

THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA

THE RELATIONSHIP OF
PLANNING THEORY TO PLANNING PRACTICE

by

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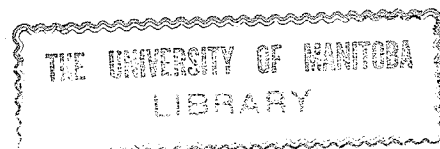
A THESIS

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PREFACE

Consider a hypothetical planning student. When he first enters a school of planning, he has little idea of the tremendous scope and many facets of "planning."¹ He has, however, little hesitation and only minor difficulty in answering the question: "What is planning?" His answer may be naive, but he would have an answer; one which, in his personal opinion made sense. When our hypothetical student leaves planning school after two or three years of study, he is certainly more knowledgeable about planning than when he entered, at least from the point of view of the particular courses taught at the school. In spite of his planning education however, he may now be reluctant to attempt an answer to the key question. He has rejected his original naive definition, but has been unable to replace it with a clearly articulated concept of "planning." He is confused. And no wonder; for two or three years he has been subjected to a multitude of diverse and often conflicting opinions on the subject. Even the different approaches to planning of his professors, to whom he looks for guidance, are often in conflict. Our hypothetical student may react in a number of ways.

¹ "Planning" and related terms are used in the Preface and Introduction in the generic sense. Terminology and definitional problems will be considered in Chapters I and II.

He may ignore the problem. He may master the techniques and the mechanics of preparing plans. He may become adept at preparing computer simulation models, demographic analyses, or land use maps. If the practitioner does not have an understanding of the basic nature of his profession however, how can his techniques be effectively and rationally applied?

There is an obvious alternative. The planner-to-be can simply adopt the intellectual stance of one of the leading theorists in the field, and thereby set his mind at rest.

Let us consider a third choice. It has been said that there are as many definitions of planning as there are planners. Is this not as it should be? In planning, as in life itself, the beginner may be guided by others but must ultimately steer his own course. To follow precisely on the heels of another is not to progress but to stand still. Our hypothetical student may react to his confusion about the meaning of planning by formulating his own conception of the basic nature of the art.

. . .

What is my purpose in writing this thesis? Initially, it was to examine "planning theory" and "planning practice" as distinct and separate entities, and to arrive at certain conclusions about the relationship between the two. My hypothesis was that a "gap" existed between planning theory and planning practice, and that practicing planners seldom "used" planning

theory. Dyckman, in his Introduction to the special issue (September 1969) of the Journal of American Institute of Planners on "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory," concludes by stating that the articles presented in the special issue offer alternatives that "hopefully will eventuate in the rapprochement of theory and practice that professionals desperately need, and academics have¹ long desired."

After considerable reflection, I have arrived at the conclusion that the terms "planning theory" and "planning practice" do not describe two uniquely distinguishable concepts, but that they describe closely interrelated elements of a single process. I have decided that in order to make any sense of the terms "planning theory" and "planning practice," far less than describe a relationship between them, it will first be necessary to examine the planning process itself. My original purpose has therefore been superseded by a more fundamental one: to arrive at a clearer understanding of the nature of the planning process. This goal, which was tenuously present from the beginning, evolved heuristically as work on the thesis proceeded.

Fortunately, my initial design did not require that I adhere strictly to the pursuit of a narrowly conceived objective.

¹ John W. Dyckman, "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXV (September 1969), 298-300.

The title chosen for the thesis was intentionally indeterminate, to allow for an adaptive, open approach. My underlying purpose was to take an overview of the present state of my fragmented knowledge of planning, fill in certain gaps, and proceed to develop the thesis as a means of fitting together the relevant parts of this knowledge to produce a cohesive and meaningful whole.

There are a number of ways in which the problem could be approached. I could attempt to arrive at a conclusion as to the nature of planning by operating from a historical perspective, by examining what, in the past, planners have been doing. I could operate from a philosophical perspective, examining the planning activity in the light of implications drawn from any number of classical or contemporary philosophies. My background is in engineering, and my limited planning experience is in the context of the consulting firm. I will attempt to examine the nature of planning from the perspective of the practitioner. I will attempt to examine certain theoretical aspects of planning by reflection on what I know at this point in time, through literature and through personal observation, about what planners do in their day-to-day work, and what sort of plans they make.

With limited knowledge and experience, I cannot hope to arrive at a definitive statement of the planning process. This is not the intent of this work. My goal is much more limited, and does not include an explicit desire to influence the thinking of others. My prime objective in undertaking this work is to

arrive at a clearer understanding for myself of the nature of the planning process, and to move some small distance along the path towards a fuller understanding of the role which planning has to play in contemporary society, and the nature of planning as a human activity.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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I must not neglect to acknowledge the encouragement given by my wife, without which this work could not have been completed.

A special thanks is due to Dr. John Page and Professor Mario Carvalho, whose course in Planning Theory provided the inspiration for this work. Their lectures and reading lists broadened immeasurably the limited intellectual horizons of a Professional Engineer.

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INTRODUCTION

In considering any problem which has a degree of complexity, it is wise to view the overall situation first from a distance, then to move in and closely examine the discrete parts, then to move out again for the overview, and then repeat the process. C. David Loeks¹ refers to the "intellectual equivalent of a zoom lens" which will permit the planner to "examine a problem in terms of its larger configurations and then to shorten his focal length and move to the level of concrete detail."²

If a problem is viewed continuously from a distance, a full understanding cannot be gained of all aspects of it. If only the details are examined and an overview is not taken, the relative importance of the various aspects of the problem cannot be properly assessed, and the relationship of the problem to other problems will not be taken into account. In the present thesis, an attempt has been made to utilize the "zoom lens" approach; thus the work proceeds from the general to the particular and then back to the general.

¹ C. David Loeks, "The New Comprehensiveness: Interpretive Summary," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (September 1967), 350.

² Ibid.

The thesis is divided into six chapters. In the first two chapters, the basic concepts; "planning process," "plan-making," "planning theory," and "planning practice," will be explained. Other related terms such as "values," "goals," "objectives," and "community" will be defined for use in the discussion. In Chapter III, two actual planning situations will be described, for use as "case studies." Examples will be drawn from the two case studies to illustrate certain points in Chapters IV and V. Chapter IV will discuss the planning process, plan-making, planning theory, and planning practice, from the perspective of several different approaches to planning, with particular emphasis on the theory-practice relationship. Chapter V will briefly examine the difference between "planning" and "non-planning." Chapter VI will attempt to relate the notion of "planning" which has been built up in the preceding chapters, to a concept of the total environment within which the planning activity takes place. The Appendix contains diagrammatic representations of some of the aspects of planning which are discussed in the text.

CHAPTER I

SOME BASIC TERMS

In this Chapter, the terms "value," "goal," "objective," "community," "client," and "environment" will be defined, and a brief note will be given on the use of the generic term "planning." These terms will appear frequently in the text. It is virtually impossible to sum up in a few lines the aggregate of all of the nuances of terms such as "value" or "goal," as related to planning. It is necessary however, to attempt to clarify basic terminology at the outset, to avoid subsequent misunderstanding. The following definitions are primarily given for purposes of the discussion at hand, and may or may not have a wider application.

Value

The notion of "value" and its relationship to planning could easily be the subject of an entire thesis, and indeed recently has been.¹ The author of that work proposed the following definition: "a cognitive assumption about the desirable or the undesirable, to which its holder is affectively committed (whether

¹ Rachel Alterman, The Intervention of Values in the Planning Process (unpublished M.C.P. thesis, University of Manitoba, 1970).

consciously or not), and which influences his perception of the range of alternative actions or views from which he may select, as well as his actual selection from this range.¹"

For purposes of this thesis, value will be taken to mean an individual or group's measure of the intrinsic desirability or worth of a particular thing or end-state. There are three important points to be made regarding this definition.

1. Some meaningful and identifiable "thing" or "end-state" must be involved which is to be "valued." Cognition, or a state of knowledge, is required.
2. Although the value of the thing or end-state is intrinsic, it does not exist of itself, but must be created by an individual or group either consciously or unconsciously, i.e., a thing has no value other than that assigned to it by society.
3. The idea of measuring is inherent in the term "value," on a desirable-undesirable scale; thus the term "evaluation."

Goals and Objectives

A "goal" is a desirable or positively valued end-state. The terms "goal" and "objective" are generally thought of as being synonymous, and in planning literature are often used interchangeably. It is necessary however, to differentiate between them with regard to the planning process. Robert C. Young makes a very astute distinction between goals and objectives. A goal,

¹ Ibid., p. 5.

he says, "provides the traveller with a direction and not a location ... a goal is an ideal and should be expressed in abstract terms; it is a value to be sought after, not an object to be achieved." On the other hand, Young says, "an objective is explicit, attainable,¹ and measurable."

Both goals and objectives can serve simultaneously as ends² and means. For example, the lowering of the cost of housing could be a planning objective, and an end in itself, but it could also be a means to another planning objective, that of providing a decent house for every Canadian. This end in turn could be a means of pursuing a higher goal, the realization of a just society. A goal or objective then, can be ranked and is a means or an end depending on whether it is considered in relationship to higher or lower ranked goals or objectives. Objectives are always more concrete and are lower in the hierarchy, whereas goals are more abstract and are higher up.

Communities and Clients

The term "planning" is frequently qualified by preceding it with such terms as "city," "regional," "national," "urban," etc.

¹ Robert C. Young, "Goals and Goal Setting," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXII (March 1966), 78.

² Ibid., p. 79.

These terms involve the notion of space, and denote the physical scope of the particular type of planning under consideration. Such distinctions are not of concern in this study. In discussing the planning process and plan-making it will in all cases be assumed that the process or activity is related to a particular and (at least loosely) identifiable group of people. These are the people who are being planned for, or planned with. This group could constitute a village, a city, a neighbourhood, a nation, or in the broadest sense, any agglomeration of individuals. This group of people will be referred to as the community.

It is common practice in planning literature to refer to the group of people being planned for or planned with as the "clients." In this context, "client" is synonymous with "community" as above defined. This will not be the case in this thesis. The author's planning experience is in the consulting field and practical illustrations of certain points will be drawn from this experience. In the context of the private consulting firm, "client" refers to the individual or group for whom the planner is working; i.e., the individual or group who is paying for the services of the planner. In this context, "client" is not always synonymous with "community." The client may be partially or entirely different

from the community which is the object of the planning.¹ The dilemma which this situation may create for the consultant planner will be discussed in a subsequent part of the thesis.

Environment

For the term "environment," we will borrow a definition from the Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary; "the aggregate of external circumstances, conditions, and things that affect the existence and development of an individual, organism,² or group." This environment is composed of two parts. One part is the tangible, observable world as bound by the dimensions of space and time. The other part is the world of the mind, or of the intellect; intangible but equally real. Geddes called these worlds the "out-world" and the "in-world."³

¹ The degree to which the "client" represents the "community" varies. In the first case study discussed in Chapter III, the consultant's client is the Planning Board of a small community. In this case the client may be said to represent the community. In the second case study discussed in Chapter III, the consultant's client is a land developer. This individual can in no way be considered as "representing" the community, the "community" being composed of the ultimate residents of the development.

² Funk and Wagnalls Standard College Dictionary, Canadian Edition, 1963.

³ Patrick Geddes, Cities in Evolution (New and Revised Edition), (London: Williams and Norgate Ltd., 1949), pp. 205-213.

Planning

The generic term "planning," has wide application and relates to a multitude of intellectual and physical activities. In order to prevent confusion or misunderstanding, use of the term will be avoided, except in the generic sense. No attempt will be made to define "planning" per se, but in the next chapter, two basic kinds of planning: "plan-making," and "the planning process," will be described. These two terms, rather than "planning," will be used throughout the thesis.

The terms "planner" and "plan" will not be defined either, but will be construed to have a meaning appropriate to whatever kind of "planning" the terms are associated with in the discussion.

CHAPTER II

FUNDAMENTAL CONCEPTS

The word "definition" has a rigid and decisive connotation not in keeping with the purpose of this Chapter. It is not so much the precise linguistic meaning of particular terms which is of concern here, but the general mental image of a particular reality (concept) which the term should evoke, in the context of the thesis. The following paragraphs describe the characteristics of the concepts to which certain terms relate. No attempt is made to define the terms in a restrictive or linguistic sense. The descriptions presented here have no claim to universality, and are set forth primarily for the purpose of clarifying and making more meaningful the discussion in the ensuing chapters.

The fundamental concepts to be described are: "the planning process," "plan-making," "planning theory," and "planning practice."

The usage in the thesis of three corollary terms; "planning style," "planning strategy," and "planning approach" will also be discussed.

The Planning Process

In the Preface, it was stated that the basic purpose of this work is to produce, for its author, a clearer understanding of the nature of the planning process. If the intention is to devote the bulk of the thesis to an investigation of the nature of the planning process, how can the process be properly described at this early stage? This approach is justified for a number of reasons. First, by stating that the objective is to arrive at a clearer understanding of the planning process it is inferred that the author already has some knowledge of the process. This work is not an attempt to develop a concept, but merely to understand a concept which already exists in current planning thought (but exists largely in fragmented fashion and is seldom, if ever, clearly articulated). Second, the following description of the process is not intended to be determinate, but is intended as a starting point. Third, an attempt is being made to take a heuristic approach, utilizing that characteristic of a heuristic process which enables one to move toward an "unknown" goal. The method is described as follows:

"... Scientists achieve understanding, but they do so only at the end of an inquiry. Moreover, their inquiry is methodical, and method consists of ordering means to achieve an end. But how can means be ordered to an end when the end is knowledge and the knowledge is not yet acquired? The answer to this puzzle is the heuristic structure. Name the unknown. Work out its properties. Use the properties

1

to direct, order, guide the inquiry."

In short, it is necessary to "travel ahead" at this point and in some way define the principle subject of inquiry, so that it may be intelligently discussed in the ensuing pages.

The planning process must be viewed as a functioning whole. However, to make the concept intellectually manageable, it will be broken down into five main phases or steps.² In this perspective, the process is linear, in that it progresses from one step to the next. The process is also cyclical however, both in its entirety and between each phase.

The following characterization of the planning process, while representing an aggregate of opinion, selectively and interpretively obtained from many sources, bears some resemblance to Carrothers'³ and Harris'⁴ descriptions of the process.

¹ Bernard J.F. Lonergan, S.J., Insight, A Study of Human Understanding (New York: Philosophical Library, 1958), quoted in J.E. Page, S.J., The Development of the Notion of Planning in the United States, 1893-1965 (PhD. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1965), p. 359.

