not only do planners not have the skills to perform these desired roles in the participatory processes, but also such recommendations set normative requirements that have professional implications. By not giving planners a legitimate voice in a plan's preparation and final decisions as well as in the approval of plans, theorists push towards a point where the planning profession will be significantly diminished. Theoretically this can amount to nullifying the need for planners as we know it, replacing them with project co-coordinators of some sort and a fleet of technicians drawing the plans.

The challenge the theory faces is two-folded since research also shows that we need to have a more realistic understanding of the merits and limitations of communities and public participation. It just may be that citizens, even extremely devoted ones, can

not live up to the expectations of some deliberative theorists⁴, and beyond the reach of this paper is the question of promoting democratic values and deliberation with non-democratic or traditional communities who alienate sectors within them from participation (Perez, 2002).

The planners Altshuler criticized usually held official positions. At the heart of Altshuler's attack lays the professional concept of social trustee, which was also critically described by sociologists (Altshuler 1965b:299-318. Also see Brint, *ibid*)⁵. It is important to deal with Altshuler's critique not only for its significance in shaping the theoretical discourse - since it is continuing to evoke response (Innes, 1996) - but also because of the changes in civil society since the 60's, which have led now to a robust society that relies heavily on professional experts' knowledge to influence public policy. An additional reason to think about our theory of public participation in planning, and the planners' role within it, is the continuing discontent, which sometimes amounts to frustration, with the current state of affairs well described by both researchers and practitioners (see discussions at: Sandercock, 2005). Another reason is the need to think about the implications of the distinction sociologists make between professionals and bureaucrats and the fact that even if some of us don't like it – the professions are social structures, institutions, that need to be taken in to account as a given.

We should be worried therefore whether we have thrown the baby (the planning profession) out with the bath water (the critique of professional behavior). The benefits of public participation in designing, shaping and improving the urban and social fabric are of great importance. There is no reason to believe that planners hold comprehensive knowledge or understanding of the vast and diverse needs of all types of stakeholders, nor any reason to undermine the importance of public involvement and local knowledge. Having said that, why should we ignore the mechanism that drives a profession, as well as ignore the benefits of professional experience, such as knowledge of planning, best-practices and the full-time commitments planners have?

III. Bimkom and Isawiyah – an illustrative case study

The following case study presents an exceptional planning initiative in Israel – a community based planning for an Arab neighborhood in Jerusalem, led by an NGO that is committed to public participation in planning processes. The case study enabled us to see how extremely devoted "fringe" planners facilitate a participatory planning process. The case will be presented briefly with the main focus on Bimkom – the NGO³.

Background

Isawiyah, once a village, is a Muslim neighborhood in the northern part of the Jerusalem municipality, with an estimated population of 12,000. As in the case for most Muslim inhabitants of the eastern part of Jerusalem, which has been under Israeli control since the 1967 war, the people of Isawiyah are residents of Israel but not citizens (Lapidot, 2002) and suffer from inferior services and infrastructure (Hutman and Cheshin, 2002). Their standing entitles them, among other things, to health services and

³ A more elaborate account of the process can be found in Cohen-Blankshtain and Perez, 2007 in English and in Perez (2006) in Hebrew.

social benefits on the one hand, and requires them to pay municipal and national taxes on the other (Cheshin, 1992). They can take part in municipal elections cannot participate in national elections (Ramon, 2003). However, as a form of political protest, most of the Arabs in Jerusalem do not take part in the municipal elections and thus are not represented in the municipality. Hence, they lack political power, as they do not have representation at the municipal level. With the construction of the Separation Wall⁴, Isawiyah is expected to remain a part of the city of Jerusalem and the State of Israel (Garb and Savitch, 2005). Please see Appendix A for map of Jerusalem including information about religious affiliation.

The need for a new land-use plan for Isawiyah is a result of the inadequacy of the existing plan to respond to the current and future needs of the population. This inadequacy was already apparent at the time of plan approval in 1996, since it left almost no development options and has instead led to restrictions on the neighborhood's development. The planning situation resulted in unauthorized building and ongoing threats of housing demolition due to illegal building.

The planning authorities in Jerusalem, who operate under national-political policy constraints which aim to preserve a Jewish majority within the municipality of Jerusalem (Cheshin⁵, 1992) and within a sensitive national security context, are not in a hurry to update and expand the existing plan or to invest in upgrading the neighborhood's poor infrastructure. Therefore, the landowners of Isawiyah have two obvious options: to leave the village or to build illegally. The first option is problematic since the land in the Arab neighborhoods is the main source of capital of the family and in most cases is not tradable. The second option, illegal building, is frequently chosen, although it is accompanied by a constant threat, often carried out, of building demolition. Recognition of these constraints along with an unusual opportunity presented by a private donor led the residents of Isawiyah and planners of Bimkom to seek a third option: initiation and preparation of an alternative plan.

