©

THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

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THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
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MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

BY
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ABSTRACT

THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

BY

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THE PRESENT THESIS APPLIES THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE TO THE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVENTION OF HUMAN VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS AND THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION.

THE PLANNING PROCESS IS CHARACTERIZED AS A PROCESS DURING WHICH KNOWLEDGE IS APPLIED IN A RATIONAL MANNER TO THE FORMULATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM THROUGH WHICH ANTICIPATED FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS MAY BE DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL. VALUES INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS BOTH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY. DIRECT INTERVENTION OCCURS THROUGH SUCH AVENUES AS THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, THE TYPE OF PLAN OR PROGRAM SELECTED, THE DESIGNATION OF THE GOAL FOR IMPLEMENTATION, AND THE VALUES INHERENT IN ANY OF THE SUBSTANTIVE AREAS FOR PLANNING (IN THE CASE OF CITY PLANNING, EXAMPLES OF SUBSTANTIVE AREAS ARE HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, RECREATION, ETC.). INDIRECT INTERVENTION OF VALUES OCCURS THROUGH THE INSTITUTIONAL AND IDEOLOGICAL SETTING IN WHICH THE PLANNING ACTIVITY IS CARRIED OUT.

THE THESIS SETS OUT A THEORETICAL MODEL IN WHICH IT SEEKS TO SHOW THAT VALUES ARE UBIQUITOUS. THE MODEL IDENTIFIES TWO SPHERES OF VALUES RELEVANT TO PLANNING: THOSE TRANSMITTED TO EVERY PERSON IN THE SOCIETY INCLUDING PLANNERS THROUGH THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION, AND THOSE TRANSMITTED TO PLANNERS ALONE THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION. EACH SPHERE INCLUDES SEVERAL LOCI OF VALUES. IN THE FIRST SPHERE, VALUES ARE SHOWN TO INHERE IN THE PROCESS OF INTELLECTION OR KNOWLEDGE, IN LANGUAGE, IN CULTURE, AND IN SUB-CULTURES. THESE VALUES

INTERVENE IN PLANNING THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE PLAN'S CLIENTS OR PUBLIC. IN THE SECOND SPHERE, VALUES ARE SHOWN TO INHERE IN THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, THE APPLIED SCIENCES, THE PLANNING ETHIC AND IDEOLOGY, AND IN PLANNING METHODS AND MODELS. THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH EACH OF THESE LOCI ARE ACQUIRED BY THE PLANNER DURING THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION AND SOCIALIZATION.

WITH THIS THEORETICAL MODEL IN MIND, THE THESIS PROCEEDS TO ANALYZE THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. FIRST, THE UNIQUE ATTRIBUTES OF THE PLANNING PROCESS--FUTURE ORIENTATION, CONTROL, GOAL-SETTING, AND COMPREHENSIVENESS--ARE DISCUSSED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF VALUE-INTERVENTION. NEXT, THE IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR PLANNING IN THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN SOCIETIES IS EXPLORED. THE FOCUS IS THEN SHIFTED TO THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING OF PLANNING IN LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND IN THE COMMUNITY. THE FACT THAT THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA ARE POLITICAL DEMOCRACIES IS SHOWN TO HAVE FAR-REACHING VALUE IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING. ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF DECISION-MAKING AND ALTERNATIVE TYPES OF PLANS ARE NEXT PRESENTED, AND THE VALUES IMPLIED BY EACH ARE DISCUSSED. THIS PART CONCLUDES WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS WAYS IN WHICH A PLANNER MAY PERCEIVE HIS ROLE VIS-À-VIS THE PLAN'S CLIENTS. THE RECENT CONCERN WITH DEMOCRATIC PLANNING--I.E., PLANNING WHICH SEEKS TO INCORPORATE THE CLIENTS' VALUES INTO GOAL SETTING TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE--IS DISCUSSED IN DETAIL.

IN THE FINAL PART OF THE THESIS THE ATTENTION IS SHIFTED FROM THE GENERAL PLANNING PROCESS TO THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION. VALUES ARE SHOWN TO INTERVENE IN THE SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING. VALUES EMANATE EVEN FROM SUCH SEEMINGLY 'STRICTLY PHYSICAL' SUBJECTS AS TRANS-

PORTATION PLANNING, STREET PLATTING, AND CIVIC DESIGN. IN EACH CASE, VALUES ARE SHOWN TO BE POTENT FORCES THAT SHAPE AND MOLD A PLANNER'S PLANS. ALTERNATIVE VALUE PREMISES UNDERLIE THE VARIOUS APPROACHES TO THE CITY AND TO CITY PLANNING.

THROUGHOUT THE THESIS, ILLUSTRATIONS ARE DRAWN FROM A CASE-STUDY OF TOWN PLANNING IN PRACTICE. THE CASE STUDY IS OF A CANADIAN TOWN TO WHICH THE PSEUDONYM "NORTHVILLE" HAS BEEN ASSIGNED. VALUES IN NORTHVILLE, AS ELSEWHERE, RESIDE BOTH IN THE PLANNERS CONCERNED AND IN THE RESIDENTS OF THE TOWN. THE INTERACTION AMONG THESE TWO SOURCES OF VALUES PRODUCES VALUE CONFLICT THAT IS SO TYPICAL OF PLANNING EVERYWHERE.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY SINCERE THANKS TO MY ADVISOR, DR. JOHN E. PAGE, S. J., WHOSE LECTURES AT THE DEPARTMENT OF CITY PLANNING HAVE BEEN THE INSPIRATION FOR THIS THESIS. DR. PAGE GUIDED THE PRODUCTION OF THIS THESIS WITH A MASTERFUL HAND, OFFERING CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS AND PROVIDING AMPLE ENCOURAGEMENT.

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FINALLY, I WOULD LIKE TO EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES OF THE UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA, WHICH HAS OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS AWARDED ME TWO UNIVERSITY GRADUATE FELLOWSHIPS, THUS MAKING MY STUDIES FINANCIALLY POSSIBLE.

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INTRODUCTION

KARL MANNHEIM, THE RENOWNED GERMAN SOCIOLOGIST, MAY BE CONSIDERED A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORIC MARCH OF HUMAN THINKERS. HIS CONTRIBUTION WAS NOT SO MUCH THAT HE CONSTITUTED ANOTHER LINK IN THE CHAIN OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE, BUT THAT HE DECIDED IT WAS TIME TO TURN AROUND AND TO TAKE A LOOK AT THE CHAIN OF KNOWLEDGE ITSELF. HIS WAS AN EXERCISE IN 'NAVEL GAZING' (IF A PHYSIOLOGICAL ANALOGY MAY BE PERMITTED) THAT WAS TO BEAR INTELLECTUAL FRUIT OF PROFOUND IMPORTANCE. FOR KARL MANNHEIM WAS TO INAUGURATE A NEW BRANCH OF SOCIAL SCIENCE: THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE.

THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE MAINTAINS THAT MAN'S INTELLECTUAL PROCESSES DO NOT OCCUR IN A SOCIAL VACUUM. THE VARIOUS SPHERES OF HUMAN KNOWLEDGE AND CREATIVITY--THE PROFESSIONS, THE SCIENCES, THE HUMANITIES OR THE ARTS--ARE ROOTED IN MAN'S SOCIAL MILIEU. ALTHOUGH KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL MILIEU OF A GIVEN THINKER CANNOT PREDETERMINE THE INTELLECTUAL OUTCOME, SUCH KNOWLEDGE--ALONG WITH AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE THINKER'S PERSONALITY AND PSYCHOLOGY--CAN GO A LONG WAY TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE CONTEXT IN WHICH HUMAN KNOWLEDGE IS GENERATED.[1]

THE PRESENT THESIS HAS ADOPTED THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE, AND HAS SOUGHT TO APPLY IT TO THE ANALYSIS OF PLANNING THEORY AND THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION. AWARENESS OF THE NEED FOR THIS TYPE OF ANALYSIS HAS BEEN SLOWLY EMERGING OVER THE PAST DECADE; LAST YEAR

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[1]KARL MANNHEIM, IDOLOGY AND UTOPIA: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE, TRANS. AND ED. BY LOUIS WIRTH AND EDWARD SHILS (LONDON: ROUTLEDGE AND KEGAN PAUL LTD., 1936), PP. 1-3 AND 237-239

JOHN DYCKMAN, A NOTED AMERICAN PLANNING THEORETICIAN, ARTICULATED THIS NEED, CALLING FOR A THEORY OF THE SOCIO-POLITICAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT OF PLANNING.[2] IT IS HOPED THIS THESIS WILL MAKE SOME CONTRIBUTION TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS APPEAL.

THE PIVOTAL CONCEPT AROUND WHICH THE ANALYSIS IN THIS THESIS HAS TAKEN FORM IS THE CONCEPT OF HUMAN VALUES. VALUES ARE THOSE COGNITIVE-EMOTIVE ASPECTS OF HUMAN THOUGHT AND ACTION THAT LIE IN THE TWILIGHT-ZONE BETWEEN FACT AND FAITH. THEY LIMIT AND COLOR OUR SPHERE OF PERCEPTION, LIMIT THAT RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES FROM WHICH WE SHALL MAKE OUR CHOICE OF ACTIONS OR VIEWS TO BE ADOPTED (THE RANGE MAY BE FURTHER LIMITED BY OTHER CONSTRAINTS). THE CONCEPT OF VALUES IS THUS A DYNAMIC ONE: VALUES UNDERLIE EVERY SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITIES OR INTELLECTION, GENERATING THOSE ACTIONS OR THOUGHTS THAT ARE TO EMERGE FROM THE LIMBO OF UNIDENTIFIED ALTERNATIVES. HOWEVER, SINCE OUR CONCERN IN THIS THESIS IS THE APPLICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF VALUES TO THE STUDY OF A PARTICULAR SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY(PLANNING),WE SHALL DEVOTE ONLY LIMITED ATTENTION TO THE STUDY OF VALUES PER SE. RATHER, WE SHALL FOCUS ON THE ROLE THAT VALUES PLAY IN "PLANNING SCIENCE" AND THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION.

OVER THE PAST SEVERAL YEARS, MANY WRITERS HAVE RECOGNIZED THE IMPORTANCE OF DEVELOPING AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE VALUE-CONTEXT OF PLANNING.[3]

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[2] JOHN W. DYCKMAN, "THE PRACTICAL USES OF PLANNING THEORY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 298-300

[3] EXAMPLES OF SUCH WRITERS ARE: THOMAS A. REINER, THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING (PHILADELPHIA: UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA PRESS, 1963), P. 291 AND PASSIM; WALTER STOHR, "DEVELOPMENT PLANNING FOR DEPRESSED AREAS--A METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MAY, 1964, PP. 123-131; PAUL DAVIDOFF, "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1965, PP. 331-339.

SOME HAVE GONE FURTHER TO SUGGEST THAT PLANNERS SHOULD BECOME GOAL OR VALUE SPECIALISTS.[4] IN EFFECT, THEY HAVE BEEN CALLING FOR THE INCORPORATION OF VALUE-ANALYSIS (SUCH AS ATTEMPTED IN THIS THESIS) INTO THE MAIN BODY OF PLANNING THEORY. THE PRESENT WORK HAS ATTEMPTED TO DEVELOP A THEORETICAL MODEL THAT WOULD ENCOMPASS NOT ONLY THOSE ASPECTS OF VALUES IN PLANNING THAT ARE MOST OFTEN RECOGNIZED--I.E., THE VALUES OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS, ESPECIALLY THE POOR ONES--BUT ALSO OTHER, LESS APPARENT SOURCES OF VALUES: THE VALUES INHERING IN LANGUAGE, KNOWLEDGE AND EVEN SCIENCE, THE VALUE-LEGACY OF SOCIETY, THE VALUES ENTRENCHED IN THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING OF PLANNING, AND--NOT LEAST--THE VALUES ACQUIRED BY THE PLANNERS THEMSELVES IN THE PROCESS OF THEIR 'PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION'.

ALTHOUGH IT IS HOPED THAT MANY OF THE CONCEPTS OUTLINED IN THIS THESIS WOULD BE APPLICABLE TO THE ANALYSIS OF PLANNING ANYWHERE IN THE WORLD (ESPECIALLY THE CONCEPTS IN PART II), UNIVERSAL APPLICABILITY IS NEITHER CLAIMED NOR SOUGHT FOR MUCH OF THE ANALYSIS (PARTS III AND IV). RATHER, IT WAS FELT TO BE NECESSARY AND DESIRABLE TO APPLY THE THEORETICAL MODEL TO A PARTICULAR SOCIAL-CULTURAL SETTING--IN OUR CASE, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA. THUS MANY OF THE ISSUES ON WHICH THE THESIS FOCUSES ARE DRAWN FROM THE NORTH AMERICAN SCENE.

IT WAS FURTHER FELT THAT EVEN THIS DEGREE OF SPECIFICITY WOULD NOT SUFFICE TO CLARIFY THE RELEVANCE OF THE ANALYSIS AND THAT A MORE CONCRETE ILLUSTRATION OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL WOULD BE IN ORDER. ILLUSTRATIONS

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[4] THOMAS A. REINER, "THE PLANNER AS VALUE TECHNICIAN: TWO CLASSES OF UTOPIAN CONSTRUCTS AND THEIR IMPACTS ON PLANNING," IN TAMING MEGALOPOLIS, VOL. 1, ED. BY H. WENTWORTH ELDREDGE (GARDEN CITY, N.Y.: DOUBLEDAY & CO. INC., 1967), PP. 232-247. ALAN A. ALTSHULER, "THE GOALS OF COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, AUGUST, 1965. PP. 186-194.

HAVE THEREFORE BEEN DRAWN, WHENEVER NECESSARY AND APPROPRIATE, FROM A CASE-STUDY OF PLANNING WHICH THE AUTHOR HAS RECENTLY UNDERTAKEN AT CLOSE RANGE.[5]

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[5] THE PSEUDONYM "NORTHVILLE" HAS BEEN APPLIED TO THE SMALL CANADIAN TOWN OF WHICH A CASE-STUDY WAS MADE. THE PSEUDONYM HAS BEEN USED TO PRESERVE THE NECESSARY CONFIDENTIALITY OF THE CASE-STUDY.

PART I: BACKGROUND AND SUMMARY

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCING THE CENTRAL CONCEPTS

A. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

FOR THE PAST FEW DECADES, AND ESPECIALLY SINCE THE EARLY 1950'S, THE STUDY OF HUMAN VALUES HAS BECOME GREATLY INTENSIFIED--SO MUCH SO THAT TERMS LIKE "VALUE" AND "VALUE-SYSTEMS" ARE SLOWLY BEING INCORPORATED INTO POPULAR SPEECH. THE NEED FOR RIGID DEFINITIONS IS THEREFORE ELIMINATED. THE DEFINITIONS TO BE PRESENTED AND DISCUSSED BELOW ARE INTENDED MORE AS A MEANS OF FOCUSING ON THE RELEVANT CONCEPTS AND THEIR ATTRIBUTES THAN AS EITHER DESCRIPTIVE (REPORTIVE) DEFINITIONS OF ACTUAL USAGE, OR AS PRESCRIPTIVE (REFORMING) ONES.

a) VALUE:

THE TERM "VALUE"[1] MAY BE DEFINED AS,"A COGNITIVE ASSUMPTION ABOUT THE DESIRABLE OR THE UNDESIRABLE, TO WHICH ITS HOLDER IS AFFECTIVELY COMMITTED (WHETHER 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."[2]

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[1] A CONVENTION COMMONLY USED BY PHILOSOPHERS WILL BE ADHERED TO IN THIS THESIS. WHEN REFERENCE IS MADE TO A LINGUISTIC TERM RATHER THAN TO THE CONCEPT IT DENOTES, DOUBLE QUOTATION-MARKS WILL BE PLACED AROUND THE TERM (OR ITS DEFINITION). QUOTATION MARKS WILL OF COURSE ALSO BE USED FOR QUOTING (THIS IS NOT THE CASE HERE).

[2] THIS DEFINITION INCORPORATES SOME ELEMENTS FROM: CLYDE KLUCKHOHN, "VALUES AND VALUE ORIENTATIONS IN THE THEORY OF ACTION: AN EXPLORATION IN DEFINITION AND CLASSIFICATION," IN TOWARD A GENERAL THEORY OF ACTION, ED. BY TALCOTT PARSONS AND EDWARD A. SHILS (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1959), P. 395.

SEVERAL POINTS IN THIS DEFINITION DESERVE AMPLIFICATION. FIRST, IT WILL BE NOTED THAT VALUE HAS BOTH A COGNITIVE AND AN EMOTIVE OR AFFECTIVE ELEMENT. THE PREDOMINANCE OF ONE OR THE OTHER OF THESE ELEMENTS WOULD VARY WITH THE TYPE OF VALUE INVOLVED: MORAL VALUES MAY INVOLVE A STRONGER EMOTIONAL COMMITMENT THAN VALUES PERTAINING TO HOUSING; AND AESTHETIC VALUES MAY BE LOW ON BOTH COMPONENTS. SECOND, THE TERM "DESIRABLE" RATHER THAN "RIGHT" OR "GOOD" HAS BEEN USED SO THAT THE DEFINITION ENCOMPASS NOT ONLY MORAL VALUES, BUT AESTHETIC AND WHAT MAY BE CALLED 'COGNITIVE' ONES AS WELL. SUCH A BROADENING OF THE DEFINITION FROM THE SENSE COMMONLY USED IN ETHICS IS ESPECIALLY IMPORTANT FOR THIS THESIS, BECAUSE OUR CONCERN IS NOT SO MUCH WITH ETHICAL VALUES AS WITH AESTHETIC AND COGNITIVE ONES. THIRD, THE ROLE OF VALUES IN DEFINING THE RANGE OF PERCEIVED ALTERNATIVES HAS ALREADY BEEN STRESSED IN THE "INTRODUCTION." THIS PERCEPTUAL ROLE IS THE FOCUS OF A CONCEPT CLOSELY RELATED TO VALUE--THE CONCEPT OF IMAGE. FOURTH, IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT VALUES ARE NOT MERELY PASSIVE ASSUMPTIONS; THEY ARE DYNAMIC FORCES THAT HELP DETERMINE THE SELECTION MADE, AND HENCE THE ACTION OR POINT OF VIEW ADOPTED. LASTLY, VALUES ARE ASSUMPTIONS--THAT IS, THEY DO NOT HAVE TO BE EXPRESSED OVERTLY, OR EVEN TO BE KNOWN CONSCIOUSLY.[3]. PERHAPS HEREIN LIES THEIR POWER.

THE USAGE OF "VALUE" AS HERE DEFINED SHOULD BE DISTINGUISHED FROM OTHER USAGES OF "VALUE" AS WELL AS FROM RELATED TERMS.

"VALUE" IN THE SENSE THAT CONCERNS US HERE DOES NOT DENOTE ANY ATTRIBUTE OF AN EXTERNAL OBJECT, BUT AN INTERNAL STATE IN THE HUMAN MIND

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[3]THE INCREASING POPULARITY OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE APPROACH (SUCH AS ADOPTED BY THIS THESIS) IS BRINGING GREATER SELF-AWARENESS OF VALUES--AT LEAST AMONG THE PUBLIC OF READERS. YET THIS DOES NOT NECESSARILY REDUCE THE POTENCY OF VALUES.

AND WILL. THE SAME TERM IS ALSO USED WITH REGARD TO OBJECTS. HERE, TOO, THERE ARE TWO MAIN USAGES: UTILITARIAN VALUE (ATTRIBUTING SOME USEFULNESS TO AN OBJECT) AND WORTH (OFTEN MEASURED IN ECONOMIC TERMS, IN WHICH CASE IT WOULD BE ECONOMIC VALUE).

A MORE DIFFICULT TASK WOULD BE TO DISTINGUISH THE TERM "VALUE" FROM RELATED TERMS, SUCH AS "BELIEF" AND "NORM". "BELIEF" PRESENTS THE GREATEST DIFFICULTY SINCE IT HAS SO MANY USAGES.[4] IN GENERAL IT MAY BE SAID THAT WHILE "VALUE" IS USED IN EVALUATIVE SITUATIONS (WITH SUCH TERMS AS "BETTER", "WORSE", "PREFERRED"), "BELIEF" PERTAINS TO STATEMENTS WHERE THERE IS NOT ENOUGH FACTUAL EVIDENCE OR INTERNAL INTELLIGIBILITY TO ASSERT KNOWLEDGE.[5] THE TERM "NORM", ON THE OTHER HAND, DENOTES A RULE OR A STANDARD FOR THE ACTIONS OF MEMBERS OF A GROUP.

B) IMAGE:

BECAUSE IT IS COMING INTO GREATER USAGE, THE TERM "IMAGE" DESERVES ANOTHER LOOK. IT IS CLOSELY RELATED TO "VALUE", DIFFERING FROM IT IN ITS SITUATIONAL IMPORT. "IMAGE" MAY BE DEFINED AS, "THE PERCEPTION OF A SITUATION, GENERATED BY A GROUP OF VALUES PERTAINING TO THAT SITUATION."[6]

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[4]FOR EXAMPLE: BELIEVING A PERSON (HIS WORDS); BELIEF IN A PERSON; BELIEVING A STATEMENT; BELIEF IN AN AFTER-LIFE.

[5]BELIEF AND KNOWLEDGE ARE DISCUSSED IN: JOHN HOSPERS, AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS (ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J.: PRENTICE HALL INC., 1967), PP. 140-141.

[6]BOULDING HAS ANALYZED THE CONCEPT OF "IMAGE" AT GREAT DEPTH. HE DOES NOT FORMALLY DEFINE THE TERM "IMAGE", BUT USES IT TO REFER TO SUBJECTIVE OR PERCEPTIVE KNOWLEDGE. HIS USAGE OF THE TERM IS SOMEWHAT BROADER THAN OUR OWN SINCE IT INCLUDES THE IMAGES OF FACTS AS WELL AS VALUES. SEE: KENNETH E. BOULDING, THE IMAGE (ANN ARBOR, MICHIGAN: THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN PRESS, 1956), PP. 5-6 AND 11. HE DISCUSSES SOCIAL VALUES (OR WHAT HE CALLS "PUBLIC IMAGES") IN PP. 64-81.

c) IDEOLOGY:

THE TERM "IDEOLOGY" ALSO DESERVES A DEFINITION, BOTH IN ORDER TO POINT TO ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH "VALUE", AND IN ORDER TO RID IT (FOR THE PURPOSES OF THIS THESIS) OF THE SOMEWHAT PEJORATIVE CONNOTATION IT HAS ACQUIRED (WHEN USED ALONG WITH "DEMAGOGUERY"). "IDEOLOGY" MAY HERE BE DEFINED AS, "A SYSTEM OF VALUES SHARED BY A LARGE GROUP OF PEOPLE, WHERE THE GROUP HAS EITHER SOME POLITICAL DEFINITION (E.G.: A SOCIETY, A PARTY, A POLITICAL ASSOCIATION), OR IS ORGANIZED." THE POINT TO BE NOTED IS THAT IDEOLOGY IS A SYSTEM OF VALUES--I.E., A GROUP OF VALUES THAT PRESENT A DISTINGUISHABLE AND RELATIVELY COHERENT OUTLOOK ON LIFE (OR A SPECIFIC ASPECT OF IT), A WELTANSCHAUUNG.

D) GOAL:

THE TERM "GOAL" IS ALSO INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH "VALUE". IN FACT, THE CONCEPT OF VALUE IS CRUCIAL TO THE DEFINITION OF "GOAL" (AS IT WAS TO THE DEFINITIONS ABOVE). "GOAL" MAY BE DEFINED AS, "A VALUED END-STATE." THE END-STATE DOES NOT HAVE TO BE A FINAL ONE; IT MAY BE PART OF A MEANS-END--MEANS-END CHAIN, WITH EACH GOAL BEING PURSUED AS AN END-STATE, AND, ONCE ACHIEVED, BECOMING A MEANS TO ANOTHER END-STATE. THIS SUGGESTS THAT GOALS TEND TO FORM A HIERARCHY, ACCORDING TO THEIR POSITION IN THIS END-MEANS CHAIN. HIGHER-ORDER GOALS TEND TO BE MORE ABSTRACT AND USUALLY MORE DIFFICULT TO ATTAIN. THEORETICALLY, THERE MAY BE SOME SUPREME GOALS WHICH, IF EVER ATTAINED, WOULD NOT BECOME A MEANS TO A FURTHER GOAL. IT SHOULD ALSO BE NOTED THAT AT EACH TIER IN THE THEORETICAL HIERARCHY, THERE MAY BE MANY GOALS, CONSTITUTING ALTERNATIVES TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF HIGHER-ORDER GOALS. THE HIGHER THE ORDER OF THE GOAL, THE LESS ALTERNATIVE MEANS-GOALS IT WOULD TEND TO HAVE. THE IMPLI-

CATIONS OF THIS HIERARCHICAL ARRANGEMENT ARE CLEAR: ONCE AGREEMENT ON A GOAL IS REACHED, THERE IS STILL NO GUARANTEE THAT FURTHER DISAGREEMENT--THIS TIME OVER THE MEANS-GOALS IN THE LOWER TIER--WOULD NOT ENSUE.[7]

E) BIAS:

"BIAS" IS A MORE DIFFICULT TERM TO DEFINE SINCE IT IS ITSELF VALUE-LADEN: IT OFTEN IMPLIES A NEGATIVE EVALUATION OF SOMEONE ELSE'S VALUES. FURTHERMORE: THERE IS MORE THAN ONE SENSE OF THE TERM THAT WILL CONCERN US, IN ADDITION TO THE MARGINALLY-RELEVANT SENSE WHERE THE TERM IS USED TO REFER TO SOMEONE ELSE'S VALUES BY A PERSON WHO DOES NOT SHARE THESE VALUES.

THE MOST IMPORTANT SENSE OF "BIAS" (FOR OUR PURPOSES) WILL BE DEFINED AS "ADHERENCE TO VALUES IN SUCH A WAY AS TO INTERFERE WITH SCIENTIFIC OR PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVITY."[8] THIS SENSE OF THE TERM WILL BE DISCUSSED AGAIN IN SECTION B OF THIS CHAPTER AND IN CHAPTER 4,A. HERE IT IS SUFFICIENT TO NOTE THE DEPENDENCE OF THE TERM ON THE CONCEPT OF VALUE.

A SECOND AND LESS IMPORTANT SENSE OF THE TERM WHICH WE MAY HAVE OCCASION TO USE MAY BE DEFINED AS "THE POINT OF VIEW AND UNDERLYING VALUES OF A GIVEN DISCIPLINE," USUALLY AS SEEN BY A PERSON FROM ANOTHER DISCIPLINE. THUS, ONE MAY TALK OF THE "ENGINEERING BIAS" OR "SOCIOLOGICAL BIAS" OF PLANNERS WHO HAVE DIFFERING DISCIPLINARY BACKGROUNDS.

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[7] THE POINT ABOUT THE CONSTANT DIVISIVENESS OF GOALS IS MADE IN: ROBERT C. YOUNG, "GOALS AND GOAL SETTING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1966, PP. 76-85.

[8] THIS DEFINITION FOLLOWS ABRAHAM KAPLAN, THE CONDUCT OF INQUIRY (SAN FRANCISCO: CHANDLER PUBLISHING CO., 1964), P. 363.
A RELATED DEFINITION ("BEING DIRECTED BY UNACKNOWLEDGED VALUATION") IS PROPOSED BY MYRDAL: GUNNAR MYRDAL, VALUE IN SOCIAL THEORY (LONDON: ROUTLEDGE & KEGAN PAUL, 1958), P. 52.

f) Planning Process and Related Terms:

Since the subject of this thesis is the intervention of values in the planning process, we would do well to undertake a quick survey of the descriptions of the planning process proposed by prominent theoreticians, in order to see how the concept of value enters these descriptions.

Davidoff and Reiner describe the planning process[9] as "a process for determining appropriate future action through a sequence of choices."[10] The terms "appropriate" and "choices" imply the involvement of values. Dahl and Lindblom describe it as "an attempt at rationally-calculated action to achieve a goal."[11] "Goal" is, of course, a term dependent on "value". Kaplan proposes the following definition: "the enterprise of facilitating decisions and making them more realistic and rational."[12] As we shall see in Parts II and III below, both decisions and the designation of what is rational involve values. Perloff considers planning to be "the way in which men and women, acting through organized entities, endeavor to guide developments so as to solve the pressing problems around them and approximate the vision of the future which they hold."[13] The intervention of values here is clearly apparent.

Let us turn to our own characterization of the Planning Process: it is the process during which knowledge is applied in a rational manner

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[9]Some of the following authors use the term "planning" rather than "planning process," but in a manner equivalent to our usage of the latter term.

[10]Paul Davidoff and Thomas A. Reiner, "A Choice Theory of Planning," Journal of the American Institute of Planners, May, 1962, pp. 103-115

[11]Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom, Politics, Economics and Welfare (New York: Harper & Row Publishers Inc., 1953), p. 20.

[12]Kaplan, The Conduct of Inquiry, p. 403.

[13]Harvey S. Perloff, Education for Planning: City, State and Regional (Baltimore: John Hopkins Press, 1957), pp. 141-142.

TO THE FORMULATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM AND THE SELECTION OF MEANS, THROUGH WHICH ANTICIPATED FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN A GIVEN SPHERE(S) OF HUMAN ACTIVITY MAY BE CONTROLLED OR DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL.[14]

A DETAILED BREAKDOWN OF THIS DEFINITION, POINTING TO THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES THROUGH EACH OF ITS PARTS, WILL BE GIVEN IN SECTION C BELOW, WHERE THE THEORETICAL MODEL WILL BE SUMMARIZED. WE SHALL NOW TURN TO THE TASK OF DISTINGUISHING THE TERM "PLANNING PROCESS" FROM RELATED TERMS. THIS TASK IS A DIFFICULT ONE, SINCE LITTLE AGREEMENT OR PRECISION IN THE USE OF RELATED TERMS IS TO BE FOUND IN THE LITERATURE. THE PRESENT AUTHOR HAS THEREFORE SOUGHT TO PROPOSE SUCH USAGES AS WOULD SEEM REASONABLE AND AT THE SAME TIME WOULD FACILITATE THE EXPOSITION OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL.

THE CONCEPT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS AS DESCRIBED ABOVE IS BROADER THAN SOME USAGES OF THE SAME TERM, WHERE IT IS USED TO REFER ONLY TO THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS (USUALLY TO ONE PARTICULAR MODEL OF THIS PROCESS). UNDER THE PRESENT USAGE IT IS INTENDED THAT THIS ASPECT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS WOULD BE SUBSUMED UNDER THE PHRASE "IN A RATIONAL MANNER", SINCE, AS WE SHALL LATER SEE,[15] THE VARIOUS DECISION-MAKING MODELS ARE, IN EFFECT, ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF RATIONALITY EACH WITH ITS OWN VALUES AND ASSUMPTIONS.

CITY PLANNING IS BOTH A DISCIPLINE AND A PROFESSION. AS A DISCIPLINE, IT IS A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE WHERE THEORIES, HYPOTHESES, DATA, ETC., ABOUT THE CITY AS A WHOLE OR ABOUT ITS FUNCTIONS AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

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[14] THIS STATEMENT IS NOT INTENDED TO BE PRESCRIPTIVE OF HOW PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS SHOULD PLAN, BUT ONLY TO BE DESCRIPTIVE OF THOSE ELEMENTS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS COMMON TO MOST INSTANCES OF PLANNING.

[15] THE ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF DECISION-MAKING IN PLANNING, AS WELL AS THE CONCEPT OF RATIONALITY, WILL BE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 8 BELOW.

ITSELF, ARE BEING STORED, ACCUMULATED THROUGH RESEARCH, OR TRANSMITTED AND SHARED. AS A PROFESSION, CITY PLANNING APPLIES THE PLANNING PROCESS TO THAT "GIVEN SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY" (SEE THE ABOVE DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS) WHICH IS THE CITY OR ONE OF ITS ASPECTS OR FUNCTIONS.

THERE ARE OTHER PLANNING DISCIPLINES AND PLANNING PROFESSIONS AS WELL: REGIONAL PLANNING, STATE PLANNING, ECONOMIC PLANNING, SOCIAL-WELFARE PLANNING. EACH OF THESE HAS SOME ELEMENTS -- NAMELY, THE PLANNING PROCESS AND RELATED VALUE PROBLEMS AND ISSUES -- IN COMMON WITH CITY PLANNING. SOME OF THESE (SUCH AS SOCIAL-WELFARE PLANNING, REGIONAL PLANNING, OR ECONOMIC PLANNING) MAY OR MAY NOT OVERLAP WITH CITY PLANNING, DEPENDING ON THE SITUATION IN QUESTION. THE GENERIC TERM "PLANNING" WILL BE USED TO REFER TO ALL OF THESE DISCIPLINES, FOCUSING UPON THEIR SHARED ELEMENTS.

B. OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM, CULTURAL RELATIVISM, AND THE PRESENT APPROACH

MUCH INK HAS BEEN DEVOTED TO THE ONGOING DISCUSSION OF WHETHER HUMAN VALUES CAN BE STUDIED OBJECTIVELY, AND, INDEED, WHETHER THEY CAN EVEN BE ISOLATED LONG ENOUGH TO STUDY ANYTHING, HUMAN OR NON-HUMAN, OBJECTIVELY. THIS CONTROVERSY HAS ENCOMPASSED SEVERAL DISCIPLINES: ETHICS, EPISTEMOLOGY, SCIENTIFIC METHODOLOGY, SOCIOLOGY, CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY, AND EVEN ECONOMICS.

IN ETHICS (OR, RATHER, META-ETHICS) THE CONCERN HAS BEEN WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS A WAY OF JUSTIFYING A GIVEN THEORY OF MORAL STANDARDS (MORAL VALUES), OF PROVING IT TO BE A MORE VALID THEORY OF WHAT IS TRULY RIGHT THAN ANOTHER THEORY. THERE ARE VARIOUS META-ETHICAL THEORIES MAIN-

TAINING THAT THIS IS INDEED POSSIBLE.[16] OTHERS, HOWEVER, CLAIM THAT ALL ETHICAL STANDARDS ARISE OUT OF THEIR SOCIAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT, AND HENCE THEIR VALIDITY IS NOT ABSOLUTE, BUT RELATIVE TO THEIR CONTEXT. THIS POSITION IS CALLED ETHICAL RELATIVISM. MANY PHILOSOPHERS[17] HAVE TRIED TO ASSURE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS THAT THE STUDY OF HUMAN VALUES DOES NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY THE ADOPTION OF ETHICAL RELATIVISM. A SOCIAL SCIENTIST MAY STUDY OTHERS' VALUES WITHOUT ETHICALLY EVALUATING THEM, WHILE STILL MAINTAINING THE VALIDITY OF HIS OWN VALUES.

WHEN ETHICAL RELITIVISTS CLAIM AS THE BASIS FOR THEIR THEORY THAT ALL ETHICAL STANDARDS ARISE OUT OF THEIR SOCIAL-CULTURAL CONTEXT, THEY ARE IN FACT ADOPTING THE THEORY OF CULTURAL RELATIVISM.[18] THIS THEORY UNDERLIES THE STUDY OF VARIOUS CULTURES AND SUB-CULTURES UNDERTAKEN BY SOCIOLOGISTS AND CULTURAL-ANTHOROPOLOGISTS. BUT THE ADOPTION OF THIS THEORY DOES NOT SOLVE A BASIC METHODOLOGICAL PROBLEM (SHARED NOT ONLY BY SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, BUT TO SOME EXTENT BY ALL SCIENTISTS AND PROFESSIONALS): HOW TO KEEP ONE'S OWN VALUES FROM INTERFERING WITH SCIENTIFIC OR PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVITY; IN OTHER WORDS--HOW TO RID ONE'S WORK OF BIAS.[19]

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[16]AMONG THESE ARE: DEFINISM, STATING THAT ETHICAL STATEMENTS ARE STATEMENTS OF FACT (WHETHER NATURAL OR METAPHYSICAL); INTUITIONISM, HOLDING THAT ETHICAL PRINCIPLES ARE INTUITIVE AND HENCE NEED NO JUSTIFICATION; AND NONDESCRIPTIVIST THEORIES, MAINTAINING THAT ETHICAL JUDGMENTS MAY BE RATIONALLY JUSTIFIED. SEE WILLIAM K. FRANKENA, ETHICS (ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J.: PRENTICE HALL INC., 1963), PP. 78-94.

[17]SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, CHARLES L. STEVENSON, FACTS AND VALUES: STUDIES IN ETHICAL ANALYSIS (NEW HAVEN: YALE UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1963), PP. 71-93.

[18]THE THEORY OF CULTURAL RELATIVISM UNDERLIES THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE AS WELL. MANNHEIM WAS IN FACT PROPOSING THIS THEORY WHEN HE PROPOSED WHAT HE CALLED "RELATIONISM." SEE MANNHEIM, IDEOLOGY AND UTOPIA, P. 270.

[19]SEE CHAPTER 4, A, BELOW.

THE SOLUTION PROPOSED IS THAT OF OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM.[20] IT DOES NOT SEEK TO ELIMINATE ALL VALUES SINCE, AS WE SHALL SEE, THIS IS VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE. IN FACT, THE STAND OF OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM ITSELF IMPLIES SOME VALUES--THOSE OF TRUTH, OBJECTIVITY, ETC.[21] IT ONLY CALLS FOR THE SCIENTIST TO ELIMINATE BIAS BY STATING HIS VALUES EXPLICITLY AND BY FOLLOWING THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC. THIS APPROACH WOULD HOLD WHEN ONE STUDIES INANIMATE OBJECTS, AS WELL AS WHEN ONE STUDIES HUMAN VALUES.

THE PRESENT THESIS HAS ADOPTED OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM AS ITS METHODOLOGICAL STAND, AND CULTURAL RELATIVISM AS ITS UNDERLYING THEORY, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE APPROACH OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE.

C. THE THEORETICAL MODEL SUMMARIZED

IN THE PAGES OF PARTS II, III AND IV WE SHALL UNDERTAKE DETAILED DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS COMPONENTS OF THE THEORETICAL MODEL. HERE IT IS PROPOSED TO OUTLINE THE MODEL BRIEFLY IN ORDER THAT THE READER MAY BE ABLE TO FOLLOW THE ARGUMENT MORE EASILY.

BEFORE WE PROCEED WITH THE OUTLINE, IT MAY BE HELPFUL TO CLARIFY THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN TWO TYPES OF PLANNING THEORY: SUBSTANTIVE THEORY, AND PROCEDURAL THEORY.[22] THIS DISTINCTION IS RELATED TO THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN CITY (OR OTHER) PLANNING ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE PLANNING PROCESS

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[20] THIS TERM IS USED BY KAPLAN, THE CONDUCT OF INQUIRY, P. 392. A SIMILAR SOLUTION IS PROPOSED FOR THE SOCIAL SCIENCES BY MYRDAL, VALUE IN SOCIAL THEORY, PP. 1-52.

[21] SEE CHAPTER 4, A, BELOW.

[22] THIS DISTINCTION IS MADE BY (AMONG OTHERS): JOHN W. DYCKMAN, "AN INTRODUCTION TO READINGS IN THE THEORY OF PLANNING: THE STATE OF PLANNING THEORY IN AMERICA" (MIMEOGRAPHED; 1960); AND HENRY C. HIGHTOWER, "PLANNING THEORY IN CONTEMPORARY PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 326-329.

ON THE OTHER (DISCUSSED IN SECTION A ABOVE). SUBSTANTIVE THEORY IS A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT THE SUBJECT-MATTER, OR OBJECT, OF PLANNING (I.E. PLANNING SCIENCE QUA SCIENCE). IN THE CASE OF CITY PLANNING, IT WOULD MEAN THEORIES OF THE CITY OR ONE OF ITS ASPECTS. PROCEDURAL THEORY, ON THE OTHER HAND, IS THEORY OF THE PLANNING PROCESS. IT MAY BE COMMON TO ALL TYPES OF PLANNING TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT. THE PRESENT CONTRIBUTION WOULD FALL PARTLY WITHIN THE LATTER TYPE OF THEORY, AND PARTLY WITHIN A THIRD KIND OF PLANNING THEORY, FOR WHICH THE NAME CONTEXTUAL THEORY MAY BE COINED. SUCH A BODY OF THEORY COULD INCLUDE MANY CONTRIBUTIONS IN ADDITION TO THE PRESENT ONE, SUCH AS THE POLITICAL CONTEXT, THE ECONOMIC CONTEXT, OR THE PHILOSOPHICAL CONTEXT OF PLANNING.

LET US NOW RECAPITULATE OUR DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS. WE CHARACTERIZED IT AS A "PROCESS DURING WHICH KNOWLEDGE IS APPLIED IN A RATIONAL MANNER TO THE FORMULATION OF A COMPREHENSIVE PROGRAM AND THE SELECTION OF MEANS, THROUGH WHICH ANTICIPATED FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS IN A GIVEN SPHERE(S) OF HUMAN ACTIVITY MAY BE CONTROLLED OR DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL".

ALTHOUGH THE WORD "VALUES" IS NOT MENTIONED IN THIS DESCRIPTION, VALUES INTERVENE THROUGH MANY OF ITS COMPONENT PARTS. THIS DESCRIPTION, WHEN BROKEN INTO ITS SUB-PARTS, CAN SERVE AS A CONCISE INTRODUCTION TO THIS THESIS. THIS TASK IS UNDERTAKEN IN THE TABLE IN THE APPENDIX, WHERE THE PARTS IN WHICH INTERVENTION OF VALUES OCCURS ARE SHOWN IN THE ORDER THEY APPEAR IN THE ABOVE DESCRIPTION, AND WHERE THE CHAPTER OR SECTION IN WHICH EACH TYPE OF INTERVENTION IS DISCUSSED, IS GIVEN. IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED THAT THIS IS NOT A SUMMARY OF THE CONTENTS OF THE THESIS, ONLY A METHOD THROUGH WHICH THE THESIS MAY BE QUICKLY INTRODUCED.

WHEN VIEWED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE ABOVE DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS, VALUES ARE SEEN TO INTERVENE IN TWO WAYS: DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY. THOSE VALUES STEMMING IMMEDIATELY FROM ANY OF THE PARTS OF THE DESCRIPTION, MAY BE REGARDED AS INTERVENING DIRECTLY. ALTHOUGH THE DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS CAN BE SHOWN TO ENCOMPASS A SUBSTANTIAL PORTION OF THE THESIS, IT DOES NOT COVER THE ENTIRE THESIS. FOR VALUES INTERVENE INDIRECTLY AS WELL, IN WAYS ONLY IMPLIED BY THE ABOVE DESCRIPTION. IN THIS CATEGORY OF INTERVENTION WOULD FALL VALUES THAT ARE DIFFUSED THROUGHOUT THE PLANNING PROCESS (SUCH AS SOCIETAL, SUBCULTURAL AND PERSONAL VALUES, AND PLANNING IDEOLOGY), VALUES PERTAINING TO THE DECISION WHETHER TO PLAN AT ALL (META-PLANNING), VALUES DEFINING THE SCOPE OF PLANNING (DOES IT INCLUDE IMPLEMENTATION?), AS WELL AS VALUES RELATING TO THE INSTITUTIONAL AND COMMUNITY SETTING OF PLANNING (SEE THE TABLE IN THE APPENDIX). IT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED, HOWEVER, THAT THE TWO CATEGORIES OF INTERVENTION ARE NOT RIGID, DISTINCTLY SEPARATE ONES, NOR ARE THEY INTENDED TO BE SUCH. THEY ARE MERELY ANALYTIC TOOLS, AND THEY TEND TO MERGE AND OVERLAP.

NOW LET US TURN TO THE SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT AS IT IS PRESENTED IN THE THESIS. PART II INTENDS TO PROVE PRECISELY WHAT ITS TITLE INDICATES: THE UBIQUITY OF VALUES. IT IDENTIFIES TWO SPHERES OF VALUES: THOSE TRANSMITTED TO EVERY PERSON IN THE SOCIETY THROUGH THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION,[23] AND THOSE TRANSMITTED TO PLANNERS AS A SPECIAL SOCIAL

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[23] SOCIALIZATION MAY BE DESCRIBED AS THE PROCESS THROUGH WHICH VALUES ARE ACQUIRED. IT IS VERY INTENSIVE IN THE YEARS OF CHILDHOOD, AND INCLUDES THE PROCESS DURING WHICH THE MOTHER-TONGUE AND ITS ASSOCIATED THOUGHT PATTERNS ARE LEARNED. HERE, WE SHALL CONSIDER SOCIALIZATION AS EXTENDING THROUGHOUT LIFE, THUS ENCOMPASSING PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION.

GROUP THROUGH THE PROCESS OF WHAT MAY BE CALLED PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION (CHAPTERS 3 AND 4 RESPECTIVELY). THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THESE TWO SPHERES IS DEPICTED GRAPHICALLY IN FIGURE I IN THE APPENDIX. IT WILL BE NOTED THAT THE PLANNER HAS UNDERGONE BOTH PROCESSES OF SOCIALIZATION, WHILE OTHERS CONNECTED WITH PLANNING (THE PLAN'S CLIENTS, THE COMMUNITY, THE PLANNER'S EMPLOYERS) HAVE UNDERGONE ONLY THE FIRST PROCESS(PLUS WHATEVER SPECIAL PROFESSIONAL OR OTHER PROCESSES OF SOCIALIZATION SPECIFIC GROUPS AMONG THEM MAY HAVE UNDERGONE). THUS THE SPHERE OF VALUES WHICH MAY POTENTIALLY, BUT NOT NECESSARILY, BE SHARED BY BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE 'PUBLIC' IS THE FIRST SPHERE ONLY.

THE LOCI OF VALUES WITHIN EACH OF THE TWO SPHERES IS IDENTIFIED IN CHAPTERS 3 AND 4. IN THE FIRST SPHERE OF GENERAL SOCIAL VALUES, VALUES ARE SHOWN TO INHERE IN THE PROCESS OF INTELLECTION (KNOWLEDGE) AND IN EVERY LANGUAGE. IN ADDITION, THERE ARE VALUES DISTINCTIVE OF EACH SOCIETY AND WIDELY SHARED BY ITS MEMBERS. WITHIN EACH SOCIETY THERE ARE VALUES CHARACTERIZING SPECIFIC CLASSES OR GROUPS AS WELL (SUB-CULTURAL VALUES). AND FINALLY, FAMILIES OR PERSONS MAY HAVE SPECIAL OR IDIOSYNCRATIC VALUES. IN THE SECOND SPHERE OF THE PLANNER'S PROFESSIONAL VALUES, THE LOCI OF VALUES ARE, FIRST, THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, THROUGH THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, THE APPLIED SCIENCES, THE PLANNING ETHIC AND IDEOLOGY, AND, FINALLY, PLANNING METHODS AND MODELS ACQUIRED IN THE PROCESS OF PLANNING EDUCATION. IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT THE VALUES IN THE FIRST, OR GENERAL SPHERE PERMEATE EACH OF THE LOCI IN THE SECOND, OR PLANNING-PROFESSIONAL SPHERE. THUS THE TWO SPHERES ARE NOT MUTUALLY EXCLUSIVE, BUT RATHER INTIMATELY CONNECTED AND CONTINUOUS (IN FIGURE I THIS POINT IS DEPICTED THROUGH THE LINES CONNECTING ALL THE LOCI OF VALUES INTO A SINGLE CHAIN).

VALUES FROM ALL THESE LOCI SIMULTANEOUSLY, OR FROM ONE LOCUS DOMINANT AT THE TIME, INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. REFERENCE TO MANY OF THESE LOCI WILL SELDOM BE MADE AGAIN AFTER CHAPTER 4 SINCE THEY ARE REGARDED AS 'GIVEN', AND DO NOT RAISE SIGNIFICANT OR TOPICAL ISSUES FOR PLANNING (IN THIS CATEGORY FALL THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC VALUES, AND THE THREE TYPES OF SCIENTIFIC VALUES). THEIR UBIQUITY SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE KEPT IN MIND THROUGHOUT. TO OTHER LOCI OF VALUES WE SHALL MAKE OCCASIONAL REFERENCES WHEN NEEDED; THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THESE WILL BE SOCIETAL VALUES AND PLANNING IDEOLOGY. BECAUSE REFERENCES TO THE SOCIETAL VALUES WILL BE MADE THROUGHOUT, AND BECAUSE THESE VALUES ARE IMPORTANT FOR META-PLANNING (CHAPTER 6), A BRIEF SUMMARY OF THE ARGUMENT FOLLOWS.

IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA THERE ARE TWO MAJOR CLUSTERS OF VALUES HAVING DIRECT RELEVANCE TO PLANNING. THE FIRST CLUSTER MAY BE CALLED THE 'INDIVIDUALISM AND DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER, AND THE SECOND MAY BE CALLED THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER. BOTH TOGETHER CONSTITUTE THE IDEOLOGY SHARED BY THESE TWO SOCIETIES. FIGURE 11 IN THE APPENDIX SHOWS THE ESSENCE OF THE ARGUMENT AS PRESENTED IN CHAPTER 6: THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER HAS PRESENTED THE MAJOR VALUE-FORCES OPPOSING PLANNING, WHILE THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER HAS TENDED TO PROPEL AND PROMOTE PLANNING. ATTEMPTS AT RECONCILING THE TWO HAVE BEEN SUCCESSFUL AND PLANNING HAS THEREFORE BEEN INSTITUTED, BUT NEW ATTEMPTS ARE STILL BEING MADE, WITH THE HOPE THAT THEY WILL MAKE PLANNING MORE 'DEMOCRATIC'. THIS LATTER THEME RUNS THROUGH MANY OF THE CHAPTERS, SOMETIMES EXPLICITLY (AS IN CHAPTERS 10 AND 11), OFTEN IMPLICITLY.

THESE, THEN, ARE THE MAJOR THEORETICAL THEMES THAT RUN THROUGH THE

THESIS. IN PART III THE FOCUS IS PLACED ON THE PLANNING PROCESS AND ITS INSTITUTIONAL SETTING. SIGNIFICANT ISSUES ARE DISCUSSED IN TERMS OF THE WAY THEY BRING ABOUT THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. IN PART IV THE FOCUS IS SHIFTED TO THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING, SHOWING HOW EACH OF THESE AREAS IS A FURTHER SOURCE GENERATING VALUES THAT INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS.

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND TO NORTHVILLE

As had been noted in the Introduction, it was felt that a purely theoretical work would be less valuable because it would be lacking in concrete illustrations. It was therefore decided to undertake a case-study of planning in Canada, which would serve both to supply such illustrations, as well as to provide a check of applicability of the model to real-life planning situations.

Northville[1] is a small town in Nothern Canada. In many ways, it is a typical northern town: it has its two major groups of native peoples, as well as a highly transient white population, mostly composed of civil servants. The natives are undergoing rapid social and cultural change. Among one group of Indians, this change is accompanied by severe social pathology with its symptoms of drinking, declining birth-rate, and a virtual absence of recent new official marriages. This particular group of natives is the least adjusted to life in Northville because it was relocated in that area by the government from its native habitat some distance away. The other groups of Indians, Metis, and Eskimos exhibit somewhat fewer signs of social and psychological strain.[2]

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[1] Because it was desired to keep the identities of the people involved confidential, the pseudonym "Northville" was adopted. Such bibliography as may reveal the identity of "Northville" will not be cited.

[2] For a general discussion of cultural change and ensuing strains among native peoples see: C. D. Ellis, "Influence of the Missionary," in Maja van Steensel, People of Light and Dark (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1966), pp. 14-19; June Helm, "Changes in Indian Communities," in van Steensel, Ibid., pp. 106-107; and David Damas, "Eskimo Communities Then and Now," in van Steensel, Ibid., pp. 115-119.

THERE ARE ALSO THE TYPICAL DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE WHITES AND THE NATIVES. THE WHITES TEND TO HAVE REGULAR JOBS, MOSTLY GOVERNMENT JOBS. THEY ASSOCIATE MOSTLY AMONG THEMSELVES. IN FACT THEIR FRIENDS ARE OF NECESSITY OFTEN THE SAME PEOPLE WITH WHOM THEY WORK. THIS OVERLAP OF SOCIAL AND WORK TIES, ALONG WITH NORTHERN ISOLATION, TEND TO PRODUCE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRAINS AMONG THE WHITES, EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF INTENSE GOSSIP, DRINKING, MARITAL CONFLICTS, AND THE ADOPTION OF WHAT MAY BE REGARDED AS RITUALS OF ESCAPE (SEE CHAPTER 17 D, "RECREATION AND OPEN SPACE").[3] THE NATIVES TEND TO BE EITHER ON WELFARE, SEASONALLY EMPLOYED, OR EMPLOYED IN UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS. EACH GROUP OF NATIVES ASSOCIATES LARGELY AMONG THEMSELVES. THERE ARE FURTHER DISPARITIES AMONG THE NATIVE GROUPS THEMSELVES: AS IN OTHER NORTHERN COMMUNITIES, THE ESKIMOS HAVE BETTER FACILITIES AND ARE, IN GENERAL, 'FAVORED' BY THE WHITES.[4]

THE TOWN'S LAYOUT REFLECTS--INDEED SYMBOLIZES --THESE DISPARITIES (THIS, TOO, IS TYPICAL OF OTHER NORTHERN TOWNS[5]). THE TOWN IS DIVIDED INTO SEVERAL SUB-COMMUNITIES, SEPARATED BY SHORT DISTANCES: THERE ARE TWO SMALL COMMUNITIES OF INDIANS--ONE OF A TREATY INDIAN BAND, THE OTHER OF METIS AND OTHER NATIVES FROM VARIOUS BANDS; ONE SMALL COMMUNITY OF ESKIMOS AND WHITE GOVERNMENT STAFF AIDING THEM; AND TWO LARGE WHITE COMMUNITIES. EVEN IN THE CASE OF THE TWO WHITE COMMUNITIES, PHYSICAL SEPARATION REFLECTS SOCIAL DISPARITIES: ONE COMMUNITY, WITH BETTER HOUSING

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[3]THE PREVALENCE OF GOSSIP, CONFLICT, ETC., IS DISCUSSED IN ELLEN M. DREWERY, "BUT WHY DO YOU LIKE LIVING IN THE NORTH?" NORTH, MARCH-APRIL, 1961, PP. 18-19; AND L. B. SIEMENS, "PLANNING COMMUNITIES FOR THE NORTH: SOME SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL INFLUENCES" (PAPER PRESENTED TO THE ALASKA SCIENCE CONFERENCE, AUGUST 24-27, 1969, AT FAIRBANKS, ALASKA; MIMEOGRAPHED).

[4]NELSON GRABURN, "MIXED COMMUNITIES," IN VAN STEENSEL, PEOPLE OF LIGHT AND DARK, PP. 120-127.

[5]IBID.; SEE ALSO: J. FRIED, "SETTLEMENT TYPES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN NORTHERN CANADA," ARCTIC, JUNE, 1963, PP. 93-100.

AND SERVICES, HOUSES MOSTLY THE HIGHLY TRANSIENT GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF HIGHER RANK; THE OTHER COMMUNITY HOUSES SOME PERMANENT RESIDENTS, AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF LOWER RANK.

THE TOWN'S MAJOR ECONOMIC RESOURCES ARE THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENT BUREAUS SERVING NORTHVILLE AND OTHER NORTHERN COMMUNITIES. PERHAPS THE LARGE NUMBER OF BUREAUS, AND HENCE ALSO DECISION-MAKING UNITS, EXPLAINS WHY PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE HAS BEEN SO DIFFICULT. THE TOWN IS ALSO A TRANSPORTATION AND COMMUNICATIONS CENTER. THERE ARE FEW PRIMARY RESOURCES.

WITHOUT THE GOVERNMENT AS A SOURCE OF EMPLOYMENT, NORTHVILLE WOULD GREATLY DECLINE IN POPULATION. IN FACT, NORTHVILLE GREW AS A RESPONSE TO THE CREATION OF GOVERNMENT JOBS, AND HAS FLUCTUATED WITH THE EXPANSION OR CONTRACTION OF GOVERNMENT INPUT.

SINCE NORTHVILLE IS ONLY A SMALL TOWN, ALL TOWN PLANNING IS CARRIED OUT ON ITS BEHALF BY THE RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT BUREAUS. HOWEVER, PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE IS FRAGMENTED, WITH SEVERAL BUREAUS EACH UNDERTAKING PLANNING OF SOME PARTICULAR ASPECT. EVEN PHYSICAL TOWN PLANNING IS FRAGMENTED, BEING UNDERTAKEN BY TWO BUREAUS, ONE REPRESENTING THE MUNICIPALITY AS A WHOLE,[6] THE OTHER CONCERNED SOLELY WITH GOVERNMENT INSTALLATIONS AND EMPLOYEES (AND THUS WITH THE MAJORITY OF THE POPULATION).[7]

THIS, THEN, IS A BRIEF INTRODUCTION TO NORTHVILLE. AS MAY BE SEEN, IT CAN BY NO MEANS BE CONSIDERED A 'TYPICAL' CANADIAN TOWN (ALTHOUGH, PERHAPS, IT MAY BE REGARDED AS A TYPICAL NORTHERN TOWN). HOWEVER, EVERY

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[6]THIS BUREAU WILL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED THE 'LEVEL II' BUREAU.

[7]THIS BUREAU WILL HENCEFORTH BE CALLED THE 'LEVEL I' BUREAU.

TOWN IS SET IN SOME PARTICULAR REGION AND HAS ITS OWN UNIQUE PROBLEMS AND INSTITUTIONS SO THAT NO ONE TOWN COULD PROBABLY BE REGARDED AS 'TYPICAL' FOR ALL OF CANADA.

MOREOVER; USING NORTHVILLE AS A CASE-STUDY HAS TWO ADVANTAGES. FIRST; IT IS FELT THAT, PRECISELY BECAUSE OF ITS UNIQUENESS IN MANY RESPECTS, NORTHVILLE WOULD EXHIBIT THE ROLE OF VALUES IN A MORE INTENSIVE FASHION THAN OTHER TOWNS. SECOND, THE USE OF NORTHVILLE AS A CASE-STUDY WOULD POINT TO AREAS IN WHICH THE THEORETICAL MODEL MAY HAVE BEEN TOO NARROWLY FORMULATED AND WHERE IT MAY HAVE TAKEN VALUES AND ISSUES FOR GRANTED. THIS CHECK WOULD FORCE THE BROADENING OF THE MODEL TO ACCOMMODATE SITUATIONS OTHER THAN THE STEREOTYPE, TYPICAL TOWN.[8]

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[8] IT SEEMS THAT PLANNING LITERATURE HAS ITS STEREOTYPES TOO. ALMOST INVARIABLY, FOR EXAMPLE, IT TALKS ABOUT CITY PLANNING FOR A MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, AS IF THIS WERE THE ONLY TYPE OF CITY PLANNING. HERE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY FORCED THE BROADENING OF THE THEORETICAL DISCUSSION TO INCLUDE THE NON-STEREOTYPED KINDS OF PLANNING, SUCH AS PLANNING WITHIN A BUREAUCRACY, AND PLANNING BY THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT.

PART II: THE UBIQUITY OF VALUES

CHAPTER 3

THE LOCI OF VALUES IN SOCIETY AND THEIR RELATION TO PLANNING

WE NOW TURN TO THE EXPOSITION OF THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS--THE UBIQUITY OF VALUES MODEL. IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL DISCUSS THOSE VALUES WHICH ARE ACQUIRED THROUGH THE PROCESS OF GENERAL SOCIALIZATION,[1] AND WHICH RESIDE IN THE SOCIAL CULTURE, SUB-CULTURE, OR GROUP.

A. VALUES AND KNOWLEDGE

WE HAVE DEFINED "VALUE" IN TERMS OF A COGNITIVE ASSUMPTION WITH AN ADDITIONAL AFFECTIVE ELEMENT. SUCH ASSUMPTIONS (VALUES) MOTIVATE MANY OF OUR DAILY ACTIVITIES AND THOUGHTS. BUT, SHOULD A PERSON FOR SOME REASON DECIDE TO 'RID' HIMSELF OF ALL VALUES, COULD HE DO SO? THE ANSWER SEEMS TO BE "NO". FOR COGNITIVE ASSUMPTIONS WITH AN AFFECTIVE ELEMENT ARE TO BE FOUND AT THE FOUNDATIONS OF ALL PERSONALLY ACQUIRED KNOWLEDGE.

EPISTEMOLOGISTS HAVE BEEN ARGUING FOR CENTURIES OVER WHAT IS KNOWLEDGE, ABOUT HOW A PERSON COULD JUSTIFY A STATEMENT THAT HE KNOWS THAT ME, OR A CHAIR, OR THE WORLD, EXIST. SEVERAL THEORIES HAVE BEEN OFFERED AS ATTEMPTS TO ANSWER SUCH QUESTIONS. LET US LOOK AT SOME EXAMPLES.

THE MAN-IN-THE STREET THEORY HAS BEEN CALLED "NAÏVE REALISM". IT MAINTAINS THAT THE PHYSICAL WORLD EXISTS AND, FURTHER, THAT IT EXISTS INDEPENDENTLY OF ANY HUMAN PERCEPTION. WE KNOW THAT IT EXISTS BECAUSE OF

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[1] SEE CHAPTER 1, C, ABOVE.

THE EVIDENCE FROM OUR SENSE-EXPERIENCE, WHICH IN GENERAL TENDS TO GIVE US QUITE RELIABLE INFORMATION.[2] THE KINDS OF CRITICISMS OFFERED AGAINST THIS THEORY HAVE BEEN: HOW DO WE KNOW THAT SENSE-EXPERIENCE IS RELIABLE? AND HOW DO WE KNOW THAT THINGS DON'T JUST PASS OUT OF EXISTENCE THE MOMENT WE CEASE OBSERVING THEM?

OTHER THEORIES HAVE TRIED TO OFFER MORE SOPHISTICATED ANSWERS. "REALISTS" HAVE HELD A SIMILAR POSITION TO THE ABOVE, CLAIMING THAT PHYSICAL OBJECTS EXIST INDEPENDENTLY OF OUR PERCEPTIONS, BUT THEY HAVE ADDED THAT THESE OBJECTS HAVE SPECIAL PROPERTIES--PRIMARY QUALITIES--THAT CAUSE US TO PERCEIVE THEM AS WE DO. ALTHOUGH IN THE FIRST INSTANCE WE CAN ONLY KNOW THROUGH OUR SENSE-EXPERIENCES, THESE PERMIT US TO ASSUME THAT THE PHYSICAL WORLD EXISTS.[3]

THIS THEORY HAS BEEN CRITICIZED, AND "IDEALISM" HAS BEEN OFFERED AS AN ALTERNATIVE. IDEALISM HOLDS THAT PHYSICAL OBJECTS EXIST, BUT ONLY WITHIN OUR MINDS, SINCE ALL THAT EXISTS IS THE MIND AND ITS IDEAS. PHYSICAL OBJECTS ARE MERELY CLUSTERS OF SENSE-EXPERIENCE.[4] TO THIS ARGUMENT, "PHENOMENOLOGISTS" HAVE COUNTERED THAT IDEALISM CANNOT BE TRUE SINCE WE CAN KNOW PHYSICAL OBJECTS WHEN NO ONE HAPPENS TO BE OBSERVING THEM. ALTHOUGH ALL THAT CAN BE KNOWN ARE SENSE-EXPERIENCES, NOT ONLY ACTUAL ONES BUT POSSIBLE ONES AS WELL CAN BE KNOWN; EVEN AN UNOBSERVED OBJECT EXISTS IF IT IS A POSSIBLE SENSE-EXPERIENCE.[5]

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[2] SEE HOSPERS, AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS, PP. 494-496.

[3] THIS POSITION WAS HELD BY LOCKE. SEE HOSPERS, AN INTRODUCTION TO PHILOSOPHICAL ANALYSIS, PP. 496-505.

[4] A MAIN EXPONENT OF THIS THEORY WAS BERKELEY. SEE: IBID., PP. 506-529.

[5] THE NAME OF JOHN STUART MILL, AMONG OTHERS, IS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS THEORY. SEE: IBID., PP. 530-549.

OTHER TOPICS, ALSO BASIC TO ALL HUMAN INTELLECTION, HAVE ALSO BEEN AREAS OF CONTENTION TO PHILOSOPHERS: HOW CAN WE KNOW THE TRUTH OF LOGIC? WHAT ARE LEGITIMATE SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE (I.E., CAN WE CLAIM SENSE-EXPERIENCE, REASON, FAITH, MEMORY, OR METAPHYSICAL EXPERIENCES AS SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE)?[6]

WHATEVER POSITION ONE HOLDS, IT SEEMS THAT ONE CANNOT ESCAPE THE HOLDING OF ASSUMPTIONS--EVEN IF THEY SHOULD BE AS BASIC AS THE ASSUMPTION THAT WE EXIST, OR THE ASSUMPTION THAT REASON, OR LOGIC, ARE VALID SOURCES OF KNOWLEDGE. ASSUMPTIONS, HOWEVER, ARE NOT YET VALUES; THE AFFECTIVE ELEMENT MUST STILL BE SUPPLIED. YET THE FERVOR WITH WHICH ALTERNATIVE EPISTEMOLOGICAL POSITIONS ARE HELD, SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT A STRONG AFFECTIVE ELEMENT IS OFTEN INVOLVED. TO SUPPORT THIS STATEMENT, ONE NEED ONLY TELL A PERSON THAT THE TREE HE SEES DOES NOT REALLY EXIST, OR CHALLENGE A PERSON WHO BELIEVES IN RELIGIOUS FAITH AS A SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE, OR ARGUE THAT SIMPLE, VALID, DEDUCTIVE REASONING HASN'T PROVEN THE POINT AT ALL. THE PERSON CHALLENGED WOULD PROBABLY DEFEND HIS ASSUMPTIONS PASSIONATELY, THUS DEMONSTRATING THAT THE UNDERLYING EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS DO, IN FACT, HAVE A STRONG VALUE COMPONENT.

NEEDLESS TO SAY, PLANNING IS A BODY OF KNOWLEDGE AND IT INVOLVES INTELLECTUAL PROCESSES. THUS WHATEVER VALUES PERMEATE KNOWLEDGE IN GENERAL, PERMEATE PLANNING KNOWLEDGE AS WELL, NOT ONLY THROUGH THE EPISTEMOLOGICAL VALUES HELD BY PLANNERS, BUT THROUGH SUCH VALUES HELD BY THE PUBLIC OR EMPLOYERS AS WELL.

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[6]RODERICK M. CHISHOLM, THEORY OF KNOWLEDGE (ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N.J.: PRENTICE HALL INC., 1966).

B. VALUES AND LANGUAGE

LANGUAGE IS A UNIVERSAL MEDIUM OF HUMAN COMMUNICATION. IN FACT, SOME HAVE GONE SO FAR AS TO REGARD LINGUISTIC APTITUDE AS THE DISTINGUISHING CHARACTERISTIC OF HUMAN BEINGS.

THE CENTRAL AND EARLY-ACQUIRED POSITION LANGUAGE HOLDS AMONG HUMAN CONCEPTS AND ACTIVITIES, AND THE FACT THAT ONE LANGUAGE IS USUALLY ASSOCIATED WITH A PARTICULAR CULTURE, HAVE LED SOME CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS TO REGARD LANGUAGE AS MORE THAN SIMPLY A VALUES-NEUTRAL MEDIUM OF COMMUNICATION.

BENJAMIN LEE WHORF HAS LED A GROUP OF CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS IN PROPOSING THE LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY HYPOTHESIS (SOMETIMES CALLED THE WHORFIAN HYPOTHESIS).[7] THIS HYPOTHESIS MAY BE REGARDED AS A COMPONENT HYPOTHESIS OF THE CULTURAL RELATIVITY THEORY,[8] ATTRIBUTING TO LANGUAGE --AN IMPORTANT PART OF CULTURE--VALUE-FORMULATIVE POWERS SUCH AS ATTRIBUTED TO CULTURE.

THE LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY HYPOTHESIS HAS TWO SUB-HYPOTHESES. THE FIRST MAY BE CALLED THE "WELTANSCHUUNG HYPOTHESIS".[9] WHORF DESCRIBES IT AS:

> ...A NEW PRINCIPLE OF RELATIVITY, WHICH HOLDS THAT ALL OBSERVERS ARE NOT LED BY THE SAME PHYSICAL EVIDENCE TO THE SAME PICTURE OF THE UNIVERSE, UNLESS THEIR LINGUISTIC BACKGROUNDS ARE SIMILAR, OR CAN IN SOME WAY BE CALIBRATED.[10]

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[7] BENJAMIN LEE WHORF, LANGUAGE, THOUGHT AND REALITY (CAMBRIDGE, MASS: THE M.I.T. PRESS, 1956).

[8] FOR A STATEMENT OF THE CULTURAL RELATIVITY THEORY, SEE CHAPTER 1, B.

[9] THIS TERM IS USED BY J. B. CARROLL IN LANGUAGE AND THOUGHT (NEW YORK: PRENTICE HALL INC., 1964), P. 106.

[10] WHORF, LANGUAGE, THOUGHT AND REALITY, P. 214.

IN OTHER WORDS, LANGUAGE SHAPES COMMUNITY VALUES AND HENCE, THROUGH SOCIALIZATION, ITS SHAPES INDIVIDUAL VALUES AS WELL. THE SECOND SUB-HYPOTHESIS DEALS WITH THE INDIVIDUAL-COGNITIVE RATHER THAN THE COMMUNITY LEVEL. WHORF HAS STATED THAT "...THE LINGUISTIC SYSTEM...IS...THE SHAPER OF IDEAS, THE PROGRAM AND GUIDE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL'S MENTAL ACTIVITY..."[11] THE IMPORTANT PLACE LANGUAGE-SOCIALIZATION HOLDS IN THE EARLY STAGES OF GENERAL SOCIALIZATION WOULD REINFORCE WHORF'S STATEMENT, MAKING IT LIKELY THAT LANGUAGE IS A MAJOR LOCUS OF VALUES (AND INDEED THOUGHT PATTERNS) THAT VARY FROM ONE LINGUISTIC COMMUNITY TO ANOTHER.[12]

LANGUAGE AS A SOURCE OF VALUES BECOMES IMPORTANT TO PLANNING IN TWO WAYS:

FIRST, THE PLANNER AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC OR THE PLAN'S CLIENTS MAY BELONG TO DIFFERENT LINGUISTIC COMMUNITIES. ALTHOUGH THE COMMUNICATION-GAP MAY APPEAR TO BE BRIDGED THROUGH THE MULTI-LINGUALISM OF ONE OR BOTH OF THE PARTIES, THE VALUE-GAP WOULD BE BRIDGED LESS SUCCESSFULLY. THIS HAS BEEN THE SITUATION IN NORTHVILLE WITH RESPECT TO THE INDIAN BAND THAT HAD BEEN RELOCATED THERE SOME YEARS AGO. BEFORE THEIR RELOCATION, THE NATIVE PEOPLE SPOKE VERY LITTLE ENGLISH, AND MANY STILL ONLY KNOW THEIR OWN TONGUE. APPARENTLY, COMMUNICATION WITH THE PEOPLE (OR RATHER, THEIR OFFICIAL ELDERS--I.E., THE CHIEF AND COUNCIL RECOGNIZED BY THE GOVERNMENT) HAD NOT BEEN SUCCESSFUL. THE ELDERS APPARENTLY AGREED TO THE RELOCATION PROPOSAL UNDER THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE TO BE FULLY

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[11] IBID., PP. 212-213

[12] OTHER REFERENCES DEALING WITH THE LINGUISTIC RELATIVITY HYPOTHESIS AND CRITICISMS OF IT ARE: DELL HYMES, LANGUAGE IN CULTURE AND SOCIETY (NEW YORK: HARPER AND ROW, PUBLISHERS, 1964); AND HARRY HOIJER, ED., LANGUAGE IN CULTURE (CHICAGO: THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1954).

CARED FOR BY THE GOVERNMENT, AND THAT THEY WERE TO BENEFIT FROM THE TECHNOLOGICAL AMENITIES OF 'CIVILIZATION' WITHOUT AT THE SAME TIME SACRIFICING THEIR VALUES AND WAY OF LIFE. AS IT TURNED OUT, THEY WERE AIRLIFTED AND THUS FORCED TO LEAVE THEIR TRAP-LINES AND DOGTEAMS BEHIND, WERE NOT ABLE TO FIND OTHER EMPLOYMENT (AND ARE STILL NOT ABLE TO DO SO TODAY), WERE HOUSED IN CROWDED SHACKS UNTIL RECENTLY, AND WERE INTRODUCED TO MAINLY ONE ASPECT OF 'CIVILIZATION'--DRINKING. THEY ARE NOW EXPERIENCING SEVERE SOCIAL AND EVEN PSYCHOLOGICAL PATHOLOGY. AS THE YOUNGER MEMBERS ARE LEARNING ENGLISH AND ITS ASSOCIATED WORLD-VIEW, THEY BEGIN TO REJECT THEIR OWN LANGUAGE AND VALUES, AND A RIFT IS FORMING BETWEEN THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING YOUNG AND THE NATIVE-SPEAKING ADULTS. THE SITUATION IS WORSENED BY THE FACT THAT THE YOUNG ARE NOT STAYING AT SCHOOL LONG ENOUGH TO PREPARE THEMSELVES FOR A FUTURE OCCUPATION, AND THUS THEIR NEWLY-ACQUIRED VALUES WILL MOST LIKELY BE DOOMED TO UNFULFILLMENT.

ATTEMPTS AT SOCIAL-WELFARE PLANNING THUS SEEM TO HAVE FAILED DISASTROUSLY. UNDOUBTEDLY, MUCH OF THE VALUE-INCOMPATIBILITY AND RESULTING ANOMIE HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH LANGUAGE. BUT, SINCE LANGUAGE IS SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL LOCUS OF VALUES, IT IS LIKELY THAT IT HAS PLAYED A MAJOR ROLE IN THIS PROCESS. A SIMILAR STATEMENT MAY BE MADE IN REGARD TO TOWN PLANNING FOR THE INDIANS; IT, TOO, MAY BE CONSIDERED A FAILURE.[13]

THE SECOND WAY IN WHICH LANGUAGE-BASED VALUES MAY INTERVENE IN PLANNING IS IN CASES WHERE THE PLANNER AND HIS CLIENTS OR EMPLOYERS BELONG TO TWO LINGUISTIC SUB-GROUPS. THIS WOULD BE TRUE ESPECIALLY WHERE THE PLANNER (WHO WOULD MOST LIKELY SHARE MIDDLE OR UPPER-MIDDLE-CLASS

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[13] WE SHALL HAVE OCCASION TO REFER TO PLANNING FOR THE INDIANS IN OTHER CONTEXTS LATER; THE LINGUISTIC SOURCE OF VALUES SHOULD THEREFORE BE KEPT IN MIND THROUGHOUT.

