Public Participation in Transport Planning - Australia

Occasional Paper

Planners in all spheres of activity are demonstrating an increasing interest in the use of public participation as a planning tool. Despite this interest, there has been little documentation and research drawing on the participation experience in planning in Australia. This paper presents an inventory of Australian public participation experience compiled from a survey of Australian transport authorities and selected consultants.

BUREAU OF TRANSPORT ECONOMICS

PUBLIC PARTICIPATION IN TRANSPORT PLANNING
(IN AUSTRALIA)

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FOREWORD

Planners in all spheres of activity are demonstrating an increasing interest in the use of public participation as a planning tool. Despite this interest, there has been little documentation and research drawing on the participation experience in planning in Australia.

This paper presents an inventory of Australian public participation experience compiled from a survey of Australian transport authorities and selected consultants. From this inventory ten cases have been selected for detailed examination to produce a guide to the uses and limitations of public participation. A conceptual framework and methodology for the implementation of participation is presented in the paper and some guidelines for developing participation programs and selecting techniques are given.

The author argues in the paper that the development of the philosophy and practise of participation in planning have been separated in the past with the result that experience has not guided further effort in the field. She argues that the conceptual framework outlined - the needs approach - can help to overcome this problem. Clearly this is a matter for debate and further research which, the Bureau hopes, will be stimulated by the publication of this paper.

The evidence presented and conclusions drawn in this paper are based largely on the ten selected case studies of Australian participation experience. However, the arguments are presented as an entire approach to the understanding and use of participation. The Bureau believes that even though the conceptual framework of the needs approach and its theoretical underpinnings are subjects for debate and further research, the paper, and the experiences it documents, will offer useful guidance to transport authorities, public participation practitioners and participants in participation programs.

The report was written for a range of readers not all of whom will wish or need to read the whole report. Chapters One and Five, introducing the problem examined, approach and key concepts and summarizing the steps involved in implementing the 'needs' approach to public participation, are essential reading. Chapter Two presents the conceptual framework of the needs approach and this is explored and elucidated in Chapters Three and Four drawing on Australian participatory experience. These chapters would be of particular interest to practitioners as would the Appendices which contain the inventory of Australian participation experience and brief descriptions of the ten case studies selected from this inventory.

The paper was written by Ms. A. Sinclair. The contributions of other Bureau staff, including Mr. J. Stanley, Mr. W. Counsell and Mr. A. Rattray, are acknowledged. The Bureau would particularly like to acknowledge the co-operation and assistance received from the large number of organisations and individuals contacted during the course of the study.

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CONTENTS

FIGURES

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This paper attempts to identify the role of public participation in the planning process and to develop some guidelines for its use as a planning tool.

The paper departs significantly from traditional approaches to the discussion and analysis of public participation in planning. Traditional approaches commence with prescriptive statements - they begin by arguing that it should be undertaken and why. From this common start point, research has developed in two independent streams. In one stream guidelines are set up for conducting participation based upon the assumption that it is necessary and objective characteristics about the study or problem are used to determine how it should be accomplished. In the other stream, conceptual models based upon certain implicit assumptions about societies, individual needs, change and organisations are used to justify and implement participation in planning. The assumptions made in the second stream of activity are rarely critically examined in the light of findings made in the former stream of activity. Further, the separation of the two streams of study has meant that the guidelines for the conduct of participation in planning emerge as arbitrary judgements arising from experience - certain procedures seem to have worked in particular situations but it is not clear how or why.

The approach presented in this paper begins with a critical scrutiny of the assumptions about individuals, organisations and societal change made within traditional conceptual frameworks. A more flexible approach which identifies the range of expectations, needs and capacities of those involved in the planning context and how they might guide and affect the implementation of public participation in planning is described. This work is reported in Chapter 2.

This conceptual framework, termed the 'needs' approach to participation in planning, is explored and elucidated in Chapters 3 and 4 drawing on the experiences of ten case studies of public participation in planning.[1] Chapter 3

(1) Descriptions of the case studies and the inventory of Australian participation experience from which they were selected from Appendices A and B respectively.

explores the approach listing some of the diverse needs, expectations and purposes of those involved in the participation programs undertaken in the case studies. The fourth chapter discusses features of a participation program - the study area, time horizon, stage of the planning process at which participation is undertaken and techniques for the implementation of participation. The techniques employed in the case studies are evaluated according to the needs they satisfied or failed to fulfil in each respective planning context.

From the conceptual framework is derived both a rationale for conducting participation and guidelines on how to conduct it. Rather than objective characteristics of the study guiding participation efforts, it is the needs of various groups involved in or affected by the planning context that provide a coherent guide to the conduct and evaluation of public participation exercises. The steps involved in the needs approach and some guidelines for technique selection are presented in Chapter 5.

The paper focuses on the role of participation in planning rather than on the broader context of its contribution, or otherwise, to society. Planning is seen as an activity preceeding formal political decision-making and aimed at minimising the social and economic costs arising from ad-hoc decision-making. The process of planning can be broadly divided into six stages:

- identification of a planning problem or objective;
- generation of alternative solutions;
- evaluation of alternatives;
- implementation of recommended alternative;
- ratifying or publicising the decision;
- monitoring.(1)

In practice the division between planning and decision-making and the role of planners and decision-makers is blurred. Administrators, responsible for advising the authorised decision-makers or politicians, often make decisions that directly, or by implication, have far-reaching

(1) These stages of the planning process have been identified and discussed in Chapter 1 of A Discussion Paper of Transport Planning in Sydney to 1975, Occasional Paper No. 16, Bureau of Transport Economics, Canberra 1978.

effects.[1] Throughout the planning process, planners inevitably make decisions about the importance of particular issues and particular interests in the information they collect and the way they present it. Thus, from one perspective, planning is a process of representing the interests of various individuals and groups within the community.

Public participation in planning can provide the planner with detailed and comprehensive information to increase the scope and sensitivity of his advice to decision-makers. Other members of society can also benefit from public participation undertaken as part of planning. Individuals and groups may be seeking to influence a particular planning decision and a participation program may provide an opportunity to gather and present their case strongly to decision-makers. Other individuals may have a more general psychological need for involvement with other people or in the formulation of decisions they consider to be important. Employing participation as part of planning has the potential to satisfy a wide variety of technical, emotional, psychological and political needs.

The structure of the paper reflects the essence of the argument advanced, that a participation program cannot be developed independently of its context. Techniques, area focus and time horizon must be selected to suit the needs and characteristics of the community towards whom planning is directed. For this reason it is crucial that the conclusions presented in any individual chapter are not interpreted as rigid guidelines.

The paper presents an integral approach to the use of participation in planning - a conceptual framework and rationale, a methodology and some guidelines for developing participation programs and selecting techniques.

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(1) The role of administrators and the bureaucracy is explored in Chapter 2 under the heading 'The Role of the Bureaucracy'.

CHAPTER TWO: PARTICIPATION IN SOCIETY

TRADITIONAL APPROACHES TO PARTICIPATION

Two traditional conceptual models of participation are briefly described in this chapter. Although they represent opposite ends of the spectrum of traditional approaches in the role for participation that they advocate, they share a characteristic prescriptive approach. The adoption of this approach means that the models assume a particular role for participation then make a number of generalisations which justify the necessity for participation in the form they advocate.

The Bureaucratic Model

The Bureaucratic Model of participation derives from the belief that representative democracy is the only way to adequately reflect community needs. It sees planning as an apolitical activity carried out by neutral and objective administrators whose primary concern is to collect information. Public participation, through such techniques as opinion surveys or public meetings, can contribute such information. The participation process is one-way, with the public having no opportunity to directly influence plan formulation. According to this model 'community needs' or the 'public interest' are adequately represented through the politician to whom the administrator provides the information he has collected.

This model of public participation is based on several significant assumptions. In particular, those concerned with the nature of the political-administrative process envisaged have been widely criticised. For example, it is maintained that planners can never be totally neutral interpreters of information and planning is accordingly a political process in which public authorities, private enterprise and strong lobby groups attempt to have their interests represented.(1)

The Citizen Control Model

Arnstein has formulated a 'ladder of citizen participation' based on the belief that the degree of power given to the people is a criterion not only

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(1) P. Davidoff, 'Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning', Journal of The American Institute of Planners, (November 1965). P. Loveday 'Citizen Participation in Urban Planning' in R.S. Parker & P.N. Troy (eds.), The Politics of Urban Growth, (Canberra, 1972).

for evaluating effective participation, but also as a way of defining what constitutes participation and does not.[1] At the bottom of the ladder is manipulation and therapy and at the top partnership, delegated power and citizen control. According to Arnstein, the former are really non-participation. Only when participation programs occupy the upper rungs are they losing their elements of tokenism (placation, consultation and informing) and approaching true public participation. Arnstein's approach is referred to here as the citizen control model.

This model defines participation as the opportunity for citizens to actively influence decision-making in matters of public policy. Proponents of the model interpret existing planning as a closed process, undertaken by agencies and planners committed to a course of action that ignores community priorities. They suggest that the public does not participate in such planning exercises. Their views or needs are simply interpreted by a planner and incorporated into the planning process, or worse, the public is falsely deceived into believing they have influence. Thus, techniques of information gathering such as surveys and questionnaires, and information dissemination, such as public meetings, displays and public relations are not considered to be true public participation.

Proponents of the citizen control model assume that members of the public are disaffiliated with political processes and their representatives, and are seeking greater personal control over decisions that affect their lives. It is maintained that participation provides a way of democratising the planning process, of transferring some power from an existing elite by providing opportunities for other members of the community to satisfy needs for greater personal control. It is envisaged that formerly powerless groups will seize the opportunity to gain some control over decision-making. By equalising access to power, greater justice and equality in decision-making is expected to result.

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(1) S.R. Arnstein, A Ladder of Citizen Participation Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXV (July 1969), pp 216-224.

Participation is also seen to encourage an 'open planning' process in which widespread public involvement fosters constructive discussion and conflict between groups. Some proponents of the model see participation as a means of identifying the consensus that they maintain underlies all societies, but is usually obscured by the absence of an open exchange of views.

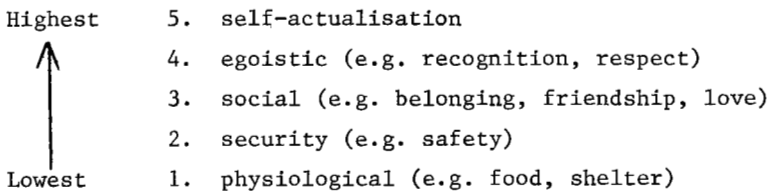
GENERALISATIONS IN TRADITIONAL APPROACHES

The traditional approaches employ a variety of generalisations to support the form of participation they are advocating. These generalisations fall broadly into three categories concerning the individual's motivation or need to participate, the consensual or conflict basis of society and the nature of societal change and lastly, the role of bureaucracies in decision-making. The following discussion critically examines the theoretical and empirical basis of some of these generalisations.

Individual Motivation to Participate

Some advocates of participation argue man is driven to exercise greater control over the decision-making that affects his life. This need is being increasingly manifested in modern societies which satisfy basic needs but frustrate needs for self-fulfilment. These theorists argue that public participation provides opportunities being universally demanded by the members of modern societies.

Considerable psychological research has been undertaken on the subject of human motivation and Abraham Maslow's concept of the 'need hierarchy' has had a particularly pervasive influence on motivation theory.(1) Maslow postulated that needs exist at a series of levels and that they must be successively satisfied. The higher order needs are only felt after the lower order have been satisfied.



(1) A.H. Maslow, Motivation and Personality, (2nd edn., N.Y., 1970).

The need hierarchy concept has led to the view that because the first three levels of needs are satisfied in most modern societies, people living in those societies are motivated largely by the need to satisfy egoistic and self-fulfilment needs. The characteristic channels, it has been assumed, through which man satisfies these needs are employment, political and social activities. The inference is that the greater the opportunities to demonstrate decision-making skills, knowledge, competence and responsibility through these channels, the more satisfied the man.

Researchers have drawn on Maslow's concept of the need hierarchy to explain the basis of political motivation. For example, Renshon argues that individuals will be dissatisfied with political systems through frustration of their material needs and their need for personal control and that governments are courting disaster if they do not encourage 'the widest possible participation and governmental responsiveness'.(1) Individual needs for political involvement are also seen to be increasingly important by those who observe breakdowns in the traditional channels through which societies have satisfied needs. Whereas once a person could rely on the self-esteem provided through belonging to an extended family and closely-knit community, people are now more strongly motivated to satisfy needs for self-esteem and self-fulfilment through greater work and political involvement.

This view of the basis of motivation and changing milieu through which needs are experienced and satisfied pervades much of the literature on public participation. Cole postulates that with the increasing fragmentation of urban society, more individuals will seek self-fulfilment and the development of their social and political capabilities.(2) He suggests that public participation can provide a vehicle for the satisfaction of these motives, listing it as one of his 'political science' justifications for participation. In Australia these views have been expressed in policy documents. For example, in 1970 the Australian Labor Party argued "... participation is an important counterbalance to the alienation factor so prevalent in modern western

(1) S.A. Renshon, Psychological Needs and Political Behaviour, (N.Y., 1974), p. 244.
(2) R. Cole, Citizen Participation in the Urban Policy Process, (Lexington, Mass., 1974).

societies. People must have some real power over their own destinies and life styles if feelings of social alienation are to be conquered".[1] This conception of the role of participation is sometimes termed the 'social therapy' justification.

The conclusion concerning the existence of a widespread latent need for political involvement in society that emerges from this research, has been questioned on several grounds. Firstly little evidence has in fact been found for the existence of a hierarchy of needs as Maslow postulated, even amongst the management populations on whom the theory was originally based.[2] The pattern of motivation may indeed be quite different for those with low socio-economic, minority ethnic or religious backgrounds. For example, consistent failures to implement programs of worker participation suggest that workers are not strongly motivated towards the exercise of power itself. Participation is often only a means to the ends of better pay, job security and working conditions.[3] Subsequent research on motivation (including by Maslow himself) has suggested that individual perceptions of the links between effort, performance and reward may be more important in determining the likelihood of participation. The individual must perceive that effort will lead to performance, leading to rewards which are perceived to be attractive and available.[4] Motivation to participate is no longer considered understandable in a closed context, independent of other features of an individual's environment.

Secondly, the interpretation of modern society as increasingly fragmented, creating more alienated individuals with consequently increased participatory potential, has been criticised. A substantial amount of research

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(1) Australian Labor Party (Victorian Branch), Labor's New Deal in Social Welfare (Melbourne, 1970), p. 23.

(2) M.A. Wahba and L.G. Beidwell, 'Maslow Reconsidered' in K.N. Wexty and G.A. Yukl (eds.), Organisational Behaviour and Industrial Psychology (Oxford, 1975).

(3) D. Guest 'Motivation After Maslow', Personnel Management, (March, 1976), pp. 29-32.

(4) J. Graham 'Who Participates', Australian Journal of Social Issues 9, 2 (1974), pp. 133-141.

has suggested "that urban society is not bereft of family or the primary group relationships".[1] Further it is unlikely that membership of formal organisations or the opportunity to participate necessarily provides the key to increased satisfaction and sense of fulfilment in life. To provide individuals with opportunities for involvement to reduce their sense of alienation will not produce a grateful response if the individual does not perceive his alienation or the means offered as a way of ameliorating it.

It would appear that motivation to participate in decision-making is determined by a huge number of complex variables that produce substantial individual differences. Some opportunities may be considered by some individuals to be a burden and this often stems from their belief that certain people are paid to plan and should do it with as little interference as possible. The opportunity to make a decision or influence a policy that affects one's life, particularly if created at the discretion of the employer or planner, is unlikely to be welcomed by all members of a society. It is thus fundamentally inaccurate to base a theory or justify the employment of public participation as a planning tool on the expectation that all the individuals in a community need or will seek out the opportunity to become involved.

Social Order and Change

Traditional approaches to public participation support their contentions about the necessity of participation on generalisations concerning the predominantly consensual or conflict nature of societal conditions. The consensus theory of social order is the basis for the structural-functional or functionalist approach to the analysis of social systems. Societies are seen as based on sets of values and norms that are shared by members of the society and which intermesh to form the social structure which, in turn, are reinforced by mechanisms such as socialisation and social control. The view maintains that members of societies have goals, interests, norms and values in common, which form the basis of a consensus or condition of social order. An alternative view of society based on conflict or coercion theory sees societies composed of groups with competing interests. Because of the scarcity of resources in societies, conflict and struggle to acquire them is endemic.

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(1) J. Graham, 'Who Participates', Australian Journal of Social Issues, Vol. 9, No. 2 (1974), pp. 133-141.

Behaviour and action are not governed by an underlying consensus of values, but rather by continuing conflicts of interest, dictated by the processes of production and the relationships they generate.

Public participation in planning is sometimes seen as providing a means of expressing the community consensus. It could be argued, however, that if there was such a thing as a community consensus planners and administrative agencies would have little incentive to ignore this view - in fact they could not afford to do so in the long-term. The very cynicism of community activists towards bureaucrats and vice versa indicate the existence of salient conflicts of interest - and these are only representative of the more articulate and powerful of interest groups. A model of public participation which does not recognise the existence of some divergent interests is destined to be undermined by unsuccessful attempts to discover and implement the consensus in a plan of action.

At the opposite end of the spectrum there are some theorists who view participation as a way of illuminating the conflicts that are endemic in society. Since the means of conflict resolution is one group overpowering another they see participation as intensifying the struggle through a reallocation of power. Arnstein's model is sometimes seen as arising from a recognition of the basic inequities and conflicts of interest in existing planning and decision-making, and 'organising for power' is seen as the thrust of community action.

While this view of society's operation enhances the awareness of theorists and practitioners of participation to the competing needs of groups in any planning context, it also obscures those areas in which interests can be reconciled. For example, there may be widespread agreement amongst those involved in a planning exercise on certain techniques for evaluation. Important aspects in the development and application of these techniques might be overlooked because they are assumed to be the tool of one particular group, rather than being capable of satisfying apparently diverse needs.

Accompanying, but not always consistent with these views about society, are views about change. One view sees change arising out of the gradual process of societal values and norms adapting to circumstances and needs. In contrast

are those theorists who only see change arising from the seizure of some form of power by a formerly powerless or less powerful group by open conflict or confrontation between this group and the traditional power-holders. Public participation in the former view is part of a rational and technical process of accumulating information about community needs to advise policy-makers. The latter view considers that the only useful role for participation is when it fosters a re-allocation of power, as when one group demands political attention by their actions and acquires some bargaining power. These two views justify the use of public participation as an information gathering tool or a device for politicising issues.

Rigid application of either the consensus or conflict views of society is likely to discourage an effective approach to participation. Levels of agreement that exist amongst groups obviously depend upon the issues at stake and the number and diversity of the groups involved. Whether the participation program attempts to uncover conflict or consensus or negotiate on some differences while exaggerating others depends on these aspects of the planning context.

The Role of The Bureaucracy

An aspect of traditional approaches to participation has been the rigid role envisaged for the bureaucracy in planning. For example some theorists have argued for a return to the ideal of representative democracy, through greater public participation. They maintain that an increase in citizen control over decision-making would force planners and administering agencies to adopt their more appropriate roles as neutral administrators of policy directives determined by elected representatives and the community itself. This view envisages improved planning arising from the direct interpretation of community needs by citizens. In the extreme case the model provides an alternative to the traditional structure of decision-making in democracies. It bypasses the bureaucrat, as collector of information, and the politician, as accountable interpreter of the community's wants, and proposes some citizen group be directly responsible for decision-making.

It has been argued, however, that this process is unlikely to produce a plan which is capable of implementation within the institutional, political and social context and which satisfies the diverse interests of significant groups of people. Firstly, the citizens exercising control over decision-making in participation may reflect only a limited number of the diversity of interests that exist in the community. Secondly, a citizen-produced plan is likely to ignore the fact that the plan must be realised and implemented in an institutional framework - the constraints dictated by implementation need to be recognised in planning. Lastly, one plan may reflect the interests of those participating but at the same time neglect minority interests and the espoused political objectives of democratically elected representatives, such as equality and justice.

This view argues that although in the existing system planning and operating agencies may have limited charters which they fulfil with a high degree of autonomy, in the final instance this context for planning is less prone to abuse than one in which a group of citizens is solely responsible. In the former context the planner within an organisation can attempt to consider a greater number of interests, including those of the organisation for which he works, other agencies involved, and other less articulate interest groups.

A NEEDS APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION

Approaches to the use of participation have generally based their advocacy of and guidelines for participation on narrow judgements concerning individual motivation, social order and the operation of bureaucracies. A more flexible approach is to identify the range of expectations, needs and capacities of those involved in the planning context to determine whether participation is an appropriate planning tool, and if so, how it should be applied. Once the range of needs and incentives has been described it is then possible to identify if some are more appropriately satisfied through participation than others and to develop a participation program around real constraints.

This approach requires a minimum of prescriptive assumptions as starting points and the judgements about which needs can be and are to be satisfied in the participation process are made explicit rather than obscured

in the form of generalisations. For example, a needs framework can accommodate societal conditions of both conflict and consensus. Competing and conflicting interests are seen to be endemic to society, however, change is assumed to occur in a number of ways. Progressive change can occur in planning through the use of public participation, by altering the way various interests are represented. This can occur, at one extreme simply by gathering certain information, or at the other extreme through a re-allocation of decision-making powers.

A framework focussing on needs, attempts to consider and evaluate the sorts of representation and changes being sought by all the groups involved in planning. If a substantial group in the community are seeking to politicise an issue through the participation program, the program can be judged effective for this group. The framework does not evaluate change per se nor either kind of change discussed as critical to good public participation. Accordingly, public participation is not seen or evaluated as an end in itself. Its use cannot be justified unless it clearly satisfies the needs or expectations of identifiable groups in the planning process.

Defining Participation

The definition of participation has developed from the assumptions advanced in the traditional approaches discussed. Thus the bureaucratic model defines participation as information gathering that requires some interface between the planners and the community. In contrast the citizen control model defines participation as the transfer of decision-making powers from the planners to the citizens.

However, it has been established that individuals have widely differing needs and capacities to participate. What may represent a small involvement to some, may to others appear as 'public relations' and to others still as an intolerable responsibility. Community definitions of 'real' or 'good' participation vary enormously. Most practitioners adopt a broad operating definition of the term.(1) For example they see various forms of information gathering and dissemination, where the public play a relatively passive role, as important components of any participation program, is not as participation exercises in their own right.

(1) This emerged when compiling the inventory of Australian participation experience that was the basis of this document.

To be consistent with a needs approach and to reflect common usage, participation may be defined as a process through which those who plan and those for whom they plan attempt, through some form of exchange, to secure greater representation in planning of their needs and the interests with which they identify. The nature of the exchange may vary but it should be recognised as a legitimate aspect of planning by those involved. This definition permits a wide range of techniques to be considered for use in a particular planning context, rather than applying a set of rigid criteria to the selection of technique in all contexts. Thus, a range of techniques, from informal processes of discussion between authorities to highly sophisticated consultation or information gathering mechanisms, may be regarded as legitimate forms of involving the public in planning.

THE NEEDS APPROACH AS A PLANNING TOOL

There are three reasons why conducting and evaluating participation in each case according to the clearly defined needs of those directly and indirectly involved enables it to be an effective planning tool. Firstly, it encourages an awareness of the limitations of participation and avoids unrealistic expectations or false claims being made for it. Secondly, it encourages a flexible tailoring of participation programs to suit the needs of those involved. And lastly, because the measuring stick of participation is defined, it is likely to be used with confidence as a planning tool because its contribution can be evaluated.

Establishing the Limitations of Participation

A framework for evaluating participation in terms of the purposes of various actors involved could be criticised for being non-normative, for not establishing clearly what is good and bad participation independently of the motives of those involved. But it is assumed that participation only has a role where that role is clearly identified and acknowledged by some particular group within the institution, community or elsewhere. It is not of itself a device for guaranteeing the representativeness of democracies or the accountability of bureaucracies, although in certain circumstances it may satisfy particularly concerns of this nature.

Perhaps the most important advantage of looking at participation in context and in terms of individual purposes is that in each case its role must be clearly and accountably defined. It cannot be used, for example, by planners to give their processes a unique credibility. They cannot claim it represents the community interest when the interests of those groups from the community who are involved are demonstrably narrow. Planning is usually oriented to the interests of a diverse community, containing many groups with different and often competing rather than a cohesive body with a single interest. Public participation is a way of giving some of these groups a voice in planning, but there are inevitably many other groups whose interests should be considered who are unable or unwilling to become involved in formal participation exercises. In developing participation programs the needs of these different groups should always be considered as part of the program.

A focus on purposes also alerts planners to incompatible and unrealistic expectations. If participation doesn't appear to work it may indeed be because it cannot satisfy contradictory purposes, rather than because it is not a useful tool. For example, participation cannot be expected to resolve controversial planning issues. In fact, careful analysis may suggest it is the least effective way to serve this end in a particular context. Clarification of what participation can be expected to do should enhance its potential to satisfy the objectives established for it.

Developing Sensitive Public Participation Programs

Evaluating participation programs in terms of the fulfilment of diverse needs does not imply that all needs must be satisfied for effective participation to have occurred. In a society where conflicts of interest are endemic this would be a rare situation. However, by focusing on purposes it is possible to shape the process of public involvement to minimise points of conflict. Many issues that cause conflicts in planning could be resolved by a more sensitive and flexible tailoring of public involvement processes. Broad objectives that appear to conflict at a general level may only contain one set of incompatible or inconsistent purposes. In spite of many obvious conflicts between groups in society, participation can be tailored to better suit the expression of various interests.

Facilitating the Implementation of Participation

The importance of quantitative data in planning has traditionally been accepted without question. Traffic counts or engineering costs, for example, are treated as crucial information that contribute directly to the evaluation of particular proposals. In contrast the information produced from social investigations, particularly using public participation as a tool, is far more difficult to incorporate and weigh up in any evaluation.

It could be suggested that the process of identifying and considering social factors is in a pre-paradigm phase.(1) That is, the process, particularly using public participation, is by no means accepted as a standard procedure of accumulating knowledge, and the information resulting from it frequently lacks credibility. While the data derived from a cordon survey is rarely jeopardised because people suspect the process by which that information was produced, the information arising out of a public participation program has a dubious status because the process of participation is rarely perceived by people to be an objective or entirely successful one.

The reason for the apparent shortcomings of public participation is its inability to satisfy the objectives established for it. While formal objectives for public participation in a study are often identified early and clearly stated, a diverse range of interpretations exist within these objectives, and there are many other more personal expectations and motivations that are attached to the participation process. A large number of often conflicting objectives and measuring sticks are applied to participation. It can rarely satisfy all these and is consequently often classified as a failure by some of those involved. The overall effect is that people do not readily accept that the process of participation provides valuable information that should be weighed up with other factors by decision-makers. Instead they seek to justify the application of participation in other terms.

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(1) A term used by T.S. Kuhn in The Structure of Scientific Revolutions, (Chicago, 1970), to explain the stages by which scientific knowledge is accumulated.

Evaluating according to identified multiple and diverse needs enables advisers and decision-makers to judge participation programs as effective or otherwise. The capacity to do this, in turn, increases the legitimacy these people accord the process of participation and the information produced from it. If, for example, members of a planning organisation and the decision-makers directing them, were seeking to specifically develop a highly informed opinion in the community about a particular issue, techniques could be oriented to this through, say, on-going workshops involving local people already possessing considerable expertise. If an active and constructive body of local opinion resulted, the people conducting the study would be more likely to evaluate the exercise as successful and use the opinion as a valuable and defensible source of information. This more sensitive satisfaction of the particular needs of various actors involved in participation achieves two results. It increases the likelihood that the people involved will find it a useful and valuable exercise. Secondly, for those using it as part of an evaluation it enhances the legitimacy of the process of participation and the expressions arising from it.

CONCLUSION

It is proposed that the needs approach provides a more useful conceptual framework with which to view participation as a planning tool than do the traditional models. It does not depend on tenuous generalisations to provide a rationale for participation. And, instead of unrelated objective characteristics of the planning study, such as rural or urban location or nature of proposed solutions, guiding the selection of participatory techniques and procedures, the approach postulates that the needs, aims and expectations of the various groups involved in and potentially affected by a particular planning study are the most appropriate guide to if and how public participation should be undertaken. The approach overcomes the problems associated with the traditional separation of conceptual models and technical guidelines and offers a means of integrating a rationale for employing participation with criteria for selecting techniques. This in turn assists the application and evaluation of participatory techniques in planning.

CHAPTER THREE: NEEDS FOR PARTICIPATING IN PLANNING

This chapter identifies and discusses some of the diverse needs and purposes that are manifested in public participation programs. The list was generated primarily from the experiences of those involved in ten case studies. It does not purport to be comprehensive.

Included in the list are the more obvious formal objectives of public participation, but also many more personal motives for having an interest in the process. Some of the needs may appear to demand a more legitimate role in planning than others. This discussion does not attempt to offer any weighting of the importance of certain needs. This is a decision that must be made by those undertaking the participation exercise after they have identified the range of needs that exist and before they begin designing the participation program in detail.

The list does, however, introduce the diversity of needs and interests people have in participating. For each individual involved - as a study team or institution representative, or as an individual in the community - participation will be seen as the means to fulfill a certain need or group of needs. Each individual will be consequently applying a unique set of criteria to measure the effectiveness or otherwise of a participation program which means that any participation program will be evaluated according to many criteria. The more effective the participation program and the more satisfying the experience of these individuals involved, the more significance and legitimacy will be attributed to participation as a planning tool and the more sensitive will be the planning arising from it. While in the past formal objectives have been assumed to be the only important criteria from which to judge participation the needs discussed in this chapter suggest many personal and psychological needs which people seek to satisfy in participation and which form the basis of their judgements about it. These needs should not be ignored and cannot afford to be ignored in the development of participation programs.

The following discussion attempts to indicate how the clear definition of needs can enable the development of sensitive and effective public participation programs. The case study material is used to indicate how particular needs were satisfied in the cases by certain techniques of public involvement initiated at a particular phase of the planning process and with a certain time horizon and area focus. Some less appropriate or unrealistic purposes for participation and their ramifications in particular cases are also identified, suggesting that there may be no point in pursuing that need through participation or that an alternative planning tool should be considered.

The needs discussed are grouped into four broad categories, those of the community, the politicians, the institutions and the study team. The categories are obviously loose - the same needs recur in different groups. Both the study team and members of the institution, for example, seek to educate the community through participation. In some contexts the needs of one group may be particularly complex or simple. Even within a particular group purposes conflict - some members of an institution seek participation to make an existing proposal more acceptable while others see it as a way to produce a new proposal.

In spite of these qualifications to the categorisation, each defined group does possess certain characteristics that are distinguishable from other groups. These characteristics, including the life or transcience of the group and relationships within the group, help define its interests in general and how those interests become defined as particular needs in the participation context. The differences in these characteristics highlight the particular needs that each group might be expected to possess. The study team's existence is most directly determined by the particular planning effort, the politicians 'life' may be partially determined by it, but the institution has needs for survival and a study may be just one way to maintain that survival. The relationships within each group are also crucial. Amongst some community organisations participation in planning may be the only shared need. Relationships are formed for the single purpose of participating and usually dissolve when that need is satisfied. Relationships in a study team become particularly important because the study is vital to the 'team's' existence, however some contact will often be maintained after the study has disbanded. In contrast, institutional relationships are often independent of the study.

COMMUNITY NEEDS

Members of the 'community' undoubtedly possess the most variable needs to participate of all four groups.(1) Any community is comprised of individuals with specific interests who seek to advance those interests, often forming groups to advance special interests. Even a voluntary charitable organisation has an interest in influence, in representing the interests of those they represent. Coalitions of groups attempting to cut across interests only survive while the shared concern is more salient than separate interests. Individuals and groups are only willing to involve themselves in activities or issues where they perceive their needs and interests are affected.

In any planning context the community may initially be categorised into those who are totally uninterested in the planning problem or proposal, and those who feel some interest. If interest exists, it may in turn be largely unrealised, it may be a diffuse interest in the welfare of the community for example, or it may be a specific interest in a key issue or an area under study. Individuals or associations may experience each type of interest, and they will possess widely differing capacities to express them. Individuals are usually less able to present a coherent position than a resident group which generally has less experience than a community organisation like Rotary and less resources than an organised professional group or union.

The activities of all these groups and individuals could be described as part of the political process since they seek to manipulate political needs through the expression of their interests. However, their needs in participating differ significantly from those of the politicians, the elected representatives of the entire community. The following discussion lists some of the community needs that were evident in the Australian experience studies and assesses how participation programs catered for those needs.

