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SOCIAL INCLUSION PROJECT

WHAT IS PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN THE URBAN SETTING?

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SOCIAL
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PROJECT

About Us

The Social Inclusion Project (SIP) is a research unit at the Lee Kuan Yew School of Public Policy (LKYSPP), National University of Singapore (NUS), dedicated to analysing the role of public policies in creating an open, diverse and inclusive society where people have opportunities for participation. Its activities aim to influence policy development, promote policy literacy and enable engagement. The SIP is committed to independent and transparent research on overlooked and emerging social problems, with a focus on empirical work with practical impact.

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1 Introduction: Intellectual Traditions of Planning

The traditional approach to planning is defined as a rational process to secure information and wisdom for decision-making (Burke, 1979). With the growing recognition of communication and collaboration in planning since the 1960s, participation has gained significance (Healey, 1992). Citizens' experiences are increasingly seen as important to the planning process. Over time, the form of planning has changed in response to the social and political environment, giving different meanings to planning with roots in different intellectual traditions.

In the first definition, planning is a process to link scientific and technical knowledge to policymaking (Friedmann, 1987), usually performed exclusively by technical experts (Harvey, 2009). But this approach raises questions about the objectivity of knowledge and the political motivations of planning. As Friedmann (1987, p. 40) puts it, 'are there different forms of knowledge, and are some forms inherently superior to others? How does knowledge come to be validated? How is it different from what is not [original emphasis] knowledge?' By privileging certain forms of knowledge and overlooking its potential to be manipulative, this form of planning legitimises inequalities in the distribution of power in decision-making (Massey, 2005).

The traditional approach to planning is seen as a rational process to secure information and wisdom for decision-making. This process is also known as the top-down, rationalist approach to planning and is usually performed exclusively by technical experts.

The second definition refers to the linking of knowledge to societal guidance – acts by governments to guide individual behaviour and decision-making. The key idea behind this is the relationship between planning and politics, implying a central involvement of the government through a combination of control and deliberation (Friedmann, 1987). McLoughlin (1969) identified policymaking as a dialogue between professionals and politicians. By politicians, McLoughlin was referring to both formal and informal groups, such as elected representatives, religious groups, welfare organisations and neighbourhood groups. Here,

the objective, however, is to minimise direct confrontation between planning professionals and political units, rather than to appreciate the knowledge of stakeholders other than professionals. This objective ignored the complex political environment riven by class conflicts at the time (Healey, 1997a).

Societal guidance is acts by governments to guide individuals' behaviour and decision-making. It is used to minimise direct confrontation between planning professionals and political units.

The last definition of planning relates to socio-political interest groups and movements. It refers to the linking of technical knowledge to social transformation processes that rely on bottom-up actions. Here, planning is not considered an exclusive function of the state (Friedmann, 1987). Such an idea was supported by urbanists such as Jane Jacobs and William H. Whyte, especially in the book, The Death and Life of Great American Cities (Jacobs, 1961). The book is a direct attack on the traditional planning approach, inspiring generations of urban planners to depart from the top-down planning approach in favour of community-based urban activism. Through empirical experience and observation, Jacobs noted that developments under the traditional planning approach were usually inconsistent with the real-life functioning of city neighbourhoods, and proposed that local expertise was more suitable for guiding local development.

Societal transformation processes rely on bottom-up actions that reflect the real-life functioning of city neighbourhoods. The related socio-political movements symbolise an urge to depart from the top-down planning approach.

Planning as practised today sharply contrasts with traditional planning which relied purely on experts' judgement. Instead, participatory planning practices that put citizens at the centre of policy discussions have become increasingly popular. Recognising the rise of participation in urban planning practices, this short paper focuses on the definition of planning as a process of social transformation. It aims to explore five important dimensions concerning participatory planning in the urban setting. The next section sheds light on why planners engage in citizen engagement, focusing on the theoretical, methodological and practical functions of participatory planning. Section three describes the various forms of participatory urban planning. Section four reviews the current state of participation in urban planning. Section five looks at the question of who participates and the interests of different actors in participatory planning practices. Section six concludes by evaluating the link between participation and policy action.

