DISSERTATION

SEEKING THE CUL DE SAC:

PLANNING AND THE AMERICAN LOCAL EXPERIENCE

Submitted by

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Sociology

In partial fulfillment of the requirements

For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Colorado State University

Fort Collins, Colorado

Fall 2005

COLORADO STATE UNIVERSITY

August 10, 2005

WE HEREBY RECOMMEND THAT THE DISSERTATION PERPARED UNDER OUR SUPERVISION BY CHRISTINE M. O'NEIL ENTITLED: SEEKING THE CUL DE SAC: PLANNING AND THE AMERICAN LOCAL EXPERIENCE BE ACCEPTED AS FULFILLING, IN PART, REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPY.

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ABSTRACT OF DISSERTATION

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Planning is often portrayed as progressive. There is an understanding that planners can make history and society. Despite the recent move towards communicative and collaborative planning, the structure and culture of and agency within planning organizations may hinder the move toward progressive planning. This study sought to determine how social organization and organizational structure influences planning. Specifically, this research sought to theoretically and empirically explore the role of hegemony within the Case d'Luc County Planning Department and the possibility for counter-hegemonic movements.

This study draws upon research conducted in Case d'Luc County, a growing metropolitan area in the western United States. Primary data includes interviews with County planners and community members, participant observation, and document analysis. A case study was used in order to gain data on local bureaucracy and to better understand the structure, culture, and agency that exist within this bureaucracy.

In addition to examining the hegemonic strategies that exist within planning, I also consider the potential for counter-hegemonic movements within Case d'Luc County. I argue that planners plan for the cul de sac, or dead end. A disconnect exists between the planning literature and curricula, and structure and culture of planning organizations and the

agency of planners within these organizations. This disconnect may be a result of a new set of objectives planners encounter when entering the field – objectives aligned with hegemonic practices. While planners are interested in maintaining their hegemony, the planning process is more than a legitimating instrument for dominant interests and elites. However, it is also a catalyst for the development of counter-hegemonic strategies.

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

This research never would have been completed without the help and support of many people. First and foremost, I would like to thank the planners, Commissioners, and community members of Case d'Luc County. Without their insights and cooperation, this research would never have been possible.

I would also like to thank each member of my dissertation committee. I owe the most thanks to Lou Swanson for introducing me to the world of planning and organizations, and for his invaluable insight throughout this process. I am going to miss our many conversations. Pete Taylor, my qualitative guru, has been amazingly encouraging and supportive throughout not only my dissertation process, but my graduate studies as well. I would also like to thank Doug Murray for his insight on early drafts and life in general. As an outside member, Scott Moore offered helpful feedback throughout the course of this project. In addition, I must thank Mike Lacy for again stepping it at the last moment for my dissertation defense.

Finally, I never would have finished this project without the support from my family and friends. I must thank my family for listening to my complaints over the years and for their encouragement. I'd also like to thank Donnie Harbour, Dave Cabell, and Jackie Gabriel for their friendship, encouragement, and patience. Your support throughout the course of this project has been invaluable. I must also acknowledge my four-legged friends – Norman, Twister, Fred, Ringo, Zoe, and the late Henry II – for always keeping a smile on my face and giving me much needed play breaks.

In loving memory of Clara C. Keil
and Daniel D. Derezinski.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE STATE OF PLANNING AND THE CASE D'LUC COUNTY PLANNING DEPARTMENT

1. Introduction

Planning is often portrayed as progressive. "Planning is conceived by both planners and the public as a rational professional activity that produces a public good of one kind or another (Yiftachel 1998: 295). There is an understanding that planners can make history and society. According to Friedmann (1987), however, many planners would describe their world as a failure or of little use.

Despite the recent move towards communicative and collaborative planning, the structure of the planning organizations may hinder the move toward progressive planning. Planning organizations create a culture with rules and norms that may inhibit the use of progressive or innovative planning models.

> Individuals are most likely to be able to deploy their personal fund of tacit knowledge for social good, when they are the least constrained by collective decision procedures in which this knowledge is likely to be diluted or lost. (Pennington2002: 199)

The culture of planning organizations is important in understanding the creation of rules and legitimizing systems.

This study seeks to determine how social organization and organizational structure influences planning. In doing so, I will look specifically at the Case d'Luc County[1] Planning Department. There is an assumption that planners choose their occupation based on their interest in creating change and helping society. What are the rules and norms created by planning organizations? How are people socialized in? What affect do the rule, norms, and socialization process have on planning?

2. A Brief History of Planning

In order to fully understand the scope of this project, it is necessary to take a brief look at the history of planning. Planning theory has always been an "uncertain discipline" because it is based on a variety of subjects and philosophies. According to Friedmann (1987), planning attempts to connect scientific knowledge with actions in the public domain, societal guidance, and social transformation. The idea of "planning" arose during the 18th century and was governed by the normative assumptions of positivism. Saint-Simon is considered the father of scientific planning. Saint-Simon's social physiology argued that physicians should be scientists and engineers who planned their work in humanity's service. Physicians could predict future outcomes and could then steer the progress of society. For Saint-Simon, happiness "would be achieved through scientific planning" (Friedmann 1987: 52).

There were four major provisions to Saint-Simon's idea of a new policy: a parliamentary institution composed of a meritocracy, an annual plan for public works, holidays that would gain support for the plan, and wealthy industrialists would serve the state without pay. Saint-Simon believed in the possibility of a consensual society. He believed,

[1] Case d'Luc County is a pseudonymn.

however, that normal people should be kept away from the government. "What [Saint-Simon] wanted was not a government of men, but the administration of things" therefore, the industrialists should be responsible for this administration (Friedmann 1987: 67).

A disciple of Saint-Simon, Comte can also be credited as an ideological root of planning. Comte was interested in system and order.

> Comte was firmly convinced that human freedom lay in submission to 'natural, scientifically established laws,' just as free-falling bodies submit, as it were, to the law of gravity. (Friedmann 1987: 70)

Comte's understanding of planning indicated a division of labor between theoretician planners and practical administrators. Politics was inconsequential – science could generate knowledge about what ought to be. Thus, planners should guide social progress based on scientific laws (Friedmann 1987).

Although the ideological roots of planning have an early foundation, it took another century for the realization of scientific planning as a technique to emerge. Pre-19th century planning elicited an orthogonal design which used rational, Euclidean order (a rational ordering of space). Orthogonal design was concerned with the physical arrangements of activities in a two-dimensional or three dimensional space, was intended for a hierarchical world, conformed to divine reason, and was passed from master to apprentice in work situations (Friedmann 1987).

During the Enlightenment, planning started to break away from the orthogonal tradition. Modern planning was a form of technical reason and is applied to problems that arise in the public domain. Planning took place in a rapidly changing world. Knowledge for planners was derived from scientific and technical research that conformed to human reason (Friedmann 1987).

Planning as a vocational practice did not begin until the 20th century. The designation "planner" did not appear until the 1920s when university-based education for planners appeared in the late 1920s, and remained relatively vocational until after World War II. Planning in the United States emerged out of industrial management. During World War I, planning was designed to mobilize national production. Emphasis was placed on the objectivity of the scientific method. During the Great Depression, Planning tried to control industrialization in order to increase social justice. "Although more rationalized than before and newly equipped with 'theory,' it asserted the public interest over private greed and profiteering" (Friedmann 1987: 6). Planning during this time continued to be inspired by scientific management (Friedmann 1987).

In the 1940s, the Austria school argued for the replacement of scientific reason. This school of thought believed planning should rely on the invisible hand or reformism such as schlamperei (muddling through) (Friedmann 1987). Despite this skepticism, social planning experienced a period of popularity. Planning methods were applied to production, price control, rationing, training, etc. In the 1940s, "in rapidly decolonizing countries, development planning became a popular instrument for accelerating economic growth and rationalizing the use of foreign assistance" (Friedmann 1987: 7).

Since 1945 there has been an explosion of planning literature based on a continuum of social values. One side of the continuum wanted to reproduce existing social relations through addressing the state while the other side sought to transform existing relations of power. There is an assumption that the latter address people rather than the state.

During the 1950s and 1960s, a considerable amount of theorizing was done regarding planning. Despite the amount of theorizing about planning, the emphasis continued to be on the rationality of planning. Planning brought special skills to the rational

analysis and solution of social problems. Planners were "rational counsel for charting courses of action into the future" (Friedmann 1987: 7). The use of the term 'counsel' implies a secondary position to those who actually make decisions.

This type of planning has come to be known as 'modernist'. Planning was evaluated based on performative criterion within a scientific mode of legitimation. Planners were argued to have possessed scientific objectivity allowing planners to disengage themselves from the interests of any particular group and self-interest, and to identify actions that benefit society as a whole (Beauregard 1989).

Modernist planning revolved around the use of master narratives. The text or modernist master narrative is the master plan. Planners believed in comprehensive solutions that had a unitary logic. Technical rationality was viewed as a valid and superior means of making public decisions. With modernist planning, planners tried to bring reason and democracy, guide state decision making with technical rather than political rationality, produce a coordinated functional urban form organized around collective goals, and use economic growth to create a middle-class society (Beauregard 1989).

In the 1960s, doubts regarding scientific and rational planning reemerged.

> During these years, planners listened more attentively to the voice of the people, and 'maximum feasible participation, was given an official blessing. (Friedmann 1987: 8)

Thus, more planners began to take into consideration the thoughts and situations of everyday people. A focused citizen interest has emerged (Hillier 1994).

Modernist planning began to disintegrate in the 1970s and the 1980s. "Novel political forms, economic relations, and restructured cities posed new difficulties for the premises that underlie practice" (Beauregard 1989: 387). By the end of the 1980s, modernist planning was under attack. At the same time, United States society was transforming. The

Vietnam Era was plagued by problems with poverty and political struggle. "During these years, planners listened more attentively to the voice of the people, and 'maximum feasible participation, was given an official blessing" (Friedmann 1987: 8).

With this move toward the consideration for everyday people, there is an emergence of collaborative planning. With collaborative planning, the planner mediates among stakeholders. The role of the planner is to listen to various stakeholders and try to find consensus among viewpoints. Collaborative planning is now a key phrase in planning theory vocabulary and has reigned since the 1980s (Feinstein 2000).

Collaborative planning stems from communicative theory. The communicative school seeks to theorize about interpersonal relationships between actors in planning (Twedwr-Jones 2002). It has its roots in Habermas' theory of communicative action. Habermas' theory of communication action offers an alternative to instrumental rationality. The communicative model recognizes the social construction of knowledge, acknowledges diverse interests, stakeholders, and consensus building (Harris 2002). It also acknowledges the importance of communication in decision making and the role of collaboration (Hillier 1994).

One important aspect of communicative planning theory is consensus. Consensus offers a dialogue between actors and attempts to equalize power at the discussion table. Consensus allows actors to build shared meanings and generate solutions to problems (Hillier 1994). It also imposes rules of interaction.

In the past ten years there has been a rush of theoretical discussion in planning (Feinstein 2000). Changes in planning theory are a result of a postpositivistic critique. Planning has historically been related to modernism and positivism. Previously, what seemed common and stable among practitioners was a professional idealism "premised on

the traditional claims of a unique body of knowledge and skills which equipped them to make expert judgments on technical matters" (Campbell and Marshall 2002: 108). Practitioners were reluctant to engage in debates about value (Campbell and Marshall 2002). The postpositive critique has questioned this understanding of knowledge and objectivity. Despite this critique of planning theory, the modernist and rational model is still popular in practice (Friedmann 1987).

3. Planning in an Organizational Context

The field of organizational studies is important in looking at planning systems. Organizations are "concrete social structures formally established for the purpose of achieving specific objectives" (Hederbrand 1977: 88). An organization is the outcome of organizing activity – this outcome is a social structure or a set of social relations.

Organizations reproduce and change social structures and social relations. Social structures created by organizations inevitably come in conflict with the organizations activity. "Social relations and structure tend to come into contradiction with the very forces that created them as a result of specific historical processes" (Hederband 1977: 90).

Despite the move toward collaborative planning techniques, many planning and organizational theories tend to ignore the shaping of power and control within planning systems. Power (class structure included) is inevitable for planning theorists as it shapes and controls discourses, knowledge, and spaces (Flyvberg and Richardson 2002). In addition,

> communicative planning seems to be premised on an assumption that planners, faced with 'the truth' and the evidence of the need to act in a more open and inclusionary way for wider interests, will automatically change their allegiances to this new noble cause. (Twedwr-Jones 2002: 74)

This is not necessarily the case.

Organizations are given form by processes and rules structured around a hierarchical division of labor that can be reduced to statutes that are produced and reproduced by organization members. The organization itself is an arena in which the actions of social groups/individuals are carried out. Therefore, it is important to look at how organizational patterns are generated and sustained by people within the organization (Benson 1977).

The need for efficiency requires that the state create bureaucracies, therefore, planning organizations are oftentimes bureaucratic. Achieving consistent levels of efficiencies has required the incorporation of effecting planning. Consequently, planning emerges as a necessary bureaucratic tendency. The attributes of bureaucratic organization include a division of labor, hierarchy of authority, extensive rules governing job behavior, and systematic work procedures (Hall 1982). Thus, within planning organizations you see a hierarchy of positions (i.e. Director, Main Planner, Planner A, Planner B), extensive codes and regulations regarding land use, and specific procedures that must be followed. Similarly, the state is organized rationally to efficiently manage society. Therefore, planning is bureaucratically organized to efficiently manage land use and development and to legitimize the interests of the state.

Many organizational bureaucratic features are a mechanism of social control that is produced and maintained by those with power. Rules are negotiated through interactions between people. The social structures within organizations are often times devices of social control (Benson 1977). What are the ongoing interactions that continuously reproduce the organization or alter it?

"Any organization's form is, to some degree, shaped by the external social actors that develop, enforce, and change the indispensable properties of a social identity code" (Morgan 1989: 44). Institutional theory argues that organizations construct the social realities that

guide their actions and help to recreate the social system. Organizations have customs and habits that exist without regard for their rationality:

> In other words, institutionalized acts are done for no other reason than that is how things are done. (Morgan 1989: 49)

They exert control over participants and encourage them to conform without questioning the prevailing norms and rules. Rules and requirements are taken for granted by organizational participants and serve to legitimate normative beliefs (Morgan 1989). These rules and requirements serve as the foundation of organizational culture.

Cultures have meanings for organizations (Martin 1992). "A strong organizational culture is a belief system that sustains the commitment of individual members for the good of the organization" (Harrison and Carroll 1991: 553). As individuals come in contact with organizations, they come in contact with norms, rules, procedures, rituals, etc – all aspects of organizational culture. When members interpret the meanings of these manifestations, their perceptions and interpretations will differ – the patterns of these interpretations constitute culture (Martin 1992).

The organizational culture facilitates and legitimizes reorganization and adaptation. Organizational culture "can be thought of as the normative order, operating through informational and social influence, that guides and constrains the behavior of people in collectives" (Frank and Fahrback 254). Organizations themselves do not decide to establish a culture – agents do.

Individual planning systems can be viewed as organizations. With planning systems as organizational structures, comes organizational culture. Cultures exist in the planning field. Individuals within the planning field are introduced to rules and norms of the area and serve to reproduce these rules and norms.

4. Statement of Research Questions

The purpose of this dissertation is to theoretically and empirically explore the role of hegemony within the Case d'Luc County Planning Department and the possibility for counter-hegemonic movements. As noted earlier, planners, upon entering the field, move away from their original intentions. What causes planners to surrender their idealistic intentions? What role does hegemony play in planning organizations?

The social organization of planning may be best understood through a case study method. This method will allow me to focus attention on one specific social phenomenon – the Case d'Luc County Planning Department. The research for this study was conducted with Case d'Luc County Planners, public officials, and community members (including members of elite groups).

In this study, I examine the institutional and professional normative assumptions, guidelines, and regulations that frame the Case d'Luc County Planning Department's relationship among themselves, other country agencies, and the citizens they interact with. In doing so, various aspects of organizational structure and culture will be looked at. The analysis is therefore guided by the following research questions:

- How is the planning department structured? How does the structure of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department affect planning? What internal contradictions exist within the Planning Department?

- What culture exists in the Planning Department? How is it created and reproduced? What impact does it have on planning? Are risk averse rules created? Do planners draw on their personal values in the process or do they try to put them aside?

- Who are the main agents in Case d'Luc County? Who determines the rules, procedures, priorities, and objectives? Do these agents promote hegemony or assist in the creation of counter-hegemonic movements?

- What opportunities exist for community members to be involved in the planning

process? How much and what kind of input should citizens be able to provide planners in an effective planning process? What opportunities for counter-hegemonic activity exist?

One of the most important aspects of this project is that it holds the potential to expand the body of knowledge related to organizational theory and social organization of the public planning process. In doing so, I will utilize a Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian perspective. The Neo-Gramscian/Critical Weberian understandings of the state are important in analyzing organizational structure and culture within the field of planning.

While the Critical Weberian perspective focuses on rationality and legitimation within organizations, the Neo-Gramscian perspective emphasizes structure, culture, and agency. Hegemony can be understood in terms of planning in that it influences the ideological leadership of planners over other groups of elites through the control of beliefs. Similarly, many legitimizing tactics are used be members of planning organizations to exert control over the planning process. Therefore, combining these theories allows for a more useful analysis of planning organizations in terms of legitimacy, hegemony, and agency.

These perspectives, however, are not all-encompassing; therefore, the mid-range theories discussed in this chapter are used to elaborate on important aspects of planning missing from the larger theoretical framework. For example, the planning literature helps to supplement the Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian understandings of hegemony and legitimation by incorporating issues specific to planning.

Institutional theory also supplements the Critical Weberian perspective in that it is concerned with efficiency and its connection to legitimacy by emphasizing the normative nature of organizations. By focusing on rules and regulations, Institutional theory offers and understanding of how these rules and regulations can help to create a normative social reality for actors within and outside of planning organizations. Similarly, the organizational culture

literature can be useful in better understanding the role of culture in planning organizations. Finally, the literature on community enhances this theoretical perspective's understanding of community agency and how it is related to counter-hegemony. Each of these mid-range theories provides a link between the larger theoretical framework and the culture and actions of local planning departments. By combining these theories, a butter understanding of power relations that support hegemony and consensus within the state and state mechanisms such as planning can be gained.

5. Organization of Dissertation

This thesis is organized into eight chapters with sub-sections in each chapter. Following this introductory chapter, the second chapter presents a Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian theoretical perspective, while utilizing mid-range theories from the fields of complex organizations, planning, and community studies. The Neo-Gramscian/Critical Weberian framework explores one way in which to analyze the potentials and limits of planning in Case d'Luc County in terms of hegemony and legitimation.

Chapter III offers a brief note on the methodology that guides this study. In conducting this research, I relied on multiple methods including participant observation, interviews, and document analysis. In particular, I discuss each of these components and provide an overview of the case study itself.

Chapters IV and V analytically separate structure and culture, respectively. These concepts are analyzed discretely in order to gain a better understanding of how structure and culture each influence planning, despite their interconnectedness. Chapter IV specifically discusses the restructuring of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department and its outcomes. Chapter V discusses the culture of the Planning Department and outlines several

components of this culture. This chapter also suggests how culture impacts the planning process.

In Chapter VI, the concept of "agency" is developed, and its relationship to hegemony is discussed. Specifically, this chapter discusses how planners, as a group of elites, use agency (combined with structure and culture) to preserve their hegemony. Then, In Chapter VII, I discuss how other groups of elites in Case d'Luc County exert their own agency. This chapter, in particular, deals with the potential for counter-hegemonic movements and how counter-hegemonic leadership is exercised by elites both inside and outside of the planning process.

In conclusion, in Chapter VIII I provide a final discussion on planning in Case d'Luc County. A summative critique of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department will be offered, including potentials and limits for counter-hegemonic leadership. Finally, this chapter outlines ways in which planning in the County might be improved.

CHAPTER II

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: HEGEMONY AND COUNTER-HEGEMONIC ACTION WITHIN PLANNING

1. Introduction

At the end of the 20th century, social theory experienced a convergence of two widely used sociological traditions associated with the writings of Max Weber and Antonio Gramsci. Specifically, Weber's work emphasizes the role of both rationality and legitimacy (at both the individual and social levels) in the context of modern bureaucratic social institutions. Gramsci's work focuses on the role of ideology and politics in defining oppressive class relations as normal and legitimate. In these two bodies of theory, we see an integration of agency (individual and collective), culture, and social structure. In this section, I will draw on the critical traditions that have emerged from these two theorists: critical Weberian[2] and neo-Gramscian. It is argued here that there is a convergence among these two traditions; as each has generated similar theoretical tenants, both perspectives provide useful conceptual tools for understanding the structure, culture, and agency of planning within an organizational context. The neo-Gramscian perspective allows for an integrated analysis of structure, culture, and agency within the context of social change. The critical

[2] By "critical Weberian" I am referring to a perspective that works within a Weberian framework that seeks to look beneath the surface of social life and reveal assumptions – assumptions that prevent us from a real understanding of how the world works. This perspective allows a novel approach to uncover the assumptions of bureaucracy, rationalization, subjective meaning, authority, and legitimation and their impact on social life.

Weberian perspective provides a useful framework for understanding bureaucracy, rationality, and legitimacy of planning organizations that operate within the state.

These sociological approaches are useful in seeking to determine how social organization and organizational structure influence planning. A combined neo-Gramscian/critical Weberian perspective is constructive because it takes into consideration power relations that support hegemony and consensus within the state and state mechanisms such as planning, in addition to addressing the possibilities of counter-hegemonic social action. Moreover, it is important to understand the role of power in the planning process and how power can either serve to reconstitute the dominant hegemony or act as a counter-hegemonic force.

As both individuals and part of a collective whole, actors within bureaucracies and complex organizations are driven to protect their position within the hierarchy. As a result, a stimulus is created in which members seek to legitimize the organization both internally and externally, and to ward off threats to their statuses within the organization. Consequently, individuals within a bureaucracy will strive to carry out the goals of the organization while simultaneously attempting to protect their own positions within the organizations – both of which lead to the development of hegemonic strategies (these are discussed in greater detail in the next section).

Therefore, this framework promises considerable value in understanding the process of hegemony and counter-hegemony and its relationship to the structure, culture, and agency within planning organizations. Both perspectives taken together provide an investigation of the internal contradictions of social organizations and outcomes of these contradictions within a specific historical, social and spatial context. The critical Weberian concepts of rationality and legitimation, and the neo-Gramscian conception of hegemony allow for an

analysis of internal contradictions and the organizational culture and legitimacy of planning processes.

These two theoretical perspectives intersect at multiple points, particularly in their conceptualizations of social class. Rather than viewing social classes as unified and based on similar interests, both perspectives establish social classes as fractured – both internally and externally. These fractures must be approached according to specific historical blocks, place, and the experiences of actors within each class. For the purpose of this study, the fractures among elites inform the acceptance or resistance of state plans and the planning organization.

It must be noted that the purpose of this Neo-Gramscian/Critical Weberian framework is to analyze the situation in Case d'Luc County. Therefore, it does not strictly follow a traditional Gramscian or Weberian framework. For example, a Gramscian analysis would utilize a societal level of analysis, focusing on planning in capitalist society and its affects on the accumulation of wealth and legitimacy of inequality. In a Weberian perspective, individuals are seen as making up organizations; in a Gramscian perspective, individuals are agents of the dominant interest.

Some, such as Alford and Friedland (1992) have argued that these levels of analysis (individual, organizational, and societal) are not interchangeable (i.e. Gramsci's conception of hegemony cannot be used to understand an organization). However, in this instance, it is necessary to move across both the individual and organizational levels of analysis to better understand the situation in Case d'Luc County. By using only one of these levels, several factors important to understanding count planning will be left unexplained. Hegemony (or the seeking of consent) does not simply exist at the societal level. In addition, Gramsci's conception of hegemony allows for a great deal of agency; therefore, individuals (rather than

classes) can be perpetuators of consent. This emphasis on agency is also something that is missing from a Weberian analysis. Therefore, it is useful in this case to combine these perspectives and move across different levels of analysis.

In order to better merge these two frameworks Robert Merton's (1968) pragmatic incorporation of theories of the mid-range were used to develop conceptual frameworks specific to the social phenomena associated with institutionalized planning study. These mid-range theories, including Institutional Theory and collaborative planning, have been used to analyze the professional practice of planning. These theories offer unique insights into the relationship of structure, culture, and agency in the context of local dynamics. Additionally, Forester's (1989) typology on information and power in planning is used to sort out different expressions of planning organizations and of planner themselves.

During the second half of the 20th century, the bureaucratic organizations of planning have become contested terrains for greater cultural support for inclusive public policy and program decision-making and the corresponding advent of communicative action and participatory democracy[3]. Given these theoretical perspectives, what are the intentions of planners today? What role does the planner have in using these theoretical perspectives in real-life situations? Does social organization affect planning outcomes? Are risk adverse rules created? Are there any internal contradictions?

The following section will provide a basis for understanding the main contributions of the neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian perspectives as relevant to this study. The rest of the chapter, then, will provide the theoretical framework for exploring the contradictions of hegemony and legitimation within the planning process and their impact on the planners themselves. In doing so, literature from the fields of planning, complex organizations, and

[3] These theories and concepts will be discussed in detail in later sections.

community will be used for their importance in understanding hegemony and legitimation within planning. These theories provide a link between the larger neo-Gramscian and critical Weberian perspectives and the actions of planners and citizens.

2. Hegemony, Legitimation, and Resistance

Gramsci and Weber focused on the ideas of hegemony and legitimation, respectively. Both of these concepts are important to this case study in that they illuminate the struggles that have emerged in Case d'Luc County planning between County planners and citizens. As will be discussed below, both the concepts of hegemony and legitimation are contradictory in nature and therefore allow for agency.

Hegemony

The foundation for Gramsci's concept of hegemony is that a dominant class exercises power over subordinate classes "by means of a combination of coercion and persuasion" (Simon 1991: 22). Gramsci focuses on this latter aspect – consent. Subordinate classes consent to the ideology of and control by the dominant group. This occurs when individuals voluntarily assimilate the worldview of the dominant group. As Simon (1991) notes, "hegemony is a relation, not of domination by means of force, but of consent by means of political and ideological leadership" (22).

In the neo-Gramscian view of the state, in order to sustain hegemony, the dominant class must create widely accepted ways of thinking. This is done through what Gramsci (1971) terms "common sense". Common sense represents the unsuspecting and unaware way in which people understand the world. It is the place upon which the ideology of the hegemonic class is constructed.

Ideology involves collective structural and cultural means of living.

> [Ideology] provides people with rules of practical conduct and moral behavior, and is equivalent to 'a religion understood in the secular sense of a unity of faith between a conception of the world and a corresponding norm of conduct. (Gramsci 1971: 326)

A hegemonic ideology must be gradually built upon the societal structures. Hegemony cannot be assumed to persist automatically. Rather, the dominant group must constantly strive to maintain its hegemony. This requires attempts to strengthen the dominant group's authority, and the making of concessions as needed in order to adapt the current hegemony to changing conditions in order to attain consent. (Simon 1991). "To be an effective hegemonic force, a dominant or potentially dominant class must make [concessions]to elicit the consent of a subordinate or allied class" (Buroway 2003: 225)

When hegemony is threatened from below, an organic crisis occurs. An organic crisis arises when contradictions within the hegemonic structures reveal themselves, leaving the existing hegemony open to greater resistance. The characteristic response to an organic crisis is a passive revolution. This strategy occurs whenever hegemony is threatened and involves a reorganization in order to reestablish hegemony (Simon 1991). A passive revolution occurs when "extensive changes are made to the social and economic structures. According to Gramsci (1971),

> there is a passive revolution involved in the fact that – through legislative intervention of the state, and by means of corporative organisation[4] – relatively far-reaching modifications are being introduced into the country's economic structure. (119)

Gramsci (1971) emphasizes struggle. Hegemony is not something rigid and static, but continually transforming itself. As Fiske (1992) argues, "consent must be constantly won and rewon, for people's material social experience constantly reminds them of the

[4] Corporative – understanding all members of one class

disadvantages of subordination and thus poses a threat to the dominant class" (291). When a counter-hegemony replaces the former hegemony, the counter-hegemony becomes the new hegemony. Therefore, the new synthesis also creates resistance to itself.

As a dialectic, hegemony changes because of contradictions that create challenges to the existing hegemony. Marx (1992) and Hegel (1960) understood a dialectic as involving a thesis, antithesis, and synthesis. The existing thesis is challenged by its antithesis, and, therefore, a new thesis (or synthesis) emerges. In neo-Gramscian terms, a dialectic involves hegemony, counter-hegemony, and new hegemony, which function similarly to the conceptions posed by Marx and Hegel.

Hegemony, therefore, is not a strategy exclusive of the dominant group. Wherever hegemony exists, there also arises resistance to it. Hegemony involves a dialectical relationship in that it is constantly undergoing changes and requires the existence of counter-hegemony. Subordinate groups can develop their own hegemony – or counter-hegemony.

> Hegemony's 'victories' are never final, and any society will evidence numerous points where subordinate groups have resisted the total domination that is hegemony's aim, and have withheld their consent to the system. (Fiske 1987: 41)

This can be accomplished by subordinate groups by taking into account the interests of other groups and social forces and finding ways of combining them with its own interests.

Periodically, an organic crisis may occur; thus creating opportunities for the subordinate class to overcome its limitations and establish a counter-hegemony capable of challenging the existing order and achieving hegemony. However, if the subordinate classes do not make use of this opportunity, the balance of power will shift back to the dominant class, reestablishing its hegemony.

The means through which subordinate groups replace the hegemony of the dominant group is through a war of position. Through a war of position, subordinate

groups break up the structures supporting the existing hegemony and transform the organization of society. Because a war of position changes or replaces the dominant hegemony, it is an ideological battle which requires the consent of all the classes.

A neo-Gramscian understanding of hegemony reflects the importance of consent and how hegemony is not just expressed by an ideology but in all aspects of society such as structural organization and culture. As a desire for consent permeates cultures and organizations, many attempts to reduce criticism and challenges exist. Therefore, attempts at agency or counter-hegemony might be limited.

Weber's critique of bureaucracy and analysis of legitimacy helps to better understand how these concepts overshadow democracy and agency. Thus, a link exists between Gramsci's conception of hegemony and Weber's bureaucraticization and legitimation as both theorists analyze how agency (or counter-hegemony) is limited by hegemony, and bureaucracy and legitimation.

Although Gramsci is usually thought of as having reconceptualized Marx, there are some similarities between Gramsci and Weber. Like Gramsci, Weber was interested in grasping the role of cultural ideas and values in the political realm, and in the process of legitimation of the ruling groups in a state (Bocock 1986) – and like Weber, Gramsci saw fractured classes.

> A similar conceptual distinction between 'domination' based upon force, and 'consent', a willingness to obey based upon moral and intellectual leadership (Gramsci), or inner justification
>
> and external means (Weber), operates in the two theories. (Bocock 1986: 86)

For Weber, Gramsci, and later social theorists working within these conceptual traditions, the state is the dominant organization of society. In order to increase its autonomy and its efficiency in economic and other sectors, the state must regulate complex

organizations and utilize efficiencies associated with bureaucracies. Thus, society is becoming increasingly dominated by bureaucracies. Weber viewed bureaucracy as the most rational and efficient means of achieving organizational goals as bureaucratic rigidity allows for stability and predictability.

With the growing complexity of society, rationalization becomes necessary. Therefore, formal rules and procedures begin to dominate organizations. The state must be organized rationally and draw on formal rules and procedures in order to allow for efficient management institutionalized imperatives. Hence, the state becomes more bureaucratic and rationally organized to meet its goals and in its interests for efficiency (Alford and Friedland 1992).

Legitimation

Planning is related to legitimacy in that planning has a legal basis; thus, it is seen as legitimate (Allmendinger 1996).

> The legal authorization of planning provides an important source of legitimacy. As an official function of local government in the United States, planning plays and important role advising public officials, managers, and a diverse citizenry about overall future development within or near a particular locale. (Hoch 2000: 21)

Similarly, planners can claim legitimacy is proper bureaucratic procedures have been followed. Hegemony in critical Weberian terms would correspond to the "myth of natural superiority", or the legitimation of a status order. Similarly, power for critical Weberian's, is the chance of individuals to realize their own will in a communal action even against the resistance of others who are participating in the action (Bocock 1986). A critical Weberian view of the state includes processes of legitimation – which are tied to hegemony. Since the

state is the dominant organization of society, planning (as part of society) must also be part of the state.

An interest in maximizing efficiency by the state requires planning organizations to be bureaucratic. Thus, planning organizations exhibit characteristics of bureaucratic organization including a division of labor, hierarchy of authority, extensive rules governing job behavior, and systematic work procedures (Hall 1982). This bureaucratic organization is necessary to efficiently manage land use and development and to legitimize the interests of the state.

Weber viewed western society as in a process of rationalization in pursuit of efficiency (Dallmayr 1994). The state and private elite interests create bureaucracies as means for more effectively and efficiently controlling aspects of society and wealth accumulation processes. Yet, ironically, both state and private bureaucracies become targets for some hegemonic strategies of segments of the elite classes.