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(1) The use of community in this context is not intended to convey a sense of homogeneity or cohesiveness. It simply refers to those people affected directly and indirectly by a planning investigation and who are not included in the other categories.

Need for Non-Involvement

In a number of the case studies the apathy encountered in the community was lamented by planners. Many planners, particularly proponents of Arnstein's model, claim people should become more involved in the cause of a more representative democratic process. However, there is widespread evidence of both an unwillingness and incapacity of members of the community to become involved in decision-making even when the ultimate decisions will directly affect them. This occurred in the cast studies even where much effort was directed into devising sensitive and wide-ranging techniques aimed at provoking interest in the most reluctant or ill-equipped participant. They might not have the time or resources to influence, given existing opportunities to do so or they may see decision-making as the responsibility of elected representatives.

A number of commentators have attempted to distinguish between these groups and individuals and those who are likely to use the tool of participation through which to express their interests. Lowe comments that in England the professional and organisational skills of the middle class are more likely to be seen as constructive by planners who orient public participation programs to effectively incorporate them.(1) The case studies generally support the conclusion that those who typically become involved in public participation are well-educated, middle-income earners. This tended to be so regardless of whether the technique was a search conference, as was used in the South Melbourne Residential Street Study or public meeting as in the Bankstown Road Closure Scheme.

The needs of those who are unable or unwilling to become involved should be acknowledged rather than ignored in participation programmes. It is a fundamental limitation of participation as a planning tool and cannot be overcome by the development of more sophisticated techniques. Those groups whose interests are not adequately reflected through participation must be represented through the use of other social planning techniques. While participation is clearly not a substitute for planning it can help to clarify the positions of certain groups and even if it samples the community unrepresentatively, it can increase the overall sensitivity of planning to community needs.

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(1) P.D. Lowe, 'Amenity and Equity: A Review of Local Environmental Pressure Groups in Britain', Environment and Planning A, (1977), p. 49.

Need To Be Informed

Evidence from the cases suggests that a large section of the community have a need to be kept informed, to be made aware of opportunities to become involved in planning if they choose to and to have some confidence in the processes of decision-making generally, for example not witnessing particular groups being arbitarily well-treated or disadvantaged.

In the Morphettville Bus Depot case study, widespread opposition was aroused when the public interpreted that the interests of particular locals were being ignored by the authority planning the location of the depot. The public and the media saw that a decision with significant local effects was being made apparently without community consultation. Eventually public opposition attracted political concern and public involvement was encouraged in the preparation of the final Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). The State Transport Authority (STA) had planned effectively, except for their neglect of potential public interest in the issue and the EIS did not alter the earlier decision. As it turned out the public involvement in drafting the EIS was not seen by a broad section of the community to be an adequate substitute for earlier involvement. Many people remained suspicious of the STA's activities and a watchdog committee has been set up to monitor the effects of the decision. Had the potential for local interest been identified and incorporated at an earlier stage in planning it is unlikely that widespread public opposition would have been mobilised. The decision itself was not as unpopular as the process by which it was reached.

The North East Area Public Transport Review (NEAPTR) in South Australia was initiated shortly after the Morphettville experience. NEAPTR made deliberate efforts to restore public confidence in the processes of planning and decision-making. A comprehensive information dissemination programme and household doorknock in the corridor at the beginning of the study was undertaken to convince people their views were being sought, rather than ignored. These efforts however, generated mixed responses, as did follow-up exercises aimed at stimulating community interest and feedback in the study. While the broad community had a need to be informed of the study it became evident that far more interest was anticipated by the study team than could be expected, particularly at this early and nebulous stage of the study.

A section of the community had in fact voiced their unwillingness in being actively involved beyond being informed at this stage.

Many people have a need to be informed about a study as it is being initiated. A number of different means of publicising it should be employed to generate as extensive an awareness and comprehension as is possible in the community. Publicity techniques could include media coverage (in the Swanbourne Area Study a T.V. spot was assessed to be particularly effective), displays (in the Newcastle Corridor Study accessible places like shopping centres were used) and giving information to schoolchildren (in the South Melbourne Study this was a device used to contact the Greek community).

Need for A Final Decision

Particularly in cases where a planning proposal has existed for some time, those potentially directly affected would often rather end speculation and uncertainty immediately than to become emotionally involved in a prolonged study from which they perceive they have little to gain. Sometimes this apparent fatalism is taken as evidence that these people don't really mind having their houses acquired, but more often it reflects a pressing emotional need for a decision to be made promptly and finally.

In the Eastern Corridor Study (ECS) there was a significant group of people who expressed their desire for a firm decision to be taken regarding the construction of a freeway and to be informed of it in the shortest possible time. To satisfy their needs the study needed to be of a short duration (not longer than twelve months) culminating in a recommendation and firm political commitment. In the ECS most of those potentially directly affected were contacted personally but there was evidence from enquiries at the displays that others remained concerned about rights and procedures regarding compensation. In addition to a firm decision, this group of people needed individual counselling at an early stage of the study and non-financial assistance as part of the processes of implementing and monitoring the political decision. Small discussion groups amongst those potentially affected with advice from real estate experts for example, can stimulate a self-help environment that is supportive and a strong basis for negotiating adequate compensation and handling the implications of the decision.

In situations where there are strong community pressures to finally resolve a contentious issue, the study team must give particular emphasis to developing an acceptable recommendation rather than one which will simply stimulate further controversy, political debate and uncertainty. In the Swanbourne Area Study, the study team's recommendation for the location of the highway was not accepted by decision makers because it involved substantial housing acquisition. Considerable public confidence had been generated in the study, but the advantages of this were undermined to some extent when an alternative course of action was adopted by decision-makers. The difficulties of directly involving decision-makers in the process of evaluating alternatives and in the development of an acceptable solution were recognised by the study team. However, because their recommendation proved to be unacceptable, a major aim of the study - to engender public confidence in the planning process - was undermined and controversy still persists about the solution adopted.

In this sort of situation unless adequate attention is given to both community and political needs, particular sections of the community suffer. These conclusions are supported by participation experiences elsewhere which indicate that the involvement of elected representatives, and their recognition of their involvement, is crucial to the success of many participation exercises.(1)

Need to Assist in Planning

In most planning exercises there is a group within the community who seek to contribute their views and local knowledge about matters of planning importance. These people tend to be those already involved in community organisations and they can be relied upon to maintain a level of interest in, and commitment to, the study. Their contribution is best realised at an early stage in any study when problems and issues are beginning to be defined.

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(1) R.M. Soberman, 'Developing Transportation and Land-Use Alternatives in Toronto' and W. Steinkrauss, 'Public Participation in the metropolitan Toronto Transportation Plan Review' in Transportation and Land-Use Planning Abroad Special Report 168, Transportation Research Board, (Washington, 1976), pp. 23-24, 35-40.

The Western Australian Public Transport Committees (PTCs) were elected by public meetings organised in areas where problems in public transport had been identified and some solutions were feasible. Members of the PTCs, usually local spokesmen or organisers of some kind, reported to the Metropolitan Passenger Transport Trust (MTT) about local problems and needs and used their contacts to organise for information gathering and dissemination about public transport services. The local area orientation helped to generate the interest reflected at public meetings. A number of improvements and additions to services have been implemented in response to the PTCs suggestions and these have provided incentives for other areas to organise committees and for existing committees to maintain an interest in public transport provision. So far there have not been regular meetings but this has had the advantage of not demanding an excessive commitment from committee members.

Another community advisory committee set up at an early stage in planning and judged to be effective was part of the Koonung Creek Study, the predecessor of the Eastern Corridor Study. This citizens committee indicated the likely issues of public concern and the kinds of things that would be demanded of the public involvement process at later stages. A search conference held at the beginning of the South Melbourne Residential Street Study was another example of a technique which involved those with an interest in discussing and assisting in aspects of planning which also helped familiarise the planners with local issues in the area.

This sort of information is useful input when a study methodology is first being evolved. The kinds of people involved are generally willing to conceptualise or think in fairly abstract terms about community needs, characeristics or problems but do not expect that their suggestions will necessarily be implemented. A committee, search conference or workshop format which only requires a short-term commitment and focuses on a small area can offer a good opportunity for interested local people to contribute. It can also provide a good opportunity for the exchange and scrutiny of views amongst people with different perspectives. This may provide a clearer definition of issues for the planner, or a more rewarding experience for the participant than informal individual discussions. Individual discussions, however, may be more feasible in a study area consisting of a large number of small rural settlements as in the Southern Western Australian Transportation Study.

Overall, the most appropriate techniques to satisfy this need are those which allow the people involved to contribute their local knowledge or expertise in a stimulating environment rather than those which demand a sustained active interest in the study.

Need for Opportunity to Influence

There are generally a number of individuals and groups affected by any planning exercise which seek active involvement and an opportunity to lobby. Local associations and resident activists are familiar examples. Many are already well-informed and they have a continuing need for sophisticated and technical information. They seek an active dialogue with the planners and decision-makers, and a positive role in actual planning including examining conditions, and developing and evaluating alternatives.

Because of their diverse interests, the needs of this group are inevitably impossible to satisfy collectively. Some involvement techniques are, however, essential. One way of providing this group with access to the planners and decision-makers is through the establishment of an advisory committee. However, experience suggests these sorts of committees are fraught with difficulties. Where people have less than a firm commitment to involvement in the study the committee may not be particularly productive as was the case with the Transport Planning Procedural Committee in NEAPTR. But where members have an ongoing professional or personal interest, as in the Albury-Wodonga Advisory Committee and the Swanbourne Citizens Liaison Committee respectively, they can provide useful information about the community or technical issues for the study. An inevitable limitation not always recognised by committee members themselves, is that their view of the community's problems and needs are not always shared by others. However, the participatory structure provided by the study should be flexible enough to respond to the needs of these groups, even if it is simply to provide access to, and a basis for, discussion with planners and decision-makers.

Need to Express Opposition

There is evidence in the case studies of people who see participation as an opportunity to express their opposition. This opposition may not be motivated by concern for a particular solution to a problem, but rather by a generalised disaffection with a system of government or administration. The participation experience of some administrators and decision-makers has encouraged them to classify all local activists in this category. They see them as trouble-makers who will never be satisfied and maintain that by succumbing to this group all hope of the best solution being identified is lost.

These people may mobilise unwarranted community cynicism about planning practices and may discourage other people from seeking opportunities to influence or contribute their views, or they may discourage groups who are frightened of being labelled opposition activists if they become involved. On the other hand they may play a constructive role in alerting the community to particular malpractices and encouraging greater scrutiny of contentious issues.

From the planners perspective the best way to limit the harmful effects of these groups and individuals is to avoid nourishing their case by restricting the availability of information or access to the planners and decision-makers. To attempt to insulate a study from popular or political attention will inevitably provoke suspicion. At the same time the usually vociferous criticism of a planning exercise and associated public participation program made by this group should not be given more emphasis than it deserves. Regardless of how genuine or otherwise a planning exercise, some people will remain critical and dissatisfied. This should not be considered an indictment by the whole community; those who are satisfied by a study will rarely make it known as articulately as those who are not.

The opposition expressed by this group also should not be used by planners and decision-makers seeking evidence that the study was not worthwhile and looking for an easier solution. A few of those involved in both the Eastern Corridor Study and Swanbourne Area Study concluded from the expressed dissatisfaction of a few participants that the study 'just stirred up trouble'. Evidence from the cases and other studies suggests, to the contrary, that a reversion to technical planning totally aloof from popular and political

scrutiny is not a solution. Indeed planners and institutions need to come to terms with criticism as a healthy planning condition rather than as a symptom of mismanagement.

Need for an Opportunity to Campaign

Inevitably attracted by participation programs are campaigners for specific issues or interests who seek any opportunity to express their views in a public forum. The issues with which they are concerned may be relevant or quite unrelated to the study, but they generally have a very well-rehearsed view to express and can dominate discussions or meetings where others are less prepared.

In the Newcastle Study one individual shadowed the study team and presented his views at each public meeting. The issues he raised were of some significance to the study and the meetings provided an opportunity for them to be discussed with the study team and the community. However, his presentation did tend to overpower other potential contributors. The needs of such individuals can conflict with those of the study team and other individuals and groups in the community. Techniques which do not permit a takeover of the discussion can still satisfy, to some extent, a strong need to make a view known. Discussions between study team members and these individuals early in the study can reduce the likelihood that they will dominate later meetings and discussions.

POLITICAL NEEDS

Proponents of the bureaucratic model of public participation maintain that planning programs should be undertaken by administrators who then advise decision makers and later, implement the outcome of the policy decision. In this view politicians are removed from the volatile environment of planning and participation, thus allowing them to make independent and balanced decisions based on the advice presented to them.

As discussed earlier, however, the process is rarely this simple. Politicians, often independently of their advisors, identify the need for a planning investigation and stipulate an essential component of public participation. They may have a need for a participation program that is quite separable from the needs of their advisors. They are, for example, more directly dependent on reading the electorate's mood for their survival than are planners. Community groups may demand their active involvement in a participation program and they may need to demonstrate their commitment to the process of participation by attendance at meetings or workshops. In these circumstances, to attempt to insulate the politician from involvement or to neglect political needs for participation, will undermine the effectiveness of any program adopted.

Inherent in the past use of public participation as a planning tool has been uncertainty about its contribution. As suggested earlier, this contribution cannot be precisely quantified and consequently the application of participation has tended to provide contradictory claims. This has had a significant influence on the political claims for participation and the way political needs have been realised. Strong expressions of political commitment to public participation have been sought to compensate for the technical uncertainty surrounding its use. Participation has been adopted as a last resort check on the normal processes of decision-making which are under scrutiny over contentious issues. In some cases political desperation has provoked a large financial commitment to participation, both in an attempt to make it 'work', and to indicate a faith in its importance within the overall study context.

The following discussion draws on case study material to consider some political needs. Special attention is devoted to this group, rather than considering the activities of all interest groups as part of the political environment, because the role of politicians is often artificially neglected in analyses of planning and participation. Yet they have characteristic needs distinct from those of the community, institution or study team. Further, the nature of participation has induced political pronouncements that have had far-reaching ramifications for participation programs. All of these factors make an analysis of political needs crucial. It does not mean that they should

automatically be acceded to or allowed to undermine the satisfaction of other needs. They are simply an important aspect to be considered when designing a participation program and which interact with other needs and co-jointly determine how effective the program is judged by all the actors involved.

Need to Establish Credibility

As indicated, participation is not something politicians have typically been equivocal about. Some have supported it as a means of maintaining their credibility with the community and have endowed it with grand purposes which become commitments in the face of sceptical opponents. In a few cases the extent of political fervour vested in the participation process by politicians has eclipsed planning goals.

In the case of NEAPTR a history of unpopular planning exercises, a high level of political interest in the study area and some scepticism amongst observing administrators and politicians prompted a significant political and financial commitment to public participation. However, the large study area and long study period have made it difficult to generate and sustain community interest. Because the contribution of participation to broader planning goals has not been fully defined, there has been no way to measure or direct participation efforts, other than through the actual level of involvement generated. Thus at the baseline stage, an early planning phase of information collection, techniques had been selected and applied in the hope of generating a high level of public involvement. If the planning goal at that stage had been clearer, techniques could have been oriented towards informing people and getting an idea of the issues from the already interested people in the community, rather than eliciting interest and involvement per se.

Participation in NEAPTR suffered because the political needs which helped to establish and define the study were not adequately translated into planning goals which could give purpose and direction to participation exercises and, in turn, satisfy community and study team needs.

Need to Generate Public Confidence in Decision-Making

Politically, public participation has been used as an opportunity to restore the public's confidence in the process of decision-making, especially where a record of poor or costly decisions have prompted community demands for a more defensible and open planning process. In these cases, the use of participation is designed to endow a particular decision with credibility.

The most common way to put this political need into effect is to demostrate a firm financial commitment to a detailed investigation of issues with emphasis on public participation. High level management or steering committees are sometimes also set up, as in the case of the Eastern Corridor Study.

It is sometimes maintained that the use of an independent study team and the distancing of decision-makers from the day-to-day affairs of the study fosters greater community confidence in the process. However, the case studies would tend to demonstrate otherwise. Often there is public scepticism about the real decision-makers removing themselves from a position where they can be influenced and using a powerless group to diffuse and translate public concerns. The presence of decision-makers in actual participation exercises increases the credibility the public attribute to the study and generally provides them with a more rewarding dialogue.

Need to Resolve Conflict

Participation has often been used by politicians anxious to resolve conflict. An investigation is set up with its key features being participation and an independent study team researching the issues and community views. The non-partisan study team is seen to be a vital link with the community, who then cannot so readily misconstrue the motives of those involved.

However, the degree to which conflict is resolved depends not only on the community declaring its allegiances and discussing alternative courses of action, but also on political interests being openly acknowledged. As was demonstrated in the Swanbourne Area Study it is essential that the study team does not simply reflect various levels of opposition within the community.

Various political perspectives should be taken into account in the study and decision-makers should be closely involved in the evaluation of proposals and negotiation with the community.

Need to Divert Public Attention

Sometimes participation as part of an overall study is used to divert and diffuse the efforts of local activists while the government considers alternative strategies. In many of these cases, however, the same problems as elaborated in the preceeding section apply. The community, led by people seeking influence, very quickly becomes suspicious of delaying tactics that totally absolve the decision-maker from any involvement or accountability.

In the Eastern Corridor Study the concerns of some sections of the community were more aggravated than appeased as a result of the study. If it is hoped to divert public attention temporarily to provide some political breathing space it is essential that some form of political interest and involvement is demonstrably maintained.

Need to Ratify a Decision

Public participation techniques are sometimes seen to be important by politicians because they ratify, or generate awareness and acknowledgement of a planning decision that is about to be or is the process of implementation. Using participation in this way is often criticised as 'public relations' and certainly accords the citizen no power on Arnstein's ladder. However, in some cases this form of participation can play a legitimate role, if that role is firmly stated.

In Bankstown widespread community complaints about a traffic problem prompted some research by the local council and some recommendations for action. Pending legislation removing council powers meant that, unless implementation was immediate, a quick solution to the problem became unlikely. A set of road closures was implemented, and proposals were developed for further closures to be implemented after public comment, or following the initiatives of residents. Leaflets showing the closures were distributed and meetings held with residents and people using the roads who were experiencing special problems. The process had several advantages both for the council and residents. A solution to a problem causing widespread concern and becoming increasingly politically

uncomfortable was implemented. Also residents had experienced the effects of the closures and could suggest modifications where necessary. They had an opportunity to actively influence the closures from an informed position and were not simply the victims of an advertising campaign.

Need for a Demonstrated Community Mandate

In some examples of planning, community acceptability is a politically stipulated criterion for evaluation along with economic and engineering feasibility, particularly where it is recognised that a community mandate is crucial for the successful operation of the policy.

The Southern Western Australia Transportation Study was concerned with effective freight policies and the means to implement them. The participation program aimed at developing a workable policy through information dissemination and identification of all the major issues and interests that would determine its operational effectiveness. At an early stage of the study diverse information dissemination techniques were used to publicise the study and important issues were identified through discussions with interested groups and individuals. Opportunities were provided to allow activists and existing power holders in unions and in local and state governments, a flexible but active involvement. The major difficulty encountered by the SWATS study team was eliciting reaction at public meetings when fairly abstract options were presented without detailed information about their effects. The broader community could have been encouraged to become involved at a later stage of the study when options and their effects were more readily identifiable.

Gaining a stipulated level of community acceptance may be a pre-requisite of adopting a course of action because of the sensitive political existence of the body involved. In the South Melbourne Residential Street Study, for example, the Council had no incentive to implement the road closure scheme unless it was supported by a large section of the community. In this sense the South Melbourne study was more closely related to the Bankstown than to the SWATS experience. Generating acceptability in SWATS was attempted through involving the community in the overall planning process. The problem required detailed definition and the solutions were more complex than in either South Melbourne or Bankstown. In contrast, generating a level of acceptance in the latter two cases involved participation only after some

actual strategies had been developed. Participatory techniques were used to identify public reactions and to attempt to reconcile likely opposition. The techniques used included an exhibition and a self-administered response sheet, followed by some meetings and the distribution of a leaflet.

The needs of the Council in the South Melbourne Study also contrasts with that of the Bureau of Roads which was the client for the study's first section. The Bureau treated the study as an exploratory case study, and was attempting to test some participation techniques that could become part of a planning methodology. Thus the techniques selected were oriented towards educating the community and providing opportunities for their active involvement in the study.

Need to Demonstrate Personal Qualities

Some politicians see in participation an opportunity to demonstrate personal qualities, perhaps presenting the image of an activist, a crusader for a cause, or simply a genuine representative of the electorate.

Participation programs can encourage encounters between the community and its representatives that would not otherwise occur. As a result of scrutiny and dialogue, the community can see their representatives as more accessible or understandable and, on the other hand, the politican's sensitivity to issues and his confidence in dealing with them can increase. What appears as 'public relations' can serve a broader function that outlives the participation program but provides an initial excuse or focus for contact and discussion.

A pre-requisite for the politican to build an appropriate image is to be in touch with attributes and concerns that will be favourably judged by members of the community. Thus participation techniques which enable the politician to most sensitively judge and respond to his audience are most suitable. Small groups can achieve this and, since they provide an opportunity for active discussion as opposed to formal addresses, they generally also suit the needs of members of the community who are seeking to test the politican's reactions and assess motives at close range.

INSTITUTIONAL NEEDS

The 'institution' is the bureaucracy or authority involved in the conduct of a planning exercise. In the case studies the institutions include Federal and State road, public transport and planning authorities and local government authorities. In any particular case there may be a number of institutions involved, each with slightly different needs.

The distinguishing feature about the institution is that it has an existence independent of the study (contrasted to the study team) and is not directly accountable to the community (in constrast to the politican). To some extent it is shielded from being directly affected by the study, it has its own inertia and can respond to or neglect external demands. However, its prime objective - to ensure its continued existence - is affected in cumulative fashion by successive institutional performances and how it is judged by the community and their politicians.

Institutions may have different levels of needs for participation. They may at one level appear impervious to community demands, but at another be inextricably dependent on participation as a means of directing planning investigations. Institutional purposes in any particular case are often difficult to disentangle. Overtly it may be maintained that participation is undertaken in order that all relevant factors may be taken into account in the study. But this in turn increases the defensibility of the study in the face of critics and hence improves organisational and personal credibility. The latter purpose may in fact be the most important reason for the institution conducting participation, even through this is not readily acknowledged. It is probably impossible, even for those directly involved, to isolate their pre-eminent need.

In addition, the needs felt by different members of institutions may differ or conflict. While the institution can be considered as a body with needs which are distinguishable from say, the needs of the study team, it is also a grouping of individuals who, despite important shared concerns, vest in participation personal expectations and purposes. Some may seek participation to ratify an existing proposal or an entrenched position while others see it as a means of sabotaging an outdated plan and generating alternatives. Obviously to consider a single institutional line is to gloss over

differences that may be as significant as those existing within the community. The following discussion lists some of the needs that institution members might seek in participation.

Need to Consider all the Issues

Participation may be undertaken simply to ensure that all the issues have been clearly defined and taken into account. This may be for no other reason than to make the study as comprehensive in both consideration of the problem and evaluation of solutions as possible. For institutions that claim this to be their purpose, emphasis should be given to information dissemination and to techniques that encourage the broadest possible group of people to identify issues that are of concern to them. Complementary participation techniques aimed at involving the already organised as well as those with an unrealised interest should be undertaken.

Need to Enhance the Defensibility of the Study

Rarely is improving the study the only reason for conducting participation. The institution has a corporate identity and a paramount interest in survival. It is less likely to be viewing the study as an end in itself than is the study team. Many people in institutions see participation as a means of increasing the defensibility of a study to the community and to the politicians, and consequently improving their organisational and personal position.

This need may be realised in a number of ways. Participation in a study may be demanded by a vocal section of the community. It then becomes politically unavoidable to maintain the study's defensibility without a program of public involvement. In both the Swanbourne Area Study and the Eastern Corridor Study community pressures dictated that a study be undertaken with public participation. Under these circumstances it is crucial that the opportunity is provided for the community to be involved from the earliest stage of the study and can influence the terms of its involvement. In the Morphettville Bus Depot Study the institution underestimated the extent of community interest in the planned bus depot. Involving the community in drafting the final environmental impact statement after a decision had apparently been made was an unacceptable substitute for the community and

political controversy was prolonged. In NEAPTR an existing advisory committee was used to advise on how best to involve the community throughout the study. This committee's task demanded a complex and sustained contribution from people without a direct personal interest in the process and proved difficult to complete. Other techniques of eliciting suggestions from the community about the public involvement process have been more effective. In particular, discussions undertaken early in the study which have also dealt with general issues are useful, for example, the search conferences held in the South Melbourne Residential Street Study and in the Swanbourne Area Study.

Participation may also be undertaken to increase the defensibility of the study by avoiding the reproach that people weren't informed of it. In studies dealing with a problem with a contentious history, often members of the institution who are disillusioned with the controversy see this as the most basic point of their defence. In the Eastern Corridor Study a comprehensive information dissemination program was undertaken primarily to avoid at least the criticism by the community that they weren't informed.

Other members of institutions see participation as a way of identifying likely opposition to particular proposals. A survey of community attitudes was undertaken in the Eastern Corridor Study partially to enable public feelings to be gauged so that the rest of the study and participation program could be directed towards managing opposition. Another and perhaps a more effective way of defining interest groups and their likely claim is through participation observation, personal discussions, or a search conference involving local people before the study gets underway. A search conference undertaken at an early stage of planning, perhaps before options have been identified, provides an opportunity for various interest groups to define their position in relation to other groups, to amass and refine their strongest arguments, to identify areas of overlap with other groups and to influence various groups. Out of this interaction the planner also derives a clear picture of significant issues, but at a stage before particular groups have identifed rigidly with particular options.

Need to Communicate with the Community

Within institutions there are sometimes individuals who see the answer to planning problems lying in increasing the extent of the institution's communication with the community. They see the resolution of conflict amongst dissenting groups and institutional fulfilment flowing from greater contact with the community, from 'grass roots' involvement. This need tends to be sought by members of the institution not directly involved with the study, but idealistic about what can be achieved. They often resent criticism directed at the institution during a study and seek to obviate it by discovering the elusive consensus.

Seeking fulfilment of this need in public participation tends to generate the same problems as the political use of participation to preserve credibility. Participation inevitably becomes unstructured and undirected towards planning goals. The community involved becomes disaffected with the process and members of the institution disappointed with persisting disagreements. Under these circumstances the use of participation often reverses its intended effect.

Need to be Educated

A few institution members identify participation as an opportunity for self-education. Many of those who see participation as an educative process for the community do not extend its effects to themselves. In contrast, these individuals see the community has at least as much or more to teach them than vice versa, and they often share the view, associated with the preceding need, that the resolution of conflict results from their becoming more conscientious students of community needs.

Almost everybody who becomes involved in a participation exercise finds it rewarding to participate in a well-informed and articulate debate with a member of the community. But it is generally a particularly fulfilling experience for those who have previously only been involved in planning at a remote distance from the community. Isolated individuals in a number of the case studies including the Swanbourne Area Study, SWATS, and the Eastern Corridor Study placed great weight on their initial confrontation with views sincerly espoused within the community. A few found that it prompted them to

reassess their traditional technical role in, and view of, planning. These individuals found that education opportunities involved a wide range of participation techniques. Manning displays and site offices, attending small resident group meetings and being accountable to a citizen committee, all provided opportunities for detailed individual discussions and called on the institution member to recognise and answer probing questions.

One of the most common problems cited by people involved in participation programs was with conveying the information arising from that program to the rest of the client institition with the force and sensitivity with which it was originally presented. Developing participation programs which actively involve members of an institution usually sheltered from community views, ensures that the information arising from the exercise is attributed a far greater degree of credibility than if it is just formally reported.

Need for Issues to Become Politicised

There are often a few disaffected members of particular institutions who believe conventional policy is misguided and see participation as a means to illuminate the defects of that policy, and possibly to suggest alternative directions. These individuals are keen for the participation program to unite the community into actions that it is not politic to ignore. Techniques are favoured which encourage the community to realise its combined power in concerted action. These include search conferences or workshops in which interest group leaders can reconcile their differences and devise a strategy for action. Public meetings or small group meetings are not favoured because they emphasise divisions in the community and encourage fragmented action.

STUDY TEAM NEEDS

In some cases a special study team is appointed to investigate a planning problem. Sometimes its members are derived entirely from the client institution, sometimes from a consultant group and sometimes from both. In all cases, however, the study team have special needs in public participation. By definition the sole reason for the study team's existence is to conduct the study and proof of the worth of that existence is the production of a credible and defensible report. The study team tend to evaluate the participation program as effective when it contributes directly to the quality and credibility of the report.

A considerable psychological and emotional commitment is made by individuals to the study, particularly when staff of the institution or consultants become full-time members of the study team. In an institution, an individual's identity is supported by his formal designation, role and relations with superiors and subordinates. As a study team member, in contrast, traditional and accepted mechanisms which reinforce the individual's position often become disrupted and the individual's identity becomes more fully and directly dependent on the study and its status in the broader community and with the political and institutional client. A single measure of individual worth (i.e. the success of the study) replaces the more resilient supports of the familiar working environment. The consultant is even more vulnerable than the institution member in this regard. His future employment on similar studies depends on the credibility generated by the success or otherwise of the study. His performance in the institution's eyes is even more critical to him than for the institition member whose future employment is more certain.

The special needs of the study team explain the way they assess participation programs. They have a particular need for personal reinforcement through involvement and their optimism about the community's capacity and willingness to become involved makes them vulnerable to disillusion. The following discussion lists some of the needs that distinguish the study team from the other groups participating in a planning investigation.

Need for Evidence of Interest

Most study team members have a particular need to generate a measurable interest in the study and the issues it is considering. This not only reinforces their sense of the meaningfulness of what they are doing, it also is a potential source of considerable information. The indicators of interest may be attendance at meetings or displays, return of questionnnaires or distribution of leaflets.

It is often particularly difficult to generate interest in planning studies where the effects of proposals are vague or will not be experienced by those currently participating. The Albury-Wodonga planners, for example, have had problems encouraging the existing community to make suggestions about the design of future communities. Guided tours conducted to planned new areas

and other measures designed to provide a concrete focus for interest have received a better response from the broader community than other techniques. People with a professional interest in the plans have not been so difficult to involve in planning on an ongoing basis.

Amongst the members of a study team there is sometimes disagreement about what constitutes desirable community interest. In the Newcastle Corridor Study one study team member saw a high level of local controversy as a pre-requisite for effective participation and without media interest and political debate participation would contribute little. In contrast, other members of the team saw important issues existing independently of the level of controversy they generated and evaluated the participation program according to its ability to identify these issues. In some instances it would indeed be judged as preferable to identify issues without stimulating controversy.

It should be acknowledged that the level of interest generated by any study is primarily a function of the planning problem and the implications of solutions, and only secondarily depending on the quality of the participatory techniques. Further, controversy itself will not necessarily produce better information about issues or interests. It may even artifically polarise different positions.

On the other hand it is in the study team's interest to use techniques that will generate a level of interest across the community. Experience in the case studies have suggested the importance of involving the media, such as local newspapers in rural areas and TV in urban areas, of using local resources such as school children and existing voluntary organisations, of providing diverse opportunities for people to become involved according to their capacity and level of interest.

Need to Establish a Dialogue

The Study team members involved in the participation program need to maintain their confidence in the community's capacity to contribute. They need to remain convinced that in spite of all the difficulties, participation can provoke a stimulating and useful dialogue between the planners and the community. To achieve this the study team seeks to educate, to provoke searching questions and scrutiny of views amongst those participating. The study team also aims to develop a rapport with the community and this requires being able to answer questions satisfactorily and to generate confidence. Establishment of an effective dialogue with the community is both personally fulfilling and productive in terms of generating an adequate comprehension of problems.

In the case studies members of the study teams identified meetings providing these opportunities as the most rewarding encounters with the community. The scenario of the successful meeting from the study team's perspective begins with an alert and informed group, even a little hostile, who ask searching questions but demonstrate a willingness to listen to argument. As the meeting progresses the people attending become more confident of the study team's genuine motives in consultation and capacity to respond with technical information where necessary.

