



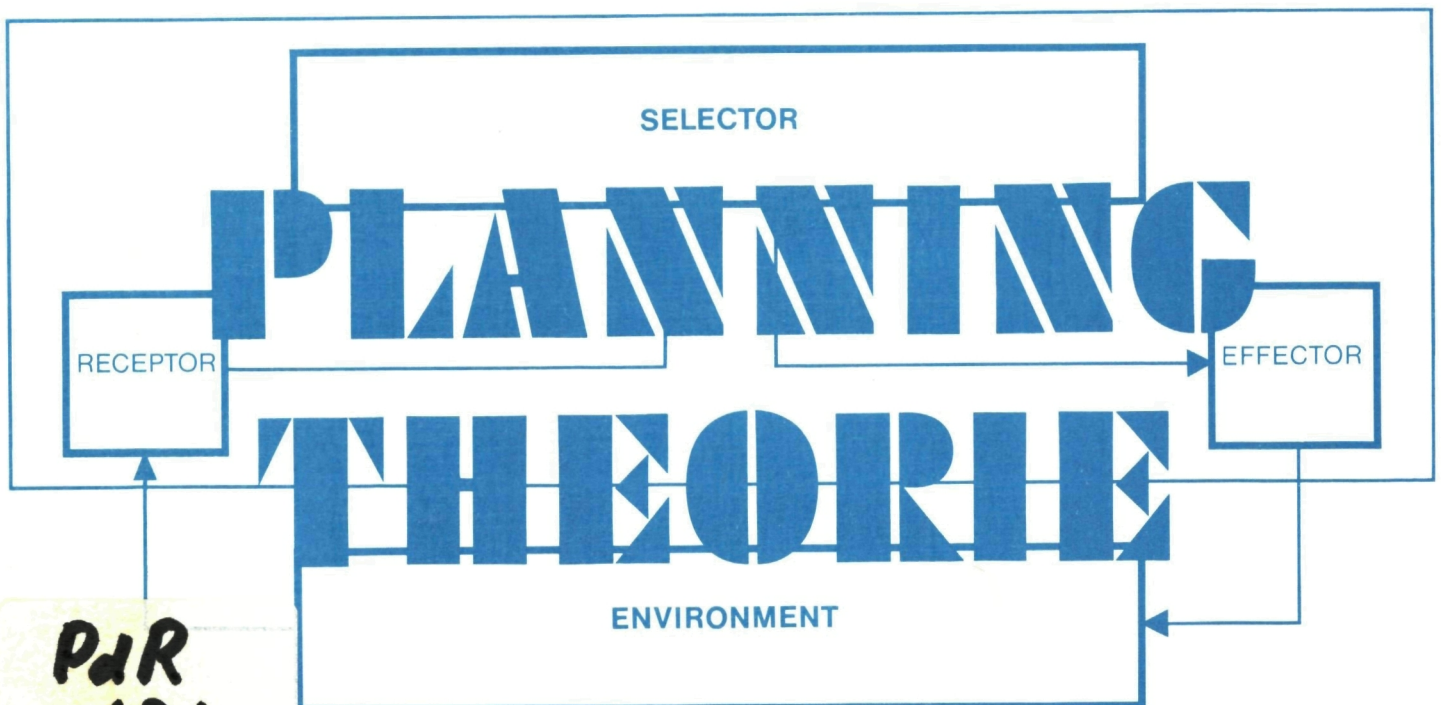
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Nr 7

ANDREAS FALUDI

# The social sciences in the planning curriculum

VERKENNINGEN IN PLANNING THEORIE EN ONDERWIJS  
WORKING PAPERS IN PLANNING THEORY AND EDUCATION  
ARBEITSPAPIERE ZUR PLANUNGSTHEORIE UND AUSBILDUNG



PdR  
968/7

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ANDREAS FALUDI

# The social sciences in the planning curriculum

Planning Theorie Groep  
Afdeling der Bouwkunde  
Technische Hogeschool Delft  
Berlageweg 1  
Delft

Dit is een uitgave van de  
Vereniging voor Studie- en  
Studentenbelangen te Delft



Andreas Faludi, Dipl.-Ing. Dr. techn. holds a chair at the Afdeling der Bouwkunde of the Technische Hogeschool Delft in the Netherlands.

His teaching and research interests are planning theory and education. He is author of a book and editor of a reader in planning theory and has published in American, Austrian, British, Canadian, Dutch and German planning journals.

**SUMMARY**

This paper discusses the social sciences in planning education. It is based on an appreciation of recent British developments. The last ten years have seen the emergence of the generalist view of the role of the planner, and its concomitant educational policy on part of the Royal Town Planning Institute as well as their subsequent modification. Based on research conducted in 1969/70, the paper interprets the situation of one of the social sciences, sociology, as a contributory skill under the generalist regime in planning schools. It then shows how, in one of them, this situation has borne within it the seeds of change towards a more integral role of sociology in the curriculum. The paper develops this into proposals for how the social sciences might be involved in a planning curriculum so as to do justice to themselves as disciplines in their own right, whilst at the same time still assisting the ends of planning education.

**ZUSAMMENFASSUNG**

Diese Arbeit befasst sich mit den Sozialwissenschaften in der Planerausbildung. Sie beruht auf einer Einschätzung der jüngsten Entwicklung in Grossbritannien. Die letzten zehn Jahre haben das Entstehen des generalistischen Rollenkonzeptes des Planers und die zugehörige Ausbildungspolitik des Royal Town Planning Institute sowie deren schliessliche Modifikation gesehen.

Aufbauend auf 1969/70 durchgeführten Untersuchungen interpretiert die Arbeit die Situation von einer der Sozialwissenschaften, der Soziologie, als einer Hilfswissenschaft unter dem generalistischen Regime in den Planungsschulen. Sie zeigt dann, wie diese Situation in einer der Schulen den Ansatz zum Wandel in Richtung auf eine mehr integrale Rolle im Curriculum für die Soziologie in sich getragen hat. Die Arbeit entwickelt dies in Vorschläge für die Einbeziehung der Sozialwissenschaften in ein Planungscurriculum, so dass ihnen als selbständigen Disziplinen Gerechtigkeit widerfährt, aber sie gleichzeitig doch den Zielsetzungen der Planerausbildung dienen.

**SAMENVATTING**

In dit werk worden de maatschappijwetenschappen in het planningonderwijs ter discussie gesteld. Het stoelt op een verkenning van recente Britse ontwikkelingen. De laatste tien jaren hebben we de generalistische opvatting van de rol van de planner en het bijbehorende onderwijsbeleid van de kant van het Royal Town Planning Institute en tenslotte diens uiteindelijke wijziging zien ontstaan. Gebruik makend van in 1969/70 uitgevoerd onderzoek wordt in het werk de situatie van een van de maatschappijwetenschappen, de sociologie, als een hulpwetenschap onder het generalistische gezag in de planningsscholen geïnterpreteerd. Zij toont dan aan, hoe deze situatie in een van de scholen de aanzet voor een verandering in de richting van een meer integrale rol in het curriculum voor de sociologie in zich heeft gehad. In het werk worden voorstellen gedaan voor de betrekking van de maatschappijwetenschappen bij een planning curriculum op een zodanige wijze dat men hun als zelfstandige disciplines wel recht laat wedervaren, maar dat zij tegelijkertijd toch de doeleinden van het planningonderwijs gaan bevorderen.

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## FOREWORD

As the title of this series inaugurated by the Planning Theory Group at the Afdeling der Bouwkunde of the Technische Hogeschool Delft suggests, there ought to be a strong link between planning theory and education. With this paper I am venturing to give some substance to the general idea of linking education to theoretical discourse. It follows two earlier papers by Geoffrey Crispin which are similarly concerned with planning education. \*) Hopefully, these papers will between them establish a tradition of writing about this topic.

The problem I am addressing myself to is one of great fascination, both for the theoretical issues involved, as well as for its practical importance in planning education. It is the question of how one could relate the social sciences to other elements of the planning curriculum.

In this paper, the emphasis is generally on the educational questions. There are, naturally, some more theoretical arguments underlying which I have presented elsewhere. Here, I would merely wish to point out where I think the theoretical issue underlying some or most of the difficulties experienced with regard to social science teaching on planning courses lies. The problem, to my mind, is that the social sciences, and in particular sociology, are very conscious of their status as academic disciplines, but fail to develop a commensurate level of concern for the application of their theories to practical matters. Whilst I for one hold that this limitation is not inherent it does make it necessary to build a separate disciplinary base for all those concerned with intervention in the real world.

Naturally, that new discipline, to whose developments I have directed my, albeit feeble, efforts in the past, perceives other disciplines as resources on which to draw in efforts to arrive at valid programmes of intervention. At the same time, each social-science discipline looks at intervention in the real world as in some respect its own legitimate territory. Each one has taken practical problems as its starting point, each has to some extent grappled with the methodological issues involved in intervention, and each one claims a domain whose relevance to contemporary life seems all-pervasive. The result is a form of intellectual tension which, even the best of circumstances given, must be present in all forms of education for practice, planning education included. The fact that circumstances are never ideal only exacerbates the problems which, at rock-bottom level, are problems of theory.

It seems important to make a disclaimer concerning what this paper does not say. Firstly it says nothing about physical design simply because the issue did hardly arise during the period covered in this paper. Secondly it says nothing whatsoever that might be of relevance to debates about the desirable length of planning courses outside Britain. As I am taking pains to explain in Chapter I, British higher education starts from assumptions which are substantially different from those on the continent. Comparisons are therefore particularly hazardous and should only be attempted with care and special attention being paid to such differences as there are. This paper does not attempt to compare planning education, certainly not as far as the length of courses is concerned. It merely deals with the specific problems of teaching social sciences in planning education which, to a large extent, require similar approaches irrespective of context.

\*) G. Crispin: Comparative education for urban and regional planning – The British experience; Project work in education for urban and regional planning, Working Papers in Planning Theory and Education, Nos 3 & 4, VSSD, Delft, 1975.



## INTRODUCTION

I perceive the role of social science disciplines in the curriculum as one of the key problems of planning education. This paper concerning this role is based firstly on my experience of teaching at the Department of Town Planning of the Oxford Polytechnic during 1968-1973, and secondly on research which I did during this period into the role of sociologists in planning and planning education.

As will become evident from this paper, the period at Oxford was one of intense developments taking place, amongst others in terms of integrating social science teaching into planning education. One of the questions which this paper seeks to answer is why this development has taken place.

However, I should like to avoid one impression in particular, namely that these developments were anything like smooth. Inevitably, when describing developments, they appear very much more purposive than they actually seemed at the time when they occurred. Also, although the period covered in this paper was a singularly happy one on a personal level, it was certainly not free from conflict and paradox. Looking back on it I get the impression that the department danced with accelerating speed on the edge of a volcano. We were generally enjoying the dancing I think but had the gnawing feeling that the volcano might at any time erupt and destroy the whole edifice of the Oxford Polytechnic planning department at a stroke. Such experiences tend to be exhilarating, but they are far from orderly.

My research into sociology in planning education began in 1969. In its early stages I interviewed sociologists about their collaboration with planners. The assumption was that their education should prepare planners for collaboration with people from other disciplines, what one might term an inter-disciplinary rationale. But my other work which took precedence over this project has led me since to supplement this by another rationale for planning education, i.e. the view of planning as a (meta-)discipline in its own right. \*) This meta-disciplinary rationale provides the basis for the proposals concerning course development contained in Chapter V.

The first reason for publishing this paper is that these proposals seem to converge with some of the educational ideas discussed in Germany and in the Netherlands. The second one is my desire to contribute to the development of thinking concerning planning education which is, I believe, an area of great fascination and potential, educationally speaking.

There is an underlying message concerning conflict in curriculum planning and in education generally which I hope comes across in the final chapter and should have wider applicability than just the area of social science teaching in planning education. This message is that conflict can often not be resolved in a mutually satisfactory manner and that, since teaching goes on, rather than waiting for all or most pressing issues to be resolved, one should create structures within which conflict may articulate itself, and where the resolution of conflict, if any, may continuously feed into the development of a course.

