History and Theory of Planning

Why do we do what we do?

Gary A. Cornell, FAICP
with Credit to Michael Elliott, Ph.D., Georgia Institute of Technology
What is planning?

- a universal human activity involving the consideration of outcomes before choosing amongst alternatives
- a deliberate, self-conscious activity
Primary functions of planning

- improve efficiency of outcomes
  - optimize
- counterbalance market failures
  - balance public and private interests
- widen the range of choice
  - enhance consciousness of decision making
- civic engagement
  - expand opportunity and understanding in community
What is the role of history and theory in understanding planning?

- Planning is rooted in applied disciplines
  - Primary interest in practical problem solving
- Early planning theories emerged out of practice
  - Planning codified as a professional activity
  - Originally transmitted by practitioners via apprenticeships
- Efforts to develop a coherent theory emerged in the 1950s and 60s
  - Need to rationalize the interests and activities of planning under conditions of social foment
  - The social sciences as a more broadly based interpretive lens
Types of theories

- theories of system operations
  - How do cities, regions, communities, etc. work?
    - disciplinary knowledge such as economics and environmental science

- theories of system change
  - How might planners act?
    - disciplinary knowledge such as decision theory, political science, and negotiation theory
    - applied disciplines such as public administration and engineering
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Plan</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Planner</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1682</td>
<td>Philadelphia</td>
<td>Grid system &amp; neighborhood parks</td>
<td>William Penn Thomas Holme</td>
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<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>Annapolis</td>
<td>Radiocentric</td>
<td>Francis Nicholson</td>
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<tr>
<td>1733</td>
<td>Savannah</td>
<td>Ward park system</td>
<td>Oglethorpe</td>
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<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>Grand, whole city plan</td>
<td>Pierre L’Enfant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-1870</td>
<td>Paris</td>
<td>Model for “City Beautiful”</td>
<td>Napoleon III; Haussmann</td>
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<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>Central Park</td>
<td>First major purchase of parkland</td>
<td>F L Olmsted Sr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Location</td>
<td>Description</td>
<td>Designer</td>
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<tr>
<td>1869</td>
<td>Riverside, IL</td>
<td>Model curved street “suburb”</td>
<td>FL Olmsted Sr Calvert Vaux</td>
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<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>Pullman, IL</td>
<td>Model industrial town</td>
<td>George Pullman</td>
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<tr>
<td>Year</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Significance</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>“Munn v Illinois”</td>
<td>US Supreme Court upholds regulation of private enterprise</td>
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<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>Interstate Commerce Commission</td>
<td>First federal regulatory agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>1892</td>
<td>US federal study of slums</td>
<td>First federal action on city problems</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
The Industrial City
Parks Movement

- Frederick Law Olmsted and Calvert Vaux
  - Design of Central Park
- Horace W. S. Cleveland, Minneapolis
  - park system proposal 1883;
- Charles Eliot & Sylvester Baxter, Boston
  - extensive regional park system (1891-1893 and beyond)
### Response to the Emerging Industrial City: Public Health & Sanitary Reform Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year(s)</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1867</td>
<td>San Francisco</td>
<td>First modern land-use zoning in US (forbad slaughterhouses in geographic districts)</td>
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<tr>
<td>1867/1879</td>
<td>New York City</td>
<td>First major tenement house controls</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1879</td>
<td>Memphis</td>
<td>60% of city flees from yellow fever; of those who remain, 80% get sick; 25% die</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The Rise of a Social Conscience: Settlement House & Reform Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>“Looking Backwards”</td>
<td>Promoted city and national planning</td>
<td>Edward Bellamy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-1892</td>
<td>“How the Other Half Lives” and “Children of the Poor”</td>
<td>Focused on slums and poverty</td>
<td>Jacob Riis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>Hull House in Chicago</td>
<td>Settlement house movement</td>
<td>Jane Addams</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>Greenwich House</td>
<td>helped organize the first National Conference on City Planning</td>
<td>Mary K. Simkovitch</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
# Garden City Movement