Ideally these meetings comprise a small (less than 20 people) and homogeneous group, for example, a rural community or a residents street meeting. They are usually held at a stage of planning where some options and their effects can be identified, and it is important to have several members of the study team present who can respond in an informed way to a wide variety of questions. The meetings are ideally held in comfortable surroundings, preferably at the initiative of a participant. The proceedings are not completely formally structured but have a particular issue, or task, around which activities are organised.

Need for a Defensible Study

The study team generally seeks through participation to develop a recommendation that is publicly and politically defensible and implementable. The participation program should be designed to reflect as broad a range of views as possible, the intensity with which they are held and the extent to which they act as ultimate constraints on the study are negotiable. As suggested in earlier sections, an accurate feel for political priorities and the palatability of certain options is essential. The kinds of techniques that encourage the arguments of various groups to be clarified at an early stage are appropriate.

It is also important, particularly where a large proportion or the entire study team are consultants, that the study is defensible to client institutions. In many cases a study that is publicly and politically defensible is also acceptable to the institition. However, in a few instances client institutions have special demands and the study team needs to be cognisant of these to ensure their credibility is preserved or enhanced for future employment prospects. In some cases their need to be seen to have done 'a good job' can override other needs. Close consultation with the client institution and the direct involvement of the latter in the participation program can reveal particular institutional demands that institution members themselves may not recognise.

Need for a Comprehensive Study

The study team often have standards for the study that exist independently of its acceptability or defensibility. The most obvious of these is to feel they have identified and considered all the relevant issues and that their recommendation is based on as complete and as objective an evaluation as is possible.

CONCLUSION

This chapter considered a wide range of overlapping and conflicting needs for participation that have been experienced by the communities, the politicians, the members of institutions and of the study teams in the case studies examined. How and to what extent these needs were catered for by the participation programs was assessed and comments were made about the suitability of particular techniques.

The chapter provides some guidance as to the needs that may be present in any specific planning context and how to undertake the preliminary needs analysis proposed in this paper. The analysis requires time spent in consultation with the politicians, institition and study team members, interest groups and individuals who have a potential interest in the study. Arising from this analysis will be diverse sets of needs and expectations for participation that provide the planner with basic guidelines for the development of the participation program. At this stage must be identified how feasible and desirable it is to satisfy any or all of the defined needs through participation.

The needs approach assumes that public participation is, of itself, not worth pursuing. Participation can only be of use in planning where it satisfies the needs of at least one party involved. If after initial analysis it emerges that alternative planning tools are more suitable for the task from everybody's point of view, then there is no reason to embark on a participation program. Without some initial legitimacy, participation relentlessly pursued may cause more social hardship and planning confusion than it alleviates.

Participation can only be a useful tool when the people involved recognise it as an opportunity to advance their interests or fulfill their needs in planning. This means that opportunities interpreted as legitimate by the parties involved are most likely to be effective. This fact clearly influences what techniques are chosen and how participation is fitted into planning.

CHAPTER FOUR: PARTICIPATION PROGRAMS AND TECHNIQUES

This chapter considers various aspects of participation programs. It deals with the importance of area focus, time horizon and stage of planning in designing and programming participation exercises. For the most part it describes and evaluates the participation techniques that were utilised in the case studies.

STAGE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

The stage of planning at which participation is undertaken has a significant effect on the needs of those involved in and affected by planning and, consequently, also on the appropriateness of particular techniques. The process of transport planning can broadly be divided into the six stages referred to in chapter one:

(i) identification of a planning problem or objective;
(ii) generation of alternative solutions;
(iii) evaluation of alternatives;
(iv) implementation of proposals;
(v) ratification;
(vi) monitoring the outcome.

Public participation may be undertaken as a large or small part of the activities of any particular stage. If it is given a significant role in any stage of planning, then ratifying or publicising the outcome of that stage in the community should also become an important aspect of the participation program.

Clear identification of the stage of planning at which participation is sought is essential to the planner's recognition of the needs participation could usefully serve at that point and what technique is most appropriate to fulfil those needs. It is pointless, for example, to use an expensive and time-consuming search conference technique to identify scenarios for the future well-being of the community when planning has reached the stage of final evaluation of two alternative road proposals. A workshop may provide a means of generating some alternative solutions to a problem, but it would not assist in plotting broader community reactions to alternatives as part of the evaluation or monitoring phases of planning.

Participation can be introduced at the earliest stage of planning, the identification and definition of problems, although the case study material suggests it is more often confined to the evaluation phase. In Western Australia the Public Transport Committees assisted in the definition of transport problems in the local area and in the identification of solutions. Participation attempted at such an early stage should utilise informal techniques that enable individuals with a potential interest to increase their contribution in a relatively unstructured context. The NEAPTR experience suggests it is unwise to aim for more widespread active involvement in the first two stages of planning.

Providing an opportunity for early involvement is often an important prerequisite for generating public confidence in a study. It is crucial, however, that the timing of the study is adequately comprehended by those involved. Some members of the community may find the lack of technical information and the nebulous issues characterising early planning phases frustrating or disturbing. This is particularly so when a study is to be extended over a considerable time and care should be taken not to alarm people prematurely or provoke involvement that is motivated by misconceptions or desperation.

The role of participation as a planning tool in the later stages of implementation and monitoring of a planning decision is also often overlooked. There are instances in planning where individuals develop a resistance to a change because they are unaware of how to best utilise it, or because a minor problem impairs its usefulness. The Public Transport Committees facilitated greater awareness of services amongst public transport consumers and provided an accessible local focus for complaints that could then be conveyed to the operating authority. In the Bankstown Road Closures study some complaints about the publicised road hierarchy scheme prompted the provision of better information to taxi and delivery van drivers as well as changes to the street directory. If one of the purposes of participation in planning is to promote an awareness of and to encourage usage of the planned facility, resident participation in the implementation and monitoring of the scheme is particularly important.

AREA FOCUS AND TIME HORIZON

The cases include studies with a range of area foci and time horizons. If an institution is seeking widespread public involvement within an area then a great proportion of the community must perceive and recognise the incentives to become involved. If there is an entrenched sense of belonging to a community already existing, this may be a sufficient basis of concern for many residents to become involved in planning for a large area. Alternatively, awareness of a proposal may already be sufficiently widespread to attract interest. In these cases displays, publicity and meetings can be arranged in the knowledge that most members of the community will seek out an opportunity to contribute.

More often it is the case that a considerable proportion of the community is only interested in limited involvement in planning which has a localised and immediate focus. Unless they have a specialised or professional interest in planning, most people in the community only identify with local problems; they interact most freely with those who live within a few streets of themselves and they are mainly interested in the effects of changes they will experience in the short term.

Under these circumstances a search conference or series of discussions utilising a snowball sample (refer techniques) and involving those with particular interest in the study could be followed by some street meetings or discussions with organised groups which are arranged by members of the community. Maximum use should be made of contact through the existing community structure and those or organisations which people trust to protect their interests since such structures often arise in response to needs that exist within the community.

Even where a large area or corridor is under study it is often advisable to organise the participation program around sub-areas, preferably those individual community members identify readily as units rather than municipalities or neighbourhoods. Under these circumstances the participation program can emerge as the logical extension of existing structure or procedures rather than an elaborate exercise with high ideals but dubious status.

The planning of new towns and developing new areas that are physically remote, or where plans are not likely to be realised in the short term, encounters special problems. There are no incentives for most members of an existing community to become involved and the planner will generally be forced to rely on the participation of an interested minority only. Intensive workshops or specialist committees set a specific task are probably the most appropriate ways to involve this group.

TECHNIQUES

Participation must be considered as simply a tool with which to secure broader representation in planning. It is becoming increasingly accepted that a responsibility of planning is to represent those whose interests are not adequately represented in the existing structure of power and communications within a community. Thus participation techniques should be selected to encourage the usually under-represented members of the community to express their views.

The case study material suggests that the more sophisticated and complex the technique, the less likely it is to attract the involvement of these people. The greater the initiative, skills of articulateness and coherence, the level of information required to participate, the less likely is this group's involvement. Techniques such as informal discussions, small resident meetings, participant observation and the use of accessible site offices encourage expression of problems and concerns in circumstances that are not daunting or demanding.

The need to consider the inherent bias of participatory techniques towards the influential or powerful does not, however, imply that the existing interest groups and community structure should be ignored. Established channels of influence and interaction may in fact be the only way to secure contact with, and representation of, the under-represented. It is unrealistic to attempt, through participation, to impose an entirely new structure of relationships on a community and to expect a more equitable pattern of interests to emerge. Techniques which actively utilise the existing structure should be developed and existing formal and informal opinion leaders and power-holders should not be ignored. They have a considerable capacity to mobilise local resources and

to initiate meaningful communication, particularly if the community is well-established and cohesive, or conservative and suspicious of outsiders. In particular, decision-makers and politicians should not be artifically distanced from the study and the issues with which it is concerned.

Each technique discussed is evaluated primarily according to its capacity to satisfy particular needs identified in the case studies. Because the discussion is based primarily on the case studies, some participatory techniques have not been discussed. Examples of these include the funding of advocacy planners, action groups or full-time community workers, some of the more sophisticated discussion techniques such as charette, gaming dialetical scanning or delbecq and information gathering techniques such as delphi forecasting.(1) The intention is to reflect the scope and types of techniques that are a familiar part of Australian planning experience. Hence techniques such as surveys, publicity and submissions not formally definable as participation according to the 'citizen's capacity to influence' criterion, are included because they are generally identified as an integral aspect of participation programs. For discussion purposes the techniques are broadly grouped into three categories: those which involve groups, those which are directed at individuals or involve individual contact, and those techniques aimed at publicising a study in the broader community.

Group Techniques

Group techniques encompass any exchanges between more than two people, one of whom is a planner. Groups have features which may provide a more rewarding vehicle for discussion than one to one contact. They can encourage a greater variety of perspectives to be expressed or can provide an opportunity for a particular point of view to be strongly endorsed by the experiences of a number of individuals. The planner or person directing discussion has responsibilities in a group discussion that are not present in an individual exchange, and participations can benefit from mutual exchange independently of the extent and nature of the planners involvement.

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(1) Detailed descriptions and evaluations of these techniques and others can be found in U.S. Department of Transportation, Effective Citizen Participation in Transportation Planning, Vol. II, A Catalog of Techniques, (Washington, 1976); and in D. Runyan, 'Tools for Community Managed Impact Assessment', Journal of the American Institute of Planners, 43, 2 (April, 1977), pp. 125-135.

Characteristics of Groups

Many different types of group techniques exist. Some of the characteristics that distinguish one group from another include:

(i) size;
(ii) the familiarity of group members with one another;
(iii) origin of group and the role adopted by the study team representative (as director of, or audience for the discussion);
(iv) homogeneity of group members (sharing or having different concerns, issues or interests);
(v) skills of group members.

A brief analysis of these distinguishing characteristics of groups and the general effects they have on the needs and expectations of individuals participating in groups follows.

Size: Group techniques can involve a few individuals or several hundred people attending a public meeting. Analysis of group dynamics and experience in participation suggest that if an active dialogue rather than simply information dissemination is being sought smaller groups with a maximum of 20 persons are preferable. They provide an opportunity for more people to express their views directly to the planners and to receive individual responses from them. Larger groups, such as public meetings, allow more people to be informed simultaneously about a study or provide them with an opportunity to demonstrate a strong degree of support for a particular position.

Familiarity of Group Members: In any group individuals need to develop a style of operating that is acceptable to the group, or conforms to some norm of group study. People involved in group techniques may be selected by a planner or may be self-selected through a group contact or advertisement. If individuals participate as an already formed and coherent group they have established a means of interacting that is comfortable and usually supportive to those involved. They require less time to settle into a familiar and productive pattern of interaction.

Alternatively individuals selected by a planner partially because they represent diverse perspectives, often require time to evolve a style of interaction amongst themselves. Where there is not a great deal at stake in a single

discussion the inhibitions and awkwardness characterising the unfamiliar group may be easily overcome. However, where people participating know a little about each other, but not enough to be comfortable, expectations about performances may inhibit or undermine discussion. Particularly, for example, within a high achievement oriented institutional environment, the desire to impress others or establish dominance can easily sidetrack the group from a spirit of constructive concerted application to a specified task or discussion topic.

Origins of Groups: Discussion groups may be organised by a member of an organised group who invites other participants including a guest speaker or study team member. Willing participants attending groups arranged by a familiar contact acknowledge the group as a legitimate means to achieve a shared purpose, for example expression of a particular grievance. Attendance has been self-motivated and the invited study team member may simply be expected to listen or facilitate discussion.

Alternatively, groups may be arranged externally by a study team member and may not be seen by participants as an ideal vehicle for involvement. Those attending may be doing so under sufference, either because alternative opportunities to influence a planning investigation are limited or because they have been nominated by superiors in institutional environments and have no choice in the matter. They are more likely to look to the study team leader to demonstrate the usefulness of the session and will be using a variety of criteria to measure the value of the group to themselves and to justify the sacrifice of their time.

The role adopted by the study team representative is a function of the origins of the group as well as its size. In a larger group there is greater responsibility on the study team representative(s) to perform and justify the attendance of an apparently more significant larger group.

Homogeneity of Group Members: Adopting a position on a subject under discussion may require group members (a) to feel a concern or a general belief in the seriousness of a problem or importance of a planning objective: (b) to identify with particular issues for example, public housing or accessibility; (c) or to advocate specific interests, for example the resolution of a specific

problem or implementation of a particular solution. Groups whose members share concerns, issues and interests can provide a supportive environment in which individuals can consolidate their views and lobby study representatives. On the other hand some degree of heterogeneity in the issues and interests represented may provide the arena for more vigorous dialogue or an educative process amongst members of the community who share a high level of concern for their area. Where group members do not have rigid expectations of group productivity and do not personally have a great deal at stake, they can afford to be expansive and will find these differences of opinion stimulating.

Skills of Group Members: Groups differ in the variety of skills with which individual members develop, present and defend their views. Inevitably, personality differences will manifest themselves, certain individuals will dominate more than others and affect the group's discussion. However, it is generally more satisfying for all concerned if all individuals attending participate in discussion to some degree. For highly articulate people accustomed to defending their stance under scrutiny in competitive environments, an active and rigorous debate involving others with similar skills tends to be more rewarding, although some seek simply to dominate. For those unaccustomed to expressing their interests, a supportive environment comprising individuals with roughly equivalent skills of expression will generate confidence and a style of discussion that is satisfying. Obvious exceptions to these benefits of grouping people with similiar skills occur where those attending want to demonstrate support for a position through their attendance at a discussion group but look to others to articulate the views they share.

Types of Groups

The consideration of group discussion techniques progresses from the least to the most highly structures of those techniques. Small groups are considered first, then public meetings, search conferences and workshops. Finally those techniques which often have a structured continuity over a period of time are considered. These include the citizen committee and forum.

Small Groups: Small groups are meetings of approximately 6 to 10 people organised to discuss a particular planning problem or issue with at least one study team representative. These sorts of discussions generally involve a group which is homogeneous in important respects, for example sharing a

similar problem or experiencing a similar environment. They are often initiated, arranged and publicised by a member of the group other than the study team representative and venues are generally private homes, local halls or other community meeting places.

While these discussions are rarely formally structured into defined stages as are search conferences, they do have certain identifiable characteristics. The study team representatives introduce themselves, the study and the role of this discussion in the study, then participants are requested to explore and describe in detail the problems they experience with existing circumstances. Often, some solutions are thrown up during this discussion and, after problems have been thoroughly described, the study team representatives introduce participants to other perspectives on the problems discussed and which generally constrain the range of solutions that can be considered. These discussions assist participants to gain a broader understanding of the issues under study. They may be followed up with subsequent meetings during evaluation phases and after a decision has been made to enable those affected to fully appreciate the reasons for the decision and, if possible, utilise a planned facility or service.

Those individuals who participate in small groups are not often those who seek involvement in planning for broader community issues. Rather, in particular cases they feel they have specific interests or needs they want to convey as strongly and directly as possible to the study team. Discussion is aimed at briefing the study team on their views and soliciting information and assurances regarding the study's timing, structure, methods and other matters which will affect how the information they have conveyed will be considered in the overall study.

In the past, small group discussion techniques have often been overlooked or neglected because they lack the apparent sophistication and highly developed rationale associated with the use of other techniques. However, in the Swanbourne Area Study and the Eastern Corridor Study this technique was used to discuss the implications of various proposals for groups of residents. In both studies the technique was used at the evaluation stage of planning when alternatives had been developed and their effects considered. At Swanbourne the meetings were suggested by the study team but were arranged by local residents.

Small Group discussions have some obvious advantages over other techniques where they are organised locally, they can be directed at a particular problem and those attending share expectations about the outcome. Both the planner and the people attending benefit from this. Queries tend to be related to particular issues and the discussion can therefore be directed and productive. The shared concerns of the people attending and the generally comfortable environment acts as an incentive for all participants to contribute, notably those who would not comment or ask questions in a larger group or in more formal circumstances. The technique therefore has considerable potential to attract and involve those whose needs and interests would not otherwise be expressed.

The size of these groups fosters an active dialogue during which the planner can clarify the significance of certain issues. Participants are encouraged to develop a broader and more sensitive grasp of the problem, the issues at stake and how they might be evaluated. Any obvious conflicts can be isolated and discussed rather than being left to generate diffuse and generalised opposition to particular solutions.

An obvious disadvantage of the technique is the time required of study team representatives to attend and document discussions, particularly if a cross-section of views is being sought in a large area. The technique is time intensive because ideally more than one study team member should be in attendance so that a range of expertise is available to answer all possible queries. These sorts of discussions also require substantial emotional commitment from study team representatives and usually require follow-up communication or further discussions.

Summarising, small group discussions which are locally organised and homogeneous have a good chance of attracting the interest of those who do not normally seek opportunities to participate. These individuals generally have straightforward needs and the small group technique allows for sensitive and personalised treatment of problems which is essential where personal hardship is involved. The type of discussion also provides the planner with pertinent and detailed information on a particular problem although it requires an extended and substantial commitment on his part to ensure all participants' needs are adequately understood.

Public Meetings: Public meetings are advertised opportunities for all interested and willing members of the community to consider an issue of common concern. They may be arranged by the study team or the planning authorities for information dissemination purposes at varying stages of a planning investigation or by members of the public who want to generate community awareness of and support for a cause.

The public meeting is one of the most common and long-established forms of public participation and it figures in a number of the cases investigated. In the Newcastle Corridor Study public meetings were organised after the study team had identified some broad route options. They were aimed at generating discussion within the community and clarifying the study team's understanding of the issues involved. However, interest groups and well-organised individuals tended to dominate meetings and discouraged a wide variety of individuals from expressing and exchanging their views. The public meetings held in Phase 2 of the Southern Western Australia Transportation Study were expected to produce a useful general discussion of and some feedback of broad community feelings on alternative strategies that had been developed. Although accompanied by an audiovisual presentation, the anticipated discussion did not generally eventuate and it became apparent that people attending the meeting considered the information presented too broad to prompt active discussion or specific evaluation of alternative options.

Often the purpose of public meetings is not carefully considered or well-understood by all of those involved. Because the key feature of the meeting is its open invitation to the public to attend, study team and planning authority representatives tend to see them as an inescapable obligation. They assess the opportunity for public scrutiny to be a requirement of planning but consider that attending public meeting then exonerates them. However, members of the community rarely attend meetings simply to be informed. More often they seek to influence decision-makers or gain assurances about the study's consideration of particular issues through expressing demands vociferously or demonstrating group solidarity. Thus public meetings may become vehicles for the expression of conflicting needs, the planner seeking to demonstrate his independence and good intentions and those attending seeking to influence and elicit from him guarantees that he cannot often give.

The attendance at public meetings obviously depends on the level of interest in the subject being discussed but often it exceeds twenty people. The larger meetings become, the more formalised the proceedings must be and the greater the potential psychological distance created between the planners and the audience. The size and format of most public meetings create an environment that is insensitive to individual dilemmas. While the disproportionately large amount of attention given to the most forceful and eloquent members of the audience may suit their immediate needs, if often encourages the hostility of the study team. Public meetings thus tend to reflect only the most vocal of community views and this selectiveness is exagerated by the type of people who attend.(1)

Public meetings are relatively blunt mechanisms through which to involve the community in planning, lacking sensitivity to and the capacity to satisfy the diverse expectations that are often vested in them. Any potential contribution a public meeting can make to a planning study can be counteracted if it is treated as a public participation panacea and other techniques can often satisfy better the diverse and complex needs of those undertaking the study and those affected by it.

Search Conference: The search conference is a discussion technique bringing together a heterogeneous group of people, generally only on one occasion, to consider a matter in which they have a common interest, often a change in their shared environment.

Although the objectives for using the technique vary in each application, search conferences generally follow a set procedural pattern. Features of the existing relevant environment and broad future possibilities and trends are identified, thus building up a large quantity of general information. The second stage of discussion focuses on specific issues identifying what may be more or less desirable for individual participants and developing scenarios that are consistent with the expectations of a

(1) British surveys indicate those who attend meetings are tertiary-educated house and car owners. See New Society, 15th July, 1976, p. 106.

group of participants. A third stage involves translation of specific issues into objectives and programs for action. The progression of discussion is from the general to the specific and the group breaks into small sub-groups for stages two and three. The total number of people involved in a search conference generally ranges from 20 to 30 and it can extend over a day, weekend or occasionally longer.

The technique, pioneered and developed by Emery and others at the Canberra Centre for Continuing Education, has been used in a wide variety of contexts - in organisation development as well as in various forms of planning - to achieve a variety of objectives. In organisational development a group of individuals from within an organisation who may be working on similar tasks but occupy very different levels of the organisational hierarchy, discuss possible future work environments and develop a program for action and an allocation of tasks that is sensitive to individual characteristics and scenarios. The aim of the conference is to provide an individual development or 'growth' experience for participants, to develop a shared understanding of and commitment to objectives and to develop an organisational structure which enables them to be met. This application of search conferences is fundamentally different to most transport planning contexts because it uses the conference as a device for the resolution of differences and the development of consensual guidelines for concerted action through open discussion.

In planning contexts the search conference can be employed at various phases of planning - most often for the initial identification of issues or during the evaluation process - to reflect the diverse perspectives of the community on the issues or problems being investigated. The heterogeneous composition of the group is aimed at providing an intensive education for the planner on community characteristics and problems. It also introduces interested individuals within the community to the study and to the way groups and individuals with different perspectives to their own view key issues. Search conferences in planning do not generally offer an opportunity for individuals to exert direct pressure for specific interests because discussion is pitched at a general level and specific alternative solutions to problems are not identified. Those participating generally require a broad concern for the community's well-being to derive satisfaction from involvement.

In the Swanbourne Area Study and the South Melbourne Residential Street Study the technique was used to introduce the planners to the community, to the issues that were likely to be seen as important and to the attributes of the community that should determine the style of interaction to be adopted by the planners throughout the remainder of the study. It also enabled interested participants to learn more about the study and their community. In both these cases it was assessed by those involved that the technique provided a useful guide to how the rest of the study and specifically the public participation program should be designed to be responsive to the community. The level of participant satisfaction was assessed to depend on the diversity of views expressed. The conferences were more rewarding for most involved where a wide cross-section of views were expressed and no individuals dominated discussion.

The South Melbourne search conference explored issues which had not been widely discussed and those who attended did not have firmly defined interests to defend. The points that emerged from discussion provided valuable insights for the planners which might not have been identified through discussions with individuals in isolation because they depended on the heterogeneous composition of the group and on individual participants who were willing to exchange and refine ideas about the community's future.

The search conference can be expensive and time-consuming to set up if potential participants are not easy to identify or are reluctant to participate. It requires a considerable commitment of participants' leisure time, generally for no other gain than the experience itself offers. To provide a fully rewarding experience, participants should be selected because they possess similar skills in articulating a point of view. Because the technique involves people who are unfamiliar with one another performing an unfamiliar task and often in strange surroundings it can be a daunting experience. Children, as demonstrated by the case-study experience, are rarely willing and capable of active involvement in search conferences and their views are probably better sought through individual or small group discussions.

In conclusion, search conferences must fulfil a number of requirements to be an effective and satisfying participatory exercise for planners and participants. Further, although they can obviously satisfy some of the objectives outlined, they must be considered, like public meetings, as particularly limited in their capacity to effectively represent in planning particular interests that are not normally represented through existing channels of influence and information.

Workshops: Workshops are sessions in which individuals from the community who are not formally employed to plan contribute directly to the processes of planning. A workshop can be set up at various stages of planning to perform various tasks, from an initial analysis of issues or development of a study design to the layout design or to suggest ameliorative measures that may be required to implement plans for a new facility.

Individuals invited to participate in workshops often have particular skills or expertise that make them interested and able to apply themselves to the tasks that are set for them. This means these groups are fairly homogeneous in terms of the level of skills and general concerns of participants. However, participants may see the environment as a competitive one in which they need to provide themselves to others with an interest in a particular field. The size of workshops vary although sub-groups in which actual 'work' is done generally comprise between 8 and 15 people. Workshops generally last for a day or weekend and are directed towards the production of a report or program for action. The nature and degree of structure surrounding discussions varies widely depending on the task set.

Workshops have not been a particularly common feature of Australian participation experience, tending to be a small, experimental part of larger participations programs. Exceptions have occurred where numbers of interested local residents have been co-opted to actively plan for the development of local areas, as in the Melbourne City Council Strategy Plan. But there are not many contexts in which an area of planning responsibility and decision-making is sufficiently discrete and self-contained to completely allocate to a workshop and still be capable of being meaningfully integrated into a significant planning program or task. Equally, pools of interested amateur experts who are willing to contribute in a predetermined manner to a planning study are not often available.

In the North East Area Public Transport Review several workshops were arranged. The most successful of these occurred where the individuals participating shared a well-developed interest or common concern as a focus for discussion, but were willing to contribute to a dialogue. This was the case with some local environmentalists who were long-standing residents of the study area with a particular interest in its history.

Workshops are not effective where those attending simply see them as an opportunity to lobby relentlessly for specific proposals or to demonstrate their expertise. Particularly within institutions or a small community where participants know of each other but are not sufficiently familiar to have developed a comfortable means of interacting, discussion is often impaired by individuals competing to express the most lucid contributions to, or criticisms of, the set task. These problems are exacerbated where participants are not willing volunteers for workshops, and are sceptical about how much will be achieved.

Neither are workshops particularly rewarding for participants where they do not share a particular interest which can be harnessed to the achievement of a particular plan or program that is demonstrably useful. Those attending a workshop often have high expectations about the productivity of the session and are inevitably disappointed if all that emerges is a list of vague objectives.

Typically there are few areas in which members of the community can or want to totally assume the planner's role and few situations in which the planner can abdicate responsibility for an area of planning. Even in these few areas, for a workshop to be effective the task must be clearly defined, those involved capable and willing to undertake the task and able to comprehend and accept the use to which the output will be put.

Citizen Committees: Committees are set up to maintain the ongoing involvement of a particular group in the planning process. They are a formal mechanism designed to supplement information being provided and received through existing community representatives. Their specified life and documented role tend to give committees a special status in planning exercises.

Committees can function in a number of ways and their envisaged role determines how committee members are selected and what kind of representation is sought. Committees can operate as an advisory group mediating between the planners and the community, as a task force assisting the planner in a specialised area or as an avenue for systematic input of information by existing authorities and associations. Members can be elected at public meetings where committees are set up to reflect community attitudes. Alternatively, members may be selected by the planners from existing local organisations or by nomination by authorities from whom specific representation or information is being sought.

Committees have become a common feature of participation programs in major planning exercises. A variety of committee structures were established in the ten case studies investigated. The Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation set up two types to assist planning for the growth centre. The consultative council was a diverse group broadly aiming to be representative of the existing community. The other type, the advisory committees, consisted of groups of individuals with a special interest or expertise in a particular field of planning and providing specialist advice. While the Corporation had difficulty dealing with the advice of its consultative council, it had a demonstrable need for the kind of planning advice offered by the advisory committees. For those involved in the consultative council their commitment extended over a long period, their task was inevitably ill-defined and their contribution unclear.

A complaint often made about participation techniques and committees in particular is that they are not representative of the broader community. But as already discussed, individuals inevitably have differing capacities and enthusiasm for involvement in planning and this should be recognised as a limitation of participation as a tool. Techniques like committees tend to attract people with particular backgrounds and skills who already often possess access to influence.(1) A representative community committee is thus, by definition unattainable since those who possess sufficient skills and a belief in the technique to sustain an involvement are necessarily not representative in important ways of the uninvolved community.

(1) P.D. Lowe (1977), op. cit., p. 45.

While the committee technique should not be used to reflect the entire community's perspective it can, however, provide useful information for planners and a good opportunity for certain individuals to actively contribute to planning. The Public Transport Committees set up by the Metropolitan Transport Trust in W.A. are a particularly good example of the way a group of local interested people can introduce changes to improve the quality of public transport services in the community generally. Those involved were not truly representative, but were recognised as having a good grasp of local problems and able to assemble local resources. Their formal involvement was only for a short period and oriented towards the production of specific recommendations. Committees in the Swanbourne Area Study and the Koonung Creek Study (the predecessor of the Eastern Corridor Study) were also reasonably effective particularly at the early stages of investigations. They tended to involve people with a common interest and willingness to participate in the study and who could raise relevant issues and comment on the design of the participation program.

Committees comprising people with no professional or special area of expertise, are most effectively used in planning to give initial direction to and provide a basic ongoing monitoring of, the planners efforts. Committees of interested citizens should not be expected to produce technical advice over an extended period or on a diffuse or broadly defined problem.(1) As part of the North East Area Public Transport Review in S.A. an existing transport planning advisory committee consisting of representatives from unions and other organised groups was asked to develop some guidelines for the public participation program for that review. Their incentives and capacity to produce substantial documentation were overestimated and it was found they could more constructively contribute by reacting to material produced by the study team and consultants.

In conclusion, committees can function most effectively where the needs of the institution, the study team and the community in establishing and participating in the committee coincide. No committee can operate effectively if it is too large and unwieldy (more than about fifteen members) and if the motivations and expectations of members in becoming involved are

(1) W. Steinkrauss (1976), op. cit., p.39

too divergent. A committee should not be set up to pacify a wide range of authorities and groups simply by offering formal membership. Participating groups rarely value membership per se, but seek to use their position to express interests or become involved in a way that demonstrably contributes to the study. The experience of the case studies suggests two specific types of committees which can satisfy these needs - a group comprising people with special skills and expertise who are also members of the affected community, and a more diverse group of interested citizens who are willing to contribute generally and are not required to provide feedback in a manner that is specified by the planner to be useful. In both cases the committees contribution should be specific and defined, something the group is capable of producing and the planners need.

Forums: The community forum is a meeting or series of meetings at which existing groups and organisations present their views on and discuss a planning matter of shared concern. Forums provide these groups with the opportunity to develop a better appreciation of others in the community and their problems and provide them and relevant authorities with a single channel through which to exchange information. The forum, if staffed by a secretariat, can also perform administrative functions such as organising meetings, contacts and information services.

The concept of the community forum was explored and recommended by the Skeffington Committee as a desirable means of securing greater participation in the preparation of structure and local plans in the United Kingdom.(1) In the form suggested by Skeffington the community forum was not a technique employed in any of the ten case studies examined. However, towards the end of the Eastern Corridor Study a type of forum was held at which representatives of all the action groups and associations presented their respective views. It was not expected that the forum would substantially alter the views of those participating or that it would uncover a consensus view. It did, however, draw the arguments together for the planners and other observers from the institutions. It also gave members of various interest groups a greater appreciation of other points of view and a better overall grasp of the diversity of problems being considered.

(1) A.M. Skeffington, People and Planning: Report of the Committee of Public Participation in Planning, (D.O.E., H.M.S.O. London 1969).

Where a wide range of existing groups and authorities have an active interest in developing a broader appreciation of planning issues, a community forum can provide an appropriate vehicle for discussion. However, if the institution or study team expect a forum to contribute a comprehensive and systematic record of its deliberations or to perform administrative functions it needs ongoing service by a secretariat. These requirements may render it a more elaborate and expensive device than its expected achievements warrant.

Individual Techniques

Classified as individual techniques are those where participants contribute to planning in isolation without discussion with other individuals or groups and sometimes with only minimal contact with study team representatives. These techniques do not explictly aim to initiate an educative experience in which participants develop and refine their views through exchange, nor do not aim to transfer any planning powers to citizens although they provide them with an opportunity to register their views and document relevant aspects of their particular experience. Broadly, the techniques increase the amount and quality of information available to the planner who is responsible for interpreting it.