² See Appendix, diagram I.

³ G.A.P. Carrothers, "Planning in Manitoba," in Community Planning: A Casebook on Law and Administration, by J.B. Milner (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963), pp. 63-64.

⁴ Britton Harris, "The Limits of Science and Humanism in Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (September 1967), 324-335.

The first step in the process is to attempt to identify the goals of the community which is the object of the planning activity, and of all those groups, both inside and outside of the community, which may be affected by the plan. These goals usually exist apart from the planning process, but may never have been expressly identified. The fact that the community's goals may be difficult to pin-point and impossible to articulate clearly, does not adversely affect the process. One of the integral goals of the planning process itself is to assist the community in discovering and defining its goals.

It is of no consequence that the goals are vague or ill-defined initially. As the community engages in the planning process, its goals will become clearer and hopefully more attainable, and in fact, new and hitherto unknown goals will in all likelihood appear on the horizon. Such is the ongoing nature of the process.

The definition of "goal" which was proposed in the previous Chapter does not require that the planner use his technical skills at this first stage of the process, but rather that he draw upon his knowledge of philosophy, religion, history, utopian thought, and upon his "creativity" as a basis for his input to the goal formulation phase of the process. The community's input to this phase is a reflection of its values.

The second step in the process can be broken down into three activities: a survey and analysis of the past; a survey and analysis of the present; and a prediction of the (unplanned) future.

Geddes' advice on the need for "city surveys" is just as relevant today as when written in 1915. In speaking of planning schemes which "are not based upon any sufficient surveys of past development and present conditions," Geddes states that;

"In such cases the natural order, that of town survey before town planning, is being reserved; and in this way individuals and public bodies are in danger of committing themselves to plans which would have been widely different with fuller knowledge" ¹

Geddes' city survey was to be carried out with "synoptic" vision - seeking to recognize and utilize all points of view. He used the term "synopsis" to denote "the seeing together of the interaction of all of the factors which determine the life of society, its content."²

¹ Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 125.

² Hans Blumenfeld, "The Role of Design," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (September 1967), 305. Blumenfeld has also defined Patrick Geddes' term "synopsis" as meaning "not only looking at all sides of the picture, but looking at the picture from all sides: from the angle of the architect, the landscaper, the engineer, the traffic engineer, the economist, the lawyer, etc.," American Society of Planning Officials, Newsletter (June 1964), p. 75.

Time and monetary constraints restrict the degree to which Geddes' ideal can be realized. The more time that is available, the more information that can be gathered, and the more detailed the analysis. A time must come however, when the plan must be produced if it is to be of any use at all. There must be a trade-off between the need for quick effective action in a rapidly changing world and the need for comprehensive analysis of complex problems. The cost of information must likewise be reckoned with, and again a trade-off must be made; in this case between cost of additional information and the value of that information in shaping the plan.

In the third phase of the planning process, a conscious choice of alternative objectives is made. These objectives, as previously defined, will be concrete and attainable. The question of whether the planner should establish the objectives of the plan, or whether the community should set the objectives with the planner acting in the role of adviser, is a crucial one. This question will be considered in a later part of the thesis. Actually, the range of possible and desirable objectives from which the planner and/or community may select is highly restricted by the available means. In the ideal concept of rationality, ends are selected and means devised to achieve the ends. In actual practice however, certain means are generally at hand, and they determine, at least in part, which ends will be pursued. The available means will have been identified in the "survey and analysis" phase of the

process.

The fourth step in the process is the formulation of plans and programs to achieve the selected objectives. At this stage the planner must attempt to predict the consequences of the plans and programs. The prime "consequence" of a particular plan is the attainment of the desired objective. The plan may have other consequences however; undesirable "side effects." If these side effects warrant, it may be necessary to formulate alternative plans to achieve the objectives or even to alter the objectives themselves. The community may place a higher value on avoiding certain undesirable consequences of the plan than on attaining the plan's prime objective.

The fifth step in the process is to implement the plan. There is another critical question here which will be considered later; whether the planner's role in this phase of the process should be "political," with the planner actively seeking to ensure implementation of the plan, or whether the planner should be relegated to a technical and co-ordinative role, leaving the politics of the implementation stage to the politicians.

Implementation, being the last step in the process, necessitates evaluation of results, with feedback to all of the other stages in the process.

Throughout its entirety, the process must deal with the social, economic, and physical aspects of the community. Each of these three basic considerations must be given equal priority for they are complementary, and the omission of any one will surely¹ result in the distortion of the plan.

It was stated at the outset that while the planning process may be viewed as being linear in order to simplify its description, the process actually progresses in cyclical fashion. The interactive, "open-ended," self-correcting, or heuristic aspects of the process cannot be too highly stressed.

Plan-Making

The description given of the planning process in the preceding section is a prescriptive notion of "planning." The author does not believe that many practicing planners consciously attempt to engage in the process as described in the foregoing section. Many practicing planners engage instead in plan-making. Plan-making, as outlined below, is a descriptive notion of "planning."

At this point one thing should be made clear. It is incorrect to assume that the only real "planning" is that which is carried out in line with the notion of an abstract planning process, and

¹ See Appendix, Diagram II.

that any other type of "planning" is in fact "non-planning."¹ It is important to realize that for many people, both planners and especially non-planners, plan-making is "planning." We must take the notion of plan-making into consideration because to call it "non-planning" or its practitioners "non-planners," is to ignore a very real fact. To the plan-makers, and to most of the people for whom the "plans" are being "made," plan-making is a legitimate and worthwhile activity. While the individuals who are engaged in this activity may be both intelligent and well meaning, they do not conceive of any other kind of "planning" than "plan-making."

Plan-making can best be described as the making of a unitary, static plan. It is the articulation of a specific preferred end-state; it is the solution to the problem.

In plan-making, the planner can move through the steps as outlined above for the planning process, but the movement begins with the first step and ends with the last; it is not cyclical. The resulting plan cannot therefore be adaptive or dynamic. It can be made superficially flexible, and can be externally altered and corrected, but it cannot be internally self-correcting, since the method by which it is produced lacks the ongoing, cyclical properties of a process.

¹ The difference between planning and non-planning will be discussed in Chapter V.

Planning Theory

In a report on planning theory in contemporary planning education, Henry C. Hightower notes that; "a major distinction must be made between theories of the planning process - procedural theories - and theories concerning phenomena with which planning is concerned."¹ Hightower gives Davidoff and Reiner's "Choice Theory"² as an example of the first, and "Reilly's Law"³ as an example of the second.

In this context, planning may be thought of as being composed of two closely interrelated parts. Procedural planning is an intellectual activity which is directed toward the determination of how to plan. In every planning situation the question of how to plan must be dealt with, and one style or strategy, or a combination of styles or strategies must be decided upon before the second part of the planning activity can take place. Substantive planning is directly related to the out-world; it is the articulation of means to achieve ends. This is the activity

¹ Henry C. Hightower, "Planning Theory in Contemporary Professional Education," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXV (September 1969), 326.

² Paul Davidoff and T.A. Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVII (May 1962), 103-15.

³ William J. Reilly, The Law of Retail Gravitation (New York: W.J. Riley Co., 1931).

commonly associated with the term "planning," and it is the activity in which most practicing planners are engaged, in their day-to-day¹ work.

Before substantive planning can take place effectively, procedural planning must take place. Regardless of the style or strategy chosen; whether it be comprehensive, rational, disjointed incremental, advocacy, or other, before commencing to plan, the planner must decide how he is going to go about it. Questions such as: "is this a good planning strategy," or "which strategy is best," are not the right questions to ask. The question is: "given a particular planning problem/situation, which strategy is relevant and can be utilized, and how can the particular strategy be applied to the case at hand." This thesis is mainly concerned with theories of "planning" per se, i.e., with procedural planning.

A further distinction might be made between deductive and inductive theory. A deductive planning theory would be a general theory formulated through a process of reasoning and applied to particular situations, whereas an inductive planning theory would be one which attempted to infer general principles from observation

¹ James March and Herbert Simon define substantive planning as "developing new programs" and procedural planning as "developing programs for the problem-solving process itself." James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley & Son Inc., 1958), p. 140.

of particular planning situations. In other words, a deduced theory anticipates the actual situation, whereas an induced theory results from the observation of the situation. The body of knowledge which can be loosely identified as "planning theory" has grown over the past several decades by both methods, and a sharp distinction between the two will not be necessary.

Procedural planning theory deals with two separate though closely related concepts; the procedural structuring of the planning activity, i.e., the planning "method" or "approach," and the role of the individual planner within the structure. In this context, planning theory is closely related to decision-making theory.

Planning Practice

From the perspective of the practicing "city planner," "town planner," "regional planner," "economic planner," "social planner" or "world planner," planning is a profession. It is also an applied science, or an applied art, depending on the planner's professional socialization.

In this thesis, two types of planning practice will be distinguished; that which generally follows a structuring of the planning process as previously described, and that which does not. A number of alternative structurings of the process will be discussed in Chapter IV. Planning practice which does not utilize the concept of "process" generally falls under the heading of

plan-making. This approach to the practice of planning will also be discussed in Chapter IV.

Style, Strategy, and Approach

For purposes of the discussion, it will be necessary to use three additional terms; "planning style," "planning strategy" and "planning approach." Planning style will be construed to mean the manner in which planning is carried out, from the point of view of an examination of the internalized values, goals, and attitudes, and the actions of the individual planner. Planning strategy will be construed to mean the way in which planning is carried out from the point of view of an examination of the way in which the planning activity is structured to meet a particular planning problem or situation. The terms are closely related, but style relates to the planner, whereas strategy relates to the structuring of the planning activity. It will be appreciated that certain planning styles are compatible with certain planning strategies, whereas others are mutually exclusive. The totality of the two concepts, that is, the planner's style plus the planning strategy, will be termed the planning approach. The distinctions among these terms will become clearer as the discussion progresses.

CHAPTER III

TWO CASE HISTORIES

Two case histories will now be presented. In this Chapter, the main events and discussions surrounding the actual preparation¹ of two plans will be described. Examples drawn from the two case studies will be utilized in Chapters IV and V. to illustrate a number of points. As the discussion progresses, it will become evident to the reader whether in each case, planning was being practiced in line with the notion of "process," or whether in fact it was "plan-making" which was being practiced.

The "Easton" Plan

Easton is a small, sparsely populated Canadian Township. The Township's 80 square miles are largely virgin forest, muskeg, and small lakes. There is one main population center called "Eastville," which is for the most part a loose grouping of residences plus a few first-order commercial establishments. There are also a number of homes scattered throughout the Township, singly or in small clusters. The total population

¹ "Easton" and "Southsea" are pseudonyms. The actual names of the people and places involved in these case studies are confidential.

of the Township is about 3000.

The western boundary of Easton Township is contiguous with that of the Town of "Lakeside." Lakeside has a population of 12,000. Many of the residents of Easton work in Lakeside and live in Easton partly because they like the quiet, scenic, rural atmosphere, but mostly because the taxes are lower.¹

In 1969, the Council of the Township of Easton retained a firm of Engineering Consultants to prepare a development plan, a zoning plan, and a zoning by-law for the Township. At the time that the Consulting Firm was retained, it had no professional planners on its staff. One of the senior engineers had considerable experience in the field of "Engineering Planning" and was at the time just completing the requirements for a degree in City Planning.

Initial meetings were held, and four preliminary "maps"² were prepared: an existing land use map, a map showing those areas

¹ Taxes are lower because the level of municipal services is lower. Sewage disposal in Eastville is by septic tank, and only a part of the community has piped water.

² It will be necessary to distinguish here between "plan" meaning a drawing and "plan" meaning a written document with accompanying drawings. To avoid confusion, the word "map" will be used to refer to the graphic portion and the word "plan" will refer to the whole package.

which could be economically serviced with sewer and water, a map showing proposed "alternative development areas," and a zoning map. The maps were prepared by a junior engineer under the guidance of the senior engineer.

At about the time that the four maps were completed, changes occurred in the staff of the Consulting Firm. The senior engineer left, and a new man, "Smith," joined the Firm. Smith, an engineer, had been with the Firm for a number of years, but had taken two years leave of absence to obtain a Master's Degree in City Planning. Although the senior engineer was not to leave for two or three months, he began immediately to withdraw from the picture as far as the Easton project was concerned. Smith was to assist the junior engineer in completing the work.

When Smith re-joined the Firm, the maps were virtually completed. It was now necessary to get the Easton Planning Committee's reaction to the work which had been done. A meeting was accordingly arranged. The junior engineer was to present the maps and carry the bulk of the discussion, while Smith would act basically as an observer. The senior engineer would not attend.

The meeting was held in the evening, in the Township offices at Easton. Smith, the junior engineer, and most of the

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Easton Council were present. From the Council's point of view, the main purpose of the meeting was to find out what the Consultants had been doing for the past several months, rather than to "participate in the planning process." From the Consultant's point of view, the purpose of the meeting was partly to present to the Council the preliminary maps and in so doing obtain the Council's blessing on what had been done so far, and also to receive comments, criticisms, and suggestions from the Council. The second purpose was not superfluous; the Consultants genuinely wanted feedback from the Council (and were disappointed at how little they received).

The meeting took the following form: the maps were tacked on the wall, the junior engineer explained them to the Council, and asked for comments. Three things became immediately apparent. Firstly, as was evident from the comments, none of the Council members really had a clear understanding of what a development plan or a zoning plan was. Certain misconceptions regarding non-conforming uses, re-zoning, etc. were evident from the outset. Secondly, no Council members was prepared to challenge in their entirety the validity of the maps as guides for development. All of the broad features of both the development map and the zoning map (and most of the details) were accepted

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The Easton Council consists of 8 elected members. From within this elected body, a 3-man Planning Committee had been formed.

without question. Thirdly, the only critical comments made by the Council members related to specific points of interest on the zoning map, and even these comments were few.

The meeting lasted three hours and discussion was very informal, with everyone talking at once a considerable amount of the time. For at least half the meeting, discussion was off the topic at hand and ranged over other problems in the community, on which the Consultants were frequently asked to give opinions. There was, for example, the question of whether it would be proper for the Council to enter into the role of "developers" to create a serviced mobile homes park, or whether this development should be left to private entrepreneurs. Also, a large area of Town-owned property by a lake was set aside on the zoning plan as a park area, and certain members of the Council had in mind a scheme whereby the municipality would develop a street on the property (i.e., subdivide an area and provide services) and sell the lots, the proceeds going to finance development of the park area.

