History and Theory of Planning

Why do we do what we do?

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

Pre-Modern Planning:
Focus on Urban Design and Street System

1682	Philadelphia plan	Grid system & neighborhood parks	William Penn Thomas Holme
1695	Annapolis plan	Radiocentric	Francis Nicholson
1733	Savannah	Ward park system	Oglethorpe
1790	Washington	Grand, whole city plan	Pierre L'Enfant
1852-1870	Paris	Model for "City Beautiful"	Napoleon III; Haussmann
1856	Central Park	First major purchase of parkland	F L Olmsted Sr

PLAN
of the City of
WASHINGTON.
George Town
POTOMAK RIVER
EASTERN BRANCH
Lat: Capitol 38: 53. N.
Long: 0: 0.

New Urban Forms

1869	Riverside, IL	Model curved street "suburb"	FL Olmsted Sr Calvert Vaux
1880	Pullman, IL	Model industrial town	George Pullman

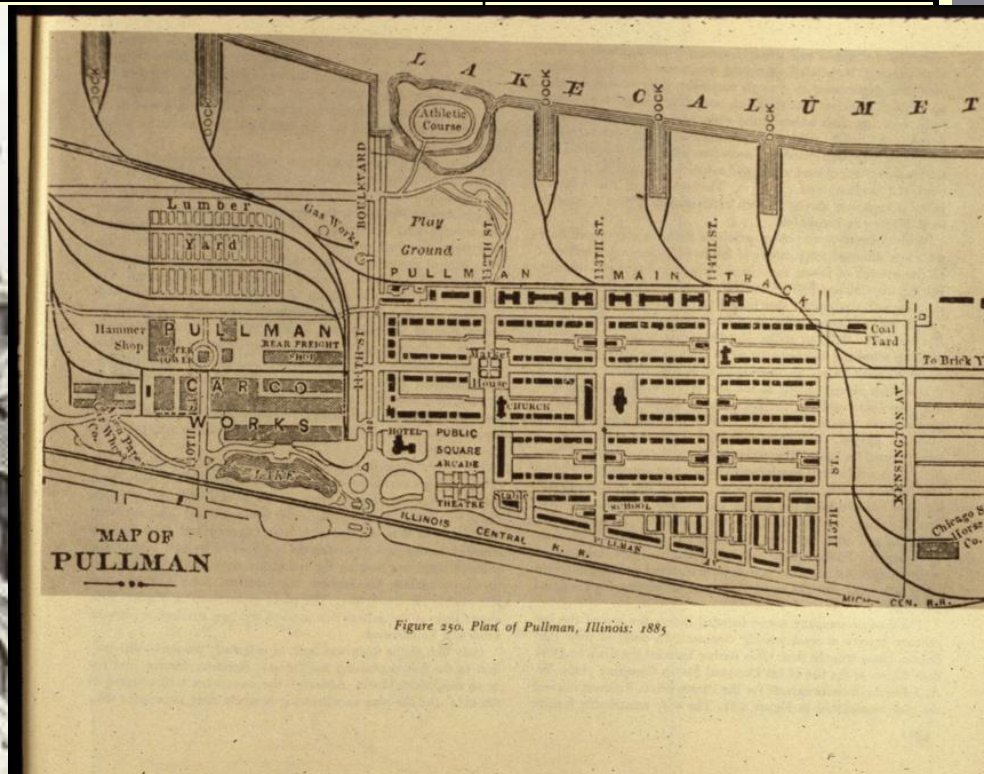
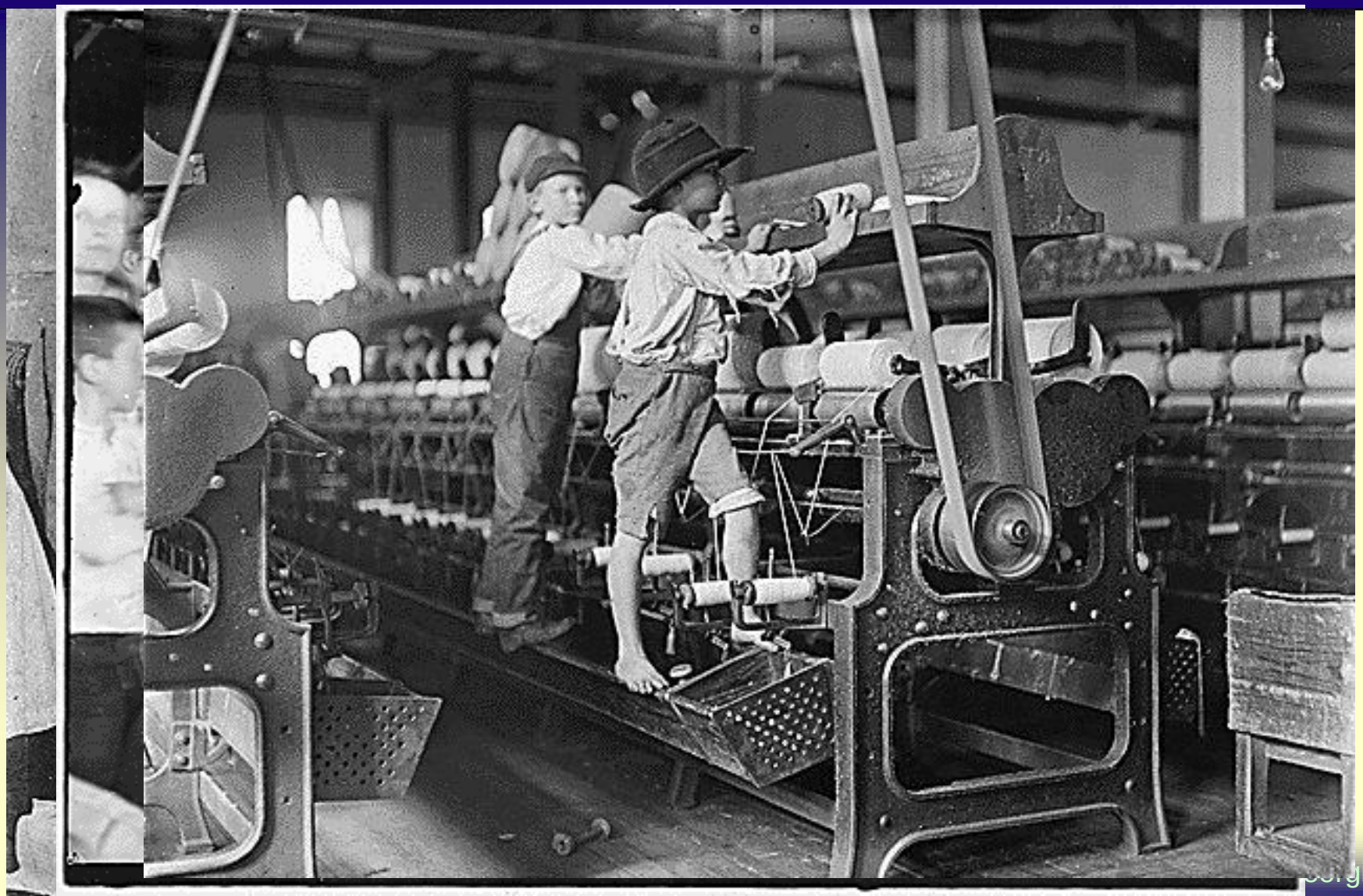