2 The Threefold Purpose of Participatory Urban Planning

The purpose of participatory urban planning is threefold. First, in its purest form, public participation recognises the emotional bonds that people have to the neighbourhood in which they live. Frequently drawing on theories of deliberative democracy that advocate for informed and respectful deliberation among citizens, participatory planning accords with people's right to participate in decisions that affect their lives (Inch, 2012). It appreciates the relationship between people and place created by place attachment and identity. Place attachment is an emotional bond with places, a sense of belonging, that is developed through shared meaning and influenced by social and physical factors such as residence length, mobility, social capital, aesthetic qualities and access to services (Low & Altman, 1992). The concept of place identity was coined by Proshansky et al. (1983) to describe how particular places shape people's sense of self and their understanding of the world around them. Participatory planning responds better to people's spatial needs by recognising their lived experience of place.

Second, the participatory approach to planning also emerged in recognition of the procedural advantages of public engagement, with an aim to advance distributional justice and foster the democratisation of decision-making (Fainstein, 2014). The rationalistic approach to planning that relies exclusively on expert opinion came under attack in the 1970s for its incapacity to deal with uncertainty, complexity and normativity, as negotiation between conflicting parties in a fast-changing social and political environment grew in importance (Wildavsky, 1973). Consensual planning, as a form of participatory planning, performs two functions to overcome the drawbacks of rational planning (Smith, 1973). First, it provides a basis for individuals from different social and economic groups, often with competing interests, to come up with mutually acceptable proposals. This is exemplified in the work of Argyris and Schon (1996), in which participants learned to reframe the way they looked at problems and adapted to new information through community dialogues. Second, it fosters a more equitable distribution of resources by involving individuals who are affected by planning decisions but who lack direct representation in formal planning processes. In this way, planners coordinate the behaviours of members of society, while citizens observe their own as well

as others' rights in the design and delivery of policies. Local participation also transforms the urban context into a social laboratory to encourage social innovation in complex and diverse societies (Silver et al., 2010). Citizens feel more attached to an environment they have helped create, resulting in local people's confidence, capabilities and skills to build their communities.

Third, in the practical sense, due to the historical and social dimensions of cities, urban planners have to consider and deal with the political and social impact of planning which is beyond spatiality. By including stakeholders with different interests in the planning process, participatory planning can help to mitigate resistance and opposition to plans and policies by ensuring citizens' voices are considered in the decision-making process. As Smith (1973) suggests, individuals not only can provide accurate and immediate information and opinions regarding the local environment, but are also able to offer definitions of community and identity by establishing value domains that are meaningful to them. Community members have a direct stake in the success of the projects and can provide valuable input and feedback to planners. Hence, participatory planning can lead to greater community buy-in and support for the plans, as well as more effective and efficient implementation of plans.

3 Techniques of Gathering Input from Citizens

By levels of participation

Participatory planning as a practice can take different forms. There are gradations of public participation in planning in terms of the degree of redistribution of power to shape outcomes (Arnstein, 1969). As Arnstein put it, 'there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcomes of the process' (Arnstein, 1969, p. 216). The distribution of power determines the fairness of a given process as imbalanced power dynamics create persistent unequal access (Amy, 1987). There are eight levels of participation, which include (1) manipulation, (2) therapy, (3) informing, (4) consultation, (5) placation, (6) partnership, (7) delegated power, and (8) citizen control (Table 1). These processes typically involve varying degrees of integration of technical expertise with citizens' preferences, knowledge and lived experiences (Lane, 2005).

The ladder of participation is a framework for understanding the gradations of public participation in planning, in terms of the degree of redistribution of power to shape outcomes.

At the lowest level, manipulation and therapy are levels of non-participation, which Lane (2005) relates them to blueprint planning concerning the generation of fixed end-state plans. The reason is that in blueprint planning, the ends are assumed and planning simply follows the pursuit of these ends. As political systems became more decentralised, the blueprint mode was criticised for its 'gross-simplification and heavy-handedness' that undermined residents' real-life experiences and relied on high degrees of control (Faludi, 1973, pp. 33-34). Such models of participation did not provide citizens with a voice to determine the means and ends of planning. At its core, blueprint planning, under the planning tradition of societal guidance (Friedmann, 1987), sees professionals as the focus of planning. The public has no power or control in shaping outcomes and is seen as a group that needs to be educated.

