


Planning Theory

# History and Theories of Planning

Why do we do what we do?

Michael Elliott, School of City and Regional Planning, Georgia Tech  
February 7, 2014

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



## 1. Relationship between History and Theory in Planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia  
Tech | School of City &  
Regional Planning

1. Role/Types of Theory

## Planning: Linking Goals/Knowledge to Action

Planning is a process, procedure, or method for setting goals, identifying and assessing options, and developing strategies for achieving desired options.

It is a pervasive human activity imbedded in future-oriented decision making.

```

graph LR
    Goals[Goals] -- Planning --> Action[Action]
    Knowledge[Knowledge] -- Planning --> Action
  
```

The diagram illustrates the planning process. On the left, there are two stacked rounded rectangles: an orange one labeled 'Goals' and a green one labeled 'Knowledge'. A large blue arrow labeled 'Planning' points from these two boxes towards a purple starburst shape on the right labeled 'Action'.

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia  
Tech | School of City &  
Regional Planning

1. Role/Types of Theory

## Primary Functions of Planning

- **Improve efficiency of outcomes**
  - Optimize
- **Enhance social welfare**
  - Balance interests and engage justice
- **Widen the range of choice**
  - Create visions and enhance options
- **Enrich civic engagement and governance**
  - Expand opportunity and understanding in community

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

1. Role/Types of Theory

## Role of history and theory in understanding planning

- **Planning is rooted in applied disciplines**
  - Primary interest in practical problem solving
  - Planning codified as a professional activity
  - Originally transmitted by practitioners via apprenticeships
- **Early planning theories**
  - Little distinction between goals, knowledge and planning process
  - Nascent theories imbedded in utopian visions
- **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

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

1. Role/Types of Theory

## Types of Theories

- **Normative Theories**
  - To what ends ought planning be focused?
    - Theories of the public good, social justice, utilitarianism, rights...
- **Disciplinary Theories**
  - How do communities and regions work? By what methods do we assess existing and project future conditions? By what means do we achieve the ends we desire?
    - Economics (econometrics), geography (GIS), environmental science (EIAs)...
- **Procedural/Process Theories**
  - How might planners act?
    - Decision theory, political science, negotiation theory, public participation...

Goals

+

Knowledge

→

Planning

→

Action

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

## 2. Emergence of Planning and Utopianism

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

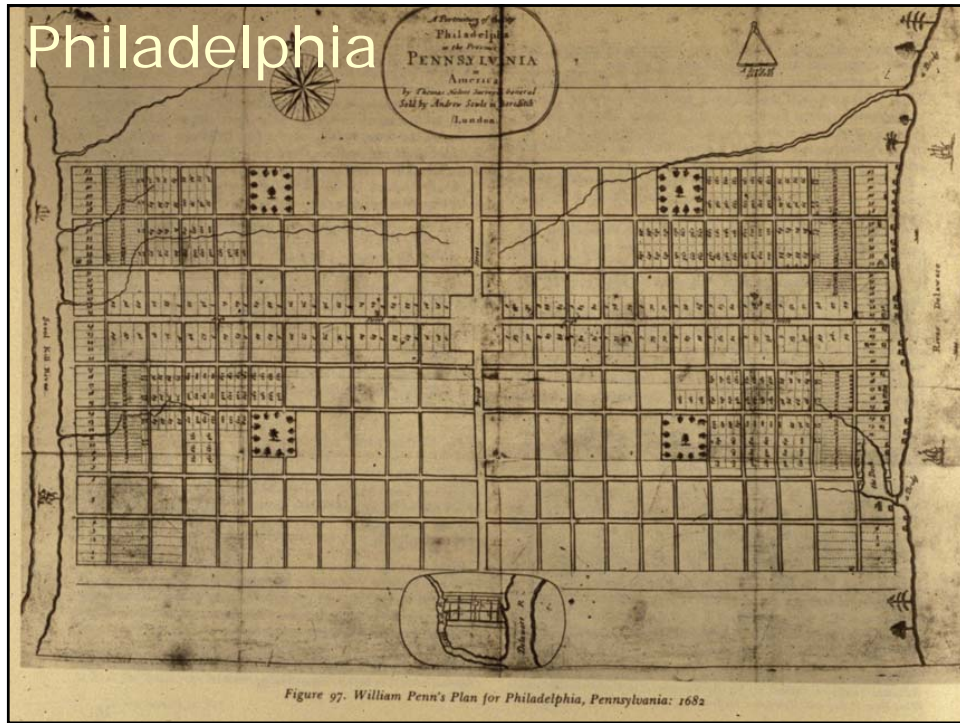
American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