Dominant residents of Isawiyah who were acquainted with the donor got together with members of Bimkom⁶ – an NGO focusing on planning rights and largely consisting of architects and planners (see below for a description of this NGO) – and proposed the preparation of a new, realistic and needs-based land use plan for Isawiyah. This idea was chosen as a special project to commemorate Sara Kaminker – one of Jerusalem's well-known human rights activists and planners who was involved in the planning of Isawiyah's existing plan and was one of the founders of Bimkom. The novelty of such an initiative is twofold: first, suggesting an alternative based on cooperation and not confrontation with the planning authorities and, second, promoting

⁴ In June 2002, the government of Israel decided to erect a physical barrier to separate Israel and the West Bank in order to prevent the uncontrolled entry of Palestinians into Israel. The separation wall is a massive fence.

⁵ It is noteworthy that Amir Cheshin, who was an advisor to the mayor of Jerusalem on matters concerning the Arab population, describes in the mentioned paper the political goals of urban plans while in duty.

⁶ The word Bimkom has a double meaning in Hebrew, depending on its punctuation. It can mean “instead of” as well as “in the/a place”.

a grass-roots approach to planning, a rare mode of planning in the Israeli planning landscape (Vraneski and Alterman, 1994; Barak-Erez, Daphne, 2000; Benvenisti and Sagi 2002) especially when it comes to minority groups such as Muslims in Israel (Shmueli, 2005; Alfasi, 2003).

To date, the planning project continues. This paper focuses on the first phase of the project, the process of land use plan preparation with community participation. At this stage, official planning authorities were passively involved in the process and were mainly waiting to see what would come out of this initiative (when the draft was finished the situation changed dramatically). In this respect the case study gives us good a setting for researching our questions – official planning authorities are still in the background, the planners are all openly committed to participation with a history of advocating open, collaborative and empowering planning and the idea for the project came from several residents of Isawiyah.

The case study demonstrates how the tensions that exist in the literature came alive in the course of the project. The project has many achievements – meetings were held and significant issues and future visions of Isawiyah were discussed, and a draft plan was drawn and it is now being pursued in official channels. But despite these achievements, the process did not resemble what Bimkom hoped and preached for. As time passed Bimkom's volunteers incrementally and instrumentally re-defined the project goals until eventually deciding to define the goal in narrow and technical terms. This happened despite all members of Bimkom still holding their normative perceptions of planning and still believing in participatory, transparent and empowering planning.

Methodology

With the initiation of the project, the donor allocated a budget for external researchers to observe the process and raise theoretical and practical research questions. Therefore the researchers enjoyed academic freedom, on the one hand, and direct access to meetings, documents and protocols, on the other. The researchers observed a vast majority of the meetings (including meetings with the community, with the professional team and with the social team that was in charge of the participation process).

Eighteen months after the project was launched the research team carried out semi-structured in-depth interviews with three main groups: A small group of key participants from Isawiyah (18 interviewees); most of Bimkom's managers and activists who took an active part in the "social team" which was in charge of participatory activity (8 interviewees); and most of the planners in the "professional team", which was in charge of making the plan and submitting it to the planning authorities (4 interviewees).

The interviews focused on the public participation process in terms of the process's goals, extent, representation and the degree of satisfaction from it. All interviews were conducted after the first complete draft of the new plan was introduced during the summer and autumn of 2005 (the third group, the professional team, was interviewed later, during the summer of 2006). All interviews with Bimkom members were held in Hebrew with the research head Dr. Galit Cohen-Blankshtain from the Hebrew University. All interviews with Isawiyah residents were made with Ismahan Harzalla, a PhD student at the Hebrew University and a teacher in Isawiyah.

The Kaminker Project – an outlook

The project has two, non-related main objectives – an officially approved suitable plan for Isawiyah **and** community planning. Bimkom, the NGO facilitating the project, set in motion two parallel, interactive processes spearheaded by two teams. The professional planning team prepared the plan in accordance with the professional requirements mandated by the planning authorities. All team members were selected after a tender according to their professional qualifications as planners and were paid for the job. The second team, the "social team," was in charge of the community participation process. Its members included NGO volunteers and a community coordinator hired by the NGO. In addition to the community coordinator, who holds a master's degree in social work and town planning, the group consisted of a core of six members who led the participation process voluntarily, five of them planners or architects and one a social worker.

The participation process started with efforts to understand the community structure, identify community characteristics and get to know the local people who initiated the project. The predominant community profile is that of a traditional community based on 11 main extended families (Hamulas in Arabic). The first public meeting was held in a function hall with 80 people from the community. During the next 18 months, another 15 public meetings were held, but the number of participants was smaller. Members of the professional team were also present in a small number of the meetings. Two dominant residents of Isawiyah were in close contact with Bimkom's project managers and attended the professional team meetings as well as other meetings and conferences.