VALUES) IS UNDERTAKING PLANNING FOR LOWER-CLASS CLIENTS. HIS LANGUAGE WOULD DIFFER IN SIGNIFICANT WAYS FROM THE CLIENTS' LANGUAGE, ESPECIALLY IN HIS GREATER LANGUAGE FACILITY. THIS MAY BECOME A SIGNIFICANT VALUE-FACTOR IN PLANNING THAT WOULD HELP OR HINDER THE PROCESS, DEPENDING ON THE CIRCUMSTANCES AND PERSONALITIES INVOLVED.[14] EVEN WHERE THERE IS LITTLE CLASS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS, LINGUISTIC VALUES MAY INTERVENE NEVERTHELESS, SINCE BY THE VERY ACT OF RE-STATING ISSUES IN PROFESSIONAL TERMINOLOGY THE PLANNER WOULD BE MANIPULATING VALUES[15] (HIS OWN AND OTHERS'). THE SAME MAY BE SAID FOR LANGUAGE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND HIS EMPLOYERS (E.G., MUNICIPAL POLITICIANS).

LANGUAGE, THEN, IS AN IMPORTANT LOCUS OF VALUES FOR ANY HUMAN ENTERPRISE, AND THUS FOR PLANNING AS WELL. ITS SIGNIFICANCE IS BY NO MEANS DIMINISHED BY THE FACT THAT WE ARE RARELY AWARE OF LINGUISTIC VALUES. ON THE CONTRARY: IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE LANGUAGE IS SUCH A POWERFUL MOLD FOR OUR MODES OF THOUGHT THAT WE CAN RARELY ESCAPE IT. HEREIN LIES THE POWER OF LINGUISTIC VALUES.

C. SOCIETAL (OR CULTURAL) VALUES

LANGUAGE-BASED VALUES ARE SHARED BY LINGUISTIC GROUPS. SUCH GROUPS MAY OR MAY NOT COINCIDE WITH A GIVEN SOCIETY OR CULTURE. WITHOUT DELVING

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[14] CLASS DIFFERENCES AND PROFESSIONAL LANGUAGE ARE DISCUSSED, FROM A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW, IN: GORDON FELLMAN, "NEIGHBORHOOD PROTEST OF AN URBAN HIGHWAYS," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1969, PP. 118-122.

[15] LISA R. PEATTIE, "REFLECTIONS ON ADVOCACY PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1968, PP. 80-88.

DEEP INTO THE ARGUMENT OF 'WHAT CAME FIRST, THE LANGUAGE OR THE CULTURE',[16] WE CAN SAFELY ASSERT THAT ALTHOUGH SOME VALUES SEEM TO BE INHERENT IN LINGUISTIC PATTERNS, OTHERS CAN MORE EASILY BE DESCRIBED AS PART OF A SOCIETY'S CULTURAL OR IDOLOGICAL HERITAGE.

SOME OF THE VALUES CULTURALLY TRANSMITTED ARE COMMON TO ALL CULTURES. THESE ARE UNIVERSAL VALUES. THE VALUES THAT MAY BE THUS CLASSIFIED ARE NOT NUMEROUS. CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGISTS HAVE IDENTIFIED THE FOLLOWING: ALL SOCIETIES SOCIALIZE THE YOUNG TO VALUE HUMAN LIFE, AT LEAST A DEFINED CATEGORY OF HUMAN LIFE (THE SOCIETY'S MEMBERS); ALL SOCIETIES HAVE SEVERE SANCTIONS AGAINST UNPERMITTED KILLINGS; ALL SOCIETIES FORBID INCEST (VARIOUSLY DEFINED); ALL SOCIETIES VALUE STEALING (VARIOUSLY DEFINED) NEGATIVELY; ALL SOCIETIES VALUE INTERNAL CONFLICT NEGATIVELY AND HAVE SOME INSTITUTIONALIZED MEANS OF SOLVING OR MITIGATING IT; ALL CULTURES HAVE SOME VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY (HOWEVER DEFINED); ETC.

MOST VALUES, HOWEVER, ARE UNIQUE TO EACH CULTURAL GROUP OR ARE SHARED ONLY WITH RELATED CULTURES.[17] LET US LOOK AT THE IDEOLOGY OF THE TWO CLOSELY-RELATED NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES, THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA. WE SHALL FOCUS ON THOSE IDEOLOGICAL ASPECTS THAT ARE

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[16] THIS DILEMMA, AND WHORF'S POSITION ON IT, ARE DISCUSSED IN: R. W. BROWN AND E. H. LENNENBERG, "A STUDY IN LANGUAGE AND COGNITION," JOURNAL OF ABNORMAL AND SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY, NO. 49 (1954), PP. 454-461; F. FEARING, "AN EXAMINATION OF THE CONCEPTIONS OF BENJAMIN WHORF IN THE LIGHT OF THEORIES OF PERCEPTION AND COGNITION," IN HOIJER, LANGUAGE IN CULTURE, PP. 52-53.

[17] THE DEFINITIONS OF "CULTURE" OR "SOCIETY" ARE NOT ABSOLUTE, BUT VARY WITH THE SUBJECT AT HAND; AT TIMES, RELATED CULTURES MAY BE REGARDED AS ONE CULTURE. FOR SOME PURPOSES, THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA MAY BE REGARDED AS ONE CULTURE.

RELEVANT TO PLANNING.

THERE ARE TWO MAJOR VALUE-CLUSTERS THAT CHARACTERIZE THE IDEOLOGY SHARED BY THESE TWO SOCIETIES.[18] WE SHALL CALL THE FIRST THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER, AND THE SECOND THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER.

THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER MAY BE REGARDED AS THE BACKBONE OF NORTH-AMERICAN IDEOLOGY. IT CONTAINS SUCH FAMILIAR VALUES AS INDIVIDUALISM, PRIVACY, FREEDOM, FREE CHOICE, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP, CAPITALISM, EQUAL OPPORTUNITY, 'ALL MEN ARE BORN EQUAL', POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, A WEAK POLITICAL STRUCTURE ('LAISSEZ-FAIRE' IN POLITICS), MAXIMUM POLITICAL GEOGRAPHIC DECENTRALIZATION (LOCAL GOVERNMENT), THE 'PUBLIC INTEREST', AND THE LIKE. THIS IS THE TRADITIONAL CLUSTER, WHICH STILL COMMANDS MANY ADHERENTS. TODAY, HOWEVER, THERE IS THE TENDENCY TO BREAK THE CLUSTER UP, WITH SOME PEOPLE STRESSING THE 'EQUALITY' VALUES AND ARGUING THAT THIS IMPLIES A STRONG, CENTRALIZED GOVERNMENT, AND OTHERS STRESSING INDIVIDUALISM AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, AND SACRIFICING EQUALITY. IT IS CLEAR, THEN, THAT NOT ALL THE VALUES IN THE CLUSTER MUST REINFORCE EACH OTHER; IN FACT THEY MAY EVEN CONFLICT. HISTORICALLY, HOWEVER, ALL THE VALUES IN THIS CLUSTER HAVE CHARACTERIZED NORTH-AMERICAN IDEOLOGY FROM ITS INCEPTION, AND ARE PROBABLY STILL THE DOMINANT ELEMENT OF THIS IDEOLOGY.

THE IMPLICATIONS OF THIS VALUE-CLUSTER FOR PLANNING ARE CLEAR: TRADITIONALLY, THIS VALUE-CLUSTER HAS GENERATED RESISTANCE TO PLANNING BECAUSE, AS WE SHALL SEE, PLANNING IMPLIES CONTROL OR DIRECTION, AND THESE ACTIVITIES HAVE OFTEN BEEN CONSTRUED AS LIMITING INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM, OR

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[18] WE SHALL CALL THIS SHARED IDEOLOGY THE "NORTH AMERICAN IDEOLOGY".

FREE ENTERPRISE, OR EVEN OF BEING ANTI-DEMOCRATIC.[19]

THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE-CLUSTER INCLUDES OTHER FAMILIAR VALUES: EFFICIENCY, THE RATIONAL METHOD, THE FURTHERANCE OF SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS, EXPERTISE, RATIONAL SOCIAL PROGRESS, ETC. THIS VALUE-CLUSTER HAS ITS ROOTS IN THE AGES OF RATIONALISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THESE ARE DEEP ROOTS INDEED; FOR THIS VALUE-CLUSTER HAS NOT DIMINISHED IN POTENCY OVER THE YEARS; ONE MIGHT EVEN SAY THAT IT IS TODAY ON THE ASCENDANCY.

IT IS THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE-CLUSTER THAT HAS PROPELLED PLANNING TO ITS PRESENT POSITION, AGAINST THE CURRENT OF THE 'INDIVIDUALISM' CLUSTER. THE POSITIVE EVALUATION OF SCIENCE, OF RATIONALITY, OF EXPERTISE AND OF PROGRESS, HAVE DRAWN PLANNING INTO THIS VALUE-CLUSTER. THROUGH IT, PLANNING HAS BEEN VALUED AS A 'SCIENTIFIC' INSTRUMENT, CAPABLE OF ACHIEVING RATIONALLY-DIRECTED PROGRESS.[20]

YET THE CONFLICT BETWEEN PLANNING AND 'INDIVIDUALISM' AND 'DEMOCRACY' HAS BY NO MEANS BEEN RESOLVED. ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE PLANNING AND THESE VALUES UNDERLIE MANY OF THE VALUE-ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED IN PARTS III AND IV.[21] BOTH THE 'INDIVIDUALISM' AND THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE-CLUSTERS WILL BE SHOWN TO CONSTITUTE MAJOR AVENUES THROUGH WHICH VALUES INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS, WHETHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY. THE IMPORTANCE OF THESE TWO VALUE-CLUSTERS IS FURTHER UNDERSCORED BY THE

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[19] THIS POINT WILL BE DISCUSSED MORE FULLY IN CHAPTER 6 WHERE THE JUSTIFICATION FOR PLANNING WILL BE EXPLORED.

[20] DYCKMAN, IN "AN INTRODUCTION TO READINGS...," DISCUSSES PRAGMATISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT IN RELATION TO PLANNING.

[21] THESE ATTEMPTS WILL BE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL IN CHAPTER 6.

FACT THAT THEY ARE WIDELY SHARED, AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT, BY THE MAJORITY OF AMERICANS AND CANADIANS OF ALL SOCIAL CLASSES. THESE VALUES WILL BE SHOWN TO PLAY AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN MANY OF THE PLANNING ISSUES OF NORTHVILLE AS WELL.

D. SUBCULTURAL VALUES

ALTHOUGH MANY VALUES ARE WIDELY-SHARED BY MEMBERS OF A CULTURE, OTHER VALUES CHARACTERIZE VARIOUS SUB-GROUPS IN THE SOCIETY, SUCH AS SOCIAL CLASSES, ETHNIC GROUPS, RELIGIOUS GROUPS, POLITICAL GROUPS, ETC. EVERY PERSON IS SOCIALIZED TO ACCEPT THE VALUES OF ONE OR MORE OF THESE SUB-CULTURES; THIS HOLDS TRUE FOR BOTH THE PLANNER, HIS EMPLOYERS, THE CLIENTS, AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

LET US LOOK AT THE PLANNERS FIRST. SINCE THE CLASS-AFFILIATION OF MOST PLANNERS IS MIDDLE OR UPPER-MIDDLE CLASS, THEY WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN SOCIALIZED INTO THE CORRESPONDING CLASS VALUES, WHETHER THROUGH THE PROCESS OF GENERAL CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION OR THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION.[22] IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT THE PLANNER IS OFTEN ACCUSED OF IMPOSING HIS 'MIDDLE-CLASS VALUES' ON OTHERS,[23] OF INCORPORATING HIS SUB-CULTURAL VALUES INTO HIS PLANS.[24] AMONG PLANNERS THEMSELVES, ANY DIFFERENCES IN CLASS OF ORIGIN COULD ALSO EMERGE AS A

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[22] THIS CLASS AFFILIATION MAY OR MAY NOT BE THE CLASS OF ORIGIN AS WELL (I.E., THE CLASS AFFILIATION OF THE PLANNER'S PARENTS). IT MAY BE ACQUIRED DURING THE PLANNER'S PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION.

[23] SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, MELVIN M. WEBBER, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1963, PP. 232-241.

[24] SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, MARTIN MEYERSON AND EDWARD C. BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST (NEW YORK: THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE, 1955), PP. 301-302.

DIFFERENCE IN VALUES. ALTHOUGH PLANNERS OF WORKING-CLASS ORIGIN WOULD ACQUIRE MIDDLE-CLASS AFFILIATION THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION, THEY MAY STILL RETAIN SOME VALUES FROM THEIR GENERAL CLASS SOCIALIZATION. IN A STUDY OF PLANNING STUDENTS, THE RESEARCHER FOUND THAT STUDENTS OF HIGHER-CLASS ORIGIN TENDED TO HAVE A MORE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TO POLITICS AND TO THE PLANNER'S INVOLVEMENT IN IT THAN STUDENTS OF A LOWER-CLASS ORIGIN.[25] ALTHOUGH STUDIES OF THIS TYPE ARE SCARCE, ONE COULD HYPOTHESIZE THAT DIFFERENCES IN SUB-CULTURAL VALUES AMONG PLANNERS COULD INFLUENCE THEIR PLANNING THROUGH THEIR RELATIONSHIP WITH OTHER PLANNERS, WITH THEIR EMPLOYERS, OR WITH THE PUBLIC.

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND HIS EMPLOYERS WOULD BE FACILITATED IF BOTH SIDES SHARED THE SAME SUB-CULTURAL VALUES. IN THE UNITED STATES, MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN THE REALM OF POLITICIANS OF WORKING-CLASS ORIGIN. VALUE-CONFLICT BETWEEN THESE POLITICIANS AND THE MANY PLANNERS WHO ARE OF MIDDLE-CLASS ORIGIN COULD AFFECT THE QUALITY AND EFFECTIVENESS OF PLANNING. THERE ARE INDICATIONS, HOWEVER, THAT MIDDLE-CLASS AND UPPER-CLASS POLITICIANS ARE INCREASINGLY BECOMING INTERESTED IN MUNICIPAL POLITICS.[26] GREATER VALUE-COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND HIS POLITICIAN-EMPLOYER COULD USHER IN A NEW ERA OF BETTER PLANNER-POLITICIAN RELATIONS.[27]

PERHAPS THE AREA OF SUB-CULTURAL VALUE INCOMPATIBILITY THAT HAS

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[25] FRANCINE F. RABINOVITZ, CITY POLITICS AND PLANNING (NEW YORK: ATHERTON PRESS, 1969), PP. 138-141.

[26] WITNESS, FOR EXAMPLE, MAYOR LINDSAY OF NEW YORK CITY.

[27] EDWARD C. BANFIELD, "THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH," DAEDALUS, WINTER, 1961, PP. 61-78.

RECEIVED THE MOST ATTENTION HAS BEEN PLANNER-CLIENT RELATIONS IN CASES WHERE THE CLIENTS HAVE BEEN THE POOR. THE VALUE-GAP BETWEEN PLANNERS AND RESIDENTS OF URBAN RENEWAL AREAS, OR BETWEEN PLANNERS AND THE RESIDENTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS, HAS BEEN MUCH DISCUSSED.[28] WE SHALL DISCUSS SUCH VALUE-INCOMPATIBILITY WHEN WE DEAL WITH THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING, WHERE WE SHALL GIVE BOTH GENERAL ILLUSTRATIONS AND ILLUSTRATIONS FROM THE EXPERIENCE AT NORTHVILLE.

FINALLY, WHERE THE 'GENERAL PUBLIC' (I.E., PEOPLE OTHER THAN THE IMMEDIATE 'CLIENTS') MAY HAVE SOME INVOLVEMENT IN PLANNING, SUB-CULTURAL VALUES MAY BECOME RELEVANT, SUCH AS IN SITUATIONS WHERE A GENERAL PUBLIC OF VOTERS HAS A SAY ABOUT WHETHER OR NOT TO INITIATE PLANNING, AND WHAT TYPE OF PLANNING TO INSTITUTE. IT MAY THEN BECOME SIGNIFICANT WHETHER THE PLANNER AND THE PUBLIC SHARE THE SAME SUB-CULTURAL VALUES OR NOT, AND WHETHER OR NOT THERE IS MUCH OR LITTLE SUB-CULTURAL VALUE CONFLICT AMONG THE PUBLIC OR IN THE COMMUNITY ITSELF.[29]

E. PERSONAL VALUES

WE HAVE ALREADY DEALT WITH THE MAJOR LOCI OF VALUES IN SOCIETY: KNOWLEDGE, LANGUAGE, THE SOCIETY OR CULTURE, AND THE SUB-CULTURE. FOR THE SAKE OF LOGICAL COMPLETENESS, AND IN ORDER TO AVOID TAKING THE STAND OF SOCIAL DETERMINISM, A RESIDUAL CATEGORY OF VALUES MUST ALSO BE INCLUDED: PERSONAL VALUES.

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[28] SEE FELLMAN, "NEIGHBORHOOD PROTEST OF AN URBAN HIGHWAY"; AND HERBERT J. GANS, "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF CURRENT REDEVELOPMENT AND RELOCATION PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, FEBRUARY, 1959, PP. 15-25.

[29] THE ROLE OF SUB-CULTURAL VALUES SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND WHEN WE DISCUSS THE COMMUNITY AND INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FOR PLANNING IN CHAPTER 7.

SINCE PERSONAL VALUES DEPEND SO MUCH ON EACH PERSON'S UNIQUE EXPERIENCES AND PSYCHOLOGICAL MAKEUP, LITTLE CAN BE SAID ABOUT THESE VALUES THAT IS OF GENERAL RELEVANCE, APART FROM THE CONJECTURE THAT PERSONAL VALUES MAY INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS FROM BOTH THE SIDE OF THE PLANNER, AND FROM THE DIRECTION OF THE CLIENTS AND EMPLOYERS. BECAUSE OF THE INCONCLUSIVE RELATION OF PERSONAL VALUES TO PLANNING, THIS LOCUS OF VALUES IS SHOWN IN FIGURE I TO BE CONNECTED WITH THE PLANNER OR THE CLIENTS BY BROKEN LINES.

CHAPTER 4

THE LOCI OF PROFESSIONAL VALUES AND THE PLANNER'S PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION

IN THE LAST CHAPTER WE DISCUSSED THE LOCI OF VALUES TRANSMITTED THROUGH THE PROCESS OF CULTURAL SOCIALIZATION. VALUES OF THIS TYPE ARE ACQUIRED BY BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE PUBLIC. WE NOW TURN TO THOSE VALUES SHARED EXCLUSIVELY BY PLANNERS (AND, TO AN EXTENT, BY SOME OTHER PROFESSIONALS). IT SHOULD BE REITERATED THAT THE VALUES DISCUSSED IN THE LAST CHAPTER ARE INTERWOVEN WITH THE VALUES TO BE DISCUSSED NOW.[1]

A. VALUES AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD

OVER THE PAST TWO DECADES THE REALIZATION HAS BEEN MATURING THAT SCIENCE, BE IT 'PURE' AND OBJECTIVE AS IT MAY, CANNOT ESCAPE THE INTRUSION OF VALUES. THUS, EVEN IF PLANNING SHOULD STRIVE TO BECOME AS 'SCIENTIFIC' AS POSSIBLE, AND IT CLEARLY HAS NOT YET REACHED THIS STAGE, PLANNING COULD NOT EVEN THEN HOPE TO BECOME ENTIRELY VALUE-FREE.

FIRST LET US VIEW SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT THERE IS A CLUSTER OF SOCIAL VALUES WHICH WE CALLED 'SCIENTISM'. IT IS THE VALUES IN THIS CLUSTER THAT HAVE PERMITTED SCIENCE (AND

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[1] FOR EXAMPLE, EPISTEMOLOGICAL VALUES MUST BE ASSUMED BY ALL PLANNERS, ALL PROFESSIONALS THINK THROUGH LANGUAGE AND OFTEN ACQUIRE A NEW SCIENTIFIC LANGUAGE AND ITS THOUGHT PATTERNS, SCIENCES AND PLANNING GAIN THEIR RAISON D'ÊTRE FROM CULTURAL VALUES, AND SCIENTISTS AND PLANNERS BRING SUB-CULTURAL AND PERSONAL VALUES TO THEIR WORK AND ARE INCULCATED WITH FURTHER VALUES.

PLANNING) TO FLOURISH AS IT HAS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.[2] FURTHERMORE: CERTAIN VALUE ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLIE SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION, GIVING IT ITS RAISON D'ÊTRE. WITHOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUE-ASSUMPTION THAT PURSUING KNOWLEDGE AND TRUTH IS GOOD, THE JUSTIFICATION FOR SCIENCE WOULD HAVE BEEN UNDERMINED.[3]

OTHER VALUES ARE EQUALLY ESSENTIAL TO THE OPERATION OF SCIENCE. THESE ARE THE VALUES SOMETIMES IDENTIFIED AS THE 'SCIENTIFIC ETHIC' WHICH THE SCIENTIST ACQUIRES DURING THE PROCESS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIZATION. THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC INCLUDES SUCH VALUES AS EMPIRICAL OBSERVATION, VERIFICATION, CONSISTENCY, OBJECTIVITY, FREEDOM OF SPEECH, ORIGINALITY,[4] AS WELL AS A WILLINGNESS TO COMMUNICATE WITH OTHER SCIENTISTS FREELY, AND A WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT VALID CRITICISM WITHOUT 'HOLDING A GRUDGE'.[5] THESE VALUES SCIENCE CAN NEVER SHED. NOR SHOULD IT SEEK TO DO SO. FOR IT IS PRECISELY BECAUSE SCIENCE, AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION, HARBORS VALUES SUCH AS THESE THAT IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE AN ATTEMPT TO ERADICATE BIAS AND THUS TO ENSURE A LARGER MEASURE OF SCIENTIFIC OBJECTIVITY.[6]

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[2] CHURCHMAN HAS SAID THAT SCIENCE ITSELF MUST FIRST BE JUSTIFIED BY ETHICS. SEE C. W. CHURCHMAN, PREDICTION AND OPTIMAL DECISION: PHILOSOPHICAL ISSUES OF A SCIENCE OF VALUES (ENGLEWOOD CLIFFS, N. J.: PRENTICE HALL INC., 1961), P. 380.

[3] W. J. GOODE AND P. K. HATT, METHODS IN SOCIAL RESEARCH (NEW YORK: MCGRAW HILL, 1952), PP. 7-28; AND JACOB BRONOWSKI, "THE VALUES OF SCIENCE," IN NEW KNOWLEDGE IN HUMAN VALUES, ED. BY ABRAHAM H. MASLOW (NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW PUB., 1959), PP. 52-64.

[4] BRONOWSKI, IBID.; AND WOLFGANG KOHLER, THE PLACE OF VALUE IN A WORLD OF FACTS (NEW YORK: LIVERIGHT PUBLISHING CORP., 1938), PP. 35-37.

[5] ISRAEL SCHEFFLER, SCIENCE AND SUBJECTIVITY (INDIANAPOLIS: THE BOBBS-MERRILL CO. INC., 1967), P. 10.

[6] KAPLAN, THE CONDUCT OF INQUIRY, P. 381; AND SCHEFFLER, IBID., PP. 1-19, AND PASSIM.

THUS, TO THE EXTENT THAT PLANNING MAY BE CONSIDERED A SCIENCE, THE ABOVE VALUES WOULD CHARACTERIZE PLANNING AS WELL. BUT THE DEGREE TO WHICH CITY PLANNING MAY BE REGARDED AS A SCIENCE VARIES CONSIDERABLY BETWEEN THE CITY PLANNING DISCIPLINE AND THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION. ABOUT THE FORMER IT MAY BE SAID THAT IT SHARES THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC TO A LARGE EXTENT: PLANNERS, AS URBANOLOGISTS, ARE SOCIALIZED TO REGARD OBJECTIVITY AS ESSENTIAL IN RESEARCH, TO TEST HYPOTHESES HONESTLY, ETC. BUT THE PLANNING PROFESSION, JUST LIKE OTHER PROFESSIONS, REQUIRES A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC OF ITS OWN, OVER AND ABOVE THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC. ONLY SUCH A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC COULD MEET THE SPECIAL REQUIREMENTS OF PLANNING AND COULD GUARD AGAINST THE INTRUSION OF PROFESSIONAL BIAS. AS YET, HOWEVER, THE PROFESSIONAL PLANNING ETHIC IS ONLY IN ITS EMBRYONIC STAGES.[7] THUS THE PLANNING PROFESSION IS OPEN NOT ONLY TO THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH SCIENCE AS A SOCIAL INSTITUTION, BUT TO BIAS AS WELL.

LET US NOW STUDY HOW VALUES INTERVENE IN SCIENCE FROM A DIFFERENT POINT OF VIEW, THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SCIENTIST AND OF SCIENCE AS A HUMAN OPERATION. THIS OPERATION MAY BE DESCRIBED AS A SERIES OF DECISIONS INVOLVING JUDGMENTS. JUDGMENTS, AS CHURCHMAN AND KAPLAN EMPHASIZE,[8] MAY BE BASED ON EXTRA-SCIENTIFIC CRITERIA, OFTEN ON CRITERIA WITH A VALUE ELEMENT. SUCH JUDGMENTS ENTER INTO: THE SELECTION OF THE PROBLEM FOR STUDY (WHAT THE SCIENTIST DEEMS IMPORTANT); THE QUESTIONS TO BE ASKED

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[7] A DISCUSSION OF THE 'PLANNING ETHIC' WILL BE GIVEN IN SECTION D OF THIS CHAPTER.

[8] CHURCHMAN, PREDICTION AND OPTIMAL DECISION..., PP. 6-7; AND KAPLAN, THE CONDUCT OF INQUIRY, PP. 377-405.

REGARDING THE PROBLEM AND THEIR ORDERING; THE INSTRUMENTS AND METHODS USED; THE RESOURCES EXPENDED; THE DECISION WHETHER TO ACCEPT OR REJECT A HYPOTHESIS (THE LEVEL-OF-SIGNIFICANCE MUST BE SELECTED BY THE RESEARCHER); THE INTERPRETATIONS MADE; AND THE FORM OF PRESENTATION.[9] THESE JUDGMENTS DO NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY THE INTERVENTION OF BIAS, ALTHOUGH THIS MAY BE THE CASE; BUT THEY OFTEN DO IMPLY THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES. NOT ONLY IS PLANNING NOT IMMUNE FROM THIS FORM OF INTERVENTION --TO THE EXTENT THAT IT HAS NOT YET ACHIEVED EITHER FULL SCIENTIFIC STATUS (WHETHER AS A NATURAL SCIENCE, A SOCIAL SCIENCE, OR BOTH), IT IS PROBABLY MORE VULNERABLE THAN OTHER SCIENCES.

FINALLY, THE MOTIVES THAT LEAD A PERSON TO BECOME A SCIENTIST (OR, FOR THAT MATTER, A PLANNER), ARE ALSO EXTRA-SCIENTIFIC.

B. VALUES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES

THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAVE MADE CONSIDERABLE HEADWAY IN ADAPTING THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD (ORIGINALLY DEVELOPED FOR THE NATURAL AND BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES) TO THEIR PARTICULAR NEEDS. BUT BY THUS BECOMING 'SCIENTIFIC', THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAVE, OF COURSE, NOT SHUT THE DOOR TO THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES. THEY HAVE INHERITED THE ENTIRE 'VALUE EQUIPMENT' THAT COMES WITH THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, AS DISCUSSED ABOVE.

MOREOVER: DESPITE ATTEMPTS TO ARGUE TO THE CONTRARY,[10] THE SOCIAL

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[9] MYRDAL, VALUE IN SOCIAL THEORY, PP. 48-54; RICHARD RUDNER, "THE SCIENTIST QUA SCIENTIST MAKES VALUE JUDGMENTS," PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE, VOL. 20, NO. 1 (JANUARY, 1953), PP. 1-6; KENNETH D. BENNE AND G. E. SWANSON, "THE PROBLEM OF VALUES AND THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST," JOURNAL OF SOCIAL ISSUES, VOL. 6, NO. 4 (1950), PP. 2-7.

[10] ERNEST NAGEL, THE STRUCTURE OF SCIENCE: PROBLEMS IN THE LOGIC OF SCIENTIFIC EXPLANATION (NEW YORK: HARCOURT, BRACE AND WORLD, INC., 1961), PP. 485-502.

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SCIENCES ARE, IN FACT, MORE VULNERABLE TO THE INTRUSION OF VALUES THAN THE NATURAL SCIENCES.

FIRST, SOCIAL SCIENCE HAS HUMAN BEINGS AS ITS SUBJECT MATTER. THUS WHATEVER THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST WISHES TO STUDY IS VALUE LADEN FROM THE VERY OUTSET. THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST IS THEREFORE VULNERABLE TO THE INTRUSION OF VALUES FROM THE DIRECTION OF HIS OBJECTS (WHO ARE SUBJECTS) FOR STUDY. MOREOVER; THE FACT THAT THE SUBJECTS-OBJECTS OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ARE HUMAN BEINGS PRESENTS THESE SCIENCES WITH ETHICAL DILEMMAS UNIQUE TO THEM: WHAT TOOLS ARE PERMISSIBLE FOR USE BY THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST? WHAT ETHICAL JUSTIFICATION DOES HE HAVE FOR USING TOOLS THAT MAY HAVE SOME UNINTENTIONAL MANIPULATIVE EFFECT ON THEIR SUBJECTS (AND ALMOST ALL TOOLS, INCLUDING QUESTIONNAIRES, INTERVIEWS, GROUP DYNAMICS, AND PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION METHODS, MAY LEAVE SOME SMALL IMPRINT)?[11] AND TO WHAT ETHIC WILL HE APPEAL TO JUSTIFY NOT ONLY SUCH MANIPULATIVE BY-PRODUCTS OF STUDY, BUT THE DIRECT AND INTENTIONAL ATTEMPTS TO MANIPULATE PEOPLE'S LIVES WHICH THE PSYCHOLOGIST, THE GROUP-THERAPIST, OR THE PLANNER IS OFTEN CALLED TO MAKE? THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (AND PLANNING, INSOFAR AS IT IS A SOCIAL SCIENCE) CLEARLY NEED AN ETHIC OF THEIR OWN, OVER AND ABOVE THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC, IN ORDER THAT THIS ETHIC MAY SERVE AS A GUIDE TO THE SCIENTIST IN THE FACE OF SUCH MORAL DILEMMAS.

SECOND, THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST (AND THE PLANNER, IN HIS CAPACITY AS A SOCIAL SCIENTIST) IS OFTEN CALLED UPON TO STUDY HUMAN VALUES AS HIS

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[11] THE MANIPULATIVE EFFECT OF SUCH MEASURES, AS WELL AS METHODS DEVOID OF SUCH EFFECT ('UNOBTRUSIVE' METHODS), ARE DISCUSSED IN E. G. WEBB ET AL, UNOBTRUSIVE MEASURES: NON-REACTIVE RESEARCH IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. (CHICAGO: RAND MCNALLY CO., 1966).

SUBJECT MATTER.[12] HERE HE MUST ADOPT THE THEORY OF CULTURAL RELATIVITY, OTHERWISE HE WILL BE OPEN TO THE ACCUSATION OF BEING BIASED. BUT THIS WILL NOT SUFFICE. HE MUST ALSO ENDEAVOR TO ADOPT THE STAND OF VALUE-NEUTRALITY. THAT IS, HE MUST SOMEHOW KEEP HIS OWN VALUES IN ABEYANCE OR TRANSCEND THEM FOR THE DURATION OF THE STUDY. AND THIS IS A DIFFICULT CHALLENGE TO FULFILL. FURTHERMORE: EVEN THE STAND OF VALUE-NEUTRALITY IS ITSELF A VALUE-STAND. IT IMPLIES RESPECT FOR THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON TO HOLD VALUES, AND HAS MORE THAN A TINGE OF ETHICAL RELATIVISM.

THIRD, BECAUSE THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST IS HIMSELF PART OF A SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND SHARES SOCIAL VALUES (EVEN THE VERY ROLE OF SOCIAL SCIENTIST IS A SOCIAL ROLE), THE VALUES OF THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC WHICH CONSTITUTE THE 'BUILT-IN CONTROL' AGAINST BIAS MUST BE EVER MORE POWERFUL THAN THOSE NECESSARY TO ENSURE OBJECTIVITY IN THE OTHER SCIENCES. THUS THE LIKELIHOOD OF THE PENETRATION OF BIAS IS GREATER IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES THAN IN THE NATURAL AND BIOLOGICAL SCIENCES.

FINALLY, IN ADDITION TO THE VALUES IN THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER WHICH STIMULATE THE DEVELOPMENT OF ALL SCIENCE, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAVE HAD AN 'ENABLING IDEOLOGY' OF THEIR OWN. THIS IDEOLOGY INCLUDES THE ASSUMPTION THAT THE INDIVIDUAL AND SOCIETY ARE WORTHWHILE IN THEMSELVES, AND THAT THEY ARE THEREFORE WORTHY OBJECTS FOR STUDY. WITHOUT THIS ENABLING IDEOLOGY, THE SOCIAL SCIENCES WOULD NOT HAVE FLOURISHED AS THEY HAVE. MORE-

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[12] IN FACT, THE ISSUE OF WHETHER TO STUDY PEOPLE'S VALUES CAN ITSELF ALSO BECOME A VALUE ISSUE. THIS IS THE CASE IN PLANNING, WHERE THE CALL TO STUDY THE CLIENTS' VALUES IS OFTEN MADE FROM A SPECIFIC VALUE POSITION--USUALLY THAT OF 'DEMOCRACY'. CHAPTERS 10 AND 11 WILL BE DEVOTED TO AN INQUIRY INTO THE ROLE OF VALUES IN THE CALL TO STUDY CLIENTS' VALUES IN PLANNING.

OVER; THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ARE, PARADOXICALLY, THEMSELVES BECOMING A KIND OF POPULAR IDEOLOGY--OR, RATHER, A SUBSTITUTE-IDEOLOGY. FOR THE RISE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAS COINCIDED WITH THE DECLINE IN THE FORCE OF TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGIES; THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAVE 'STEPPED IN' TO FILL THE VACUUM.[13] IN PLANNING, THE INCREASING SOCIAL AWARENESS AND THE RISE OF SOCIAL PLANNING REFLECT THE ASCENDANCY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. THE NEW SOCIAL ORIENTATION OF PLANNING HAS ITSELF ACQUIRED AN IDEOLOGICAL AURA.[14]

THUS SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, DURING THEIR PROCESS OF SCIENTIFIC SOCIALIZATION, ADOPT ADDITIONAL VALUES, OR APPLY THEIR ACQUIRED VALUES IN A NEW WAY. FOR SOCIAL SCIENCE IS A LOCUS OF VALUES OVER AND ABOVE THE VALUES OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD. AND AS PLANNERS ARE INCREASINGLY ADOPTING THE METHODS AND THEORIES OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTISTS, THEY, ACQUIRE THE SOCIAL-SCIENCE-BASED VALUES.

BEFORE WE CONCLUDE, LET US NOTE THAT THE INCREASING SOCIAL AWARENESS OF THE PLANNER HAS IN RECENT YEARS OPENED THE DOORS OF SCHOOLS OF CITY PLANNING TO STUDENTS WITH A PREVIOUS TRAINING IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. THEIR PRESENCE IN PLANNING SCHOOLS HAS, IN TURN, REINFORCED THE SOCIAL ORIENTATION OF THE CURRICULUM, THUS INSTILLING THE ASSOCIATED SOCIAL VALUES IN STUDENTS OF ALL BACKGROUNDS. AT TIMES, HOWEVER, PLANNING STUDENTS MAY RETAIN THE VALUE-ORIENTATION OF THEIR UNDERGRADUATE BACKGROUND

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[13]THE DECLINE IN TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGY AND THE ASSOCIATED RISE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES ARE MENTIONED IN: DYCKMAN, "AN INTRODUCTION TO READINGS...," AND JOHN FRIEDMANN, "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I, PLAN, APRIL, 1966, PP. 99-124.

[14]PLANNING IDEOLOGY IS DISCUSSED IN SECTION D OF THIS CHAPTER.

TO THE EXTENT THAT THEIR VALUES AS PROFESSIONALS ARE DISTINGUISHABLE.

THIS WAS THE SITUATION IN NORTHVILLE. THERE WERE THREE JUNIOR PLANNERS INVOLVED WHO HAD JUST EMERGED FROM PLANNING SCHOOL. IN THE LEVEL I GOVERNMENT BUREAU THERE WERE TWO SUCH PLANNERS, ONE WITH A SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUND AND THE OTHER WITH AN APPLIED SCIENCE (PROFESSIONAL) BACKGROUND. THE FORMER HAD A STRONG AWARENESS OF THE SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PLANNING AND STRONGLY RECOMMENDED THAT THE BUREAU UNDERTAKE 'CLIENT ANALYSIS'; THE OTHER ALSO HAD AN EQUALLY STRONG SOCIAL AWARENESS, REFLECTING THE SUCCESS OF THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL PLANNING SOCIALIZATION HE HAD RECENTLY UNDERGONE. BUT THE PLANNER IN THE LEVEL II GOVERNMENT BUREAU, ALSO WITH AN APPLIED SCIENCE BACKGROUND, WHO HAD UNDERGONE THE SAME PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION EQUALLY AS RECENTLY, HAD A SIGNIFICANTLY WEAKER SOCIAL ORIENTATION (ALTHOUGH HE, TOO, PROBABLY DID ACQUIRE SUCH VALUES, PERHAPS WITH A LESSER INTENSITY, BEYOND ANY HE MAY HAVE BROUGHT FROM HIS UNDER-GRADUATE BACKGROUND). THE REASON FOR THE DIFFERENCE MAY LIE IN THE VALUES WE MAY CLASSIFY AS 'PERSONAL.' IT MAY, HOWEVER, BE THAT THE DIVERGENCE STEMS FROM A SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE BACKGROUNDS OF THE TWO PLANNERS WITH AN APPLIED-SCIENCE PROFESSION.

C. VALUES AND THE APPLIED SCIENCES

UP TO THIS POINT, WE HAVE DEALT ONLY WITH THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES INTO THE 'PURE' SCIENCES.[15] WE NOTED THAT, TO THE EXTENT THAT THE PLANNING PROFESSION AND THE CITY PLANNING DISCIPLINE UTILIZE THE

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[15] THERE IS NO NEED TO ENTER THE DISCUSSION WHETHER THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN 'PURE' AND 'APPLIED' SCIENCE IS VALID. THE TERMS ARE USED AS IN COMMON USAGE, NOT IN ANY RIGOROUS SENSE, BUT ONLY TO POINT TO THOSE DIFFERENCES THAT DO IN FACT EXIST.

SCIENTIFIC METHOD OR ADOPT THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, THEY ALSO ACCEPT THESE TWO SOURCES AS LOCI OF VALUES FOR THE PLANNING PROCESS. BUT PLANNING IS NOT A 'PURE' SCIENCE (IF ANY SCIENCE MAY BE SO REGARDED). TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS A SCIENCE, IT IS AN APPLIED SCIENCE—AND MAY EVEN BE CONSIDERED THE APPLIED SCIENCE PAR EXCELLENCE; FOR ITS TWO CENTRAL ATTRIBUTES ARE FUTURE-ORIENTATION AND CONTROL.[16]

LIKE ANY OTHER APPLIED SCIENCE, PLANNING MUST CONCERN ITSELF NOT ONLY WITH THE PROPER AND OBJECTIVE FUNCTIONING OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, BUT WITH THE USE TO WHICH THE FINDINGS SHALL BE PUT. IT IS THIS CONCERN WITH GOALS FOR APPLICATION THAT DISTINGUISHES APPLIED SCIENCE, WHETHER NATURAL OR SOCIAL, FROM THE PURE SCIENCES. THESE GOALS CANNOT BE FURNISHED BY THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, NOR DO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HOLD MUCH PROMISE, SINCE THEIR ADVOCATES DO NOT TIRE OF TELLING THE PUBLIC THAT THESE SCIENCES STRIVE TO BE VALUE (AND HENCE GOAL) FREE.[17] IT IS THEN LEFT TO THE PUBLIC AT LARGE, OR TO THE POLITICIAN, OR TO THE PHILOSOPHER, OR TO THE APPLIED SCIENTIST HIMSELF (E.G.: THE PLANNER), TO SET THE GOALS FOR APPLICATION. THE QUESTION OF WHAT GOALS TO SET, AND OF WHOSE VALUES SHALL PREVAIL IN SETTING THEM, IS A MAJOR ISSUE FOR PLANNING. IT WILL BE ONE OF THE CENTRAL THEMES OF THIS THESIS.[18]

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[16] THESE ATTRIBUTES ARE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 5.

[17] TWO SUCH ADVOCATES ARE JOHN A. IRVING, SCIENCE AND VALUE: EXPLORATIONS IN PHILOSOPHY AND THE SOCIAL SCIENCES (TORONTO: THE RYERSON PRESS, 1952), P. 11; AND ARTHUR PAP, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF SCIENCE (NEW YORK: THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE, 1962), PP. 410-411.

[18] THE "WHO SHALL SET THE GOALS" ISSUE IS DIRECTLY DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 10.

CONCERN WITH GOALS FOR APPLICATION IS INCULCATED DURING THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION NOT ONLY OF THE PLANNING PROFESSION, BUT OF OTHER PROFESSIONS AS WELL, SOME OF WHICH MAY CONSTITUTE THE UNDERGRADUATE TRAINING OF PLANNERS. TWO SUCH PROFESSIONS HAVE BEEN THE MOST IMPORTANT ACADEMIC BACKGROUNDS OF CITY PLANNERS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA: THEY ARE ARCHITECTURE AND CIVIL ENGINEERING. UNTIL A DECADE AGO, ALMOST ALL CITY PLANNERS HAD THIS BACKGROUND, AND IT IS ONLY RECENTLY THAT PLANNERS WITH SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS HAVE BEEN INCREASING TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE BECOMING THE MAJORITY AMONG AMERICAN PLANNERS. IT IS THEREFORE SIGNIFICANT TO SEE WHETHER OR NOT ARCHITECTURE AND ENGINEERING DIFFER FROM ONE ANOTHER IN THEIR VALUE LEGACY.

ARCHITECTURE IS HEIR TO A RICH IDEOLOGICAL-UTOPIAN TRADITION.[19] THE SAME CANNOT BE SAID OF CIVIL ENGINEERING. ARCHITECTS, IN THEIR PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION, ACQUIRE THE VALUES OF SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS, CREATIVITY, AND ORIGINALITY; WHILE ENGINEERS ARE MORE OFTEN INCULCATED WITH THE VALUES OF EFFICIENCY, EFFECTIVE EXECUTION AND ECONOMY. ONE WOULD THEREFORE EXPECT THAT ARCHITECTS ENTERING PLANNING WOULD BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO SOCIAL VALUES THAN ENGINEERS.[20]

LET US NOW RETURN TO NORTHVILLE AND TO OUR TWO JUNIOR PLANNERS WITH AN APPLIED-SCIENCE BACKGROUND. THE PLANNER IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU, IT WILL BE RECALLED, HAD A SOCIAL AWARENESS SIMILAR TO THAT OF THE JUNIOR PLANNER

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[19] SUCH NAMES AS FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, LE CORBUSIER, AND LEWIS MUMFORD ARE RECENT CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS LONG-STANDING TRADITION. SEE MARTIN MEYERSON, "UTOPIAN TRADITION AND THE PLANNING OF CITIES," DAEDALUS, WINTER, 1961, PP. 180-193.

[20] THESE VALUE DIFFERENCES MAY EXPLAIN THE FINDING OF A RESEARCH PROJECT UNDERTAKEN IN 1963, WHERE PLANNING STUDENTS WITH AN ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND WERE THE MOST RESISTANT TO A GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF PLANNERS IN POLITICS. ONE COULD HYPOTHESIZE THAT ENGINEERS WOULD BE MORE RECEPTIVE. FOR WHILE ARCHITECT-PLANNERS MAY NOT DESIRE TO SACRIFICE ORIGINALITY AND CREATIVITY TO EFFECTIVENESS, ENGINEER-PLANNERS WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO IMPLEMENT THEIR DESIGN.

WITH A SOCIAL-SCIENCE ACADEMIC BACKGROUND; WHILE THE PLANNER OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU HAD A WEAKER SOCIAL ORIENTATION. THE FORMER PLANNER CAME TO PLANNING SCHOOL WITH AN ARCHITECTURAL BACKGROUND, WHILE THE LATTER CAME WITH A CIVIL ENGINEERING BACKGROUND. ALTHOUGH IT IS POSSIBLE THAT OTHER VALUES MAY HAVE GENERATED THESE ATTITUDES, THIS EXAMPLE MAY NEVERTHELESS SERVE AS AN ILLUSTRATION OF HOW DIFFERING APPLIED-SCIENCE BACKGROUNDS MAY HAVE VALUE-IMPLICATIONS.

D. THE CITY PLANNING IDEOLOGY AND ETHIC

ALTHOUGH IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO DESIGNATE A CLEARLY-IDENTIFIABLE PLANNING IDEOLOGY, IT IS NEVERTHELESS POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY SOME IDEOLOGICAL STRAINS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF CITY PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES AND, TO A LESSER EXTENT, IN CANADA.

TWO IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS HAVE CHARACTERIZED THE HISTORY OF CITY PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA: A REFORMIST-UTOPIAN STREAM, AND A CONSERVATIVE STREAM. THE TWO HAVE ALWAYS EXISTED SIDE BY SIDE, WITH ONE OR THE OTHER PREDOMINATING AT CERTAIN TIMES AND AMONG CERTAIN PLANNERS. PARTIALLY OVERLAPPING AND INTERSECTING WITH THESE HAVE BEEN TWO METHODOLOGICAL STREAMS WITH IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES: PHYSICAL DETERMINISM, AND SOCIAL AWARENESS (OR DETERMINISM).[21]

PLANNERS ARE HEIRS, NOTES MEYERSON[22], TO TWO UTOPIAN TRADITIONS: THE GENERAL LITERARY UTOPIAS AND THEIR VISION OF THE GOOD LIFE, AND THE ARCHITECTS' DESIGN UTOPIAS, WHERE UTOPIAN PHYSICAL SURROUNDINGS WERE

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[21] PHYSICAL DETERMINISM IS DISCUSSED IN HERBERT J. GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS: ESSAYS ON URBAN PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS (NEW YORK: BASIC BOOKS INC., 1968), PP. 25-33. THE TWO IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS ARE DISCUSSED IN FRIEDMANN, "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I.

[22] MEYERSON, "UTOPIAN TRADITION...."

PROPOSED AS THE MEANS BY WHICH THE GOOD LIFE MAY BE ACHIEVED. THE FUTURE-ORIENTATION OF PLANNING HAS MADE IT MOST RECEPTIVE TO THE FUTURE-ORIENTED UTOPIAN THINKING. EARLY CITY PLANNERS, MANY OF WHOM WERE ARCHITECTS, EXTENDED THE DESIGN-UTOPIA TRADITION TO CITY PLANNING, SEEKING TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL REFORM THROUGH THEIR PHYSICAL PLANS.

THE EARLY REFORMIST-UTOPIAN IDEOLOGICAL STREAM WAS THUS ALSO PHYSICAL-DETERMINISTIC. IT EXPRESSED ITSELF IN THE PARTICIPATION OF PLANNERS IN SUCH TURN-OF-THE-CENTURY MOVEMENTS AS THE PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT AND THE SETTLEMENT HOUSE MOVEMENT,[23] AS WELL AS SUCH LATER MOVEMENTS AS THE PUBLIC-HOUSING AND GARDEN-CITY MOVEMENTS. THESE PLANNERS WERE HOPING TO ACTUALIZE THEIR VISION OF UTOPIAN LIVING THROUGH PHYSICAL PLANNING. FOR EXAMPLE, THE MODEL COMPANY TOWN OF PULLMAN WAS PLANNED IN THE 1880'S WITH SUCH A HIGH PHYSICAL STANDARD THAT SOME OF ITS ASPECTS WOULD BE CONSIDERED INNOVATIVE EVEN TODAY. IT WAS HOPED, NAY, ASSUMED, THAT THE LABORERS, ONCE PLACED IN THESE SURROUNDINGS, WOULD IMMEDIATELY REFORM TO 'DECENCY' (WHAT WOULD TODAY BE CALLED THE 'MIDDLE CLASS WAY OF LIFE'). THE TOWN COLLAPSED BECAUSE THESE EXPECTATIONS WERE NOT FULFILLED.[24] A SOCIAL IDEAL, THAT OF WHOLESOME FAMILY LIFE IN A RURAL-LIKE SETTING, WAS ALSO THE MOTIVATING FORCE BEHIND THE GARDEN-CITY SCHEMES OF EBENEZER HOWARD AND HIS ENGLISH AND AMERICAN FOLLOWERS,[25] AND BEHIND THE RELATED MOVEMENT TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL OF 'A HOUSE FOR EACH FAMILY'.

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[23] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., PP. 57-58.

[24] STANLEY BUDER, "THE MODEL TOWN OF PULLMAN: TOWN PLANNING AND SOCIAL CONTROL IN THE GILDED AGE," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JANUARY, 1967, PP. 2-10.

[25] EBENEZER HOWARD, GARDEN CITIES OF TOMORROW (LONDON: FABER & FABER LTD., N.D.), PP. 41-57 AND 138-150; SEE ALSO CLARENCE S. STEIN, TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA (LIVERPOOL: UNIVERSITY PRESS OF LIVERPOOL, 1951).

THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN TRADITION ENDURES TODAY. BUT WITH THE ADVENT OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THEIR ASSOCIATED VALUES,[26] AND WITH THE GROWING NUMBER OF CITY PLANNERS WITH A SOCIAL SCIENCE BACKGROUND, THIS TRADITION IS IN THE PROCESS OF PARTING WAYS WITH PHYSICAL DETERMINISM, AND OF ADOPTING THE NEW SOCIAL AWARENESS, AT TIMES EVEN SOCIAL DETERMINISM. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE TRADITIONAL REFORMISTS DID NOT HAVE A SOCIAL AWARENESS. ON THE CONTRARY: WE SAW ABOVE THAT THEY HAD A VERY STRONG AWARENESS, BUT HOPED TO ACHIEVE IT THROUGH PHYSICAL PLANNING. THE NEW STRAIN OF THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN IDEOLOGY REJECTS PHYSICAL DETERMINISM, AND HOPES TO ACHIEVE SOCIAL CHANGE DIRECTLY, THROUGH SOCIAL CHANGE AS SUCH, AND WITH THE HELP OF THE SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNER (WHOM THE CITY PLANNER IS INCREASINGLY APPROACHING[27]). AS EVIDENCE OF THIS IDEOLOGICAL CHANGE WE SEE THE REJECTION BY SOME OF THE THEORY THAT PHYSICAL ARRANGEMENT OF HOUSING CAN AFFECT SOCIAL CONTACTS,[28] THE SKEPTICISM ABOUT THE CAUSAL POWERS ATTRIBUTABLE TO POOR HOUSING,[29] AND THE DOUBT EXPRESSED REGARDING THE SOCIAL-AMELIORATIVE POWERS OF URBAN RENEWAL AND PUBLIC HOUSING.[30] WHILE THE GOALS OF THE TRADITIONAL REFORMISTS WERE

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[26] SEE SECTION B ABOVE.

[27] HENRY C. HIGHTOWER, "PLANNING THEORY IN CONTEMPORARY PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 326-329.

[28] THIS GANS CALLS THE "PHYSICAL PROPINQUITY" THEORY, AND REJECTS IT; SEE GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 129.

[29] JANET S. REINER AND THOMAS A. REINER, "URBAN POVERTY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, AUGUST, 1965, PP. 261-266; AND MARTIN REIN, "SOCIAL SCIENCE AND THE ELIMINATION OF POVERTY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MAY, 1967, PP. 146-163.

[30] DAVID PRESTON, "THE HUMAN DIMENSION IN PUBLIC HOUSING," IN URBAN PLANNING AND SOCIAL POLICY, ED. BY BERNARD J. FRIEDEN AND ROBERT MORRIS (NEW YORK: BASIC BOOKS INC., 1968); SEE ALSO CHAPTER 16 FOR MORE REFERENCES.

BEAUTY AND ORDER, THROUGH WHICH IT WAS HOPED TO RAISE SOCIAL STANDARDS, THE NEW GOAL IS EQUALITY,[31] TO BE ACHIEVED THROUGH 'DEMOCRATIC' PLANNING AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

THE SECOND IDEOLOGICAL STREAM IN PLANNING IS CONSERVATISM. TO A LARGE EXTENT, CITY PLANNING BECAME ACCEPTED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA NOT BECAUSE OF ITS REFORMIST IDEALS, BUT BECAUSE IT AIDED THE INTERESTS OF THE DOMINANT CLASSES AND THEIR VALUES. ZONING, FOR EXAMPLE, BECAME ACCEPTED PROBABLY NOT SO MUCH AS AN INSTRUMENT FOR ENSURING LIGHT AND AIR, AESTHETIC PLEASANTNESS, OR ABSENCE OF NUISANCES, AS FOR ITS CAPACITY TO MAINTAIN PROPERTY VALUES.[32] FOR THROUGH ZONING AND LAND USE PLANNING THE ESTABLISHED PROPERTY OWNERS HOPED TO CONTROL THE EXPANSION OF MINORITY GROUPS FROM THE CENTER-CITY, TO HALT THE SPREAD OF THE 'BLIGHT' OF THE INDUSTRIAL CITY THAT THREATENED TO OVERTAKE THEIR RESIDENCES.[33] THE CONTROLS DID NOT ACHIEVE TOO MUCH SUCCESS, AND THE 'FLIGHT TO THE SUBURBS' WAS LATER TO BEGIN. BUT THE INTERESTS OF THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASS HAVE NOT CHANGED AND THE SAME HOPES ARE ATTACHED TO ZONING AND RELATED CONTROLS TODAY.[34] THUS PLANNING HAS IN THE PAST SERVED CONSERVATIVE VALUES, AND STILL DOES.

IN THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION, THEN, CITY PLANNERS ACQUIRE VALUES DERIVED FROM TWO IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS, POSSIBLY ANTITHETICAL,

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[31] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P.74.

[32] BASSETT, THE CENTRAL ADVOCATE OF ZONING IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, MAY HAVE SUCCEEDED IN 'SELLING' THE IDEAS NOT SO MUCH BECAUSE OF THE MANY ARGUMENTS HE OFFERED FOR THE PRESERVATION OF LIGHT, AIR, ETC., BUT BECAUSE HE INCLUDED THE PROPERTY-VALUE ARGUMENT AS WELL. SEE E. M. BASSETT, "ZONING," SUPPLEMENT TO THE NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, MAY, 1920, PP. 315-341.

[33] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 59.

[34] WALTER W. STAFFORD AND JOYCE LADNER, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND RACISM," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1969, PP. 69-74.

BUT NOT NECESSARILY SO. BOTH IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS EXIST CONCURRENTLY TODAY. THE EXTENT TO WHICH A CITY PLANNER ADOPTS VALUES FROM ONE OR THE OTHER OR BOTH OF THESE STREAMS DEPENDS ON MANY COMPLEX FACTORS. SOME OF THESE HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED BEFORE: THE PLANNER'S SOCIAL-CLASS BACKGROUND, PERSONAL VALUES, AND ACADEMIC BACKGROUND (WITH ENGINEERS PROBABLY MORE LIKELY TO HAVE CONSERVATIVE VALUES PREDOMINATING, SOCIAL SCIENTISTS MORE LIKELY TO BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO THE REFORMIST VALUES, AND ARCHITECTS POSSIBLY IN-BETWEEN). LET US NOW IDENTIFY ANOTHER FACTOR OF SIGNIFICANCE.

WE HAVE MENTIONED THE CONCEPT OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION SEVERAL TIMES ABOVE, WITHOUT ELABORATING. WE CAN NOW DISTINGUISH BETWEEN TWO TYPES OR STAGES OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION:

A) THE PERIOD OF OFFICIAL GRADUATE PLANNING EDUCATION AT A UNIVERSITY (AS WELL AS THE BACKGROUND PERIOD OF EDUCATION IN AN UNDERGRADUATE DISCIPLINE);

B) THE PERIOD OF UNOFFICIAL SOCIALIZATION DURING THE YEARS OF PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE.

THE VALUES INCULCATED IN THE TWO PERIODS MAY DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY. INDEED, THE VALUES ADOPTED IN THE FIRST PERIOD MAY BE COMPROMISED OR ENTIRELY ABANDONED AS THE PLANNER BEGINS TO WORK PROFESSIONALLY. IN CITY PLANNING SCHOOLS THE PLANNER MAY BE SOCIALIZED TO ACCEPT THE REFORMIST IDEOLOGY OF THE NEW SOCIAL-AWARENESS STRAIN; BUT AS HE BEGINS TO WORK, HE MAY FIND IT NECESSARY TO COMPROMISE THESE VALUES BECAUSE THEY CONFLICT WITH OTHER VALUES SUCH AS THE DESIRE TO KEEP A JOB.[35] IT MAY BE THAT IT

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[35] THIS MAY BE THE REASON WHY ALAN A. ALTSHULER FOUND THAT THE PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS HE STUDIED HELD LARGELY CONSERVATIVE VIEWS. SEE THE CITY PLANNING PROCESS (ITHACA, N. Y.: CORNELL UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1965), PP. 84-143.

WAS FROM OBSERVING THIS PROCESS OF RE-SOCIALIZATION THAT FRIEDMANN WAS LED TO MAKE THE ASSERTION THAT THE UTOPIAN-REFORMIST IDEOLOGICAL STREAM IN CITY PLANNING IS ONLY A MYTH, AND THAT PLANNING IS ACTUALLY CONSERVATIVE AND ANTI-INTELLECTUAL.[36] WE SHOULD NOT, HOWEVER, STRESS EITHER ONE OF THE SOCIALIZATION PROCESSES TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE OTHER SINCE THEY BOTH SHAPE THE VALUES OF PLANNERS.

LET US ILLUSTRATE FROM THE NORTHVILLE EXPERIENCE. OF THE SEVEN CITY PLANNERS INVOLVED, EACH EXHIBITED A DIFFERENT COMBINATION OF VALUES DERIVED FROM THE TWO IDEOLOGICAL STREAMS. WE ARE ALREADY ACQUAINTED WITH SOME OF THE VIEWS OF THE THREE JUNIOR PLANNERS: THE TWO JUNIOR PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU HELD REFORMIST SOCIAL VALUES RELATIVELY STRONGLY, ADVOCATING SUCH ACTIONS AS THE UNDERTAKING OF A SOCIAL AND OPINION SURVEY, WHILE THE LEVEL II JUNIOR PLANNER HELD THESE VALUES LESS STRONGLY (HE DID NOT PROPOSE SUCH AN ACTION, BUT READILY ACCEPTED THE FINDINGS OF A SURVEY LATER UNDERTAKEN). OF THE THREE SENIOR PLANNERS, THE SENIOR PLANNER OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU PROBABLY HELD THE REFORMIST-SOCIAL VALUES LEAST STRONGLY, AND THE CONSERVATIVE VALUES MOST STRONGLY (HE DISAPPROVED OF THE TAKING OF A SOCIAL SURVEY FOR REASONS OF EXPEDIENCY IN THE BUREAU'S POLICY, AND RARELY SHOWED A STRONG AWARENESS OF SOCIAL FACTORS). THE VIEWS OF THE SENIOR PLANNER OF BUREAU II DID NOT EMERGE AS CLEARLY BECAUSE OF HIS LIMITED INVOLVEMENT, BUT HE SEEMED TO HAVE HELD AN INTERMEDIATE POSITION. THE THIRD SENIOR PLANNER HAD BEEN FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH BUREAU II. HE EXPRESSED A STRONG SOCIAL AWARENESS AND REFORMIST ZEAL. THE LAST PLANNER IS NOW RETIRED; HE WAS INVOLVED IN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE SEVERAL DECADES AGO. HIS VIEWS MAY BE

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[36]FREIDMANN, "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I.

REGARDED AS MODERATELY REFORMIST, OF THE TRADITIONAL STRAIN: AT THE TIME HE HAD PROPOSED THE THEN-HIGHLY-INNOVATIVE IDEA OF CONSTRUCTING A SINGLE HIGH-RISE BUILDING TO SERVE AS A VERTICAL TOWN, BUT HE JUSTIFIED HIS PROPOSAL IN ECONOMIC TERMS (SAVINGS ON COSTLY SERVICES IN THE NORTH).

YET EVEN THOSE PLANNERS WHO HELD THE REFORMIST-SOCIAL VALUES MORE STRONGLY, DID NOT HOLD THESE VALUES TO THE EXCLUSION OF THE CONSERVATIVE VALUES. WHEN THEY COULD NOT FULFILL THEIR REFORMIST-SOCIAL VALUES, THEY WERE READY TO COMPROMISE, DEMONSTRATING THE POWER OF PROFESSIONAL-WORK SOCIALIZATION. THUS THE TWO JUNIOR PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU DID NOT UNDERTAKE THE SOCIAL AND OPINION SURVEY WHEN THIS WAS NOT APPROVED, BUT THEY PERSEVERED IN RECOMMENDING IT; THE FORMER SENIOR PLANNER OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU DID NOT INCORPORATE ALL THE VALUES HE NOW EXPRESSES INTO HIS PLAN SEVERAL YEARS AGO, BUT HE DID INCORPORATE SOME LESS-RADICAL IDEAS;[37] WHILE THE RETIRED PLANNER DID NOT PURSUE HIS IDEA AFTER IT WAS NOT ACCEPTED BY HIS EMPLOYERS.

WE SEE, THEN, THAT A PLANNING IDEOLOGY IS NOT ENOUGH FOR ENSURING SOME UNIFORMITY AMONG THE VALUES OF PLANNERS, AND HENCE SOME STANDARDS IN THEIR PROFESSIONAL WORK. IN OTHER PROFESSIONS, THERE IS USUALLY A PRO-FESSIONAL ETHIC OVER AND ABOVE THE PROFESSIONAL IDEOLOGY. THIS WOULD BE THE PROFESSIONAL EQUIVALENT OF THE SCIENTIFIC ETHIC WHOSE IMPORTANCE AS A

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[37] HE NOW PROPOSED SUCH CONCEPTS AS INNOVATIVE HOUSING, COMBINING SINGLE-FAMILY LIVING WITH COMMUNAL CLUSTERS AND WEATHER PROTECTION; HE ALSO EXPRESSED CONCERN FOR INCORPORATING THE NATIVE COMMUNITIES INTO THE TOWN SO AS TO FURTHER COMMUNICATION BUT NOT FORCE INTEGRATION; HE SUG-GESTED THIS COULD BE ACHIEVED THROUGH THE PLANNING OF A NATIVE COMMUNITY NOT PHYSICALLY SEPARATED FROM THE TOWN AND SHARING THE SAME SERVICES, WITH A SPECIAL UPGRADING PROGRAM FOR THE NATIVES. IN HIS BUREAU'S PLAN OF SEVERAL YEARS AGO WEATHER PROTECTED MEDIUM-DENSITY HOUSING WAS PRO-POSED AND LATER PARTIALLY COMPROMISED, AND THE NATIVE HOUSING AREA WAS SOMEWHAT MORE REMOVED FROM THE OTHER HOUSING THAN HE MAY HAVE WISHED.

CONTROL AGAINST BIAS WE HAVE ALREADY NOTED.[38] THE PROFESSIONAL ETHIC WOULD EXPRESS INSTITUTIONALIZED PROFESSIONAL VALUES, DESIGNED TO ENSURE SOME MEASURE OF PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVITY, OR UNIFORMITY, OR SOME OTHER STANDARD, DEPENDING ON THE PROFESSION IN QUESTION. THE VALUES CONSTITUTING THE PROFESSIONAL ETHIC WOULD BE THE MOST IMPORTANT VALUES WHICH THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF BOTH TYPES WOULD SEEK TO INSTILL.

CITY PLANNING, HOWEVER, DOES NOT YET HAVE A COHERENT PROFESSIONAL ETHIC. THE ABSENCE OF SUCH AN ETHIC MAY BE INDICATED BY THE LACK OF INSTITUTIONALIZED SANCTIONS FOR BREAKING THE CODE (WHATEVER IT IS). IN SHORT, CITY PLANNING IS NOT YET COMPLETELY 'PROFESSIONALIZED.'[39] THE PLANNER IS THUS LEFT IN THE DARK (OR, RATHER, IN THE LIGHT OF HIS OWN VALUES) AS TO WHAT TOOLS AND METHODS ARE PERMISSIBLE FOR HIM TO USE, AND HOW TO ACT WITH REGARD TO THAT TOPICAL ISSUE, THE INVOLVEMENT OR ABSTENTION OF THE PLANNER FROM POLITICS. THE VIEWS WITH REGARD TO THE LATTER ISSUE ARE IMPORTANT AND DESERVE DETAILED DISCUSSION ELSEWHERE.[40]

ATTEMPTS TO SUGGEST A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC FOR CITY PLANNING ONLY UNDERLINE THE LACK OF SOME CODE OF STANDARDS. DYCKMAN, FOR EXAMPLE, SUGGESTS THAT THE PLANNER BE COMMITTED TO FINDING 'RIGHT' ANSWERS--WITHOUT SPECIFYING ANY CRITERIA BY WHICH VALIDITY MAY BE MEASURED--AND RECOMMENDS THAT THE PLANNER BE RELUCTANT TO BARGAIN WITH POLITICIANS.[41] FRIEDMANN

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[38] SEE SECTION A ABOVE.

[39] RABINOVITZ, CITY POLITICS AND PLANNING, PP. 132-138.

[40] SEE CHAPTER 7, C.

[41] JOHN DYCKMAN, "PLANNING AND DECISION THEORY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1961, PP. 335-343.

DISAGREES ON THE LATTER POINT, RECOMMENDING THAT THE PLANNER BE 'POLITICIZED'. WHILE THE ETHICAL STANDARD HE SUGGESTS--AVOIDING IRRESPONSIBILITY ACCORDING TO EACH PLANNER'S CONSCIENCE--IS EQUALLY AS VAGUE AS DYCKMAN'S.[42]

CITY PLANNING IS THUS RELEGATED TO THE POSITION OF BORROWING FROM THE ETHICS OF OTHER PROFESSIONS AND SCIENCES. THIS IS OFTEN UNDERTAKEN BY EACH PLANNER, WHO RELIES ON WHATEVER VALUES HIS UNDERGRADUATE BACKGROUND MAY HAVE SUPPLIED HIM. NO UNIFORM PLANNING ETHIC EMERGES. IT IS THE LACK OF A COHERENT ETHIC FOR A NOT-YET-COMPLETELY-PROFESSIONALIZED PLANNING THAT CONSTITUTES AN OPEN INVITATION TO VALUES: NOT UNIFORM, INSTITUTIONALIZED VALUES, BUT WIDELY VARYING AND CONTENTIOUS ONES; NOT STANDARDIZED CRITERIA BY WHICH ALTERNATIVE PLANS MAY BE EVALUATED,[43] ONLY A LARGE NUMBER OF SOURCES, OR LOCI, OF VALUES AND A MULTITUDE OF VALUE ISSUES.

E. PLANNING METHODS AND MODELS

LET US NOW TURN TO THE FINAL LOCUS OF VALUES. WE HAVE TRACED THE UBIQUITY OF VALUES FROM THE FUNDAMENTAL VALUES INHERENT IN KNOWLEDGE AND LANGUAGE, THROUGH THE VALUES THAT RESIDE IN EACH SOCIETY OR CULTURE AND IN EACH SUBCULTURE, AND THROUGH THE RESIDUAL CATEGORY OF PERSONAL VALUES. THESE WERE THE VALUES ACQUIRED BY EVERY PERSON DURING HIS PROCESS OF CUL-

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[42] JOHN FRIEDMANN, "NOTES ON SOCIETAL ACTION," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 311-318.

[43] IN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE THERE WERE NO OBJECTIVE CRITERIA BY WHICH THE MANY PLANS WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPOSED OVER THE YEARS COULD BE EVALUATED--EXCEPT, PERHAPS, THE EXTRA-PLANNING CRITERION OF IMPLEMENTATION. AND BY THAT CRITERION NO RECENT PLAN WAS ENTIRELY 'GOOD,' SINCE NONE HAVE AS YET BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN THEIR ENTIRETY (OR EVEN SUBSTANTIAL PORTIONS OF THEM).

TURAL SOCIALIZATION. WE THEN TRACED THOSE VALUES WHICH A PLANNER WOULD ACQUIRE DURING THE PROCESS OF PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION: THE VALUES LOCATED IN THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES, IN THE APPLIED SCIENCES, AND IN THE PLANNING IDEOLOGY AND ETHIC. WE NOW FOCUS ON THE PLANNING OPERATION, THE TECHNIQUES AND MODELS USED TO DEVELOP PLANS.

BE THEY AS 'SCIENTIFIC' AND QUANTITATIVE AS THEY MAY, ALTERNATIVE PLANNING METHODS DO NOT DIFFER MERELY IN THEIR VALIDITY, SPEED, OR COST; THEY HAVE DIFFERING VALUE IMPLICATIONS.

AFTER ALL THAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD AND BOTH THE SOCIAL AND THE APPLIED SCIENCES, THE ABOVE ASSERTION WOULD REQUIRE LITTLE ELABORATION WITH REGARD TO QUALITATIVE METHODS. QUANTITATIVE METHODS, HOWEVER, SEEM SO 'COLD' AND NEUTRAL THAT THEIR VALUE IMPLICATIONS REQUIRE MORE ATTENTION.

FIRST, THE DECISION TO ADOPT QUANTITATIVE METHODS IS ALREADY AN INVITATION TO THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES. IT NARROWS THE PLANNER'S ATTENTION TO ONLY THOSE ASPECTS OF HIS SUBJECT MATTER THAT ARE QUANTIFIABLE, THUS IMPLYING THAT THE PLANNER EITHER VALUES THESE ASPECTS MORE THAN OTHERS AND DEEMS THEM MORE WORTHY OF STUDY, OR THAT HE VALUES THE QUANTITATIVE METHODS THEMSELVES HIGHLY, REGARDING THEM AS THE BEST AVENUE TO TRUTH. IMPORTANT ASPECTS OF THE CITY NOT READILY QUANTIFIABLE MAY AS A RESULT BE EXCLUDED: SOCIAL ATTITUDES, PSYCHOLOGICAL PERCEPTION, POLITICAL NORMS, ETC. EVEN IF THESE SHOULD BE QUANTIFIED THROUGH SUCH METHODS AS SOCIAL SURVEYS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SAMPLE-STUDIES, THE QUANTIFICATION PROCESS MAY STILL EXCLUDE ASPECTS OF THE PROBLEM THAT ELUDE MEASUREMENT.[44]

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[44]FOR EXAMPLE, A SURVEY OF ATTITUDES TOWARD LIVING IN OR NEAR PUBLIC HOUSING WOULD PROBABLY TRANSLATE ANSWERS INTO 'PRO,' OR 'CON,' OR SOME PRE-DEFINED SCALE FROM 'AGREE' TO 'DISAGREE,' THUS OVERLOOKING POSSIBLY SIGNIFICANT NUANCES. SUCH A PRE-STRUCTURED SOCIAL AND HOUSING SURVEY WAS RECENTLY UNDERTAKEN IN NORTHVILLE.

SECOND, THE POPULARITY OF QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND ESPECIALLY THE RAPID ACCEPTANCE OF THE COMPUTER AS AN INDISPENSABLE AID TO PLANNING, SHOULD BE VIEWED AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF NORTH AMERICAN IDEOLOGY--I.E., THE HIGH EVALUATION ACCORDED TO SCIENCE, EFFICIENCY, AND TO QUANTIFIABILITY, BY VALUES IN THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE-CLUSTER.[45]

THIRD, THE USE OF QUANTITATIVE MODELS (WITH MODEL MEANING A THEORETICAL SIMPLIFICATION OF REALITY TO FACILITATE ANALYSIS) IS A FURTHER AVENUE TO VALUES. FOR MODELS IMPLY SIMPLIFICATION, AND SIMPLIFICATION REQUIRES ASSUMPTIONS, AND ASSUMPTIONS FURTHER RESTRICT THE SCOPE OF THE OBSERVABLE--AT TIMES, WHEN WRONGLY APPLIED, THEY MAY EVEN DISTORT IT. EACH MODEL HAS ITS OWN ASSUMPTIONS.[46] THUS THE SELECTION AMONG ALTERNATIVE MODELS MAY REFLECT VALUES.

FINALLY, IN PLANNING MODELS ARE OFTEN USED FOR PREDICTIVE PURPOSES. THEY ENTAIL FURTHER ASSUMPTIONS. USUALLY, IN ORDER TO FACILITATE PREDICTION, THE ASSUMPTION IS MADE THAT THE SAME RATE OF CHANGE THAT HAS OCCURRED IN THE PAST WILL PERSEVERE.[47] THIS NARROWS THE PLANNER'S SCOPE OF OBSERVATION EVEN FURTHER, LEADING HIM TO NEGLECT POSSIBLY SIGNIFICANT SOCIAL AND TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGES. MOREOVER: THE ASSUMPTION UNDERLYING SO MANY PREDICTIVE MODELS, AND ON WHICH SO MUCH OF A PLAN DEPENDS, IS THE

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[45] SEE DONALD N. MICHAEL, "URBAN POLICY IN THE RATIONALIZED SOCIETY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 31, NO. 4 (1964), PP. 283-288.

[46] FOR EXAMPLE, THE ASSUMPTIONS BEHIND LINEAR MODELS ARE GIVEN IN: B. H. STEVENS, "A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE ON LINEAR METHODS AND MODELS FOR SPATIAL ANALYSIS," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, AUGUST, 1960, PP. 246-251.

[47] ALAN M. VOORHEES. "THE NATURE AND USES OF MODELS IN CITY PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MAY, 1959, PP. 57-60.

PARADOXICAL ASSUMPTION THAT THE PLAN WILL NEVER BE IMPLEMENTED. FOR SHOULD IT BE IMPLEMENTED, IT ITSELF WOULD PRODUCE CHANGE (IT IS HOPED); PLANS HAVE THE ASPECTS OF A 'SELF-FULFILLING PROPHECY.'[48]

THUS THE PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION OF PLANNERS, BOTH FORMAL AND INFORMAL, INCULCATES PLANNERS WITH VALUES NOT ONLY ON THE IDEOLOGICAL LEVEL, BUT ON THE METHODOLOGICAL LEVEL AS WELL. DURING THE PROCESS OF PLANNING EDUCATION, ALTERNATIVE CURRICULA OF THE VARIOUS PLANNING SCHOOLS, EACH WITH ITS OWN EMPHASIS ON QUANTITATIVE OR QUALITATIVE METHODS AND ON PARTICULAR MODELS, THUS HAVE A SIGNIFICANT IMPACT ON VALUES.

