

# **SIGNPOSTS FOR COLLABORATION: MAKING THE CASE FOR GENUINE COLLABORATION FOR COPING WITH INCREASINGLY COMPLEX TRANSPORTATION PLANNING ENVIRONMENTS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

The capacity for individual transportation departments, at any level of government, to unilaterally plan and deploy transportation goods and services is fast diminishing. Transportation planning is becoming recognized as interrelated with other elements of our social fabric; interacting in complex not completely understood ways. Often the response to increasing complexity is increased reliance on even greater degrees of expertise. This additional regimentation may lead to increased “decide, announce, and defend” (DAD) technical/political planning approach. Other agencies, seeing the error in DAD planning, may adopt the “decide, educate, announce, and defend” (DEAD) planning approach. Both the paternalistic DAD and coercive DEAD planning models are increasingly less effective. Citizens demand more say. Collaboration, in the context of this discussion, is grounded in conflict resolution and deepening democracy theory. This contrasts with conceptions of collaboration as a form of public involvement, such as the illusory dichotomy of the citizen advisory committee (CAC) versus the technical advisory committee (TAC). Using emerging collaborative theory three collaborative transportation planning case studies are reviewed to identify the distinction between public involvement and similar practices and genuine collaboration. Additional attention is given to conditions suitable for collaboration, centered on the diminishing capacity for unilateral planning. The discussion concludes with recommendations for genuine collaborative transportation planning.

## **OVERVIEW**

This essay is meant to present arguments for establishing genuine collaborative planning processes in response to an increasingly complex planning environment. Accomplishing this aim begins by establishing the conditions of the evolving transportation planning environment that began with the Intermodal Surface Transportation Efficiency Act (ISTEA). The essay then turns to the emerging theories of collaboration focusing on planning styles, public involvement, and a model for collaboration. These theories are used to evaluate case studies identified for their collaborative nature. The essay concludes with a discussion of how emerging collaborative theory potentially applies with the transportation planning environment that exists in local contexts.

## **THE EVOLVING TRANSPORTATION PLANNING ENVIRONMENT**

Transportation planning experienced a trajectory changing event in 1992 with ISTEA; the reauthorization of the *highway bill* (author’s emphasis). The firestorm of environmentalism of the 1970s that gave the United States the Clean Air Act, the Clean Water Act, and the national Environmental Protection Act might have continued with reform of the highway-building approach to mobility if not delayed by the Reagan administration. At the center of this pressure for change in the approach to mobility was what Amekudzi and Meyer (2006) identified as “(1) the physical environment should be considered as an ecosystem with all of the interrelationships and linkages this implies and (2) ecosystems have a carrying capacity that determines their

ability to sustain life” (p. 43). The political conditions in 1991, in the form of New York Senator Patrick Moynihan and a coalition of planners, transit agencies, bicycle advocates, and environment non-governmental organizations (NGOs) known as the Surface Transportation Policy Project, were right for change (Gertz 2003, pp. 309-11). What these conditions and outcomes produced continue playing a significant role in transportation planning today.

The 1991 legislation looked substantially different than previous federal transportation authorizations. Wolf and Farquhar (2005) identified ISTEA required MPOs to generate Constrained Long Range Plans requiring the identification of funding for all projects over the next 20 years. This constrained aspect was also applied to the three year transportation improvement plan (TIP). Connecting resources to projects challenged the orthodox jurisdictional “wish list” and political bargaining model. Further, CLRP and TIP were eventually required to include seven evaluation criteria: “economic vitality, safety and security, accessibility and mobility, quality of life (including environment and energy conservation), integration and connectivity, system management and operation, and preservation of existing systems” (Wolf, & Farquhar, 2005, p. 1059). Gertz’s (2003) assessment of ISTEA identified additional significant environmental conditions. These fundamental changes in transportation planning and policy were: federal funds were available for alternate modes such as the New Starts program for light rail systems (LRT); a shifting emphasis to repair instead of expansion; recognition of the land use transportation relationship; establishing planning authority at the local metropolitan planning organization (MPO) level; and providing flexible funds for either highway or transit use (pp. 312-3). Wolf and Farquhar (2005) argued that ISTEA further directed MPOs to foster intermodal planning by considering “connectivity, efficiency of linkages, integration of transportation assets, and efficiency of point-to-point travel” (p. 1058). In addition, reflecting the environmental impetus for the new legislation, ISTEA and TEA-21 expressly required transportation planning to include citizen participation and other stakeholders “such as air quality, economic development, land use, and environmental justice” (Wolf, & Farquhar, 2005, p. 1064). Perhaps the most significant requirement of the new legislation was that transportation planning would be required to promote “opportunities for stakeholder and general public participation” (Wolf, & Farquhar, 2005, p. 1059). This new approach to transportation and transportation planning had a profound impact on transportation technicians and planning processes.