### Colonial Planning: Focus on Urban Design and Street System

1682	Philadelphia plan	Grids & parks	William Penn Thomas Holme
1695	Annapolis plan	Radiocentric	Francis Nicholson
1733	Savannah	Ward park system	Oglethorpe



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Growth of Savannah, 1733 - 1856

1733 1735 1790 1799

1801 1815 1841 1856

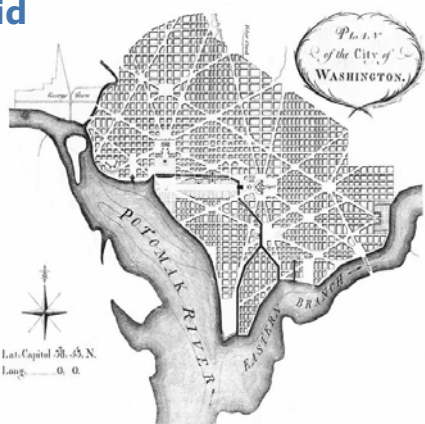
American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Early U.S. Planning

- **1791 Washington (Grid and Radials)**
  - Pierre L'Enfant
  - 1902 McMillan Commission

1852-1870	Paris	Model for "City Beautiful"	Napoleon III; Haussmann
1856	Central Park	First major purchase of parkland	F L Olmsted Sr



Source: Wikimedia Commons

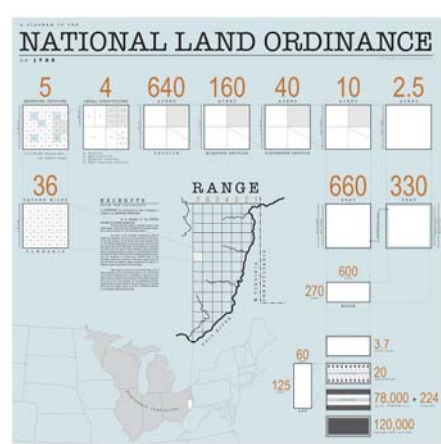
AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Early U.S. Planning

- **Ordinance of 1785 (Public Land Ordinance)**
- **1825: Erie Canal opened**
- **1862: Homestead and Morrill Acts**
- **1879: "Old" NY tenement house law**



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Socially Engineered Communities

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



Figure 100. First of Pullman, Illinois, 1880.