In time, when group attendance began to experience natural attrition and the project's social team felt that the process needed a more robust representation of the community, an attempt was made to create a representative body that would take responsibility for the process and for decision making. However, the group refused to take responsibility, the members did not consider themselves to be a representative group and, after a few meetings, the group activity came to a stop.

A year and a half after the launch of the project, a first draft of the master plan was presented to the people of Isawiyah. The draft raised vocal objections from people in Isawiyah who viewed the plan as unfair, harmful to their property rights and extracting disproportional costs (in land requirements) from a few families while other families enjoyed the benefits. The published plan marked a critical point in the participation process since the social team felt that relationships with the community had reached a crisis. The feeling that the NGO members were more involved in the process than the people of Isawiyah themselves became stronger when objections to the proposed plan also became objections to the process and to the NGO: families that believed that the plan rendered them 'losers' hired a lawyer who questioned the legitimacy of 'Bimkom' to prepare the plan and represent the community (even though some of the members of the community actively participated in the process).

Bimkom's profile

Bimkom was founded by planners and architects in 1999 with the goal of promoting planning rights in Israel. They define themselves as a professional

organization⁷ and it is an appropriate description indeed. During the period researched we have analyzed Bimkom's profile based on several dimensions – their goals, main activities and organizational profile. It is clear that Bimkom's main channels of activities and profile are profession based. Its goals are loyal to the theoretical writings described earlier, promoting five main domains, which can be explicitly found in their vision statement:

"Bimkoms' principle values and goals are:

- To promote Equal Rights and Social Justice in planning and developmental issues.
- To Promote Equality in the Distribution of Land, Planning and Developmental Resources.
- To maintain a greater emphasis on the unique and substantial needs of the communities who are undergoing planning procedures.
- To promote due representation of the public, communities and disadvantaged groups in the planning authorities procedures.
- To promote public participation, transparency and accessibility of the planning policies and procedures. "

(Taken from: <http://www.bimkom.org/aboutEngVision.asp> on April 2007)

And as a professionally based organization it is only natural to learn about their main channels for action (ibid):

- "Initiating and promoting legislation in issues relating to planning and human rights.
- Presenting Professional aid to disadvantaged communities, helping them achieve equal rights and opportunities through planning procedures.
- Offering an advocacy planning frame for disadvantaged communities.
- Distributing information and deepening public awareness to planning rights as basic civil rights, among professionals, decision makers and the public in general.
- Promoting a Critical Discourse within the planners' professional community."

It is clear that the Kaminker project is a unique activity in Bimkom's landscape. It was perceived as such by Bimkom's activists who saw this project as an opportunity to prove that what they advocate for is feasible. Bimkom's main channels of action rely on professional knowledge, which first and foremost include professional aid, distribution of information and promoting professional discourse. Advocacy is also a well established profession based activity (Davidoff, 1965) – where professionals "arm" local communities with the professional jargon, knowledge and opinions of experts in order to enable them to deal with official planning authorities.

Usually, Bimkom is uses three main tools of influence, which rely heavily on its professional reputation: one of its main activities is giving an independent expert opinion on prospective or existing planning implications. It also has the unique legal standing of being a "public opponent⁶", a rare standing only given to a few organizations, which entitles Bimkom the right to object to plans in the name of public

⁷ See the English version of their web site: <http://www.bimkom.org/aboutEng.asp>

interest. Its third main tool is its educational activities, where Bimkom shares its professional knowledge with the non-professional public and explains basic procedures and planning jargon.

Bimkom is sponsored by private donations and its organizational profile reflects the dominance of professionals – out of 16 members of its board – 13 are planners or architects. Out of the 7 paid employees (including administrative staff), 3 are planners or architects and the others have social sciences backgrounds.

IV. Findings

This section will focus mainly on the interviews and observations concerning Bimkom, as it is the locus of this paper. However, findings and statements made by interviewees from Isawiyah will also be presented to reflect the voices and evaluations of the participants in the process. This section will first present the Bimkom members' perceptions of the project goal, participatory process goal, and their view of public participation, focusing specifically on required skills and language gap. Then Isawiyah data will describe how the interviewees perceived the participatory planning goals and process (including language gap), their perceptions of Bimkom and their thoughts of the draft.

1. Bimkom Project goals

Interviewees did not agree on the project's goals – not with regard to the goals as defined in the project's official mission statement and not between themselves. Most interviewees thought the primary goal of the project was to achieve an approved plan in order to enable legal building and retroactive approval of current illegal buildings. They clearly saw their commitment to achieving an authorized plan as prior to the participatory process. Even more idealist members chose not to slow down the process in order to allow progress in the participatory aspects of the project. Interviewees were aware of the technical problems in performing participatory planning (and were aware of several possible solutions to some problems) but did not research or agree on techniques to minimize problems or measure success.