Because of its precision and efficiency, bureaucracy is considered to be superior to other forms of organization (Dallmayr 1994). Despite this supposed superiority, because of its precision and efficiency, its resistance to change and over rationalization may eventually lead to inefficiency – contrary to what bureaucracy means to achieve. However, because of its technical superiority and systematic means of achieving goals, bureaucracy retains its legitimacy in the eyes of the public.

Legitimacy, however, entails its own contradictions. As society advances and becomes more bureaucratic, the state expands to manage things typically controlled by the public. From this, a crisis of legitimation can occur – one which is similar to Gramsci's conception of an organic crisis. With a legitimation crisis, the state and those in power are

unable to elicit an adequate sense of authority to appropriately govern. Thus, the legitimacy of the state and those in power is questioned (Moodley 1986; Esquith 1987; Estes 1990)

Weber felt that democracy requires bureaucracy; however, bureaucracy weakens democracy. Therefore, bureaucracy ultimately leads to an 'iron cage'. Weber felt that bureaucracies eventually take on a life of their own and come to dominate every aspect of society. Individual interests are suffocated by bureaucratic structures and their rational regulations (Mommsen 1974). Therefore, individuals are condemned to lose their independence and sense of worth.

Weber's conception of the iron cage, however, is not without its contradictions. Instead of losing their autonomy and interests, individuals can seek out nonrational ways to break away from the iron cage. Weber recognized that individuals are not merely machines molded by bureaucracy and the culture it creates. Individuals create bureaucracies and culture.

> No one knows who will live in this cage in the future, or whether at the end of this tremendous development entirely new prophets will arise, or there will be a great rebirth of old ideas and ideals or, if neither, mechanized petrification embellished with a sort of convulsive self-importance. For of the last stage of this cultural development, it might well be truly said: 'Specialists without spirit, sensualists without heart; this nullity imagines that it has obtained a level of civilization never before achieved. (Weber 2001: 181)

Consequently, even in a society increasingly reliant on rationalization and bureaucratization, other possibilities exist.

Both Gramsci's and Weber's conceptions of hegemony and legitimation can be extended to the sphere of planning. Planners work within bureaucratic organizations and tend to promote their technical superiority over other means, while attempting to establish hegemony and legitimacy. The following section will describe the hegemony and legitimation inherent in the structure and culture of the planning organization and how

agency serves to protect that hegemony. Specifically, this section will look at planning as an instrument of the state, bureaucratic rationality, and organization culture (including rules and regulations). In addition, the role of agency within hegemony and legitimation will be explained.

These concepts of hegemony and legitimacy will be analyzed in the context of a critical Weberian and neo-Gramscian perspective as well as Institutional Theory. This framework also takes into consideration the position of organizations and locality in planning by viewing the planning process as the struggle to build or defend hegemonic position in a specific field of actors, and to legitimate the state, one that recognizes the complex relationships between structures and agents.

3. Hegemony, Legitimation, and Planning

While planners begin their careers in the field with an interest in agency and desiring to seek change, they become socialized by the structural and cultural hegemony in place and end up moving away from the very reasons they became planners (See Friedmann 1987; Fulton 1989; Yiftachel 1998). Studies, like that of Yiftachel (1998), suggest that planners are more interested in exerting power and control over processes than focusing on more progressive and community-oriented alternatives. Therefore, one set of objectives ends up in practice being replaced by another – a shift that is shaped by hegemonic practices. Planners represent a group of significantly progressive thinkers and activists who end up doing something very different in practice: reproducing hegemony and legitimation.

Instead of planning for the future, they plan the cul de sac, or dead end. One rationale for this move toward a "dead end" is the structure and culture of agencies. Organizations exert control over participants and encourage both those who work for

organizations and those who deal with them to increasingly conform without questioning the prevailing norms (Morgan 1989).

Therefore, this section outlines these arguments while focusing on the role of structure, culture and agency in planning and its organization. To understand the role of hegemony and legitimation in planning, theoretical input from the fields of planning, complex organizations, and community will be used. While many of the theories within these fields do not identify themselves directly as neo-Gramscian or critical Weberian, their frameworks are useful in establishing a neo-Gramscian/critical Weberian framework.

As noted before, hegemony relies on consent and agreement (Gramsci 1971). This understanding provides us with a view of the state not so much as coercive force, but as a persuasive force that seeks to gain consent from the subordinate classes – it "seeks to convince subordinate classes that there is no alternative to the status quo" (Allmendinger 2002: 74). Therefore, the state uses a variety of mechanisms to present itself as legitimate. Thus, consensus or hegemony involves various state mechanisms, one of which is planning (Allmendinger 2002).

According to Low (1991),

> if planners have traditionally regarded themselves as outside politics, for the most part they are inside the state. Such is the role of the bureaucrat. The bureaucrat is integrated within a structure of domination and authority. In the case of urban planners that structure is the state. (53)

Planners and the plans that they shape, have become increasingly associated with government bureaucracies. Planners either work for the government or are dependent on it. Thus, because of the prominence of government, planning is subordinate to and part of the governing role. The state and the planner have reciprocal relationships. Ideally, the state

legitimates planners while planners provide stability and continuity for the state. Thus, the state apparatus[5] (including planning) is a vehicle for the exercise of power (Low 1991).

Planning, as part of the state, may seek to persuade competing elites that the actions of the state are enacted on their behalf. Many have argued, however, that in reality planning is a facade for segments of competing elites (Allmendinger 2002).

> The specific interventionist sphere of urban planning emerges, like all state intervention, out of a web of concrete, historically determinate conflicts and problems embedded in the social and property relations of capitalist society generally. (Scott and Roweis 1977: 1103)

Planning should be viewed as an extension of the state, thus its goals change in response to the needs of the state and the hegemonic ideology[6].

In addition to adopting means that serve the hegemony of the dominant elites, planners must also invite the cooperation of oppositional groups in order to create a compromise and thus sustain consensus (Low 1991). The changing of theoretical perspective by planners is a means to protect the hegemony of the dominant class and pacify the subordinate elites (Dear and Scott 1981). Protecting hegemony also requires legitimacy to be established. Therefore, it is important to understand the role of rationality in planning. Rationality may serve as a legitimizing tactic that helps perpetuate hegemony in planning.

Rationality and planning – towards legitimation

Rationality has a long history in planning theory. During the 1950s and 1960s, a considerable amount of theorizing was done regarding planning. Emphasis during this time was on the rationality of planning. Planning brought special skills to the rational analysis and

[5] The tools or complex devises used by the state to meet its goals.
[6] By "ideology" I am referring to the beliefs, values, and attitudes that underlie and legitimate the hegemonic order.

solution of social problems. Planners were "rational counsel for charting a course of action into the future" (Friedmann 1987: 7). This type of planning has come to be known as 'modernist'. Modernist planning involved "a comprehensive, rational model of problem-solving and decision making to guide state intervention.

Theorists of this model believed that they had found the intellectual core of planning: a set of procedures that would generate conceptual problems for theorists, serve as a joint object for theory and practice, and guide practitioners in their daily endeavors" (Beauregard 1989:384). Planning was evaluated based on performative criteria within a scientific mode of legitimation. Planners were argued to possess scientific objectivity allowing them to disengage themselves from the interests of any particular group and self-interest, and to identify actions that benefit society as a whole (Beauregard 1989).

Modernist planning revolved around the use of master narratives. The text or modernist master narrative is the master plan. Planners believed in comprehensive solutions that had a unitary logic. Technical rationality was viewed as a valid and superior means of making public decisions. With modernist planning, planners tried to draw on reason and democracy, guide state decisions made with technical rather than political rationality, produce a coordinated functional urban form organized around collective goals, and use economic growth to create a middle-class society (Beauregard 1989).

Modernist planning began to disintegrate in the 1970s and the 1980s. However, rationality appears to continue to dominate the planning profession. Since planners work in bureaucratic organizations, rationality is expected and established within these bureaucracies. Many planners feel they have a responsibility to act rationally, in an impartial way towards the organization's goals and to impose their "rationality" on the public. Thus, planning is expected to concentrate on formal rationality. Formal rationality provides a historical basis

for the legitimation of planning. Formal rationality legitimates the activity of planning by the state and "also binds humanity to the working of a social machine and limits the achievements of those goals such as freedom, compassion and fellow-feeling" (Low 1991: 76).

One way in which rationality appears in planning organizations is through the use of rules and regulations. Rules and regulations are aspects of rational organization and often serve to legitimize planning processes. If all of the required rules and regulations have been followed during the planning process, it can be argued to be legitimate.

Institutional theory offers a link to critical Weberianism in that it deals with the issue of efficiency and how efficiency is used to promote legitimacy. The institutional approach focuses on how organizations are taken for granted and perceived by participants. Institutional theory "emphasizes the value-laden [normative] character of institutions and the way in which organizational actions are legitimated when cloaked in an institutional acceptable rhetoric" (Aldrich 1999: 48). Something that has been institutionalized takes on rule-like quality, and when rooted in a formal structure, its existence is not tied to a particular actor or situation (Aldrich 1999).

Rules and regulations

According to institutional theory, in order to be accepted within a professional field, an organization must demonstrate its efficiency – with efficiency being demonstrated by meeting community needs. Organizations that cannot demonstrate their efficiency "adopt the facade of modern bureaucratic design – professionally certified employees, hierarchical command structures, standardized budgetary controls – as visible evidence to the

institutionalized environment of their trustworthiness" (Morgan 1989: 50). Thus, there is conformity to a dominant social order.

> Bureaucratic interests may stand against the political interests that are supposed by the demands of political legitimacy to control them. The bureaucracy, indeed, has its own source of legitimacy in the 'objectivity' of technical expertise and formal impartiality (Low 1991: 72).

Citizens accept the legitimacy of the planning system and organization if rules and bureaucratic orders are followed based on the supposed objective nature of rules and the technical expertise of planners.

Planning organizations are subordinate to hegemony. Institutional theory is helpful in noting the formalized norms and regulations that make alternatives improbable and thus unlikely to be attempted. Because social reality has been thoroughly constructed and internalized by organizational members, members are unlikely to understand or even see the merit of outside or alternative aspects. It has been argued that "this aspect of institutional theory turned organizations into 'passive collection points' for the rules and agendas institutionalized at higher levels within societies" (Aldrich 1999: 51).

The notion of rational planning embodies the bureaucratic principle that the purpose of an organization is to meet goals efficiently. There are other dimensions to bureaucratic rationality, however. These include: membership, leadership, domination and control, professionalism and expertise, the use of information, and the application of rules within the organization. Bureaucratic rationality, in part, draws its legitimacy from its capacity to supply impartial advice to the general interests.

Institutional theory of organizations proposes that organizations construct the social realities that guide their actions and help to recreate the social system. Organizations have customs and habits that exist without regard for their rationality – "in other words,

institutionalized acts are done for no other reason than that is how things are done" (Morgan 1989: 49). They exert control over participants and encourage them to conform without questioning the prevailing norms and rules. Rules and requirements are taken for granted by organizational participants and serve to legitimate normative beliefs (Morgan 1989). These rules and requirements serve as the foundation of organizational culture. Therefore, it is important to look at how organizational patterns (whether they be cultural or structural) are generated and sustained by people within the organization and whether these patterns reinforce or weaken hegemony.

Based on the literature, the argument may be made that hegemony within planning organizations is twofold. The organization of planning serves to create hegemony for the state. At the same time, however, organizations of planning are subordinate to hegemony themselves. Many organizational structures function as a means of social control that is produced and maintained by those with power. A bureaucratic organization's division of labor, rules, and incentives are not simply intended to be rational systems that meet the goals of the organization, but rather "devices to divide and subordinate the [subordinate segments of elites]" (Benson 1977: 11). Thus, it can be concluded that planning organizations as one of their own hegemonic strategies, can create rules to legitimate the organization and to create hegemony.

To understand planning it is necessary to take into consideration the rules, their interpretation, and the actors who implement, use and change those rules. A plan is a system of rules for the control of development. Within planning, new bureaucratic organizations and rules for decision-making are created. Rules are created that explicate the hierarchy of some over others. For example, in most planning departments, the Planning Director has the final say with regards to plans. Rules are also created that present procedures to be

followed (i.e. Master Plan, Land Use Code). These rules set up public expectations of the state. Planners create and then operate under authoritative rules and procedures for deciding on land uses and development. Finally planners also may have "the task of the administration of their organization and of the set of procedures and rules with which it works and which designate it as a legitimate function of government" (Low 1991: 78) – and enforcement of these rules.

The bureaucratic organization of planning, including rules, regulations, and procedures, creates the necessity for objectivity and technical expertise. However, because planners are individuals with values, objectivity may not be viable and value judgments may take precedence over technical expertise (See Wiener 1988; Campbell and Marshall 2002; Carp 2003). For example, Dear and Scott (1981) argue that:

> professional objectivity, techniques, methods, and public participation are a placebo that convinces the public that the impacts and injustices of the market are being treated while in reality planning is actually helping to perpetuate those symptoms. (79)

The failures of planners may not be based on shortcomings of the planners or inadequate theories (Allmendinger 2002). Rather, rules and regulations may be seen as the cause of such failures.

When the political realm is permeated by the rhetoric of technique, the state increases in power as it is able to seem removed from the object of its rules. In the process, many of the state's features are no longer under human control. Community participation becomes entrapped in a series of rules and discursive languages that might cause citizens to feel as if participation were beyond their control. Thus, planning may be outside of human control and based on technical discourse.

According to Della Fave (1986), "any theory that hopes to account for the reproduction of stratified social orders must include a subtheory of legitimation" (476). Legitimation involves the normative consent of stratification. The neo-Gramscian concept of hegemony draws attention to the means by which ideologies shape the process of self-formation (as well as social constructions of realities) so that the existing set of institutional arrangements are made to appear to exhaust possible alternatives. One of the ways this occurs is through the development of standards by which role performances in given statuses are judged. There is a lack of revolutionary consciousness because it is assumed by the masses that the rational means of organizations and planning are legitimate because of the cultural ideologies surrounding these issues and the rules that are created by planning organizations (Della Fave 1986).

Rationality, rules, and regulations are largely perpetuated by organizational culture. Organizational culture is important because culture helps shape the planning structure and exerts control over planners. Those within planning organizations are also subject to an acceptance of cultural standards developed by the structure of the organizations and the rules that are in place. Here, another body of literature exists (organizational culture within complex organizations) important to understanding a neo-Gramscian/ critical Weberian perspective that supplements the larger grand theory. This literature helps to bridge the gap between larger theories of hegemony and the symbolic action in which planners participate.

Organizational Culture

Organizations socially construct the bureaucratic realities that guide their actions, which in turn help to perpetuate a social system. Organizations have customs and habits

that exist without regard for their rationality – "'in other words, institutionalized acts are done for no other reason than that is how things are done'" (Morgan 1989: 49). Rules and requirements may be taken for granted by organizational participants.

Risk-averse behavior

An issue that deserves some attention involves how the culture of an organization can give rise to risk averse behavior. Do planning organizations provide opportunities for risk-behavior or innovative planning? The theory of risk within an organization context (See Deal and Kennedy 1982; Miller 1987; Clarke and Short 1993; Sitkin and Weingarten 1995; Bloom and Milkovich 1998; Jia, Dyer, and Butler 1999) has developed organizational characteristics or sources of influence on risk behavior; these characteristics are embedded within the organization culture. According to Deal and Kennedy (1982), the culture of an organization may promote or dissuade risk taking behavior. Similarly, Sitkin and Pablo (1992) argue that:

> when the outcomes of risky decisions are rewarded or punished, or the willingness to take risks is encouraged or discourages as part of an effective decision-making process, the organization is viewed as ultimately channeling the decision maker's risk behavior by monitoring, evaluating, and rewarding the outcomes achieved and processes used when risks are involved. (13)

Therefore, the culture within the organization has a large effect on the innovative strategies that may or may not be used by planners.

In addition, there is a literature regarding complex organizations arguing that higher-level administrators in the public sector are risk-averse (See Sitkin and Pablo 1992; Bozeman and Kinglsey 1998). For example, " the 'life in the fishbowl' characteristics of high level public sector jobs means that risk-taking behavior of public managers may be subject to greater scrutiny" (Bozeman and Kingsley 1998: 110). Because public administrators are

obliged to take into consideration the needs of the community, they may be less likely to engage in risk-taking behavior. Therefore, the publicness (degree of control affecting an organization) of a position or department may create risk-averse behavior (Bozeman and Kingsley 1998).

Finally, the bureaucratic nature of an organization may also undermine risk-taking due to the high level of formalism and "red tape". Bozeman and Kingsley (1998) note the "process culture" involved in "highly formalized formal, bureaucratized organization that is too entangled in its procedures, and processes to sustain risks" (111). Organizations in the public sector tend to place more control on employees and emphasize going through proper channels. Thus, within bureaucratic organizations, there is an emphasis on hierarchy and control, which prevent lower level employees from attempting risky or innovative techniques.

As previously mentioned, planners represent a group of agents interested in progressive planning who, in practice, do something quite different (such as rational planning). The above sections on structure and culture emphasize the importance of these concepts in creating hegemony and legitimation in planning organizations. However, a level of agency exists through which planners themselves are also able to create consent and legitimate hegemony. It is important to understand agency in that planners are not merely reacting to structural and cultural conditions and constraints. Therefore, the following sub-section will discuss the role of agency within planning and its impact on hegemony and legitimation.

The role of agency

Individual planners possess autonomous thinking prior to making a decision (Twedwr-Jones 2002) – they possess agency. For example, Carp (2003) demonstrates how planners represent a variety of attitudes, concepts, and tools that, in effect, shape how planning subjects participate in the planning process. Allmendinger (2002) makes the argument that planners are not merely concerned with serving politicians whose responsibility it is to substantiate rationality – they are by this expectation of their jobs, actually opposed to democracy – willingly or not. "While politicians have their legitimacy in the popular vote, bureaucracies such as local governments comprised of processionals, have their own form of legitimacy in technical expertise, 'objectivity' and impartiality" (Allmendinger 2002: 55).

Planners have their own personal goals and interests which may be used to achieve their objectives in planning. When performing the function of giving advice to the public regarding planning, planners cannot help but bring their own goals and interests to the table (Low 1991). Similarly, "limited participation simplifies planning, allowing experienced political actors who represent powerful stakeholder groups to directly concentrate their influence on collective decision making" (Carp 2003: 242). The relationship the planner takes with the public participant varies depending on the worth the planner gives to that participation. Collaborative and democratic strategies are used by planners who anticipate little participation by community members (Carp 2003). Therefore, an internal contradiction exists for planners who want to be inclusive and democratic, yet in doing so, they create more work for themselves and create the opportunities for unwelcome outcomes.

Based on the above information, planning is seen as a hegemonic and legitimizing force that is created and sustained through the structure and culture of planning

organizations, as well as through the agency of individual planners. While the above presents a bleak picture, many have argued that counter-hegemonic forces are at work in planning. The organizational structures and cultures of a bureaucracy may lead to the creation of counter-hegemonic agency by planners, fractured elites, and disadvantaged citizens.

Despite this focus on planning as a hegemonic and legitimizing force, some have argued that planning has the power to subvert dominant interests – that it is capable of creating counter-hegemonic forces. Given the theoretical debates regarding the importance of citizen participation in planning, the planning process may be more than a legitimating instrument for dominant interests. The next section will focus on some techniques that may serve to subvert hegemonic forces within planning.

4. Planning and Counter-Hegemonic Resistance

According to Moen (1988), hegemony "saturates the society to such an extent that it corresponds to the reality of social experience." Therefore, people take for granted and consent to the ideology established by the dominant group. Yet common sense may establish a separate system of values, attitudes, and beliefs. Planners and the citizens they work for may find these values and experiences contradictory to their real, lived experiences. Based on hegemony's need to be continually reconstructed, opportunities exist for counter-hegemonic ideals to develop. Planning involves negotiation, mediation, and coalition building; therefore, there are many opportunities for planners and competing elites to affect the hegemonic order. Thus, planners have opportunities to exercise counter-hegemonic leadership.

First, I will look at counter-hegemonic opportunities that involve the restructuring of planning organizations – specifically the postbureaucratic organization. Following this discussion of structure and counter-hegemony, I will analyze counter-hegemonic opportunities available to planners working within the state planning structure. Such efforts include collaborative planning and Forester's typology of information and power. Finally, after analyzing these counter-hegemonic opportunities within the structure of and agency within planning, I will look at counter-hegemony outside of planning organizations, focusing on the role of community-based efforts.

The postbureaucratic organization

The field of complex organizations is caught between a postmodernist (postbureaucratic) understanding in theory and modernist (rational) practice. The field of organizational studies has been dominated by the rational model (Benson 1977). This goal-oriented paradigm explains organizational patterns as "outcomes of goal-seeking or need-fulfilling tendency of the organization" (Benson 1977: 5). In fact, goal orientation may be viewed by some as the defining characteristic of organizations. Practically, the field has been "dominated" by administrative-technical "concerns" (Benson 1977).

An alternative to bureaucracy has long been sought. Postbureaucratic organizations "seek to build agreement among people with diverse knowledge and interests not through reference to a higher 'level' but through direct discussion and persuasion" (Heckscher and Applegate 1994: 3). This type of organization wants to reduce or change the use of power.

The main claim of the postbureaucratic organization is that it is possible to make decisions without relying on a hierarchy of offices (the low-level/higher-level planner hierarchical division), relying instead on consensual legitimation and process. With

consensual legitimation, decisions must be justified by the agreement of those who are affected by them and those who can contribute knowledge to the decision (Heckscher and Applegate 1994).

When organizations are trying to rid themselves of bureaucracy, they bring together stakeholders, create a dialogue, and achieve consensus. "It provides a way to make binding decisions without authority invested in (permanent) offices" (Heckscher 1994: 40). Post-bureaucratic forms allow for greater participation in decision making and thus, the move towards this type of organization may reflect counter-hegemonic forces at work.

The move toward collaborative planning

Planning theory is caught between a rational and somewhat postmodern understanding of planning practice. As mentioned earlier, the modernist understanding of planning dominated theoretically for several decades. The modernist perspective emphasized rationality within planning and how rationality could be used to solve social problems.

By the end of the 1980s, modernist planning was under attack (Beauregard 1989). During this time, United States society was undergoing transformation. The Vietnam Era was plagued by problems with poverty and political struggle. "During these years, planners listened more attentively to the voice of the people, and 'maximum feasible participation, was given an official blessing" (Friedmann 1987: 8). At this time, planners began to take into consideration what citizens thought.

Collaborative planning is epistemologically linked to concepts associated with communicative theory. The communicative school seeks to theorize about interpersonal relationships between actors in planning (Twedwr-Jones 2002). It has its roots in Habermas'

theory of communicative action. This theory of communication action offers an alternative to instrumental rationality. The communicative model recognizes the social construction of knowledge, acknowledges diverse interests, stakeholders, and consensus building (Harris 2002). It also acknowledges the importance of communication in decision making and the role of collaboration (Hillier 1994). Collaborative planning is now a key phrase in planning theory vocabulary and has reigned since the 1980s (Feinstein 2000).

One necessary conceptual dimension of communicative planning theory is consensus among stakeholders and elites. Consensus offers a dialogue between actors and attempts to equalize power at the discussion table. Moreover, consensus allows actors to build shared meanings and generate solutions to problems. Collaborative techniques try to equalize power at the discussion table – this way actors build shared meanings and interests and generate solutions to problems (Hillier 1994).

With collaborative planning, the planner mediates among stakeholders. The role of the planner is to listen to various stakeholders and try to find consensus among viewpoints. Here we see the role of the planner as negotiator. Collaborative planning eliminates the role of the planner as expert[7]. Rather, he becomes a mediator between public interests without including any interests of his own (Feinstein 2000).

Collaborative planning gives planners the power to help the subordinate class realize their interests and to merge those interests with that of the hegemonic class. Each class, the dominant and subordinate, has their own intellectuals. Those planners involved in collaborative planning techniques may be viewed as organic intellectuals. According to neo-Gramscians, organic intellectuals help the subordinate groups develop consciousness and agency. This is done through a war of position in which subordinate groups dismantle the

[7] It must be kept in mind that collaborative planning may be a tool of hegemony by giving the appearance of community inclusiveness.

existing hegemony and replace it with a hegemony of their own. In order for a war of position to occur, it is necessary for these intellectuals to help the subordinate class develop a new social order (Simon 1991).

According to White (1991),

> In the late sixties public administrators became concerned with social equity and citizen participation. At the same time some planners redefined their roles as advocates for the disadvantaged and promoters of citizen participation. (563)

The notion of merging interests of fractured elites and disadvantaged stakeholders is reflected in the notion of collaborative planning. Public participation in planning allows for an active relationship between planners and the subjects of planning (Carp 2003). In a neo-Gramscian perspective, in which collective and individual agency is stressed, collaborative planning provides an opportunity for the subordinate class to have their interests heard.

One of the defining characteristics of collaborative planning is the attempt to integrate spatial awareness. A place-focused concern emphasizes the importance of geography and its uses in public policy matters. Planning policies construct their own "space-time":

> Spaces, then, may be constructed in different ways by different people, through power struggles and conflicts of interest. This idea that spaces are socially constructed, and that many spaces may co-exist within the same physical space is an important one. It suggests the need to analyze how discourses and strategies of inclusion and exclusion are connected with particular spaces. (Flyvberg and Richardson 2002: 56).

Space becomes a social construct in which places are no longer physical spaces, but have competing definitions and multiple meanings created by a variety of actors simultaneously (Harris 2002).

The purpose of collaborative planning is to bring democracy to the planning process, thus it has the potential to undermine the hegemony of the dominant elites. Collaborative

planning, however, fails to address the role of power in the planning process. Because it does not acknowledge planners' self-interest and power, collaborative planning still advances fragmentation between elites and the marginalization of some groups in society. Therefore an extension of the collaborative planning emphasis is made by John Forester (1989), who brings in the idea of power and how it affects planning and opportunities for collaboration.

Forester's Typology

Forester (1989) provides a conceptual framework for counter-hegemonic planning. According to Forester, planners are political actors in addition to being technical problem solvers. Communicative actions are necessary for cooperative relationships to exist. This is especially salient in the field of planning: "without it there is no understanding, no common sense, no shared basis even for disagreement or conflict" (Forester 1989: 143).

It is important for planners interested in collaborative planning to identify how power shapes the planning process and how that power may be used to empower citizen action.

> By choosing to address or ignore the exercise of political power in the planning process, planners can make that process more democratic or less, more technocratic or less, still more dominated by the established wielders of power or less so. (Forester 1989: 28)

For Forester, democratic participation is necessary for improving opportunities for action and freedom.

Information as power

Forester (1989) argues that misinformation weakens citizen participation. One of the ways power shapes the planning process is through information. By controlling

information[8], planners shape not only documentation but also participation by controlling whom information is given to and at what point in the process. Planners have the power to shape public attention by shaping information in regards to options of reaction, costs-benefits, and arguments for and against planning proposals.

Misinformation within the planning sector is not accidental – it often serves the purpose of legitimating the system of power. Planners can bury data in word usage, data, and printouts. Misinformation by planners may be encouraged by the bureaucratic structure of planning agencies. Community members may be led to believe that planners and staff are neutral and seek to serve the interests of the public. Similarly, planners can claim legitimacy if proper procedures have been followed. This "claim to legitimacy is an attempt to shape citizens' action through the mobilization of their consent" (Forester 1989: 37). Through the setting of agendas and by shaping who finds out what and when, the attempts by planners and citizens to participate in a democratic planning process may be thwarted (Forester 1989).

Forester creates a typology of views in regards to information as power [see table 2.1]. Each type considers information as a source of power. However, their understanding of and reaction to power differs greatly. Forester argues for the progressive planner – he who acknowledges the power involved in information and its use to delegitimize existing power relations. Unlike the other planners in Forester's typology, the progressive understands the unequal distribution of power and seeks to counteract the power differentials and misinformation to allow all citizens to participate.

Forester also notes the boundedness of the systems under which planners work. Within a bounded system, decision makers face ambiguous problems, incomplete information, little or no citizen input, and limited time and resources. The boundedness of a

[8] "Information" in this context refers to knowledge regarding plans, alternatives, and regulations, as well as notification regarding meeting times and places.

Table 2.1 Forester's Typology: Information as Power

Type	The Role of Information as Power
Technician	• technical information • apolitical (political judgments are avoided)
Incrementalist	• responds to organization needs • knowing the ropes
Liberal-advocate	• tool that can be used by powerless groups • allows other groups to participate
Structuralist	• legitimizes existing power structures • perpetuates public inattention • does not serve underrepresented classes
Progressive	• allows citizen participation • prevents legitimation of existing power relations • recognizes information as power • counteracts legitimization

system is contingent on the level of constraint. Forester outlines four levels of constraint: cognitive limits, social differentiation, pluralist conflicts, and structural distortion.

In a system bounded by cognitive limits, information is imperfect and time is scarce. Satisficing, or satisfying lower expectations is necessary. These lower expectations of success are limited by the need to merely find a satisfactory decision. With social differentiation, planners are faced with more constraints. Other actors (staff, clients, other planners) are present, thus making the setting more socially differentiated – a division of labor exists. Satisficing is no longer sufficient. The decision making situation is socially differentiated and "depends on the ongoing cultivation, maintenance, and nurturance of networks: strings of good working relationships with contacts in other agencies" (Forester 1989: 56).

In systems constrained by pluralist conflict, planners face opposition and suspicion from others. Other actors have interests of their own and act to protect those interests. Social differentiation now exists alongside competition. Information becomes a political resource and one that will be contested and manipulated (Forester 1989).

Within the above three constraint systems, power is considered to be equally distributed among all actors. When constraints are due to structural distortions, the power distribution is no longer equal. There is no random plurality in the decision making setting – structure and power have become inseparable.

> Information blurs into misinformation as selective attention shades into self-serving presentations and misrepresentations of the likely consequences of a program or project. (Forester 1989: 60)

Forester argues that planners must understand the role of misinformation and constraints within the planning system in order to allow for participatory planning. It is the role of planners to break from the hegemonic power relations within planning in order to establish a counter-hegemonic tactic.

Forester contends that planners need to recognize this systematic use of misinformation and counteract it. In understanding the constraints of the system, restructuring strategies are necessary: planners must work around constraints and create "strategies that work toward effective equality, substantive democratic participation and voice, and strategies that work away from the perpetuation of systematic racial, sexual, and economic domination" (Forester 1989: 60-61).

In the context of working in a public bureaucracy, planners understand that talking and listening are inherently political.

> Planning is deeply argumentative by its very nature: Planners must routinely argue, practically and politically, about desirable and possible futures. If they fail to recognize how their ordinary

> actions have subtle communicative effects, they will be counter-productive, even though they may mean well. (Forester 1989: 138)

It is important for a planner working in a communicative framework to recognize and neutralize the types of misinformation that occur. According to Forester, planners must decide to either maintain inequalities of information, access, and opportunity, or confront these inequalities.

The above are opportunities available to planners interested in subverting hegemony within planning. This begs the question: are planners the only ones able to exercise counter-hegemonic leadership? The answer is no. Community members also have opportunities to challenge hegemony within planning organizations and establish counter-hegemonic leadership. The following section draws upon community literature and offers a link between the larger grand neo-Gramscian and critical Weberian theories and community agency. Communities need to involve inclusive citizen participation in order to develop common goals and solutions. Because of the need for inclusiveness and participation, opportunities for counter-hegemonic leadership can emerge from community members.

Community – potentials for counter-hegemonic leadership

Luloff and Swanson (1995) argue for the need for the inclusion of agency in understandings of community. In addition, it is necessary that community development efforts take into consideration the importance of community agency. As previously noted, individuals within a community can become disillusioned with the existing hegemony with which they have given their consent. However, in order to establish a counter-hegemonic movement, a group (or community in general) must take into consideration other interests. This requires community interaction.

For instance, Flora et al (2004), argue that human interaction is the foundation of all communities. A dialogue and a greater sense of community orientation can result from developing increased interactions among various groups inside and outside of the community. This dialogue can enhance the development of a shared vision and offer alternative ways to respond to changes. Community process allows for subordinate groups such as local community members who cannot realize their situations and community bonds to interact with the hegemonic ideology. Thus, community agencies provide for a valuable process for empowering local communities.

Community agency

According to Luloff and Swanson (1995), community agency involves the "mobilization of collective human resources" (351), "the capacity of people to manage, utilize, and enhance those resources available to them", and "the coming together of people in a local society to address local needs" (352). Community agency does not require individuals to share similar ideas or attributes, but rather relies on the motivation of people to act collectively in regards to local needs.

Community agency involves more than local solidarity – humans act (as do communities).

> Community agency may be characterized by strong social solidarity and a sense of common purpose, but it is much more likely to be characterized by uninspiring efforts to organize committee meetings that seek to mobilize local capital and human resources. (Luloff and Swanson 1995: 352)

Luloff's and Swanson's (1995) understanding of community agency reflects the ability of individuals and communities to make decisions and create counter-hegemonic leadership. It presumes that individuals make choices, regardless of how influenced these choices may be

by structural and cultural (or hegemonic) factors. Thus, a dialectical relationship exists between culture/structure and individuals/communities in which both sets affect and are affected by each other.

In order for community agency to influence local life, a high degree of interaction among community members is necessary. At the local level, a high quality of interaction creates a healthy and enhanced community which reflects community agency. On the other hand, when a low level of interaction exists at the local level, a disengaged community is created (Luloff and Swanson 1995) – the subordinate group gains the consent of those below them. Thus, there are aspects of the hegemonic system that seek to reinforce the existing hegemony within a community.