Table 1 Models of planning and the role of public participation

Level of participation	Planning tradition	Planning schools	Planning models
(8) Citizen control (7) Delegation power (6) Partnership	Societal transformation	Pluralism	- Communicative - Marxist - Advocacy - Transactive
(5) Placation (4) Consultation (3) Informing	Societal guidance	Synoptic	- Mixed scanning - Incrementalism - Synoptic planning
(2) Therapy (1) Manipulation	Societal guidance	Blueprint	- Blueprint planning - Geddes, Howard - Precinct planners

Source: Compiled by Lane (2005) from Arnstein (1969), Friedmann (1987) and Hall (1992)

At the next level, informing, consultation and placation in the synoptic planning school involve routine and tokenistic public participation that is superficial, not meaningful and does not lead to real changes in power relations (Lane, 2005). The original synoptic model and its variants, namely incrementalism and mixed scanning, were designed to focus on a wide range of factors, such as long-term goals, available resources and potential risks, to achieve desired outcomes in complex situations where multiple stakeholders are involved (Hudson et al., 1979). In the context of public participation, consultation was conducted by professionals as they developed planning objectives (Hall, 1983). This process is limited to providing feedback on the goals of planning and assumes that society is homogenous. Planners in this tradition are still very much in control, although they seek to inform and consult the public.

Tokenistic public participation is a superficial way to engage the public which does not lead to real changes in power relations.

At the highest level, partnership, delegated power and citizen control represent the planning tradition of societal transformation. As previously discussed, it seeks to change the underlying structures of power and inequality that shape society. All four models under this planning tradition insist on the acknowledgement of social and political realities, emphasising the political quality of planning and thus demanding an active role for the public. But there are some differences.

Transactive planning is a mutual learning process in which the participatory planning community is integrated into the planning model. The central goal is to decentralise planning institutions by empowering people to direct or control social processes (Friedmann, 1992). A*dvocacy planning* represents a watershed in participatory planning (Heskin, 1980). Instead of assuming that society is homogenous and equal, advocacy planning aims at ensuring that unheard or invisible interests are articulated and accommodated in decision-making. Advocacy planners are essentially facilitators to catalyse the participation of underrepresented groups or advocate their interests (Lane, 2005). *Marxist* approaches to planning criticise practices that support the status quo, business interests and the forces of capital. Although Marxist approaches call for a grassroots challenge to the planning system constructed by the capitalist state, they offer no ways for coping with unequal power distribution and do not explicitly identify the role of citizens (Hall, 1983).

Communicative or collaborative models see planning as a negotiative process involving exchange and bargaining among a range of stakeholders (Healey, 1997b). Healey and her colleagues develop the concept of collaborative planning based on the notion of planning as an interactive process which is situated within complex and dynamic institutional environments and shaped by wider economic, social and environmental forces. As Healey (1996) describes, communicative or collaborative planning theories recognise that people have diverse interests and expectations and that knowledge and reasoning take many forms, from rational reasoning to storytelling. Communicative models of planning therefore demand forms of participation that provide public forums for dialogue, argumentation and discourse. In this view, to plan is to communicate and collaborate.

Communicative planning is a participatory approach to planning and decision-making that emphasises negotiation between stakeholders, based on the notion of planning as an interactive process which is situated within complex and dynamic institutional environments and shaped by wider economic, social and environmental forces.

The models under the societal transformation planning tradition have three distinctive features. First, there is an emphasis on the political quality of planning and its ideological and distributional dimensions which demand an active role for the public. Second, there is an assumption that a range of political ideologies, beliefs and values coexist within a society. Stakeholders have varied, competing and contradictory interests. Third, participants' control, partnership and power are viewed as the fundamental elements of planning and decision-making.

> **Political quality of planning** refers to the level of fairness, transparency and accountability in decision-making. This includes factors such as the impartiality of the planning process, the representation of diverse interests, and the availability of information and opportunities for public engagement. Fairer and more representative planning leads to more equitable outcomes and better-informed decisions, while the opposite can result in biased outcomes and public mistrust in government.

By objectives and purposes

Another way to categorise participatory planning techniques is to look at their objectives and purposes (Table 2). Broadly speaking, there are two schools of thought regarding the purpose of participation, one adopting the administrative perspective and the other advocating the citizen perspective (Glass, 1979). The former transforms citizens into reliable media for achieving administrative purposes, while the latter provides citizens with an actual role in policymaking. The two perspectives correlate with different objectives of public participation.