This resulted in a problem in deciding what to do in order to change their discontent with the scope and results of participation. The three leading figures in Bimkom – the CEO, a member of the board and the board member who is also heading the social team – thought there was no room for slowing down the process in order to expand the participation. Two members, including the only other professional involved (a social worker) thought otherwise and the planning coordinator suggested a compromise⁸:

"Q – [should you] slow down? Allocate more funds [to the participatory aspects]? A – No. the two main goals of the project can contradict. Because if you wish to approve a plan within 3 years, you cannot expect a comprehensive process that can take longer and also require more funding. In planning there is a meaning to time – you

⁸ All citations are translated from Hebrew. To view original and additional citations, in Hebrew, please see Perez, 2006.

begin preparing a plan on the basis of data and if it takes too long it can become irrelevant. Personally I care about the women. If I was told that we have to find out what people with disabilities and students think and to do 3 months of workshops – then yes I would do it" (Bimkom's CEO, lawyer).

"Q – What should be done? Is it worthwhile to delay the plan?"

A – Yes I think so. It is very hard to find the balance because if we will not have an approved plan which will enable building permits...so we need to be very careful as to when we say 'OK we got a little lost'. But now that the plan begun its way in the official committees it gives us some time" (A volunteer, from the planning professions).

"Q – Would you slow down the process in order to widen and deepen the participation? A – No. this is another important factor – the momentum. The duration of a plan is very long...we have to recognize our limitations". (Bimkom board member, from the planning professions)

"Q – [should you] slow down? Allocate more funds [to the participatory aspects]? A – Yes. We should invest more funds in systematically receiving information from residents while taking into account different groups and the sociological information we miss and do not seek" (Bimkom board member and a volunteer, social worker)

Participatory process goals

This set of questions revealed how torn Bimkom members were between praxis and theory as answers ranged from very a idealistic, even romantic, perception of the process to a very reserved approach, trying to consciously avoid the use of the term:

"Public participation is a definition of Bimkom's ideology" (A volunteer, from the planning professions)

"[Q – What are the goals of participation?] A – We had many discussions about this issue. It kept coming up. We didn't reach all those we wanted to reach and every time we asked – do we continue in order to achieve the goal [an approved plan] or should we split. The debate was never settled ideologically but in practice – we continued [with the plan]". (A volunteer, from the planning professions)

"Our second goal [for the project] was to show that it [a plan in eastern Jerusalem] is possible despite the claims that it is not possible and that it can be done with collaboration of residents and agreed upon[by the residents] with the intention to duplicate it [in other neighborhoods]" ... "built in the plan was the participation. It was obvious this was going to be a part of what we would do there. It was obvious that this was the place for us to see how far we can go with participation". on the other hand: "[the goals of participation are:] one, to build trust in order to start the process, two, to create a program which will enable creating a plan that will give optimal answers to the needs...third, to make a plan which will be approved and enable people to build legally". (Bimkom board member, from the planning professions)

As the citations illustrate, the meaning of participatory planning and its goals were a subject of emotional and professional debate since the beginning of the process. A year and a half into the process and after the first time the research team presented its reflections to Bimkom activists, the social team set up a meeting dedicated to the goals of participation. The question they presented as the topic of the meeting was *"aren't we becoming like official planning authorities?"* In that long meeting it was not easily decided upon to live with an ideologically broken heart and go ahead with the professional plan:

"At the end of this discussion we have decided to agree (not easily) that the plan we have is the plan we promote and it is this plan that requires achieving agreement among the residents of Isawiyah" (Bimkom meeting protocol, December 2005).

After reaching this decision and defining a goal, the team decided to increase its participatory efforts. An info center was opened in Isawiyah and ideas such as publishing the planning effort in local transportation and stores came alive, even though these ideas were offered by team members and residents in earlier stages of the process. This willingness to expand the outreach efforts to reducing resistance and negotiate a complete draft is very similar to an official planning process⁷ – where the public is mainly invited to oppose an offered plan and other channels of influence and participation are limited. Observations and interviews point out that the social team was willing to do more only after the professional terrain was "secured". This brings us to the next topic – the NGO's perception of who should facilitate public participation processes.

Facilitating Public participation

Except for the team member who is a social worker, Bimkom people do not think that there are experts in facilitating public participation. This view explains why they saw themselves fit to lead the process by trial and error based on their experience as planners in their day jobs, and rely heavily on volunteers⁸. Bimkom did hire a "community coordinator" – who had training in planning as well as in social work and spoke Arabic as his mother tongue. He did not have substantial experience and did not lead the social team. We learned that the project's costs were under-estimated as the social coordinator was given a limited part time appointment and ended up being hired by the hour after the expected duration of the participation process had passed. His role was not defined: while some saw him as a bridge between Bimkom and the community, others thought of him as a meeting moderator. People from Isawiyah saw him mainly as a translator.