The simplest form of individual discussion is one in which the planner selects a particular individual whom he knows or expects will have an interest in, or information that is relevant, to a study. The invitation to make a submission also tends to be directed at particular groups who are recognised as having a potential interest in the study and who realise the importance of conveying their views or information they possess through this medium. Surveys and participant observation are directed by the planner at groups he recognises can provide valuable information, the relevance of which they may not realise.

Individual Discussions: Planners can initiate discussions with individuals who they anticipate will have an interest in an issue under investigation. They may be selected because they reside in a particular area, they hold an office or belong to an organisation, they are well-known figures in a community or they are involved in running a business, school or other activity which may have planning significance. These discussions are generally short, lasting

for less than an hour, are generally arranged by the planner in the participants office or home, and are usually loosely structured with the aim of gaining an understanding of the participants perspective and the effects of his activities on the issues being investigated.

Individual discussions are one of the simplest possible participation techniques and have been an integral part of much traditional planning. Even so, they are often overlooked by planners designing participation programs. They are a productive and effective way of canvassing a large number of views, particularly in country areas where there are small communities, a fair sample of whom can be easily contacted. The discussion should be responsive to the type and level of the participant's interest. They are fairly undemanding of the participant, but provide him with a satisfying opportunity to convey directly to the planner the issues that concern him most vitally.

The two most common methods of identifying individuals for discussion purposes are random sampling from a known population or snowball sampling from contacts. Simple random sampling gives each possible element or person an equal probability of being chosen before the sample is selected. In systematic random sampling every nth element in the population is selected for the sample, for example every third dwelling in the streets encompassed within a study area, and stratified sampling involves sampling independently from distinct sub-populations of the total known population.

Snowball sampling is a process of expanding numbers of contacts for further discussion through discussion. All initial known contacts are requested to nominate other contacts who are also in turn requested to suggest further contacts. People who are often mentioned are assumed to be significant opinion leaders and able to represent to some extent, the views of others. Snowball sampling has been used at various stages of planning - to identify local problems and issues, to gain a rough gauge of public opinion, or to select individuals to participate in other techniques of consultation such as search conferences.

In the Newcastle Corridor Study, snowball sampling was used to sample the widely divergent levels of interest and awareness characterising the affected community. It enabled study team members to contact a considerable number of people, some of whom had strongly felt and articulated views on key problems and others who had a general interest in the community's future if not a specific interest in the problems being investigated. Under these circumstances participatory techniques like public meetings often discriminate against those who have not fully realised their interest either because they do not attend or have not developed a coherent line of argument to express. Snowball sampling and the ensuing individual discussions can be tailored to suit these differing needs while at the same time providing equal opportunities for interests to be expressed.

Other methods of identifying individuals for discussion are accidental sampling (for example street corner interviews) or quota sampling whereby certain proportions of the sample are stipulated to possess particular characteristics.

Any form of random sampling is time intensive, expensive and may not yield much information on the issues being investigated although it will provide a profile of attitudes. Snowball sampling is more likely to efficiently and cheaply identify the range of issues likely to be raised by a community as relevant to a study, although it will not provide a representative reflection of community views. Snowball samples tend to identify people who are already active in the community and by involving them directly in preliminary stages of the study they are more likely to take a positive interest in its development and be able to contribute rather than oppose at a later stage.

Submissions: A submission is a formal oral or written statement of a group or individual view on a problem being investigated as part of a study. Submissions are generally invited at the beginning of a study or towards the end, just prior to final evaluations being undertaken. The most common respondents to the invitation are local authorities and existing associations which are acquainted with the procedures involved in making a submission and which usually have a well defined position and case to present.

Calling for submissions has been a common feature of planning studies and many local authorities treat the preparation of submissions as a major aspect of their role in interacting with other bodies. Like the announcement of public meetings, inviting submissions is an attempt to convey a commitment to open planning in the study. Submissions were requested as part of the Eastern Corridor Study, Newcastle Corridor Study, Morphettville Bus Depot Study and the Swanbourne Area Study.

Submissions can, like initial contacts, provide an informed basis for discussion. However, they are often prepared at the beginning of a study by groups in isolation with a simplistic grasp of the problem and of the scope of the study. Further, some issues may emerge as particularly important and require further documentation as the study progresses. Therefore some procedure for individuals and groups to review and refine their initial statements in the light of discussion and emerging information is necessary. Further, the authors of submissions are generally seeking to influence decision-makers and to achieve this they require continuing feedback about the study's progress and opportunities to defend their position. The forum held during the Eastern Corridor Study was a useful way to assist groups refine submissions prior to finally presenting them.

The type of groups and individuals who are capable of and willing to to submit their views formally is limited. Further, there are often shortcomings in the detail and pertinence of submissions where the authors have not benefited from at least some dialogue with study representatives. However, inviting submissions can act as an incentive and focus for groups of individuals to organise and develop a stronger bargaining position for their interests. In this way the submission procedure can also facilitate the formation of loose resident groups which can serve the more immediate needs of a significant section of the community who seek some involvement in planning.

Surveys: Surveys are a means of gathering information about an area or community being studied. This information may comprise objective characteristics such as demographic data, travel patterns, recreational activities, etc., or information about community attitudes to provide a barometer of public opinion. Sometimes a combination of these types of information is gathered in order to build up a picture of how an area functions, how it might be affected by a planning

proposal, and how such a proposal might be received. Depending on what sort of information is being sought, surveys may simply involve counting the incidence of activities or they may involve administering questionnaires and some degree of interaction with people in the area. Surveys are generally designed to be representative so that the results can be generalised.

Surveys have been undertaken as part of the participation programs in most large area or corridor transportation studies in Australia. They are most useful when the purpose of collecting the data has been carefully considered and is reflected in the survey. Very comprehensive surveys that involve extensive and time-consuming questioning, the purpose of which is unclear to both interviewer and interviewee, often reverse the intended effects.(1) In particular, those being interviewed can easily become frustrated with and alienated by the study, rather than the survey stimulating their interest in it. Since the community does not immediately or obviously benefit from being surveyed, care must be taken to ensure that information gathered is relevant and important.

Because of the statistical nature of survey output, surveys are often highly regarded by study teams and institutions seeking to document a particular content or issue in the context of other hard data. They should not however, be regarded as offering a community mandate for a particular action, regardless of the quality or robustness of sampling procedures since public participation using any technique cannot be regarded as an alternative to democratic political processes. Survey information can only provide a representative reflection of community needs or beliefs. In general, the most appropriate use for participation, including survey techniques, is to reflect particular interests or to provide specific items of information that have been identified as important inputs to planning. Under these circumstances the representativeness or otherwise of those participating and the views they are expressing is not always an important concern.

Participant Observation: Participant observation is a method of collecting information about the operation of and attitudes existing in a community through a researcher residing in the area for an extended period.

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(1) New Society, 15th July, 1976, p. 106.

In most studies of this kind the researcher resides incognito in the community, as in Gans' study of Westend, an inner city suburb of Boston, U.S.A.[1] In such cases participant observation is more a sociological research method than a public participation technique. However, the technique has been used during major planning exercises in Australia to enable the planner to gain a better understanding of the community and to interact more fruitfully with various groups and individuals. Some of the needs and interests of various groups are supposedly served through the planner's understanding rather than through direct expression by their proponents.

Several researchers resided for varying periods in the study area during the Swanbourne Area Study. This period of residence enabled study team members to acquire an in-depth understanding of community characteristics and the local network of communications through informal interaction. It facilitated the development of a sensitive study design and enabled key local personalities to be identified and subsequently involved in the study.

The shortcomings of participant observation as a sociological research method are evident. Not all communities are cohesive and the planner's interactions may be unknowingly restricted to a narrow section. All information is subjectively assimilated and interpreted by the planner and drawing balanced conclusions from the evidence is a difficult task. In situations where the planner has an obligation to seek the widest possible representation of views from the community, participant observation must be supplemented by other techniques of information.

However, in conjunction with other participation techniques which encourage the direct expression of views, participant observation can facilitate a process of rewarding dialogue. Planners are often seen as insensitive intruders determined to force onto a community their own ideas of what its problems are and what it needs. Effective planning depends on the planner having a degree of credibility in the community and the community co-operating in the provision of information. Participant observation can enable the planner to develop a consultative style and mechanisms which suit the community, in turn consolidating their respect for his intentions.

(1) H.J. Gans, The Urban Villagers, Group and Class in the Life of Italian Americans, (New York, 1962).

Publicity Techniques

The category of publicity techniques include displays, site offices and various forms of media released which are directed at a broad group of people who may feel they have a particular interest in an investigation or piece of information to contribute. Therefore participants are self-selected.

Displays and Exhibitions: Displays and exhibitions inform the community about a study, generally at critical stages of planning such as when new information is emerging, options are under consideration or final evaluation is being undertaken. Displays and exhibitions can be designed to function simply as a source of information for interested members of the public, to prompt informal discussions with study team members or to obtain a reflection of some community views by requesting that those attending the display fill out a response sheet.

Mobile displays may be located for short periods in a wide variety of locations in the study area. More formal exhibitions may be set up in one location for a particular period, or a site office in the study area may permanently display material about the study's progress as it becomes available. A small mobile display is appropriate at the beginning of a study when the intention is to ensure a wide coverage of basic information about the study. Exhibitions for longer durations are suited to a more advanced stage of the study when comment is being sought from the community or to provide an opportunity for individuals to seek personal advice.

Exhibitions are an important feature of participation in area improvement plans in the U.K.[1] In that country they tend to be undertaken after a number of alternatives have been developed and are about to be evaluated.

The technique has also been extensively used in Australia. In the South Melbourne Residential Street Study an exhibition was mounted to educate the community about the various alternatives under consideration and to assist them to register their attitudes. People attending were directed through the exhibition in a structured manner and were asked to fill out a response

(1) Department of the Environment, Public Participation in General Improvement Areas (H.M.S.O. 1973), p. 16.

sheet prior to departing. In the Swanbourne Area Study a site office was set up in the study area to display information and options as they became available. It was manned regularly by different members of the study team and attracted comment from people who did not attend formal meetings and also from well informed people who visited the office regularly to keep abreast of developments.

Displays generally attempt to generate interest and comment from the less interested community who might not attend a meeting or voice an opinion through other means. This suggests that both the location and type of information presented are critical. Permanent displays should be located in accessible, easily approachable locations in the study area, for example in a shopfront rather than municipal offices. Material presented should be concise and provide an opportunity for people to comment constructively. Great quantities of background information designed to educate the community may be of interest to a few specialists but will generally prompt confusion or frustration amongst others.

The case studies indicate that people attending a display tend to seek formal recognition for their effort, such as being able to register an opinion on a response sheet. They may also be seeking information or assurances on a highly specific matter. It is important that displays are manned by members of the study team who can provide appropriate advice or counselling. A diversity of specialists in engineering matters, traffic and environmental effects, compensation procedures and ameliorative measures should be available depending on the investigation. And some senior staff, who can answer queries with some conviction, should be included.

Although simply attending a display is a relatively undemanding way members of the community can learn about a study and express a view, the opinions registered at displays are inevitably a limited sample and should be supplemented by other information gathering techniques. Extending a display over a long period or attempting to create interest though constantly updating information does not dramatically expand the scope or detail of views expressed. Perhaps the main benefit of these techniques is the creation of a situation in which a member of the community and a study team representative can discuss in

detail a particular issue. It is an effective means of introducing all members of the study team, not just those responsible for liaising with the community, to the perspectives of those for whom they are planning in a direct and meaningful manner.

Site Offices: Site offices provide temporary accommodation for study staff during a planning exercise within an area under study. They are generally located in unused shops, in caravans or temporary buildings centrally located, or in municipal offices.

An important function of site offices is to provide an accessible source of information for members of the public. Site offices are open at regular stipulated times to encourage public inquiries and they generally display some of the information that has been gathered for various investigations. They may also contain facilities to perform other tasks including the processing, drafting and reporting of various sorts of data gathered and under these circumstances they can function as an operating office as well as a display centre.

Displays in site offices have been considered in the preceding section. However, the other functions of site offices are rarely well understood by the community and the study team. For example, it was found in the Eastern Corridor and Swanbourne Area Studies that personal concerns prompted people to visit offices at least as often as a general or academic interest in the study. This frustrated many members of the study team manning the office as they anticipated a stimulating discussion about study issues and were not prepared for the kinds of questions often asked, for example, about the timing of acquisition, procedures for transferring loans and reimbursement provisions for removal expenses or in cases of special hardship. Members of study teams tend to consider these questions as inappropriate or premature yet feel dissatisfied because they can't answer them.

The evidence that some members of the community treat site offices as counselling centres reflects their need for advice that may otherwise remain unsatisfied. Recognition of this role for the site office demands that particular attention be paid to the attributes that make it approachable -

its accessibility, the experience and information of those manning it. In particular, an individual who has become familiar to the community and has acquired a grasp of local problems and another who has a good knowledge of legal rights and administrative procedures are essential staff resources for the site office in some planning investigations.

Media Releases: Media releases include those techniques used to inform a community about a planning exercise using mediums such as printed newsletters, bulletins, the daily press, T.V. and radio.

Publicising a study may satisfy a number of objectives. Informing the community may be seen as an end in itself or as a planning obligation. It may be undertaken in planning contexts which have had controversial histories to avoid later recriminations from a hostile group and to attempt to anticipate objections before they become intractible. Alternatively, publicity may be given to a study to prepare for further public involvement providing a high level of information about planning issues and effects. Through generating a broad awareness of and interest in a study, a study team increases its own chances of being fully informed of all relevant issues and thoroughly evaluating them.

While various media techniques have been employed in planning exercises undertaken in Australia, their comparative effectiveness is not well understood. The case study information suggests that the appropriateness of techniques depends on the purpose intended for the publicity. Blanket leaflet drops and mailing campaigns in the study area guarantee that people cannot claim that they were never informed. This may be an expensive way to satisfy this objective and extra effort in leaflet drops is unlikely to generate correspondingly increased levels of interest.

If the study team are attempting to not only inform, but also to provoke active and demonstrable interest in the study, other techniques of information dissemination are likely to be more effective. Coverage on T.V. and radio in the Swanbourne Area Sudy and in the North East Area Public Transport Review were assessed to provoke interested responses in a section of the community which would typically ignore information

delivered by mail. From the perspective of the interested resident who wants to contribute, the techniques selected should ideally provide for a dialogue to occur. Information disseminated by members of the study team who are available for discussion, either on radio talk-back or as part of the manning displays, satisfies this need.

In country areas communities are often smaller and more cohesive with more personalised channels of communication. The Southern Western Australia Transportation Study found that, in country areas the editor of the local newspaper was a particularly good contact since the newspaper performed a vital communication function for people living in these area. Studies in large areas containing diverse groups require a number of different forms of publicity, each of which is designed to inform specific groups. NEAPTR developed a sophisticated communication program for its baseline stage which included door-knocks of individual households, leaflet drops, a community file, radio talk back and a telephone service using a mythical but easily identifiable first point of contact. Publicity techniques can also be aimed at specific user groups. For example, as part of its marketing activities, the Metropolitan Transport Trust in Western Australia have arranged for shopping centres to distribute information about bus services to women using public transport for shopping trips.

To conclude, the most appropriate medium through which to publicise a study obviously relies on careful analysis of the characteristics of the affected community and its most potent channels of communication as well as the purpose that information is expected to satisfy. To secure a high degree of impact on the widest possible group, use of radio, T.V. and sophisticated advertising formats are appropriate, but to prompt interest other techniques are necessary.

CONCLUSION

The accompanying table summarises the attributes of the techniques employed and the needs which those techniques satisfied in the ten case studies. As such this listing is by no means exhaustive of the techniques and needs that exist in transport planning. For example, the comparative lack of emphasis on political and institutional needs satisfied in this

participation experience may be evidence simply of lack of information about those needs or that those needs may have been largely unsatisfied. The table does not mention the various needs that each technique did not cater for or satisfy, although these were considered to some extent in the preceding discussions. In the table also, generally the mention of a planner's need for information or feedback can be taken to mean the institution employing him and the study team of which he is part, shares this need.

The patterns that emerge from the table indicate that techniques satisfy the specific needs of very different groups. Some needs are easily satisfied by a range of techniques while others are very difficult to satisfy adequately and perhaps alternative means of catering for them should be sought.

In the process of selecting participation techniques careful and detailed consideration must be given to what needs and objectives participation is supposed to serve. Thus group techniques should be chosen in preference to individual discussions only where the people involved see some benefit from participating in group discussion. To embark on an expensive and elaborate participation program based on mistaken assumptions, for example, that the community wants or needs to be educated, inevitably leads to cynicism amongst planners and community alike about participation in planning.

In participation most individuals in the community seek to satisfy some very simple needs to be heard, to have their interest considered, or to find out the implications of any course of action. Often the simplest discussions satisfy these requirements best. Techniques which allow the planner to remain aloof or force participants to become engaged in processes which are obscure or foreign to them, at best only provide the planner with some comfort at the sophistication of his techniques and provide activists with the opportunity to demonstrate their abilities. At worst they alienate those who are most in need of the opportunity to express their views and they distract planners from a central responsibility which is to plan for the needs of those not represented through other channels.

This is not to devalue search conferences, forums, workshops or other more sophisticated discussion devices. They are legitimate ways to involve particular groups and individuals in the processes of planning. However, in selecting techniques effort must be directed to equalising access to influence and this undoubtedly requires painstaking and time-consuming processes of consultation designed to suit the needs of the habitual non-participant.

TABLE 1. PARTICIPATION TECHNIQUES & NEEDS SATISFIED BY THEM[1]

	Attributes	Needs Satisfied
GROUP TECHNIQUES		
1. Small Groups	. 6-10 people . homogeneous group already existing, locally organised or identified by planner . not highly structured discussion but directed to particular issue or problem	. Needs of those not normally attracted to participation, to express a view on issue of special concern . Planners need for detailed and pertinent information e.g. on how particular groups are affected . Needs of potentially affected people for personalised consideration and counselling . Political need to identify points of conflict before they become polarised and particular solutions become advocated
2. Public Meetings	. Usually more than 20 people although depends on level of interest in subject being investigated . self-selected by open advertised invitation . formalised proceedings aimed at presenting information to large audience or demonstrating support for community cause	. Need of vocal sections of community for forum to express their views . Can satisfy planners need for evidence of community interest but not necessarily their need for a rewarding dialogue

	Attributes	Needs Satisfied
GROUP TECHNIQUES		
3. Search Conference	. Usually 20 - 30 people . Participants selected to be heterogeneous in important respects but sharing identifiable interest, often in a similar general environment . Staged discussion aimed at identifying broad cross-section of views on variety of issues	. Planners needs to identify community attributes to assist remainder of study and participation program design . Planners needs to gain understanding of all relevant issues at outset of planning . Needs of those with general concern about community's future to participate in planning and be educated about other people's perspectives on the problems . Planners and participants needs to develop and refine ideas on planning issues that have not already been discussed
4. Workshops	. Sub-groups of 8 - 15 people . Selected on the basis of skills or specialised interest . Structured sessions aimed at producing plan or program of recommendations	. Needs of local experts or lay specialists to contribute in actual processes of planning . Planners or institutions needs to expand resources of study team
5. Committees	. Approximately 15 members . Members elected or appointed by planners or authorities . Set up to provide ongoing advice on community views or specialist advice	. Planners and institutions need for ongoing advice, for comment on developing programs and a barometer of community feeling . Lay specialists need to contribute to and monitor specific planning advice

	Attributes	Needs Satisfied
GROUP TECHNIQUES		
		. Planners need for contact point with community, focus for assembling local resources . Need for concerned community members to identify and seek measures to resolve persisting local problems
6. Forum	. Representatives nominated by existing groups and associations . Set up to facilitate exchange of views amongst these groups and relevant authorities	. Provides existing groups with more informed and united base from which to lobby authorities and decision-makers . Institutional need for rationalised system of interacting with community groups
INDIVIDUAL TECHNIQUES		
7. Individual Discussions	. Selected by planners by random, snowball or other sampling techniques . Loosely structured but aimed at gaining information about relevant issues and participants views on them	. Snowball sample discussions can satisfy planners needs for quick and efficient means of identifying range of issues . Random sample discussions can provide planners with information or views that represent the broader community . Provide interested participants with an undemanding opportunity to express personal views directly to study team representatives

	Attributes	Needs Satisfied
INDIVIDUAL TECHNIQUES		
8. Submissions	. Oral or written but often do not demand any dialogue between submitting groups and planners . Openly invited but generally attract organised groups or individuals with a well defined position	. Political and institutional need to demonstrate commitment to open planning . Provides focus for groups to organise and basis from which to lobby . Provides planner with some information on positions of key authorities and groups
9. Surveys	. Means of gathering information about objective characteristics or attitudes in a community . Usually involve administering formal questionnaire to selected sample with varying levels of interest . Minimal discussion	. Study teams and institutions need for hard data to document probable effects of proposal . Political need to gauge likely public reaction to proposal
10. Participant Observation	. Means of gathering information and establishing contacts in a community through planner residing in area	. Planners need for thorough understanding of a community as preparation for further contact and participation . Study team's need for credibility . Need amongst certain community groups to feel confident of planners understanding of area and comfortable in interaction

	Attributes	Needs Satisfied
PUBLICITY TECHNIQUES		
11. Displays	. Means of disseminating information to the community at critical stages of study and can be designed to elicit feedback . Mobile or continually changing permanent exhibition	. Planners needs to ensure all those who are interested have opportunity to be informed . Study team needs to get some direct feedback and discussion on issues . Opportunity for some study team members to have direct contact with members of community . Needs of some community groups to keep abreast of developments . Needs of some individuals to speak directly to members of the study team with special expertise . Undemanding opportunity for some individuals to register a view . Institutional and political need to demonstrate commitment to participation
12. Site Offices	. Provide temporary accommodation for members of the study team in an approachable location in the study area . Source of information and counselling advice for members of the community	. Provides study team members with convenient base from which to work and establish contact in study area . Satisfies need of some members of community for individual attention to their views or problems

	Attributes	Needs Satisifed
PUBLICITY		
13. Media Releases	. Information dissemination through printed and electronic media . Can be aimed at informing or generating interest and feedback	. Satisfies political and institutional needs to ensure basic information is provided . Satisfies need for some community groups to be kept informed . Provides opportunity for some groups to contribute who might otherwise not be contacted

(1) The needs listed as evident and satisfied by each technique in this table are based on analysis of the case study material. Other needs may have been satisfied using the same technique or in other circumstances the same need may not have been so well satisfied.

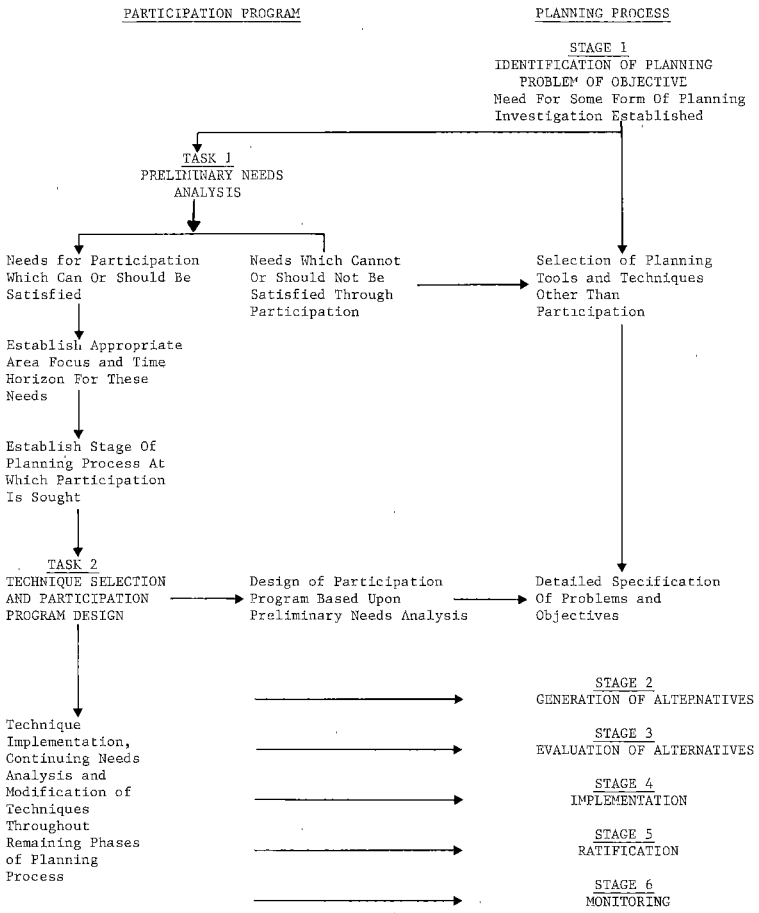
CHAPTER FIVE: STEPS IN IMPLEMENTING THE NEEDS APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION

Adopting the needs approach to planning involves two major tasks, both of which are primarily undertaken during stage one of planning (refer Figure 5.1). The first, termed a preliminary needs analysis, is undertaken as soon as the need for some form of planning investigation has been established. The second major task, technique selection and program design, involves matching participation techniques to suit needs and developing a participation program that enables the techniques to accommodate them within the broader planning process. Further analysis of needs continues throughout planning as continuous contact yields more information about needs and this necessitates refinements to the participation program to increase its sensitivity to those needs. Techniques employed may also change during the planning process as the needs identified change and techniques prove more and less capable of satisfying them. The following discussion describes the steps involved in performing the preliminary needs analysis and the task of technique selection and program design within the overall planning context.

PRELIMINARY NEEDS ANALYSIS

The need for some form of planning investigation is established at the outset of the first stage of the planning process, the identification of a planning problem or objective. This may have occurred as a result of political or institutional initiative, it may have been prompted by local complaints, or it may have been prompted by many other factors.

As part of the process of developing an overall study design during this stage of planning the needs approach demands that a preliminary needs analysis be carried out. This involves identifying the range of groups and individuals involved in and affected by the particular planning investigation and a basic analysis of the sorts of requirements each has in terms of the participation program. The needs listed in chapter four provide some clues to the kinds of needs that significant actors in the planning investigation might possess. Clearer specification of these needs in the particular planning context could be accomplished by study team representatives spending a short time in the area being investigated, establishing contact with residents, interest groups, local officials and voluntary organisations. Some time also needs to be spent researching the political and institutional backdrop of the



STEPS IN IMPLEMENTING A NEEDS APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

investigation - identifying controversial issues directly and indirectly related to the Study and the protagonists for particular causes or solutions within affected agencies and the political arena. The historic stance adopted by the press should be researched and the level and nature of their interest gauged. Who established the need for the investigation in response to what circumstances must also be identified. Lastly, the study team needs to be considered. Their potential role in and enthusiasm for the study needs to be assessed. Any particular misgivings they feel about the study's timeliness, appropriateness or ability to succeed and their reasons for such feelings should be identified.

The sorts of information gathering techniques that can be used in the preliminary needs analysis include informal discussions, participant observation search conferences and research of available documentation including press files which record the history of relevant issues and individual roles. These techniques are not aimed at publicising the study. It is important that they do not prematurely or unnecessarily arouse fears or misconceptions that cannot be readily allayed. The techniques used should allow the planner the opportunity to adequately convey the purpose of the preliminary analysis to those who do express concern.

Emerging from this information gathering should be a profile of the issues relevant to the planning investigation and the groups and individuals in the community who have an interest in, or are affected by those issues as well as those who simply have an interest in the planning investigation or participation program per se. Included in the profile will also be a basic understanding of the needs and interests of decision-makers and people within the planning and operating agencies involved.

Once this range of needs and interests in the planning investigation has been established it will be possible to determine which can or should be satisfied through participation and which cannot. Particular minority groups in the community may have a pressing need to be considered in planning but they may have demonstrated little interest in participating. Information about the interests of these groups must be derived using planning tools other than participation and they must be represented in the planning process through other means.

Decisions must be made at this stage by planners and politicians concerning which are legitimate needs the planning investigation and participation program should attempt to accommodate. The need for a particular group within an agency to undermine the credibility of those pressing for alternative solutions may not be treated as legitimate and consequently the opportunities afforded them to participate may be restricted.

Analysis of the range of needs that the participation program aims to accommodate can then assist in the refinement of certain aspects of the study design. Certain needs may demand the study be organised around small sub-areas and the planning horizon be short-term. Other groups may be seeking to speculate about the long-term implications of the planning problem. The area focus and time horizon of the investigation should be able to accommodate these two sorts of needs which will be vested in the participation program.

Other needs may require an early involvement in planning. 'Lay' specialists in the community or particular members of the study team for example, may have strong views on the way the planning problem has been defined. They may seek to play an active role at the earliest stage of planning, assisting in the detailed specification of the issues the study should be addressing and defining its objectives. Participation techniques which provide these groups with this opportunity, such as search conferences or 'in-house' workshops, should be selected and implemented immediately. Other groups and individuals may want to be informed of detailed alternatives and to express an opinion, or simply to be informed of the final decision and its implications for them. The involvement of these groups will need to be programmed for later in the study, during the evaluation, decision and implementation phases.

TECHNIQUE SELECTION AND PROGRAM DESIGN

Based on the preliminary needs analysis a detailed participation program can be designed. This involves selecting techniques which best suit the diversity of needs that have been identified, timing them for that stage of planning and orienting them to an area focus and time horizon that most effectively satisfies the need.

The attributes of alternative techniques should be carefully identified and their suitability evaluated according to the attributes of each identified need. The procedure for evaluating techniques according to their capacity to satisfy needs is demonstrated in chapter four using the case study experiences. Any technique offers a particular experience to participants - small or large group involvement, individual discussion, a wide-ranging or narrow scope of discussion, a highly structured or unstructured contribution as required, the production of well-defined or qualitative output, contact with other members of the community, the study team and decision-makers, and so on. The experience provided by any technique should be matched against what is known of the requirements and needs of all the individuals and groups that have been identified.

Generally, a variety of techniques must be selected, programmed so that they are complementary and satisfy where possible, a number of needs simultaneously. For example, a well-structured workshop session involving the study team and representatives from other interested agencies and community groups may assist during stage two of planning to provide a complete list of the alternative solutions that have been proposed in the past and should be considered in the investigation. This technique would satisfy the study team's needs for comprehensiveness in the investigation, the needs of individuals in other organisations to contribute special local knowledge at an early stage of planning and to establish contact with all the study team and other institutional representatives. The one-day forum organised for the Eastern Corridor Study described in chapter four is a good example of a technique developed to simultaneously satisfy diverse needs.

The participation program should be flexible, with techniques and timing capable of adaptation as more information is gathered about particular needs. Together with other planning tools and information gathering and processing activities, the participation program will feed into each stage of planning to provide a more informed basis on which to plan. Implementing the needs approach also means that each technique will have achieved certain ends in itself, by satisfying to a greater or lesser extent some needs or aspirations originally identified as important. The approach increases the likelihood that participating will be a personally rewarding experience for those involved and ensures that participation contributes to planning in a clearly defined and constructive way.

APPENDIX A

DESCRIPTIONS OF CASE STUDIES

Appended are ten brief descriptions of the case studies used as the basic information source for this paper. They were selected from an inventory of Australian experience in public participation (especially in the field of transport planning) to reflect a wide range of experience. The dimensions of participation experience used as selection criteria included the stage of planning at which participation was undertaken, the area focus of the problem, type of institution and consultant (if any) involved and techniques utilised.

Each description is based primarily on discussions with members of the institutions and consultants involved in the exercise. Other documentation, where available, was used to provide details about certain aspects of experiences and has been cited. Each description follows the same format using the headings utilised and discussed in the text (Chapter 4, Section 4.1). The 'Background' and 'Public Participation' sections outline the political context, the series of events leading to the study and circumstances determining the role perceived for participation by political figures and their advisors. The 'Institution' and 'Study Team' sections deal specifically with the role of the responsible organisations and individuals (including consultants) in the study. In the section on 'Community' important attributes and expectations of the community involved in and affected by the participation exercise are discussed. The following section describes the participation techniques used and how effective they were judged by those involved. 'Important Characteristics' note some of the key features of each case which were considered in detail in the text. These cover aspects of the political, institutional, study team and community context, and techniques of participation employed.

The descriptions are intended primarily to supply further information to the reader who develops from the text an interest in a particular case. They are objective accounts of events, as far as is possible, which have been verified with those involved. In contrast is the discussion presented in the text, mainly in Chapter Four, which interprets the case study experiences and attempts to draw conclusions from them. These interpretations may, obviously, differ or conflict with those expressed by the people involved.