New views of transportation began to surface which would place pressure on the orthodox conceptions of transportation as a straightforward proposition. Amekudzi and Meyer’s (2006) review of the literature identified that cities themselves should be considered ecosystems adding “several layers of complexity in understanding these relationships” (p. 43). As part of an ecosystem, transportation, or more correctly mobility, would possess multiple complex relationships with other ecosystem elements, or stakeholders. Federal reauthorization of the transportation bill and transportation planning itself mirror this ecosystem frame with complexity and a resulting increase in stakeholders’ competition for resources (Gertz, 2003, p. 316). Existent empirical evidence suggests that the ecological frame is becoming more prevalent. In a survey state department of transportations (SDOTs) and MPOs, Amekudzi and Meyer (2006) found that both current and future plans identified the same five environmental factors as most important, however in differing order; land use, air quality, socio economic, environmental justice, and community cohesion (p. 45). A further piece of evidence is the emergence of new ways of viewing existing urban land forms. Amekudzi and Fomunung (2004) identified the increasingly

important role transportation planning will play in the redevelopment of cities specifically brownfields. This potential was considered enhanced when brownfield/transportation planning was preformed mutually. This symbiosis was reflected in listing the ecological components of the city environ such as: “environmental remediation, civil infrastructure renewal, job creation, tax-base development, economic development, and neighborhood revitalization” (Amekudzi, & Fomunung, 2004, p. 211). An additional piece of empirical evidence for this shift in transportation planning to an ecosystem model was the Flexibility in Highway Design and the context sensitive solutions (CSS). These emerging procedural, process, and policy approaches seek to obtain the sustainability balance implied in an ecosystem (Amekudzi & Meyer, 2006, p. 44). The advancing views of mobility were destined for a struggle with institutional inertia.

Evidence of institutional inertia and erosion of orthodox transportation planning is evidenced in most elements and levels of the practice. At the policy level, issues, such as air quality, land use, and environmental justice, have achieved differing levels of integration into MPO planning efforts. Environmental justice received attention while air quality and land use coordination received seeming disingenuous treatment; leaving transit’s air quality benefits unrealized and land uses sprawl affects unmitigated (Wolf & Farquhar, 2005, pp. 1063-4). At the strategic level, an organizational learning outcome for engaging in a fiscally constrained planning process was for MPOs and local jurisdictions to produce purposefully low cost estimates for favored projects as an inducement to include them in the state plan for funding (Wolf & Farquhar, 2005, p. 1060). At the organizational relationship level, SDOT and MPO relationships were strained by shifting authority and the gamesmanship of project identification, costing, and adoption (Wolf & Farquhar, 2005, p. 1065). Similarly, Gertz, (2003) viewed this institutional resistance at the state level and the local level sense of being overwhelmed from the MPO perspective concluding that the state remained committed to their own agenda and practices. Agendas were maintained by going to the counties as a way to demonstrate to MPOs that the “the state runs the show” (p. 315). At the regional level, Wolf & Farquhar (2005) found that despite strides toward regional governance for transportation, old SDOT institutional patriarchal relationship with MPOs remained and the individual jurisdictional power structure for self-determination trumped regional goals (p. 1072). The inertia goes beyond organizational cultures and interrelationships.