Certain of the Council members were of the opinion that the Council had no right, legal or moral, to undertake the role of "developer." Others took the view that the proposed action was in the best interest of the community and was therefore legitimate. In the case of the trailer park, the argument was put forth that if the Council did not develop a park, no one would, and that the existing situation, where mobile homes were scattered throughout

the community, was becoming intolerable. The Council members taking this stand also believed that selling a few serviced lots was an excellent way of financing a park development. The opposition's feelings in both cases were that the Council would be overstepping its mandate to enter into such dealings. The argument, on a micro scale, was a classic example of the free enterprise versus government intervention debate.

Considerable time was also spent in the meeting discussing a number of applications for building permits, and applications for subdivision permits. Discussion of certain building permit applications indirectly revealed the attitudes of the Council members to the whole concept of planning and zoning, and the public interest versus individual rights. The Council members, if asked outright, would be unable or unwilling to articulate their conception of the value of public planning and zoning. They would no doubt answer such a query with some sort of platitude. Discussion of the building permit applications however, brought out some basic attitudes.

Some of the members proposed to refuse certain permits because they believed that the granting of permission would not be in the public interest. They did not use the term "the public interest" and their stated reasons for being opposed to the granting of the permits were specific and at the same time, somewhat vague and perhaps not entirely to the point. It was

obvious however, that if the Council members could have expressed themselves in academic terms, they would immediately have stated that "they were defending the public interest."

Other members of Council took the view that they had little or no right to deny a property owner the right to do as he wished with his property.

With regard to one or two of the applications, the question was asked; what would be the effect of the proposed zoning plan on such an application? This brought out a definite conflict in the minds of some Council members. They had endorsed "planning"¹ as being a legitimate activity for the Council to indulge in, and were part way through preparing a zoning plan and by-law, and yet their initial and fundamental reaction to a building permit application which would contravene the zoning plan was, in the words of one member, "who are we stop him (the applicant)? Let's OK it."

Late in the meeting, the idea came up of holding a public meeting to discuss the plans. Most, if not all of the Council, were in favor of the idea, and the Consultants voiced their approval. Smith did not have a well formed opinion on the value of such meetings, but believed the idea to have merit, and was anxious to discover how "citizen participation in the planning process" would

¹ In this case, plan-making.

work in actual practice. There was a lengthy discussion as to how the public should be informed of the meeting, whether by press and radio, or by individual letters, but this was eventually settled, and the public meeting idea was heartily endorsed by all present.

The discussion on "citizen participation" (this term was not used throughout the discussion; not even by Smith) brought out an interesting point. The nearby town of Lakeside had recently passed a zoning by-law and was awaiting the Provincial Government's approval. The job had apparently not been well handled from a public relations point of view. One of the Easton Councillors was a property owner in Lakeside, whose property was affected by the new by-law. He was quite vociferous in his criticism of the way things had been handled in Lakeside. The other Council members were likewise fully aware of the Lakeside situation and were also critical. The gist of the matter was that the people of Lakeside had not been consulted on the plan until it had been passed by Council and had gone before the Municipal Board for approval. The property owners had then been sent a formal notice, requiring a written objection if any, within fourteen days. A public meeting¹ had not been held.

The Easton Council were of the opinion that this course of action had caused considerable ill-feeling in Lakeside and that

¹ This is all quite legitimate under the terms of the relevant Planning Act.

such a procedure should by all means be avoided in Easton. The Council dwelt at length on the "way things were handled in Lakeside" and on the need to have a public meeting to ensure that ill-feelings would not be aroused by more or less forcing the plan on the people without their having the opportunity to comment during the plan's preparation.

It was truly remarkable how some of the comments of the Council members would, if translated into contemporary planning jargon, echo the words of the proponents of citizen participation in the planning process.

At the conclusion of the meeting, it was decided that the Consultants would make such minor revisions to the maps as had been discussed, and that a further meeting should shortly be held with the Council and with a representative of the Provincial Government's Planning Branch. This meeting would be held prior to the public meeting.

The purpose of the second meeting, as far as the Consultants were concerned, was to obtain tentative approval of the maps from the Planning Branch. The Consultants deemed it advisable to obtain unofficial approval of their work prior to making a formal submission to the Provincial Government. The Council was in agreement with this approach, and the stated purpose of the second meeting was, in the Council's opinion, to obtain unofficial approval of the plans. In addition, some Councillors probably had

an unstated reason for desiring the meeting; they wanted to find out if the "Consultants" really knew what they were doing. The opinion of the Regional Planning Officer seemed to be fairly highly respected by most of the Councillors, and it would probably be this planner who would attend the meeting.

The second meeting took place several weeks later. The planner from the Provincial Government was in attendance. As with the first meeting, the second began with a discussion of a number of the Township's current planning problems, mostly related to building permit applications, and all of a very minor nature. This discussion took up more than half of the meeting time and was participated in very actively by the Council members. (Much more actively than the subsequent discussion of the "maps" would be.)

As far as the Consultants were concerned, these auxilliary matters were outside of their terms of reference. However, Smith and the junior engineer had to make the trip to Easton anyway, to discuss the plan, and they did not really mind assisting the Easton Council with advice on miscellaneous planning problems. Smith, in fact, was beginning to suspect that this function was of more value to the Council than the substance of the "maps" would ever be.

Eventually discussion turned to the development and zoning maps. The junior engineer again explained, for the planners's benefit, the thinking behind the development map and the zoning

map. The junior engineer also explained for the Council's benefit, the minor changes which had been made as a result of the discussion at the previous meeting.

The planner was then asked to comment. To everyone's surprise, and particularly Smith's, he made no comment at all on the overall concept of the development map or zoning map. His only comments were related to technicalities; minor changes required to bring the plans in line with the standards of the Provincial planning authorities. The members of Council also had no comments.

The conduct of the Easton Planning Committee was particularly frustrating to the Consultants. Both Smith and the junior engineer wanted the Committee members to participate in formulating the plan. The junior engineer, throughout the course of preparing his maps, sent many copies to the Committee and asked that they be returned with comments. They never were, and the comments of the Committee members during meetings were few and marginal.

At the end of the meeting the proposed public meeting was again discussed. The planner was mildly in favour but he made it clear that it was not officially necessary at this point. The Council did not wish to set even a tentative date. The Consultants left with the impression that the Councillors were dragging their heels, and that nothing much had been accomplished in the way of progress.

Several months passed during which no further action was taken on the Easton project. Smith and the junior engineer were occupied with other matters and the Easton Council did not contact them. The senior engineer left the Firm during this period. He had hoped to write the document portion of the development plan before he left, but was unable to do so. His parting instructions were that the junior engineer should write the plan with Smith reviewing and commenting on it.

About six months after the last meeting at Easton, the senior member of the Firm now responsible for the Easton project, decided that the maps and documents should be completed and turned over to the Council in the form of a final draft. The junior engineer was accordingly instructed to complete the writing of the plan. Over the next few weeks he did so, and eventually turned a draft over to Smith for comment. A meeting was held between Smith, the junior engineer, and the senior member of the Firm to discuss the draft and the progress on the plan in general. At this meeting, Smith stated that the entire plan was, in his opinion, quite inadequate and that the only correct approach would be to start again from the beginning. Neither the senior member nor of course the junior engineer were prepared to accept this view, and a lengthy debate ensued.

Smith's reaction to the draft plan was somewhat of a surprise to the others, since previously, Smith had not been

critical of the work which had been done. Smith stated however, that up until the time that he had been presented with the draft of the written portion of the plan, he had only seen "maps" and had not wished to comment on the strength of the somewhat sketchy information contained in them. He claimed that there were many items which he had expected would be covered in the written portion of the plan, which were not. In fact, there was such an obvious lack of background information that a proper plan could not be prepared without beginning with some basic data collection. Smith also disagreed with the nature of Easton's future development as envisaged by the junior engineer (and presumably by the senior engineer now absent). After considerable discussion, it became evident that Smith disagreed fundamentally with the entire approach which had thus far been taken.

Smith, the junior engineer and the senior member of the Firm responsible for the project, held several subsequent meetings without resolving their differences of opinion. The junior engineer eventually withdrew from the conflict by stating that he had no training as a planner, was not a planner, and should not have been given the job of preparing a plan in the first place. This of course was true.

Unlike the junior engineer, Smith had a formal planning education. The senior man however, was even less prepared to accept Smith's interpretation of the situation than he was to

accept the junior engineer's. The debate between Smith and the senior man ranged from considerations of the details of the projected development of Easton Township, to considerations of the fundamental nature of "planning."

It is at this stage that the Easton project now rests. The conflict has not been resolved.

The "Southsea" Plan

Southsea is a small island in the southern latitudes. The Island is 80 square miles in area, and has a population of about 7000. In 1969, a Canadian businessman and land developer, retained a Consulting Engineering Firm and an Architectural Firm to prepare a promotional brochure for a proposed development on the Island. The development was to contain a hotel, condominium units, serviced housing sites, a marina, shops, and recreational facilities. The brochure, when completed, contained a "Master Plan of Development" which was in effect a proposed site map with about two pages of descriptive material on the proposed services and facilities. The brochure also contained plans, elevations, perspectives, and layouts of the proposed condominium "villages." The purpose of the brochure was to promote the development scheme with the local authorities and with other interested parties. A number of large colored copies of the "Master Plan of Development" were prepared, and a presentation

was made by the developer to the local Planning Commission. The matter was then dropped for a time, as far as the Consulting Firms were concerned.

After about a year, the developer again approached the Engineering Firm and requested that the Firm prepare a more detailed development plan with major revisions from the first plan, and an engineering feasibility study for the project. The Architectural Firm would not be involved. The new development plan, a written proposal to be presented to the Southsea authorities, and the feasibility study were to be completed in four weeks! The developer was travelling to the Island in about one month's time to meet with the Southsea Planning Commission, and the material would have to be available then.

The Consulting Firm had never prepared such a development plan, had no experience in the field of recreational planning, and in fact had very little experience in the planning field in general. Besides the president of the Firm, who had a personal interest in the project, two of the Firm's engineers would be involved, plus draftsmen and technicians as required. "Smith" would be responsible for the bulk of the work. He would prepare the development plan and write the proposal and feasibility study report. Smith was a professional engineer with several years experience in the municipal engineering field and was currently engaged in completing thesis requirements for a degree in City

Planning. He had little practical planning experience. He would receive assistance from other engineers in the Firm, in dealing with some of the detailed engineering aspects of the feasibility study. One of the senior engineers in the Firm who had considerable "engineering planning" experience would also advise Smith. This individual was in charge of such planning work for which the Firm had been engaged.

The area which the development plan was to cover consisted of a 420 acre site, roughly rectangular in shape, situated on a narrow neck of land. The site was bounded on the north and south by undeveloped land and to the east and west by the sea. The site was largely covered by a mangrove swamp, and unoccupied, except for a small hotel on the beach owned by the developer. The ultimate development was to contain a large new hotel, about 400 condominium units, and 800 residential lots. About two-thirds of the lots would have direct access to canals. There would also be shopping and recreational facilities, including a marina.

Due to a fundamental change in the developer's plans,¹ and due to a number of development regulations which had recently come² into effect on the Island, the original "Master Plan of Development"

¹ A 24 acre site was to be set aside for a large hotel development by a major international hotel chain.

² These development regulations set out minimum requirements for lot sizes, street dimensions, canal construction, water supply, etc.

had to be completely discarded.

During the first week of work on the project, ten alternative preliminary "maps"¹ were prepared. These conceptual maps each showed a complete primary and secondary road layout, canal layout, and the areas which would be allocated for hotel, condominium, residential, commercial and recreational use. Three or four of the maps also showed a rough lot layout in the residential area.

At the end of the week, the ten maps were reviewed by the senior engineer and by the president of the Firm (the two senior staff members who were overseeing the work on the project). Four maps were chosen for further development. Each of the four maps would be drawn up more accurately in the following week with lot layouts, and compared on the basis of miles of road, amount of channel excavation, relative ease of servicing, number of lots, etc. At the same time, preliminary work would begin on the cost estimates for the feasibility study.

With the commencement of detailed work on the feasibility study, one fact became immediately apparent. There was an appalling lack of information. Smith realized of course from the outset, that there was very little information available, either with respect to the Island itself or with respect to the proposed development. The proposed land use map would be difficult enough

¹ Supra, n. 2 , p. 23 .

to prepare; the feasibility study would be almost impossible. During the preparation of the initial ten layouts, the lack of information was not too much of a hinderance, in fact it was probably an asset because there were no environmental constraints in effect during the conceptual phase of the map preparation. Preparation of a definite land use map and an engineering feasibility study was another matter however, and it soon became apparent that the informational problem was serious.

During the preparation of the earlier "Master Plan of Development" and the brochure, a member of the Consulting Firm's staff had made a trip to the Island. This individual had unfortunately since been transferred to another city and was not available. He had, however, made a brief set of notes at the time of his trip, which were available, and of course there was a certain amount of information given in the brochure itself. The brochure was, as has been noted, promotional in nature. Most of the information in it related to the general amenities¹ of the site, and the architectural and amenity features of the "condominium villages." This sort of information was of little use to Smith in solving the problems which now confronted him.

¹ For example: "Approximately 450 acres of land will be subdivided into a housing development which is serviced by an integrated system of roads and waterways for the ultimate in living and recreational convenience," or "320 self-owned (condominium) apartments on 27 acres of landscaped gardens ... sited in village clusters around swimming pools and shuffle courts."

In addition to the information assembled at the time of the initial Southsea work, the president of the Firm had prepared two pages of notes on a discussion between himself and the developer. These notes dealt with the changes which had occurred since the brochure and initial plan had been prepared, changes in the developer's requirements, and changes necessitated as a result of the new set of development regulations for the Island. A copy of the Development Regulations had been obtained by the developer and had been given to the president. The original plan did not comply with new regulations on several points.

It was originally the Consultants' intention to prepare the required maps and documents without further discussions with the developer. Because of the lack of information, and because there was insufficient time for a trip to Southsea to obtain it, it was decided to arrange for an interim meeting with the developer. This step was felt to be an absolute must, for there were so many unanswered questions in the minds of the Consultants, that the whole effort might be in vain without the developer's assistance.

A meeting was accordingly arranged for the Sunday midway in the four week period allotted for the study. It was decided to complete the four alternative maps which had been selected, at least in rough form, and to complete a rough cost estimate for the entire development. The developer would review these items and hopefully be able to answer a list of questions which would

also be prepared.