Luloff and Swanson (1995) introduce the concept of 'disaffection' to better understand community development and its impact on counter-hegemonic leadership. Barriers to community agency counter-hegemonic leadership exist, such as undemocratic community decision-making processes. Processes, such as disaffection, serve to recreate interests of local elites.

Disaffection

The interaction within a community can either create or thwart possibilities for community agency.

> Disaffection occurs with the deepening of the degree of fragmentation, anomie, and alienation felt by members of a local society. Its presence among members of a locality is seen to reflect the presence of significant barriers to the limits of creative expression of a community's population. (Luloff and Swanson 1995: 351)

Disaffection limits community agency and thus, community development. Disaffection is developed when community individuals are less able to play a role in community activities.

Community disaffection serves to reduce agency within a community. It is thus further produced when elites are "able to impose their will through the local economy, social structure, and culture" (Luloff and Swanson 1995: 362).

Likewise, culture may also act as an obstacle/impediment in generating agency. "Culture frames value assumptions for individuals and communities about what is right and wrong and what ought to be, as well as notions on the means for achieving values" (Luloff and Swanson 1995: 363). As noted earlier, culture interacts in a dialectical relationship with individual and community agency. This interaction affects community experiences in regards to social conditions, and shapes the decision-making process by community members. Thus, "culture can reflect the hegemony of elites and produce quiescence among the disenfranchised in a community" (Luloff and Swanson 1995: 363).

When existing cultural norms encourage silence and inactivity among the powerless, community agency is obviously stifled. When participation is available for only the few within a community, community agency becomes limited to serving only the interests of local elites. Consequently, Luloff and Swanson (1995) reason that for community agency to reach its fullest potential, full participation by all must exist, including the ability of individual community members to make choices. Here, a distinction must be made between mere participation and empowerment: "increasingly, the issue for participation is empowerment, because mere participation at meetings fails to achieve the benefits of broad participation" (Pigg and Bradshaw 2003: 390). Participation must include empowerment in order to give community members influence in the decision making process.

If agency is limited to the concerns of elites, community agency may thus be hindered. However, failed attempts at action and disaffection may actually increase agency and potentials for counter-hegemonic leadership. Citizens, influenced by their lack of power

and influence over the planning process, may strive to subvert the existing power relations. For example, patterns of rural land use changed during the 1980s and 1990s through the conversion of rural lands into urbanized or other developed uses and the deintensification of rural lands. Rural communities have initiated an evaluation of their patterns of growth, development, and land use based on an increase in conflict between those who defend the rural landscape and those interested in growth as a viable economic opportunity (Jackson-Smith 2003).

Changes in land use can affect rural communities. Most rural areas lack experience in regards to land use planning – "the absence of guidelines and rules tends to generate haphazard patterns of development that can be aesthetically displeasing, aggravate land use conflicts, and create inefficiencies for public service provision" (Jackson-Smith 2003: 11). – The most common approaches to rural land use policies have included community visioning or planning processes, zoning regulations and financial incentives that seek to preserve the rural landscape. However, local politics are dominated by growth machines that protect their hegemonic order (Jackson-Smith 2003). Therefore, it is necessary to involve a greater depth and breadth of community agency in rural land use processes.

4. Conclusion

Are planners as bureaucratic administrators actively engaged in the creation and management of hegemony or counter-hegemonic forces? The conceptual framework attempts to answer this question and directs the following study. Each of the theories presented in this chapter are useful in analyzing the Case d'Luc County Planning Department. The Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian perspectives are helpful in analyzing hegemony and legitimacy and where they exist in the planning process.

In the following chapters, I will consider the role of the planner and the structural and cultural conditions that affect that role. It is important to examine how individuals produce and reproduce the organizational reality. As individuals come in contact with organizations, they come in contact with bureaucratic norms, rules, procedures, rituals, etc – these are all part of the organization's culture (Martin 1992). By agreeing on values, members help to stabilize an organization. Beliefs reflect organization members' rationalization of cause and effect relationships. These beliefs help to create the goals an organization should adopt (Bresser and Bishop 1983). Organizations are given form by processes and rules structured around a hierarchical division of labor that can be reduced to statuses that are produced and reproduced by organization members. The organization itself is an arena in which the actions of social groups/individuals are carried out (Benson 1977).

Theorists, such as Allmendinger (1996) and Yichtafel (1998) have argued (directly or indirectly) the hegemonic nature of planners that serve to legitimize themselves and the state. This begs the question: rather than serving many sectors of society, do planners serve only one? The chapters that follow will analyze these questions.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

1. Introduction

This chapter discusses both the research methods used and their contributions in understanding the institutional and professional normative assumptions, guidelines, and regulations that frame the Case d'Luc County Planning Department's relationship among themselves, other country agencies, and the citizens with whom they interact. The following research centers around twenty months of fieldwork conducted in Case d'Luc County, Colorado. Case d'Luc County is a growing metropolitan area in the western United States.

The primary method used in this research is that of a qualitative case study. This method was chosen based on the need for direct nongeneralizable data on local bureaucracy. While the present research does not presume to generalize to other counties and areas, the methods and conclusions of this research project can facilitate research for similar projects. In addition, this method will allow me to create a relevant theoretical understanding of the organizational structure and process of planning that can be beneficial for researchers interested in similar topics in other locations. This analysis of local bureaucracy offers a valuable understanding of the local context and its application to social theory.

Case studies involve an in-depth analysis of a particular situation or organization. A case study was used in order to gain an in-depth understanding of the situation and examine the issue from the perspective of the participants. According to Yin (2003), a case study is

"a strategy for doing research which involves an empirical investigation of a particular contemporary phenomenon within its real life content using multiple sources of evidence" (13). Thus it is important to emphasize that case studies typically involve multiple methods of data collection.

Using this approach, I relied on in-depth and semi-structured interviews, non-participant observation, and document analysis to guide this inquiry. This variety of methods allowed me to address different types of research questions. In addition, using different approaches to examine my research questions permitted me to triangulate and validate findings in an effort to come closer to understanding the reality of the planning process and organization structure of the Planning Department.

A qualitative approach was used in order to allow for a better understanding of the meanings of planning, rules, procedures, and citizen participation used by planners and the community. Thus, the data are in the form of words and descriptions – understandings and stories as told by people involved in the planning process. One challenge, therefore, in studying the planning process is grasping the meaning that planners and community members give to planning. Words and meanings are imprecise and can have multiple meanings (Miles and Huberman 1984). For instance, Neuman (1994) states: "the data are in the form of words, which are relatively imprecise, diffuse, and context-based, and can have more than one meaning" (405). Therefore, the researcher is not simply observing but interpreting meaning (Holy 1984).

Although words may have different contexts and different meanings to different individuals, this methodology is best suited to gain a better understanding of how social organization and organizational structure influence planning. As a result, this final product seeks to present a holistic portrait of a social group that incorporates both the views of the

actors in the group, and the interpretation of the researcher from views about human social life in a social science perspective.

Like their quantitative counterparts, qualitative researches are interested in collecting valid, impartial data about a given phenomenon. However, there are many differences from quantitative research that make qualitative research more suited to the present research project. Qualitative researchers emphasize the socially constructed nature of reality and the value-laden nature of social research. They highlight the relationship between the researcher and the researched. Quantitative research tends to neglect the social construction of variables. Moreover, unlike quantitative research, qualitative research does not rely on a fixed instrument of measurement. Therefore, through the latter research technique, research questions will emerge and be reconstructed as the study progresses.

While quantitative research may be useful in some cases, it can obscure important social processes. Qualitative research is interested in authenticity and giving a balanced account of social processes from the viewpoint of the actors' everyday lived experiences.

> The utilization of qualitative research methods provides access to the lived reality of individuals, facilitating the exploration of people's internal construction of their personal worldview. Such methods also assist in generating data that is rich in the subjectivity of actions, interactions, emotions, culture, symbols and rituals. Interaction between researcher and participant is recognized as a key component of data generation and valued as such, because it is a means of getting close to the experiences of participants so that phenomena can be viewed from their own perspective. (Morgan and Drury 2003: 74)

This is referred to as 'conscious partiality' (Mies and Vandana 1997) which brings the researcher closer to the reality of the situation and how participants understand it. This is something that cannot be revealed through statistical calculations. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research gives a voice to participants.

Qualitative research is best suited in this case because the interest here is on descriptive narratives and understanding the meanings actors give to their actions, rather than on statistical description or correlation. It is possible to get closer to the participants perspective through qualitative research. Quantitative methods often rely on more remote and inferential methods; they do not study the everyday life of actors directly. Rather, their research is more abstract and based on probabilities derived from randomly selected cases. Being interpretive, qualitative research studies phenomena in their natural setting and attempts to make sense of the phenomena in terms of the meanings people give to them (Lincoln and Guba 2003).

There is no one reality that exists within regard to a phenomenon. Actors experience different realities. Therefore, quantitative methods, which seek to aggregate individuals, miss the idea that each individual is unique and has his or her own perceptions, the study of which allows the researcher to gain a more in-depth understanding of the phenomenon in question. This method is best suited for this project because the best way to understand the process of planning is to view it in its context and the everyday experiences of those concerned with the process. Thus, the best way to understand the planning process is to become immersed in it and experience first hand through a variety of research methods.

For some, qualitative research is considered to be an unscientific, exploratory, or subjective endeavor. However, qualitative research methods can be as rigorous as their quantitative counterparts. Practices used to establish the validity of the findings from quantitative research may not be appropriate for qualitative research. These quantitative techniques are not the only way of establishing validity. Rather than concentrating on validity, Eisner (1998) focuses on the credibility of qualitative research. This may be done through structural corroboration or triangulation. Verification procedures in qualitative

research such as prolonged engagement in the field, triangulation, being aware of research biases, thick description prove its rigorousness as a research method.

The fieldwork began with preliminary interviews in October of 2003 during which I made initial contact with a key and longstanding participant in the county's land use system. In order to gain access, I first relied on a preliminary informant and participant observation. The preliminary informant provided me with information regarding the Department and issues of concern. Through this initial contact I was able to identify other key actors with interests in planning in Case d'Luc County.

The approach utilized in this study was designed to examine the following questions: Are risk averse rules created? How is policy created externally? Does social organization affect planning outcomes? Are there any internal contradictions? What are the intentions of planners? The main goal of the questions was to build rapport and generate an in-depth description of the organization of the planning department and the planning process itself. In addition, questions were designed to elicit a contrast between planning in an ideal world versus the reality of the process. Moreover, the interview questions served to help determine who controls planning and citizens' participation and input within the process.

Given the diversity of positions in the planning process, it was necessary to tailor the interview questions to each informant. Therefore, semi-structured interviews were used. An interview guide with specific questions was created; however, the wording and order of the questions were determined by the course of each interview. Additionally, using a semi-structured interview format allowed me to add questions of importance as they emerged in the interview process. What follows is a more detailed description of the methods and an introduction to the case study that will be analyzed in the subsequent chapters.

2. Methods

Planner Interviews

The primary source of data about the planners and the planning process is the planners themselves. Ethnography should not be based solely on the researcher's understanding but on a dialogue between the researcher and those who are being researched; in which both participants in the dialogue are an integral part of the study. Therefore, interviews were used to gain a better understanding of the planners' understandings of the planning process and its organization. This method of research also allowed me to better understand how planners view their role within the department, their training, and the process that led them to their role as planner.

Between June of 2004 and July of 2005 I conducted semi-structured, face to face interviews with planners in the Case d'Luc County Planning Department. An interview guide of approximately fifty-six items was designed to collect information from planners regarding the following themes: organizational structuring and the planning process; planning in an ideal world versus a real world; who controls planning; citizen participation in planning, the Master Plan/Land Use Code[9] and specific plans; and the future of planning. Within each interview, the wording and order of questioning varied according to responses given by interviewees and thus the direction of the interview itself. Each interview began with concrete and descriptive open-ended questions regarding the respondent's role or interest in regards to the planning process and ended with questions regarding abstract and futuristic ideals.

My first interviews were with lower-level planners. This was done in order to pretest the interview guide and to gain a general idea of the planning process and the organizational

[9] A Master Plan establishes principles for guiding and implementing development. Similarly, a Land Use Code offers a set of guidelines used by planners and citizens during the planning process.

structure. This is not to say, however, that the lower-level planners were less important than those in higher positions. Lower-level planners typically have less responsibilities within the organization bureaucracy, and therefore, more time (and in some cases a greater willingness) to devote to an interview. This allowed me to test questions for their relevance and to pinpoint more specific areas of concern. In addition, the lower-level planners were able to freely discuss issues of concern to them – issues that usually had not been considered by the research staff. From these interviews, the guide was revised to better address issues of concern when talking with other planners.

All but one interview, which took place at a local coffee shop, were conducted in the Case d'Luc County Office Building. Most of those that took place in the County Office Building occurred in conference rooms within the Planning Department. Others took place in the planners' offices. Each interview took approximately one hour to complete, and varied in length from thirty minutes to over two hours. The length of the interview dependent to a great extent on the length of time an individual had been involved in the Planning Department and his/her depth of experience.

Sampling

A list of potential informants was gained from the Case d'Luc County website. Within Case d'Luc County's Planning and Building Services Department there are five divisions – only two of which are relevant to the current study: the Planning Department and the Division of Rural Land Preservation. The Planning Department assists in land use planning, zoning, and land division while the Division of Rural Land Preservation works to assist property owners in developing their property while maintaining their land in agriculture. Collectively, these two divisions allowed for approximately 20 prospective

interviewees. Table 3.1 presents a summary description of the divisions within the Planning Department.

Table 3.1 Case d'Luc County Planning Department

Division Name	Number of Members
Development Review/ Plans in Progress	3 upper-level 5 lower-level
Future Planning	1 upper level 1 lower-level
Land Use Code Enforcement	2 upper-level 2 lower-level
Division of Rural Land Preservation	1 upper-level 1 lower-level
Department Supervisor	1 upper-level

Based on information from the Planning Department's webpage, members of the Department were e-mailed to request their participation in an interview. Twelve out of the seventeen planners agreed to an interview. Two planners declined to be interviewed. The first, an upper-level planner, believed she did not have time given her schedule and duties as an on-call planner. The second commented that she did not have any interest in the topic of my research. Three other planners (one upper-level, two lower-level) did not respond to my inquiries. The five planners that were not interviewed may represent a variety of issues and

viewpoints, issues and viewpoints that may be missing from my research. While that is a possibility, I was able to gain a great deal of knowledge from my respondents. Moreover, the research questions fundamental to this study were well addressed by those that were interviewed.

In-Depth Interviews

In addition to the individual planner interviews, I conducted a series of semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a range of individuals interested in the planning process such as public officials and community members. Specifically, these included the Case d'Luc County Commissioners, members of community-based planning organizations, and developers. While most of these interviews were conducted individually, one was conducted with several members from an organization. The perspectives of these actors provided me with a wide range of explanations and understandings regarding planning in Case d'Luc County.

The Case d'Luc County Commissioners are responsible for overseeing all county departments and enacting rules and legislation in regards to those departments and their areas of interest. It was important to talk with commissioners because of their influence over and knowledge of the Planning Department. The commissioners are responsible for choosing citizens to sit on the Planning Commission – a commission that listens to new plans and makes recommendations to the commissioners regarding plan approval or denial.

Each county commissioner participated in an interview. The commissioners had initially noted me as a result of their curiousness about my constant presence in sparely attended public meetings. These interviews took place individually in each commissioner's office. Interviews ranged in length from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half.

The identity and contact information for county commissioners is readily available. However, this is not the case when interviewing community members involved in the planning process. Therefore, it was necessary to rely on a combination of snowball and purposive sampling in order to identify and then interview community members, all of whom are elites. These community members are considered elites because they are stakeholders in the community who can influence County rules and procedures. This suggests that that citizen participation is limited to that done by elites – and that only elites have the ability to influence the planning process.

Throughout my interviews with members of the planning department, specific names of community members or community organizations were made. Based on these, I conducted interviews with several community members. A majority of these interviews were with people associated with an organization interested in and with a stake in the administration of the Planning Department. There was, however, a minority of individuals not associated with any organization. These latter individuals were citizens with a stake in the planning process and who had first-hand experience with the planning process.

Observation

As part of the qualitative inquiry, it was necessary to look at people in interaction and by attempting to discern important patterns and themes in the organizational structure and discourse of planning. Since much of the planning process is done publicly in county meetings, it was important to attend meetings and observe the interactions between planners, commissioners, and community members.

These observations included the attendance of public meetings regarding the planning process. Such meetings included weekly Land Use Hearings, bi-monthly meetings

of the Rural Process Task Force, monthly work sessions with the Planning Department, and other meetings as they pertained to this research project.

These meetings allowed me to participate as a member of the county community and gain a better understanding of the public planning process. By attending these meetings, I was able to see how planners and those interested in the planning process interact. In addition, it also gave me further insight into "the way things are done" and the formal and informal rules associated with the Planning Department.

My participation in these activities also allowed me to observe the intensity and type of interaction between county officials, planners, and the communities. For example, it was possible to assess the level of communication, accessibility and receptivity between and among these individuals. With participant observation "the intent is to recorded the ongoing experiences of those observed, through their symbolic world" (Denzin 1989: 157). By immersing myself in the subject being studied, I was able to gain a deeper understanding of the planning process as it occurred.

Document Analysis

The last component of data collection involved analyzing relevant documents and archived data concerning planning in Case d'Luc County. I analyzed the content of the Case d'Luc County Master Plan and Land Use Code. This analysis gave me greater insight into what planners and those who create the plans and codes find important.

The Master Plan provides guiding principles, implementation strategies, and techniques for addressing problems. The purpose of a Master Plan is to serve as a policy document for development decisions. To some degree, this plan can be deemed a "constitution" for development in a county. Specifically, the Case d'Luc County Master Plan

has several purposes: to communicate the land use policy of the county to citizens and stakeholders, to provide a policy basis for developing land use regulations, to provide a basis for intergovernmental agreements, to encourage develops and other stakeholder agencies to develop within the natural characteristics of the land.

Similarly, the Land Use Code provides land use and zoning regulations – rules for developing land. This Code was developed with citizen input and serves to protect landowner rights while also taking into consideration the overall community interests and needs. In addition to these two texts, I also analyzed a variety of other documents such as official meeting notes, former amendments, news articles, planning syllabi, and other documents as they pertained to the study.

Document analysis provides an unobtrusive approach to looking at the contradictions within the planning process. A major advantage of working with these forms of data is that they are noninteractive and exist independent of the research process and thus add a dimension of authenticity to the study. Using this method enabled me to examine patterns and themes within and documents produced by the Planning Department.

Data Analysis

The analysis of data is a reflexive aspect of the research process. Because of the interpretive nature of social science research, the qualitative researcher confronts the challenge of making sense of the data – what Denzin (1994) refers to as the "art of interpretation." Shifting from field notes to analysis is a reflexive process.

According to Neuman (1994), "qualitative researchers generally use ideas, themes, or concepts as analytic tools for making generalizations" (138). Coding allows the researcher to organize the raw data into conceptual categories and themes. In order to draw conclusions

from the data, coding aimed to describe themes in segments of the data. In analyzing my field notes, I found it beneficial to categorize my data. I used open, axial, and selective coding to organize the data around a set of themes and concepts.

First, open coding was used to examine the data and concentrate them into preliminary categories. Then, using axial coding, these categories were organized in order to determine links among them. This also allowed me to uncover important analytical categories. Indexes were created from the coding procedures which allowed me to identify connections between concepts and themes. Finally, previous codes were again analyzed to determine data that best illustrates the conceptual categories of interests (selective coding) [10].

3. The case study

This research examines the social organization and organizational structure of planning. This study was designed to better understand the institutional and professional normative assumptions, guidelines, and regulations that frame the planning process and that process' interaction among other agents and community members. Planning and population growth are important issues in the intermountain west. Over the past twenty years, the intermountain state in which Case d'Luc County is located has grown at a rate of over 2% each year. This has led to a blurring of metropolitan areas and a reduction in rural land. Case d'Luc County is among the state's largest and fastest growing counties. Therefore, one of the reasons why Case d'Luc County was chosen for fieldwork is that it is a growing metropolitan area located in the fast growing intermountain west.

[10] For more information on coding, see Neuman (1994).

Case d'Luc County encompasses more than 2,500 square miles, which includes irrigated farmland, ranch lands, forests, and mountains[11]. Over the past thirty years, the population of Case d'Luc County has more than tripled[12]. Between 1990 and 2000, the population of the County has grown at a higher rate than the state in which it resides as a whole (35.1% and 30.6%, respectively). Given the extent of land area and population growth, Case d'Luc County faces potential conflicts over land use and possible contradictions between the sparsely separated metropolitan area and rural lands. In addition, Case d'Luc County was also chosen because it was readily accessible given time and financial constraints on the researcher.

Every research method (whether it be quantitative or qualitative) has its limitations. Given its case study methodology, this research shares some of the weaknesses typically associated with case study research. A frequent criticism of case study methodology is that its dependence on a single case renders it incapable of providing a generalizing conclusion. Some, such as Denzin (1984), have argued against the possibility of generalization in case studies, given their reliance on small sample sizes and nonprobability sampling techniques. Given the nature of qualitative research, generalizability as producing universally applied laws should not be a goal. Rather, the concept must be reframed in order to find applicability in qualitative endeavors. For example, Stake (1978) argues in favor of naturalistic generalization in which the findings of one study are used in analyzing a similar case. This allows researchers to make comparisons between cases in different research projects and establish some naturalistic generalizations

The results from a case study may provide other researchers with a working hypothesis from which to analyze in terms of other cases. Thus, aspects specific to the case

[11] Information was taken from the Case d'Luc County Website.
[12] According to 2000 Census data

of Case d'Luc County may form a working hypothesis, suggesting that the phenomena in Case d'Luc County are widespread and not merely limited to this specific case. What is found in Case d'Luc County may be indicative of what is going on in other counties.

Therefore, while this study does not allow for the creation of universally applicable generalizations, it does, however, allow for the capturing of a rich reality of the organization and planning process. Although this is a case study of a single planning department, it does offer some broader implications that might be beneficial in understanding an analyzing other counties. The experience of planners and community members in Case d'Luc County can be useful in providing a platform from which to analyze other planning departments across the country.

Similarly, while it is necessary not to generalize beyond cases similar to the one studied, case study research is not necessarily methodologically invalid. In case studies one generalizes to a theory based on cases selected to represent dimensions of that theory. Using an ethnographic approach, it was necessary to consider both my interpretations of patterns and themes studied and actively reflect back on what information exists in the literature. With participant observation, the researcher is the instrument through which and by which the phenomena of the investigation are selected and filtered as well as interpreted and evaluated. The observer is part of the context being observed – she both modifies and is influenced by this context.

A tendency exists to assume a simple correspondence between the occurrence of an event and the recording of the event by the observer. Usually, there is a significant time gap between the occurrence of an event and the recording of this event as data. However, because I was attending a public meeting, it was not unusual for note taking to take place. In addition, with participant observation, it has been argued that those being observed may

produce data for the researcher (Holy 1984). Again, due to the public nature of this observation, it is highly unlikely that data was being produced solely for me.

Due to the nuances of language, my interpretations of my field notes may represent just one explanation. As suggested by Denzin and Lincoln (1994), objective reality can never be totally captured: "Research is an interactive process shaped by [the researcher's] personal history, biography, gender, social class, race, and ethnicity" (3). Although it is difficult to disentangle one's social influence from the research process, I attempted to be as reflexive as possible. Being reflexive means that one sets aside one's usual assumptions about the world and the phenomenon being studied. Therefore, this required me to identify and compensate for my own biases and values. Prior to conducting this research, I had heard negative characteristics of the Planning Department. During the course of the research process, it was necessary for me to compensate for these negative influences as well as my anti-development stance, and attempt to be as objective as possible – to accept the phenomenon for what it is.

Finally, because of the nature of the research methodology used, replication of this study would be difficult. Despite the self-reflexive nature of the research, some researcher bias always exists. Because I was the research instrument, it is possible that some issues that may have been significant to other researchers were overlooked. I also may have emphasized issues that others would consider trivial (Neuman 1994). Despite these limitations, this study gives valuable insight into the contradictions between the planning process and its organizational structure. Given the limited systematic and empirical documentation of public-sector organizations, this study may potentially be viewed as a new sociological understanding of the relationship between a state mission (planning) and multiple stakeholders. I explore how and why the organizational aspect of the planning

process is experienced and shaped by interaction with those inside and outside of the Planning Department.

CHAPTER IV

THE RESTRUCTURING OF PLANNING

IN CASE D'LUC PLANNING

1. Introduction

Land use and land use planning can be contested terrains over which groups of fractured elites continually wrestle. Planning issues in Case d'Luc County reached a severe social and political bind in the 1990s – a bind in that planning as well as citizen participation was constrained. The reasons for this bind included contradictions within the planning process and tensions between the Planning Department and citizens. At that time, the County possessed several code and rule books which were frequently inconsistent with one another – thus introducing ambiguity in the planning process. In addition, during that time, the Office of County Commissioners was inundated with complaints from citizens regarding the planning process. Simply put, during the early 1990s, planning in Case d'Luc County reached a point of confusion that threatened political legitimacy.

An outcome of this social and political bind was the Citizen Input on Future Land Use System (CIFLUS). This system involved the County Commissioners and planners, and utilized citizen groups to recreate the County's planning system. What may be the most important aspect of CIFLUS is the citizen aspect. Citizens felt they had limited access to the planning process. The citizen aspect of CIFLUS attempts to remedy this lack of citizen

participation and makes a direct attempt to integrate community members into the planning process.

This chapter will focus on the structure of the Planning Department and its impact on the planning process. Structure involves patterns of relationships in society that exist for long periods of time and thus provides us with predictable patterns of organization. Culture, on the other hand, involves a shared system of beliefs and values. Both structures and cultures exist only through the active creation of them by human actors. People have the ability to change the society in which they live. Therefore, agency focuses on individual or collective social action and how it shapes and is shaped by structure and culture. Thus, these terms are interconnected. However, for the purpose of this study, these terms will be analytically separated in order to better understand the effect each has on the planning process.

In the following sections I will describe the transformation of planning in Case d'Luc County and the emergence of the CIFLUS system. Following this discussion of the restructuring of planning in the County, the success of CIFLUS and its outcomes will be examined. In conclusion, I will suggest that the restructuring of planning in the County has done little to address the real issue at hand – that of competing elites. There are many elite groups in Case d'Luc County, including the planners, environmentalists, and property rights advocates. Elite groups have greater effect on policy than do others in a stratified system. These groups each have their own power bases and ideas regarding planning and planning processes. These differential power bases lead to conflict within the County over hegemonic control.

2. Citizen Input on Future Land Use System (CIFLUS)

In Case d'Luc County, an expressed deep-seated desire to preserve agriculture and the "western" way of life exists. This has led many communities to reevaluate their land use planning policies in a way that merges growth management with environmental concern. In response to these concerns, with the urging of the County Commissioners, Case d'Luc County developed a project to analyze and modify its system for land use planning in the early 1990s. This project is known as the Citizen Input on Future Land Use System or CIFLUS.

Rationale

The rationale for the development of CIFLUS includes the desire to maintain and expand the county's quality of life and to respect the rights of all citizens[13] within the county. In the early 1990s, the County Commissioners of Case d'Luc County received many complaints about the planning process. Complaints regarding this process included (but were not limited to):

- The need for alternatives to thirty-five acre tracts and incentives for diversified land use
- Overregulation and too much control by the county over land use
- A "one size fits all" approach to regulations
- Outdated guidelines and regulations
- Confusion over the development review process
- Lack of adequate citizen participation

[13] The term "citizen" will be used while talking about CIFLUS because, while it is known that individuals from elite groups in Case d'Luc County participated in the process, the documents available do not make a distinction between these groups of elites and the average community member.

- A clash of values, opinions, and desires within the community regarding development

These complaints represent a diversity of citizen views, some of which are contradictory. However, the overarching consensus was that planning in the County needed to involve less regulation and more community participation. Based on these complaints and the inconsistent structure of the Planning Department, the County Commissioners initiated a community-based process to enhance and recreate planning in the County.

The process

Over the course of two years, many seminars and community meetings were used as part of the CIFLUS process to gain a better understanding of the issues surrounding land use, development, and growth. Case d'Luc County invited citizens (through the use of media) to offer input in determining how planning in the County could better serve community needs and interests. A variety of strategies was employed to collect information from many sources and individuals for use in the development of land use regulations. Strategies used included:

- Citizen seminars and symposia: involved a wide variety of interest groups
- Establishment of Task Forces: group knowledgeable in specialty areas to conduct studies and make recommendations -- include the Rural Process Task Force(RPTK), CIFLUS Advisory Board, Advisory Board for Economic Development, Environmental Advisory Council, and Council on Open Space
- Distribution of information regarding CIFLUS to the general parties – through the media, county newsletters, and meetings.

Citizen seminars and symposia were open to all citizens of the County and used to gain input from a wide variety of community members. During the symposia, citizens were directly asked about their fears and hopes for the future of planning in the County. Out of the symposiums, worst and best outcomes were offered by participants. Although the

participants represented a diversity of backgrounds, there was some consensus in regards to their fears and hopes. For example, worst outcomes included additional regulations, a more restrictive government, and that citizen opinions would not be taken into consideration. Best outcomes included the creation of a practical solution, less government regulation of land use, and further alternatives for development.

While citizen membership on Task Forces was selected by the Commissioners and Planning Department, this tactic did allow for greater citizen input throughout the planning process. These Task Forces were consulted prior to final approval of plans by the County Commissioners. For all intents and purposes, it was hoped that through these strategies, a clear definition of the problem with planning and land use in Case d'Luc County, as well as practical solutions, would come about.

One of the main issues related to land use and growth that became apparent through the CIFLUS system was thirty-five acre developments. A state bill signed into law in the early 1970s allowed thirty-five acre or larger parcels to be created without any county land use review. Many citizens felt that thirty-five acre developments were problematic as these developments allowed land owners to develop their land without state regulation or Planning Department approval. While this contradicts citizen's desires to limit regulation, many felt thirty-five acre developments did not promote responsible land use and development.

The lack of regulation for thirty-five acre developments led to citizen complaints about overregulation of developments under thirty-five acres. The requirements for sub-divisions are many, but for thirty-five acre parcels the requirements are few. Therefore, landowners do not consider alternatives to thirty-five acre development because they believe the process is too long, too costly, and the outcome too uncertain. According to one citizen:

> There is a proliferation of thirty-five acre parcels because sub-division regulations are too difficult. The proliferation of

thirty-five acre developments provides land use is overregulated.

Overregulation by the government in the development of less than thirty-five acre lots has made thirty-five acre developments desirable to property owners.

It was argued that alternatives to thirty-five acre parcels are needed to provide quality growth – because the thirty-five acre parcel size is not appropriate in all cases. Many citizens felt there should be alternatives and incentives for diversified land use. It was felt that without these alternatives:

> There would be 20,000 new thirty-five acre housing units on all the remaining open space in Case d'Luc county. There would be incompatible development, unrestricted clustering without conservation easements and uncontrolled development without concern for community values.

In addition, it was suggested that a means for providing smaller acreage parcels that could be created with minimum review be developed. Moreover, development rules need to be tailored to different areas and land tracts.

Many citizen participants were worried that the regulations used by the county in regard to the planning process were not linked to the Comprehensive Plan nor were the regulations clearly written. Citizens pointed out that in some cases, the regulations were even contradictory and inconsistent. Because there was no unified Code, requirements would appear in one regulatory document and not another. In some cases, the requirements in document would contradict those in another. Participants also expressed concern in offering enough community input in the planning review process.

Many noted that the planning process and regulations during the time of this study were considered to be inadequate – both in terms of overregulation and ambiguity. One citizen respondent mentioned that "there should be more flexibility of regulations with incentives when developing and evaluating land on an individual basis – that was not the

case before CIFLUS." County land use regulations were also considered rigid and did not allow for creative solutions nor did they adequately consider community values.

The original Master Plan was created in the mid 1970s and during that time, one unified Land Use Code did not exist; rather, there were several codes that were inconsistent with one another. The County in the 1990s was significantly different than it was during the 1970s due to growth. Therefore, any common vision established in the original Master Plan would not be viable twenty years later. Similarly, one citizen who participated in the CIFLUS process felt that the County "can't collectively articulate a desirable future for Case d'Luc County."

Additionally, the county's land use planning process was also considered to be unfair by people on all sides of the issue – whether it be the average citizen, environmental groups, or property rights advocates. According to one respondent:

> Like now, the planning process before CIFLUS did not give favor to environmentalists or private property advocates – it's unfair to every group. The planners didn't care about anyone – they don't now.

Another respondent mentioned that during the CIFLUS process, "we did not make progress on the tough issues – we simply restated our 'wishes' without any means of accomplishing them."