ALBURY-WODONGA DEVELOPMENT

Background

In the last decade the problems associated with sprawling cities in Australia and overseas have increased enormously. The huge costs involved in providing adequate services in outlying areas and the inequitable social effects created by a centralisation of urban facilities has encouraged planners and governments to look toward a decentralisation of development. 'New towns' and growth centres have been established and their development has provided an opportunity to apply many innovatory planning tools, including public participation.

Towards the end of 1973 Albury-Wodonga was established as a growth centre. It represented a significant political commitment to the concept of planned decentralisation by the Australian, N.S.W. and Victorian Governments and was hailed as a precedent in political co-operation. A Ministerial Council comprising representatives of the three governments was set up to steer the new development, and the Albury-Wodonga Development Act established the Albury-Wodonga Development Corporation (AWDC) to plan the new city's growth.

There have been dramatic changes in economic circumstances, growth expectations and the political environment since the establishment of the growth centre. Government financial commitment to Albury-Wodonga has been dramatically reduced. In July 1977, it was announced that the Federal Government, the major sponsor of the growth centre, would reduce its annual financial allocation from $21 million to $5 million. The future of much of the planning and administrative machinery, initially set up for three years and due for review, is now in doubt.

Public Participation in Albury-Wodonga

The existing towns of Albury and Wodonga had conservative populations which were reserved about the implications of the planned new development of the towns as a growth centre. These towns had powerful local governments responsible for many aspects of urban development. The AWDC was given no formal role in the management of existing towns, although their programme of rural land acquisition affected many landholders. It was seen as crucial for

the Corporation's survival that members of the existing communities co-operated with, rather than obstructed, its activities. This was recognised by the architects of the Development Act and a Consultative Council was set up to formalise processes of community consultation. Its members were selected from local government and other areas.

The Institition

When the AWDC was set up there was considerable optimism about the potential to plan the new centre well and to use innovative tools in that process. Many of the AWDC's planners were specialists 'imported' for the task. Since then rapidly changing political fortunes have dictated a vicarious institutional environment for the Corporation. The expectations of many members of the institution about participation have altered as a result of this experience.

Initially, most members of the AWDC expected a high level of interest within the existing community about aspects of the new development. The various participatory bodies were set up to accommodate this level of interest. The consultative Council, for example, was designed as an interpreter of constructive community comment for the Corporation, a body which would reflect an informed grasp of interests and problems.

With subsequent review of the participatory experience and increasing financial constraints some individuals in the AWDC now maintain that participation can be more effectively practiced by involving existing power-holders and activists in issues or problems that are readily identificable and where a positive contribution can be made. Both the hostility and apathy felt by members of the existing community is recognised as a considerable problem that was not acknowledged in earlier participation efforts. Participation is seen as a way of reducing conflicts in planning by anticipating them and negotiating a trade-off of interests to produce a more acceptable decision.

Other individuals within the AWDC interpret experience differently. They see problems arising not from the limited willingness and capacity of the community to be involved, but rather the circumstances which undermine an institution's commitment to participation, both the resources made available and the role accorded it. These individuals maintain that by focussing

participation on existing power-holders, one of its most important functions, to tap the views of 'the silent majority' is ignored.

In the Albury-Wodonga experience, maintaining a cross-section of interested groups in participation has variously been interpreted to require the active involvement of all the local councils. Generating a more widespread awareness of the AWDC's activities is seen to be important and best achieved through personal contact. Some assessed too much literature dissemination without this contact as increasing rather than reducing the hostility felt by residents about a faceless institution. Other members of the institution place more stress on encouraging the commitment of the broad community in the early stages of planning. They feel this commitment should be solicited in conjunction with the more active involvement of local specialists in various areas. For institution members with this perspective the preferred strategy is to de-politicise the participatory process increasing the marketing of the Corporation's activities to the community at large.

The Community

Existing residents of Albury and Wodonga and surrounding rural areas have traditionally been politically conservative and suspicious of outsiders. A powerful and entrenched structure of local government has segmented community interests within the designated study area and residents typically do not identify with the concept of 'Albury-Wodonga' (Fig. 1). In spite of local government representation on the Consultative Council, local authorities see the AWDC's structure as an unwanted imposition and generally see little reason to become actively involved.

Although the AWDC's formal planning responsibilities do not extend to existing development, it's planning area (Albury and Wodonga Shires) affects many landholders. Between 3,500 and 4,000 landholders live in rural areas within the Albury and Wodonga Shires. These people, in particular, have strongly opposed the intervention of the Corporation and its plans to purchase their land.

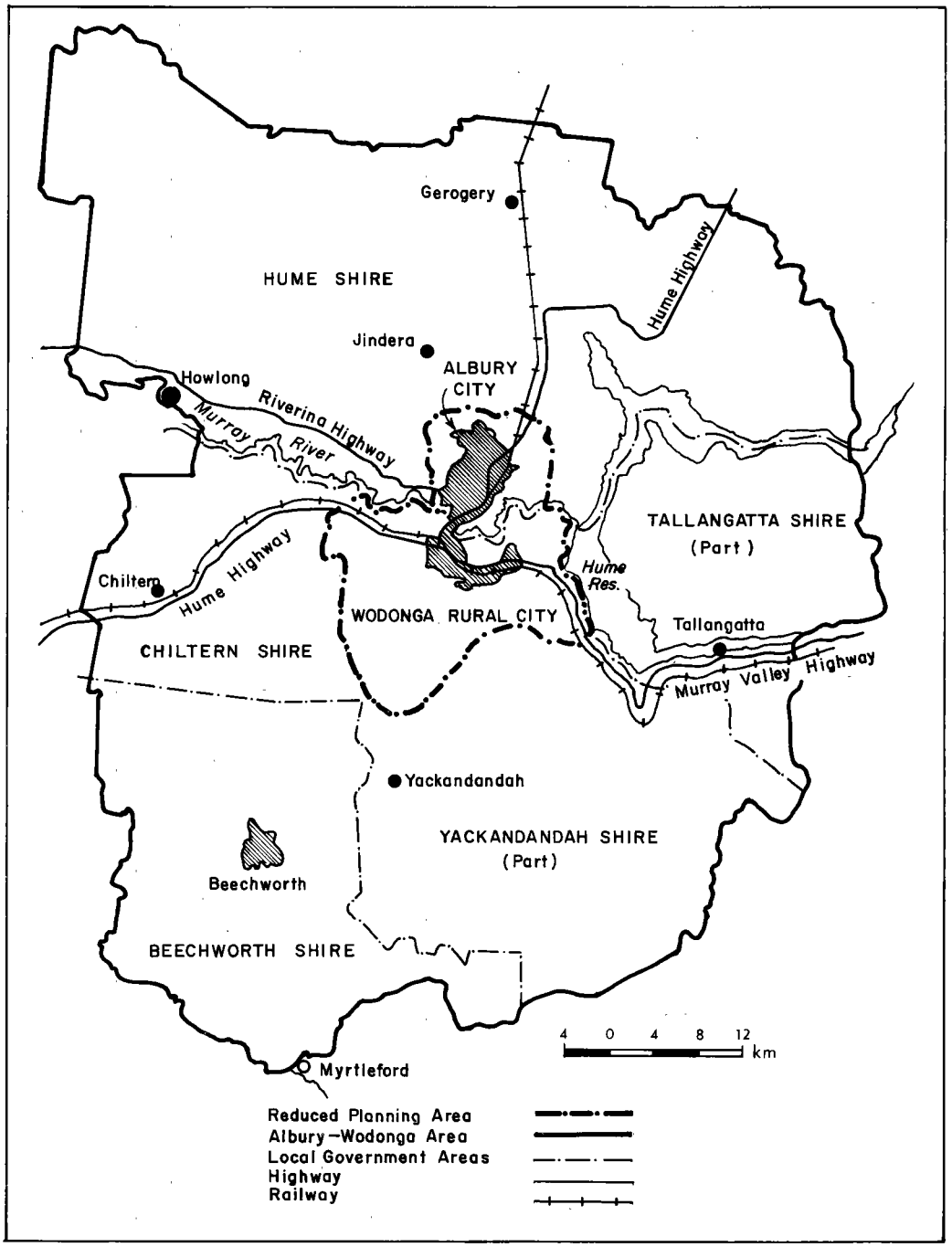


FIGURE A.1
ALBURY–WODONGA DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION
STUDY AREA

Amongst those who have become actively involved in participatory structures in Albury-Wodonga, most members of the Consultative Council have aspired to considerable executive powers. Often, other residents of the existing towns have seen little incentive in participating, treating the Corporation and its administrators either with indifference or distrust.

Techniques

The Consultative Council (C.C.) was a legal body set up for three years (1974 - April, 1977) and envisaged as the main vehicle through which to establish ongoing public participation. Its members were selected by the Ministerial Council from 100 volunteers who responded to a newspaper advertisement. Seven were drawn from local councils and another eight from residents of the area, these included representatives from business, farming, religion and numerous other interests and professions. The Council was chaired by the AWDC's Chairman and serviced by a secretariat within the Corporation, originally two-man and later one individual.

The role of the C.C. was to advise the AWDC in its planning on matters of concern to the new community both through its own initiative and in response to Corporation request. Both this role and the C.C.'s structure caused problems. Firstly, its constitution made it difficult for its members to think and act in concert, and to produce a unified and coherent programme of advice. It was comprised of people with diverse interests, often with pressing day-to-day commitments and accustomed to a lobbying or pressure group role. According to members of the AWDC and others, only in the last few months of its life did the C.C. begin to think of itself and act as a corporate body, rather than as a group of individuals, each spokesman for his own interests.

Planning for the needs of a hypothetical community aggravated these difficulties, particularly because of the expectations with which members of the C.C. began their involvement. They anticipated having a demonstrable influence through executive powers on the shape of the new community. But the nature of the advice they were expected to contribute was diffuse and an input to planning rather than a basis for action. Not a task force, the Consultative Council played a relatively passive role, reacting to information presented to it by the AWDC.

The lack of feedback inherent in its task was exacerbated by poor relations with the Ministerial Council and some members of the AWDC. The difficulties of the C.C. in coming to terms with its role undermined its capacity to make a useful contribution to planning the growth centre particularly in its earliest stages. The lack of consideration given to the C.C. and its suggestions by decision-makers encouraged some of its members to outspokenly criticise the AWDC.

It is believed within the AWDC that the C.C.'s most useful contribution was the Advisory Committees (A.C.) it generated. These committees were set up following a public meeting called by the C.C., to advise it on specialised areas of planning such as business and labour, church affairs, environment and conservation, education, pre-school and child care, health, welfare and youth and rural matters, creative and performing arts and sport and recreation. The committees consist of interested people, often already working in the particular area of the committees interest.

Although formally set up to advise the C.C., the A.C.s have usually worked directly with the AWDC. This frustrated the C.C. but provided the A.C.s with a more direct focus for their advice. Some of the A.C.s have been judged more effective than others. Those with a narrow focus and explicit potential contribution, as well as an active chairman, have been judged to have contributed most. Members of the A.C.s and of the AWDC have concluded from their experience that participatory structures should be closely tailored to deal with specific problems in a flexible way, perhaps by setting up temporary working groups.

Officials Committees, comprising high level officers from the various government institutions and agencies involved in Albury-Wodonga development, have also been established. These organise task forces and commission work consistent with AWDC guidelines, often drawing on the resources of the Advisory Committees. However, like the AWDC, these Committees have been criticised for failing to take adequate account of the advice of the C.C. and A.C.s and to keep them informed.

A review of this participatory structure was recently undertaken. It was directed by consultants and involved members of the C.C. and its A.C.s. A participatory device in itself, this workshop was designed to produce some ideas about community needs in the future and possible improvements to the participatory structure that would assist planning to satisfy those needs. Many of the problems associated with the existing structure already mentioned were identified. The absence of an independent chairman leading the Consultative Council and the appointment rather than election of its members were criticised. The aloof attitude adopted by the AWDC, the Ministerial Council and the Officials Committees and the slow and inadequate feedback provided to the C.C. and A.C.s were claimed to undermine the effectiveness of these bodies.

One of the most serious problems of the participatory machinery identified was its lack of integration with existing community power structures. It widened, rather than superseded, existing divisions of interest in the community, and reduced further the already marginal bargaining power of these bodies in the community. It has been argued that the C.C. and A.C.s should have been able to report directly to local councils as well as the AWDC. This would have encouraged them to be a link rather than a barrier between it and the community.

While the Consultative Council and Advisory Committee structure were the main mechanisms used to secure public participation in Albury-Wodonga, numerous other techniques have been used to disseminate information to the community and to gather information about community characteristics. There has been considerable emphasis on the distribution of leaflets describing the AWDC's activities. Some members of the AWDC maintain that this has not been as effective as personal contact with various groups in dispelling misapprehensions and conveying meaningful information. It is argued that greater community access to the corporation's information and personnel is desirable. Household surveys have been used to identify community characteristics and it is proposed to survey community opinion on a number of specific issues. Other ways of introducing the existing residents to the planned development have been experimented with. One example, a guided bus tour of the growth areas, has provoked considerable interest.

Important Characteristics

1. It has been particularly difficult in Albury-Wodonga to reconcile within the participation program the needs of the existing community and those of the planned growth centre community. Participants have been more concerned with proposals that will solve the immediately pressing problems of the community rather than those that might be faced by a broader community.

2. Community interests in participation were not sufficiently clearly defined at the outset of the program. The participatory structure was based on the assumption of widespread enthusiasm for and a commitment to the resolution of future rather than existing problems. This commitment has been eroded, where it existed, by ill-defined tasks and institutional unwillingness to provide a rewarding role to the Consultative Council. The Albury-Wodonga experience in particular highlights the operational problems of committees comprising individuals with diverse expectations and interests.

3. The institutional commitment to participation in Albury-Wodonga development has fluctuated according to the political climate and other factors. This has made it extremely difficult to define and develop a consistent function for the various committees and for participation generally.

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BANKSTOWN TRAFFIC MANAGEMENT SCHEME

Background

The Bankstown Traffic Management Scheme was an early step in a continuing effort by Bankstown Council to restrict through traffic on streets in its municipality. Traffic, particularly heavy vehicles diverting from the Hume Highway and other major roads to residential streets, were causing road deterioration and problems of noise and safety (Fig. 2). Residents had been complaining to aldermen for some time, but measures to redress those complaints were implemented on an ad hoc basis without a consideration of the total problem and the implications of the action. This unleashed a series of events which eventually culminated in a decision by a public meeting to request Bankstown Council to prepare a comprehensive road hierarchy plan.

The council sought a scheme which would remove heavy traffic from the area and minimise local road deterioration. It also sought a scheme that would improve traffic flows on major roads and clarify responsibilities for individual roads hopefully relieving the council of the financial burden for maintaining roads used primarily as through routes. Lastly, the council hoped to improve residential environments within the municipality. A traffic management scheme was introduced in Bankstown's North Ward to satisfy these aims and to effect a road hierarchy system.

Public Participation in the
Traffic Management Scheme

Until a short time ago local councils had the power to implement road closures in N.S.W. Some schemes had prompted considerable opposition, and legislation was introduced to remove local council powers. It was in this climate that Bankstown Council was considering closures, and it recognised at the time that it would need to act quickly if closures were to be implemented.

Prior to introduction of the scheme aldermen and council officers had had considerable contact with the community over traffic issues. Several petitions had been received, some experimental closures had been undertaken and an opinion survey had determined that traffic safety and noise were perceived as the worst environmental problems in the area. At one meeting

residents demanded extensive "upgrading" of their street. However, council officers were able to convince them that closing the road, landscaping it and sealing it to a narrower width was a better solution to their problems.

As a result of these experiences Bankstown Council felt it had an accurate feel for the problem and the way the community would be likely to perceive alternative solutions. This information and the previously mentioned urgency in implementing the closures, effectively dictated the council's approach to public involvement in planning. Aldermen and council officers were convinced that road closures were the best solution to the problem, but they felt that opening up the issue for public debate would indefinitely delay implementation. Most of the aldermen were confident that, once implemented, the closures would be seen as a success by residents.

Traffic counts, cordon surveys and journey to work movement patterns confirmed council suspicions about heavy traffic using residential streets and their belief that the major east-west movement involved through, rather than local, traffic. A scheme consisting of three levels of priority closures was developed. The first priority closures were designed to remove heavy through traffic and were to be implemented immediately, the second and third to facilitate movement on main and distributor roads and to improve the residential environment, were to be implemented at a later date.

All preparation for implementation of the scheme had been undertaken by council officers prior to council approval. As soon as approval was given the scheme was publicised through delivery of a leaflet to every household in the ward explaining the proposals. Priority 1 closures were to be implemented within two weeks and reviewed in three months. Residents were requested to organise public forums to discuss Priority 2 closures which appropriate council representatives would attend, and Priority 3 closures would only be implemented if a majority of residents requested it. At this stage the role envisaged for public participation was not the definition of problems or solutions but rather the suggestion of modifications to the scheme, particularly the implementation of Priority 2 and 3 closures.

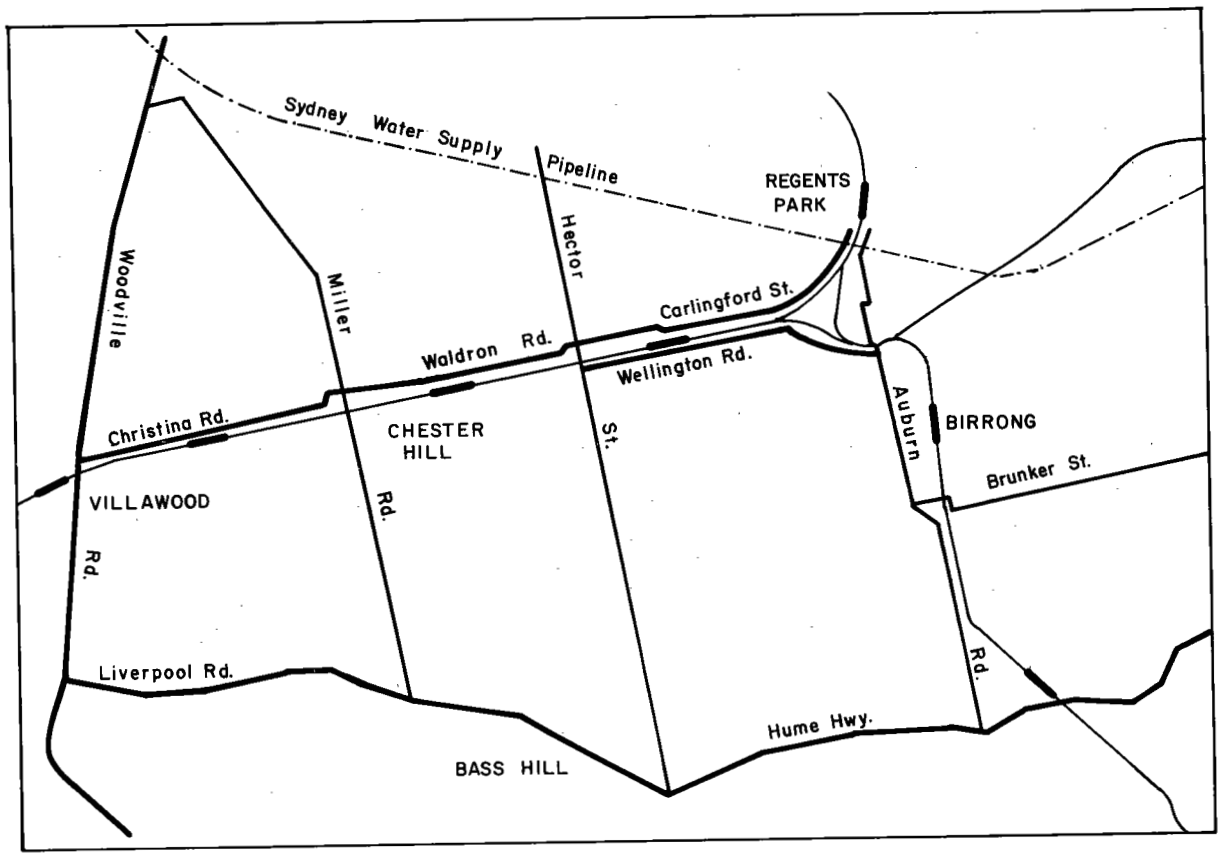

FIGURE A.2

BANKSTOWN (NORTH WARD)

The Institution

Bankstown Council sought a solution to a traffic problem that was becoming increasingly uncomfortable politically and one that was causing substantial financial problems. The road closures appeared to solve both simultaneously but had to be implemented immediately. The council's concern was to stimulate as little public opposition as possible. The public involvement program was designed to advertise the closures and encourage support, and the three levels of closures enabled immediate implementation of the key ones and public debate over the less important. The priority 3 closures provided a specific opportunity for residents interested in being involved to contribute to and modify plans.

When first implemented the road closures did not remove heavy vehicles from residential streets even though available through routes were circuitous. However, with a number of amendments to the scheme and concerted efforts to 'educate' truck drivers (for example, through the erection of temporary boom gates) the closures did effect a hierarchical use of roads.

However, the road closures were part of a more comprehensive traffic management strategy designed to reduce local road deterioration and its costs to the council and the community. The closures have not been successful in fostering a reallocation of responsibilities for road maintenance and the council is still faced with costly maintenance of local roads serving other than a local function. The condition of local roads is also still perceived to be a problem by members of the community who recently responded to an invitation to submit ideas for the development of the road hierarchy system.

The Community

The people in Bankstown directly affected by the scheme generally shared the same concerns over heavy traffic and local road conditions. The existence of a problem was widely recognised. Opposition to the closures from within the ward came mainly from shopkeepers who feared adverse effects on trade. In some cases closures were modified in response, but it was generally found to be difficult to placate this opposition even though it was demonstratable that local trade was not dependent on through traffic and that declining trade was not generally attributable to closures.

The public involvement process did not seek to gain support for the scheme through engaging the community in the process of defining the problem and considering the solutions prior to making decisions. However, at meetings after the decisions on closures had been taken, the decisions were defended in terms of the costs of alternatives. However, some refinement in the definition of the problem did occur as a result of these discussions.

Techniques

Public involvement in Bankstown was concerned mainly with advertising and soliciting public responses to the less important proposed closures. The leaflet distributed by council to all households in the ward contained names and phone numbers residents could contact to give information or to arrange meetings. Most calls complaining about the closures were from people outside the ward who felt they would be adversely affected. The closures were not advertised on a broader metropolitan basis aside from mixed press coverage.

A few public meetings were organised to find out how people were reacting to the closures and any problems that were arising. Specific meetings were also organised in response to requests from residents facing particular problems. These meetings, usually dominated by hostile groups, did not provide a very good opportunity for officers to defend the closures. It was pointed out that upgrading of local roads to a point where they could permanently accommodate the sort of traffic they were now experiencing was an expensive solution to traffic problems, if indeed it was a solution at all. The closures could solve the problem more simply. Other individuals who complained about closures at the meetings tended to be those who were experiencing a deterioration of their access.

Major complaints about the scheme derived mainly from drivers using the streets but ill-informed about the closures. The Bankstown council made to deal with this problem through the provision of information to taxi companies, service van and bus operators, and heavy vehicle drivers, and through the modification of street directories to accurately portray closures.

Some modification to the style and location of closures have been made as a result of discussions and some closures have emerged as unnecessary or impossible to police. Alternative methods of closing streets and restricting traffic have also been considered.

Important Characteristics

1. Bankstown Council is both an operating and implementing authority and a directly accountable political body. The implementation of the road closures satisfied both these functions to some extent, through a scheme which was generally perceived to be a reasonable solution to a widely recognised problem and which at least partially achieved council aims.

2. The case demonstrates some of the advantages of incorporating public comment into a specific but flexible set of proposals, rather than at an early stage of planning. There were no problems about generating interest and the proposals provided a basis for negotiation. The need for an immediate solution was shared by both the council and the community. It could be concluded that most of the community were not seeking early involvement, involvement per se or even a very different alternative solution. The community's interest in participating generally parallelled the council's interest, namely in local issues and street specific suggestions.

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EASTERN CORRIDOR STUDY

Background

The Eastern Corridor Study (ECS) arose from two separate studies, the Ringwood Roads Impact Study (RRIS) begun by the Country Roads Board in 1974 at the eastern end of the corridor and the Koonung Valley Corridor Study (KVDS) initiated in 1975 by the Melbourne and Metropolitan Board of Works (MMBW) at the western end (Figure 3). The RRIS had attracted considerable criticism because of public questioning about planned freeway networks in general, but more specifically in response to a published report on road alternatives in the Ringwood area. Community opposition to the RRIS findings intensified following the identification of one of the consultants employed on the study as a member of a local action group. A subsequent Board of Review to the RRIS[1] established the accusations of bias as unfounded.

Criticism of the RRIS was not confined to the public, but other authorities and ministries saw this as an opportunity to assert their understanding and capacity to cope with these sort of planning problems. In July 1975 State Cabinet decided that the Ministeries of Transport and Planning should be given the responsibility for combining the RRIS and KVCS and a Steering Committee was appointed to manage the new study. It was widely believed that this new broader study of the eastern corridor with a wide-ranging management committee and a commitment to identifying community concerns would overcome the problems that had characterised the earlier study.

The structure of the new study took account of the difficulties that had been experienced by its predecessors and reflected the expectations and the considerable significance that had become attached to the role of public involvement. This structure included an independent study manager with the technical backing of the Joint (CRB, MMBW) Working Group on transport planning involving these two authorities, consultants as data collectors, the Management Committee (MC) comprising representation from three ministries, the MMBW and the

(1) M.J. deRohan, D.C. Kneebone, E.B. Noxon, Ringwood Roads Impact Study, Report of Investigations by the Board of Review, June 1975.

CRB. It was designed to create the image of an objective and technically sound study team whose recommendation would have a high degree of credibility in the public's eyes. Politically it was hoped that the new study might at least avoid the accusation of another CRB 'PR job'. Better still it might defer or defuse a lot of the public opposition that had become politically uncomfortable.

Public Participation in the ECS

The ECS inherited the public participation programs attached to the RRIS and KVCS at very different stages of development and which employed different techniques. In the RRIS the public had been confronted with several route alternatives, some of which involved considerable acquisition, and were asked to comment. At Koonung the MMBW had set up a Citizen's Committee of interested persons to discuss broad, largely non-threatening issues at a very early stage in the study. Public and small group meetings were programmed for later in the study to discuss more specific effects of alternatives on individuals.

The first objective of the ECS was to identify community concerns related to the existing and future transportation system. The study also aimed to generate and evaluate proposals taking into account mobility needs, social, economic, environmental, land-use, engineering and other factors, by consulting the community in these processes. The consultant employed on the study was responsible for the collection of information about existing and future impacts as well as community views. Their interaction with interest groups consisted of facilitating the opportunity for these groups to present their views to the study team. The consultants conveyed these views in their report to the Management Committee which also solicited the views of action groups directly through the invitation to make submissions.

The Community

The existence of two previous but different studies meant that the ECS was dealing with a community with widely divergent expectations and levels of interest. The ECS had to direct its program simultaneously to an informed and divided community at one end of the corridor and a less aware community at the other. The participation program had to be tailored to a community at the eastern end which had polarised into sectors opposing each of the two main

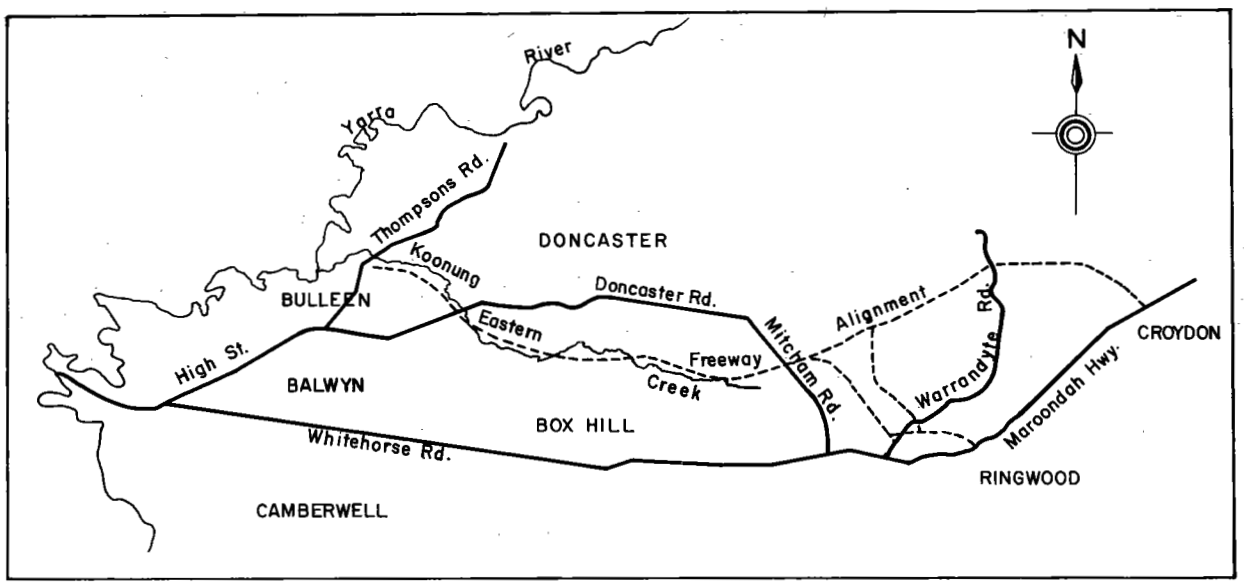

FIGURE A.3
EASTERN CORRIDOR STUDY AREA

alternatives. This group had clearly defined views and a prime need to influence recommendations according to their preferred alternative rather than to 'be informed'. In constrast, people at Koonung were generally not informed about issues of alternatives (except for a small group who were preparing for a much longer study). The expectations of these people were suddenly changed.

The existence of thirteen action groups when the study was announced had the advantage of reducing the consultants task of familiaring people with the issues and existing proposals. The study team did not have to keep revisiting the community to allow time for information to be absorbed and for views to be developed and crystallised. The existence of clearly defined views however, also meant that the issue had become politicised, difficult to disentangle from other local political interests, particularly for some members of the study team initially unfamiliar with local issues.

The Institution

The Ministries of Transport, Planning and Conservation were represented on the Management Committee of the Eastern Corridor Study, as well as the CRB and MMBW. Views about public participation varied from the belief that contact with those directly affected was all that was necessary, to a commitment to participation as the only way to identify all major issues and generate an acceptable solution. Within the CRB and MMBW the views of those involved differed in relation to their expectations regarding the role and purpose of participation.

The administrative structure of the ECS was designed to distance the institutions lacking public credibility from the study and to allow the basis of study control to be broadened so that recommendations to the Government would recognise the whole range of implications, rather than those for only a single authority. The consultants formally communicated with the Management Committee through the Manager of the Joint Working Group and the independent Study Manager, both of whom attended Management Committee meetings. The Management Committee itself comprised broad representation.

There were a number of advantages with the study structure. Access to the Minister was prompt through the Director of Transport rather than a Board, and the study apparently was not so readily identifiable as a public relations exercise by a single authority. Members of the Management Committee were acutely aware of the political situation and its implications for the various Ministries (Transport, Planning and Conservation) they were representing as well as for the others involved.

On the other hand the people dealing constantly and directly with the public (i.e. the consultants) were several steps removed from the Management Committee. Public feedback as through the consultant attending some Management Committee meetings and the Study Manager both jointly organising and attending the five public meetings. The Management Committee was not directly confronted with the impact of public feelings.

Techniques

The techniques utilised in the public participation program were basically oriented towards information dissemination through five public meetings, the distribution of information in bulletins and displays of information in CRB offices and other locations. Other techniques were designed to elicit information through meetings with council representatives, home interviews and mail-back surveys of households near proposed routes, and the invitation and receipt of submissions. Probably the most important aspect of the participation program were the consultant and Study Manager contact with action groups. The program ended with a joint meeting of representatives from all 13 action groups, the consultant and joint working group, where each group was given an opportunity to explain its viewpoint to those with direct access to the Management Committee.

Whilst some techniques were oriented towards eliciting information about the impacts of various alternatives, the dissemination of information was aimed more closely at creating a climate of acceptance, avoiding the 'we were never told' criticism, reducing opposition based on misunderstandings, and generating a body of informed opinion. The public meetings, however, did not become the expected forum for acceptance through informed exchange. The

displays in the CRB offices did not attract much interest, mainly because of their unapproachable location, although others located at a High School and at meetings were more popular. Even so, a large proportion of queries related to individual's compensation rights rather than comment about the display material.