Underlying this message is yet another view of what a curriculum is, and what integration within a curriculum means. A curriculum in terms of a syllabus and regulations governing admissions, the transfer between its elements and the award of qualifications is but the surface of something very much more complex, i.e. a delicate set of social relations amongst all those concerned with a particular course. The intellectual relations between the individual elements of a curriculum therefore form but one out of a number of variables influencing curriculum development in general and integration within a curriculum in particular. To

\*) The substantive propositions of planning as a (meta-)discipline are not the subject of this paper. For those who are interested, a reference to 'Planning Theory' (Faludi, 1973) must suffice.

approach curriculum development and the integration between disciplines as a purely intellectual task is therefore a recipe for failure. Integration in particular means integration of people, their socialisation into some loose system of values. It is a delicate process always carrying the risk of failure, and in any case one that requires time, constant attention and care to trigger off and maintain.



## I. BRITISH PLANNING EDUCATION: THE CHANGING SCENE.

This chapter attempts to sketch out the background against which the more specifically educational arguments of the following chapters must be understood. It is concerned with changes in British planning education occurring between the mid-sixties and the mid-seventies, during which town planning established its professional identity only to be faced with confusing and threatening changes in the context in which town planning takes place. This challenge, and the responses to it, reverberated throughout the planning schools during the more than five years that I was at the Oxford Polytechnic.

Before describing these developments, there are a few concepts which might confuse the non-British reader as they confused me when I first came to Britain. The most important one for understanding British planning education is that of a profession. The development of the professions in Britain has been the object of a thorough study by Millerson (1964). Briefly, with virtually no state-regulation of their activities in 19th century Britain, practitioners of certain high-level skills felt the urgent need to protect their reputation, and ultimately their interests, against the impression created by malpractices. They formed what Millerson described aptly as qualifying associations. Members of these were supposed to have attained a certain level of qualification, adhere to a code of conduct and to a scale of professional fees.

Insistence on a certain level of professional competence soon led to entrance examinations. It is important to realise that these were initially a purely professional affair and did not form part of any educational system. This is underlined by the fact that they are often termed external examinations. Still nowadays, it is possible for anybody with certain minimum educational attainments to take such external examinations and to join many of the professions. Membership of a profession is, firstly, an almost pre-requisite of practicing it and, secondly, puts the person concerned, for most intents and purposes, on a par with a university graduate.

As against the continent with its many polytechnic schools, British higher education had originally neglected professional education, a factor which contributed to nineteenth-century professions concentrating on the qualifications of their members. When the education sector began to develop an interest in this field, the professions were the well-established authorities for granting professional qualifications. However, the smaller professions in particular found it very difficult indeed to provide the necessary facilities for obtaining them, and a form of cooperation between the professions and the higher education sector emerged which is absent on the continent: the so-called recognised schools system. What it means is that the graduates from certain specified courses offered at institutions of higher education are exempted from all, or parts of, the external examinations of most of the professions. It is obvious that this gives the professions control over course development so that, whenever planning educators used to meet during my time in Britain, the Royal Town Planning Institute was present in their discussions as the, largely unseen, villain of the piece against whose apparently absurd policies they barked out.

Next to explaining something about the professions, one must deal with higher education itself. Here, the key-point is that not every British degree, and consequently not every course, offers a professional qualification. As against continental higher education, where the idea is clearly that of every graduate being able to enter into practice of some kind more or less straight after graduation, the idea of a British undergraduate degree based on the model of 'Oxbridge' (Oxford - Cambridge, the two oldest English universities) is more that of 'educating the gentleman' who could subsequently 'learn on the job' if need should be. Consequently, courses for British undergraduate degrees are much shorter than continental university courses, i.e. usually three years. They are being augmented by a whole array of post-graduate courses providing further qualifications. Sometimes, such courses are termed graduate (as against post-graduate), when they introduce hold-



ers of undergraduate degrees to a new area of concern instead of building on their previous degree. Finally, there are certain exceptions to the rule of three-year undergraduate courses. Courses which attempt to combine the liberal education rationale of the three-year course with the aim of providing a professional qualification last longer. Architecture and town planning provide examples of these.

The situation is complicated still further by the fact that British higher education has two sectors, polytechnics and universities, with the first generally aspiring to the status of the second. In this, they are being encouraged by successive governments hoping to reduce the costs of higher education overall by providing more 'education on the cheap' in the generally, in terms of finance and facilities, more impoverished polytechnics.

Oxford Polytechnic is one of the polytechnics. During the period covered by this paper, it succeeded in attaining a reasonable degree of parity with universities, signified by the fact that it now awards academic degrees. At the same time, its planning qualifications (formerly diplomas, now degrees) are exempting their holders from the Royal Town Planning Institute's external examination.

With these explanations it is hoped that the following account will be easier to understand. This is because the (now Royal) Town Planning Institute, as one of a whole array of professional organisations behaved in exactly the way described above. Education in town planning had been one of its prime concerns since its foundation in 1914. Like others, it had devised a system of external examinations in 1916 and operated it since 1920. This, and the granting of exemptions from its Final Examination to graduates of recognised schools, were and still are the vehicles of its educational policy.

In its early days only members of one of the 'parent professions', architecture, engineering and surveying, were eligible to take the Institute's Final Examination. It consisted of three papers on matters of planning *per se* (including a sketch plan and report), and three on the relation of town planning with the parent professions and with law. The parent professions extended their influence even further through the formation of the Joint Examination Board in 1931. However, at the same time an Intermediate Examination was introduced enabling it for the first time to become professionally qualified in planning only. A qualification in one of the parent professions became tantamount to exemption from the Institute's Intermediate Examination.

The importance of creating an Intermediate Examination was only to emerge after World War II. In 1951 the Schuster Committee (HMSO, 1950) recommended that town planning, being a matter not merely of physical design but of social and economic policy, should be open to all graduates. The Town Planning Institute responded cautiously by exempting economists and geographers from its Intermediate Examination in 1953. In 1963, the privilege was extended to sociologists. The main effect was to open the doors for a great influx of geographers into planning. \*)

It was partly the desire to redress the balance amongst newly qualifying planners between geographers and the parent professions which motivated the Council of the Town Planning Institute (almost completely dominated by the parent professions) to create a 'Special Committee on Membership and Recruitment' in the early sixties. The latter proposed a scheme for the Final Examination which was to give all candidates an understanding of the basic principles and practice of planning and, besides, to allow them to take an advanced test in their specialism. In effect it suggested to make entry into town planning easier for members of the parent professions. This position was subsequently termed 'specialist' (Faludi, 1972a) to distinguish it from the 'generalist' view of planning as a profession in its own right.

In terms of the recognised schools policy, the implications of this move were never considered properly. There existed two types of courses: firstly, such accepting entrants qualified in one of the parent professions and, since 1953, also graduates in many other dis-

\*) Subsequently, these were to side with the 'direct entry' planners to argue the generalist case. See Faludi (1972a).



ciplines and, secondly, courses on undergraduate level. Probably, the implications of the 'specialists' carrying the day in 1965 would have been for undergraduate courses to develop only slowly, and for the others to diversify greatly with individual courses catering for entrants from specific professions, this possibly in close association with their own prestigious schools.

However, the opposing 'generalists' rather than the 'specialists' prevailed and rejected the attempt to lower the threshold for entry by members of the parent professions rescinding even such privileges as architects, engineers and surveyors and incidentally also geographers had enjoyed up until then. A new Education Committee proposed a 'Revised Scheme for the Final Examination' (The Town Planning Institute, 1967b) complementing the profession's newly formed view of physical planning as a distinct area of professional concern rather than as an area of further specialisation for members of the parent professions. In terms of the recognised schools policy, the Town Planning Institute came to favour undergraduate courses, though not to the exclusion of what were now to be termed graduate courses. \*) This was because, in the words of the then Chairman of the Education Committee, the '... test of the planning profession's claim to a distinct field of activity is the practicability of framing an undergraduate educational programme' (Kantorowich, 1967). This view, together with an estimated shortage of qualified town planners running into several thousands which the Town Planning Institute had envisaged for some time (The Town Planning Institute, 1964) and which it emphasised in its evidence to the Committee on the Staffing of Local Government (HMSO, 1967b), led it to pursue its policy of expanding undergraduate planning education. The Institute made representations to the Ministry for Housing and Local Government and the Ministry of Education to increase the number of courses during the next quinquennium then under consideration by the University Grants Committee. These were successful, and university courses in planning expanded. In addition, undergraduate courses were also established in the growing number of polytechnics, initially as diploma courses, but increasingly leading to degrees awarded under the auspices of the Council of National Academic Awards. For all these courses now numbering well over a dozen (as well as for graduate courses, both full-time and part-time) the new Final Examination syllabus acted as a yardstick. Although intended as a minimum standard, its extensive coverage and its rigorous application in granting recognition, in particular to the newly emerging courses, tended to exert pressure towards uniformity of planning education which planning educators and close observers tended to complain about ever since (e.g. Cockburn, 1970c; *Progress in Planning*, 1973).

The new Final Examination syllabus of the Royal Town Planning Institute was prepared in outline by the Education Committee in 1965/67, accepted in this form by the Council in May 1967, worked out in detail in 1967/69, published in April 1969 (The Town Planning Institute, 1969a) and brought into operation in 1970.

The generalist concept underlying this syllabus was particularly relevant to the context of traditional British local government with relatively rigid boundaries between departments. In this environment town planning was a newcomer. Many authorities did not even have a separate department of planning but joint ones for architecture and planning, engineering and planning, etc. Having been the target of, as the majority of town planners saw it, a takeover bid from architects as the most powerful of the professions operating in their vicinity and wanting to make access to a town planning qualification easier for architects, planners reacted by emphasising their distinctiveness. What they intended was to convince themselves and others that physical planning above the scale of individual buildings involved a separate skill, one which justified separate departments of planning, separate career structures, including chief planning officer posts, for which candidates needed no other qualification than one in town planning; and a separate educational system. This is

\*) To distinguish them from, in terms of planning, truly post-graduate courses for qualified planners.



what the 'generalist' concept seemed to justify, hence its adoption. Nobody seemed to mind that, rather than being generalist, the concept simply meant a bid for recognition of physical planning as a new specialism.

The origin of the 'generalist' concept in a territorial dispute within local government is well illustrated by a diagram on the 'role of contributors' in an article by one of its most articulate proponents (Kantorowich, 1967). It shows 'the planning process' taking place in the 'planner's office'. My purpose will now be to show that the context of town planning is changing to the extent of considerably modifying the meaning of that phrase 'the planner's office'. To take account of these changes, the planning profession has meanwhile reopened the debate on the role of the planner.

The stages by which changes have occurred are marked by a series of official reports starting from the Maud and Mallaby Report (HMSO 1967a,b). These were significant not so much for the quality of their argument (Stanyer, 1970) but for the official blessing which they gave to a great deal of experimentation in local government. Since their publication, local government is seen to be on the move.

Already one year afterwards the secretary of the Association of Municipal Corporations reported on massive changes taking place (Swaffield, 1968). They concerned the introduction of new management procedures and other devices for streamlining policy making and administration. The general intention was to make local government internally more coherent than hitherto. This was enforced by the Seebohm Report (HMSO, 1968b) published the same year.

For the following years, public attention focused more on the spectacular reform of the powers and boundaries of local government than on its internal make-up. However, the Maud Commission's report on local government reform (HMSO, 1969) still incorporated basic tenets of the previous ones. At the same time, reorganisation continued in various authorities with the report on Liverpool Corporation by a firm of international management consultants and the re-structuring of Coventry's administration providing two conspicuous examples. Also, academic institutions took a specific interest in local government reform, with the Institute for Local Government Studies at the University of Birmingham taking a lead.

The next official report in this series Transport Planning — The Men For The Job (HMSO, 1970) spelt it out to town planners that the days of separate departments might soon be over. It insisted that, in future, there should be large departments of land use and transport rather like the social services departments introduced in the wake of the Seebohm Report in 1971. The link with transport is indeed the most plausible one that needs to be forged by physical planners and one which has been accepted as Town Planning Institute policy since.