Table 2 The objectives, techniques and purposes of public participation

Purposes	Administrative perspective		Citizen perspective	
Objectives	Information exchange	Support building	Decision-making supplement	Representational input
Technique categories	Unstructured	Structured	Active process	Passive process
Techniques	1. Drop-in centres 2. Neighbourhood meetings 3. Agency information meetings 4. Public hearings	1. Citizen advisory committees 2. Citizen review boards 3. Citizen task forces	1. Nominal group process 2. Analysis of judgement 3. Value analysis	1. Citizen survey 2. Delphi process

Source: Glass (1979)

Information exchange involves not only informing citizens about a plan but also providing explanations on the why and how of the plan. The techniques include drop-in centres, neighbourhood meetings, agency information meetings and public hearings. These are unstructured in nature, meaning there is a lack of structure surrounding the act of participation. For instance, planners have no control over who participates and what type of information is produced. With unstructured techniques, citizens come into discussions with their own views and problems.

Support building, on the other hand, aims to create a favourable political climate or resolve potential conflicts. The techniques comprise citizen advisory committees, citizen review boards and citizen task forces. These techniques are more structured and involve a formal process of participant selection. Planners have some control over who and how many participate, but their control is not sufficient to allow the information derived to be used for decision-making. The techniques under these two objectives do not directly involve citizens in the planning process.

The other two objectives of citizen participation relate to different aspects of decision-making. Decision-making supplement includes efforts to provide citizens with greater opportunity for input into planning, supplementing the planning process by providing another dimension to consider alongside planners' expert knowledge. The techniques include nominal group process (i.e., step-by-step process producing ranked recommendations), analysis of judgement (i.e., quantitative analysis of policy positions) and value analysis (i.e., ranked consequences of various proposals). These are described as active processes because the act of participation occurs through a well-developed and defined process. The representational input objective values the views and desires of the entire community. The techniques are citizen survey (i.e., sample survey research methodology) and Delphi process (i.e., identification of a consensus view across members of the entire community). The process is passive because the planners do not directly contact the citizens, nor are the citizens attending planning meetings.

4 Participation in Today's Urban Planning Practices

Public participation today is often, and increasingly, a statutory requirement. The importance of citizen involvement is acknowledged in the codes of ethical practice of professional planning associations such as the American Institute of Certified Planners and the Canadian Institute of Planners, and in the practice directives of the Royal Town Planning Institute (Shipley & Utz, 2012).

The application of participation in urban planning is common across different levels of governance, appearing in transport planning, age-friendly neighbourhoods, heritage, public housing, creative space and so on. Some examples are:

Transport planning

Transport planning: The Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act of 1991 imposed new requirements for public involvement in the planning process in the United States (US; Quick, 2014). Also in the US, a web-based portal application with a Public Participation Geographic Information System (PPGIS) allowed participants to describe their concerns about public transport (Zhong et al., 2004). In a south Swedish case study, the use of written submissions improved the Environment Impact Statement from a stakeholder perspective (Antonson, 2014). While written submissions are not the most interactive form of participation, the highway planning process successfully incorporated comments from stakeholders, attributed to the long-term traditions of public access to official documents and proper management of citizens' comments at street level.

Age-friendly neighbourhood

The Age-friendly Chicago Walking Audit Tool was developed in 2015 as a part of a larger study with focus groups, a survey and ranked indicators for older adults aged 60 and above to observe and evaluate the physical, social and community services in their neighbourhoods (Johnson et al., 2015). In Singapore, the City for All Ages Town Audit Tool was developed in 2014 for older adults who experience mobility and daily living challenges to audit the walkability of the most used routes in high-density public housing estates (Ministry of Health Singapore, 2016).

Heritage planning

The Council of Europe Framework Convention on the Value of Cultural Heritage for Society articulates the need to involve members of society when defining and managing cultural heritage, in recognition of people's right to participate in cultural life (Council of Europe, 2005). It also outlines the role of cultural heritage in constructing a democratic society and promoting a better quality of life. With regard to specific sites, the case of participatory planning in the management of Hadrian's Wall in England illustrates the importance of value-based, inclusionary decision-making (Norman, 2007). Increasingly, digital resources such as social media and user-generated content are used to encourage people to engage with heritage issues. Examples include participatory heritage websites like 'Birmingham's Hidden Space' from the United Kingdom (UK) and 'Doelen Memory' from the Netherlands (van der Hoeven, 2020).