Figure 250. Plan of Pullman, Illinois: 1885

Federal Government

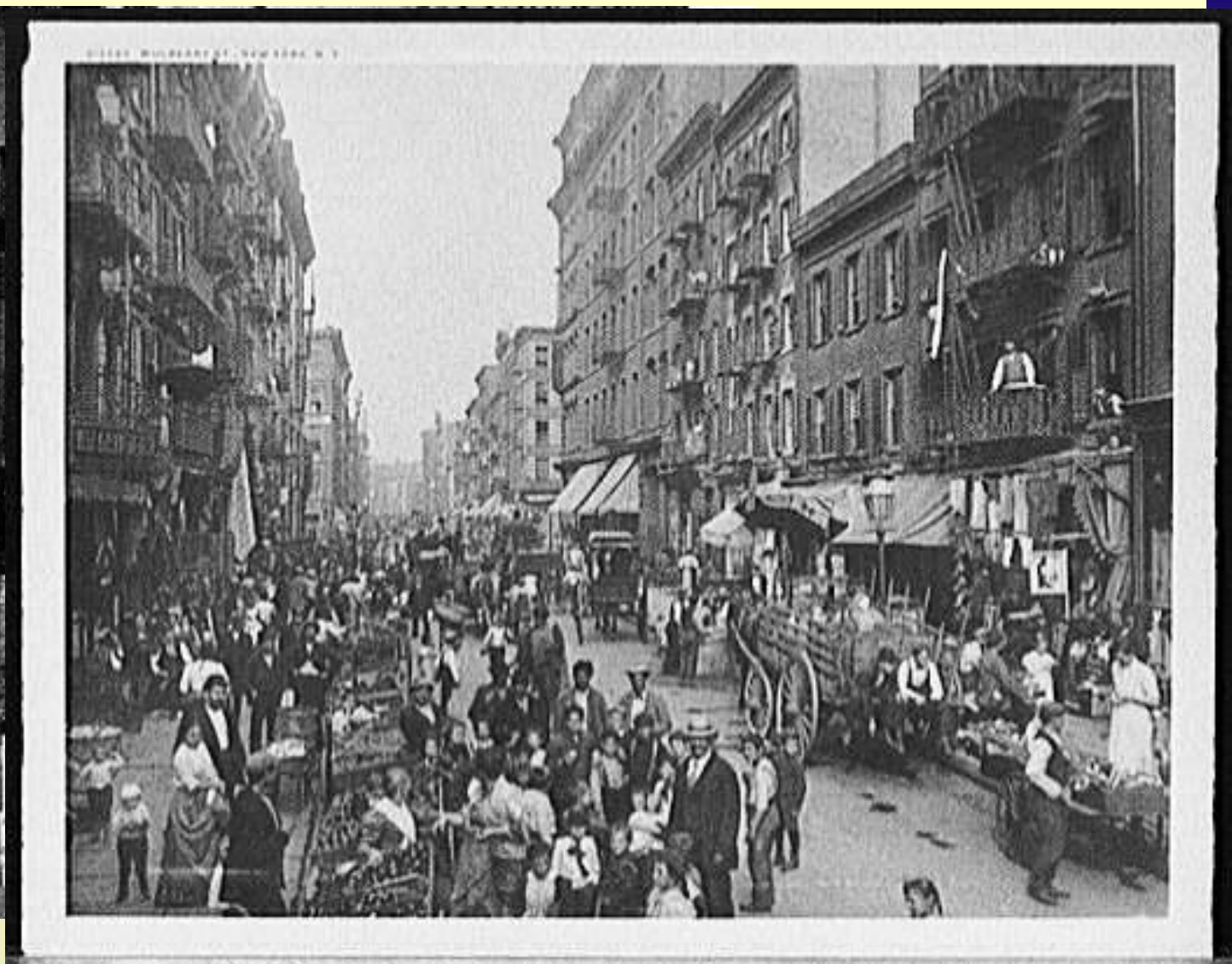
1876	"Munn v Illinois"	US Supreme Court upholds regulation of private enterprise
1887	Interstate Commerce Commission	First federal regulatory agency
1892	US federal study of slums	First federal action on city problems