The meeting began at 9:00 a.m. with the developer, the president of the Consulting Firm, the senior engineer, and Smith present. It took the developer about five minutes to choose one of the alternative maps. That being settled, the remainder of the day was occupied in discussing the cost estimates and details of the physical aspects of the development. Each item discussed was covered in detail, with the developer pointing out where erroneous assumptions had been made, and providing a large amount of additional information. Some of the information was factual; i.e., pertaining to conditions on the Island, local prices, etc., whereas some was subjective, i.e., pertaining to the developer's own ideas, and preferences for the development.

The meeting lasted until about 5:00 p.m. During the last fifteen or twenty minutes, when all other business had been considered, the developer went through the prepared list of questions, most of which had been prepared by Smith. All questions pertaining to the physical aspects of the site or to costs were answered efficiently in a word or sentence, if they had not already been answered during the day's discussions. The few questions pertaining to the social aspects of the development, such as, "are there schools available?" were answered with "not involved," or ignored entirely. The question, "are there any race problems on the Island?" was, for example, ignored, as was the question,

"what might be the effect of the development of the Island community¹ as a whole?"

Over the following two weeks, a large colored "Master Plan of Development" was prepared by a draftsman, under Smith's direction, based on the map chosen by the developer. A layout map for the condominium development, with a "typical condominium village plan,"² and a servicing drawing were also prepared. The cost estimates were revised and refined on the basis of the developer's many comments. Finally, a document entitled "A Proposal to Develop a Resort Hotel, Condominium Villages, A Residential Community, Shopping, Marina, and Recreational Facilities, on Southsea Island," and a report entitled "An Engineering Report on the Southsea Development Project" were written and printed. The first would be for presentation to the Southsea Planning Commission, and the second for the information of the developer and presumably his financial partners in the venture.

The president of the Consulting Firm travelled to Southsea Island with the Developer and met with the chairman of the Planning Commission, in addition to examining the site in detail. He left, however, before the developer presented the proposal to the Planning Commission. There was no feedback to the Consultants on this

¹ Ecological, as well as social effects, were ignored.

² "Servicing" refers to the servicing of buildings, or residential lots with sewers, watermains, roads and electrical power.

meeting, other than that the proposal had been favorably received in principle.

...

The two case studies presented in this Chapter are not intended as examples of how not to plan; certainly they are not presented as examples of how to plan; neither are they intended as "typical" examples of planning. The case studies are presented simply as a statement of what actually did occur in two situations in which individuals who were called "planners"¹ engaged in an activity which was called "planning." Examples will be taken from the case studies to illustrate a number of points in Chapters IV and V. It is hoped that certain lessons might be learned from a consideration of the case studies in the light of the several approaches to planning which will be discussed in the following pages.

At the beginning of this Chapter, it was stated that it would become obvious to the reader whether in each case study, planning was being practiced in line with the notion of "process" or whether in fact "plan-making" was being practiced. It is evident that in both case studies, the activities being carried out could not in any way be considered as constituting a process. In both cases, the "planners" were attempting to design a particular preferred end-state as the solution to a problem.

¹ Specifically, "town planners."

Typically, the participants in the planning activity had engineering backgrounds, which discipline is oriented to the solution of discrete¹ problems.

In the case of the Southsea Plan, the constraints were such that the planners could not realistically have initiated the planning process, unless they could have become involved over a period of time in the overall development of Southsea Island. All that their client required, however, was a well executed job of "planning" for a particular site. To term the result a "Master Plan of Development" was at best an overstatement, and at worst a mis-²representation of the facts. Whether the activity which was engaged in by the Consulting Firm could rightly be called planning is a debatable point. The difference between "planning" and "non-planning" will be discussed in Chapter V.

In the case of the Easton Plan the opportunity existed initially for the planners to establish a rapport with the Council and initiate the process. The reasons for which the senior engineer did not take this approach could not be determined by the

¹ This is not to say that the engineering profession should be oriented to solving discrete problems. Many engineers run into trouble through neglecting "systems" effects in their solutions to problems which are only superficially discrete.

² Though not an intentional misrepresentation.

author. The difficulties which a planner encounters in attempting to engage in the planning process while his clients can only conceive of plan-making will also be discussed in Chapter V.

CHAPTER IV

PLANNING STYLES AND PLANNING STRATEGIES

In this Chapter, a number of planning styles and strategies¹ will be discussed. There is no clear-cut division between the notion of "style" and the notion of "strategy," as defined in Chapter II. The two concepts may simply be thought of as two different points of view from which to examine the planning process; one point of view being oriented to the role of the planner, the other to the structuring of the process. We believe that it will further our purpose to examine the planning process from these points of view.

The Planner-Elite Style

The planner-elite style, and the comprehensive-rational strategy which will be discussed in the next section, are mutually compatible, and generally occur together. The planner-elite style and the comprehensive-rational strategy constitute the "traditional" planning approach. Dyckman, in his introduction to a special issue of the Journal of the American Institute of Planners on the practical uses of planning theory, comments that "The planner

¹ Supra, p. 21.

has argued that he is capable of understanding community values, that he understands (he may even argue, uniquely understands) the environment in which action takes place, and that he is capable of inferring from these a 'public interest.' These ingredients, he¹ feels, add up to a composite rationality." The approach to planning which Dyckman describes, requires from the planner, a planner-elite style. Earlier in the same article, Dyckman states that "historically city planning was largely a voluntary activity, supported by a few civic-minded bluebloods and businessmen who could trust consultant planners to be faithful custodians of the² most elevated tastes."

In the planner-elite style of planning, the planner studies³ all aspects of the community as a supposedly unbiased observer. Attempting to be comprehensive, he draws upon these observations, and on his professional knowledge and experience, to make decisions regarding the future course which the community should take. In many cases some feedback from the community is injected into the system in the form of public hearings or meetings to discuss preliminary plans. This arrangement is usually ineffectual, since such meetings normally consist of a monologue

¹ Dyckman, "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory," p. 299.

² Ibid.

³ Supra, p. 5.

"presentation" on the part of the planner, with perhaps a few questions from the audience on small details. Had the Easton public meeting taken place, it would probably have followed this form. Significant changes in plans are seldom made as a result of this sort of citizen participation, which would be better termed "co-optation." It does however legitimize a process which could otherwise be accused of being undemocratic.

The planner of course, does have unique knowledge and expertise to bring to bear on the problems of a community, and he is probably more qualified than anyone else to make certain decisions. Critics of the planner-elite approach argue that "neither the planner's technical competence nor his wisdom entitles him to ascribe or dictate values to his immediate or ultimate clients." Planners are not "endowed with the ability to divine¹ either the client's will or a public will." Some critics go so far as to say that "the professionals ... have tended to act as though the people are largely incapable of knowing what is good² for them." Perhaps this allegation is not so far from the truth in some cases, for the planner-elite approach does cast the planner in the role of arbiter of the community's values and goals.

¹ Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVII (May 1962), 108.

² Richard W. Poston, "Comparative Community Organization" in The Urban Condition, ed. by Leonard J. Duhl M.D. (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963), p. 314.

Whether the planner's view will gain the approval of the political establishment is of course another question. In the context of the planner-elite style, however, we could take "planner" to mean both planners and the politicians who make the ultimate planning decisions.

The planner-elite style is the traditional approach to planning. It is still, by and large, the method by which much planning is done today and is probably the most efficient way of producing a static and unitary plan, although the results sometimes turn out to be less than satisfactory from the public's point of view. With this style, it would not be correct to say that conflicting views are resolved, but rather that conflict is avoided. Public opposition to "the plan" is minimal, because there are no clear channels of communication through which opposition can be voiced.

Of the two case studies described in Chapter III, the Southsea project most obviously involved the planner-elite style of planning. In this case, the consultant planners were, in Dyckman's words, "faithful custodians of the most elevated tastes."¹

In the case of the Easton plan, though perhaps not so evident, the planner-elite style was also present. It was the senior engineer's values which shaped the proposed development

¹ Supra, p. 47.

and zoning maps, and not those of the community. The existing pattern of development in Easton could be described as a loose cluster of residential dwellings and a few commercial establishments grouped in a certain area, with other small clusters or "strips" of single family dwellings along the lakeshores or along the various roads in the Township. The strip development is not continuous along the roadways but is only present in a few isolated locations. Lots are quite large and sewage disposal is by septic tank. On the initial development "map" it was proposed that a particular restricted area be allocated for all future residential development and that residential development be disallowed in the balance of the community. This would concentrate development in a centrally located area, serviceable by sewer and water, and would eliminate further strip development along the roadways. The senior engineer presumably placed a high value on this type of conventional development, and wished to eliminate "urban sprawl" in the community.

In the case of Easton, there are two objections to this approach. Firstly, Easton is not an urban situation, and planning concepts applicable to urban situations do not necessarily apply. There may be nothing at all wrong with allowing strip development along the roadways in a rural township if people want to live that

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 way. Such development could be controlled and restricted to certain areas or stretches of road. Secondly, the restriction of all residential development to one central area might, in the case of Easton, be unenforceable. The Council would, while subscribing to the principle, not uphold it in dealing with particular cases. (The Council's manner of dealing with a building permit application in contravention of the proposed zoning by-law was related in Chapter III.) Had the community's values, instead of the planners', been the prime force in shaping the plan, a different form of development than that which the Consultants favoured would probably have been proposed.

In general, the planner-elite style is not compatible with the notion of the planning process as described in Chapter II. The process requires a balanced input from both the planner and the community.

Comprehensive-Rational Strategy

Comprehensive-rational planning strategy may be subdivided into two closely related strategies; the classical model of rational decision-making, and the "satisficing" model of rational

¹ Alan J. Hahn, "Planning in Rural Areas," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXVI (January 1970), p. 47.

² James G. March and Herbert A. Simon, Organizations (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1958).

¹
decision-making.

The classical model of rational decision-making proposes that in a situation (assume a "planning" situation) requiring a choice among alternative courses of action, the following program be followed:

1. All sets of alternative courses of action are determined;
2. The consequences of each set of alternative courses of action are deduced, evaluated, and "preference ordered;" and,
3. A choice is made of one set of alternative courses of action which, when carried out, will result in the realization of the "optimum" set of consequences.

In real life, this ideal can only be achieved with the simplest of problems. In a situation with any degree of complexity, the informational and cognitive demands are completely unrealistic.

James G. March and Herbert A. Simon state that "Rational behaviour involves substituting for the complex reality a model of reality that is sufficiently simple to be handled by problem-solving process."² They suggest an alternative to the classical

¹ Planning theory and decision-making theory are closely related. This is particularly true of comprehensive-rational planning theory. Dyckman states that his view of planning "holds that planning is itself a kind of decision-making; one that has come into being in part to fill gaps left by other kinds of decision-making." John W. Dyckman, "Planning and Decision Theory," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXVII (November 1961), p. 335.

² March and Simon, Organizations, p. 151.

model; a "satisficing" model of rational decision-making. Utilizing this model:

1. Some sets of alternatives are proposed;
2. Some sets of consequences are "preference ordered;" and,
3. A choice is made which will result in the realization of a satisfactory set of consequences.

Both the number of alternatives and the number of consequences are controlled by the availability and cost (in time and in dollars) of information. The Southsea project is a case in point. The time allotted for the study was completely inadequate. There was no time to gather information, far less analyze it. In consulting practice, the cost of information is of course foremost in the minds of the Consultants, since planning is being carried out as a "capitalistic" entrepreneurial activity. (Even in governmental agencies and academic circles, the cost of information must be reckoned with.) A trade-off must be made between the cost of additional information, and the value of that information in shaping the plan. In the Southsea case, time was such a major constraint, that the cost-of-information factor hardly entered into consideration. Had more time been available, the question of sending someone to Southsea to gather first-hand information would surely have arisen, and the client would have been approached to determine whether or not he was willing to pay the cost of obtaining the additional information (comprehensiveness) in order to have a better (more rational) plan.

At issue in Simon and March's model is the degree of comprehensiveness which is logically necessary for rational choice. Presumably, the higher the degree of comprehensiveness, the higher the degree of rationality. Some planners would feel that Simon and March's model is not sufficiently comprehensive and therefore not sufficiently rational to be utilized as a planning strategy. John¹ Dyckman states that "the Simon satisficer is no planner at all." Ideally, in utilizing the comprehensive-rational strategy of planning, planners should strive to move along the continuum from uncomprehensiveness and irrationality to comprehensiveness and rationality. As Dyckman puts it, "The criterion of comprehensive-²ness establishes a goal of ideal rationality for planning."

The Master Plan Approach

The "Master Plan" is a major manifestation of the planner-elite style in combination with comprehensive-rational strategy, without the open-ended aspect of "process" planning. A "Master Plan" is, in effect, a picture of a preferred end-state. The end-state may be considered to be "optimal" or "satisfactory," depending on whether the planner subscribes to the classical model of rationality or to the satisficing model.

¹ Dyckman, "Decision Theory" p. 339.

² Ibid., p. 336.

The Master Plan approach was prevalent in the 1920's and 1930's. It gradually became more "comprehensive" in that it included inputs from the social as well as the physical sciences. In some instances, alternative proposals would also be contained in the plan. The plan was said to be flexible, but the method by which it was produced was not, and hence it could not effectively adapt to rapid change. Hancock states that "Approximately one-fifth of the thousand city planning, zoning, and housing reports made in this decade (1920-1930) ... were actually ¹ followed through to any degree."

The Master Plan approach is still in use today, although usually with a different name. Many "development plans" or "comprehensive plans" or "official plans" are no more than the master plan of the 1930's with a few frills. ² Many of today's plans may purport to be "dynamic" and "flexible" but they are in fact static, because the method by which they are produced entails a static, analytic, once-and-for-all, problem-solving approach.

An observation on the format of the Easton "planning meetings" is in order at this juncture. It was stated in Chapter III

¹ John L. Hancock, "Planners in the Changing American City, 1900-1940," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (September 1967), p. 297.

² Rachel Alterman, "Values in the Planning Process," 115. Mrs. Alterman states: "... two new terms, 'comprehensive plan' and 'development plan' have emerged. The plans these terms denote often do not differ from the master plan to any significant degree. In many occasions, they are used as euphemisms..."

that the Council participated much more actively in discussions of building permit applications than in discussion of the plan. In dealing with the building permit applications the Council was in fact participating in a dynamic and on-going process. The building permit decisions were made on a continuing basis and had a very real effect on the immediate development of the community. The Easton "Master Plan" on the other hand was static and of such long range concern, that it could not hold the Council's interest.

