

STRATIFIED AND DEFENSIVE DEMOCRACY - A STUDY OF ISRAELI PLANNING HEARINGS

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PLANNING DEMOCRACY - AND (IN)EQUITY

We systematically studied how planning democracy is practiced 'in-action'- by comparing planners' daily answers to a variety of different objectors, on a variety of projects, and in central and marginal locations.

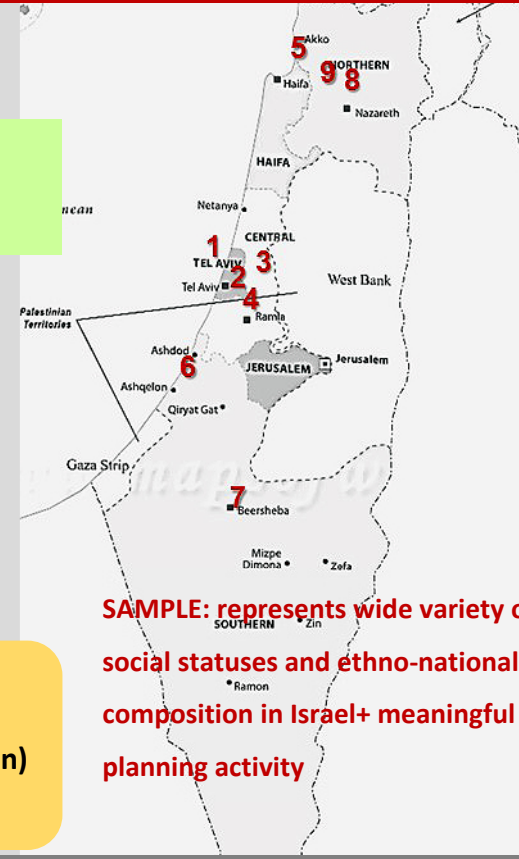
LATE OBJECTION HEARINGS= The mandatory framework for planning participation in Israel

RESEARCH DATA

Protocols written by planners in 5 (out of 7) regional committees to summarize all objection hearings (2010-2013)
The relevant planning documents\ Objectors' socio-spatial affiliation, statistics and role agency in development
planners' answers to 474 objection petitions, submitted to 113 planning schemes in 9 cities

Thematic analysis approach (TAA): qualitative and quantitative tool for tracing, categorizing and comparing the themes committees used to explain verdicts

1 UNIT = 1 ARGUMENT A PLANNER WROTE TO ANSWER OBJECTION
EXPRESSING 1 VERDICT (full acceptance, partial acceptance, rejection)
+ 1 THEME TO JUSTIFY IT



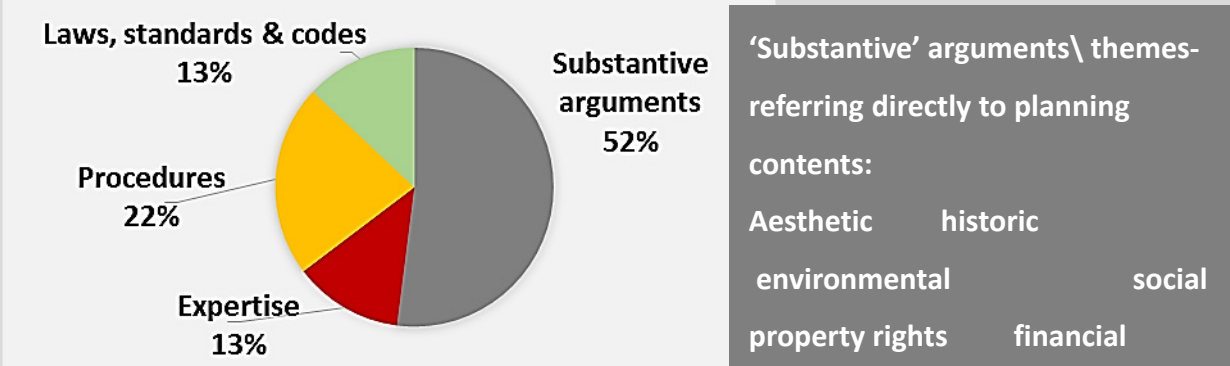
SAMPLE: represents wide variety of social statuses and ethno-national composition in Israel+ meaningful planning activity