"In general, in Israel, there is no such profession as a "public involvement counselor". Some people might be called that but there is no defined profession for that. So we said lets try! Maybe we are also good at doing that". (Bimkom board member and Head of the social team, from the planning professions)

"I have no professional knowledge [in community organizing/public involvement] not even experience. This is something that we needed some help with. Not even on a

regular basis. Maybe we should have had a professional advisor to help and guide us".
(Volunteer, from the planning professions)

"Community organizing is not a profession. It makes sense that somebody who works in high-tech will fit less than a social worker with experience in working with groups".
(Volunteer, from the planning professions)

Many interesting questions arise from Bimkom's decisions regarding its member's roles as community coordinator/organizer and the construction of the social team. Bimkom is not alone, as a similar ambivalent attitude towards public participation coordinators can be learned from another research project that was conducted by Vishnia-Shabtai (2002) focusing on how the job of advisors for public participation in planning is perceived⁹.

Language

The social team relied heavily on volunteers, despite the fact that most of them did not speak Arabic. The volunteers came to meetings in the neighborhood but the language barrier and Bimkom's choice not to use a translator did not enable them to participate in the conversation and facilitate a dialogue with the residents. It made the meeting moderator's job difficult – as he was the only one capable of understanding the residents and was forced to translate for Bimkom members during the meeting. It also made it hard to work in small groups – as residents had to use Hebrew or English, and it was necessary to strengthen the centralized structure of the meetings and lengthen them due to periodical "update translations".

While one volunteer continually complained about the language barrier and its ramifications for the process and meeting dynamics, others saw the language issue as something that got better over time or as a mere symptom of what they thought was the real barrier – the tension between Jews and Palestinians in Israel. Although a translator was hired for all the meetings of the advisory board of the project, where a high-ranking Palestinian figure participated, this did not happen in other meetings.

2. Isawiyah

Interviews with residents and key persons in Isawiyah were held shortly after the first draft of the plan was introduced, in the middle of the crisis it had created. Of the 18 interviewees, 13 had participated in the meetings, one never heard of the process and the rest had only heard about it. The interviewees' profile (and number) resembled results from many other case studies – education and income-wise they were above the average level, most of them were of the same age group and all the residents among the participants were land owners and male. The interviews were held mainly in Arabic with the assistance of Ismahan Harzalla, a PhD student at the Hebrew University and a teacher in Isawiyah.

Participatory planning goals

Most interviewees stated that the main goal of the process was to minimize objections. Some of them also referred to the values of a participatory process in identifying local needs and using local knowledge. Not one person though described the

project's goals in terms relating to the higher ranges of Arnstein's ladder – such as empowerment, citizens control, citizens democratic influence, etc.

The data shows that interviewees did not agree on the contribution of their participation to the creation of the draft. A small majority thought that they did contribute to the program by providing local knowledge and informing the public. Only one interviewee mentioned that the scope of the participation should have been wider and that participation is the only possible way to justly divide the costs in terms of losing private lands for public usage. Others thought that the plan could have been better without participation or that the plan was so restricted by planning procedures and local politics – that it was almost known in advance how it would turn out to be.

Participatory planning process

Interviewees had three main criticisms about the process. They agreed that there was no systematic way for announcing all of the meetings, that there is a need for and ways to reach more people and that the language barrier was a problem.

Regarding the language the critique focused on two aspects – the way translation affects group dynamics and the fact that it makes meetings more time consuming. Only one person saw no problem with the fact that their counterparts in the process did not speak Arabic.

"[Were there problems in the translation? Were there times the moderator did not translate exactly...both languages?] It's not a matter of not translating accurately... [Choose a wrong word?] No. he always choose the shortest version. Giving the essence of things and it isn't always good. [What do you mean?] Sometimes he doesn't translate the explanations of this essence [he doesn't translate the full explanation and debate?] yes. The full explanation is more important than the summery." (A dominant resident and participant, fluent in Hebrew)

"There was a big difference in the language, the moderator did not translate accurately and we do not understand well. Even if we understand – we cannot answer." (A resident and participant)

"He [the moderator] would take the main idea. It was not a word for word translation." (A resident and participant)

Who is Bimkom

Most of the interviewees (mainly those who participated in the process) perceived Bimkom as being committed to East Jerusalem's right to plan, but a few saw the organization as a body associated with the municipality. Some of them perceived Bimkom as highly professional while others expressed doubts as to this.

The draft

While elaborating on the problems in the plan's draft it seems that residents expressed doubts that can be linked to professional aspects. Residents thought the plan did not have enough public spaces, business areas and enough space to answer future housing needs, in spite of the fact that the plan was drafted on the basis of a future population

forecast. Although residents participated in creating a map of land ownership in order to enable planners to try and take lands for public use in a way that would take similar proportions from all Hamulas, many of the interviewees thought that the draft did not take land in an equal proportion from different families, creating unjust costs on some.