Throughout the process, it was acknowledged by citizens that the best outcomes may not be easily achieved because local government would not like to reduce their control. Because the current (or pre-CIFLUS) regulatory documents were contradictory and ambiguous, planners held control over interpreting these texts and thus the planning process. As one planner noted, the regulatory documents were "like holy scriptures – you can come up with any interpretation you want." Several citizens felt this lead to overregulation by planners. Less regulation and more community input would lessen the

control planners have over the planning process and, in some circumstances, even threaten their technical expertise. Despite this pessimism, the following advice was given to the County Commissioners by CIFLUS participants (County citizens):

> • Be flexible and allow the developments to go through once they've met requirements
> • See that Planning Department and County Commissioners act on plans quickly
> • Hope that regulations and bureaucratic procedures will be kept to a minimum
> • Make the process for development and the rules simpler for the people going [into the planning process.]

Outcomes

As a result of these strategies and meetings, it became clear that citizens were concerned with two categories of planning and development: issues related to land use and growth (and their relationship to the environment), and citizens' experiences with then current land use regulations. With regard to the first set of issues (land use and growth), the Case d'Luc County Planning Department established the Master Plan with the help of citizens and County Commissioners. Out of the second set of issues (citizens' experiences with then current land use regulations) came the new Land Use Code. This represents a synthesis of ideas between the Planning Department and Case d'Luc County community members.

Both the Master Plan and Land Use Code are complementary and interrelated documents. The former lays out a path for policy related to land use in the county while the latter states the regulations and procedures to carry out the policies in the Master Plan. Both of these documents were created, primarily by Planning Department staff with input from County Commissioners and citizens, based on input received during the CIFLUS meetings and symposiums, and were crafted with the help of citizens.

In addition to the above described issues of CIFLUS, there is a third essential component to planning in Case d'Luc that was established and emphasized by this process. This component comprises the *Citizen* aspect of CIFLUS, and allows for a new means of viewing the planning process. Planning is not merely comprised of regulations and procedures – it inherently effects citizens and thus should include citizen input. Planning should involve a common vision and working with the community to develop approaches for achieving this common vision, without compromising individual rights. While establishing a common vision may not be possible, it is important to note that there was an interesting in gaining input from all members of the community in creating a better planning process. According to Case d'Luc County documents and County officials, this third element (citizen input) would be maintained long after the creation, approval, and implementation of the Master Plan and Land Use Code, and will include advisory boards to aid in the planning process.

Shortly after developing CIFLUS, it became clear that a citizen advisory board for this process was necessary. Therefore, Case d'Luc County established the CIFLUS Advisory Board (AB). This Board was comprised of more than a dozen citizens selected by the Case d'Luc County Commissioners. The CIFLUSAB was intended to provide a variety of citizen interests and views on issues associated with CIFLUS. These citizens embodied a diversity of viewpoints (albeit not ALL viewpoints), experience, knowledge, and geographical location within the County. The CIFLUSAB met bimonthly for 6 months and helped draft plans for the Master Plan and its implementation.

In the mid 1990s, Case d'Luc County contracted with a several out-of-state urban and regional planning companies to provide consultation for the CIFLUS. This team of consultants worked with the Case d'Luc County Planning Department in creating the new

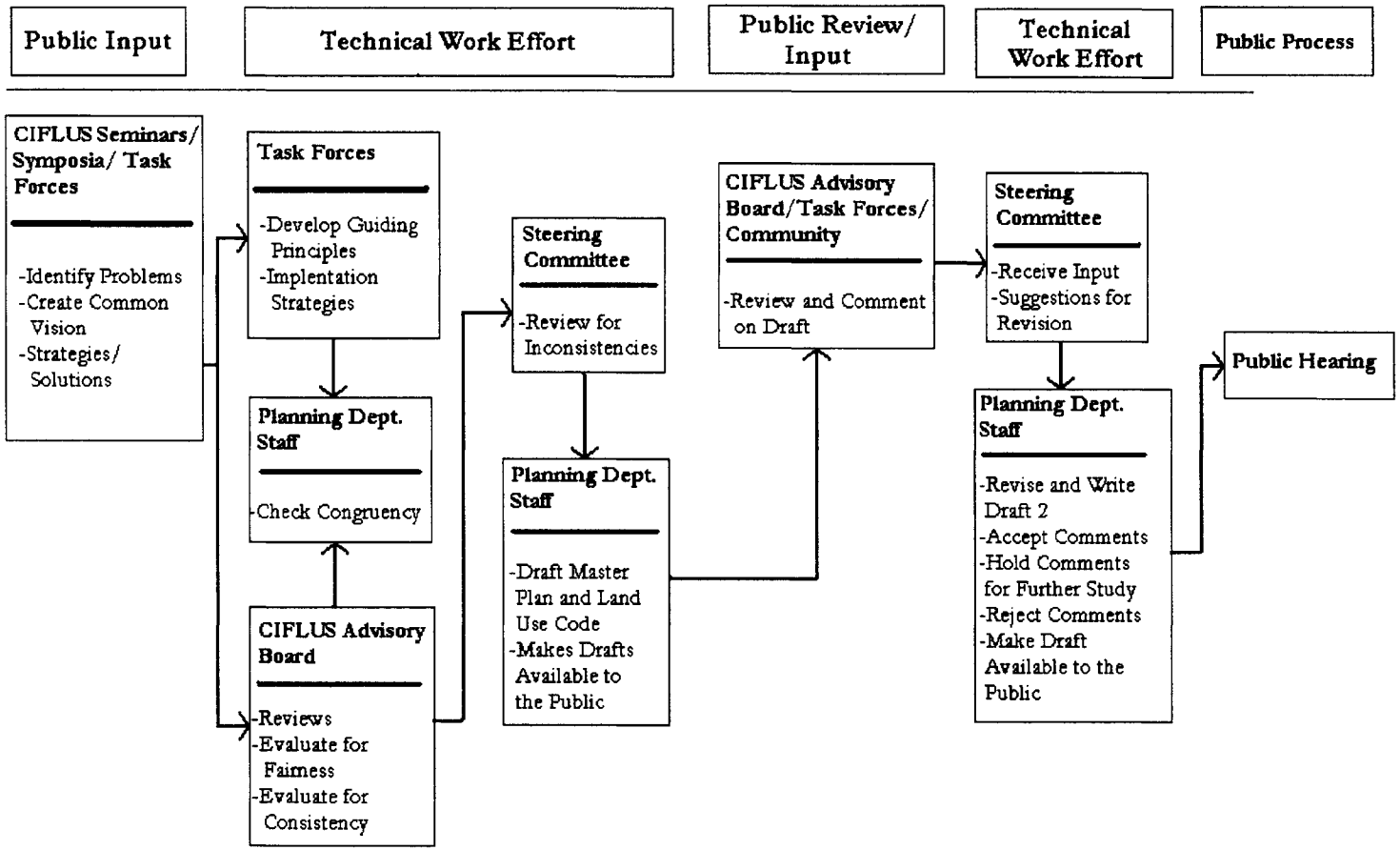
Land Use Code. The existing disconnected planning and land use process would be replaced by CIFLUS's integrated policies, procedures, and regulations. A new vision (Master Plan) and regulations (Land Use Code) would be created with citizen input. Rather than having a variety of regulatory manuals that are contradictory and disjointed, planning in Case d'Luc County would be guided by two mutually dependent documents.

Case d'Luc County gathered information from many sources and individuals for use in the creation of the Master Plan and Land Use Code. There were several phases in this process [see Diagram 4.1]. The first phase involved citizen input. From the CIFLUS Conferences, Symposia, and Task Forces, data was gathered about problems with planning in the County and possible solutions. In addition, a common vision for the County was created. After the collection of public input, technical work effort began.

The Task Forces and CIFLUS Advisory Board developed guiding principles for the County as well as a strategy for implementing these principles. After the implementation strategies were checked for congruency by Planning Department, a Steering Committee involving County Commissioners reviewed reports for inconsistencies. The Planning Department staff is then give approval to create a draft of the Master Plan and Land Use Code. The drafts are then made available to the public for review.

Following the technical work effort, public review and input is again requested by the County. After the CIFLUS Advisory Board, Task Forces, and the community at large comment on the draft, the Steering Committee reviews the input and make suggestions for revision. These suggestions are then taken into consideration by the Planning Department Staff when creating a second draft of the Master Plan and Land Use Code. The Planning Department staff had three options when responding to community and Steering

Diagram 4.1 Creation of the Master Plan and Land Use Code



Committee comments: accept comments, hold comments for further study, or reject comments. Following the completion of a second draft of these documents, they are again made available to the public for review. Following this process, the County held a public hearing to approve both the Master Plan and Land Use Code.

A year after the initial appointment of the consultant team, CIFLUS constructed a draft version of the Master Plan. This draft was the culmination of input from hundreds of citizens, Planning Department staff, and County officials – representing more community involvement than had been seen in the past. The draft Master Plan provided procedures for addressing issues such as growth and sprawl, open space, the rural environment, procedural uniformity for applicants, and fairness for all citizens of Case d'Luc County. Essentially, CIFLUS and the Master Plan purport a level of participatory democracy new to the county. This required the realization of a common vision and consensus among a diversity of interests that connect the Master Plan and Planning Department with county citizens.

The Division of Rural Land Preservation

Another outcome of CIFLUS involves the creation of a division within the Planning Department to deal specifically with rural planning. At the end of the CIFLUS process, the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) was approved and established by the Board of County Commissioners after several public hearings. Approximately 50 people attended the final hearing. According to a local newspaper, "comments from those attending the meeting included those strongly favoring the adoption of the DRLP and those who said they had significant concerns that were yet unanswered." Overall, the DRLP appeared to have support from the citizens of Case d'Luc County.

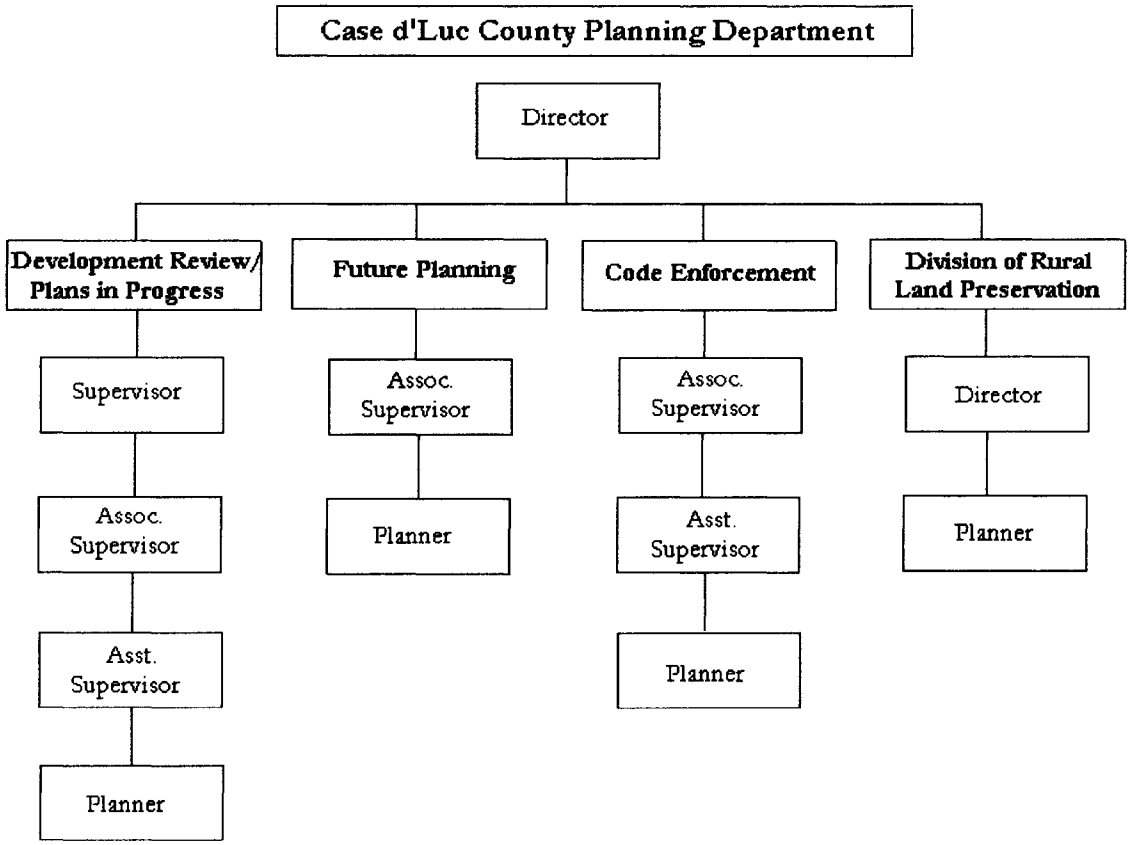
Under the existing state regulations, property owners are able to divide their property into thirty-five acre tracts without development review. The DRLP was developed as an alternative to this thirty-five acre partitioning, without going through a full development review. In using the DRLP, landowners can cluster lots and homes in one area of the property while preserving the residual land in a conservation covenant or easement. While offering these incentives to promote alternative development that preserves the rural lands of Case d'Luc County, this process is easy to use, voluntary, and accommodating. The process utilizes adaptable guidelines rather than rigid regulations to allow landowners the flexibility to shape requirements to each situation, landowner, and property.

An essential aspect of the DRLP Process is that it includes neighbors and community members in the process, and their concerns and issues are taken into consideration throughout every stage. Early in the proposal of suggested land use proposals neighborhood symposia are arranged that allow community members to evaluate the plan in detail. These meetings serve to reduce misunderstandings, inform and educate community members about the proposal, establish the potential for an amicable proposal process, and to gain feedback and input from the community regarding the proposed plan.

The Current Structure of the Planning Department

At the time of this study, the Planning Department structurally consists of four divisions (Development Review/Plans in Progress, Future Planning, Land Use Code Enforcement, and the Division of Rural Land Preservation; see Table 3.1) and a Department head. As noted in earlier chapters, a simple distinction may be made between upper- and lower-level planners [see Diagram 4.2]. Upper-level planners are those in supervisory positions. These planners tend to have been employed in Case d'Luc County significantly

Figure 4.2 Structure of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department[14]



longer than lower-level planners and have worked their way up the hierarchy. Therefore, many of the upper-level planners have been in almost every position within the bureaucratic hierarchy. In addition, because they are in supervisory positions, they tend to work with a smaller number of plans than lower-level planners.

The Planning Department is structured so that the head supervisor of a department and the planning director assign plans to individual lower-level planners. One respondent noted that applications come in and there is a meeting to "deal them out" to individual lower-level planners. Within the bureaucratic hierarchy, everyone reports to someone.

[14] This diagram is not meant to represent the actual number of planners working in the Department. Rather, it is used to illustrate the hierarchical structuring of the Planning Department.

Those above you in the hierarchy determine your responsibilities. One respondent noted that there is a two way up and down the chain as far as information is concerned. However, the final say rests with the planning director and the elected Commissioners above this position in the hierarchy.

CIFLUS and beyond: Success or failure?

As previously noted, planners often enter the field in order to improve the quality of the community and serve the public interests – as ambiguous as they may be (Baum 2000; Hoch 2000). In doing so, planners use "rational" analysis[15] coupled with practical judgment to create the best plans (Dalton, Hoch, and So 2000).

> Planners learn to identify and acknowledge the different purposes people bring to a particular urban planning issue and to offer judgments as expert advise rather than as personal, moral, or political convictions. (Hoch 2000: 22)

In doing so, planners often use citizen input while offering citizens the opportunity to participate in the planning process.

According to Hoch (2000: 27), "comprehensive planning tries to represent the interests of the public as a whole." It is essential for planners to interact with citizens in order to better understand the communities for which they are planning. Bringing diverse groups of citizens together allows planners to define and provide a better solution to community planning problems (Baum 2000).

Much of the planning literature (See Williams 1976; Fagence 1977; Burke 1979; Rich 1986; Stivers 1990) suggests that citizen participation is an invaluable aspect of the planning

[15] The purpose of this project was not to determine whether or not planners act in a rational manner or what constitutes rational planning. However, the emphasis on rationality in the planning literature poses an intriguing potential conflict between rational analysis and planner's values (normative influences). This conflict will be discussed in later chapters.

process. Active participation by citizens reinforces democratic principles and helps citizens from becoming alienated with the process.

> Consensus-building processes can make it possible for the elected or appointed official to hear from a more balanced array of interests before a decision is taken and, more importantly, to share decision-making authority to bring about actions and resource commitments from groups over which the official has no authority other than the powers of persuasion. (Klein 2000: 423)

Participation can also serve as a way to equalize power differentials between competing groups of elites (Day 1977).

It is difficult to deny that citizens can provide a wealth of information indispensable to planning, and thus providing planners with comprehensive and more balanced information about county issues and needs. On a more technical level, by involving citizens in the planning process, planners can often escape delays in implementation due to citizen veto (Day 1977). As Klein (2000) suggests, citizen participation may "improve collaboration among citizens and interest groups and to negotiate public conflicts" (424).

Was CIFLUS successful? No process can truly be "collaborative" as long as participants do not share some measure of decision-making power – CIFLUS gave citizens this opportunity. Based on CIFLUS and its outcomes, it would seem that planning in Case d'Luc County has reached a point of legitimacy, precision, and effective citizen participation.

The legitimacy of the Planning Department and CIFLUS can be argued based on the consistency of written regulations. In addition, the process allowed for active citizen participation and consensus building within the community. Both rules and an inclusive process suggest a legitimate planning process. Therefore, in the aftermath of CIFLUS, it would seem as though all is well for planning in Case d'Luc County. This, however, is not the case. Even if the success of CIFLUS is acknowledged, a decade later, the planning

process may not be as successful and legitimate as anticipated. While the process did grant citizens the opportunity to have an impact on the planning process, it seems as though this ideal faded after the development of the Master Plan and Land Use Code, thus signifying the end of citizen-oriented meetings and symposia.

In the remainder of the chapter, I focus on the experiences and expectations of citizens with regards to the structure of planning in the County. The structure of the Planning Department is an important analytical focal point based on the influence singular structures can have on the planning process and outcomes. Interviews with citizens and citizen groups suggest that the benefits of CIFLUS and the restructuring of planning in Case d'Luc County tend to be overstated and are not necessarily positive outcomes that benefit the community.

3. Citizen Experiences

Citizens in Case d'Luc County expect planning to be a process where the "right kinds of land use are done", where citizens have an opportunity to participate, and the processes are efficient. Citizens expect planners to seek advice from citizens that have knowledge and expertise – these citizens may be helpful in coming up with new solutions that are equally weighted to everyone's needs. The county should try to bring citizens together and come up with a common vision – and to see that policies work towards that vision and all peoples are considered.

Unfortunately, the expectations of Case d'Luc County citizens do not coincide with their post-CIFLUS experiences with the Planning Department and process. Both citizen participation and the organizational structure of the Department are viewed skeptically by

County citizens. To better understand these issues, this section will discuss the experiences with the planning process of citizens and citizens groups.

Citizen participation

Citizens' expectations of planning and the planning process are quite different from the realities of their experiences. Despite the initial attempt at bringing citizens into the process of County Planning and the expectations of citizens, the organizational structure of the planning department may inadvertently discourage participatory democracy. The bureaucratic processes that are associated with the formal structure of the Department, such as mandated public meetings, may discourage citizens from participating because of their formality. In addition, requiring citizen participation at one level of the planning process prevents citizens from interjecting input at earlier points.

Many respondents felt that the structure of the organization limits the potential for citizen participation. One respondent who was on a citizen planning board commented: "in the three years I was on the board, we met four times." According to one respondent who had participated in the CIFLUS system from the beginning, many sectors of the County were present. When the process began, an open invitation was given to all citizens of the County. There was extremely diverse representation at the early meetings which included a variety of viewpoints. However, some citizens, and even a County Commissioner, disagree.

According to a local newspaper, one of the County Commissioners during the CIFLUS process questioned the amount of public input involved in the process. Rather than being made up of diverse interests, specific groups of citizens were appointed to advisory boards, thus lacking any diversity. According to this Commissioner, "it's hardly what I would consider a completely fair, impartial, and balanced collection of citizens."

Thus, the CIFLUS system, with its purpose of integrating citizens into the structure of the planning process, was criticized by many. One citizen, who participated in the CIFLUS process made the following remark:

> The CIFLUS process was a nightmare – with weekend meetings about where the planning process should go. The citizens committee for CIFLUS consisted of about 20 people. It was difficult to facilitate and I don't feel we got anything done.

One respondent argued that the lack of citizen participation was intentional: "sometimes it's intentional – some bad meetings – you sit through these committees and wonder if you are being manipulated."

The role of the Planning Department in this process was not deemed consistently positive by those citizens interviewed. Those that were involved with CIFLUS at the early stages did not feel the Department was a positive factor. According to one respondent, members of the Planning Department attempted to "put a brake" on some citizen suggestions and regulations that allowed for more grey area as planners attempted to exert their control over the process.

According to Case d'Luc County documents, the planning process should ideally incorporate citizens and their diverse knowledge and expectations. This may be contradicted, however, as all citizen respondents felt that citizens do not participate enough in the early stages of the planning process. The structure of the planning process limits citizen participation until the end of the process (i.e. review hearings), at which time, decisions have already been made by the Planning Department staff making it difficult for citizens to have an impact. Many felt that today, citizens are purposefully left out of the process.

Similarly, most citizens participate only if they are directly affected by a plan ("People only go to hearings if they don't agree with things – otherwise there is no point in going").

> Changes to the Land Use Code come up in the work session with the Planning Commission. The public doesn't really know what's going on – so there is no public involvement. The Planning Department puts notices out but not very far in advance.

The Planning Department is required to announce both public land use hearings and neighborhood/community meetings fourteen days in advance. Considering it takes months for a plan to reach a public hearing, citizens have a disadvantage in trying to gather information in such a short period of time. As another respondent suggests, "it is a diseased process – dysfunctional and very good at keeping the county uninformed."

There is another aspect of the planning structure that affects the participation of some groups of citizens – the Planning Commission. While the Planning Commission predates the CIFLUS process, it is important to the post-CIFLUS time period because it further mandates citizen involvement in the planning structure. This Commission is a nine member citizen board which makes recommendations to the County Commissioners. As part of the planning structure, once a plan is ready for a public hearing, it is given to the Planning Commission for review. The Planning Commission then offers recommendations for approval to the County Commissioners who make the final decision. This final decision takes place in a public Land Use Hearing.

Interested individuals apply for the Planning Commission and are chosen by the County Commissioners and Planning Director. According to both County Commissioners and planners, the Planning Commission is supposed to represent a diverse range of interests. This, however, may not be the case.

Several citizens felt that the Planning Commission fails to represent a diversity of interests and instead just serves the interests of the Planning Director. As will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, there are several special interest groups in Case d'Luc

County. Members of these groups have repeatedly applied to be members of the Planning Commission; however, they have never been selected to serve on this board. Thus, the Planning Commission exemplifies another means through which the structure of the Department limits participation, while at the same time requiring it.

Not one citizen respondent addressed the post-CIFLUS structure of the Planning Department and the planning process in terms of concordance and satisfaction – rather, they focused on the contentious and frustrating nature of the Department and the planning process. While the CIFLUS process was successful in terms of establishing a mutually dependent Master Plan and Land Use Code, and allowing for greater citizen participation, the structure of the organization still aggravated citizens. This frustration was based on many themes, including the organization of the Department, inefficiency, and a lack of accountability. One respondent argued that "the [average citizen] is often hassled and harmed by the way the planning process works." As a "politically based process", the planners "act like they control the public". As can be seen in the descriptions that follow, the structure of planning in Case d'Luc County is often viewed by a relatively broad spectrum of citizens as not serving the needs of community members.

Organizational problems

Most citizens interviewed commented on the problems of the bureaucratic organization of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department. Many argued that the organization of the planning department is "bad" or "horrible". One of the ways in which the allegedly troubling organization of the Planning Department materializes, according to citizens, is through its inconsistency and inefficiency – in terms of timely procedures and responses. Citizens felt the Department did not respond to questions or plans in a timely

manner and failed to ask for all required information or materials upfront. According to one respondent, "[the Planning Department has] made progress, but [they] still have problems - their bureaucracy is not very efficient."

For example, one citizen spoke of her experience in trying to get a permit for a building. She described her experience with the Planning Department as "frustrating". Since she had heard from others that the permit process was time-consuming and that information was oftentimes not asked for, either by the forms or the planners themselves. Therefore, she wanted to meet with planners tentatively to find out as much information as possible. She wanted to know exactly what information would be required. Rather than talking with just one or two planners throughout the process, as would be preferred, she commented[16], based on the structure of the organization, she was often passed on to other people – furthering the inefficiency of the project. The process for receiving this permit took over nine months.

When time came to renew the permit, she made calls ahead of time to inquire about the renewal process. The planning department, however, had no record of the original plan – it had somehow been "lost". Digging for her own paperwork to prove the existence of the original project slowed down the renewal and transferred the burden of inefficiency on the citizen.

Other citizens also complained about the slowness of the process and how inefficiency creates a larger burden for the citizen. One homeowner commented:

> The planning department wanted me to go through another review in twenty-five years and the commissioners agreed that it wasn't really fair. I was told they can do a "review" instead of a "special review". What is the difference? So I sent a certified letter and called one of the commissioners and the

[16] Other citizens interviewed also made similar comments.

> Commissioner said she told the planning department to take care of it. It took about five months for the planners to respond and they argued that they don't understand the nature of the problem and that they have no response.

The same respondent commented on another special review she went through. According to this citizen, the Planning Department gave her a timeframe that was difficult – responding within thirty days. After the citizen had responded within this timeframe, the Department took a few months for their response to materialize: "if they make me answer in 30 days than they should have to respond in 30 days."

This is not the only case in which the Planning Department is slow in getting paperwork to the applicant. One respondent complained: "you can't act until you get the signed approval – it took the planning department 5 months to get it to me – this is a way of controlling the situation." Without signed approval or a quick response by the Planning Department, the property owner is unable to move forward with their plans – which has not only an affect on time, but may also cost the property owner money. These experiences reinforce citizens' suspicions of planning in the County.

Another complaint in regards to inefficiency involves information requests. The Planning Department will request information from a citizen, then, at later dates, they will continually request more information that could have been asked for at earlier stages in the process. According to one citizen, "you send them something and the department just requires more and more information. It took me 18 months to go through a special review – that's abusive." This continual request for information just serves to slow down the process and frustrates the citizen.

Who (or what) is to blame?

The above problems citizens have encountered with the Planning Department beg the question on the part of citizens interviewed: who or what is to blame for the inefficiency and lack of citizen participation? Some respondents felt the above resulted from the failure of the County Commissioners to provide leadership to the Planning Department.

> 'The Commissioners are risk averse - they just follow, rather than lead. Otherwise, if they are headstrong, they will only stay one term.

One respondent felt that the Commissioners do not provide direction related to planning nor control over the Planning Department.

According to one citizen, rather than being intimately involved in the planning process, the Commissioners "don't know what's going on" and therefore do not provide any direction or support to the post-CIFLUS process. As an informant stated, this allows the Planning Department to "get away with" inefficiency and inconsistency: According to one respondent, "planners are allowed to think they can [be inefficient and inconsistent] because the Commissioners don't control them."

Others, however, argued that the Planning Department is not structured so that the Commissioners lead and the Planning Department follows. Rather, the Planning Department is arranged so that it has relative autonomy and is not contingent on the Commissioners. While the Commissioners have continual interaction with the citizens of the county, the planners, on the other hand can afford the above mentioned problems in the planning process because their interaction with citizens is limited: "the Planning Department – they don't have to see the citizen again – so they don't care."

In the following section I will discuss the contradictions that exist because of the structure of the Planning Department. Scholars have noted problems inherent in

bureaucratic organizations. The Case d'Luc Planning Department is not immune to these problems. Not only does the structure impede citizen participation, but it also inhibits opportunities for the type of progressive planning sought by most citizens, Commissioners, and the Planning Department.

4. Bureaucratic Contradictions

Planning organizations are typically part of larger bureaucracies as well as bureaucracies themselves. Case d'Luc County is no exception. Most bureaucracies claim commitments to systematic objectivity, efficiency, and rationality. According to Dalton (1986), these claims can lead to planners to a de facto rejection of citizen input and "other approaches as irrational" (151). Thus, planners might reject the ideas of citizens because these ideas are not considered rational nor up to par with planners' technical expertise.

Etzioni-Halevy (1983) argues that the structure of bureaucracy is problematic for democratic citizen participation. Contradictions exist between bureaucracy and democracy. In addition, bureaucracies pose contradictions for planning itself. Within the planning bureaucracy in Case d'Luc County, these types of contradictions include levels of authority, lack of access, and mandated public hearings.

Levels of authority

In any bureaucratic organization there are levels of authority. As Baum (2000) notes, "planners work in organizations [and] most take direction from a boss – a supervisor, a board, or both" (445). The structure of planning as a bureaucracy can be problematic in

terms of levels of authority[17]. As expected, within the Case d'Luc County Planning Department there is a hierarchy of authority. For the purpose of this thesis, the segmentation of this hierarchy has been simply divided into upper- and lower-level planners.

According to the lower-level planners interviewed, the bureaucratic organization and the hierarchy of authority prohibit innovation. Applications are distributed to lower level planners by higher level planners. According to one planner, this entire process curbs innovation: "Applications come in – we have a meeting to deal them out – this discourages us from taking initiative." Based on the above planner's comment, because plans are allocated by supervisors, there is little opportunity for lower-level planners to choose plans they may be more interested in and to which they can provide an innovative design. Similarly, another planner commented: "you don't go into your supervisors and say 'I want to attack this problem' because there is no initiative to do so." The hierarchical system of the Department in which supervisors decide your workload seems to limit lower-level planners' desire to be innovative.

The hierarchy of the structure also limits the ability of planners to take part in progressive planning. According to one lower-level planner,

> As far as innovation goes: the hierarchical scale where you come up with your ideas and it goes up the chain – ideas die along the chain. You can go above those above you, but that conflicts with the hierarchical structure. You can do it but you have to go outside the chain of command.

There is a very large gap in time on the job between lower and upper level planners. While the lower level planner's average slightly less than two years on the job, upper level planners have been with the planning department for an average of twenty years. Unsurprisingly, lower level planners find it very difficult to move up in the hierarchy.

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[17] Levels of authority relate to the hierarchy of positions within an organization. The higher a position in the hierarchy, the more authority is granted that position.

> There is a high turnover rate here as people become disillusioned or cross the commissioners. Since I've been here, I've seen two lower-level planners leave. How long you stay in the CDLPD depends on whether you are good at [planning] or good at avoiding conflict. No one [above me] is leaving in the next five years so there is no way to move up. There's no internal movement within the department. There is no linear advancement in this department and people deserve to advance.

Some respondents argued that ideas are neither changing nor being challenged because of the lack of "new blood" in supervisory positions: "All the management has been here for a really long time. Like 20 years. No new ideas are coming in." Similarly, lower-level planners may be discouraged from promoting new ideas because it will not affect their opportunities for advancement – since advancement is not a possibility.

Lack of access

Assuming that a hierarchy may limit innovation and opportunities for progressive planning, there also are consequences for citizen participation. As noted in interviews with planners, upper-level planners have greater control over the planning process. Yet upper-level planners have somewhat limited interaction with citizens when compared with the lower-level planners. Upper-level planners primarily supervise lower-level planners and occasionally head more controversial plans. Because lower-level planners work on more plans than upper-level planners, they see citizens more often. In addition, because of the greater plan-oriented workload, lower-level planners attend public and community meetings more frequently. This leads to the issue of lack of access – both to the powers that control the planning process and to information.

Citizens are not part of the planning bureaucracy; therefore, they may have trouble accessing members of this process and therefore, the planning process itself: "If bureaucracies are powerful and robust, a genuine partnership role with the citizen is not to

be expected" (Day 2000: 426). Upper-level planners hold primarily supervisory positions that allow them to have more control over the planning process. Citizens, however, may find themselves without access to these higher members. For example, between January and June of 2005[18], lower-levels planners attended public land use hearings more frequently than did upper-level planners.[19] During that time period, the Planning Director attended only one meeting while the Supervisor did not attend any. The attendance of Associate Supervisors ranged from 20 meetings to no attendance at all. Finally, Assistant Supervisors' attendance ranged from fourteen meetings to no attendance for this six-month time period.

This does not necessarily mean, however, that lower-level planners are easier to access. All planners, in general, never reached higher than a 47% attendance rate at land use hearings (with a low being one planner in attendance). Therefore, while upper-level planners may be the most difficult to access, lower-level planners may not be accessible either. Because of this, citizens' ability to have a greater impact on the planning process is limited. General public comment regarding the planning process is allowed at the beginning of each land use hearing. However, if only 47% of the planners (at best) are present, how much impact can citizens have?

Citizens' access to information is also limited by the bureaucratic structure. According to Klein (2000), one of the ways to improve citizen participation is through the sharing of credible information.

> Participants who have access to a common base of information on conditions and trends will find it easier to identify areas of common concern; a planner's task is to ensure that the information is credible, reliable, and understandable. (Klein 2000: 434)

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[18] Between January and June of 2005, there were twenty-two separate days on which Land Use Hearings took place in Case d'Luc County.

[19] This information is taken from the minutes of Case d'Luc County Land Use Hearings provided by County website and the Office of County Commissioners.

However, as noted earlier, citizens do not receive consistent nor understandable information during the course of the planning process. As many citizens noted, the information they receive often differs from one planner to another and it is difficult to find accurate information.