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event Description</th>
<th>Outcome</th>
<th>Author</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1898</td>
<td>“Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform”</td>
<td>Merge urban &amp; agrarian</td>
<td>Ebenezer Howard</td>
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<tr>
<td>1903-1920</td>
<td>Leetchworth</td>
<td>Two garden city projects</td>
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<tr>
<td>1919-1934</td>
<td>Welwyn</td>
<td>Welwyn introduces superblock</td>
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![1930 Plan for Greenbelt MD](image-url)
## City Beautiful Movement

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893</td>
<td>Columbian Exposition</td>
<td>The “White City”</td>
<td>Burnham, Olmsted Sr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902</td>
<td>McMillan Plan for Washington DC</td>
<td>Update of L’Enfant’s Plan</td>
<td>Burnham, Olmsted Jr</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906</td>
<td>San Francisco Plan</td>
<td>First major application of City Beautiful in US</td>
<td>Daniel Burnham, Edward Bennett</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Chicago Plan</td>
<td>First metro regional plan</td>
<td>Burnham</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>“Make no little plans; they have no magic...”</td>
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### Professionalization of Planning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>NYC: “New Law” regulates tenement housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>1907</td>
<td>Hartford: first official &amp; permanent local planning board</td>
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<tr>
<td>1909</td>
<td>Washington DC: first planning association</td>
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<td>National Conference on City Planning</td>
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<td>Wisconsin: first state enabling legislation permitting cities to plan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Chicago Plan: Burnham creates first regional plan</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Los Angeles: first land use zoning ordinance</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Harvard School of Landscape Architecture: first course in city planning</td>
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</table>
“Canyon Streets” in NYC: targets of zoning
Progressive Movement as Reform

- Reaction against political and economic influence:
  - influence of corporations; monopolies (Rockefeller)
  - influence of corrupt ward bosses (Tamany Hall) because of dispersed, decentralized power of elected officials

- Loss of control of central cities by elites as democracy spread:
  - elites moving to streetcar suburbs; dislocation of economic and political power

- Emergence of corporate models of management:
  - strong executive leadership

- Rationalize and professionalize city governance:
  - rationalize city service provision and infrastructure development
  - civil service
  - depoliticize city
1913
Massachusetts: planning mandatory for local gov’ts; planning boards required

1916
New York: first comprehensive zoning ordinance

1917
American City Planning Institute established in Kansas City

1922
Standard State Enabling Act issued by US Dept of Commerce
Los Angeles County establishes planning board

1925
Cincinnati: first comprehensive plan based on welfare of city as a whole

1926
Euclid vs. Ambler Realty Co: Supreme Court upholds comprehensive zoning
Zoning Map of Zion, Illinois, c. 1920
1920s
- Robert Moses replaces Burnham as leading American planner:
  - “If the ends don’t justify the means, then what the hell does?”

1928
- Standard City Planning Enabling Act issued by US Dept of Commerce

1929
- Radburn NJ completed
  - innovative neighborhood design based on Howard’s theory
- Harvard: Creates first school of city planning
- Regional Plan of New York completed
- “Regional Plan of New York and Its Environs” published
Depression

Challenge of systemic poverty
Depression Era Innovations

- **National urban/urbanization policy**
  - TVA
  - National Resources Planning Board
  - New Deal economic management
  - housing and work/welfare programs

- **Regionalism**
  - TVA

- **Planning**
  - 1934: American Society of Planning Officials formed

- **Planning education**
  - emergence of modern planning theories based on rationality
  - Chicago school
  - movement from apprentice-based education to social science-based
1937: Our Cities: Their Role in the National Economy.

A landmark report by the Urbanism Committee of the National Resources Committee

1941

Local Planning Administration, by Ladislas Sego, first of "Green Book" series, appears
1938 The American Institute of Planners states as its purpose

“... the planning of the unified development of urban communities and their environs, and of states, regions and the nation, as expressed through determination of the comprehensive arrangement of land uses and land occupancy and the regulation thereof.”
Three Major Shifts

- Migration of African Americans to the north and west during and after World Wars I and II
  - 1960: Washington becomes first major city where residents are predominately minorities
- Migration of “rust belt” residents to “sun belt” areas with the widespread availability of air conditioning
- Migration from inner cities to suburbs
Levittown

William Levitt

*Time:* July 13, 1950
Urban Renewal and General Planning

- **1949** Housing Act (Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill)
  - First comprehensive housing legislation
  - Aimed to construct 800,000 housing units
  - Inaugurated urban renewal

- **1954** Housing Act of 1954.
  - Stressed slum prevention and urban renewal rather than slum clearance and urban redevelopment as in the 1949 act.
  - Stimulated general planning for cities under 25,000 (Section 701)
  - "701 funding" later extended to foster statewide, interstate, and substate regional planning.