Transportation organizations at the technical level, technicians remain focused on traditional four-step travel demand planning models (TDM). Despite increasing recognition of social complexity and advances in technology, decisions remain mired in reductionism’s simplification mode of conventional TDM. For example, it is argued that geographic information systems (GIS) can improve the designation of transportation analysis zones (TAZs) by “visualizing variations in the average cost of housing” (Easa, Strauss, Hassan, & Souleyrette, 2002, p. 252). At the fundamental data collection level, the long-standing highway construction bias in transportation planning has led to collected data and information supporting that bias. This leads to a lack of underlying evaluation data and information that can legitimately be used in evaluating other travel mode options (Dixon et al, 2001; p. 283). Finally, at the emerging stakeholder empowerment level similar concerns of institutional inertia arose. While federal legislation recognized the need for air quality, transit, land use, freight, bicycle, and pedestrian stakeholders’ involvement in MPO planning efforts actual involvement has been sporadic and strained. Citizen participation was seen by the American Association of State Highway

Transportation Officials (AASHTO) as obstructionist despite MPOs apparent efforts to accommodate the participation (Wolf & Farquhar, 2005, pp. 1066-8).

Signs of adaptation for accommodating the new directions for transportation envisioned in the last three federal authorizations are becoming apparent. For instance, Amekudzi and Meyer's (2006) survey results indicate MPOs identify more, and with higher frequency, the number of reasons for incorporating environmental elements earlier in the planning process than do SDOTs. However, both MPOs and SDOTs identify the earlier consideration of environmental elements as reflecting "the existence of competing priorities" (p. 47). Further, while most MPOs remained predominately highway oriented and nominally including rail and bus transit larger MPOs did attempt to include combinations of van pooling and ridesharing programs, freight, aviation, bicycle, and pedestrian elements (Wolf & Farquhar, 2005, pp. 1060-1). More importantly, there are innovations and recognition of ways to achieve broader consensus. Segedy & Lyons (2001) identified regionalism, often a goal of the planning community, as tenuous to achieve in individualistic communities. One way to achieve de-facto regionalism is to have a focus on a single urban core and facilitate the public/private partnerships that achieve the core's "centripetal force" (p. 304). Porter (2006) argues that regions are achieving better planning by linking transportation and land use planning at all levels. Others echo this needed relationship in planning. Amekudzi and Meyer (2006) identified innovations such as scenario and capacity planning as being valuable comprehensive means to capture environmental issues in the transportation planning process. These are especially true when there are formal or collaborative partnerships that provide Porter's integrated land use and transportation planning (p. 51). Further innovations come from ISTEA and TEA-21's emphasis on different modes and congestion mitigation leading to planning professionals developing computer based analytic tools to assist with decision-making (Dixon, Sarasua, Daniel, & Mazur, 2001). Wolf and Farquhar (2005) identified a "growing technical and political capacities" as a positive affect of ISTEA and TEA-21's funding and authority for MPO planning efforts. One crucial "skill set" is "consensus-building competence" (p. 1072). This need for consensus applies to the rigors of travel demand modeling, in its' continually evolving form. Because travel demand models remain subject to biases they often require significant trust-building among transportation stakeholders (Khatib, Chang, & Ou, 2001, p. 37).

### **CONSTRUCTIVE COLLABORATIVE THEORIES AND MODELS**

Emerging collaborative theories and models may assist in placing genuine collaboration in the context of broader planning practice. In this section, these theoretical constructs are highlighted beginning with a typology of planning styles posited by Innes and Gruber (2005). The second discussion focuses on public participation frameworks identified by Innes and Booher (2004). The third theoretical model describes the conditions for collaboration established by the Center for Collaborative Policy (CCP, 2007). Each of these three theoretical concepts combines to provide a broad view of conditions in which genuine collaboration might be undertaken. The contextual conditions advanced in these theories and models are subsequently evaluated against a series of transportation planning case studies in the next section of this essay with the goal of assessing their capacity in conceptualizing genuine collaboration.

**Planning Styles:** Innes and Gruber's (2005) typology of planning styles is organized on the low and high levels of interdependence and diversity of interests as seen in Figure 1.