V. Discussion

Most of Bimkom members and volunteers are relatively young planners and architects. Some of them hold positions in official planning bodies while others work for private planning firms. They share a universal ideology on rights and promote changes in Israel's central planning process and its significant political biases. They are also very well connected to the academy – many of them studied outside Israel and some hold positions in the academy. They feel deep commitment to alternative planning processes that current literature describes and promotes. They invest time and effort trying to make a difference and the Kaminker Project gave them a rare opportunity and a first chance to implement their ideas about participation, transparency and empowerment through planning.

The research demonstrates their deep dissatisfaction with the participatory process as they feel they achieved limited success that did not reflect their vision. They were very frustrated as the residents did not step up and take responsibility over the plan. Residents of Isawiyah also shared this discontent. On the other hand, as findings show, most of Bimkom members do not wish to consider substantive changes in the participation process (in terms of changing the project time table and resource allocation and revising the human resources devoted for it) in order to put into action the participatory ideal they had in mind and still believe in. As the process progressed, Bimkom members not only became aware of their limitations but also became aware of some benefits formal planning procedures have.

Bimkom members still feel obligated by their perceptions of community involvement, and despite the fact that no local body was created and that success was limited, they feel that all changes in the plan's draft, minor as well as more significant, should be approved by the residents. They hold this belief even though changes seem practical or technical by nature and despite the fact that there is no one in Isawiyah to give them the approval. This dilemma was strongly illustrated on one occasion that happened in June 2006. As the Isawiyah draft was formed and submitted to relevant official authorities, political and official actors became more actively involved. Some of them tried to limit the plan Bimkom proposed. A strong official body named Israel Nature and National Parks Protection Authority, decided to plan a national park on an area which was included in Bimkom's new draft, significantly limiting the area devoted to future expansion of the neighborhood. This was (and still is) a serious threat to the residents of Isawiyah and to the alternative plan made by Bimkom.

Trying to avoid litigation on such a politically sensitive issue, Bimkom made many efforts to achieve an agreement between the INNPPA's planners, the city planners and the Isawiyah plan. In one of the social team meetings, the project coordinator provided an update about a joint professional tour of Bimkom planners, the city planners and INNPPA planners held in order to reach an agreement. In that tour Bimkom professionals agreed that considering topography they should give up a very small area that was included in their draft to the national park plan. Not only did they think it was

better professionally but they also thought it was tactically wise as part of their fierce negotiation with INNPPA. The coordinator was severely reproached by all members, who accused her of taking too much liberty, since these decisions should be made only after the approval of Isawiyah's residents. They criticized her even though they knew there is no one in Isawiyah that could give such an approval¹⁰ and despite the fact that "fighting" the INNPPA is crucial for the draft to remain relevant.

How did this happen to ideological, committed, alternative planners equipped with the funds, the will and the opportunity? And why, after a year and a half of efforts, do Bimkom members still feel bad about not achieving the participation they wanted, keep criticizing themselves and their peers for not exercising it as they thought it should be exercised and yet, continue with promoting the plan?

Bimkom's profile and the project findings point to a strong professional dominance among Bimkom members, at the very preliminarily stage of designing the project's design and funding allocation as well as in the course of the planning process. The findings support both research hypotheses – that professional homogeneity leads to a preference of professional values over contesting values and that in this setting, even ideologically committed planners facilitate a limited participatory process which resembles government-led "official" processes. This can be seen as we summarize the main findings:

1. The social team was under budgeted in comparison to the professional team.
2. The decision not to establish a professional team of experts to lead the participatory process but instead to depend on volunteers who are mainly planners without relevant experience.
3. Underestimating the intensity and working hour requirements of an extensive participatory effort.
4. Underestimating the extent of a participatory effort required in a residential neighborhood with a population of 12,000.
5. Not considering the participatory aspect as requiring expert knowledge and hence intuitively leading the process without reaching or resolving difference of opinions regarding the process goals and the methods to achieve them.
6. Accepting the language barrier and not acting to overcome it with available solutions.
7. Avoiding expanding the circle of participants prior to the formation of a complete draft and its submission to planning authorities.
8. Giving high importance to the original time-table which was sketched without internalizing the participatory process requirements in terms of time and costs.
9. Trying to expand participation and using new outreach methods in order to promote the acceptance of the complete draft and reduce objections, as is the case with conventional planning initiatives.