Public housing

The Government Code of California requires local governments to make a diligent effort to incorporate participation from different economic segments in the community when developing housing, both to define the housing problem and to craft solutions that work for everyone (State of California, 2022). Similarly, policies such as the Localism Act 2011 in the UK ensure that decisions on housing are made at the local level with a planning system that is more democratic and representative (Department for Communities and Local Government UK, 2011).

Creative space

Creative placemaking is a planning practice that involves arts and culture as tools for urban revitalisation. It engages a wide variety of stakeholders from planners and funders to art practitioners and citizens (Zitcer, 2020). Project for Public Spaces, a US-based advocacy organisation, initiates projects to help communities reimagine public spaces across the US. The project for Great Kennedy Plaza, for example, supported clients including the City of Providence, Providence Foundation and Rhode Island Public Transit Authority to connect various public spaces within the district (Project for Public Spaces, 2022). The project idea was developed in workshops with the community and later supported by the National Endowment for the Arts grant and the Southwest Airlines Heart of the Community programme.

Participatory planning approaches are also used to develop place standards. In the UK, focus groups have been used to develop Minimum Acceptable Place Standards––a set of conditions and characteristics that make a place acceptable to its inhabitants (Padley et al., 2013). Design for Home, a social enterprise in England, released the 'Building for a Healthy Life' standard with a set of design code for a broad range of people to evaluate neighbourhoods in enabling healthy lifestyles (Design for Home, 2022). This standard is endorsed by Homes England––the non-departmental public body that funds new affordable housing in England. In Scotland, the Place Standard Tool is used to inform spatial planning, design and development (Public Health Scotland, 2021). Jointly developed by the NHS Health Scotland, the Scottish Government, and Architecture & Design Scotland, the standard provides a simple framework to structure conversations about place and communities.

5 Interaction Quality in Participation

The level of citizen participation is largely decided by the role planners assign to non-planners (Lane, 2005), reflecting the interaction quality in participation. Interaction quality has several components. It is the degree to which discussions between planners and non-planners are conducted in a respectful way (Healey, 1992). It refers to the level of interaction, communication and engagement between people or systems. It determines how planning problems are defined, what kinds of knowledge are used and how decision-making is contextualised. It concerns the question of who participates, as well as the power distribution in participation.

Interaction quality can be defined as the degree to which discussions between planners and non-planners are conducted in a respectful way. It refers to the level of interaction, communication and engagement between people or systems.

Participant selection does not only reflect the ideology behind the various participation modes but also the inclusiveness of participation (Figure 1). Representation is a central issue in public participation (Day, 1997). In particular, the exclusion of specific groups from participatory planning practices, either by choice or through structural inequalities, usually marks a failure to address issues faced by those marginalised in the urban setting (Fung 2006). The public's role and power in participatory processes are often uncertain and the interests of disadvantaged groups can be difficult to accommodate within participatory planning. More powerful stakeholders, especially professionals, politicians and business interests, have often been given decisive powers and disproportionate influence (Inch, 2015). In fact, a critique of public participation is that when it is dominated by the 'haves' rather than the 'have nots', planning will fail to generate social change (Sandercock, 1994).

Today the vast majority of participatory planning practices use less restrictive and more inclusive methods of engaging the public. In Figure 1, 'minipublics' refers to the subset of the general population that is intentionally included. They contrast with state actors who hold positions either by appointment or election. The self-selected subset of the general

public tends to be individuals who are wealthier and better educated (Fung, 2006). Recent research by Einstein et al. (2019) suggests that although community participation serves as a buffer against political inequalities, the various forms of participation may be biasing policy discussions in favour of an unrepresentative group of individuals. Random selection and targeted recruitment, on the other hand, guarantee descriptive representativeness by inviting the participation of subgroups that are less likely to be engaged (Fung, 2006).
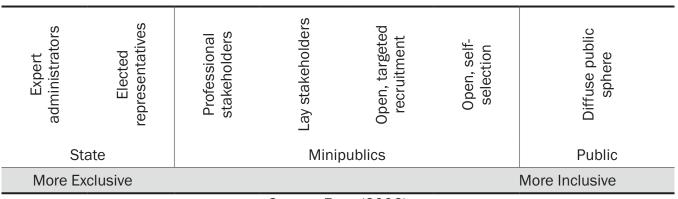
Figure 1 Participant selection methods

Expert administrators	Elected representatives	Professional stakeholders	Lay stakeholders	Open, targeted recruitment	Open, self-selection	Diffuse public sphere
State		Minipublics				Public
More Exclusive						More Inclusive