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Planning Movements

1850 1860 1870 1880 1890 1900 1910 1920 1930 1940

Physical Determinism

City Beautiful

City Efficient

THE PRINCIPLES OF SCIENTIFIC MANAGEMENT  
FREDERICK WINSLOW TAYLOR

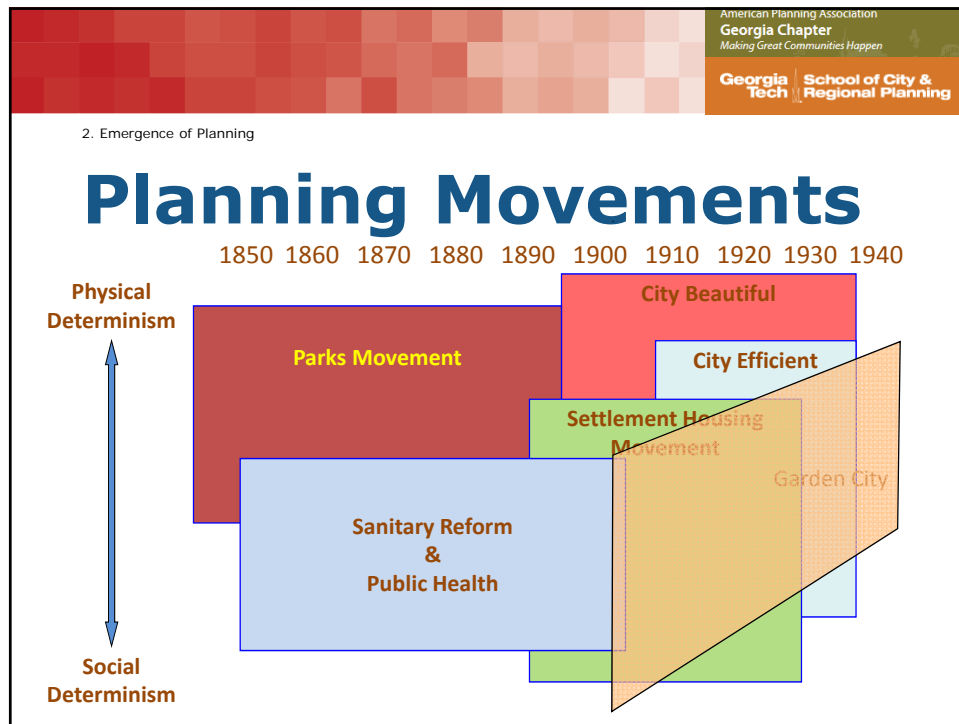
Parks Movement

Sanitary Reform & Public Health

Social Determinism









American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## 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)



American Planning Association  
**Georgia Chapter**  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech**

**School of City & Regional Planning**

2. Emergence of Planning

## Response to Emerging Industrial City: Public Health & Sanitary Reform Movement

1867	San Francisco	First modern land-use zoning in US (forbad slaughter-houses in 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

American Planning Association  
**Georgia Chapter**  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech**

**School of City & Regional Planning**

Emergence of Planning

## The Rise of 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

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

School of City & Regional Planning



*“The good we secure for ourselves is precarious and uncertain until it is secured for all of us and incorporated into our common life.”*

Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House*

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

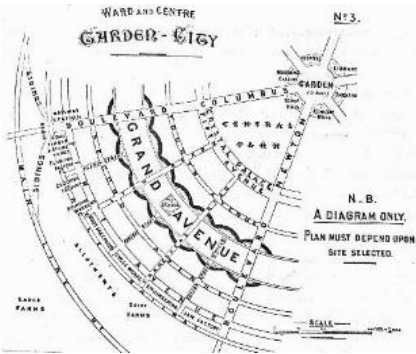
American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech


School of City & Regional Planning

## Garden City Movement

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



1930 Plan for Greenbelt MD



# City Beautiful Movement


American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

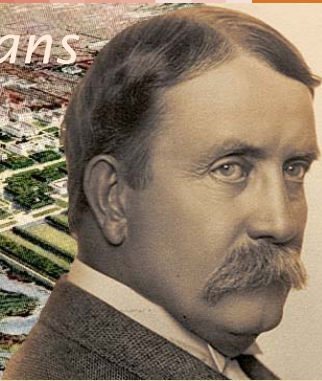
1893	Columbian Exposition	The "White City"	Burnham, Olmsted Sr,
1902	McMillan Plan for Washington DC	Update of L'Enfant's Plan	Burnham Olmsted Jr
1906	San Francisco Plan	First major application of City Beautiful in US	Daniel Burnham Edward Bennett
1909	Chicago Plan	First metro regional plan	Burnham




American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

## Make no little plans





They have no magic to stir men's blood and probably themselves will not be realized. Make big plans... remembering that a noble, logical diagram once recorded will never die, but long after we are gone will be a living thing, asserting itself with ever-growing insistency. Let your watchword be order and your beacon beauty.