		Diversity of Interests	
		Low	High
Interdependence Of Interests	Low	Technical/Bureaucratic Convincing	Political Influence Co-opting
	High	Social Movement Converting	Collaborative Co-evolving

**Figure 1: Four Styles of Planning (adopted from Innes, & Gruber, 2005)**

The technical/bureaucratic and political influence planning styles are supported by “federal and state laws and regulations as well as fitting the “technical documentation” and “formula or earmark” models of practitioners (p. 180). The idealized version of the technical/bureaucratic planning style that predominate planning education is that of the neutral analyst reviewing the full range of alternatives in identifying the ones best meeting pre-agreed upon goals. This version is seldom the situation with biases and preferences implicitly occurring regularly. Individuals supporting this style see “a good regional plan” as meeting “all the requirements of legislation, is constant with official agency goals, and has all the needed backup information” (pp. 180-1). There is little discomfort with generating information to support projects selected through criteria other than the official ones based on agency goals. There is a nearly sole reliance on quantitative data objectively developed by technicians perhaps owing to complex changing rules and regulations for the various funding sources. Public participation in the technical/bureaucratic style is relegated to the broad discussion about goals and providing “feedback” on lists of projects.

Political influence planning style is perhaps not even recognized by professional planners or policy analysts; it is identified in practice as “typically dominate” (p. 181). This planning style centers on leaders who bargain with projects to win support from individual constituencies to support the leader’s overall vision. The co-opting of constituencies requires reciprocity and keeping promises. The planning approach is supported by formula driven resource allocation considered “transparent and fair”. The agency is then provided the space to “maintain its discretion and thus maintain political power” through “behind-the-scenes deals” (p. 180). The regional plan is supported by the powerful players supporting their interests “rather than a vision for the region” (p. 181). Innes and Gruber (2005) identified political planners as needing the technicians’ information for plan defensibility and salesmanship however the more useful information was “who was powerful, who wanted what, who was loyal, and who had done his or her share” (p. 181). In a sense, public participation is at odds with negotiation strategies of political planners. If public participation is tolerated it is in the form of appointed advisory committees designed to provide cover for ongoing practices.

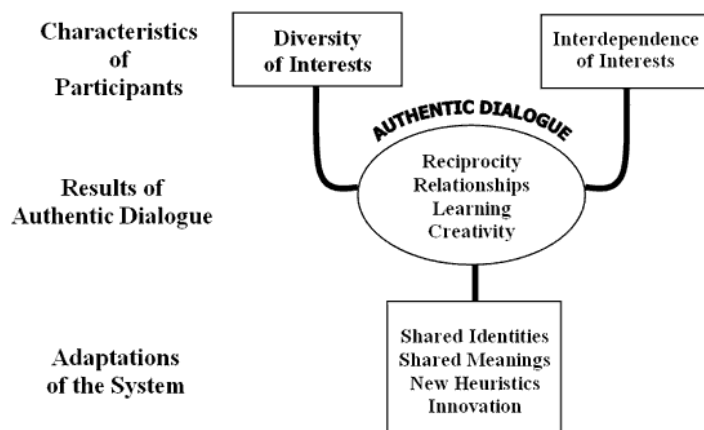
Social movement planning is born of “public demonstrations, creating and publicizing a simple oppositional message, speaking out at public meetings, seeking media attention, and instigating litigation” (p. 181). The goal is to convert popular support for their visions. Achieving the conversion requires social movement planners to counter the enormous power that the technical and political planners possess; such as high attendance at hearings that force discussions away from the technical jargon toward substantive policy. Transportation plans are viewed as good when the social movements’ vision is represented. Data comes in the form of stories that support the vision and work to convert others to the cause. Public participation is open to all with exception of those who would dilute the vision of the social movement planners.

Collaborative planning brings all stakeholders together for a sustained dialogue about the issues. The process collectively develops information, defines problems, and develops actions in an environment that supports “learning and co-evolving” (p. 183). The central component of collaborative planning is that the communication “is sincere, comprehensible, accurate, and a legitimate representation of the stakeholder’s interests” (p. 183). If this can be accomplished authentically, with diverse interests, there exists the potential for shared vision and innovation. A good plan reflects joint benefit to all stakeholders and provides for their interests while producing learning and positive relationships. Information is challengeable and broad-based without an over reliance on technical data. It must be believed by all stakeholders. Orthodox public participation methods, such as hearings with public testimony, are not useful in the collaborative planning style.