The Industrial City

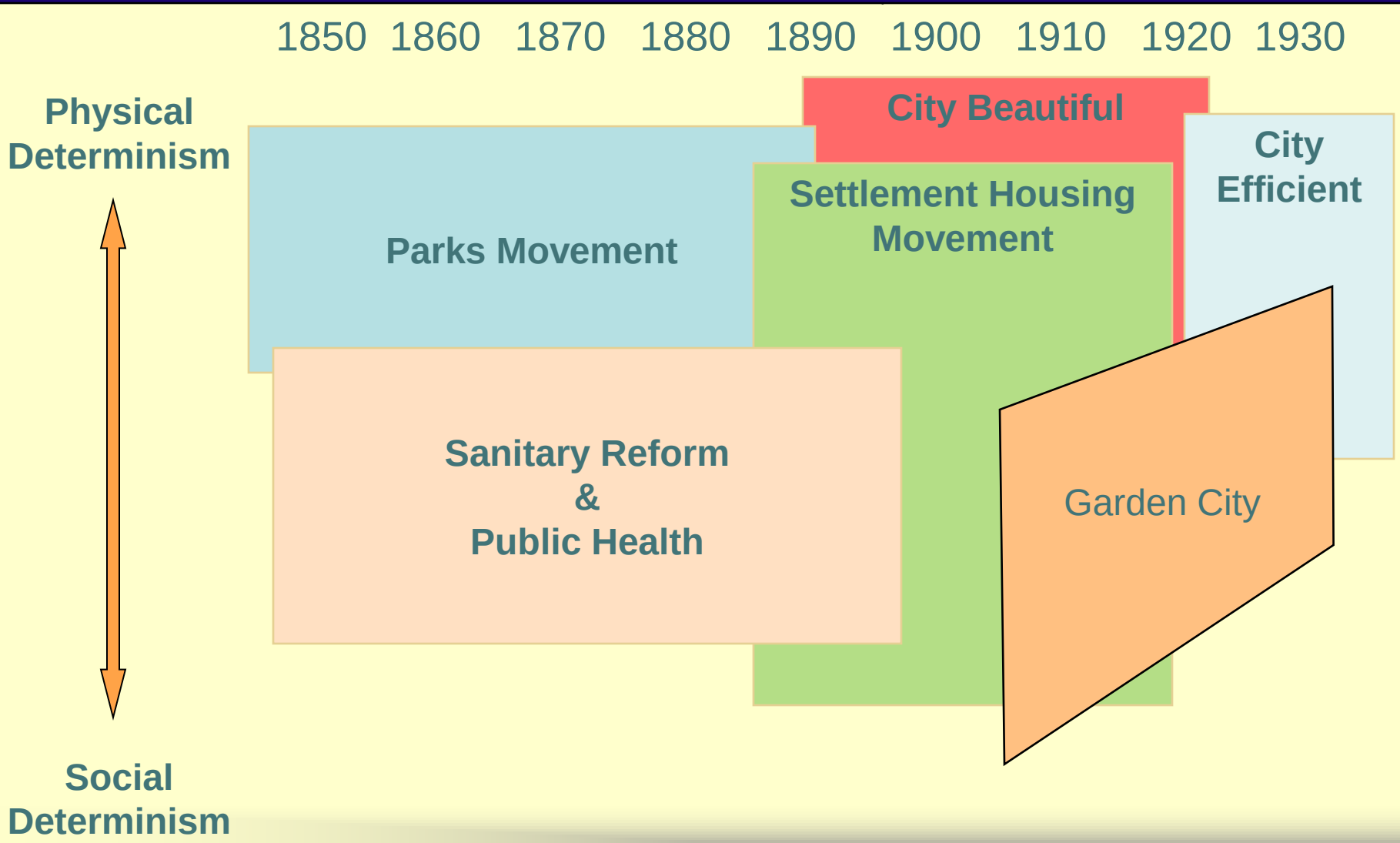


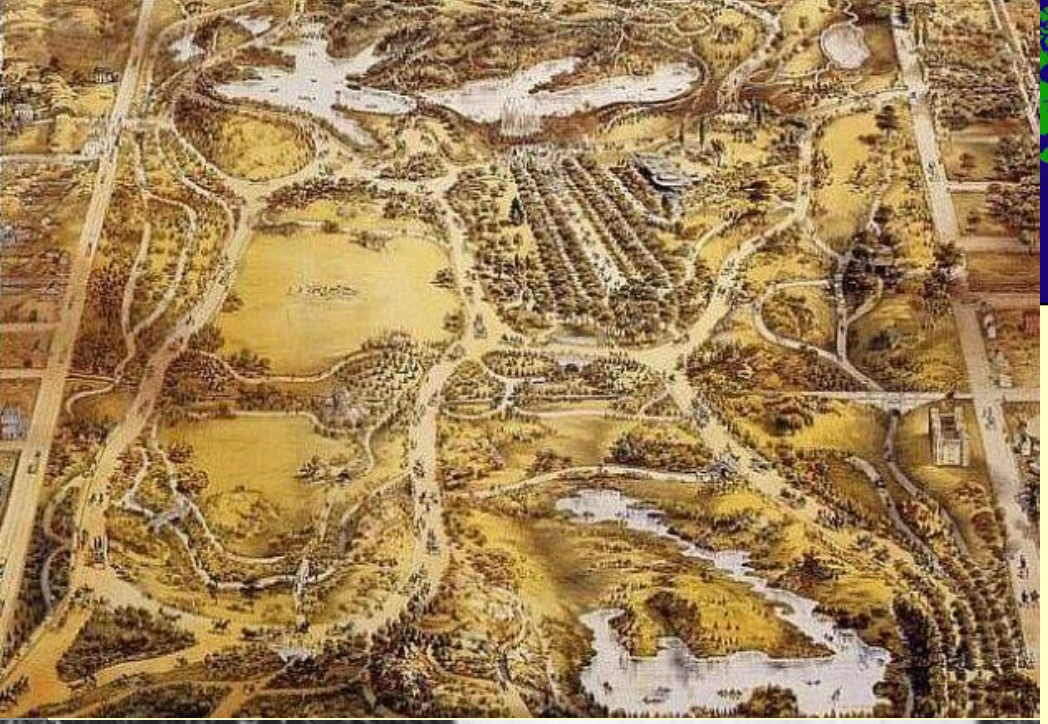
Georgia Tech

The Industrial City



Planning Movements





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

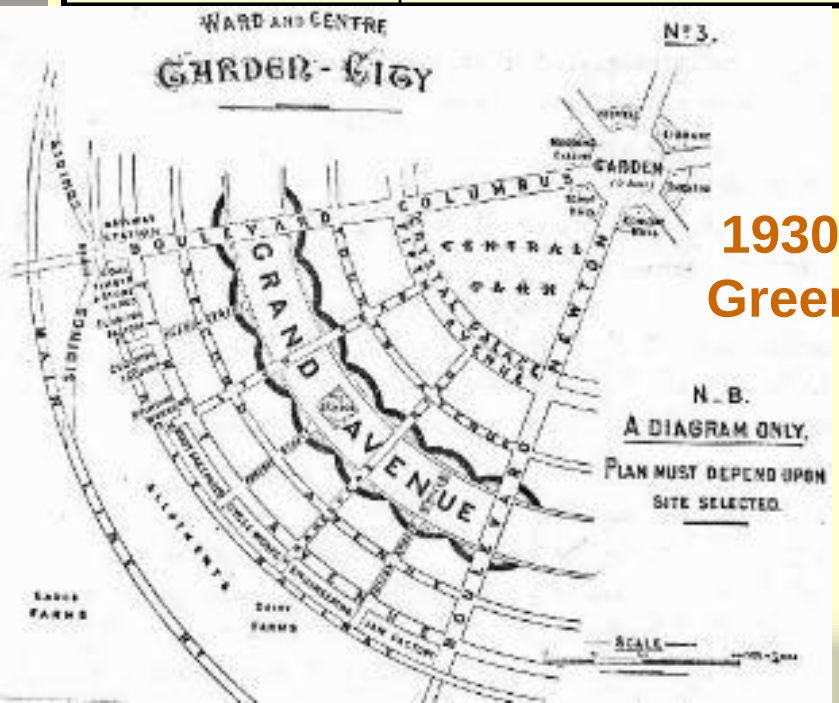
1867	San Francisco	First modern land-use zoning in US (forbad slaughterhouses in geographic districts)
1867/ 1879	New York City	First major tenement house controls
1879	Memphis	60% of city flees from yellow fever; of those who remain, 80% get sick; 25% die

The Rise of a Social Conscience: Settlement House & Reform Movement

1888	"Looking Backwards"	Promoted city and national planning	Edward Bellamy
1890 1892	"How the Other Half Lives" and "Children of the Poor"	Focused on slums and poverty	Jacob Riis
1889	Hull House in Chicago	Settlement house movement	Jane Addams
1902	Greenwich House	helped organize the first National Conference on City Planning	Mary K. Simkovitch

Garden City Movement

1898	"Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform"	Merge urban & agrarian	Ebenezar Howard
1903-1920 1919-1934	Leetchworth Welwyn	Two garden city projects	Welwyn introduces superblock