The next official report on internal reorganisation, the Bains Report (HMSO, 1972), as well as various publications coming out of the Institute for Local Government Studies (for instance: Stewart, 1971; Eddison, 1973) with its courses for middle and top-level administrators which by now many of those concerned with local government reorganisation must have attended, show the trend remaining the same as indicated: local government is different in several important ways rendering the generalist concept obsolete. Planning will cease to be the concern of individual departments with their profusion of unco-ordinated planning which has prompted Stewart (1969a) to complain about too much rather than too little planning in local government; it will attend to the linkages between the areas of concern of existing departments; it will differentiate between a more general and more operational level. The greatest challenges in planning will therefore arise outside that type of local government which planners have aspired to set up for themselves in the middle-sixties and for which the generalist concept has been tailor-made.



Certainly, for all that one knows about procedures in the emergent form of local government it seems that there will be new forms of planning going beyond town and country planning. Rather than giving any profession, discipline, or department a prima-facie responsibility for planning in each one area, there will be co-operative styles of work, the binding element between departments (if indeed departments there will be) being common planning procedures.

For town planners to be successful in this broader form of planning, they will have to go back on the very concept which has given them such a tremendous impetus for securing their position in local government and for expanding the numerical strength of their profession. This process, which is well under way, is the development to which I now turn.

It started at the end of the last decade when Eddison (1968) and Stewart (1969a,b) first gave their interpretations of the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act against changing views local government and Amos (1969) spoke about the general planning function. This was followed by the Centre for Environmental Studies taking an interest in planning education which had always been closely related to the issues of membership policy and the role of the planner. It published three studies (Cockburn, 1970a,b) and assembled a working party on objectives for planning education which published its report only recently (Progress in Planning, 1973). The chairman of the working party was Amos, then Senior Vice President of the Town Planning Institute and lined up for President in 1971/72.

The orientation of this working party, as well as that of the previous Centre for Environmental Studies publications, was toward the broader concept of planning deploring the relatively heavy investment in town planning education at the expense of planning in other fields. It was very much this question of the relationship between town planning and emergent forms of planning which must have prompted the Town Planning Institute in 1970 to publish a discussion note on *The Changing Shape of the Planning Process*. It argued the case for the planning profession getting involved in the new, broader form of planning (The Town Planning Institute, 1970). This was followed by a conference sponsored by the Membership Committee of the Town Planning Institute where Amos put the case for widening the membership and permitting a greater degree of specialisation in planning education (The Town Planning Institute, 1971). In his Presidential Address (Amos, 1971) the same year stated that

'. . . the Institute's current posture concentrates attention upon the application of the planning process to physical planning at various scales, to the exclusion of direct applications of the process to social and economic phenomena and to the neglect of management planning of coincident physical, social and economic factors.'

During his presidency, the Royal Town Planning Institute then published a much more extensive Discussion Paper on *Town Planners and their Future* (The Royal Town Planning Institute, 1971). It set out five 'alternative futures' (two with two variants each) for the Institute, its membership and educational policy, this against the background of a set of assumptions about some changes in local government similar to those outlined earlier in this chapter. The stillborn 'Learned Society' alternative apart, these form a continuum from the most inclusive 'Institute of Planning' to retaining the Institute in its existing shape. All options, except for the last, had a ring of the rejected 'specialist' position of the early sixties about them in so far as they emphasised diversity over unity in the profession. The difference was that the identity of town planning as a profession was not threatened from any one source. Rather, some more diffuse developments had changed the entire planning scene making diversification more palatable.



The membership opted for a variant of the most obvious alternative termed 'Institute for Environmental Planning 2'. It thus responded to pressures for change, but only cautiously, staying well clear of the more adventurous schemes embracing other than physical forms of planning. As regards the broader form of planning (variously termed the 'organisation planning field' or 'corporate management' in the Discussion Paper) the position of the Institute sketched in that document was not unlike that of its own parent professions before it itself had come of age: it proposed to join other professional societies to 'further knowledge and advance training' in it.

For planning education the line suggested is more sensible than hitherto. Rather than exercising rigid control over virtually the whole of the curriculum, the Institute will now only concern itself with core studies lasting for two years out of the four to five years of higher education which a qualified planner must have. For the rest, there is 'freedom for innovation', as the document puts it, indicating at the same time that these years could be taken up by 'scale' studies (regional, local, etc.) or by 'subject' studies (transport, economics, design, etc.).

The underlying logic is that of the 'generalist-with-a-specialism' which Perloff (1957) developed in his classic on Education for Planning. However, this is applied to 'environmental planning' only. We are told that all town planners should have '. . . a common core of professional expertise underlying one of a series of specialisations'. The core, it is said, would consist of: '(a) planning methodology, (b) knowledge and understanding of the physical environment within which planning takes place, and (c) knowledge and understanding of the relevant administrative context and organisation'. Beyond this, educational institutions would be encouraged to 'develop reputations for particular aspects', i.e. either subject areas or planning scales as mentioned above. This is on the assumption that 'practical realities mean that not all planners will be able to do every job in planning'.

Currently, the Institute continues along these lines. Yet another Discussion Paper (The Royal Town Planning Institute, 1973) proposed a 'modular' approach to planning courses combining 'foundation' and 'applied' courses. As regards the more general form of planning it emphasises the value of 'post-qualification' courses. This has become official policy since (The Royal Town Planning Institute, 1974).

Now, one may criticise this scheme, as I shall do in the next chapter, for not taking the 'generalist-with-a-specialism' logic far enough by skipping the part of the core course relating to the physical environment altogether and bringing forward the wider aspects of planning to be taught in subsequent post-qualification courses. However, politics, including professional politics, is the art of the possible. The compromise between the aspirations of the top flyers of the profession and the need for relative security on part of its rank and file which this package represents is all that one could get, at this stage anyway. It signals the abandonment of one of the pretences of the old generalist concept, i.e. that every planner is capable of covering the total field of physical planning. It also takes cognisance of the wider form of planning developing in local government without attempting to embrace it. In particular, it opens the doors for experimentation and variety in British planning education. More precisely, it legitimises the variety which already exists under the blanket cover of recognition by the Institute.



## II. THE CORE OF THE PLANNING CURRICULUM

The challenge is now on for planners to develop the core of their discipline. The planning profession itself begins to perceive it coming from planning practice. As a secondary factor, planning teachers attempting to develop intellectually satisfying curricula in planning are contributing to the questioning of traditional views of planning.

The process is a familiar one. Once a profession recognises that apprenticeship is not a satisfactory way of recruiting new entrants and begins to educate them at universities, the academic ethos competes with the professional one in the minds of its teaching members. Their subsequent disengagement from their profession is not at all unique to planning. Hughes (1958) notes that professional education usually involves the gradual replacement of stereotype images by more subtle, complex, and even ambiguous perceptions of professional roles.

In this chapter I suggest that even the new core curriculum envisaged by the Institute is only one out of a number of possibilities. There is a more central core which all of these have in common. It provides the basis for a broader 'generalist' concept of planning divorced from any particular subject matter.

We have a first indication of the Institute's thinking on the core of planning knowledge in its statement on future recognised schools policy. The core curriculum would embrace planning methodology, the physical environment and administrative context (see Chapter I). By including the first and the last the Institute recognises similarities of approach and interest between all those concerned with public action. Planning methodology may certainly be applied to handling problems other than those arising in the physical environment. The administrative context also embraces many more areas of concern than just this one.

Looked upon this way, the 'core curriculum' proposed in Town Planners and their Future represents a specialised curriculum in one of the many fields of planning. Instead of imparting knowledge and understanding of the physical environment, a curriculum in financial planning might thus concentrate on aspects of urban economics relevant to understanding cash flows, and otherwise still retain planning methodology and the administrative context as its other elements.

What this amounts to is that Perloff's generalist-with-a-specialism logic may be extended beyond the realm of physical planning. The new generalist concept would only embrace planning methodology and the administrative context common to all fields of planning. Physical planning might be seen as a specialism focusing on the physical environment as its area of concern. In addition to planning methodology and the administrative context of all planning, this obviously requires understanding the physical environment. But the latter now represents a specialist element in the curriculum which may change from one substantive area of concern to another.

This wider generalist-with-a-specialism concept is implied in the broader options included in the Institute's Discussion Paper, most clearly in the one outlining a future 'Institute of Planning' (The Royal Town Planning Institute, 1971). Although it has been rejected in favour of the 'Institute of Environmental Planning 2' option insisting that the profession should concentrate on the physical environment, and the core curriculum thus include its understanding, there is nothing to prevent British planning schools from adopting the broader options in their policies. In terms of the current proposals, this would mean offering planning methodology and administrative context as the two elements of a common core curriculum for a variety of courses, each focusing on a different area of concern. The physical environment would be one of them offered to those students wishing to qualify for membership to the Royal Town Planning Institute which would only consider recognising this one option. The others might be taken by students wishing to work in other fields.



The advantages for British planning schools would be that this policy would remedy the imbalance in planning education in favour of physical planning which has been deplored, most recently by the Centre for Environmental Studies working party (Progress in Planning, 1973); it would promote more cross-fertilization between teachers and practitioners in various planning fields; and it would prepare the planning schools for two contingencies: a possible shortage of posts for graduates in town planning (which has now been averted only by the granting of planning powers to the new district authorities creating a shortage of planning staff) and a future move by the Institute to embrace other forms of planning, just as the 'Institute of Planning' option suggests.

The wider generalist-with-a-specialism concept of the planner's role is also underlying the remainder of this study. Apart from the advantages listed above I deem it intellectually more satisfying. Also, the thinking at Oxford Polytechnic from where I draw my experiences goes into this direction. Finally, recommendations made on this basis will be applicable, with little modification only, even within the context of the policy now emerging from the Institute. The new 'generalist' concept which I propose as basic to all kinds of planning does not necessarily make previous views of planning redundant, it only puts them on a broader basis.

What is common to the planning methodology and administrative context element of the core curriculum identified as underlying the new generalist concept is their concern with the validity of proposed courses of public action in terms of available knowledge and current values. It proceeds by formulating policies in such a way that reasonable decision makers sharing the premises on which they are based would be compelled to agree with them. This criterion normally requires that one should go through many cycles of formulating one's argument, thereby harnessing more and more knowledge and refining one's premises.

Elsewhere I described planning theory as concerned with the types of planning agencies and procedures which serve the end of better planning (Faludi, 1973). This type of planning theory coincides with the two common core elements of any planning curriculum identified above: planning methodology and administrative context. Henceforth I shall therefore refer to them summarily as planning theory.

The utilisation of insights gained from theoretical disciplines providing valid knowledge for the formulation of action programmes is implied in this view of planning. In consequence, if they wish to fulfill their pledge of developing planning theory as the core of their discipline, planners must make it their concern to study issues raised in the application of knowledge. This emphasises the social-scientific and, more specifically, sociological aspects of planning theory and planning education.

This is because the issue of relating knowledge to practical concerns permeates the development of the social-sciences in general and sociology in particular. \*) That the latter deals with it becomes evident in the central position which the question of value freedom takes in the minds of my sociologists. But, if only to a lesser extent, the same issue occurs in the other social sciences (e.g. Lipsey, 1966, on economics). The famous argument on value freedom by Max Weber was indeed couched in terms of the social sciences and not just sociology.

A basic issue is indeed the same in planning as is underlying the debate over value freedom in the social sciences: whether, and how, to differentiate between arguments backed by evidence and those appealing to what we think ought to be. In the planning literature, this debate is often couched in terms of desirable ends and the means to

\*) As Simey (1961) says: 'It is often forgotten today that it is the concept of purpose and of the enhancement of welfare that provided sociology with its starting point. . .'



achieve them. There are analogies here between the position of the social scientist and that of the planner or administrator. For both the problem is that of defining a proper conduct in a situation which is likely to give them more de facto authority in pronouncing on matters of policy than other people possess.