City	Population*		Planning intensity		Regional committee
	residents	Ethnicity	planning schemes issued by regional committee 2010-2013	1000 sqm. of buildings' completion 2012	
1. Tel Aviv-Jaffa	418,590	Mixed	143	506.7	Tel Aviv
2. Holon	186,399	Jewish	39	214.6	Center
3. Petach Tikva	219,303	Jewish	111	479.8	
4. Lod	71,642	Mixed	42	70.2	Haifa
5. Kiryat Motzkin	39,228	Jewish	23	34.9	
6. Ashkelon	123,478	Jewish	34	257.2	South
7. Beer Sheeva	197,300	Jewish	250	166.2	North
8. Nazareth	74,363	Arab	100	42.9	
9. She'far'am	38,300	Arab	60	50.9	

WE TRACED THE FREQUENCIES OF 3 MAIN VARIABLES :

PLANNERS POSITIVE\NEGATIVE ANSWERS, THEIR EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN THESE ANSWERS (NO. OF ARGUMENTS), AND THE SHARE OF LPE THEMES IN THESE ANSWERS

TOTAL OF 2,764 ARGUMENTS



'Substantive' arguments\ themes-referring directly to planning contents:
Aesthetic historic
environmental social
property rights financial

LPE ARGUMENTS: ARGUMENTS WITH HIGHLY TECHNICAL AND PROFESSIONALIZED JARGON

LAWS STANDARDS AND CODES

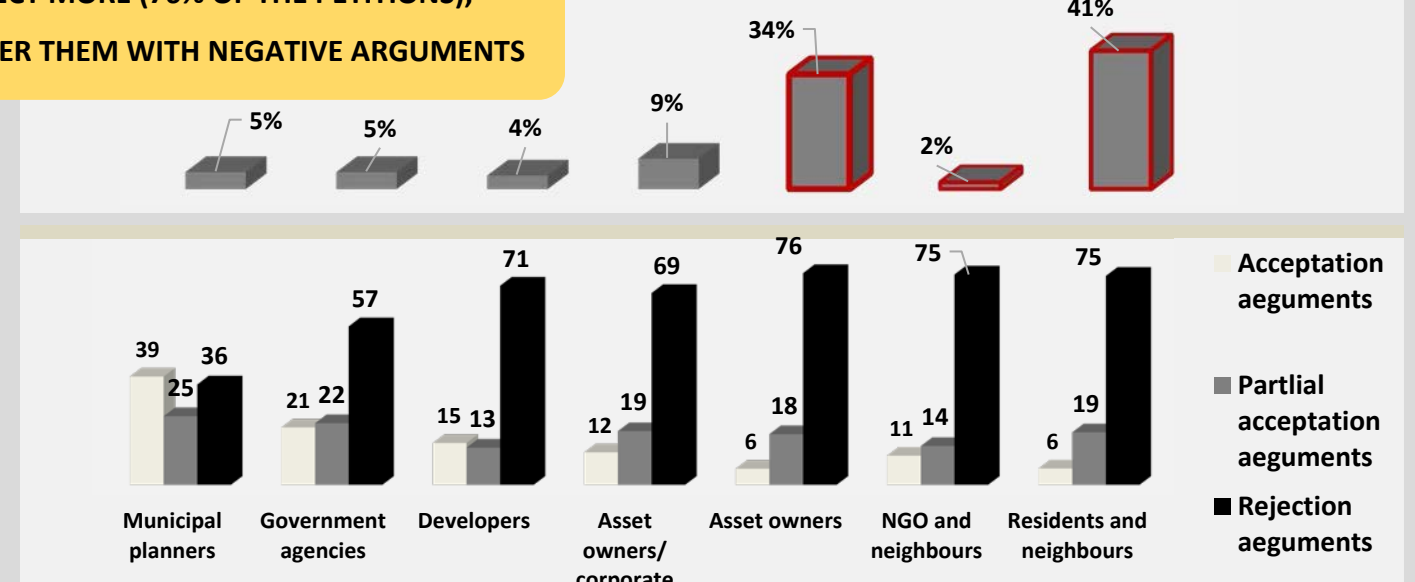
PROCEDURES: planning practice and terms

EXPERTISE: planners' knowledge, thoroughness and professional devotion

THEMATIC CATEGORIES:
ALMOST HALF- NOT SUBSTANTIVE

OBJECTORS' AGENCY SET THE FATE OF THEIR OBJECTION

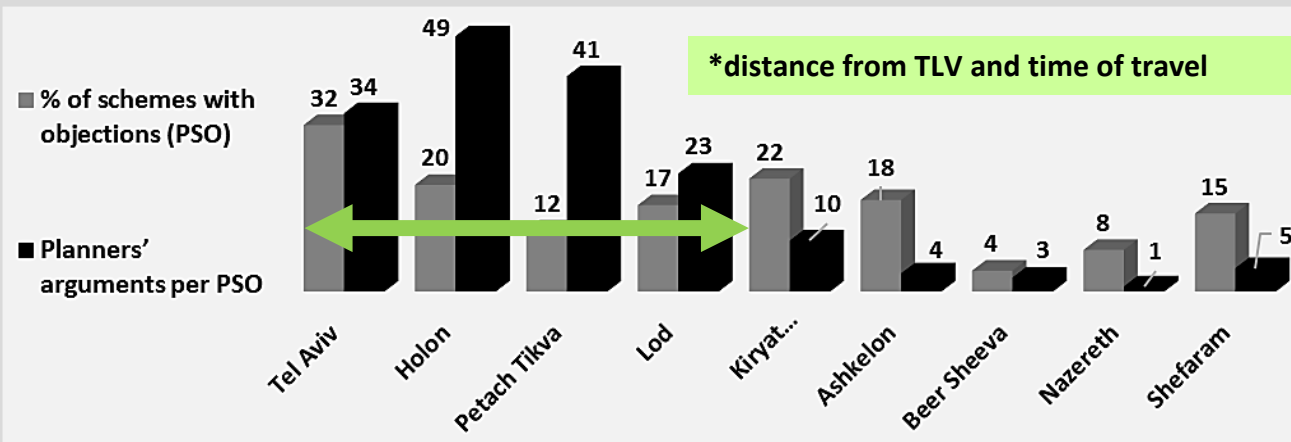
"EVERYDAY PEOPLE"- OBJECT MORE (76% OF THE PETITIONS), PLANNERS MOSTLY ANSWER THEM WITH NEGATIVE ARGUMENTS



VARIATIONS ACCORDING TO CITY

- People's right to object is not used evenly in marginal and central cities.
- Planners do the same:

Socio-economic ratio	8	7	7	4	7	5	5	3	3
Ethnicity	92% Jewish	Jewish	Jewish	22% Arab	Jewish	Jewish	Jewish	Arab	Arab
Marginality ratio*	251	247	244	224	153	167	125	140	118