1930 Plan for Greenbelt MD

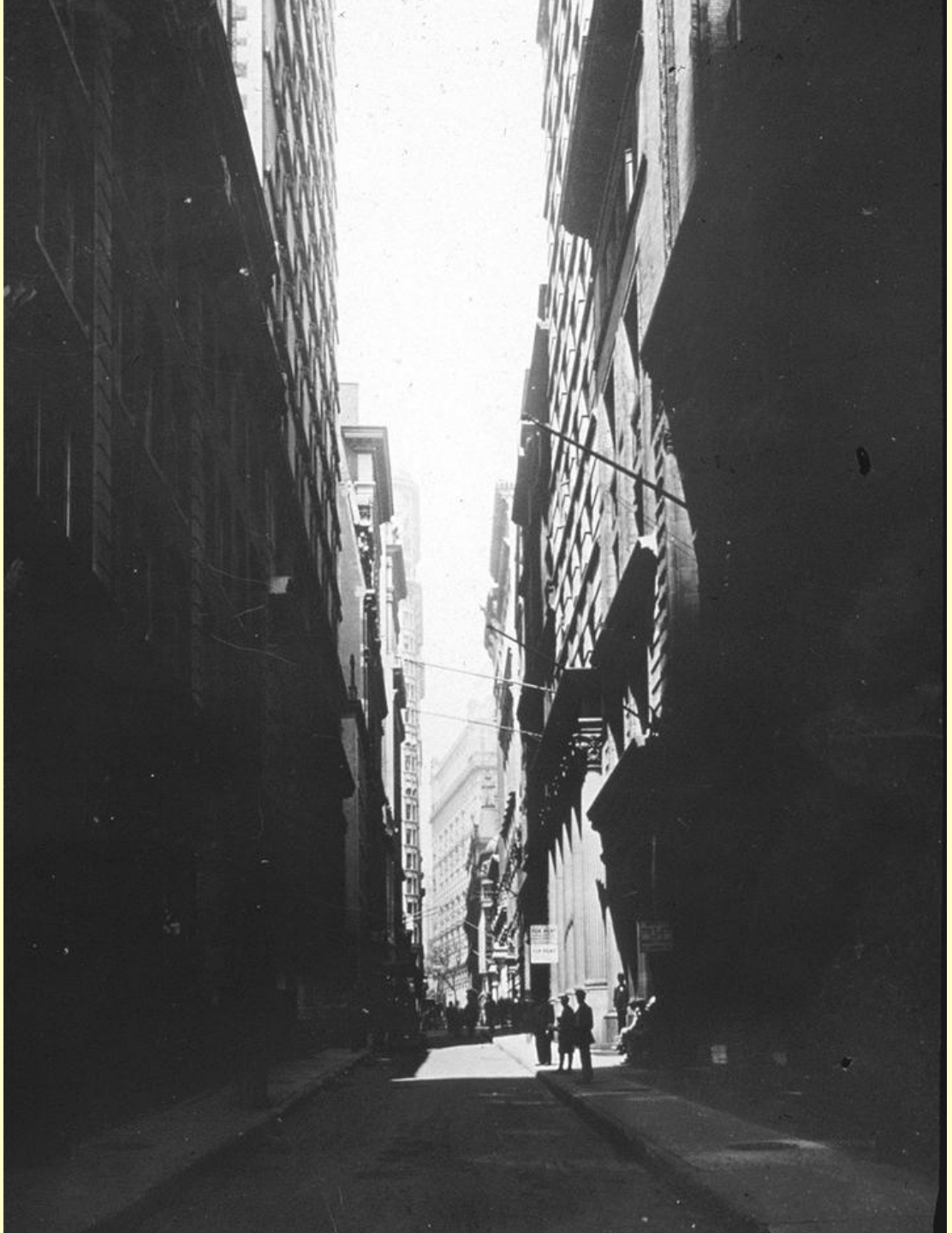
City Beautiful Movement

1893	Columbian Exposition	The "White City"	Burnham, Olmsted Sr,
1902	McMillan Plan for Washington DC	Update of L'Enfant's Plan	Burnhan Olmsted Jr
1906	San Francisco Plan	First major application of City Beautiful in US	Daniel Burnham Edward Bennett
		1909 Chicago Plan	Burnham
		First metro regional plan	"Make no little plans; they have no magic…"