Beyond this question of value judgements, scores of issues in this area of methodology become important for planning. Planning is becoming as prolific generator of research, including social research. The question dealt with in methodology in the narrowest sense of how to distinguish reliable findings from unreliable ones ought therefore to concern planners. This refers to the formulation and testing of hypotheses, to problems of measurement, to the treatment of time and space in research, and so forth. Forecasting is another area where the common methodological problems of the social sciences are becoming particularly evident (Young, 1968). It is also an area of application of social scientific skills which is highly relevant to planning.

As against these social-scientific ones, the particular contribution of sociology to planning of this kind is of two kinds: that relevant to the planner's self-understanding, and that helping him to understand the phenomena he is dealing with. The sociology of knowledge and organisation theory make up the first, the former because the social determinants of knowledge ought to concern a discipline devoted to studying its application, the latter because planning occurs in organisations and comes to fruition through organised efforts. \*) These two fields, which jointly form what has sometimes been referred to as the sociology of planning, help the planning theorist to identify obstacles in the way of formulating valid knowledge, or of validly applying such knowledge as is available. They also assist in providing favourable conditions for the articulation of planning programmes in creative team efforts.\*\*)

It is plain that these issues for which planning theory must draw on sociology and the social sciences cannot be avoided by the planner seriously concerned with enhancing the validity of planning decisions. Any perusal of the planning literature will indeed show planners arguing hotly about ends and means, about ideological distortions in the formulation of planning policies, and about desirable forms of planning organisation.

So far about the sociological contribution towards the planner's self-understanding. But the planner must not only remove the, metaphorically speaking, 'thought blockages' (Beer, 1966) in the institutions of planning, he must also harness all available, relevant knowledge for understanding his subject matter. This seems a trite and obvious point. If anything, planners tend to concentrate too much on substantive understanding to the neglect of those procedural and organisational issues I referred to before. So it seems unnecessary to emphasise substantive knowledge as a basis for planning.

However, the emphasis is on all available relevant knowledge. My point is that, for the pursuit of practical ends in whichever field of public policy, the knowledge base must always incorporate some sociological perspective. This is because planning links substantive knowledge to the purposes of an, often diverse, clientele. It cannot but incorporate an image of society.\*\*\*) For an intellectually satisfying image I deem a sociological perspective of man as enmeshed in, and partially constrained by, a complicated network of relations with his fellow men indispensable, just as Fletcher (1971) says:

\*) However, for the purpose of helping planners, organisation theory must be adapted (a) to the context of professional organisations; (b) to the assumptions built into the institutions of planning in any particular country. On the former see Etzioni (1967); on the latter Self (1972) and Hill (1971).

\*\*\*) Examples are given by Broady (1968); on 'creative planning' and its conditions see also Faludi (1973).

\*\*\*) For several demonstrations of the need for a sociological perspective in one of the most recent areas of great political concern, air pollution, see Downing (1972).

' . . . sociological theory is a subject of the greatest fascination – relevant to almost any question that can be raised about man and his concerns . . . It is a subject which stems from, and attempts to satisfy, the modern need to articulate all human knowledge into one large, ordered perspective both for the sake of understanding, in itself, and to provide a basis for sane and well balanced social reform. It is the subject of central importance in and for our time.'

My contention is therefore that planning programmes in fields like (to return to physical planning) housing, industrial location or transport should view the issues underlying as related to social and institutional structure. The same goes for all other fields of public policy.

This focuses attention on the question of what social science and sociology there must be in planning education, not as separate subjects to be taught in addition to planning and mainly to help smooth multi-disciplinary cooperation with planners, but as an integral part of the planning curriculum. Once planning has succeeded in integrating the social sciences into the curriculum, the problems of collaboration with social-science specialists would be very much less serious due to the framework of thinking between them and the planners. Planners would then have acquired the capacity for utilising social science research which many authors agree policy makers of all kinds are lacking at present (e.g. Bennis, 1961; Cherns et al., 1972).

This then is the vantage point for the remainder of this study: rather than discussing the role of sociology as one subject out of many taught in planning schools, the prime consideration will be that of integrating it into the planning curriculum. This is preferable for educational, as well as for theoretical reasons. However, the point made in the Foreword should constantly be borne in mind, i.e. that integrations means giving up some of one's own identity, and that the process of integration will therefore be wrought with conflict, both on an intellectual as well as on a personal level.



### III. THE GENERALIST EDUCATIONAL POLICY AND THE TEACHING OF SOCIOLOGY

With the vantage point defined, we can suggest ways of integrating the social sciences into the planning curriculum. Recommendations must take into account emergent trends in British planning education. In this chapter I shall therefore report on the teaching of one of the social sciences, sociology, in the planning education context shaped by the 'generalist' concept. In doing so, I shall draw on the comments of lecturers amongst my respondents, and on questionnaires sent to British planning schools in 1969/70. This will be followed in the next chapter by a statement on what I see as the emergent situation based on experiences at Oxford Polytechnic. The final chapter gives my views on the social sciences in the new, general form of planning education which I briefly envisaged in the last chapter.

The first important point about the generalist educational policy is that it was expansionist, the second that it emphasised four-year undergraduate planning courses.

The number of planning graduates coming from recognised schools serves as an indicator of expansion until 1972. This has increased by an average of forty per annum since the early sixties. In the early seventies, when the results of the generalist policy began to take effect, this annual increase jumped to between eighty and one hundred. At present there are probably well over seven hundred planning students graduating each year. It is therefore possible to envisage Cockburn's prediction of one thousand planners leaving the schools per year by the mid-seventies coming very near to the truth (Cockburn, 1970c). \*) This expansion was mostly due to the increase of the numbers of planners graduating from undergraduate courses. These are now the single most important sources of recruitment for the British planning profession. In contra-distinction, graduate planning education has been relatively stable.

No exact figures are available on the number of planning teachers. However, it is evident that their number has also increased considerably. The first indicator is the growth of the number of planning students itself; the second are personal observations of planning schools doubling, and even trebling, their staffs during the past years; the third is the much greater visibility of planning teachers in the profession; the fourth the formation of the Education for Planning Association in which planning teachers play the greatest part.

Sociology figures in the 1969 syllabus for the Final Examination, and recognised schools are now expected to offer courses in it. Already in 1969, when I circulated my questionnaires to all recognised undergraduate planning courses, all but one had courses in sociology. The expansion of planning education has therefore meant expansion of the teaching of sociology to planners.

The questionnaire and some of the answers received from lecturers amongst my respondents revealed information about the teaching of sociology under the generalist regime which was published before (Faludi, 1970). In what follows, I shall draw on this paper which showed that the generalist concept of the rôle of the planner and the complementary assumption about sociology as a contributory skill were clearly reflected in the practice of teaching sociology to town planners. This conclusion I derived from enquiring into the experiences and relative standing of sociology lecturers, their involvement in courses, and the assumptions written into their briefs.

In terms of experience, the picture was not too bright. Neither in terms of research, nor in terms of planning education did the majority of the twelve respondents who answered my mail questionnaire have much to offer. What research the respondents had under-

\*) On the implications see Faludi (1972a).



taken was not always strictly relevant to planning, nor was there any consistency in the topics covered. Lack of experience was also one of the shortcomings which lecturers amongst my interviewees were acutely aware of.

Turning to the status of sociology lecturers, there existed a number of service courses offered by outside departments. These courses had often been passed on to more junior members of those departments who tried to define their role and contribution within the framework of given constraints. For quite legitimate reasons, the people concerned did not see their career in planning education, their orientation being towards their main departments and their original discipline.

Of those who were not service teachers, a majority were teaching only part-time. Of all teachers from whom information had been received, only two held relatively senior appointments, one of them presumably because of her planning qualification. The general situation was that lecturers in sociology were of junior grades, with all the resulting implications for their ability of taking a hand in shaping their courses, and for having an impact in the planning education world.

The nature of the involvement of sociologists adds to this picture. Teaching took the form either of a straight lecture course or of a lecture course backed up by seminars. There was little evidence for unusual or experimental approaches save one interdisciplinary seminar.

Project work takes between 40 and 50 % of planning students' time and accounts for between 33.3 and 50 % of their final examination marks (Crispin, 1974). British planning educators clearly regard it as a core teaching vehicle. But only one of the twelve respondents to the mail questionnaire acted as project coordinator, and he held an architectural degree which must have made him more acceptable as a member of the planning staff proper than a sociologist pure and simple would have been. Likewise, the other respondent who could indicate that she had been involved in project work before acting as deputy head of department also held a planning qualification.

A further four lecturers reported that they liaised with yearmasters and/or project supervisors on a permanent basis. The others were either not involved, or helped only intermittently, mostly with surveys or in reply to '. . . requests for information on any sociologically relevant material', as one of them put it.

A number of comments indicated that lecturers wished to be more involved, an impression confirmed by personal interviews. But, they were up against the firm control which Crispin (1974) found planning teachers exercised over the design and evaluation of projects.

As regards the briefs to which lecturers in sociology worked, my research revealed information about the amount of course work and the aims and structure of curricula. Standards varied a great deal. One department struggled to lay on seminar series with research workers and outside speakers. Some schools, in particular the younger polytechnic schools, offered curricula extending over the whole length of the course. The same variation occurred in the amount of time devoted to courses in sociology. But even in the younger schools offering more extensive courses in sociology, the proportion of time devoted to it seemed to have been below five percent, if one includes time formally allocated to project work as contact time.

Taking into account teaching in other social-science disciplines such as economics and (occasionally) public administration and politics, the amount of time devoted to all the social sciences in planning courses was below that recommended for engineering courses by the American Society for Engineering Education, i.e. '. . . a designed sequence of humanistic-social courses through four years comprising at least twenty percent of the



curriculum, with philosophy, objectives and content jointly formulated by the engineering and liberal arts faculty . . .' Sir Peter Venables, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Aston at Birmingham, recommended the same, i.e. that one-fifth of the students' time or the equivalent of five hours per week should be devoted to general studies forming a fully developed syllabus with a purposely designed sequence throughout the whole course (quoted after Gould and Smith, 1968).

As regards the place of courses in the curriculum, the tendency was for sociology to occur in earlier years. Seven out of nine schools for which information had been obtained reported on courses in the first and/or second year. Courses in subsequent years (five in year three and four in year four) consisted mostly of seminar series or were optional. This gives an indication of the appreciation of the importance of sociology to planning. The schools seemed to regard courses as introductory, just as the Institute's examination syllabus where it figured under 'General Background', a finding confirmed by Crispin's analysis of the curriculum offered in seven undergraduate courses in 1970 (Crispin, 1974).

The syllabi received confirmed this impression. All the courses covered urban sociology. Some even had urban sociology in their title, this emphasis being the only common element to all the curricula received. This suggested that sociology was seen as affording an understanding of some aspect of 'the urban system' which planning ventured to control. It seemed to underplay a contribution towards the planner's self-understanding as an actor in this system.

The emphasis on urban sociology and community studies was amply confirmed by an analysis of the reading lists obtained from the schools. The top runners were Family and Kinship in East London (Willmott and Young, 1962) which was mentioned in all reading lists followed by Communities in Britain (Frankenberg, 1965) and Family and Class in a London Suburb (Willmott and Young, 1960). The reading list published by the Town Planning Institute (1969b) for its final examination shows the same emphasis mentioning all these books but showing a dearth of more theoretically oriented texts.

Examination papers were an additional source of information. Here I compared those set from 1953 to 1967 by the Institute itself under its old syllabus for its external examination with seventeen papers set by the schools. The comparison indicated an even narrower orientation on part of the Institute which seemed to regard the main contribution of sociology as providing methods of investigation.

As against this, the papers set by the schools revealed an interesting pattern. Despite the emphasis on urban sociology in syllabi and reading lists, the largest group of questions aimed at discussions of basic sociological concepts such as class, family, etc., as well as the contribution of social theorists, methodology etc. Also, the questions reflected efforts on part of the lecturers setting them to relate the course content to planning. The second largest group of questions thus aimed at sociological arguments about certain planning concepts such as the neighborhood, new towns etc. One even asked for an argument about the planners themselves: 'Examine the status and role of town planners in bureaucratic structures'.