Source: Fung (2006)

The form of interaction between public agencies and the public varies in different planning techniques. Public hearings and public education, for example, which involve a lower level of participation, involve direct communication between the government and citizens in the affected neighbourhood (Innes & Booher, 2000). Alternatively, collaborative or communicative planning methods require a different political paradigm of public participation. Public participation in this sense works as part of a network, where different public entities interact with varied interest-based entities and citizens. Public agencies and interest-based groups not only engage directly with citizens but also facilitate interactions with each other (Innes & Booher, 2000). However, not all groups are able to connect with each other or with public agencies because of factors such as conflicting interests, time and resource constraints, as well as the lack of political motivation. Similarly, not all public agencies interact with the people. As such, with gaps in communication, the interaction quality of collaborative planning is uncertain, varying according to institutional capacity, level of democratisation and social capital (Healey, 1997b).

Furthermore, the various forms of participation involve different interests. Sarah White (1996) put forward a typology to identify conflicting ideas about why and how participation is being used, and what participation means to planners and those on the receiving end (Table 3).

Table 3 A typology of interests in participation

Form of participation	What 'participation' means to planners	What 'participation' means to citizens
Nominal	Legitimation – to show they are doing something	Inclusion – to retain some access to potential individual benefits
Instrumental	Efficiency – to draw on community contributions and make projects more cost-effective	Cost – of time spent on project-related labour and other activities
Representative	Sustainability – to avoid creating dependency on the government to address community needs	Leverage – to influence project goals and management
Transformative	Empowerment – to enable people to make their own decisions	Empowerment – to be able to decide and act for themselves

Source: Cornwall (2008), adapted from White (1996)

Nominal and instrumental participatory practices have been criticised for failing to provide citizens with real opportunities to influence planning outcomes. There is no guarantee about whether participation increases the quality of the planning processes or leads to substantive change (Bickerstaff & Walker, 2005; Hartmann & Geertman, 2016). In contrast, representative participation aims to give people a voice in determining planning directions. But the question of who is represented remains. Lastly, transformative participation sees empowerment as a means and an end at the same time (White, 1996). As White maintains, 'this process never comes to an end, but is a continuing dynamic which transforms people's reality and their sense of it' (1996, p. 9). Transformative planning is thus more desirable in achieving equitable and sustainable communities, as it enables people to take ownership of community transformation through engagement and participation in the long term.

6 Conclusion: Translating Citizens' Input into Policy Actions

To make participation meaningful, the techniques must efficiently translate citizens' input into policy actions. Shipley and Utz (2012) identified the factors that matter. First, participating in consultation processes is not always convenient and imposes opportunity costs on participants. A commitment to participate is unlikely to be realised if the experience seems trivial, unrepresentative, insignificant or fails to make an impact on people's lives. The lack of mutual trust between planners and citizens also hampers the success of participation. Second, the ability of the government matters in ensuring the legitimacy of the civic engagement processes. Planners and policymakers require skills to conduct effective communication and collaboration with citizens. On top of this, planners seldom receive training in conducting public consultation and may be underprepared for the task of engaging citizens. Lastly, the interrelationship of government agencies determines the support and level of collaboration within the administrative system, as well as the interaction quality of public participation.

This paper situates participatory urban planning under the wider scope of planning theories. The forms of planning stem from diverse ideologies. Attention to participation in planning has increased since the seminal works by Jacobs (1961), Arnstein (1969), Smith (1973) and others, to become a widely acknowledged field among theorists and professionals.

The purpose of participatory urban planning is threefold. Participatory planning considers people's emotional attachments to familiar places and provides people a voice in the planning process. It also recognises the procedural advantages of public engagement by allowing individuals from diverse backgrounds to come up with mutually acceptable proposals and involving individuals who are affected by planning decisions but who lack direct representation in formal planning processes. In the practical sense, citizens are the experts of their own lives and living environments and therefore are best able to provide accurate and immediate information regarding the areas under planning.

Participatory planning takes many forms, guided by a range of purposes and the degree of redistribution of power. The way in which planners engage citizens determines how planning problems are defined, what kinds of knowledge are used and how decision-making is contextualised. A major concern within planning scholarship remains how to make the practice of planning more inclusive and representative (Thorpe, 2017). In order for citizen participation to be meaningful, it is important that the planning techniques efficiently translate citizen input into policy actions.

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