In terms of eliciting information, the corridor was so big and expected construction so far in the future that most people were discouraged from commenting. Those interested did not adequately appreciate the time horizon as they perceived the construction of the road as imminent.

The final public meeting had the explicit purpose of allowing groups an opportunity to refine submissions before the last data gathering. It also served another purpose and one in which the consultant and some members of the institutions involved placed great weight. This was the opportunity to precipitate an "educative experience". That is, the development of the community's awareness of the issues, their comprehension of technical concepts and of the views of the other groups, and their ability to question and reflect in an informed manner. This exercise in public participation was an unexpectedly rewarding one, for most because they watched other people developing their understanding, for some because their own views were modified in the process.

Important Characteristics

1. In studies precipitated by controversy there is always a danger that the study will be used politically to defuse conflict or buy time. It is crucial under these circumstances that responsibility for the decision is understood to remain firmly with the politician and that any decision is not delayed unnecessarily. Drawn-out studies exacerbate rather than relieve conflict and pressure for a decision. This was recognised in the ECS although it suffered from some of the difficulties consequent upon the existence of a tight time schedule such as poor availability of information that is publicly demanded.

2. Difficulties arise in large or complex studies where decision-makers inevitably become remote from the study. The need of some participants to have access to influence is frustrated. The consultant is often perceived to be in an obstructive role, attempting to solicit the

co-operation of groups but effectively frustrating them and resulting in their dissillusionment with the study. Study team members also face great problems in conveying the enormous amount of information generated with sensitivity and clarity to decision-makers.

3. In the ECS the needs of various groups and individuals within the community covered the full spectrum. People were faced with a wide variety of problems and viewed them from different standpoints and advocated conflicting solutions. The case demonstrates the difficulty of developing an understanding of these diverse needs and the consequent difficulty in selecting participatory techniques adequate to cope with them. For example, the public meetings were dominated by a vociferous minority and did not provide all interested people with a good opportunity to express their views. Neither did they attract the attendance of the many others with genuine needs about whom the study team were particularly concerned. Technical information giving support to various alternatives was not available at a time when pressure groups were demanding it. Also, amendment to the planning scheme was not perceived as an adequate finishing point for the study of many of the people involved.

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6. M.J. deRohan et. al., Ringwood Roads Impact Study, Report of Investigations by the Board of Review, Melbourne, June 1975.

7. Voorhees, A.M. and Partners, Eastern Corridor Study Bulletins Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 and Final Bulletin, Melbourne, August-December, 1975.

8. Voorhees, A.M. and Partners, Eastern Corridor Study Summary Report, (prepared for Management Group), Melbourne, February, 1976.

MORPHETTVILLE BUS DEPOT

Background

Prior to the 1974 Adelaide's metropolitan area had been served by a large number of privately owned bus services. At this time most private bus owners transferred their services, buses and depots to the State Transport Authority (STA). Six private operators had previously been serving Adelaide's south western suburbs and after the STA took over it became obvious that a rationalisation of facilities was necessary.

The STA began looking for a new, larger bus depot site in the area and after assessing alternative sites decided Morphettville was the best location and acquired a property (Fig. 4). The site was flat, planted with grape vines, but zoned appropriately as District Commercial and had been under contract for sale as a supermarket development.

The location of the new depot was announced by Ministerial release in the Sunday paper. A map was published incorrectly showing some houses as being directly affected. This aroused considerable public concern and a deputation to the Minister followed. A Bus Depot Action Committee, led by a local student, was formed to object to loss of the vineyards, disruption caused by bus movement to an adjacent school and dwellings, and deterioration of local views.

Responding to the level of conflict in the community, a firm of local consultants approached the Minister offering to act as an interpreter between the STA and the community. The STA engaged the consultants to conduct public meetings as part of developing an Environmental Impact Statement which the Commonwealth Government had requested prior to making funds available for the depot.

Public Participation at Morphettville

Structured public involvement was sought in this case only after a decision had been taken on the project. Public participation was sought to appease trouble makers and encourage community acceptance of the decision on depot location. The STA believed that acquiring the property was the first priority and that to delay purchase to allow public discussion would have been costly and commercially impracticable.

It has been acknowledged by many of those involved in this case that Morphettville was the best location for the depot and that in many respects the STA's evaluation of alternatives had been both rigorous and sensitive to the environment. The locals named a diversity of objections to the site. This diversity has been interpreted as evidence that the underlying objection was simply the STA's neglect of the community in its planning. Local politicians and the general public complained about the site, but also about the way community views had been ignored in the early processes of site selection and evaluation and in later processes of designing the depot to minimise adverse community impacts.

Institution

The STA is an operating authority which considers its planning process is responsive to community requirements. It has traditionally not provided opportunities for the public to contribute to its planning process.

The STA considers in retrospect that community opposition was whipped up by the consultants' meetings with the Bus Depot Action Committee prior to the preparation of an Environmental Impact Statement (EIS). It saw little benefit arising from these meetings and did not envisage that community comment at this stage could usefully alter the design of the depot to be more acceptable to the community. The only useful modifications to the design it saw resulting from the EIS procedure were some suggestions made in the formal submissions of other government bodies.

In a subsequent depot site selection exercise at Aldgate, the STA first requested the local council to advise if it had any objections to the proposed site. The matter was discussed at an open council meeting and a press representative in attendance wrote an item to the local newspaper. The Authority conducted further discussions with potentially affected people and relevant Ministers and Departments. In this instance local people were given an opportunity to discuss the matter before an apparent commitment was made.

Although Aldgate involved a much smaller area than Morphettville, the STA judges that the advantages of this approach compared to Morphettville are obvious - STA officers, rather than consultants, were involved and could speak more authoritatively and were less open to the accusation of a 'white wash job'.

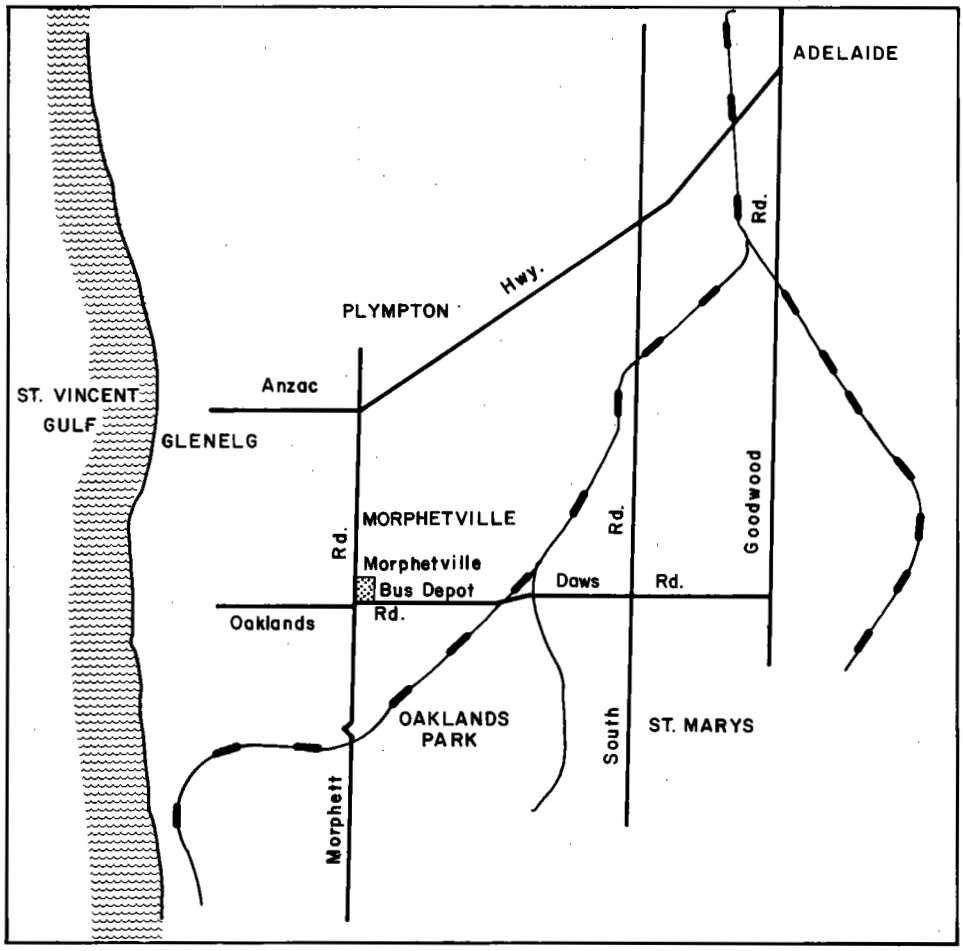

FIGURE A.4
LOCATION OF MORPHETVILLE BUS DEPOT
IN RELATION TO ADELAIDE AND SUBURBS

The Study Team

At Morphettville the consultants were engaged to conduct public involvement that would satisfy both the discontented public and the Authority. However, they aimed to develop a public involvement structure for planning. What evolved was a compromise procedure for involving the community in developing an Environmental Impact Statement. This was interpreted as inadequate by both the STA, in retrospect, and the community because, for the former it seemed to generate opposition, and for the latter it was perceived to be an attempt merely to appease the public rather than to involve them in planning. The consultants maintained that even though Morphettville was assessed to be the best site for the depot the STA should have committed itself to developing this solution through a defensible process of public involvement.

The Community

The Morphettville site of 15 acres is abutted by a winery, school, driving school, army camp and drive-in theatre, as well as a residential street (Fig. 5). Community opposition at Morphettville was led by a few spokesmen, key figures in the Bus Depot Action Committee, who argued that other Government-owned land should be used for the bus depot and the Morphettville site be reserved as open space. Other grievances expressed in the broader community were predicated upon the belief that the community had a right to be consulted on how the site was developed.

Objections that were raised, such as the historic significance of the grape vines and preferences for an alternative type of development of the site, were overcome through the process of discussion. However, in contrast to the Aldgate experience, the community was not encouraged to discuss personally with STA officers the effects of the depot and to suggest modifications to the development and to services which might benefit local residents. Affected people and those who had made submissions were invited to the opening ceremony.

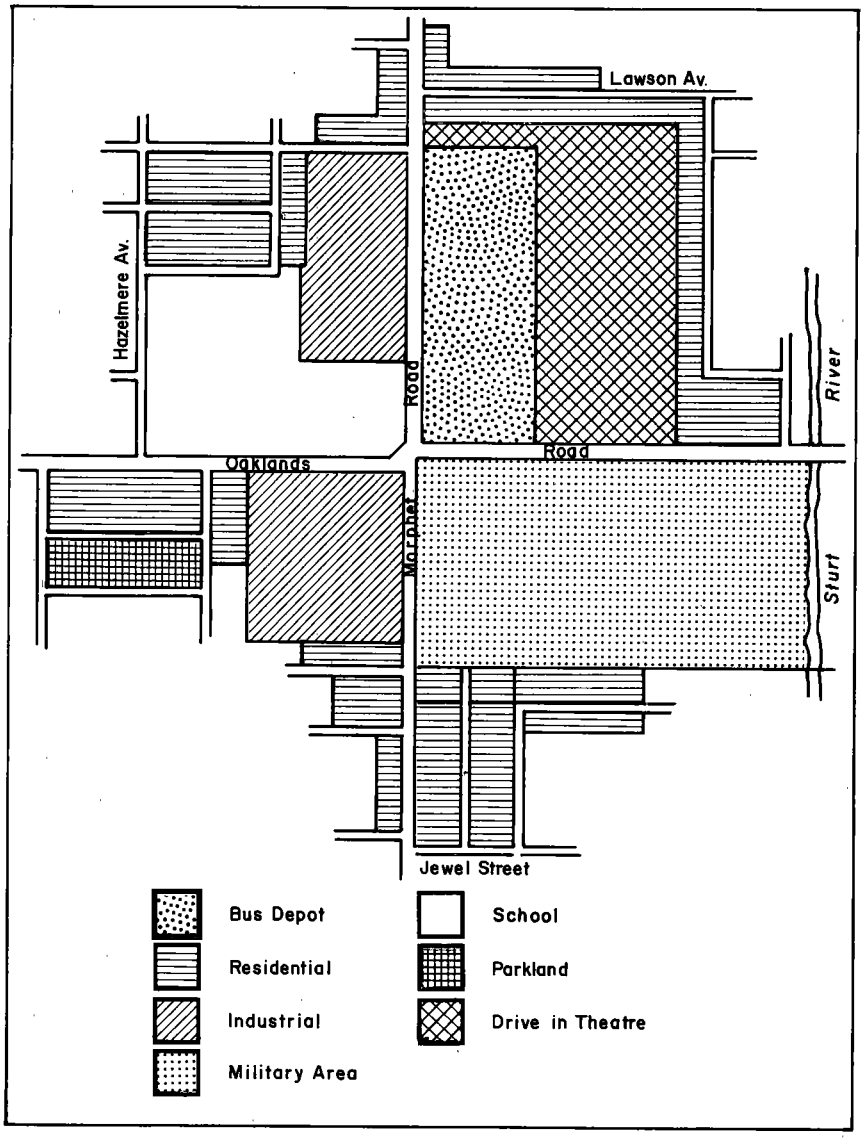

FIGURE 5.

MORPHETVILLE BUS DEPOT

The persistence of a monitoring committee, the success of the Bus Depot Action Committee indicates the continuing rights of involvement some members of the community feel about the depot.

Techniques

The public involvement undertaken at Morphettville consisted of public meetings and a call for submissions. Regular meetings with the public were held during the process of drafting the EIS. After the EIS was made public, two further public meetings were held at which STA officers explained the proposals and submissions were received.

The meetings to discuss the completed EIS were not assessed to be very effective since the same outspoken critics dominated each, using them as an opportunity to mobilise opposition rather than make constructive comment on the drafts. The consultants employed on the study were identified as the STA's mouthpiece and it was concluded that it was very important to have some experts from the STA and other Authorities at meetings to answer technical queries. The submissions did not provide much information that had not been already identified, except for some comments on bus depot design from other departments.

Important Characteristics of Morphettville

1. Some interested groups will inevitably seek to become involved in the early stages of planning and their need for information should be accommodated. Involvement would probably not be sought by a large section of the community but there is a need for it to recognise the solution as the most appropriate one arising from a defensible process of evaluation. Thus, the proponent of a particular solution must take great care to ensure the selected alternative will stand up to public criticism and analysis. Finally, once a solution has emerged as preferable, the community can play an active role in detailed design to make that solution more acceptable.

2. Difficulties arose because the client institution and its consultants held two different views of the role of participation in the study. The public meeting techniques used by the consultant had little chance of satisfying the institutional objectives of making the depot site more acceptable.

3. Press releases announcing development decisions should be correct and complete in detail. Any announcement should be accompanied by individual discussions between officers of the authority involved and affected residents.

4. The STA faced problems in reconciling economic and commercial considerations with the simultaneous need to generate public discussion and acceptance of a proposal. A short and intensive process of public involvement during alternative site selection and evaluation may have represented a compromise solution.

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NEWCASTLE CORRIDOR STUDY

Background

In 1974 the Australian Government introduced the National Roads Act, acting on the Commonwealth Bureau of Roads recommendation in its 1973 Report on Roads that a National Highway system be declared. The Bureau also recommended that more detailed investigations in particular corridors should be undertaken before the final location of the National Highway be decided. One of these corridors was between Sydney and Brisbane in the Newcastle area and in 1975 the Federal Minister for Transport requested that the Bureau investigate and report on alternative routes for the National Highway in this vicinity.

The location of the National Highway in the Newcastle area and either east or west of Lake Macquarie had been a contentious local issue for some time. (Fig.6) There had been many objections to the traffic on existing routes through Newcastle, particularly coal trucks, and there had also been vigorous opposition to Department of Main Roads proposals to improve existing routes to freeway standard, particularly through Blackbutt Reserve. The considerable level of local controversy was one of the factors prompting the Minister, also a resident of the area, to request the Bureau to conduct its investigation.

Public Participation in Newcastle

The Newcastle Study was the second National Highway study the Bureau had undertaken. The first was an investigation of a section of the Hume Highway between Goulburn and north of Albury. In the Hume Study several innovatory planning and evaluation procedures were employed including techniques of public participation. The Newcastle Study was seen as an opportunity to improve upon these procedures in the light of previous experience.

It emerged early in the Newcastle Study that the major question was the location of the road east or west of Lake Macquarie. The existing level of local and political interest in the location combined with great differences of interest between residents east and west of the Lake,

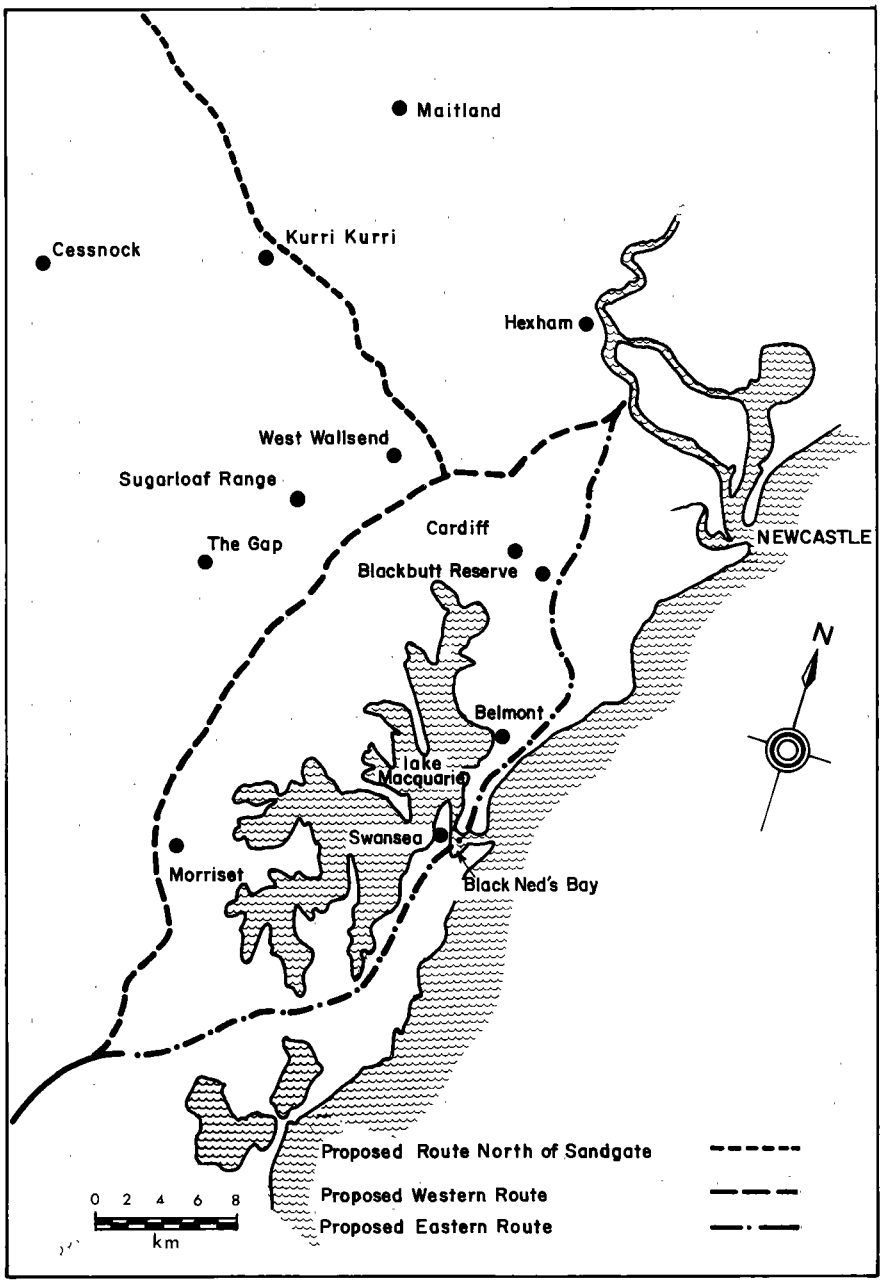

FIGURE A.6
NEWCASTLE STUDY AREA

suggested that precisely defining public sentiments and social effects should occupy a major role in the study, especially since the investigation was concerned with general location rather than detailed design.

The varying levels of community interest in the road's location dictated the need for a different public participation approach to that used in the Hume Study. West of the Lake effort was needed to elicit enough interest in the study to identify any issues relevant to the location of a route. The public participation program had to be sufficiently flexible to involve these groups in addition to those in the east where the issues were more familiar.

Institution

Within the Bureau it was agreed that public participation was essential to the study. It was an important aspect of a planning methodology that was being nurtured in the Bureau, and also was seen to be a particularly significant aspect of any study concerned with a contentious problem. There was an institutional commitment to the study and its success as evidenced by the direct involvement of several senior officers of the Bureau.

The Study Team

A commitment to public participation was also made by staff of the Bureau on the study team. However, there were differences in the precise definition of the role of public participation amongst staff. For some, getting the community interested and getting them to scrutinise their own ideas was seen as an end in itself, in addition to helping to clarify community preferences. They saw that, to some extent, it was the community's responsibility to facilitate a better solution through becoming heavily involved and showing evidence of having scrutinised its views.

For others in the Bureau public participation was seen as a way of defining the limits of acceptability, as part of a process of developing a solution that is most desirable but also implementable. The interests of various groups as they are expressed and refined are seen as basic constraints,

like other technical data or environmental features, that impinge on the study and upon an acceptable recommendation. An important feature of public participation in this view is the process of ratifying the developing solution with the community.

The consultants assisting the study team in the public participation program for Newcastle were mainly concerned to make the National Highway location 'an issue'. For some, this was an end in itself. They believed that meaningful and rewarding public participation for both planner and participant cannot occur without a high level of interest and controversy. For others amongst the consultants it was important to make location an issue in order to stimulate maximum awareness and identification of all relevant factors in the community, which in turn avoids important issues and interests being raised at a later stage of the study when they are more difficult to handle.

The consultants saw a major purpose of public participation as disseminating information, particularly through the media. The more provocative the information campaign the better, because it adds to the quality of the information gathered and presented to the Bureau. The information produced by the consultants as a result of public participation, they saw as being just one set of data impinging on the decision-makers, and they therefore felt an obligation to make that information as compelling and comprehensive as possible.

It was recognised by all members of the study team that the strategic nature of issues relevant west of Lake Macquaire compared to the more concrete problems with the existing road in the east required very different approaches to and expectations about, participation. Nonetheless, some members of the study team found the approach adopted in the east with its accompanying high level of articulated community interest and awareness of issues, easier to evaluate and more satisfying to be involved in than the approach employed in the west. The difficulty of drawing out the implications of the route in the latter context was seen to pose a problem for effective participation measured in the terms most available to the planner, the interest generated and sense of personal satisfaction.

The Community

The community involved in the Newcastle study, divided geographically by Lake Macquarie, had experienced quite different local conditions, provoking two very different levels of interest in the study. People in the east, residents of suburban Newcastle had been exposed to local debate and resident groups had been formed to lobby within the community over issues related to road proposals, in particular preservation of Blackbutt Reserve. The rural communities west of Lake Macquarie were more dispersed and had not experienced pressing problems relating to traffic or movement which may have provided a strong incentive to seek to influence the study.

Although nominally the public participation techniques used in the east and west were the same, community reactions differed significantly and provided the study team with different kinds of information. In the east the issues had been discussed, arguments had been refined, people were motivated and took strong stands. In the west people did not concentrate on presenting detailed information on a few specific issues and their information about particular issues was more variable.

Members of the study team from the Bureau and the consultants viewed the contribution of the two groups differently. At one extreme the issues raised by people in the east were seen as more reliable because they had been discussed at length and were vehemently espoused by a larger number of people. On the other hand, the people in the west were demonstrably appreciative rather than distrustful of the study team's efforts, and they were able to think in flexible terms about issues at an abstract level, rather than concentrating on fixed solutions.

Techniques

The public participation program followed a windshield survey of the study area and some early general discussions which identified the main issues and the most appropriate ways to involve the community.

Two issues affecting the location of the National Highway had gained publicity before the study began - the traffic, particularly coal trucks, on existing routes through suburban Newcastle and the threat to

Blackbutt Reserve. The consultants suggested, and Bureau staff agreed, that the major role of the public participation program was to clarify these and identify other relevant issues through discussion with all those people in the Newcastle area potentially affected by the choice of route. Drawing out these issues from people who had not already thought much about the National Highway was seen to be best achieved through detailed personal discussions with already organised groups rather than through surveying attitudes. These were conducted on the basis of a snowball sample, where initial contacts suggest further contacts and each of these suggest others.

Discussions were held with a wide range of industralists. It was assessed by some members of the study team that the issues that emerged as a result could have been identified through less extensive and time-consuming discussions. The broadness of the study meant that most people west of Lake Macquarie did not readily perceive they had a specific interest in it. In contrast, groups on the east side of the Lake used the discussions as an opportunity to present strongly advocated arguments. The sampling technique for the discussions was assessed as economical and quick, capitalising on organised groups more likely to have, and be able to express a view, than the broader community.

The discussions were followed by a series of mobile displays, a media campaign and some public meetings. At this later stage of the study when more refined information about route options became available, wider interest in the study was anticipated and opportunities provided for public reactions to be registered more comprehensively. The meetings provided people with an opportunity to discuss and register their views with the study team. They were also seen by some members of the study team to identify the problems associated with particular arguments and to generate support for important arguments that were emerging.

The consultants were aiming for a much more ambitious media campaign than eventuated. No real evaluation of the media program was undertaken and it is clearly difficult to measure the community's comprehension of the issues as distinct from their immediate interest.

However, inevitably the study team seeks some indicators or feedback from its efforts such as the public reactions provoked. In these terms the media coverage was not as successful as was hoped, although the press were responsive. The displays generally provoked more interest, reflected in the leaflets distributed, particularly where they were set up in major shopping centres.

Important Characteristics

1. In the Newcastle Study there were significant differences in the attitudes of members of the study team and the consultants assisting them to public participation. Although some agreement existed about the formal objectives of participation, efforts were being directed and evaluated by different ideas of what constitutes useful participation. Some of those involved valued highly the degree of specifity with which the community in the east demonstrated it had thought about the issues. In contrast, others thought that the more diffuse information about the characteristics of the community and movements generally that arose from discussions with people in the west and with industrialists was more useful. It provided, they maintained, some new insights in contrast to the repetitive and often not well researched arguments presented in the east.

2. These two different perspectives have implications for how particular participatory techniques are assessed. The 'best' meetings were seen by some members of the study team to be those where the people attending demonstrated a high level of awareness and put forward documented arguments. Other members of the study team valued the discussions that produced information for developing a solution through the process of planning. All members of the study team, however, values participants willingness to scrutinise their own beliefs. This self-critical capacity is valued because it means that the views expressed develop as a more defensible reflection of the participants perspectives, or because it demonstrates the participants willingness to negotiate an acceptable solution, or most often, because it provides the most rewarding dialogue for the study team.

3. Newcastle demonstrates the importance of institutional credibility if political intentions are to be fulfilled. As an 'independent' Federal body the Bureau's credibility with local groups was considerable. Its investigations were seen as having the most chance of resolving what had become a contentious issue. The problems of establishing and maintaining credibility were found to be most significant amongst the activist groups in the east. In the west the study team found that the rural communities perceived less at stake and consequently were less readily suspicious.

4. The techniques of extensive informal discussions with individuals and small groups used in Newcastle emerged as a particularly suitable means to identify the develop an understanding of less salient issues or pressing problems. In rural areas where communities are dispersed and interests of ten localised and specific, informal discussions can provide an efficient and rewarding exchange for planners and members of the community at an early stage of a study.

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NORTH EAST AREA PUBLIC TRANSPORT REVIEW (NEAPTR)

Background

The 1962 Town Planning Committee Report[1] recommended two freeways to serve Adelaide's north eastern suburbs, one of which ran partly along the Torrens Valley. A similar proposal figured in 1968 in the Metropolitan Adelaide Transportation Study (MATS) (Fig. 7). These proposals generated considerable public criticism which prompted the Government to commission a further study in 1970.[2] As a result, a moratorium on urban freeway construction was declared and the reservation along the River Torrens Valley was amended to a 'transportation route' in the Metropolitan Plan.

Some public transport alternatives such as a rapid transit rail line along the route were suggested by the Department of Transport[3], but it became obvious that a systematic consideration of alternatives would be necessary. After deliberation the Government resolved that a comprehensive study with full public involvement was appropriate. The North East Area Public Transport Review (NEAPTR) was set up with its objective

> 'To determine the steps that must be taken in the next five to ten years to provide the basis of a public transport system to serve the needs of the north east suburbs of Adelaide to the end of the twentieth century'[4]

Before and after approval for the study was given some doubts about it being the best course of action were expressed by other departments and authorities involved and some groups in the community. NEAPTR is a test case in attempting to resolve a contentious planning issue at least partially through the use of public involvement and those politicians who initially voiced support have made a considerable commitment to it. Three Ministers

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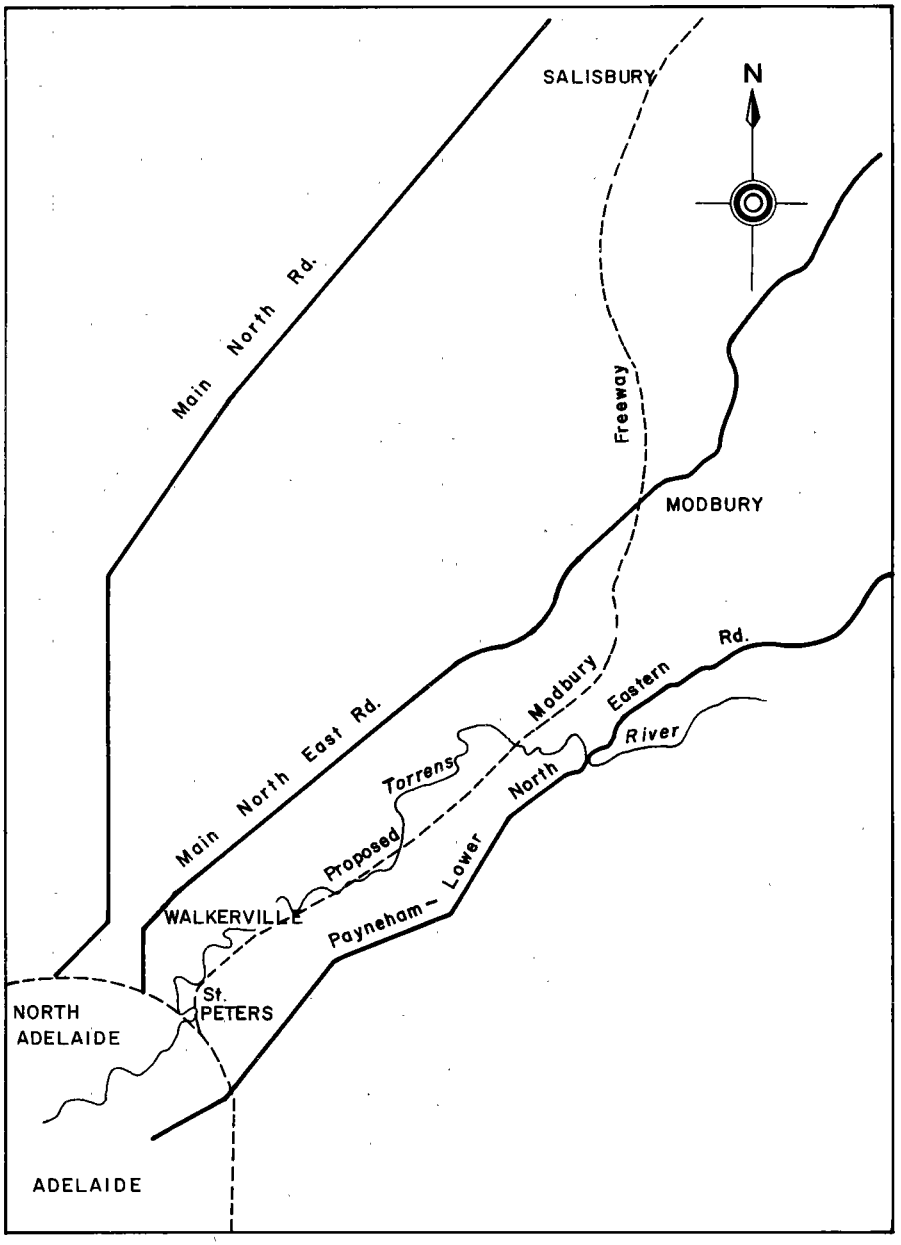

FIGURE A.7
NEAPTR STUDY AREA

and two backbenchers are involved in regular meetings concerning NEAPTR. Political interest has also been generated by the study because it covers an area in which four M.P.'s (including the Premier and his Deputy) either reside or have their electorate.