The explanation for this may be as follows: as against syllabi and book lists, examinations are not easy to control because to do so requires specific expertise. They may therefore be the best indicators of the lecturer's own interpretation of the contribution of their discipline. The case thus seems to be one of most lecturers having been given relatively rigid briefs which they interpreted in such a way as to exemplify the uses of social theory whilst drawing on the community studies and urban sociology texts which they were required to use. In this way, they stretched their briefs, no doubt causing strain to



themselves, and possibly also to their students.

This strain may be interpreted in terms of the distinction between two approaches to the teaching of sociology which Heraud (1970) writing about sociology in social work education identifies as 'providing applicable sociological findings' versus 'liberal education'. Gould and Smith (1968), in their survey of The Teaching of the Social Sciences in Higher Technical Education termed them the 'instrumentalist' and the 'humanistic' approach, the latter aiming to develop the 'whole man'. Thus, the manner of their involvement, their status etc. indicated to sociologists that they were regarded as providing a certain amount of 'input' of strictly limited and predictable use. They themselves saw their contribution as much wider conforming more to the humanistic approach. This became most evident in their reports of frictions with planning staff in their departments.

For instance, some of my respondents declared as one of their 'humanistic' objectives that of increasing the awareness of students about their personal values in the spirit of C. Wright Mill's view of liberal education aiming at the 'self-educating, self-cultivating man and woman: in short, the free and rational individual' (quoted after Tropp, 1961). The medium through which they attempted this was that of critical discussion. So, one course started by questioning planning objectives and the role of the planner. The lecturer concerned claimed that it had been successful with students.

Only, discussions were generally not very popular with the planning staff. Embarrassment seemed particularly strong when critical attitudes had been successfully instilled in students. Asked about the effect of her work, one lecturer reported:

'It made them far more critical of simplistic approaches that they have been taught by other people. They were very critical about received planning . . . which upset some people because they don't like students who question the programmes they have been given.'

In this, as in other reported instances, the planning staff had been on the receiving end. But when it came to the allocation of time, the sociology lecturers were the ones to complain. One noted on the questionnaire: 'competitions for students' time and interest between year staff and academic staff are almost always resolved in favour of year staff. Students don't have time to think.'

Another lecturer amongst the interviewees was saying:

'If you are talking about getting work done, then there isn't time to do it properly. It used to be a very common complaint, not only in the field of sociology, but also in their own studio work. When I have criticised what they were doing, then they would say there wasn't time to do it properly . . .' \*)

The environment of a planning course appears to be less conducive towards deliberation based on reflection and reading than sociologists are used to. This was evident from the lecturer's complaints about students not doing the requisite reading:

'The . . . course is very tightly organised. Whereas I supervise the written work of students in the Sociology Department, the overall course of the planners seems to give them very little time for reading. I attempted to start a weekly tutorial — as in our department — but this foundered because no one appeared to be doing the reading. I think the question of pressures on students to distribute their time between their different subjects should be examined — especially the rewards and sanctions available. In sociology, the planners do no written work during the year, the 'practical' part of their course seems to occupy all of their time.'

All the indications were therefore that the teaching of sociology under the generalist regime was narrowly circumscribed. The lecturers themselves saw remedies to their problems in the terms of this analysis. They deplored the lack of continuity of teaching and

\*) Merton (1956) reports the same about medical education, i.e. that ' . . . competition . . . for time in the curriculum is built into the structure of medical education, with its numerous branches of knowledge and application.'



of status of sociology lecturers, commenting especially on the '... lack of senior representatives of the social sciences ...' and on their lack of control over courses. In particular, their generally inferior position seemed to prevent them from making any serious move towards integrating sociology with the core of planning teaching, as the previous chapter implied they ought to. This was despite the numerous comments on the paucity of planning theory and the potential contribution of sociology in this field. Rather than following the line of integration, their definition of their problem was that of obtaining recognition for sociology as a discipline on a par with others taught in planning courses.

This is not surprising, given the structures of planning courses. They show features of what, in Bernstein's terms, may be described as a 'collection curriculum' \* with bounded and isolated subjects (Bernstein, 1971). A number of the respondents in the interviews, in particular the lecturers amongst them, therefore commented on planning education rather unkindly as a 'rag-bag sort of education', and on the generalist planner as a 'jack-of-all-trades'.

However, in this general framework of a collection curriculum, some subjects and their teachers are more central than others which is clearly reflected in the relegation of sociology and economics to the 'General Background' Part I of the Institute's Final Examination, or to a group of contextual subjects in planning schools offered mostly in first and second year. So, parity rather than integration was the issue for sociology lecturers as well as for lecturers in other 'contributory skills', to use the terminology of the turn of the decade.

The first and obvious step towards parity in 1969/70 seemed full-time appointments. However, not all of those whose opinions had been sought were agreed on the desirability of having full-time sociologists on the staffs of planning schools. One who had been a full-time staff for one year complained:

'I could do no fruitful work within the department in which I was employed. The teaching itself was very difficult because I was isolated as a sociologist amongst planners, and this had all sorts of implications for the teaching of sociology.'

Another one rejected the suggestion of full-time appointments in very similar terms:

'If you are arguing that you should have a permanent sociologist in the planning department, I should certainly disagree with you. There is an argument for having a service teacher who ... maintains his link with sociology, but who participates more than I do - one hour per week.'

Even those who wished to see more full-time appointments were apprehensive, fearing that sociologists '... might be bossed around ...' and insisting on a measure of independence for them. However, on balance I held in 1970 that the case for full-time sociologists was a sound one basing myself on personal observations and on reports by some respondents of the relatively great impact which even the isolated full-time sociologists on the staff of planning schools could make. For instance an - albeit senior - sociologist amongst my respondents claimed that he participated fully in the affairs of the department:

'There are so few of us. We are all a sort of academic board. We all help to conceive an idea and plan it ...'

Even a junior member of staff reported that, during the course of only one year, the head of department had begun to draw her into decision-making, in particular in relation to the development and submission of new courses.

\*) For further discussion of collection and integrated 'educational knowledge codes' see the next chapter.

As departments grew bigger I therefore felt that the following suggestion by one of my respondents might remedy the problem of the isolation of sociologists. When asked about sociologists in planning departments, he said: 'I have a sort of vague feeling that, really, what one wants is bigger schools of planning . . . It would be possible within these to build in not only the sort of traditional structure where you have people in different aspects of planning working side by side, but where you could also establish a number of, if you like, other departments within a planning school so that you wouldn't have a solo sociologist tucked away in a completely different environment . . .'

I therefore concluded that openings for full-time sociology lecturers in planning departments, and the opportunity for them to rise beyond junior grades, were the requirements in 1970. Under these conditions I hoped that sociologists might then venture to integrate their teaching with the core of planning education.

Developments since 1970 are encouraging. Not only are there full-time posts on the establishment now even of the older university schools, but also senior representatives. One sociologist has even become head of department of a planning school. Though this need not have anything to do with his being a sociologist it is still indicative for traditional barriers breaking down. At Oxford Polytechnic, there are two posts for sociologists on the establishment, one of them on senior lecturer level. Together with similar teams in economics and politics, and with some planning staff holding degrees in the social sciences, this created an atmosphere conducive towards the social sciences.

Although problems still exist, such a school might also be better able to respond to the expected challenge for planning education to diversify on a new, unified, basis than a more monolithic planning department would be. The last two chapters will describe how this might occur and how sociology should figure in the curriculum.



#### IV. THE EMERGENT SITUATION

Apart from the features identified in the previous chapter as indicative of a 'collection curriculum' planning education also incorporates others more reminiscent of an, again in Bernstein's terms, 'integrated curriculum'. The purpose of this chapter is firstly to describe the emergent situation at Oxford Polytechnic where 'integrated' learning and teaching is on the increase. Secondly, this chapter also identifies conditions which were conducive towards integration at Oxford, some of which stemmed from the 'generalist' policy of the sixties (which only shows the dialectic nature of institutional development). These conditions were: firstly, a relatively large number of social scientists on the staff which a liberal staffing policy in an expansionist situation afforded, and the resulting development of some measure of institutional loyalty on part of the social-science staff yet further improving the prevailing atmosphere of tolerance; secondly, project work as a traditional feature of planning education acting as a catalyst of integration; thirdly, the emergence of an approach to educational planning requiring the definition of objectives for learning and teaching, and the subsequent choice of adequate means for their achievement, which supported the idea of integrated teaching. Before going into these points, I give a short exposition of the concepts of a collection and an integrated curriculum, and the use made of them by Goodlad (1973).

Bernstein (1971) distinguishes between a collection and an integrated 'educational knowledge code' according to whether the contents of the curriculum are in a closed or open relation to each other. These codes shape the curriculum, pedagogy and evaluation of which I shall concentrate on the first with occasional reference to the second.

In the previous chapter I briefly referred to the collection curriculum consisting of isolated subjects. Their relationship is a closed one. This describes traditional British planning education, at least as far as the social sciences are concerned: in planning courses proper, little reference tends to be made to the content of social-science teaching. Even if it was, this would still not by itself mean a decline of the collection code. As Bernstein says, because 'one subject uses the theories of another subject, this type of intellectual interrelationship does not constitute integration'.

Rather, the integration curriculum is one where previously isolated subjects or courses have been subordinated 'to some relational idea, which blurs the boundaries between subjects'. Goodlad (1973) quotes the primary school 'integrated day' where '. . . pupils are encouraged to exercise systematic curiosity . . .' as an example. Such an ideal he says, '. . . is likely to emphasise ways of knowing rather than states of knowledge' with a tendency of undermining existing property rights in fields of knowledge. Inevitably, this leads to clashes in institutions 'dedicated to collection codes', in particular since every collection code involves 'a hierarchy of knowledge' which is threatened by the thrust towards integration.

Goodlad uses the distinction between a collection and an integrated curriculum to elucidate the prestige problem in science teaching for non-specialists at universities. He explains it in terms reminiscent of the situation in planning education under the generalist regime: the teaching of 'general studies' to undergraduates in other disciplines is the poor relation amongst the activities of academic scientists with negative effects on their willingness to teach non-specialists. One is immediately reminded of service teaching of sociology to planners. The analogy gets stronger when one reads Goodlad's reports of developments occurring at various universities where the introduction of science to non-specialists has been attempted (e.g. Birmingham and Sussex). Goodlad also claims that the '. . . most effective types of integration of science into curricula of arts students have taken place in institutions which are organisationally geared to doing this', regarding size and age of an establishment as factors conducive to integration and quoting Sussex University



as an example of a formerly young institution with few students where the initial impetus for integration has somewhat faded as it has grown in size and become established. This is interesting because the developments reported below also occurred in a young institution.

To somebody taking a view of planning as the harnessing of knowledge for practical ends, integrated planning teaching must seem highly desirable. As regards the integration of sociology in particular the case was made before. The claim is now that planning education at Oxford Polytechnic, though far from being completely integrated, moves towards an integrated curriculum. The involvement of sociologists and other social scientists in planning and supervising project work practiced at Oxford Polytechnic ever since it appointed the first full-time sociologist may count as one indicator of integration. Sociologists have since been involved in, amongst others, extensive surveys prior to educational projects (Simmie, 1968, 1971); in designing a substantial, year-long project on the relationship between population structure, land use, and urban structure (Simmie, 1969; Cuddy, 1973); in devising a follow-up study to Collison's on the social ecology of Oxford (Collison and Moge, 1959; Collison, 1960; 1967) using census material and rateable value as its data-base; more recently in first year projects aiming at explaining activity patterns in space by stages in the life-style and social-class variables; and in graduate projects exploring urban futures, as well as the acceptability of local planning proposals to different segments of the East Oxford population. This is in addition to numerous examples of other social scientists getting involved in project work. As findings by Crispin (1974) suggest, the social-science and, more specifically, sociology content of projects seems to be more substantial at Oxford than at other British planning schools.