While Case d'Luc County's Master Plan and Land Use Code are readily available for citizens to peruse (both online and in print), both are verbose with an excess of technical jargon. This limits the amount of useful and understandable information citizens may receive from these sources. Similarly, while information regarding plans and land use hearings are available to the public both online and in the media (local newspapers), this information is also limited.

Agendas for land use hearings are listed online and in the media a week in advance, at the most. In addition, the actual text of these agendas is limited to a few basic sentences and an overview of the plan and/or issue. For example, for a land use hearing in July of 2004, the online agenda contained three pages, whereas the agenda given to the County Commissioners and planning staff contained two hundred fifty-two pages. While it is understandable that the Commissioners and planning staff need complete details regarding plans and land use items, this raises the question: how are citizens to make decisions regarding their interest if they are only give a brief summary?

Mandated public hearings

Another potential structural contradiction within the planning process is the public hearing. Often, in a bureaucracy, citizen participation is elicited through a mandated public hearing process. There are three types of mandated public hearings required by Case d'Luc County: neighborhood/community meetings, work sessions, and public land use hearings.

The purpose of neighborhood/community meetings is to allow neighbors of clients with a plan under review to learn more about the plan and to voice their opinions. Notice is sent out to neighbors and affected parties fourteen days prior to the meeting. From speaking with both planners and citizens, neighborhood/community meetings tend to be the most successful of the three. However, this type of mandated meeting is not without its problems. First, neighbors may not initially receive enough information regarding the proposed plan prior to the meeting. If citizens are ignorant as to the details of the plan, they may not feel they need to attend the meeting.

Additionally, it is debatable how much citizen input is taken into consideration after the meeting has taken place, during the time in which plans are revised. Typically, one planner is assigned to a plan; therefore, only one planner is in attendance at these meetings. Thus, the attending planner has a great deal of discretion in whether or not she takes the opinions of community members into consideration when revising the plan.

Work sessions are held with the Planning Department staff and the County Commissioners once a month. While citizens are welcome, the average citizen is typically unaware that these meetings exist. What is interesting to note is that citizens may be purposefully kept out of these meetings when controversial issues are discussed. For example, during the course of this research, one member of the research staff attempted to attend a work session on a controversial topic. Upon arriving at the designated location, he discovered that the meeting location had been changed – but the change had not been announced. After searching for the new location, he found what could potentially have been the work session. Upon opening the door, he said, those inside looked at him as though he did not belong. Feeling discouraged, he returned home.

The most contentious of the mandated public meetings is the public land use hearing. Typically, a draft of a proposal is created by the planning staff. Although initial input of citizens may be taken, it is uncertain how much this input is taken into consideration. At the end of the process, a final public hearing is held to allow citizens the chance to comment. This is the circumstance in Case d'Luc County.

It has been argued (See Williams 1976; Redburn et al 1980; Klein 2000) that this method of citizen participation often fails: "Planning is done *to* or *for* the public, not *with* the public" (Klein 2000: 425). The foundation of a plan is created by a small majority of people – planners. Information and comments from citizens are solicited late in the process, often too late for citizens to have either input or impact.

> The old-style processes of involving the public – particularly public hearings – often result in perfunctory, stilted, 'go through the motions' styles of engagement. By any stretch of the imagination, these practices rarely provide meaningful public participation or engagement. Typically, they are organized and run from the top down and are scheduled at the end of the process, immediately before adoption of the measures being considered. If citizens come at all, they often leave the hearing feeling ineffectual, co-opted, or manipulated; they often leave believing that 'the fix was in'. (Klein 2000: 425)

Traditional public hearings may not be the best mechanism for eliciting citizen participation opportunities for citizen comment. Public hearings of the Planning Department are required to allow citizens to express their views. However, public comment is usually solicited near the end of both the process and the hearing (Williams 1976). In Case d'Luc County, opportunities for citizen participation are scheduled into the hearing – public comment on the Land Use Code is allowed at the beginning of the hearing, while public comment on specific plans is allowed for after the introduction of a specific plan.

As a participant observer, I noted that most public comment on specific plans was of two types: 1) individuals (mainly neighbors) coming forward to acknowledge their support

of the plan or 2) angry individuals (again mainly neighbors) who where opposed to the plan. While this dichotomy may seem obvious, the reasons for support or dissent were primarily personal and neither grey areas nor constructive criticism were presented. In this case, Redburn et al's (1980) argument that "mandated citizen participation seemed to represent additional special or individual interests in the community" (350) seems to hold true.

Finally, no public comment regarding the Land Use Code was made during the course of my observation. In fact, when speaking with one of the County Commissioners, it was noted that only one citizen had made a comment on the Code in the past year – and that comment was to eliminate the Code altogether. Do citizens have neither interest in planning nor the Land Use Code? From speaking with citizens, this does not appear to be the case – citizens are interested. Rather, it appears to be the structure that prohibits them from having any real impact on the planning process.

5. Conclusion

CIFLUS and the restructuring of the Planning Department were designed to address the crisis of legitimacy that occurred in Case d'Luc County in the 1990s. Despite the large amount of citizen input in CIFLUS and the restructuring, planning in Case d'Luc County today has not met the ideals of CIFLUS. Many problems exist within the County planning system due to structure: lack of citizen input, barriers to innovation, and inaccessible information.

The explanation for the structural transformations of planning within Case d'Luc County suggests that a variety of citizens and groups were able to come together and create a better planning system that was implemented by the County. This explanation, however, is erroneous. If we peel back the layers, we can uncover the reality of the situation: a conflict

between elites in Case d'Luc County. There are fragmented elites in the County with different power bases, leading to uncomfortable tensions. Elites are different from the mass of County citizens in that elites are pejorative and have a greater ability to influence rules and procedures. The state's inability to ease this tension has led to a new crisis in the County – one based on hegemonic control. Groups of elites within the County are "fighting" for great input and control over the planning process.

One group of elites includes the professional planners themselves. This group exerts its control over planning through consent – or hegemony. Culture is rooted in the hegemony of the planners. As will be seen in the following chapter, through the use of culture and the socialization of new members, the Planning Department is able to continually reconstruct their hegemony. In addition, this culture perpetuates inconsistencies within the structure of the Planning Department.

After much observation and many interviews with planners, County Commissioners, and citizens, it has become apparent that there is a distinct culture in the Planning Department. Culture is a part of every organization and has countless effects on the functioning of an organization. The culture of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department is created in part by the structure of the Department. Culture is taught and reproduced through socialization and thus, also serves to reproduce the structure of the Department. Furthermore, planners use their culture to perpetuate hegemony. In the following chapter I will discuss the culture of the Department and its impact on the planning process.

CHAPTER V

THE CULTURE OF PLANNING IN CASE D'LUC COUNTY

1. Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the restructuring of the Planning Department that took place in the 1990s and the structural problems that continue to exist today. Embedded within this structure is culture. Hays (1994) describes culture as a:

> social, durable, layered patterns of cognitive and normative systems that are at once material and ideal, objective and subjective, embodied in artifacts and embedded in behavior, passed about in interaction, internalized in personalities, and externalized in institutions. (65)

Culture entails rules and norms of behavior, as well as a shared belief system transmitted through socialization. While this research project was not an in-depth analysis of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department's organizational culture, it is important to take the general culture of the Planning Department into consideration in order to better understand how the internal contradictions within the Department are associated with the implicit norms of its planners.

Organizations have cultures, or what Baum (2000) refers to as "shared overt and tacit beliefs about how members should act" (446). These cultures have meanings for organizational participants as a "strong organizational culture is a belief system that sustains the commitment of individual members for the good of the organization" (Harrison and Carroll 1991: 553). As individuals come in contact with organizations, they come in contact

with norms, rules, and procedures– all aspects of organizational culture. When members interpret the meanings of these manifestations, their perceptions and interpretations will differ – the patterns of these interpretations constitute culture (Martin 1992).

The organizational culture facilitates and legitimizes reorganization and adaptation. Like structures, organizational cultures can also constrain the behavior of individuals within an organization. The culture within an organization may also reinforce the formal structure of that organization.

> Culture more powerfully influences how people work than does formal structure because culture prescribes 'what really matters' – for example, how people should interpret the structure, how they should do their work, whom they should take seriously, and whom they should ignore. (Baum 2000: 446)

Therefore, not only does the structure of an organization influence how a planner works, but the culture of the organization also has a great impact.

According to the corporate culture literature (See Denison 1990; Martin 1992; Trice and Beyer 1993), organizations have a unique culture which is created, controlled, and perpetuated by upper-level managers. According to O'Reilly and Chatman (1996), "the formation of culture....is the product of individual action" (254). Thus, culture is a normative aspect of organizations that operates through social influence of those in dominant positions in the structural hierarchy.

While talking with and observing planners, I was allowed a narrow glimpse of the culture that exists in the Planning Department. Based on these interviews and observations, it became apparent that members of the Department understood that a distinct culture was present within the Planning Department. This chapter will describe this culture. Comments from respondents reveal several cultural components important to the culture of the

Department. The following section will offer an explanation and analysis of these components.

2. Components of Planning Culture in Case d'Luc County

Culture is a system of rules, norms, and values that provide those within the culture guidelines for attaching meaning to what they observe and do. Within culture are individual components that work to influence planners' behavior. There are several concepts and values that serve as components of culture in the context of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department. These concepts and values include:

- Service
- Consistency
- Transparency
- Professionalism
- Responsibility
- Effectiveness

There are dichotomies within these components that are oftentimes contradictory. These contradictory dichotomies can be illustrated by the difference in responses and perceptions of upper-level planners, and lower-level planners and citizens.

From the perspective of the upper-level planners, it would appear that the culture of the Case d'Luc Planning Department is positive, encouraging innovation and citizen participation. However, many (planners included) disagree. Interviews with lower-level planners, Commissioners, and others connected with the Planning Department helped to reveal the dichotomous contradictions that exist within the Planning Department.

What causes these dichotomous contradictions? These dichotomies appear to be based on what planners say as opposed to what they do. In addition, the disagreement between upper-level and lower-level planners regarding aspects of the culture also

illuminates these dichotomies. While lower-level planners often dislike aspects of the culture, they are also held in its grasp as they work within the planning system.

Service: elites vs. citizenry

Who do planners serve? Ideally, planning should serve the larger community interests. Both planners and citizens of Case d'Luc County felt that planning should ideally be oriented around a common vision.

> The County should try to bring citizens together and come up with a vision and to see that the policies work towards that goal and all peoples are considered.

This was the purpose of the CIFLUS process – to develop a common vision and integrate that vision into the Master Plan and Land Use Code.

Most upper-level planners felt that the Planning Department encourages citizen participation. As an integral part of the planning process, citizens should and do participate.

> There are many opportunities for people to propose changes – at the beginning of meetings and at the work sessions. Many of these proposals have been successful.

Moreover, another upper-level planner commented that:

> There should be a lot of citizen input. A lot of citizen groups play a part in developing the Code.

The above statements reinforce the planner's allegiance to broader planning goals. Much of the planning literature and educational curricula emphasize the importance of citizen participation. While the comments of upper-level planners do not necessarily provide evidence of actions that increase participation, they at least acknowledge the importance of citizen participation in planning.

From the perspective of the upper-level planners, it would appear that the culture of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department is positive, encouraging innovation and citizen

participation. However, many (planners included) disagree. As discussed below, interviews with both planners, Commissioners, and others associated with the Planning Department revealed another side of culture of planning in Case d'Luc County – one that is not so constructive nor pleasant.

Several planners, all citizens interviewed, and County Commissioners did not feel there was enough citizen participation. Contradictory statements from upper-level planners and these groups in terms of citizen participation reveal much in terms of the Department's culture. One respondent who had only been involved with the planning process for a brief amount of time felt that citizens do participate: "neighbors come up with questions and the board listens to them."

Those who have been in the Department for a longer period of time, however, feel that citizens participate only if they are being processed on, or if the planning process affects them. "Citizens are motivated if it affects their property value, etc." Upper-level planners also note the effect of NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) on citizen participation: "citizens show up out of fear." While citizens participated in the CIFLUS process,

> The day to day involvement of citizens [currently] is minimal. If there are big issues, people participate. They are motivated by bad blood, a sense of being wronged, a fear of change, and needing to have fair play.

Another lower-level planner commented:

> public participation is an important part of the process, but citizens do not have the ability to block development.

This suggests that citizens are important to the planning process. However, as this lower-level planner suggests, citizens do not have the power to affect the process. These two statements are contradictory. Why would citizens participate (or citizen participation be an important aspect of the process) if they cannot make an impact?

It appears as though the process itself hurts citizens' effectiveness.

> If a change is going to be made, we try to figure out who is affected. With the sign issue it is easy to figure out who is affected: sign companies and business owners. But sometimes it's hard to identify who the affected parties are. When we don't know, we just [go ahead with the plan] anyway.
>
> If there is a big issue, we have a public outreach. In deciding who is affected, you have a best guess. Sometimes it's obvious, sometimes it's not.

The process may hinder public participation because of the Planning Department's inability to recognize those citizens who may be affected by certain issues.

There is a difference between a "citizen" and a person directly affected by a plan. Obviously, citizens are only going to participate in the process if it affects then. However, the purpose of CIFLUS was to create a common vision to guide planning. If only citizens who have plans under review or who are directly affected by plans under review participate, the idea of a common vision is negated.

While upper-level planners contend they are interested in citizen participation, their comments and those of lower-level planners that oppose this ideal. Despite this focus on community orientation, it appears as though planners in the County serve someone or something other than the average citizens. The lack of service to citizens is also reflect by the Department's customer service.

The Planning Department receives approximately one major complaint[20] from a citizen per week. Despite the many complaints, however, there are no consequences for bad customer service. Both the lower-level planners and Ombudsman mentioned that poor customer service is not punished and is oftentimes overlooked by upper-level planners.

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[20] Citizens who have a complaint may contact the County Commissioners or Ombudsmen, or may complete a survey online. Major complains are those determined by the Ombudsman as one that requires intervention by a supervisor or Commissioner on behalf of the client or citizen.

Occasionally, a positive comment is made, and the planner will receive a "pat on the back." According to one respondent, the customer service of the Department is problematic:

> Some people make positive comments that the planners helped smooth and facilitate the process. This shouldn't be the exception, though. This should be the norm.

The culture of the Planning Department may promote a lack of customer service. Both citizens and County employees (non-planners) have commented that the planning process is not customer oriented.

> The planners don't know what good customer service is. It's like if they've always eaten canned tomato soup – they don't understand how good a homemade tomato bisque can be.

Citizens are intimidated by the planners: "customers come in upset, expecting the worst from the Planning Department because that's what they've heard from other people."

If the Planning Department was interested in serving citizens, they would promote a higher-quality of customer service. This, however, is not the case as planners are suspicious of citizens. Several theorists (see Day 1977; Beneviste 1989) have argued that in planning there is "suspicion of the ability of the 'masses' to contribute constructively to governance" (Day 1977: 421). According to Beneviste (1989) citizen participation is the "Achilles heel of planning" (145). By this he meant that citizen participation is necessary to planning as planning should ideally serve the community, while at the same time can cause problems with the planning process. While it is beneficial to include citizen input, it can impede the work of the Planning Department.

If planners take into consideration suggestions from all citizens interesting in providing input, it would be impossible to complete plans or reach consensus. Many planners believe that "the citizen is not qualified to make a meaningful contribution to policy

making" (Day 1977: 426). Based on comments made by planners, this appears to be the attitude in Case d'Luc County. As one lower-level planner observes:

> Our requirements for public participation are minimal – neighborhood meetings – we don't encourage anything beyond that.

Some individuals within Case d'Luc County believe that planners only serve elite groups. This, however, may not be true as well. Furthermore, planners may not want citizens nor elite groups to participate in the planning process.

The attitude upper-level planners have toward interests groups and some citizen participation is noteworthy. For example, one upper-level planner commented:

> Citizens don't participate so much now. They participate now if its in their interests. They should participate more unless they are interest groups. These interest groups bring national issues to the local level and try to tell us what to do.

One planner notes that outside agencies and groups are *sometimes* valuable. Another upper-level planner, when asked about citizen participation, made reference to "800 angry citizens at the Marriott." According to upper-level planners, most citizen interest comes from specific groups of elites, such as Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation (CREP) and Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement (CPUE):

> They generally don't like planning and look for reasons to oppose things – they have smart people but they can't seem to get beyond their dislike for planning – they give stupid reasons to appose plans.

The culture of the Department does not promote customer service nor does it reward good customer service. If a planner promotes good customer service, her reward is a praiseful "good job." As many lower-level planners noted, there is no incentive beyond that. In addition, since advancing in the Department hierarchy is limited, there may be no motivation to engage in good customer service. According to one respondent, the planners feel that the citizens who complain are just bad customers. Their comments can beg the

conclusion that the planners themselves have done nothing wrong; rather the problem lies with the citizen. This brings us to the issue of labeling.

Several members of the Planning Department "label" their clients, oftentimes in a critical and offensive manner. Labels are tags and classify clients based on stereotypes or previous experience. This use of labels implies that those who are labeled are violating some sort of planning norm.

Labeling

With labeling, it is assumed that those being labeled fit a certain stereotype and that their behavior is predictable, if not problematic, according to planners. According to labeling theory, labels are part of a formal control system and given as a means of feedback. In addition, labels influence the behavior of those being labeled (see Becker 1973; Cullen and Cullen 1978; Traub and Little 2000).

Some planners and one individual intimately connected with the Planning Department noted that the Planning Department uses derogatory labels to describe clients with whom they are dealing.

> Labeling people – such as "jerks" and "assholes" – goes around the Department. There is a lot of cynicism.

In one instance, a planner labeled a client a "trouble maker" and then proceeded to tell the entire department. If one planner openly labels a client, the stage is set for other planners to repeat that label and interact with that client on the basis of the label. Who gets labeled? Are all clients labeled or only members of interest groups? According to one member of the Planning Department:

> The labels offend everyone equally although interests groups are more likely to be labeled. Senior planners are the

> ones who label the most. And [the Director] doesn't stop this behavior.

An attempt was made by the County Commissioners to improve customer service in the Department – with one of the main concerns being labeling. While one individual intimately connected with the Planning Department notes that there has been a slight improvement, much of the problematic behavior remains. According to this respondent, the Department needs to work on behavioral modification – particularly at the higher level: "We aren't supposed to use labels anymore, but it isn't working all that well."

One reason the attempt to reduce the usage of labels is not working is because it is perpetuated from the top.

> If complaints are mentioned to supervisors (upper-level planners) they tend to "laugh it off" as though it is not a "big deal."

Upper-level planners in supervisory positions use labels, thus doing little to prevent lower-levels planners from doing the same.

> Labeling is enabled by the senior level. Senior level planners don't do anything about it. And then people assume that if an upper level is doing it, it must be ok.

Therefore, lower-level planners may be socialized into this culture which condones the labeling of clients.

When lower-level planners enter the Department, they learn the labels assigned to different groups of citizens within the County. According to one planner,

> I was warned about CPEU[21] by the Department. The planners didn't want them [CPEU] to get the impression that I was there to serve them. I actually haven't had much contact with them.

Thus, culture seems to be perpetuated by the upper-level planners and replicated by lower-level planners, and as a result, the culture is maintained. While in speaking with the lower-

[21] Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement

level planners, several were unhappy with this behavior. However, these same planners used similar labeling terms when speaking about elite groups in the County.

The limited citizen participation, poor customer service, and labeling of clients suggests planners do not serve the citizenry. If planners were interested in serving the interests of the average citizen, their interaction with citizens would be more positive. Also, they would not continue to label their clientele. It appears planners are more concerned with elite groups within the County. However, planners' attitudes toward these groups ("Citizens should participate more unless they are interest groups") suggest otherwise. Rather than embrace the participation and ideas of outside elite groups, planners view this participation as negative and as something planners need to reduce or even eliminate.

If neither citizens nor elite groups have an impact on planners and the planning process, who do planners serve? Planners serve themselves and their hegemony over the planning process[22]. Planners' "service" only to themselves in order to maintain their hegemony will not only impact citizen participation, but the use of rules and regulations as well.

Consistency: rules vs. flexibility

Rules are a part of the planning process. Obviously, land use needs to be regulated in order to prevent overdevelopment of an area and environmental disaster. The component of consistency addresses this issue. Within this component there is a dichotomy between enforcing rules and creating flexibility within the planning process. In Case d'Luc County planning, rules take precedence.

[22] This issue will be discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.

As all planners noted, there are many rules and procedures that have to be followed. According to one planner:

> There are a ton of rules – the rules don't always fit individual needs so there are constants. There are supporting documents for the Code, planner guides, process guides, etc.

For example, planners are required to "return phone calls within 24 hours, have a positive public appearance, and work a 40 hour work week." One planner did note, however, that some of the rules and procedures are not enforced (i.e. no one checks up on them to make sure they have returned calls within 24 hours).

There are also guides for projects and rules for how to submit plans. For example, there are guides instructing planners how to create and implement plans regarding development review and code enforcement. None of the lower-level planners I spoke to knew who created these guides or rules, as clearly they were not involved in their creation.

The formal rules and procedures used for planning come primarily from the Land Use Code. According to one upper-level planner,

> the Land Use Code serves as a planners guide – it was a group effort to create and changes from time to time.

Another upper-level planner commented, "in 1997, we changed the Land Use Code – made it bigger." The new Land Use Code included more rules and regulations. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the pre-CIFLUS regulatory documents were contradictory and inconsistent over the years.

> There have been three land use plans over the years but they weren't supported by the code or regulatory compliance.

Therefore, the post-CIFLUS Land Use Code is continually evolving in order strengthen its uniformity and reliability.

While rules are necessary to planning, the planning literature emphasizes the need to be flexible with clients and plants. One common complaint citizens have is that the rules and procedures are not "flexible": "the [Land Use] Code and the Planning Department set universal rules and standards that are either yes or no – this is not a good thing."

The criticism of the rules and procedures result from another way in which the culture materializes in the eyes of the public: inconsistency. From talking with several citizens, it has become clear that inconsistencies and contradictions emerge in almost every aspect of the planning process.

> When I went to seek approval, I was aware of the requirements of the Code. I went to apply for a building permit – and someone at the Planning Department said it was too tall. This person at the Planning Department was wrong and didn't know what she was talking about. Then they researched the situation and said "well.... you're right, it's not too tall."

Oftentimes, there is a "change of story." It is not uncommon for citizens to receive information from one planner, and then different (and oftentimes contradictory) information from another. According to one respondent,

> The internal communication process is problematic. People seem to receive different recommendations from each planner they speak with.

The purpose of the Land Use Code, and the rules and procedures, is to create consistency in the application process. This does not appear to be the case, however. In addition to inconsistencies between different planners, some citizens complained of additional requirements that would appear at the end of the process that were not included or even discussed previously.

One respondent commented that in her experience with the Planning Department, one or two conditions came up in the final paperwork that was never presented or discussed. One respondent went through the entire planning process and then at the last minute

discovered there were other "catches." For example, she had to provide all maps and paperwork which would cost her additional money. Similarly, when the process was complete, she went to pay the permit fee and was told that it would be $200 more than what she was originally told.

Moreover, additional requirements that are not in the Land Use Code have been added to plans. One respondent was interested in putting up a radio tower and went through a planning process to get the tower approved. In the paperwork, one planner created an additional requirement: the tower would have to withstand a half inch of ice with 80mhp winds. This requirement is not in the Land Use Code and was going to cost the citizen applicant between $500 to $800 to find out if the tower met this specification. After the citizen complained, the planner dropped the additional requirement.

The contradictions with regard to application of rules imply a lack of consistency within the Planning Department. While this may seem to suggest "flexibility" on the part of the planners, it is not, however, the type of flexibility citizens desire. Rather, the culture of the Department promotes "culpable flexibility" for the planner to exert more criteria, and thus more control, over the planning process. Citizens, on the other hand, want to eliminate the one-size-fits-all system of rules and allocate more cite specific flexibility. This involves the elimination of some rules in a specific situation, not additional criteria as deemed appropriate by a planner. From citizens' viewpoints, the addition of extra rules not included in the Land Use Code suggests a sort of secretive nature of the Planning Department. Are there extra rules planners have deemed appropriate of which citizens are unaware (i.e. not in the Land Use Code)?

Transparency: openness vs. secrecy

Transparency as a cultural component relates to how direct the planners are. Is their work or actions within the planning process open or secretive? The upper-level planners claim the Department is interested in public input and an open process[23]. However, actions by members of the Planning Department suggest there is a definite component of secrecy to their culture.

As mentioned in the previous section, changes are constantly being made to the Land Use Code. Each year, amendments are made to the Land Use Code. For example, in 2002, five major changes and several "housekeeping" changes were made to the Code. In 2003, thirty amendments were made. Last year, among various "housekeeping" issues, four major changes were made to the LUC.

Minor or "housekeeping" changes to the Land Use Code are those amendments considered to have "no significant impact on the residences of Case d'Luc County." These usually consist of minor language errors or changes to preserve consistency between state and city regulations. For example, in 2001 the water quality standards for the County were updated to comply with new state regulations. Conversely, major changes to the Code are those that do have significant impact on residents of the County. While minor housekeeping issues are approved during the scheduled afternoon Land Use Hearings, more controversial amendments are decided during an evening Hearing. Major amendments have involved whether or not home occupations should be allowed in the County and the time limit for having a recreational vehicle located on private property.

According to some respondents, citizens and property owners are not taken into account in the writing of the Code.

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[23] For example, important regulatory documents (such as the Master Plan and Land Use Code) are online. Notices and agendas are also made available to the public at least one week in advance.

> Whomever controls the land controls the power. The Land Use Code is a way of controlling the land via the rules. Changes to the Land Use Code are deliberate actions so the truth doesn't come out. Planners had been told to fix something [by the Commissioners] and in the next draft it was still there.

Citizens commented that those who create the Code do not respond to direction from anyone, including citizens. If citizens are not requesting changes to the Code, why are amendments constantly being made? Planners are trying to control more of the process through the Land Use Code. According to one respondent, "the Planning Department wants to add more [rules to the Code]. The Planning Department wants everything back in so they have more control over the process." One County Commissioner commented that the Land Use Code is a living code, therefore it changes constantly.

If an aspect of the Code is not working, it needs to be adjusted or taken out. Nevertheless, as another Commissioner notes:

> The bureaucrats are comfortable in this black and white system. I don't understand the planning staff sometimes. Planners are too straight edged – too linear. It's do it this way or no way.

The Planning Department wants to add more to the Code: "the Planning Department wants everything back in." By adding more the Land Use Code, planners exert more control over the planning process.

In addition, to problems and differences in interpretation of the Code, planners may also propose changes to the Land Use Code to preserve their hegemony. Clearly, if the Code has inconsistencies or citizens raise concerns, it should be changed. However, most changes to the Land Use Code are approved with an absence of citizen input. Public comment on the Land Use Code is practically non-existent. As mentioned in the previous chapter, there had been only one public comment on the Land Use Code in the past year.

This suggests a secretive nature to the amendments to the Land Use Code. If it were an open process, more citizen input would be requested.

Similarly, one lower-level planner notes that:

> [the Code] is constantly changing because of incrementalism. Also because of many different interest groups – you don't want anyone to veto it.

Incrementalism may be due to wanting changes to slide "under the radar". Citizens would have to be very vigilant to keep up on the small changes. Time is also a factor with incremental changes to the Code. As mentioned in the previous paragraph, major changes to the Land Use Code require an evening meeting to be more accessible to County citizens. Small changes, however, are discussed during an afternoon Land Use Hearing; therefore, limiting the ability of many citizens of the County to attend.

Another way in which the openness/secrecy dichotomy materializes is through information. In some instances, information is not released to the public. As one Commissioner commented, "the public makes good decisions when they have the total information – but they don't get all of the information." As mentioned in the previous chapter, citizens are not given the same information as the Commissioners or members of the Planning Department. While agendas for land use hearings are available to citizens, they are not as detailed and informative as that of the Commissioners and planners. Without the same information, citizens are not able to make informed decisions.

Similarly, there are inconsistencies in the information planners give citizens and applicants. As noted previously, many of the citizens I spoke with commented that in talking with different planners, they received dissimilar and often contradictory information from each. Procedures and information are not consistent. Different planners may say different things. One responded noted that the "planners are guarded with what they say."

Another respondent commented on the different interpretations of the Land Use Code: "the Land Use Code is like the Bible – you can come up with anything you want."

Finally, none of the lower-level planners were involved with changes to the Land Use Code. Instead, a senior planner writes all of the changes. This suggests a level of secrecy even within the Department hierarchy. If one planner is writing all of the rules and changes to the Land Use Code without input from lower-level planners, how are lower-level planners to have knowledge of these changes or give proper information to clients? Since the lower-level planners typically have more plans, it would make sense that they would know more about what aspects of the planning process need changed. Why aren't lower-level planners included in the amendment process? It may be due to their lack of experience in the eyes of upper-level planners.

Professionalism: experience vs. formal education

Lower-level planners are not being included in the amendment process and hold different perceptions of the planning process compared to that of the upper-level planners involves the cultural component of professionalism. What factors might contribute to this exclusion and differences? This may involve professionalism, or the dichotomy between experience and formal education.

Upper-level planners have worked for the Case d'Luc County Planning Department between nine and thirty-three years, with the average being slightly over twenty years. Lower-level planners, on the other hand, have worked for the Department for between two months and three years with the average being approximately less than two years.

> All the senior management has been here for a really long time. Like 20 years. No new ideas are coming in.

Upper-level planners may not feel lower-level planners are capable or prepared to make changes to the planning process because of their lack of experience. In addition, because of the lack of "new blood" in supervisory positions, ideas are neither changing nor being challenged. Because upper-level planners are "stuck in their ways" (according to some lower-level planners and citizens), change produced from below may not be possible.

What lower-level planners may lack in experience, they make up for in formal education (and vice-versa). More than half of the lower-level planners interviewed had a formal degree in planning. The half without degrees in planning had degrees beneficial in understanding planning and the environment in Case d'Luc County. Those lower-level planners with planning degrees had participated in an internship prior to their employment in Case d'Luc County. According to one respondent:

> There is a big difference between an internship and school. The degree gives you tools to do things, but not the ability to be an expert – the internship shows you what to do.

Similarly, "school tells you how to get the job, the internship tells you how to keep it."

Like the lower-level planners below them, half of the upper-level planners interviewed had degrees in planning. Unlike the lower-level planners, however, those without an education in planning did not have complementary degrees. One upper-level planner even commented that she is "not burdened by any classical training in planning."

When planners enter the Department, like other complex organizations, they are socialized both formally and informally into the existing culture. Those lower-level planners with degrees in planning experienced a sort of "culture shock" when coming to Case d'Luc County. They held expectations that differed from the reality of their jobs: "Planning school never taught me how to work within an organization." Another respondent commented:

> Planning wasn't what I thought it was. Some of what I experienced when I came here was expected. Some was not. The County is very conservative, there is no public participation, and there is controversy avoidance. The department is very reactive, rather than proactive.

Lower-level planners quickly must learn the new culture in order to survive within the Planning Department. One respondent commented that the turnover rate in the Department is high become people become disillusioned or cross a higher-level planner.

> Since I've been here, I've seen two lower level planners leave. How long you stay in the Planning Department depends on whether you are good at avoiding conflict.

This suggests the importance of behaviorally conforming by lower-level planners to the expectations of their superiors.

While the lower-level planners were aware of the culture perpetuated by the upper-level planners, it did not seem that many agree with it. However, they were still internalized within this culture. Therefore, the culture affects their work and planning in Case d'Luc County.

The emphasis on professionalism may extend beyond the Planning Department itself. Citizens, as well, may be left out of the planning process because they are deemed to have neither experience nor formal education. It is possible that upper-level planners feel citizens can not make informative recommendations because they lack the "professionalism" of the planners.

Responsibility: autonomy vs. accountability

Another component of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department is responsibility. Responsibility involves the ability to answer for one's own conduct. If planners have autonomy, then they are accountable for their actions. However, if planners

work in a team environment, then it is more difficult to hold an individual planner accountable.

The upper-level planners declared that they were part of a team environment. One upper-level planner stated:

> We work in a team environment. I don't work alone. I am part of a team.

While asserting the team atmosphere, however, the upper-level planners also commented that they have a great deal of autonomy in their jobs. For example, one upper-level planner remarked: "I have a lot of freedom here. I make recommendations for the Department. There really isn't anyone looking over my shoulder telling me what to do."

While the upper-level planners noted the team environment in which they work, the lower-level planners held a different view. All of the lower-level planners noted that they work primarily alone. Unless they have questions, their interaction with other planners and supervisors is limited.

> There really isn't a lot of interaction with the other planners here. But I still have to coordinate with my supervisors. There are a lot of meetings to review the work we've done. In the meetings, my supervisor tells me what to do. It kind of limits innovation.

> The rules and procedures are effective slow you down. Its' nice to have a guide that tells you what do to, but it doesn't encourage innovation.

In addition, while they do not feel like their shoulders are being looked over, they do not feel that they have a great deal of leeway as they are restricted by the rules and procedures of the Department. This suggests an important interaction between culture and structure in which power is embedded in rules, thus leaving culture "friendly" and "supportive." Therefore, their autonomy is limited by the rules (including the Land Use Code) created by the upper-level planners.