Blumenfeld describes the Master Plan as "an image of the future city, picturing the future distribution of land uses and the public works to be carried out by the municipality." ¹ This statement accurately describes the Easton plan. The Easton plan was called a "comprehensive development plan," or in the terminology of the relevant Planning Act, an "Official Plan." How comprehensive was this plan? A number of areas in the Township were designated for future residential, commercial or industrial development with little regard to the relationship between the possible future physical growth of the community and the present economical and social realities. No attempt was made to articulate a balanced physical-social-economic relationship for Easton.

¹ Hans Blumenfeld, "The Role of Design," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (September 1967), 307.

In considering any aspect of development in Easton it was of utmost importance to recognize the fact that Easton did not exist in isolation. The relationship to Lakeside was the key factor in assessing the future of Easton. This basic point seemed to have been largely missed in the initial preparation of the Easton plan. It was stated in the preliminary draft that the Township of Easton had no viable economic base and that the community was, and would in future be, a "bedroom suburb" of Lakeside. Little attempt was made, however, to evaluate fully the significance of this statement.

The area indicated on the preliminary maps as "Alternative Development Area No. 1 (Residential)" encompassed 670 acres. Assuming single family residential development only, and an average gross density of 20 people per acre, this area could accommodate a population of 13,000. This would represent a 500 per cent increase in Easton's population, a highly unlikely event in the foreseeable future!¹ Population statistics showed Easton to have had a declining population in the period 1964 to 1969.

The Township certainly did not have the economic base to support a large population increase, and the prospects for economic growth were negligible. The Township might serve as a bedroom suburb of Lakeside, as the Consultants believed it would, if land were at a premium in Lakeside. The Town of Lakeside's Official Plan

¹ Municipal statistics.

stated however that there was sufficient serviceable land available within the Town limits to accommodate population growth to beyond 1986. A few people might have preference for the more "rural" aspect of Easton and the lower taxes, but most would probably prefer to live in Lakeside closer to their place of work, in a larger community with a higher level of services.

In what manner then, was "Alternative Development Area No. 1" delineated? Certainly not from considerations of the social and economic relationship of Easton to Lakeside. Alternative Development Area No. 1 was simply an area of land adjacent to the existing main built-up area, which was free of any natural obstructions to building construction and which could be serviced with sewers and watermains more economically than any other area in the Township. This is hardly a comprehensive evaluation of the situation.

The conflict between the notion of process and the still prevalent "master plan mentality" is summed up by Richard S. Bolan as follows:

"Planning is now viewed as a process (still largely undefined) and the master plan is a flexible guide to public policy. This came about because it was sometimes found desirable to change goals; predictions of the future did not always turn out to be accurate; and new values, new opportunities, and unforeseen side effects kept cropping up. These difficulties have never shaken the planners' faith that this (the master plan) is the ideal model (on the contrary, they provide a justification for doing a new master plan)." ¹

¹ Richard S. Bolan, "Emerging Views of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (July 1961), 234.

Incremental Strategy

1

David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom are well known critics of the comprehensive-rational model. Braybrooke and Lindblom state that comprehensive policy-making is restricted by man's limited problem-solving capabilities, the lack of truly comprehensive information, the costliness of comprehensive analysis, and the inability to construct a satisfactory method for evaluating values or goals. Braybrooke and Lindblom hold that, in actual fact, decision-making is:

"1. incremental or tending toward relatively small changes; 2. remedial, in that decisions are made to move away from ills rather than toward goals; 3. serial, in that problems are not solved at one stroke but rather successively attacked; 4. exploratory in that goals are continually being redefined or newly discovered; 5. fragmented or limited, in that problems are attacked by considering a limited number of alternatives rather than all possible alternatives; and 6. disjointed,

¹ David Braybrooke and Charles E. Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision (Glencoe, Illinois: The Free Press, 1963), Chaps. 2 and 3.

² Braybrooke and Lindblom use the word "synoptic" as synonymous with "comprehensive." In Braybrooke and Lindblom's usage, "synoptic" describes a particular type of decision-making or policy-making, i.e., the rational-comprehensive type as defined in the previous section. "Synoptic" therefore refers to the internal structuring of an activity which takes place in the "out-world." Our usage of the word "synoptic" is somewhat different. We believe that Geddes meant "synoptic" to describe a way of seeing the ecosystem, and "synoptic vision" as being principally a state of mind. In our usage, synoptic refers to activity in the "in-world." See supra, p. 13.

in that there are many dispersed 'decision-points.'¹

Richard S. Bolan suggests that Braybrooke and Lindblom's "disjointed incrementalist" strategy, when applied to planning, would follow somewhat along these lines:

"The planner would not attempt comprehensiveness (since he is unable to achieve it), but would rather work with segmental and incremental policy problems as these problems arise His analysis would always be partial ... the problem at issue would be successively attacked over time so that his current concern should be less toward ultimate solutions and more toward immediate (albeit partial) remedies He would not attempt to analyze or even identify all possible alternative solutions to a problem"²

Bolan makes an important and fundamental point in his 1967 article on "Emerging Views of Planning." He states:

"Granted that the world can never be as the comprehensive planner dreams it to be, neither is it so totally incremental as Lindblom suggests. What is suggested is that there are many possible positions between these extremes, and that planning needs to respond in a manner carefully calculated to be appropriate to circumstances."³

The importance of this statement cannot be overemphasized: "planning needs to respond in a manner carefully calculated to be appropriate to circumstances." In preparing the initial draft of the Easton plan,

¹ This summary of Braybrooke and Lindblom's hypothesis is taken from Richard S. Bolan "Emerging Views of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIII (July 1961), 234.

² Ibid., p. 239. Note the preoccupation with problems and solutions rather than processes.

³ Ibid., p. 234.

the "planners" used the planner-elite style and a sort of pseudo-comprehensive-rational strategy, to prepare a "Master Plan." (That this plan was actually in no way comprehensive has already been pointed out.) The approach was inappropriate to the circumstances. What Easton Township needed instead of a Master Plan, was an unbiased study to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of amalgamation with the adjoining Town of Lakeside. Events have proved this to be true. The Easton Council has by this time all but forgotten about its Master Plan, even though the plan has not been completed, and has entered into discussions with the Lakeside Town Council on the subject of amalgamation, that issue having been forced on the Easton Council by the Lakeside Council's passing of a by-law annexing a part of Easton Township. The Consultants, needless to say, have been left out in the cold. They need not have been had their planning approach been appropriate to circumstances.¹

The "pure" incrementalism of Braybrooke and Lindblom is of course not compatible with the planning process as described in Chapter II, for the process demands more than a fragmented and

¹ It would not have been easy for the Consultants to take the approach which we believe would have been "appropriate to circumstances" in this case, as the circumstances would have been viewed somewhat differently by the chairman of the Easton Planning Board, who was violently opposed to amalgamation with Lakeside. Part of the planning process is to work out ways of approaching such problems.

disjointed approach to decision-making. The notion of incremental decision-making does have relevance to the planning process however, for many programs and policies are capable of being implemented "incrementally" with results being evaluated at each step, and appropriate corrections being made. Incrementalism may be one way of viewing the cyclical nature of the planning process. Braybrooke and Lindblom make the point that ends are as much adjusted to means as means to ends. In terms of the planning process, this is to say that the feedback operation in the planning process model is just as important as the forward direction in the process.¹

Perhaps the key to the debate on the comprehensive-rational approach versus the incremental approach lies in the integration of both theories in the planning process. Consider a "size of problem" continuum, ranging from the very small problem to the "meta-problem" of Chevalier.² As the planner moves along the continuum from small to large problems, his strategy must necessarily become increasingly less comprehensive-rational and more disjointed and incremental.

¹ Braybrooke-Lindblom, A Strategy of Decision, p. 46.

² A meta-problem is a very large and complex problem, such as "pollution" or "poverty." See Michel Chevalier, A Strategy of Interest-Based Planning (PhD Dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1968).

Decision-Maker or Decision-Aider?

There are two basic levels of decision-making involved in planning. Although there is considerable overlap, the levels can be viewed separately. As plan-making or the planning process progresses, plans are prepared, programs outlined, and policies documented. In the case of city or town planning, zoning and other planning legislation is proposed. A multitude of decisions underly any such manifestations of planning activity; decisions, for example, as to what objectives are to be pursued, and in what priority. Such decisions may properly be termed "planning decisions."

A second type of decision is involved when, at some stage in the planning process, or as a result of plan-making activity, a particular set of programs, policies, or piece of legislation requires approval as a whole by the community. Decisions related to approval of a particular planning "package" may be termed "ratification decisions." As Dyckman states: "We operate with a ratification theory of democracy, in which public initiatives must be endorsed in the marketplace of politics." In the Easton case, the Consultants, and to some degree the Planning Committee, made the planning decisions. The Council, and ultimately the Provincial Municipal Board, would make the ratification decisions.

¹ Dyckman, "The Practical Uses of Planning Theory," 299.

In matters related to the planning of a community, there are three groups who theoretically might make the decisions: the planners, the politicians, and the people. Which group should make the decisions is a moot point. In our democratic system, the planner cannot make the ratification decisions. Neither can the people directly make this type of decision. Either arrangement would be both politically unacceptable (i.e., it would be undemocratic), and not possible in a practical sense. In a democracy, the elected representatives of the people are the ones empowered to ratify the plan or the process. The politician, however, cannot make the "planning decisions;" this is not his function. It remains to determine who shall make these "planning decisions;" the planner, the people, or both.

If the planner cannot ratify his own plan or his own prosecution of the process, he still has left to him the possibility of making all of the planning decisions. The planner may take one of two positions in this regard, or some combination thereof. He may subscribe to an interpretation of democracy which holds that the people delegate all of their decision-making responsibility to the politician, for his term of office.¹ The planner can, with clear

¹ It is interesting to note that in a three way race with a thirty per cent turnout at the polls (not an unusual case, particularly in civic elections) a candidate may be elected to office by ten per cent of his constituents. Such is our definition of a political "majority."

conscience, align himself with the governmental administration, since it is directed by the duly elected representatives of the people. He need not concern himself directly with the wishes of the people, but need only satisfy (through his superiors), the politicians, since the politicians represent the people. In another sense, the planner, utilizing his knowledge and expertise, makes the planning decisions for the people, and hopes that his decisions will be ratified by the legislators.

In this approach, the planner is using the planner-as-¹ decision-maker style. The planner must persuade the politicians to accept his plan (as in the Southsea example). This involves a ratification decision on the part of the politicians, but all of the planning decisions have been made by the planner. The only decision left to the politicians is whether or not to ratify the plan. The people are not involved in any part of the decision-making process, except at election time.

The planner-as-decision-maker style is in fact, the planner-elite style seen from a political perspective. The Southsea plan was prepared in this fashion. The "planners" prepared a "plan" without consulting anyone, in the hope of persuading the politicians

¹ This "persuading" activity should not be confused with "advocacy," which will be discussed in a subsequent section. In the present case the planner advocates his own plan, whereas the advocate planner acts on behalf of a group who have theoretically prepared their own plan.

(in this case the Southsea legislative assembly) to accept the plan.

If the planner-as-decision-maker cannot fully rationalize his position through the above interpretation of "democratic planning," he has available an alternate justification for his approach.

Mr. Beauvil, Charles M. Haar's fictitious planner in "The Master Plan: An Inquiry in Dialogue Form," states that:

"The citizen has all the characteristics of a consumer. Few consumers wanted electric frying pans or ball point pens before they were placed on the market. These wants were inert, in a sense; they came to exist only because the product became available. In the same way, if the citizen is asked to think about the future of the community, he generally confines his attentions to the piecemeal removal of inconveniences and within the framework of the community as it is now.

.... one of the functions of the planning process (is) the indication of new and bolder possibilities" ¹

The planner-as-decision-maker must make decisions for the people, because the people are not aware of the full range of possible choices. Presumably, the planner, through his knowledge and professional expertise, has the required awareness. Certainly the developer of Southsea did not feel moved to inquire into the possible wants and needs of the prospective residents of his development.

Some would argue that this approach is in fact undemocratic.

In reply to the previously quoted passage from Charles M. Haar's "Inquiry," the statement is made that:

¹ Charles M. Haar, "The Master Plan: An Inquiry in Dialogue Form," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXV (August 1959), 136.

"It would be more in the spirit of the political philosophy of this country if your /Planning/ Commission had derived its objectives from what the residents of this city really wanted out of their Master Plan.

... This Master Plan is a document pregnant with policy implications.... it contains objectives and assumptions arrived at in a fashion incompatible with the democratic control of government. Nonwithstanding all of the exceptional efforts of Mr. Beauvil and his Commission to give it an aspect of popular participation, at the heart of the Master Plan is the fact that an employed expert and an appointed body of citizens made and are making decisions with far reaching significance for the future of this city." ¹

At the opposite end of the political spectrum from the planner-as-decision-maker is the planner who believes that neither he himself nor the politicians can accurately interpret, at least insofar as the planning process is concerned, the wishes of the people, or the public interest. The planner feels that he must go directly to the people, dialogue with them, and have them take part in making the planning decisions. In this case, the planner, instead of making the planning decisions, assists or at most guides the community in making its own decisions. The assistance is in the form of the planner's knowledge and professional expertise, with the planner adopting a "decision-aider" style.

How the required planner-community dialogue is to be carried out in practice is not clear. The subject of "citizen participation

¹ Ibid., pp. 136-137.

in the planning process" is a much discussed topic among planners. Citizen participation strategies will be reviewed in a subsequent section.

Who Is The Client?

In the context of the consulting firm the problem of planner-as-decision-maker vis a vis planner-as-decision-aider is closely related to the question of who is the planner's "client." Depending on the point of view of the planner, "the client" can mean the party which has retained the Consultant, i.e., which is paying for the consulting service; or the "community" which is the object of the planning activity. In consulting practice, "client" and "community" are not always one and the same.¹ The Southsea project will serve as a case in point.

Throughout the preparation of the Southsea "plan" there was a nagging question in the back of Smith's mind. For whom was he planning?: for the developer? (the "client"); for the people of the Island? (the existing "community"); or for the prospective residents of the development? (an as yet non-existent "community"). In a limited sense, the plan was being prepared for the developer. If the plan did not meet with the client's approval, there would be absolutely no chance of its implementation, since he was

¹ Supra, p. 5.

financing the project. Ultimately however, the provisions of the plan would have little effect on this individual. He probably would never live on Southsea Island.

Ultimately, the plan's greatest effect would be on those people living in the development. Strangely enough, the needs and desires of these people were considered only to a very minimal extent in the plan preparation. The developer at one point stated that he wanted a "high-class" development; not a "low-class" development as apparently were some others on the Island. What constituted a high-class development was never discussed. There was an unspoken assumption that the proposed facilities must rate fairly high on an amenity scale. It was assumed that wealthy retired or semi-retired Americans would purchase and build on the residential lots, and become permanent residents; other wealthy Americans would purchase the condominium units and use them for extended holidays and possibly short visits throughout the year and be part-time residents. The actual type of haven that such people might desire was never explicitly discussed. The developer's concept of the development, while it might well have been a valid one, was not seriously questioned.