In the wake of their involvement in project work, sociologists and other social scientists have also joined others in developing, if not integrated curricula for whole courses, then at least joint lecture series with joint examinations, for instance on *The City*; on *Planning Concepts*; *Economic and Social Analysis*; *Economic and Social Institutions*; and *Sociology and Politics of Planning*. Likewise, debates on methodology and on planning theory involving the social-science and planning staff are occurring, contributing towards creating the intellectual base of planning envisaged in Chapter II. \*) As a result of their rubbing shoulders in advancing methodology, a new post-graduate course now includes an inter-disciplinary *Planning Research Seminar* as part of the core curriculum (Oxford Polytechnic, 1973).

Lacking distance from these developments it is difficult to give an accurate assessment. The difficulty is compounded by the fact that, on a small scale of just one department, with upworth of thirty staff personality factors cross-cut allegiances to disciplines. Nevertheless it seems evident that the fusion of the department with an awareness of the social sciences must be due, in parts at least, to the number of full-time social scientists in it. They are supported by planning staff sympathetic towards the social sciences, a few of them holding post-graduate degrees with a social-science orientation. The net effect is that social-science thinking percolates through to a large section of the department.

This composition of staff is the result of a flexible and liberal staffing policy. For years, the department expanded at rates of up to five members of staff per year due, amongst others, to the encouragement given by the Institute to the expansion of planning education. The aim during this period was one of balanced growth of disciplines resulting in

\*) For example, systems planning was critically examined by three members of Oxford Polytechnic and one outside speaker at a panel discussion as part of the *Nature and Philosophy of Planning* series. The papers were subsequently published in the *Oxford Working Papers in Planning Education and Research* (Dimitriou et al., 1972) and in the 1973 volume of the American journal *Socio-Economic Planning Sciences*.



full-time appointments in each of the social sciences except for psychology. In addition, the period was characterised by a (still prevailing) shortage of planning teachers with a specialist orientation. Where this seemed advisable, and if only their specialist qualifications were appropriate, candidates without planning qualifications were therefore appointed to teach planning subjects and act as yearmasters. This resulted a staff whose orientation was not particularly professional.

Finally, as an extension of this liberal policy, the concept of teaching teams for each of the subject areas developed. In consequence, economics, sociology and politics have a team leader of senior lecturer grade each, with further full-time posts on the establishment.

This staffing policy created an atmosphere of acceptance for social scientists which few other British planning schools seem to be able to match. It also provided the social scientists with a peer group to talk to, thus counteracting the intellectual and social isolation which some of my respondents quoted in the previous chapter feared might overcome sociologists in planning departments. As an indicator of their acceptance one must note the relative absence of serious conflict over recognition of the place of the social sciences in the curriculum. In devising a new undergraduate BA (Honours) Course in Urban and Regional Planning, there was substantial agreement on their place on both first and second year level, with minor squabbles only over how to rationalise the number of examinations. Today, social scientists are participating in a tutorial programme forming part of the core course. Although originally intended as a means of professional socialisation in physical planning, this idea has characteristically never been enforced. The objectives have therefore shifted towards educational ones allowing social scientists to operate even more freely.

In addition to their secure basis in the main curriculum, social scientists are given opportunities for developing their field on advanced level by offering, as other staff do, options to final year students (fourth year undergraduates and second year graduates; as from 1974/75 also separate post-graduate options for students reading for a master's degree). For the social-science staff, their situation has therefore ceased to be primarily one of fighting for recognition of the social sciences as disciplines in their own right within a collection curriculum. Unlike many of the respondents of whom I reported in the previous chapter, their prime concern is now with the integration of their disciplines into planning teaching, and in particular into project work.

For instance, the most serious conflict during the preparation of the undergraduate course referred to above was over integration of the social sciences into project work. Likewise, questions raised recently by planning staff about the relevance and conduct of teaching in the social sciences were countered by the sociology team leader in particular questioning project teaching and arguing the case for yet more involvement of social scientists in its planning and implementation. The extent to which proprietors of core areas felt threatened by such moves tending to erode the existing hierarchy of knowledge became evident when it was rumoured that the social science staff was to prepare a scheme of their own for project work. The planning staff were rallied and duly urged to resist any such move.

It is of course difficult to gauge the actual extent to which social scientists operate from a secure basis as this account suggests. Probably, each one would give a different assessment which might, furthermore, reflect short term difficulties inevitably arising from time to time. However, the impression is that the social-science staff have developed some amount of institutional loyalty which it is suggested reflects their basically secure position in the structure of the department. As one indicator I can quote two similar incidences, but with very different resolutions. When, many years ago, subject panels



were formed in the Polytechnic cutting across departmental boundaries and providing a forum for the teachers of the various disciplines, the then only sociologist in the department suggested a policy of taking all social scientists out of their departments and locating them, if not organisationally, then at least geographically, in separate groups. When recently a much more radical proposal was made for reorganising the whole of the Polytechnic on this basis, the move was resisted by most departmental staff, including the social scientists. The latter in particular feared that their specialisms in the application of their disciplines to planning would be diluted in favour of main-line teaching which they considered somewhat marginal to their interests.

Next comes the catalytic effect which project work has for the integration of sociology in planning education. As indicated above, its availability as a learning/teaching vehicle leads sociologists to think more seriously about the contribution of their discipline than the teaching of isolated courses does.

There has precious little been written on teaching methods in planning education (Crispin, 1974). It has certainly been fashioned on the model of architectural education. There, project work seems to have developed mainly as a replica of the relationship between master and pupil in early architectural practice. Lipman (1970) describes it as 'anticipatory socialisation' into the profession by means of direct and informal exchanges with tutors. The same could probably be said of project work in traditional planning education where the mystique of creative leaps tended to be stressed over the rigorous application of knowledge. Witness for instance the distinction drawn by Kantorowich (1967) between the 'pumping in' and 'leading out' phases of planning education with the implied differentiation between specialised disciplinary inputs and miraculously synoptic outputs.

However, project work has also been perceived as a vehicle of integration by educationists in various fields. The Nuffield integrated day has been quoted before. Wakéford (1968) describes a set of projects for integrated teaching of social theory and research techniques. Goodlad (1973), in his study on Science for Non-Scientists, stresses the potential of projects for integrating science teaching into the core curriculum of courses at various levels, including universities. The reason lies in the (real or simulated) purposive nature of a project. In theory, every potential contribution towards solving a given problem must be taken into account, irrespective of its disciplinary origin. This generates pressure towards integration, and the more so the more rigorous the approaches to problem solving used. This is because systematic problem solving requires a twofold search for (a) all alternative actions which might be taken to achieve desirable ends, and (b) for all their likely effects. As in real life planning, rigorous problem solving therefore provides every incentive for attempting to draw on all disciplines, sociology included, if only they promise to help in one of these two directions.

So project work must seem a good vehicle for elucidating the importance of sociology to planning, not in the abstract, but in problem-solving context with its educational advantages of replicating the pressures and excitements of planning work. Also, social-science staff at Oxford are perhaps less inhibited from participating in projects than might be their colleagues in schools still perceiving projects primarily as means of purely professional socialisation. Instead of merely (and imperfectly) aping real-life planning, Oxford projects are now tailor-made for their educational purposes. Like role playing and other simulation methods in management education, they 'abstract the essential ingredients' for the purposes at hand (Solem, 1972). They still use practical problems, but always in clear relationship to educational aims. Thus, there are introductory phases in projects devoted entirely to conceptual analysis rather than to an exploration of the particular problem itself. Likewise, many projects incorporate reflection phases taking up substantial proportions of the allocated time. During these, students consolidate the



educational experiences made during the problem-solving phase, using the given problem merely as a case study of little intrinsic importance. \*) Projects therefore become sequences of events and activities spaced out deliberately over the whole year and, indeed, the course. Many of their elements would remind social scientists of their own educational experience. There are lectures, tutorials, and seminars in projects. Students write essays and reports where the emphasis is on structure, style and proper referencing. There are, in addition, occasional panel discussions and presentations likely to go beyond the social scientist's experience.

Nevertheless, the overall impression is much more academic with students spending more time in discussion, writing, and in the library \*) than on the proverbial drawing board which, as reported by Crispin (1974),\*\*) dominates project teaching at some other schools.

The catalytic effect of project work was greatly assisted by the adoption of a systematic approach to course planning at a crucial time during the development of the department when it prepared to submit its courses for approval to the Council of National Academic Awards. The first such submission was the one for a BA (Honours) Degree in Urban and Regional Planning, an undergraduate degree which at the same time afforded exemption from the Institute's examination. Whilst the lecture courses were prepared in a wholly conventional way by subject panels preparing syllabi and reading lists, projects were prepared by a group of staff including the course leader, yearmasters and some of the social scientists.

The approach adopted had been suggested by a research assistant engaged into project teaching in planning education (Crispin, 1974). Following the line advocated amongst others by the University Teaching Research Unit of London University (Beard, 1970; Bligh, 1972) he proposed that the group should first determine educational objectives for each year and each project, and only afterwards proceed to the selection of appropriate types of projects (Bruton and Crispin, 1972; 1973). This approach to course planning was readily accepted, quite possibly because it was analogous to the planning process taught in the projects themselves. In terms of promoting integration of social-science teaching into project work, it was in this instance not very effective (but this is where questions of personality and leadership style come in). However, the approach was otherwise satisfactory and subsequently applied, albeit in modified form, to the submission of a further, post-graduate, degree.

On this second occasion, modifications were of two kinds: firstly, statements of educational objectives were now required for all courses, lectures and seminars included; secondly, objectives were couched in terms of an examination syllabus. This immediately drew attention to overlaps and areas of mutual interest and possible integration of teaching. Thanks to a relaxed leadership style, these were then pursued in devising a course featuring some joint projects as well as joint lecture courses involving social-science and planning staff. In terms of integration of the social sciences into planning teaching, this course surpasses everything achieved at Oxford Polytechnic so far.

Alas, this is where this account must end. The course had its trial run in 1973/74 leading to its full implementation, including the multi-disciplinary Planning Research Seminar on methodology, in 1974/75, and therefore after my leaving Oxford. The experiences reported are likely to have repercussions on the development of further courses, firstly,

\*) For a description of a project devised on the basis of these principles see Faludi, 1972b.

\*\*) In an attempt to assess reliance on library sources, the Polytechnic librarian gave planning the highest 'reading factor' together with the two most clearly academic departments in the Polytechnic, i.e. Management and Social Sciences on the one hand and Arts and Languages on the other.

on post-graduate level and, secondly, for the review of the undergraduate course due to be undertaken in the mid-seventies. \*) The next chapter will be based on strictly personal views of one such kind of undergraduate course which might fit the new generalist concept of planning proposed in Chapter II.

\*) The Council for National Academic Awards grants its recognition only for a limited period, after which courses must be re-submitted in suitably modified form.



## V. THE SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PLANNING EDUCATION

This final chapter aims to summarise the arguments of the previous ones using a scheme for a new undergraduate course as a vehicle for expressing my thoughts. Firstly, I describe the scheme for this course dubbed Planning Studies. Then I explain the anticipated involvement of social scientists in its various parts. As will be seen, there is no particular part where they should not be involved. This is in line with my view that the social sciences should form an integral part of the planning curriculum, despite the tensions which this might cause.

The proposals of this chapter are not couched in terms of specific positions on substantive issues which I exhort social-scientist lecturers to take. Even if one could identify a coherent set of positions on each one of the questions raised, this would never be acceptable to all social scientists who take a variety of views on the issues arising during their collaboration with planners. Therefore, rather than their final solution, what I am seeking to provide is an educational structure for the articulation of these issues. This approach is like one often taken in planning: instead of working out a final solution (frequently termed a blueprint) the planner who is aware of the limits of his understanding resorts to setting up administrative and procedural devices for breaking them down and attacking them sequentially. Thus, from the point of view of course development, it seems a sounder approach to accept that there is a variety of schools of thought, and to anticipate that new ones will be added to the complement of existing positions. Above all, this approach relies on social scientists teaching planners whom it should provide with a framework based on (as I hope educationally as well as methodologically sound) argument about planning and planning education, and it conceives of integration as a dynamic process instead of a static product.