PLANNING CURRICULA, AND THE INTERACTION AMONG PLANNING STUDENTS OF VARIOUS ACADEMIC BACKGROUNDS, ALSO INSTILL OTHER VALUES IN ADDITION TO THE VALUES OF THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, THE SOCIAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES, THE PLANNING IDEOLOGY AND ETHIC, AND PLANNING TECHNIQUES. THESE ARE THE VALUES UNDERLYING THE VARIOUS THEORETICAL ISSUES, BOTH PROCEDURAL AND SUBSTANTIVE. WITHIN THE FORMER CATEGORY FALL SUCH ISSUES AS THE NATURE OF PLANNING, ITS JUSTIFICATION, ITS PLACE AMONG THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS, THE PROPER MODEL OF THE PLANNING DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, THE MERITS AND DEMERITS OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF PLANS, AND THE IMPORTANT ISSUES OF 'WHO SHALL SET THE GOALS' AND OF HOW TO ACHIEVE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING. WITHIN THE SUBSTANTIVE CATEGORY FALL SUCH ISSUES AS THE SCOPE OF CITY PLANNING, ATTITUDE TO THE CITY, TO ZONING, AND TO ISSUES IN THE AREAS OF HOUSING, URBAN RENEWAL, TRANSPORTATION, ETC. THE FORMER SET OF ISSUES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN PART III, AND THE LATTER SET, IN PART IV.

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[48] BRITTON HARRIS, "PLAN OR PROJECTION: AN EXAMINATION OF THE USE OF MODELS IN PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1960, PP. 265-272. AND MELVIN M. WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 31, NO. 4 (1965) PP. 289-296.

PART III: THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

CHAPTER 5

THE UNIQUE ATTRIBUTES OF PLANNING

WE HAVE NOW CONCLUDED OUTLINING OUR THEORETICAL MODEL, WHERE THE ATTEMPT WAS MADE TO SHOW THAT VALUES ENTER PLANNING FROM MANY DIRECTIONS --THAT THEY ARE INDEED UBIQUITOUS. WITH THE PRECEDING ANALYSIS IN MIND, WE SHALL IN THIS PART FOCUS ON THE PLANNING PROCESS, POINTING OUT ITS VARIOUS ASPECTS THAT RENDER IT 'VULNERABLE' TO THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES. FIRST, LET US LOOK AT THOSE ATTRIBUTES OF PLANNING THAT DISTINGUISH IT FROM OTHER DISCIPLINES OR PROFESSIONS.

A. FUTURE ORIENTATION

IN OUR DEFINITION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS[1], WE INCLUDED THE PHRASE "ANTICIPATED FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS" (WHICH ARE TO BE CONTROLLED). IT IS CLEAR THEN, THAT A CENTRAL ATTRIBUTE OF PLANNING IS ITS FUTURE ORIENTATION. THIS ATTRIBUTE RAISES SEVERAL VALUE ISSUES.

THE ORIENTATION TOWARD THE FUTURE, THE EXISTENCE OF DISCIPLINES AND PROFESSIONS DEDICATED SOLELY TO STUDYING THE FUTURE AND PLANNING FOR IT, IMPLIES THE ATTACHMENT OF A STRONG POSITIVE VALUE TO THE FUTURE *PER SE*. ONLY IF ONE ACKNOWLEDGES THE EXISTENCE OF THIS STRONG VALUE-ASSUMPTION CAN ONE UNDERSTAND WHY PLANNING EXISTS, WHY PLANNERS ARE HIRED, AND WHY RESOURCES ARE EXPENDED FOR THE FUTURE.[2]

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[1] PRESENTED IN CHAPTER 1, A ABOVE.

[2] JOHN DYCKMAN, "...OF TIME AND THE PLAN," *JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS*, MAY, 1962, PP. 141-143.

THIS VALUE-ASSUMPTION DOES NOT, HOWEVER, GO UNCHALLENGED. ALTHOUGH THE MAJORITY OF NORTH AMERICANS PROBABLY DO VALUE THE FUTURE PER SE (FOR THIS IS IN LINE WITH THE VALUES OF RATIONALITY AND EFFICIENCY IN THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE CLUSTER), THE NECESSITY TO EXPEND PRESENT RESOURCES GENERATES CONFLICTING VALUES, THOSE DERIVED FROM THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' VALUE CLUSTER.

THE FUTURE IS HYPOTHETICAL; THE PEOPLE WHO WILL LIVE IN IT ARE, TO SOME EXTENT, HYPOTHETICAL--I.E., NOT-YET-BORN (THE EXTENT DEPENDS ON THE TIME-RANGE INVOLVED). BUT THE PEOPLE WHO ARE INVOLVED IN PLANNING OR ARE AFFECTED BY IT EXIST IN THE PRESENT, ARE REAL. SOME OF THESE PEOPLE MAY VALUE THE PRESENT, THEIR PRESENT RESOURCES AND PROPERTY, AND THEIR PRESENT PLANS, EXPECTATIONS, AND INTERESTS, MORE THAN THEY VALUE THE FUTURE. THE POTENTIAL CONFLICT IS CLEARLY EVIDENT: PEOPLE AFFECTED BY PLANNING MAY BE RELUCTANT TO SACRIFICE THEIR PRESENT REAL EXPECTATIONS AND RESOURCES FOR A HYPOTHETICAL FUTURE AND ITS (PARTIALLY) HYPOTHETICAL PEOPLE. IN SUPPORT OF THIS STAND, THEY MAY CITE THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM, PRIVATE ENTERPRISE, OR EVEN DEMOCRACY.[3]

THE ISSUE OF THE UNBORN GENERATIONS IS AN IMPORTANT ONE FOR PLANNING.[4] IT RAISES SUCH LITTLE-EXPLORED ISSUES AS THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESENT GENERATION FOR THE NEXT:[5] IS IT, IN FACT, RESPONSIBLE? AND

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[3] IN A MASTERFULLY-WRITTEN FICTITIOUS DIALOGUE, HAAR SKILLFULLY SHOWS THIS STAND AS ADOPTED BY A CITIZEN AFFECTED BY ZONING. SEE CHARLES M. HAAR, "THE MASTER PLAN: AN INQUIRY IN DIALOGUE FORM," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 25, NO. 3 (AUGUST, 1959), PP. 133-142.

[4] IT HAS SO FAR RECEIVED LITTLE ATTENTION.

[5] ALVIN TOFFLER, "VALUE IMPACT FORECASTER--A PROFESSION OF THE FUTURE," IN VALUES AND THE FUTURE, ED. BY KURT BAIER AND NICHOLAS RESCHER (NEW YORK: THE FREE PRESS, 1969), PP. 1-29.

IF SO, TO WHAT EXTENT? HOW MUCH, IF ANY, MUST IT SACRIFICE IN TIME, RESOURCES, AND VALUES FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS? AND, CONVERSELY, IT RAISES THE ISSUE OF THE RIGHT OF A PRESENT GENERATION TO PLAN FOR A FUTURE ONE--IN OTHER WORDS, TO IMPOSE ITS OWN GOALS, VALUES, PERCEPTIONS, AND TECHNOLOGY.

THE LATTER QUESTION IS SIGNIFICANT IN REGARD TO THE ISSUE OF HOW TO ACHIEVE 'DEMOCRATIC' PLANNING, OR IF THIS IS EVEN DESIRABLE.[6] IT IS OFTEN HELD THAT ONE SHOULD PLAN ACCORDING TO THE VALUES OF ALL, OR THE MAJORITY OF, THE PLAN'S CLIENTS. BUT THIS IS LOGICALLY IMPOSSIBLE, SINCE MANY OF THE CLIENTS ARE NOT YET BORN (ONE DOES NOT KNOW HOW MANY, SO ONE CANNOT ASCERTAIN A PRESENT MAJORITY). MIGHT ONE NOT, THEN, BE JUSTIFIED IN IGNORING THE VALUES OF PRESENT CLIENTS, JUST AS ONE NECESSARILY IGNORES THE VALUES OF FUTURE ONES, AND RESIGN THE NOTION OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING TO THE REALM OF IMPOSSIBILITY? THERE ARE, OF COURSE, COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS POSSIBLE, TO BE DISCUSSED LATER ON.[7] NEVERTHELESS, THE DILEMMA RAISED FOR DEMOCRATIC PLANNING BY THE FUTURE ORIENTATION OF PLANNING INVOLVES DEEP-SEATED VALUES.

THE TIME-PERIOD INVOLVED IN THE FUTURE ORIENTATION OF PLANNING MAY VARY GREATLY. THE RANGE OF PLANNING INVOLVES VALUES OVER AND ABOVE THE FUTURE ORIENTATION ITSELF. FOR EXAMPLE, THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE ISSUE OF THE UNBORN GENERATIONS WOULD VARY CONSIDERABLY WITH THE TIME-RANGE INVOLVED. IF THE PLANNING IS ONLY FOR A FIVE YEAR RANGE, THIS ISSUE IS NOT LIKELY TO GENERATE STRONG VALUE QUESTIONS. ON THE OTHER HAND, IT MAY RAISE THE MUCH MORE MUNDANE ISSUE OF THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE PRESENT RESIDENTS

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[6] THIS ISSUE WILL BE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTERS 10 AND 11.

[7] IN CHAPTER 11.

OF A GIVEN AREA FOR PLANNING FOR RESIDENTS WHO MIGHT MOVE IN FROM ELSEWHERE, WHEN THE PRESENT RESIDENTS THEMSELVES MAY BY THAT TIME HAVE MOVED AWAY. TRANSLATED INTO THE LANGUAGE OF EVERYDAY CONCERN, THIS ISSUE WOULD READ: "IS IT JUST THAT I SHOULD BE REQUIRED TO SPEND MONEY ON A PLANNED SEWER LINE, OR ON THE EXTERNAL BEAUTIFICATION OF MY HOUSE, IF I WON'T BE AROUND TO ENJOY IT?" IN STABLE COMMUNITIES, IT IS GENERALLY ASSUMED BY THE PUBLIC--AND ESPECIALLY BY THE POLITICIANS, PLANNERS, AND BUREAUCRATS--THAT THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION SHOULD BE "YES"; FOR OTHERWISE PLANNING AND EXECUTION WOULD BE VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE. IN SPECIAL SITUATIONS, HOWEVER, SUCH AS IN NORTHVILLE WHERE THE TRANSIENCY RATE IS INORDINATELY HIGH AND WHERE THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE FUTURE HAS CORRODED THE USUAL VALUES PERTAINING TO THIS ISSUE, THERE HAS BEEN A GENERAL REFUSAL TO INVEST IN THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF PROPERTIES, OR EVEN TO DISPOSE OF SEWAGE PROPERLY, WITH THE RESULT THAT THE TOWN IS UGLY AND ITS SOIL THROUGHLY POLLUTED.

TIME-RANGE HAS OTHER VALUE IMPLICATIONS AS WELL. LONG-RANGE PLANNING IMPLIES OPTIMISM, A BELIEF THAT IT IS WORTHWHILE TO INVEST IN THE FAR FUTURE, THAT THERE IS LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THAT A CATASTROPHE WILL INTERVENE, OR THAT ONE MUST IGNORE THIS LIKELIHOOD AND 'HAVE FAITH'. SHORT-RANGE PLANNING, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAY BE JUSTIFIED BY APPEALING TO THE VALUES OF REALISM, EFFICIENCY--IN SHORT, 'SCIENTISM.' AND MIDDLE-RANGE PLANNING MAY APPEAL TO BOTH SETS OF VALUES, AS WELL AS TO MODERATION AND COMPROMISE. THE VARIOUS RANGES AND THEIR ASSOCIATED VALUES ARE ALSO INTIMATELY CONNECTED WITH THE VARIOUS TYPES OF PLANS, AND WILL BE MENTIONED AGAIN IN THAT CONNECTION.[8] FINALLY, WHAT IS CONSIDERED 'LONG' OR 'SHORT' RANGE ITSELF REFLECTS SOCIAL VALUES. FOR DURING PERIODS OF RAPID SOCIAL AND VALUE CHANGE, 'LONG-RANGE' COULD MEAN THE SAME TIME-PERIOD AS 'SHORT-

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[8]SEE CHAPTER 9 BELOW.

RANGE' WOULD MEAN DURING A PERIOD OF CONSERVATISM AND STABILITY.

BEFORE CONCLUDING, LET US BRIEFLY MENTION A POINT THAT REQUIRES LITTLE AMPLIFICATION. FUTURE ORIENTATION IS JUST AN ATTITUDE OF THINKING. BEFORE ANYTHING CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED IN THE FUTURE, ONE MUST HAVE A GOAL. FUTURE ORIENTATION IMPLIES GOAL-ORIENTATION. AND THE ISSUES SURROUNDING GOALS--WHAT VALUES SHOULD UNDERLIE THE GOAL, WHOSE VALUES SHOULD THEY BE, HOW IS THE GOAL TO BE ACCOMPLISHED--ARE CENTRAL TO THIS THESIS.

B. CONTROL OR DIRECTION

THE PLANNING PROCESS HAS BEEN DESCRIBED AS THE APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE IN ORDER THAT FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS MAY BE "CONTROLLED OR DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL." THIS IS THE SECOND ATTRIBUTE WHICH, ALONG WITH FUTURE ORIENTATION, DISTINGUISHES PLANNING FROM OTHER PROCESSES. IT, TOO, IS AN AVENUE FOR THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS.

IT IS A BASIC ASSUMPTION UNDERLYING THE VARIOUS PLANNING OPERATIONS THAT MAN CAN, AND SHOULD, ATTEMPT TO CONTROL HIS DESTINY.[9] THIS IS A VALUE HELD BY MOST NORTH AMERICANS (ALTHOUGH A FEW PEOPLE MAY WISH TO OPT FOR METAPHYSICAL CONTROL, AND MAY VIEW MAN'S INTERVENTION NEGATIVELY). IT IS NOT ON THE ISSUE OF THE GENERAL DESIRABILITY OF CONTROLLING THE FUTURE THAT DISAGREEMENT EMERGES, BUT ON THE ISSUE OF WHERE CONTROL SHALL LIE--I.E., THE <u>CONTROL BY WHOM</u> ISSUE. IT IS HERE THAT THE TWO CENTRAL VALUE-CLUSTERS OF NORTH AMERICAN IDEOLOGY CLASH.

THOSE WHO HAVE STRONGLY HELD THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM, FREE-

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[9] PAUL DAVIDOFF AND THOMAS A. REINER, "A CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING," <u>JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS</u>, MAY, 1962, PP. 103-115.

ENTERPRISE, LAISSEZ-FAIRE, ETC., HAVE MAINTAINED THAT CONTROL SHOULD RESIDE IN THE HANDS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL PERSON. SOCIAL CONTROL OR DIRECTION WOULD THUS BE ABSTRACT--THE BALANCE OF FORCES OF INDIVIDUALS EACH SEEKING FULL CONTROL OVER HIS DESTINY. THIS, OF COURSE, IS THE CONCEPTION OF THE ABSTRACT MARKET, WHERE THESE VALUES ARE APPLIED TO THE ECONOMIC SPHERE. THE SAME IDEOLOGY, HOWEVER, HAS ALSO SOUGHT TO MINIMIZE THE POWER OF POLITICAL CONTROL TO THE NECESSARY MINIMUM, AND HAS ARDENTLY RESISTED ECONOMIC AND CITY PLANNING AS A USURPATION OF THE RIGHT FOR INDIVIDUAL CONTROL.

WE HAVE SEEN, HOWEVER, THAT THE AMERICAN AND CANADIAN SOCIETIES HARBOR ANOTHER VALUE-CLUSTER AS WELL: 'SCIENTISM.' WHERE THE VALUES COMPRISING THIS CLUSTER HAVE DOMINATED, A PICTURE OPPOSITE TO THE ABOVE HAS EMERGED: IT WAS DEEMED MORE EFFICIENT AND RATIONAL TO REDUCE THE POWERS OF CONTROL RESIDING IN THE 'BLIND FORCES OF THE MARKET' AND TO CENTRALIZE THEM IN THE HANDS OF A RELATIVELY FEW PERSONS. SUCH VALUES HAVE UNDERLAIN THE JUSTIFICATION OF BOTH A STRONGER GOVERNMENT AND OF INSTITUTIONALIZED PLANNING.

YET THE VALUE CONFLICT OVER THE 'CONTROL BY WHOM' QUESTION HAS BY NO MEANS BEEN RESOLVED. A PROBE INTO LINGUISTICS MAY HELP TO REINFORCE THIS POINT. THE WORD "CONTROL" HAS ACQUIRED A STRONG NEGATIVE CONNOTATION, ARISING FROM ITS CONFLICT WITH THE STRONGLY CHERISHED VALUES OF THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY CLUSTER, TO THE EXTENT THAT IN WRITING THIS CHAPTER IT WAS NECESSARY TO INCLUDE THE EUPHEMISM "DIRECTION" IN THE SUB-TITLE IN ORDER TO AVOID MISCONCEPTIONS AND TO PRESERVE THE VALUE-NEUTRALITY OF THE AUTHOR.[10]

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[10] THE EXISTENCE OF A EUPHEMISM IS ALWAYS A GOOD CLUE THAT THERE IS SOME VALUE AGITATION INVOLVED.

FOCUSING ON INSTITUTIONALIZED PLANNING, WE SEE THAT THE ISSUE OF CONTROL SERVES AS AN AVENUE TO FURTHER VALUES AS WELL. FIRST, THERE IS THE ISSUE OF CONTROL OF WHOM. IN NORTH AMERICA, THE TRADITIONAL ANSWER HAS BEEN THAT PLANNING SHOULD CONTROL ONLY THE PUBLIC SECTOR DIRECTLY, RESERVING INDIRECT CONTROLS--SUCH AS ZONING--FOR THE PRIVATE SECTOR (AND EVEN SUCH CONTROLS HAVE BEEN CONTENTIOUS). SECOND IS THE ISSUE OF CONTROL BY WHAT MEANS. IT IS RELATED TO THE FIRST, SINCE DIFFERENT MEANS MAY BE REGARDED AS APPROPRIATE FOR THE TWO SECTORS. ALTERNATIVE MEANS ARE OFTEN THE SUBJECT OF INTENSE VALUE CONFLICT: WITNESS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE PUBLIC HOUSING DEBATE. THIRD IS THE VERY IMPORTANT ISSUE OF CONTROL FOR WHAT GOAL AND THE RELATED CONTROL BY WHOSE GOAL. THE LATTER TWO WILL BE ENCOUNTERED FROM DIFFERENT POINTS OF VIEW AGAIN: THE QUESTION OF CONTROL FOR WHAT GOALS WILL UNDERLIE THE DISCUSSION OF VALUES IN SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF PLANNING (PART IV), AND THE QUESTION OF CONTROL BY WHOSE GOAL WILL BE THE THEME OF CHAPTER 10.

FINALLY, LET US MENTION THE ISSUE OF CONTROL OVER THE PLANNERS, OR WHAT BARBARA WOOTTON HAS CALLED THE ISSUE OF "WHO SHALL PLAN THE PLANNERS."[11] ANSWERS TO THIS QUESTION DEPEND ON THE VALUES HELD: SHOULD THE PLANNERS REMAIN IN ULTIMATE CONTROL? THIS POSITION DOES NOT ACCORD WITH THE VALUES IN THE 'DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER; SHOULD THE PUBLIC CONTROL THE PLANNERS THROUGH FREQUENT REFERENDUMS? THIS WOULD PROBABLY BE CHALLENGED AS INEFFICIENT AND CUMBERSOME; SHOULD THE PUBLIC CONTROL PLANNERS THROUGH

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[11] BARBARA WOOTTON, FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING (LONDON: GEORGE ALLEN & UNWIN LTD., 1945),

OPINION SURVEYS APPROVING OR DISAPPROVING PLANS, POLICIES, AND PLANNERS? THIS IS A 'DEMOCRATIC' MEASURE THAT GOES EVEN BEYOND THOSE SCHEMES PROPOSED BY PLANNERS AND DEEMED TO BE DEMOCRATIC (E.G., CLIENT VALUE ANALYSIS); OR SHOULD THE POLITICIAN, OR THE APPOINTED BUREAUCRAT, CONTROL THE PLANNER? THIS IS THE ALTERNATIVE THAT OBTAINS MOST OFTEN, AND WHICH ACCORDS WITH THE VALUES OF AN INSTITUTIONALIZED POLITICAL DEMOCRACY.

C. GOAL-SETTING AND COMPREHENSIVENESS

TWO SUBSIDIARY ATTRIBUTES OF THE PLANNING PROCESS WILL BE BRIEFLY DISCUSSED.

IN CHAPTER 1 THE PLANNING PROCESS WAS CHARACTERIZED AS BEING DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL. THE TWO CENTRAL ATTRIBUTES OF PLANNING, FUTURE-ORIENTATION AND CONTROL, INTERACT TO PRODUCE A THIRD DERIVATIVE ATTRIBUTE: THE REQUIREMENT THAT THE PLANNING PROCESS BE GOAL-SETTING (THE CONCEPT OF GOAL IMPLIES BOTH A FUTURE ORIENTATION AND A CONCERN WITH IMPLEMENTATION OR CONTROL). THE GOAL-SETTING ATTRIBUTE IN TURN IMPLIES A BELIEF AND FAITH THAT HUMAN EFFORT CAN IN FACT IMPROVE MAN'S ENVIRONMENT AND HUMAN LIFE.[12]

THE OPTIMISM ATTACHED TO HUMAN EFFORT (PLANNING) AND ITS CAPACITY TO MAKE IMPROVEMENTS MAY BE DESCRIBED FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW AS A COMMITMENT TO PROGRESS. "PROGRESS" IS ITSELF A VALUE-LADEN TERM, MEANING "DESIRABLE CHANGE" ("CHANGE", ON THE OTHER HAND, IS VALUE-NEUTRAL). THE COMMITMENT TO PROGRESS MAY BE REGARDED AS THE GENERAL OR ALL-ENCOMPASSING

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[12] JOHN E. PAGE, S.J. STATES THIS POINT THUS:

> AND UNDERLYING THIS NOTION OF GOAL IS THE ASSUMPTION THAT HUMAN EFFORT CAN BE EFFECTIVE IN ADJUSTING THE PLANETARY SETTING FOR HUMAN LIVING.

SEE "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF PLANNING IN THE UNITED STATES, 1893-1965" (PH.D. DISSERTATION, THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1965), CHAPTER III, P. 183.

GOAL OF PLANNING, SHARED BY PLANNERS (AND OFTEN BY THE PUBLIC AS WELL) OF ALL CULTURES WHERE PLANNING IS INSTITUTIONALIZED. WHAT IS DEFINED AS CONSTITUTING PROGRESS IS, HOWEVER, STILL LEFT OPEN, AND CAN ONLY BE DETERMINED THROUGH THE INJECTION OF VALUES. ONCE THIS DEFINITION HAS BEEN OBTAINED, THE GOAL-SETTING PROCESS PROCEEDS AND SUBSIDIARY GOALS THAT WILL CONTRIBUTE TO THE ATTAINMENT OF THE PROGRESS-GOAL ARE IDENTIFIED.

COMPREHENSIVENESS WAS ALSO INCLUDED IN CHAPTER 1 AS ONE OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE PLANNING PROCESS. HOWEVER, IT CANNOT BE CONSIDERED A CENTRAL ATTRIBUTE INHERENT IN THE CONCEPT OF PLANNING AND SHARED BY ALL PLANNING DISCIPLINES SINCE IT HAS A PRESCRIPTIVE ELEMENT. IT IS THUS AN ATTRIBUTE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS ONLY CONDITIONALLY, WHERE IT IS DESIRED TO MAKE THE PROCESS MOST EFFECTIVE AND MOST RATIONAL. THUS, ALTHOUGH THE CALL FOR COMPREHENSIVENESS DATES BACK TO THE BEGINNINGS OF THE CITY PLANNING MOVEMENT IN THE UNITED STATES, IT WAS ALWAYS REGARDED AS AN IDEAL TO BE PURSUED.[13] WHERE THE IDEAL OF COMPREHENSIVENESS IS FOLLOWED, THE MOTIVATING VALUES ARE EFFICIENCY AND RATIONALITY, DRAWN FROM THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE-CLUSTER. YET TODAY THE REQUIREMENT OF COMPREHENSIVENESS IS SO STRONGLY STRESSED IN SCHOOLS OF CITY PLANNING AND BY PROFESSIONAL CITY PLANNERS (ESPECIALLY SINCE THE NEW IMAGE OF THE CITY AS A SYSTEM LENDS ITSELF WELL TO THE FULFILLMENT OF THIS REQUIREMENT[14]) THAT ONE MAY REGARD IT AS A CENTRAL ATTRIBUTE AT LEAST OF CITY PLANNING (IF NOT OF THE OTHER PLANNING PROFESSIONS AS WELL).

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[13] IBID., P. 196, FOOTNOTE 24.

[14] THE THEME OF COMPREHENSIVENESS IS EXPRESSED IN CITY PLANNING IN SUCH OFT-HEARD EXPRESSIONS AS "CO-ORDINATION," "SYNTHESIS," AND "INTEGRATION." IBID., PP. 183 AND 201. FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE IMAGE OF THE CITY AS A SYSTEM SEE CHAPTER 12 BELOW, WHERE MORE ATTENTION WILL ALSO BE DEVOTED TO THE NOTION OF COMPREHENSIVENESS IN CITY PLANNING.

CHAPTER 6

META-PLANNING: THE JUSTIFICATION OF PLANNING ITSELF

NOW THAT THE ATTRIBUTES OF PLANNING HAVE BEEN DISCUSSED AND WE KNOW SOME OF THEIR VALUE-IMPLICATIONS, IT IS TIME TO TAKE AN OVER-VIEW OF PLANNING AND ITS ROOTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA, IN ORDER TO GAIN AN UNDERSTANDING OF HOW IT HAS BEEN IDEOLOGICALLY JUSTIFIED IN THESE TWO COUNTRIES. WE ARE NOW VENTURING BEYOND THE PLANNING PROCESS AS DESCRIBED IN CHAPTER 1, INTO A STUDY OF THE VALUES INVOLVED IN THE DECISION OF WHETHER TO PLAN AT ALL (META-PLANNING[1]). THE VALUE INTERVENTION TO BE IDENTIFIED HERE COULD THEREFORE BE CLASSIFIED AS INDIRECT.

A. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY AND PLANNING

THE TWO VALUE-CLUSTERS THAT CHARACTERIZE NORTH AMERICAN IDEOLOGY HAVE ALREADY BEEN DESCRIBED IN DETAIL ABOVE.[2] WHILE THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' VALUE CLUSTER HAS TRADITIONALLY RESISTED THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PLANNING, THE VALUES IN THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER HAVE PROPELLED PLANNING TO ITS PRESENT POSITION, AGAINST THE CURRENT OF THIS RESISTANCE.

THE ANTAGONISM OF THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE-CLUSTER TO PLANNING HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON THE FACT THAT PLANNING--AS WE HAVE SEEN--[3]

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[1] THE TERM "META-PLANNING" IS USED IN A WAY ANALOGOUS TO "META-ETHICS"--I.E., TO MEAN THE JUSTIFICATION OF PLANNING ITSELF.

[2] SEE CHAPTER 3, C.

[3] IN CHAPTER 5, B.

IMPLIES CONTROL, AND CONTROL HAS BEEN CONSTRUED AS LIMITING FREEDOM. WHEN ADHERENCE TO THE VALUES IN THE INDIVIDUALISM CLUSTER, ESPECIALLY THOSE OF LAISSEZ-FAIRE AND FREE-ENTERPRISE, WAS AT ITS HEIGHT IN THE EARLY PART OF THIS CENTURY, OBJECTION TO PLANNING AS A THREAT TO FREEDOM WAS ALSO AT ITS HEIGHT. A LEADING CRITIC, FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK, ENTITLED HIS INFLUENTIAL ANTI-PLANNING (IN THIS CASE, ECONOMIC PLANNING) BOOK, THE ROAD TO SERFDOM. HE IDENTIFIED PLANNING AS A MILD FORM OF SOCIALISM (COMMUNISM) AND FEARED THAT IT WOULD CORRODE THE AMERICAN TRADITION OF INDIVIDUALISM AT WHAT HE MUST HAVE REGARDED AS ITS FOUNDATIONS —I.E., ECONOMIC INDIVIDUALISM. IN SHORT, HE PERCEIVED PLANNING AS A THREAT TO FREEDOM.[4]

THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA ARE, HOWEVER, HEIRS TO ANOTHER IDEOLOGICAL TRADITION, WITH ROOTS IN RATIONALISM, THE ENLIGHTENMENT, AND THE TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION, A TRADITION WE HAVE NAMED 'SCIENTISM.' THE TWO TRADITIONS EXIST SIDE BY SIDE. PARADOXICALLY, BOTH TRADITIONS SEIZED UPON THE SAME ATTRIBUTE OF PLANNING, I.E., CONTROL, TO SUPPORT THEIR OPPOSITE STANDS. SCIENTISM REGARDED PLANNING AS A RATIONAL AND EFFICIENT MEANS OF CONTROLLING THE FUTURE—RATIONALITY AND EFFICIENCY BEING TWO OF ITS VALUES. THE EMPHASIS OF PLANNING ON PROGRESS AND OPTIMISM ALSO ACCORDED WELL WITH THE VALUES IN THE SCIENTISM CLUSTER. SCIENTISM, THEN,

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[4] FRIEDRICH A. HAYEK, THE ROAD TO SERFDOM (CHICAGO: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1944), PP. 10-31 AND PASSIM.

A MORE RECENT OBJECTION TO PLANNING (ESPECIALLY THE NEW SOCIAL CONCERN OF CITY PLANNING) AS "AUTOCRATIC" WAS MADE BY THE LATE ARCHITECT HENRY S. CHURCHILL IN: "NEW TENDENCIES IN PLANNING," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY C. E. ELIAS JR., JAMES GILLIES AND SVEND RIEMER (BELMONT, CALIFORNIA: WADSWORTH PUBLISHING CO., INC., 1968), PP. 134-136.

CONSTITUTED THE JUSTIFICATION FOR THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PLANNING; IT HAS BECOME ITS 'ENABLING IDEOLOGY.' HOWEVER, SO LONG AS A STRONG VALUE-FORCE SUCH AS THE INDIVIDUALISTIC-DEMOCRATIC TRADITION RESISTED PLANNING, IT COULD NOT BECOME FIRMLY ROOTED. PLANNERS AND PLANNING IDEOLOGISTS HAVE THEREFORE ALWAYS ATTEMPTED TO RECONCILE PLANNING WITH INDIVIDUALISM AND DEMOCRACY.

THIS MAY NOT BE AN IMPOSSIBLE TASK TO ACHIEVE. FOR ONE THING, THE TWO VALUE-CLUSTERS DO, IN FACT, CO-EXIST--AND NOT NECESSARILY IN A STATE OF TENSION. BRONOWSKI, A PHILOSOPHER OF SCIENCE, HAS (IN ANOTHER CONTEXT) MADE AN INTERESTING ATTEMPT TO SHOW HOW VALUES OF THE INDIVIDUALISM CLUSTER MAY HAVE INDEED BEEN GENERATED FROM VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD: LOVE OF TRUTH, AS THE BASIS OF SCIENCE, LED TO DEMANDS FOR INDEPENDENCE IN ORDER TO FURTHER ORIGINALITY, WHICH HAS IN TURN NECESSITATED THE GRANTING OF FREEDOM OF THOUGHT, WHICH IMPLIED A PUBLIC ACKNOWLEDGEMENT OF JUSTICE, WHICH IN TURN EXTENDED FREEDOM OF THOUGHT TO ALL, FINALLY LEADING TO DEMOCRACY.[5]

THERE ARE OTHER SIGNS THAT A RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY MAY NOT BE AS DIFFICULT A TASK TODAY AS IT MAY HAVE BEEN SEVERAL DECADES AGO. SOME OF THE VALUES IN THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY CLUSTER THAT HAVE BEEN MOST ANTAGONISTIC TO PLANNING, SUCH AS LAISSEZ-FAIRE, HAVE BEEN LOSING THEIR FORCE. THE OPPOSITION TO GOVERNMENT CONTROL IN MANY SPHERES OF LIFE INCLUDING THE ECONOMY AND THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT OF CITIES, HAS BEEN MITIGATED IN THE FACE OF CONTRARY VALUES THAT WORKED TO STRENGTHEN GOVERNMENT AND, ALONG WITH IT, TO INSTITUTIONALIZE PLANNING.

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[5] JACOB BRONOWSKY, SCIENCE AND HUMAN VALUES (NEW YORK: JULIAN MESSNER INC., 1956), PP. 77-80.

THESE CONTRARY VALUES HAVE BEEN PARTLY DERIVED FROM THE SCIENTISM CLUSTER, SINCE THE VALUES OF RATIONALITY AND EFFICIENCY MAY BE USED AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR GOVERNMENT IN GENERAL, AS WELL AS FOR ITS PLANNING FUNCTION. PARTLY, THESE VALUES WERE DERIVED FROM A REINTERPRETATION OF THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY AND INDIVIDUALISM.

INSTEAD OF BEING UNDERSTOOD TO MEAN THE RIGHT OF EACH INDIVIDUAL TO STRUGGLE THROUGH LIFE BY HIMSELF, BEING EQUALLY FREE TO DO SO AS OTHERS, THESE SAME VALUES OF FREEDOM, EQUALITY, AND INDIVIDUALISM, HAVE BEEN REINTERPRETED TO MEAN THE DUTY OF SOCIETY TO ENSURE THAT THE STRUGGLE THROUGH LIFE OF THE LESS FORTUNATE WILL BE AIDED, THAT SOME MEASURE OF BASIC ECONOMIC EQUALITY WILL BE ENSURED, AND THAT DEMOCRACY WILL MEAN SOMEWHAT MORE THAN THE RIGHT TO VOTE; IN SHORT, THAT INDIVIDUALISM WILL NOT MEAN ONLY INDIVIDUAL ECONOMIC PURSUIT, BUT ALSO INDIVIDUAL DIGNITY.

THIS REINTERPRETATION OF VALUES HAS NOT ONLY ENABLED, BUT ENTAILED, THE STRENGTHENING OF GOVERNMENT. IT HAS ALSO DISSIPATED MUCH OF THE TRADITIONAL RESISTANCE TO PLANNING. THE MODIFIED VALUES ARE STILL IN THE PROCESS OF ASCENDANCY: RESCHER (A NOTED PHILOSOPHER) PREDICTS THAT THE OLD VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM WILL CONTINUE TO DECLINE, WHILE THE NEW SOCIAL VALUES, ALONG WITH AESTHETIC AND INTELLECTUAL VALUES, WILL BECOME DOMINANT.[6]

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN A STRONG ROLE FOR GOVERNMENT AND THE ACCEPTANCE OF PLANNING MAY BE CLEARLY ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NORTHVILLE SCENE. IT WILL BE RECALLED THAT THE NORTHVILLE ECONOMY IS ENTIRELY DEPENDENT ON

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[6]NICHOLAS RESCHER, "WHAT IS VALUE CHANGE?" IN VALUES AND THE FUTURE, ED. BY BAIER AND RESCHER, PP. 68-89.

THE PRESENCE OF THE NUMEROUS GOVERNMENT BUREAUS IN THE AREA. NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS ARE THUS NOT ONLY TOLERANT OF GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS, THEY HAVE EVEN COME TO RESPECT, PERHAPS VALUE, THESE OPERATIONS, AND TO DEPEND ON GOVERNMENT FUNDS AND GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES FOR MANY OF THEIR COMMUNAL NEEDS. PLANNING HAS BEEN ACCEPTED AS SIMPLY ANOTHER GOVERNMENT OPERATION, WITH LITTLE IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE. ANY RESISTANCE THAT HAS BEEN OFFERED HAS BEEN DIRECTED AT SPECIFIC PLANS OR PROPOSALS, RATHER THAN AT PLANNING PER SE. FURTHERMORE: NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS HAVE ALWAYS SEEN BEFORE THEIR EYES AN EXAMPLE OF GOVERNMENT PLANNING--THE SUB-COMMUNITY OF CIVIL SERVANTS WHERE HOUSING, UTILITIES, AND ALL OTHER SERVICES HAVE ALWAYS BEEN FAR SUPERIOR TO THE EQUIVALENT FACILITIES AND SERVICES IN THE OTHER SUB-COMMUNITIES. GRANTED, THE TRADITIONAL VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM, ESPECIALLY AS PERTAINING TO PRIVATE PROPERTY AND HOUSING,[7] ARE STILL POWERFUL. BUT THE NEW SOCIAL VALUES, THE DEMANDS FOR RELATIVE EQUALITY OF ECONOMIC SECURITY, OF SERVICES, AND OF AMENITIES, HAVE EFFECTIVELY NEUTRALIZED ANY RESISTANCE TO THE INTRODUCTION OF PLANNING WHICH MAY HAVE STILL EMANATED FROM THE TRADITIONAL IDEOLOGY.

B. SOME ATTEMPTS AT A RECONCILIATION

ALTHOUGH THE RESISTANCE TO PLANNING FROM THE DIRECTION OF THE TRADITIONAL INDIVIDUALISTIC-DEMOCRATIC VALUES HAS BEEN SUBSIDING, AND ALTHOUGH THESE TRADITIONAL VALUES HAVE BEEN REINTERPRETED IN A WAY POTENTIALLY LESS RESISTANT TO PLANNING, THE TASK OF DRAWING UPON THIS POTENTIAL FOR THE RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING WITH DEMOCRACY STILL HAD TO BE UNDERTAKEN. LET US NOW LOOK AT THE PROPOSALS FOR JUSTIFYING PLANNING

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[7] THESE VALUES WILL BE MENTIONED THROUGHOUT PART IV, WHERE RELEVANT.

IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY SUGGESTED BY SOME PLANNING THEORETICIANS AND IDEOLOGISTS.

KARL MANNHEIM WAS NOT ONLY THE FATHER OF THE SOCIOLOGY OF KNOWLEDGE; HE WAS ALSO AN ARDENT EXPONENT OF WHAT HE CALLED THE "PLANNED SOCIETY." HE ARGUED NOT ONLY THAT PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY ARE RECONCILABLE, BUT THAT TRUE PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY CAN INDEED ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN A PLANNED SOCIETY. HIS REASONING WENT AS FOLLOWS: HUMANITY HAS EXPERIENCED THREE FORMS OF FREEDOM IN ITS HISTORY: IN THE FIRST AND MOST PRIMITIVE STAGE, FREEDOM MEANT FREEDOM TO ADJUST TO NATURE DIRECTLY, WITHOUT THE AID OR HINDRANCE OF OTHER HUMAN BEINGS; COERCION WAS THAT IMPOSED BY NATURE; IN THE SECOND STAGE, AFTER THE FORMATION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION, THIS ORGANIZATION RESTRICTED THE EARLIER TYPE OF FREEDOM, SUBSTITUTING FOR IT THE INSTITUTIONALLY-GUARANTEED LIBERTIES OF POLITICAL DEMOCRACY; COERCION HERE WAS THE COERCION OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION; BUT THE BLIND FORCES OF SOCIAL ORGANIZATION ARE SELF-DESTRUCTIVE, AND NO LESS COERCIVE BECAUSE THEY ARE ANONYMOUS; IN THE THIRD STAGE OF A PLANNED SOCIETY, FREEDOM WOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE PLAN AND (PRESUMABLY), WHATEVER RESTRICTION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM WOULD BE ENTAILED, IT SHOULD BE ACCEPTED FOR THE TOTAL GOOD.

MANNHEIM GOES ON TO INSIST THAT A PLANNED SOCIETY WOULD BE A DISASTER UNLESS IT HAD DEMOCRATIC PARLIAMENTARY CONTROL TO ENSURE THAT FREEDOM IS GUARANTEED THROUGH ITS INCORPORATION INTO THE PLAN ITSELF. HE FURTHER RECOMMENDS THAT THE TRADITIONAL INDIVIDUAL LIBERTIES NOT BE DISCARDED. YET NEW ONES SHALL BE ADDED SINCE, HE ARGUES, THE "...'LIBERTIES' OF LIBERAL CAPITALIST SOCIETY ARE OFTEN ONLY AVAILABLE TO THE RICH..." IT WILL BE NOTED THAT, IN EFFECT, HE HAS RECONCILED FREEDOM AND CONTROL, DEMOCRACY AND

ECONOMIC PLANNING, THROUGH THE REINTERPRETATION OF "DEMOCRACY" AND "FREEDOM" FROM THEIR FORMER INDIVIDUALISTIC ORIENTATION TO A SOCIAL-COLLECTIVE ONE, AND THROUGH THE REQUIREMENT THAT A POLITICAL DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM (BUT NOT CAPITALISM) BE MAINTAINED.[8]

MANNHEIM'S ARGUMENT FOR RECONCILING PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY IS A CLASSICAL ONE. OTHER AUTHORS HAVE FOLLOWED THIS ARGUMENT TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT.

SOME AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS, SUCH AS RICHARD ELY AND JANE ADDAMS, HAVE CITED THE FAILURE OF THE MODEL TOWN OF PULLMAN[9] AS PROOF THAT PLANNING CAN ONLY OPERATE EFFECTIVELY IN A DEMOCRACY, WHERE THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE OF INDIVIDUALS WOULD NOT BE CURTAILED.[10] A SIMILAR POSITION HAS BEEN ADOPTED MORE RECENTLY BY THREE PLANNING THEORETICIANS, DAVIDOFF, REINER AND WEBBER, WHO REGARD INCREASING THE FREEDOM OF CHOICE AS A PRIME GOAL FOR PLANNING.[11]

IN MANNHEIM'S ARGUMENT AN IMPLICIT SEPARATION WAS MADE BETWEEN THOSE VALUES IN THE 'DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER ASSOCIATED WITH THE ECONOMY (FREE-ENTERPRISE AND PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP), AND THOSE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. A SIMILAR SEPARATION IS MADE BY TWO NOTED PLANNING THEORETICIANS, BLUMENFELD AND TUGWELL.

HANS BLUMENFELD REGARDS PLANNING AS "FULLY EFFECTIVE ONLY IN A FUNCTIONING DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY THAT IS ABLE TO FORMULATE COMMON GOALS AND

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[8] KARL MANNHEIM, MAN AND SOCIETY IN AN AGE OF RECONSTRUCTION (NEW YORK: HARCOURT, BRACE AND COMPANY, 1951), PP. 369-370, AND 372-381.

[9] THIS TOWN FAILED, IT WILL BE RECALLED, BECAUSE THE AUTHORITIES WANTED TO FORCE THE WORKING CLASS RESIDENTS TO CHANGE THEIR PRIVATE WAY OF LIFE.

[10] BUDER, "THE MODEL TOWN OF PULLMAN..."

[11] DAVIDOFF AND REINER, "A CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING"; AND WEBBER, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY."

TO ENLIST THE ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF ITS MEMBERS IN THEIR ACHIEVEMENT."[12] AT THE SAME TIME HE NOTES THAT PLANNING IS MOST EFFECTIVE WHERE LAND IS PUBLICLY OWNED, AND WHERE PUBLIC INVESTMENT PREDOMINATES.[13]

REXFORD GUY TUGWELL ARGUES THAT DEMOCRACY DOES NOT IMPLY CAPITALISM. PLANNING IS DEMOCRATIC WHEN IT IS CARRIED ON IN A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST. THE GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST WILL NOT BE ACHIEVED BY THE ANACHRONISTIC INDIVIDUALIST CAPITALISM, SINCE THE SUM OF PRIVATE MAXIMIZATION OF INTEREST DOES NOT EQUAL THE PUBLIC INTEREST. FURTHERMORE, HE ARGUES, THE NEW MEANS OF COMMUNICATION MAKE A RANDOM CLASSICAL MARKET ECONOMY IMPOSSIBLE. HENCE PLANNING IS NECESSARY.[14]

DAHL AND LINDBLOM HAVE TAKEN A POSITION SOMEWHAT SIMILAR TO THAT OF MANNHEIM. IN A MANNER ANALOGOUS TO MANNHEIM'S DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE FIRST TWO STAGES OF FREEDOM, THEY DISTINGUISH BETWEEN AUTONOMY (NO CONTROLS WHATEVER) AND FREEDOM (WHERE SOCIAL CONTROLS EXIST). IT IS ONLY THE FORMER, THEY ARGUE, THAT IS INCOMPATIBLE WITH PLANNING.[15]

EBENEZER HOWARD HAS HAD A VERY STRONG IMPACT ON CITY PLANNING, BOTH IN HIS THEORIES AND IN PRACTICE. IN THE EARLIER STAGES OF HIS THINKING, HE FOUND IT NATURAL TO ALLY WITH THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS OF HIS TIME,

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[12] HANS BLUMENFELD, THE MODERN METROPOLIS (MONTREAL: HARVEST HOUSE, 1967), P. 290.

[13] IBID.

[14] REXFORD GUY TUGWELL, "THE FOURTH POWER," ADDRESS TO THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, DELIVERED IN 1939, PP. 1-11 (MIMEOGRAPHED); AND THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN SOCIETY (SAN JUAN: DEPARTAMENTO DE HACIENDA, 1958), PP. 24-35 AND PASSIM.

[15] DAHL AND LINDBLOM, POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND WELFARE, P. 117.

PROPOSING TO BUILD A COMMUNITY THAT WOULD INCORPORATE MODEL PHYSICAL PLANNING WITH AN EXPERIMENTAL COMMUNAL WAY OF LIFE. WHEN THIS PLAN DID NOT MATERIALIZE, HOWARD DECIDED TO TERMINATE THE ALLIANCE OF CITY PLANNING WITH ANY SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY, AND TO PROMOTE HIS PLANNING IDEAS ON THEIR OWN MERIT. THE TWO GARDEN CITIES HE LATER BUILT THUS PERMITTED PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND UNRESTRICTED INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM.[16] THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE TWO GARDEN CITIES IN ENGLAND, LETCHWORTH AND WELWYN, MAY THEREFORE BE CONSIDERED A LANDMARK IN THE HISTORY OF THE ACCEPTANCE OF CITY PLANNING IN THE WEST. IT DEMONSTRATED THAT PLANNING CAN, IN PRACTICE, CO-EXIST WITH CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY. THE RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY HAS SINCE BECOME EASIER.

FINALLY, LET US CONSIDER ECONOMIC PLANNING AND THE DEBATE ABOUT IT THAT WAS CARRIED ON THREE DECADES AGO ACROSS THE ATLANTIC. IN A REBUTTAL TO HAYEK, BARBARA WOOTTON, A BRITISH PROMOTER OF ECONOMIC PLANNING, RESPONDED BY DISTINGUISHING BETWEEN FREEDOM IN GENERAL AND SPECIFIC FREEDOMS. SHE ENUMERATED CULTURAL, CIVIL, POLITICAL, AND ECONOMIC FREEDOMS, AND ARGUED THAT PLANNING PER SE DOES NOT CONSTITUTE A THREAT TO ANY OF THESE. ON THE CONTRARY: THE ADDED ECONOMIC SECURITY OBTAINED BY ECONOMIC PLANNING COULD ONLY ENSURE GREATER CIVIL, CULTURAL, AND ECONOMIC FREEDOM FOR ALL. HOWEVER, SHE NOTED, PLANNING CAN BE MISUSED BY THOSE WHO WISH TO CURTAIL FREEDOM. YET JUST BECAUSE SUCH A POSSIBILITY EXISTS, THERE IS NO REASON TO FORBID PLANNING. RATHER, CONTROLS AGAINST POLITICAL MISUSE SHOULD BE STRENGTHENED.[17]

IN THIS SECTION WE HAVE SURVEYED THE OPINIONS OF SOME LEADING

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[16] STANLEY BUDER, "EBENEZER HOWARD: THE GENESIS OF A TOWN PLANNING MOVEMENT," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1969, PP. 390-397.

[17] WOOTTON, FREEDOM UNDER PLANNING, PP. 26-115.

PLANNING THEORETICIANS AND IDEOLOGISTS ABOUT PLANNING IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. WHAT WE HAVE INTERPRETED AS THEIR ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE A RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY HAVE NOT, OF COURSE, BEEN OFFERED BY THEM AS SUCH. NOR WERE WE INTERESTED IN THEIR EXPLICIT RECOGNITION OF THE PROBLEM. OUR INTEREST HAS BEEN, AS ELSEWHERE IN THIS THESIS, NOT IN THE FACTUAL IMPORT OF OPINIONS, BUT IN THE ALTERNATIVE VALUE OR IDEOLOGICAL STANDS THAT LIE AT THEIR FOUNDATIONS.

THERE ARE OTHER ATTEMPTS TO RECONCILE PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY. THESE ATTEMPTS DIFFER FROM THE ABOVE IN THAT THEY ARE NOT OFFERED AT THE PHILOSOPHICAL LEVEL, BUT AT THE LEVEL OF PLANNING PRACTICE. THEIR IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT IS OFTEN DIFFUSE, AND HAS NOT BEEN ARTICULATED FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE RECONCILIATION PROBLEM. THESE ARE THE VARIOUS ATTEMPTS TO MAKE PLANNING PRACTICE MORE 'DEMOCRATIC' (TO WHICH CHAPTER 11 IS DEVOTED). THE THEME OF HOW TO MAKE PLANNING MORE DEMOCRATIC IMPLICITLY ALSO RUNS THROUGH MANY OF THE OTHER ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE THESIS, AND IS OF MAJOR CONCERN IN THE NEXT CHAPTER.

CHAPTER 7

THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN AN INSTITUTIONALIZED DEMOCRACY

META-PLANNING, WE HAVE NOTED, IS A FORM OF INDIRECT INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. ANOTHER FORM OF INDIRECT INTERVENTION IS THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FOR PLANNING, SINCE IT LIES OUTSIDE THE PLANNING PROCESS AND THE VALUES THIS PROCESS ENTAILS. IN THIS CHAPTER, WE SHALL LOOK AT THE INSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF PLANNING IN OUR TWO SOCIETIES OF MAIN CONCERN--THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA AND CANADA. BOTH THESE COUNTRIES HAVE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS. THE ISSUE OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY WILL THEREFORE BE ONE OF THE THEMES OF THIS CHAPTER.

A. THE COMMUNITY VALUE SETTING FOR PLANNING

THEORETICALLY, PLANNING COULD BE ALMOST DIVORCED FROM THE VALUES OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS OR THE GENERAL COMMUNITY. THIS WOULD OCCUR WHERE THE PLANNER DOES NOT HAPPEN TO SHARE THESE VALUES, AND WHERE THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FOR PLANNING WOULD BE SUCH THAT THE PLANNER COULD IGNORE THE PUBLIC. AN INSTITUTIONAL SETTING THAT COMES IMMEDIATELY TO MIND IS AN ABSOLUTE POLITICAL DICTATORSHIP. OTHER INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS ARE ALSO POSSIBLE: WHERE THE PLANNING IS CARRIED OUT AS A 'HOBBY' WITH NO INTENTION OF IMPLEMENTATION OR, MORE REALISTICALLY, WHERE IT IS CARRIED OUT BY A PRIVATE ORGANIZATION, SUCH AS AN ECONOMIC CORPORATION WITH

A DICTATORIAL 'BENT'. HOWEVER, PLANNING, ESPECIALLY CITY PLANNING, IN NORTH AMERICA IS USUALLY UNDERTAKEN BY SOME PUBLIC INSTITUTION OR BY A CONSULTANT TO SUCH AN INSTITUTION; AND THE DEMOCRATIC FORM OF GOVERNMENT PREVAILS. IT IS THEREFORE UNLIKELY THAT, IN MOST INSTANCES, PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA COULD BE HERMETICALLY INSULATED FROM COMMUNITY VALUES.

IN A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY, COMMUNITY VALUES MUST NECESSARILY AFFECT PLANNING TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE WHEREVER PLANNING IS PLACED WITHIN A PUBLIC INSTITUTION, BE IT A MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, A POLITICAL PARTY, A GOVERNMENT CABINET, OR SOME PART OF THE GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY. THE DEGREE OF INTERVENTION OF COMMUNITY VALUES, HOWEVER, CAN VARY WIDELY AMONG THESE INSTITUTIONAL SETTINGS, OR AMONG THE VARIOUS MANIFESTATIONS OF ANY ONE TYPE OF SETTING.

WHERE THE PLANNER IS EMPLOYED DIRECTLY BY AN ELECTED POLITICIAN, BE IT ON THE MUNICIPAL LEVEL (THE USUAL CASE) OR ON THE NATIONAL OR STATE/PROVINCIAL LEVELS, IT IS LIKELY THAT THE PLANNER WILL, ON THE ONE HAND, HAVE TO TAKE PUBLIC VALUES INTO CONSIDERATION AND WILL, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAVE MORE OPPORTUNITY TO COME INTO CONTACT WITH THE PUBLIC OR WITH THE ONCE-REMOVED ELECTED REPRESENTATIVE. WHERE THE PLANNER IS EMPLOYED BY A BUREAUCRAT, WHO IS HIMSELF EMPLOYED BY AN ELECTED POLITICIAN (BE IT IN LARGE CITIES OR IN UPPER-GOVERNMENT LEVELS), THE PLANNER WOULD BE TWICE-REMOVED FROM THE PUBLIC, AND THE COMMUNICATION OF VALUES BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS WOULD LIKELY BE OF A LESSER DEGREE. HOWEVER, EVEN IN THIS LATTER CASE, THE PLACEMENT OF PLANNING IN A PUBLIC DEMOCRATIC BODY WOULD IMPLY AND ENSURE AT LEAST SOME MEASURE OF VALUE COMMUNICATION, DIRECT OR INDIRECT, BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE PUBLIC.

THE LATTER POINT IS IMPORTANT, AND AN ILLUSTRATION FROM NORTHVILLE IS IN ORDER. PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE (WHETHER TOWN, ECONOMIC, OR WELFARE PLANNING) IS CARRIED OUT BY GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACIES. IN THE CASE OF TOWN PLANNING, THERE ARE TWO BUREAUS INVOLVED, REPRESENTING TWO LEVELS OF UPPER-GOVERNMENTS. FURTHERMORE: NORTHVILLE IS RELATIVELY UNIQUE IN THAT IT HAS NO MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AT ALL, ONLY AN ADVISORY BOARD OF ELECTED CITIZENS, WHOSE ADVICE A NON-LOCAL, GOVERNMENT-APPOINTED ADMINISTRATOR MAY CHOOSE TO FOLLOW OR IGNORE. NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS AND THOSE PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE ARE, HOWEVER, PART OF THE NORTH AMERICAN CULTURE AND SHARE THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. THUS IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT EVEN IN THIS INSTITUTIONAL SETTING, WHERE THE PLANNERS LACK ANY ESTABLISHED LINE OF COMMUNICATION WITH THE PEOPLE AND WHERE THE EMPLOYERS ARE THEMSELVES CIVIL SERVANTS WITH NO DIRECT RESPONSIBILITY TO THE RESIDENTS--EVEN HERE THE PUBLIC'S VALUES HAVE BEEN A MAJOR FACTOR AFFECTING THE SUCCESS OR FAILURE OF PLANNING. THE CIVIL SERVANTS HAVE ALSO BECOME SENSITIVE TO THE OPINIONS OF THE RESIDENTS (AT LEAST OF THE VOCAL ONES) TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY SOMETIMES INVITE THE MEMBERS OF THE ADVISORY COMMITTEE TO GOVERNMENT MEETINGS.

COMMUNITY VALUES, THEN, AFFECT PUBLIC PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA TO SOME DEGREE. THEY DO SO THROUGH AFFECTING THE POLITICAL CLIMATE, WHICH IN TURN AFFECTS THE ELECTED POLITICIANS, THE PLANNER-POLITICIAN OR PLANNER-BUREAUCRAT RELATIONSHIPS, THE WILLINGNESS OF THE PUBLIC TO COMMUNICATE WITH THE PLANNERS, AND THE EVENTUAL EFFECTIVENESS OF PLANNING. FRANCINE RABINOVITZ[1] HAS SHOWN HOW THE POLITICAL SYSTEM PREVALENT

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[1] RABINOVITZ, CITY POLITICS AND PLANNING, PP. 59-78.

IN A COMMUNITY (AND ARISING OUT OF COMMUNITY VALUES) IS A MAJOR FACTOR DETERMINING WHETHER PLANNING WILL BE EFFECTIVE: IN COHESIVE, EXECUTIVE-ORIENTED SYSTEMS, WHERE THE VALUES OF AN ELITE IN THE COMMUNITY ARE UNCHALLENGED, PLANNING IS THE MOST EFFECTIVE. AT THE OTHER END OF THE SCALE, WHERE COMMUNITY VALUES ARE MORE EGALITARIAN, WHERE THE STRUCTURE IS FRAGMENTED AND DIFFUSE, AND WHERE THERE IS MUCH VALUE CONFLICT AMONG INTEREST GROUPS, PLANNING TENDS TO BE THE LEAST EFFECTIVE.[2] WE MIGHT ADD FURTHER THAT WHERE THERE IS MUCH VALUE-CONFLICT IN A COMMUNITY, IT MAY BECOME MORE DIFFICULT TO DETERMINE THE 'PUBLIC-INTEREST'[3] OR TO DO CLIENT-ANALYSIS, PARTICIPATORY PLANNING, ETC.[4]

B. ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES FOR PLANNING

IN A POLITICAL DEMOCRACY, IT IS ESSENTIALLY THE VALUES OF THE PUBLIC, THE COMMUNITY OR SOME (POWERFUL) GROUP WITHIN IT, THAT IN THE LAST ANALYSIS DETERMINE IN WHICH OF SEVERAL ALTERNATIVE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES PLANNING WILL BE PLACED. THE ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES WITHIN A MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT ARE THE MOST CLEARLY DEFINED AND HAVE RECEIVED THE MOST ATTENTION, BUT THE POSITION OF PLANNING IN A BUREAUCRACY AND THE POSITION OF THE PLANNING CONSULTANT ARE ALSO RELEVANT.

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[2] BOLAN ENUMERATES SLIGHTLY DIFFERENT STRUCTURES, BUT MAKES ESSENTIALLY THE SAME POINT: PLANNING IS AFFECTED BY COMMUNITY VALUES, WHICH HE CALLS THE "CULTURE OF PLANNING." SEE RICHARD S. BOLAN, "COMMUNITY DECISION BEHAVIOR: THE CULTURE OF PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER 1969, PP. 301-310.

[3] JOHN W. DYCKMAN, "THE PRACTICAL USES OF PLANNING THEORY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 298-300.

[4] SEE ALSO CHAPTER 11.

A) ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES WITHIN MUNICIPALITIES:

BEFORE PROCEEDING TO ENUMERATE THE ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES, LET US NOTE THAT THE PLACEMENT OF CITY PLANNING WITHIN A MUNICIPAL STRUCTURE (REGARDLESS OF THE TYPE)--AND THIS IS THE MOST COMMON FORM OF CITY PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA--REFLECTS VALUES THAT ARE SO WIDELY HELD BY NORTH AMERICANS THAT THEY ARE TAKEN FOR GRANTED, RECEIVING LITTLE LITERARY ATTENTION FROM PLANNERS. THEY ARE THOSE VALUES OF THE 'INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER THAT CALL FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENTS AND THAT IMPLY THAT CITY PLANNING MUST BE CARRIED OUT AT THAT LEVEL, RATHER THAN AT A HIGHER LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT. THESE SAME VALUES ARE THE SUPPORT BEHIND THE NOTION OF 'GRASS-ROOTS DEMOCRACY' WHICH, IN TURN, IS THE PRIME IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT BEHIND THE PERSEVERANCE OF MUNICIPAL POLITICAL SUBDIVISIONS WITHIN A SINGLE URBAN COMPLEX. THE STRONG RESISTANCE AGAINST METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT ENCOUNTERED IN THE UNITED STATES (AND LESS STRONGLY IN CANADA[5]), HAS MADE METROPOLITAN PLANNING DIFFICULT. SIMILARLY, THE VALUES SUPPORTING LOCAL-LEVEL PLANNING HAVE MILITATED AGAINST ATTEMPTS TO UNDERTAKE REGIONAL (URBAN-RURAL) PLANNING.

NOW, LET US FOCUS ON THE MUNICIPAL UNIT AND THE STRUCTURE OF PLANNING WITHIN IT. THERE HAVE BEEN TWO MAJOR PROPOSALS FOR THE INCORPORATION OF PLANNING INTO THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT, AND ONE MINOR ONE. THE ALTERNATIVE STRUCTURES ARE:

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[5]ALL THREE METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENTS IN NORTH AMERICA ARE IN CANADA: TORONTO, WINNIPEG AND LATELY ALSO MONTREAL. THE FORMER TWO METROPOLITAN AREAS ARE DISCUSSED IN: THOMAS J. PLUNKETT, URBAN CANADA AND ITS GOVERNMENT: A STUDY OF MUNICIPAL ORGANIZATION (TORONTO: THE MACMILLAN CO. OF CANADA LTD., 1968), PP. 84-108. IN THE UNITED STATES, DADE COUNTY (MIAMI), MINNEAPOLIS-ST. PAUL, AND DENVER ARE METROPOLITAN AREAS EXHIBITING SOME, BUT NOT ALL, OF THE ASPECTS OF A METROPOLITAN GOVERNMENT. SEE JOHN CONSTANTINUS BOLLENS AND HENRY J. SCHMADT, METROPOLIS: ITS PEOPLE, POLITICS AND ECONOMIC LIFE (NEW YORK: HARPER & ROW CO. LTD., 1970).

1) THE INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSION;

2) PLANNING DEPARTMENT ATTACHED TO THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE (MAYOR);

3) PLANNING DEPARTMENT ATTACHED TO THE ELECTED COUNCIL.

THE INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSION WAS THE INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE WHICH WAS DEEMED MOST DESIRABLE FOR PLANNING IN ITS EARLY YEARS OF ACCEPTANCE IN NORTH AMERICA. ONE OF ITS CHIEF ADVOCATES, BASSETT (ALONG WITH BETTMAN), WAS ALSO AN ADVOCATE OF ZONING AND PLANNING IN GENERAL.[6] THE VALUES WHICH PROMOTED THIS STRUCTURE ARE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH THE VALUES WHICH LAY BEHIND THE FIGHT OVER THE ACCEPTANCE OF PLANNING. WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT THE RESISTANCE TO PLANNING WAS MOTIVATED BY THE SAME VALUES THAT RESISTED A STRONG GOVERNMENT. IT WAS THE GENERAL MISTRUST OF POLITICS, PREVALENT ESPECIALLY AMONG THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES, WHICH LED TO THE PLACEMENT OF THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR PLANNING IN THE HANDS OF A LAY COMMISSION, STRUCTURALLY INDEPENDENT OF EITHER THE MAYOR OR THE COUNCIL, AND WORKING WITHOUT PAY[7]. THIS STRUCTURAL ARRANGEMENT ALSO SUCCEEDED IN REDUCING THE EFFECTIVENESS OF PLANNING.[8] BUT IT GAVE PLANNING ONE IMPORTANT ADVANTAGE, THE PRESTIGE OF THE USUALLY HIGHER-CLASS COMMISSIONERS, A LEGITIMACY WHICH PLANNING STILL NEEDED AT THE TIME.[9] IN SHORT, THE CONCEPT OF THE LAY COMMISSION REFLECTS THE AM-

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[6]BASSETT, "ZONING," PP. 326-328.

[7]FRANCINE F. RABINOVITZ AND J. STANLEY POTTINGER, "ORGANIZATION FOR LOCAL PLANNING: THE ATTITUDES OF DIRECTORS," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JANUARY, 1967, PP. 27-31;

[8]WILLIAM L. C. WHEATON, "METRO-ALLOCATION PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1967, PP. 103-107.

[9]RABINOVITZ, CITY POLITICS AND PLANNING, PP. 8-11

BIVALENCE OF THAT PERIOD TOWARD PLANNING, AN AMBIVALENCE WHICH EVEN SUCH PLANNING ADVOCATES AS BASSETT SEEMED TO HAVE SHARED.

WITH THE REINTERPRETATION OF THE VALUES IN THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE CLUSTER, CAME THE ACCEPTANCE OF A GREATER ROLE FOR GOVERNMENT AND, ALONG WITH IT, THE ACCEPTANCE OF PLANNING. THE LEGITIMACY-GIVING FUNCTION OF THE COMMISSIONS BECAME SUPERFLUOUS, WHILE PLANNERS BEGAN DESIRING GREATER EFFECTIVENESS THAN AN INDEPENDENT LAY COMMISSION COULD MAKE POSSIBLE. IN 1941 ROBERT WALKER WROTE AN INFLUENTIAL BOOK RECOMMENDING THAT THE INDEPENDENT COMMISSION BE REPLACED BY A PLANNING DEPARTMENT ATTACHED TO THE OFFICE OF THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE.[10] A VALUE OF THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER (EFFECTIVENESS) HAD SUCCEEDED IN OVERPOWERING VALUES FROM THE 'DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER (DISTRUST OF POLITICS, A PREFERENCE FOR LAYMEN, AND WEAK PLANNING). THE PLACEMENT OF PLANNING NEAR THE MAYOR SEEMS TO BE PREFERRED ALMOST UNANIMOUSLY TODAY BOTH BY PRACTISING PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS,[11] AND BY PLANNING THEORETICIANS.[12]

THE THIRD TYPE OF MUNICIPAL STRUCTURE FOR PLANNING IS THE PLANNING DEPARTMENT ATTACHED TO THE ELECTED COUNCIL. ITS CHIEF ADVOCATE HAS BEEN KENT,[13] BUT IT IS LITTLE DISCUSSED TODAY. IN LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHERE THE COUNCIL IS STRONGER THAN THE MAYOR (WHAT POLITICAL

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[10]ROBERT AVERILL WALKER, THE PLANNING FUNCTION IN URBAN GOVERNMENT (N.P.: UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS, 1941), PP. 177-184.

[11]RABINOVITZ AND POTTINGER UNDERTOOK A STUDY OF PLANNING DIRECTORS WHICH SHOWED THE CURRENT POPULARITY OF THE NEAR-THE-MAYOR STRUCTURE. SEE "ORGANIZATION FOR LOCAL PLANNING."

[12]FOR EXAMPLE: RICHARD S. BOLAN, "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JULY, 1967, PP. 233-245; DAVIDOFF, "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING"; WHEATON, "METRO-ALLOCATION PLANNING".

[13]BOLAN, "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING."

SCIENTISTS CALL THE 'WEAK-MAYOR SYSTEM'), THE PROMOTION OF THIS POLITICAL STRUCTURE FOR PLANNING MAY BE MOTIVATED BY THE SAME VALUES OF EFFECTIVENESS AS ABOVE. BUT WHERE THIS STRUCTURE IS RECOMMENDED REGARDLESS OF THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT TYPE, A POSSIBLE MOTIVATING VALUE MAY BE A HIGH VALUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND A DESIRE TO BE RESPONSIBLE TO AS REPRESENTATIVE A NUMBER OF ELECTED POLITICIANS AS POSSIBLE.

B) THE POSITION OF PLANNING WITHIN A BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE:

PUBLIC PLANNING MAY ALSO BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN A BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE--WHETHER WITHIN A HIGHER GOVERNMENT LEVEL OR WITHIN A LARGE CITY GOVERNMENT MACHINE. HERE VALUES INTERVENE IN SEVERAL WAYS.

THE VALUATION OF PLANNING BY THE BUREAUCRATS - EMPLOYERS (OR BY THEIR EMPLOYERS) DETERMINES FIRST, THE DEPARTMENT OR BUREAU TO WHICH THE PLANNING FUNCTION WILL BE ASSIGNED, AND SECOND, THE LEVEL IN THE HIERARCHY WITHIN THAT BUREAU IN WHICH PLANNING WILL BE POSITIONED. THE IMPORTANCE (OR LACK OF IT) ATTACHED TO PLANNING BY THE EMPLOYERS WOULD THUS HAVE FAR-REACHING IMPLICATIONS FOR THE TYPE OF PLANNING THAT COULD BE CARRIED ON (IF PLANNING IS RELATIVELY ISOLATED IN ONE DEPARTMENT HAVING WEAK COMMUNICATION LINKS WITH OTHER DEPARTMENTS, COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING WOULD BE DIFFICULT). IT WOULD ALSO AFFECT THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE AND THE LIKELIHOOD OF IMPLEMENTATION (IF THE DEPARTMENT IN WHICH PLANNING IS PLACED IS RELATIVELY POWERFUL AND HAS AMPLE RESOURCES, AND IF PLANNING IS PLACED IN A RELATIVELY HIGH HIERARCHICAL POSITION, SUCCESSFUL IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE LIKELY).

IN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE, THE VALUATION OF CITY PLANNING BY THE BUREAUCRATS-EMPLOYERS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN NEITHER INORDINATELY HIGH NOR

ESPECIALLY LOW: IN BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT CONCERNED, THE PLANNING BUREAUS WERE SEVERAL TIMES REMOVED FROM THE MINISTERIAL LEVEL, BUT HAD SOME MEASURE OF POWER. THE POWERS OF THE PLANNING DIRECTOR OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU (IN CHARGE OF GOVERNMENT HOUSING, ETC., IN NORTHVILLE) WERE FEWER THAN THE POWERS OF HIS COUNTERPART IN LEVEL II, BUT THIS IMBALANCE WAS PARTLY CORRECTED BY THE GREATER GENERAL POWERS OF THE LEVEL I DEPARTMENT TO WHICH THE PLANNING BUREAU BELONGED. IN BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, COMMUNICATION LINKS AMONG DEPARTMENTS IN THE SAME LEVEL WERE RELATIVELY WEAK, LEADING TO A SITUATION WHERE PLANNING WAS FRAGMENTED AND UNCO-ORDINATED.

FOR EXAMPLE: PLANNING FOR THE INDIANS RELOCATED IN NORTHVILLE HAD APPARENTLY BEEN UNDERTAKEN WITHOUT FIRST SECURING THE CO-OPERATION OF THE DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED REGARDING ARRANGEMENTS FOR JOBS, HOUSING, AND EDUCATION. THE DISMAL SITUATION IN WHICH THE INDIANS FOUND THEMSELVES AT THE TIME IS ALMOST BEYOND REPAIR TODAY. THE SAME TYPE OF FRAGMENTED PLANNING OCCURRED SEVERAL YEARS LATER. ALTHOUGH THE VERSIONS OF WHAT OCCURRED VARY WIDELY AMONG THE DEPARTMENTS CONCERNED, IT SEEMS THAT IT WAS DECIDED TO MOVE THE INDIAN COMMUNITY TO AN AREA ISOLATED FROM THE TOWN BECAUSE AT THE TIME THERE WAS TALK OF RELOCATING THE TOWN IN THAT GENERAL AREA. EVEN THOUGH THE DECISION <u>NOT</u> TO RELOCATE THE TOWN WAS TAKEN LONG BEFORE THE INDIANS WERE ACTUALLY MOVED, SOMEHOW THIS DID NOT ALTER THE PLANS OF THE DEPARTMENT IN CHARGE OF THE INDIANS. AS A RESULT FUTURE TOWN PLANNING MAY HAVE TO MOVE THE INDIAN COMMUNITY (DESPITE THE HIGH INVESTMENT IN FACILITIES) BACK TO TOWN AGAIN. INCIDENTALLY, ONE OF THE REASONS WHY IT WAS FINALLY DECIDED NOT TO BUILD A RELOCATED TOWN MAY SERVE AS ANOTHER TYPICAL ILLUSTRATION IN THE HISTORY OF NORTHVILLE: A

PREVIOUS COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF A MAJOR DEPARTMENT TO SECURE A DEMAND FOR A LARGE NUMBER OF HOUSING UNITS WAS WITHDRAWN. NO FIRM COMMITMENT FROM THE NUMEROUS BUREAUS CONCERNED ABOUT THEIR FUTURE PLANS IN THE AREA COULD BE OBTAINED EVER SINCE, WITH THE RESULT THAT NO PHYSICAL TOWN PLANNING (NOT TO SPEAK OF COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING) COULD BE UNDERTAKEN UNTIL TODAY. SURPRISINGLY, CO-ORDINATION BETWEEN THE TWO BUREAUS IN CHARGE OF TOWN PLANNING (REPRESENTING TWO DIFFERENT LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT) HAS BEEN BETTER THAN HORIZONTAL CO-ORDINATION AMONG DEPARTMENTS OF THE SAME LEVEL. THE REASON MAY BE A RELATIVE VALUE-COMPATIBILITY AMONG THE PLANNERS INVOLVED AT THE TIME.[14]

VALUES INTERVENE IN PLANNING THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THE BUREAUCRATIC INSTITUTIONAL SETTING IN ANOTHER WAY AS WELL. THE VALUES OF THE ELECTORATE AFFECT THE ELECTED POLITICIANS, IN TURN AFFECTING DECISION-MAKING IN THE BUREAUCRACY. IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE, A CHANGE IN GOVERNMENT WAS ANOTHER REASON WHY THE PROPOSAL TO RELOCATE THE TOWN WAS QUASHED AT A TIME WHEN TOWN PLANNING HAD REACHED ITS MOST ADVANCED AND DETAILED STAGE.

FINALLY, THE VALUES THAT HAVE GENERATED A TRADITIONAL MISTRUST OF GOVERNMENT AFFECT PLANNING IN THE BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE AS WELL; FOR NOT ONLY THE ELECTED POLITICIAN, BUT THE CIVIL SERVANT AS WELL IS SOMETIMES MISTRUSTED (NOTE THE PEJORATIVE CONNOTATIONS OF THE TERM "BUREAUCRACY," SUGGESTING INEFFICIENCY AND 'RED TAPE'). THIS MISTRUST MAY BE

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[14]THIS CONCLUSION IS REACHED WITH CAUTION SINCE THE PERIOD DURING WHICH BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT WERE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE WAS RELATIVELY SHORT. THE PLANNERS INVOLVED AT THE TIME ALL HAD SOME AFFILIATION OR ACQUAINTANCE WITH THE SAME SCHOOL OF PLANNING AND THE VALUES IMPARTED BY IT.

ATTACHED TO THE PLANNER-CIVIL-SERVANT AS WELL.

c) THE POSITION OF THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT:

THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT MAY SOMETIMES ENJOY A HIGHER VALUATION AND TRUST IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC THAN EITHER THE PLANNER IN A LOCAL GOVERNMENT SETTING OR THE PLANNER IN A BUREAUCRACY, FOR THE SAME REASONS THAT A NEGATIVE EVALUATION MAY BE ATTACHED TO THE LATTER TWO PLANNING POSITIONS. A PRIVATE CONSULTANT MAY BE REGARDED AS 'UNTAINTED' BY TOO CLOSE AN ASSOCIATION EITHER WITH ELECTED POLITICIANS, OR WITH A GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY. ON THE POSITIVE SIDE, HE WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF FUNCTIONING WITHIN THE 'FREE-ENTERPRISE' SYSTEM WHICH IS SO HIGHLY ESTEEMED IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA SINCE IT CONSTITUTES PART OF THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY IDEOLOGY. THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT WOULD NOT ONLY BE ACCORDED GREATER CONFIDENCE BY THE PLAN'S CLIENTS AND BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC--THUS POSSIBLY PRODUCING PLANS THAT REFLECT THE PUBLIC'S VALUES BETTER--HE WOULD ALSO ENJOY THE POSITIVE VALUATION OF THE BUREAUCRATS THEMSELVES SINCE THEY, TOO, WOULD MOST LIKELY SHARE THE GENERAL CULTURAL VALUES.

THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE OF THE BUREAUCRATS TOWARD THE PRIVATE PLANNING CONSULTANT WAS EXPRESSED IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE IN THEIR WILLINGNESS TO PAY INORDINATELY HIGH FEES TO SUCH A PRIVATE CONSULTANT, EVEN THOUGH THEY HAD THE CAPABILITIES OF PRODUCING A SIMILAR POLICY PLAN IN-HOUSE AT A MUCH LOWER COST. ONE PHASE OF THE PLAN WAS CARRIED OUT. IT WAS ONLY WHEN THE CONSULTANT DEMANDED A VERY HIGH SUM FOR THE REST OF THE PHASES THAT THE VALUES OF EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY DOMINATED, AND IT WAS DECIDED TO UNDERTAKE THE PLANNING IN-HOUSE AT A FRACTION OF THE

COST.[15] COPIES OF THE FIRST PHASE REPORT WERE EAGERLY PURCHASED BY THE NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS, AND THE FINDINGS OF THE REPORT WERE CITED BY BOTH PRIVATE CITIZENS AND ORGANIZATIONS AND BY PUBLIC AND GOVERNMENT AGENCIES. IN SHORT, THE POSITION OF PRIVATE CONSULTANT ADDED LEGITIMACY TO THE CONSULTANT'S PLANNING.

ONE MORE ADVANTAGE ACCRUING TO THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT DESERVES MENTION. SINCE PRIVATE CONSULTANTS ARE INVITED FROM OUTSIDE, THE GOVERNMENT IS LESS COMMITTED TO SUPPORT AND TO IMPLEMENT THEIR FINDINGS THAN IT WOULD BE IF THE RECOMMENDATIONS OF ITS INTERNAL REPORTS WERE TO 'LEAK OUT.' THE POLITICIANS OR CIVIL SERVANTS CAN THUS RELEASE THE FINDINGS WITH NO COMMITMENT IMPLIED, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME GAINING THE CONFIDENCE OF THE PEOPLE BY FULFILLING THE VALUES THAT CALL ON THE GOVERNMENT TO MAKE ITS ACTIVITIES PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. THIS STRATEGY WAS ADOPTED WITH REGARD TO NORTHVILLE. AT THE SAME TIME, SINCE PRIVATE CONSULTANTS ARE PART OF THE 'FREE MARKET,' THE WIDELY HELD VALUES OF FREE ENTERPRISE AND FREE COMPETITION PERMIT THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL TO ENGAGE OTHER CONSULTANTS, IN THE HOPE THAT THEIR FINDINGS WOULD ACCORD MORE CLOSELY WITH THE GOVERNMENT'S DESIRE. IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE, SEVERAL MUNICIPAL ENGINEERING CONSULTANTS HAD BEEN EMPLOYED, PRODUCING CONTRARY FINDINGS WITH REGARD TO THE DESIRABILITY OR OTHERWISE OF RELOCATING THE TOWN.[16] THE RECOMMENDATIONS THAT WERE FINALLY IMPLEMENTED (THAT THE TOWN SHOULD

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[15] EVEN THEN IT WAS PROPOSED TO ENGAGE THE CONSULTANTS ON A *PER DIEM* BASIS (AT HIGH FEES) TO ADVISE THE IN-HOUSE PLANNERS; THIS WOULD HAVE TRANSFERRED SOME OF THE 'LEGITIMACY' OF THE PRIVATE CONSULTANT TO THE BUREAUCRATIC PLANNERS.

[16] THEY DISAGREED ON WHETHER THE SOIL CONDITIONS AND TERRAIN IN THE PRESENT TOWNSITE PERMIT ITS EXPANSION, AND ON THE FEASIBILITY OF LAYING SEWER AND WATER LINES.

NOT BE MOVED) BEST ACCORDED WITH THE VIEWS OF THE CIVIL SERVANTS CONCERNED.[17]

C. THE ROLES OF THE PLANNER, THE POLITICIAN, AND THE BUREAUCRAT

THE INSTITUTIONAL POSITION OF PLANNING AFFECTS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND HIS EMPLOYER--THE POLITICIAN OR THE BUREAUCRAT. THIS, IN TURN, REFLECTS DEEP-SEATED VALUES THAT INDIRECTLY AFFECT THE PLANNING PROCESS.

A) THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN: THE ISSUE OF THE POLITICIZATION OF PLANNING

THE ISSUE OF THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER VIS-À-VIS THE POLITICIAN IS CLOSELY ALLIED WITH THE ISSUE OF THE IDEAL STRUCTURAL POSITION FOR PLANNING WITHIN THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT STRUCTURE. TRADITIONALLY, WHEN INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSIONS WERE POPULAR, THE DESIRE TO KEEP 'CLEAN' OF POLITICS PRODUCED THE IMAGE OF THE IDEAL ROLE FOR THE PLANNER AS AN INDEPENDENT PROFESSIONAL WHO PRODUCED PLANS THAT WERE UNTARNISHED BY POLITICAL CALCULATIONS, AND WHO RIGHTEOUSLY AND UNYIELDINGLY DEFENDED HIS PURELY PROFESSIONAL CONSIDERATIONS--EVEN WHEN THIS MEANT THAT THE PLAN, UNLESS REVISED, WOULD BE SHELVED. TO JUSTIFY THESE "PROFESSIONAL CONSIDERATIONS," THE PLANNER WOULD HAVE PROBABLY APPEALED TO THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN TRADITION IN PLANNING IDEOLOGY, STATING THAT PLANNING CONSIDERATIONS ARE LONG-RANGE AND THAT THEY STRIVE TO ALTER THE EXISTING ORDER

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[17] THE REASONS BEHIND THEIR VIEWS ARE COMPLEX. PARTLY, THEIR VIEWS REFLECT AN INTER-GOVERNMENTAL CONFLICT, SINCE THE REPORTS RECOMMENDING RELOCATION WERE COMMISSIONED BY THE LEVEL II GOVERNMENT, WHILE THOSE OBJECTING WERE COMMISSIONED BY LEVEL I.

WHERE NECESSARY.

THE POLITICIAN, FROM HIS POINT OF VIEW, PERCEIVED THIS IMAGE OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE DIFFERENTLY. HE DID NOT, OF COURSE, APPRECIATE BEING MISTRUSTED, FEARING THAT THE PLANNER WAS THERE AS A 'WATCHDOG'[18] WHO WOULD DISDAINFULLY CRITICIZE POLITICS. NEEDLESS TO SAY, THIS WAS NOT THE BEST GROUND FOR A HARMONIOUS RELATIONSHIP. FURTHERMORE: THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM, WITH ITS PERIODIC RE-AFFIRMATION OF THE PEOPLE'S MANDATE AND ITS BUILT-IN ROTATION OF INCUMBENTS, TAKES AN INHERENTLY SHORT-RANGE, REALISTIC POINT OF VIEW. THE PLANNER HOLDING THE TRADITIONAL IMAGE OF HIS ROLE (LONG-RANGE AND REFORMIST) WOULD HAVE THEREFORE FOUND AMPLE GROUND FOR VALUE-CONFLICT WITH HIS POLITICIAN-EMPLOYER. THE RESULT--UNIMPLEMENTED PLANS.

THE SAME VALUES THAT LED TO THE CHANGE FROM THE PLANNING COMMISSION TO THE DEPARTMENT-NEAR-THE-MAYOR STRUCTURE (I.E., GREATER ACCEPTANCE OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT, AND A CONCERN WITH IMPLEMENTATION AND EFFICIENCY) HAVE ALSO LED TO THE INCREASING DEMAND FOR THE 'POLITICIZATION' OF PLANNING. TODAY, MANY PLANNING THEORETICIANS[19] AND PROFESSIONAL PLANNERS[20] HOLD THIS VIEW. THE CHANGING IMAGE OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE IN

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[18] DAVID C. LOEKS, "UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE RECONCILIATION PROBLEM," PLANNING, 1968, PP. 52-55;

[19] RABINOVITZ, CITY POLITICS AND PLANNING, PP. 154-155; THAD L. BEYLE, SUREVA SELIGSON AND DEIL S. WRIGHT, "NEW DIRECTIONS IN STATE PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 334-339; FRIEDMANN, "NOTES ON SOCIETAL ACTION"; JUSIN M. HERMAN, "PLANNERS AND POLITICIANS; A MACHIAVELLIAN TEAM," PLANNING, 1968, PP. 55-58; AND WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING."

[20] IN THE SURVEY CONDUCTED BY RABINOVITZ AND POTTINGER, THE MAJORITY OF THE PLANNING DIRECTORS QUESTIONED SAW THE SEPARATION OF PLANNING AND POLITICS AS ARTIFICIAL. SEE "ORGANIZATION FOR LOCAL PLANNING..."

POLITICS HAS ALSO COINCIDED WITH THE GREATER RATIONALIZATION OF GOVERNMENT, THE GROWING ACCEPTANCE OF THE ROLE OF THE 'EXPERT' (MOTIVATED BY VALUES OF THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER), AND HENCE ALSO A GREATER ACCEPTANCE OF THE PLANNER. THE CALL HAS BEEN MADE FOR THE PLANNER TO SHED THE "ANTISEPTIC ROLE OF PLANNER-TECHNOCRAT"[21] AND TO ASSUME THE ROLE OF "PLANNER-POLITICIAN-SCIENTIST."[22]

HOW WOULD THE POLITICIAN VIEW THE PLANNER'S NEW ROLE? INITIALLY, IT WOULD SEEM THAT NOW THAT THE PLANNER HAS COME TO SHOW SO MUCH INTEREST IN POLITICS AND HAS DEVELOPED A CONCERN FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF PLANS WITHIN THE POLITICAL ARENA, THE TRADITIONAL CONFLICT OF VALUES BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN WILL DISAPPEAR. THIS CONTENTION WOULD RECEIVE SUPPORT FROM THE FACT THAT LOCAL POLITICS IS BEGINNING TO RECRUIT MIDDLE AND UPPER-CLASS POLITICIANS WHO ARE REPLACING THE TRADITIONALLY LOWER-CLASS POLITICIANS, THUS LEADING TO GREATER SUBCULTURAL VALUE-COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE (MIDDLE-CLASS) PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN, AS WELL AS A HIGHER EVALUATION OF THE EXPERT-PLANNER.[23] HOWEVER, THE NEW ROLE OF THE PLANNER ALSO ASKS HIM TO COMPETE WITH SOME OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE POLITICIAN. FOR, AS BECKMAN HAS SHOWN, BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN SEE THEMSELVES AS MEDIATORS, CO-ORDINATORS, AND GOAL-SETTERS:[24] THE PLANNER'S NEW CONCERN WITH IMPLEMENTATION LEADS HIM TO ATTEMPT TO MEDIATE AMONG THE VARIOUS INTEREST-GROUPS; THE PLANNER'S

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[21] FRIEDMANN, "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I.

[22] WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING."

[23] BANFIELD, "THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF METROPOLITAN GROWTH."

[24] NORMAN BECKMAN, "THE PLANNER AS A BUREAUCRAT," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS," NOVEMBER, 1964, PP. 323-327.

ALSO RECENT CONCERN WITH COMPREHENSIVENESS[25] LEADS HIM TO VIEW HIS ROLE AS INCLUDING THE CO-ORDINATION OF THE VARIOUS AGENCIES WHICH HAVE SOME RELEVANCE FOR HIS SUBJECT-MATTER (FOR EXAMPLE, THE CITY); FINALLY, THE PLANNER'S INCREASING AWARENESS OF THE IMPORTANCE OF VALUES TO PLANNING LEADS HIM TO ASSUME THE ROLE OF GOAL-SETTER. THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ROLES OF THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN HAS NOT, THEN, BEEN RESOLVED.

NOR HAS VALUE-CONFLICT AMONG THE PLANNERS THEMSELVES BEEN ELIMINATED. SOME PLANNERS HAVE OPPOSED THE NEW POLITICIZED ROLE, AND HAVE REINFORCED THE TRADITIONAL ONE.[26] THEY PROBABLY PERCEIVE THE NEW ROLE AS A USURPATION OF THE LEGITIMATE ROLE OF THE POLITICIAN. THEIR UNDERLYING VALUES ARE A HIGH VALUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE PEOPLE ELECTED BY IT, WHICH FOR THEM TAKES PRECEDENCE OVER THE VALUE OF IMPLEMENTATION.

THE ISSUE OF WHAT SHOULD BE THE PLANNER'S ROLE VIS-À-VIS POLITICS IS STILL A CONTENTIOUS ONE. FRIEDMANN CALLS FOR THE PLANNER TO BECOME "PARTISAN" AND TO SHARE THE VALUES OF THE POLITICIAN.[27] YET HOW WILL THIS AFFECT THE CONTINUITY OF PLANNING UPON CHANGE OF POLITICAL INCUMBENT? WILL PLANNERS HAVE TO CHANGE ALONG WITH GOVERNMENTS? AND HOW WILL A MODICUM OF PROFESSIONAL STANDARDS BE MAINTAINED? FRIEDMANN ADDS THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD STILL MAINTAIN HIS INDEPENDENCE. WHAT, THEN,

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[25] SEE CHAPTER 12.

[26] BECKMAN, "THE PLANNER AS A BUREAUCRAT"; E. LOVELACE, "THREE SHORT ARTICLES DESIGNED TO PROVOKE DISCUSSION AND RE-EXAMINATION OF BASIC PRINCIPLES," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 24, NO. 1, PP. 7-10; MELVIN R. LEVIN, "PLANNERS AND METROPOLITAN PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1967 PP. 78-89.

[27] FRIEDMANN, "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I.

IS THE LINE BETWEEN INDEPENDENCE AND PARTISANSHIP? HOW COULD THE ROLE CONFLICT WITH THE POLITICIAN BE REDUCED--I.E., HOW COULD A PLANNER FULFILL FRIEDMANN'S RECOMMENDATION TO LET THE POLITICIAN LEAD, AND YET AT THE SAME TIME TO BE 'POLITICIZED'? AND, MOST IMPORTANT, IS THIS NEW ROLE IN LINE WITH A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC?

THE ANSWERS WILL BE SLOW IN EMERGING UNTIL PLANNING BECOMES FULLY PROFESSIONALIZED AND UNTIL A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC CONGEALS. THE CONTROVERSY OVER THE PLANNER'S PROPER ROLE IN POLITICS COULD PROBABLY BE REGARDED AS A MAJOR CRISIS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PLANNER'S SELF-IDENTITY, A CRISIS WHICH WILL GO A LONG WAY TOWARD PRODUCING THE KIND OF VALUE-AGITATION THAT WILL ULTIMATELY GENERATE A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC.

B) <u>THE PLANNER AND THE BUREAUCRAT:</u>

WHILE THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER VIS-À-VIS THE POLITICIAN HAS RECEIVED MUCH ATTENTION, THE SAME CANNOT BE SAID REGARDING THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER VIS-À-VIS THE BUREAUCRAT. YET MUCH PLANNING IS CARRIED ON WITHIN A BUREAUCRATIC STRUCTURE.

IN GENERAL, IT MAY BE SAID THAT THE AREAS OF POTENTIAL CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE BUREAUCRAT ARE FEWER, BUT MORE VARIABLE, THAN BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN.

THE VALUES BEHIND THE CONCEPT OF THE CIVIL SERVICE ARE SIMILAR TO THE VALUES BEHIND THE PLANNER'S TRADITIONAL ROLE IN POLITICS: THE CIVIL SERVICE HAS BEEN INSTITUTED AS A CHECK TO POLITICS; ITS MEMBERS ARE EXPECTED TO PROVIDE CONTINUITY TO BALANCE THE ROTATION AND CHANGE OF POLITICIANS; THEY ARE NOT ALLOWED TO BECOME 'POLITICIZED,' NOR TO PERMIT PERSONAL POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS TO INFLUENCE THEIR WORK; AND THEY ARE

EXPECTED TO RECEIVE INSTRUCTIONS AND GOALS FROM THE ELECTED POLITICIAN.

THERE ARE, HOWEVER, DIFFERENCES AS WELL. WHILE CIVIL SERVANTS ARE EXPECTED NOT TO HAVE PERSONAL POLITICAL INTERESTS, THEY ARE PERMITTED--INDEED, REQUIRED--TO CARRY OUT THE POLITICAL INSTRUCTIONS OF THE POLITICIAN. THEY ARE CONCERNED WITH CARRYING OUT INSTRUCTIONS IN A COMPETENT FASHION, BUT NOT NECESSARILY WITH PROPOSING RADICAL NEW IDEAS. IN SHORT, BUREAUCRATIC IDEOLOGY IS CONSERVATIVE. WE HAVE SEEN THAT ONE STREAM OF PLANNING IDEOLOGY IS CONSERVATIVE AS WELL. THUS WE MAY SAY THAT PLANNERS WHO HOLD THE VALUES OF CONSERVATISM STRONGLY, WOULD FIT WELL WITH THE BUREAUCRATIC IDEOLOGY, AND (ALL OTHER THINGS BEING EQUAL) SHOULD HAVE LITTLE VALUE-CONFLICT WITH OTHER BUREAUCRATS. HOWEVER, PLANNERS ARE HEIRS TO ANOTHER IDEOLOGICAL STREAM AS WELL--THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN TRADITION. IT IS THE VALUES FROM THIS TRADITION THAT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AS LEADING TO THE VALUE-CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN, SINCE PLANNERS HOLDING REFORMIST VALUES STRONGLY WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO PLAN SOLELY ACCORDING TO THE DESIRES OF THE POLITICIAN. AND IT IS THIS SET OF VALUES WHICH WOULD POTENTIALLY GENERATE CONFLICT BETWEEN A REFORMIST-ORIENTED PLANNER AND A CONSERVATIVE-ORIENTED BUREAUCRAT.

ALTHOUGH SOME POTENTIAL VALUE-CONFLICT EXISTS, IT WOULD NOT ALWAYS BE ACTUALIZED. THE BUREAUCRAT'S CONSERVATISM, AS DISCUSSED ABOVE, IS RELATIVE--RELATIVE TO THE VALUES OF THE POLITICIAN TRANSMITTING THE INSTRUCTIONS. HERE THE VARIABILITY ENTERS. IN SOME GOVERNMENT AGENCIES, THE VALUES UNDERLYING THE INSTRUCTIONS WOULD BE REFORMIST ENOUGH TO ACCORD EVEN WITH THE VALUES OF A REFORMIST-ORIENTED PLANNER, WHILE IN OTHER DEPARTMENTS THE VALUES WOULD BE SO CONSERVATIVE AS TO OFFEND EVEN A CONSERVATIVE-ORIENTED PLANNER. IN ADDITION, VARIABILITY COULD STEM FROM

THE COMPATIBILITY OR INCOMPATIBILITY OF THE PROFESSIONAL VALUES OF THE PLANNER AND THE BUREAUCRAT (IN THE INCREASING NUMBER OF CASES WHERE THE BUREAUCRAT IS ALSO A PROFESSIONAL).[28]

LET US ILLUSTRATE FROM THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY. THE CITY PLANNERS IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU WERE WORKING IN A DEPARTMENT CONCERNED MAINLY WITH PHYSICAL FACILITIES AND THEIR COSTS. THEY WERE WORKING IN CLOSE ASSOCIATION WITH OTHER BUREAUCRATS WHO WERE USUALLY PROFESSIONAL ENGINEERS OR ARCHITECTS. THE INSTRUCTIONS TO THESE CIVIL SERVANTS WERE THAT THEY BE CONCERNED MAINLY WITH THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURES OF NORTHVILLE AND WITH MINIMIZING EXPENDITURES ON PLANNING. IN ADDITION, THE PERSONAL CONCEPTIONS OF THESE BUREAUCRATS (MOST LIKELY ARISING OUT OF THEIR PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION) ABOUT TOWN PLANNING, AND ESPECIALLY ABOUT INTRODUCING ANY SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS OR AESTHETIC INNOVATIONS, WERE CONSERVATIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, A HIGH-LEVEL CIVIL SERVANT REMARKED IN ONE OF THE MEETINGS WITH THE PLANNERS THAT PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE WAS "ALL A MATTER OF A SEWER LINE." THE TWO JUNIOR PLANNERS, ON THE OTHER HAND (THE SENIOR PLANNER DID NOT OFTEN PARTICIPATE), HAD RELATIVELY REFORMIST VALUES, AND FELT THAT SOCIAL AND CLIMATIC CONSIDERATIONS WERE VERY IMPORTANT. THE CIVIL SERVANTS, HOWEVER, FELT THAT THE PLANNERS WERE "DREAMERS," AND INSISTED THAT THEY DO NOT WISH TO SEE NORTHVILLE BECOME A "BEVERLY-HILLS OF THE NORTH."

HERE, THEN, WAS A SITUATION WHERE VALUE-CONFLICT OCCURRED BETWEEN PLANNERS AND BUREAUCRATS. YET HAD THE DEPARTMENTAL SETTING BEEN

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[28] THIS TYPE OF VARIABILITY WOULD BE MORE IMPORTANT IN THE CASE OF THE BUREAUCRAT THAN IN THE CASE OF THE POLITICIAN SINCE THE LATTER'S CONCERN WITH RE-ELECTION WOULD TEND TO SUPERSEDE HIS PROFESSIONAL VALUES. VARIABILITY COULD, OF COURSE, STEM FROM OTHER SOURCES AS WELL, SUCH AS DIFFERING CULTURAL VALUES, SUB-CULTURAL VALUES, OR PERSONAL VALUES.

DIFFERENT (E.G., A DEPARTMENT MAINLY CONCERNED WITH SOCIAL SERVICES), OR HAD THE VALUES OF THE PLANNERS BEEN MORE CONSERVATIVE (AS WERE THE VALUES OF THE SENIOR PLANNER), THE POTENTIAL FOR VALUE-CONFLICT WOULD HAVE BEEN REDUCED.

CHAPTER 8

ALTERNATIVE MODELS OF DECISION-MAKING IN THE PLANNING PROCESS

OUR DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS BEGAN THUS: "IT IS THE PROCESS DURING WHICH KNOWLEDGE IS APPLIED IN A RATIONAL MANNER...."[1] KNOWLEDGE IS APPLIED THROUGH A SERIES OF JUDGMENTS OR DECISIONS; AND JUDGMENTS, WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN,[2] NECESSARILY INVOLVE VALUES--BE THEY AS BASIC AS EPISTEMOLOGICAL OR LANGUAGE-BOUND VALUES, OR AS VARIABLE AS PERSONAL VALUES. THE PLANNING PROCESS, THEN, MAY BE VIEWED AS A SERIES OF DECISIONS WHICH SERVE AS DIRECT AVENUES FOR THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES. IT SHALL BE SO VIEWED IN THIS CHAPTER, WHERE WE SHALL EXAMINE THE VALUE-IMPLICATIONS OF SEVERAL MODELS OF DECISION-MAKING WHICH HAVE BEEN PROPOSED BY THEORETICIANS OF PLANNING AND PUBLIC DECISION-MAKING.

A. ABSOLUTE AND RELATIVE RATIONALITY

IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR THE DESCRIPTION "PLANNING PROCESS", A SERIES OF DECISIONS MUST BE, AMONG OTHER THINGS, RATIONAL. A SERIES OF RANDOM DECISIONS OR OF PURELY EMOTIONAL CHOICES CANNOT QUALIFY FOR THE TITLE "PLANNING PROCESS" EVEN IF IT SEEKS CONTROL OVER FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS AND POSSESSES ALL THE OTHER PLANNING ATTRIBUTES. WHAT, THOUGH, DO WE MEAN BY "RATIONAL"?

THERE SEEM TO BE TWO MAJOR USAGES OF THE TERM "RATIONAL". THE

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[1] SEE CHAPTER 1, A, F.

[2] IN CHAPTER 4, A.

FIRST USAGE IMPLIES DEDUCTIVE OR INDUCTIVE LOGICAL THINKING AND OMNISCIENCE. THE SECOND REQUIRES ONLY THAT THE THINKING BE REASONABLE AND NOT DOMINATED BY EMOTION. CLEARLY, IF ONLY SUCH THINKING AS WOULD MERIT THE DESCRIPTION OF "RATIONAL" UNDER THE FIRST USAGE COULD QUALIFY AS PLANNING, THERE WOULD BE FEW HUMAN SAMPLES FOR US TO DISCUSS. WE ARE CONCERNED, THEN, WITH THE SECOND USAGE.

THE TWO USAGES OF "RATIONAL" MAY BE MERGED IF WE REGARD THE FIRST AS IDEAL OR "ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY," AND THE SECOND AS "RELATIVE RATIONALITY" (OR SIMPLY "RATIONALITY"). ANY THINKING THAT IS REASONABLE RELATIVE TO SOME ASSUMPTION (AND THE ASSUMPTION DOES NOT HAVE TO BE ARTICULATED AS A PREMISE, AS THE FIRST USAGE WOULD REQUIRE) AND THAT IS NOT DOMINATED BY EMOTION (AN EMOTIONAL ELEMENT MAY, HOWEVER, BE INCLUDED IN THE ASSUMPTION OR VALUE) CAN QUALIFY AS RATIONAL.[3] THUS ALL THE MODELS TO BE EXPOUNDED BELOW MAY, TO A LARGE EXTENT, BE REGARDED AS RATIONAL, DESPITE THE FACT THAT OFTEN ONLY THE FIRST MODEL IS DESCRIBED AS SUCH[4] (UNDER THE FIRST USAGE OF "RATIONAL").

B. THE BOUNDARIES OF THE PLANNING PROCESS

BEFORE CONSIDERING THE VARIOUS DECISION-MAKING MODELS, LET US LOOK AT AN ISSUE TO WHICH THEY MUST ALL ADDRESS THEMSELVES: WHERE DOES THE

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[3] A SIMILAR DISTINCTION IS MADE BY FRIEDMANN BETWEEN SUBSTANTIVE RATIONALITY (ABSOLUTE) AND FUNCTIONAL RATIONALITY (RELATIVE). SEE "PLANNING AS A VOCATION," PART I. HERBERT A. SIMON USES THE TERM "BOUNDED RATIONALITY." SEE MODELS OF MAN: SOCIAL AND RATIONAL (NEW YORK: JOHN WILEY AND SONS, INC., 1957), PP. 196-198.

[4] MARTIN MEYERSON AND EDWARD C. BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST (NEW YORK: THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE, 1955), PP. 315-326; AND YEHEZKEL DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED (SAN FRANCISCO: CHANDLER PUBLISHING CO. 1968), P. 132.

PLANNING PROCESS BEGIN AND END? DOES IT INCLUDE, AT THE ONE END, THE DECISION WHETHER TO PLAN AT ALL, AND, AT THE OTHER END, THE DECISIONS INVOLVED IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN?

THE ANSWER TO THE FIRST QUESTION (DOES THE PLANNING PROCESS INCLUDE THE DECISION WHETHER TO PLAN?) DEPENDS ON BROAD CULTURAL VALUES, WHICH WOULD DETERMINE THE POWER-STRUCTURE WITHIN A GIVEN SOCIETY. IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT UNDER SOME POLITICAL STRUCTURES PLANNERS WOULD BE PLACED SO NEAR TO THE CENTER OF POWER, PERHAPS OVERLAPPING WITH IT (A 'PLANNERS' DICTATORSHIP'), THAT THEY WOULD BE ABLE TO DICTATE THE DECISION OF WHETHER OR NOT TO PLAN. HOWEVER, EVEN IN SUCH A STRUCTURE THIS DECISION COULD STILL NOT BE REGARDED AS PART OF THE PLANNING PROCESS PROPER, BUT RATHER AS A META-PLANNING DECISION. NORTH-AMERICAN CULTURAL VALUES, HOWEVER, CALL FOR A DEMOCRATIC POWER STRUCTURE, AND REQUIRE THAT THE DECISION WHETHER TO PLAN BE TAKEN BY ELECTED POLITICIANS WHO WOULD REFLECT PUBLIC VALUES AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT.

THE ISSUE OF WHETHER THE PLANNING PROCESS INCLUDES THE EFFECTUATION STAGE IS MORE CONTENTIOUS. THOSE WHO ANSWER IN THE AFFIRMATIVE TEND TO FAVOR ALSO THE INSTITUTIONAL PLACEMENT OF PLANNING NEAR THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE AND THE GREATER POLITICIZATION OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE.[5] THE VALUES MOTIVATING THIS STAND ARE A CONCERN WITH IMPLEMENTATION AND EFFICIENCY ('SCIENTISM') WHICH THOSE WHO FAVOR THIS STAND DO NOT WANT TO LEAVE ONLY TO THE POLITICIAN OR TO ANOTHER EMPLOYER. HOWEVER, A CASE MAY ALSO BE MADE FOR REGARDING EFFECTUATION AS BEYOND THE PLANNING PROCESS.[6] THE

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[5] DAVIDOFF AND REINER, "A CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING"; FRIEDMANN, "NOTES ON SOCIETAL ACTION"; TUGWELL, THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN SOCIETY, P. 38.

[6] JOHN DAKIN, "AN EVALUATION OF THE 'CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING'," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, FEBRUARY, 1963, PP. 19-27.

UNDERLYING VALUES WOULD BE SIMILAR TO THE VALUES CALLING FOR THE INSTITUTIONAL ISOLATION OF PLANNING (SUCH AS IN THE PLANNING COMMISSION) AND FOR ITS 'NON-CONTAMINATION' BY POLITICS.[7]

C. THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY MODEL

AS NOTED ABOVE, THIS IS THE MODEL WHICH BEST APPROXIMATES THE NOTION OF IDEAL OR ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY. DROR, FOR EXAMPLE, CALLS IT THE "PURE-RATIONAL MODEL,"[8] AND BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM CALL IT THE "RATIONAL DEDUCTIVE IDEAL."[9] ITS STAGES MAY BE CHARACTERIZED AS FOLLOWS:[10]

1) THE VALUES TO BE MAXIMIZED ARE SET OUT EXPLICITLY;

2) OPERATIONAL GOALS ARE DEDUCED FROM THEM;

3) THESE GOALS ARE RANKED AS TO PRIORITIES;

4) AN INVENTORY OF RESOURCES IS TAKEN;

5) THE BEST MEANS OF FULFILLING EACH GOAL IS DETERMINED;

6) A COMPLETE SET OF ALL ALTERNATIVE POLICIES AND PLANS IS PREPARED;

7) THE PREDICTED COSTS AND BENEFITS OF EACH ALTERNATIVE IS CALCULATED;

8) THE BEST ALTERNATIVE IS SELECTED.

THIS MODEL MAY BE REGARDED AS THE CLASSICAL MODEL OF DECISION-

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[7] SEE CHAPTER 7, SECTIONS B, A AND C, A, ABOVE.

[8] DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, P. 132.

[9] DAVID BRAYBROOKE AND CHARLES E. LINDBLOM A STRATEGY OF DECISION (LONDON: THE FREE PRESS OF GLENCOE, 1963), P. 9.

[10] THIS IS A SYNTHESIS OF THE DESCRIPTIONS BY DROR, PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING REEXAMINED, PP. 132-141, AND BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM, A STRATEGY OF DECISION, PP. 9-10.

MAKING IN THE PLANNING PROCESS. IT IS A MODEL LONG CONSIDERED BY STUDENTS OF POLICYMAKING AND MANAGEMENT AS AN ACCURATE DESCRIPTION OF DECISION-MAKING. IT WAS APPLIED BY BANFIELD TO PLANNINC IN AN INFLUENTIAL BOOK THAT APPEARED ON 1955,[11] AND WAS LATED REITERATED (WITH SOME MODIFICATIONS) BY DAVIDOFF AND REINER IN 1962.[12] SINCE THEN, THE MODEL HAS BEEN STRONGLY CRITICIZED BY LINDBLOM AND OTHER MANAGEMENT SCIENTISTS,[13] AND HAS NOW FOUND CRITICS AMONG PLANNING THEORETICIANS AS WELL.[14]

THIS MODEL IMPLIES A VERY HIGH VALUATION OF ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY, AND AN OPTIMISM THAT IT CAN INDEED BE ACHIEVED BY HUMAN BEINGS. THESE VALUES ARE FIRMLY ROOTED IN THE IDEOLOGY OF THE WEST[15]. THEY CONSTITUTE PART OF THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE CLUSTER WHICH, WE NOTED, IS A LEGACY OF THE PERIODS OF RATIONALISM AND ENLIGHTENMENT. IT IS NOT SURPRISING, THEREFORE, THAT TWO OF THE ADVOCATES OF THIS MODEL IN PLANNING--DAVIDOFF AND REINER--WOULD ANSWER THE CRITICISM THAT THE MODEL IS SIMPLY UNREALISTIC, WITH THE CLAIM THAT THEY OFFER IT NOT IN A DESCRIPTIVE VEIN, BUT IN A PRESCRIPTIVE ONE.[16] THEY WISH TO PROSELYTIZE THEIR VALUES.

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[11] MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, PP. 316-326.

[12] DAVIDOFF AND REINER, "A CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING."

[13] CHARLES E. LINDBLOM "THE SCIENCE OF 'MUDDLING THROUGH'," PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW, SPRING 1959, PP. 79-88; BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM, A STRATEGY OF DECISION, PP. 23-36; DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, PP. 132-141.

[14] SEE SECTION D BELOW.

[15] DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, P. 132; AND BOLAN, "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING."

[16] PAUL DAVIDOFF AND THOMAS A. REINER "A REPLY TO DAKIN," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, FEBRUARY, 1963, PP. 27-28.

ADHERENCE BY A PLANNER TO THIS MODEL IN PRACTICE MAY LEAD TO CONFLICT WITH THE EMPLOYER, ESPECIALLY IF THE LATTER IS A POLITICIAN. THE POLITICIAN WOULD MOST LIKELY WISH TO HAVE IMMEDIATE SOLUTIONS TO PRESSING PROBLEMS IN ORDER TO AVERT THE ELECTORATE'S ANGER. HE MAY NOT HAVE THE PATIENCE TO WAIT UNTIL THE PLANNER FULFILLS ALL THE TIME AND RESOURCE-CONSUMING REQUIREMENTS OF HIS MODEL (IF IN FACT THIS IS POSSIBLE). IT IS THEREFORE LIKELY THAT THIS MODEL WOULD BE ADOPTED BY A PLANNER WHO VIEWS POLITICS NEGATIVELY, AND WHO FEELS THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD REMAIN ALOOF FROM POLITICS--EVEN IF THIS WOULD INTENSIFY THE CONFLICT WITH THE POLITICIAN AND WOULD REDUCE THE LIKELIHOOD THAT THE PLAN WILL BE IMPLEMENTED. THE VALUES UNDERLYING THIS ALOOFNESS FROM POLITICS (DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 7, B AND C) WOULD REINFORCE THE VALUES UNDERLYING THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY DECISION MODEL.

D. THE INCREMENTALISM MODEL

PROPONENTS OF THE INCREMENTAL MODEL CRITICIZE THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY MODEL AS UNREALISTIC. THEY CLAIM THAT ALL RELEVANT VALUES CAN NEVER BE MADE EXPLICIT BECAUSE OF THEIR FLUIDITY AND AMBIGUITY AND BECAUSE THEY OFTEN CONFLICT, THAT MAN IS NOT OMNISCIENT AND THUS ALL ALTERNATIVES CAN NEVER BE IDENTIFIED, THAT LIMITATIONS OF TIME AND MONEY RESTRICT THE MEANS AVAILABLE TO EFFECTUATE THE ALTERNATIVE SELECTED, AND THAT IN FACT THE MODEL DOES NOT DESCRIBE ACTUAL DECISION-MAKING SITUATIONS AS THEY OCCUR IN REALITY.[17]

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[17] BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM, A STRATEGY OF DECISION, PP. 23-36; LINDBLOM, "THE SCIENCE OF 'MUDDLING THROUGH' "; AND DROR, PUBLIC POLICY-MAKING REEXAMINED, PP. 129-141.

INSTEAD, THEY PROPOSE A MODEL WHICH PURPORTS TO DESCRIBE THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF POLICYMAKERS AS IT ACTUALLY OCCURS. FIRST, LESS IMPORTANCE IS PLACED ON IDENTIFYING VALUES EXPLICITLY. RATHER, A DECISION MUST ACCORD WITH STATED POLICY. SECOND, MEANS ARE NOT DEDUCED FROM PRE-STATED GOALS AS IN THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY MODEL, BUT ARE CHOSEN SIMULTANEOUSLY WITH THE GOALS SINCE THE MEANS AVAILABLE RESTRICT THE GOALS TO BE CONSIDERED. THIRD, THE ORIENTATION IS NOT TO REACH A FAR-SIGHTED GOAL IN A SINGLE OPERATION, BUT TO ACHIEVE SMALL CHANGES AS THE SITUATION PERMITS, AND INCREMENTALLY TO APPROACH THE GOAL (WHILE THE GOAL ITSELF WILL BE RE-EVALUATED WITH SUCCESSIVE STEPS). FOURTH, NOT ALL ALTERNATIVES ARE CONSIDERED, ONLY THE FEASIBLE ONES. SELECTION AMONG THEM IS MADE ACCORDING TO THEIR INCREMENTAL MARGIN. LAST, THE ORIENTATION IS NOT TOWARD MAXIMIZING GOALS, BUT TOWARD MOVING AWAY FROM ILLS (I.E., IT IS "REMEDIAL").[18]

THE VALUES UNDERLYING THIS MODEL ARE NOT HARD TO FIND; THEY ARE, TO A LARGE EXTENT, OPPOSITE TO THE VALUES OF THE CLASSICAL MODEL. THE VALUE PLACED ON PRACTICALITY AND A DESIRE TO SEE ONE'S DECISIONS IMPLEMENTED RULES STRONGER THAN THE VALUE PLACED ON RATIONALITY. (PARADOXICALLY, BOTH OF THESE VALUES ARE PART OF THE 'SCIENTISM' IDEOLOGY--AN EXAMPLE OF HOW SIMILAR VALUES CAN LEAD TO CONTRARY MANIFESTATIONS.) WE FIND NO DISPARAGEMENT OF POLITICS IN THIS MODEL; ON THE CONTRARY: BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM STATE THAT THE INCREMENTAL MODEL IS MORE COMPATIBLE WITH DEMOCRATIC POLITICS SINCE, LIKE POLITICS, IT ACHIEVES CHANGE THROUGH SMALL STEPS, NEVER UPSETTING THE <u>STATUS QUO</u>. LIKE POLITICS, IT

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[18] BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM, <u>IBID.</u>, PP. 37-109; AND LINDBLOM, <u>IBID.</u>

IS REMEDIAL AND EXPLORATORY, AND IS SUITED TO BEING PART OF THE ELECTION PROCESS AND TO AVOIDING IDEOLOGICAL RIFTS. THE CLASSICAL MODEL, ON THE OTHER HAND (THEY ARGUE), ENDANGERS DEMOCRACY BECAUSE OF ITS SWEEPING CHANGES.[19]

OTHER VALUES ARE ALSO IMPLIED. AS DROR NOTES,[20] THE INCREMENTAL MODEL IS INHERENTLY CONSERVATIVE, FOR ITS DECISIONS ARE TAKEN CAUTIOUSLY AND INCREMENTALLY, ALWAYS ATTEMPTING NOT TO UPSET THE STATUS QUO. IMPLIED IS A RESPECT FOR PAST AND PRESENT INSTITUTIONS, AND SKEPTICISM ABOUT SOCIAL OR TECHNOLOGICAL CHANGE AND WHAT THE FUTURE MIGHT BRING. THIS MODEL MAY THEREFORE ACCORD WITH THE VALUES PREVALENT IN STABLE, TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES, BUT NOT WITH THE VALUES OF SOCIETIES WHERE CHANGE IS VALUED FOR ITS OWN SAKE (AS IS THE CASE, TO AN EXTENT, WITH THE SUB-CULTURE OF THE YOUNG IN THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA), OR WHERE CHANGE IS VALUED AS SOCIAL OR TECHNOLOGICAL PROGRESS (SUCH AS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES).

FINALLY, THIS MODEL, UNLIKE THE PREVIOUS ONE, HAS A LOW REGARD FOR THE IMPORTANCE OF MAKING VALUES EXPLICIT. THE VALUES UNDERLYING THIS LOW REGARD ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO REVEAL. POSSIBLY, A LESSER SENSITIVITY TO SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS THAN EXEMPLIFIED BY THE PREVIOUS MODEL MAY HERE BE IMPLIED. IF SO, THIS WOULD ACCORD WELL WITH THE HIGH VALUE PLACED ON 'GETTING THINGS DONE' RATHER THAN THINKING ABOUT THEM.

PLANNERS ARE NOT USUALLY CONCERNED WITH PROPOSING DECISION-MAKING MODELS, WHICH THEY LEAVE TO THE MANAGEMENT AND POLITICAL SCIENTISTS, BUT ONLY WITH THEIR APPLICATION TO PLANNING. THE INCREMENTAL MODEL IS A RE-

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[19] BRAYBROOKE AND LINDBLOM, A STRATEGY OF DECISION, PP. 73-74.

[20] DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, PP. 143-145, AND YEHEZKEL DROR, "MUDDLING THROUGH: 'SCIENCE' OR INERTIA?", PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION REVIEW, SEPTEMBER, 1964, PP. 153-157.

LATIVELY RECENT PROPOSAL AMONG MANAGEMENT SCIENTISTS. IT IS THEREFORE UNDERSTANDABLE THAT NOT TOO MANY PLANNING THEORETICIANS HAVE YET MADE AN EXPLICIT EVALUATION OF THE APPLICABILITY OF THIS MODEL TO PLANNING. HOWEVER, IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE VALUES IMPLIED BY THIS MODEL COINCIDE WITH, AND REINFORCE, THE VALUES UNDERLYING TWO TOPICAL ISSUES IN PLANNING--THE ISSUE OF THE BEST STRUCTURE FOR PLANNING IN THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT AND THE ISSUE OF THE POLITICIZATION OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE. THESE ISSUES, WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY ENCOUNTERED,[21] CONSTITUTE A VIRTUAL REVOLUTION IN THE PLANNER'S SELF-IDENTITY. IT IS VERY LIKELY, THEREFORE, THAT THE FEW VOICES THAT HAVE ALREADY SPOKEN IN FAVOR OF THE ADOPTION OF THIS MODEL FOR PLANNING[22] WILL BE JOINED BY MANY MORE--ESPECIALLY THE VOICES OF THOSE PLANNERS (WHOSE NUMBERS ARE GROWING) WHO VALUE EFFECTUATION AND DESIRE A GREATER INVOLVEMENT OF THE PLANNER IN POLITICS. IN SHORT, THE FOREGOING ANALYSIS OF THE VALUES IMPLIED BY BOTH THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY MODEL AND THE INCREMENTAL MODEL WOULD LEAD US TO PREDICT THAT THE LATTER MODEL WILL SOON BE INCORPORATED INTO THE NEW KIND OF PLANNING CURRENTLY EMERGING--WHAT FRIEDMAN HAS CALLED "ACTION PLANNING."[23]

E. OTHER MODELS

OTHER MODELS OF DECISION MAKING HAVE ALSO BEEN PROPOSED. SOME OF THEM ARE SIMPLY SLIGHT MODIFICATIONS OF THE TWO MAJOR MODELS DISCUSSED ABOVE. THE ECONOMIC RATIONALITY MODEL IS SIMILAR TO THE CLASSIC RATIONALITY MODEL, BUT IT DEFINES THE COSTS AND BENEFITS OF ALTERNATIVE POLICIES

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[21] SEE CHAPTER 7, SECTIONS B, A AND C, A.

[22] THIS MODEL IS DISCUSSED IN BOLAN "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING."

[23] FRIEDMANN, "NOTES ON SOCIETAL ACTION."

OR PLANS SOLELY IN ECONOMIC TERMS, SELECTING THE LEAST COSTLY ONE.[24] IT IMPLIES A HIGH VALUATION OF ECONOMIC STANDARDS. SIMON'S "SATISFICING MODEL" IS ESSENTIALLY SIMILAR TO THE INCREMENTAL MODEL, AND IMPLIES THE SAME VALUES. IT DIFFERS FROM THE INCREMENTAL MODEL IN THAT IT PLACES MORE ATTENTION ON THE SELECTION OF ALTERNATIVES, STATING THAT THESE ARE NOT SELECTED TO OPTIMIZE A GOAL, BUT MERELY TO 'SATISFICE' IT. ALL POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES ARE NOT EXAMINED. RATHER, THE FIRST ALTERNATIVE THAT IS REASONABLY SATISFACTORY IS SELECTED.[25]

DROR PROPOSES A MODEL (WHICH HE CALLS THE OPTIMAL MODEL) THAT DIFFERS FROM THE PRECEDING IN THAT IT INCLUDES NOT ONLY THE RATIONAL, BUT THE EXTRA-RATIONAL AS WELL. IN EFFECT, DROR ADOPTS THE ECONOMIC RATIONALITY MODEL, AND ADDS TO IT EXTRA-RATIONAL ELEMENTS (INTUITION AND CREATIVITY) WHERE KNOWLEDGE IS NOT SUFFICIENT FOR ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY. HE SUGGESTS THAT THE "GOODNESS" OF A GIVEN ALTERNATIVE BE TESTED BY MEANS OF GROUP DISCUSSION. IF A CONSENSUS IS REACHED, A GIVEN ALTERNATIVE IS CONSIDERED TO BE GOOD.[26] THE VALUES IMPLIED ARE: A HIGH VALUATION OF IDEAL RATIONALITY AND OF ECONOMIC MEASURES, AS WELL AS A HIGH VALUATION OF CREATIVITY, FAITH IN HUMAN INTUITION, AND FAITH IN HUMAN CAPACITY TO COMMUNICATE MEANINGFULLY AND REACH AGREEMENT.

SHOULD DROR'S MODEL FIND SUPPORT AMONG PLANNERS, IT WOULD INTRODUCE A SET OF NEW VALUES INTO THE ARENA OF PLANNING-ASSOCIATED VALUES. BOTH THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY AND THE INCREMENTAL MODELS HARBOR VALUES DERIVED FROM THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER. THE NEW VALUES OF CREATIVITY AND INTUITION MAY PROVE TO BE ALIEN TO THE FORMER VALUES. AS WE HAVE SEEN,

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[24] DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, P. 141.

[25] SIMON, MODELS OF MAN..., PP. 196-198, 204-205, AND 252-253.

[26] DROR, PUBLIC POLICYMAKING REEXAMINED, PP. 154-169, AND PASSIM; AND DROR, "MUDDLING THROUGH: 'SCIENCE' OR INERTIA"?

IT IS THE VALUES OF THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER THAT HAVE BEEN THE 'ENABLING IDEOLOGY' OF PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA. SHOULD DROR'S MODEL BE ADOPTED BY PLANNERS, IT WOULD REMAIN TO BE SEEN WHETHER THE EXTRA-RATIONAL VALUES IMPLIED BY DROR'S MODEL WOULD LEAD TO SOME EROSION IN THE IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT TO PLANNING, OR--PERHAPS--IF THEY WOULD GENERATE SOME NEW IDEOLOGICAL SOURCE OF SUPPORT.

F. SELF-INTERESTED RATIONALITY: TOWARD A NEW MODEL

OBSERVATION OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS OF THE PLANNERS INVOLVED IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY HAVE LED THE PRESENT AUTHOR TO CONCLUDE THAT ALL THE ABOVE MODELS FAIL TO ACCOUNT FOR ONE IMPORTANT ELEMENT IN DECISION-MAKING: THE MOTIVATION ARISING OUT OF THE PLANNER'S SELF-INTEREST.[27]

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. THESE CONSIDERATIONS MAY BE VIEWED AS CONSTRAINTS WHICH RESTRICT THE NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVES AMONG WHICH A SELECTION OF THE POLICY

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[27] THIS DISCUSSION BEARS LITTLE SIMILARITY TO A WORK BY A PLANNING THEORETICIAN CONCERNED WITH "INTERESTS." IN THAT WORK, THE "INTERESTS" ARE THOSE OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS AND OF THE COMMUNITY, NOT THE SELF-INTERESTS OF THE PLANNER. SEE MICHAEL CHEVALIER, "A STRATEGY OF INTEREST-BASED PLANNING" (PH.D. DISSERTATION, UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA, 1968).

OR PLAN TO BE RECOMMENDED IS MADE (IT IS IMMATERIAL HERE WHICH OF THE MODELS IS FOLLOWED).

MANY EXAMPLES OF SELF-INTERESTED RATIONALITY ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE NORTHVILLE EXPERIENCE. LET US FIRST LOOK AT DECISION-MAKING IN GENERAL. MUCH OF THE LONG-LASTING DELAY IN DOING ANY TOWN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE HAS STEMMED FROM THE FACT THAT DECISION-MAKERS AT BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT AND IN ALL THE BUREAUS INVOLVED HAVE BEEN MOTIVATED IN THEIR DECISIONS, TO AN EXTENT, BY A DESIRE TO INCREASE THEIR POWER THROUGH A RELUCTANCE TO 'DIVULGE' ANY OF THEIR PLANS TO OTHER BUREAUS, AND THROUGH A RELUCTANCE TO MAKE A COMMITMENT ABOUT THEIR FUTURE PLANS. TOP-LEVEL CIVIL SERVANTS AT BOTH LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT ACKNOWLEDGE THE FACT THAT NORTHVILLE HAS, IN FACT, BEEN A 'POLITICAL FOOTBALL.' CONSIDERATIONS OF POWER, AND ITS ASSOCIATED TENDENCY TO MONOPOLIZE KNOWLEDGE AND FACILITIES, HAVE BEEN APPARENT WITHIN A SINGLE DEPARTMENT AS WELL: TWO BUREAUS WITHIN ONE DEPARTMENT, EACH RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL PLANNING FOR ONE GROUP OF NATIVE PEOPLE, HAVE SHOWN LACK OF CO-OPERATION TO THE EXTENT THAT ELABORATE VOCATIONAL TRAINING FACILITIES ADMINISTERED BY ONE OF THE BUREAUS HAVE BEEN UNAVAILABLE TO NATIVE PEOPLE FOR WHOM THE OTHER BUREAU IS RESPONSIBLE.

MANY OTHER EXAMPLES OF SELF-INTEREST ARE AVAILABLE FROM THE DECISIONS OF THE PLANNERS INVOLVED. TO ILLUSTRATE: THE PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU FELT RELATIVELY STRONGLY THAT THEIR PLANNING SHOULD INCLUDE CHANGES IN THE EXISTING STREET-PATTERN OF NORTHVILLE; HOWEVER, THE CIVIL-SERVANTS OF LEVEL I, WITH WHOM THEY WERE CO-OPERATING AT THE TIME, INSISTED THAT ONE OF THE 'TERMS OF REFERENCE' FOR PLANNING SHOULD BE THAT THE EXISTING STREET PATTERN SHOULD BE MAINTAINED INTACT. OUT OF THE DESIRE TO AVOID A DISPUTE (AND PERHAPS SOME OF THE PERSONAL COMPLICATIONS

THAT MAY ENSUE), THE PLANNERS YIELDED ON THIS CRUCIAL POINT, THUS SEVERELY RESTRICTING THEIR PLANNING. SIMILARLY, A JUNIOR PLANNER IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU, WHO FELT STRONGLY THAT THE SITUATION CALLED FOR A SOCIAL AND OPINION SURVEY AMONG NORTHVILLE'S RESIDENTS, WITHDREW FROM THIS POSITION IN THE FACE OF OPPOSITION FROM BOTH A PLANNER-EMPLOYER AND A CIVIL-SERVANT-EMPLOYER, FINALLY PRODUCING A PLAN ON THE BASIS OF ALTERNATIVE DATA.

CHAPTER 9

TYPES OF PLANS AND THEIR VALUE IMPLICATIONS

IN OUR DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS WE NOTED THAT IT INCLUDES THE FORMULATION OF A "PROGRAM"--OR, MORE SPECIFICALLY, OF A PLAN. THERE ARE MANY TYPES OF PLANS POSSIBLE. THIS CHAPTER WILL FOCUS ON THOSE TYPES OF PLANS THAT BEAR RELEVANCE TO SOME VALUE-ISSUE IN PLANNING (ESPECIALLY CITY PLANNING).[1] SOME OF THESE ISSUES WILL BE FOUND TO OVERLAP WITH VALUE-ISSUES DISCUSSED IN THE CHAPTERS ABOVE, INDICATING THAT CERTAIN VALUE-ISSUES ARE VERY PERVASIVE, MULTI-FACETED AND THEMATIC.[2]

A. THE MASTER PLAN

THE MASTER PLAN IS THE TRADITIONAL TYPE OF PLAN IN NORTH AMERICA. IT HAS DOMINATED IN PLANNING CIRCLES SINCE THE PERIOD OF THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF PLANNING, AND IS ONLY RECENTLY BEING REPLACED (SOMETIMES PARTIALLY AND NOMINALLY) BY OTHER TYPES OF PLANS. ESSENTIALLY, IT IS

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[1] IT SHOULD BE STRESSED THAT THERE IS NO SINGLE AGREED-UPON DISTINCTION AMONG THE VARIOUS PLANS. HOWEVER, EVEN THE EXISTENCE OF DIFFERENT TERMS CONCERNS US HERE, WHETHER OR NOT AN ACTUAL DIFFERENCE EXISTS AS WELL.

[2] AMONG THESE ISSUES ARE: THE STRUCTURAL POSITION FOR PLANNING; THE POLITICIZATION OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE; THE RANGE OF THE PLAN; DECISION-MAKING MODELS; AND THE RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY. THESE WERE DISCUSSED, RESPECTIVELY, IN CHAPTERS: 7,B; 7,C; 5,A; 8; AND 6.

A LONG-RANGE PLAN,[3] ENCOMPASSING ONLY THE PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE TOWN OR CITY,[4] AND ORIENTED TOWARD ACHIEVING A SINGLE GOAL FAR IN THE FUTURE.[5] IT CONSISTS MAINLY OF A RECOMMENDED LAND-USE MAP, AND CENTERS ITS PROPOSALS ON PUBLIC LAND AND BUILDINGS.[6]

THE VALUES UNDERLYING THE MASTER PLAN CORRESPOND TO A LARGE DEGREE WITH THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSION, THE NON-POLITICIZED ROLE OF THE PLANNER, LONG-RANGE PLANNING, AND THE CLASSICAL RATIONALITY MODEL OF DECISION-MAKING. THEY ALSO BEAR RELEVANCE TO THE ISSUE OF THE RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING WITH DEMOCRACY.

LET US LOOK AT THESE VALUES MORE CLOSELY. THE LONG-RANGE, SINGLE-GOAL ORIENTATION OF THE MASTER PLAN SUGGESTS OPTIMISM ABOUT THE FUTURE AND A UTOPIAN MOOD. AS SUCH, THE MASTER PLAN HAS ELEMENTS OF THE UTOPIAN-REFORMIST TRADITION IN CITY PLANNING (ALTHOUGH IT MAY HAVE CONSERVATIVE ASPECTS AS WELL, DEPENDING ON ITS USE). ITS CONCERN WITH PHYSICAL ASPECTS SUGGESTS AN ALLIANCE WITH PHYSICAL DETERMINISM, AND THUS THE 'OLD' STRAIN OF THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN TRADITION. THIS ORIENTATION IMPLIES A LACK OF CONCERN WITH THE REQUIREMENTS OF POLITICS (WHICH, WE HAVE SEEN, FAVORS SHORTER-RANGE PLANS AND A PRACTICAL ORIENTATION). IT IS THEREFORE NOT SURPRISING THAT THE DOMINANCE OF MASTER PLANNING COINCIDED IN TIME WITH THE POPULA-

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[3]CONSTANCE PERIN, "A NOISELESS SECESSION FROM THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, AUGUST, 1967, PP. 336-347.

[4]CHARLES M. HAAR, "THE CONTENT OF THE GENERAL PLAN: A GLANCE AT HISTORY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 21, 1956, PP. 66-70.

[5]WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING," AND PAGE, "THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NOTION OF PLANNING...," PP. 188-189.

[6]E. M. BASSETT, THE MASTER PLAN (NEW YORK: RUSSEL SAGE FOUNDATION, 1938).

RITY OF THE INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSION AND OF THE ALOOFNESS OF PLANNING FROM POLITICS. THE CONCERN OF THE MASTER-PLANNER WITH PRODUCING A MAP RATHER THAN POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS ALSO SIGNIFIED A LACK OF DESIRE TO INTERVENE IN POLITICS. THE ALOOFNESS FROM POLITICS AND THE LONG RANGE OF THE PLAN ALSO IMPLY THE ATTRIBUTION OF A HIGHER VALUE TO WHAT IS CONSIDERED PROPER PLAN-MAKING THAN TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PLAN. IT IS THEREFORE NOT SURPRISING THAT SO MANY MASTER PLANS HAVE BEEN SHELVED.[7]

IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE LONG-RANGE ORIENTATION OF THE MASTER PLAN, ALONG WITH ITS DISSOCIATION FROM POLITICS AND HENCE ALSO FROM THE PUBLIC, WOULD TEND TO CONJURE UP THE IMAGE OF DICTATORIAL CONTROL IN THE MIND OF THE PUBLIC. THIS, IN TURN, WOULD UNDERSCORE ANY IDEOLOGICAL INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN PLANNING AND THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE-CLUSTER. PERHAPS THE NON-EFFECTUATION OF SO MANY MASTER PLANS HAS BEEN AN EXPRESSION OF THIS IDEOLOGICAL INCOMPATIBILITY.

LINGUISTIC USAGE MAY ONCE AGAIN SERVE AS A CLUE TO VALUES AND VALUE-CONFLICT. THE TERM "MASTER PLAN" HAS MORE THAN A SLIGHT SUGGESTION OF CONTROL, OF ALL THE 'KEYS' BEING IN THE HANDS OF THE PLAN OR THE PLANNER. THE OFFENCE--BE IT EVER SO SLIGHT--WHICH SUCH ASSOCIATIONS MAY HAVE CONSTITUTED TO THE SHARED VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM, FREEDOM, ETC., MAY HAVE BEEN THE CAUSE WHY TWO NEW TERMS, "COMPREHENSIVE PLAN" AND "DEVELOPMENT PLAN", HAVE EMERGED. THE PLANS THESE TERMS DENOTE OFTEN

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[7] ALTHOUGH SUPPORT FOR THE MASTER PLAN IS NOT WIDESPREAD IN RECENT PLANNING LITERATURE, IT CAN BE FOUND. SEE LOVELACE, "THREE SHORT ARTICLES..."

DO NOT DIFFER FROM THE MASTER PLAN TO ANY SIGNIFICANT DEGREE. IN MANY OCCASIONS THEY ARE USED AS EUPHEMISMS, THROUGH WHICH THE DEMOCRACY-OFFENDING CONNOTATIONS OF THE TERM "MASTER PLAN" ARE MITIGATED (SEE BELOW).

FINALLY, MASTER-PLANS HAVE OFTEN IMPLIED A CERTAIN AESTHETIC VALUE ON THE PART OF THE PLANNER: THE AESTHETIC APPEAL WHICH MASTER-PLANNERS HAVE OFTEN SOUGHT IN THEIR MAPS (THE LATTER BEING, AS WE NOTED, THE FOCAL ASPECT OF THE MASTER-PLAN). OFTEN, GREATER IMPORTANCE WAS PLACED ON HOW A CERTAIN PATTERN LOOKS ON THE PLAN, THAN ON HOW IT WOULD LOOK ON THE GROUND OR ON HOW IT WOULD ACCORD WITH THE ECOSYSTEM OF THE AREA.

LET US ILLUSTRATE SOME OF THE ATTRIBUTES OF THE MASTER PLAN FROM THE NORTHVILLE CASE.

IN 1912, A PRIVATE CONSULTING PLANNER WAS COMMISSIONED BY THE GOVERNMENT TO PREPARE A MASTER-PLAN FOR NORTHVILLE. THE RESULTING PLAN MAY BE REGARDED AS THE EPITOME OF OPTIMISM AND UTOPIANISM: NORTHVILLE WAS PLANNED FOR HALF-A-MILLION PEOPLE, AS "ONE OF THE LARGEST AND MOST MAGNIFICENTLY SITUATED CITIES ON (THE) CONTINENT...". THE PLAN CALLED FOR 600 MILES OF WIDE ROADS, THE DISTRIBUTION OF THE POPULATION ON BOTH SIDES OF THE RIVER (A BRIDGE HAS NOT YET BEEN CONSTRUCTED EVEN TODAY), AND A LARGE NUMBER OF CULTURAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE INSTITUTIONS, ALL GRANDIOSELY SITUATED. TYPICALLY, THE MAP WAS MADE AESTHETICALLY PLEASING WITH ITS ELABORATE AND INTRICATE STREET DESIGNS. ONE CAN ONLY WONDER HOW THIS LABYRINTH WOULD HAVE LOOKED TO PEDESTRIANS. ALSO TYPICALLY, LITTLE CONCERN WAS SHOWN ABOUT AN ECONOMIC BASE FOR THE PROPOSED TOWN (A NON-PHYSICAL CONSIDERATION). NOT SURPRISINGLY, THIS PLAN WAS NEVER

IMPLEMENTED IN ANY OF ITS ASPECTS.[8]

ABOUT TWO DECADES LATER, ANOTHER PLANNER WAS CONSULTED. ALTHOUGH HIS PLAN NEVER REACHED AN ADVANCED STAGE (PARTLY BECAUSE OF ITS UNACCEPTABILITY TO POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS), IT EXHIBITS THE LONG-RANGE, PHYSICALLY-UTOPIAN CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MASTER PLAN. IT CALLED FOR THE PLANNING OF NORTHVILLE AS A VERTICAL TOWN, A SINGLE HIGH-RISE BUILDING. LITTLE CONSIDERATION WAS GIVEN TO WHETHER SUCH A FORM OF LIVING WOULD BE SUITED TO THE DESIRES AND NEEDS OF THE VARIOUS AGE-GROUPS AND THE RESIDENTS IN GENERAL.

B. THE DEVELOPMENT AND COMPREHENSIVE PLANS

AS NOTED, THESE TWO TYPES OF PLANS ARE MORE SIGNIFICANT FOR THEIR EUPHEMISTIC VALUE THAN AS DISTINCTLY DIFFERENT TYPES OF PLANS. THEY DO, HOWEVER, OFTEN POSSESS SOME DISTINGUISHING MARKS.

BOTH THESE TYPES OF PLANS MAY BE VIEWED AS ATTEMPTS TO CORRECT FOR WHAT THEIR PROPONENTS REGARD AS SHORTCOMINGS OF THE MASTER PLAN CONCEPT. THE COMPREHENSIVE[9] PLAN SEEKS TO WIDEN THE SCOPE OF PLANNING BEYOND THE PHYSICAL: IT SEEKS TO BE COMPREHENSIVE.[10] IN ADDITION TO THE STANDARD CONCERNS OF THE MASTER PLAN, A COMPREHENSIVE PLAN ALSO CONSIDERS SUCH

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[8] THE REASON IT WAS NOT IMPLEMENTED CANNOT BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE UNREALISM OF THE PLANNER ALONE SINCE THE IDEOLOGICAL CLIMATE OF THE TIME IN THAT PART OF CANADA WAS ALSO OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE FUTURE OF NORTHVILLE.

[9] IT IS SOMETIMES ALSO CALLED A "GENERAL PLAN."

[10] DAVID C. LOEKS, "THE NEW COMPREHENSIVENESS: INTERPRETATIVE SUMMARY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1967, PP. 347-352.

TOPICS AS THE REQUIREMENTS FOR SCHOOLS, RECREATIONAL AREAS, COMMUNITY AREAS, THE ECONOMIC BASE OF THE COMMUNITY, THE SOCIAL IMPACT OF PHYSICAL PLANNING, AND CIVIC DESIGN. IMPLIED ARE A GREATER VALUATION OF SOCIAL FACTORS AND A LESSER DEGREE OF PHYSICAL DETERMINISM. OTHERWISE, HOWEVER, THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN TENDS TO ENTAIL THE SAME VALUES AS THE MASTER PLAN, AND HAS BEEN ATTACKED BY THE OPPONENTS OF MASTER-PLANNING (WHO HAVE SOMETIMES USED THE TERM "COMPREHENSIVE PLAN" AS A SYNONYM).[11]

THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN CONCEPT HAS BEEN PROPOSED AS AN ANSWER TO THE STATIC, SINGLE-GOAL-DIRECTED APPROACH OF THE MASTER PLAN. WHILE THE MASTER PLAN CONCEPT WOULD NOT ENCOURAGE REVISION OF THE PLAN, WHICH IS REGARDED AS THE 'IDEAL' ANSWER, THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN CALLS FOR PERIODIC REVISIONS TO REFLECT CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES, IMPLYING A LESSER ALOOFNESS ON THE PART OF THE PLANNER AND A WILLINGNESS TO BE IMMERSED IN REALITY. THE DEVELOPMENT PLAN MAY BE REGARDED AS INTERMEDIATE BETWEEN THE MASTER PLAN AND THE PROCESS PLAN (SEE BELOW). ITS MOST SIGNIFICANT ASPECT, HOWEVER, (IN TERMS OF ITS POWER TO REVEAL ASSOCIATED VALUES), IS THE NAME "DEVELOPMENT PLAN" ITSELF. IT DRAWS UPON THE WIDELY-HELD VALUE OF PROGRESS OR DEVELOPMENT, SUGGESTING THAT WHAT IS PLANNED CANNOT BUT ACHIEVE PROGRESS. THE IMPLICATION IN THE TITLE IS SO STRONG THAT A PLANNER MAKING A POPULATION OR ECONOMIC PROJECTION FOR A CITY OR TOWN CANNOT VERY WELL PREDICT A DECLINE (GROWTH BEING IDENTIFIED BY MOST PEOPLE WITH PROGRESS) AND YET MAINTAIN THE TITLE, WITHOUT RESORTING TO SOME ACROBATIC EXPLANATIONS. THE TITLE "DEVELOPMENT PLAN" THUS SUCCEEDS IN RECRUITING VALUES FROM THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE CLUSTER AS ADDITIONAL SUPPORT FOR PLAN-

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[11] PERIN, "A NOISELESS SECESSION FROM THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN."

NING. IT IS INDEED A WELL-CHOSEN EUPHEMISM.

THE EUPHEMISTIC AND PROGRESS-IMPLYING FUNCTIONS OF THE TITLE "DEVELOPMENT PLAN" MAY BE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY. THERE, THE PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU HAD PREPARED A PLAN FOR NORTHVILLE WHICH WAS LITTLE MORE THAN A RECOMMENDED LAND-USE PLAN, OR A LIMITED MASTER PLAN. YET THEY ENTITLED IT A "DEVELOPMENT PLAN," AND INDEED PREDICTED THE GROWTH OF NORTHVILLE IN TERMS OF BOTH POPULATION AND AREA. THEIR PROJECTIONS WERE BASED ON THOSE OF A PREVIOUS DEVELOPMENT PLAN (FIRST PHASE) WHICH HAD BEEN PREPARED BY A PRIVATE PLANNING CONSULTANT. THESE PROJECTIONS WERE, IT NOW SEEMS, OVERLY OPTIMISTIC.

C. THE PROCESS PLAN

PROCESS PLANNING IS ANOTHER ASPECT OF THAT EMERGING MOVEMENT IN PLANNING, VARIOUS ASPECTS OF WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY MET--THE MOVEMENT OF "ACTION PLANNING." IT IS, IN EFFECT, A REACTION TO THE LOW SCORE MASTER PLANNING HAS ACHIEVED IN THE SPHERE OF EFFECTUATION AND A DESIRE TO CORRECT FOR THIS. THERE ARE, HOWEVER, OTHER ASSOCIATED VALUES AS WELL.

THE HIGH VALUE PLACED BY THEM ON EFFECTIVENESS HAS LED THE ADVOCATES OF THIS TYPE OF PLANNING TO REJECT THE LONG-RANGE ORIENTATION OF MASTER-PLANNING IN FAVOR OF A NEW SHORT- AND MIDDLE-RANGE APPROACH. NOT ALOOFNESS FROM THE URBAN AND POLITICAL PROCESSES IS RECOMMENDED, BUT IMMERSION WITHIN THEM: THE PLAN SHOULD RECOGNIZE THE CITY AS A PROCESS, OF WHICH THE PLAN ITSELF IS A FACTOR; IT SHOULD PERMIT CONSTANT FEEDBACK AND SHOULD BE REVISED ACCORDINGLY; THE PLANNER SHOULD BECOME POLITICIZED AND ATTEMPT TO SECURE IMPLEMENTATION; IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS, LITTLE VALUE SHOULD BE PLACED ON ACHIEVING ABSOLUTE RATIONALITY, AND GREATER

EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON FEASIBILITY (THE INCREMENTAL MODEL).[12]

WHILE MASTER-PLANNING HAS ACCORDED WITH THE UTOPIAN-REFORMIST IDEOLOGICAL TRADITION IN CITY PLANNING, PROCESS PLANNING ACCORDS WITH THE CONSERVATIVE TRADITION. THE STRESS IT PLACED ON IMPLEMENTATION, AND, GIVEN THE CONSERVATIVE ATTRIBUTES OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS, PRECLUDES BLATENTLY REFORMIST THINKING. HOWEVER, THE GROWING POPULARITY OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THE CONCOMITANT VALUE INCREASINGLY BEING PLACED ON SOCIAL FACTORS, HAVE NOT BYPASSED THE POLITICAL SPHERE. AT THE SAME TIME, AS WE HAVE SEEN, SOCIAL VALUES ARE ON THE ASCENDENCE IN CITY PLANNING AS WELL, BECOMING WHAT IS IN EFFECT A NEW IDEOLOGICAL STRAIN IN THE UTOPIAN-REFORMIST TRADITION,[13] A STRAIN NOT INCOMPATIBLE WITH THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

THE ASCENDENCE OF SOCIAL VALUES IN CITY PLANNING IDEOLOGY IS PERHAPS BEST EXPRESSED BY THE CONCERN WITH DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, A CONCERN OFTEN SHARED BY THE PROPONENTS OF PROCESS PLANNING.[14] IT HAS BEEN ARGUED THAT PROCESS PLANNING IS INHERENTLY MORE AMENABLE TO DEMOCRATIC PLANNING (PARTICIPATORY PLANNING OR CLIENT ANALYSIS) SINCE ITS SHORTER-RANGE GOALS

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[12]ONE OR MORE OF THESE ASPECTS OF PROCESS PLANNING IS DESCRIBED BY EACH OF THE FOLLOWING AUTHORS, WHO SUPPORT PROCESS PLANNING: FRIEDMANN, "NOTES ON SOCIETAL ACTION"; IRA M. ROBINSON, "BEYOND THE MIDDLE-RANGE PLANNING BRIDGE," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, VOL. 31, NO. 4, 1965, PP. 304-312; PERIN, "A NOISELESS SECESSION FROM THE COMPREHENSIVE PLAN"; WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING"; BOLAN, "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING" AND "COMMUNITY DECISION BEHAVIORS."

[13]SEE CHAPTER 4,B AND D ABOVE.

[14]FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE VARIOUS TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING SEE CHAPTER 11 BELOW.

ARE MORE COMPREHENSIBLE TO THE PUBLIC, WHOSE VIEWS AND VALUES CAN THUS BE ASCERTAINED MORE READILY.[15] THIS FACT, ALONG WITH THE POSITIVE VALUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL PROCESS AND THE REALITIES OF THE URBAN PROCESS IMPLIED BY PROCESS PLANNING, INDICATE THAT PROCESS PLANNING MAY BE LESS OFFENSIVE TO VALUES IN THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY CLUSTER THAN MASTER PLANNING, WITH ITS STRONG OVERTONES OF CONTROL. PROCESS PLANNING ALSO SEEMS TO MAXIMIZE THE SUPPORT THAT CAN BE GAINED FROM THE SHARED VALUES OF THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER. FOR PROCESS PLANNING IS ALSO ASSOCIATED WITH THE DEMAND TO MAKE CITY PLANNING MORE 'SCIENTIFIC' THROUGH THE USE OF CAPITAL PROGRAMMING, QUANTITATIVE METHODS AND MODELS, AND THROUGH A GREATER UTILIZATION OF THE COMPUTER.[16] THUS ONE MAY PREDICT THAT PROCESS PLANNING WILL GAIN GREATER ACCEPTANCE FROM THE PUBLIC THAN MASTER PLANNING HAS DONE, AN ACCEPTANCE THAT WILL FIND EXPRESSION IN AN INCREASE IN THE NUMBER OF ACTUALIZED AND SUCCESSFUL PLANS.

D. THE POLICY PLAN

THE FINAL TYPE OF PLAN TO BE DISCUSSED IS THE POLICY PLAN. IT CANNOT BE REGARDED AS A FULL ALTERNATIVE TO THE OTHER TYPES OF PLANS, BUT RATHER AS A SPECIALIZED TYPE. ONCE AGAIN, USAGE OF THE TERM "POLICY PLAN" HAS NOT CONGEALED ENOUGH FOR US TO STATE CATEGORICALLY WHAT ARE THE ASSOCIATED VALUE CHARACTERISTICS. HOWEVER, ONCE AGAIN CERTAIN VALUE TENDENCIES ARE REVEALED IN THE NAME "POLICY PLAN" ITSELF--AND OFTEN A NAME

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[15] ALTSHULER, "THE GOALS OF COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING."

[16] TWO PUBLICATIONS ADVOCATING BOTH PROCESS PLANNING AND GREATER QUANTIFICATION ARE: ROBINSON "BEHIND THE MIDDLE-RANGE PLANNING BRIDGE," WHERE THE COMMUNITY RENEWAL PROGRAMS (C.R.P.) TYPE OF PROCESS PLANNING IS DISCUSSED, AND WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS IN URBAN SYSTEMS PLANNING."

IS SELECTED FOR A PLAN FOR ITS VALUE-ASSOCIATIONS RATHER THAN FOR ANY OTHER FORM OF SUITABILITY.

THE TERM " POLICY PLAN" INDICATES A DESIRE THAT THE PLAN BE REGARDED AS POLICY--I.E., THAT IT BE ADOPTED BY THE APPROPRIATE DECISION-MAKERS (IN MOST CASES, THE POLITICIANS). IMPLIED IS A CONCERN THAT THE PLAN BE IMPLEMENTED. THE CONCERN WITH POLICY ALSO INDICATES A LESSER REGARD FOR MAP-MAKING ALONG WITH ITS PHYSICAL ORIENTATION, AND A GREATER REGARD FOR NON-PHYSICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

THE IMPORTANCE PLACED ON A NAME CAN BE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NORTHVILLE STUDY. A PLAN PREPARED IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU BY THE JUNIOR PLANNER WITH THE SOCIAL-SCIENCE BACKGROUND WAS ENTITLED "POLICY PLAN" EVEN THOUGH AN ALTERNATIVE NAME, SUCH AS "PRELIMINARY DEVELOPMENT PLAN" OR THE LIKE, WOULD HAVE SUITED THE PLAN'S CONTENTS JUST AS WELL. THE PLANNER WAS HOPING TO ALTER THE POLICIES IN EXISTENCE. AS MAY BE EXPECTED, THERE WAS MORE EMPHASIS PLACED ON POPULATION, SOCIAL, AND ECONOMIC ASPECTS THAN ON PHYSICAL ONES.