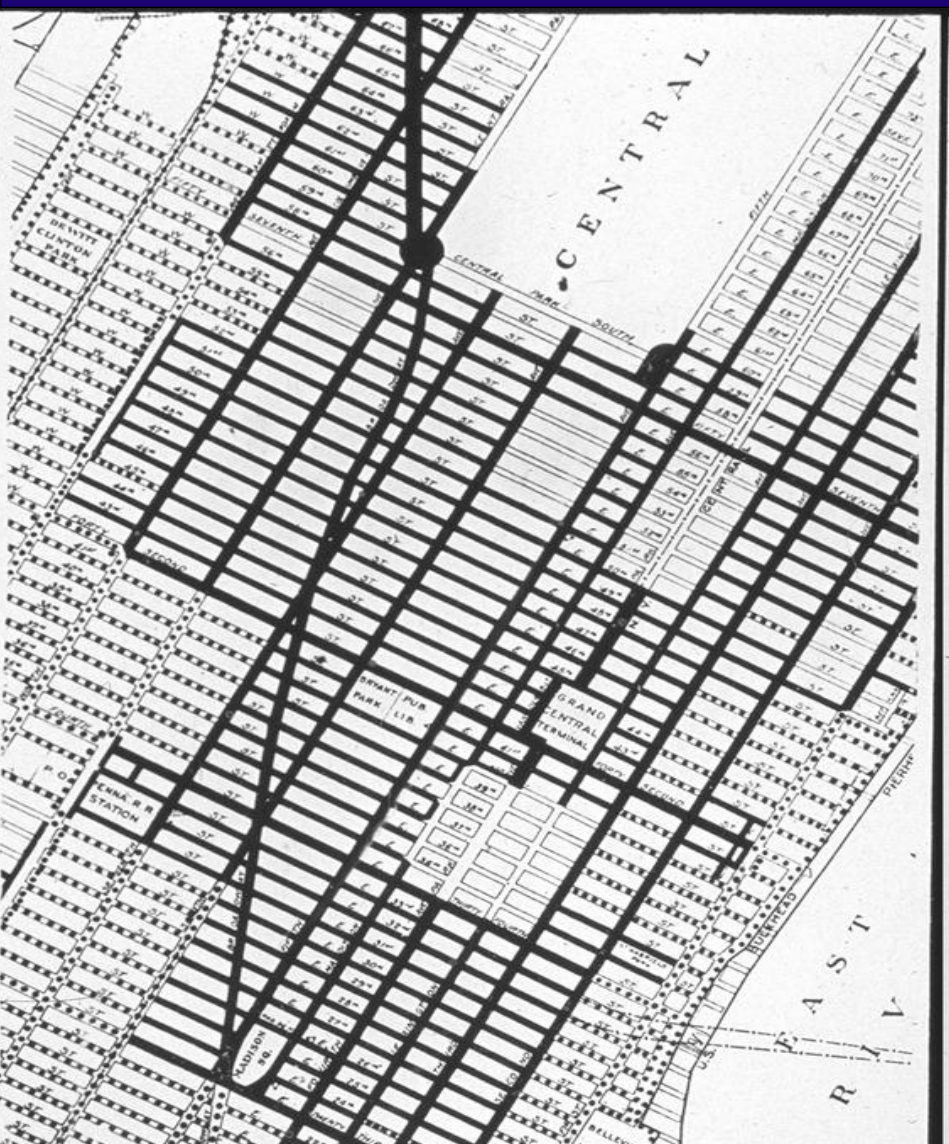
Professionalization of Planning

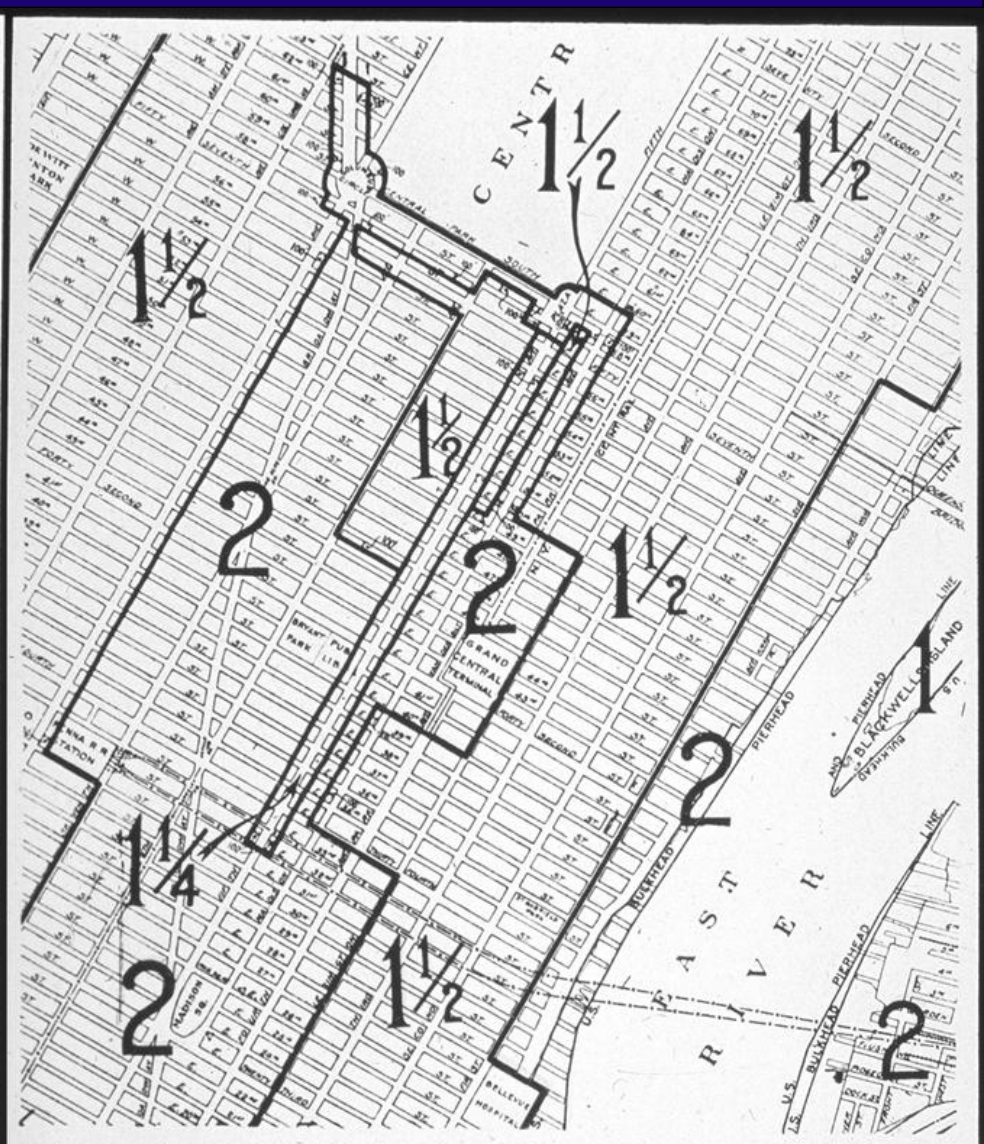
- 1901
  - NYC: “New Law” regulates tenement housing
- 1907
  - Hartford: first official & permanent local planning board
- 1909
  - Washington DC: first planning association
  - National Conference on City Planning
  - Wisconsin: first state enabling legislation permitting cities to plan
  - Chicago Plan: Burnham creates first regional plan
  - Los Angeles: first land use zoning ordinance
  - Harvard School of Landscape Architecture: first course in city planning

“Canyon Streets” in NYC: targets of zoning



New York City Zoning Maps, 1916





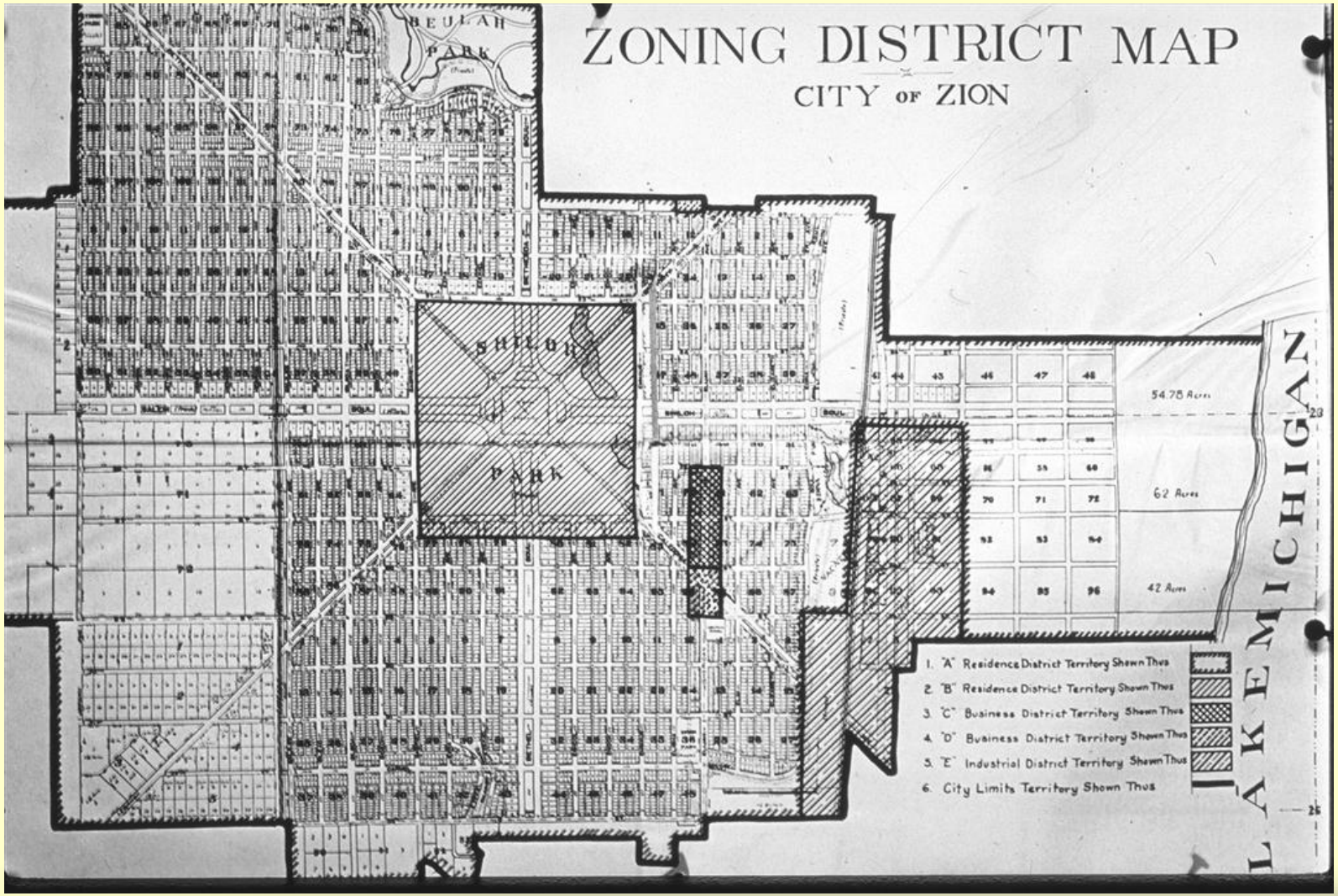
Progressive Movement as Reform

- Reaction against political and economic
  - 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

The City Efficient: Developing Tools for Planning

- 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

Increasing Importance of Cities

- 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 Segoe, first of "Green Book" series, appears

Focus on Physical Planning

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."