**Public Involvement:** The concept of public involvement, as was demonstrated in the opening portion of this essay, has its’ roots in the procedural requirements established during the environmental legislation of the 1970s; success is mixed. Innes and Booher (2004) identify five purposes for public participation; 1) provide decision makers with the publics’ preferences, 2) provide local knowledge for the decision rational, 3) advancing fairness and justice, 4) getting legitimacy for public decisions, and 5) the law requires it (pp. 422-3). These five purposes are viewed as leading to “pathologies of legally required participation methods” that are disingenuous, lead to increasing mistrust, and dissatisfaction with government (p. 422). The practice of public involvement is conducted in the form of “public hearings, written comments of proposed projects”, “citizen-based commissions”, boards of directors for public agencies”, “advisory committees”, and “task forces” (p. 423). Hearings and public comments typically provided for public participation “after plans or decisions have been proposed” leaving citizens to react (p. 423). The use of *Robert’s Rules of Order* (1990) ensures citizen bodies restrict their communication patterns into forms of debate. Except for public comment at hearings in which normal individuals passionate about the issues gets involved, the commissions, boards, committees, and task forces are populated by “elites and not representative of a range of interests and voices” (Innes & Booher, 2004, p. 422). Sunshine laws requiring public officials to only discuss public issues in the open have generated additional constraints on the communication about public issues. A major public involvement procedure is review and comment. Institutionalized in environmental processes, the public typically in the form of organized special interest groups provide comments to plans and policies presented by public agencies. Comment responses are anonymous, deemed appropriate or not, and crafted in legally defensible ways. Commentors do not interact with each other and communication is maintained in a one-way fashion. These public involvement practices are designed to meet the “decide, announce, and

defend” (DAD) technician view of public problem-solving. A learned adaptation to DAD is the engagement by public agencies in education in the form of public information campaigns, newsletters, and workshops that are designed to say “we are doing a great job”. This “decide, educate, announce, and defend” (DEAD) does not include any additional means of legitimately including the public in the decision process (pp. 224-6).

**Conditions of Collaboration:** The Center for Collaborative Policy (2007) has developed a model of collaboration that captures the network dynamics of genuine collaboration. The diversity and interdependence of interests coupled with authentic dialogue (DIAD) model explains how participants can accomplish results beyond the summation of the individual totals. Essentially, when collaborative participants are dependent on each other their best alternative to a negotiated agreement (BATNA) does not allow them to defect. By providing the conditions for authentic dialogue, including Habermas’ (1984) ideal speech conditions of comprehensibility, sincerity, legitimacy, and veracity, participants creatively explore issues, potential options, and mutual gains. With this exploration comes joint learning and enduring relationships built on reciprocity and trust. These results of authentic dialogue can lead to adaptations that include new ways of viewing issues, common understanding, and innovations.



**Figure 2: DIAD Model of Collaborative Network Dynamics**

Taken together these general theories concerning genuine collaborative practice and relationships with existing institutions of planning styles, public involvement, and planning process provide a touchstone.

### EVALUATION OF COLLABORATIVE CASE STUDIES

Assessment of collaborative theories and models was accomplished in evaluating case studies provided to the National Policy Consensus Center, a part of Portland State University. These case studies are collected as examples of collaboration in transportation planning and policy and can be accessed at <http://www.policyconsensus.org/casestudies/transportation.html>. Cases range from Oregon’s access management policy negotiations to Florida’s statewide transportation plan to specific projects in several states. Each of the eleven case studies was evaluated on the following criteria developed from the collaborative theories and models discussed in this essay.

- Planning Styles in use assigns a style for the original planning conditions leading to the collaborative effort in each case study (technical/bureaucratic=TB, political influence=PI, social movement=SM, and collaborative=C).
- Public Involvement assigns a type based on how public stakeholders are included in the collaborative process (hearing=H, comment=C, advisory committee=AC, citizen-based commission=CBC, task force=TF, workshop=W, or full stakeholder=FS).
- Interdependence assigns a level based on the strength of stakeholder relationships (=none to 5=completely dependent).
- Diversity assigns a level based on the spectrum of stakeholders involved.
- Authentic Dialogue assigns a value based on the level the collaborative effort achieved ideal speech conditions and demonstrated adaptation.