The discrepancies between the upper- and lower-level planners regarding autonomy the team environment offer an interesting explanation of accountability. As mentioned before, upper-level planners have a great deal of control over the planning process – they control the rules and procedures of the Planning Department. Therefore, it would seem that upper-level planners would be responsible if a problem with the process arises. However, upper-level planners claim they work as a team, thus limiting their individual accountability.

Correspondingly, some citizen respondents felt that there is a lack of accountability within the Department.

> The Planning Department doesn't do things right. They are not held accountable. One bad person makes the Land Use Code. There is no checks or balances in the Department. The Planning Department doesn't have checks and balances. The Planning Department is not accountable. Planning right now doesn't require accountability within the department. I had a problem and went to the Planning Department and they said it was a state problem – they refuse to be accountable. The Land Use Code says that the interpretation is left up to the Director – so why do we vote for Commissioners if they don't have any say in the interpretation?

Because there is no accountability within the Planning Department, some felt that this led to too much control by individual planners. If an individual planner adds an additional requirement that is not in the Land Use Code (employing autonomy), the burden of fighting the requirement is placed on the citizen applicant. Yet, "people don't want to deal with it – it's another tool for the planners to get their way" rather than adhering to the Code. The lack of accountability can be seen as deliberate so that planners within the Department can "get their way". According to one respondent, "the government should serve the people – but each planner has his own personal agenda and they are allowed to exercise those agendas." If planners work in a team environment, however, there is no way to gauge the amount of control and responsibility individual planners have.

In another example, some respondents complained that the Land Use Code is not well written: "send [the Code writer] off to learn how to write requirements." As previously mentioned, one upper-level planner writes amendments to the Land Use Code; therefore, she has a great deal of autonomy. However, the Land Use Code is a County document, which limits this planner's accountability – if there are complaints, it is not her problem, but a County problem.

3. Effects on Planning: Risk Avoidance vs. Innovation

The above cultural components of the Planning Department have potential grave effects on planning. These components influence how citizens interact with the process, who is worthy of making changes to the process, and the accountability of the Planning Department. Each of these aspects of culture impacts the effectives of the Department and the planning process.

Effectiveness: risk avoidance or innovation

The effectiveness of the Department is one final cultural component that deals with whether or not planners are innovative or risk averse. Most of the upper-level planners also commented on the opportunities for progressive or innovative planning. For example, one upper-level planner commented,

> there are opportunities for being innovative. We have been identified as a progressive community by the Association of Wildlife Diversity – Local Landscape Friendly Communities[24].

[24] The recognition of a Local Landscape Friendly Community means that Case d'Luc County is one of the most progressive County's in the country in protecting open space and wildlife habitats. While this recognition is quite an achievement, it does not necessarily prove that innovative planning is being done by the Department. Protecting open space and wildlife habitats in this area of the country is not innovative, but rather the norm. Nor does it mean the County is creating new methods of planning or including citizen input in these decisions.

Another mentioned that "planners have the opportunity for innovative planning – give the best thinking on various levels." Regardless of these comments and recognition, it is important to keep in mind that they are not necessarily an indication of innovation.

Many of the lower-level planners felt that the rules of the Planning Department prohibit innovation.

> There is no vision – we do the code and that's all. We don't take initiative to see what problems may exist
>
> The Land Use Code will stick around because the more people you get, the more rules you need. It does need a big revamping. It won't happen, though, until we get rid of the old thinkers. Otherwise it's a tug of war.
>
> The rules and procedures are effective but also slow you down. It's nice to have a guide that tells you what do to, but it doesn't encourage innovation – there is no encouragement [from supervisors] to do things better.
>
> Doing anything better than the code is difficult – the Code is a bare minimum.
>
> There is no vision in this Planning Department other than enforcing the Code.

While several of the upper-level planners made statements contradictory to that of lower-level planners in regards to innovation, one upper-level planner shared views similar to that of the lower-level planners: "We try for innovative planning but it's hard."

Similarly, when asked about innovative planning within the department, many of the planners (both upper- and lower-level) noted the progressive and innovative nature of the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) instead of focusing on innovation within the Planning Department itself. Most planners and all community members interviewed felt that the DRLP is in and of itself innovation. While the DRLP will be discussed in greater detail in a later chapter, it is interesting to note that planners could not provide an example of innovation within the Planning Department outside of the DRLP.

The culture of the Planning Department has been characterized as risk averse. The theory of risk suggests that risk averse suggests that organizational culture has an impact on risk behavior (Jia, Dyer, and Butler 1999). The culture of an organization may either promote or limit risk-taking behavior (or innovation).

The upper-level planners are "complacent, static, and stuck in their ways", according to one interviewee. Another respondent stated that,

> Teamwork [in the Planning Department] involves how much you conform to the norm. It's more paint by numbers than artistry.

The culture of the Department and the attitudes of the upper-level planners limit creativity and opportunities for progressive and innovative planning.

Many respondents (both planners and citizens) felt that the Planning Department was reactive rather than proactive. Many of their observations suggested that what seems to be missing from planning in Case d'Luc County is creativity. One County Commissioner felt creativity was lacking because "planners may be afraid to [be creative] because they are guiding us – they don't want to take risks on our projects."[25] However, others felt that the culture of the Department, including the rules and procedures created by this culture, inhibit creativity. According to one County Commissioner, "when the rule book is [inches] thick, you don't vary from it. It's too hard."

In addition, there is a concern with some of the upper-level planners (who are "interested in less controversy and more black and white") for not allowing more innovative creativeness:

> Planners have opportunities to be innovative. I don't think

[25] This is an interesting contradiction between one individuals conception of the planner's as risk averse and their labeling behavior. If planners fail to take risks out of fear of offending or harming citizens, why do they use labels?

> they feel comfortable in it because they are in such a fixed situation.
>
> In order to advance in this department, you have to stay anonymous and be a good soldier – don't do anything that goes against senior management. As long as the old guys are still here, you can't move up [in the hierarchy] until they leave.
>
> The department says they want risk takers – but then you can't make any mistakes or else you get fired. This is internal. The Commissioners promote innovation, but Ms. Tidkey is good at saying no.
>
> It's a catch 22 – [the upper-level planners] create all these rules to make it black and white but it doesn't work. So the older [planners] stick around in the corrupt system and after twenty years they perpetuate and recreate this system.

Therefore, planners, upon entering the Department, often seem to give up the professional reasons they start becoming planners. Planning in Case d'Luc County has become largely process-based rather than outcome-based. Planners are less concerned with the outcome as that the process has been followed correctly: "a plan is considered good if the paperwork is done and there has been a community meeting." All of the above suggests there may be poor customer service in the Planning Department.

The planning process and culture of the Department have been created to avoid conflict. Because planners are risk averse, they try to minimize the influence of outside groups who may have opposing viewpoints. This is done in order to reduce conflict in general.

If we look again at the Planning Commission, we can better understand how the risk averse nature influences decisions regarding members. Groups planners have labeled "extreme" (such as property rights advocates or environmentalists) are not selected despite the repeated application by members of these groups. If members from these "extreme" groups are represented on the Planning Commission, it would be more difficult to reach a

consensus regarding planning recommendations. For example, according to one Planning Commission member,

> When we go through changes to the Code, we need a majority of at least six Commission members. If we had some of these special interest groups on board, a decision would never be made.

Including members of interest groups may create more conflict within the planning process – something the Planning Department seeks to avoid. In effect, the culture of the Department, with its aversion to conflict, leads to further non-inclusive practices and processes.

4. Conclusion

The above inconsistencies between upper-level, and lower-level and customer comments suggest there is a disconnect between the Land Use Code and the planners – something that is reflected by the dichotomies of the cultural components. The culture of the Planning Department may be seen as fraught with dysfunctions and problems, such as lack of innovation, thus affecting the planning process.

The previous chapter argued that the organizational structure of the Department limits innovation. However, it seems that the lack of innovation is perpetuated as much by the departmental culture as by the structure. For example, if planners only serve themselves, then there is no need for innovation. In addition, by focusing on innovation, planners' ability to maintain their hegemony will be limited. Moreover, innovation cannot occur in a highly regulated system. Finally, upper-level planners who have been in the Department for decades may be "stuck in their ways"; thus, they will have no interest in innovative techniques.

Despite the difference between upper- and lower-level planners, the socialization of lower-level planners into the upper-level culture is important to the hegemony of the Planning Department. While the lower-level planners differ in their understandings, they are still under the control of the culture that permeates the Department. If the lower-level planners and County Commissioners hold different views/expectations than the upper-level planners, why do the upper-levels continue their hegemony? Out of a fear of risk and an incrementalist attitude rather than a progressive one. The following chapter will discuss this issue of hegemony.

While structure and culture have been analytically separated, they are connected to one another and to a final aspect of planning that needs to be taken into consideration – agency. Planners act. They are not merely led to act by some abstract mechanism such as structure or culture. They make choices that affect the entire community and the planning situation in Case d'Luc County. In addition, culture cannot be reproduced without some facet of agency. The following chapter will introduce the concept of agency and how it relates to the planning process and is exerted by planners to maintain their hegemony.

CHAPTER VI

HEGEMONY IN CASE D'LUC COUNTY PLANNING: STRUCTURE, CULTURE, AND AGENCY

1. Introduction

The theoretical approach outlined in Chapter II is useful in seeking to determine how social organization and organizational structure influence planning. A combined Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian perspective is useful because it takes into consideration power relations that support hegemony and consensus within the state and state mechanisms such as planning, in addition to addressing the possibilities of counter-hegemonic social action. Moreover, it is important to understand the role of power in the planning process and how power can either serve to reconstitute the dominant hegemony or act as a counter-hegemonic force. This framework promises considerable value in understanding the process of hegemony and counter-hegemony and its relationship to the structure, culture, and agency within planning organizations.

The previous two chapters analytically separated structure and culture in order to understand their affect on the planning process. Structure and culture, however, exist in an interconnected relationship. As structures mature, cultures shape new solutions from social and internalized norms and values (Merton 1968). At the same time, however, cultures can impact how structures are expressed and formally organized. Thus, structure impacts culture, while culture can perpetuate and alter structure.

Culture is an aspect of all structures in society. Similarly, structures within a society may be given their distinctive organization and significance by culture. The way structure and culture is conceptualized in society oftentimes leads to an understanding of these concepts as singular and monolithic. Structure and agency are seen as dichotomous concepts, with culture left out of the equation (Sewell 1992). It is also not uncommon for structure to be conceived of the mechanistic outcome of individual agency – such as bureaucrats fulfilling the rules of an organization in an understood manner.

> Contributing to the ambiguity [of social structure] is a tendency to imply the meaning of 'social structure' either by opposing it to agency or by contrasting it to culture, thus reducing 'structure' to pure constraint. (Hays 1994: 57)

Similarly, many consider culture as a phenomenon separate from structure and linked to agency; thereby neglecting the interdependent nature of the three.

Structure and culture should not be seen solely as constraining – they must be understood as also enabling. Both structure and culture provide socially meaningful action – agency (Hays 1994). This conceptual understanding makes it virtually impossible to view structure and culture without taking into consideration the human agents that help to create and maintain them.

Culture and structure exhibit a dialectic relationship in which culture grows out of structure, and structure grows out of culture, producing solutions often influenced by individual and collective agency. Agency is the power of actors to act independently (and even seemingly randomly) within the constraints of structure and culture. Agency is defined within both the Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian frameworks as any independent or collective human actions that influence social outcomes, and resolve, reproduce, or intensify existing outcomes of social internal contradictions. Consequently, agency is oftentimes

connected with power or authority. This definition best describes individual agency. A distinction must be made, however, between individual and collective agency.

While individuals have agency, most do not have complete autonomy. Many outcomes sought by individuals cannot be done independently and are influenced by collectives. Through collective agency, individuals working together through a shared belief system can produce desired results (Bandura 2000).

> A group, of course, operates through the behavior of its members. It is people acting coordinatively on a shared belief, not a disembodied group mind that is doing the cognizing, aspiring, motivating, and regulation. (Bandura 2000: 76)

The shared beliefs of a group can influence the type of outcomes they seek to achieve.

Both individual and collective agency seem to explain the creation and reproduction of social structures.

> One can argue that people are agents insofar as they make choices that have significant transformational consequences in terms of the nature of social structures themselves. (Hays 1994: 62)

Agency is enabled by social structures while at the same time limited by structural constraints. Structures are reproduced by individual and collective agency through the continual affirmation of structure. Therefore, structure and culture may be used to create and maintain hegemony by groups of elites. This implies a level of collective agency. It is through this level of agency that planners are able to create consent and legitimate hegemonic strategies.

Structure, culture, and agency are important in understanding hegemony particularly among elites. State and private bureaucracies have become targets for some hegemonic strategies of segments of elite groups. Citizens tend to accept the legitimacy of the planning

system and organization if rules and bureaucratic orders are followed based on the supposed objective nature of rules and the technical expertise of planners

Culture, a worldview or conception of life, is embodied, according to Gramsci, not just in discourses or forms of consciousness, but is implicit in all forms of behavior. Consequently, culture is a vital aspect of every particular hegemonic formation (Buci-Glucksmann 1980; Hall 1988, 1996). According to Gramsci (1971), the hegemonic apparatus defines popular consciousness so effectively that it dominates the values, traditions, lifestyles, and culture of the majority of society.

Hegemony is not predestined, but an "exploration of interaction between agency and structure" (Gamble 1993: 211). Gramsci emphasized a dialectic of social change that combined agency and structure. Thus, planning involves a great deal of agency. Planning involves more than technical expertise and rational decision-making. It involves planners, as agents of the bureaucracy and of their own interests, who put plans into action (Dalton, Hoch, and So 2000: 3).

The actions of planners necessarily involve value judgments by planners themselves.

> The tendency of each of these actions, regardless of either the intentions of planners or the eventual effects of the actions, is to exert power in specific directions: for example, to see that certain problems receive planning attention or that certain alternatives are implemented. (Baum 1983: 152)

As one planner commented, "value judgments happen quite a bit." Another mentioned,

> There is no such thing as value neutrality in planning. If you gave a plan to five different planners you would get five different results. Plans are individual planners' responsibilities so it's personal. Values do come into play.

In planning, choices are made, as planner must choose among a diversity of alternatives (Hays 1994). This indicates both a disciplinary and self-recognition of the importance of normative frameworks.

Planners have authority bestowed upon them by the state. Authority, however, is more vulnerable than power. Power involves the ability to control the behavior of others regardless of resistance. Authority, on the other hand, is a type of power that is recognized as legitimate by those without authority. Thus, it is given and more limited than power. Vestiges of authority are social products that can be challenged by subordinates (Kaesler 1989).

Planners are agents who use their authority to attempt to persuade other groups that the actions of the state are enacted on their behalf. However, this is often a rhetorical facade for the interests of dominant elites (Allmendinger 2002). Using a Neo-Gramscian framework, dominant elites may be classified in a way similar to Gramsci's conception of "intellectuals." For Gramsci, there are two types of intellectuals: traditional and organic. The former supports the current hegemony. The latter, however, seek a new hegemony or counter-hegemony (Buroway 2003). These intellectual types can also be applied to planners.

There are several groups of elites in Case d'Luc County all of whom exert individual and collective agency. This chapter will focus on one group – the planners – and how planners, as a group of elites, use agency, structure, and culture to preserve their hegemony. It is important to keep in mind that while the structure and culture of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department may reinforce the hegemony of the Department, agents are behind this. Individual planners act within the structure and culture to perpetuate and reproduce hegemony.

2. Hegemony and Planning in Case d'Luc County

Organizations create the social contexts that guide their actions and help to recreate a particular social organization and system. Many planning organizational structures serve as

a means of social control that is produced and maintained by those with authority. Planning is a hegemonic and legitimizing force that is created and sustained through the structure and culture of planning organizations, as well as through the agency of individual planners.

Hegemony is not an absolute or totalizing structure – it allows for agency. There are agents in Case d'Luc County – agents that are interested in preserving their hegemony. The term "hegemony" applies to planning and its influence in the community as a type of ideological leadership in which one group of elites exercises influence over other groups of elites. This is done through agency.

> Planners' own motives add yet another layer of complexity to their relationships with both communities and organizations. Most planners would say that their goal is to get planning participants to think more rationally about issues and choose actions that serve public interests. This intention – reasonable and apparently neutral as it is – means trying to influence people to act differently than they normally would: that is the rationale for planning. At the same time, planners, like everyone else, have psychological interests in power, wanting to influence relations with others in specific ways. (Baum 2000: 439)

The dominant class of elites relies on popularly accepted beliefs to gain voluntary consent. Hegemony requires continual reinforcement. Consent must not just be gained at one moment in time, but the hegemonic group must continually strive to maintain consent. Thus, hegemony must be protected and continually reinforced. The dominant groups of elites must project and protect their dominance. One of the ways planners reproduce their hegemony is through concession. This was the strategy used during the CIFLUS process.

CIFLUS

One of the intrinsic qualities of hegemony is its continuous process of creation rather than a fixed phenomenon (Adamson 1980).

> A crisis occurs, sometimes lasting for decades. This exceptional

> duration means that incurable structural contradictions have revealed themselves (reached maturity) and that, despite this, the political forces which are struggling to conserve and defend the existing structure itself are making every effort to cure them, within certain limits, and to overcome them. (Gramsci 1971: 178)

If we look at the time period prior to the CIFLUS process, we can observe that the hegemony of planners was experiencing a crisis of legitimacy. Citizens complained hotly of the inconsistencies within and power of the Planning Department.

A hegemonic strategy undergoing a crisis of legitimacy and seeking consent is uneven and vulnerable; thus, it is exposed to opposition and negotiation. If the hegemony is seriously under threat – undergoing a "crisis of authority" (Gramsci, 1971: 210) – available resources for legitimation can be pulled into play.

During a crisis of authority, the Planning Department must make concessions and use a strategy Gramsci referred to as "passive revolution". According to Simon (1991), a passive revolution is "the characteristic response of the [dominant group] whenever its hegemony is seriously threatened and a process of extensive reorganization is needed in order to re-establish its hegemony" (Simon 1991: 25). When a passive revolution occurs, changes to the planning structure are done from above. Gramsci notes that this restructuring is done without relying on the participation of subordinate groups (Simon 1991). This idea, however, is flawed.

A Neo-Gramscian perspective should propose that if hegemony is threatened, opportunities for counter-hegemonic movements arise, and pose the threat of replacing the existing hegemony. In order for the dominant group to maintain their hegemony, the subordinate groups must at least feel they are a part of this restructuring (Buroway 2003). As Almendinger (2002) notes, citizens must feel that planners are acting on their behalf. A passive revolution without the participation of subordinate groups would do little to protect

the hegemony of the dominant group of elites – concessions to and input from the subordinate group must be made to elicit consent (Buroway 2003).

Planning, as part of the state, must change its goals in response to the need for reaffirming or increasing hegemony. Planners must enlist the cooperation of subordinate groups in order to sustain consensus (Low 1991). Therefore, planners often change their organization and theoretical perspective to protect their hegemony and pacify subordinate elites (Dear and Scott 1981). In order to maintain its hegemony and regain its legitimacy and consensual relationship with the citizens of Case d'Luc County, the Planning Department was confronted with extensive changes (Simon 1991).

> Once a class or social group has achieved hegemony, the system of alliances on which that hegemony is based (historical bloc) has to be continually re-adjusted and re-negotiated. (Simon 1991: 41)

In Gramsci's terms, these changes must be organic in that they are relatively permanent rather than accidental (Simon 1991). Planners, in order to be perceived as inclusive, also must invite the cooperation of oppositional groups in order to create a compromise and thus sustain consensus (Low 1991).

The CIFLUS process can be seen as a passive revolution – a strategy to maintain consent. As previous chapters have noted, during the pre-CIFLUS phase, many complaints were made about the Planning Department in regard to inconsistency and lack of flexibility. In order to preserve their hegemony, planners needed to make concessions to the citizens of Case d'Luc County.

Concessions to the County emerged through the CIFLUS process. One of the main complaints citizens expressed was the lack of consistency in regulations guiding the planning process, and the lack of citizen input and a common vision. In appeasing these complaints, the Planning Department created a new Land Use Code and Master Plan, respectively.

Another issue for citizens involved thirty-five acre development and the overregulation of rural land guiding processes under thirty-five acres. To address this issue, the Planning Department allowed for the creation of the DRLP.

All of this was done through several community meetings with citizens. In order for the Planning Department to retain their control over the planning process amidst these citizen complaints, planners had to include citizens in the process. However, while accommodating some citizen complaints, the Planning Department still exerted a great deal of control over the CIFLUS process. For example, one citizen who was involved with CIFLUS commented:

> The planners were always there, and from my standpoint, were not a positive factor. They were defensive of many poor Planning Department practices.

In addition, according to CIFLUS participants, planners attempted to control ideas that were presented during the meetings.

> The planners imposed a lot limitation and County control on innovative ideas, approaches, and governmental control on Planning practices and regulations, and in a low key way they put a brake on these in CIFLUS.

Based on this, one might question the degree of real public participation that is involved in the Master Plan. Planning symposia designed to address the plan may merely be a means of gaining consensus from Case d'Luc County citizens.

Several public participation meetings were held during the development of the Case d'Luc County Master Plan. These meetings claimed to bring together a wide variety of background and interests. According to the Master Plan, approximately 60 citizens and public officials participated in these discussions. The approximately 60 citizens and officials who participated comprise only 2% of the entire population of Case d'Luc County and were selected by Case d'Luc County officials. In addition, there is a citizen advisory group that

counsels the County Commissioners in regards to the Master Plan. Yet, there is no discussion of who comprises this advisory group or how it was created.

According to the Master Plan,

> The group began with considerable polarization between those who believed development should be encouraged and those who believed development should be discouraged. By the end of the sessions most participants expressed a feeling of having found common ground and a basis for proceeding to correct problems with the current planning system.

As a result, if citizens, regardless of their own participation, are thought to believe that citizen participation is being used, they will be more likely to accept the Master Plan and the rules and techniques of the Planning Department.

In addition, the Planning Department maintained its considerable influence over the creation of the Land Use Code. This can be seen through both citizen comments and in the structure used during the development of the Code (See Diagram 4.1). For the creation of this Code, the planners completed the "technical work." After receiving public comment regarding drafts of the Code, planners had the option of accepting comments, denying comments, or holding a comment for further study. The latter option can be another means of reducing citizen comment. According to one respondent, at one point planners were specifically told to address an issue within the Code draft. This, however, was not done.

> With changes to the draft of the Land Use Code – planners had been told to fix something and in the next draft it was still there.

According to County documents, during the public hearing for the land use code, most of the public comment was in opposition to the code:

> The code should be "ditched" and the process should be started again. The code is too flawed to work and citizen attempts to offer input and fix the problems have been a disaster.

However, citizens suggested that the Land Use Code was approved by the County Commissioners without many of these issues being addressed.

Therefore, while during the CIFLUS period, the legitimacy of planners was in a state of flux (if not in a state of crisis), they still maintained hegemony over the planning process. While some compromises were made by the planners, they were still able to appease the masses and retain control over the planning process. As Gramsci (1971) states,

> The traditional ruling class, which has numerous trained cadres, changes men and programmes and, with greater speed than is achieved by the subordinate classes, reabsorbs the control that was slipping from its grasp. Perhaps it may make sacrifices, and exposes itself to an uncertain future by demagogic promises; but it retains power, reinforces it for the time being, and uses it to crush its adversary. (210)

Despite the passive revolution in the Gramscian sense and restructuring of the Planning Department during CIFLUS, planners today still find they may need to maintain and ensure their hegemony. Once a crisis of legitimacy has been resolved, those who compromised internal contradictions may seek to return to positions associated with the initial crisis, thus retriggering the crisis. This is the case in the post-CIFLUS period.

Post-CIFLUS:

Most Case d'Luc County planners who were interviewed felt planning ideally involves taking into consideration the future and allowing a great deal of public participation. According to one lower-level planner, planners enter this field because they want to "create a really cool place to live" – and planners, through the occupational choice, have the opportunity to create such a place. According to planners, an ideal planning process should incorporate a collective statement regarding what the County should look like. According to one planner, "ideal planning should carry out the community's vision for land use and

development." Therefore, the planning process itself should be about this collective statement – anything else in the process is unnecessary.

Planners also felt planning should involve innovative ideals. A few planners noted that while rules are necessary to planning, they should not take precedence over innovation. As one planner noted, "we should create a regulatory environment but also create incentives to do things better." Other planners commented that planning ideally should involve researched ideas and the development of methods for developing urban areas and protecting natural areas. In addition, research should be presented to the public so they can eventually make educated decisions. Ideally, planning should educate and inform the County citizens.

Elites

As presented earlier, there is a divide between promises and realities in Case d'Luc County planning. If so, might factors associated with the statements and actions by planners seem to contradict their notion of ideal planning? This independent interpretation of statements and actual behavior suggests that the planners' statements often appear to be inconsistent with their behavior. What is the cause of this inconsistency? Why do planners appear to promote the ideals present in the planning literature and educational curricula while acting in a contradictory manner?

The maintenance of hegemony requires planners to have a public facade of community orientation. If the public feels planners are acting in their best interests, they are likely to grant the planners their consent. Statements from planners reveal, however, that they are not just interested in the general public's concerns and values. Democracy and public participation may be viewed as a threat to hegemony (Beljac 2003). However, most of the general public takes no or little interest in the planning process (i.e. the general public

does not attend meetings or sit on advisory boards). In order to maintain consensus, planners have created widely accepted ways of thinking (common sense) and their own social reality regarding planning. Therefore, a greater threat comes from local elites who question the common sense planners have put forth.

In addition to planners, there are other groups of elites in the County that have a stake in planning. If we examine comments made by planners, we can see that local elites have a great impact on the actions of planners. One planner commented that there is little concern about the future in the Planning Department; rather planners are more interested in dealing with people who are opposed to the ideas of the planners.

> When you plan you are supposed to have a twenty year outlook, but instead, its mostly about the conditions today – who's complaining today.

The preoccupation with "who is complaining today" seems to center on the concerns of local elites. According to one planner:

> Most citizen interest comes from Citizens for Property Entitlement Usage. They generally don't like planning and look for reasons to oppose things. They have smart people but they can't seem to get beyond their dislike for planning. They give stupid reasons to oppose plans, like with the changes to the Etropa Area Plan, a guy hadn't read anything or prepared. He Just opposed it because it was a change [to the plan].

Similarly, one lower-level planner mentioned who she thought the citizens in the County were (in order): the applicant/developer, development community as an interest group, and those connected to elected officials.

This is evidence that planners work with local elites. However, the Planning Department focuses on elites in order to counteract the possibility for counter-hegemonic movements and to ensure their hegemony. Planners often can be cautious and even on occasion suspicious of citizens and elite groups because they threaten their hegemony –

therefore, they are likely to take actions to counteract this threat. The ideals upon which planning in Case d'Luc County is based is embedded with important contradictions. Planners have a great deal of authority and agency. Therefore, it is important to examine how agency is important to planning.

While planners themselves exhibit agency and, by virtue of their authority as county agents act as local elites, they may try to limit hegemonic strategies of other local elites. Hegemonic models tend to deny agency to the extent that the subordinate group is denied the ability to find importance or relevance to their everyday lives in the planning process (Barker-Plummer 1995). The hegemony of the planners also may limit the capacity of elites to act against the process when elites feel they are being manipulated or disagree with the process.

Planners work within the bureaucratic constraint system which Forester (1989) terms "structural distortion" (60). Within this constraint system, power or authority is not distributed equally among actors, whether they be planners or elites. Therefore, certain actors make decisions and others do not, thus granting a considerable capacity for agency to those with the authority to make decisions. Planners can use their agency and authority to limit the potential for elite activity through the creation and protection of rules, providing misinformation, and limiting public participation, and actively engaging in ways to dismantle changes to the process that have result from the actions of other elites.

The creation and protection of rules

The creation of the Land Use Code was done with input from County citizens and elite groups. This Code limits what citizens and elites may and may not do. Planning requires strict obedience to the Land Use Code. Therefore, when the Planning Department

declares that the Land Use Code is the basis for planning, and to go against the code is a "sin", it reinforces the existing order and fosters respect for its authority.

Since the Land Use Code was created with citizen input, planners can argue that the rules and regulations laid out in the Code are enacted on behalf of the general public. These rules and regulations legitimize the planning process – if they have been followed during the planning process, it can be argued to be legitimate (Aldrich 1999). Moreover, because the necessity for rules and regulations has been internalized by planners, they are unlikely to see the merit of alternative opinions.

It is assumed that Case d'Luc County citizens, in general, are unaware of the workings of the planning process, but this unawareness and lack of presence still yields broad consent. At the same time, these regulations also function to limit the role local elites may play in public land management and planning decision making processes. The Land Use Code retains final decision making authority to the Planning Director.

In addition, the Planning Department also continually amends and adds rules to the Land Use Code, thus further limiting the action of others. As maintained by Hermer and Hunt (1996), "when laws already exist and do not seem to work, we are reluctant to question the regulatory impulse, but instead seek to make further laws to the detriment of the laws already in place" (456). According to one County Commissioner,

> If the Code isn't correct, we need to change it. It is a living Code. If something isn't working, we need to take it out. The Planning Department wants to add more. They want everything back in.

The Case d'Luc County Land Use Code explicitly accords space and recognition to new governances. According to the code, "some of the sections of this code are reserved for regulations that may be adopted in the future. These sections are labeled 'reserve.' Reserving sections allows future regulations to be inserted into the code without disrupting

its organization" (Case d'Luc County Land Use Code 1:3). The rules of governance are perceived as a way to tighten the fabric of society – it is a hope for order. This often is a legitimating technique to preserve consensus.

Other regulatory measures go even further to limit the influence of local residents. As previously mentioned, the Master Plan and Land Use Code outline rules for citizen participation. This brings us to public participation and how it is used as a strategy to maintain hegemony.

Limiting public participation

Several theorists have argued that by reinforcing democratic principles and allowing citizens a stake in the process, citizen participation is an important aspect of planning (See Williams 1976; Fagence 1977; Burke 1979; Rich 1986; Stivers 1990). Participation may also help to alleviate power differentials between different groups (Day 1977). Carp (2003) notes, however, that limiting participation "simplifies planning" (242) by allowing planners to control the outcomes.

Planning processes may serve hegemonic functions to the extent that planners find it in their interests to limit the ability of other elites to develop counter-hegemonic ideas in an attempt to foster cooperation with the status quo. By using a guise of citizen input, the Planning Department is pacifying the frustration of fractured elites and encouraging them to participate in a supposedly democratic process.

As noted earlier, planners appear to be very suspicious of community participation. According to planners,

> It's currently not an ideal process. An ideal process entails all interested parties being honest and upfront with their issues. The problem is that people have hidden agendas.

> Citizens should participate more unless they are interest groups. These interest groups bring national issues to the local level and try to tell us what to do.
>
> There were 800 angry citizens at the Marriott.
>
> Citizens are motivated by bad blood, a sense of being wronged, a fear of change, and needing to have fair play.
>
> Citizens are the problem. They are narcissistic – my my my. They are more interested in reality television. They deserve what they get.

Thus, planning processes and appeals have been limited by the rules.

The Case d'Luc County Master Plan mandates a series of directives regarding community programs and citizen input. It explicitly states that the planning process (and planners who guide the process) should be aligned with community interests. However, community participation is embedded in a series of rules and discursive languages that might cause citizens to feel as if participation were beyond their control. The language of the Master Plan and the Land Use Code, although claiming to desire citizen input, utilizes technical language that may be outside the realm of the average citizen. This reproduces hegemony by obstructing the unification of fractured elites and attempts to elicit consent rather than alter the basic power relations. Thus, planning may be outside of common understanding and based on technically-focused discourse.

Another requirement is citizen comment on the Land Use Code and the planning process. Citizens' response to the Land Use Code is allowed at the meetings of the planning commission. Citizen comment is restricted to 30 minutes at the beginning of the meeting. Citizen responses or complaints, however, are not further discussed during the meetings. Because of this lack of discussion regarding citizen comments, it is debatable whether citizen comment is actually taken into consideration by members of the Planning Department. As one planner noted, "anyone can propose a change to the Code, but that doesn't mean it will

be accepted." In addition, as has been previously mentioned, upper-level planners (those who have the opportunity to implement citizen comment) rarely attend Land Use Hearings.

Control over data and other types of information can be a hegemonic strategy in any large bureaucracy. As Forester (1989) suggests, planners often use information to maintain their hegemony. By controlling information, planners shape not only documentation but also participation by controlling whom information is given to and at what point in the process. Misinformation within the planning sector may not be accidental. It often can serve the purpose of legitimating the system of authority. Planners can claim legitimacy if proper procedures have been followed, regardless of whether correct information was given.

According to Forester (1989), by controlling what information citizens receive, planners can weaken citizen participation and impact on the planning process. Misinformation given to citizens by planners is not accidental. It serves the purpose of legitimating the system of power.

Similarly, planners can keep citizens and elite groups from participating in the planning process by burying data in technical language. If non-planners do not understand the technical writing of the planners, it will be less likely that citizens and elite groups can counteract the planners' plans. Therefore, through the use of technical language, planners can maintain their control over a planning system by limiting citizens' or elected officials' ability to understand it.