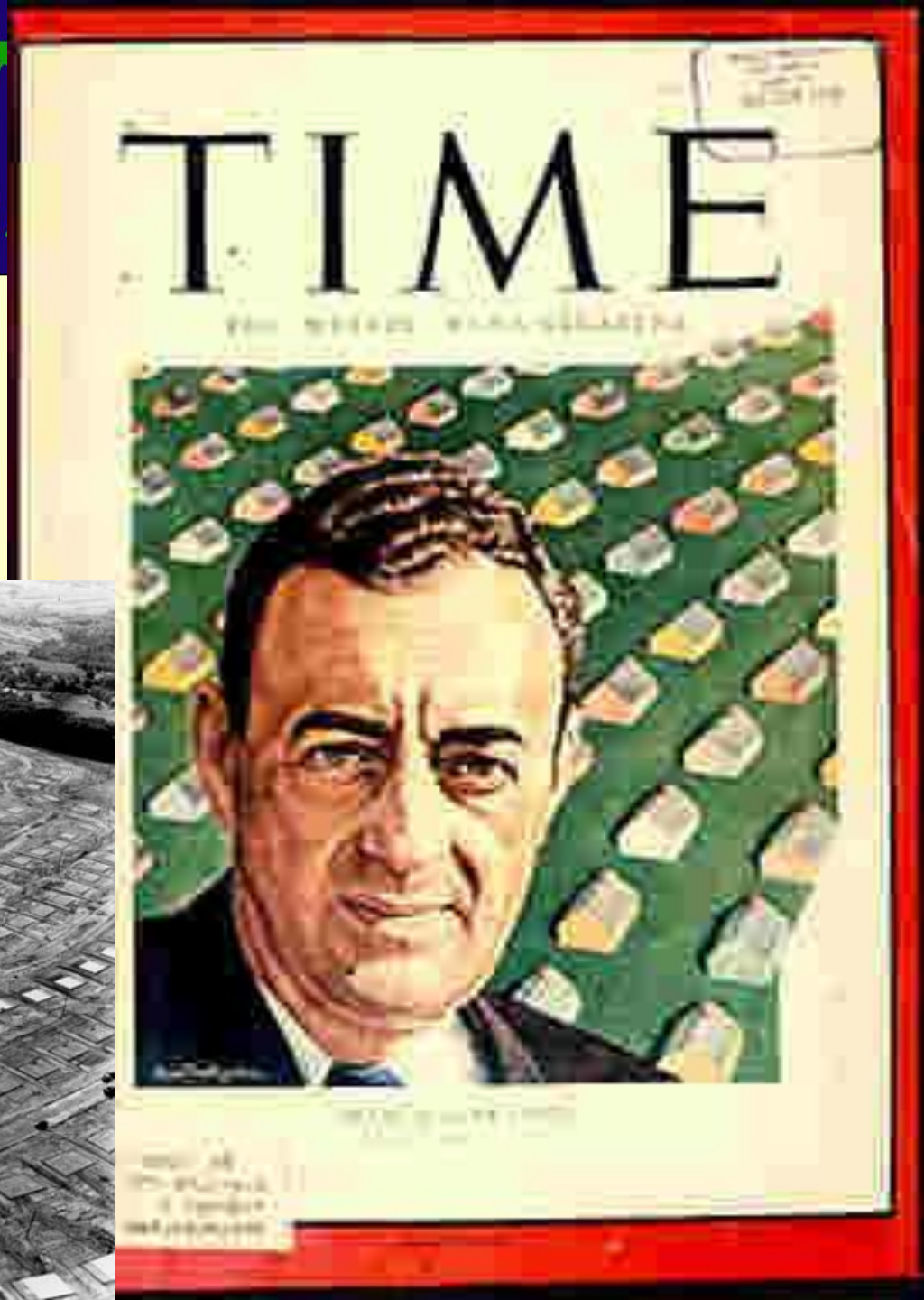
Three Major Shifts

- 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

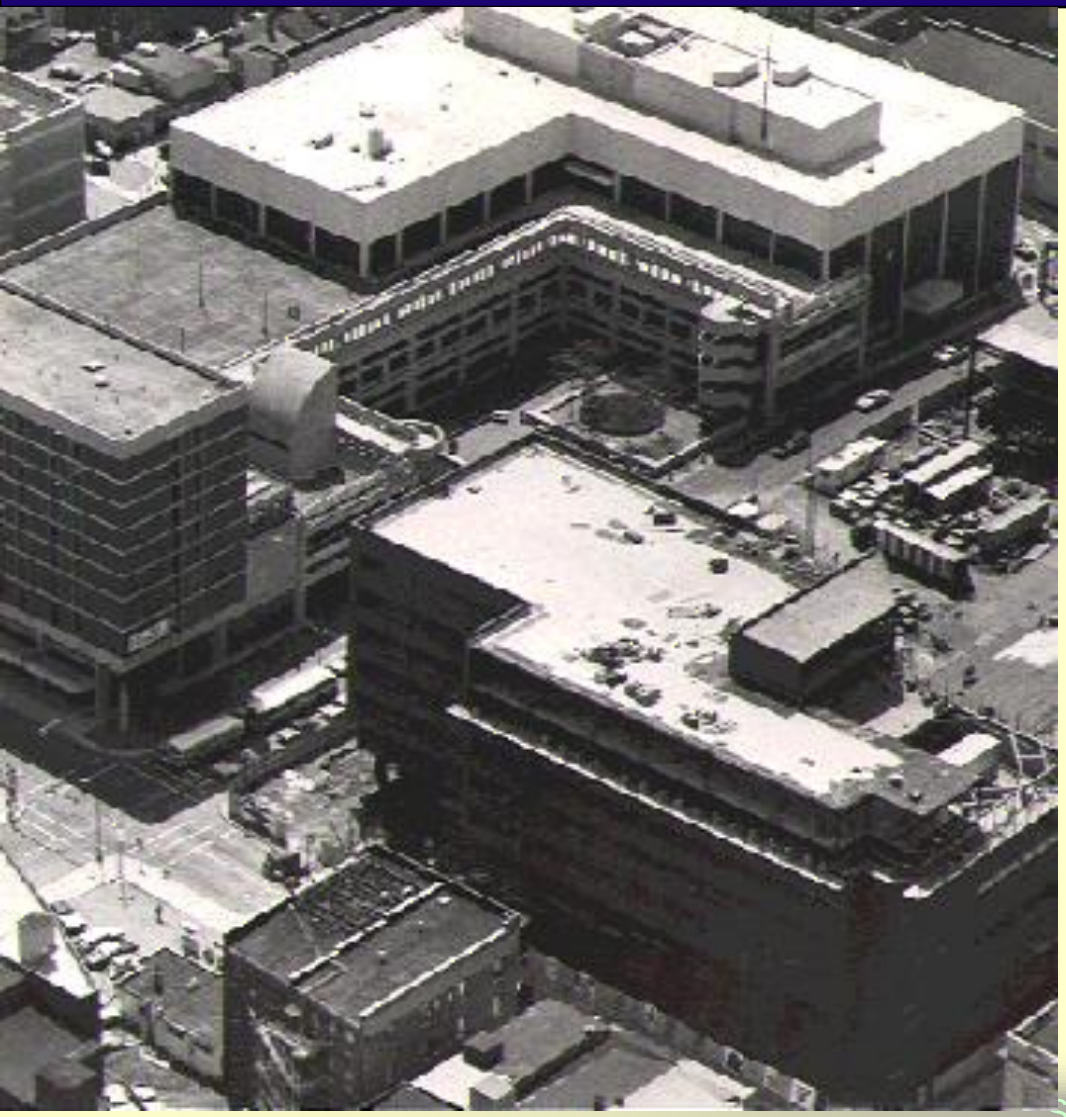
- aesthetics and form
  - rejected historic precedent as a source of architectural inspiration
  - considered function as the prime generator of form
  - employed materials and technology in an honest way.
- morphological characteristics of buildings
  - style-free plan
  - universal space
  - walls freed from the function of load bearing
  - cantilevers
  - glass at corners of buildings
  - use of concrete