Another set of actors who were not considered in the preparation of the plan were the Southsea Islanders. The Island is small both in area and population, and Smith was interested in exploring what effect the proposed development would have on

the whole social and economic fabric of the Island. With no information and no time available, consideration of this aspect of the "Plan" was of course out of the question. At the time that the Plan was being prepared, it was evident that a number of countries in the area were becoming increasingly anti-white and specifically, anti-tourist in militant fashion.¹ A number of riots and other incidents had occurred in the locale since 1968. The thought occurred to Smith that the developer might complete his development only to have it at best nationalized by a black socialist government, or at worst burned to the ground in a race riot. The possibilities are not all that far-fetched. In order to be able to raise this point with the developer at the Sunday meeting, Smith listed "are there any race problems on the Island?" as one of the questions to be put to the developer. When the question came up however, the developer passed over it with a humorous remark and showed no interest in discussing the matter.

The developer of course had no background whatsoever in planning. He had hired the Consultants, assuming that they would know how to prepare a "plan." He did, however, have very definite ideas about what he wanted, which fact soon became evident in the Sunday meeting. The developer's conception of planning was essentially traditionalist; all he expected his planners to do

¹ Time Magazine (August 3, 1970), pp. 24-25.

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was produce a physical plan, which would be economically viable, from a developer's point of view.

The goals of the plan, if any were evident, were profit goals. For example, a lengthy discussion during the Sunday meeting revolved around the question of whether canal construction could be justified over and above the amount required to obtain earth fill for the project, by virtue of the increased price which could be charged for a lot fronting on a canal. Eventually, a cost comparison was drafted which showed that the extra canal construction was economically justifiable. There is an important point to note in this example, and a finely drawn difference of viewpoint which should be understood. At no time in the discussion was the question asked whether the prospective residents of the development might desire to have a canal at their front door or not, but rather the question was: how much can we charge for a lot with a canal?

Ultimately, it amounts to the same thing; if the purchasers want canals they will pay the price. The difference in the approach to this particular issue however is indicative of the approach to the entire plan. It was the client's goals which shaped the plan, and not the goals of the existing community (the Southsea Islanders) or the as yet non-existent community (the future

¹ The term "physical plan" here has the general meaning usually assigned to it by planners in discussing "physical planning" as opposed to "social planning" or "comprehensive planning."

residents of the development).

Citizen Participation Strategies

The question of whether a planner operates as a decision-maker or as a decision-aider, or in some combination of the two styles, is closely related to the degree to which "citizen participation" forms a part of the planning process. Citizen participation strategies require the planner to adopt, at least partially, a decision-aider style. The amount of decision-making which is carried out by the "citizen" vis-a-vis the planner, depends upon the nature and degree of the citizen participation in the process.

Citizen participation is a theme which runs through much of the current literature on planning, and "increased citizen participation in the planning process" has become almost a slogan. Phrases such as "democratic planning must be based on involvement with the client public," "society participates in planning rather than being manipulated by planning," and "planning with rather than for,"¹ are typical. It would be wise to examine the term "citizen participation" closely, for it can be taken to mean several quite different things.

¹ David R. Godschalk and William E. Mills, "A Collaborative Approach to Planning Through Urban Activities," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXII (March 1966), 86.

Citizen participation may be taken to mean opinion sampling, or client analysis. Citizen participation may be used to describe¹ "cooptation;" the process of obtaining citizen approval for a planning scheme, by holding public hearings or meetings, but without going so far as to allow public opinion to alter the plans. This approach was described previously. Citizen participation may be used to mean "community power."² This concept is close to the advocacy planning approach. Citizen participation can be used as a means to something ~~apart~~ from the planning process; for example³ as an education-therapy tool or to effect behaviorial changes.

There are two extreme views of citizen participation. One is that the planner's role is "to tell the community and its leaders that if they want to achieve goal X, they must institute program Y, requiring certain costs and resulting in certain⁴ consequences." The community has all the responsibility for goal-setting and decision-making, and the planner does not enter into these phases in the planning process. This is the planner-as-decision-aider's viewpoint. The other view is that people do

¹ Edmund M. Burke, "Citizen Participation Strategies," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIV (September 1968), 291.

² Ibid., p. 292.

³ Ibid., pp. 288-290.

⁴ Herbert J. Gans, People and Plans (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1963), p. 81.

not really know what they want and that it is up to the planner to tell them. This is the planner-as-decision-maker's point of view.

A prescriptive definition of "citizen participation" would be: the active participation of citizens in the planning process, such that by their actions, they might have some effect on the nature of the goals set, and on the decisions made, in that process. Although there is much to be said for this type of citizen participation, just how practical is the idea? How can it be effected? The organizational and communications problems are immense. There are possibilities in the mass media, especially television, but this is a one-way system,¹ and public feedback is an essential part of citizen participation. Public meetings and organized discussion groups are about the only means of face-to-face contact between planners and citizens, but it is often difficult to have meaningful discussions in a large group. The approach is perhaps sound in very small communities, but becomes increasingly difficult as the size of the community becomes larger.

Another point to consider is: just how interested are the citizens in participating? Perhaps they are largely apathetic. Or, perhaps they are just uninformed. The role of communications in the planning process cannot be overemphasized. It is the key to meaningful citizen participation. Failure to communicate effectively is at the root of a great deal of conflict in the

¹ With the possible exception of "hot line" or "talk back" shows.

process. Planners must at least provide sufficient information to the public to avoid the opposition that arises simply out of misunderstanding.¹ An excellent example of good planning is to be found in the reconstruction of Coventry, and as one of Coventry's planners puts it, "one of the keys to Coventry's successful reconstruction has been an excellent public relations policy, with citizen participation and interest maintained as fully as possible."²

Contrast this with the situation in Easton. Although a public meeting was to be held, its purpose was more for "cooptation" than for meaningful citizen participation. How could the Consultants expect the citizens of Easton to "participate" when the Consultants could not even get the Planning Committee to participate actively in discussion of the "plan?" The members of the Easton Council must have been inherently aware of the large discrepancy between what was set forth on the Consultant's "maps," and what was in reality likely to take place in Easton over the next several years. This did not seem to bother the Council though, and was not felt to be sufficient reason for them to challenge the validity of the "plan" or the "planning" activity in which they were involved. There was a curious duality of mind in the Easton Council. As

¹ Irwin T. Sanders, The Community: An Introduction to a Social System, 2nd ed. (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1966) p. 502.

² R.W.G. Bryant, "The Reconstruction of Coventry," in Taming Megalopolis, ed. by H. Wentworth Eldredge (Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1967), II, 770.

upright citizens and members of Council, the Councillors felt it necessary to subscribe to the idea of "planning" and they felt it necessary to endorse the idea of preparing an Official Plan. It was the correct and natural role for a civic-minded citizen and councillor to play. As realistic and intelligent individuals however, the Councillors could not have helped feeling, as Smith eventually did, that the whole exercise was somewhat superfluous and that the document which would finally result would be more of a showpiece than an actually working instrument. It was difficult to arrange meetings with the Council, and once arranged, the meeting accomplished little. The Councillors, or at least some of them, probably thought of planning (as practiced by the Consultants) as not being of consequence, but rather as being a non-essential adjunct to the regular day-to-day business of Council. Had a different approach been taken by the Consultants, this might not have been the case, and the Council might have been persuaded to "participate."

Where direct and meaningful citizen participation in the planning process is difficult to achieve due to the sheer size of the citizen group, or due to organizational, communications, or apathy problems, indirect participation may be possible in the form of "client analysis."

The idea of analyzing clients is nothing new. It has been used by market researchers for a good many years. Any large firm,

before marketing a new and different product, will analyze the market to determine what the reaction of prospective buyers will be to the new product. In the planning context, client analysis should not be mistaken for direct citizen participation. Citizen participation involves the active involvement of citizens in the planning process, whereas client analysis only involves the citizen as a passive source of information.

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Client analysis, like advocacy planning or citizen participation, recognizes the fact that plans must take into account the diversity of goals and the conflicting values of population groups. Client analysis examines public programs and deduces the objectives of sectors of the community by examining the behaviour of members of the community confronting and possibly participating in these programs. The strategy determines whether or not the goals of a public program are in line with the goals of the community, by finding out what portion of the community actually utilizes a service and benefits from it.

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Client analysis proceeds somewhat as follows. The legal and legislative constraints are first examined to determine who is entitled to what, and how, under the law. A demographic analysis is then made

¹ J.S. Reiner, E. Reimer, and T.A. Reiner, "Client Analysis and the Planning of Public Programs," in Urban Planning and Social Policy, ed. by Bernard J. Frieden and Robert Morris (New York: Basic Books Inc., 1968), p. 378.

² Ibid., pp. 379-384.

and the "client population" is determined. This is the total number of people who are eligible to benefit from the particular program being studied. A survey is then made to find out what portion of the client population are actually users or "clients," and the number of clients is compared to the client population. The survey also attempts to determine why certain clients use certain services. For example, administrative practices may eliminate some prospective clients, and the standards of service may eliminate other prospective clients. The last step is to deduce, from the reactions of clients, how many actually benefit in any way from a program, and most important, how many are "effectively benefitted." The number of effectively benefitted is not necessarily the same as the number of clients. For example, a program might be initiated to provide all the reserve Indians in Canada with new houses. If through client analysis, it were discovered that the new housing resulted in no improvement in the well-being of these people, the "effectively benefitted" would be nil, and hence the program would be of doubtful value.

Advocacy Planning

The advocacy strategy recognizes that planning proposals are inherently contentious in nature, due to the existence of different groups in the community with different goals and objectives.¹ The proponents of the strategy do not believe that

¹ Davidoff, "Advocacy Planning," p. 332.

the interests of the community are best served when only one plan is prepared by a planning commission or city planning department, because the interests of many minority groups in the community are not represented in these plans. Supporters of the advocacy planning idea ask why only one agency should be concerned with establishing the general and specific objectives of the community, and suggest that more than one plan be prepared; one by the official planning agency and others by various local interest groups. These alternative plans would be strongly supported by their authors, with the planner acting in the role of an advocate in the legal sense, engaging openly in public debate in support of his plan.¹

Advocacy planning would not, at first glance, seem to be a method by which conflict could be resolved. It would seem rather that the advocacy planning strategy would have exactly the opposite effect of stimulating conflict and increasing polarization of the conflicting interests. Advocacy planners however, do not believe that this is the case. They believe rather that there is virtue² in highlighting conflicts of values and goals.

The advocacy strategy of course generates considerable public dispute. Latent differences of opinion between governmental

¹ Ibid., pp. 331-336.

² Davidoff and Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," p. 110.

and citizen groups are brought to the surface. The clash of conflicting interests is essential to the advocacy approach. This conflict, it is believed, stimulates the planning process in three ways. Firstly, it makes explicit the issues at hand and better informs the public of the alternative choices open. Secondly, it forces the public planning agencies to compete with other planning groups, and so keeps the quality of planning work at a high level. Thirdly, critics of the plans of government agencies have the opportunity of producing superior plans, rather than just criticisms.¹

Going beyond these three short-term objectives, we could say that the goal of advocacy planning is to achieve a higher synthesis in the planning process through the conflict of ideas and values. In the advocacy approach, alternatives are posed, the ramifications analyzed, information is disseminated, and most important, the various interests articulate their values, goals and objectives. A higher level of communication, and a more comprehensive view results. By bringing the greatest possible amount of information to bear on decisions, there is more effective bargaining and hopefully, a more equitable allocation of resources.²

Advocacy planning strategy is only applicable in a restricted range of planning situations. The advocate planner needs

¹ Davidoff, "Advocacy Planning," pp. 332-333.

² Davidoff and Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," p. 110.

a client, and there is a problem from the outset in identifying, defining, and establishing a working relationship with the client. "Planners and sociologists speak readily of 'neighbourhoods,' but the fact seems to be that while city dwellers live in areas with varying physical and social characteristics, the networks of social relationships in which any person takes part rarely cluster together so neatly in 'neighbourhoods'."¹

If "neighbourhoods" or "communities" are not readily distinguishable as clients for the advocate planner, what groups are?

Lisa R. Peattie suggests that:

"'the neighbourhood' or 'the community' comes to be articulated as that area about to be affected by some public policy, as in an urban renewal program. It is the organizations that appear to 'represent' such 'communities' which are likely to be the natural clients for the advocate planner."²

The question which immediately becomes apparent is: just how representative is the organization of the interests of the affected community? The people most requiring representation are those most likely not to be represented, because of communications difficulties; i.e., the poor, the uneducated, the aged, etc. As in the case of the consultant planner, the advocate planner's "client" and the "community" may not be one and the same.

¹ Lisa R. Peattie, "Reflections on Advocacy Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXIV (March 1968), 82. See also, Herbert Gans, The Urban Villagers: Group and Class in the Life of Italian-Americans (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1965), p. 11.

² Ibid.

It would appear that advocacy planning would work most effectively in situations where a fairly clear-cut "issue" is in contention, and where a community organization exists to play the role of client for the advocate planner. It is mandatory that this organization adequately represent the interests of the community.

In the case of the Easton plan, the interests of the people of Easton Township were, at least theoretically, being upheld by their elected representatives. In the case of the Southsea plan, it is doubtful if more than lip service was paid to the interests of the people of Southsea Island. One can only hope that some itinerant advocate planner might yet come to their assistance.

CHAPTER V

ON PLANNING AND NON-PLANNING

John Dyckman, in an article on planning and decision theory, states that "institutionalized planning ... becomes a kind of centralized decision-making, in contrast to the relatively atomistic market and the largely intuitive politics."¹

In a classical sense, planning may be characterized as having by assumption, complete information regarding courses of action and utilities, and the choice of the course of action which maximizes "the goal." Non-planning, in this interpretation, is the construction of a market and price mechanism where (according to Adam Smith and proponents of "laissez-faire"), optimal choices will be made and profit maximization will automatically secure social welfare.² The non-planning approach requires "perfect competition" and does not take into account monopolies, informational disparities, and other causes of imperfect competition.

Hans Blumenfeld, in commenting on the failure of planning to effectively shape the American city, states that, "the

¹ Dyckman, "Planning and Decision Theory," 336.