CHAPTER 10

GOAL-SETTING FOR THE PLANNING PROCESS: WHOSE VALUES SHALL PREVAIL

PLANNING, AS NOTED, IS AN APPLIED SCIENCE (TO THE EXTENT THAT IT IS A SCIENCE AT ALL). EACH PHASE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS MUST THEREFORE HAVE A PURPOSE, OR GOAL, DIRECTING THE APPLICATION OF KNOWLEDGE.[1] AS WE HAVE SEEN, ANY GOAL MUST, BY DEFINITION,[2] INVOLVE VALUES. THUS THE GOAL-DIRECTION ATTRIBUTE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS IS ANOTHER OF THE VULNERABLE POINTS IN THIS PROCESS (PERHAPS THE MOST VULNERABLE ONE) THROUGH WHICH VALUES INTERVENE.

THERE ARE TWO DISTINCT QUESTIONS THAT CAN BE ASKED ABOUT THE GOAL-ASPECT OF THE PLANNING PROCESS: WHOSE VALUES SHALL UNDERLY THE GOAL (WHAT WE HAVE CALLED, IN ANOTHER CONTEXT, THE ISSUE OF "CONTROL BY WHOSE GOAL")? AND WHAT VALUES SHALL UNDERLY THE GOAL (WHAT WE HAVE CALLED THE ISSUE OF "CONTROL FOR WHAT GOAL")?[3] THE FIRST OF THESE QUESTIONS WILL BE DISCUSSED IN THIS CHAPTER, AND ONE OF THE POSSIBLE ANSWERS TO IT ("THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL") WILL BE EXPLORED IN THE NEXT CHAPTER AS WELL. THE SECOND QUESTION WILL, IN EFFECT, BE ANSWERED IN THE CHAPTERS OF PART IV DEALING WITH THE VALUE ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE

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[1] FOR A DISCUSSION OF PLANNING AS AN APPLIED SCIENCE SEE CHAPTER 4, C ABOVE. THE GOAL-DIRECTION ATTRIBUTE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS WAS INCLUDED IN OUR DESCRIPTION OF THAT PROCESS (CHAPTER 1, A, F) UNDER THE PHRASE "CONTROLLED OR DIRECTED TOWARD SOME GOAL."

[2] THE DEFINITION OF "GOAL" WAS GIVEN IN CHAPTER 1, A, D.

[3] THESE ARE MENTIONED UNDER THE HEADING "CONTROL OR DIRECTION" IN THE CHAPTER DEALING WITH THE UNIQUE ATTRIBUTES OF PLANNING--CHAPTER 5, B.

AREAS IN PLANNING.

A. THE ALTERNATIVES

THERE ARE SEVERAL MEANINGFUL ALTERNATIVES THAT CAN SERVE AS AN ANSWER TO THE QUESTION "WHOSE VALUES SHALL PREVAIL?" THEY ARE:

1) THE PLANNER'S VALUES

2) THE POLITICIAN'S VALUES

3) OTHER EMPLOYERS' VALUES

4) THE ULTIMATE CLIENTS' VALUES AND THE COMMUNITY'S VALUES

5) THE PHILOSOPHER'S VALUES

6) SOME COMBINATION OF THESE.

EACH OF THESE ALTERNATIVES COULD PROBABLY BE SUPPORTED BY SOME RELATIVELY WIDELY HELD VALUES. WHY, THEN, ARE THERE SO MANY ALTERNATIVES? WHY HAS NOT ONE OF THESE ALTERNATIVES BECOME THE PREVALENT NORM? THE ANSWER LIES IN THE ABSENCE OF A WELL-DEFINED PROFESSIONAL ETHIC FOR PLANNING.[4]

WHERE IT IS HELD THAT THE PLANNER'S VALUES SHOULD UNDERLIE THE GOALS FOR PLANNING, IT IS IMPLICITLY ASSUMED THAT THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER IS ANALOGOUS TO THE ROLE OF, SAY, THE ARCHITECT IN PRIVATE PRACTICE. THE PROFESSIONAL ETHIC OF THE ARCHITECT (AND OF SOME OTHER PROFESSIONALS AS WELL) PERMITS HIM TO PROPOSE A DESIGN BASED ON HIS OWN VALUES, AND TO OFFER IT IN THE 'FREE MARKET' OF PROFESSIONAL ADVICE. THE CLIENT, WHEN HE SELECTS AN ARCHITECT'S DESIGN, ALSO SELECTS ALONG WITH IT THE VALUES ASSUMED IN THE DESIGN. IN NORTH AMERICA, AMPLE IDEOLOGICAL SUPPORT WOULD

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[4] FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE PROFESSIONAL ETHIC AND PLANNING SEE CHAPTER 4, D, ABOVE.

BE AVAILABLE FOR THIS STAND FROM THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH FREE-ENTERPRISE. HOWEVER, IN ORDER TO QUALIFY FOR THIS SUPPORT, THE PLANNER MUST IN FACT BE IN PRIVATE PRACTICE--AND ONLY THE MINORITY OF PLANNERS ARE.

WHEN THIS STAND (THAT THE PLANNER'S VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL) IS ADOPTED BY A PLANNER EMPLOYED BY SOME GOVERNMENT, HOWEVER, THERE ARE OTHER VALUES INVOLVED. THE STAND IMPLIES A REJECTION OF BOTH THE POLITICIAN AND OF THE CLIENTS (OR THE PUBLIC) AS SOURCES OF VALUES FOR GOAL-SETTING. AN AGGRAVATION OF THE INHERENT CONFLICT BETWEEN THE ROLES OF THE PLANNER AND OF THE POLITICIAN[5] MAY ENSUE. AT THE SAME TIME, PLANNING UNDER THESE CIRCUMSTANCES COULD BECOME LESS ACCEPTABLE TO THE PUBLIC, IN VIEW OF THE IMPLIED QUESTIONING OF THE ELECTED POLITICIAN'S LEGITIMACY, AS WELL AS THE DOUBT CAST ON THE RIGHT OF THE PUBLIC TO HAVE ITS VIEWS DETERMINE POLICY. IN SHORT, THIS STAND MAY PROVE OFFENSIVE TO INDIVIDUALISTIC AND DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

A PLANNER WHO MAINTAINS THAT HIS OWN VALUES SHOULD DETERMINE THE GOALS IS, IN EFFECT, ADOPTING THE ROLE OF THE PHILOSOPHER WHO, FREE FROM THE EXIGENCIES OF REALITY, CAN LUXURIATE IN DEVELOPING HIS VALUES AND GOALS. THIS STAND ACCORDS BETTER WITH THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN IDEOLOGICAL STREAM IN PLANNING THAN WITH THE CONSERVATIVE STREAM.[6] IT WOULD ALSO REINFORCE THE VALUES UNDERLYING THE SUPPORT FOR THE INDEPENDENT PLANNING COMMISSION, FOR THE NON-POLITICIZED ROLE OF THE PLANNER, FOR ABSOLUTE

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[5] THIS CONFLICT WAS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 7, C.

[6] THESE STREAMS WERE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 4, D.

RATIONALITY IN DECISION-MAKING, AND FOR THE MASTER-PLAN.[7]

PLANNERS, HOWEVER, BEING PART OF THEIR SOCIETY, ARE LIKELY TO HOLD THE DEMOCRACY-ASSOCIATED VALUES. A PLANNER WHO IS NOT IN PRIVATE PRACTICE IS THEREFORE UNLIKELY TO INSIST THAT HIS VALUES ALONE SHOULD DETERMINE THE GOALS FOR PLANNING. WHERE HE IS EMPLOYED BY A GOVERNMENT OF SOME KIND, HE MAY FEEL THAT THE POLITICIAN'S VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL. HE WOULD THEN BE IMPLYING A POSITIVE VALUATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC POLITICAL SYSTEM, AND A FAITH THAT THE POLITICIAN ADEQUATELY REFLECTS THE PUBLIC'S VALUES. YET DESPITE THE GENERAL ENTRENCHMENT OF DEMOCRATIC VALUES IN THE NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES, THE PLANNER MAY PARADOXICALLY FIND SOME IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO THIS STAND. FOR, AS HAS ALREADY BEEN NOTED, THERE MAY BE AMBIVALENCE AND EVEN A CONFLICT OF VALUES WITHIN A SINGLE IDEOLOGICAL TRADITION, SUCH AS IN THE CASE OF THE MISTRUST OF POLITICIANS PREVALENT IN NORTH AMERICA (NOW DECLINING).[8]

THE POSITION THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD SET THE GOALS FOR THE PLAN ACCORDING TO HIS EMPLOYERS' VALUES (EVEN WHERE THEY ARE NOT ELECTED POLITICIANS) IS PROBABLY THE POSITION THAT IS FOLLOWED MOST OFTEN IN REALITY, YET WHICH IS LEAST OFTEN JUSTIFIED IDEOLOGICALLY BY EITHER THE PLANNER OR THE PUBLIC. THIS PARADOXICAL SITUATION LENDS SUPPORT TO THE DECISION-MAKING MODEL PROPOSED ABOVE, THE MODEL OF SELF-INTERESTED RATIONALITY, AND REFLECTS THE SAME UNDERLYING VALUES--THE VALUES OF EXPEDIENCY, SELF-GAIN, ETC. IT ALSO REFLECTS THE CONSERVATIVE STREAM OF PLANNING IDEOLOGY.

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[7] SEE CHAPTERS 7,B; 7,C; 8,A AND C; AND 9, RESPECTIVELY.

[8] VALUE CONFLICT WITHIN THE 'DEMOCRACY' CLUSTER WAS DISCUSSED IN GENERAL IN CHAPTER 3, C. THE TRADITIONAL MISTRUST OF POLITICIANS WAS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 7, B, A.

THIS POSITION WOULD MEET GREATER IDEOLOGICAL DISAPPROVAL WHERE THE EMPLOYER IS A CIVIL SERVANT AND NOT A POLITICIAN BECAUSE OF THE PREVALENT MISTRUST OF 'BUREAUCRATS.' THE EXISTENCE AND PREVALENCE OF THIS ALTERNATIVE TO GOAL-SETTING SERVES WITNESS TO THE ABSENCE OF A PLANNING PROFESSIONAL ETHIC.

THE VIEW THAT THE VALUES OF THE ULTIMATE CLIENTS OF THE PLAN SHOULD DETERMINE THE GOALS FOR THE PLAN IS ON THE ASCENDANCE AMONG PLANNING THEORETICIANS.[9] THIS IS THE STAND UNDERLYING THE NEW CONCERN WITH DEMOCRATIC PLANNING.[10] NEEDLESS TO SAY, IT IS THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY, AND SOCIAL CONCERN THAT ARE THE MOTIVATING FORCE BEHIND THIS NEW APPROACH. THE VARIOUS FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING MAY BE VIEWED AS ATTEMPTS TO ACHIEVE THE MOST SUCCESSFUL RECONCILIATION YET OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY THROUGH THE INCORPORATION OF THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS INTO THE PLANNING PROCESS ITSELF. IN OTHER WORDS, DEMOCRATIC PLANNING SEEKS TO GIVE ADDED IDEOLOGICAL LEGITIMACY TO PLANNING, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME WEAKENING THE OBJECTION TO PLANNING THAT STEMS FROM THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE CLUSTER. THE POSITION THAT THE VALUES OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS (OR THE PUBLIC) SHOULD PREVAIL DRAWS SUPPORT FROM ANOTHER SOURCE OF VALUES AS WELL--THE HIGH VALUATION BEING ACCORDED TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND TO VALUES THEMSELVES. THIS SOURCE OF VALUE SUPPORT BECOMES MORE RELEVANT TO PLANNING AS THE LATTER, LARGELY THROUGH THE DEMOCRATIC

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[9] AMONG THOSE WHO HOLD IT ARE: ROBERT C. YOUNG, "GOALS AND GOAL SETTINGS"; DAVIDOFF AND REINER, "A CHOICE THEORY OF PLANNING"; JOHN W. DYCKMAN, "SOCIETAL PLANNING, SOCIAL PLANNERS AND PLANNED SOCIETIES," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1966, PP. 66-76; AS WELL AS MANY OF THE THEORETICIANS MENTIONED IN CHAPTER 11 BELOW.

[10] THE NEXT CHAPTER WILL BE DEVOTED TO DEMOCRATIC PLANNING.

PLANNING MOVEMENT, BECOMES MORE CONCERNED WITH VALUES AND APPROACHES THE STATUS OF A SOCIAL SCIENCE.

PARADOXICALLY, HOWEVER, WHILE THE STAND THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL IS MOTIVATED BY DEMOCRATIC VALUES, IT MAY IMPLY A THREAT TO INSTITUTIONALIZED DEMOCRATIC POLITICS. BY SEEKING TO ASCERTAIN THE PUBLIC'S VALUES DIRECTLY, THIS STAND MAY ENTAIL THE CIRCUMVENTION OF THE ELECTED POLITICIAN (WHERE THE PLANNER IS A GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEE), IMPLYING THAT THE LATTER DOES NOT ADEQUATELY REFLECT THE VALUES OF THE PUBLIC. FOR DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, ESPECIALLY CLIENT-ANALYSIS, IS, IN EFFECT, AN IMITATION OR SIMULATION OF THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. IF THE POLITICIAN AGREES TO THIS TYPE OF PLANNING, HE HIMSELF MAY BE ABLE TO CAPITALIZE ON IT AS PROOF OF THE DEMOCRATIC NATURE OF HIS GOVERNMENT. HOWEVER, IF HE SHOULD VIEW DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AS A PERSONAL THREAT, AS A FURTHER USURPATION OF HIS ROLE, THIS CAN ONLY AGGRAVATE THE POTENTIAL CONFLICT INHERENT IN THE ROLES OF THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN. IT IS NO WONDER, THEN, THAT IT IS OFTEN THE SAME THEORETICIANS WHO ADVOCATE BOTH THIS VIEW OF GOAL-SETTING AND THE POLITICIZATION OF PLANNING.

THIS STAND ALSO RAISES A PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTION--THE ISSUE OF THE RELEVANCE OF THE NOT-YET-BORN GENERATIONS TO DEMOCRATIC PLANNING. WE HAVE ALREADY ENCOUNTERED THIS ISSUE BEFORE,[11] WHERE WE NOTED THAT IT IS LOGICALLY IMPOSSIBLE TO CONSULT ALL THE PLAN'S CLIENTS, BOTH PRESENT AND AND FUTURE.[12] IT IS CONCEIVABLE TO ARGUE THAT THIS FACT THROWS DOUBT ON

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[11] IN CHAPTER 5, A.

[12] CHURCHMAN MENTIONS THE ISSUE OF THE UNBORN GENERATIONS WITH REGARD TO THE VERIFICATION OF ETHICAL JUDGMENTS AS ABSOLUTELY TRUE. SEE PREDICTION AND OPTIMAL DECISION..., PP. 21-22.

DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AS A WHOLE; THAT ONE COULD JUST AS WELL HAVE THE POLITICIAN OR THE PLANNER IMPOSE THEIR VALUES INSTEAD OF HAVING THE LIVING PUBLIC IMPOSE IT ON THE NOT-YET-LIVING PUBLIC. IT COULD BE RETORTED THAT, IF ONE IN FACT DESIRES DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, ONE MUST COMPROMISE; AND IT IS MORE LIKELY THAT, AS A RESULT OF THE PROCESS OF SOCIALIZATION, FUTURE CLIENT GENERATIONS WILL HOLD VALUES MORE AKIN TO THE VALUES OF THE PRESENT CLIENTS--THEIR PARENTS--THAN TO THE VALUES OF THE PLANNER OR THE POLITICIAN ALONE.[13]

THE POSITION THAT THE PHILOSOPHER (OR THE PROPHET) SHOULD BE THE SOURCE OF VALUES FOR PLANNING GOALS WOULD HAVE FEW ADHERENTS TODAY IN DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES SUCH AS THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA.[14] FOR ALTHOUGH PHILOSOPHERS, RELIGIOUS LEADERS, OR IDEOLOGICAL LEADERS WOULD HAVE AN EFFECT ON THE PUBLIC'S VALUES, THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY ARE SO PREVALENT THAT THEY WOULD RESIST THIS STAND (JUST AS THEY WOULD RESIST THE STAND OF THE PLANNER-AS-PHILOSOPHER, DISCUSSED ABOVE). THUS PHILOSOPHERS, ETC., WOULD BE A SOURCE OF VALUES ONLY INDIRECTLY.

FINALLY, WE HAVE THE ALTERNATIVE THAT SOME COMBINATION OF THE ABOVE WILL PREVAIL. THIS ALTERNATIVE IS THE MOST LIKELY TO OCCUR IN REALITY, BUT THE PROPORTIONS IN THE COMBINATION WOULD VARY ACCORDING TO THE VALUES OF THE PLANNER, EMPLOYER, AND PUBLIC. IN NORTHVILLE, ALL THE PLANNERS INVOLVED HELD THE VALUES OF PRAGMATISM AND EXPEDIENCY TO SOME EXTENT. THUS THEY ALL INCORPORATED THE VALUES OF THEIR EMPLOYERS INTO THEIR PLANS

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[13] A SIMILAR POINT IS MADE BY CHEVALIER IN "A STRATEGY OF INTEREST-BASED PLANNING," P. 59.

[14] YET IT HAS SOME ADHERENTS WITH REGARD TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES: IRVING, SCIENCE AND VALUE..., P. 4.

TO A GREATER OR LESSER DEGREE. EXAMPLES OF OCCASIONS IN WHICH THIS WAS DONE WERE ALREADY GIVEN DURING THE DISCUSSION OF THE MODEL OF SELF-INTERESTED RATIONALITY.[15] IN ADDITION, SOME OF THE PLANNERS FELT STRONGLY THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD AT LEAST BE CONSULTED. THEY CALLED FOR A VALUE-SURVEY, WHICH WAS ULTIMATELY TO TAKE PLACE. AT LEAST ONE SENIOR PLANNER, HOWEVER, OPPOSED THE VIEW THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE SURVEYED--ALTHOUGH UNDER DIFFERENT CIRCUMSTANCES HE MAY HAVE APPROVED IT. ALL THE PLANNERS INVOLVED INCORPORATED THEIR OWN VALUES INTO THE PLAN TO SOME EXTENT AS WELL.

B. THE ROLE OF THE PLANNER VIS-À-VIS THE CLIENTS' VALUES: PACE-SETTER OR VALUE-REFLECTOR

THE ISSUE OF WHOSE VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL IN GOAL-SETTING FOR PLANNING MAY BE APPROACHED IN ANOTHER WAY AS WELL, FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE VIS-À-VIS THE CLIENTS' VALUES. THIS POINT OF VIEW ASSUMES THAT THE PLANNER FEELS SOME CONCERN FOR THE CLIENTS' VALUES, AND PROCEEDS TO ASK HOW THE PLANNER VIEWS HIMSELF IN THAT CONTEXT.

THE VIEW THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD BE CONCERNED WITH VALUES (WHETHER HIS OWN OR OTHERS') AND SHOULD STATE THEM EXPLICITLY, HAS BEEN PUT FORTH BY MANY PLANNING THEORETICIANS.[16] SOME HAVE EVEN GONE AS FAR AS TO SUGGEST THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD SEEK TO MAKE VALUE-IDENTIFICATION HIS PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY, THAT HE SHOULD BECOME WHAT REINER HAS CALLED A

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[15] SEE CHAPTER 8, F, ABOVE.

[16] REINER, "THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING," P. 29; PAUL GOODMAN AND PERCIVAL GOODMAN, COMMUNITAS (NEW YORK: VINTAGE BOOKS, 1960), PP. 119-121; DAVIDOFF, "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING"; A. BENJAMIN HANDLER, "WHAT IS PLANNING THEORY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, (1957), NO. 3, VOL. 23, PP. 144-150.

"VALUE-TECHNICIAN,"[17] OR WHAT ALTSHULER HAS NAMED A "GOAL SPECIALIST."[18] THIS NEW AWARENESS OF VALUES AND THEIR IMPACT ON PLANNING WILL LEAD THE PLANNER TO DO SOME INTROSPECTION; TO ANALYZE HIS OWN VALUES UNDERLYING HIS VIEW OF OTHERS' VALUES. SUCH AN EXERCISE IN INTROSPECTION WILL REVEAL THAT THERE ARE TWO MAJOR VALUE-ROLES THE PLANNER COULD ADOPT: THE ROLE OF PACE-SETTER, AND THE ROLE OF VALUE-REFLECTOR.

A PLANNER WHO CONSCIOUSLY ADOPTS THE PACE-SETTER ROLE WOULD ARGUE THAT, ALTHOUGH HE FEELS THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO THE PLAN, THIS DOES NOT MEAN THAT ONLY THEIR PRESENT VALUES SHOULD PREVAIL. WITH REGARD TO MANY PLANNING ISSUES, HE WOULD SAY, VALUE CHANGE IS POSSIBLE--ESPECIALLY WHERE SOCIAL NORMS ARE IN A STATE OF FLUX, SUCH AS IN THE TWO NORTH AMERICAN SOCIETIES. THUS IN ADDITION TO PRESENTLY-MANIFESTED VALUES, THERE ARE ALSO <u>POTENTIAL</u> ONES. THESE, HE WOULD SAY, THE PLANNER CAN SEEK TO BRING TO REALIZATION BY PROPOSING NEW GOALS AND THEIR UNDERLYING VALUES, AND BY INCORPORATING THEM INTO THE PLAN. HE COULD ARGUE FURTHER THAT HIS PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE PERMITS HIM TO KNOW WHAT VALUES ARE BEST.[19] SIMILARLY, HE COULD STATE THAT VALUES ARE SHAPED BY WHAT PEOPLE SEE IN FRONT OF THEM, BY WHAT THEY CAN PURCHASE IN THE MARKET AT ANY GIVEN TIME. THE TASK OF THE PLANNER IS NOT TO GIVE PEOPLE

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[17] REINER, "THE PLANNER AS VALUE TECHNICIAN..."

[18] ALTSHULER, "THE GOALS OF COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING."

[19] THE VIEW THAT 'THE PLANNER KNOWS BEST' AND SHOULD NOT BE CRITICIZED WAS EXPRESSED BY THE PLANNERS IN ALTSHULER'S CASE-STUDY OF ST. PAUL. SEE ALTSHULER, <u>THE CITY PLANNING PROCESS</u>, P. 132, AND <u>PASSIM</u>.

ONLY WHAT THEY NOW WANT, BUT WHAT THEY MIGHT WANT IF THE CHOICE WERE AVAILABLE TO THEM.[20]

SEVERAL VALUE-ASSUMPTIONS UNDERLIE THIS CONCEPTION OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE. FIRST, THE PLANNER HOLDING THIS VIEW FEELS THAT NOT ONLY IS IT JUSTIFIED FOR PLANNING TO HAVE AN INDIRECT IMPACT ON PEOPLE'S VIEWS, BUT IT IS ALSO JUSTIFIED FOR THE PLANNER TO UNDERTAKE A CONSCIOUSLY MANIPULATIVE ROLE. IMPLIED IS A VERY HIGH VALUATION OF PLANNING AND THE PLANNER. SECOND, DESPITE ASSURANCES BY THE PLANNER THAT HE IN FACT FEELS THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD DETERMINE THE GOALS, IN REALITY THE PLANNER WOULD BE ADOPTING THE POSITION THAT HIS OWN VALUES SHOULD DETERMINE THE GOALS, AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT. THIRD, THIS ROLE IMPLIES A CERTAIN VIEW OF PEOPLE--THE VIEW THAT THEY ARE IN A SENSE ADDICTS TO THEIR PRESENT CHOICES OF WHAT EXISTS, AND THAT THEY CANNOT INDEPENDENTLY CONCEIVE OF NEW VALUES AND GOALS AS THE PLANNER CAN.[21]

THE ALTERNATIVE ROLE OF VALUE-REFLECTOR WOULD CALL FOR THE PLANNER TO ADOPT THE STAND OF VALUE-NEUTRALITY, AND TO ACT IN A MANNER ANALOGOUS TO A LIGHT REFLECTOR THAT MERELY CHANNELS THE LIGHT (VALUES) IN A CERTAIN DIRECTION. ADOPTION OF THIS ROLE WOULD BE MOTIVATED BY A STRONG COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES, AND BY A VIEW OF PEOPLE CONTRARY TO THE ABOVE: A FAITH IN THEIR CAPACITY TO THINK INDEPENDENTLY AND TO PROPOSE VALUE-ALTERNATIVES WHICH ARE JUST AS LEGITIMATE AS THOSE PROPOSED BY THE PLANNER.

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[20] THIS ARGUMENT WAS GIVEN BY THE PLANNER IN THE FICTITIOUS PLANNER-CITIZEN DIALOGUE IN: HAAR, "THE MASTER PLAN: AN INQUIRY IN DIALOGUE FORM." THIS VIEW IS ATTRIBUTED TO PAUL AND PERCIVAL GOODMAN BY DAVID RIESMAN IN: "SOME OBSERVATIONS ON COMMUNITY PLANS AND UTOPIA," THE YALE LAW JOURNAL, VOL. 57, DECEMBER, 1947, PP. 173-201.

[21] THE LATTER POINT IS MADE BY RIESMAN IN "SOME OBSERVATIONS...".

IN VIEW OF WHAT HAS BEEN SAID ABOUT THE UBIQUITY OF VALUES, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT ANY HUMAN BEING CAN FULFILL THE ROLE OF VALUE-REFLECTOR WITHOUT REFRACTING OR TINTING THE VALUES. BY THE VERY ATTEMPT TO ASCERTAIN THE PUBLIC'S VALUES, SUCH AS WITH THE AID OF INTERVIEWS, QUESTIONNAIRES, GROUPS DISCUSSIONS, PARTICIPANT-OBSERVATION, OR OTHER RESEARCH METHODS, THE PLANNER WOULD BE INFLUENCING THE CLIENTS, EVEN IF TO A NEGLIGIBLE EXTENT.[22] NEVERTHELESS, A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TWO TYPES OF ROLES CAN STILL BE MADE, AND CAN REMAIN SIGNIFICANT: THE DISTINCTION WOULD BE BASED ON WHETHER OR NOT AN ATTEMPT TO MODIFY VALUES AND TO 'PACE-SET' IS MADE CONSCIOUSLY AND INTENTIONALLY.

LET US SEE HOW THE TWO ROLES WERE EXPRESSED IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE. WE HAVE SEEN THAT SOME OF THE PLANNERS INVOLVED WERE COMMITTED TO THE VIEW THAT (AT LEAST IDEALLY) THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO GOAL-SETTING. THIS DOES NOT MEAN, HOWEVER, THAT THESE SAME PLANNERS WERE COMMITTED TO THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE AS WELL. AS A MATTER OF FACT, IT WOULD SEEM THAT THERE WAS NO PLANNER WHO ADOPTED THIS ROLE FULLY. RATHER, THE PLANNERS COMMITTED TO CONSULTING THE CLIENTS WERE WILLING TO ADOPT THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE ONLY WITH RESPECT TO ALTERNATIVE VALUES AMONG WHICH THEY HAD NO STRONGLY-FELT PREFERENCE. WHERE THEY VALUED SOME ALTERNATIVE HIGHLY, THEY WERE EITHER RELUCTANT TO CONSULT THE CLIENTS AT ALL OR THEY SOUGHT TO INFLUENCE THE CLIENTS' VALUES IN THE PROCESS OF ASCERTAINING THEM. FOR EXAMPLE, IN SUGGESTING THE WORDING FOR A PROPOSED OPINION SUR-

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[22] DYCKMAN NOTES THAT PLANNERS LIKE CLIENTS ANALYSIS NOT ONLY TO REVEAL TASTE, BUT TO SET IT AS WELL. SEE "SOCIAL PLANNING..." LISA R. PEATTIE MAKES THE POINT THAT BY MERELY RESTATING THE CLIENTS' VIEWS THE PLANNER WOULD INEVITABLY BE INFLUENCING THEM: "REFLECTIONS ON ADVOCACY PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1968, PP. 80-88. SEE ALSO CHAPTER 4, B FOOTNOTE 11.

VEY, A PLANNER IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU ATTEMPTED TO ENSURE THAT SOME OF THE ADVANTAGES OF HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING WOULD BE IMPLIED BY THE QUESTION.[23] AT THAT PARTICULAR TIME, THIS PLANNER WAS ADOPTING THE PACE-SETTER ROLE.

THUS IT WOULD SEEM THAT THE TWO ROLES DO NOT HAVE TO BE ADOPTED BY THE SAME PERSON CONSISTENTLY. THESE ROLES MAY BE RELATIVE NOT TO THE PERSON, BUT TO THE ISSUE AT HAND. THE SALIENCY OF THE VALUES INVOLVED IN A GIVEN ISSUE AND WITH RESPECT TO A CERTAIN PLANNER WOULD BE ONE FACTOR DETERMINING WHICH OF THE TWO ROLES WILL BE ADOPTED (A PREVIOUS COMMITMENT TO CLIENTS' VALUES AS GOAL-SETTERS IS ASSUMED). ANOTHER FACTOR WOULD BE THE STRENGTH OF THE VALUE-COMMITMENT TO EITHER OF THE ROLES.

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[23] THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE QUESTION WAS BIASED OR THAT A DESIRE TO BIAS IT WAS INVOLVED, SINCE THE OMISSION OF THE ADVANTAGES OF HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING COULD BE REGARDED AS BIASING THE QUESTION IN FAVOR OF SINGLE-FAMILY OR OTHER TYPES OF HOUSING.

CHAPTER 11

THE PLAN'S CLIENTS AS SOURCES OF VALUES: ATTEMPTS AT DEMOCRATIC PLANNING

AS HAS ALREADY BEEN SEEN IN CHAPTER 7, PLANNING WITHIN A DEMOCRACY MEANS THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES WILL NECESSARILY INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS--WHETHER DIRECTLY, OR INDIRECTLY. INDIRECT INTERVENTION OF VALUES WOULD OCCUR THROUGH THE MEDIATION OF THE INSTITUTIONAL AND COMMUNITY SETTING OF PLANNING (AS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 7). DIRECT INTERVENTION WOULD OCCUR WHERE THE PLANNER OR HIS EMPLOYERS FEEL THAT THE CLIENTS OUGHT TO BE CONSULTED ABOUT GOAL-SETTING DIRECTLY--I.E., THAT PLANNING OUGHT TO BE DEMOCRATIC. IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL FIRST DISCUSS THE VALUE-ISSUES AND PROBLEMS COMMON TO ALL THE TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, AND SHALL THEN PRESENT EACH TYPE AND ITS UNIQUE ASPECTS SEPARATELY.

A. THE GENERAL VALUE ISSUES

THE FOUR TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING TO BE DISCUSSED BELOW HAVE FIVE CHARACTERISTICS IN COMMON:

1) THEY ARE ALL MOTIVATED BY A STRONG COMMITMENT TO DEMOCRATIC VALUES AND BY A BELIEF THAT PLANNING MUST BE UNDERTAKEN FOR THE GOOD OF ITS CLIENTS;
2) THEY ALL HAVE AS AN ASSUMPTION THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES OUGHT TO BE CONSULTED AT LEAST TO SOME EXTENT;
3) THEY MAY ALL BE VIEWED AS STRATEGIES TO ADD GREATER LEGITIMACY TO PLANNING, OR TO RECONCILE PLANNING AND INDIVIDUALISM-

DEMOCRACY;[1]

4) THEY ARE ALL COMPATIBLE WITH BOTH THE PACE-SETTER AND THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE OF THE PLANNER;

5) THEY MAY ALL POTENTIALLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE ROLE-CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN.

THERE ARE SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES AS WELL AMONG THE FOUR TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING:

1) THE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY UNDERLYING EACH OF THE TYPES VARIES TO SOME EXTENT;

2) THE METHODS AND THEIR UNDERLYING VALUES DIFFER;

3) THE DEGREE OF DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE CLIENT VARIES;

4) THE DEGREE OF POTENTIAL ROLE-CONFLICT WITH THE POLITICIAN AND THE METHODS AND MODELS OF ITS MITIGATION DIFFER SIGNIFICANTLY.

THE PATTERN THAT CHARACTERIZES EACH OF THE TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING WILL BE DEALT WITH IN SUBSEQUENT SECTIONS.

A PROBLEM SHARED BY ALL THE TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING IS THE PROBLEM OF HOW TO DEFINE THE CLIENT-GROUP AT ANY GIVEN TIME. THE PROBLEM BECOMES MORE COMPLICATED WHERE THE INTEREST GROUP IS PHYSICALLY AND SOCIALLY DISPERSED AND HAS NO GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS.[2] THE CAPABILITIES OF HANDLING THIS TYPE OF SITUATION VARY AMONG THE FOUR TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING.

ANOTHER PROBLEM ARISES OUT OF THE CONFLICT OF VALUES AND OF INTERESTS THAT CHARACTERIZES ANY GROUP OF PEOPLE.[3] SUCH CONFLICT IS ROOTED

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[1]THIS POINT IS MADE BY MARTIN REIN, "SOCIAL PLANNING: THE SEARCH FOR LEGITIMACY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JULY, 1969, PP. 233-244.

[2]PEATTIE, "REFLECTIONS OF ADVOCACY PLANNING."

[3]IBID., AND YOUNG, "GOALS AND GOAL SETTING."

IN THE INHERENT AND CONSTANT DIVISIVENESS OF GOALS: FOR EXAMPLE, ONCE A HIGHER-ORDER GOAL IS AGREED UPON, THIS DOES NOT YET ENSURE AGREEMENT ON THE SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES ALWAYS AVAILABLE AT A LOWER (MEANS) LEVEL.[4] IN VIEW OF THIS, THE PLANNER IS ALWAYS FACED WITH THE DILEMMA OF WHICH SET OF VALUES SHOULD BE REGARDED AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE TOTAL GROUP. THE USUAL 'DEMOCRATIC' SOLUTION OF PROCEEDING ACCORDING TO THE VIEWS OF THE MAJORITY WILL NOT SUFFICE, SINCE PLANNING MUST CONSIDER MINORITY INTERESTS AS WELL. THIS PROBLEM IS GRAVER FOR THE CITIZEN-PARTICIPATION AND THE ADVOCACY-PLANNING METHODS THAN FOR THE PUBLIC-INTEREST AND CLIENT-ANALYSIS METHODS.

A THIRD PROBLEM PERTAINS TO THE RECENT MOVEMENT TO POLITICIZE PLANNING, A MOVEMENT WHICH (AS WE HAVE SEEN) OVERLAPS WITH THE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING MOVEMENT TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT. HOW CAN A PLANNER ON THE ONE HAND HOLD POLITICALLY ACCEPTABLE VIEWS IN ORDER TO FACILITATE IMPLEMENTATION OF HIS PLANS, AND AT THE SAME TIME BE ATTUNED TO THE VALUES NOT ONLY OF THE POLITICALLY POWERFUL CLIENTS, BUT OF THE POWERLESS AND PERHAPS THE HATED AS WELL? ONE OR THE OTHER OR BOTH OF THESE POSITIONS MUST BE COMPROMISED TO SOME EXTENT, DEPENDING ON THE STRENGTH OF THE PLANNER'S COMMITMENT TO THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH EACH OF THE STANDS.

FINALLY, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF COMMUNICATION AND VALUE-COMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS, ESPECIALLY WHERE THE LATTER ARE OF A DIFFERENT CULTURAL OR SUB-CULTURAL (CLASS, ETHNIC, OR RELIGIOUS) BACKGROUND THAN THE PLANNER. THE PROBLEM IS MOST ACUTE WHERE

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[4] YOUNG, IBID; SEE ALSO CHAPTER 1, A, D

PLANNING IS UNDERTAKEN FOR ETHNIC AND POVERTY GROUPS[5] AND IT IS PRECISELY FOR SUCH CASES THAT AT LEAST TWO TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND ADVOCACY PLANNING, ARE USUALLY PROPOSED. THE RELEVANCE OF THIS PROBLEM AND THE METHOD BY WHICH IT IS ATTACKED VARY AMONG THE FOUR TYPES OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, TO WHICH WE SHALL TURN NOW.

B. THE TRADITIONAL APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST

IT HAS BEEN TRADITIONAL IN NORTH AMERICA FOR PLANNERS TO BE SOCIALIZED TO REGARD IT AS THEIR DUTY TO PLAN FOR THE 'PUBLIC INTEREST.' IN FACT, THIS DUTY MAY BE REGARDED AS THE CLOSEST PLANNING HAS COME TO POSSESSING A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC. TO MANY TRADITIONAL PLANNERS AND PLANNING THEORETICIANS, THE CONCERN WITH THE PUBLIC GOOD IS ENOUGH TO MAKE PLANNING LEGITIMATELY DEMOCRATIC.[6]

THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS, IN FACT, MORE OF AN ETHIC THAN A METHOD OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING. THE PLANNER IS NOT CALLED UPON TO PRODUCE ANY DOCUMENTATION MEASURING THE PUBLIC INTEREST, NOR EVEN TO COME INTO FACE-TO-FACE CONTACT WITH THE PLAN'S CLIENTS. ALL HE MUST POSSESS IS AN ATTITUDE OF MIND AND A PROFESSIONAL CONSCIENCE. IN ORDER TO COUNTER THE OBVIOUS CRITICISM OF WHY THE PLANNER SHOULD BE ENTRUSTED WITH THE

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[5] THE BARRIER OF COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE PLANNERS AND THE RESIDENTS OF AN URBAN RENEWAL AREA IS DISCUSSED BY GANS IN "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF...RELOCATION PLANNING," AND IN MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, P. 247 AND PASSIM.

[6] IN HIS WRITINGS OF THIRTY YEARS AGO TUGWELL EXPRESSED THIS VIEW. SEE "THE FOURTH POWER," P. 7.

THE FICTITIOUS PLANNER IN HAAR'S "THE MASTER PLAN..." ALSO APPEALS TO THE NOTIONS OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN ORDER TO SHOW THAT HIS PLANNING IS DEMOCRATIC.

PUBLIC INTEREST, PLANNING THEORETICIANS HAVE CLAIMED THAT PLANNERS AND THE PLANNING PROFESSIONS SPECIALIZE IN KNOWING AND IMPLEMENTING THE PUBLIC INTEREST.[7]

THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST DOES NOT COMMIT THE PLANNER TO INCORPORATE THE CLIENTS'[8] VALUES INTO THE PLAN. THE PLANNER MAY CLAIM TO KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR THE PEOPLE BETTER THAN THEY.[9] HE MAY ALSO ARGUE THAT FULFILLMENT OF THE CLIENTS' VALUES THROUGH THE PLAN WOULD JEOPARDIZE THE TOTAL PUBLIC INTEREST OF ALL SECTORS OF THE COMMUNITY (WHERE THE CLIENTS ARE ONLY ONE SECTOR).

THE NON-COMMITTAL NATURE OF AN APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND THE LACK OF OBLIGATION TO CONSULT THE CLIENTS OR THE PUBLIC DIRECTLY, WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE VIEW OF DEMOCRACY IMPLIED BY THE CONCEPT OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS AN ELITIST ONE RATHER THAN A 'GRASS ROOTS' ONE, WITH THE PLANNER BEING IN THE ROLE OF A BENEVOLENT MEMBER OF AN ELITE. THE PLANNER WHO ADHERES TO THE VIEW THAT HE IS THE GUARDIAN OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST WOULD PROBABLY HOLD THE STAND THAT HIS OWN (OR THE ELECTED POLITICIAN'S) VALUES OUGHT TO PREVAIL IN GOAL-SETTING SINCE THEY ARE FOR

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[7] TUGWELL HAS STATED THAT THE PLANNING AGENCY IN GOVERNMENT (WHICH HE PROPOSES) WOULD BE THE ONLY ONE "WHOSE ONLY PURPOSE IS TO DISCOVER AND IMPLEMENT THE PUBLIC INTEREST." SEE THE PLACE OF PLANNING IN SOCIETY, P. 38.

[8] INCIDENTALLY, THE WORD "CLIENTS" HAS COME INTO USE IN PLANNING THEORY ONLY RELATIVELY RECENTLY. ITS ACCEPTANCE INTO USAGE COINCIDES WITH THE EROSION OF THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST.

[9] THIS VIEW IS WHAT GLENDON SCHUBERT CALLS THE "IDEALIST" THEORY OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST--I.E., WHERE THE POLITICIAN (SCHUBERT IS NOT WRITING DIRECTLY ABOUT PLANNING) APPEALS TO HIS CONSCIENCE AND CLAIMS TO KNOW WHAT IS BEST FOR PEOPLE BETTER THAN THEY. SEE THE PUBLIC INTEREST: A CRITIQUE OF THE THEORY OF A POLITICAL CONCEPT (GLENCOE, ILL.: THE FREE PRESS, 1960), PP. 79-80.

THE PUBLIC GOOD; OR, IF HE FEELS THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES OUGHT TO PREVAIL, HE WOULD BE LIKELY TO ADHERE TO THE PACE-SETTER RATHER THAN TO THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE.

THERE ARE TWO MAIN IMAGES OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST: UNITARY OR INDIVIDUALISTIC. ACCORDING TO THE FORMER IMAGE, THERE IS ONE SINGLE PUBLIC INTEREST EXPRESSED IN THE FORM OF COMMON GOALS FOR A COMMUNITY OR SOCIETY. ACCORDING TO THE LATTER IMAGE, THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS THE AGGREGATE OF THE INDEPENDENT INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUALS AND GROUPS.[10] THE PLANNER'S VALUES WOULD INDICATE TO WHICH OF THE IMAGES HE WILL SUBSCRIBE, AND THIS, IN TURN, MAY INFLUENCE HIS PLANNING.

WHERE MINORITY INTERESTS ARE INVOLVED (E.G., THE INTERESTS OF THE POOR IN A DESIGNATED URBAN RENEWAL AREA, OR OF THOSE WHO DO NOT DRIVE OR OWN CARS), THE IMAGE OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST WHICH THE PLANNER HOLDS MAY BE SIGNIFICANT. FOR EXAMPLE: IF THE PLANNER HOLDS THE UNITARY CONCEPTION, HE MAY FEEL THAT CLEARANCE OF AN URBAN RENEWAL AREA AND ITS DEVOTION TO LUXURY APARTMENTS IS IN THE (UNITARY) PUBLIC INTEREST SINCE IT WILL STRENGTHEN THE CITY'S TAX BASE; THE INTERESTS OF THE MINORITY--THE AREA'S POOR RESIDENTS--MUST BE SACRIFICED FOR THE TOTAL GOOD. HOWEVER, IF HE HOLDS THE INDIVIDUALIST IMAGE OF THE PUBLIC GOOD, HE MAY (BUT NOT NECESSARILY) WISH TO ARGUE THAT THE TOTAL GOOD WILL BE MAXIMIZED ONLY IF THE INTERESTS OF INDIVIDUAL GROUPS, SUCH AS THE POOR RESIDENTS OF THE URBAN RENEWAL AREA, ARE MAXIMIZED INDIVIDUALLY, AND HENCE THAT THE URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT OUGHT TO BE DEVOTED TO UPGRADING THE HOUSING STANDARD OF THE POOR. YET THE INDIVIDUALIST CONCEPTION PERMITS THE PLANNER TO ARGUE

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[10] THIS DISTINCTION FOLLOWS MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, P. 326.

JUST AS COGENTLY THAT THE SUM OF INDIVIDUAL INTERESTS STILL WEIGHS IN FAVOR OF SACRIFICING THE INTERESTS OF THE POOR FOR THE TOTAL GOOD.[11]

ONE MAY THEREFORE CONCLUDE THAT THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST, REGARDLESS OF THE TYPE OF IMAGE HELD, TENDS TO JUSTIFY THE SACRIFICING OF MINORITY INTERESTS FOR THE MAJORITY. THUS, ALTHOUGH THE MOTIVATING VALUES ARE DRAWN FROM THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY CLUSTER, THEY CENTER ON VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH POLITICAL DEMOCRACY AND ITS ORIENTATION TO THE MAJORITY, RATHER THAN WITH EQUALITY AND ITS ORIENTATION TO MINORITY NEEDS. FURTHERMORE: SINCE THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS SO ELUSIVE AND CALLS FOR NO ATTEMPT AT MEASUREMENT, ITS ADHERENTS ARE VULNERABLE TO THE ACCUSATION OF CONSIDERING THE INTERESTS OF THE POWERFUL ALONE, AND NOT EVEN THOSE OF THE MAJORITY.

THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS WELL SUITED TO SOLVING THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFINITION OF THE CLIENT GROUP, AND TO DEALING WITH DISPERSED AND UNARTICULATED INTERESTS. BECAUSE IT TAKES A NON-COMMITTAL OVER-VIEW, IT DOES NOT HAVE TO CONCERN ITSELF WITH THIS PROBLEM. THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS ALSO RELATIVELY IMMUNE TO ANOTHER PROBLEM WE HAVE RAISED--THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICTING VALUES IN THE COMMUNITY--SINCE IT IS CLAIMED THAT THE PLANNER HAS THE CAPACITY TO TAKE AN OVER-VIEW AND TO IDENTIFY THE PUBLIC GOOD DESPITE SUCH CONFLICTS. HOWEVER, THIS TYPE OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING IS MORE SUSCEPTIBLE THAN THE OTHER TYPES TO THE PROBLEM OF VALUE-INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS, SINCE NO ATTEMPT IS MADE TO SHARE THE CLIENTS' VALUES OR TO ADOPT THE STAND

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[11] THE ATTACK ON THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN PLANNING HAS IN FACT COINCIDED IN TIME WITH THE ATTACK ON THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT IN URBAN RENEWAL. THE CRITICISM OF ECONOMIC URBAN RENEWAL IS GIVEN IN CHAPTER 16 ABOVE.

OF VALUE-NEUTRALITY;[12] YET BECAUSE PUBLIC-INTEREST PLANNING TAKES AN ELITIST VIEW, IT IS SCARCELY CONCERNED WITH THE PROBLEM OF VALUE INCOMPATIBILITY.

THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST HAS ITS OWN IMMEDIATE PROBLEMS. FIRST, THE PLANNER WHO APPEALS TO THE PUBLIC GOOD MAY BE SUSPECTED OF ATTEMPTING TO GAIN LEGITIMACY INDEPENDENTLY FROM THE POLITICIAN. THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN PLANNING IS ASSOCIATED HISTORICALLY WITH THE TRADITIONAL MISTRUST OF THE POLITICIAN AND THE ALOOFNESS OF THE PLANNER FROM POLITICS. PARADOXICALLY, HOWEVER, WHILE SEEKING AN INDEPENDENT SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY, THE PLANNER HAS RESORTED TO THE SAME APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST WHICH HAS BEEN THE POLITICIAN'S TRADITIONAL PREROGATIVE.[13] THE POTENTIAL FOR A ROLE-CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN WOULD THEREFORE BE INCREASED. PERHAPS THE RECENT PROPOSALS OF OTHER FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING COULD BE VIEWED AS ATTEMPTS (NOT NECESSARILY SUCCESSFUL ONES) TO MITIGATE THIS CONFLICT.

SECOND, UNLIKE THE POLITICIAN, THE PLANNER DOES NOT HAVE A MANDATE FROM THE ELECTORATE. THE PLANNER'S CLAIM TO SPECIAL KNOWLEDGE OF WHAT PEOPLE SHOULD HAVE, WITHOUT ANY ONUS ON HIM TO CONSULT THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES OR TO PRESENT SOME MEASURED PROOF OF HIS OPINION, COULD BE REGARDED BY THE PUBLIC AS CONTROL REMINISCENT (AT BEST) OF A BELEVOLENT

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[12] MEYERSON AND BANFIELD NOTE, IN A SIMILAR VEIN, THAT THE PLANNER'S SOCIAL CLASS IS LIKELY TO AFFECT HIS CONCEPTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST. SEE POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, P. 300-301.

[13] SCHUBERT'S BOOK, THE PUBLIC INTEREST..., FOR EXAMPLE, DEALS NOT WITH THE CONCEPTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN PLANNING, BUT WITH ITS DOMINANCE AS A THEORY OF POLITICS.

DICTATORSHIP, AND WOULD OFFEND THEIR DEMOCRATIC-INDIVIDUALISTIC VALUES. THUS, INSTEAD OF ADDING LEGITIMACY TO PLANNING, THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST MAY HAVE DETRACTED FROM THE APPROVAL THAT HAD ALREADY BEEN EXTENDED TO PLANNING. THE RECENT ASCENDANCE OF THE OTHER FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING MAY BE UNDERSTOOD AS AN ATTEMPT TO MAXIMIZE THE IDEOLOGICAL APPROVAL OF PLANNING.

FINALLY, THE ELUSIVE QUALITIES OF THE CONCEPT OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST AND THE NON-COMMITTAL NATURE OF THE PLANNER'S CLAIM TO KNOW IT, HAVE MADE PLANNERS WHO ADHERE TO THE CONCEPT VULNERABLE TO ATTACK. HAYEK (THE STAUNCH OPPONENT OF PLANNING), FOR EXAMPLE, SEIZES ON THE PLANNERS' CLAIM TO BE GUARDIANS OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN ORDER TO NOTE THAT SINCE THERE IS NO UNIFORM ETHICAL CODE AGAINST WHICH EVERYONE'S COSTS AND BENEFITS CAN BE MEASURED, AND SINCE HE IS NOT OBLIGED TO ACCEPT THE PLANNER'S VALUES, PLANNING CANNOT BE JUSTIFIED.[14] SCHUBERT, A POLITICAL SCIENTIST, CONCLUDES AFTER AN EXTENSIVE ANALYSIS OF THE VARIOUS THEORIES OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST THAT THE NOTION IS NOT THEORETICALLY JUSTIFIABLE AT ALL, AND THAT APPEAL TO IT ON THE PART OF A POLITICIAN IS PROBABLY MADE ON THE BASIS OF EXPEDIENCY ALONE.[15]

WHETHER OR NOT A PLANNER WHO APPEALS TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST IS MOTIVATED BY VALUES OF EXPEDIENCY OR BY THOSE OF DEMOCRACY, IT MAY BE CONCLUDED THAT THE TRADITIONAL APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST HAS BEEN LESS THAN SUCCESSFUL, BOTH IN THE TASK OF ACHIEVING A WORKING RECONCILIATION OF PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY IN THE EYES OF THE PUBLIC, AND IN THE TASK OF EXPRESSING THE VALUES OF THE PLANNERS THEMSELVES--ESPECIALLY SINCE THE LATTER HAVE BEEN ACQUIRING AN INTENSIFIED SENSE OF SOCIAL RES-

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[14] HAYEK, THE ROAD TO SERFDOM, PP. 56-71.

[15] SCHUBERT, THE PUBLIC INTEREST, PP. 223-224.

PONSIBILITY. THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST HAS THEREFORE BEEN COMING UNDER ATTACK.[16]

C. CLIENT ANALYSIS

CLIENT ANALYSIS IS THAT FORM OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING WHERE THE CLIENTS ARE SURVEYED FOR THEIR VALUES AND GOALS, OFTEN THROUGH SAMPLING TECHNIQUES AND BY THE USE OF THE SOCIOLOGICAL RESEARCH METHODS. THEY ARE NOT INVOLVED IN PLANNING BEYOND THIS. TO THE EXTENT THAT CLIENT ANALYSIS MAY HAVE STEMMED FROM THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC GOOD, IT WOULD HAVE ORIGINATED FROM THE INDIVIDUALIST RATHER THAN THE UNITARY VERSION.

THE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY IMPLIED BY THE METHOD OF CLIENT ANALYSIS IS NOT ELITIST AS IN THE CASE OF PUBLIC-INTEREST PLANNING, BUT POPULAR AND INDIVIDUALISTIC. THIS METHOD DRAWS ITS LEGITIMACY FROM THE REFERENDUM OR ELECTION MODEL, WHICH THE METHOD CLOSELY RESEMBLES. IT DRAWS ON A FURTHER SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY AS WELL--THE LEGITIMACY ATTACHED TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THEIR RESEARCH METHODS. THUS CLIENT ANALYSIS SUCCEEDS IN ATTRACTING TO ITSELF POSITIVE VALUES BOTH FROM THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE CLUSTER AND FROM THE 'SCIENTISM' VALUE GROUP.

UNLIKE THE REFERENDUM, HOWEVER, CLIENT ANALYSIS IS NOT BINDING ON THE PLANNER, AND DOES NOT NECESSARILY IMPLY THAT THE WISHES OF THE CLIENTS WILL BE INCORPORATED INTO PLANNING EXACTLY AS THEY EMERGE FROM THE SURVEY. THE PLANNER MAY WISH TO PLAY THE PACE-SETTER RATHER THAN THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE, AND MAY USE THE CLIENT ANALYSIS SURVEY IN ORDER TO INFORM PEOPLE ABOUT THE ALTERNATIVES AVAILABLE.[17] THE USE OF CLIENT ANALYSIS WOULD HAVE THE ADVANTAGE (TO THE PLANNER) OF PERMITTING THE CLIENTS TO FEEL 'INVOLVED' AND THUS OF ENHANCING THEIR POSITIVE VALUATION OF PLAN-

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[16] SEE DYCKMAN, "THE PRACTICAL USES OF PLANNING THEORY."

[17] DYCKMAN, "SOCIAL PLANNING..."

NING. YET IT IS UNLIKELY THAT THE PLANNER WOULD BE ABLE TO REGARD A CLIENT ANALYSIS SURVEY MERELY AS A PACE-SETTING OR EDUCATIONAL MISSION. FOR THE REFERENDUM MODEL FROM WHICH CLIENT ANALYSIS DRAWS ITS DEMOCRATIC AURA WOULD TEND TO BE BINDING ON THE PLANNER AS WELL. AFTER ALL, THE PLANNER TOO HOLDS THE MOTIVATING DEMOCRATIC VALUES.

WHERE THE PLANNER'S VALUES CALL FOR HIM TO ADOPT THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE AND OBLIGE HIM TO SET GOALS ACCORDING TO THE CLIENTS' VALUES AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, CLIENT ANALYSIS MAY BE SELECTED BY HIM OVER PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND ADVOCACY PLANNING BECAUSE CLIENT ANALYSIS, UNLIKE THE TWO LATTER FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, IS MORE AMENABLE TO REGISTERING THE VIEWS OF A FULL CROSS-SECTION OF THE CLIENTS, RATHER THAN OF SOME PARTICULAR SECTOR. THUS THOSE PLANNERS WHO VALUE THE REPRESENTATIVENESS OF DEMOCRACY HIGHLY, WOULD BE LIKELY TO SELECT CLIENT ANALYSIS AS THEIR MODE OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING.[18]

CLIENT VALUE ANALYSIS MAY USE ANY OF SEVERAL RESEARCH METHODS AVAILABLE. THE CHOICE OF A PARTICULAR METHOD OVER THE OTHERS HAS VALUE-IMPLICATIONS. FOR EXAMPLE: THE CHOICE OF A CLOSED-ENDED COMPUTERIZABLE QUESTIONNAIRE TECHNIQUE OVER AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE[19] OR THE INTERVIEW METHOD MAY BE MOTIVATED BY VALUES OF EFFICIENCY AND SPEED, PERHAPS

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[18] THE REPRESENTATIVENESS OF CLIENT ANALYSIS IS NOTED, AND REGARDED AS AN ADVANTAGE, BY JOHN B. LANSING AND ROBERT W. MARANS, "EVALUATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MAY, 1969, PP. 195-199. YOUNG ALSO FAVORS CLIENT ANALYSIS AND SEES IT AS NECESSARY FOR GOAL-SETTING. SEE "GOALS AND GOAL SETTING."

[19] A CLOSED-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE IS ONE WHERE ALL THE QUESTIONS HAVE A RESTRICTED NUMBER OF ALTERNATIVE ANSWERS OFFERED AND THE RESPONDENT MUST CHOOSE ONE OR MORE. THIS TYPE OF QUESTIONNAIRE CAN BE CODED WITH RELATIVE FACILITY FOR PROCESSING BY A COMPUTER. AN OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRE OR INTERVIEW PERMITS THE RESPONDENT TO ANSWER FREELY.

ALSO ECONOMY; ON THE OTHER HAND, SELECTION OF THE LATTER METHODS OVER THE FORMER MAY REVEAL A DESIRE TO HAVE CLOSER CLIENT-PLANNER CONTACT, TO MELT DISTRUST, AND TO PERMIT THE CLIENTS TO FEEL MORE INVOLVED.[20] PLANNERS WHO VALUE SPEED, EFFICIENCY, AND IMPLEMENTATION MORE THAN THEY VALUE CLOSE CLIENT-PLANNER EMPATHY, AND WHO PLACE THESE VALUES BEFORE THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRACY, MAY BE UNWILLING TO SPEND THE TIME AND RESOURCES NECESSARY FOR CLIENT ANALYSIS IN ANY FORM (OR, FOR THAT MATTER, FOR PARTICIPATORY PLANNING AND ADVOCACY PLANNING AS WELL).[21] THEY MAY APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST AS THEIR SOURCE OF DEMOCRATIC LEGITIMATION, OR TO NO SUCH SOURCE AT ALL.

CLIENT ANALYSIS IS RELATIVELY WELL-SUITED TO TACKLING SOME OF THE PROBLEMS MENTIONED IN SECTION A. IT WOULD HANDLE THE PROBLEM OF VALUE-CONFLICT AMONG THE CLIENTS BY PERMITTING ALTERNATIVE VIEWS TO EMERGE FROM THE VALUE SURVEY. IT COULD BE USED TO TAP THE VALUES OF A DISPERSED INTEREST GROUP WITH RELATIVE FACILITY IF PROPER SAMPLING METHODS WERE USED. ONE MAY THEREFORE SAY THAT CLIENT ANALYSIS IS POTENTIALLY WELL ATTUNED TO THE INTERESTS AND VALUES OF MINORITY GROUPS. WHETHER OR NOT THESE INTERESTS WILL BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION DEPENDS, OF COURSE, ON THE PLANNER. THE CLIENT ANALYSIS METHOD COULD ALSO OVERCOME ANY VALUE INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS WITH RELATIVE SUCCESS BY UTILIZING THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENTIST FOR PROPER QUES-

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[20] A PREFERENCE FOR OPEN-ENDED QUESTIONNAIRES IS EXPRESSED FOR THESE REASONS BY DAVID R. GODSCHALK AND WILLIAM E. MILLS IN "A COLLABORATIVE APPROACH TO PLANNING THROUGH URBAN ACTIVITIES," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1966, PP. 86-95.

[21] SUCH A VIEW IS HELD BY LINDBLOM, "THE SCIENCE OF MUDDLING THROUGH," AND BY LOVELACE, "THREE SHORT ARTICLES..."

TIONNAIRE WORDING AND INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES.

HOWEVER, THE METHOD IS VULNERABLE TO OTHER PROBLEMS. FIRST, SEVERAL PLANNING THEORETICIANS HAVE NOTED THE INABILITY OF MANY PEOPLE TO HAVE A MEANINGFUL OPINION ON HIGH-ORDER, BROAD, LONG-RANGE GOALS.[22] THUS CLIENT ANALYSIS IS RESTRICTED TO ASKING THE CLIENTS' OPINIONS ABOUT LOW-ORDER GOALS, WHILE THE ESSENTIAL ISSUE MAY INVOLVE BROADER GOALS. AT THE SAME TIME, EVEN LOWER-ORDER GOALS MAY BE AMBIGUOUS.[23] THE SHORT AND STRUCTURED PERIOD OF CONTACT BETWEEN THE CLIENT AND THE PLANNER (OR INTERVIEWER), OR PERHAPS THE LACK OF SUCH CONTACT AT ALL (AS WHEN A MAIL QUESTIONNAIRE IS USED), MAY LEAVE CLIENT ANALYSIS OPEN TO THE HAZARD OF ELICITING DISTORTED RESPONSES.

SECOND, CLIENT ANALYSIS IS SUSCEPTIBLE TO ANOTHER HAZARD AS WELL: THE OVER-STUDIED, SATURATED COMMUNITY WHERE THE POPULATION MAY RESIST ANY FURTHER STUDIES--ESPECIALLY WHERE SUCH STUDIES HAVE NOT, IN THE PAST, PRODUCED ANY VISIBLE RESULTS. THIS WAS THE SITUATION IN NORTHVILLE WHERE THE PEOPLE FELT THAT THEY WERE THE 'MOST STUDIED BUT LEAST CARED-FOR COMMUNITY.' WHEN A CLIENT-ANALYSIS SURVEY WAS FINALLY UNDERTAKEN,[24] THIS WAS DONE WITH SOME TREPIDATION. FORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THE STUDIES TO WHICH NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS HAD IN THE PAST BEEN SUBJECTED DID NOT RE-

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[22] ALTSHULER FOUND THIS TO BE TRUE IN HIS CASE-STUDY OF ST. PAUL. SEE "THE GOALS OF COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING"; THIS POINT IS ALSO MADE BY HAAR THROUGH HIS FICTITIOUS PLANNER. SEE "THE MASTER PLAN...."

[23] THE AMBIGUITY OF GOALS IS MENTIONED IN: ROBERT MORRIS AND ROBERT H. BINSTOCK, FEASIBLE PLANNING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE (NEW YORK: COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1966), PP. 223-224; THE TENDENCY OF GOALS TO CONFLICT AND BE IRRATIONAL AT TIMES IS MENTIONED BY YOUNG IN "GOALS AND GOAL SETTING."

[24] IT WAS NOT UNDERTAKEN BY PLANNERS BUT BY SOCIOLOGISTS, AND INCLUDED QUESTIONS THAT WOULD INTEREST NOT ONLY THE CITY PLANNER BUT OTHERS AS WELL.

SEMBLE CLIENT-ANALYSIS USING THE INTERVIEW TECHNIQUE. THE USE OF THIS TECHNIQUE WITH ITS PERSONALIZED APPROACH, AND THE FACT THAT NORTHVILLE IS SMALL ENOUGH TO ALLOW A FULL-POPULATION SAMPLE TO BE TAKEN, RENDERED THE SURVEY RELATIVELY SUCCESSFUL. HOWEVER, SHOULD LITTLE VISIBLE RESULTS EMERGE FROM THIS SURVEY, ONE MAY PREDICT THAT NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS WILL CLASSIFY ANY FUTURE ATTEMPT AT CLIENT ANALYSIS AS 'JUST ANOTHER STUDY.'

THIRD, THERE IS THE PROBLEM OF THE THREAT IMPLIED TO THE AUTHORITY OF THE POLITICIAN OR THE BUREAUCRAT-EMPLOYER. AS WE HAVE SEEN, CLIENT ANALYSIS MAY BE INTERPRETED BY A DISAPPROVING POLITICIAN AS A CIRCUMVENTION OF HIS POWERS, AS AN ATTEMPT TO UNDERTAKE A NEW MOCK-ELECTION, AND HENCE AS A DOUBT CAST ON HIS REPRESENTATIVENESS OF THE ELECTORATE. THE PLANNER, ON THE OTHER HAND, MAY FEEL THAT THE POLITICIAN DOES NOT REPRESENT ALL THE CLIENTS, AND THAT HE HAS CONSIDERATIONS OF RE-ELECTION AND THE INTERESTS OF THE POWERFUL TOO MUCH IN MIND. THE IMPLIED THREAT TO INSTITUTIONALIZED DEMOCRACY MAY BE ATTENUATED BY THE CLAIM, TO WHICH THE PLANNER MAY RESORT, THAT CLIENT ANALYSIS IS NOT A MOCK-ELECTION, BUT SIMPLY A METHOD OF DATA GATHERING, TO WHICH THE SOCIAL SCIENCES HAVE ALREADY GIVEN LEGITIMACY. HOWEVER, THIS CLAIM WILL ONLY HELP WHERE THE CONFLICT IS ONE OF VALUES AND NOT OF POWER OR INTERESTS. SHOULD THE POLITICIAN (OR FOR THAT MATTER, THE BUREAUCRAT) FEEL THAT BY ESTABLISHING DIRECT CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE THROUGH CLIENT ANALYSIS THE PLANNER IS CAUSING UNWANTED AGITATION OR IS GAINING TOO MUCH POWER, THEN CLIENT ANALYSIS MAY BE RESISTED FORCEFULLY. THE CIVIL SERVANTS CONCERNED WITH NORTHVILLE, FOR EXAMPLE, RESISTED THE SUGGESTION TO UNDERTAKE CLIENT ANALYSIS OUT OF FEAR THAT SUCH AN UNDERTAKING WOULD AGITATE THE ALREADY VOCAL RESIDENTS EVEN MORE BY REVEALING TO THEM SOME MEASURE OF WHAT THE

CIVIL SERVANTS DESIRED TO SEE VEILED IN SECRECY.

D. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION

ADVOCATES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION AS A FORM OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING WOULD ARGUE THAT CLIENT ANALYSIS IS NOT DEMOCRATIC ENOUGH, SINCE IT CALLS ON THE PEOPLE TO BE INVOLVED IN PLANNING ONLY PASSIVELY, AS SOURCES OF INFORMATION. THEY WOULD PROPOSE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION EITHER AS A SUPPLEMENT TO CLIENT ANALYSIS, OR AS A REPLACEMENT TO IT, UNDER THE SLOGAN OF PLANNING WITH (OR BY) THE PEOPLE, RATHER THAN FOR THEM.[25]

THE IMAGE OF DEMOCRACY GENERATING THIS STAND IS NEITHER ELITIST NOR CONVENTIONALLY POPULAR. IT IS THE IMAGE OF THE IDEALIZED PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY OF ANCIENT GREECE OR A NEW ENGLAND TOWN.[26] IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THAT AN ELEMENT OF PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACY IS INCORPORATED INTO PLANNING LAW IN MANY CANADIAN AND AMERICAN MUNICIPALITIES--I.E., THE REQUIREMENT TO HOLD PUBLIC HEARINGS BEFORE FINALIZING CERTAIN PLANNING DECISIONS.[27] THE LAY PLANNING COMMISSION MAY ALSO BE VIEWED AS A FORM OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING REQUIRED BY LAW. HOWEVER, WHILE THESE TWO FORMS OF PARTICIPATION TEND TO INVOLVE ONLY THE UPPER CLASSES OR THE POLITICALLY POWERFUL, PARTICIPATORY PLANNING HAS FOCUSED ITS ATTENTION ON THE DISADVANTAGED. THUS, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION MAY BE REGARDED AS AN

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[25] PLANNING BY THE PEOPLE IS ADVOCATED BY ALAN S. KRAVITZ, WHO WOULD LIKE TO GO EVEN BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL SLOGAN OF PLANNING WITH THE PEOPLE TO WHAT HE CALLS EGALITARIAN PARTICIPATION. SEE "ADVOCACY AND BEYOND," PLANNING, 1968, PP. 38-46.

[26] EDMUND M. BURKE, "CITIZEN PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1968, PP. 287-294.

[27] ALL BUT TWO CANADIAN PROVINCES REQUIRE A PUBLIC HEARING TO BE HELD BEFORE PASSAGE OF A BY-LAW. SEE JAMES B. MILNER, "AN INTRODUCTION TO ZONING ENABLING LEGISLATION, PART 2: ZONING PROCEDURES," PLAN, VOL.4, NO. 1 (1963), PP. 24-38.

EXTENSION OF THE MODELS OF THE PUBLIC HEARING AND THE LAY COMMISSION, FROM WHICH IT MAY DRAW ITS JUSTIFICATION IN CASE OF A PLANNER-POLITICIAN CONFRONTATION.

YET CITIZEN PARTICIPATION MAY ALSO BE VIEWED AS A REACTION TO THE INSTITUTIONALIZED FORMS OF PARTICIPATION, AND AS A CRITICISM OF THE VALUES UNDERLYING THEM--VALUES WHICH HAVE LED THEM TO BECOME WHAT CRITICS MAY REGARD AS A DEMOCRATIC FAÇADE, OR AT LEAST LESS THAN A UNIVERSAL DEMOCRACY. ADVOCATES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION HOLD EGALITARIAN AND HUMANITARIAN VALUES WHICH LEAD THEM TO DESIRE THE EXTENSION OF PARTICIPATION IN PLANNING TO WEAK MINORITY GROUPS AS WELL.

ALTHOUGH ADVOCATES OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING ARE PROBABLY MOTIVATED BY THE ABOVE-MENTIONED VALUES, THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT ALL WHO PRACTICE THIS FORM OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING ARE MOTIVATED BY THE SAME VALUES. FOR THERE ARE MANY FORMS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION. SOME MAY USE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION MERELY AS A TOKEN TO DEMOCRACY AND AS A SOURCE OF LEGITIMATION, WHILE GIVING THE PARTICIPANTS LITTLE INFLUENCE OVER THE GOALS. THE MOTIVATING VALUES HERE WOULD BE NOT DEMOCRACY BUT EXPEDIENCY, PERHAPS ALSO A CONCERN WITH IMPLEMENTATION.[28] OTHERS MAY USE IT IN ORDER TO TEACH THE PEOPLE HOW TO MAKE USE OF THEIR POWERS--I.E., IN A THERAPEUTIC WAY.[29] THE VALUE OF HUMANITARIANISM WOULD HERE BE STRONGER THAN THE VALUE OF EGALITARIANISM. WHERE THE VALUE OF EGALITARIAN DEMOCRACY IS A

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[28] TYPOLOGIES OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION ARE GIVEN BY BURKE IN "CITIZEN PARTICIPATION STRATEGIES," AND BY SHERRY R. ARNSTEIN, " A LADDER OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JULY, 1969, PP. 216-224. THE PRESENT TYPE IS WHAT ARNSTEIN CALLS "TOKENISM" AND WHAT BURKE CALLS "CO-OPTATION."

[29] THIS TYPE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IS CALLED "EDUCATIONAL AND THERAPEUTIC" BY BURKE, AND "THERAPY" BY ARNSTEIN. SEE FOOTNOTE 28.

STRONG MOTIVATING FORCE, WE ARE LIKELY TO FIND PARTICIPATORY PLANNING THAT GIVES A REAL MEASURE OF POWER OVER GOAL-SETTING TO THE CLIENT-PARTICIPANTS.[30] AND FINALLY, "CITIZEN PARTICIPATION" MAY BE USED AS A EUPHEMISM BY THOSE WHO MAY WISH TO LEAD TO A REVOLUTION BY THE DISADVANTAGED.[31]

IN NORTHVILLE THERE WAS ONE CASE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING IN RECENT YEARS. THIS WAS THE PLANNING UNDERTAKEN BY A PRIVATE PLANNING AND ENGINEERING CONSULTING FIRM FOR A NEW ISOLATED COMMUNITY FOR THE RELOCATED INDIAN BAND. THIS CASE OF PARTICIPATORY PLANNING RESEMBLED MOST THE FIRST TYPE DISCUSSED ABOVE--TOKENISM--ALTHOUGH IT MAY HAVE BEEN AN ATTEMPT AT THE SECOND AND THIRD FORMS OF PARTICIPATION WHICH WERE NOT ENTIRELY SUCCESSFUL. CONTACT WITH THE PEOPLE WAS LARGELY THROUGH THE CHIEF AND COUNCIL, WHO WERE CO-OPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT BUREAU IN CHARGE. AS HAS ALREADY BEEN MENTIONED, THESE LEADERS ENJOYED LESS THAN THE FULL TRUST AND RESPECT OF THE BAND. THE PROGRAM OF PARTICIPATION WAS, AS A WHOLE, QUITE LIMITED. IT WAS RESTRICTED TO THREE MEETINGS, ONE WITH THE COUNCIL AND TWO GENERAL MEETINGS WITH SOME PUBLIC PARTICIPATION. THE PLANNERS SAY THEY WERE HOPING TO ACHIEVE THE EDUCATIONAL-THERAPEUTIC AND LIMITED GOAL-SETTING TYPES OF PARTICIPATION. HOWEVER, IN VIEW OF THE LIMITED PROGRAM AND THE WIDE LINGUISTIC AND CULTURAL GAP

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[30] ARNSTEIN ENUMERATES THREE KINDS OF WHAT SHE CALLS "REAL" CITIZEN PARTICIPATION: PARTNERSHIP, DELEGATED POWER, AND CITIZEN CONTROL. BURKE CALLS THE PRESENT TYPE "STAFF SUPPLEMENT". SEE FOOTNOTE 28.

[31] BURKE REFERS TO A RELATED TYPE WHICH HE CALLS "COMMUNITY POWER STRATEGIES," AND ARNSTEIN REFERS TO THE USE OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION FOR THE REDISTRIBUTION OF POWER. SEE FOOTNOTE 28.

SEPARATING THE PLANNERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS FROM THE INDIANS, IT IS NOT SURPRISING THAT THE PROGRAM DID NOT SUCCEED. THE PLANNERS DID NOT, IN FACT, INTEND THEIR CLIENTS' VALUES TO SET ALL GOALS SINCE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE HOUSES WERE STATIONED MUCH CLOSER TOGETHER THAN THE INDIANS' VALUES WOULD CALL FOR--PRESUMABLY BECAUSE IT WOULD BE TOO COSTLY TO SERVICE WIDELY DISPERSED HOUSES SHOULD THE COMMUNITY OBTAIN PIPED SERVICES SOME DAY. BE THE PLANNERS' INTENTIONS AS THEY MAY, THIS VENTURE IN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING HAS BEEN AMPLY CITED BY THE GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS CONCERNED AS PROOF THAT THE CHOICES OF THE LOCATION, OF THE HOUSE DESIGN, AND THE FACILITIES PROVIDED OR OMITTED, WERE IN FACT THE PEOPLE'S OWN CHOICE. IN OTHER WORDS, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION WAS USED TO LEGITIMIZE PLANNING.[32]

THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION METHOD IS HARASSED BY SEVERAL PROBLEMS. EVEN WHERE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IS INTENDED AS A STRATEGY TO GIVE AS MUCH CONTROL OVER GOAL-SETTING TO THE CLIENTS AS POSSIBLE, IT WOULD ALWAYS HAVE TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF LESS THAN THE FULL NUMBER OF CLIENTS, OR EVEN LESS THAN A REPRESENTATIVE FEW. NOT EVERYONE IS WILLING TO PARTICIPATE OR CAPABLE OF DOING SO. THUS IN NORTHVILLE, EVEN HAD THE PLANNERSDONE THEIR UTMOST TO INVOLVE THE ENTIRE BAND, IT IS DOUBTFUL THAT THEY COULD HAVE SUCCEEDED. IN FACT, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION DISPLAYS MANY OF THE CHARACTERISTICS FOR WHICH THE PUBLIC HEARING METHOD OF PARTICIPATION HAS BEEN CRITICIZED: THERE IS ALWAYS SOME SECTOR OF

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[32] IT HAS FURTHER BEEN CLAIMED THAT CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IS USED TO JUSTIFY RACIST PLANNING--I.E., PLANNING THAT TAKES ADVANTAGE OF THE BLACK. SEE STAFFORD AND LADNER, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND RACISM."