VI. Conclusion

Combining the two theoretical bodies presented in this paper offers an explanation for the misery experienced by the Bimkom planners. The planning profession, as with all professions, defines itself by basic official training, authorization and border defining with regard to other professions, the state and the public. It is a dominant force that also drives the profession-based organization Bimkom when it is "money time" – when an

actual planning process is at stake. Public participation in its more deliberative forms, as promoted ideologically by Bimkom and as perceived by the members who volunteered for the Social team, is anti-professional by nature. The basic requirement of equal standing for all participants while constantly focusing on empowerment, as well as the demand that all decisions will be made or at least be approved by the residents, poses a threat to professional jurisdiction and professional considerations and puts at risk the product of the process – the plan. The idea that planners can become facilitators of participation as a main attribute of their profession and justification of their work, does not recognize what it means professionally – giving up the place designated to professionals by transferring powers to the participants, and not defining planners professional role in the process. This does not offer an opportunity for the planning profession to expand its boundaries, and in institutional terms – it is a threat.

Current theories of public participation need to carefully check if the baby hasn't been thrown out with the bath water by creating a paradox. If we think of professional values and deliberative values as contesting values (Rein and Tatcher, 2002), we can better understand the Bimkom activists as well as the commonly found dissatisfaction with participatory initiatives. This understanding can also provide us with a key to future improvement.

The critique of professional behavior as well as identifying the mechanisms that drive this institutional form should not necessarily result in trying to over-come the boundaries of the profession. An understanding of what gives rise to professions can help us use the benefits they offer – expert knowledge, full time commitment, training, best practices and more. If we call an ideal planning process as one where planners do not have a room of their own, we are actually bound to get non-satisfactory results. Our ladders for measuring participatory processes should also encompass planners in the participatory planning process. This is our main future research question – can deliberative theorists of participatory planning find a place for planners and what will that place be?

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¹ Arenstein developed a hypothetical (and a rather normative) ladder that categorizes different levels of public participation, starting with 'manipulation' as the lowest level of citizen participation up to 'citizen control' as the highest level. The first two stages, manipulation and therapy, are as Arenstein stresses, non-participatory and therefore do not suit proponents of participation. The next three stages, informing, consultation and placation, are compatible with the proponents of participation who consider the process as a means. Information can be used to educate the public, reduce community resistance and help make the planning process more transparent. Consultation fits the goal of collecting local knowledge, and is also a way to increase public support and sense of commitment to the plan. Climbing up the ladder leads

towards participation as a goal in and of itself. Community empowerment and increased political power are perceived as the goals, and plans are not considered the ultimate products of the process, but are rather seen in a wider perspective, as means for allocating resources, power and a sense of social belonging.

² The two main lines of critique focused on power structure analysis and Marxist interpretation, and they lead the research. A little bit more surprising is a line of critique that is led by supporters of free markets and democracy, who focus on the professions "gate-keeping" and status preserving methods. A good description of the debate between "the pro democracy" and "the pro experts" is presented by the pro experts Friedson, 1988:1-17.

³ Participatory values were enclosed in the ethical code of planners in many countries including the US and Israel.

⁴ See the interface section at the December 2005 issue of *Planning Theory & Practice* for a recent debate on this issue. And think about what happened when we as citizens are required /expected to live our lives and also to take a very active part not only in urban planning issues but also in other domains such as education, environment protection and other very important issues.

⁵ This is another very interesting research question – since professionals are now ever more prominent in third sector organization, opposing, criticizing or supporting governmental plans and policies – have professions re-defined themselves as public trustees?

⁶ This is a direct translation of the Hebrew term. However, this standing resembles *Amicus Curia*.