² Simon and March, Organizations, p. 203.

contemporary American city has, in fact, been designed not by a Master Plan but by the forces of the real estate market -- good old Adam Smith's 'Invisible Hand,' the hand of Mammon." He goes on to say that:

"The Invisible Hand is the hand of the Market, of the transaction between two persons, buyer and seller. However, when the objects of these transactions are physical elements of a closely interrelated spatial complex, a city, each transaction is bound to affect many other persons, singly and collectively. The buyer and seller, however, cannot and do not consider the resultant benefits and 'malefits' to third persons. Thus the pursuit by all individuals of their own designs results in a total design of the city which frustrates the designs of every individual." ¹

The reluctance on the part of some of the Easton Councillors to interfere in the workings of the real estate market was described in Chapter III. Most of the Councillors would not refuse to approve a building permit application, even though the permit would contravene the proposed zoning by-law. One could not wish for a better example of non-planning.

The foregoing is one interpretation of the difference between planning and non-planning. Another interpretation is that "planning" is, by definition, a (dynamic) process, and that (static) plan-making is in reality, non-planning. In other words, "old-style" physical plan-making is not really "planning," only "new-style"

¹ Blumenfeld, "The Role of Design," 308, Italics added.

1

comprehensive process planning is. This interpretation presents certain difficulties for the practicing planner.

2

There is a tremendously wide span in the level of planning awareness between a Dyckman or a Blumenfeld and the member of a planning committee of a small community; a wider span than many planners would realize. It is not easy for the practicing planner to mentally travel back and forth between the pages of the "A.I.P. Journal" and a planning committee meeting in a small town.

Of importance is the way in which the community perceives the planner. The way in which the members of a local planning committee perceive the "planner" may be quite different from the way the planner perceives his role in the affairs of the community.

The image which the community has of "planning" may preclude any chance of effectuating the planning process, without first

¹ It was noted in the Preface that my initial hypothesis was that a "gap" existed between planning theory and planning practice, and that practicing planners, seldom "used" planning theory. It was further noted that this hypothesis had subsequently been rejected, and that I had concluded that "planning theory" and "planning practice" were closely interrelated elements of a single process (p.iv). I would now say that rather than not "using" planning theory, many planners "use" an interpretation of planning which is out of date. This is not to say that these planners are "non-planning" but rather that they are using a planning approach which is out-moded or obsolete. In other words, practicing planners have not kept up with advances in the theory of planning; many still subscribe to the notion of "old style" physical planning.

² For a discussion of the difficulties encountered by planners in dealing with lay members of rural planning boards see Alan J. Hahn, "Planning in Rural Areas," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, XXXVI (January 1970), 44-49.

embarking on a program to educate the community and its representatives about the nature and purpose of the process. The whole idea of the planning process may be, initially at least, beyond the community's range of comprehension (it is not an easy concept to grasp). The community, or more directly, the members of the planning committee or council, may only comprehend plan-making, and even this may not be understood. One of the reasons why the Easton Council would not participate in discussion of the plans was that the Council had no clear understanding of what information a "Master Plan" or Zoning Plan should contain, or of the purpose of these plans.

How can a community engage in the planning process without understanding it? Is it possible that a workable arrangement can be established where the planner perceives himself as engaging in the process and the community perceives the activity as plan-making? Must the community take a course in planning theory before commencing to plan?

A brief example will serve to further illustrate the problem. At a meeting of the Community Planning Association of Canada, a guest speaker made an excellent presentation on "citizen participation in the planning process." After the presentation, the meeting divided into several small groups to discuss the theme. In one group, one individual spoke continuously of the need for planners to have proper "levels" (i.e., a topographic survey) before "drawing up a plan." The individual was a councillor

from a small community, and a member of the community's planning committee. He simply did not comprehend the notion of citizen participation in planning as portrayed by the guest speaker.

After the preliminary "maps" for the Easton Plan had been prepared and copies turned over to the Easton Planning Committee, the chairman of the Committee wrote a short report which he presented, along with the maps, to the Easton Council. This report began as follows:

"The purpose of this report is to substantiate the planning and zoning map formulated at this time. It should be kept in mind that this is not the final plan as there are a number of factors involved which have not been resolved and which we will discuss further in this report. First of all, let us discuss the theory involved and then the application of this theory to the Plan. The background of our planning is a very important factor and should be kept in mind at all times. To start with, we might remember that from past experience we have very forcefully been told that no Sub-divisions would be allowed in our Municipality. Two definite reasons were given. One was that in the report on the (Lakeside) Official Plan, it was stated that they had sufficient area to handle residential development for 5 to 10 years hence. The other reason was that since we had no definite plans formulated showing where controlled areas for all future developments should be located, we could not intelligently substantiate any applications or approvals. Keeping these two very basic questions in mind we have endeavoured to formulate a plan that would prove beyond a doubt that we have the area for suburban development"

The chairman of the Easton Planning Committee saw Easton as being in a competition with Lakeside, for residential development. The purpose of the plan was to improve Easton's position in this competition.

When the Consulting Firm was initially approached by the Chairman of the Easton Planning Committee to prepare an "Official Plan," the senior engineer who subsequently directed the preparation of the preliminary "maps" wrote a letter to the Chairman outlining the estimated cost of the work. The following paragraph was contained in this letter:

"The cost of carrying out work of this nature is difficult to assess because it is closely related to the amount and validity of information already available through previous studies. One aspect which causes us some concern is the amount of field work that will be necessary to confirm soil conditions and topography. This information could have a marked effect on the staging program because of the associated cost of sewer and water services. Although an Official Plan is primarily a general policy concept for the physical design of the area, it must be based on realistic economic capabilities of the Municipality." ¹

The senior engineer evidently thought of the Official Plan in terms of the "old-style" physical planning approach.

Given the attitude of the Chairman of the Planning Committee and the approach of the senior engineer, it would have been difficult indeed for the junior engineer to have done anything else but draw maps, even if he had been fully cognizant of all aspects of the situation as related to the notion of the planning process.

The Chairman of the Planning Committee thought that he was "planning," the Planning Committee thought that it was "planning,"

¹ Italics added.

the senior engineer thought that he was "planning," and the junior engineer thought that he was "planning." Who is to say that they were actually "non-planning"? Later, when Smith came along, he stated that what had been done was not "planning." The senior man in the Consulting Firm who had by that time taken over the project disagreed.

The question arises: to plan or not to plan? Is it better to engage in 1930 style "physical planning" (which some planners would construe as non-planning), or is it better to withdraw completely from the situation? Is there a third choice? What recourse does the planner have if the politicians, or administration, or his employer, not only decides on the utility of the plan, but in fact dictates the approach and type of plan to be prepared? At this point we enter the realm of professional ethics and personal morals, which subjects are beyond the scope of this study. We would offer the following comments, however.

Alterman, in discussing models of decision-making in the planning process, proposes a model of "Self Interested Rationality":

"Observation of the decision-making process of the planners involved in the Northville case-study have led the present author to conclude that all of the above (decision-making) models fail to account for one important element in decision-making: the motivation arising out of the planner's self-interest.

Self-interest is also a value, one most people share. Variations occur in what each person regards as his self-interest, and this in turn depends on the values

held. This is not to say that self-interest is the only, or even the prime, consideration for decision-making in planning. However, it is of some importance (the degree of importance would vary with the person). Possible considerations of self-interest are: having one's plans approved by one's employer, avoiding dispute, gaining a promotion, gaining power, or (in the case of the private consultant) receiving a higher fee.¹ These considerations may be viewed as constraints which restrict the number of alternatives among which a selection of the policy or plan to be recommended is made (it is immaterial here which of the models is followed)."²

The self-interested rationality model fails to take into account the ability of the planner to alter the constraints which restrict him. The constraints which Alterman lists are posed by individuals and the attitudes of individuals can be changed by reason, persuasion, and "education." In the Easton case, Smith tried to "educate" the senior member of the Firm who was in charge of the project. Smith did not, however, attempt to "educate" the Easton Council, which approach might have been more productive in altering the constraints which Smith felt were present in the situation.

The question does not, therefore, resolve itself into one of: to plan poorly (according to one's personal assessment of what "good" planning is) or not to plan at all. There is a third alternative: to change the game by persuading the other players that there is a better set of rules.

¹ I would say: receiving a fee; period.

² Alterman, Values in the Planning Process, pp. 109-110.

CHAPTER VI

¹ A "SYNTHETIC" APPROACH

For an engineer or architect to effectively design a structure, he must not only have at hand a theory of structures and some empirical knowledge of structures, but he must also be intellectually oriented in the physical sciences. He need not be intimately familiar with, or be able to expertly interpret the significance of Newton's law of gravitation, or the molecular structure of matter. He need not even be formally conscious of such things as he designs a structure. Some knowledge of the fundamental nature of forces and of matter must however form a part of his concept of the overall environment; it must be a part of his total consciousness, in order for him to function as a designer of structures.

In a similar fashion, in order to function effectively a planner must be intellectually oriented. The burden on the planner however is greater than that on the architect or engineer, or for

¹ The term "synthetic" is used here in the sense that Patrick Geddes used it to describe an integrative way of thinking; "synthesis" being a rational "fitting together" of the separate but interrelated parts of the ecosystem. The term should not be confused with "synoptic" which is a way of viewing the ecosystem.

that matter, on any other practitioner of an applied science or art. The planner does not deal with one aspect of the environment, but with all aspects of it. One of the characteristics of the planner is that he is, by choice, a generalist, in keeping with the unifying and co-ordinating aspects of the planning process. He must therefore have before him, some concept of the total environment in which he intends to plan. This concept need not be involved, nor must it take all factors into account. It may be simplistic, even to the point of being naive. It must however be sufficient to provide a framework within which the planner can operate. If the planner is not intellectually oriented in this manner, having before him some concept of the universe within which he plans, he must be forever frustrated, not knowing how his plans fit in with the overall scheme of things.

As well as having some concept of the total environment, the planner, in order to be effective, must have some concept of what planning is. He must however, not only arrive at a general conclusion as to the nature of planning and how to go about it, but he must also discover how planning fits into his concept of the environment, and its purpose in this perspective. He needs a conceptual frame of reference within which to operate; a frame of reference which relates "planning" and "environment."

As a conclusion to the discussion in the preceding pages, we will now attempt to conceptualize "the environment"¹ and "planning"² as it forms a part of the environment.

The environment may be divided into two parts. One part is the tangible, observable world; the other part is the world of the mind, or of the intellect. Geddes called these worlds the "out-world"³ and the "in-world." Both worlds are equally real.

The out-world may be subdivided into three parts: the social environment, the economic environment, and the physical environment. In the abbreviated terminology of Patrick Geddes, these subdivisions are called "folk, work, and place." The physical environment encompasses all material, inanimate objects, and the ecosystem of plant and animal life. The social and economic environments relate to the human sphere of activity.

A great deal of human effort is directed towards studying the out-world. Engineers, geographers, biologists, ecologists, etc. study the physical environment. Sociologists, anthropologists, etc. study the social environment, and economists and business administrators study the economic environment. The past is studied,

¹ Supra, p. 7.

² See Appendix, diagram III.

³ Geddes, Cities in Evolution, pp. 205-213.

the present is surveyed, and the future is predicted. This activity might be termed "analysis," or "taking apart." The analysis is not static, for the out-world is constantly undergoing change. The subject of an inquiry changes even as it is being examined, as does the inquirer. Step number two in the planning process, which was described in Chapter II as "survey and analysis," may be considered to be a part of this overall analyzing activity.

Out of "analysis" comes knowledge of facts about the out-¹ world. From this knowledge, as modified by socialization, a person develops intellectual reactions as he moves from the out-world to the in-world. Certain of these reactions are present in the intellectual part of the environment in the form of individual and group values and goals. Frequently, one of the most highly valued goals (perhaps the highest) is to "improve" the out-world. To improve in this context, means to move towards a higher degree of balance in the environment, in terms of the equitable distribution of resources throughout the total human and non-human ecosystem. To put it another way, improvement of the environment would entail equitably balancing the distribution of resources in the social² (folk) sphere without unbalancing the physical (place) sphere.

¹ "Socialization" is used here in the sense of "character formation." See David Riesman, The Lonely Crowd (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1950), Chapters II, III and IV.

² John W. Dyckman, in "Planning and Decision Theory" states that "Public Planning moreover, assumes goals of equity ... as well as efficiency." 335.

The means to this end lie partly in the proper manipulation of the economic (work) sphere. Improvement of the environment would also entail increasing the variety of possible human experience so that a healthier system would result.

If there is a desire for "improvement" as defined above, an intellectual activity takes place to determine, in a conceptual way, how to bring about the desired change. Concrete objectives must be formulated; objectives, which, when realized, will further the goal: improvement of the out-world. The "formulation of objectives," which is spoken of here in a general sense as a human intellectual activity, parallels the formulation of objectives in phase three of the planning process, as described in Chapter II. In establishing the planning objectives of a community, Longeran's¹ "heuristic structure" must be utilized.

Once an objective has been conceptualized, intellectual activity must continue, to conceive of the means by which the objective might be achieved. The transition must then be made from idea to reality. The fragmented "differentiated" knowledge of the physical environment which has been gained through analysis, the desired objectives, and the means which have been conceived of to achieve the objectives, must be synthesized, or "integrated." Just as the product of analysis (a taking apart) is knowledge, so the product of synthesis (a putting together) is a plan of

¹ Supra, p. 11.

action: the relationship of means to ends. Synthesis is a crucial step. It is the means of getting back from Geddes' in-world to the out-world; from the intellectual world to the physical world; from theory to practice.

In the context of the planning process, synthesis takes place in phase four, which is "the formulation of plans and programs to achieve the selected objectives." At this point, the cyclical and open-ended nature of the process should be re-stated; neither the "plans and programs" nor the "objectives" are static. One does not act upon the other in an active-passive relationship. Rather it is the interactive relationship which is of importance. Synthesis, as a unifying activity, is continuous and on-going, as is the planning process itself. Implementation is the last step in the process, but it is by no means a final step. An objective, once achieved, or a program, once implemented, provides feedback to enable the process to proceed toward new objectives in continuing cyclical and adaptive fashion.

We will conclude with a quotation from Patrick Geddes, describing the "synthetic" form of thought which we believe all planning must utilize:

"Here you see in a whole circle of operations, which we may put down in its two halves, and still better in its four quarters:

Out world	
In world	

1	4
2	3

Facts	acts
memories	plans

First, the outer world we see: second the inner world we remember. But we are not content merely with seeing nor with remembering: we went deeper into the in-world. We made a new step in this when we began actively thinking and planning; and then in carrying out our plan we came back to the out-world once more." ¹

And further:

"With increasing clearness and interests, with increasing syntheses with other thoughts, ideas become emotionalized towards action. Synthesis in thought thus tends to collective action." ²

. . .