The Planning Commission

Another way in which the Planning Department limits elite agency and the potential for counter-hegemonic leadership is through the Planning Commission. The Planning Commission is a nine member quasi-judicial group required to exist by state law which

makes recommendations regarding approval of projects to the County Commissioners. Interested applicants can apply to be on the Planning Commission. These applicants are then interviewed and chosen by the County Commissioners. According to one Commissioner:

> We get applications and go through them and try to have all different interests included. Then we interview the people.

Based on this, it would seem that having a citizen board which makes recommendations to the Commissioners would allow more counter-hegemonic strategies to emerge in the planning process. This, however, is not the case.

One major complaint regarding the Planning Commission is that it does not include members from diverse groups. This was acknowledged by both planners and elite groups.

> The Commissioners choose the members of the Planning Commission. It's supposed to be a representative cross-section of the community, but it's not.
>
> Its hard to get someone more progressive or an environmentalist on the Planning Commission
>
> They haven't chosen anyone from CPEU to be on the Planning Commission

If environmentalists or property rights advocates continually apply to be on the Commission, yet are turned down, does the Planning Commission really represent a diverse set of interests?

A statement made by a Commissioner also suggests diverse groups are left out of the Commission: "if they want to create rules, we don't want them on the Planning Commission." This suggests that individuals who do not share ideas similar to those of the Commissioners or Planning Department Director are not even considered. Furthermore, while members of the Planning Commission may only hold the position for three years, a

member is occasionally replaced by his or her spouse. This makes the "changing of command" questionable – no new ideas or opinions may be coming in.

Another issue involves how much control or influence the Planning Department has over the Commission. Even though the bylaws specifically say the members of the Planning Commission are appointed by the County Commissioners, the Director of the Planning Department also has a say in who is appointed ("[Tidkey] is also involved in deciding who is on the planning commission"). Therefore, the Director of the Planning Department has the ability to further promote hegemonic strategies through his selection of Planning Commission members.

The Planning Commission is a group with authority. The state has given them the authority to make recommendations. However, most of the time, the Planning Commission agrees with the recommendations of the planners, and the Commissioners agree with the recommendations from the Planning Commission. This suggests that the Planning Commission is just a means for planners to appease the citizens of Case d'Luc County. It appears as though a citizen board exists as a checks and balance system for the Planning Department – even though this may not actually occur.

If there is much contention in the planning process from outside groups, why does the Planning Commission "side" with the recommendations of the planners? Several respondents felt the Planning Commission involves groupthink: "It's group think. [Plans] pass unanimously despite contention." One lower-level planner mentioned that "we don't train the Planning Commission." Thus, since they are not trained, they take cues from the planners and the Planning Department is able to exercise a great deal of influence over them.

From the viewpoint of neo-Gramscian theory, planners may reproduce their ideology and foster consent to existing arrangements. By failing to acknowledge the

concerns of fragmented elites (such as Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation and Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement), the Planning Department has internalized their hegemonic ideology. When the Planning department attempts to integrate community input into its rules and regulations, it pacifies other groups of elites, and wastes valuable resources that subordinate elites might otherwise use in contesting hegemonic ideas. This contributes to the organizational or bureaucratic stability and hence legitimacy of the Planning Department.

3. Dismantling Counter-Hegemonic Practices

Despite planners' attempts to maintain hegemony, potential for counter-hegemonic leadership does exist in Case d'Luc County. As Gramsci (1971) notes, where hegemony exists, counter-hegemony must also exist. When hegemonic elites are not able to elicit consent, their legitimacy is questioned; thus leaving opportunities open for counter-hegemonic resistance (Estes 1990).

Two examples of intentional counter-hegemonic leadership within the Planning Department itself at the time of this study include the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) and the County Ombudsman. Both the DRLP and County Ombudsman question the culture and structure of the planning process and seek to alter the existing relations between planners and the County. According to Gramsci (1971) there are two strategies elites may use to maintain hegemony: eliminate (or subordinate) opposing forces or win the consent of the opposing forces. In response to the perceived threats to their hegemony, members of the Planning Department make use of the former strategy as they attempt to dismantle efforts of counter-hegemonic leadership.

Division of Rural Land Preservation

Earlier chapters have made reference to the development of the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) during the CIFLUS process. This segment of the Planning Department offers a flexible alternative to thirty-five acre developments. As will be discussed in the next chapter, several respondents felt the DRLP to be innovative and progressive – and as will be proposed, counter-hegemonic to Department interests.

The DRLP is considered successful by the County Commissioners and the elite groups with whom were interviewed. In addition, it rarely receives complaints from citizens. Despite this success, upper-level planners within the Planning Department stated and have acted in ways that suggest they perceive the DRLP as a threat to their hegemony and control over the entire planning process.

Why might the DRLP be perceived as an internal problem for upper-level planners? First, it may lessen their control over the planning process. With the advent of the DRLP, the Planning Department no longer has jurisdiction over rural land processes. A second potential reason planners dislike the DRLP is its greater flexibility and lack of rules when compared to the Planning Department. According to one Commissioner,

> The Division of Rural Land Preservation is innovative. The Planning Department really doesn't like that.

The DRLP does not have the same regulatory obligations as the Planning Department – the rural land process is meant to be a negotiated process. While the Planning Department's Land Use Code is approximately four hundred pages, the Code for the DRLP is approximately twenty. As mentioned by one respondent,

> Planning is rule oriented by nature. This all causes problems with the Planning Department's relationship with the [Division of Rural Land Preservation].

Earlier chapters noted the importance of rules to the Planning Department in maintaining their hegemony over the planning process. Therefore, the fewer rules for the DRLP when compared with the Planning Department may be deemed problematic. One upper-level member of the Planning Department questioned the success of the DRLP relative to sustained planning processes:

> Has it been successful? It's been successful in the numbers. Given their lack of standards, I don't know how successful it will be in the future.

Another potential reason for the aversion to the DRLP may be that the Director of this process has only been with the Planning Department for a very short time when compared to upper-level planners in the Department. This may cause problems for the chain of command. The Director of the DRLP has been in his position for a shorter period than other upper-level planners in lower positions. There are levels of hierarchy within the Planning Department. Those who hold supervisory positions have been in the Department for longer periods of time and have moved up the hierarchy. The Director of the DRLP, however, came from outside of the Department and immediately held a supervisory position. Thus, upper-level planners may be threatened or disgruntled by the fact that the DRLP Director, did not move through the hierarchy as they did.

The perceived success of the DRLP raises the question: why is the Planning Department not similarly successful? The DRLP offers flexibility and innovation while working within the constraints of the planning process. Therefore, the planning process (or structure of the Department) itself may not require the risk averse behavior that limits the success of the Planning Department. If the DRLP can be successful in terms of innovation and flexibility, why is this not a possibility for the Planning Department?

Based on the perceived threat of the DRLP, some upper-level members of the Planning Department have attempted to reduce its legitimacy, going as far as to even recommend it be eliminated all together.

Several attempts were made to further codify and even eliminate the DRLP by upper-level planners as they attempted to insert more rules into the rural land use process. According to one respondent,

> [Tidkey] tried to codify the rural land use process. The Commissioners didn't like this. [Tidkey] wanted more control or to get rid of [the DRLP]. [She] tried to add rules and that would hurt the process.

Thus, planners were attempting to further codify the DRLP in order to harm the process and further control it. Since the DRLP process is based on flexibility, the addition of more rules would limit the open (rather than rigid) nature of the process.

County Ombudsman

In another example of counter-hegemonic leadership, the Planning Department attempted to dismantle the County's ombudsman. The ombudsman is a liaison between clients and Planning Department staff. The need for an ombudsman was identified following a survey complied by Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement (CPEU) which illustrated how unhappy citizens were with the Planning Department. According to a County Commissioner, "citizens had complaints so we hired an ombudsman to make sure the planners were doing things right."

According to one respondent, "the planners didn't like him that first year." One planner noted that a "coup" was attempted to get rid of the position. In addition, a few respondents mentioned that this "coup" was attempted by upper-level planners because "the felt the ombudsman was trying to tell them how to do their job."

Similarly, another respondent mentioned that:

> The ombudsman was set up to fail. The planners just thought the complaints were from bad customers. The commissioners thought they needed the position, however, but the planners didn't. [Tidkey] had a passive position in all of this – she wanted to clip the ombudsman's wings. [Tidkey] wants to see her gone. The Commissioners empowered him and he is a threat to their hegemony.

Planners appear to have been threatened by the ombudsman, they try to threaten the legitimacy of the ombudsman by not taking the position or his suggestions seriously.

> The ombudsman mentions complaints to the supervisors (upper-level planners) and they laugh it off.

As one upper-level planner commented,

> We don't need an ombudsman – our customer service is fine. We just have some bad citizens in the County who like to complain.

Results of hegemony maintenance

At the time of this research, planners tried to limit the potential for counter-hegemonic movements while at the same time trying to appease the masses and other groups of elites by presenting a facade of community participation. Yet, several planners and community members acknowledge this pretense. According to one planner, "the county is very conservative, there is no public participation, and there is controversy avoidance."

This protection of hegemony encourages the Department to be risk averse in dealing with the public and local elites, and therefore, to use rules as a means of reducing risks associated with public participation. According to one County Commissioner there is a:

> Concern with some of the management for not allowing more innovative creativeness. What is missing in planning is creativity.

Perhaps planners are so concerned with hegemony maintenance and preservation, they are less concerned with innovation, something the planning curricula encourage.

Is this merely a case of individual planners trying to protect their control over the planning process and thus avoiding any risk that may jeopardize that control? Not necessarily. As earlier chapters have noted, structure and culture impact the actions of planners. Organizational structure and culture should help planners do their jobs more efficiently. This, however, is not always the case. In many organizations strict regulations can lead to inefficiency and risk averse behavior.

As bureaucracies, planning organizations are often limited by their structure. The bureaucratic nature of the Case d'Luc County Planning Department may undermine innovative planning and risk-taking. Bureaucratic organization may also undermine risk taking due to the high level of formalism and "red tape". Organizations in the public sector, such as planning departments, tend to place more control on employees and emphasize going through proper channels. Thus, within bureaucratic organizations, there is an emphasis on hierarchy and control, which prevent lower level employees from attempting risky or innovative techniques (Bozeman and Kingsley 1998).

Similarly, the culture of an organization may also promote or dissuade innovation and risk taking behavior (Deal and Kennedy 1982). The culture of the Planning Department may have a large effect on the innovative strategies that may or may not be used by planners. Planners are obliged to take into consideration the needs of the community. Because their actions can have a large impact on the community, they may fear taking risks. Thus, a culture may be created and perpetuated that discourages risk taking behavior and innovative planning.

According to Baum (2000):

> even if regulations do not really hinder work, their pervasiveness can stifle creativity and productivity – for example, staff resist taking initiative because they fear the consequences of acting without explicit authorization. (446)

Organizations exert control over members and encourage both those inside and outside of the organization to conform without questioning the prevailing norms (Morgan 1989). Therefore, even lower-level planners who disagreed with the planning process at the time of this study are powerless to pursue innovative planning.

4. Conclusion

Once hegemonic strategies are instituted, they require legitimation to be maintained and preserved (Gramsci 1971). During the pre-CIFLUS period, planners were unable to elicit an adequate sense of authority – thus, citizens questioned the legitimacy of planners as well as that of the planning process itself. The Planning Department has made many attempts to recreate consent from the community.

In order to reestablish their hegemony, it was necessary for planners to engage in a passive revolution. A passive revolution is induced when external forces (citizens or elites outside the Planning Department) attract enough support to change the existing hegemony while not able to completely replace it. According to Cox (1999) "this can lead to an ambivalent situation of 'revolution/restoration' where neither of the opposed bodies of forces is victorious over the other" (16).

During the CIFLUS process, planners made concessions to the community. The opinions and ideas of the citizens were taken into consideration to create a new Master Plan and Land Use Code, as well as the development of the DRLP. However, as argued in

previous chapters, planners had much influence over the outcomes and, in the end, regained their control over the planning process.

While the restructuring of the Planning Department and the adoption of a new Master Plan and Land Use Code pacified citizens and thus gained their consent, many original factors remained that today continue to threaten the hegemony of the Planning Department – the structure and culture of the organization as well as the agency of some planners within it. Because the bureaucratic structure and culture were not replaced, many issues deemed problematic during CIFLUS lingered. Even if planners promote citizen participation, the Land Use Code with its rules regarding participation, will only negate planners' attempts at increasing participation. Therefore, an internal contradiction exists for planners who want to be inclusive and democratic, yet in doing so, they create more work for themselves and go outside of the bounds set forth by the rules and regulations (Land Use Code).

The Planning Department must rely on planners to persuade and organize consent from County citizens, but not without high transaction costs for legitimacy. Gaining consent can oftentimes be troublesome and thus open the door for outside movements that threaten the legitimacy planners seek to obtain. In addition, the structure of and culture within the Department can also serve to delegitimize the planning process.

Citizens accept the legitimacy of the planning process and planners if rules and bureaucratic procedures are followed (Low 1991). This legitimacy, however, can be disputed when the structure poses problems for other elites groups; thus encouraging these elite groups to challenge the existing hegemony. Despite the problems with and power of structure and culture, agency exists. However, based on both citizen and planner comments,

agency is used by planners to maintain hegemony rather than challenge it (i.e. "housekeeping changes" to the Land Use Code, labeling).

Becoming the hegemonic group is not uncontested. The social forces struggling for hegemony should be prepared to compromise with their allies and to incorporate their demands and concerns (Buci-Glucksmann 1980). Planners, therefore, strive "to strengthen its own pattern of alliances, to disorganize the alliances of the other, and to shift the balance of forces in its favour" (Simon 1982: 23).

Under threat, the Planning Department attempted to dismantle counter-hegemonic leadership within the County. Both the DRLP and County Ombudsman may hurt the image of, and thus delegitimizes, the Planning Department. The addition of the ombudsman suggests a lack of customer service on the part of planners. Also, if a planning process in Case d'Luc County exists that is flexible, not strictly rule oriented, and innovative, citizens might come to expect the same from the Planning Department. In order to regain their legitimacy, a few planners attempted to dismantle these hegemonic initiatives. For example, the Planning Department attempted to harm the legitimacy and counter-hegemonic strategies and legitimacy of the DRLP and County Ombudsman.

Because hegemony is always in motion and being continually reconstructed, hegemonic strategies are never secure. In the context of dialectical processes, new solutions to prior internal contradictions usually do not offer sustainable outcomes; thus giving rise to new internal contradictions. Therefore, in this case, new counter-hegemonic strategies are created by disgruntled local elite stakeholders.

Having explored the implications of hegemony within the planning process, a number of important questions about counter-hegemonic alternatives remain. Do counter-hegemonic alternatives exist within Case d'Luc County? If so, are they successful? How do

they defend themselves against the hegemony of the planners? The following chapter will discuss the possibility of counter-hegemonic movements in Case d'Luc County. In addition, factors that limit the potential for counter-hegemonic movements will also be discussed.

CHAPTER VII

PLANNING AS COUNTER-HEGEMONIC: POTENTIALS AND LIMITS

1. Introduction

The previous chapter discussed the hegemonic strategies and projects of the Planning Department and the agency of planners. According to Gramsci (1971), hegemonic projects are not natural and determined, but socially and politically constructed on dominance in a process that requires consent and therefore implies resistance" (263). Because hegemonic strategies require the consent of citizens and subordinate groups, opportunities exist for groups or individuals to exert their views. Consent may not be freely given. As mentioned in Chapter IV, in attaining hegemony, the dominant elites oftentimes must give concessions to other groups. Because subordinate elite groups may not freely give their consent, they may attempt to create other means of affecting the planning process. Thus, if hegemony exists, the potential for counter-hegemonic movements must also exist.

Hegemony is never fully complete due to the diversity of elite groups in society. Abercrombie (1980), for example, suggests that hegemony can never be complete because the subordinate classes do not give their consent completely. Consequently, there is an imbalance of power between the dominant elites who strive to preserve their hegemony, and subordinate elites who continually contest the hegemony of those above them (Jackson 1989) – thus, internal contradictions exist.

Hegemony is in continuous struggle with the next hegemony, as there is no moment of conclusion or consent (Simon 1991). Therefore, hegemony needs to be continually reconstructed. Because of this continual reconstruction, opportunities exist for counter-hegemonic ideals to develop. This chapter will examine the potential of counter-hegemonic movements by exploring some of the ways counter-hegemonic leadership is manifested in Case d'Luc County.

As previous chapters have suggested, planning initiatives are not always able to accomplish what they set out to do. There can, however, be partial agreements such as in the establishment of the Master Plan. Despite these partial agreements, groups of elites in Case d'Luc County have an interest in establishing counter-hegemonic leadership and attempting to create a new synthesis. This chapter will analyze attempts at counter-hegemonic leadership made by several groups in Case d'Luc County. First, however, it is necessary to look briefly at the role of counter-hegemonic leadership in planning.

2. Counter-Hegemony and Planning

Gramsci's notion of hegemonic leadership requires most people to come to accept the interests of the dominant group (Bocock 1986). However, often times, people feel manipulated and do not want to tolerate the policies being pursued by the elites. According to Simon (1991), "wherever there is power there arises resistance to it" (75). Therefore, the existence of hegemony requires the presence of counter-hegemonic forces.

It is through counter-hegemonic forces that subordinate elites subvert the ideas of the dominant group. To accomplish hegemony, a group must build a "system of alliances that go beyond its own narrow and immediate corporate interests (Gramsci 1971: 77). Subordinate groups can primarily create a synthesis and establish hegemony by gaining the

support of other classes within society (Simon 1991). Subordinate elites interested in counter-hegemony must develop counter institutions of their own in an attempt to replace the current system. This is done through what Gramsci terms a "war of position".

A new hegemony cannot be produced quickly, but must be built upon from a variety of groups. Through a war of position, elites establish their own common conception of the world and create a new ideological system (Simon 1991). In addition, a war of position requires detailed and on-going analyses of the existing bases of hegemony.

The subordinate elites must dismantle the structural and cultural systems that support the current hegemony. This requires an extensive analysis of the structure and culture of the dominant elites. Only through an analysis of the existing system can effective strategies be generated that criticizes the existing hegemony and replaces it with a new hegemony (synthesis). According to Gramsci (1971),

> The purpose of the synthesis must be to criticise the problems, to demonstrate their real value, if any, and the significance they have had as superseded links of an intellectual chain, and to determine what the new contemporary problems are and how the old problems should now be analysed. (331)

In addition, to win a war of position, the subordinate elites must develop their own leadership – most likely organic leadership – while winning over both over elites from the existing ruling hegemony and other subordinate groups (Simon 1991).

The role of the planner

The planning literature suggests the importance of collaborative planning with considerable community input. This suggests that planners are capable of exercising counter-hegemonic leadership. Planning involves negotiation, mediation, and coalition building; therefore, there are many opportunities for planners and competing elites to affect

the hegemonic order. It is the role of the planner to break from the hegemonic power relations within planning in order to establish a counter-hegemonic tactic.

As previously noted, Forester (1989) argues for the progressive planner. The progressive planner acknowledges the power involved in information and how it may be used to delegitimize existing power relations. Unlike the other planners in Forester's typology, the progressive planner understands the unequal distribution of power and seeks to counteract the power differentials and misinformation to allow all citizens to participate. Thus, planners can establish counter-hegemonic leadership and engage in a war of position.

The war of position thesis, however, requires the planner to win over traditional intellectuals – those interested in preserving the existing hegemony. Even if planners develop their own leadership – organic leadership – they still have to persuade other planners to abandon the traditional hegemonic structure. This may not be possible because planners are often embedded within the structure and culture of the Department[26].

Therefore, a neo-Gramscian view of the war of position suggests the question: can a synthesis occur that fails to replace the existing hegemonic strategies? One in which the existing hegemonic strategies coexist alongside counter-hegemonic strategies? If counter-hegemonic strategies are strong enough to resist dismantling by hegemonic forces, but at the same time unable to replace those hegemonic forces, is it possible for a synthesis to occur which combines both hegemonic and counter-hegemonic strategies? This appears to be the situation in Case d'Luc County. The following section will look at counter-hegemonic movements in Case d'Luc County.

[26] In addition, lower-level planners who attempt to work outside the traditional hegemonic structure might find their jobs at risk.

3. Counter-hegemonic Movements in Case d'Luc County

Because Case d'Luc County planners need to continually maintain their hegemony, other groups may find it necessary to create counter-hegemonic movements in order to realize their larger goals. One such movement involves those within the Planning Department – planners themselves. During CIFLUS, the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) was created to address citizens' complaints regarding thirty-five-acre developments [see Chapter IV]. For several years following the CIFLUS process, the DRLP was a subunit within the Planning Department. Several people associated with the Department felt the DRLP was highly progressive and therefore involves a great deal of counter-hegemonic leadership.

In addition to the DRLP, there are groups of elites who have attempted to establish counter-hegemonic leadership and alter the hegemonic structures in the County. While these groups have not been as successful as the DRLP in initiating a new synthesis, they do offer a small degree of counter-hegemonic leadership for the County. These counter-hegemonic movements will be discussed as well as limitations these groups face.

Division of Rural Land Preservation

The Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) was established by a section of the Land Use Code for residential development only. The DRLP provides a process for alternative plans to unrestricted thirty-five acre development without having to undergo a full review through the Planning Department. While this process is voluntary, it offers development incentives to land owners. For example, should they choose to use the DRLP process, they may cluster more lots on their land than would be allowed under the thirty-five acre development regulations.

What makes the DRLP a counter-hegemonic process? The DRLP is engaged in a war of position – a battle over ideology requiring the consent of all elites (Gramsci 1971). Planners within the DRLP challenge the common sense ideas promoted by the Planning Department.

The planning literature emphasizes achieving consensus among stakeholders and elites, and offering a dialogue between all parties in an attempt to equalize power. The role of the planner is to mediate between stakeholders and allow elites to build shared meanings and generate solutions to problems (Hillier 1994). This type of strategy gives planners the power to help subordinate elites realize their interests and to merge those interests with that of the hegemonic class. While the Planning Department holds to ideas of modernist planning, the DRLP uses the above strategy, thus challenging the hegemony of the Planning Department.

Unlike the planning process in general, the DRLP has fewer regulations and offers landowners greater flexibility. Simply put, it does not utilize the "one size fits all" process that permeates the traditional planning process. Thus, what makes the DRLP counter-hegemonic is that it values citizen input, offers flexibility, and most importantly, allows citizens to bypass the traditional planning process.

As mentioned in previous chapters, when citizens, Commissioners, and planners were asked about opportunities for progressive planning, they often mentioned the Division of Rural Land Preservation. One Commissioner commented that "the Division of Rural Land Preservation is great and creative. We should continue and expand it." According to another,

> The Division of Rural Land Preservation has more flexibility and can play with clients. The DRLP has some leeway to play with plans because thirty-five acre developments aren't required to go through the hearing or applications process.

Other elite groups, such as Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation and Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement, who are typically very critical of the Planning Department, also applaud the DRLP: "the Division of Rural land Preservation process is extremely successful. The Director has the good side of the planning perspective."

DRLP planners are counter-hegemonic leaders through their criticism of traditional intellectuals (planners) and their commitment to resistance of current planning norms. The Director of the DRLP is a professional whose knowledge and application of knowledge is organically associated with the clients/customers; thus giving her a broader and potentially a more useful knowledge base. In addition, an important hegemonic strategy is innovation and flexibility – something all nonplanning elites in the County acknowledged that the DRLP planners exhibited.

Planners within the DRLP criticize existing planning structures, such as the process which limits citizen participation, relies on authority of positions, and depends on rules which limit innovation, and they seek to challenge the existing hegemonic. They challenge existing hegemonic strategies employed by upper-level planners while working within the latitude provided them in the Master Plan. As noted earlier, common citizen complaints of the Department involve its reactive, rather than proactive, nature. According to one planner:

> In planning in general, the approach is kind of cynical because they try to prevent bad things from happening rather than being progressive. The planning department is reactive rather than proactive.

Because of their reactive nature, planners in the Department move away from the theories and techniques outlined in the planning literature. According to one member of the DRLP:

> They lose the reasons they start becoming planners. The system is fundamentally corrupt – it doesn't work and it makes implementation difficult.

Rather than being concerned with the outcomes of a plan, the Planning Department appears to be more concerned with the process itself, using the process as a hegemonic strategy. One planner within the DRLP commented that:

> Planning has become process-based rather than outcome based. They don't care about the outcomes. A plan is considered good if the paperwork is done and there has been a community meeting. Planning should be situation and site specific

According to the planners within the DRLP, the Department is reactive and process-oriented because of its emphasis on rules ("it is rule-oriented and defensive"). Several lower-level planners within the Planning Department also agreed with this perspective.

Most respondents commented on the Planning Department's overemphasis on the rules and Land Use Code.

> Allegiance to the land use code is allegiance to bad planning. It is difficult to do good things. Planning is more of an art than a science and we don't see that here. Planners consider themselves the high priests – what they say is truth – there is little flexibility.
>
> The planning department has no vision other than enforcing the Land Use Code.
>
> There is no vision. We do the Code and that's all.
>
> There are a ton of rules – rules that don't always fit individual needs.
>
> Planners are too concerned with the rules.
>
> Doing anything better than the code is difficult – the Code is a bare minimum.
>
> There is no vision in this planning department other than enforcing the Code.
>
> What we are trying to do gets lost in the Code.
>
> Rules have more weight here.

> The Planning Department is rule-oriented – rule-oriented and defensive.

While rules are clearly necessary to planning, the DRLP's criticism centers on their perception that the Department overemphasizes narrow interpretations of rules, thus prohibiting flexibility. The Planning Department works with a four hundred page Land Use Code – a Code that does not offer flexibility nor cit specific rules. Rather, every plan, regardless of circumstances, must follow the same rules within the Land Use Code.

The DRLP also emphasized what they believed was a lack of participation between the Planning Department and the public. Rules regarding citizen participation are written into the Land Use Code. According to the DRLP, both the rules and the narrow adherence to the rules limit citizen's potential for participation. For example, one member of the DRLP notes: "We need to have citizens participate and be involved in figuring out a solution rather than just having them show up at meetings."

The final critique by the DRLP related to the Planning Department is the Department's lack of innovation given the Master Plan's capacity for innovative planning. Consequently, planners within the Department are perceived by DRLP members as more concerned with the process and rules, citizen participation is minimal, and innovation is absent.

> We need to promote risk taking. We say we promote it, but punish it instead. It's not healthy to be a risk taker in the Planning Department. They think that controversy equals failure.

Bureaucracies require adherence to internal codes of operation. However, the degree to which adherence is mechanistic raises conceptual concerns for the choice of bureaucrats to be innovative or to choose narrow interpretation of rules that facilitate their hegemonic

strategies. When planners are loyal to the rules and Land Use Code, opportunities for risk taking are limited.

In response to these criticisms, the DRLP created a planning process that attempts to provide individual assistance to citizen requests that nonetheless follow the rules laid out in the Code. In doing so, the DRLP members believe they are innovative. They also believe they are resisting the norms of the hegemonic structure apparent in the Planning Department. The DRLP gives less emphasis to narrow interpretation of rules to which the Planning Department adheres. The DRLP does not fit into the normative regulatory environment of the Planning Department. According to one member of the DRLP, "I am a proponent of common sense and less regulation."

While the Planning Department is perceived as rule oriented, the DRLP points to its twenty page code (versus the four hundred page Land Use Code) which they argue is designed to be more negotiated. Even fees are negotiated. Evidence from these interviews seems to support this claim. If so, then the DRLP has greater flexibility and opportunities for innovative planning than does the Planning Department. In addition, this flexibility was what the new Master Plan was intended to encourage for residential planning. According to one Commissioner:

> There are different levels of standards than the regular Planning Department has. The Land Use Code sometimes doesn't apply to the DRLP or the rural land use process. The DRLP process is a more negotiated process.

Because the DRLP planning process depends more on negotiation, inherently, there is more flexibility with clients and plans (I'm trying to change the mindset to "promote" instead. With clients, I try to be flexible" – DRLP planner).

Still other evidence of the normative difference between the DRLP and the Planning Department is the DRLP's actual compromises with their clients. According to Buci-

Glucksmann (1982) and Gordon (1999), the social forces struggling for hegemony must be prepared to compromise with their allies and to incorporate their demands and concerns. This suggests that the DRLP is fully aware of its charge to be user-friendly but adhere to the Code.

As organic intellectuals, planners within the DRLP are concerned with citizen input and experiences with the planning process. They claim that listening opens options not apparent at the start of the negotiated planning process. When other groups of elites criticized the Planning Department for not allowing them input in the planning process, all of these groups found the DRLP very receptive to citizen concerns. Assuming groups highly critical of the planning process in general find the DRLP "wonderful" and "creative", this can be considered evidence that the DRLP has integrated the demands and concerns of subordinate groups in society, built new alliances, and advanced their own hegemonic strategy and legitimacy.

In Forester's (1989) terms, the DRLP planners are progressive. According to Forester, the progressive planner "recognizes that political-economic power may function systematically to misinform affected publics" (31). The progressive planner acknowledges and seeks to neutralize the unequal distribution of power or authority in the planning process.

These criticisms and resistance to norms espoused by the DRLP has caused problems for the relationship between it and the Planning Department. According to one planner in the DRLP, several planners in the Planning Department "were resentful of the rural land use process because it did not follow the same rules as the traditional system." While this statement may be a simple unsubstantiated rhetorical comment, when coupled

with other evidence such as attempts to further codify and even eliminate the DRLP it appears to be valid.

While the Planning Department attempted to further codify the DRLP, the DRLP sought to maintain and extend its autonomy. It was successful. The planners within this process exude organic leadership. The above counter-hegemonic strategies emphasize the power of agency in relation to structure and culture. The DRLP planers' critique of the hegemonic strategies of the Planning Department and their creation of counter-hegemonic strategies requires agency. If someone other than the current Director of the DRLP were placed in that position, the outcomes may have been different. Other individuals may not have been capable of acting against the hegemonic strategies of the Planning Department, or may have simply given in to these strategies. Therefore, agency may be behind the success of the DRLP. This suggests that structure and culture are not completely restrictive, but enable a different type of planning process to emerge.

At a special meeting of County supervisors, the Planning Department submitted a proposal for the subordination of the DRLP within their department – thus eliminating the DRLP's autonomy. It was believed that upper-level planners within the Planning Department wanted more control over the rural land use process, or to completely eliminate the DRLP (which in essence would give the Planning Department complete control over the rural land us process). According to one upper-level planner,

> The [Division of Rural Land Preservation] isn't rule-oriented – which makes it hard to control.

Neither the County Commissioners, the Planning Commission, nor some lower-level planners agreed with this idea.

> The Commissioners and the Planning Commission didn't like what some of the planners were trying to do.

> The [Division of Rural Land Preservation] is innovative because it doesn't have as many rules to follow.

The result of these attempts was something the Planning Department did not expect. In 2004, the DRLP was moved out of the Planning Department and was established as an autonomous unit. Therefore, it is no longer under the control of the Planning Department.

This unexpected result completely removed the DRLP *structurally* from under the Planning Department. The agency within the DRLP and the hegemonic actions of the Planning Department created more structural credibility to the DRLP, something planners did not want to do. Thus, a synthesis occurred that challenged and weakened the hegemonic strategies of the planners.

The above suggests a synthesis is possible in which the existing hegemony and counter-hegemonic structures can coexist. While the counter-hegemonic leadership of the DRLP did not replaced the former hegemony, it did alter the planning process to create a new synthesis. As Gramsci (1971) notes, this synthesis, however, also creates resistance to itself. The DRLP was not dismantled nor further codified. Thus, it retained its counter-hegemonic leadership. The Planning Department, however, still has hegemonic control over the traditional planning process and continues to try to limit the power of the DRLP.

Other elite groups

Planners do not make up the only group of elites capable of hegemonic or counter-hegemonic leadership. Specifically, there are two groups in Case d'Luc County that have consistently attempted to change the current structure of the planning process: Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation and Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement. While these groups have the potential to alter the current hegemonic system, they have not been as successful as the DRLP.

Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation (CREP) was established in the late 1980s (prior to the CIFLUS process) by concerned County residents who felt the planning process could work better with more citizen involvement in decision-making. This group believes that one of the main issues that needs to be addressed in the County is growth. Growth has a great impact on the County in terms of natural resources and the environment.

CREP provides citizens opportunities to voice their concerns regarding land use, growth, environmental planning, and quality of life, among other things. CREP maintains that they are committed to keeping citizens of Case d'Luc County informed of these concerns by publishing newsletters on community issues. In addition, they have speakers available for interested parties.

Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement (CPUE) is an organization interested in protecting individual rights and freedoms as they believe are protected by the United States Constitution. CPUE began in the early 1990s as a response in opposition to County regulation regarding the look of private property including siding, landscaping, and color of homes. Since then, membership in CPUE has risen appreciatively. Members of this group feel property rights are eroding as Case d'Luc County attempts to impose more rules and regulations on land utilization by property owners.

What is interesting to note is that neither of these groups are represented on the Planning Commission – the board which reviews plans and makes recommendations to the County Commissioners. This does not mean CPEU and CREP have not tried to gain access to this Commission. Both groups have applied to be Commission members. However, neither has been successful. As the previous chapter mentions, members of the Planning Commission are chosen by the County Commissioners and Director of the Planning

Department. They state an interest in having diverse groups represented; however, the lack of representation by property rights and environmental groups suggests the Planning Commission is not as "diverse" as citizens would be lead to believe.