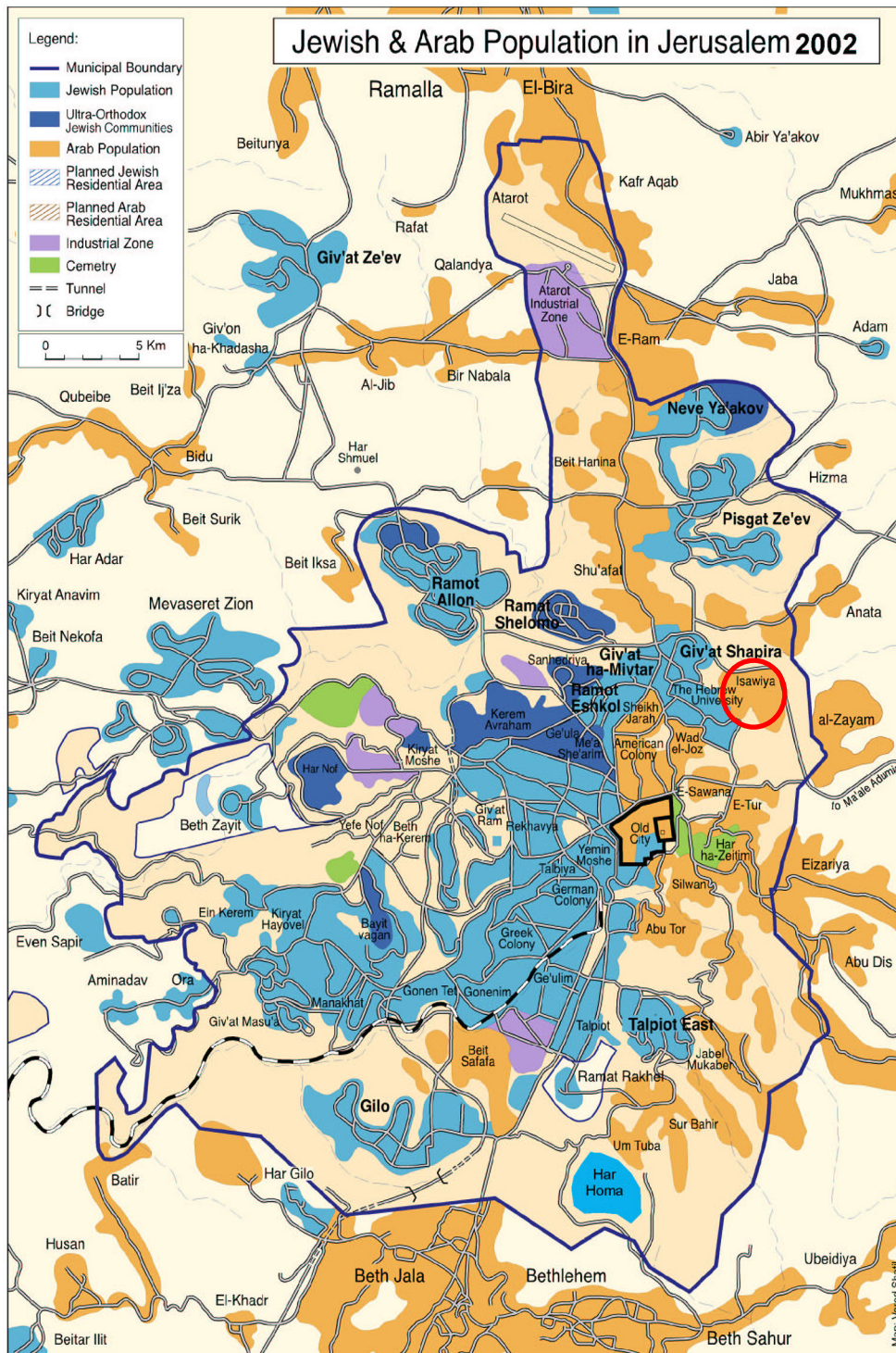
⁷ This feeling of Bimkom members is enforced by research. Vraneski, Shchori and Plaut (2000) researched 16 case studies of participatory planning initiatives in Israel. They have identified a category they named "community involvement via an agent of change". They described a typical behavior of these agents as two folded – one strategy of participation targets the residents and the other targets local and regional officials. (p. 43). They discovered that these agents of change tend to choose participatory methods which are very similar to those of official/governmental initiatives, and that it resembled "top-down" planning (p. 60) and they elaborate on how an official planning process looks. One can expect that Bimkom, as a non-official, ideologically committed organization and an agent of change, will not fit in that model, but as we demonstrate – it does fall into this category.

⁸ Since most of the volunteers are professional planners we asked if it wasn't more natural to base the professional team on volunteers and hire professionals for the social team. Despite the habit of pro-bono work in planning, as well as in other professions, the question was perceived as shocking and inconceivable.

⁹ Vishnia-Shabtai interviewed 76 planners, workers of local authorities (some are also planners) and third sector activists who had experience with participatory processes. On the one hand interviewees define the job as designing and moderating the process (ibid: 61) and described required skills for the job in terms of ability to mediate, good inter-personal skills, ability to guide others and instruction skills (ibid: 74). On the other hand, when they are asked to describe the appropriate training of such advisors, 73% of them prefer such advisors to be trained as planners with or without another field of training. The additional training can be obtained through a double major at University, special courses for planners and some even suggest "on the job" training. These findings demonstrate how dominant professional perspectives are over non-technical planning functions including public participation, even when it is clear and agreed upon that the job requires specific expertise that is not taught or tested when training planners. It is also inconsistent with the fact that the interviewees stated a high necessity for participation advisors/facilitators experts along with the high importance they attributed to public participation in planning (ibid: 56-60).

¹⁰ The use of National parks as a method to limit development in East Jerusalem is highly political and highly controversial. As an area sacred to three religions it is also extremely sensitive in this aspect. Bimkom used media coverage as part of its effort to prevent the declaration of a National Park on the plan area. The people of Isawiyah oppose the park and generally do not want to compromise on that topic. Since there are precedents from similar situations in Jerusalem, which ended in establishing the parks, the residents' anger and frustration are clear but cannot eliminate the threat. The political dynamics of the Kaminker project, since the completion of the draft, are the subject of future research.

Appendix A



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Isawiya is circled in red. Downloaded from the Jerusalem Institute for Studies web site, in May 2007:
http://www.jiis.org.il/imageBank/File/maps/jews-arabs_2002-eng.jpg

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