Urban Renewal: Lancaster, PA

Northern Savings & Trust Company, 1956

Lancaster Commercial Center

Completed 1971

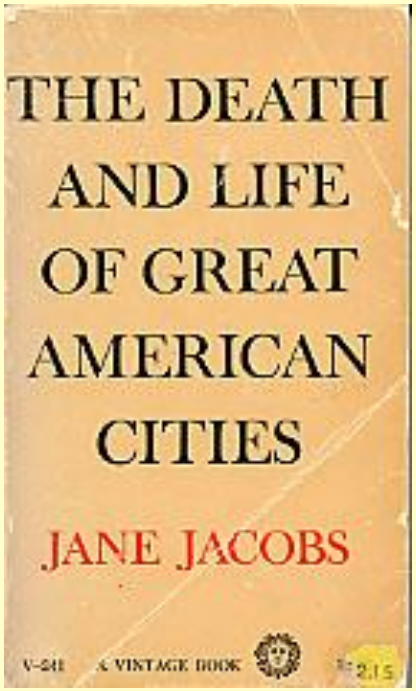


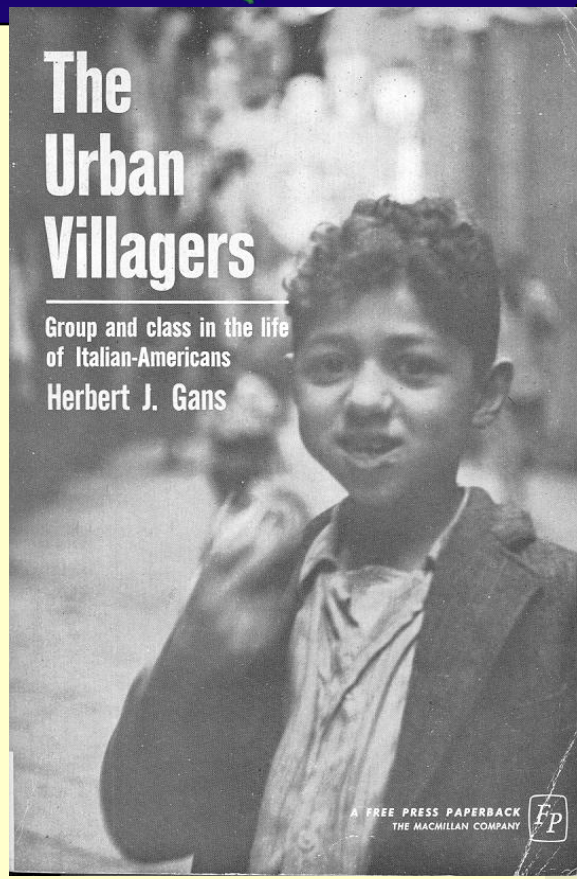
West End becomes Charles River Park

Social Critique

Jane Jacobs

The Death and Life of Great American Cities

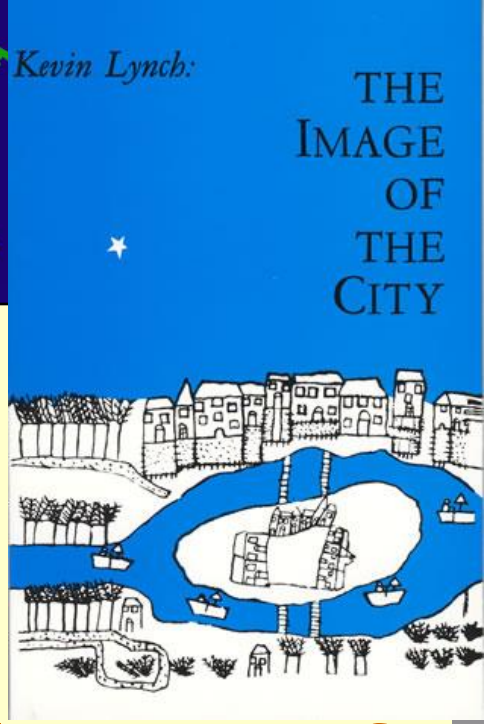




Herbert Gans

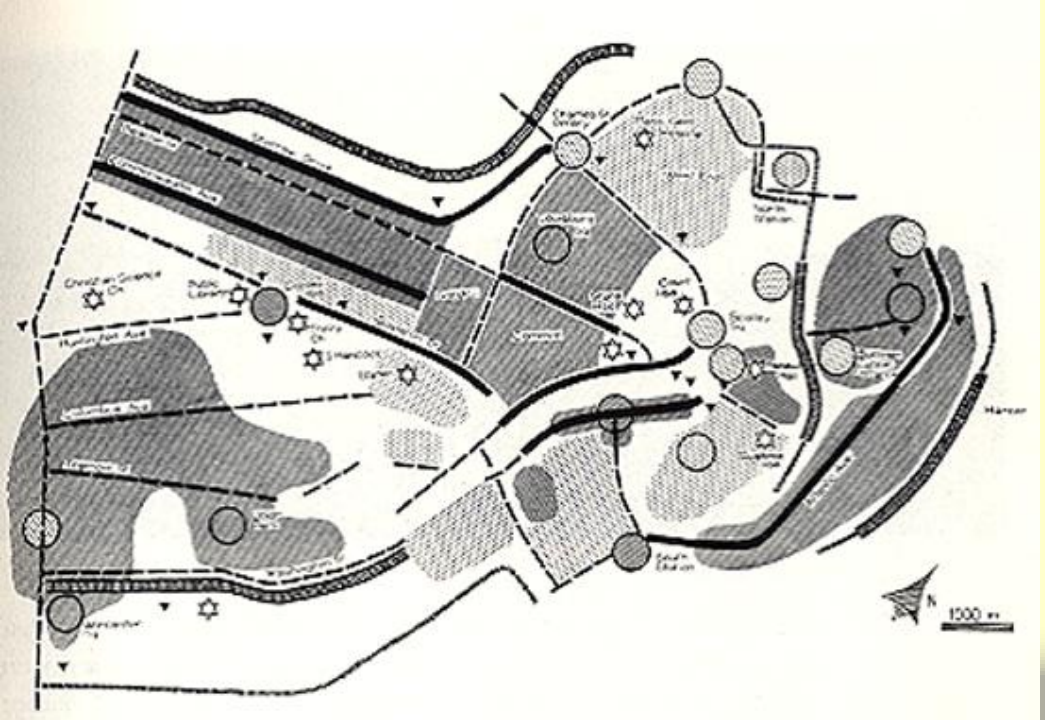
The Urban Villagers

Urban Design Theorists



1960

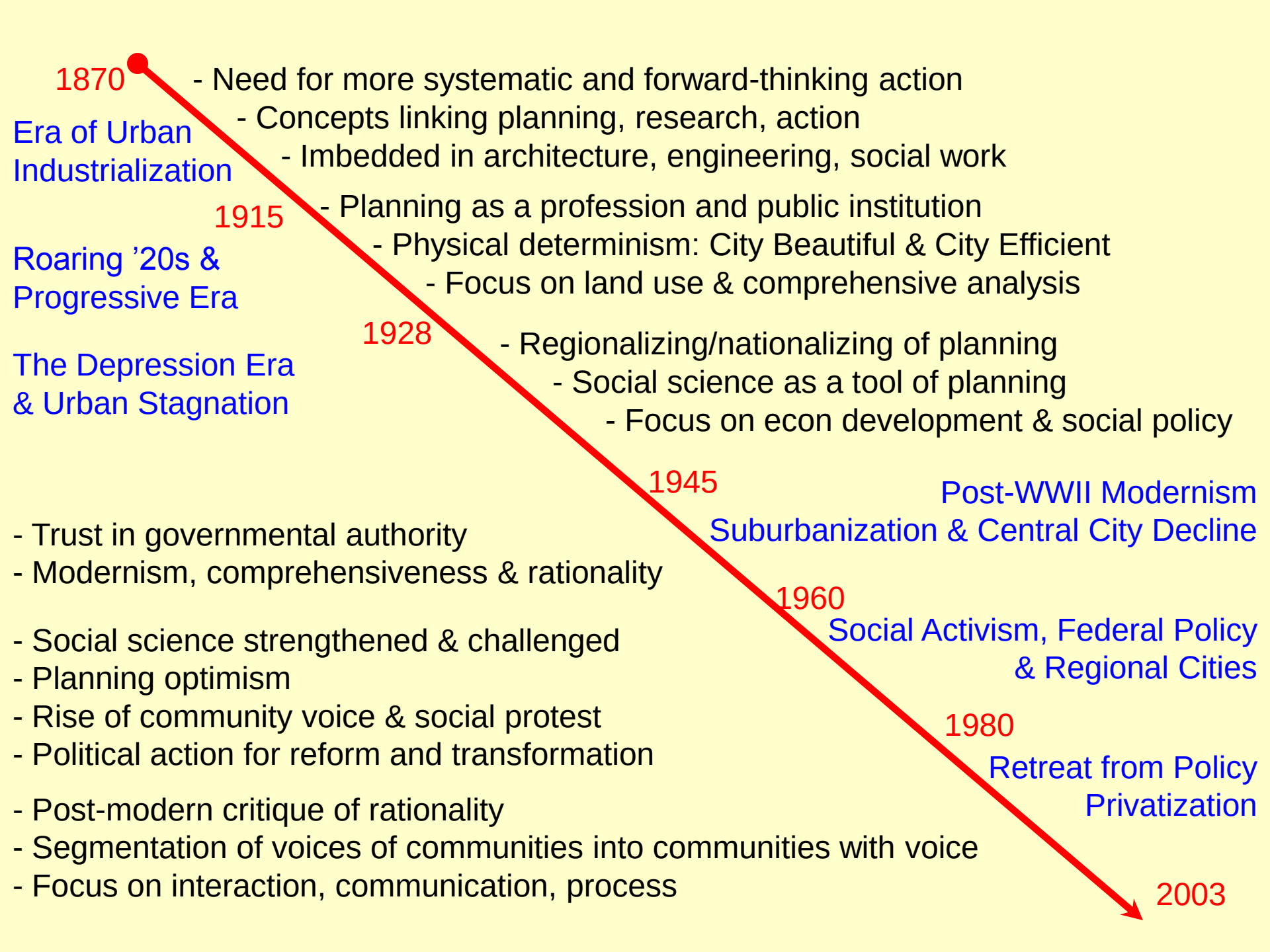
Image of the City by Kevin Lynch



- basic elements of "imageability"
  - paths
  - edges
  - nodes
  - districts
  - landmarks

Modeling

- **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
Era of Urban Industrialization
1915
- Planning as a profession and public institution
- Physical determinism: City Beautiful & City Efficient
- Focus on land use & comprehensive analysis
Roaring '20s & Progressive Era
1928
- Regionalizing/nationalizing of planning
- Social science as a tool of planning
- Focus on econ development & social policy
The Depression Era & Urban Stagnation
1945
Post-WWII Modernism
Suburbanization & Central City Decline
- Trust in governmental authority
- Modernism, comprehensiveness & rationality
1960
Social Activism, Federal Policy & Regional Cities
- Social science strengthened & challenged
- Planning optimism
- Rise of community voice & social protest
- Political action for reform and transformation
1980
Retreat from Policy
Privatization
- Post-modern critique of rationality
- Segmentation of voices of communities into communities with voice
- Focus on interaction, communication, process
2003

Why do we not have a unifying theory of planning? *(Rittel and Webber)*

- 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.

Rittel, H. J., and M. M. Webber (1984). "Planning problems are wicked problems", In N. Cross (Ed.), *Developments in Design Methodology*, Wiley, pp. 135-144