THE CLIENTS TO WHOM THE PLANNERS PAY MORE ATTENTION THAN TO OTHERS, EVEN IF IT IS NOW THE POWER ELITE AMONG THE POOR, AND NOT THE UPPER CLASS. THUS THE CRITICS OF CITIZEN PARTICIPATION MAY ARGUE THAT, FOR THEM, CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IS NOT DEMOCRATIC ENOUGH.[33]

THE NORTHVILLE CASE POINTS TO ANOTHER PROBLEM ASSOCIATED WITH THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION METHOD--THE PROBLEM OF VALUE-INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS. THIS PROBLEM IS ESPECIALLY SERIOUS IN THE CASE OF THIS METHOD SINCE THE PLANNER MUST COMMUNICATE WITH THE CLIENTS FACE-TO-FACE. TRAINING IN SOCIAL SCIENCE METHODS OF ADOPTING VALUE-NEUTRALITY MAY AMELIORATE THIS PROBLEM SOMEWHAT.

THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION METHOD IS UNSUITED TO TACKLING PROBLEMS WHERE THE CLIENTS ARE WIDELY DISPERSED AND WITHOUT AN INTEREST CONSCIOUSNESS, UNLESS SOME METHOD OF ORGANIZING SUCH POTENTIAL INTEREST-GROUPS IS SUCCESSFUL. CITIZEN PARTICIPATION IS ALSO RELATIVELY SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE PROBLEM OF THE DEFINITION OF THE CLIENT GROUP WHERE NO CLEAR-CUT LOCATIONAL DEFINITION IS AVAILABLE. FINALLY, THE CITIZEN PARTICIPATION METHOD MAY FIND SOME DIFFICULTY IN DEALING WITH CONFLICTING INTERESTS AND VALUES WITHIN THE CLIENT GROUP. THE SUCCESS OF THE METHOD WOULD DEPEND ON THE SKILL OF THE PLANNER IN FOCUSING ON BROADER GOALS AROUND WHICH A CONSENSUS COULD PERHAPS BE REACHED.[34]

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[33]KRAVITZ CRITICIZES ADVOCACY PLANNING FOR BEING TOO MUCH WITHIN THE 'SYSTEM' AND FOR ACCEPTING EXISTING POWER STRUCTURES. HE CALLS FOR EGALITARIAN PARTICIPATORY PLANNING. SEE "ADVOCACY AND BEYOND."

[34]A METHOD FOR DEALING WITH CONFLICTING INTERESTS OF INTEREST GROUPS IS PROPOSED BY CHEVALIER AS PART OF A STRATEGY HE CALLS INTEREST BASED PLANNING. WHERE NO CONFLICT EXISTS, THE INTERESTS OF GROUPS ARE LINKED. WHERE THERE IS CONFLICT, THE PLANNER MUST FIRST IDENTIFY THE IMAGE OF THE PROBLEM HELD BY THE VARIOUS GROUPS, AND MUST HELP THEM TO FOCUS ON AN ALTERNATIVE IMAGE THAT WILL BRING A COMPROMISE. INTERESTS ARE THUS PROGRESSIVELY LINKED. SEE "A STRATEGY OF INTEREST BASED PLANNING," PP. 79-141.

E. ADVOCACY PLANNING

THE FOURTH AND FINAL METHOD OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING IS A RELATIVELY RECENT PROPOSAL MADE BY DAVIDOFF IN 1965.[35] THE METHOD GOES BEYOND CITIZEN PARTICIPATION TO SAY THAT THE DECISION WHETHER THERE IS NEED FOR PARTICIPATORY PLANNING SHOULD NOT BE LEFT TO THE BENIGN PLANNER ALONE, BUT THAT THE PUBLIC SHOULD HAVE THE PREROGATIVE TO INITIATE AND CONTROL SUCH PLANNING IF IT SO SEES FIT. THE MODEL ACCORDING TO WHICH THE CONCEPT WAS FORMULATED IS THE MODEL OF THE LEGAL ADVOCATE; JUST AS ANY INTEREST GROUP MAY HIRE A LAWYER TO REPRESENT IT, SO EVERY INTEREST GROUP SHOULD BE ABLE TO OBTAIN THE SERVICES OF A PROFESSIONAL PLANNER TO DRAW UP PLANS THAT WOULD REFLECT ITS INTERESTS.

ADVOCACY PLANNING DRAWS ITS LEGITIMACY FROM TWO MAIN SOURCES: FIRST, THE ANALOGY OF THE LEGAL PROFESSION (OR, FOR THAT MATTER, ANY FREELY-AVAILABLE PROFESSIONAL SERVICE) TAPS THE SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY THAT IS ATTACHED TO THE FREE MARKET (THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE-CLUSTER), AND THUS TO ANY PROFESSIONAL SERVICES AVAILABLE ACCORDING TO A FREE-MARKET MODEL. SECOND, ADVOCACY PLANNING DRAWS ITS JUSTIFICATION OF BEING DEMOCRATIC FROM THE MODEL OF THE ELECTION CAMPAIGN OR OFF-ELECTION LOBBYING, WHERE INTEREST GROUPS TRY TO OBTAIN THE MOST OUT OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

THE VALUES UNDERLYING THIS METHOD OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING ARE A STRONG EGALITARIAN-DEMOCRATIC COMMITMENT (THE STRONGEST EGALITARIAN VALUES OF ALL THE METHODS), ALONG WITH A STRONG REJECTION OF ANY ASPECT OF PLANNING WHICH MAY BE INTERPRETED AS NEGATIVE CONTROL. BY CALLING FOR INTEREST (VALUE) GROUPS TO HIRE THEIR OWN PLANNERS, THIS METHOD ATTEMPTS

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[35] DAVIDOFF, "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING."

TO ENSURE THAT CONTROL OVER PLANNING WILL RESIDE ENTIRELY IN THE HANDS OF THE CLIENTS, WHOSE VALUES WOULD BE THE MAJOR INPUTS INTO GOAL-SETTING.

UNLIKE THE LEGAL AND OTHER PROFESSIONS, ADVOCACY PLANNING ORIGINATED AS A RESPONSE TO THE NEEDS OF THE POOR AND POWERLESS. AS A MATTER OF FACT, ADVOCACY PLANNING HAS SO FAR BEEN LARGELY FOCUSED ONLY ON DISADVANTAGED GROUPS, AND OFTEN IT IS NOT THE GROUP THAT SEEKS OUT THE PLANNER BUT VICE-VERSA. IN THIS WAY ADVOCACY PLANNING MAXIMIZES THE SUPPORT FOR PLANNING NOT ONLY FROM TRADITIONAL DEMOCRATIC VALUES (TO WHICH THE MINIMIZATION OF CONTROL WOULD APPEAL), BUT ALSO FROM THE NEW EGALITARIAN-DEMOCRATIC VALUES (TO WHICH THE ATTENTION GRANTED TO THE DISADVANTAGED WOULD APPEAL).

THE CRITICISMS THAT HAVE BEEN DIRECTED AT ADVOCACY PLANNING HAVE FOCUSED ON THE FACT THAT THE METHOD DOES NOT CARRY THE LEGAL ANALOGY TO THE FULL: THERE IS NO ADJUDICATOR AND NO RULES OF ADJUDICATION ACCORDING TO WHICH THE PLANS OF THE MANY INTEREST GROUPS CAN SOMEHOW BE WEIGHTED COMPARATIVELY, AND CAN FINALLY REACH THE IMPLEMENTATION STAGE.[36] OR, IN OTHER WORDS, IT IS AN ELECTION CAMPAIGN WITH NO ELECTIONS TO INDICATE WHICH INTERESTS HAVE PREVAILED. IN SHORT, ADVOCATE PLANNERS SEEM TO VALUE IMPLEMENTATION LESS THAN THE PLANNERS USING THE OTHER METHODS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING.

ANOTHER LINE OF CRITICISM HAS SUGGESTED THAT ADVOCATE PLANNERS SOMETIMES USE THEIR ADVOCACY AS A SOURCE OF LEGITIMACY TO PLEAD FOR INTERESTS THAT GO FAR BEYOND THOSE OF THE HIRING GROUP--FOR EXAMPLE, THE

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[36]THIS CRITICISM HAS BEEN MADE BY: LOEKS, "UNDERLYING CAUSES OF THE RECONCILIATION PROBLEM"; PEATTIE, "REFLECTIONS ON ADVOCACY PLANNING"; AND REIN, "SOCIAL PLANNING...."

INTERESTS OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION USERS IN GENERAL.[37] IN SUCH CASES, THE PLANNER WOULD BE ADOPTING NOT THE ROLE OF VALUE-REFLECTOR FOR WHICH THE METHOD WOULD SEEM TO CALL, BUT THE ROLE OF A PACE-SETTER WHO ADVOCATES HIS OWN VALUES. THIS CRITICISM POINTS OUT THE SUSCEPTIBILITY OF ADVOCACY PLANNING TO ONE OF THE PROBLEM AREAS WE HAVE IDENTIFIED IN SECTION A ABOVE--THE PROBLEM OF PLANNING IN A DEMOCRATIC WAY FOR THE INTERESTS OF A DISPERSED AND UNORGANIZED GROUP. ADVOCACY PLANNING CANNOT DEAL WITH THIS PROBLEM EFFECTIVELY UNLESS THE PLANNER GOES BEYOND THE ROLE OF ADVOCATE TO FIRST ORGANIZE THE GROUP WHICH WOULD THEN HIRE HIM. IN FACT, AS PEATTIE ARGUES, WHEN THE ADVOCATE PLANNER PLEADS FOR SUCH DISPERSED UNORGANIZED INTERESTS, ADVOCACY PLANNING HAS COLLAPSED INTO PUBLIC-INTEREST PLANNING FOR A LIMITED AND PARTICULAR "PUBLIC."

ADVOCACY PLANNING IS ALSO MORE SUSCEPTIBLE THAN THE OTHER METHODS TO THE PROBLEM OF CONFLICTING INTERESTS WITHIN THE CLIENT GROUP, SINCE HERE THE PLANNER DOES NOT HAVE THE AUTHORITY TO 'SORT THINGS OUT.' HE IS FACED WITH THE DILEMMA OF WHOSE INTERESTS WITHIN THE BROAD GROUP HE SHOULD REPRESENT.[38]

FINALLY, ADVOCACY PLANNING OFFERS BETTER SOLUTIONS THAN THE OTHER METHODS TO TWO PROBLEM AREAS POSED ABOVE. TO THE PROBLEM OF THE POTENTIAL ROLE-CONFLICT BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE POLITICIAN-EMPLOYER, ADVOCACY PLANNING OFFERS THE SOLUTION OF IRRELEVANCE: THE PLANNER WOULD NOT BE EMPLOYED BY AN ELECTED POLITICIAN. TO THE PROBLEM OF POSSIBLE VALUE-INCOMPATIBILITY BETWEEN THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS, ADVOCACY PLAN-

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[37] PEATTIE, "REFLECTIONS ON ADVOCACY PLANNING."

[38] IBID.

NING OFFERS AS SOLUTION THE POSSIBILITY ON THE PART OF BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE CLIENTS OF SELECTING THOSE PERSONS OR GROUPS WHOSE VALUES WOULD BEST MATCH THEIR OWN.[39]

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[39]THE LATTER SUGGESTION IS MADE BY DAVIDOFF IN "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING."

PART IV: THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING

CHAPTER 12

INTRODUCTION: THE SCOPE OF CITY PLANNING

UP TO THIS POINT, WE HAVE DISCUSSED THE MANY WAYS IN WHICH VALUES CAN INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS---A PROCESS THAT CHARACTERIZES NOT ONLY CITY PLANNING BUT OTHER PLANNING PROFESSIONS AS WELL.[1] EACH OF THESE PROFESSIONS (SOCIAL-WELFARE PLANNING, ECONOMIC PLANNING, REGIONAL PLANNING, ETC.) HAS ITS OWN SUBJECT MATTER. VALUES EMANATE FROM THE DIRECTION OF THE SUBJECT MATTER, TO INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS IN YET ANOTHER WAY (IN OUR CHARACTERIZATION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS WE ACCOUNTED FOR THIS FORM OF INTERVENTION IN THE PHRASE "...IN A GIVEN SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY"). IN THIS PART OF THE THESIS, WE SHALL FOCUS ON THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE AREAS WITH WHICH THE CITY PLANNER IS CONCERNED. ONCE AGAIN, THE RELEVANT VALUES COULD BE THOSE OF THE PLANNER, OR THOSE OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS OR THE GENERAL PUBLIC.

IN THIS INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER WE SHOULD NOTE THAT CITY PLANNING IS A PROFESSION IN TRANSITION. SOME OF THE ISSUES INVOLVED IN THIS TRANSITION HAVE ALREADY BEEN MET ABOVE FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PLANNING PROCESS. OTHER ISSUES PERTAIN TO EACH SUBSTANTIVE AREA OF CITY PLANNING; THEY WILL BE MENTIONED IN THE CHAPTERS TO FOLLOW. AN IMPORTANT AREA OF CONTROVERSY REVOLVES AROUND THE VERY QUESTION OF <u>WHAT</u> ARE THE SUBSTANTIVE AREAS THAT CAN LEGITIMATELY BE REGARDED AS FALLING WITHIN THE SCOPE OF CITY PLANNING. IS CITY PLANNING COMPREHENSIVE OR SPECIALIZED?

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[1] ACTUALLY, ALTHOUGH THE ABOVE DISCUSSION CENTERED ON THE PLANNING PROCESS AND COULD TO AN EXTENT APPLY TO PROFESSIONS OTHER THAN CITY PLANNING, OUR CONCERN HAS SPECIFICALLY BEEN WITH CITY PLANNING AND THE DISCUSSION WAS MADE RELEVANT TO IT.

SHOULD IT BE CONCERNED PRIMARILY WITH PHYSICAL OR WITH SOCIAL QUESTIONS? WE SHALL ADDRESS OURSELVES TO THESE QUESTIONS NOW.

MELVIN WEBBER HAS NOTED THAT THE IMAGE OF THE CITY HELD BY THE CITY PLANNER HAS CHANGED IN RECENT YEARS FROM THE IMAGE OF A PHYSICAL ENTITY WITH A SPECIFIC SHAPE, DENSITY AND STRUCTURES, TO THE IMAGE OF AN ABSTRACT SYSTEM WITH MANY INTERRELATED SUB-SYSTEMS, EACH WITH ITS OWN FUNCTION.[2] THE ABSTRACTION OF THE CITY'S IMAGE HAS RESULTED FROM, AND IN TURN FURTHER ENABLED, THE NEW CONCERN WITH COMPREHENSIVENESS--WHICH, IN TURN, REFLECTS THE NEW AWARENESS OF THE NON-PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE CITY.

CITY PLANNING IN ITS EARLY YEARS IN NORTH AMERICA WAS UNDERSTOOD TO ENCOMPASS ONLY THE STRICTLY PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF THE CITY: STREET PATTERN, LAND USE, BUILDING CODES, ETC. THESE WERE THOUGHT TO BE "VALUE FREE" ASPECTS OF HUMAN LIVING. THIS VIEW OF CITY PLANNING IS BY NO MEANS DEAD, AND SOME VOICES HAVE SPOKEN RELATIVELY RECENTLY IN ITS FAVOR.[3] HOWEVER, MOST CONTEMPORARY PLANNING THEORETICIANS TODAY REGARD CITY PLANNING AS A PROFESSION CONCERNED WITH THE CITY IN ITS NEW IMAGE AS A SYSTEM. AND SINCE THE STRICTLY PHYSICAL ASPECTS ARE INTERDEPENDENT WITH OTHER ASPECTS IN THE CITY-SYSTEM--THE ECONOMIC, THE POLITICAL, THE SOCIAL (SUCH AS HEALTH, EDUCATION, WELFARE, COMMUNITY ACTIVITIES, RECREATION, CRIME,

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[2] WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS...."

[3] CHURCHILL, "NEW TENDENCIES IN PLANNING"; AND LOVELACE, "THREE SHORT ARTICLES...."

SEGREGATION OR INTEGRATION, ETC.) AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL (SUCH AS PERCEPTION OF SPACE AND ITS IMPACT)--CITY PLANNING IS INCREASINGLY BEING REGARDED AS COMPREHENSIVE AND AS ENCOMPASSING ALL OF THESE.[4]

THIS TRANSITION REFLECTS THE CHANGES THAT HAVE OCCURRED IN PLANNING AND GENERAL SOCIAL IDEOLOGY: THE NEW CONCERN WITH MAN AS A SOCIAL BEING, THE REINTERPRETATION OF THE TRADITIONAL INDIVIDUALISTIC-DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY TO STRESS EGALITARIAN-DEMOCRATIC VALUES OVER INDIVIDUALISTIC-ECONOMIC ONES, THE ADVENT OF THE AGE OF THE SOCIAL SCIENCES AND THEIR SOCIAL-ORIENTED IDEOLOGY, THE EXPANDING ROLE OF GOVERNMENT, AND OTHER IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES WHICH WE HAVE ALREADY ENCOUNTERED.[5] THESE IDEOLOGICAL CHANGES HAVE LED TO THE ADMITTANCE OF STUDENTS WITH A SOCIAL-SCIENCE BACKGROUND INTO PLANNING SCHOOLS WHO HAVE REINFORCED THE NEW THINKING.

THE COMPREHENSIVE SCOPE OF CITY PLANNING HAS RAISED QUESTIONS AS TO WHAT SHOULD BE THE CITY PLANNER'S PROFESSIONAL SPECIALTY. FOR, AFTER ALL, THERE EXIST LONG-STANDING PROFESSIONS EACH DEALING WITH SOME PARTICULAR ASPECT OF THE CITY; THE CITY PLANNER COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO BECOME AN EXPERT IN ALL THESE FIELDS. THIS DILEMMA HAS GENERATED A CONCERN WITH THE PROFESSIONAL ROLE OF THE CITY PLANNER AND WITH PLANNING EDUCATION. HARVEY PERLOFF FOUND IT NECESSARY EVEN IN 1957 TO DEVOTE A BOOK TO PLANNING EDUCATION, WHERE HE RECOMMENDED THAT THE FUTURE CITY PLANNER BE EDUCATED TO BECOME A "GENERALIST WITH A SPECIALTY."[6] THE NEW

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[4]DAVIDOFF, "ADVOCACY AND PLURALISM IN PLANNING"; LOEKS, "THE NEW COMPREHENSIVENESS..."; HARVEY S. PERLOFF, "NEW DIRECTIONS IN SOCIAL PLANNING," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1965. PP. 297-304; ROBINSON, "BEYOND THE MIDDLE-RANGE PLANNING BRIDGE"; AND WEBBER, "THE ROLE OF INTELLIGENCE SYSTEMS..."

[5]SEE THE DISCUSSION OF PLANNING IDEOLOGY IN CHAPTER 4, D, AND THE DISCUSSION OF META-PLANNING IN CHAPTER 6, A.

[6]PERLOFF, EDUCATION FOR PLANNING: CITY, STATE AND REGIONAL, PART I. PLANNING EDUCATION IS ALSO DISCUSSED BY HANDLER IN "WHAT IS PLANNING THEORY."

BREED OF CITY PLANNERS NOW VIEW THEMSELVES AS SPECIALISTS IN CO-ORDINATION OF AN INTER-DISCIPLINARY TEAM WHICH WOULD PLAN FOR THE TOTAL URBAN SYSTEM.

THE BOUNDARY BETWEEN THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION AND OTHER PROFESSIONS UNDERTAKING PLANNING FOR SOME ASPECT OF THE CITY, HAS NOT YET BEEN CLEARLY DEFINED. THE LACK OF A CLEAR IDENTITY FOR THE CITY PLANNER VIS-À-VIS THE SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNER, FOR EXAMPLE, IS INDICATED BY THE STILL-VAGUE USAGE OF THE TERM "SOCIAL PLANNING." WHEN USED BY SOCIAL WORKERS, THE TERM MEANS SOCIAL WELFARE PLANNING.[7] THIS IS SOMETIMES THE MEANING INTENDED BY CITY PLANNERS AS WELL. IN THAT SENSE OF THE TERM, IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT TO SAY THAT CITY PLANNERS TODAY ARE TRAINED TO DO SOCIAL PLANNING--ALTHOUGH, PERHAPS, THEY ARE TRAINED TO WORK AS CO-ORDINATORS, OR JUST MEMBERS, OF AN INTERDISCIPLINARY TEAM THAT COULD UNDERTAKE COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING. AT OTHER TIMES, THE TERM "SOCIAL PLANNING" IS USED TO INDICATE THAT THE CITY PLANNER TAKES INTO CONSIDERATION THE SOCIAL IMPACT WHICH PHYSICAL PLANNING NECESSARILY HAS, AND DOES NOT SACRIFICE THE SOCIAL TO THE PHYSICAL.[8] CITY PLANNING EDUCATION THAT STRESSES SOCIAL AWARENESS IN THIS SENSE WOULD STILL REGARD IT AS THE CITY PLANNER'S SPECIALTY TO PLAN FOR URBAN LAND AND STRUCTURE, BUT WOULD PREPARE HIM TO WORK ALONG WITH OTHER PLANNERS IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE COMPREHENSIVENESS JOINTLY.

IN THE CHAPTERS TO FOLLOW, SOME AREAS TRADITIONALLY REGARDED AS IN THE SCOPE OF CITY PLANNING WILL BE DISCUSSED, WITH SOCIAL PLANNING BEING

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[7] SEE, FOR EXAMPLE: MORRIS AND BINSTOCK, FEASIBLE PLANNING FOR SOCIAL CHANGE, AND REIN, "SOCIAL PLANNING...."

[8] THE CHANGE IN USAGE OF "SOCIAL PLANNING" THAT HAS OCCURRED OVER THE PAST DECADES IS NOTED BY GANS IN PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 56.

UNDERSTOOD AS CONSTITUTING AN ORIENTATION OR AWARENESS WHICH SOME PLANNERS MAY OR MAY NOT HAVE. IN EACH AREA DISCUSSED, THE VARIOUS VIEWS OR PLANS WOULD BE BASED ON ALTERNATIVE VALUE PREMISES. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, BE STRESSED THAT DESPITE THE POWER OF VALUES, A ONE-TO-ONE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPECIFIC VALUES AND SPECIFIC VIEWS OR PLANS DOES NOT EXIST: SIMILAR VALUES MAY GENERATE DIFFERENT PLANS, AND VICE VERSA.

FINALLY, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT EVEN WHERE A GIVEN VIEW IS ENTIRELY DEVOID OF SOCIAL CONSIDERATIONS, THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT IT IS ALSO DEVOID OF VALUES. ON THE CONTRARY: VALUES ADHERE TO AREAS OF STRICTLY PHYSICAL PLANNING AS WELL, AND WITH NO LESSER PERSISTENCY.

CHAPTER 13

ATTITUDE TO THE CITY AND URBAN LIFE

SINCE THE SUBJECT-MATTER FOR THE CITY PLANNER IS OF COURSE THE CITY, THE ATTITUDE A PLANNER HOLDS WITH REGARD TO THE CITY WOULD BE A SIGNIFICANT DETERMINANT OF THE WAY HE WOULD PLAN. IF A PLANNER VALUES THE CITY AND ITS ASSOCIATED WAY OF LIFE NEGATIVELY, ONE WOULD EXPECT HIS PLANNING TO PROMOTE ALTERNATIVE WAYS OF LIFE; AND IF A PLANNER FEELS THAT THE CITY IS A WONDERFUL HUMAN CREATION, ONE WOULD EXPECT THIS VIEW TO HAVE A CORRESPONDING EFFECT ON HIS PLANS. IN THIS CHAPTER, WE SHALL GLANCE AT THE VALUES PERTAINING TO THE CITY OF SEVERAL PROMINENT CITY PLANNERS, AND SHALL OUTLINE SOME CONTROVERSIAL ISSUES.

A. VALUATION OF THE CITY IN GENERAL

SINCE ITS INCEPTION SEVERAL MILLENNIA AGO, THE CITY HAS NEVER BEEN MERELY AN AGGLOMERATION OF PHYSICAL STRUCTURES AND HUMAN BEINGS; IT HAS ALWAYS HAD SOME SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE. UNTIL MODERN TIMES, CITIES HAVE USUALLY HAD DEEP RELIGIOUS AND SYMBOLIC MEANING. ANCIENT CITIES WERE OFTEN REGARDED AS CENTERS OF THE COSMOS. THEIR FOUNDATION WAS CONSIDERED AN IMITATION OF THE ACTS OF THE GODS, AND WAS HENCE DICTATED BY STRICT RITUAL.[1] MEDIEVAL CITIES, TOO, WERE RELIGIOUS

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[1] LEWIS MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY (NEW YORK: HARCOURT, BRACE, & WORLD INC., 1961), PP. 6-70 AND 135-137; MIRCEA ELIADE, COSMOS AND HISTORY (NEW YORK: HARPER AND ROW, 1959), PP. 3-20; MIRCEA ELIADE, THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE (NEW YORK: HARCOURT & BRACE INC., 1959), PP. 1-61; FUSTEL DE COULANGES, THE ANCIENT CITY (GARDEN CITY, N.Y.: DOUBLEDAY & CO., 1956), PP. 117-153.

CENTERS.[2] ALTHOUGH MODERN NORTH AMERICAN CITIES ARE NO LONGER RELIGIOUS SYMBOLS, THEY ARE STILL FOCI OF VALUES, WHETHER POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE.

STUDENTS OF THE HISTORY OF THOUGHT HAVE NOTED THAT THE MAIN STREAM OF THE AMERICAN (AND ONE MAY ADD, THE CANADIAN) INTELLECTUAL TRADITION HAS BEEN HOSTILE TO THE CITY, REGARDING IT AS THE SEAT OF VICE, OF PARASITIC LIVING, OF POVERTY, AND OF LONELINESS. RURAL LIFE, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS BEEN IDEALIZED AS THE LOCUS OF VIRTUE, DEMOCRACY, WHOLESOME FAMILY LIFE, INDIVIDUALISM, AND THE LIKE. TO THIS TRADITION BELONG A FORMIDABLE LIST OF THINKERS: JEFFERSON, EMERSON, VEBLEN, THOREAU, ADAMS, HENRY JAMES, HAWTHORNE, POE, AND MELVILLE. ONLY A MINOR STREAM HAS VALUED THE CITY POSITIVELY. AMONG THIS TRADITION ONE MAY CITE WALT WHITMAN, WILLIAM JAMES, HOWE, DEWEY AND PARK.[3]

THE TRADITION OF NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO THE CITY HAS PREVAILED UNTIL RECENTLY AMONG NORTH AMERICAN PLANNERS AS WELL.[4]

ALTHOUGH EBENEZER HOWARD WAS A BRITISH PLANNER, HE INFLUENCED NORTH AMERICAN CITY PLANNING VERY DEEPLY THROUGH THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT WHICH HE UNLEASHED, A MOVEMENT STILL BEING ECHOED BY CITY PLANNERS TODAY. HOWARD REACTED TO THE ILLS OF LONDON OF THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION BY PROPOSING THAT A SERIES OF TOWNS OF LIMITED POPULATION SIZE BE ESTABLISHED IN RURAL AREAS, INTO WHICH LONDON'S OVER-POPULATION COULD BE DIRECTED. EACH TOWN WOULD BE SURROUNDED BY A GREEN BELT

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[2] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 243-280; HENRI PIRENNE, MEDIEVAL CITIES (GARDEN CITY, N. Y.: DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOKS & CO. INC., 1956), PP. 42-48.

[3] MORTON AND LUCIA WHITE, "THE AMERICAN INTELLECTUAL VERSUS THE AMERICAN CITY," DAEDALUS, 90, NO. 1 (WINTER, 1961), PP. 166-176.

[4] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., PP. 57-75

WHICH WOULD ALWAYS KEEP THE RURAL AREAS CLOSE AT HAND AND WOULD RESTRICT THE CITY'S EXPANSION. WITHIN EACH TOWN, FAMILIES COULD LIVE IN SEMI-RURAL DENSITIES, SURROUNDED WITH AMPLE GREENERY.[5] THE HIGH OPINION WHICH HOWARD HAD OF RURAL LIFE IS APPARENT. ALTHOUGH IT HAS BEEN ARGUED THAT HOWARD WAS NOT REALLY ANTI-URBAN BECAUSE, AFTER ALL, HE DID PROPOSE SOME FORM OF URBAN LIFE,[6] HOWARD WAS DEFINITELY NOT PRO-URBAN. AT LEAST HE DID NOT FAVOR THE LARGE CITY, WHICH HE BLAMED FOR THE ILLS HE SAW. HOWARD'S IDEALIZATION OF SEMI-RURAL LIFE WAS TO BECOME THE DOMINANT ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY AMONG NORTH AMERICAN PLANNERS,[7] AND WAS TO GIVE BIRTH TO INNUMERABLE SUBURBS.

TWO AMERICAN PLANNERS WHO IMPLEMENTED THE GARDEN CITY CONCEPT IN THE UNITED STATES WERE CLARENCE STEIN AND HENRY WRIGHT. THEY ACCEPTED HOWARD'S PREMISES, AND SOUGHT TO PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON DETAILED PLANNING FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD.[8] ANOTHER INFLUENTIAL AMERICAN PLANNER WHOSE PLANNING PROPOSALS IMPLY AN IDEALIZATION OF RURAL LIVING IS CLARENCE PERRY, WHO PROPOSED THAT CITIES BE COMPOSED OF NEIGHBORHOODS OF RESTRICTED SIZE AND LOW DENSITY, WITH SEMI-RURAL VERDURE AND SECLUSION.[9]

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[5]HOWARD, GARDEN CITIES OF TOMORROW, PP. 50-57 AND 138-150. SEE ALSO REINER, THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING, PP. 39-43.

[6]BUDER, "EBENEZER HOWARD: THE GENESIS OF A TOWN PLANNING MOVEMENT."

[7]JANE JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES (NEW YORK: VINTAGE BOOKS, A DIVISION OF RANDOM HOUSE, 1961), PP. 17-25; AND NATHAN GLAZER, "WHY CITY PLANNING IS OBSOLETE," ARCHITECTURAL FORUM, JULY, 1958, PP. 96-98 AND 160.

[8]STEIN, TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA.

[9]CLARENCE A. PERRY, "THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT," IN REGIONAL SURVEY OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS, VOL. II, BY THE COMMITTEE ON THE REGIONAL PLAN OF NEW YORK AND ITS ENVIRONS, (NEW YORK: NO PUBLISHER, 1929), PP. 22-141.

LEWIS MUMFORD, THE FAMOUS AMERICAN SOCIAL HISTORIAN AND CRITIC OF THE CITY, IS A STAUNCH ADMIRER OF HOWARD AND HIS IDEAS.[10] HOWEVER, HIS OWN ATTITUDE TO THE CITY IS MUCH MORE COMPLEX, SINCE IT IS AMBIVALENT. ON THE ONE HAND, MUMFORD REGARDS THE CITY AS THE CONTAINER AND TRANSMITTER OF CULTURE, THE PROMISE OF MANKIND:

> THE FINAL MISSION OF THE CITY IS TO FURTHER MAN'S CONSCIOUS PARTICIPATION IN THE COSMIC AND THE HISTORIC PROCESS...THAT MAGNIFICATION OF ALL THE DIMENSIONS OF LIFE...HAS BEEN THE SUPREME OFFICE OF THE CITY IN HISTORY. AND IT REMAINS THE CHIEF REASON FOR THE CITY'S CONTINUED EXISTENCE.[11]

ON THE OTHER HAND, MUMFORD HAS BEEN A SEVERE CRITIC OF THE MODERN CITY AND ITS ASSOCIATED CULTURE AND TECHNOLOGY, FEARING THAT IT WILL DESTROY HUMANITY:

> THE METROPOLITAN REGIME NOW THREATENS TO REACH ITS CLIMAX IN A MEANINGLESS WAR, ONE OF TOTAL EXTERMINATION, WHOSE ONLY PURPOSE WOULD BE TO RELIEVE THE ANXIETIES AND FEARS PRODUCED BY THE CITADELS' WHOLESALE COMMITMENT TO WEAPONS OF ANNIHILATION AND EXTERMINATION.[12]

THIS AMBIVALENCE HAS LED HIM TO CRITICIZE THOSE ASPECTS OF THE MODERN CITY WHICH HE VIEWS NEGATIVELY--SUCH AS ITS TECHNOLOGY, ITS UGLINESS, AND ITS SPRAWL--WHILE AT THE SAME TIME OFFERING SUGGESTIONS ABOUT HOW IT MAY BE MADE MORE LIVABLE, AND MORE IN THE "HUMAN SCALE."[13]

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[10] SEE, FOR EXAMPLE, MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 514-524; AND PARK DIXON GOIST, "LEWIS MUMFORD AND ANTI-URBANISM," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, SEPTEMBER, 1969, PP. 340-347. SEE ALSO LEWIS MUMFORD, "THE GARDEN CITY IDEA AND MODERN PLANNING," INTRODUCTORY ESSAY TO GARDEN CITIES OF TOMORROW BY HOWARD, PP. 29-40

[11] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, P. 576.

[12] IBID., P. 555. SEE ALSO LEWIS MUMFORD, "UTOPIA, THE CITY AND THE MACHINE," DAEDALUS, SPRING, 1965, (VOL. 94, NO. 2), PP. 271-292.

[13] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 482-524, AND PASSIM.

FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT WAS A WELL-KNOWN AMERICAN ARCHITECT-PHILOSOPHER, WHO HAS INFLUENCED ALL MODERN ARCHITECTURE. IT IS THEREFORE SIGNIFICANT TO OBSERVE THAT HE HELD A THOROUGHLY NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY, REGARDING IT AS "...THE DEADLY SHADOW OF SENTIENT MAN,"[14] AS THE CONTAINER OF THE WORST OF CIVILIZATION. WRIGHT FELT THAT IN THE PAST, CITIES WERE NECESSARY IN ORDER TO MAXIMIZE HUMAN INTERCOURSE. TODAY, ELECTRONIC COMMUNICATION HAS MADE THEM EXPENDABLE.[15] AS A SUBSTITUTE TO THE CITY, WRIGHT PROPOSED A SEMI-UTOPIAN SCHEME WHICH HE NAMED "BROADACRE CITY," WHERE EVERY FAMILY WOULD LIVE ON AN ACRE OF LAND IN A CITY SO DISPERSED THAT THE CITY AS SUCH WOULD ALL BUT DISAPPEAR. IN THIS MILIEU, WRIGHT BELIEVED, THE VIRTUES OF DEMOCRACY AND THE GOOD LIFE WOULD BE RESTORED, WHILE THE PARASITIC QUALITIES OF URBAN LIFE WOULD BE ELIMINATED.[16]

THE VIEWS OF THE FRENCH ARCHITECT-PLANNER-PHILOSOPHER LE CORBUSIER HAVE ALSO BEEN OF MAJOR INFLUENCE IN NORTH AMERICAN CITY PLANNING AND ARCHITECTURE. HIS ATTITUDE TO THE CITY MAY BE REGARDED AS A LINK BETWEEN THE TRADITIONAL ANTI-URBAN ATTITUDE OF THE ABOVE THINKERS, AND THE FEW PRO-URBAN VOICES NOW BEGINNING TO BE HEARD. LE CORBUSIER FAVORED HIGH-DENSITY URBAN LIVING, BUT HIS RADIANT CITY WAS IN EFFECT AN ATTEMPT TO MAKE THE GARDEN CITY CONCEPT FEASIBLE FOR A DENSE URBAN POPULATION: BY BUILDING VERTICALLY, AS MUCH AS 95% OF THE GROUND COULD REMAIN OPEN AND

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[14] FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, "THE CITY AS MACHINE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 92.

[15] IBID., PP. 91-94.

[16] FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT, THE LIVING CITY (NEW YORK: HORIZON PRESS, 1958). SEE ALSO REINER, THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING, PP. 71-73.

PARK-LIKE.[17] LE CORBUSIER'S PARADOXICAL ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY EMERGES MORE DISTINCTLY FROM HIS CONCEPT OF THE VERTICAL VILLAGE: A SKYSCRAPER, WHICH WE TEND TO REGARD AS A DISTINCTLY URBAN STRUCTURE, WOULD BE PLACED IN THE OPEN RURAL AREA, WHERE IT WOULD FUNCTION AS A COMPLETE VILLAGE, DEVOID OF ANY VISIBLE URBAN CONTEXT. ONE HISTORIAN OF THE CITY HAS GONE AS FAR AS TO ARGUE THAT "THE TARGET OF LE CORBUSIER WAS THE LIQUIDATION OF THE CITY AS A COMPOUND SOCIAL AND ARCHITECTURAL ENTITY."[18]

ONLY RECENTLY HAVE SOME VOICES BEEN HEARD DISPLAYING A THOROUGHLY POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD AMERICAN CITIES. MOST NOTABLE AMONG THESE IS THE VOICE OF JANE JACOBS, WHOSE 1961 BOOK IS A SONG OF FAITH IN THE CITY, IN ITS HUMANITY, AND IN ITS FUTURE. JANE JACOBS PLACES A HIGH VALUE ON URBAN HIGH-DENSITY LIVING, URBAN STREETS, AND THE OPPORTUNITIES FOR FACE-TO-FACE HUMAN COMMUNICATION WHICH URBAN LIFE OFFERS.[19]

B. ATTITUDE TO A CONCENTRATED VERSUS DISPERSED CITY

A PLANNER'S VALUATION OF THE CITY IN GENERAL MAY SOMETIMES BE MANIFESTED IN HIS VIEWS ABOUT A MORE SPECIFIC CURRENT ISSUE: THE CONCENTRATED CITY WITH A SINGLE STRONG CENTER (IN PLANNING JARGON, A STRONG CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT), VERSUS THE DISPERSED CITY WITH

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[17] REINER, THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING, PP. 54-57; JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 21-25; AND LE CORBUSIER, THE RADIANT CITY (LONDON: FABER & FABER LTD., 1933, REPRINTED, 1964), PP. 90-173.

[18] SIBYL MOHOLY-NAGY, MATRIX OF MAN: AN ILLUSTRATED HISTORY OF URBAN ENVIRONMENT (NEW YORK: FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, PUBLISHERS, 1968), PP. 273-274.

[19] JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES.

NUMEROUS SMALLER CENTERS.

AS ONE WOULD EXPECT, A PERSON LIKE JANE JACOBS WOULD RESIST THE DISPERSAL OF THE TRADITIONAL URBAN CORE, AND WOULD CALL FOR CITY PLANNERS TO DIRECT DEVELOPMENT TOWARD IT. THIS VIEW IS ALSO HELD BY NATHAN GLAZER,[20] LYLE C. FITCH[21] AND OTHERS [22] WHOSE VIEWS ARE ACCOMPANIED BY A HIGH VALUATION OF THE CITY. MANY CITY PLANNERS ARE TODAY IMPLEMENTING THIS VIEW BY PROPOSING SPECIAL PLANS TO STRENGTHEN DECLINING CITY CENTERS.

ALTHOUGH THE CALL TO DECENTRALIZE THE CITY MAY BE ACCOMPANIED BY A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY (SUCH AS IN THE CASE OF FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT AND HOWARD), THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY THE CASE. SOME MAY VIEW THE NATURAL DECENTRALIZATION PROCESS OF CITIES POSITIVELY PRECISELY BECAUSE THEY VALUE THE CITY IN ANY FORM POSITIVELY. SUCH A VIEW MAY UNDERLIE THE PREDICTION MADE BY MELVIN WEBBER--WITH LITTLE APPARENT REGRET--THAT WE ARE NOW ENTERING THE "POST-CITY AGE" OF DISPERSED URBAN LIVING.[23] OR IT MAY UNDERLIE THE ARGUMENT PROPOSED BY CLAWSON TO JUSTIFY URBAN SPRAWL; HE ARGUES THAT NO FORM OF URBAN DEVELOPMENT MAY BE REGARDED AS BAD BECAUSE THE CITY IS THE MOST EFFICIENT USER OF LAND.[24] SIMILARLY, THE HOPE

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[20] GLAZER, "WHY CITY PLANNING IS OBSOLETE."

[21] LYLE C. FITCH, "EIGHT GOALS FOR AN URBANIZING AMERICA," DAEDALUS, FALL, 1968, PP. 1141-1164.

[22] V. GRUEN, "THE HEART OF OUR CITIES," IN FIRST CANADIAN URBAN TRANSPORTATION CONFERENCE, CANADIAN FEDERATION OF MAYORS AND MUNICIPALITIES (TORONTO: 1969; MIMEOGRAPHED), PP. 132-142. IN WINNIPEG, CANADA, THIS VIEW IS BEING IMPLEMENTED BY THE METROPOLITAN PLANNING AGENCY UNDER THE DIRECTION OF EARL LEVIN, WHO HAS PRODUCED A DOWNTOWN PLAN.

[23] MELVIN M. WEBBER, "THE POST-CITY AGE," DAEDALUS, FALL, 1968, PP. 1091-1110.

[24] MARION CLAWSON, "URBAN LAND USE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 143-145.

EXPRESSED BY YLVISAKER THAT WE ARE INDEED ENTERING AN AGE OF A NEW DISPERSED URBAN LIFE, WHICH HE REGARDS AS MORE FLEXIBLE AND PROMISING THAN CONCENTRATED-CITY LIFE, MAY HAVE ALSO BEEN MOTIVATED BY THIS VIEW.[25] OPINIONS SUCH AS THESE WOULD LEAD A CITY PLANNER TO REFRAIN FROM HALTING THE PROCESS OF DECENTRALIZATION NOW OCCURRING IN MANY NORTH AMERICAN CITIES, AND PERHAPS EVEN TO PROMOTE IT.

C. VIEWS ON THE SUBURB AND THE SUBURBAN WAY OF LIFE

A RELATED AND PARTIALLY OVERLAPPING SET OF ALTERNATIVE VALUES HELD BY PLANNERS PERTAINS TO THE NOW-DOMINANT TYPE OF URBAN RESIDENTIAL AREA--THE SUBURB, AND ITS ASSOCIATED WAY OF LIFE. IN GENERAL, IT MAY BE SAID THAT WHILE PRE-WORLD WAR II CITY PLANNERS PROMOTED THE SUBURB AND WERE INSTRUMENTAL IN PRODUCING ITS OVERWHELMING POPULARITY, POST-WORLD WAR II CITY PLANNERS HAVE BEEN INCREASINGLY DISPARAGING OF THE SUBURB.[26] THE WORD "SPRAWL" HAS BECOME ALMOST A SYNONYM FOR "SUBURB" AMONG MANY CONTEMPORARY PLANNERS.

THE PROLIFERATION OF SUBURBS OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE DECADES HAS BEEN JUSTIFIED, AND TO A LARGE EXTENT GENERATED, BY CITY PLANNERS. THE IMPORTATION OF THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT TO NORTH AMERICA FAILED TO PRODUCE ANY TRUE GARDEN CITIES AS HOWARD WOULD HAVE DESIRED THEM, BUT IT DID SUCCEED IN ESTABLISHING SUCH MODEL SATELLITE SUBURBS AS SUNNYSIDE GARDENS AND RADBURN (BY CLARENCE STEIN AND HENRY WRIGHT[27]), AS WELL

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[25] PAUL N. YLVISAKER, "THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 63-67.

[26] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., PP. 127-131.

[27] STEIN, TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA.

AS INNUMERABLE POPULAR "GARDEN CITIES" OR CONVENTIONAL SUBURBS. ACTIVE IN THE MOVEMENT TO PROVIDE LOW-DENSITY, SEMI-RURAL RESIDENTIAL SURROUNDINGS WAS ALSO LEWIS MUMFORD.[28]

THE VALUES THAT MOTIVATED THESE PLANNERS WERE PARTLY AESTHETIC (THEY LIKED TO SEE MORE GREENERY, OPEN SPACE, ETC.) AND PARTLY EGALITARIAN-DEMOCRATIC (THEY HOPED, LIKE MUMFORD,[29] THAT SUBURBAN LIVING WOULD RESTORE THE NEW ENGLAND TOWN-LIKE DEMOCRACY AND WOULD PROVIDE WHOLESOME LIVING TO ALL). THE SUBURBS AS THEY WERE TO EMERGE, HOWEVER, LET THESE VALUES DOWN: THEY PROVED TO BE UGLY, MONOTONOUS, SOCIALLY HOMOGENOUS, OFTEN EVEN SEGREGATIONIST;[30] AND INSTEAD OF BRINGING THE URBANITE CLOSER TO THE RURAL AREA, THEY SEEMED TO HAVE PUSHED THE RURAL AREA EVEN FURTHER AWAY. FORMER SUPPORTERS, LIKE MUMFORD, BECAME STAUNCH CRITICS. MUMFORD STATES:

> AS IT HAS WORKED OUT UNDER THE IMPACT OF THE PRESENT RELIGION AND MYTH OF THE MACHINE, MASS SUBURBIA HAS DONE AWAY WITH MOST OF THE FREEDOMS AND DELIGHTS THAT THE ORIGINAL DISCIPLES OF ROUSSEAU SOUGHT TO FIND THROUGH THEIR EXODUS FROM THE CITY... THE END PRODUCT IS AN ENCAPSULATED LIFE...HERE INDEED WE FIND "THE LONELY CROWD."[31]

THUS MANY CONTEMPORARY CITY PLANNERS TODAY DECRY THE SUBURBS AS

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[28] JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 19-21.

[29] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 499-503.

[30] THE CLAIM THAT SUBURBAN PLANNING IS SEGREGATIONIST IS MADE BY STAFFORD AND LADNER, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND RACISM." SUBURBAN HOMOGENEITY IS DISCUSSED IN: WILLIAM H. WHYTE JR., MAN THE MODERN CITY (PITTSBURGH, PA.: UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH PRESS, 1963), PP. 46-50.

[31] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 511-512; SEE ALSO PP. 503-513.

"SPRAWL," AND RECOMMEND EITHER THE INCORPORATION OF SOME CHANGES IN PLANNING FOR THE SUBURBS--SUCH AS MEDIUM AND HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING--OR THE REDIRECTION OF RESIDENTIAL GROWTH TO THE CENTER-CITY. AND AS A COUNTER-REACTION TO THIS PREDOMINATING VIEW, SOME PLANNERS HAVE AGAIN COME IN DEFENSE OF THE SUBURB. FOR EXAMPLE, GANS FEELS THAT CRITICISM OF THE SUBURBAN WAY OF LIFE BLAMES ON THE SUBURB WHAT SHOULD IN REALITY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE MIDDLE-CLASS WAY OF LIFE, AND NOT TO THE PHYSICAL MILIEU. GANS JUSTIFIES HIS DEFENSE OF THE SUBURB AND THE SUBURBAN WAY OF LIFE BY APPEALING TO THE VALUE OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE:

> WHILE URBAN SPRAWL IS NOT VERY PRETTY, I THINK IT IS LESS DESIRABLE (OR FEASIBLE) TO FORCE PEOPLE TO RAISE THEIR CHILDREN IN HIGH-RISE APARTMENT HOUSES.[32]

OTHERS, LIKE YLVISAKER, HAVE PRAISED THE SURBURB AS THE EXPRESSION OF PROGRESS. THEY MAY AGREE WITH YLVISAKER'S STATEMENT THAT "THERE IS VERY LITTLE 'SUB' ABOUT THIS NEW URBIA; IT'S THE PROTOTYPE OF THE URBAN FORM WHICH WILL DOMINATE THE LIFE OF OUR CHILDREN."[33]

BE THE ATTITUDE OF PLANNERS AS IT MAY, THE FACT REMAINS THAT FOR MOST NORTH AMERICANS SUBURBIA IS THE FULFILLMENT OF THE DREAM OF "A HOME FOR EACH FAMILY," A DREAM WHOSE ROOTS LIE DEEP (AS RIESMAN HAS NOTED) IN BIBLICAL FOLK IMAGERY AND IN THE ENVY OF THE COMMON MAN FOR WHAT USED TO BE THE PREROGATIVE OF THE GENTRY ALONE. THESE VALUES ARE UNDOUBTEDLY SHARED BY MANY PLANNERS AS WELL, ALTHOUGH THEIR PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION MAY HAVE GENERATED COUNTER-VALUES WHICH HAVE LED MANY PLANNERS TO ADOPT A NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SUBURB AND A POSITIVE VALUATION OF

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[32] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS, P. 140. A GENERAL DISCUSSION IS GIVEN IN PP. 127-140.

[33] YLVISAKER, "THE SHAPE OF THE FUTURE," P. 65.

THE CONCENTRATED CITY. WHATEVER THE PLANNER'S ATTITUDE MAY BE, HE WOULD HAVE TO CONTEND WITH THE GENERALLY FAVORABLE AND STRONGLY ENTRENCHED PUBLIC ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBURBIA. MANY OF THE PATTERNS TO BE DISCUSSED IN THE FOLLOWING CHAPTERS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE CONCEPT OF SUBURBIA (SUCH AS LOW-DENSITY HOUSING, THE CAR, LAND-OWNERSHIP, HOME OWNERSHIP, HOMOGENOUS NEIGHBORHOODS, AND CERTAIN RECREATIONAL PATTERNS). THE PREVAILING POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBURBIA IS THUS AN IMPORTANT ONE INDEED, ENCOMPASSING MANY OF THE ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED BELOW.

TO CONCLUDE, THIS CHAPTER HAS SOUGHT TO PROVIDE AN INTRODUCTORY PERSPECTIVE TO THE SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING TO BE DISCUSSED IN DETAIL BELOW. IT HAS SHOWN THAT CITY PLANNERS AND URBAN PHILOSOPHERS OFTEN HAVE EITHER A FAVORABLE OR AN UNFAVORABLE ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY IN GENERAL OR TOWARD ITS CENTER OR SUBURB IN PARTICULAR. A CITY PLANNER'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE CITY MAY BE EXPECTED TO AFFECT HIS PLANNING CONCEPTS. WE SHALL NOW TURN TO A DISCUSSION OF THE PLANNING CONCEPTS PERTAINING TO THE SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CITY PLANNING.

CHAPTER 14

LAND OWNERSHIP AND ZONING

PHYSICAL CITY PLANNING IS PRIMARILY CONCERNED WITH LAND AND WHAT MAY BE PLACED ON IT. IT IS THEREFORE RELEVANT TO STUDY THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP. IN NORTH AMERICA, THE PRIMARY TOOL FOR CONTROLLING THE USE OF LAND HAS BEEN THE LEGAL TOOL OF ZONING. THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH ZONING WILL BE THE MAJOR FOCUS OF THIS CHAPTER.

A. EVALUATION OF LAND AND LAND OWNERSHIP

THE EMERGENCE OF THE CAPITALISTIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS HISTORICALLY BEEN ASSOCIATED WITH CHANGE IN THE ATTITUDE TOWARD LAND OWNERSHIP. IN SIMPLE SOCIETIES, RIGHTS TO LAND USUALLY RESIDE IN A TRIBE, CLAN, LINEAGE, OR IN SOME POLITICAL OR RESIDENTIAL GROUPING. SO LONG AS THE INDIVIDUAL IS ACCEPTED AS BELONGING TO THE GROUP, HIS RIGHTS TO THE USE OF SOME PIECE OF LAND ARE INALIENABLE. EVEN THEN, HOWEVER, THE RIGHTS ARE NEVER ABSOLUTE, BUT CONDITIONAL: THE INDIVIDUAL MAY HAVE TO PERMIT USE OF THE LAND BY SOME CULTURALLY DEFINED KIN; AND WHEN HE LEAVES THE COMMUNITY, HIS RIGHTS LAPSE.[1]

UNDER A CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY, LAND IS FREELY BOUGHT, SOLD, AND OWNED IN A MANNER REGULATED NOT BY SOCIAL NORMS (ALTHOUGH THESE MAY ENTER IN TO AN EXTENT) BUT BY MARKET MECHANISMS. ALTHOUGH LAND IS VALUABLE ONLY IN A

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[1] MAX GLUCKMAN, POLITICS, LAW AND RITUAL IN TRIBAL SOCIETY (CHICAGO: ALDINE PUBLISHING CO., 1965), PP. 36-43; AND JOHN BEATTIE, OTHER CULTURES (LONDON: COHEN & WEST LTD., 1964), PP. 191-195.

SOCIAL CONTEXT,[2] THE RIGHTS TO LAND RESIDE IN THE INDIVIDUAL OWNER, WHO MAY DO WITH HIS LAND VIRTUALLY WHATEVER HE WISHES WITH IMPUNITY--UNLESS HIS RIGHTS ARE RESTRICTED BY LAW. PERHAPS MORE THAN ANYTHING ELSE, PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP HAS COME TO BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE CAPITALISTIC ECONOMIC SYSTEM--INDEED, TO SYBMOLIZE IT. IT HAS THEREFORE BECOME THE FOCUS OF MANY DEEPLY-ROOTED VALUES WHICH IN NORTH AMERICA ARE ATTACHED TO THE FREE ENTERPRISE ECONOMIC SYSTEM AND, BY EXTENSION, TO THE ENTIRE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE CLUSTER. SO CONCENTRATED ARE THESE VALUES IN LAND OWNERSHIP THAT IT HAS BECOME AN ALMOST SACROSANCT INSTITUTION. BECAUSE CITY PLANNING MUST CONCERN ITSELF WITH LAND AND IS DEPENDENT FOR ITS EFFECTIVENESS ON THE CONTROL OF LAND USE (CONTROL ENTAILING SOME RESTRICTION OF PROPERTY RIGHTS), THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP HAVE BEEN OF PARAMOUNT CONCERN TO CITY PLANNERS IN NORTH AMERICA.

WHILE POSITIVE RIGHTS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP, NEGATIVE RIGHTS OR SANCTIONS ARE ASSOCIATED WITH THE ABSENCE OF IT. THE EXTENT TO WHICH RIGHTS ARE DENIED TO PERSONS WHO DO NOT OWN THE LAND ON WHICH THEY RESIDE, AND THE EXTENT TO WHICH NEGATIVE SANCTIONS ARE INFLICTED UPON THEM, MAY SERVE AS A GOOD INDICATOR OF THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP. LET US STUDY AN EXAMPLE FROM NORTHVILLE.

MANY NATIVE PEOPLE IN NORTHVILLE WHO EITHER DO NOT HAVE THE RIGHT TO BENEFIT FROM GOVERNMENT PROTECTION OR DO NOT WISH TO DO SO, LIVE IN POVERTY, USUALLY SQUATTING ON "GOVERNMENT LAND" TO WHICH THEY HAVE NO

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[2]THE VALUE OF LAND IS DEPENDENT ON THE EXISTENCE OF A SOCIETY OF HUMAN BEINGS WHO WOULD LIKE TO MAKE USE OF WHATEVER PRODUCTS OR AMENITIES THE LAND OFFERS. FOR EXAMPLE, WERE IT NOT THAT PEOPLE WISHED TO CONCENTRATE THEIR ACTIVITIES IN THE CENTER-CITY, THE LAND THERE WOULD NOT BE AS VALUABLE. YET THE FRUITS OF THIS COLLECTIVE EFFORT GO TO THE INDIVIDUAL OWNER OF LAND.

CLAIM OF OWNERSHIP BY ORDINARY LEGAL TITLE. SIGNIFICANTLY, THE VARIOUS GOVERNMENT BUREAUS HAVE NOT FOUND IT NECESSARY TO EXTEND SERVICES TO THESE SQUATTERS' AREAS, WITH THE RESULT THAT THESE AREAS ARE DEVOID OF PIPED WATER AND SEWER SERVICES (WHICH HAVE RECENTLY BEEN EXTENDED TO THE MAJORITY OF THE OTHER AREAS IN NORTHVILLE). THEY ARE ALSO LACKING ELECTRIC AND TELEPHONE LINES WHICH HAVE BEEN AVAILABLE TO THE OTHER RESIDENTS OF NORTHVILLE FOR MANY YEARS. MOREOVER; NOT ONLY ARE BENEFITS WITHDRAWN FROM THOSE WHO DO NOT OWN LAND, BUT ELEMENTARY HUMAN RIGHTS SUCH AS THE RIGHT TO HYGENIC SURROUNDINGS ALSO TEND TO LOSE THEIR FORCE UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP (OR LACK OF IT). ONE SQUATTERS' AREA WAS SITUATED NEAR THE GARBAGE DUMP OF THE COMMUNITY. THE GARBAGE ACCUMULATED OVER THE YEARS UNTIL IT LITERALLY REACHED THE DOOR-STEPS OF SOME OF THE SQUATTERS' HOMES. ONLY THEN WAS IT FELT TO BE NECESSARY TO DESIGNATE A NEW GARBAGE DUMPING AREA (AND NORTHVILLE IS FAR FROM LACKING OPEN, BARREN LAND).

THE VALUES REVOLVING AROUND LAND OWNERSHIP ARE POWERFUL ONES INDEED. OTHER MANIFESTATIONS OF THESE VALUES WILL BE DISCUSSED IN THE SECTION DEALING WITH HOME OWNERSHIP (CHAPTER 15, B).

B. ZONING AND ITS ASSOCIATED VALUES

THE DEEP-SEATED VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP COULD BE EXPECTED TO CONSTITUTE A STRONG SOURCE OF RESISTANCE TO CITY PLANNING—AND THIS HAS INDEED BEEN THE CASE. SOME MEANS HAD TO BE DEVISED BY WHICH PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP COULD BE MADE TO CO-EXIST WITH PLANNING. THIS IS NOT AN EASY TASK, FOR PLANNING NECESSITATES SOME CONTROL OVER LAND, AND THIS IMPLIES THAT SOME RESTRICTION MUST BE PLACED ON THE RIGHTS OF LAND OWNERSHIP. IN NORTH AMERICA, ZONING AND ITS ASSOCIATED CONTROLS HAVE BEEN OFFERED AS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THIS DILEMMA.

SIGNIFICANT DIFFERENCES BETWEEN CANADA AND THE UNITED STATES EXIST WITH RESPECT TO LAND OWNERSHIP, AND HENCE ALSO WITH RESPECT TO ZONING. IN THE UNITED STATES, THE RIGHTS OF LAND OWNERSHIP ARE VESTED IN EACH INDIVIDUAL OWNER. THIS STEMS BACK TO THE ENACTMENT OF THE AMERICAN CONSTITUTION, WHICH WAS UNDERTAKEN BY A GROUP OF INDIVIDUAL LAND OWNERS. IN CANADA, ON THE OTHER HAND, THE RIGHTS TO LAND OWNERSHIP ARE THEORETICALLY VESTED IN THE SOVEREIGN (THE QUEEN) WHO MAY FAVOR THE PEOPLE BY GRANTS OF LAND. THEORETICALLY, THEN, THE SOVEREIGN MAY ALSO MODIFY OR WITHDRAW THE RIGHTS TO LAND OWNERSHIP. ALTHOUGH IN REALITY THE OPERATIVE SYSTEM OF LAND OWNERSHIP IN CANADA IS VERY SIMILAR TO THE SYSTEM IN THE UNITED STATES, THE THEORETICAL DIFFERENCE HAS IDEOLOGICAL IMPLICATIONS: THE IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE TO ZONING HAS BEEN SOMEWHAT MILDER IN CANADA THAN IN THE UNITED STATES. STILL, ZONING HAS POSED SIMILAR IDEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS AND HAS OFFERED SIMILAR SOLUTIONS IN BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND IN CANADA. THE FOLLOWING DISCUSSION WILL FOCUS ON THOSE ISSUES AND ATTRIBUTES COMMON TO BOTH COUNTRIES, BUT THE DIFFERENCE IN DEGREE SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND.

ZONING MAY BE VIEWED AS A MECHANISM THAT SEEKS TO ACHIEVE A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE REQUIREMENTS OF CITY PLANNING AND THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP. ZONING PERMITS PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP IN THE MAJORITY OF CASES, AS WELL AS THE REGULATION OF LAND PRICES AND TRANSACTIONS BY THE ECONOMIC MARKET; MANY OF THE RIGHTS ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP ARE RETAINED. AT THE SAME TIME, ZONING RESTRICTS THE TYPES OF PERMITTED USES BY PLACING SOME CONSTRAINTS ON THE OWNER'S RIGHTS. IT THUS INDIRECTLY INFLUENCES MARKET REGULATION. ZONING MAY THUS BE VIEWED AS AN ATTEMPT TO RECONCILE PLANNING AND DEMOCRACY. YET THIS

RECONCILIATION IS AT BEST INCOMPLETE. IT GENERATES FURTHER VALUE CONFLICT, THIS TIME BETWEEN THE ADVOCATES OF ZONING AND ITS OPPONENTS.

SINCE ZONING HAS BEEN THE PRINCIPAL TOOL OF CITY PLANNING, THE CONTROL ATTRIBUTE OF PLANNING IS TO BE FOUND IN ZONING IN A MAGNIFIED FORM. THOSE WHO HAVE SOUGHT TO JUSTIFY ZONING, HAVE DONE SO BY APPEALING TO THE SAME GROUP OF VALUES WHICH WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AS THE IDEOLOGICAL BASIS FOR PLANNING ITSELF: THE VALUES OF RATIONALITY, EFFICIENCY, AND ORDER; IN SHORT, THE VALUES OF THE 'SCIENTISM' CLUSTER. RATIONALITY, EFFICIENCY, AND ORDER HAVE IN TURN BEEN DEFINED RELATIVE TO ANOTHER SET OF VALUES--THE VALUES OF PUBLIC HEALTH AND SAFETY (ZONING PERMITS THE ENJOYMENT OF SUNSHINE IN A UNIFORM MANNER, IT RESTRICTS DANGEROUS AND HEALTH-HAZARDOUS USES, ETC.), AND THE VALUES OF AESTHETIC ORDER AND APPEAL (UNIFORMITY IN SETBACKS PERMITS THE ENJOYMENT OF THE VIEW BY EVERYONE, GIVES ORDER AND CHARACTER TO A GIVEN DISTRICT, AND MAKES "CIVIC DESIGN" POSSIBLE). THESE, ESSENTIALLY, WERE THE VALUES TO WHICH BASSETT, ONE OF THE EARLY PROPONENTS OF ZONING, APPEALED BOTH EXPLICITLY OR IMPLICITLY. IN ADDITION, HE AND OTHER ADVOCATES FELT IT NECESSARY TO JUSTIFY ZONING AS DEMOCRATIC BY APPEALING TO THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST:[3] IN ORDER THAT ALL MAY BE ABLE TO ENJOY BETTER PUBLIC HEALTH STANDARDS AND A MORE PLEASANT VIEW, THEY ARGUED, IT IS NECESSARY THAT THE RIGHTS OF OWNERS BE SOMEWHAT RESTRICTED FOR THE PUBLIC GOOD. AND TO SHOW THAT THE VALUES BOTH OF HEALTH AND OF THE PUBLIC GOOD WERE INVOLVED, BASSETT PROVIDED THE ANALOGY DRAWN FROM THE REALM OF PUBLIC HEALTH: JUST AS THE GOVERNMENT HAS THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO REQUIRE UNI-

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[3]THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC INTEREST WERE GIVEN IN CHAPTER 11, B, ABOVE.

VERSAL VACCINATION, SO IT HAS THE RIGHT AND DUTY TO INSTITUTE ZONING.[4]

THIS REASONING MAY BE REGARDED AS FALLING WITHIN THE REFORMIST-UTOPIAN STREAM OF PLANNING IDEOLOGY--THE INSTITUTION OF ZONING WAS A MAJOR REFORM INDEED. HOWEVER, ZONING WAS ACCEPTED WIDELY IN NORTH AMERICA ALSO BECAUSE (PERHAPS MAINLY BECAUSE) ITS ADVOCATES DREW UPON ANOTHER SET OF VALUES--THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE CAPITALISTIC ECONOMY AND WITH PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP. BY ARGUING THAT ZONING STABILIZES LAND VALUES, BASSETT AND OTHERS ADDED SWEET COATING TO WHAT WOULD OTHERWISE HAVE BEEN A BITTER PILL TO SWALLOW.[5] PARADOXICALLY, THEY WERE IN FACT APPEALING TO THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP IN ORDER TO MITIGATE THE OFFENSE CAUSED BY ZONING TO THESE SAME VALUES. THUS ZONING FALLS WITHIN THE CONSERVATIVE IDEOLOGICAL STREAM OF PLANNING AS WELL. TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT, THE ACCEPTANCE OF ZONING MAY BE ATTRIBUTED TO THIS LATTER SET OF VALUES, RATHER THAN TO THE REFORMIST ONES. ZONING GAINED ACCEPTANCE AT A TIME WHEN POVERTY AND ETHNIC GROUPS, AS WELL AS INDUSTRIAL AND COMMERCIAL USES, WERE SPREADING FROM THE CENTER CITY OUTWARD AND WERE THREATENING TO OVERTAKE THE MIDDLE AND UPPER-CLASS RESIDENTIAL AREAS.[6] AND THE CONTINUED ACCEPTANCE OF ZONING MAY, TO A LARGE EXTENT, BE ATTRIBUTED TO THE PERSEVERANCE OF THESE TRENDS.[7]

OPPOSITION TO ZONING IS MOTIVATED BY A VARIETY OF VALUES; IT PRESENTS SEVERAL INDEPENDENT ARGUMENTS RATHER THAN A 'UNITED FRONT.'

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[4]BASSETT, "ZONING," PP. 315-321.

[5]IBID., P. 321, F F.

[6]GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 59.

[7]BY THE TIME NORTHVILLE WAS LAID OUT, ZONING HAD BEEN GENERALLY ACCEPTED IN NORTH AMERICA. IT WAS ACCEPTED IN NORTHVILLE WITHOUT MUCH DIFFICULTY.

FIRST, THERE IS THE ARGUMENT THAT DESPITE THE APPEAL TO THE PUBLIC GOOD AND THE COMPROMISE THAT ZONING CONSTITUTES WITH THE VALUES OF PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, ZONING IS UNDEMOCRATIC AND OFFENSIVE TO THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE. UNDOUBTEDLY, THESE VALUES COME TO THE SURFACE IN THE FORM OF OPPOSITION TO ZONING IN MANY CASES WHERE A LAND OWNER FEELS DIRECTLY AND ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY ZONING. HAAR HAS SKILLFULLY PUT THIS TYPICAL OPPOSITION IN THE MOUTH OF A FICTITIOUS LAND OWNER WHOSE PROPERTY WAS AFFECTED BY ZONING AND WHO ARGUES THAT ZONING IS UNDEMOCRATIC AND ARBITRARY, AND THAT IT PLACES UNJUSTIFIED POWERS OVER INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS IN THE HANDS OF PLANNERS.[8] IN A SIMILAR VEIN, EDWARD HIGBEE HAS CRITICIZED ONE BY-PRODUCE OF ZONING--THE SITUATION WHERE ONE PIECE OF PROPERTY CAN BE SOLD FOR GREAT PROFIT, WHILE A NEIGHBORING PIECE OF PROPERTY IS SO ZONED THAT ITS OWNER CANNOT SPECULATE WITH IT. ZONING IN THIS SITUATION, HE SAYS, "...WOULD BE AN ARBITRARY AND DISCRIMINATORY EXERCISE OF POLICE POWER OUT OF KEEPING WITH CONSTITUTIONAL GUARANTEES..."[9]

ZONING IS A LEGAL TOOL. THUS, MUCH OF THE VALUE-CONFLICT SURROUNDING IT EMERGES IN LEGAL CASES. LET US TAKE AN EXAMPLE OF A CASE IN A CANADIAN COURT[10] WHICH COULD BE CITED BY THOSE WHO OPPOSE ZONING IN

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[8] HAAR, "THE MASTER PLAN...."

[9] EDWARD HIGBEE, "THE FARM AS SPACE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 137-142.

[10] THE CASE IS "REGINA AUTO COURT VERSUS REGINA CITY, SASKATCHEWAN," 1958. AN EXCERPT FROM THIS CASE IS TO BE FOUND IN: JAMES B. MILNER, COMMUNITY PLANNING: A CASEBOOK ON LAW AND ADMINISTRATION (TORONTO: UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, 1963), PP. 103-104.

SUPPORT OF THEIR ARGUMENT THAT ZONING IS UNDEMOCRATIC AND THAT IT JEOPARDIZES INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. A PERSON'S LAND WAS REZONED SO THAT AN INDUSTRIAL-COMMERCIAL USE SUCH AS HE HAD BEEN CARRYING ON, WOULD NO LONGER BE PERMITTED.[11] SHOULD HE HAVE WANTED TO SELL HIS LAND, HE WOULD HAVE RECEIVED MUCH LESS FOR IT THAN HE COULD HAVE PRIOR TO THE REZONING. YET HIS ARGUMENT THAT THE LAND SHOULD HAVE BEEN BOUGHT BY THE MUNICIPALITY OR EXPROPRIATED WITH FULL COMPENSATION WAS NOT UPHELD.

ANOTHER ARGUMENT AGAINST ZONING CITES DISAPPROVINGLY PRECISELY THOSE CONSERVATIVE ATTRIBUTES OF ZONING THAT HAVE PROMOTED ITS ACCEPTANCE, I.E., THE USE OF ZONING AND RELATED REGULATIONS TO MAINTAIN LAND VALUES THROUGH RESTRICTING UNDESIRABLE USES, LOT SIZES, TYPE OF CONSTRUCTION, ETC. IT HAS BEEN ARGUED THAT THESE REGULATIONS SERVE NOT ONLY TO RESERVE THE LAND FOR CERTAIN USES AND STRUCTURES, BUT ALSO TO RESERVE IT FOR CERTAIN TYPES OF PEOPLE, I.E., THAT ZONING IS OFTEN USED MORE AS 'SOCIAL ZONING' THAN AS LAND USE ZONING. THE VALUES MOTIVATING THIS LINE OF CRITICISM ARE THE VALUES OF EQUALITY AND A DISAPPROVAL OF WHAT THE CRITICS CONSIDER TO BE DISCRIMINATION. ALTHOUGH THESE CRITICS DO NOT NECESSARILY CLAIM THAT ZONING PER SE IS DISCRIMINATORY, THEY FEEL THAT MANY OF THE USES TO WHICH IT HAS BEEN PUT ARE SUCH.[12] THIS LINE OF OPPOSITION TO ZONING ALSO FINDS ITS EXPRESSION IN THE COURTS. FOR EXAMPLE, IN THE

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[11] THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT HE COULD NOT CARRY ON HIS BUSINESS AS A 'NONCONFORMING USE'; SEE BELOW.

[12] LADNER AND STAFFORD, "COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING AND RACISM"; ROGER MONTGOMERY, "URBAN DESIGN: ILLUSIVE REALTY," PLANNING, 1968, PP. 189-194; AND HENRY W. MAIER, "THE OPEN METROPOLIS," PLANNING, 1968, PP. 232-236. PAUL DAVIDOFF IS NOW ATTEMPTING TO LAUNCH A LAWSUIT AGAINST THE SEGREGATIONIST EFFECT OF ZONING AND LOT-SIZE RESTRICTIONS. SEE "ECOLOGY OF THE GHETTO," TIME: THE WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE, APRIL 6, 1970, P. 65.

UNITED STATES AN EARLY ZONING BY-LAW OF A VILLAGE WAS DEFEATED UNDER THE ARGUMENT (AMONG OTHER THINGS) THAT IT WAS SEGREGATIONIST BY CLASS. THE DIFFICULTY OF DECIDING WHERE THE BOUNDARY FALLS BETWEEN VALUES OPPOSING SEGREGATION AND VALUES FAVORING ZONING, IS DEMONSTRATED BY THE FACT THAT THIS DECISION WAS LATER REVERSED BY THE SUPREME COURT.[13]

THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT ZONING LENDS ITSELF TO DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES MAY WISH TO CITE THE NORTHVILLE CASE WHEN, DURING THE PROCESS OF SEARCH FOR A SUITABLE SITE ON WHICH TO LOCATE THE INDIAN BAND, THE GOVERNMENT BUREAU IN CHARGE SUGGESTED TO THE BAND THAT IT LOCATE IN A VACANT AREA CONTIGUOUS TO THE TOWN WHERE OTHER NATIVE PEOPLE WERE LIVING AS SQUATTERS. THIS SUGGESTION WAS REFUSED UNDER THE ARGUMENT THAT THE LAND WAS ZONED "INDUSTRIAL" AND COULD NOT BE REZONED. THE RESULT WAS (SO CLAIM THE OFFICIALS OF THAT BUREAU) THAT THE BAND WAS LOCATED IN AN AREA ISOLATED FROM THE REST OF THE TOWN. WHETHER OR NOT DISCRIMINATION WAS INTENDED, CRITICS COULD ARGUE THAT THE APPEAL TO ZONING HAD A DISCRIMINATORY EFFECT.

THE ARGUMENT OVER ZONING IS BY NO MEANS SIMPLE AND CLEAR-CUT. EVEN THOSE WHO FAVOR ZONING DO NOT FAVOR ZONING OF ALL TYPES, AND VALUE-CONFLICT MAY CENTER AROUND WHICH TYPES OF ZONING ARE JUSTIFIED AND WHICH ARE NOT. FOR EXAMPLE, THE CANADIAN COURT CASE CITED ABOVE ILLUSTRATES THE POINT OF VIEW THAT ZONING SHOULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY COMPENSATION. HOWEVER, MANY ADVOCATES OF ZONING, SUCH AS BASSETT, WOULD ARGUE THAT THIS IS IMPRACTICABLE.[14] AS A MATTER OF FACT, IN MANY NORTH AMERICAN LOCALITIES SUCH

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[13] "AMBER REALTY CO. VERSUS THE VILLAGE OF EUCLID, OHIO," 1924 (REVERSED IN 1926), IN MILNER, COMMUNITY PLANNING..., PP. 98-99.

[14] BASSETT SEEMS TO FAVOR ZONING BY POLICE POWER. SEE "ZONING," P. 320.

COMPENSATION IS NOT GRANTED: IN THE UNITED STATES, POLICE POWER RATHER THAN THE POWER OF EMINENT DOMAIN IS OFTEN USED, WHILE IN CANADA SOME PROVINCES HAVE ACTS STATING THAT ZONING UNDERTAKEN BY BY-LAW DOES NOT HAVE TO BE COMPENSATED.[15] VALUE-CONFLICT MAY ALSO SURROUND THE QUESTION OF PIECEMEAL ZONING (OR 'SPOT ZONING')[16] AND NONCONFORMING USES.[17] PIECEMEAL ZONING IS RULED BY MANY TO BE DISCRIMINATORY.[18] YET NONCONFORMING USE IS USUALLY PERMITTED. THE DISTINCTION BETWEEN THESE TWO CATEGORIES MAY NOT ALWAYS BE SIMPLE. THE VALUE-AGITATION SURROUNDING ZONING, AND THE FACT THAT DESPITE ITS ACCEPTANCE ZONING HAS NOT YET BEEN FULLY RECONCILED WITH PRIVATE LAND OWNERSHIP, MAY BE FURTHER ILLUSTRATED BY THE FREQUENT ZONING LAW AMENDMENTS IN A CITY SUCH AS TORONTO.[19] FINALLY, A RECENT U. S. COURT DECISION HAS AGAIN QUESTIONED THE VERY BASIS OF ZONING--THE RIGHT OF A GOVERNMENT TO REGULATE PRIVATE PROPERTY: IT RULED THAT THE ONUS IS ON THE MUNICIPALITY TO SHOW THAT THE OWNER'S CHOICE OF ZONING IS UNREASONABLE, RATHER THAN VICE-VERSA. THIS PLAGER

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[15] THE MANITOBA TOWN PLANNING ACT OF 1954 INTERESTINGLY PROVIDES FOR COMPENSATION IN ONE SECTION, BUT NULLIFIES IT IN ANOTHER WITH THE PROVISION THAT IF A PLANNING SCHEME COULD BE PASSED AS BY-LAW, IT DOES NOT CARRY COMPENSATION. SEE MILNER, COMMUNITY PLANNING..., PP. 164-165.