- **1954** *Berman v. Parker*
  - US Supreme Court upholds DC Redevelopment Land Agency to condemn unsightly, though non-deteriorated, properties in accordance with area redevelopment plan

- **1964** T.J. Kent publishes *The Urban General Plan.*
Modernism

- **aesthetics and form**
  - rejected historic precedent as a source of architectural inspiration
  - considered function as the prime generator of form
  - employed materials and technology in an honest way.

- **morphological characteristics of buildings**
  - style-free plan
  - universal space
  - walls freed from the function of load bearing
  - cantilevers
  - glass at corners of buildings
  - use of concrete
Lancaster Commercial Center
Completed 1971
West End becomes Charles River Park
Social Critique

Jane Jacobs
The Death and Life of Great American Cities

Herbert Gans
The Urban Villagers

Group and class in the life of Italian-Americans
Herbert J. Gans
Sherry R. Arnstein,

“A Ladder of Citizen Participation”

Degrees of Citizen Power
- Delegated Power
- Partnership
- Placation
- Consultation
- Informing
- Therapy
- Manipulation

Degrees of Tokenism

Nonparticipation
Urban Design Theorists

1960

Image of the City by Kevin Lynch

basic elements of "imageability"

- paths
- edges
- nodes
- districts
- landmarks
1962 The urban growth simulation model emerges in the Penn-Jersey Transportation Study.

1968 Pittsburg Community Redevelopment Model
1870 - Need for more systematic and forward-thinking action
   - Concepts linking planning, research, action
     - Imbedded in architecture, engineering, social work
   - Planning as a profession and public institution
     - Physical determinism: City Beautiful & City Efficient
       - Focus on land use & comprehensive analysis
   - Regionalizing/nationalizing of planning
     - Social science as a tool of planning
       - Focus on econ development & social policy

Era of Urban Industrialization

1915

Roaring ’20s & Progressive Era

The Depression Era & Urban Stagnation

1928

1945

- Trust in governmental authority
- Modernism, comprehensiveness & rationality
- Social science strengthened & challenged
- Planning optimism
- Rise of community voice & social protest
- Political action for reform and transformation
- Post-modern critique of rationality
- Segmentation of voices of communities into communities with voice
- Focus on interaction, communication, process

Post-WWII Modernism Suburbanization & Central City Decline

1960

Social Activism, Federal Policy & Regional Cities

1980

Retreat from Policy Privatization

2003
goals and objectives, as well as means to achieve them, are often uncertain

“wicked problems”

concerned primarily with public issues

- broadly defined groups/clients
- diverse interests

planners rarely make decisions but rather advise those who do

results of most planning activity is discernable only 5 to 20 years after the decision

feedback and corrective actions are difficult
What are “wicked” problems?

- A problem for which each attempt to create a solution changes the understanding of the problem.
- Wicked problems cannot be solved in linear fashion, because the problem definition evolves as new possible solutions are considered and/or implemented.
- Not the same as an intractable problem.

“One cannot build a freeway to see how it works”
Characteristics of “wicked” problems

- No definitive formulation of a wicked problem.
- No stopping rule.
- Solutions are not true-or-false, but good-or-bad.
- No immediate and no ultimate test of a solution.
- Every wicked problem is essentially unique.
  - all attempts are significant
- No enumerable set of potential solutions
- Every problem can be considered a symptom of another problem
- Can be explained in numerous ways. The choice of explanation determines the nature of the problem's resolution.
- The planner has no right to be wrong.

Hard-to-Formalize, Contextualized, Multidisciplinary, Organizational Knowledge

For every complex problem there is a simple solution, and it is wrong.