Public Participation in NEAPTR

NEAPTR's basic purpose is to produce proposals consistent with its objective, but the controversial history of the north-east transport corridor has emphasised the importance of ensuring these enjoy a level of acceptability amongst those involved, including a wide range of community groups, politicians and bureaucrats. There was a pressing political need to extricate the study from the problems associated with the corridor in the past and locate it in a context where acceptable solutions could be developed. Consequently, the process of public involvement has, to some extent, become an end in itself and the study has acquired significance as a prototype of utilising participation in planning.

In response to this need a management framework for public involvement in NEAPTR was developed.(1) This involved a 7 stage process in which the objectives for public involvement, the 'stakeholder groups' in the community and their needs and contributions are identified. Communication processes are then selected for each group, the process of public involvement commences and the processes are reviewed and modified where necessary. The stakeholder groups identified included affected individuals, elected representatives, broad interest groups, special interest groups, the media, planners and non-affected individuals.

A range of communication processes were developed to suit the stakeholder groups identified. It was hoped that one way to minimise the destructive criticism that had plagued the discussion of the north-east corridor in the past, would be to take every opportunity to inform the whole community about the study from its earliest stages. This was attempted but it has proved difficult to solicit the active involvement of the community other than the activist critics. The information dissemination program pursued in Stage 1 of the Study has not stimulated much feedback.

(1) Hutchinson, J. Public Involvement in Transport Planning. Paper delivered to Royal Institute of Public Administration, 1976.

Institution

A special team was set up within the Department of Transport to conduct NEAPTR. The Department reports directly to the Minister through the Director-General of Transport, but it is a planning body only. NEAPTR must rely on the State Transport Authority, Highways Department and other bodies to implement its planning guidelines. Further, its recommendations could have broad implications, for land use development and housing patterns. In these matters it must also rely on co-operation in planning from other bodies, such as the Land Commission, Housing and Urban Affairs Department and State Planning Office (SPO).

While there has been some exchange of information between the Department of Transport and other agencies, such as the SPO, considerable debate has centred on whether the Department should be the one responsible for conducting a study with such broad and far-reaching ramifications. There are obvious co-ordinating difficulties in both the planning and implementation of recommendations by a body with limited powers.

Study Team

NEAPTR has four stages to be completed over two years: a baseline stage to identify issues and needs and to collect data, option development, selection and ratification stages. There are six study streams including social, land-use, environment, economic, engineering and traffic. Running concurrently with these streams is a process of public information, discussion and review.

The study has been conducted by a multi-disciplinary team of five professionals and five support staff with assistance from a number of consultants. One consultant was specially engaged to design and assist the study team carry out the communications program for all streams of the study. They adopted the approach of identifying the needs of various groups in the community and developing and selecting participation techniques to suit these needs. Another consultant collected information on social issues the study should consider and utilised participation techniques such as workshops, as well as other means of data collection.

Study team members have expressed some disillusion about the participation program for a number of reasons. Some are doubtful of the feasibility of 'social management', of identifying all the relevant community groups and developing participatory mechanisms to suit them. Others are disenchanted with the lack of interest shown by the community at large in the study and the suspect motives of the interested minority. At the same time some lament the use of participation as an end in itself; the final plan is lost sight of and there is little scrutiny of how efforts contribute to the end product.

The Community

The study area covers a broad corridor stretching from the inner city to outer suburban areas and contains a diverse population. Considerable consternation had been expressed before the study began by academics and environmentalists because of the possible deterioration of inner city residential areas and the Torrens Valley resulting from some form of transport facility. Some groups were openly hostile and others potentially directly affected by transport proposals were suspicious of the planning process at the beginning of the study. The remainder of the community had a less direct interest in the study and it has been difficult to generate enthusiasm from this group.

Techniques

Participation techniques utilised as part of the communications program for the baseline stage included a door knock of the 12,000 affected households in the transport corridor, a leaflet drop to all households in the study area, a community file containing all information gathered and available in various locations, as well as some use of the media. These techniques were mainly directed at informing people of the study and allaying unnecessary fears. 'Mr. Todd' a mythical, but easily accessible first point of contact with the study team, was set up to encourage inquiries about the study and to provide some feedback about transport problems.

The Department had already established a Transport Planning Procedural Committee (TPPC) of representatives from interested organizations to comment on and review current processes of transport planning and proposed work programmes. This Committee was given the task of assisting in the

development of the participation program for NEAPTR. Other participation techniques utilised to collect information about transport issues at the baseline stage were two workshops, one comprising interested academics and the other environmentalists, some small group and individual meetings with local people, and a search conference involving a cross-section of organised groups.

The early efforts to make contact with a comprehensive cross-section of the community were assessed by the study team to be not particularly successful, although this was difficult to measure. Community groups generally found it difficult to consider abstract objectives and processes especially for the sustained period necessary for the study team to assimilate all the information. The TPPC found it difficult to organise their efforts around the completion of a conceptually demanding and not obviously rewarding task.

The small meetings and search conference in contrast were generally assessed to be useful in terms of providing information. This was particularly true in those cases where the people involved had a well-developed interest or common concern as a focus for discussion, but were willing to contribute to a dialogue. In the less successful workshop those attending were so committed to lobbying for their interests that no useful dialogue resulted. At the same time additional workshops involving randomly selected individuals rather than those sharing a common interest have also been less useful.

In Stage 2 of NEAPTR, exhibitions involving a short film have been used to introduce the community to general transport possibilities as a basis for later development of specific proposals. These exhibitions have been held at various centres throughout the corridor. They are assessed to have been effective because the public has been able to comprehend, has responded to the tangible nature of the proposals and have welcomed the opportunity for personal discussion with study team members.

Important Characteristics

1. NEAPTR is an ambitious planning exercise with a large study area and the potential to make significant recommendations. There are inevitable

difficulties in involving the public in this kind of study, especially when the study is accompanied by commitment to a high level of participation. Some of these difficulties are:

(a) the study and participation program can lose their sense of purpose and a firm basis for evaluating participation processes and techniques in the light of objectives;

(b) there is a tendency to overestimate potential public response to the opportunity to participate in a study and few people are prepared to maintain an interest in a study for an extended period; and

(c) the study team can find it difficult to assimilate vast amounts of information quickly, process it into some meaningful form and feed it back to the community without the latter losing interest.

The attempt to overcome some of these problems through identifying stakeholder groups and management strategies for each has considerable potential as an approach, although the case demonstrates the complexity of the task in a study like this.

2. NEAPTR, as a team within the planning section of the Department of Transport, faced difficulties demonstrating the credibility of its approach to other authorities, which are suspicious of participatory mechanisms but on whom NEAPTR depends for the implementation of its recommendations. In a sensitive institutional environment the Department has a need to maintain the significance of what NEAPTR is doing, keep up appearances and generate community approval. It cannot afford to make protocol mistakes and inconvenience other bodies, or vest its identity in a study so entirely that failure means collapse of its credibility with other Government Departments.

3. The particular needs of the study team (as distinct from the institution) are highlighted in NEAPTR. They need evidence of the community's interest to reinforce their commitment to the study. They are sometimes optimistic about likely levels of interest and they are generally very vulnerable to criticism from all sides - the institution, the politicians and community. They also need to feel confident about the approach they are adopting. The Department in consultation with the consultants

generated an approach to participation for NEAPTR. A study team was then set up, responsible for its implementation but not entirely sympathetic or familiar with the framework from which it was developed.

4. The techniques employed in NEAPTR demonstrate the problems with over-estimating community interest in a study. The TPPC demonstrates people's reluctance for sustained involvement and the low attendance at displays in the NEAPTR offices, their lack of interest in abstract concepts. The difficulties in living up to a commitment to make all information available without making it unmanageable is demonstrated by the community file. To some extent the workshops illuminated a limited willingness and capacity amongst community groups to participate in constructive dialogue.

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2. Director General of Transport (NEAPTR) Draft Baseline Summary Report, Adelaide, December, 1976.

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4. Trojan Owen and Associates NEAPTR - Completion of Survey, Evaluation Model and Strategy Development, Dulwich, S.A., February 1976.

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PUBLIC TRANSPORT COMMITTEES

Background

The Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust (MTT) has undertaken a strong marketing effort in recent times in response to its perception of the increasing problems being faced in the provision of public transport. The MTT has seen at least the partial resolution of these problems in the better 'selling' of the advantages of public as opposed to private transport.

Marketing policies have been adopted to boost patronage through improving the quality of the services offered to the community and increasing public awareness of and capacity to use those services. The MTT believe their drivers are their best salesmen and ways of increasing driver involvement have been developed, including participation of the unions in management. By encouraging the public to advise on public transport services the MTT has also maintained that the services it offers will improve as will the public's willingness to use them.

Public Participation through the Public Transport Committees

The Public Transport Committees (ATC's) enable the MTT to consult with the community about its services. The PTC's were set up to ensure that public transport reflected community needs in relation to public transport. Where changes could be made to timetables or services extended to accommodate suggestions made by PTC's, then these were seen as good opportunities to increase patronage and the general marketability of services.

The first committee was set up in response to some complaints by a member of a local Progress Association. The MTT felt they could improve the services in the area and called a meeting which was attended by more than 200 people. Subsequently residents from other areas contacted the MTT requesting similar meetings in their areas. Changes in services have been implemented as a result of meetings, for example a new express bus service to a shopping centre.

The local people elected to the Committees are often opinion leaders in constant contact with the community, and an ideal vehicle through which to communicate information about MTT services. The MTT also expected they would be able to mobilise other local groups, such as scouts or schoolchildren to inform for example, newcomers to the area, about available services. The PTCs were also set up to involve these local people in the marketing of public transport services.

Institution

The MTT has implemented a number of progressive changes in public transport in Perth. It has also successfully solicited the co-operation of other government authorities, organisations and the media in its operations. Its marketing strategies using outside resources have worked well and the MTT began the committees with the belief that they would suggest feasible and potentially profitable improvements. The MTT is keen to demonstrate it has acted on suggestions but makes it clear at initial meetings that there are severe financial constraints on what propositions can be considered.

The Community

The communities involved in the PTC's have varied considerably in their levels of interest and grievances, in the type and location of their residential area, and in the quality of public transport services available. The only meeting at which MTT officers faced a hostile audience was the first one, in an area where services were widely recognised as poor. While the meetings themselves have attracted audiences of very different sizes, the committees actually elected tend to be comprised of people prepared to sustain a level of involvement. These include members of local associations, school-teachers, religious and community leaders, social workers etc. An effort is made at meetings to encourage representativeness of members of the committee.

Techniques

Committees have mainly been set up in areas characterised by some existing agitation and scope for improvement of services. They are also initiated as a result of a request from a local resident who has observed the committees operating elsewhere. These circumstances, according to the MTT, create the best conditions for effective committees.

Once a decision has been made to set up a committee a meeting is organised through an existing organisation, such as a Progress Association and is usually advertised. At the meeting high level officers from the MTT explain the purpose of the committees and a PTC is elected. These usually comprise people who are already active in the community. The MTT holds discussions with the committee and they advise on public transport improvements as well as ways to inform the community about any changes.

There are currently nine operating committees, but so far no regular meetings beyond the initial ones have been called by the MTT. Some committees have continued independently, surveying attitudes and providing information, but the MTT acknowledge that it is difficult to maintain contacts and monitor the effects of changes.

Important Characteristics

1. In the PTC context it has been recognised that there is strong coincidence between the needs of the suppliers and users of public transport services generally. More specifically, committees have only been established where the institution has identified a clear coincidence, i.e. their capacity to feasibly meet community demands.

2. The PTCs also demonstrate how to meet the needs of different groups in the community - those wanting to be informed, those concerned enough to attend a meeting and voice an opinion, and those seeking more active involvement (the committee itself does not require too sustained a commitment from those involved).

Sources

1. Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust, 'Marketing's Role in Developing Urban Public Transport - How MTT Transport Committees are Now Being Formed', MTT Quarterly, Vol. 8. No. 3, August, 1976.

2. Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust MTT Quarterly, Vol. 8 No. 4, November, 1976.

SOUTHERN WESTERN AUSTRALIA TRANSPORT STUDY (SWATS)

Background

As part of a detailed examination of transport policy in Western Australia, the Director-General of Transport and Commissioner of Railways established a study under their Co-directorship to examine freight transport south of the 26 degree south parallel in that State (Fig. 8). The Southern Western Australia Transport Study (SWATS) was set up with a study team drawn from Westrail, the Director-General of Transport's Office, the Main Roads Department, the Transport Commission and a firm of consultants. Other assistance from the Department of Industrial Development, Treasury and Bureau of Transport Economics was made available. SWATS recommendations were to cover the appropriate steps and measures to implement any updated policy and scheduling to ensure their most acceptable implementation.

Public Participation in SWATS

As is evident in the SWATS terms of reference, the study co-directors were concerned that recommended measures enjoy a level of public acceptability in implementation. This suggested an important role for public participation in the study. The overall study aimed to recommend a policy that satisfied the technical efficiency criteria as well as being acceptable to the public.

The study team developed a three phase public participation program with the first 'interactive phase' marking the beginning of the study. This phase was aimed both at informing people about the study and identifying issues and problems that could be used as a basis for generating transport options. In the second interactive phase six policy options were presented to public meetings for comment. At phase three the refined options based on previous discussions were presented with detailed information about specific effects.

Public participation was an ongoing activity throughout the study, largely to reduce the likelihood of criticism that people were not informed of the study. The information arising from phase one added detail to existing proposals, rather than providing a profile of public opinion. The quality of interaction has been judged to have improved as the options and their effects have become more specific as clearer reactions to proposals have been elicited.

The Study Team were assisted by consultants throughout the public participation program. The consultants carried out phase one virtually independently but the Study Team and the Co-Directors themselves have found that their involvement has been increasingly important in generating community interest. Their involvement has also been crucial in discussions with various other government agencies with an interest in proposals, organised groups such as unions, and political representatives. It has been seen as very important to involve these groups, particularly potentially powerful critics of the study, at an early stage.

The Institutions

The SWATS Study Team was set up under the Director-General of Transport and Commissioner of Railways. Both the Transport Commission and Westrail have made a strong commitment to public involvement as the operators and administrators of current policy.

Prior to the commencement of SWATS some policy options had already been defined and some were emerging as more feasible than others - key criteria for their selection being their political and popular acceptability. Thus, for the institutions concerned the study to some degree simply represented a good opportunity to improve public relations. However, some changes to policies have been implemented as result of comments made during meetings and a number of misunderstandings clarified in connection with the current transport policy. The institutions involved believe it likely that further changes will occur at the completion of SWATS.

The Study Team

The people involved in the interactive phases of SWATS were drawn from both the consultants and the technical study team. They hoped for an active dialogure in public meetings resulting in the community being educated, thinking about new issues and providing information to the study as a result.

The Community

The study area comprised a large, predominantly rural section of Western Australia with a few towns serving a considerable hinterland. The distances involved posed special problems for publicising the study and encouraging people to attend meetings. The study did receive very different

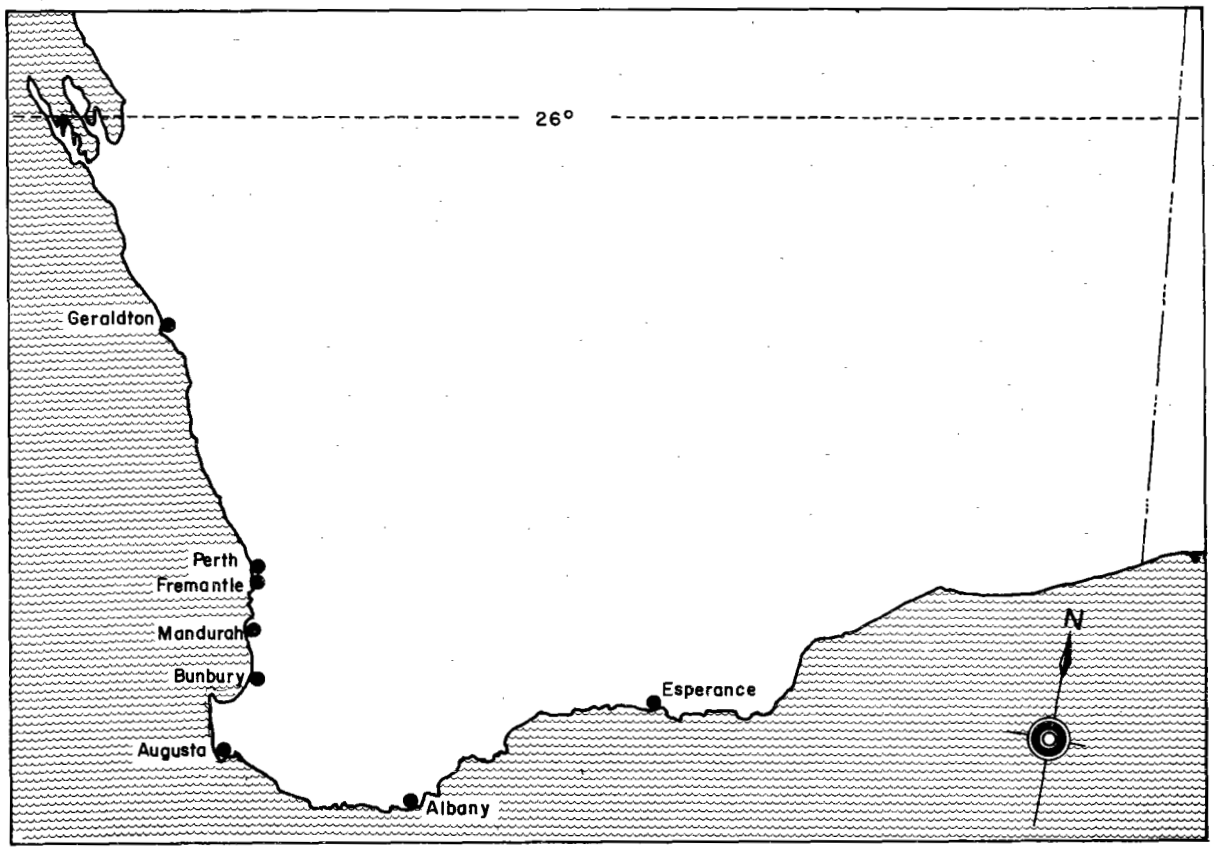

FIGURE A.8

SOUTHERN WESTERN AUSTRALIA TRANSPORT STUDY AREA

community responses, not necessarily related to the size of the town - the techniques utilised were not varied according to town size. The average attendance at meetings during phase two was 15 with the largest attracting approximately 100 people and the smallest only 1.

Attracting interest in remote rural areas was not difficult. Transport was often already a contentious issue in the town and people saw the meeting as an opportunity to protest, for example, about possible loss of a railway, or where an opinion leader in an area of particularly strong local community feeling had been contacted and was mobilising interest. In larger regional centres where transport by rail or road had a high frequency rate, there was a lack of community interest in meetings.

Generally the people attending meeetings found the concepts presented during phase two were vague and they tended to catch onto specific issues like road maintenance charges, where these were applicable. The Study Team attempted to discourage discussion being centred around these issues but it emerged as particularly important to have representatives from transport agencies at the meeting to respond to these queries. The phase one informal discussions avoided some of these problems, utilising an individual approach with people identifying particular problems in a less formal environment than a meeting.

Techniques

The techniques utilised in the interactive phases have been outlined. Most of the discussions carried out by the consultants in phase one were informal, often in a small group workshop format, and were judged by the consultant to produce good results. These were generally arranged through, and involved people who felt they had a stake in, the issues the study was considering. The reactions of local authorities and voluntary groups such as the Farmers Union and Chamber of Commerce differed widely.

Phase two meetings were more formal and began with an information presentation which included a tape and slide show. An information booklet setting out the options was sent to all people contacted in phase one. The public, sceptical that they would receive feedback after the first meetings, responded well to the return of the study team. However, they found

the options presented difficult to respond to. The standard presentation at meetings was criticised as insensitive to the mood of particular meetings although it did maintain consistency. Phase three meetings attempted to avoid these problems both by convincing people through publicity that they had an interest in the study and by presenting more detailed information about options.

The Study Team experimented with various techniques to encourage community interest, none of which seemed to have a particularly marked effect. In one area all households were direct mailed, in other areas advertisements were inserted in the Local media and in others editorials were used as a vehicle for publicity.

The varying levels of public interest, and occasional manifest lack of it, posed problems for a study team attempting to plot public reactions. The consultants felt that most of those whose interest was politically motivated attended meetings. For many others in the issues were just too nebulous. A more systematic attempt to gauge public attitudes through a statistical survey was discussed, but it assessed to be both too expensive and unlikely to uncover any new information.

Important Characteristics

1. SWATS was undertaken with a clear and well understood political and institutional commitment to the role of public participation in the study. The approach utilised was a logical and directed response to this commitment - issues of concern to the community were identified, alternative options developed from this basis with consideration of other factors, and community reaction to the various options was solicited.

2. SWATS compared alternative techniques of information gathering, particularly at the early stage of analysis. Information discussion with interested people was found to be a better means of identifying issues (and reactions) than formal public meetings. It was found to be crucial that these discussions be conducted by an interviewer with a thorough knowledge of the topic under discussion and who is capable of responding to questions raised, otherwise feedback can be distorted.

3. SWATS also identified an appropriate approach for encouraging awareness of a study amongst broadly dispersed rural communities. Working through local contacts and opinion leaders to generate discussion was found to be more effective than blanket leaflet drops.

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SOUTH MELBOURNE RESIDENTIAL STREET STUDIES

Background

In May 1974 the Minister for Urban and Regional Development requested the Bureau of Roads to undertake a study of urban residential streets. The Bureau was asked to report on appropriate layout and standards for alternative subdivisional patterns in new areas, changes to standards in existing areas and pavement and drainage designs. Social, environmental and economic factors were to be considered in reporting on these.

After initial consideration of the problems the Bureau decided that case studies should be undertaken to provide a basic understanding of the functions of residential streets in inner and outer urban areas. Several areas were considered as locations for the case studies and Hurstville in N.S.W. was selected as representative of a middle urban area and South Melbourne in Victoria as an inner urban area.

At the same time that the Bureau was investigating these alternatives the Emerald Hill Association (EHA), a South Melbourne resident group, wrote to the Minister for Urban and Regional Development seeking his assistance in dealing with problems anticipated as arising from the opening of the West Gate and Johnson Street bridges and other proposed changes in the area (Fig. 9). The Bureau was aware of the EHA's concern and of the South Melbourne Council's interest in improving residential environments and alleviating problems created by traffic in the area. The council's interest and the existing resident concern in the area were important factors contributing to the Bureau's selection of South Melbourne, since therewas also considerable interest in using the case study as an opportunity to develop ways of involving the community in street planning.

Middle Park, the central South Melbourne Ward was adopted as the study area by the Bureau, although an attempt was made to consider broader influences. Investigations were completed early in 1975. The South Melbourne Council was to use this data as a basis for framing execution plans and recommendations.

Public Participation in South Melbourne

The Bureau's intention in the South Melbourne study was to evolve a planning methodology or study process that could be used in similar residential areas. Participation was seen to be an essential feature of this process because residents were directly involved, could contribute to identifying problems and suggesting and assessing solutions. Public participation was thus seen as a means to a fuller understanding of the issues and in turn essential to the formulation of acceptable solutions. The case studies explored how, to what extent and to what end the community could be involved in planning.

The South Melbourne Council was concerned to produce recommendations for action, plans for street closures and the re-design of residential streets. The council already had access to considerable planning data and sought community involvement to help assess the level of acceptance of alternative proposals.

Institutions

The Bureau's interest in South Melbourne was several steps removed from implementation and it sought participation from the community to introduce the planners to local issues. The council, in contrast, was directly seeking to develop an implementable set of proposals that would be acceptable to or welcomed by the local community.

When the council initiated its studies, it was empowered to implement street closures. Legislation has subsequently been changed and the council can now only implement temporary closures. It must present a comprehensive package of both a planned road hierarchy and traffic management measures if it is to receive State Government approval for closures. While the Bureau's investigations dealt largely with general concepts and it consequently did not encounter extensive opposition from groups or individuals in the community, the council's continued initiatives and its promulgation of alternative proposals generated some hostility.

In one case a group of local shopkeepers objected strongly to alterations to a median strip and a proposed closure forcing the council to reconsider a number of alternative schemes with the shopkeepers and to develop,

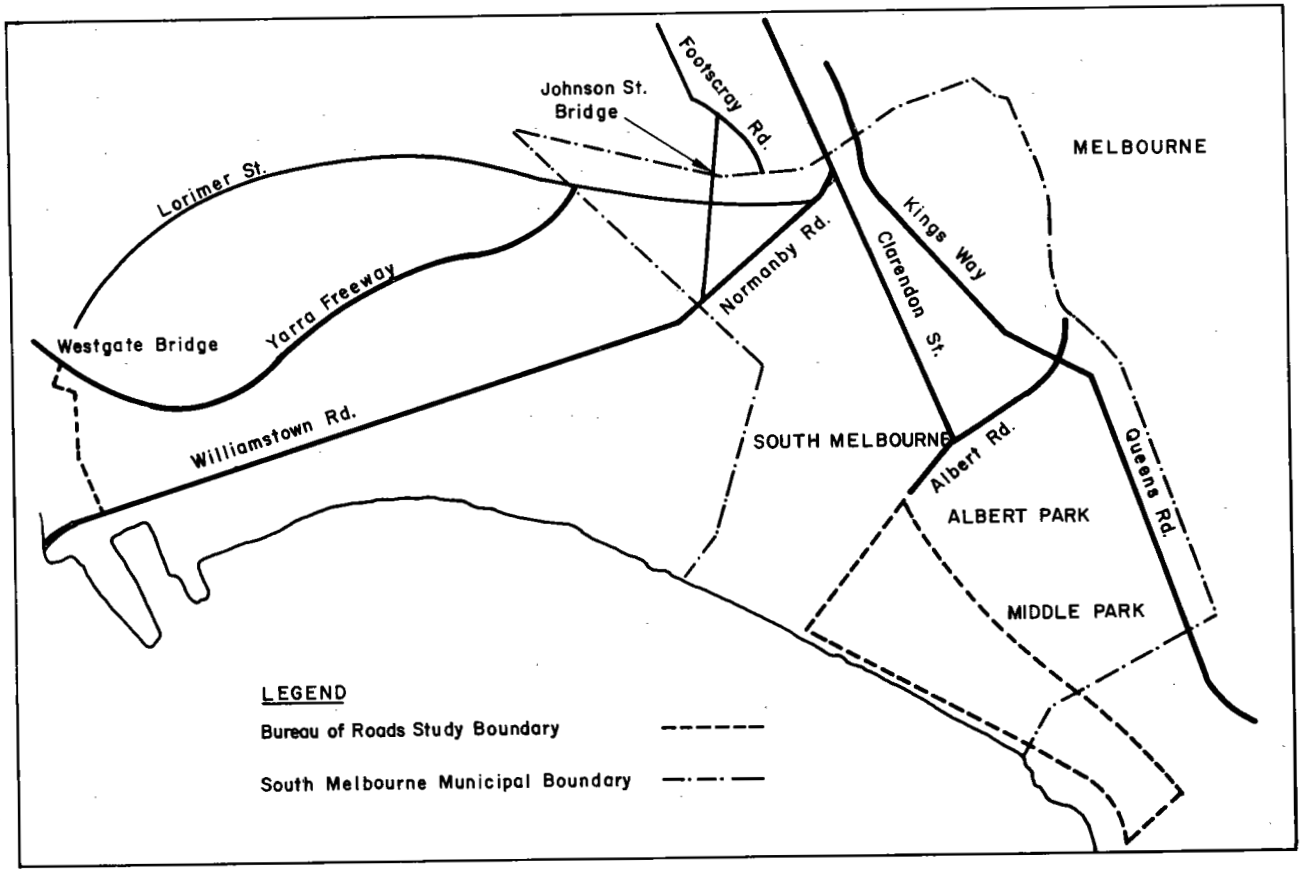

FIGURE A.9

SOUTH MELBOURNE AREA

through discussion of the issues, an acceptable plan. Also, local resident opposition to the closures and to a perceived deterioration in amenity was voiced during council election campaigns. These expressions of opposition, along with the complications introduced by the legislative changes, have increased the doubts of some councillors about the feasibility of the closures.

The Community

South Melbourne contains a large Greek community, an older group of long-term residents and a large number of well-educated and articulate professionals who are relatively new residents of the area. The latter group have had a significant influence on the area and on the way the study was received.

The actions of the EHA prior to the study and the enthusiasm with which the local council welcomed it, reflect the level of pre-existing concern for the residential environment and any threats to it within the South Melbourne community. This level of interest was also reflected in the 'band of ready helpers' that were prepared to assist in information gathering for the Bureau study and included children and older residents, as well as resident activists. One in every eight South Melbourne residents later attended the council's exhibition of proposals.

The high level of concern and articulateness characterising sections of the community was also demonstrated by the group of shopkeepers already discussed and the formation of a Perimeter Road Action Group (PRAG) to oppose Council plans. Residents living along perimeter roads were not actively consulted in the Bureau study and their subsequent opposition to the closures has caused the South Melbourne council considerable concern.

The special problems involved in consulting the Greek community emerged as the study progressed and it became obvious that special techniques would be needed to reach this group. Translating information pamphlets and disseminating them through schoolchildren was undertaken. Soliciting active involvement or information was far more difficult, particularly from Greek women.

Techniques

The public were involved in the Bureau's study in two broadly distinguishable ways. Firstly, in the processes of data collection residents were recruited as a labour force and various techniques were used to elicit information from them about where they came from and how they travelled to shops, stations, playgrounds. Data collection exercises included:

(i) cordon surveys involving about 50 residents from contacts, the EHA and a local Catholic school;
(ii) on-street parking survey, also conducted by residents;
(iii) survey of car parking in the shopping centre at twenty minute intervals;
(iv) interviews with people boarding trains, firstly informing them of the study through a leaflet and next morning asking them where they came from;
(v) shopping trips survey: a self-administered map placed in shops where people could indicate where they had come from and how they got there through the use of coloured pins;
(vi) school children were asked how they came to school;
(vii) a resident with plenty of time regularly visited a local playground and asked children how and where they came from;
(viii) other data like road accidents and census data was used, which did not involve residents in the collection phase.

Residents were also involved in participatory exercises aimed at establishing a more general understanding of the community and a dialogue with the planners. The techniques included informal interviews early in the study, a search conference, shop front information centre and household interviews.

The home interview survey of 410 households probed existing uses of streets and important household characteristics. The survey focused on the female householder, assuming she should be more in touch with street uses. But it was found that many women spent little time at home and used the street in a similar way to their husbands. The way children use the street was not surveyed although it emerged that they were the main users. The survey provided some general conclusions about the way different kinds of residents regard street space.

A day-long search conference was held early in the study, mainly to identify local issues relevant to the study. It comprised a diverse group of 25 people with some interest in the study and recruited through the informal discussions. Some groups of people for example, schoolchildren, were not represented.

An information centre was set up in the shopping centre and manned at stipulated times. It displayed examples of street closures elsewhere and their effects and relevant data as it was gathered. On two occasions, at the beginning and towards the end of the study, the displays were set up outside the shop and devices used to attract shoppers' attention. Their main purpose was to inform people of the study and its proposals rather than to generate feedback.

The main public participation exercise undertaken by the South Melbourne Council, but with close involvement of Bureau staff in its design, was an exhibition of four alternative improvement strategies for the area. Plans and models were displayed for a week in March 1975 in the local community hall and residents were invited to attend. The exhibitions were designed to inform residents about problems in the area and ways of alleviating them, but more specifically to gain feedback about particular suggested alternatives. People attending the exhibition were directed through it as a kind of educative process and asked to fill out a response sheet at the end, expressing a preference for a particular strategy.(1)

The council also held some special meetings as a follow-up to the exhibition, for example with the Greek community and shopkeepers in Armstrong Street. The first of these was mainly intended to provide information to those attending, the second was intended to develop an acceptable improvement proposal for the area. Other small meetings were planned to refine proposals in small areas.

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(1) Stanley, J.K. "An Evaluation of Residential Area Improvement Strategies from the Residents Viewpoint" Socio-Economic Planning Sciencies, Vol. 11., Gt. Britain, Pergamon Press, 1977, pp. 147-153.