[16] PIECEMEAL ZONING IS THE ZONING OF INDIVIDUAL PROPERTIES IN ISOLATION FROM AN OVER-ALL ZONING POLICY. IT IS CONTRASTED WITH COMPREHENSIVE ZONING. SEE JAMES B. MILNER, "AN INTRODUCTION TO ZONING ENABLING LEGISLATION, PART 3: THREE APPROACHES TO ZONING," PLAN, VOL. 4 NO. 2(SEPTEMBER, 1963), PP. 86-93.

[17] NONCONFORMING USES ARE USES WHICH EXIST AT THE TIME OF REZONING (OR ZONING FOR THE FIRST TIME) AND WHICH DO NOT ACCORD WITH THE ZONING.

[18] BASSETT, "ZONING," PP. 328-329; AND MILNER, "AN INTRODUCTION TO ZONING ENABLING LEGISLATION, PART 3...."

[19] AMENDMENT POWERS REGARDING ZONING WERE USED NO LESS THAN 100 TIMES IN SIX YEARS IN TORONTO. SEE MILNER, "AN INTRODUCTION TO ZONING ENABLING LEGISLATION, PART 2...."

NAMES "PARTICIPATORY ZONING" AND REGARDS IT AS "...ONE OF THE MOST REMARKABLE LEAPS BACK INTO THE 18TH CENTURY...."[20]

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[20] SHELDON J. PLAGER, "RECENT DECISIONS IN PLANNING LAW", JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, JULY, 1969, PP. 264-280.

CHAPTER 15

HOUSING TYPES AND NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS

BECAUSE SO MUCH HUMAN ACTIVITY TAKES PLACE IN HOUSING AND RESIDENTIAL AREAS, THIS SUBSTANTIVE AREA OF CITY PLANNING HARBORS MANY DEEP-SEATED VALUES AND VALUE-ISSUES, BOTH FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PLANNER AND FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE CLIENTS AND THE GENERAL PUBLIC. IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL FOCUS ON SOME OF THE OUTSTANDING VALUE ISSUES.

A. HOUSING TYPES AND DENSITIES

THE MOST HIGHLY AND WIDELY-VALUED HOUSING TYPE IN NORTH AMERICA IS, UNDOUBTEDLY, THE SINGLE-FAMILY FREE-STANDING HOME AT A LOW DENSITY OF A FEW SUCH HOUSES PER NET ACRE. THE DESCRIPTION OF THIS TYPE OF HOUSING AS "FREE-STANDING" HAS MORE THAN SPATIAL SIGNIFICANCE. THE WORDS "FREE-STANDING" SYMBOLICALLY BRING TO THE SURFACE THE SALIENT VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING: THE VALUES OF INDIVIDUALISM, FREEDOM, THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE NUCLEAR FAMILY, AND PRIVACY. THESE ARE ALL VALUES OF THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUES CLUSTER. IN FACT, SOME PLANNERS HAVE EVEN REGARDED THIS TYPE OF HOUSING AS A PREREQUISITE FOR THEIR CONCEPTION OF THE IDEAL POLITICAL DEMOCRACY. THUS MUMFORD, WHEN REFERRING TO THE LOW-DENSITY HOUSING IN THE NEW ENGLAND TOWNS, SAYS THAT THEY PROVIDED "...A PRINCELY SPACIOUSNESS FOR DEMOCRATIC PURPOSES."[1] FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT BELIEVES THAT THE LOW DENSITY CALLED FOR BY HIS BROADACRE CITY (ONE

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[1] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, P. 331.

FAMILY PER ACRE) WOULD PROVIDE THE BASIS FOR A TRUE DEMOCRACY.[2]

OTHERS, BELIEVING IN DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND ITS ASSOCIATED VALUES, HAVE NOT CITED THEIR OWN VALUES AS THEIR BASIS FOR FAVORING SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING, BUT RATHER HAVE APPEALED TO THE APPARENT DESIRE OF THE MAJORITY OF THE PEOPLE TO LIVE IN SUCH HOUSING. THUS GANS DEFENDS SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING AGAINST THE ACCUSATION THAT IT PRODUCES 'SPRAWL' BY STATING THAT PEOPLE FREELY CHOOSE TO LIVE IN SUCH HOUSING.[3] SIMILARLY, THE MEMBERS OF THE 1969 CANADIAN TASK FORCE ON HOUSING ESTIMATE THAT 80% OF CANADIANS WISH TO LIVE IN SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES. ON THE BASIS OF THIS ESTIMATE THEY PROCEED TO REJECT THE RECOMMENDATION MADE BY SOME PLANNERS THAT MULTIPLE-FAMILY HOUSING BE ENCOURAGED.[4]

THE PUBLIC'S ATTITUDE TOWARD MULTIPLE-FAMILY HOUSING, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN NEGATIVE. AT THE BEGINNING OF THIS CENTURY, HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING WAS GENERALLY THE ABODE OF WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE OR OF THE POOR. IT WAS VIEWED AS CONDUCIVE TO IMMORALITY AND AN INDECENT WAY OF LIFE,[5] AND AS A PLAGUE DANGER.[6] TODAY HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING IS GENERALLY VALUED NEGATIVELY SIMPLY BECAUSE IT CONSTITUTES A DENIAL OF THE

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[2]WRIGHT, THE LIVING CITY, P. 67.

[3]GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 140.

[4]GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT (OTTAWA: QUEEN'S PRINTER, 1969; ALSO CALLED THE "HELLYER REPORT"), P. 17.

[5]SUCH WAS THE VIEW OF WORKING CLASS HOUSING HELD BY THE MEMBERS OF THE OTHER CLASSES AT THE MODEL TOWN OF PULLMAN. SEE: STANLEY BUDER, "THE MODEL TOWN OF PULLMAN...."

[6]JOHN DYCKMAN, "THE CHANGING CITY," DAEDALUS, WINTER, 1961, PP. 111-131.

STRONG POSITIVE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOME.

LATELY, HOWEVER, PLANNERS HAVE INCREASINGLY BEEN PROMOTING HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING, USUALLY OUT OF CONSIDERATIONS OF SPACE-SAVING, THE PREVENTION OF 'SPRAWL,' AND A MORE EFFICIENT UTILIZATION OF SERVICES,[7] BUT SOMETIMES ALSO OUT OF THE BELIEF THAT SUCH HOUSING IS MORE 'SOCIAL' SINCE IT PROMOTES COMMUNAL RECREATION AND CO-OPERATION (THE MOTIVATING VALUE ASSUMPTION HERE BEING THAT SUCH INCREASED SOCIABILITY IS GOOD AND DESIRABLE). PLANNERS SEEM TO HAVE SUCCEEDED IN THEIR 'PROMOTION CAMPAIGN' SINCE HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING (AT LEAST OF THE LUXURY TYPE) HAS BEEN RISING IN APPEAL AND IN SALES AND HAS BEEN ACQUIRING PRESTIGE AS WHAT DYCKMAN CALLS THE 'ABODE OF THE INTELLECTUALS'.[8]

MANY PLANNERS HAVE ALSO BEEN MOTIVATED TO RECOMMEND HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING BY THE VALUES OF FREEDOM OF CHOICE AND INCREASED OPPORTUNITIES FOR CHOICE.[9] OTHERS, HOWEVER, HAVE RESISTED HIGHER-DENSITY

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[7] SEE: WILLIAM H. WHYTE, "CLUSTER DEVELOPMENT," IN TAMING MEGALOPOLIS, ED. BY ELDREDGE, VOL. I, PP. 462-475. WHYTE DESCRIBES THE GROWING POPULARITY OF CLUSTER (USUALLY MEDIUM-DENSITY) DEVELOPMENTS (THE ARTICLE WAS WRITTEN IN 1964) AGAINST THE BACKGROUND OF THE REALIZATION THAT THE LARGER-AND-LARGER ZONED LOT REQUIREMENTS WERE NOT SERVING TO REDUCE THE NUMBER OF NEWCOMERS TO THE SUBURBS AS INTENDED, BUT RATHER TO REDUCE AVAILABLE LAND AND TO INCREASE THE COST OF SERVICES. HE PROCEEDS TO STATE: "IF THERE IS TO BE ANY ENVIRONMENT WORTH LIVING IN, THERE MUST BE A MUCH MORE EFFICIENT USE OF THE LAND." (P. 465).

[8] THE RISE IN SALES AND THE PROVISION OF COMMUNAL SERVICES AND RECREATION ARE DISCUSSED IN IBID. SEE ALSO DYCKMAN, "THE CHANGING CITY."

[9] CATHERINE BAUER WURSTER, "HOUSING: A WIDER RANGE OF CHOICE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 174-177; NATHAN GLAZER, "HOUSING AND THE CONSUMER", IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 178-183; AND ALVIN SCHORR, SLUMS AND SOCIAL INSECURITY (WASHINGTON: UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION AND WELFARE, 1963), PP. 51-54.

HOUSING ON THE BASIS OF THE VERY SAME VALUE: THEY HAVE ARGUED THAT ANY REDUCTION IN THE AMOUNT OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING WILL CONSTITUTE A REDUCTION IN THE FREEDOM OF MARKET CHOICE TO THE (ASSUMED) MAJORITY WHO FAVOR THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOME.[10] THIS IS A PARADOXICAL SITUATION INDEED. IT ARISES FROM DIFFERING UNDERLYING VALUES PERTAINING TO THE ISSUE OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE VIS-À-VIS THE CLIENTS' VALUES (SHOULD HE BE PACE-SETTER OR VALUE-REFLECTOR),[11] AND THE RELATED QUESTION OF WHETHER HOUSING SHOULD BE REGARDED IN A MANNER AKIN TO THE CAR, AND THUS LEFT TO CONSUMER CHOICE, OR WHETHER IT SHOULD BE VIEWED AS ANALOGOUS TO VACCINATION, AND THUS IN THE REALM OF THE PLANNER'S RESPONSIBILITY TO IMPOSE THE NECESSARY SOLUTIONS.[12]

SOME PLANNERS, RECOGNIZING THE ENTRENCHMENT AMONG THE PUBLIC OF VALUES FAVORING THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOME, HAVE SUGGESTED COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS THAT WOULD, ON THE ONE HAND, FULFILL AT LEAST PARTIALLY MANY OF THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE SINGLE-FAMILY TYPE OF HOUSING, AND WOULD, ON THE OTHER HAND, DRAW UPON MANY OF THE PERCEIVED ADVANTAGES OF HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING (AS DISCUSSED ABOVE). UNDER THIS CATEGORY WOULD FALL SUCH HOUSING TYPES AS ROW HOUSING AND TOWN HOUSING AT THE LOWER-DENSITY END, AND A DEVELOPMENT SUCH AS HABITAT AT THE HIGHER-DENSITY END. THESE

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[10] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 140.

[11] THE ISSUE OF THE PLANNER'S ROLE REGARDING THE CLIENTS' VALUES WAS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 10, B, ABOVE.

[12] THE ANALOGY OF HOUSING WITH THE CAR AND WITH VACCINATION IS DISCUSSED BY RIESMAN IN "SOME OBSERVATIONS...," P. 199.

ARE COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS IN THE SENSE THAT THEY PERMIT PRIVACY AND THE ILLUSION OF A SINGLE-FAMILY HOME (IN ROW AND TOWN HOUSING THIS MAY BE EXPRESSED THROUGH VARIATION OF FAÇADES, ENTRANCES, ETC.), WHILE AT THE SAME TIME UTILIZING SPACE MUCH MORE EFFICIENTLY THAN A SINGLE-FAMILY DEVELOPMENT WOULD PERMIT.

LET US NOW RETURN TO THE NORTHVILLE SCENE WHERE MANY OF THE VALUES MENTIONED ABOVE WERE CLEARLY MANIFESTED. IN SEVERAL PUBLIC MEETINGS A SHOW OF HANDS WAS TAKEN WHICH WAS THOROUGHLY IN FAVOR OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING.[13] A RECENT SURVEY (MOSTLY AMONG THOSE WHO DO NOT RESIDE IN THE GOVERNMENT HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING) ALSO SHOWED A MAJORITY FAVORING THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOME, ALTHOUGH THIS TIME THE MAJORITY WAS NOT AS SIZEABLE. THIS PREFERENCE BECOMES EVEN MORE SIGNIFICANT WHEN IT IS NOTED THAT IN NORTHVILLE THE HOUSING OF HIGHER STANDARD AND OF PRESTIGE QUALITY IS NOT THE SINGLE FAMILY-HOUSING (OF WHICH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY IS IN POOR CONDITION AND APPEARANCE), BUT RATHER THE HIGHER-DENSITY GOVERNMENT HOUSING WHERE THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF HIGHER RANKS RESIDE. EVEN AGAINST THIS SPECIAL BACKGROUND, THE RESIDENTS OF NORTHVILLE ARE WILLING TO FORGET THAT THEY NOW ENVY THOSE WHO RESIDE IN THE HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING AND TO COME OUT IN FAVOR OF A PREPONDERANCE OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING FOR ANY FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN. FURTHERMORE: THE PREFERENCE FOR SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES REFLECTS THE VALUES OF PRIVACY, INDIVIDUALISM, ETC. IN A MORE INTENSIVE FASHION IN NORTHVILLE THAN IT WOULD IN MORE SOUTHERLY TOWNS BECAUSE THE NORTHVILLE CLIMATE IS ONE OF THE MOST SEVERE IN CANADA, AND DETACHED SINGLE HOMES WITH EXPOSED

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[13] IT IS QUESTIONABLE THAT THESE MEETINGS DREW A CROSSSECTION OF THE POPULATION. THERE WAS PROBABLY AN OVER-REPRESENTATION OF WHITES, PROPERTY OWNERS, AND THE BETTER-OFF FINANCIALLY. THE QUESTION MAY HAVE ALSO BEEN PHRASED SO AS TO BIAS IT IN FAVOR OF SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING.

ENTRANCES MAKE THE RESIDENTS STILL MORE VULNERABLE TO THE COLD; WHILE THE GOVERNMENT HIGH-DENSITY HOUSING SERVES AS A VISIBLE DEMONSTRATION OF THE WEATHER-PROTECTIVE POTENTIAL OF HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING.[14]

THIS ALMOST STUBBORN ADHERENCE TO A SET OF VALUES IN THE FACE OF WHAT SEEMS TO BE EVIDENCE THAT HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING IS MORE SUITED TO NORTHVILLE THAN SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING, MAY BE EXPLAINED BY THE FACT THAT IN NORTHVILLE, JUST AS IN MANY OTHER NORTHERN TOWNS,[15] THE WHITES WHO COME EQUIPPED WITH THE VALUES OF PRIVACY, INDIVIDUALISM, ETC., FIND THESE VALUES OFTEN OFFENDED BY THE NECESSITY TO INTERACT CONSTANTLY WITH THE SAME LIMITED NUMBER OF PEOPLE AT WORK AND AFTER WORK, AND BY THE INABILITY TO ESCAPE ANYWHERE. THE VALUES OF PRIVACY AND INDIVIDUALISM THUS BECOME ALL THE MORE POWERFUL AS FORCES GENERATING THE PREFERENCE FOR SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING.

THE HIGH VALUATION OF THE ONE-FAMILY HOME SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN SHARED BY MANY OF THE BUREAUCRATS INVOLVED IN NORTHVILLE AS WELL. IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU, THEY SHOWED RESISTANCE TO THE PLANNERS' RECOMMENDATIONS THAT CLUSTER HOUSING OF MEDIUM AND HIGH DENSITY BE BUILT, ALTHOUGH THE ECONOMIC ARGUMENT (THAT SUCH HOUSING IS MORE ECONOMICAL TO SERVICE) OVERCAME SOME OF THEIR RESISTANCE. IN THE LEVEL II GOVERNMENT, THE PLAN

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[14]THIS HOUSING AREA HAS CORRIDORS CONNECTING MANY OF THE BUILDINGS WHICH, ALTHOUGH THEY WERE INTENDED FOR THE UTILIDOR, ARE BEING USED FOR WEATHER PROTECTION AS WELL. THE AREAS HOUSING SINGLE PEOPLE HAVE A RESTAURANT, THEATRE, SCHOOL, LIBRARY, BAR, AND OTHER FACILITIES ALL INTERCONNECTED SO THAT IN ORDER TO OBTAIN THESE SERVICES ONE DOES NOT HAVE TO LEAVE THE COMPLEX AT ALL.

[15]SEE: FRIED, "SETTLEMENT TYPES AND COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION IN NORTHERN CANADA," AND GEORGE JACOBSEN, "CANADA'S NORTHERN COMMUNITIES," NORTH, NOVEMBER-DECEMBER, 1968, PP. 34-37.

PREPARED SEVERAL YEARS AGO TO RELOCATE THE TOWN (IT NEVER MATERIALIZED) WAS ALTERED, AND THE INITIALLY SMALL SUBDIVISION ALLOTTED TO ONE-FAMILY HOMES WAS GREATLY ENLARGED WHILE THE WEATHER-PROTECTED AND EFFICIENTLY-SERVICED MAISONETTE AND APARTMENT HOUSING UNITS WERE REDUCED IN NUMBER. THE PLANNERS IN BOTH BUREAUS TENDED TO FAVOR HIGHER-DENSITY HOUSING, ARGUING THAT IT IS MORE ECONOMICAL AND WEATHER PROTECTED. EVEN THOSE WHO BELIEVED IN DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, SUCH AS THE JUNIOR PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU, WERE INCLINED TO ADOPT THE PACE-SETTER ROLE AND TO TRY AND CONVINCE THE PEOPLE OF THE DESIRABILITY OF THIS FORM OF HOUSING.

SOME OF THE PLANNERS INVOLVED WITH NORTHVILLE GAVE EXPLICIT RECOGNITION TO THE STRENGTH OF POPULAR VALUES BY RECOMMENDING SOME FORMS OF HOUSING TO SERVE AS A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE VALUES FAVORING THE SINGLE-FAMILY HOME AND WHAT THE PLANNERS FELT TO BE THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE CLIMATE AND ECONOMY. THUS ONE OF THE JUNIOR PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU RECOMMENDED CLUSTERS OF TOWN HOUSING THAT WOULD HAVE WIND-PROTECTED INWARD-FACING ENTRANCES AND WINTER PLAY AREAS, AND OUTWARD-FACING SUMMER PLAY AREAS WHERE THE WIND WOULD SWEEP AWAY THAT NORTHERN SUMMER HAZARD--THE FLIES. THE TOWN HOUSING WOULD BE SO CONSTRUCTED AS TO RESEMBLE SINGLE-FAMILY HOUSING. SIMILARLY, THE FORMER SENIOR PLANNER OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU RECENTLY SUGGESTED A FORM OF HOUSING SUITABLE FOR NORTHVILLE: PREFABRICATED SINGLE-FAMILY UNITS THAT WOULD BE GROUPED IN A CIRCULAR PATTERN AND WOULD BE INTER-CONNECTED WITH A WEATHER-PROTECTED WALKWAY AND UTILIDOR CARRIER.

BEFORE WE CONCLUDE THIS SECTION, LET US NOTE THAT OTHER VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH TYPES OF HOUSING ARE ALSO RELEVANT TO PLANNING, ALTHOUGH THEY MAY BE LESS CONSPICUOUS THAN THE VALUES DISCUSSED ABOVE. FOR EXAMPLE,

THE ACCEPTANCE OR REJECTION BY A COMMUNITY AND ITS PLANNERS OF MOBILE HOUSING AND TRAILERS AS A FORM OF PERMANENT RESIDENCE, MAY BE MOTIVATED BY THE NOTION THAT MOBILITY IN HOUSING SOMEHOW SYMBOLIZES TRANSIENCY AND, BY IMPLICATION, THAT TRANSIENCY IS BAD CITIZENSHIP.[16]

B. HOUSING TENURE

ALTHOUGH SINGLE-FAMILY HOMES ARE HIGHLY VALUED ON THEIR OWN AS THE PREFERRED TYPE OF HOUSING, THEY ARE VALUED EVEN MORE HIGHLY WHEN REINFORCED BY THE VALUES OF HOME OWNERSHIP. CHAPTER 14, SECTION A, WAS ALREADY DEVOTED TO A DISCUSSION OF THE CENTRAL PLACE WHICH THE PHILOSOPHY OF LAND OWNERSHIP OCCUPIES AMONG NORTH AMERICAN VALUES. A SIMILAR PHILOSOPHY IS ATTACHED TO HOME OWNERSHIP.[17] A CANADIAN HOUSING AND SOCIAL WELFARE CONSULTANT, ALBERT ROSE, HAS PUT IT MORE SUCCINCTLY:

> A MAN IS NOT A MAN IN CANADA...UNLESS HE SUBMITS TO A MYSTICAL RITE KNOWN AS HOME OWNERSHIP. WHEN HE PURCHASES A HOME, SHOULDERS A MORTGAGE, AND TIES HIMSELF SO TIGHTLY TO A SPECIFIC LOCATION THAT HIS MOBILITY IN THE LABOR MARKET IS SERIOUSLY REDUCED, THEN HE HAS BECOME A WORTHY CANADIAN CITIZEN.[18]

THE POSITIVE ATTITUDE TOWARD HOME OWNERSHIP--AND ITS CORROLARY, THE LOW VALUATION OF TENANCY--HAVE NOT BEEN RESTRICTED TO THE PRIVATE, UNOFFICIAL SCENE; THEY HAVE BEEN EXTENDED TO GOVERNMENT AND LEGAL PROCEDURES IN BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA. FOR EXAMPLE: INTEREST

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[16] ALSO INVOLVED HERE ARE THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH LAND OWNERSHIP, DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 14, A. THE RESIDENT OF A MOBILE HOME MAY BE REGARDED IN A MANNER ANALOGOUS TO THE RENTER (SEE SECTION B OF THIS CHAPTER) EVEN THOUGH HE MAY OWN HIS HOME BUT RENT THE SPACE OF LAND ON WHICH IT STANDS.

[17] THE PHRASE "PHILOSOPHY OF HOME OWNERSHIP" IS USED IN: GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., P. 17.

[18] ALBERT ROSE, REGENT PARK: A STUDY IN SLUM CLEARANCE (TORONTO: THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, 1958), P. 218. INCIDENTALLY, THIS QUOTATION SEEMS TO INDICATE THAT MR. ROSE HIMSELF DOES NOT VALUE HOME OWNERSHIP HIGHLY.

ON OWNERSHIP IS TAX-DEDUCTIBLE, WHILE RENT IS NOT;[19] LOW INTEREST MORTGAGE LOANS ARE AVAILABLE THROUGH GOVERNMENT SUBSIDY TO OWNERS, BUT NOT TO RENTERS; THE HOME OWNER BUT NOT THE RENTER CAN VOTE ON MONEY BY-LAWS IN MANY MUNICIPALITIES, EVEN THOUGH THE RENTER PAYS TAXES AS WELL (INDIRECTLY THROUGH HIS RENT); AND SERVICE ON JURIES IS OFTEN RESERVED FOR PROPERTY-OWNERS ALONE.

THE LATTER EXAMPLE BRINGS OUT A RELATED POINT: ONE USUALLY THINKS OF ELIGIBILITY TO SERVE ON JURIES AS COTERMINOUS WITH ELIGIBILITY TO VOTE IN ELECTIONS; IN OTHER WORDS, ONE UNCONSCIOUSLY TENDS TO IDENTIFY PROPERTY-OWNERS WITH THE TOTAL DEMOCRATICALLY-DEFINED POPULATION, THUS UNDERLINING THE DEPTH WITH WHICH VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH HOME OWNERSHIP ARE HELD. AN INTERESTING CASE THAT OCCURRED IN NORTHVILLE MAY SERVE AS A POIGNANT ILLUSTRATION: WHEN THE PLAN TO RELOCATE THE TOWN WAS REJECTED SEVERAL YEARS AGO, IT WAS SAID THAT IT WAS REJECTED BY A POPULAR REFERENDUM; SO IT WAS REPORTED, AND SO IT HAS BEEN PASSED DOWN, UNTIL TODAY ONE OFTEN HEARS THAT "THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE RESIDENTS OF NORTHVILLE REJECTED THE RELOCATION PLAN." IT SEEMS, HOWEVER, THAT THE REFERENDUM WAS NOT A TOTAL-POPULATION ONE AT ALL; IT WAS ONLY OPEN TO THE PROPERTY OWNERS OF NORTHVILLE.[20]

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[19] THIS POINT IS MADE BY JOHN W. DYCKMAN IN "NATIONAL PLANNING FOR URBAN RENEWAL," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 120-127.

[20] THIS STATEMENT CANNOT BE MADE WITH ABSOLUTE CERTAINTY BECAUSE THE WHOLE ISSUE OF THE RELOCATION PROPOSAL AND HOW (OR WHETHER) IT WAS REJECTED IS STILL POLITICALLY SENSITIVE. INCIDENTALLY, IT ALSO SEEMS THAT IT WAS REJECTED PARTLY AT LEAST BECAUSE NO COMPENSATION WAS BEING OFFERED TO OWNERS FOR THEIR PROPERTIES. THIS WOULD REINFORCE THE CLAIM THAT ONLY PROPERTY OWNERS WERE INVOLVED IN THE REFERENDUM.

THE HOME OWNER, THEN, IS GENERALLY REGARDED AS WHAT ROSE CALLS "A WORTHY CANADIAN (OR AMERICAN) CITIZEN," WHILE THE TENANT IS SUSPECTED OF TRANSIENCY, OF NOT "HAVING ONE'S ROOTS IN THE SOIL,"[21] IN SHORT, OF BEING LESS THAN A DEPENDABLE CITIZEN. WHETHER OR NOT THE PLANNER SHARES THE UNDERLYING VALUES, HE SHOULD TAKE THESE VIEWS INTO CONSIDERATION IN PLANNING, FOR THE CLIENTS' VALUES MOST LIKELY AFFECT THEIR BEHAVIOUR; IN OTHER WORDS, IT MAY IN FACT BE THAT THOSE WHO WISH TO BE TRANSIENT WILL NOT BUY HOMES, AND VICE VERSA. THUS IN ATTEMPTING TO MAKE A POPULATION PROJECTION FOR NORTHVILLE, ONE OF THE PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU ASSUMED THAT THOSE WHO OWN HOMES WOULD TEND TO BE LESS TRANSIENT THAN THOSE WHO RENT. SHOULD JOBS BECOME UNAVAILABLE, IT WAS ASSUMED THAT THE RENTERS WOULD TEND TO LEAVE NORTHVILLE WHILE THE OWNERS WOULD ATTEMPT TO FIND ALTERNATIVE EMPLOYMENT.

IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT DESPITE THE PREVALENCE OF VALUES DISPARAGING THE NON-HOME-OWNER, THERE SEEMS TO BE A CHANGE OF VALUES IN THE OFFING. IN MANY CITIES IN BOTH THE UNITED STATES AND CANADA A SIZEABLE MINORITY, OR EVEN A MAJORITY, ARE PREFERRING TO RENT THEIR ACCOMMODATIONS. ALTHOUGH ECONOMIC FORCES ARE LIKELY INVOLVED, THIS PREFERENCE UNDOUBTEDLY ALSO INDICATES A LOWER VALUATION OF HOME OWNERSHIP.[22]

FINALLY, COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS ARE ALSO AVAILABLE REGARDING TENURE (WE HAVE SEEN THEIR AVAILABILITY WITH REGARD TO HOUSING DENSITIES). THE PLANNER WHO MAY WISH TO PLAN AT HIGH OR MEDIUM-DENSITY AND AT THE SAME

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[21] THIS LATTER PHRASE IS QUOTED FROM: GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING, P. 17.

[22] THIS IS ESPECIALLY TRUE FOR YOUNG PEOPLE AND OLD PEOPLE WHO OFTEN PREFER TO RENT. SEE ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, EDS., METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, PP. 172-173.

TIME TO SATISFY THOSE AMONG THE CLIENTS WHO PLACE HIGH VALUE ON HOME OWNERSHIP, COULD PROPOSE THE CONDOMINIUM OR CO-OPERATIVE FORMS OF OWNERSHIP OF MULTIPLE-FAMILY HOUSING. THESE CONSIDERATIONS MOTIVATED ONE OF THE PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL I BUREAU TO SUGGEST SUCH COMPROMISE SOLUTIONS FOR HOUSING IN NORTHVILLE.

C. HOUSING STANDARDS

WHAT ARE ADEQUATE HOUSING STANDARDS? THE ANSWER TO THIS QUESTION DEPENDS ON THE VALUES HELD. IN NORTH AMERICA, THE MOST SIGNIFICANT VARIATION IN THE DEFINITION OF DESIRED HOUSING STANDARDS OCCURS BETWEEN THE VALUES OF THE POOR AND CERTAIN MINORITY GROUPS ON THE ONE HAND, AND THE VALUES OF THE OTHER SOCIAL CLASSES ON THE OTHER HAND.

THE VALUES OF THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES ARE FAMILIAR ENOUGH, AND THEY REQUIRE LITTLE DISCUSSION HERE. IT IS THE VALUES OF THE LOWER CLASS AND OF MINORITY GROUPS THAT DESERVE MORE ATTENTION. OF LATE, THEY HAVE BEEN RECEIVING INCREASING ATTENTION FROM PLANNERS.

IN GENERAL, THE LOWER CLASS TENDS TO PLACE LESSER VALUE ON HIGH HOUSING STANDARDS THAN THE OTHER CLASSES. SINCE IT IS LIKELY THAT THE PLANNER WOULD USUALLY DEFINE HOUSING STANDARDS ACCORDING TO MIDDLE OR UPPER-CLASS VALUES, THE PLANNER WHO WISHES TO UNDERTAKE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING WOULD HAVE TO STUDY AND UNDERSTAND LOWER-CLASS HOUSING STANDARDS. HE MAY FIND, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WHAT HE REGARDS AS A NECESSARY AMOUNT OF EXPOSURE TO SUNLIGHT WOULD NOT BE ACCORDED THE SAME IMPORTANCE BY MEMBERS OF THE LOWER CLASS, WHO OFTEN PREFER TO OBTAIN THEIR EXPOSURE TO SUNLIGHT IN THE STREET RATHER THAN IN THE HOUSE.[23] SIMILARLY, WHILE THE

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[23] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., PP.6-7; SEE ALSO JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, P. 10, WHERE A PLANNER EXPRESSES THE VIEW THAT IT IS BAD FOR PEOPLE TO BE ON THE STREETS.

PLANNER MAY REGARD THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF A HOUSE AS AN INTEGRAL PART OF ITS STANDARD, A MEMBER OF THE LOWER CLASS MAY FEEL THAT EXTERNAL APPEARANCE IS OF LITTLE CONSEQUENCE; ALL THAT MATTERS IS INTERNAL COMFORT.

NORTHVILLE PROVIDES AN INTERESTING AND UNIQUE ILLUSTRATION OF THE LATTER POINT. IT IS UNIQUE BECAUSE IN NORTHVILLE THE MAJORITY OF THE RESIDENTS, AND NOT ONLY THE POOR, PLACE LITTLE IMPORTANCE ON THE EXTERNAL APPEARANCE OF THEIR HOMES. THEY HAVE APPARENTLY YIELDED TO THE FORCES OF UNCERTAINTY AND THE GENERAL ATTITUDE OF NEGLECT WHICH PREVAIL IN THE TOWN, ACQUIRING THE DOMINATING VALUES AT LEAST PROVISIONALLY. SHOULD THEY RETURN TO THEIR SOUTHERLY HABITAT, THEY WOULD LIKELY AGAIN EXHIBIT THE VALUES APPROPRIATE TO THEIR SOCIAL CLASS.

THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY ALSO PROVIDES AMPLE ILLUSTRATIVE MATERIAL OF DIFFERENCES IN HOUSING-ASSOCIATED VALUES BETWEEN THE PLANNERS AND THEIR CLIENTS, WHERE THE LATTER ARE MEMBERS OF A POVERTY-STRICKEN MINORITY GROUP. THE MEMBERS OF THE INDIAN BAND WHICH HAD BEEN RELOCATED IN NORTHVILLE WERE FIRST HOUSED IN EXIGUOUS SHACKS PLACED WITH LITTLE SPACE BETWEEN THEM. THERE THEY LIVED FOR ALMOST A DECADE. THE SMALL SIZE OF THE DWELLING, HOWEVER, DID NOT CONSTITUTE AN OFFENSE TO THE INDIANS' VALUES BECAUSE THEIR NATIVE RESIDENCES ALSO PROVIDED LITTLE INTERNAL SPACE. RATHER, IT WAS THE LACK OF SPACE AMONG SHACKS, THE PROXIMITY OF THE NEIGHBORS, WHICH CONSTITUTED A MAJOR THREAT TO THEIR VALUES. IN THE BUSH THEY WERE ACCUSTOMED TO LIVING AT CONSIDERABLE DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER DURING MANY MONTHS OF THE YEAR.

RECENTLY, THE PLANNERS OF THE GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENT IN CHARGE PLANNED A NEW SITE FOR THE INDIAN BAND. THERE, HOUSES WHICH AN OFFICIAL DESCRIBED AS "MODEL HOMES" WERE CONSTRUCTED. ESSENTIALLY, THEY ARE A

DUPLICATION OF THE SUBURBAN SINGLE-FAMILY HOME PREVALENT IN THE 'SOUTH' WITHOUT ANY OF THE EXPENSIVE TRIMMINGS. ALTHOUGH THE OFFICIAL MAY BE RIGHT IN HIS CLAIM THAT THE INDIANS THEMSELVES SELECTED THE HOUSE-TYPE AS THEIR PREFERENCE,[24] IT NEVERTHELESS REMAINS TRUE THAT THE STANDARD OF HOUSING IN WHICH THE INDIANS NOW LIVE DOES NOT ACCORD WITH THEIR VALUES AND NEEDS. THE PICTURE-WINDOWS MAY BE NICELY-DRAPED IN SUBURBAN HOMES, BUT IN NORTHVILLE THEY ARE REPEATEDLY BROKEN BY THE NUMEROUS INDIAN CHILDREN; ONCE BROKEN, THESE LARGE WINDOW-PANES ARE TOO EXPENSIVE FOR THE INDIANS TO REPLACE. THE HOUSES MAY BE REGARDED AS CROWDED BY OUR STANDARDS, BUT THE INDIANS FIND FEW ITEMS OF FURNITURE WITH WHICH TO FILL THE SPACE. THE LARGE HOUSES ARE ALSO DIFFICULT TO HEAT,[25] ESPECIALLY WHEN THE WINDOWS AND DOORS ARE OFTEN BROKEN. THE FRONT AND BACK DOORS MAY BE USEFUL ELSEWHERE, BUT FOR THE INDIANS THEY ONLY PRESENT ONE MORE OPENING WHICH MUST BE KEPT SHUT IN ORDER THAT NORTHVILLE'S SEVERE WINDS WILL NOT COME SWEEPING IN. AND FINALLY, ALTHOUGH THE NEW HOUSES ARE ROOMY INSIDE, THEY ARE STILL PLACED AT SHORTER DISTANCES FROM EACH OTHER THAN THE INDIANS WOULD HAVE LIKED, THUS CREATING CROWDED CONDITIONS FOR THEM NEVERTHELESS. IN SHORT, THE HOUSES MAY IN FACT BE "MODEL HOMES." BUT WHAT CONSTITUTES A MODEL DEPENDS ON ONE'S VALUES.

D. MIXED VERSUS HOMOGENEOUS HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS

WHEN PLANNING A HOUSING SUBDIVISION OR A NEIGHBORHOOD, SHOULD THE

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[24] ONE DOES NOT KNOW WHAT RANGE OF ALTERNATIVES WAS OFFERED, WHO AMONG THE BAND SELECTED THE HOUSE, OR UNDER WHAT CONDITIONS AND WITH WHAT ACCOMPANYING EXPLANATIONS THE SELECTION WAS MADE.

[25] THE INDIANS HAVE IN THE PAST BEEN PROVIDED WITH FREE FUEL, BUT THERE ARE PLANS TO STOP THIS SUPPLY. SHOULD THIS OCCUR, IT WOULD NOT TAKE LONG FOR THE SMALL SURROUNDING TREES TO BE CUT DOWN FOR FUEL, THUS NULLIFYING ONE OF THE PRIMARY REASONS WHY THE INDIAN BAND WAS LOCATED AT THAT PARTICULAR PLACE.

PLANNER STRIVE TO ENSURE THAT THE FUTURE RESIDENTS WILL BE HOMOGENEOUS AS TO SOCIAL CLASS, AGE-GROUP, STAGE IN THE FAMILY CYCLE, MINORITY OR RACIAL GROUP, RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION, ETC.? OR SHOULD HE TRY TO MAKE THE NEIGHBORHOOD AS HETEROGENEOUS AS POSSIBLE? THE ANSWER WOULD DEPEND ON THE VALUE PREMISES OF THOSE INVOLVED IN PLANNING BOTH DIRECTLY AND INDIRECTLY.

A FAMOUS PLANNING MODEL KNOWN AS THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLAN, WAS PROPOSED BY CLARENCE PERRY IN 1929. IT FAVORED HOMOGENEOUS HOUSING AND NEIGHBORHOOD PATTERNS. THIS PLAN DESERVES SPECIAL ATTENTION BECAUSE IT HAS HAD MAJOR INFLUENCE ON THE PLANNING OF SUBURBAN NEIGHBORHOODS THROUGHOUT NORTH AMERICA. THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT WAS PLANNED AROUND THE ELEMENTARY SCHOOL, AND THUS WAS LARGELY INTENDED FOR FAMILIES WITH YOUNG CHILDREN. THE HOMES WERE EXPECTED TO BE OF APPROXIMATELY EQUAL COST, AND THE RESIDENTS WERE TO BE OF SIMILAR CLASS AND ETHNIC BACKGROUND.[26] THE VALUES WHICH MOTIVATED PERRY TO DESIGN FOR SUCH SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY WERE THE VALUES OF HUMAN INTERACTION AND CO-OPERATION. FOR PERRY ASSUMED THAT SOCIAL HOMOGENEITY WOULD FACILITATE HUMAN CO-OPERATION WHICH, IN TURN, WOULD ENCOURAGE THE DEVELOPMENT OF A FLOURISHING 'GRASS-ROOTS DEMOCRACY.'[27] A FURTHER MOTIVATING VALUE WAS THEREFORE THE VALUE OF DEMOCRACY.

PARADOXICALLY, THE VALUE OF DEMOCRACY HAS ALSO MOTIVATED OTHER PLANNERS TO CRITICIZE THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLAN AND TO RECOMMEND HETE-

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[26] MUMFORD CRITICIZES THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLAN FOR ITS TENDENCY TO BECOME SEGREGATED. SEE LEWIS MUMFORD, "THE NEIGHBORHOOD AND THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT," TOWN PLANNING REVIEW, JANUARY, 1954, PP. 256-270.

[27] PERRY, "THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT," PP. 124-126. CO-OPERATION AS ONE OF THE SOCIAL GOALS OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD UNIT PLAN IS DISCUSSED IN: JAMES DAHIR, THE NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN (NEW YORK: RUSSEL SAGE FOUNDATION, 1947), P. 7.

ROGENEOUS NEIGHBORHOODS. HOWEVER RATHER THAN EMPHASIZING CO-OPERATION AS A VALUE-PREREQUISITE FOR DEMOCRACY, THESE CRITICS HAVE PLACED THE STRESS ON EQUALITY AND NON-DISCRIMINATION. THUS MUMFORD EXPLICITLY STATES THAT A MIXED NEIGHBORHOOD IS MORE DEMOCRATIC. BOTH HE AND JACOBS FEEL THAT CHILDREN COULD BE INCULCATED WITH THE VALUES OF DEMOCRACY MORE EASILY IN A HETEROGENEOUS NEIGHBORHOOD THAN IN A HOMOGENEOUS ONE.[28] OTHERS HAVE RECOMMENDED MIXTURE OF ONE PARTICULAR CATEGORY OF PEOPLE. THUS SCHORR STRESSES THAT NEIGHBORHOODS SHOULD BE HETEROGENEOUS AS TO RACE,[29] AND CLARENCE STEIN RECOMMENDS MIXTURE OF HOUSE TYPES AND DENSITIES[30] THAT WOULD CATER TO DIFFERENT AGE-GROUPS, BUT NOT NECESSARILY ALSO TO DIFFERENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL CLASSES.

SOME PLANNERS HAVE SIDED WITH THE HOMOGENEOUS-HOUSING POSITION, BUT THEIR MOTIVATING VALUES HAVE DIFFERED FROM PERRY'S VALUES. WEAVER RECOMMENDS HOMOGENEOUS HOUSING (AT LEAST IN THE CENTER-CITY), ARGUING THAT THIS TYPE OF HOUSING ALONE COULD BE ECONOMICAL.[31] WHILE GANS STATES THAT, ALTHOUGH HE HIMSELF FAVORS HETEROGENEITY, HOMOGENEITY SEEMS TO FUNCTION BEST IN REALITY. HE SUGGESTS AS A COMPROMISE THAT THE PLANNER SHOULD PLAN FOR HOMOGENEOUS BLOCKS, BUT FOR A HETEROGENEOUS COMMUNITY.[32] IN OTHER WORDS, THE

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[28] MUMFORD, "THE NEIGHBORHOOD...," AND JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 74-88; THE FORMER MAKES THIS POINT EXPLICITLY, WHILE THE LATTER MAKES IT IMPLICITLY.

[29] SCHORR, SLUMS AND SOCIAL INSECURITY, PP. 51-54.

[30] STEIN, TOWARD NEW TOWNS FOR AMERICA, PP. 26 FF.

[31] ROBERT C. WEAVER, "CLASS, RACE AND URBAN RENEWAL," IN ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, EDS., METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, PP. 219-234.

[32] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 130.

SCALE AT WHICH HOMOGENEITY OR HETEROGENEITY ARE MEASURED IS SIGNIFICANT.

THE VALUES UNDERLYING A PREFERENCE FOR HETEROGENEITY WERE EXPRESSED IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE AS WELL. ONE OF THE PLANNERS IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU WHO WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR RECOMMENDING A HOUSING PATTERN FOR GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES, FELT THAT A DEVELOPMENT INTO WHICH ONLY GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES COULD BE ADMITTED, WOULD BE SEGREGATIONIST AND WOULD FURTHER UNDERSCORE EXISTING DISPARITIES. THIS PLANNER THEREFORE OUTLINED SEVERAL SUGGESTIONS WHEREBY FUTURE HOUSING COULD BE OPEN BOTH TO GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AND TO THE OTHER RESIDENTS OF NORTHVILLE.

E. THE SYMBOLISM IN NEIGHBORHOOD LAYOUT

HALLETT HAS NOTED THAT MAN'S ENVIRONMENT HAS SYMBOLIC VALUE.[33] MAN INVESTS HIS ENVIRONMENT WITH SYMBOLISM DURING THE PROCESS OF SHAPING IT. THIS SYMBOLISM HAS SPECIAL POTENCY WHERE MAN HAS MADE RESIDENTIAL USE OF THE ENVIRONMENT, AND WHERE HE THEREFORE SPENDS MUCH OF HIS TIME.

ONE OF THE MORE APPARENT FORMS OF ENVIRONMENTAL SYMBOLISM OCCURS WHERE PHYSICAL SEPARATION AMONG NEIGHBORHOODS IMPLIES SOCIAL SEPARATION AS WELL. IN OTHER WORDS, THE EXPRESSION "THE PEOPLE ACROSS THE TRACKS" MAY BE A CLICHÉ, BUT IT IS ONE WITH UNUSUAL WISDOM. IN NORTHVILLE, THE PHYSICAL SEPARATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD HAS A TWO-FOLD SYMBOLISM: FIRST, IT SYMBOLIZES THE SOCIAL DISPARITIES AND SEGREGATION BETWEEN THE WHITES AND THE NATIVES; SECOND IT SYMBOLIZES THE SOCIAL DIVISIONS AMONG THE WHITES THEMSELVES.

THERE ARE FIVE SMALL SUB-COMMUNITIES OR NEIGHBORHOODS IN NORTHVILLE. OF THESE, THREE ARE INHABITED LARGELY BY NATIVE PEOPLE.

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[33] STANLEY J. HALLETT, PLANNING, POLITICS AND ETHICS," IN ENVIRONMENT FOR MAN, ED. BY WILLIAM R. EWALD JR. (BLOOMINGTON, INDIANA: INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1967), PP. 232-252.

THE WHITE COMMUNITY EXHIBITS ANOTHER FORM OF ENVIRONMENTAL SYMBOLISM AS WELL--THE SYMBOLISM IN THE LAYOUT OF THE RESIDENTIAL AREA. AS IN MANY NORTHERN 'COMPANY TOWNS' (THIS COMMUNITY MAY BE REGARDED AS A GOVERNMENT 'COMPANY TOWN'), THE HOUSING PATTERN TENDS TO REFLECT SOCIAL RANKING.[37] BECAUSE THE HOUSING IN THIS COMMUNITY IS ARRANGED IN ROWS, IT IS AN EASY MATTER TO ASSIGN PEOPLE TO THE GOVERNMENT-OWNED HOUSING UNITS ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL RANK. THIS HAS INDEED BEEN THE POLICY IN NORTHVILLE. THE OCCUPATIONAL RANK OF THE RESIDENTS TENDS TO VARY INDIRECTLY WITH THE DISTANCE OF THE HOUSING UNIT FROM THE COMMERCIAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE CENTER OF THE NEIGHBORHOOD: THE HIGHER THE RANK, THE SHORTER THE DISTANCE (AND HENCE ALSO THE EASIER TO MOVE AROUND IN THE SEVERE WINTER COLD).

IN PLANNING A COMMUNITY, THEN, A PLANNER MAY WELL WISH TO TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE SOCIAL-SYMBOLIC IMPORT WHICH HIS PHYSICAL PLANS MAY HAVE. HE MAY WISH TO MATCH HIS SOCIAL INTENTION (REFLECTING HIS OWN OR OTHERS' VALUES) WITH THE PHYSICAL LAYOUT. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, SHOULD HE WISH--ON THE BASIS OF VALUES OF DEMOCRACY, EQUALITY AND THE LIKE--THAT MEMBERS OF A MINORITY GROUP BE INTEGRATED SOCIALLY WITH THE DOMINANT GROUP, HE MAY SYMBOLIZE AND FACILITATE THIS[38] BY SCATTERING THE HOUSES OF THE MINORITY GROUP WITHIN THE GENERAL COMMUNITY. CONVERSELY, SHOULD HE WISH THAT THE MINORITY GROUP REMAIN DIFFERENT (HERE THE MOTIVATING VALUES MAY EITHER BE THOSE CALLING FOR SEGREGATION OR THOSE ENCOURAGING THE MINORITY GROUP TO "RETAIN ITS IDENTITY"), HE MAY SYMBOLIZE THIS WISH

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[37] JACOBSEN, "CANADA'S NORTHERN COMMUNITIES."

[38] WHERE CONDITIONS EXIST THAT ENABLE HIM TO DO SO.

BY PLANNING FOR A PHYSICALLY SEPARATED NEIGHBORHOOD. ALTHOUGH OFTEN THE PLANNER DOES NOT FACE THE DECISION ABOUT WHICH COURSE TO ADOPT BECAUSE HE DOES NOT HAVE THE POWERS TO IMPLEMENT SUCH A DECISION, THERE ARE OCCASIONS--SUCH AS IN PLANNING PUBLIC HOUSING--WHERE HE MUST DECIDE.

IN PLANNING FOR NORTHVILLE, THE PLANNERS HAVE HAD AN IMPORTANT SAY ON WHETHER THE SEPARATE COMMUNITIES SHOULD BE MAINTAINED, OR WHETHER THEY SHOULD BE INTEGRATED. A REPORT BY ONE OF THE PLANNERS IN THE LEVEL I BUREAU WAS ENTITLED "THE INTEGRATION OF NORTHVILLE'S COMMUNITIES." THE TITLE CLEARLY REFLECTS THE POSITION ADOPTED BY THE PLANNER. THE MAIN FOCUS OF THIS REPORT WAS PLACED ON THE ELIMINATION OF THE PHYSICAL (AND SOCIAL) DISPARITIES BETWEEN THE TWO LARGE WHITE COMMUNITIES, ALTHOUGH THE INTEGRATION OF THE OTHER NEIGHBORHOODS INTO THE RECOMMENDED SINGLE COMMUNITY WAS ALSO SUGGESTED. NEEDLESS TO SAY, NOT ALL THE PLANNERS IN ALL THE DEPARTMENTS (INCLUDING SOCIAL-WELFARE PLANNERS) WOULD AGREE WITH THIS SUGGESTION. EVEN IF THEY AGREED, THEY MAY STILL DIFFER REGARDING WHAT PHYSICAL LAYOUT SHOULD BE ADOPTED ONCE THE COMMUNITIES HAVE BEEN BROUGHT TOGETHER.[39] THE EXISTENCE OF A CONFLICT OF OPINION IS, AS ALWAYS, A GOOD INDICATION OF VALUE-CONFLICT.

FINALLY, A NOTE OF CAUTION. THE ABOVE DISCUSSION WAS NOT INTENDED TO IMPLY THAT THE AUTHOR HAS ADOPTED THE POSITION OF PHYSICAL DETERMINISM. ALL THAT IS SAID IS THAT THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT MAY BE <u>INVESTED</u> WITH SOCIAL-SYMBOLIC SIGNIFICANCE BY HUMAN BEINGS, BUT THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE ENVIRONMENT <u>CREATES</u> THE SOCIAL CONTENT WITHIN IT.

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[39] ONE SUGGESTION OF INTERNAL PHYSICAL LAYOUT FOR NORTHVILLE WAS RECENTLY MADE BY THE FORMER SENIOR PLANNER OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU. HE PROPOSED THAT THE NATIVE PEOPLES RESIDE IN NEIGHBORHOODS OF THEIR OWN IN ORDER NOT TO FORCE ASSIMILATION ON THEM, BUT THAT THE FACILITIES OF THE TOTAL COMMUNITY BE PLANNED SO THAT THEY WOULD SHARE THE SAME SCHOOLING, SHOPPING AND RECREATIONAL FACILITIES WITH THE OTHER RESIDENTS. THUS INTEGRATION COULD BE MADE POSSIBLE, YET NOT BE FORCED.

CHAPTER 16

URBAN RENEWAL AND PUBLIC HOUSING

THE LAST CHAPTER FOCUSED ON THE VALUES AND VALUE ISSUES GENERATED BY HOUSING TYPES AND RESIDENTIAL PATTERNS IN GENERAL. IN THIS CHAPTER WE SHALL DISCUSS THE SPECIAL PROBLEMS RAISED BY ONE SPECIFIC CATEGORY OF HOUSING--PUBLIC HOUSING, AND ITS FREQUENT COMPANION--URBAN RENEWAL.

A. ATTITUDES TO GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN THE HOUSING MARKET

IN NORTH AMERICA, HOUSING HAS TRADITIONALLY BEEN REGARDED AS FALLING WITHIN THE DOMAIN OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE--UNLIKE SCHOOLING, RECREATION, UTILITY SERVICES, ETC.[1] DIRECT GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSING HAS THEREFORE MET CONSIDERABLE IDEOLOGICAL RESISTANCE. THE VALUES GENERATING SUCH RESISTANCE HAVE BEEN THE VALUES OF FREE-ENTERPRISE, INDIVIDUALISM,[2] AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP. ON THE NEGATIVE SIDE, GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN HOUSING HAS BEEN TAGGED AS 'COMMUNIST,' 'AUTHORITIARIAN,' AND THE LIKE.[3]

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[1] BOLAN COMPARES PUBLIC HOUSING AND RECREATION. SEE "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING."

[2] ROSE STATES THAT THE CANADIAN INDIVIDUALISTIC TRADITION HAS RESISTED PUBLIC HOUSING. SEE REGENT PARK..., P. 215.

[3] RALPH W. GWINN, AN AMERICAN POLITICIAN, REGARDS PUBLIC HOUSING AS SOCIALISTIC. SEE "IN OPPOSITION TO PUBLIC HOUSING," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 191-192.

SUCH VALUES HAVE LED SOME PLANNERS, POLITICIANS, AND OTHERS TO ARGUE THAT WHATEVER THE HOUSING NEEDS, THEY COULD BE MET BY THE PRIVATE HOUSING INDUSTRY. HOUSING FOR THE POOR, THEY CLAIM, IS NO EXCEPTION.[4] THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE HELLYER TASK FORCE ARGUES, AS MANY OTHERS HAVE, THAT WHEN THE PRIVATE HOUSING MARKET FUNCTIONS WELL, LOWER-COST HOUSING WOULD BE PROVIDED THROUGH THE 'FILTERING-DOWN PROCESS.' THE TASK FORCE CITES THIS ARGUMENT IN SUPPORT OF ITS STAND THAT GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSING AND URBAN RENEWAL SHOULD BE KEPT TO THE MINIMUM.[5] YET THE SAME PEOPLE WHO WISH NO GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSING FOR THE POOR OFTEN REQUEST THAT THE GOVERNMENT PROVIDE TAX REBATES, SUBSIDIES, OR OTHER FORMS OF STIMULATION TO THE PRIVATE HOUSING INDUSTRY.[6] IN OTHER WORDS, INDIRECT GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IS LESS OFFENSIVE TO THEIR VALUES WHEN THEY ARE THE BENEFICIARIES.

THE HIGH VALUATION OF PRIVATE ENTERPRISE HAS MOTIVATED SOME TO ARGUE THAT MUCH OF THE DILAPIDATION IN SLUMS COULD BE OVERCOME BY ENFORCING BUILDING AND MAINTENANCE CODES; THE PROPERTY OWNER SHOULD BE MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR HIS PROPERTY.[7]

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[4]SUCH A VIEW IS HELD BY: MARTIN ANDERSON, THE FEDERAL BULLDOZER (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: M. I. T. PRESS, 1964), P. 230 AND PASSIM; AND BY THE AMERICAN POLITICIAN, BRUCE ALGER; SEE "INSTEAD OF URBAN RENEWAL," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 128-133.

[5]GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., PP. 22-23 (POLICIES 3, 4 AND 7). THE TASK FORCE COMPARES HOUSING TO THE CAR AND OTHER COMMODITIES WHERE THE 'FILTERING-DOWN PROCESS' OCCURS; PP. 53, 67, AND 34.

[6]SEE, FOR EXAMPLE; ALGER, "INSTEAD OF URBAN RENEWAL."

[7]IBID.
THE DIFFICULTY OF ENFORCING CODES HAS BEEN ENCOUNTERED IN NORTHVILLE WHERE THE RENTED PREMISES ARE USUALLY OWNED BY ABSENTEE LANDLORDS. THE MAINTENANCE LEVEL IS VERY LOW, BUT THE LANDLORDS ARE RELUCTANT TO INVEST IN THEIR PROPERTIES BECAUSE OF THE UNCERTAIN FUTURE OF NORTHVILLE'S ECONOMY.

THOSE WHO FAVOR GOVERNMENT INVOLVEMENT IN HOUSING FOR THE POOR HAVE REJECTED THE ABOVE ARGUMENTS. THEY HAVE CLAIMED THAT IN FACT THE 'FILTERING-DOWN PROCESS' DOES NOT WORK. IN ORDER FOR IT TO WORK, THERE MUST BE AN ABUNDANCE OF HOUSING UNITS FOR THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES, AND THIS IS USUALLY NOT THE CASE. THERE MUST ALSO BE NO INCREASE IN HOUSEHOLD FORMATIONS; YET SUCH AN INCREASE IS IN FACT OCCURRING EVEN WHERE THERE IS NO OBSOLUTE POPULATION GROWTH. THUS THERE ARE NEVER ENOUGH HOUSING UNITS TO 'FILTER DOWN'.[8] THE PROPONENTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING ALSO REJECT THE ARGUMENT THAT THE OWNERS THEMSELVES COULD BE MADE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE UPKEEP OF THEIR PROPERTIES. THEY POINT OUT THAT MANY RESIDENT-OWNERS IN SLUMS ARE AS POOR AS THE TENANTS.[9] THEY CONCLUDE THAT GOVERNMENT INTERVENTION IN HOUSING IS DESIRABLE. HERE TOO, THE MOTIVATING VALUES ARE DERIVED FROM THE INDIVIDUALISM-DEMOCRACY VALUE-CLUSTER, BUT THIS TIME FROM THE REINTERPRETED VERSION; THE STRESS IS PLACED ON THE VALUES OF EQUALITY, ON 'THE RIGHT OF EVERY PERSON TO A DECENT HOME.'

B. THE DEBATE OVER URBAN RENEWAL

DURING THE PAST TWO DECADES MANY URBAN RENEWAL SCHEMES HAVE BEEN IMPLEMENTED IN NORTH AMERICA. IN MANY CASES, THE MOTIVATION WAS LARGELY ECONOMIC: TO CLEAR THE CENTER-CITY AREA SO THAT IT COULD BE USED FOR PRIVATE GAIN AND COULD REAP HIGHER TAXES. THE RESIDENTS WERE USUALLY RELOCATED, AND MANY OF THEM DISPERSED TO OTHER LOW-COST (SLUM) AREAS. THE

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[8] THIS POINT IS MADE BY BAUER-WURSTER, "HOUSING: A WIDER RANGE OF CHOICE."

[9] THE VARIOUS TYPES OF OWNERS OF SLUM PROPERTIES ARE DISCUSSED IN: GEORGE STERNLIEB, THE TENEMENT LANDLORD (NEW BRUNSWICK, N. J.: WILLIAM BYRD PRESS INC., 1966), PP. XIII-XVII.

PREPONDERANCE OF ECONOMIC VALUES IN URBAN RENEWAL IS STILL BEING DEFENDED BY SOME PLANNERS.[10]

THE ECONOMIC MOTIVATION HAS BEEN INCREASINGLY COMING UNDER ATTACK FROM URBAN AND WELFARE PLANNERS. THE VALUES MOTIVATING THE NEW POSITION ON URBAN RENEWAL ARE SOCIAL VALUES: A CONCERN WITH THE WELFARE OF THE RESIDENTS OF URBAN RENEWAL AREAS. THE PROPONENTS OF THIS VIEW ARGUE THAT THE RESIDENTS OF SLUMS ARE BEING SACRIFICED TO THE INTERESTS OF OTHERS;[11] THAT THE SLUM IS MERELY MADE TO SHIFT TO ANOTHER AREA AWAITING A NEW RENEWAL SCHEME TO PUSH THE RESIDENTS STILL FURTHER AWAY;[12] THAT INSTEAD OF EASING THE HARDSHIPS OF THE POOR, THE PLANNED RELOCATION OF SOME OF THE RESIDENTS IN PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS FAR AWAY FROM THE CENTER-CITY ONLY SERVES TO INCREASE TRANSPORTATION COSTS AND TO MAKE IT EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO OBTAIN A JOB;[13] AND THAT THE PLANNED AND UNPLANNED DISPERSION OF THE RESIDENTS OF SLUMS SHATTERS THE SOCIAL AND ETHNIC TIES ON WHICH LOWER-CLASS PEOPLE PLACE SUCH HIGH VALUE.[14]

THE ATTACK AGAINST URBAN RENEWAL HAS LATELY DRAWN UPON A FURTHER

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[10] CHURCHILL, "NEW TENDENCIES IN PLANNING."

[11] ALGER, "INSTEAD OF URBAN RENEWAL"; AND GANS, "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF...RELOCATION PLANNING."

[12] MICHAEL HARRINGTON, "THE ROLE OF PUBLIC HOUSING," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 184-190; AND MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, P. 247.

[13] BERNARD J. FRIEDEN, "ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING AND THE ELIMINATION OF POVERTY," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MAY, 1967, PP. 164-166.

[14] THIS POINT IS MADE BY GANS FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, IN "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF...RELOCATION PLANNING," AND FOR CANADA BY: THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., P. 65.

ARGUMENT AS WELL. PLANNING THEORETICIANS SUCH AS RIEMER AND GANS ARGUE THAT MANY OF THE AREAS DESIGNATED FOR URBAN RENEWAL IN THE PAST HAVE NOT BEEN SLUMS AT ALL, BUT RATHER 'LOW-RENT AREAS.' THERE IS NO JUSTIFICATION FOR CLEARING THESE AREAS AT ALL SINCE THEIR CLEARANCE WOULD ONLY RUN COUNTER TO THE VALUES OF THEIR RESIDENTS. THESE LOW-RENT DISTRICTS, IT IS ARGUED, HAVE MANY ADVANTAGES FOR THEIR RESIDENTS: THEY PROVIDE THE SECURITY OF KINSHIP AND ETHNIC TIES, THEY ARE AN INDISPENSABLE STEPPING-STONE TO NEW IMMIGRANTS ON THEIR WAY TO INTEGRATION, THEY OFFER A MEANINGFUL AND RICH LIFE TO THEIR RESIDENTS, ESPECIALLY THE YOUNG, AND THEY ARE A HAVEN FOR DEVIANTS OF VARIOUS TYPES WHO WOULD FIND NO OTHER PLACE TO RESIDE. MOREOVER, IT IS ARGUED, THE RESIDENTS DO NOT PLACE AS HIGH A VALUE ON HOUSING AS THE PLANNERS AND THE NON-POOR AND THUS DO NOT AT ALL MIND LIVING IN WHAT OTHERS CALL A 'SLUM.'[15] HERE THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE OF THE PLANNER ARE IMPLICITLY ADOPTED.

WHAT SOLUTION TO 'REAL' SLUMS WOULD THE PLANNERS ESPOUSING THE ABOVE POSITION OFFER? GANS RECOMMENDS MORE REHABILITATION OF OLD BUILDINGS; THE CANADIAN TASK FORCE ON HOUSING CONCURS. GANS ALSO RECOMMENDS

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[15] ONE OR MORE OF THESE ARGUMENTS IS PRESENTED BY EACH OF THE FOLLOWING AUTHORS: GANS, "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF...RELOCATION PLANNING"; JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 8-12 AND PASSIM; HARRINGTON, "THE ROLE OF PUBLIC HOUSING"; JOHN R. SEELEY, "THE SLUM: ITS NATURE, USE AND USERS," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, FEBRUARY, 1959, PP. 7-14; MARC FRIED AND PEGGY GLEICHER, "SOME SOURCES OF RESIDENTIAL SATISFACTION IN AN URBAN SLUM," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, NOVEMBER, 1961, PP. 305-315; AND SVEND RIEMER, "THE SLUM AND ITS PEOPLE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 251-252.

MORE RELOCATION OF LARGE GROUPS EN MASSE WITH A VIEW TO PRESERVING KINSHIP AND SOCIAL TIES. THE MEMBERS OF THE TASK FORCE, ON THE OTHER HAND, PLACE GREATER VALUE ON FACILITATING THE INTEGRATION OF THE POOR AND HAVE THEREFORE RECOMMENDED MORE DISPERSED PUBLIC HOUSING.[16]

THE DEBATE OVER URBAN RENEWAL HAS NOT YET ENDED. IT MAY BE THAT A NEW APPROACH TO URBAN RENEWAL WILL SOON EMERGE, AN APPROACH THAT WOULD SEEK TO BE 'BALANCED' AND 'REALISTIC'. THERE ARE SIGNS THAT SUCH AN APPROACH IS ALREADY EMERGING. PRESTON HAS ATTACKED THE VIEW THAT SLUM LIFE IS RICH AND BEAUTIFUL BY CALLING THIS VIEW 'NOSTALGIC,' 'NONSENSICAL' AND 'ROMANTIC.'[17] IT HAS ALSO BEEN NOTED THAT RESIDENTS OF LOW-RENT AREAS DO NOT CONSTITUTE A UNIFORM GROUP BUT RATHER ARE COMPOSED OF VARIOUS GROUPS, EACH WITH ITS OWN VALUES.[18] PERHAPS WE ARE NOW ENTERING A NEW PERIOD IN URBAN RENEWAL PLANNING, WHEN SEVERAL ALTERNATIVE SCHEMES WOULD BE PRESENTED FOR EACH URBAN RENEWAL AREA, EACH SCHEME TAILORED TO THE VALUES OF ONE SPECIFIC GROUP OF CLIENTS.

C. THE DEBATE OVER PUBLIC HOUSING

ALTHOUGH IT IS DIFFICULT TO SEPARATE PUBLIC HOUSING FROM URBAN RENEWAL, IN THIS SECTION WE SHALL ATTEMPT TO FOCUS SPECIFICALLY ON THE VALUE-ISSUES ASSOCIATED WITH PUBLIC HOUSING.

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[16] GANS, "THE HUMAN IMPLICATIONS OF...RELOCATION PLANNING," AND GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., P. 57.

[17] DAVID PRESTON, "THE HUMAN DIMENSION IN PUBLIC HOUSING," IN URBAN PLANNING AND SOCIAL POLICY, ED. BY BERNARD J. FRIEDEN AND ROBERT MORRIS (NEW YORK: BASIC BOOKS INC., 1968), PP. 96-106.

[18] A TYPOLOGY OF THE SLUM'S RESIDENTS IS PRESENTED BY SEELEY IN "THE SLUM: ITS NATURE, USE AND USERS."

WHETHER OR NOT PLANNERS, POLITICAL DECISION-MAKERS, AND THE GENERAL COMMUNITY WOULD GIVE PUBLIC HOUSING PRIORITY IN FINANCIAL ALLOCATIONS DEPENDS ON THE VALUE THEY PLACE ON HOUSING: DO THEY VIEW IT AS A HUMAN RIGHT--LIKE EDUCATION, HEALTH AND NUTRITION--OR DO THEY REGARD IT AS ANOTHER COMMODITY--LIKE CARS, TELEVISION-SETS, AND REFRIGERATORS? IF THEY REGARD IT AS A HUMAN RIGHT, THEY WOULD PROBABLY CONCLUDE THAT THE GOVERNMENT MUST ADOPT SOME MEANS WHEREBY HOUSING OF A MINIMAL STANDARD (THE DEFINITION OF THE STANDARD IS ITSELF A VALUE ISSUE--SEE THE ABOVE CHAPTER) WOULD BE PROVIDED TO ALL CITIZENS.[19] WHILE IF THEY VIEW IT MERELY AS A COMMODITY, THEY MAY FEEL THAT IT DESERVES LOWER PRIORITY FOR GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES.

THOSE WHO REGARD HOUSING AS A HUMAN RIGHT ARE FACED WITH SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES ABOUT HOW THIS RIGHT COULD BE EXERCISED EFFECTIVELY. THE SELECTION OF THE ALTERNATIVE PREFERRED WOULD DEPEND ON THE VALUES HELD. THOSE WHO FEEL THAT A CERTAIN STANDARD OF HOUSING MUST BE PROVIDED AND THAT HOUSING IS INSTRUMENTAL IN SHAPING SOCIAL BEHAVIOR AND VALUES, MAY WISH TO RETAIN CONTROL OVER THE STANDARD AND LOCATION OF HOUSING FOR THE POOR. THEY MAY THEREFORE PREFER THE CONCENTRATED OR PROJECT TYPE OF PUBLIC HOUSING. THEY WOULD STILL HAVE TO DECIDE WHERE TO LOCATE THE HOUSING PROJECT. SOME, LIKE ALBERT ROSE,[20] WOULD PREFER THAT IN THE CASE OF URBAN RENEWAL, PUBLIC HOUSING SHOULD BE LOCATED IN THE CLEARED AREA OR IN THE CENTER-CITY IN ORDER THAT JOB OPPORTUNITIES, SOCIAL TIES,

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[19] THE HELLYER TASK FORCE STATES AS ONE OF ITS PRINCIPLES (NUMBER 2) THAT IS REGARDS HOUSING AS A HUMAN RIGHT, BUT IT DOES NOT ALWAYS FOLLOW THIS PRINCIPLE. SEE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., P. 22

[20] ROSE, REGENT PARK..., P. 218 AND PASSIM.

TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES, AND THE GENERAL FAMILIARITY WITH THE AREA WOULD NOT BE DISRUPTED AND JEOPARDIZED. OTHERS MAY FEEL THAT THE SOCIAL UPGRADING OF THE POOR (WHICH THEY REGARD AS A GOAL OF PUBLIC HOUSING) WOULD BE FACILITATED IF THE PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IS LOCATED AT AN ENTIRELY NEW AREA WHERE THE RESIDENTS WOULD BE ISOLATED FROM THEIR FORMER MILIEU.

OFTEN, HOWEVER, THE LATTER POSITION IS ADOPTED WHERE ECONOMIC VALUES PREDOMINATE: THE CLEARED CENTER-CITY AREA IS RESERVED FOR LUXURY HOUSING OR FOR COMMERCIAL USES WHILE THE FORMER RESIDENTS ARE RELOCATED FAR AWAY. AT OTHER TIMES, LOCATION OF A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT AT THE OUTSKIRTS OF THE COMMUNITY IS MOTIVATED NOT BY THE SOCIAL IDEALS OF THE PLANNERS OR BY ECONOMIC CONSIDERATIONS, BUT RATHER BY THE RELUCTANCE OF THE CITIZENS TO HAVE A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT LOCATED IN THEIR MIDST. THUS IN THE CASE-STUDY DESCRIBED BY MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, THE PUBLIC HOUSING AUTHORITY ENCOUNTERED CONSIDERABLE DIFFICULTY IN FINDING A LOCATION WHICH WAS NOT VEHEMENTLY RESISTED BY THE RESIDENTS OF THAT AREA.[21] SIMILARLY, IN THE NORTHVILLE CASE-STUDY THE MEMBERS OF THE NORTHVILLE ADVISORY COMMITTEE MADE A POINT OF NOTING THEIR OBJECTION WELL AHEAD OF TIME (THE PLANNING STAGE HAD NOT EVEN BEEN REACHED) TO HAVING PUBLIC HOUSING FOR THE INDIANS LOCATED IN THE HEART OF THE WHITE COMMUNITY; THEY INDICATED A PREFERENCE FOR A SEPARATE AND IDENTIFIABLE INDIAN HOUSING AREA AWAY FROM THEIR COMMUNITY.

MANY PLANNERS HAVE EXPRESSED A REJECTION OF THE PROJECT TYPE OF PUBLIC HOUSING ALTOGETHER. SOME HAVE FELT THAT PUBLIC HOUSING TENDS TO

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[21] MEYERSON AND BANFIELD, POLITICS, PLANNING AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST, PP. 164-167.

BE OVERLY SELECTIVE AND SEGREGATIONIST,[22] AND THIS HAS OFFENDED THEIR DEMOCRATIC AND EGALITARIAN VALUES. OTHERS HAVE FELT THAT PUBLIC HOUSING DOES NOT HAVE ANY POSITIVE SOCIAL IMPACT ON THE RESIDENTS; ON THE CONTRARY, IT ATTACHES TO THEM THE STIGMA OF RESIDING IN A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT. THE MEMBERS OF THE CANADIAN TASK FORCE ON HOUSING FEEL THAT THE ATTACHMENT OF A STIGMA TO PUBLIC HOUSING IS PREVALENT ENOUGH AND IMPORTANT ENOUGH THAT IT WOULD JUSTIFY PLACING A 'FREEZE' ON ALL NEW PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS.[23]

THOSE WHO REJECT THE PROJECT TYPE OF PUBLIC HOUSING MAY AGAIN SELECT AMONG SEVERAL ALTERNATIVES FOR PROVIDING HOUSING TO THE POOR. THEY MAY RECOMMEND THAT PUBLIC HOUSING BE DISPERSED RATHER THAN CONCENTRATED (AS THE TASK FORCE DOES[24]). IN VIEW OF THE FACT THAT DISPERSAL OFTEN IMPLIES THE BREAKING OF SOCIAL TIES, THE PROPONENTS OF DISPERSED PUBLIC HOUSING WOULD APPARENTLY PLACE A HIGHER VALUE ON THE PRESERVATION OF THE INTEGRITY AND ANONYMITY OF THE POOR, THAN ON THE RETENTION OF SOCIAL AND KINSHIP TIES. ALTERNATIVELY, THOSE WHO PLACE A HIGH VALUE ON FREE CHOICE FOR THE POOR, MAY REJECT PUBLIC HOUSING OF ALL TYPES. THE RIGHT TO HOUSING COULD THEN BE ENSURED BY PROVIDING RENT PAYMENTS OR SUBSIDIES TOWARD WHATEVER ACCOMMODATIONS THE POOR MAY SELECT. AS A FURTHER ALTERNATIVE, AN INCOME SUPPLEMENT OR A 'NEGATIVE INCOME TAX' COULD BE PROVIDED IN THE FORM OF CASH GIVEN DIRECTLY TO THE INDIVIDUAL. THE INDIVIDUAL WOULD THEN BE FREE TO SPEND THE MONEY ON HOUSING, OR, IF HE SO CHOOSES, ON SOMETHING ELSE. IMPLIED IN THE LATTER POSITION IS THE

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[22] HARRINGTON, "THE ROLE OF PUBLIC HOUSING."

[23] GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., PP. 54-56.

[24] IBID., P. 57.

BELIEF THAT HOUSING IS A RIGHT, BUT NOT A DUTY OR A MUST.

FINALLY, A FEW WORDS ABOUT THE VALUES OF THE POOR THEMSELVES. SOME AMONG THE POOR MAY IN FACT PLACE A LOWER VALUE ON HOUSING THAN MEMBERS OF THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES. OTHERS, HOWEVER, MAY BE EAGER TO USE ANY OPPORTUNITY GRANTED TO THEM IN ORDER TO UPGRADE THEIR HOUSING STANDARD. A SIMILAR OBSERVATION COULD BE MADE ABOUT THE "STIGMA ISSUE": SOME OF THE RESIDENTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS MAY BE SENSITIVE TO THE OPINIONS OF OTHERS ABOUT THEM; OTHER RESIDENTS MAY FEEL THAT NO MORE STIGMA IS ATTACHED TO THEM AS RESIDENTS OF A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT THAN WAS ATTACHED TO THEM WHEN THEY RESIDED IN THE SLUM. THEY MAY PREFER PUBLIC HOUSING FACILITIES OVER ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF HOUSING. LAST, THE ISSUE OF RENT SCALES[25] DESERVES MENTION. RENT SCALES HAVE BEEN CRITICIZED FOR THWARTING ECONOMIC AMBITION AND SOCIAL MOBILITY.[26] IN A MEETING WITH A CITIZENS' COMMITTEE OF THE LA BOURGOGNE RENEWAL AREA IN

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[25] IN MANY PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS THE TENANT PAYS RENT THAT INCREASES WITH HIS INCOME, WHILE HE RECEIVES THE SAME ACCOMMODATIONS.