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

Desired Outcome

Linkage Between Knowledge and Action	System Improving	System Transforming
Cognitive Rationality	Synoptic rationality	Radical planning
Procedural Rationality	Incrementalism Comprehensive planning	Advocacy planning
Communicative Rationality	Traditional participatory planning	Transactive/ collaborative planning Mediation
Self-Reflective Political Action	Social learning Phenomenology Contingency theory	Critical theory Social mobilization
Moral Philosophy		Utopianism

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

System Improving

Synoptic Rationality

- Meyerson and Banfield
  - *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest*
- *Paul Davidoff and Thomas Reiner*
  - *A Choice Theory of Planning*
- Andreas Faludi
  - *A Reader in Planning Theory*

System Transforming

Radical Planning

- Robert Krausher
  - Outside the Whale: Progressive Planning and the Dilemmas of Radical Reform

Procedural Rationality, Conceptual Basis

- 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

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

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

Self-Reflective Political Action, Conceptual Basis

- 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

Moral Philosophy, Conceptual Basis

- Ends, without means
- An essential focus on values
  - clarification of values
  - clarification of the implication of values
  - clarification of desired ends

Moral Philosophy, Schools of Thought

System Improving

System Transforming

Utopianism

- John Friedmann
  - Moral Philosophy
- Utopian literature

All of the following are known for their involvement in organizational approaches to citizen participation, **except:**

(A) Saul Alinsky
(B) Patrick Geddes
(C) Susan Arenstein
(D) Paul Davidoff