One public meeting was held to explain the exhibition of alternative improvement strategies but it was considered to be a less effective way of explaining proposals than through written communication. For this reason a leaflet was prepared to illustrate what street closures and open space can mean when implemented, with a questionnaire attached. Information has also been disseminated through the local newspaper which is an organ of the council.

Important Characteristics

1. This residential street study demonstrates the contrasting role and concerns of the Bureau and the council. Resident opposition is more likely to be generated by an implementing body which is proposing specific plans, but implementing bodies like the council are also particularly sensitive to expressions of community opposition, which in turn makes implementation more difficult. The sorts of participatory techniques appropriate where the objective is implementation are clearly very different to those where the objective is the development of general principles, including participation as a methodology.

2. The difficulties of tapping and considering all those groups potentially affected by a proposal at an early stage of planning are highlighted, particularly in a very heterogeneous community. The Bureau's work attempted to involve the community from an early stage of the planning process in the identification of issues. When the council took over it assumed that the issues had been defined and that it had a sufficient grasp of them to proceed with evaluating alternatives through community assessment. Some significant groups had, however, not been involved in the earlier phases of planning and these are the groups now voicing opposition.

3. The Council faced some problems associated with the involvement of an articulate and organised group. The opposition of PRAG occurred because the Bureau's brief was to only consider in depth the improvement of residential streets. However, this opposition has been exacerbated because the council has not, until recently, had information about traffic from the Westgate and Johnson Street Bridges. Lack of technical information has prevented the council from discussing with the public the implications of changes in residential streets or traffic management.

4. The search conference technique was used in South Melbourne and those aspects of its use that contributed to its effectiveness and revealed its limitations are particularly important. It was undertaken at an early stage of planning and it did contribute to the planners general understanding of the community. However, the issues raised remained at a general and abstract level and there were not sufficiently diverse perspectives to prompt vigorous discussion and scrutiny amongst those attending. In this case informal discussions may have been equally useful for both planners and participants.

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SWANBOURNE AREA STUDY

Background

For some years there have been problems with north-south traffic movement through Perth's coastal suburbs. An army camp located along the coast forces traffic to divert along narrow and hilly arterial roads and residential streets around the edge of the camp (Fig. 10). During the 1960's local councils and residents began agitating for widening and extension of Marine Parade through the Army Camp. This proposal was subsequently questioned by one local council and residents who formed the Coastal Protection Association. By 1973 a number of different alternative solutions to the traffic problems in Swanbourne had been proposed and vigorously opposed by different groups.

The Metropolitan Region Planning Authority (MRPA) resolved in October 1973 that only an independent study could produce a solution that would diffuse local conflict. The Minister for Town Planning requested the Environmental Protection Authority (EPA) to draw up a brief for and arrange a study of future traffic requirements and coastal routes in the area bordered by the Indian Ocean, Swan River, Mitchell Freeway and Karrinygap Road. The study should consider economic, environmental and social factors. A Steering Committee comprising representatives from the EPA, and Conservation and Environment, Transport, Town Planning and Main Roads Departments was set up to direct the study. Local government was involved along with residents through a Citizens Liaison Committee.

Public Participation in Swanbourne

Prior to the Swanbourne Area Study (SAS) there had been a considerable history of controversy over an extension to the Kwinana Freeway, proposed in the Perth Regional Transportation Study (1972). An extensive process of advising and involving the public in this project was undertaken throughout 1973 and 1974 in response to rigorous and prolonged expressions of public opposition.

The Swanbourne Study was an attempt by the authorities involved in the Kwinana experience - the Environmental Protection Authority, Main Roads and Town Planning Departments and Department of Transport - to avoid a repetition of the worst aspects of that experience. Different individuals within these authorities were more and less optimistic about the study's capacity to do this. More generally the SAS was seen as the inevitable institutional response to the community demands for involvement that characterised the time. Some of the authorities involved consider that these demands have changed in response to experience. The study was necessary to prove unequivocally to both the planners and the community that public involvement is not itself the means to an acceptable solution. These individuals do not anticipate the need for another study of equivalent scope and depth as Swanbourne.

The MRPA, who funded and initiated the study, comprises the Commissioners of all bodies involved in planning issues such as the Kwinana Freeway. It also saw the study as a response to community pressure, but was seeking a politically acceptable solution through the community involvement program. An election was pending and politicians were eager not to alienate a vocal section of the electorate or to recommend an unpopular course of action.

Institutions

A number of authorities were closely involved in the study throughout its duration. The consultants report and recommendations were passed on to the EPA, who prepared a covering report and forwarded it to the Minister for the Environment, who conveyed both reports, in turn, to the Minister for Town Planning. They were conveyed to the MRPA and then to the Minister for Town Planning along with the MRPA's covering report. In addition to this involvement in reaching a final recommendation all the bodies represented on the Steering Committee were actively involved throughout the study and commented on the draft of the consultants report before printing.

The EPA became client for the study in part because it was most optimistic about its capacity to deal with the problem and desired to use the study as an opportunity to demonstrate its skills. However, all the

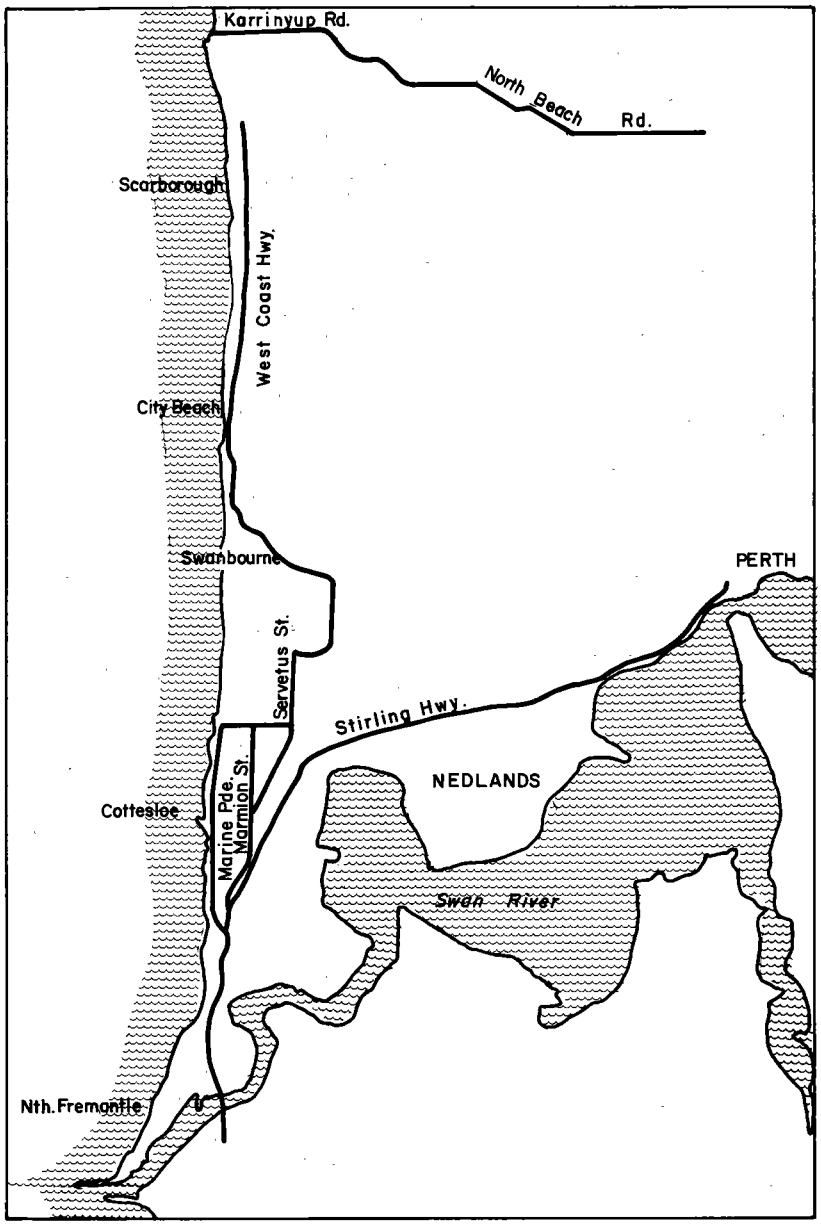

FIGURE A.10
SWANBOURNE STUDY AREA

authorities and representatives involved shared a belief in the need for a 'independent' study and condoned the general approach adopted by the study team. They were seeking an answer with credibility, one they could defend as the outcome of a study, even if it was criticised. The most important component of the study's defensibility was seen to be a process of public participation.

There is evidence that a number of aspirations for public participation in the study existed within the political arena, the bodies involved and the study team. Some saw it as an end in itself, virtually independant of the Study's recommendations and its acceptance or otherwise. The background of events meant that many were looking for an 'answer', a politically palatable and final answer, although some scepticism about the study's ability to do this existed. There was also some concern that the study through public participation may simply reveal local opinion and reflect, if not in its recommendation, a politically feasible course of action. The benefits of a widely shared belief in the extensive process of public involvement was to some extent undermined by this diversity of ambitions for that process.

The consultants final recommendation, involving widening of the existing route and demolition of forty houses, was not adopted by Cabinet. From some points of view this meant that the participation process had not achieved its end, namely the generation of a popularly, hence politically acceptable solution. Others maintained that the participation process had generated a more impartial and balanced understanding of the issues generally, and that the final Cabinet decision was inevitably better informed and more comprehensible to the community, even it it did deviate from the best solution judged on technical criteria.

The Study Team

The consultants did not expect to develop a popular solution, indeed they believed their recommendation was not the option the 'public' at large would have favoured. Their efforts were directed towards producing the best

solution to the problem through a conscientious study. From a public participation viewpoint this involved attempting to ensure the community acquired a good understanding of the issues and was able to comment on these in an informed way, and that the study team gained an accurate appreciation of how various groups would be affected by proposals.

The study, from the study team's point of view, was successful, as an end in itself. It stimulated a high level of public awareness and discussion, people had confidence in it and most thought the consultants had done a good job. Even residents most affected by the recommendation were confident it had been reached by a rigorous process. Problems were seen as political and lying outside the consultants control.

Community

When the Swanbourne study was initiated a number of lobby groups opposing various proposals had already been formed. These groups continued to play an active role in the study with a number of people making an intensive commitment to ongoing involvement in it.

Some of the newer proposals directly affected Cottesloe residents, mainly professional and semi-professional people who were vocal in protecting their interests and demanding meetings. They tended to see the study as a threat to their currently pleasant environment and coastal access, and they were eager to point out to the study team that avoiding property resumption should not be the sole criteria used in selecting a route.

The existence of several proposals for some time prior to the study tended to make other directly affected residents more accepting and less vociferous in expressing their interests. They viewed the study more positively, seeing it is a genuine attempt to consider and evaluate all alternatives. Some were hopeful of a solution that did not affect them although they were seeking to be convinced by better information about the proposals that did.

Lastly, residents affected by one proposal, generally of a lower socio-economic status, proved more difficult to actively involve than other groups. For example, they did not request a locally-organised meeting

with the study team. Feedback from this group was most effectively obtained from visits by individuals to the site office and other discussions generated through direct contact.

Techniques

The public participation program at Swanbourne was comprehensive and carefully tailored to the developing needs of the study. Several members of the study team took up residence in the area for varying lengths of time throughout the study to ensure they had a personal grasp of local issues, personalities and activities.

A weekend search conference grew out of these early discussions and a diverse group of thirty people discussed the characteristics of the local area and how alternative solutions might affect them. It was primarily a way of re-examining the information that had already been collected and confirming the importance of some issues, also anticipating the range of issues that could be raised as the study progressed.

The Citizens Liaison Committee (CLC) was set up following the search conference to suggest ways of involving the community, comment on information bulletins and review the progress and penetration of the study. It comprised 15 people, representatives from local government and people already active in the community and it provided a way of involving existing power holders.

Information bulletins were released through the site office, a shopfront located in the area and open at various times throughout the study. Information was displayed as it became available, and study team members assessed questions they were asked at the site office a valuable prompt for further information gathering. The study team also assessed that the office provided a useful opportunity for people who would not normally contribute at a formal meeting to express their opinions. This opportunity for expression was seen as useful in itself, even if it provided no additional information, although a major difficulty facing the study team at the site office was maintaining and manning the display so that the information was both comprehensible to the uninformed and interesting to those attending regularly.

Thirteen public meetings were organised, the first by the study team and attended by approximately 300 people. The remainder were organised by residents on the consultants recommendation, to discuss area or local issues. The initiative to establish and maintain discussion remained with the residents and these meetings were assessed by those involved to be particularly valuable, stimulating vigorous discussion and useful information for the consultant. The smaller size of some meetings (approx. 20), their location often in comfortable, non-threatening environments and the resident initiatives in setting them up and prompting discussion, were assessed to be important factors contributing to their success.

Other techniques for gathering information were used, including surveys of directly affected households, shopping centres, schools and other facilities, and for disseminating information including T.V. coverage.

Important Characteristcs

1. The Swanbourne study, like many major corridor studies was undertaken in a highly sensitive political environment with a wide range of groups and authorities possessing a firm interest. The study demonstrated the need to clearly identify all these interests and the futility of trying to plan independently of the forces that shape public opinion and political priorities. The question is raised of how far the study team's role in educating and generating a better appreciation of the issues should extend. Its obligation to community groups is obvious in this regard but it may also extend to the final decision-makers. Obviously some groups suffer if the final decision is prompted by an arbitary or unanticipated political pressure and deviates dramatically from the views of the issues developed through the study.

   The right and responsiblity of politicians to make decisions must remain intact. But any study, to maintain credibility and avoid substantial confusion and speculation disrupting the community, needs to consider the advantages of developing a recommendation that enjoys a level of community and political acceptibility. This requires not the indoctrination of politicians nor the compromise of rigorous evaluation

procedures, but the active participation of decision-makers as the study progresses and an understanding of the issues and interests involved is acquired.

The importance of this involvement is most marked in cases where a long-standing and contentious proposal is being investigated. Under these circumstances community groups, institutions, the study team and the politicians share a need for the problem to be resolved and for speculation to end. The prolongation of disagreement and divisiveness causes particularly high costs.

2. The participatory techniques utilised reflect a comprehensive and thorough attempt to involve the community and to satisfy diverse requirements. The displays and discussions in the site office and small meetings, in particular, satisfied the needs of significant sections of the community and individuals within the study team. The resident initiatives required in both were important.

Sources

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APPENDIX B

Inventory of Australian Participation Experience

The first phase of this study entailed the compilation of an inventory of Australian public participation experience. Australian transport authorities and consultants were requested to supply brief details of planning exercises in which they had undertaken public participation. From this information ten case studies were selected to reflect a cross-section of Australian experience in public participation in transport planning. The inventory is summarised in the accompanying table. Unfortunately it does not provide a complete picture of public participation in transport planning in Australia - many important initiatives were overlooked, only some of which were subsequently followed up.

The participation experience recorded is classified firstly by state and then by the type of body-institution or consultant - responsible for undertaking it. The main points of interest are the range of planning exercises in which participation was undertaken and types of participation techniques employed.

N.S.W. Institutions and Consultants

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Department of Main Roads N.S.W.	Planning of traffic relief routes, town bypasses, other roads	Occasionally participated in public meetings to present a proposal for consideration, to defend a proposed line of action, to gain public reaction or to learn of possible acceptable alternatives.	In-house	Ratification	Speeches at public meetings, liaison with local councils	
Public Transport Commission	Mount Thorley and Enfield Container Terminal Impact Studies	-		Identification, Evaluation, Raftification.	Regular meetings with Combined Commuters' Association, Commission Marketing Officer holding seminars & information dissemination	
Bergsteiner, Meinnes & Rigby Pty. Ltd.	Road Closure Scheme		Bankstown Council		Resident interviews, leaflets, newspaper coverage, public meetings, and small resident meetings in homes.	1974
Finn & McKinlay Pty. Ltd.	Establishment of Liquor Sales outlets. Traffic problems in Randwick Shopping area. Reinstatement of sand dunes and beach ecology at South Maroubra, N.S.W.		Randwick Council	Evaluation Generation Evaluation Ratification Evaluation	Household Survey Seminar of interested parties, mainly 'expert' panel answering questions put by local officers, organizations Marshalling interested bodies	

N.S.W. Institutions and Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Community Planning and Management, Pty. Ltd.	Ipswich & District Recreation Study		The Councils of Ipswich, City and Boonah, Esk and Moreton Shires, Queensland	Identification Generation	Household survey, Organisation survey, Public Meetings, School competition, Progress meetings with Councils	-
	Holsworthy Urban Investigatory Project		Department of Environment, Housing and Community Development (Cities Comm.)	Identification Evaluation	Public Meeting	-
	Bathurst City Centre Development Strategy		Bathurst City Council and the Bathurst/ Orange Development Corporation	Identification, Generation Evaluation Ratification	Public Meetings, Media Publicity, 'Key' Groups formed, Exhibition	-
Wellings Smith and Byrnes Pty. Ltd.	North Sydney Development Control Plan & Mosman Planning Scheme	-	Mosman Council	-	-	-
GHS-Parsons Brinckerhoff Pty. Ltd.	U.S.A. experience predominantly	-	-	-	-	-
Travers Morgan Pty. Ltd.	U.K. experience only					
W.D. Scott & Co. Pty. Ltd.	Area Transportation Study		Sydney Area Transportation Study	Identification Evaluation	Small Group Meetings Household surveys	
	Land-use planning		Sydney Cove Redevelopment Authority			
Crooks, Mitchell, Peacock, Stewart Pty. Ltd.	Melbourne Strategy Plan (Draft)			Ratification	Creative use of media, T.V. series, School Competitions, Films	
	Mosman Planning Scheme (Draft)					

W.A. Institutions and Consultants

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Western Australia Government Railways		Gain Public Participation via local authorities and M.P.'s. Consider local council objectives prior to decision being made	-	Evaluation	-	
Metropolitan (Perth) Passenger Transport Trust,	Ongoing Public Transport Improvements and New Services	Recently commenced Public Participation Scehme involving formation of transport committees of actual transport consumers	In-house	Evaluation and Ratification	Public meetings held to form public transport committees, dissemination of information through shopping centres.	Current
Transport Commission	-	-	-	-	-	
Southern Western Australia Transport Study	South West Australia Transport Study Development of inter-model land transport policies - objective of resource minimisation - for defined area	-	P.A. Consultants	3 phases (i) Identification (ii) Generation (iii) Evaluation	Interviews with individuals and organisations, public meetings, tape and slide presentation.	1976-77
Town Planning Department of Western Australia	Lake Carine Open Space Utilisation	-	In-house	Identification and Ratification Generation	Meeting with local residents	-
	Eastern Corridor Study		Consultant	Identification Evaluation	Public meetings	Current
	West Coast Highway Study		Scott & Furphy/John Paterson Urban Systems	Identification Generation Evaluation	Advertisements, Site office for comment on brief, Surveys and Household Questionnaires, Submissions, Citizen's Liaison committee	1976
Main Roads Department	West Coast Highway Study	-	as above	as above	as above	-
Forbes & Fitzhardinge	-	-	-	-	-	-

QLD. Institutions and Consultants

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Main Roads Department	-	-	-	-	-	-
Dept. of the Northern Territory	Alternative route for the National Highway System in the Barkly Tablelands.	Rural Roads Conference	In-house	Evaluation	Media Participation, Study Team to meet people. Distribution of brochure. Conference - forum for groups interested in the construction, maintenance, of road transport system to express views.	Current. Twice yearly.
Cardno & Davies Australia Pty. Ltd.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Heathwood Cardillo Wilson Pty. Ltd.	Central Darwin Town Plan. Campus Planning - preparation of planning policies.	-	- Nth Brisbane College of Advanced Ed.	Identification, evaluation. Evaluation, Ratification.	Press advertising inviting submissions. Public Meeting.	1974 1975.
A.A. Heath & Partners Pty. Ltd.	Environmental Impact Study and *Strategic Plan for* Moreton Island.	-	-	Evaluation, Identification.	Questionnaire. Also submissions invited and previous opposition to another exhibited plan considered.	-
Gutteridge, Haskins & Davey Pty. Ltd.	Coastal Management Investigations for South East Queensland	-	Co-ordinator General's Dept., Qld.	Evaluation.	Submissions and follow-up discussions. *Discussions with* interested group representatives.	

Victorian Consultants

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Reark Research Pty. Ltd.			Dept. of Tourism and Recreation Australian Tourist Comm. Dept. of Transport C.B.O.R. R.O.S.T.A. N.C.D.C. M.M.B.W. A.V. Jennings			
Australian Frontier	Review of problems characterising particular field, initiation of discussion between decision-makers, experts and those affected e.g. Doncaster-Templestowe Development Project		Reference to large range of studies supplied incl. for State and Federal Govt authorities and private organisations.	Identification Evaluation Decision		
Caldwell Connell Engineers Pty. Ltd.	Eastern Corridor Study: Ecological and Environmental aspects.		CRB, MMBW	Evaluation	-	-
	Ringwood Roads and Koonung Valley Studies			Evaluation	Worked in conjuction with Bird Observers Club. The Nature Orchid Society, and interested individuals. Developing flora and fauna analysis	
Rendel and Partners-Consulting Engineers	Guidelines for planning and development of land areas adjacent Comden Haven Inlet.		Public Work Dept. N.S.W	Identification Evaluation	Discussions with officers of various State Government and local industry groups.	
	Size and performance of Private Bus and Ferry Industry in Urban Areas of Aust.		Australian Department of Transport	Identification	Discussions with Govt. proprietors and individual companies.	-
	Impact of port facilities on land use of surrounding urban areas.		Department of Environment Housing and Community Development.	Identification Evaluation	Federal, State and Local bodies, private organisations and individuals contacted.	-
	Port Planning Study for Brisbane		Department of Harbours and Marine QLD.	Generation	Federal, State and local govt. bodies, commercial associations. Also Traffic origin/destination survey.	-

Victorian Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Interplan Pty. Ltd.	City of Melbourne Strategic Plan		City of Melb.	Identification, Generation, Evaluation Decision, Ratification MONITORING	Community Group liaison, public meetings, complex committee structures. Information dissemination - exhibitions, newsletters, video, schools. Alteration to development approval process to incorporate p.p.	-
O'Connor & Beveridge (Management) Pty. Ltd.	Study concerning Frankston Business Centre - parking, transport, shopping times and facilities		Frankston Chamber of Commerce and Industry	Identification Evaluation	Questionnaire-survey of shoppers	-
Nicholas, Clark and Associates	-		-	-	-	-
Kinnaird Hill de Rohan and Young	Victorian Energy White paper		Ministry for Fuel and Power, Victoria	Evaluation	Submissions required through press	1976
	Review of Eastern Corridor Study		Ministry for Transport Victoria	Review of participation already undertaken (Monitoring	Review techniques (unspecified	1975
	Upper Yarra Valley & Dandenong Ranges Study		Committee of local Councils, State Ministry & EHC&D	Evaluation	Submission, interviews, meetings	1976
	Albury-Wodonga initial development study		National Urban & Regional Development Authority	Identification Evaluation	Home interviews Discussion	March, 1973
	Albury Wodonga Structure and Policy Plan and Urban Development Plan		Cities Commission	Identification Evaluation Ratification	Public meetings, surveys, Questionnaires, interest group involvement, Advertising, information dissemination.	June, 1974
	Wodonga Development Plan		Town & Country Planning Board	Ratification Evaluation	Information dissemination opinion sampling	December, 1973
	Albury-Wodonga Infrastructure Backlog		Cities Commission	Identification	Home interviews, discussion groups questionnaires and surveys	1974

Victorian Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Clark Gazzard Planners Pty. Ltd.	Action Area Studies for - Toorak Village - Chapel/Greville St. - South Yarra to increase viability of area by control of development.		City of Prahran	Evaluation Generation	Public Exhibition of Proposals to gain responses, Public meetings, Public exhibition of recommendations and council comments.	-
	Residential Street Studies - Middle Park - Albert Park - Emerald Hill Revise street and land-use to protect residential amenity and local environment.		City of South Melbourne	Evaluation Generation	Inquiry Centre, Search Conference Exhibition, Leaflets and Questionnaires (not comprehensive).	-
	Open Space and Recreation Study		Municipality of Kogarah	Identification Evaluation	In-house interview of residents, questionnaire and leaflets.	-
	Strategic Plan & Action Area Plans		City of Sydney	Identification Generation Evaluation Decision Ratification	Meetings, newsletters, leaflets exhibition.	-
	City of Adelaide Plan		City of Adelaide	Identification Generation Evaluation Decision Ratification	City-centre shop front, leaflets exhibitions.	-
Consultation, Planning Survey Services	-		-	-	-	-
Maunsell & Partners Pty. Ltd.	Botany Environmental Study - effect new container terminal		Australian National Line	Evaluation	-	1976
	Launceston Corridor Study		Department of Public Works, Tasmania	Evaluation	-	1975
	West Lakes Boulevard - engineering and social impact study of road access.		Minister of Transport S.A.	Evaluation	-	1974
	Traffic and Road System Survey		Heidelberg City Council	Evaluation, Ratification	Public Meetings.	1973
John Paterson Urban Systems	Geelong Transportation Plan - Environmental and Social Benefits and Costs Study		Geelong Regional Planning Authority	Evaluation, Decision	Search Conf., Citizen Liaison Cmtee., Public Project Office, Press Liaison, general publicity displays and exhibitions, public meetings, contact with voluntary organisations, distribution of draft reports and exhibition of findings.	1974/75

Victorian Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
John Paterson Urban Systems (contd.)	Swanbourne Area Study Traffic Congestion Problem		Environmental Protection Authority, WA	Generation, Evaluation, Identification.	Search Conf., Citizen Liaison Committee, Public Project Office, Press Liaison, general publicity, displays and exhibitions, public meetings, contact with voluntary organisations, distribution of draft reports and exhibition of findings.	June 1975 - March 1976.
	Conservation Plan for Rural Sectors of the Mornington Peninsula		Western Port Regional Planning Authority	Evaluation, Ratification, (Identification and Review of already polarised issues)	Information leaflet, media liaison, information caravan, public meetings and group/individual discussions.	1975
	Gold Coast Sewerage Treatment and Disposal Study		Queensland Department of Local Governmt. and the councils of Gold Coast City and Albert Shire	Evaluation, Ratification, (Informing and gaining support of public)	Public Meeting and Citizen Liaison Committee	-
	South Melbourne Case Study on Residential Streets		Bureau of Roads	Identification (of issues) Evaluation	Search Conference	-
	Hurstville Case Study Residential Streets		Bureau of Roads	Identification, Evaluation.	Search Conference	-
	Hume Highway Corridor Study		Bureau of Roads	Identification, Evaluation.	Search Conference	-
	Sydney Strategic Study		Bureau of Roads	Identification.	Search Conference	-
	Industrial location		Geelong Regional Planning Authority	Identification.	Search Conference	1976
	Household Activities Survey		Berwick City Council	Identification	Survey diaries and informal discussion	Current
Loder & Bayly	Renewal Opportunities at Hackney - Adelaide		State Governmt. S.A.	Identification, generation, evaluation (Ratiification)	Project Office, local representatives on Project Committee, Committee meetings, public, newsletter.	1973
	Berwick Metrotown Study		-	Identification, Evaluation.	Survey of existing and potential residents, meetings with interest groups, exhibitions and public meetings.	-

Victorian Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Loder and Bayly (cont)	Geelong Regional Strategy		Geelong Regional Planning Authority	Evaluation	Exhibition, community advisory committees, meetings with interest groups.	-
Gordon Rushman Town Planning	-		-	-	-	-
P.A. Consulting Services	Private Enterprise Bus Study		Ministry of Transport, VIC.	Identification	Passenger survey and household survey	1976
	Rundle St. Mall Study		Adelaide City Council	Identification, Generation, Evaluation.	Group discussions, sample Surveys in Rundle St. Shopping centres and home.	
	Livestock Marketing Rationalisation in S.E. of S.A.		Minister of Agriculture S.A.	Identification/Evaluation.	Meetings for interested parties.	1974
	Car Pooling Study		N.S.W. Dept. of Motor Trans.	Evaluation.	Sample Surveys.	1976
	S.A. Government		Survey on Flexible Working Hours.	Evaluation, Monitoring.	Questionnaire surveys.	-
	S.W.A.T.S.		W.A. Director of Transport and Westrail	Identification, Generation.	Successive contacts with Groups interviewing and questionnaires.	current
	Community Health Centre Feasibility Study		City of Northcote	Identification.	Public Meeting	-

Victorian Institutions

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
Victorian Ministry of Transport	-	-	-	-	-	-
Australian Road Research Board	Environmental document - being prepared for NAASRA	-	In-house	-	-	-
Country Roads Board	F6 Corridor Study. Geelong Environmental & Social Study. Ringwood Roads Impact Study. Eastern Corridor Study. Nepean Highway Widening. Eastern Freeway - Western Approaches Major Rural Projects.		Loder & Bayly A.M. Voorhees A.M. Voorhees			
Melbourne & Metropolitan Board	F6 Freeway Study Eastern Corridor Study. (Combined Ringwood Roads Impact Study & Koonung Creek Corridor Study.) Metropolitan Parks Programme		Consultant Consultants	Evaluation, Generation Generation, Evaluation Identification Generation	Citizen's Committee Submissions Public meetings 'mail back' questionnaire. Interviews with directly affected residents. Submissions from interested groups. Public viewing of plans (CRB offices) Consultative Committees, current 'Ideas' Conference, group discussions, home interviews, and user surveys	1975 and 1976 1975 and 1976
Melbourne & Metropolitan Tramways Board	Desirability of extending the Burwood Tram Route. Feasibility Study or East Preston Tram Route extension. Installation of Tram Barrier Kerbs in Nicholson St., Fitzroy.	Potential for p.p. in planning exercises currently being undertaken relating to allocations of road space between public & private transport. Measures expected to have significant local effects.	In-house In-house In-house	Evaluation Ratification Evaluation (Monitoring) Evaluation	Public hearings, submissions. Interested group submissions. Public Meetings	

S.A. Institutions and Consultants

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
State Transport Authority	Smoking in Buses. Placement of Morphetville bus depot. Aldgate Bus. Depot Bus.	- - -	In-house Trojan-Owen & Associates In-house.	Evaluation Decision. Evaluation. Ratification	Interview Exhibition, interviews, Public Meetings.	27th-30th Jan. 1976.
Transport Policy and Planning, DOT	North East Area Public Transport Review (NEAPTR)	Development of logical methodology for public involvement including: - definition of objectives of involvement. - meaning of "public". - examination of power holders. - development of a procedure. Establishment of Transport Planning Procedure Cmtee. Citizen Representation on Committee reviewing model of public involvement and later determining aspects of work programs most suited to public involvement.	In-house with assistance from Trojan-Owen & Associates, MSJ Keys Young, Loder & Bayly, and other consultants	Identification, generation evaluation.	'Broad interest group' involvement on committee. Application of model of public involvement just developed. Contact with interested groups, leaflets and personal discussions with householders, press releases and 'model' liaison officer to facilitate public access to study team, mobile displays.	Current.
Bruer Vogt & Hignett	A study of Environmental Design applied to Urban Transport.	-	Director General of Transport S.A.	Identification, generation, evaluation, (decision).	Meetings, questionnaire, workshops and 'gaming' techniques.	-
Hassell & Partners Pty. Ltd.	The Barton Community Centre - to provide community facilities in association with a High School. River Torrens Co-ordinated Development Scheme.	-	-	Identification, generation, evaluation, (decision) Identification, generation, evaluation	Meetings, questionnaire, workshops and 'gaming' techniques. Exhibitions, publications interest and other group involvement, random community attitudinal survey.	- Current

S.A. Institutions and Consultants (contd.)

NAME	PLANNING EXERCISES INCLUDING PARTICIPATION	GENERAL PARTICIPATION UNDERTAKEN	IN-HOUSE/ CONSULTANT/ CLIENT	STAGE OF PLANNING WHEN UNDERTAKEN	TECHNIQUES USED	WHEN UNDERTAKEN
P.G. Pak-Poy & Assoc.	Rundle Street Mall (S.A.) Northern Freeway (Hobart) Traffic Management Studies St. Peters, Marion, Glenelg Transport studies - Darwin, Launceston, Canberra Public Transportation Study Dial-A-Bus (S.A.) Outer Ring Study (Melb.) Stuart Highway Impact Study (S.A.) etc.	-	-	-	Public meetings group discussions, personal interviews of a representative sample of persons affected by the study outcome, and postcard type surveys were used in most of these studies	

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