[26] THIS CRITICISM OF PUBLIC HOUSING IS MADE BY SCHORR, SLUMS AND SOCIAL INSECURITY, PP. 55-73. SCHORR ALSO SUGGESTS A SOLUTION: IT COULD BE MADE POSSIBLE FOR THE TENANT TO PAY RENT TOWARD OWNERSHIP OF HIS APARTMENT (UNDER A CO-OPERATIVE OR CONDOMINIUM SCHEME). ONCE HE BECOMES OWNER, HE WOULD NOT BE EVICTED IF HIS INCOME SHOULD INCREASE. THIS SCHEME HAS BEEN TRIED SUCCESSFULLY WITH NEW IMMIGRANT PUBLIC HOUSING IN ISRAEL. ALTERNATIVELY, A RENT CEILING COULD BE PLACED, AND INCOME WOULD BE PERMITTED TO GO BEYOND IT. WITH EITHER SCHEME, MORE PUBLIC HOUSING UNITS WOULD HAVE TO BE BUILT THAN WITH THE RENT SCALE SCHEME. THE FORMER SCHEME MAY BE ESPECIALLY SUITED TO THE VALUES OF NORTH AMERICANS WHO CHERISH HOME OWNERSHIP VERY HIGHLY (SEE CHAPTER 15). THE OWNERSHIP SCHEME COULD SERVE TO REMOVE SOME OF THE STIGMA ATTACHED TO PUBLIC HOUSING: ONCE THE APARTMENT WOULD BE OWNED, IT WOULD CEASE TO BE 'PUBLIC.' THIS SCHEME COULD ALSO SERVE TO REDUCE SOME OF THE NEGLECT OFTEN NOTED AS CHARACTERIZING PUBLIC HOUSING; THE TENANTS WOULD NOT WISH TO DAMAGE SOMETHING THEY COULD SOON OWN.

MONTREAL,[27] THE AUTHOR WAS MADE AWARE OF THE VIEWS ABOUT THE RENT SCALE OF THIS GROUP OF FUTURE RESIDENTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING. MANY OF THEM FELT THAT A RENT SCALE IS SIMPLY DISCRIMINATORY: ACCORDING TO THEIR VALUES, FAIRNESS COULD ONLY MEAN THAT RESIDENTS OF APARTMENTS OF EQUAL QUALITY SHOULD BE PAYING EXACTLY THE SAME RENT, REGARDLESS OF THEIR INCOME. WHAT THEY FELT TO BE ESPECIALLY OFFENSIVE TO THEIR VALUES OF PRIVACY AND INDIVIDUALISM WAS THE FACT THAT THE RENT PAID BY EACH RESIDENT (AND HENCE ALSO THE RESIDENT'S INCOME) WOULD BE POSTED AND MADE PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. HERE, THEN IS A CLEAR CASE WHERE THE VALUES OF EQUALITY, FAIRNESS, AND JUSTICE, HAVE BEEN GIVEN DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS BY THE PLAN'S CLIENTS ON THE ONE HAND, AND BY THE PLANNERS AND OTHER RELEVANT DECISION-MAKERS ON THE OTHER HAND.

TO CONCLUDE, PLANNERS WHO WOULD LIKE TO UNDERTAKE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND WHO FEEL THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES ARE IMPORTANT FOR GOAL-SETTING, WOULD DO WELL TO ASCERTAIN THE RANGE OF VALUES EXISTING AMONG THE CLIENTS PREVIOUS TO MAKING A SELECTION AMONG THE ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF HOUSING IN GENERAL AND OF PUBLIC HOUSING IN PARTICULAR. FOR, AS WE HAVE SEEN, EACH OF THESE ALTERNATIVE FORMS HAS ITS OWN MOTIVATING OR ENTAILED VALUES.

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[27] THE MEETING WAS HELD IN SEPTEMBER, 1969.

CHAPTER 17

TRANSPORTATION AND RECREATION

TRANSPORTATION PLANNING SEEMS SO TECHNICAL AND 'COLD' THAT ONE WOULD INITIALLY EXPECT IT TO BE ALMOST VALUE-FREE. STILL, THE VALUES OF BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE PUBLIC INTERVENE EVEN IN THIS SUBSTANTIVE AREA OF CITY PLANNING. PERHAPS LESS SURPRISINGLY, VALUES ALSO INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING OF RECREATION FACILITIES AND OPEN SPACES.

A. VALUES AND THE PRIVATE CAR

THE GREAT MAJORITY OF NORTH AMERICANS OWN A CAR, OFTEN MORE THAN ONE CAR. IN OTHER WORDS, THEY APPARENTLY PREFER THIS MEANS OF PRIVATE TRANSPORTATION OVER VARIOUS FORMS OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AVAILABLE TO THEM. WHAT VALUES UNDERLIE THIS PREFERENCE?

THE CAR IS PRIVATE AND INDIVIDUALLY-OWNED. IT THEREFORE SYMBOLIZES THE DEEPLY-ENTRENCHED VALUES OF PRIVACY, INDIVIDUALISM, PRIVATE OWNERSHIP, AND FREEDOM. IT IS NO COINCIDENCE THAT THE PHRASE "THE CAR GIVES ME FREEDOM OF MOBILITY" IS SO OFTEN HEARD AS A JUSTIFICATION FOR PREFERRING THE CAR; AND FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT IS AN IMPORTANT FREEDOM FOR A HIGHLY MOBILE NORTH AMERICAN POPULATION.[1] BECAUSE THE CAR IS THE

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[1] THESE VALUES ARE HELD BY: ROBERT R. HEILBRONER, "HALFWAY TO THE MOON ON WHEELS," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 153-155; AND WOLFE, WHO EXPRESSES THEM IN A CORRESPONDENCE WITH MUMFORD, IN: R. I. WOLFE AND LEWIS MUMFORD, "ON FREEDOM, FREEWAYS AND FLEXIBILITY: THE PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE OF MESSRS. R. I. WOLFE AND LEWIS MUMFORD," JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, FEBRUARY, 1961, PP. 74-77.

FOCUS OF THESE PIVOTAL VALUES OF THE NORTH AMERICAN INDIVIDUALISTIC-DEMOCRATIC IDEOLOGY, IT HAS ALSO COME TO SERVE AS A SYMBOL OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS AND SOCIAL PRESTIGE.

THE HIGH VALUATION OF THE PRIVATE CAR CAN BE ILLUSTRATED FROM THE NORTHVILLE STUDY. IN THE NORTHVILLE AREA THERE ARE ONLY A FEW MILES OF ROADS; THESE ROADS ARE FOR LOCAL SERVICE ONLY SINCE NORTHVILLE IS NOT CONNECTED BY ROAD TO ANY OTHER POPULATION CENTER. YET SOME NORTHVILLE RESIDENTS HAVE INCURRED THE CONSIDERABLE EXPENSE OF BRINGING IN A CAR BY RAIL FOR USE ON THESE ROADWAYS. POSSESSION OF A CAR IN NORTHVILLE IS THEREFORE A MARK OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS NO LESS AND PERHAPS MORE SO THAN IN OTHER LOCATIONS.

IN UNDERTAKING TRANSPORTATION PLANNING, THE PLANNER IS FACED WITH THE DECISION OF WHETHER OR NOT TO PLAN FOR THE PRIVATE CAR AND ITS REQUIREMENTS: SHOULD HE PLAN MORE HIGHWAYS, PARKING FACILITIES, SERVICE STATIONS, DRIVE-INS, ETC.? OR SHOULD HE FOCUS INSTEAD ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION? THE PLANNER'S VALUES WOULD BE AN IMPORTANT FACTOR IN HIS DECISION. LET US TAKE THE CASE OF THE PLANNER WHO FINALLY DECIDES TO PLAN FOR THE AUTOMOBILE. IF HE SHARES WHAT HE PERCEIVES TO BE THE GENERAL HIGH VALUATION OF THE PRIVATE CAR, HE IS LIKELY TO DECIDE IN FAVOR OF THE AUTOMOBILE. EVEN, HERE, HOWEVER, HIS DECISION MAY REFLECT TWO DISTINCT VALUE-STANDS: IF HE IS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND TO THE BELIEF THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO GOAL-SETTING, THEN IT MAY BE THIS TIER OF VALUES THAT MOTIVATES HIS DECISION.[2] THEORETICALLY (ALTHOUGH NOT LIKELY), HE COULD HOLD CONTRARY PERSONAL

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[2]DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND GOAL-SETTING WERE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTERS 10 AND 11.

VALUES AND STILL PLAN ACCORDING TO WHAT HE PERCEIVES TO BE THE CLIENTS' CHOICE. ON THE OTHER HAND, IF HE IS NOT COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC PLANNING, HE WOULD INCORPORATE HIS OWN VALUES INTO THE PLAN.

THE SIGNIFICANT POINT IS HOW THE PLANNER PERCEIVES THE CLIENTS' PREFERENCE. MANY PLANNERS IN FACT FEEL THAT THE PUBLIC PREFERS THE AUTOMOBILE. FOR THEIR SUPPORT THEY CITE THE OVERWHELMING MARKET SUCCESS OF THE CAR AND ITS PROLIFERATION TO ALMOST EVERY FAMILY. A VIEW SUCH AS THIS HAS BEEN EXPRESSED BY ROBERT MOSES, ROCHE, AND WOLFE.[3] IMPLICIT IN THEIR VIEW ARE THE VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE FOR THE PLANNER.[4]

THE POSITIVE VALUATION OF THE CAR IS SO STRONG IN NORTH AMERICA THAT IT HAS SUCCEEDED IN SUPERSEDING THE ALSO-STRONG VALUES OF ECONOMY AND FINANCIAL SAVINGS. THE COST OF HIGHWAYS IS EXORBITANT. NOT ONLY ARE GOVERNMENTS EXPECTED TO PUT OUT THE HIGH CAPITAL OUTLAYS FOR CONSTRUCTION OF ROADS, THEY MUST ALSO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR MAINTENANCE, POLICING, AND MUST INCUR THE CONSIDERABLE LOSS IN TAX REVENUES WHICH THEY COULD HAVE COLLECTED HAD THE LARGE LAND AREAS EXPROPRIATED FOR HIGHWAYS BEEN LEFT IN PRIVATE USE[5] (THE TAXES GOVERNMENTS COLLECT IN USERS' FEES ARE RE-INVESTED IN HIGHWAYS). THE HIGH VALUE PLACED ON

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[3]ROBERT MOSES, "ARE CITIES DEAD," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 50-55; J. M. ROCHE, "THE PUBLIC PREFERS THE AUTOMOBILE," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 162-164; AND WOLFE AND MUMFORD, "ON FREEDOM, FREEWAYS, AND FLEXIBILITY" (WOLFE'S PART).

[4]THIS ROLE WAS DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 10.

[5]THE LATTER POINT IS MADE BY: C. FELL (SENATOR), MEGALOPOLIS UNBOUND (NEW YORK: FREDERICK A. PRAEGER, 1966), P. 72; AND DAVID M. WINCH, THE ECONOMICS OF HIGHWAY PLANNING (TORONTO: THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS, 1963), P. 64. PARKING COSTS ARE DISCUSSED BY JOHN R. MEYER, J. F. KAIN AND M. WOHL, THE URBAN TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: THE HARVARD UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1966), P. 213.

THE CAR IS ALSO INDICATED BY THE FACT THAT ALTERNATIVE FORMS OF TRANSPORTATION ARE NOT PREFERRED BY THE PUBLIC DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE RATE OF ACCIDENT FATALITIES IS MUCH HIGHER FOR THE AUTOMOBILE THAN FOR MASS TRANSPORTATION FORMS.[6] THE PREFERENCE FOR THE AUTOMOBILE IS ALSO UNDERSCORED BY THE FACT THAT DESPITE THE RECENT PUBLIC CONCERN THAT THE CAR IS A PRIME AND DANGEROUS POLLUTER OF THE ATMOSPHERE, FEW INDIVIDUALS HAVE GIVEN UP USE OF THEIR PRIVATE AUTOMOBILES. LEGISLATION FORBIDDING ITS USE IN THE NAME OF THE PUBLIC GOOD IS UNLIKELY TO BE PASSED IN THE NEAR FUTURE. IT WOULD BE INTERPRETED AS A CURTAILMENT OF INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS.

B. VALUES AND MASS TRANSPORTATION

THOSE WHO ADVOCATE THAT MORE EMPHASIS SHOULD BE PLACED ON PLANNING MASS TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES USE SEVERAL ARGUMENTS TO SUPPORT THEIR CASE.

THEY CLAIM THAT, IN FACT, THE PUBLIC DOES NOT PREFER THE AUTOMOBILE OVER MASS TRANSPORTATION AS MUCH AS MARKET FIGURES SEEM TO INDICATE. THESE FIGURES, THEY ARGUE, REFLECT THE INDIRECT SUBSIDIZATION OF THE AUTOMOBILE BY GOVERNMENTS. IF GOVERNMENTS ASKED USERS OF HIGHWAYS TO PAY THE FULL COSTS AT ALL TIMES OF DAY, INCLUDING RUSH-HOURS; IF SUBSIDIZATION OF PUBLIC PARKING IN CITY CENTERS WOULD CEASE; IF GOVERNMENTS WOULD STOP PAYING FOR HIGHWAYS OUT OF GENERAL TAX FUNDS; AND IF, ON THE OTHER HAND, GOVERNMENTS WOULD GIVE THE SAME BENEFITS OF TAX RELIEF ON RIGHTS-OF-WAY TO PRIVATE OWNERS OF MASS TRANSPORTATION AS IT GRANTS TO PUBLIC HIGHWAYS;

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[6] A COMPARISON OF ACCIDENT STATISTICS BETWEEN THE AUTOMOBILE AND MASS TRANSPORTATION IS GIVEN IN: PELL, MEGALOPOLIS UNBOUND, P. 134.

AND IF IT WOULD SUBSIDIZE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION AS WELL AS HIGHWAYS--- THEN, IT IS CLAIMED, THE CONSUMER'S MARKET CHOICE WOULD INDICATE GREATER PUBLIC PREFERENCE FOR MASS TRANSPORTATION THAN AT PRESENT.[7] IN SHORT, IT IS ARGUED THAT PLANNERS WHO ESPOUSE THE VALUES ASSUMED IN THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE SHOULD NOT DESPAIR; THEY WOULD FIND A LARGE ENOUGH CLIENTELE FOR PUBLIC MASS TRANSPORTATION IF ONLY THE MARKET WERE 'UN-RIGGED'.

OTHERS HAVE ADOPTED THE PACE-SETTER ROLE AND HAVE APPEALED TO THE VALUES OF ECONOMY AND EFFICIENCY IN STATING THAT MASS TRANSPORTATION IS A MUCH MORE EFFICIENT USER OF URBAN SPACE THAN THE PRIVATE AUTOMOBILE, AND THAT IT IS IN THE LONG-RUN LESS EXPENSIVE BOTH TO THE INDIVIDUAL AND TO GOVERNMENTS.[8] STILL OTHERS HAVE SOUGHT TO PROMOTE THE USE OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION BY APPEALING TO THE NOTION OF THE PUBLIC GOOD IN SUPPORT OF THE ARGUMENT THAT PRIVATE TRANSPORTATION CREATES NOISE, CONGESTION, POLLUTION, LOSS OF TIME, URBAN SPRAWL, AND LOSS OF REVENUE FROM INVESTMENTS IN THE CENTER-CITY.

IN DISCUSSING THE VARIOUS FORMS OF DEMOCRATIC PLANNING,[9] WE NOTED THAT THE PLANNER IS FACED WITH THE DILEMMA OF HOW TO CATER TO THE NEEDS

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[7]THIS ARGUMENT IS PRESENTED BY GILBERT BURCK IN: "HOW TO UNCHOKE OUR CITIES," IN METROPOLIS: VALUES IN CONFLICT, ED. BY ELIAS, GILLIES AND RIEMER, PP. 156-161. PORTIONS RELEVANT TO THIS ARGUMENT ARE ALSO PRESENTED BY WILFRED OWEN IN THE METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION PROBLEM (WASHINGTON: THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, 1966), PP. 150-162, AND BY LYLE C. FITCH ET AL, URBAN TRANSPORTATION AND PUBLIC POLICY (SAN FRANCISCO: CHANDLER PUBLISHING CO., 1964), PP. 25-31.

[8]DONALD S. BERRY, ET AL. THE TECHNOLOGY OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION, THE METROPOLITAN TRANSPORTATION SERIES (EVANSTON, ILL.: NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY PRESS, 1963), PP. 43-46, 79-80.

[9]SEE CHAPTER 11 ABOVE.

OF A MINORITY WHILE AT THE SAME TIME NOT SACRIFICING THE INTERESTS OF THE MAJORITY. TRANSPORTATION PLANNING PRESENTS A SITUATION WHERE THE MAJORITY DESIRES THE PRIVATE AUTOMOBILE, YET WHERE A SIGNIFICANT MINORITY REQUIRES PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FACILITIES. IT HAS BEEN SHOWN THAT THERE ARE SEVERAL SECTORS OF THE POPULATION WHO ARE DEPENDENT ON PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION FOR THEIR MOBILITY. THESE ARE THE POOR WHO CANNOT AFFORD CARS, THE OLD WHO NO LONGER DRIVE, THE YOUNG WHO DO NOT YET DRIVE OR OWN CARS, THE HANDICAPPED WHO CANNOT DRIVE, AND OFTEN ALSO HOUSEWIVES WHO MAY DRIVE BUT WHO DO NOT HAVE A CAR AVAILABLE DURING MOST HOURS OF THE DAY.[10] PLANNERS WHO CITE THESE NEEDS AS THEIR JUSTIFICATION FOR ADVOCATING PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, ARE MOTIVATED BY VALUES OF EQUALITY AND HUMANITY (THE POOR, HANDICAPPED, ETC., ALSO DESERVE EQUAL OPPORTUNITY TO BE MOBILE).[11] THEY WOULD ARGUE THAT TRANSPORTATION IS A HUMAN RIGHT RATHER THAN JUST A COMMERCIAL SERVICE, AND THAT IT IS THEREFORE JUSTIFIED THAT THE PUBLIC, THROUGH THE GOVERNMENT, SHOULD PAY FOR THIS SERVICE, JUST AS IT PAYS FOR EDUCATION OR HEALTH SERVICES.

ANOTHER CONTROVERSIAL ISSUE IN PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IS WHETHER OR NOT FARES FOR THE POOR OUGHT TO BE SUBSIDIZED. THE VALUE PREMISES ON WHICH ALTSHULER HAS BASED HIS ARGUMENT HAVE LED HIM TO CONCLUDE THAT IF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION IS TO FULFILL THE NEEDS OF THE POOR, THEY OUGHT TO BE RELIEVED FROM PAYING THE FULL FARE. HE HAS GIVEN THOUGHT TO THE

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[10] CARNEGIE MELLON UNIVERSITY TRANSPORTATION RESEARCH INSTITUTE, LATENT DEMAND FOR URBAN TRANSPORTATION, FINAL REPORT, BY LESTER A. HOEL ET AL. PART OF SERIES: STUDY IN NEW SYSTEMS OF URBAN TRANSPORTATION (PITTSBURG, PA., 1968).

[11] ALAN A. ALTSHULER, "TRANSIT SUBSIDIES: BY WHOM, FOR WHOM?" JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF PLANNERS, MARCH, 1969, PP. 84-89. ALTSHULER SEEMS TO BE MOTIVATED BY THESE VALUES.

BEST WAY IN WHICH THIS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED, AND HAS CONCLUDED (ON THE BASIS OF THE VALUE OF PRIVACY) THAT THE BEST SCHEME WOULD BE TO INTRODUCE A SYSTEM WHEREBY THE CUSTOMER WOULD BE CHARGED FOR HIS FARE ON THE BASIS OF A 'CREDIT CARD.' KNOWLEDGE OF THE CUSTOMER'S INCOME COULD THUS BE KEPT CONFIDENTIAL, AND THE PRIVACY OF THE INDIVIDUAL BE PRESERVED.[12] THE FACT THAT THIS SCHEME HAS NOT YET BEEN WIDELY INTRODUCED INDICATES THAT VALUES RESISTANT TO THIS SCHEME STILL REIGN SUPREME. RESISTANCE TO THE SCHEME COULD BE GENERATED BY ECONOMIC VALUES (AN UNWILLINGNESS TO BEAR THE COST), OR BY THE VIEW THAT TRANSPORATION IS NOT A HUMAN RIGHT AND THUS DOES NOT DESERVE PUBLIC SUBSIDY.

TO THIS POINT IN OUR DISCUSSION OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION, WE HAVE ASSUMED THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE PLANNER WHO WISHES TO PROMOTE PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION. NOW LET US SEE WHAT VALUES MAY RESIST SUCH PROMOTION, BOTH ON THE PART OF A PLANNER AND ON THE PART OF THE PUBLIC.

THE RESISTANCE TO MASS TRANSPORTATION ARISES FROM THE CONVERSE TO THE VALUES THAT WE HAVE IDENTIFIED AS UNDERLYING THE POPULARITY OF THE PRIVATE CAR. WHILE THE PRIVATE CAR SYMBOLIZES PRIVACY, INDIVIDUALISM, AND FREEDOM, MASS TRANSPORTATION IS VIEWED AS ANTAGONISTIC TO THESE VALUES. WHEN MASS TRANSPORTATION IS GOVERNMENT OPERATED, IT MAY BE IDENTIFIED WITH THE NEGATIVE VALUES OF GOVERNMENT CONTROL AND RESTRICTION OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM. AND BECAUSE MASS TRANSPORTATION RUNS AT A PRE-SET ROUTES, IT MAY BE ASSOCIATED WITH REGIMENTATION AND CONSTRICTION.[13]

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[12] IBID.

[13] THE VALUES ANTAGONISTIC TO PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SEEM TO BE LESS POTENT IN CANADA THAN IN THE UNITED STATES. IN CANADA RAPID TRANSIT AND BUS TRANSIT ARE USUALLY GOVERNMENT OR COMMUNITY OWNED AND OPERATED; WHILE IN THE UNITED STATES MANY LINES OF TRANSIT ARE PRIVATELY OWNED. FURTHERMORE: THE FACT THAT THE CAR INDUSTRY IS SUCH A MAJOR ECONOMIC SECTOR IN THE UNITED STATES BUT NOT IN CANADA TENDS TO MAKE AMERICANS MORE RESISTANT TO MASS TRANSPORTATION. AND THE COLD CANADIAN CLIMATE MAKES CANADIANS MORE APPRECIATIVE OF PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION.

FINALLY, IT SHOULD BE NOTED THAT TRANSPORTATION PLAYS AN IMPORTANT ROLE IN SHAPING THE URBAN FORM. THE CAR, BECAUSE OF ITS CAPACITY TO GO ANYWHERE WHERE ROADS EXIST, HAS A DECENTRALIZING EFFECT ON CITIES. THOSE WHO VALUE A DISPERSED, LOW DENSITY URBAN FORM,[14] WOULD LIKELY VALUE THE CAR AS A WAY TO SUSTAIN AND EXTEND THE USE OF THIS FORM. THUS, FOR EXAMPLE, FRANK LLOYD WRIGHT WHO PROPOSED THE DISPERSED BROADACRE CITY, BASED HIS SCHEME ON THE AUTOMOBILE AND NOT ON MASS TRANSPORTATION. ONLY THE CAR COULD EXPRESS THE SYMBOLISM OF FREEDOM AND INDIVIDUALISM WHICH HE SOUGHT TO TRANSMIT THROUGH HIS PLAN.[15] ON THE OTHER HAND, IF A PLANNER VALUES A CONCENTRATED, HIGH-DENSITY URBAN UNIT OR A LINEAR CITY, HE WOULD LIKELY ALSO PLACE POSITIVE VALUE ON RAIL TRANSIT. THUS LE CORBUSIER, WHO PLANNED FOR A CONCENTRATED URBAN CORE, ALSO INCLUDED RAPID TRANSIT LINES IN HIS SCHEME.[16] SORIA Y MATTA MADE THE STREETCAR THE BASIS OF HIS CIUDAD LINEAL (ALTHOUGH IN THE LATTER CASE THERE IS ROOM TO ARGUE THAT HE VALUED THE LINEAL URBAN FORM BECAUSE OF THE TRANSPORTATION MEDIUM, WHICH HE OWNED, RATHER THAN VICE VERSA).[17]

C. RECREATION AND OPEN SPACE

UNLIKE HOUSING, CERTAIN TYPES OF RECREATION, ESPECIALLY OUTDOOR

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[14] VALUES AND URBAN FORMS WERE DISCUSSED IN CHAPTER 13, B.

[15] SEE REINER, THE PLACE OF THE IDEAL COMMUNITY IN URBAN PLANNING, P. 73.

[16] IBID., PP. 54-57.

[17] MOHOLY-NAGY, MATRIX OF MAN, PP. 270-271.

RECREATION, HAVE TRADITIONALLY BEEN VIEWED IN NORTH AMERICA AS FALLING WITHIN THE REALM OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY.[18] THE RESISTANCE TO THE INTERVENTION OF GOVERNMENT (THROUGH PLANNING) IN THE FIELD OF RECREATION HAS THEREFORE BEEN LESS SEVERE THAN IN THE FIELDS OF LAND-USE CONTROLS, HOUSING, AND TRANSPORTATION. YET THE ACCEPTANCE OF PUBLIC RECREATION VARIES BY TYPE OF RECREATION: WHILE IT IS PERFECTLY ACCEPTABLE TO NORTH AMERICAN VALUES TO HAVE PUBLIC PARKS, CAMPGROUNDS, PLAYGROUNDS, BEACHES AND SOMETIMES POOLS, SPORTS ARENAS AND FIELDS, AND CONCERT HALLS, IT IS LESS ACCEPTABLE TO HAVE PUBLIC HORSE-BACK RIDING, BOATING, SKIING, AND GOLFING, AND LEAST ACCEPTABLE TO HAVE PUBLIC RESTAURANTS, NIGHT-CLUBS, CINEMAS, AND BOWLING-ALLEYS. THE LATTER WE TEND TO IDENTIFY AS 'ENTERTAINMENT' OR AS 'COMMERCIAL FACILITIES' RATHER THAN AS RECREATION. PUBLIC PLANNING AND CONTROL OF THESE WOULD BE REGARDED AS AN INFRINGEMENT OF THE RIGHTS OF FREE-ENTERPRISE. YET LACK OF PUBLIC PROVISION OF PARKS AND PLAYGROUNDS WOULD BE REGARDED AS LACK OF FULFILLMENT OF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY.

WHEN PLANNING IS UNDERTAKEN FOR THOSE TYPES OF RECREATION IN WHICH PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY IS THE NORM, VALUES INTERVENE STILL FURTHER. THE PLANNER MAY BRING WITH HIM VALUES DERIVED FROM HIS SOCIAL CLASS BACKGROUND OR FROM HIS PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION WHICH WOULD DETERMINE HIS CONCEPTION OF WHAT RECREATIONAL TYPES AND STANDARDS HE SHOULD INCLUDE IN HIS PLANS. IF HE IS HEIR TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF THE "PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT" (AND NORTH AMERICAN PLANNING IS, IN GENERAL, HEIR TO THIS TRADITION), THEN HE WOULD VIEW IT AS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY THAT EVERY RESIDENTIAL AREA SHOULD HAVE SOME SET MINIMUM REQUIREMENT FOR PLAYGROUNDS AND OPEN

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[18] BOLAN, "EMERGING VIEWS OF PLANNING."

SPACES.[19] THE HIGH VALUE PLACED BY MOST NORTH AMERICAN PLANNERS ON GREEN OPEN SPACES DATES FROM THAT ALL-POWERFUL PLANNING TRADITION--THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT. THE POSITIVE VALUATION OF OPEN SPACE HAS BEEN EXTENTED TO THE MIDDLE AND UPPER CLASSES, AND HAS INTERACTED WITH AND REINFORCED THE VALUES MANIFESTED IN THE SUBURBS, THE HOME-AND-GARDEN NORM, AND THE WHOLESOMENESS ATTRIBUTED TO RURAL LIFE.

LATELY, THE REQUIREMENT FOR OPEN SPACES IS INCREASINGLY BEING JUSTIFIED BY PLANNERS ON THE BASIS OF ECOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS: OPEN SPACE IS NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF OXYGEN IN ORDER TO COMPENSATE FOR THE SPARSE PLANT LIFE IN THE CITY AND FOR URBAN AIR POLLUTION. THE JUSTIFICATION FOR OPEN SPACE IS HERE MADE IN THE NAME OF THE 'PUBLIC GOOD.'

NOT ALL, HOWEVER, ATTACH SUCH A POSITIVE VALUE TO PARKS, PLAY-GROUNDS, AND OTHER URBAN OPEN SPACES. RESIDENTS OF LOW-RENT, DENSELY-POPULATED AREAS, MAY VIEW OPEN SPACE NOT AS A RECREATIONAL ASSET, BUT AS A VACANT AREA WHERE WASTE MAY BE DISPOSED OF, AND AS A FORBODING SPACE WHERE DEVIANTS AND CRIMINALS CARRY OUT THEIR ACTIVITIES. JANE JACOBS CONCURS WITH THE LOWER-CLASS VIEW, AND ENJOINS AGAINST AN OVER-ABUNDANCE OF URBAN OPEN SPACES.[20] THE IMPORTANCE PLACED ON HAVING WELL-EQUIPPED PLAYGROUNDS FOR CHILDREN VARIES WITH SUB-CULTURAL VALUES. FOR EXAMPLE, IN NORTHVILLE THE LARGEST NUMBER AND BEST-EQUIPPED PLAYGROUNDS ARE TO BE FOUND IN THE SUB-COMMUNITY WHERE THE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES OF HIGHER

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[19] GANS, PEOPLE AND PLANS..., P. 59. GANS CONSIDERS THE STANDARDS ELABORATELY FORMULATED BY THE PLAYGROUND MOVEMENT (WHICH DATES BACK AS FAR AS THE 1890'S) AS ARBITRARY.

[20] JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 89-111.

RANKS LIVE. IN THE OTHER WHITE SUB-COMMUNITY THERE IS ONLY A SCHOOL PLAYGROUND BECAUSE THE RESIDENTS PLACE LESS IMPORTANCE ON SUCH RECREATIONAL FACILITIES. WHILE IN THE INDIAN COMMUNITY THERE ARE NO FORMAL PLAYGROUNDS AT ALL, ONLY THE NATURAL BUSHES AND TREES.

PREFERENCES FOR OTHER RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES ALSO VARY WITH SUB-CULTURAL VALUES. THE MIDDLE AND UPPER-CLASS WHITES WHO CAME TO NORTHVILLE FROM THE 'SOUTH' BROUGHT WITH THEM THEIR RECREATIONAL PATTERNS. DESPITE THE COLD OF THE NORTHVILLE CLIMATE YEAR-ROUND, SOME HIGHER RANKING GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES AND BUSINESSMEN HAVE BOUGHT OR ERECTED 'COTTAGES' (HUTS) TO WHICH THEY AND THEIR FAMILIES RETREAT FOR A VACATION. SINCE THERE ARE ONLY A FEW MILES OF ROADS IN THE AREA, THEIR 'COTTAGE' IS AT BEST TEN MINUTES' RIDE AWAY FROM HOME. IN THEIR DESIRE OCCASIONALLY TO ESCAPE THE INTRICATE AND DENSELY-WOVEN SOCIAL AND WORK TIES, THE RESIDENTS OF NORTHVILLE HAVE FALLEN BACK ON THEIR CLASS-TYPICAL RECREATION NORM, DESPITE ITS APPARENT INCONGRUITY WITH THE CONDITIONS AT NORTHVILLE. IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNLIKELY THAT ONE WOULD FIND ONE OF THE NATIVE PEOPLE WILLING TO FURNISH A CABIN FOR A VACATION RETREAT. FOR THE INDIANS AND ESKIMOS, CHANGE IN DOMICILE IS ASSOCIATED WITH THE NECESSITY TO OBTAIN A LIVELIHOOD FROM HUNTING AND FISHING, RATHER THAN WITH A RECREATIONAL PURSUIT.

IN SHORT, PREFERENCES FOR TYPES OF RECREATION VARY WITH CULTURAL AND SUB-CULTURAL VALUES. WHEN PLANNING FOR RECREATION AND OPEN SPACE, A PLANNER WOULD DO WELL TO ASCERTAIN IN ADVANCE WHAT ARE THE RELEVANT VALUES HELD BY THE VARIOUS GROUPS AMONG HIS CLIENTS. SHOULD HE ESPOUSE THE VALUE-REFLECTOR ROLE, HE COULD INCORPORATE THE CLIENTS' VALUES INTO GOAL-SETTING. SHOULD HE ADOPT THE PACE-SETTER ROLE, HE MAY ALSO WISH TO

KNOW THE CLIENTS' VALUES IN ORDER TO PLAN A STRATEGY FOR ALTERING THEM. IN THE FIELD OF RECREATION IT IS UNLIKELY THAT A PLANNER COULD PRODUCE SUCCESSFUL PLANS IF HE IGNORES THE CLIENTS' VALUES ENTIRELY AND SETS GOALS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE BASIS OF HIS OWN VALUES. FOR RECREATION IS A VOLUNTARY ACTIVITY, AND IF TYPES OF RECREATION UNSUITABLE TO THE CLIENTS' VALUES ARE PLANNED, THEY WOULD NOT LIKELY BE USED. IN THIS RESPECT THE FIELD OF RECREATION DIFFERS FROM BOTH HOUSING AND TRANSPORTATION; THE CONSUMER CANNOT DO WITHOUT THE LATTER TWO, BUT HE CAN FOREGO THE FORMER.

CHAPTER 18

STREET PATTERNS, CIVIC DESIGN AND AESTHETIC VALUES

AT VARIOUS POINTS THROUGHOUT THIS THESIS WE HAVE HAD OCCASION TO REFER TO VALUES ASSOCIATED WITH PHYSICAL PLANNING. A PREFERENCE FOR ONE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF STREETS OR BUILDINGS OVER ANOTHER IS OFTEN MADE ON THE BASIS OF AESTHETIC VALUES. THIS CONCLUDING CHAPTER WILL FOCUS ON AESTHETIC VALUES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS FOR CITY PLANNING.

AESTHETIC VALUES ARE NOT MERELY 'A MATTER OF TASTE.' THEY MAY BE REGARDED AS AN UPPER TIER OF VALUES. UNDERLYING THE AESTHETIC VALUES MAY BE A LOWER TIER OF CULTURAL OR SUB-CULTURAL VALUES WHICH DETERMINE AESTHETIC PREFERENCES TO A CONSIDERABLE EXTENT. THUS SOCIALLY-DERIVED VALUES GENERATE AESTHETIC VALUES IN BOTH THE PLANNER AND THE PUBLIC, WHICH IN TURN GENERATE A PREFERENCE FOR ONE STREET PATTERN OR ONE CIVIC DESIGN STYLE OVER ANOTHER. THUS SOCIAL VALUES INDIRECTLY INVEST THE MAN-MADE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT WITH SOCIAL-SYMBOLIC MEANING--AS WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN IN THE DISCUSSION OF THE SYMBOLISM OF NEIGHBORHOOD LAYOUTS.[1]

A. SYMBOLISM AND VALUES IN STREET PATTERNS

THE ATTACHMENT OF SYMBOLIC VALUE TO STREET PATTERNS DATES BACK

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[1] SEE CHAPTER 15, E.

TO THE EARLY HISTORY OF HUMAN URBAN SETTLEMENT. IN SOME ANCIENT CULTURES, SPACE WAS REGARDED AS HAVING FOUR CORNERS.[2] THE CITY WAS INVESTED WITH COSMIC-RELIGIOUS SIGNIFICANCE THROUGH ITS STREET PATTERN: THE TWO MAIN STREETS OF THE CITY WERE LAID OUT IN NORTH-SOUTH AND EAST-WEST DIRECTIONS, INTERSECTING AT THE CENTER OF THE CITY; THE CITY WAS THUS SYMBOLICALLY MADE THE CENTER OF THE WORLD. IN ROMAN CITIES THE POINT OF INTERSECTION OF THE TWO MAIN STREETS WAS THE PLACE WHERE THE RELIGIOUS RITUAL OF FOUNDING HAD TAKEN PLACE.[3] THE ORTHOGONAL LAYOUT WAS ALSO FOUND IN ANCIENT EGYPTIAN CITIES,[4] WITH A SIMILAR ASSOCIATED SYMBOLISM.

LEWIS MUMFORD HAS WRITTEN MUCH ABOUT THE SYMBOLISM IN THE STREET PATTERN OF WHAT HE CALLS BAROQUE CITIES. THE ASTERISK PATTERN WITH THE WIDE RADIATING STREETS SYMBOLIZED, ACCORDING TO HIM, THE CENTRALIZATION OF POWER AT THE HANDS OF AN ALL-POWERFUL RULER, TO WHOM 'ALL THE ROADS LEAD.'[5] THE ASTERISK PLAN AND WIDE AVENUES ARE STILL BEING USED TO STRENGTHEN THE DOMINANCE OF A BUILDING WITH SPECIAL SIGNIFICANCE, SUCH AS A CAPITOL, AN IMPORTANT MONUMENT (E.G., THE ARC DE TRIOMPHE), OR AN IMPORTANT PLACE OF WORSHIP. THE USE OF WIDE STREETS TO ADD GRANDEUR TO A CITY MAY ALSO BE FOUND IN THE HISTORY OF NORTHVILLE. THE 1912 PLAN CALLED FOR REGULAR STREETS 75 TO 150 FEET IN WIDTH, AND FOR PARKWAYS AS WIDE AS 500 FEET. THESE MEASUREMENTS REFLECT THE OPTIMISM OF THE TIME, THE

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[2] ELIADE, THE SACRED AND THE PROFANE, PP. 45-47.

[3] BLUMENFELD, THE MODERN METROPOLIS, P. 26.

[4] ALEXANDER BADAWY, ARCHITECTURE IN ANCIENT EGYPT AND THE NEAR EAST (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: THE M. I. T. PRESS, 1966), P. 16.

[5] MUMFORD, THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 303-304.

GRANDEUR WITH WHICH THE PLANNER WANTED TO INVEST NORTHVILLE.

PREFERENCES ON THE PART OF PLANNERS FOR ONE STREET PATTERN OVER ANOTHER HAVE NOT REMAINED STATIONARY THROUGH THE HISTORY OF CITY PLANNING. EARLY PLANNERS IN NORTH AMERICA PLANNED MAINLY ACCORDING TO THE GRID PATTERN. STREETS WERE PARALLEL, EQUIDISTANT APART, AND THE PATTERN MONOTONOUSLY REGULAR. OFTEN, THE REGULARITY OF THE GRID WAS EXTENDED OVER AREAS WHERE THE TOPOGRAPHIC OR ECOLOGICAL CONDITIONS MADE IT DIFFICULT TO SUSTAIN THE PATTERN. YET THE STREETS HAD TO BE KEPT STRAIGHT AND REGULAR, EVEN AT EXTRA COST. IN NORTHVILLE, FOR EXAMPLE, THE ROCKY TERRAIN AND THE TOPOGRAPHICAL CONDITIONS MADE IT DIFFICULT TO LAY OUT REGULAR, GRID-PATTERNED STREETS. YET WHEN THE TOWN WAS PLATTED SEVERAL DECADES AGO, THIS WAS PRECISELY WHAT HAD BEEN DONE. PLANNERS WHO PREFER THE GRID STREET PATTERN PLACE A HIGH VALUE ON ORDER AND REGULARITY.

TODAY MANY PLANNERS REJECT THE GRID PATTERN AS TOO MECHANICAL. THE CHANGES IN PLANNING IDEOLOGY WHICH HAVE BROUGHT FORTH A NEW CONCERN WITH SOCIAL VALUES HAVE ALSO BEEN REFLECTED IN THE PREFERENCE FOR DIFFERENT STREET PATTERNS. MANY PLANNERS TODAY VIEW STREET PATTERNS AS INSTRUMENTS FOR CREATING A COMMUNITY IDENTITY, FOR PROMOTING OR RESTRICTING SOCIAL INTERACTION, AND FOR PROTECTING THE SAFETY OF PEDESTRIANS, ESPECIALLY CHILDREN. THUS CURVED PATTERNS, SUCH AS BAYS, CUL-DE-SACS, CIRCLES, ETC., ARE BEING PLANNED FOR RESIDENTIAL NEIGHBORHOODS. THE STREETS ARE NARROWER, AND THEIR CURVATURE DISCOURAGES THROUGH-TRAFFIC, THUS INCREASING THE RELATIVE SAFETY. THE GROUPING OF HOUSES AROUND A TURN-AROUND, OR BACK-TO-BACK ALONG A SHORT, EASILY-IDENTIFIABLE BAY, PROMOTES ASSOCIATION PATTERNS AMONG NEIGHBORS THAT VARY WITH THE TYPE OF LAYOUT: IT IS EASIER TO KNOW MOST OF YOUR NEIGHBORS AND TO FORM A 'STREET-CONSCIOUSNESS' ALONG A SHORT

CUL-DE-SAC OR BAY THAN ALONG A STRAIGHT, SEEMINGLY ENDLESS STREET. THE ASSOCIATION PATTERNS THAT WILL DEVELOP AROUND A TURN-AROUND CAN BE EXPECTED TO DIFFER FROM THE ASSOCIATION PATTERNS THAT ONE WOULD EXPECT TO DEVELOP ALONG A LONGER BAY; STILL DIFFERENT WOULD BE THE NEIGHBORHOOD ACQUAINTANCE PATTERNS THAT WOULD BE LIKELY TO DEVELOP ALONG A BAY WITH A BACK LANE, COMPARED TO A BAY WHERE THE LOT LINES OF TWO NEIGHBORING BACK-YARDS ARE CONTIGUOUS. THE DEGREE TO WHICH ALTERNATIVE PATTERNS OFFER PRIVACY ALSO VARIES. MANY PLANNERS ARE BECOMING AWARE OF THESE POINTS, AND ARE RECOMMENDING PATTERNS OF CURVED STREETS BASED ON SOCIAL VALUES (THEIR OWN OR THEIR CLIENTS'). THEY ARE ALSO COMING TO USE MAJOR TRAFFIC ARTERIES AS A MEANS TO DEFINING THE BOUNDARIES OF A NEIGHBORHOOD, AND ARE AVOIDING THE INCLUSION OF MAJOR STREETS WITHIN A PLANNED NEIGHBORHOOD.

THE NEW STREET PATTERNS HAVE APPARENTLY BEEN INVESTED WITH SOCIAL PRESTIGE, TO THE EXTENT THAT THEY ARE SOMETIMES INCLUDED IN A PLAN SOLELY FOR PRESTIGE ENHANCEMENT, AS A MARK OF 'PROGRESSIVE' PLANNING. THIS IS NOT NECESSARILY DONE CONSCIOUSLY. THESE STREET PATTERNS HAVE SIMPLY GAINED AESTHETIC VALUE. THIS SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN THE CASE IN NORTHVILLE, WHERE PLANNERS OF THE LEVEL II BUREAU PROPOSED TO CHANGE THE STREET PATTERN OF THE TOWN FROM ITS CURRENT GRID FORM TO THE CURVED (BAY AND CUL-DE-SAC) FORM. THEY DID NOT ATTEMPT TO JUSTIFY THIS CHANGE EXPLICITLY IN TERMS OF SOCIAL VALUES, OR EVEN IN TERMS OF ECONOMIC ONES. THEIR PROPOSAL WAS STRONGLY RESISTED BY THE CIVIL SERVANTS, WHOSE VALUES WERE CONSERVATIVE, AND WHO VIEWED THE PROPOSED PATTERN AS AN UNNECESSARY REFORM THAT WOULD MAKE NORTHVILLE TOO MUCH LIKE "BEVERLY HILLS." APPARENTLY, THEY FOUND NO BEAUTY IN THE NEW PATTERN, AND PREFERRED THE ORDERLINESS

OF THE OLD ONE. THEY WERE ALSO CONCERNED WITH EASE OF LAYING UTILITY LINES. THE CIVIL SERVANTS THEREFORE LAID DOWN 'TERMS OF REFERENCE' STATING THAT NORTHVILLE'S STREET PATTERN SHOULD NOT BE ALTERED UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.

THE ATTACHMENT OF AESTHETIC VALUE TO A CERTAIN STREET PATTERN IS NOT A NEW INVENTION. 'PROGRESSIVE' PLANNERS OF MANY DECADES AGO ALREADY FELT THAT SOME STREET DESIGNS WOULD BE NICER AND MORE PRESTIGEOUS THAN OTHERS. REFERENCE HAS ALREADY BEEN MADE TO THE INTRICATE PATTERNS OF THE 1912 NORTHVILLE PLAN.[6] HEXAGONAL, CIRCULAR, CONCENTRIC, SEMICIRCULAR, UNDULATING, ELLIPTICAL, AND OTHER ELABORATE PATTERNS WERE ALL INCLUDED IN THAT PLAN. APPARENTLY, THE PLANNER (AND PROBABLY THE PUBLIC AS WELL) FELT THAT THE AESTHETIC VALUE OF THE TOWN WOULD BE INCREASED IF IT WERE SO PATTERNED. UNLIKE PLANNERS TODAY, THE 1912 PLANNER APPARENTLY PLACED A HIGH AESTHETIC VALUE ON HOW THE TOWN WOULD LOOK ON THE MAP, SINCE ON THE GROUND ONE WOULD HAVE BEEN AT A LOSS TO DETECT ANY REGULAR PATTERN IN THE LABYRINTHINE MESH OF INTERLOCKING STREETS.

STREETS ALSO TEND TO BE VALUED IN THEMSELVES, EITHER POSITIVELY OR NEGATIVELY. RAYMOND UNWIN, A BRITISH ARCHITECT, BEGAN A MOVEMENT AGAINST STREETS WHICH IS STILL ALIVE AMONG NORTH AMERICAN PLANNERS. HE FELT THAT FREQUENT STREETS WERE WASTEFUL, AND THAT THE SPACE COULD BETTER BE UTILIZED FOR GREEN AREAS.[7] HIS THINKING WAS PROPAGATED IN NORTH AMERICA BY LEWIS MUMFORD AND OTHER GARDEN CITY PLANNERS.[8] THIS ANTI-

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[6]THE REFERENCE WAS MADE IN CONNECTION WITH THE MAP-ORIENTATION OF THE MASTER PLAN. SEE CHAPTER 9, A, ABOVE.

[7]RAYMOND UNWIN, THE LEGACY OF RAYMOND UNWIN, ED. BY WALTER L. CREESE, (CAMBRIDGE, MASS.: M. I. T. PRESS, 1967), CHAPTER 7, "NOTHING GAINED BY OVERCROWDING...," PP. 109-127.

[8]A TRIBUTE TO UNWIN'S CONTRIBUTION IS GIVEN BY MUMFORD IN THE CITY IN HISTORY, PP. 496-499.

STREET MOVEMENT REGARDS STREETS AS UNSUITABLE ESPECIALLY AS PLAYGROUNDS FOR CHILDREN. THE EXPRESSION "POOR CHILDREN, THEY HAVE TO PLAY ON THE STREET" REFLECTS THIS APPROACH. PLANNERS WHO HOLD THIS VIEW WOULD PROMOTE THE ESTABLISHMENT OF PARKS, PLAYGROUNDS AND PRIVATE GREEN SPACES, RESTRICTING STREETS TO USE BY VEHICULAR TRAFFIC, AND KEEPING THAT TO THE MINIMUM.

NINE YEARS AGO JANE JACOBS WROTE IN A HERETICAL VEIN AGAINST THE NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TO STREETS. SHE REGARDS STREETS AS THE LIFEBLOOD OF CITIES. ACCORDING TO HER, LIVELY STREETS PROMOTE SOCIAL CONTACTS AMONG DIVERSE PEOPLE; THEY ARE AN EXCELLENT PLAYGROUND FOR CHILDREN; THEY ENSURE NEIGHBORHOOD SAFETY; AND THEY ENCOURAGE DIVERSITY OF USE. SHE THEREFORE URGES PLANNERS TO INCLUDE IN THEIR PLANS AS MANY STREETS AS POSSIBLE, AND AS MANY STREET BLOCKS AS POSSIBLE.[9] A FAITH IN STREETS AND THEIR SUITABILITY AS A HUMAN ENVIRONMENT HAS RECENTLY ALSO BEEN EXPRESSED BY BERNARD RUDOFSKY, WHO CALLS FOR THE RETURN OF STREETS TO THE HUMAN DOMAIN, RATHER THAN THE DOMAIN OF THE CAR.[10]

VALUES INTERVENE, THEN, EVEN IN SUCH A 'STRICTLY PHYSICAL' AREA OF PLANNING AS STREET PLATTING. A PLANNER WHO WISHES TO INCORPORATE HIS CLIENTS' VALUES INTO GOAL-SETTING SHOULD TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE FACT THAT STREETS AND STREET PATTERNS CAN BECOME A FOCUS OF VALUES, BOTH SOCIAL AND AESTHETIC.

B. VALUES AND CIVIC DESIGN

CIVIC DESIGN IS THE DESIGN OF GROUPINGS OF BUILDINGS; IT IS

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[9] JACOBS, THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES, PP. 21-88, AND 178-186.

[10] BERNARD RUDOFSKY, STREETS FOR PEOPLE (NEW YORK: DOUBLEDAY & CO., 1969).

ARCHITECTURE ON THE CITY SCALE. THE CIVIC DESIGNER HOPES THAT HIS PLAN WILL SUCCEED IN THE SENSE THAT IT WILL APPEAL TO THE AESTHETIC VALUES OF THE PUBLIC. AESTHETICS, AS WE HAVE SEEN, OFTEN REFLECT DEEPER VALUES, THE VALUES OF THE SOCIAL MEANING WITH WHICH PHYSICAL STRUCTURES ARE INVESTED. THUS SUCCESSFUL CIVIC DESIGN OFTEN MEANS DESIGN THAT REFLECTS AND REINFORCES THE VALUES OF ITS USERS OR BEHOLDERS. IN THE FIELD OF CIVIC DESIGN, AS IN OTHER FIELDS OF CITY PLANNING, THE PLANNER WHO IS SENSITIVE TO THE VALUES OF HIS CLIENTS SHOULD BECOME AWARE OF THE POSSIBLE WAYS IN WHICH VALUES AFFECT HIS DESIGN, AND THE POSSIBLE AREAS IN WHICH CONFLICT MAY ARISE BETWEEN HIS OWN VALUES AND THE VALUES OF HIS CLIENTS.

LET US ILLUSTRATE SUCH POTENTIAL VALUE CONFLICT FROM THE FIELD OF PUBLIC HOUSING. IN CHAPTER 16 WE NOTED THAT THE PUBLIC OFTEN ATTACHES A STIGMA TO PUBLIC HOUSING. IT MAY OF COURSE BE THAT THE STIGMA IS NOT ATTACHED TO THE HOUSING PER SE, BUT TO THE PEOPLE RESIDING IN IT. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT THE DESIGN PLAYS SOME ROLE AS WELL ALTHOUGH THIS ROLE IS NOT NECESSARILY A CAUSAL ONE.[11] THE DESIGN OF A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT MAY BECOME ASSOCIATED IN THE MIND OF THE PUBLIC WITH POVERTY, DEVIANCE, LACK OF SUCCESS, ETC.; AND THESE, NEEDLESS TO SAY, ARE NEGATIVELY VALUED IN NORTH AMERICA. IN OTHER WORDS, HERE WOULD BE AN EXAMPLE OF THE POINT WE HAVE BEEN STRESSING: A PREFERENCE FOR A GIVEN DESIGN INVOLVES AESTHETIC VALUES; AND THESE, IN TURN, ARE GENERATED BY SOCIAL VALUES, WHICH ASSOCIATE A GIVEN DESIGN OR PHYSICAL PATTERN WITH

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[11] TO CORROBORATE THIS STATEMENT, ONE MAY UNDERTAKE THE FOLLOWING 'TEST': TAKE A BRAND-NEW CIVIC DESIGN FOR A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT, ONE ABOUT WHICH THE PUBLIC HAS NOT YET HEARD ANYTHING; LET IT FUNCTION AS A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT FOR POOR PEOPLE FOR SEVERAL YEARS; THEN BUILD ANOTHER PROJECT WITH THE SAME DESIGN, THIS TIME ON A COMMERCIAL BASIS, CHARGING AVERAGE MARKET PRICES; THE PREDICTION IS THAT SALES OR DEMAND FOR RENTAL WOULD BE LOWER FOR THIS PROJECT THAN FOR A PROJECT OF EQUIVALENT PRICE AND QUALITY.

A DESIRABLE OR UNDESIRABLE SOCIAL PATTERN. PHYSICAL STRUCTURES ARE THUS INVESTED WITH SOCIAL-SYMBOLIC VALUE.

IF THE ABOVE OBSERVATIONS ARE CORRECT, THEN A PLANNER WHO WISHES TO REMOVE SOME OF THE STIGMA ATTACHED TO PUBLIC HOUSING (AT LEAST THAT PART OF THE STIGMA ASSOCIATED WITH THE PHYSICAL STRUCTURE) COULD DEVELOP THE FOLLOWING STRATEGY: HE WOULD NEVER DESIGN A PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT IN AN AVANT-GARDE FASHION SINCE A NEW DESIGN IS IN WHAT WE MAY TERM A 'VALUE-VACUUM'; A NEW DESIGN WOULD THUS SOON BECOME INVESTED WITH NEGATIVE VALUES. RATHER, HE WOULD SELECT A DESIGN THAT ALREADY HAS POSITIVE VALUE-ASSOCIATIONS; IT WOULD THUS HAVE A DEGREE OF RESISTANCE OR IMMUNITY TO NEGATIVE VALUATION. IT WOULD BE BEST IF HE TOOK A NON-CONTROVERSIAL DESIGN WHICH IS VALUED POSITIVELY BY AS WIDE A RANGE OF THE POPULATION AS POSSIBLE: THE STANDARD SINGLE-FAMILY HOME OR THE STANDARD WALK-UP APARTMENT BLOCK OR COMMON HIGH-RISE BLOCK WOULD DO (THE FORMER IS PREFERABLE FOR THIS PURPOSE, BUT IS OFTEN IMPRACTICAL). A COMMON DESIGN FREQUENTLY FOUND THROUGHOUT THE CITY WOULD CERTAINLY NOT AGGRAVATE THE STIGMA, AND IT WOULD BE HIGHLY RESISTANT TO ACQUIRING ONE. THE PLANNER SHOULD, OF COURSE, AVOID ANY DESIGN THAT HAS ALREADY ACQUIRED NEGATIVE VALUE-ASSOCIATIONS.

THIS STRATEGY WOULD NOT SUCCEED IN ELIMINATING THE STIGMA ATTACHED TO THE INSTITUTION OF PUBLIC HOUSING AS SUCH, NOR TO THE RESIDENTS THEMSELVES. IT SHOULD, HOWEVER, ELIMINATE ANY STIGMA THAT A HOUSING DESIGN MIGHT BRING WITH IT, AND AVOID THE REINFORCEMENT OF THE STIGMA ALREADY ATTACHED TO THE INSTITUTION AND THE PEOPLE. PERHAPS THE FREQUENT USE OF PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS AS EXPERIMENTAL GROUNDS FOR INNOVATIVE DESIGN CONCEPTS, AT LEAST IN CANADA, EXPLAINS WHY THE CANADIAN TASK FORCE

ON HOUSING FOUND THE STIGMA PROBLEM SO PERVASIVE THAT IT DECIDED TO RECOMMEND A 'FREEZE' ON ALL NEW PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECTS.[12]

AS A FURTHER BRIEF ILLUSTRATION OF VALUE DIFFERENCES AND CONFLICTS IN THE FIELD OF CIVIC DESIGN, ONE NEED ONLY RECALL THE NORTHVILLE INDIAN COMMUNITY WHICH A HIGH-RANKING CIVIL SERVANT CALLED A 'MODEL COMMUNITY.' "MODEL" FOR WHOM AND BY WHOSE VALUES? CERTAINLY NOT BY THE VALUES OF THE INDIANS TO WHOM, AS WE HAVE NOTED, THE HOUSES ARE TOO CLOSELY SPACED. THE CIVIC DESIGN WOULD PERHAPS HAVE APPEALED TO THE PLANNERS AND CIVIL SERVANTS WHO HOLD THE VALUES OF A DIFFERENT CULTURE AND CLASS.

FINALLY, AN ILLUSTRATION FROM THE FIELD OF CIVIC DESIGN OF RESIDENTIAL AREAS. THE GARDEN CITY MOVEMENT IN NORTH AMERICA, AND ESPECIALLY THE CIVIC DESIGN SCHEMES PROPOSED BY CLARENCE STEIN AND HENRY WRIGHT, HAVE LED TO THE POPULARITY AMONG PLANNERS OF CLUSTER HOUSING WITH SHARED INNER COURTS, PLAYGROUNDS, OR GREENS.[13] LANSING AND MARANS STATE IN A RECENT ARTICLE THAT THE PUBLIC DOES NOT APPRECIATE THIS TYPE OF DESIGN AS MUCH AS THE PLANNERS.[14] IF THEY ARE RIGHT, MANY PLANNERS WHO VALUE DEMOCRATIC PLANNING AND FEEL THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE INCORPORATED INTO PLANNING, WOULD BE FACED WITH SUCH QUESTIONS AS: TO ABANDON THIS TYPE OF DESIGN? TO TRY AND MEASURE WHETHER THE CLIENTS IN FACT DISLIKE IT? TO ADOPT THE PACE-SETTER ROLE AND TRY AND 'SELL' THE CON-

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[12] GOVERNMENT OF CANADA, REPORT OF THE FEDERAL TASK FORCE ON HOUSING..., PP. 54-56.

[13] WE HAVE ALREADY SEEN THAT THIS DESIGN WAS RECOMMENDED BY AT LEAST ONE OF THE NORTHVILLE PLANNERS AS WELL.

[14] LANSING AND MARANS, "EVALUATION OF NEIGHBORHOOD QUALITY."

CEPT? OR TO IGNORE THE CLIENTS' VALUES, WHETHER FAVORABLE OR UNFAVORABLE, ALTOGETHER? THESE QUESTIONS RAISE MANY OF THE VALUE-ISSUES DISCUSSED THROUGHOUT THIS THESIS, ILLUSTRATING THE MULTI-DIRECTIONAL INTERVENTION OF VALUES IN PLANNING. IT IS A DILEMMA WHICH THE PLANNERS FOR NORTHVILLE WOULD HAVE TO SOLVE AS WELL, WHETHER EXPLICITLY AND CONSCIOUSLY, OR IMPLICITLY AND UNCONSCIOUSLY.

IN CONCLUSION AND RETROSPECT

THIS THESIS HAS SOUGHT TO SHOW THAT HUMAN VALUES ARE A MAJOR INPUT INTO THE PLANNING PROCESS. VALUES INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS IN GENERAL AND THE CITY PLANNING PROFESSION IN PARTICULAR FROM THE DIRECTION OF THE PLANNER, THE PLAN'S CLIENTS, THE GENERAL COMMUNITY, AND THE PLANNER'S EMPLOYERS. THIS IS THE 'PERSONNEL' LEVEL OF SOURCES OF INTERVENTION. VALUES ALSO EMANATE FROM THE DIRECTION OF THE ABSTRACT LOCI OF VALUES SHARED BY GROUPS OF PEOPLE. WE LISTED AND DISCUSSED SUCH LOCI OF VALUES AS LANGUAGE, SOCIAL VALUES, SUB-CULTURAL VALUES, SCIENTIFIC VALUES, AND VALUES RESIDING IN PLANNING PROPER. IN SHORT, VALUES INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS FROM MANY DIRECTIONS. THEY ARE INDEED UBIQUITOUS.

THE THESIS HAS ALSO ATTEMPTED TO SHOW THAT VALUES PERMEATE THE PLANNING PROCESS REGARDLESS OF THE SUBJECT MATTER TO WHICH THE PROCESS IS APPLIED. EVEN THOSE SPECIALTIES IN CITY PLANNING THAT SEEM SO ALIEN TO HUMAN VALUES--SUCH AS TRANSPORTATION PLANNING AND STREET PLATTING--ARE SHOWN TO BE JUST AS VULNERABLE TO THE INTERVENTION OF VALUES AS OTHER AREAS.

WHAT IS THE READER TO CONCLUDE FROM THE ARGUMENT PRESENTED? IS HE TO CONCLUDE THAT VALUES ARE 'BAD' AND OUGHT TO BE ERADICATED FROM PLANNING? OR IS HE TO CONCLUDE THAT SINCE VALUES ARE UBIQUITOUS IT WOULD BE FUTILE FOR THE PLANNER TO ATTEMPT TO CONTROL THEM? THE CONCLUSION REACHED BY EACH READER DEPENDS ON--YES--HIS VALUES.

YET THE READER COULD RETORT: IF VALUES ARE INDEED UBIQUITOUS,

THEN THE PRESENT THESIS AND THE AUTHOR ARE NOT IMMUNE TO THEM; IT CANNOT BE TRUE THAT THE AUTHOR LACKS ANY PERSONAL OPINION WHATSOEVER ON THE SUBJECT AT HAND. UNDOUBTEDLY, THE READER WOULD BE RIGHT. DESPITE THE FACT THAT THE AUTHOR HAS CONSCIOUSLY ADOPTED THE POINT OF VIEW OF OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM AND HAS TRIED TO KEEP HER OWN VALUES IN ABEYANCE--DESPITE THIS FACT, THE AUTHOR'S VALUES HAVE INTERVENED NEVERTHELESS. THE AUTHOR IS NOT--PERHAPS CANNOT BE--AWARE OF ALL THESE VALUES. SOME INHERE IN THOUGHT-SHAPING LINGUISTIC PATTERNS; OTHERS ARE EPISTEMOLOGICAL ASSUMPTIONS. OF MANY OTHER VALUES THE AUTHOR IS PROBABLY JUST NOT AWARE. THOSE VALUES OF WHICH THE AUTHOR IS CONSCIOUS SHOULD BE MADE EXPLICIT.

FIRST, THERE ARE THE VALUES ASSUMED IN THE STAND OF OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM ITSELF. THIS STAND IS BASED ON THE DECISION TO RECOGNIZE EVERYONE'S RIGHT TO HOLD VALUES AND TO RESPECT THEM. WHERE OBJECTIVITY IS DESIRED, OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM REQUIRES THAT VALUES BE MADE EXPLICIT IN ORDER THAT BIAS WOULD BE AVOIDED. THUS IN THE VERY ACT OF WRITING THIS CONCLUSION AND IN PROBING THE THESIS FOR IMPLICIT VALUES, THE AUTHOR IS MOTIVATED BY YET FURTHER VALUES.

SECOND, IN OUR DISCUSSION OF VALUES AND THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD WE NOTED THAT VALUES ARE ALSO ENTAILED BY THE SELECTION OF THE SUBJECT FOR STUDY. IN OTHER WORDS, THERE MUST BE SOME VALUE-BASED REASON WHY THE AUTHOR HAS CHOSEN SPECIFICALLY THE SUBJECT OF VALUES IN PLANNING. PARTIALLY, THE SELECTION WAS MOTIVATED BY THE VALUES OF OBJECTIVE RELATIVISM: THE BELIEF THAT IF PLANNING IS TO BE OBJECTIVE AND 'SCIENTIFIC,' PLANNERS SHOULD TAKE COGNIZANCE OF THE ROLE VALUES PLAY IN THEIR PROFESSION AND DISCIPLINE. BUT HOW, THE READER MAY ASK, HAS THE THESIS CONTRIBUTED TO MAKING PLANNING MORE SCIENTIFIC IF ALL THAT IT SHOWED IS HOW THOROUGHLY

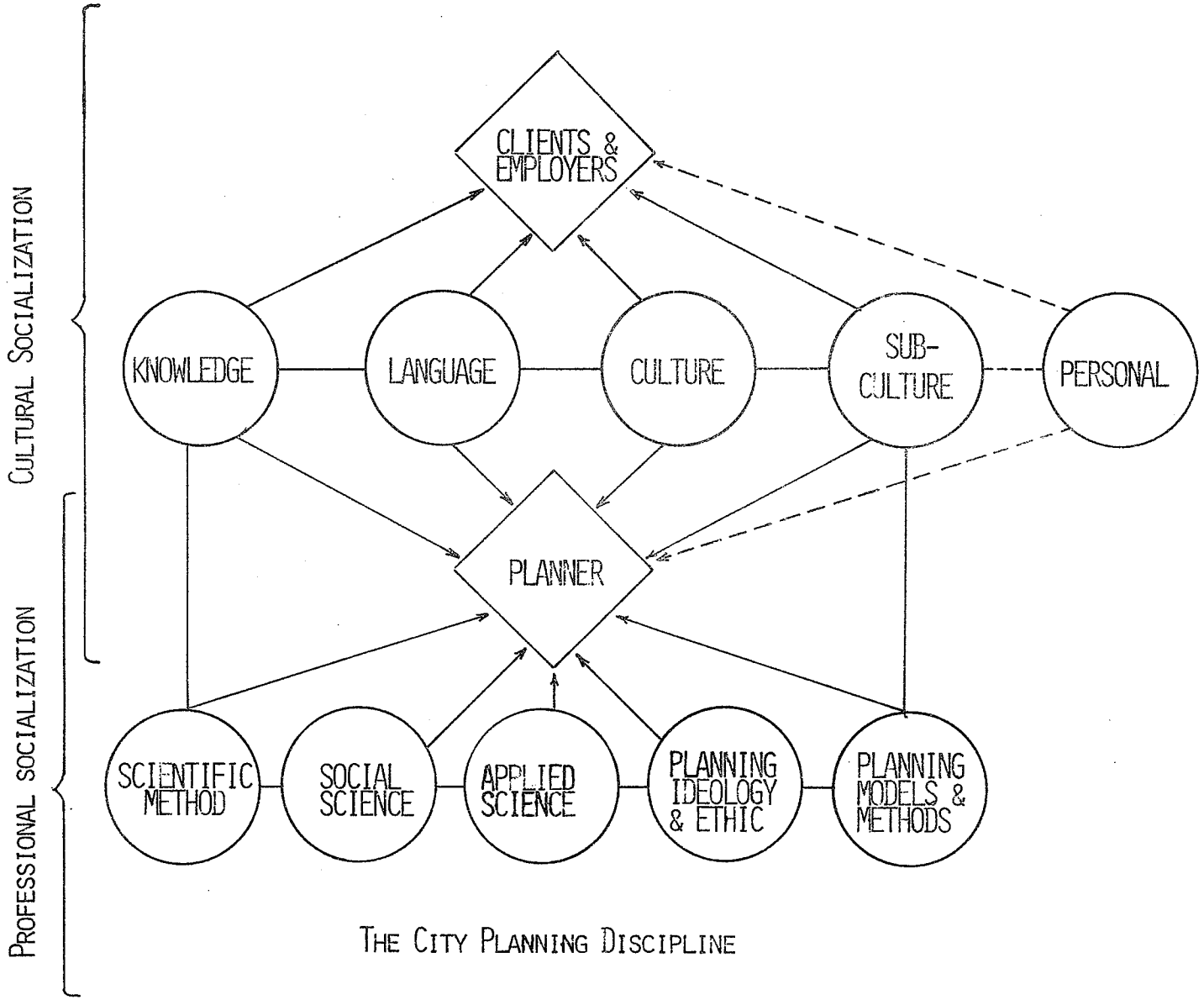
PERMEATED IS PLANNING WITH VALUES? THE THESIS DID NOT INTEND TO IMPLY THAT PLANNING IS SO HOPELESSLY VALUE-RIDDEN THAT IT CAN NEVER ATTAIN 'SCIENTIFIC' STATURE. GRANTED, SOME VALUES--NOTABLY THOSE ASSOCIATED WITH THE SCIENTIFIC METHOD, WITH A PROFESSIONAL ETHIC, WITH LANGUAGE, AND WITH KNOWLEDGE--CANNOT BE ELIMINATED. BUT THEN THEY CANNOT BE ELIMINATED IN ANY DISCIPLINE, EVEN SUCH DISCIPLINES WE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO CALL "SCIENCE". ALL THAT IS REQUIRED IS THAT THE PLANNER BECOME AWARE OF THE VALUES THAT MAY INTERFERE WITH PROFESSIONAL OBJECTIVITY AND THE VALUES THAT MOTIVATE HIS AND OTHERS' PLANNING AND ATTITUDE TO PLANS.

THIRD, THE SELECTION OF THE SUBJECT FOR STUDY WAS MOTIVATED BY OTHER VALUES AS WELL. THESE ARE THE VALUES ENTAILED BY DEMOCRATIC PLANNING: THE BELIEF THAT THE CLIENTS' VALUES SHOULD BE AN IMPORTANT INPUT INTO GOAL-SETTING; A CONCERN WITH THE INDIVIDUAL'S NEEDS AND FEELINGS; AND THE GENERAL OPINION THAT PLANNING WILL ONLY ACHIEVE ITS OPTIMUM SUCCESS IF IT CO-OPERATES WITH THE CLIENTS RATHER THAN MANIPULATES THEM FROM ABOVE; HENCE THE EMPHASIS IN THIS THESIS ON THE VALUES OF THE PLAN'S CLIENTS AND ON POTENTIAL PLANNER-CLIENT VALUE CONFLICT. STILL, IT IS HOPED THAT THIS VALUE POSITION HAS NOT SHUT THE AUTHOR'S EYES TO OTHER POSITIONS AND HAS NOT BIASED THE DISCUSSION.

THESE, THEN, ARE THE VALUES WHICH, IN RETROSPECT, THE AUTHOR CAN IDENTIFY AS HAVING MOTIVATED THE WRITING OF THIS THESIS AND HAVING UNDERLAIN IT. IN VIEW OF THE VALUES STATED ABOVE, IT IS HOPED THAT THE THESIS HAS SUCCEEDED IN MAKING PLANNERS AND OTHERS MORE AWARE OF THE POTENTIAL SOURCES OF VALUES IN PLANNING, THE DIRECTIONS FROM WHICH THEY MAY INTERVENE IN THE PLANNING PROCESS, AND THE POWER WHICH THEY POSSESS TO MOLD

PLANS AND PLANNING SITUATIONS. IT IS HOPED THAT THIS THESIS HAS MADE SOME CONTRIBUTION--EVEN IF EVER SO SMALL--TO WHAT WE HAVE CALLED THE CONTEXTUAL THEORY OF PLANNING.

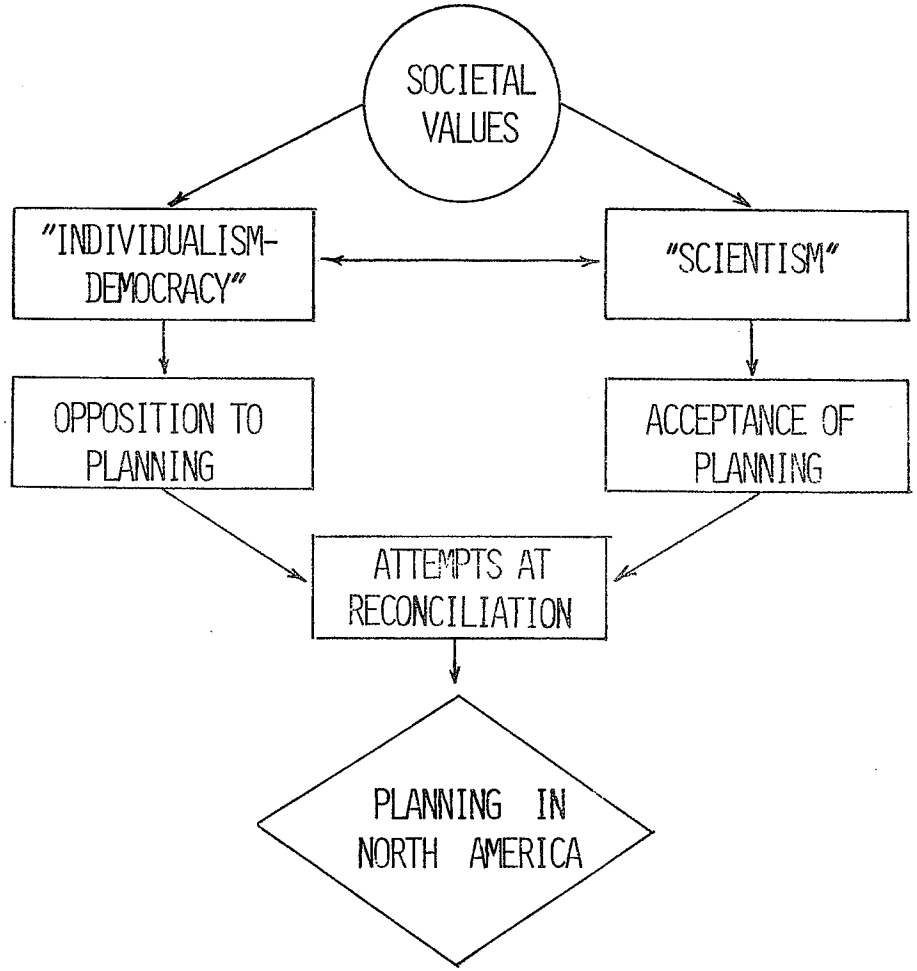
APPENDIX



THE CITY PLANNING DISCIPLINE

THE VALUE CONTEXT FOR PLANNING

FIGURE I



THE IDEOLOGICAL JUSTIFICATION FOR PLANNING IN NORTH AMERICA

FIGURE II

ELEMENTS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS AND THEIR LOCATION IN THE TEXT

ELEMENTS OF THE PLANNING PROCESS	AMPLIFICATI
I. DIRECT INTERVENTION OF VALUES:	
1) "KNOWLEDGE"	EPISTEMOLOGICAL, SCIENTIFIC, LINGUI VALUES
2) "APPLICATION"	VALUES AND APPLIED SCIENCE; PLANNIN
3) "RATIONAL MANNER"	RATIONALITY AND DECISION-MAKING MOD
4) "COMPREHENSIVENESS"	COMPREHENSIVENESS AS A PLANNING ATT
5) "PROGRAM"	TYPES OF PLANS AND PLANNING PROGRAM
6) "MEANS"	ZONING AND PLANNING LEGISLATION
7) "FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS"	FUTURE ORIENTATION AS A PLANNING AT
8) "SPHERE OF HUMAN ACTIVITY"	THE VARIOUS SUBSTANTIVE AREAS OF CI
9) "CONTROLLED OR DIRECTED"	CONTROL (DIRECTION) AS A PLANNING A
10) "GOAL"	THE GOAL-SETTING ATTRIBUTE OF PLANN OF WHO SHOULD SET THE GOALS
II. INDIRECT INTERVENTION OF VALUES:	
1) THE JUSTIFICATION OF PLANNING	META-PLANNING AND THE GENERAL IDEOL
2) THE INSTITUTIONAL SETTING FOR PLANNING	THE COMMUNITY'S VALUES; THE INSTITU PLANNING IN GOVERNMENT; THE EMPL
3) PLANNING IDEOLOGY AND ETHIC	PROFESSIONAL SOCIALIZATION; VALUES THE PLANNING PROCESS
4) SCOPE OF THE PLANNING PROCESS	DEFINITION OF THE SCOPE VARIES WITH

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