The evaluation results are contained in Table 1 below with a discussion following.

	Planning Style	Public Involvement	Interdependence	Diversity	Authentic Dialogue
A. Arizona DOT Partnering	NA	NA	4	2	3
B. Colorado's Shortgrass Prairie Initiative	PI & SM	C & AC	4	3	2
C. Florida's Strategic Intermodal System	T/B & SM	W	3	3	5
D. Florida's State Transportation Plan	T/B & PI	W	3	3	5
E. Orlando Central Connector	PI & SM	FS	3	4	4
F. Oregon Negotiated Transportation Policy Rules	T/B & PI	AC	4	4	5
G. Portland Martin Luther King Jr. Boulevard Revitalization	PI & SM	AC	4	3	2
H. Utah 3500 South Partnering Agreement	T/B & PI	C & AC	3	2	2
I. Sacramento Transportation and Air Quality Collaborative	T/B & PI	FS	3	5	5
J. Richmond, Virginia Bryan Park Interchange	T/B & SM	AC & W	3	2	4
K. Washington-Oregon Strategic Plan for I-5 Corridor	T/B & PI	H, TF, & W	3	3	4

**Table 1: Collaborative Transportation Case Study Evaluation.**

There are several inferences for collaborative practice to be drawn from this straightforward evaluation analysis. Collaborations concentrating on plans for a singular local project tend to incorporate more social movement planning elements such as in cases E, G, and J. However,

cases B and C demonstrate that social issues, such as environmental preservation, provide equally fertile conditions for interdependence. Traditional technical/bureaucratic planning plays an integral part in most transportation planning and needs to be accommodated in any attempts to provide collaborative planning. This situation likely stems from the pervasive individual world views of technical control; the world is a machine versus the world is an organism (Booher, 2004; Innes and Booher, 2004). In the machine world view, what is considered empirical data is objectified beyond other ways of knowing, such as our individual experiences we communicate with each other (Habermas, 1984). An extension of this world view can be attributed to the prevalence of political influence planning. Political influence planning, such as in cases B, D, F, I, and K, operates at a policy level in which resources are allocated based on potentially vague and perhaps not well understood purposes. Political influence becomes the means for overcoming the inability of technical/bureaucratic planning to effectively incorporate other ways of knowing into the idealized rational choice decision-making process. There is a value in Innes and Gruber's (2004) planning styles framework as the means to draw in broader heuristics and epistemologies of how the world is and ought to be.

Perhaps more telling than the prevalent planning styles is the way public interests are incorporated into the planning process. Cases B, F, G, H, and J used citizens' advisory committees. Such an approach provides a forum that may potentially reach a level of truly influencing the decision-making process as well as falling short of the goal. Providing workshops, such as in cases C, D, J, and K, potentially gives technicians insight into other sources of knowledge. The lack of continuous engagement does not provide an effective learning process necessary in achieving true collaboration outcomes, such as adaptation and new heuristics. Cases E and I fully engaged the public interests in the decision process. The distinction lies in the willingness to place all stakeholders on equally authoritative positions effectively neutralizing the underlying power structures. Public involvement becomes public engagement when their interests are empowered; perhaps the point to Innes and Booher's (2004) arguments.

The collaborative cases provided a spectrum of DIAD conditions. Each case identified the interdependence of the stakeholders' interests with varying levels of success in assisting all stakeholders in fully understanding the dependencies. More precisely, most cases with a three score were unable to have stakeholders understand the "best alternative to a negotiated agreement" (BATNA) (Fisher, Ury, & Patton, 1991). By not expressly developing BATNAs for all stakeholders the cases the conditions for authentic dialogue, such as sincerity and legitimacy of speech, are in jeopardy. Less telling in DIAD conditions was the case study's inclusion of diverse interests. This situation appears to parallel the overall approach for empowering the public in the decision-making process. Relegating the public to commenting and an advisory committee role leave their interests in a relatively second tier position; essentially out of the idea generating situations. Case I demonstrated the procedural means to draw in diverse interests and empower them within the broader decision-making process. These processes are the focused means to establish the conditions of authentic dialogue. In cases C, D, F, and I there were individuals specifically focused on establishing these authentic dialogue conditions; there were facilitators. While other cases used facilitation during portions of the decision-making process, these individuals did not appear to be instrumental in developing the process. An additional note on the different backgrounds the facilitation practitioners come from, such as conflict resolution,