H.L. Menken
The diversity of theories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Linkage Between Knowledge and Action</th>
<th>Desired Outcome</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>System Improving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cognitive Rationality</td>
<td>Synoptic rationality</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Incrementalism</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Comprehensive planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>Procedural Rationality</td>
<td>Traditional participatory planning</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mediation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Communicative Rationality</td>
<td>Social learning</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Phenomenology</td>
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<td>Contingency theory</td>
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<td>Self-Reflective Political Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Moral Philosophy</td>
<td>Utopianism</td>
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</table>
Cognitive Rationality, Conceptual Basis

A rational decision is one that
- the DM knows what ends the DM seeks
  - the public interest
- the DM considers all the alternatives
- the DM identifies and evaluates all the consequences of each alternative
- the DM selects that alternative with consequences that most probably maximizes the desired ends

Rationality focuses on
- the quality of decision
- the subordination of knowledge to values and of action to knowledge
## Cognitive Rationality, Schools of Thought

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>System Improving</th>
<th>System Transforming</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Synoptic Rationality</strong></td>
<td><strong>Radical Planning</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meyerson and Banfield</td>
<td>Robert Krausher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Politics, Planning and the Public Interest</em></td>
<td><em>Outside the Whale: Progressive Planning and the Dilemmas of Radical Reform</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Paul Davidoff and Thomas Reiner</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>A Choice Theory of Planning</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>Andreas Faludi</td>
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<tr>
<td><em>A Reader in Planning Theory</em></td>
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Synoptic rationality is essentially impossible

- cognitive limits
- resource limits
- an infinite regression

Procedural rationality seeks to approximate rational decision making within these limits
Procedural Rationality, Schools of Thought

System Improving
- Incrementalism
- Comprehensive Planning

- Charles E. Lindblom
  - The Science of Muddling Through

- Martin Meyerson
  - Building the Middle-Range Bridge for Comprehensive Planning

- Amitai Etzioni
  - Mixed Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision-Making

System Transforming
- Advocacy Planning

- Paul Davidoff
  - Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning

- David F. Mazziotti
  - The Underlying Assumptions of Advocacy Planning

- Norman Krumholz
  - A Retrospective View of Equity Planning in Cleveland, 1969-1979
Communicative Rationality, Conceptual Basis

- Planning is fundamentally linked to clarification of interests (desired ends)
- The selection of means cannot be isolated from the identification of valued ends
- Both are linked to community, and to the communicative acts that bind community together
- Emphasis on
  - transparency
  - inclusiveness
  - truth-seeking
Communicative Rationality, Schools of Thought

System Improving
Traditional Participatory Planning

- Sherry Arnstein
  - A Ladder of Citizen Participation
- Lawrence Susskind and Michael Elliott
  - Paternalism, Conflict and Coproduction
- Stuart Langton
  - Citizen Participation in America

System Transforming
Transactive Planning
Critical Theory

- John Friedmann
  - Transactive Planning
- John Forester
  - Critical Theory, Public Policy and Planning Practice
  - Planning in the Face of Power
- George C. Hemmens and Bruce Stiftel
  - Sources for the Renewal of Planning Theory
- Patsy Healey
  - Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory

Collaborative Planning, Mediation

- Susskind, L. and J. Cruikshank
  - Breaking the Impasse: Consensual Approaches to Resolving Public Disputes
- Judith Innes
  - Group Processes and the Social Construction of Growth Management: Florida, Vermont and New Jersey
Planning is a professional act that occurs within a political community

Political and social interaction are central activities

Truth is not fixed, but emerges from continuing search
## Self-Reflective Political Action, Schools of Thought

### System Improving
Social Learning, Phenomenology, Contingency Theory

- **Donald Schon**
  - *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*

- **Richard S. Bolan**
  - *The Practitioner as Theorist: The Phenomenology of the Professional Episode*

- **John Bryson and Andre Delbecq**
  - *A Contingent Approach to Strategy and Tactics in Project Planning*

- **Charles Hoch**
  - *What Planners Do*

### System Transforming
Social Mobilization, Postmodern Critiques

- **Saul Alinsky**
  - *Reveille for Radicals*

- **Robert A. Beauregard**
  - *Between Modernity and Postmodernity: The Ambiguous Position of U.S. Planning*

- **Susan S. Fainstein**
  - *Planning in a Different Voice*
All of the following are known for their involvement in organizational approaches to citizen participation, except:

(A) Saul Alinsky
(B) Homer Hoyt
(C) Sherry Arnstein
(D) Paul Davidoff