While these two groups (CPER and CPEU) have very different orientations and concern for the County (environment, property rights) and despite their lack of representation on the Planning Commission, both have the potential for and to a great degree demonstrated counter-hegemonic leadership. Although they typically do not work together, both groups are critical of the existing hegemonic structure and try to form strategies to alter the system. One member of CREP argues that citizen groups are important to affecting change in the planning process because:

> Citizens should be able to provide input independently of the planners and through something like an independent citizen committee or advisory group. When issues come up with individuals, it is generally the individual or a very small support group against the large resources of the Planning Department in taking the issues to the County Commissioners (most citizens aren't involved in things like this so that an individual or a small group has limited impact).

In addition, one County Commissioner also commented on the importance of these groups:

> if you just listen to what these groups have to say, there is some importance. There's a reason for them – you get in trouble if you ignore them. If you discount them, you make one-sided decisions. They provide one side of the story and you have to take that into consideration when you make a decision.

Both CREP and CPUE are critical of what they jointly believe to be the Planning Department's lack of flexibility ("the code and the Planning Department set universal rules and standards that are either yes or no – this is not a good thing"), inconsistency ("there is a lack of consistency in the application process and the code is supposed to get away from that"), and the amount of power some individuals within the Department have ("planners

have tools to put in road blocks so people don't get their way – there is too much control to a single planner").

What strategies do these groups of elites use to counteract the hegemony of the Planning Department? Both CREP and CPUE are reported by an elected official to have played significant roles in lessening the impact to property owners during the creation of the Land Use Code. When the Code was in the public hearing stages prior to adoption, CPUE, for example, provided a list of two dozen items in opposition to the Land Use Code that they felt should be discussed further. These groups also continue to appear regularly at Land Use Hearings to voice their opinions over issues.

Another attempt at exerting counter-hegemonic leadership was evident when CPUE lobbied for a Property Rights Advisory Committee last year. CPUE requested this committee be established by the County Commissioners. As an advisory committee, it would have given property owners a formal forum for expressing their views during land use reviews.

CPUE attempted to create this board because of alleged problematic actions by members of the Planning Department. Members of this organization felt that these actions threatened the rights of property owners in the County. Property rights are threatened, it is argued, because there is an imbalance of representation on County advisory boards. According to one member of CPUE,

> I suggested a property owner's board and that got shot down. The property owners perspective is not interjected in the planning process. People come to CPUE to find out what to do because their rights are being violated. There needs to be someone with an opposing viewpoint – it helps the checks and balances system.

The County, however, felt that because CPUE existed, a Property Rights Advisory

Committee would not be necessary. Thus, CPUE was not given a formal voice in the planning process.

Limitations to Counter-hegemonic Planning

There are, however, limitations to counter-hegemonic planning. This case study reveals some of the ways that the current planning process and culture of the Planning Department acts as a barrier to innovation and counter-hegemonic movements. Both planning and non-planning elites face similar challenges when confronting the current hegemonic structure.

Among these limitations are the particular hegemonic strategies of the planning Department that have been characterized by a tendency to introduce more restrictive rules. Planners have the ability to block counter-hegemonic movements while maintaining their hegemony. As in the case of the DRLP, specific planners tried to limit its counter-hegemonic leadership by imposing more rules on the rural land use process, and by subordinating or eliminating the DRLP. While rules can also open up the planning process, the creation of more rules may limit the actions of other elites groups such as CPEU and CPER. If further rules are added to limit or regulate citizen participation, members of these groups will have a less opportunities to exert their opinions and influence. Therefore, the introduction of more restrictive rules has the dual effect of reducing risk by formally limiting innovation and of restricting citizen participation.

Another issue is the framework guiding the planning process. The constraints of working within the present planning process remain the greatest barrier to counter-hegemonic planning and a transformation of the planning process. This system is already in place; therefore it has an inherent bureaucratic advantage. In order to maintain their

hegemony, planners are willing to, at times, make concessions to citizens to maintain citizen consent. Since the average citizen, however, is not aware of the problematic aspect of planning, there are unlikely to challenge the current system. A complete overhaul of the current planning process by citizens of Case d'Luc County, therefore, seems improbable.

Finally, at least in the case of elite groups such as CPEU and CPER, another limitation is the inability of these groups to recognize the interests of others. Effective counter-hegemonic leadership should take into consideration the needs of the entire community. As has been noted, these two organizations represent different interests – interests that are oftentimes at odds with one another. While both groups critique the Planning Department and existing hegemony in similar ways, they have not acknowledged or taken in one another's interests or those of others to effectively cobble together a common counter-hegemonic strategy.

4. Conclusion

The potential for counter-hegemonic movements is made possible by the continual need for the current hegemony to be reconstructed; thus leaving opportunities for counter-hegemonic leadership to arise. Theorists such as Forester (1989) argue for the necessity of planners to take into account and even co-opt incidents of counter-hegemony. While the Planning Department itself attempts to preserve its hegemony, counter-hegemonic movements outside the Department strive to exist.

Because the existence of hegemonic strategies requires the existence of counter-hegemonic strategies internal contradictions arise that produce discomfort and create new syntheses. The Division of Rural Land Preservation has maintained its counter-hegemony alongside the hegemony of the Planning Department. As Forester (1989) suggests,

collaborative actions with citizens are necessary for a counter-hegemonic leadership and cooperative relationship to exist. Without communicative action, there can be no common vision or shared basis for understanding (Feinstein 2000). The DRLP appears to have done just that – they have worked with citizens (not just elites) to come to a shared understanding and compromise.

While planners may be limited by the structure and culture of the Planning Department, planners within the DRLP are not bound to this structure and culture. Therefore, they are able to exert an amount of agency over the rural land process. The significance of agency in the DRLP was critical to its success. With this, the importance of agency in social theory can be seen at the local level despite all the forces working against it. Structure and culture are not overwhelming – agency can indeed alter these forces. This suggests, however, that planners within the Planning Department are not necessarily "bad" planners, but are confined to the bounds of structure and culture.

While the DRLP has been successful to date, other counter-hegemonic movements have not been as effective. Elite groups outside of the planning system face potentially greater limitations in terms of the structure and culture of the planning process. Because they are outside of the planning process, their counter-hegemonic strategies have less of an opportunity to influence the planning system.

In addition, these elites groups have failed to recognize the interest of other elite groups. As Dalton, Hoch, and So (2000) note, counter-hegemonic strategies "must address not only differences in backgrounds, values, expectations and needs, but also conflict among groups with different interests" (13). While CPEU and CPER both offer similar criticisms of the planning process and desire comparable changes, each group has not recognized the value of the other. Rather, they focus on their differences of interest (property rights,

environmentalism). Until CPEU and CPER acknowledge their similar criticisms (despite their differing interests) their influence in altering the planning process may continue to be limited. Were CPEU and CPER to collaborate their efforts, their attempts at changing the planning process may be more successful.

The following final chapter will summarize the findings and analysis from this case study of planning in Case d'Luc County. A critique of the County's Planning Department will be given in terms of rule orientation, a reactive culture, and the emphasis on process over outcomes. Finally, recommendations for future planning in the County will be given as well as suggestions for improving counter-hegemonic leadership.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION: LESSONS FROM CASE D'LUC COUNTY

1. Introduction

This study sought to determine how organizational structure, culture, and agency influence planning. Specifically, this dissertation explored the role of hegemony and legitimacy within the Case d'Luc County Planning Department and the possibility of counter-hegemonic movements. The use of a neo-Gramscian/critical Weberian framework allowed me to discover where in the planning process counter-hegemonic influences are at work.

This research suggests a disconnect between the planning literature and curricula. Despite the emphasis of collaborative planning in planning theory, the structure and culture of planning organizations hinder this planning strategy. Therefore, this disconnect may be a result of a new set of objectives planners encounter when entering the field – objectives aligned with hegemonic practices. While planners are interested in maintaining their hegemony, the planning process is more than a legitimating instrument for dominant interests and elites in Case d'Luc County. It is a springboard upon which counter-hegemonic leadership is formed.

2. Summary of Findings

In the 1990s, a crisis of legitimacy (or organic crisis) occurred in Case d'Luc County. Out of this, the Citizen Input on Future Land Use System (CIFLUS) process emerged as

well as the subsequent restructuring of the Planning Department. As Buroway (2003) notes,

> To be an effective hegemonic force, a dominant or potentially dominant class must make [concessions]to elicit the consent of a subordinate or allied class. (225)

Concessions to the County included the creation of a new Master Plan and Land Use Code. The Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP) was created as well to deal with the issue of 35-acre developments. In addition, greater citizen participation was mandated into the planning process.

With the development of the Master Plan, new objectives for County planning were formulated. These objectives include:

- a timely process
- a process open to the public for information, input, etc.
- a process that has open communication
- a process that has consistent requirements that contain flexibility
- a process that has incentives for exceeding normal criteria

These objectives serve to assure consistency and cooperation in the planning process.

Despite these objectives, the restructuring of the Planning Department and the post-CIFLUS phase does not live up to its original ideals. While a variety of citizens and elite groups came together to create a better planning system, processes (both structural and cultural) exist that undermine the Department's formal objectives as laid out in the Master Plan. Planning organizations are oftentimes bureaucratic, thus they hold a commitment to objectivity, efficiency, and rationality (Dalton 1986). While planners may exert their control over the planning process through many factors embedded in the structure and culture of the organization, it is possible that the structure and culture of the Planning Department itself limits the above objectives.

The bureaucratic structure of the Department emphasizes hierarchy and proper channels. While bureaucracy is used to gain efficiency and rationalization in the planning

process, it can simultaneously aggravate citizens and limit the amount of input citizens have in the planning process. Therefore, one undermining process is the formal organization and bureaucracy of the Planning Department.

As earlier chapters have discussed, plans are distributed to lower-level planners by upper-level planners. Therefore, the structure of the Department requires that upper-level planners determine which plans lower-level planners receive. This hierarchy and distribution of plans limits citizen input as well as access citizens have to members of the Planning Department.

While upper-level planners, because of their positions, have more control over the planning process, they are involved in primarily supervisory positions. Thus, upper-level planners work on fewer plans than do lower-level planners. Because only those planners working on a specific plan attend public meetings in which the plan is discussed, upper-level planners do not attend many public meetings. Since citizen input is only taken during public meetings, the ability for citizens to impact the planning process is limited. Therefore, the planners (lower-level) citizens have access to offer limited opportunities for changing the planning process.

The hierarchy and bureaucratic structure also impact opportunities for progressive planning. Lower-level planners, who deal specifically with citizens and their plans, report to upper-level planners. Because the jobs of lower-level planners are in the hands of their superiors, lower-level planners may be afraid to produce innovative plans for fear of being dismissed ("The Department says they want risk takers but then you can't make any mistakes or else you get fired").

Sitkin and Pablo (1992) argue that when risk-taking is perceived as being discouraged, lower-level organizational members feel their behavior as being monitored by

superiors, causing lower-level planners act more cautiously. The culture of the organization, then, may discourage risk taking behavior by all planners (Deal and Kennedy 1982). The culture within the organization has a large effect on the innovative strategies that may or may not be used by planners. Therefore, lower-level planners are socialized into a culture that promotes risk aversion.

Similarly, the bureaucratic nature of the Department and the process culture may limit risk-taking and innovative planning. Bozeman and Kingsley (1998) argue that organizations in the public sector tend to place more control on employees and emphasize going through proper channels. This emphasis on hierarchy and control may prevent lower-level employees from attempting to innovative techniques.

In addition, it was noted that upper-level planners do not promote innovative planning within the Department. Many lower-level planners felt that risk taking behavior and innovation are not acknowledged by their superiors ("Innovation is not encouraged – there is no encouragement to do things better"). The resistance to risk taking and innovative planning by upper-level planners may be out of fear. According to one planner, "those in higher-level positions have a little more risk to worry about – and this requires policy to be followed by lower-level employees." As Bozeman and Kingsley (1998) note:

> the 'life in the fishbowl' characteristics of high level public sector jobs means that risk-taking behavior of public managers may be subject to greater scrutiny. (110)

Therefore, the public nature of the position of upper-level planners may create risk-averse behavior.

Another factor that undermines the objectives laid out in the Master Plan are the rules regarding the planning process. While many Case d'Luc County planners commented on the value of citizen participation, the desire for participation may be quelled by an

emphasis on the rules and regulations in the Land Use Code. For example, the most common type of citizen input in the planning process is through mandated public hearings. Many theorists (such as Williams 1976; Redburn et al 1980; Klein 2000) have argued that citizen participation in mandated public hearings is often lacking.

Plans are created by a small group – planners. Therefore, citizens are only allowed to interject in the planning process when County regulations and procedures deem it necessary. Similarly, because the rules require public comment to be solicited near the end of both the planning process and the public hearing, it is debatable how much citizen input is actually taken into consideration at this late stage. According to Klein (2000), "[mandated public hearings] rarely provide meaningful public participation or engagement" (425).

The process of open communication is also weakened by the rules and regulations – primarily through the content and release of information. The Land Use Code requires information regarding proposed plans to be released one week prior to the public meeting. This time span is often not enough to allow citizens the opportunity to research information regarding proposed plans. In addition, the proposed plan in its entirety is not released to the public. Rather, interested citizens only receive limited information.

The release of information and its content is related to the bureaucratic structure of the organization. According to Forester (1989), planners shape not only the documentation of a plan, but also participation in public processes by controlling whom information is given to and at what point in the process. Through the setting of agendas and by shaping who finds out what and when, attempts by citizens to participate in a democratic planning process may be thwarted (Forester 1989).

In addition, changes are constantly being made to this regulatory document. However, many of the changes are classified as "housekeeping" and therefore are finalized at

afternoon public land use hearings. Not only does this limit citizens' ability to participate and provide input, but many citizens are not even made aware of the changes being proposed.

A similar factor that undermines Department objectives involves consistency – or the emphasis on rules versus flexibility. There is a contradiction between enforcing rules and creating flexibility within the planning process. In Case d'Luc County planning, rules take precedence. The formal rules guiding the planning process come from the Land Use Code. These rules are supposed to be followed unfailingly. However, allegiance to the Land Use Code means that flexibility within the planning process is restricted.

Planners exist within a highly regulated system. The vast amount of rules and regulations that must be followed prove to be a hindrance to innovative planning. Planners align themselves faithfully with the Land Use Code, and therefore, flexibility and opportunities for innovation are limited.

While some cultural and practices undermine the formal objectives, several planners use their agency and station within the Department to undermine these goals. Planners have the ability to act within the Department's structure and culture. Some agents appear to purposefully undermine the objectives set forth by the Master Plan.

Despite the objectives in the Master Plan, a few planners seem to have their own set of objectives. These alternative objectives involve dismantling and delegitimizing other groups of elites. Rather than align themselves with other elite groups or the citizenry, they seem more interested in preventing these groups from having a say in the planning process ("[Citizens] should participate more unless they are interest groups").

One way in which the dismantling and delegitimizing of other elites groups materializes is through the inconsistently of regulations. The rules are used by planners

inconsistently. Several citizens mentioned that they often received contradictory and inconsistent information from different planners regarding rules and procedures.

As many respondents noted, the information they receive from the Department often differs from one planner to another; thus making it difficult to find accurate information. Forester (1989) argues that misinformation is not accidental and serves to weakens citizen participation. Planners have the power to shape public attention by shaping information in regards to options of reaction, costs-benefits, and arguments for and against planning proposals.

Similarly, additional requirements not listed in the Land Use Code are occasionally interjected into plans. As mentioned in previous chapters, some citizens complained of additional requirements that would appear at the end of the process that were not included or even discussed previously. Adding additional requirements is a tactic a few planners used in attempting to dismantle the Division of Rural Land Preservation (DRLP). In an attempt to delegitimize and limit the DRLP's control over the rural land use process, planners have attempted to harm the DRLP's ability to perform by attempting to further regulate this process. This lack of consistency and overregulation is not due to the rules themselves, but to the actions of individual planners.

Finally, a few planners also try to delegitimize elites groups through the use of labels. Some planners within the Planning Department use derogatory terms to describe clients and other elite groups. Labels may serve as a way of controlling the perception of these groups to the public and other planners; thus, limiting the influence of elite groups in the planning process.

Based on the analysis in earlier chapters, all of these aspects – structure, culture, and agency – may undermine the stated objectives of the Planning Department. The culture of

the Planning Department is taught and reproduced through socialization. The culture also serves to reproduce the structure of the Department. Planning organizations reproduce structures and cultures, reproductions which may come in conflict with the lager community vision. In addition, the structure and culture of, and agency within, the Planning Department perpetuate inconsistencies within the planning process. The reproduction of culture means that all planners, regardless of their personal opinions and desires, must align themselves with the informal rules embedded within the Department culture.

Through the use of structure, culture and agency, and the socialization of new members, the Planning Department is able to continually reconstruct their hegemony. While the purpose of CIFLUS was to create a common vision and integrate citizens into the planning process, planners today seem to have little concern for the average citizen. Instead, planners focus their attention on elite groups. However, while planners seem most concerned with other groups of elites, this may primarily be due to planners' attempts to limit the input these groups have on the planning process.

The CIFLUS process did little to eradicate the conflict between elites in the County. Therefore, today, a new crisis has emerged – one which is based on hegemonic control. Multiple groups of elites in Case d'Luc County are trying to gain influence over the planning process.

Planners, as a group of hegemonic elites, must maintain their hegemony. Planners must persuade the citizenry to consent and strengthen their role in the planning process. Hegemony, however, is never fully complete – it is continually in motion and therefore must be continually reconstructed. Because hegemony is never secure, nor is consent always freely given, counter-hegemonic movements arise.

This study specifically looked at two means through which counter-hegemonic leadership is created. The first involves the Division of Rural Land Preservation. This County planning organization has maintained its counter-hegemony alongside the hegemony of the Planning Department. Despite many attempts by planners to dismantle the DRLP, the rural land process remains successful today in the eyes of several planners, County Commissioners, and members of elite groups.

Although the DRLP is able to exert counter-hegemonic movements, other counter-hegemonic movements have not flourished. Groups of elites, such as Citizens Regarding Environmental Preservation and Citizens for Property Usage Entitlement, attempt to exert counter-hegemonic leadership through their criticism of the planning process. However, because these elite groups are outside of the planning system, they face even greater limitations.

The current planning process, the culture of the Planning Department, and planners acting as agents provide a barrier to innovation and counter-hegemonic movements. Planners themselves serve as one of the largest limitations. As in the case of the DRLP, specific planners tried to limit its counter-hegemonic leadership by imposing more rules on the rural land use process. Imposing more rules and regulations can also limit the actions of other elite groups such as CPEU and CPER by limiting their participation in the planning process. Another limitation at least in terms of CPEU and CPER involves the failure of these groups to recognize other interests. Without recognizing the interests of other elite groups and merging them into their own, they cannot establish a true and successful counter-hegemonic movement.

Based on the results of this case study, a critique can be made about the Case d'Luc County Planning Department and the planning process in general. This critique does not

intend to criticize planners within the County specifically. Rather, it serves to shed some light on issues that may occur in other planning departments around the country.

Critique of planning in Case d'Luc County Planning

One critique of the County's planning system involves the overemphasis on rules and regulations. As previous chapters have noted, there are many rules planners and their clients must follow. While rules are of course necessary to planning, an over-reliance on rules leads to inflexibility. The planning literature recommends flexibility; thus, the overemphasis on rules by the Planning Department negates this recommendation.

Take the regulations for the Planning Department and Division of Rural Land Preservation for example. While the former has a four hundred page Code, the Code for the latter is only twenty pages. Yet, the DRLP is able to survive in a regulatory environment while still allowing a great deal of flexibility in the planning process. This suggests that planning can successfully exist without an over-reliance on rules.

Another criticism involves the reactive nature of the Department. Most respondents felt that the Department acted reactively rather than proactively. By being reactive, planners miss the larger picture and disregard the common vision laid out in the CIFLUS process. Instead of reacting to the political climate of the County and "who is complaining today", planners should be more focused on proactive solutions to community problems.

The main critique of the Planning Department, however, involves the emphasis on the planning process rather than on outcomes, including citizen satisfaction. Planners are not concerned about the outcome as long as the process has been followed correctly. According to one planner, "a plan is considered good if the paperwork is done and there has been a community meeting." This suggests that if the process has been followed property,

there is no concern in regards to the outcome. This statement is problematic in that it suggests paperwork and the following of procedures takes precedence over the outcomes of a plan.

Are plans being evaluated on process or outcomes? Statements from planners suggest the former. While the concern over following proper procedures can be easily understood, if the process becomes more important than outcomes, what purpose does planning serve within the County? Without concern for outcomes, planning in Case d'Luc County may eventually have disastrous results.

There is a reason these concerns regarding rules and processes (whether they are based on structure, culture, or agency) emerge over others. This study suggests it is in the interest of planners to increase the rules that would protect them, and to be more reactive and process-oriented. Because of this, however, planners are creating the cul de sac.

The cul de sac

One of the contradictions in analyzing the social action engaged in by actors within the planning process is the cul de sac. The structure and culture (as well as agency) of planning creates the cul de sac. A cul de sac in literally refers to a dead-end street with only one entrance and exist – no passage through is possible. Cul de sac's are deliberately created by planners to limit traffic and frequently developed in residential areas. Metaphorically, the cul de sac refers to a line of thought or action that leads nowhere.

In planning for the cul de sac, planners are creating a dead end in options for development. The over-reliance on rules may actually lead to an end to planning in the County as the rules themselves may begin to overrule the planning process. If more rules for the planning process are created, planning in the County will be further limited. It is

possible that eventually the planning process itself could be eliminated or negated itself simply by the rules planners have created.

Planners are also creating a dead end in development in regards to the common vision established during the CIFLUS process. This is due to the lack of citizen input in the planning process. Without citizen input in the planning process, planning will no longer address community needs, but rather, planner interests. Therefore, development is based on less than 1% of the population rather than a majority of Case d'Luc County.

What is interesting to note is that some of the urban planning literature criticizes the development of the literal cul de sac (see Katz 1994; Kunstler 1994; Dutton 2001). These criticisms suggest that a cul de sac can actually increase congestion and make navigation difficult. This critique of the literal cul de sac can also be metaphorically extended to the Planning Department. If planners continually plan for the cul de sac or a dead end in development, they might find their hallways "congested" with disgruntled citizens; thus making it more difficult for both planners and clients to "navigate" the planning process.

3. Recommendations for the Future

Based on the above critiques of planning in Case d'Luc County, I will offer some suggestions and recommendations for the future. These suggestions are not directed solely at the Case d'Luc County Planning Department, but offer implications for planning departments across the nation. While some or the criticisms of the planning process beg for solutions, these solutions may not be feasible or result in greater conflict and inconsistencies in the process.

The first suggestion involves changing the organizational structure of the Planning Department. The Department is bureaucratically structured, and many theorists have argued

for the inefficiency of this type of structure. Rather than relying on levels of hierarchy and other components of bureaucracy, the Planning Department should move towards a postbureaucratic organization.

As discussed in a previous chapter, bureaucratic organizations are dominated by administrative and technical concerns (Benson 1977). Postbureaucratic organizations on the other hand attempt to establish agreement among individuals with diverse knowledge rather than relying on a hierarchy of authority (Heckscher 1994). By doing so, power in the organization is reduced and distributed more equitably.

Instead of decisions being made by relying on superiority (upper-level planners), all members of the organization are involved in a process of consensual legitimation. Therefore, decisions are made on the basis of agreement by those who are affected by the decisions, and those who can contribute the most knowledge to the decisions. Thus, postbureaucratic organizations allow for greater participation in decision making and greater opportunities for counter-hegemony leadership can emerge.

A complete restructuring of the Planning Department, however, may not be possible or well received. Therefore, I will offer more practical solutions to reflect these limitations. First, problems associated with the traditional bureaucracy could be lessened if more "new blood" were allowed into supervisory positions. As previous chapters have noted, those in supervisory positions (upper-level planners) have been in the Department for a long period of time. Lower-level planners find it difficult, if not impossible, to move up in the hierarchy. Yet lower-level planners tend to be more familiar with the current planning literature and more interested in progressive planning.

Lower-level planners are more likely to have an education that focuses on collaborative planning and more progressive techniques. All of the lower-level planners

interviewed would be interested in progressive planning were the options available to them. Therefore, by allowing lower-level planners to take on supervisory positions, it may be possible to eliminate the risk averse nature of the Planning Department.

Second, instead of upper-level planners dealing out plans to lower-level planners, lower-level planners should be allowed to choose plans they are interested in. If lower-level planners have the opportunity to choose plans rather than being forced to work on them, more interest will be taken by lower-level planners. This may allow lower-level planners to create more innovative and progressive strategies.

Third, upper-level planners should work on more plans or, at the least, co-head plans with their subordinates. Upper-level planners have more influence over the planning process, yet rarely work on plans. By allowing upper-level planners to plan rather than supervise, more citizen input and greater access to planners may be gained. In addition, upper-level planners should be required to attend all public hearings.

Fourth, information regarding plans and public hearings should be released earlier than the mandated week prior to the hearing. In addition, more information regarding the proposed plans should be given to the public. This will allow citizens to research the plan as well as have all information pertaining to it. More detailed information regarding plans could be easily given on the County's website.

Fifth, the Department would benefit from having handouts for community members listing all requirements that pertain to their specific project. While the Land Use Code lists all requirements, they are jumbled and the document itself is too large for citizens to wade through. By providing a handout of requirements, both citizens and planners would know what was required. This would eliminate inconsistency between planners while also discouraging the addition of rules by specific planners.

Finally, I recommend that the Planning Department promote a culture that fosters citizen input. Different types of meetings should be used in an attempt to move away from the mandated public meeting. It has been argued (See Williams 1976; Klein (2000) that mandated public hearings are not the best mechanism for including citizens in the planning process. Oftentimes, these meetings are limited in the time devoted to citizen comment, and citizens attend infrequently. As previously quoted, Klein (2000) argues that with mandated public meetings, "planning is done *to* or *for* the public, not *with* the public" (425).

If citizen input is only elicited through the mandated public meeting, the impact citizens can have on a plan will be limited. By the time of the public meeting, it is often too late for citizens to provide adequate input that is taken into consideration. Instead of using the public hearing to "go through the motions" of public participation, meaningful participation should be encouraged by both the County and the Planning Department. Rather than organizing meetings from the top down, attempts to should be made to allow citizens to organize their own forums in which planners participate.

4. Concluding Thoughts

Finally, how might this research be relevant in a broader sense? While this project focused specifically on Case d'Luc County, the findings point to trends that may exist in other counties nationwide. It is hard to imagine that the above experiences are limited solely to Case d'Luc County. Most planning departments are structured in a similar manner and rely on comparable planning processes. Therefore, it may be worthwhile to determine whether other planning department because of the embedded structural and cultural forces of legitimacy and rational authority – or whether the ideas of collaborative planning are espoused.

It might also be of interest to look more in-depth at the culture of planning departments around the country and effects these cultures explicitly have on planning. One of the most important aspects of this project is that it holds the potential to expand the body of knowledge related to organizational theory and social organization of the public planning process. A Neo-Gramscian and Critical Weberian framework was developed with the help of some mid-range theories that may prove useful to other researchers with similar interests. In addition, this framework could be further developed to take into consideration a more in-depth understanding of organizational culture or county structures as a whole.

While this study sought to analyze the hegemony of planners and their relationships with other elite groups in Case d'Luc County, one final question remains: even if the ideal of planning could be implemented, would the result be positive? Planning, regardless of how equitable, may continue to center around conflicts between groups of elites. Until elites can recognize the interests of other groups, this conflict will continue.

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APPENDIX A:

LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (PLANNERS)

DESCRPITIVE/RAPPORT BUILDING

• Can you tell me a bit about what you do as a planner here?

Tell me about your job position and responsibilities

For example, what's a typical day like for you here as a planner? What do you do?

Do you work alone or with other people or does it depend on the project?

LAYING GROUNDWORK FOR IDEAL/REAL WORLD CONTRAST

• Can you tell me about how you came to be a planner?

How did you become interested in planning?

Schooling questions: do you have a degree in planning?

What types of classes did you take in school?

Did your education focus more on theory or practical applications?

How did you come to be a planner here in Case d'Luc County?

Has your job changed since you began working here?

ORGANIZATIONAL STRUCTURING AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

• I'd like to ask you more concretely about your experience as a planner in this department. What's it like to work in this Department?

Who decides what you do in this department? Who sets the tasks, priorities, objectives, and so on?

What did you experience when you joined the planning department?

Are there set rules and procedures that you as a planner have to follow?

Who determines those rules and procedures?

In your experience, do these rules and procedures help make the planner's work more effective or do they hinder it?

Have the rules and procedures changed since you began working here?

PLANNING IN AN IDEAL VERSUS REAL WORLD

- I'm interested in learning about how planners' perspectives on what planning should ideally be are shaped by their experience in the real world of professional practice. From your perspective, what should planning ideally do, what should it accomplish?

  What would the ideal planning process look like? What did you expect when you started in the planning field?

  What is the best planning situation?

  Who should the planning process and planners themselves serve?

  How should the value and needs of the community enter into planning in an ideal world?

  What role do your personal values play in the planning process?

  What happens to planners' ideas about "best planning" in the real practice of planning?

  Is there a role for theory in planning?

WHO CONTROLS PLANNING?

- I'd like to shift gears a bit, I'm interested in learning about the degree to which planners have significant autonomy in their professional activities. Are planners autonomous or do they have to take other people into account when they work?

  Who are the planners' bosses?

  To what extent do planners' supervisors intervene in the planning process?

  In your judgment, what kind of input should citizens be able to provide to planners in an effective planning process?

  Do planners draw on their personal values in the process or do they try to put them aside?

- In your experience, who shapes, or significantly influences the planning process?

To what extent do planners themselves have an impact on the process?

To what extent do planners have the opportunity to implement progressive (innovative) panning? Are you able to implement progressive ideas in the practice of planning?

Besides planners and the others you've mentioned just now, who else has an important impact on the planning process?

CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING

- Delving a bit more into the role of citizens in planning here in Case d'Luc County, would you say that citizens participate effectively in the planning process?

Do citizens want to participate?

What motivates citizens to participate?

Can you give me an example of citizen participation in planning?

What role do non-governmental groups or activist organizations play in the planning process?

In your judgment should they participate more, or participate less?

Who do planners consider citizens do be? What groups have the most influence?

MASTER PLAN/LAND USE CODE AND SPECIFIC PLANS

- As you know, changes were recently made to the Land Use Code. What role did you plan with these recent changes?

How did these changes come about?

What was the process like in changing the Land Use Code?

If someone wants to suggest a change how does that work? What is the process for making changes?

- What specific plans are you currently working on?

Can you tell me more about _____ (specific plan mentioned)

What is the process like for those interested in developing (whatever the plan is about)?

How did you assist?

Has there been any citizen reactions to this plan?

THE FUTURE OF PLANNING IN THE AREA

• What future do you see for planning here in Case d'Luc County?

What are the big issues for the future? What ought to happen?

What do you think will happen with the Land Use Code? Do you think the Master Plan will work?

What do you think should occur for planners to play the best role possible in dealing with the County's planning issues?

APPENDIX B:

LIST OF INTERVIEW QUESTIONS (NONPLANNERS)

• Can you tell me a bit about what you do with _____ (group)?

Does your group work with other groups or primarily alone?

• Can you tell me about how you became interested in planning?

Has your focus changed since you became interested in planning?

• I'd like to ask you more concretely about your experience. What's it like to work with the Planning Department?

Who sets the tasks, priorities, objectives, and so on within this Department?

Are there set rules and procedures that planners have to follow?

Who determines those rules and procedures?

In your experience, do these rules and procedures help make the planner's work more effective or do they hinder it?

Have the rules and procedures changed since you began working with this Department?

• From your perspective, what should planning ideally do, what should it accomplish?

What would the ideal planning process look like?

What is the best planning situation?

Who should the planning process and planners themselves serve?
How should the value and needs of the community enter into planning in an ideal world?

• In your judgment, what kind of input should citizens be able to provide to planners in an effective planning process?

Who are the planners' bosses?

Do planners draw on their personal values in the process or do they try to put them aside?

- In your experience, who shapes, or significantly influences the planning process?

To what extent do planners themselves have an impact on the process?

To what extent do planners have the opportunity to implement progressive (innovative) panning?

Who else has an important impact on the planning process?

- Delving a bit more into the role of citizens in planning here in Case d'Luc County, would you say that citizens participate effectively in the planning process?

Do citizens want to participate?

What motivates citizens to participate?

What role do non-governmental groups or activist organizations play in the planning process?

In your judgment should they participate more, or participate less?

Who do you consider citizens to be?

Who do you think planners consider citizens do be? What groups have the most influence?

- As you know, changes were recently made to the Land Use Code.

What do you think about these changes?

Do you know how these changes came about?

If someone wants to suggest a change how does that work? What is the process for making changes?

- What future do you see for planning here in Case d'Luc County?

What are the big issues for the future? What ought to happen?

What do you think will happen with the Land Use Code?

What do you think should occur for planners to play the best role possible in dealing with the County's planning issues?