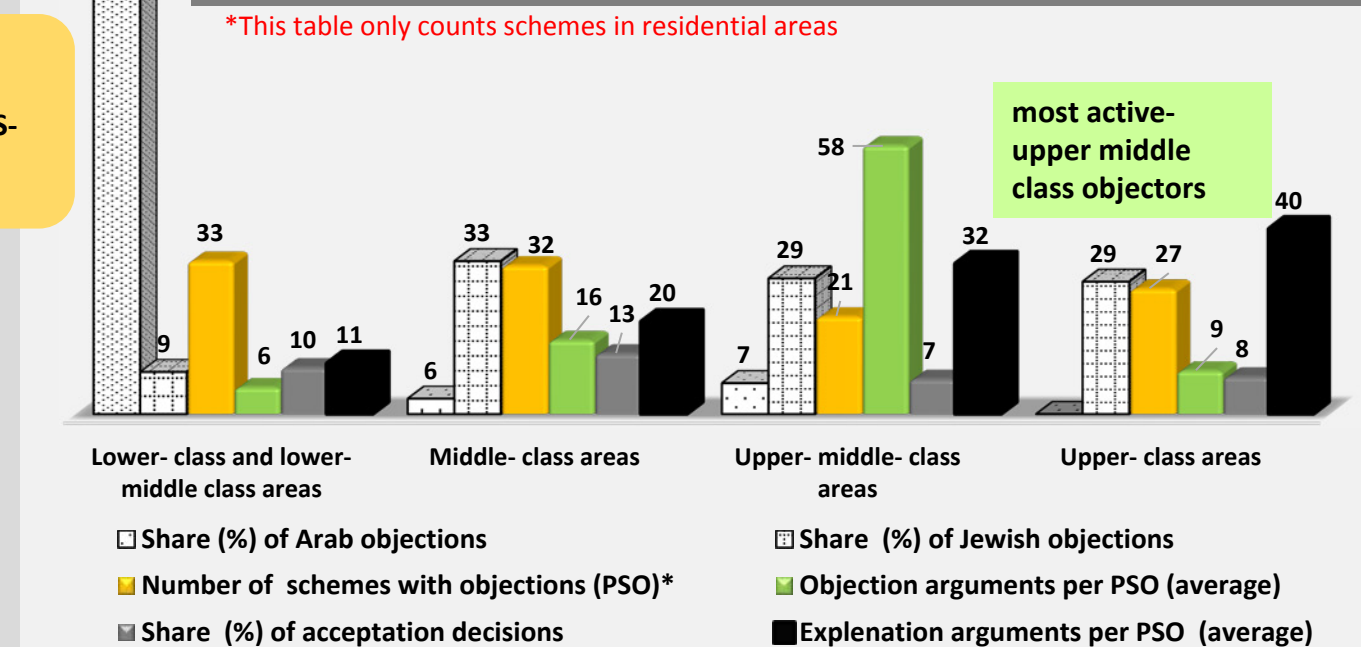


PLANNERS' EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN- ARE FULLY CLASS-RELATED.

REGARDING ALL TYPES OF SCHEMES \ VERDICTS, THE 2 CENTRAL COMMITTEES WROTE MORE ARGUMENTS, WITH MORE EFFORTS TO EXPLAIN THEIR DECISIONS.

VARIATIONS ACCORDING TO CLASS AND ETHNICITY (FULL SAMPLE)

- Upper classes – object more
- Planners accept (a bit) more arguments in less affluent\ Jewish locations



PLANNERS-CITIZENS' COMMUNICATION\ CLASS\ ETHNICITY

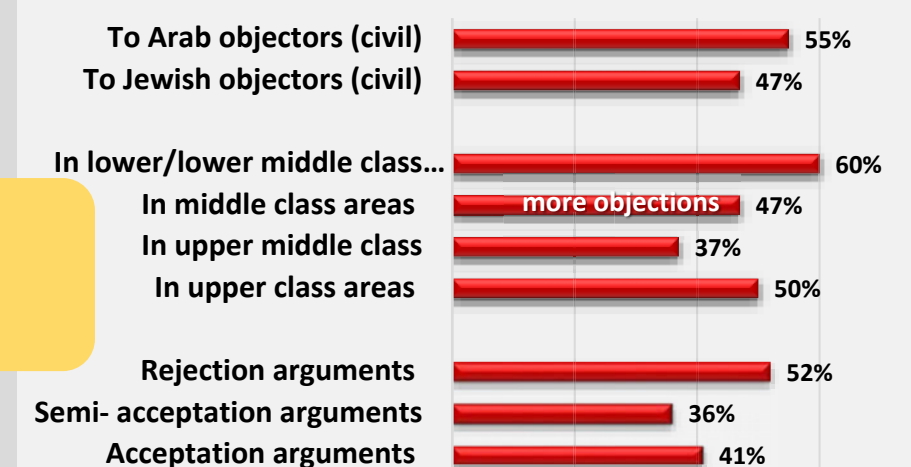
In the sampled cities	Jewish residents	Arab residents
Total population	Jewish population- 8.4 times bigger	
Objections submitted	Jewish residents submitted 9.5 more objection arguments	
Planners: Fully accepted objection arguments	7% of the arguments	5% of the arguments
Planners' explanations arguments	8 per PSO	4 per PSO