collaborative policy, or mediation. Each approach may have differing views on public involvement or inclusion and how to cope with sunshine meeting legal requirements. The CCP DIAD model provides a valuable framework for how group dynamics in a genuine collaborative setting can produce results beyond the sum of parts.

Taken comprehensively, these eleven collaborative case studies demonstrate both the breadth of the potential contexts in which collaboration may be appropriate as well as the approaches that can be taken. From policy to project and ad hoc to predetermined, collaboration is viable when stakeholders come to realize no one actor can unilaterally decide, announce, and implement plans in the current transportation planning environment. As the repeated use of collaboration in Oregon and Florida demonstrates, once the realization occurs and collaboration is attempted it becomes an expectation of the stakeholders.

### **APPLYING COLLABORATIVE THEORY TO TRANSPORTATION PLANNING**

The central point to this essay lies in need for genuine collaboration in transportation planning. Previously in this essay it was established that the current planning environment for transportation was experiencing pressure for change while continuing to become more fractured through increasing stakeholder empowered interests. These are in essence the conditions of diversity and interdependence that theorists have established as fundamental elements in establishing an authentic dialogue upon which a collaborative process may be establish. While the planning environment may possess the conditions for collaboration it is likely the institutional environment does not: institutional inertia provides substantial resistance. Experiences in other areas of social public sphere provide transportation planning direction on how to proceed.

Continuing scholarly work generates theories and models of collaboration that will continue assisting society in developing a deeper understanding of the practice of collaboration. Central to this pressure for more genuine collaboration is the belief that effective decision-making in a power fragmented world requires full broad stakeholder engagement. This is a conclusion that King, Feltey, and Susel (1998) came to when studying public administration and authentic public involvement. To these authors, the balance needed for affective decision-making is made when citizens are fully empowered in the process; often meaning a reeducation of public administrators (pp. 323-5). Roberts (2002, 1997) identified accountability as an outcome for public administrator reeducation for empowering citizens. Leach and Sabatier (2006) linked rational choice decision-making with the social psychology model of trust from the social capital theories with a regression model. What these scholars discovered is that trust was garnered through time as stakeholders, many with strong adversarial policy beliefs, continue to engage each other in a consensus-based dialogue. Stakeholders are able to assess their BATNAs in the ongoing situation and choose not to defect. In doing so, these individual interests begin developing the components of Putman's (2000) bridging social capital; such as reciprocity and a sense of a social contract. It should also be noted that as Booher (2004) identified there are challenges for collaboration to overcome: pluralist traditions of policy generation in formal governmental bodies; the activist approach to social change; institutional inertia and traditions; and the transaction costs of adversarial relationships (pp. 41-3). This sampling of developing collaborative theories demonstrate the diverse approaches to theory building and the practical applications those approaches provide.

It may be reasonably concluded from the information and ideas found in this essay that transportation planning could benefit from genuine collaborative approaches. The potential hazard is proceeding to engage transportation stakeholders using collaboration as a diversion for continuing with business as usual: a new version of DAD or DEAD planning approaches. Indeed, the use of the word collaboration has increased often in just these contexts often. There exists a need and a desire to engage in what Snyder (2006) views as bringing democratic decision-making to citizens in order to increase democratic governance capacity. Transportation planners should embrace the challenge to improve governance with their engagement of citizens in the planning process. This is fundamentally different from engaging in genuine collaboration. Genuine collaboration requires empowerment of diverse interests and full commitment of time and resources to engage all stakeholders in an authentic dialogue. As the evaluation of the case studies and review of collaborative theory suggests, achieving genuine collaboration requires the various parties to entrust collaborative practitioners with focusing on the legitimacy of the process while they focus on the content and substance.

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