In most cases, it is natural for the author of a thesis to end his work with a formal "conclusion." Propositions, hypotheses, opinions, or facts may be concluded as the results of experimentation, study, or research. Alternatively, proposals for future action may be set forth. (A conclusion may also be a summing up of the main points raised in the thesis. In the present case, I do not believe that the work is of sufficient length or complexity to require such a summary; it would be merely repetitious.) It is the traditional nature of academic inquiry that something should be "concluded" at the end of such inquiry. This approach is ingrained in every student from the earliest grades where all experiments must begin with an object and end with a conclusion.

¹ Geddes, Cities in Evolution, p. 207.

² Ibid., p. 198.

Contrary to tradition, the main conclusion resulting from this present work was stated in the Preface, since the conclusion was reached during the preparation of the initial drafts, and in fact caused the thesis finally to take on a quite different form from that originally envisaged. This conclusion was that: "the terms 'planning theory' and 'planning practice' do not describe two uniquely distinguishable concepts, but that they describe closely interrelated elements of a single process." As was further stated in the Preface, after this conclusion was reached my purpose became "to arrive at a clearer understanding of the planning process," and thus better understand the relationship between theory and practice in planning.

This purpose has been achieved; most assuredly for the author, and hopefully for the reader also. I have, in writing this thesis, arrived at a clearer understanding of the nature of the planning process, and have moved some small distance along the path towards a full understanding of the role which planning has to play in contemporary society, and the nature of planning as a human activity.

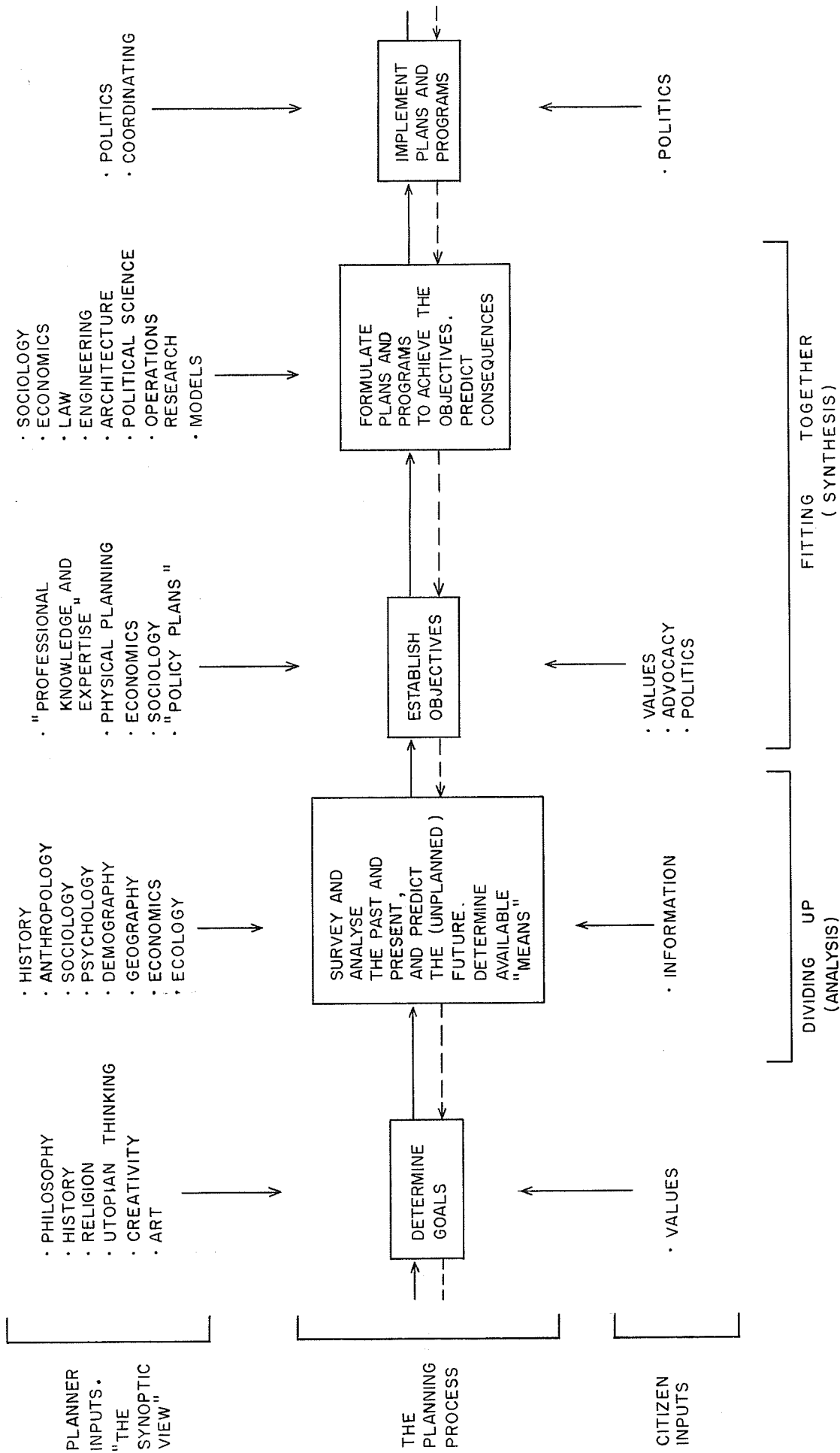
APPENDIX

A DIAGRAMMATIC REPRESENTATION OF SOME ASPECTS OF PLANNING

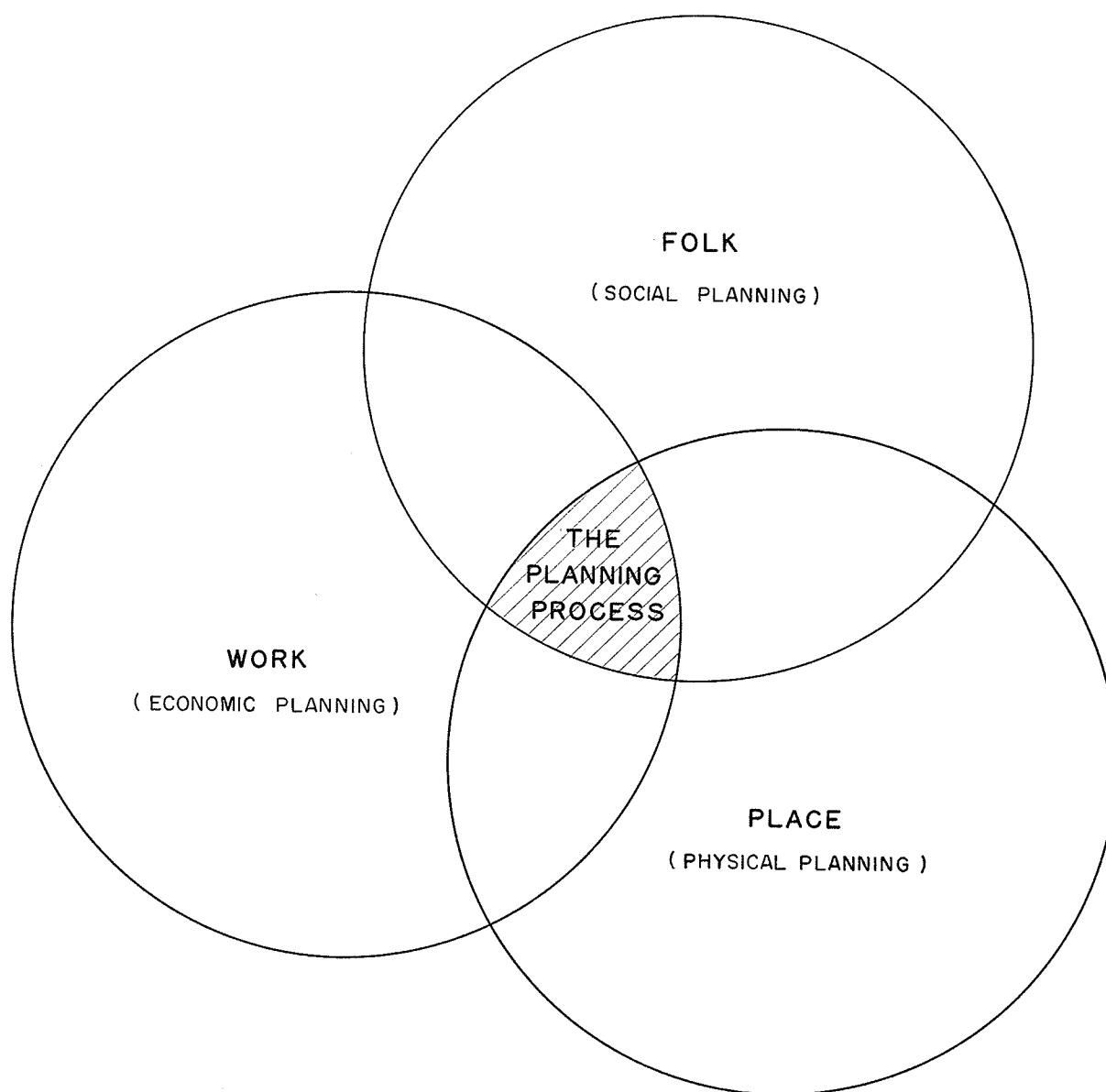
Diagram I, "The Planning Process (Structure)," is a diagrammatic representation of the planning process as described in Chapter II. The five steps in the process are shown, along with the inputs to the process from both the planner and the citizen. It will be noted that the first part of the process entails a "dividing up" operation, whereas the second part is a "fitting together." The arrows joining the process steps are shown in both the forward and reverse directions, denoting the cyclical nature of the process.

Diagram II, "The Planning Process (Input/Output)," shows the three basic areas of planning concern: the social, economic, and physical aspects of the community. These diverse but inter-related parts of the total environment must be rationally "fitted together" in the planning process.

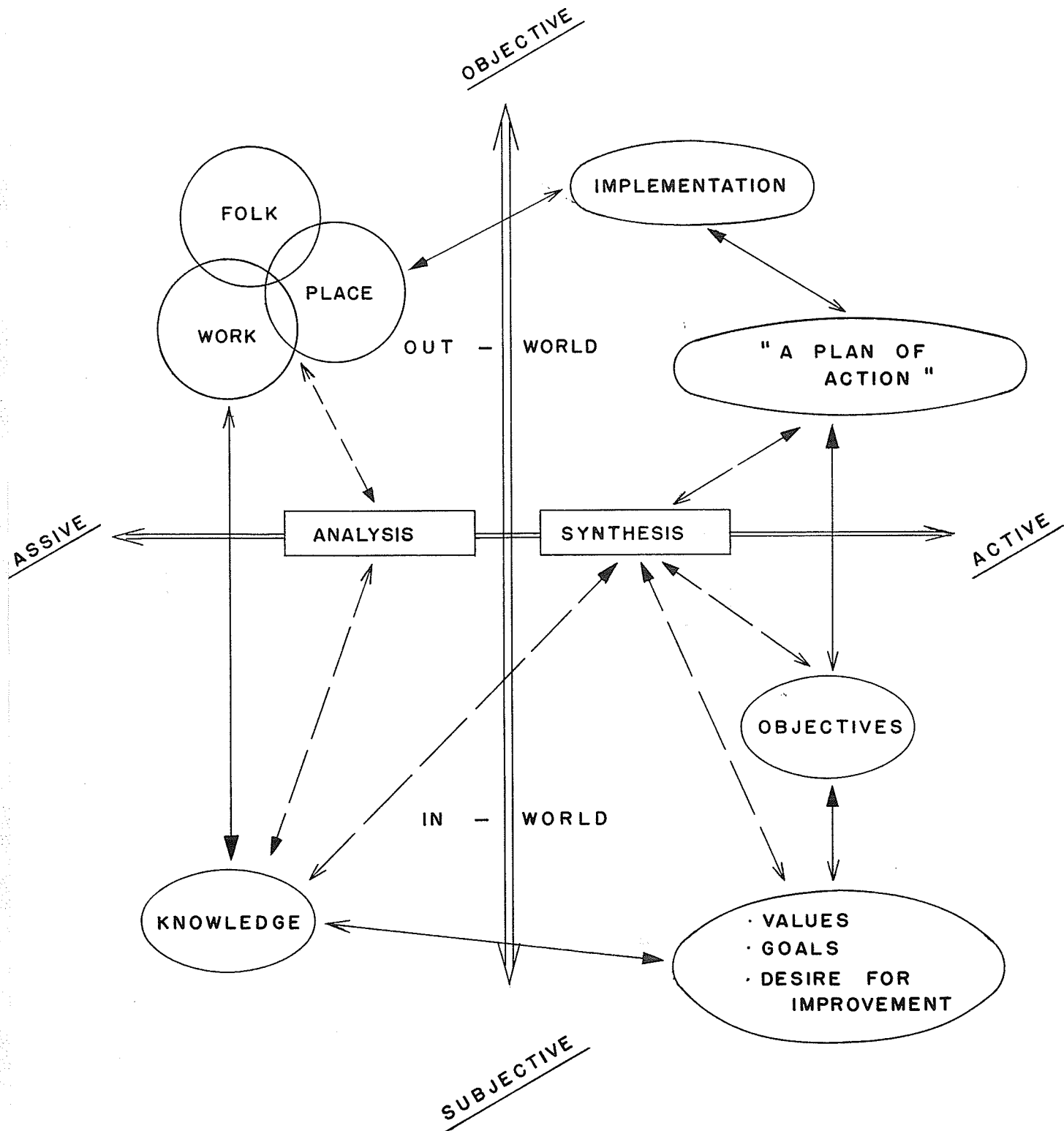
Diagram III, "The Planning Process (Relationship to the Environment-Synthesis of Thought)," is an attempt to integrate our notion of the planning process with a schematic representation of the environment. The diagram is patterned after Patrick Geddes' "Notation of Life" as presented in Cities in Evolution. The diagram provides a visual frame of reference relating "planning" and "environment," and illustrates the synthetic approach to planning, as discussed in Chapter VI. The two-headed arrows indicate that it is the interrelatedness of the various concepts which is of importance.



I THE PLANNING PROCESS (STRUCTURE)



II THE PLANNING PROCESS (INPUT / OUTPUT)



III THE PLANNING PROCESS (RELATIONSHIP TO THE ENVIRONMENT - SYNTHESIS OF THOUGHT)

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