Arab citizens object less (per capita).
Planners accept less of their claims AND GIVE LESS (50%) ARGUMENTS TO EXPLAIN

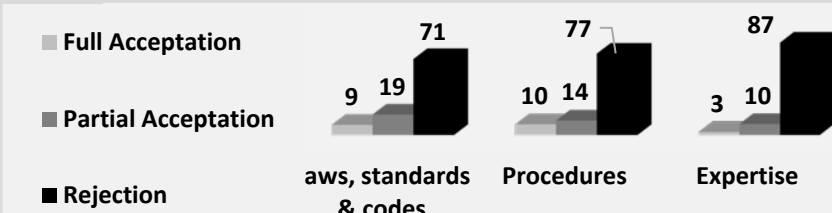
PLANNERS USE LPE ARGUMENTS (share % of all their arguments)

LPE

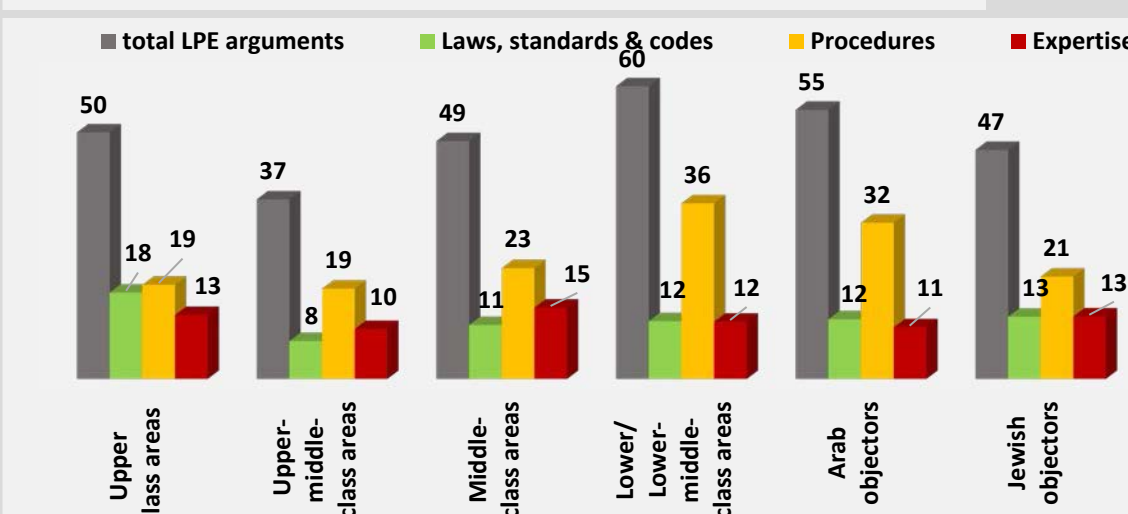
More to explain rejections, And\or to answer non-hegemonic objectors.