As regards the structure of this Planning Studies course, a few words are needed about the context in which my views have developed. Their purpose is to enable the reader to distinguish between assumptions deriving from this context, and personal views about the future of planning education.

Though many owed their very existence as planning teachers to it, the Town Planning Institute's generalist educational policy was never very popular with planning teachers. The reasons need not concern us in any detail. What is evident is the desire somewhat to disengage from the profession (Holliday, 1972; Adamson, 1973). Since the Institute now proposes to vet only the core curriculum of any course extending over not more than two out of the four to five years which planning lasts (see Chapter II), this seems to be feasible without completely severing the links with the profession. At the same time, as described in Chapter II, the challenge is on to develop a general core curriculum in planning.

At Oxford Polytechnic, the thinking goes in the direction of a three-year undergraduate course replacing the existing four-year course in the future. The disengagement from the Institute is reflected in at least two ways: firstly, the new course will emphasise educational over vocational aims which are evenly balanced in the present one; secondly, it will not seek full exemption for its graduates from the Final Examination of the Royal Town Planning Institute. Rather, as with the graduates of a BA (Honours) Course in Architectural Studies already in operation at the Polytechnic, it is thought that those interested in a professional qualification would take an additional course, either in the Polytechnic or elsewhere. For the rest the idea is that their course will prepare its graduates for entering various fields of practice and research. In line with the general assumptions built into British higher education, they would mostly do other courses, or learn 'on the job' before entering positions of responsibility. Such is the logic of a two-tier course structure as against the one-tier structure on the continent.



As a consequence of disengaging from the profession, and of emphasising general educational over specific vocational aims, the new course would be broader based than just town planning. Together with its educational emphasis, it would assume planning to be a general approach, conceiving of town planning as one of a range of specialist fields for its application. The idea is that of the planner as a 'generalist-with-a-specialism' (see Chapter II).

These then are the assumptions deriving from the context of the early stages of an ongoing debate, assumptions which I think will stand because they are in line with, firstly, the emergent situation in planning described in earlier chapters and secondly, with the development of the Oxford Polytechnic school. For the rest, the views expressed are my own.

To my mind, each of the three years should have its distinct character. Like the first two years of the existing four-year undergraduate course, the first year should emphasise formal teaching and have only limited, and carefully arranged, project work. The second and third year would feature more open-ended learning in small groups working on projects and special options, just as the current course does. Likewise, I am suggesting to retain the individual research paper which has always formed part of any of the courses at the Oxford Polytechnic planning school, albeit with a different orientation.

In more detail, first year would consist of a range of introductory lecture / seminar courses in planning theory and techniques, and in the social and formal sciences, together with a sequence of projects. Second year would retain only planning theory and techniques as compulsory lecture / seminar courses. Apart from these, students would divide their time between one option in the application of one social science to planning and one 'scale' project. In third year they would attend a joint staff-student seminar in planning methodology and for the rest of their time do an individual research paper relating to their social science option, and one 'special' project in a group with others. The course in planning theory and, arising out of it, planning techniques, would make it their central concern to study and develop planning in all its ramifications.

The social sciences are included in this scheme because, as argued before, they are necessary for good planning. I say this with due caution, well aware of the dangers of an instrumental view of, in particular, sociology, and of the criticisms which this evokes. But the distinction between the 'instrumentalist' and 'humanistic' view of the social sciences introduced by Gould and Smith (1968) on which I drew in Chapter III, useful though it is over a limited field, must be modified. The main problem with it is that it does not say very much about the key-problem of the application of knowledge: 'The unvoiced utility expectation is that the study of sociology or economics develops the intellect as poetry does our sensibilities and sport does our bodies. The problem of use has not been solved, it has just been ducked.' (Cherns et al., 1972).

In place of the dichotomy between 'instrumentalist' and 'humanistic' views we have to put the distinction between a narrow view of the contribution of any theoretical discipline towards practice and a wide one. The latter holds that theory may greatly improve the pursuit of practical ends and be to that extent 'instrumental'. Indeed, this is the only meaning which one can attach to the saying variously attributed to no less authorities than Michelangelo, Russell and Lewin that there is nothing as practical as good theory (e.g. Broady, 1968). Only, as against the narrow view, this wide one recognises that enquiries must (if only to various degrees depending on their context) be guided by genuine theoretical, as well as practical concerns. With this, it also accepts that theoretical pursuits may become generators of change simply because the availability of new means which they provide greatly influences the choice of ends in planning. The wider view therefore accepts that theoretical pursuits must, in part at least, be self-



directing. It also acknowledges the indeterminacy of the outcome of genuine enquiry. In summary, it anticipates and accepts the inevitable tension between theoretical inquiry and the pressures of practice.

In recognition of the social sciences as theoretical pursuits in their own right, the first year social science courses should be devoted to an exposition of their nature as disciplines, their main paradigms, their methods of enquiry etc., with no requirement of emphasising their immediate relevance to planning as such.

I stress that this is not a token recognition. In the spirit of what has been said about theoretical enquiry as a generator of change, this independent position for the social sciences is intended to acknowledge the possibility of an impetus for better planning coming from any one of them. Besides, courses in the social sciences would also serve general educational purposes, just as introductory social science courses in various degree schemes replacing the classics as the avenues to liberal education do (Donnison and Chapman, 1965). In addition, every planning student would be introduced to the language of each of the social sciences. An added advantage relating solely to this scheme would be that he could choose the social science which he wishes to pursue in year two.

Whilst attempting to attain its main objective of studying planning as such, the planning theory course in year one should indicate those issues where any one of the social sciences might help. For instance, the evaluation of alternatives is where economics comes in; the identification of organisational constraints on decision-making is a province of sociology; the relations between people, politicians and planners one mainly of politics. Only, this time, their presentation would be slightly less open-ended: to show how, and to what extent, we may evaluate alternatives; to reduce organisational 'thought blockages'; to create smoother exchanges between the various participants in planning. Whilst the spirit it would still be that of genuine enquiry, its purpose would now flow from the aim of planning itself and not derive from within the discipline.

In year two, planning theory and planning techniques should continue with the pursuit of their objective of studying and promoting planning as such. Possibly they would address particular areas for study in depth, but this need not concern us here. Their relationship to the social sciences would in principle remain the same as in year one.

As regards the social science options, each student would select one in year two and study its application to planning. But, whereas the previous social science courses in year one emphasised their diversity, each outlining its particular way of explaining phenomena, they should stress what they have in common. As argued in Chapter II, the application of each of the social sciences tends to raise the same issues of methodology and scientific ethics, issues which, furthermore, are central to planning as the harnessing of knowledge for practical ends. Each of these optional courses would therefore contribute in its own way to the core of planning knowledge. This signifies the extent to which I view this scheme as going beyond the idea of the social sciences as 'contributory disciplines'. Rather than merely contributing, each one of them has an essential part in the development of the intellectual base of planning.

The 'scale' projects in year two might appear fairly conventional taking any sort of physical or non-physical problem as it occurs in a public authority. Most likely, it would be concerned with the preparation and submission of a statutory plan document such as a structure or local plan, a school building programme, a social development plan etc. It would bring to bear the strengths of project work, i.e. group work, its purposive nature, the fostering of decisiveness and willingness to cope with practical constraints and with risks, and so forth. \*) Likewise, it would show features of project work as currently

\*) The advantages of 'learning by doing' are being discovered in the field of management education. See Solem (1972).



practised at Oxford Polytechnic, i.e. introductory conceptual and final reflection phases and gaming to generate links with a (simulated) clientele with all the uncertainty analogous to real life which this introduces.

'Scale' projects will also have to feature short courses to introduce students to their problem areas. All further activities will arise out of the project itself, with 'student-initiated' lectures and seminars\*), site visits and discussions as the vehicles for acquiring insights into their substantive area of concern. This would emphasise the central point of project work of studying and practicing planning, and that the selected topic of study, and the acquisition of knowledge thereof, are but vehicles for achieving this end.

As all other staff (except for the project coordinators) social scientists should participate intermittently in the 'scale' projects in a consultative capacity supplying such relevant expertise as they might possess. In this role, they would have an instrumental input, i.e. they should see themselves as working towards briefs set for them because of particular problems arising out of the project. They would thereby act as what teachers may increasingly regard themselves as: resources on which students can draw. As far as the students themselves are concerned, this means that they would be practicing learning, and (since planning involves the skill of rapid learning) thereby practicing planning.

Although organisationally different, the third year scheme is merely an extension and consolidation of the second. The joint methodology seminar would explore issues of common interest on the frontiers of planning and the social sciences, quite possibly drawing on some of the work done by students for the research papers discussed below. It would also provide an avenue for discussions amongst staff which are vital for the development of any academic institution. In due course, they might lead to changes in the courses offered. In this way, the scheme promotes continuous development as issues are resolved and new ones discovered.

The individual research papers would do the same as the options: explore the application of the social sciences to planning. Likewise, the 'special' projects would be different from the previous 'scale' projects only as regards the range of problems investigated. As against the latter, they would investigate issues cutting across institutional boundaries, with all the problems which this entails for planners having to serve several masters at once (see Institute for Operational Research, 1971; Friend et al., 1974). But neither the educational approaches used nor the roles into which they cast the social scientist would be different from second year.

This scheme is based on a wide interpretation of two elements of the core curriculum proposed by the Royal Town Planning Institute (1973): planning methodology and administrative context, i.e. those which were summarised under planning theory in Chapter II. To obtain a professional qualification in town planning, a student would still have to acquaint himself with the third element of the core curriculum relating to the physical environment. Such specialisation would occur in a separate course on top of this one, whose structure need not concern us here, except that the role of social scientists in it would be governed by the specific area of concern and the powers of physical planners. There might in addition be other specialisations imposing different, but analogous, constraints on their contribution.

Overall, the balance between instrumental contributions of the social scientists in specific projects on the one hand, and the (in its own circumstantial manner still instrumental)

\*) 'Student-initiated' lectures etc. have already been proposed at Oxford Polytechnic and will come into operation by 1974/75 the latest. See Oxford Polytechnic (1973). Since project staff might have a big share in suggesting topics for such lectures and seminars, 'project-initiated' might be a more accurate term.



independent role which they have in this scheme on the other (with all the gradations in between) reflects the complexity of the relations between the social sciences and planning. It also complements the view which writers in this field tend to agree upon: that there exists a multitude of roles for social scientists in planning. Once this scheme would come into operation, we should add the planner himself who would then have a disciplinary base in planning theory incorporating social-science methodology.

As regards the role of sociologists in particular, needless to say that I anticipate a continuation of the trends indicated in the previous chapters: integration in planning education and further specialisation in aspects of their discipline most relevant to planning.

In terms of their substantive contributions, the arguments advanced in this chapter couched in terms of the social sciences generally apply to sociology more than to any of the others. Sociology has always concerned itself more with the general issues of methodology which this study emphasises than either economics or politics have. Thus sociologists might be expected to respond more readily and more successfully to the challenge posed by this scheme than graduates of any of the other social sciences. So they would probably be in the forefront of implementing any programme based on it. They would, first of all, be in charge of a number of courses:

**Basic Course in Sociological Explanation (Year One).**

The introductory sociology course emphasising the nature of sociology as invoking social structure to explain a certain range of phenomena, including those of social change, thereby substituting 'causal analysis for demonology' as Rex and Moore (1967) put it so aptly. It would also seek to equip students with what Sprott (1968) thought was one of the main acquisitions to be made whilst studying sociology: the 'habit of thinking about any social phenomenon in the social context in which it is found'. Whilst clearly important for the professional, this aim has a wider, educational importance, i.e. 'to make human beings more aware of their social situations, more critically self-conscious and thus more fully human'. (McRae, quoted after McGregor, 1961).

**Sociology and Planning Option (Year Two).**

The optional sociology and planning course focusing on the idea of rationality in sociological thought; on the issue of value freedom; on social determinants of thought; and on organisation theory, as well as on general questions of research methodology.