LPE COMPONENTS

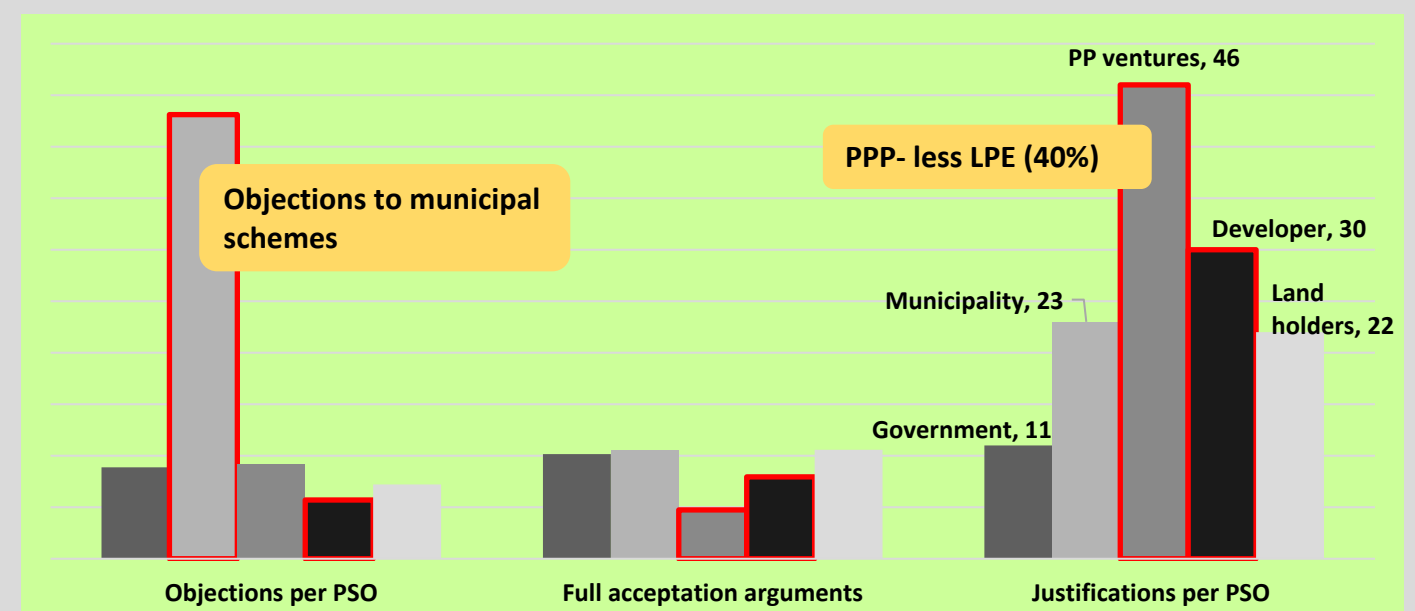


The ratio of planners use of 'expertise' themes to reject\ accept objections= 1:29



Planners use 'laws' more when talking to upper class objectors, they talk much more on procedures with non-hegemonic groups

PLANNERS WORK HARDER TO DEFEND LARGE PP AND DEVELOPERS' PROJECTS



Planners give less 'accepted' arguments to answer objections to PP or developers' schemes. In these cases they also provided more arguments to defend their decisions + less LPE (and more substantive- concrete justifications).

We FOUND THAT IN SOME CASES ALL COMPONENTS MATCH; IN SOME CASES- THEY DO NOT.

1. A 'straightforward' negative bias- only towards Arab objectors: planners accept smaller share of their arguments, explained less (half per scheme with objections), with more LPE.
2. Most cohesively positive bias: when planners related to PP and major developers' ventures- they accepted less objections, explained more, and used LPE less.
3. Mixed manner: for example upper middle class areas and central cities where objectors are more active- planners did not accept more objections, but they made greater efforts to explain and substantively communicate their verdicts.

Planners' 'complex' discourse, we claim, helps in concealing meaningful biases and in legitimating planning as an institution responding to a variety of claims with a variety of decisions and arguments.

THIS DISCOURSE IS ULTIMATELY STRATIFIED, WHILE BOTH THE CLEAR-CUT CASES AND THE MORE INTRICATE ONES REFLECT PLANNERS VIEWS OF EXISTING SOCIAL AND ETHNIC FRACTIONS.