**Research Paper (Year Three).**

The research paper for those who have previously taken the sociology and planning option involving them in a modest research project on a topic within this general area of concern.

Sociologists would further contribute from time to time to planning theory and techniques courses and the final year seminar on methodology.

**Planning theory (Years One and Two plus Methodology Seminar, Year Three).**

In planning theory, they would cover aspects relating to the same issues as mentioned above, i.e. rationality, value freedom, the sociology of knowledge, organisation theory, but basing themselves on case studies and other material drawn from planning practice. However, this time there might be other social scientists giving their interpretations of, say, the issue of value freedom thus leading to general discussions. Furthermore, issues would now be raised in the different context of a course devoted to the study and promotion of planning. It would therefore provide the opportunity, and pose the challenge, for sociologists to make their case concerning the relevance of their discipline to planning.



### **Planning Techniques (Years One and Two plus Methodology Seminar, Year Three)**

In planning techniques, sociologists would deal with issues of research methodology and technique from basic problems of measurement to the practical ones of questionnaire design and analysis taking them further in the methodology seminar which would be open-ended enough to allow for most of the fundamental issues in the philosophy of the social sciences to be raised.

Finally, like other staff, sociologists would get involved in projects in three ways:

#### **As Project Coordinators.**

As project coordinators, their main perspective would be that of a planning teacher as such, i.e. to convey knowledge and understanding of planning and its approaches and techniques, and to instill attitudes conducive towards decision making under uncertainty. Although this may not be to the liking of all sociologists, there is nothing to prevent some of them from taking on such a role, in particular where projects cover problems which sociologists have traditionally concerned themselves with, i.e. the social services, inner city problems, housing, etc. More frequently, sociologists would join small teams coordinating projects. In this capacity they would take the opportunity for developing sociological perspectives during the initial conceptual and final reflection phases of projects. They might also concern themselves with planning methodology and emphasise the importance of rigour in communication.

#### **Contributors in Project-Initiated Lectures / Seminars.**

Giving introductions into the sociology of substantive areas of concern, for instance housing, the inner city, welfare etc. This would occur on the initiative of the participants of a project and form part of their search for relevant knowledge about their area of concern. It would re-enforce the point about developing a sociological perspective for understanding most phenomena.

#### **In-house Consultants**

The strictly consultative capacity of providing access to such knowledge and such techniques as might be required in a project from time to time for the achievement of specific ends. The introduction of class variables into estimates of housing demand and housing satisfaction (Broady, 1968) or the explanation of commuting behaviour (Klages, 1966) are but two examples of such contributions of a relatively technical kind which the sociologist can make towards physical planning as one field out of many. \*) Where relevant, this role also includes that of advising on small pieces of empirical research undertaken in projects.

Such are my proposals which, it is hoped, do justice to the social sciences as disciplines in their own right whilst at the same time assisting students to form concepts and attitudes conducive towards intervention in a practical context. Of social scientists, their involvement as sketched out above requires great versatility and command of their field. It also requires maturity in at least two respects: firstly, they need to accept the limitations which any one role imposes. Social scientists tend to claim that criticism is a useful vehicle for advancing understanding. The scheme which I propose provides ample opportunity for

\*) In offering their advice to physical planners sociologists might find it useful to draw on Michelson's review of research on both sides of the Atlantic (Michelson, 1970). He identifies at least 22 propositions which 'provide some measure of support for the notion that particular arrangements of physical environment are congruent with some social conditions and incongruent with others . . .' After all, there does seem to be some relatively firm knowledge available which a sociologist specialising in any one field can supply to decision makers. Now that research findings cumulate, the view by Gans (1970) of social scientists compiling policy catalogues describing effective policies for the attainment of specific ends might therefore become a feasible guide to action.



exercising their critical faculties in the proper context of theoretical pursuit. At other occasions, it requires acceptance of assumptions derived from other concerns. In this way, the scheme strikes a balance between criticism and commitment to action. Elsewhere I have argued that the establishment and maintenance of such a balance is one of the problems in planning (Faludi, 1973). It is therefore not surprising that this notion should permeate this scheme for a planning course and that it should also extend to social scientists.

Secondly, participation in this scheme requires maturity in yet another respect. Some of the many positions in the social sciences are more conducive towards the ends of planning than others. The social scientist in planning education should certainly be free to deal with all of them, but he should also point out those which are complementary to the position of the planner. For instance, the social scientist who argues that there can be no planning under a capitalist system \*) raises a theoretical problem of great fascination which needs further inquiry. But, in the meantime, planners continue to assume that their approaches do make a difference for the achievement of practical ends, capitalist system or not. By and large, planning students also come into planning thinking that something can be done here and now. The general assumption upon which the social scientist enters into planning education is that he will assist them to find out how.

As Bernstein (1971) argues, any integrated educational code requires a level of consensus about the integrating idea. This is the price to be paid for the educational advantages of integrated learning and teaching. The social scientist with his capacity for reflection should have the maturity to figure out for himself whether he can square the general ameliorative ethos of planning with his intellectual position. If, in all honesty, his sole purpose in teaching planners would be to make students aware that at present there is no such thing as planning, then he might find himself in an ethical quandary. Should he insist on thrashing this issue out, even at the cost of incapacitating students for the type of practice they had chosen for themselves? Or should he seek other battle grounds to fight this issue out? No one can take this decision for him. One can only hope that it will be taken with due concern for the students he teaches.

\*) The German planning literature abounds with statements to this effect. See for instance Fehl et al. (1972).

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## ABSTRACTS

### **Nr. 1. Goals as aids to justification, Some implications for rational planning.**

This paper examines the role of goals in the planmaking process. It begins with a critical review of a number of approaches to planmaking, from which it is concluded that the main role of goals lies in the justification of plans, rather than in their design. A further conclusion is that it is preferable to see the planmaking process as flexible and iterative, rather than as linear and with goals defined rigidly at the outset.

These conclusions have implications for the idea of Rational Planning, and of a Rational-Deductive Planning Process. It is suggested that the deductive model of explanation in science has as its aim to present an event as what should be rationally expected. It follows that a Rational Planning Process need not describe the way in which planning proceeds, but rather represents a vehicle by which choices can be justified.

Goals find their main role in justification, because to justify proposals it is necessary to demonstrate that your plans may reasonably be expected to achieve what they are intended to achieve. This concept of justification, with its implications for the form of the planmaking process, is a simple one to comprehend – it is also fundamental to an appreciation of the role of goals in planmaking; to an awareness of how planners actually go about producing plans; and to an understanding of the nature of the Rational Planning Process.

### **Nr. 2. The nature and purpose of comparative planning.**

This working paper contains edited versions of the papers presented at the first Delft seminar on Comparative Planning in May 1974. The first paper, by Frans Vonk, describes experiences and problems encountered in a multinational research project in urban planning in the North-West European Megalopolis. This is followed by a paper on 'The Development of Comparative Research' by Stephen Hamnett, which suggests that there is evidence of a 'natural history' of comparative studies in other disciplines, and which argues for comparisons to be made against explicitly-stated frameworks. In the third paper, Andreas Faludi discusses possible topics for comparative research to be conducted from Delft, emphasizing the need for pragmatism.

Finally, Patsy Healy warns against the dangers of functionalism and makes a plea for middle-range theories in a paper entitled 'Towards Comparative Planning Studies'.

### **Nr. 3. Education for urban and regional planning – the British experience.**

During the last ten years there has been a rapid expansion in the provision of planning education in Great Britain. At the same time there have been many changes and developments in both the practice and discipline of planning. This working paper attempts to trace the development of planning education in Britain and to identify those factors which have the greatest influence on this development. The paper ends with a description of the provision of planning education at the present time and attempts to identify the differences between courses in different groups.

A further paper in this series will attempt to analyse Dutch planning education and compare it with that in Britain.

### **Nr. 4. Project work in education for urban and regional planning.**

This paper identifies the importance and potential of project work in both education generally and planning education in particular. One of the greatest strengths of planning education today is the tradition of project work, yet it is a method of teaching which has recently been receiving increasing criticism. The paper identifies the central criticisms and problems associated with project work in the British context. These problems it is argued may be overcome by the use of rigorous methods of curriculum design. The use of these methods would enable the selection of the most effective methods of teaching for particular groups of objectives and ensure that the content of project work is balanced throughout a course.

Finally, it is argued that the organisations knowledge component of project work is largely lacking and that this has led to criticisms of the lack of realism in project work. The paper provides several examples of the way in which organisations knowledge may be incorporated into project programmes. It is hoped that the paper may help to promote the discussion of project teaching in education for planning in the Netherlands and that further contributions on this subject can be published in the future.



#### **Nr. 5. De Rijks Planologische Dienst.**

This work presents an overview of the history of the Rijksplanologische Dienst. It begins with a description of ideas about national physical planning which existed towards the end of the 30s. It was then argued that a national (physical) plan was necessary and that an organisation was required to prepare and administer it. Proposals to this effect, made by a state commissioner in 1940, are described. Next the foundation and responsibilities of a national physical planning agency set up by the German occupying power – the Rijksdienst voor het Nationale Plan – are described. A comparison between the original Dutch proposals and the German measures show the influence of the occupying power on the new organisation to have been greater than generally thought. The next two chapters give an overview of the activities which the Rijksdienst developed between 1945 and the beginning of the 60s, and of the problems resulting from the rather centralised form of planning which was aimed at. At the same time measures to solve these problems are discussed.

Next the difficulties of reforming planning legislation are discussed. These seem to stem partly from the problems of centralised planning and from the position of the planning agency responsible for it in relation to the central government agencies. The last chapter describes the changes in planning legislation occurring in 1962, and the instruments at the disposal of the now more decentralised form of planning. A short summary of the work on various policy statements concludes this chapter and the research paper as a whole.

#### **Nr. 6. A resumé of work in the Institute for Operational Research 1963–74.**

This paper describes the work of the Institute for Operational Research since 1963, when it first began to apply operational research methods to the analysis of complex problems of public policy. There is an appendix which describes in detail an attempt to apply the approach known as the 'Analysis of Interconnected Decision Areas' in practical situations.

De Verkenningen in Planning Theorie en Onderwijs worden door de Planning Theorie Groep aan de Afdeling der Bouwkunde van de Technische Hogeschool Delft uitgegeven.

Deze groep is de mening toegedaan dat het niet slechts de taak van het onderwijs in planning is op te leiden voor de praktijk, doch ook hierop kritisch te reflektieren. Deze ruim opgezette reflectie evenals het internationale perspectief van de groep dient op een degelijk theoretisch raamwerk gefundeerd te zijn.

De groep hoopt substantiële bijdragen van meer dan tienduizend woorden, in het nederlands, engels of Duits, te ontvangen van diegenen die deze opvatting delen.

The Working Papers in Planning Theory and Education are published by the Planning Theory Group at the Afdeling der Bouwkunde of Delft University of Technology. This group is committed to the view that the role of planning education should not only be to prepare for practice, but also critically to reflect upon it. This broadly-based reflection (and especially, amongst others, the cross-national perspective of the group) must be firmly based on a framework of theory.

The group invites contributions in the form of substantial essay, in Dutch, English or German, of upwords of ten thousand words from those sharing this view.

Die Arbeitspapiere zur Planungstheorie und Ausbildung werden durch die Gruppe Planungstheorie an der Baukundeabteilung der Technischen Hochschule Delft herausgegeben. Diese Gruppe vertritt die Auffassung, dass die Rolle von Planerausbildung nicht nur die ist, auf die Praxis vorzubereiten, sondern diese auch kritisch zu reflektieren. Diese breit angelegte Reflexion, sowie auch die internationale Perspektive der Gruppe, muss einen wohlfundierten theoretischen Rahmen haben.

Die Gruppe hofft auf Beiträge substantieller Art mit einer Länge von mehr als zehntausend Worten (in deutsch, englisch oder holländisch) von jenen, die unsere Auffassung teilen.

**Planning Theorie Groep  
Afdeling der Bouwkunde  
Technische Hogeschool Delft  
Berlageweg 1  
Delft.**