Daniel Burnham

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

School of City &  
 Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning


## 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
  - Los Angeles: first land use zoning ordinance
  - Harvard School of Landscape Architecture: first course in city planning

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

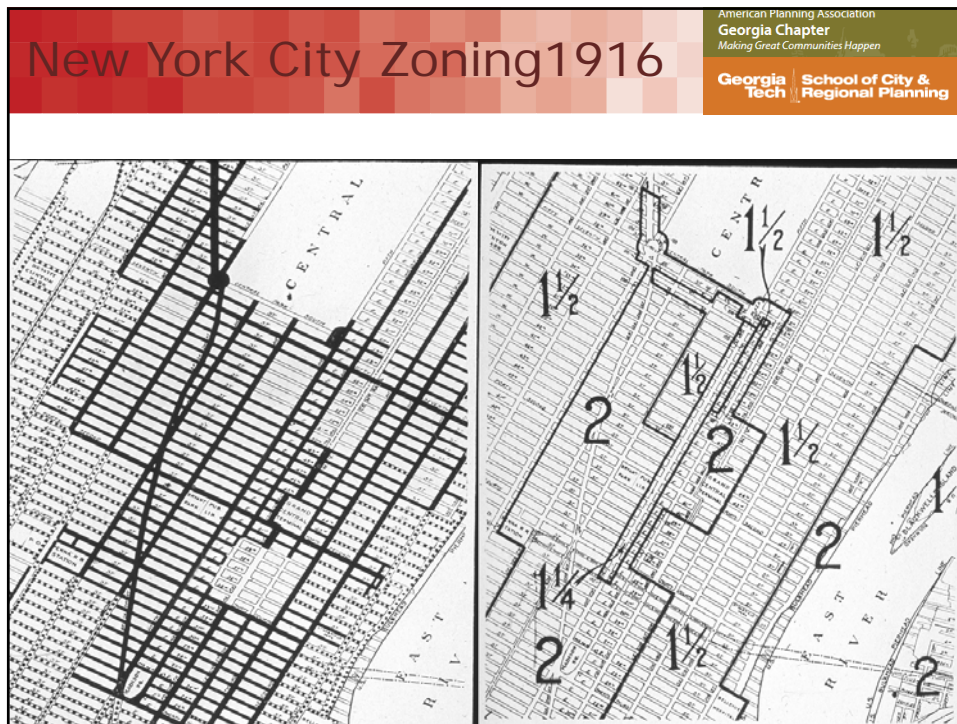
Georgia Tech

School of City &  
 Regional Planning



***"Canyon Streets" in NYC:  
Targets of Zoning***





American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*  
 Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Progressive Movement as Reform

- **Political and economic reaction against**
  - 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

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

2. Emergence of Planning

## Utopianism

- Sought to birth the good society through “intentional communities” that embodied new social arrangements
- Planners proposed sweeping changes to physical, social and economic systems to enhance human progress, well-being and equality
- Plans = imaginative visions rooted in moral philosophy
- Focused on ends, not pragmatic means

“When men came to realize [that the change]... was not merely an improvement in details of their condition, but the rise of the race to a new plane of existence... there ensued an era of mechanical invention, scientific discovery, art, musical and literary productiveness to which no previous age of the world offers anything comparable.”  
*Looking Backward: 2000-1887*  
 by Edward Bellamy in 1887

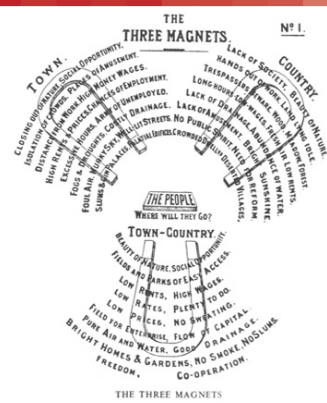
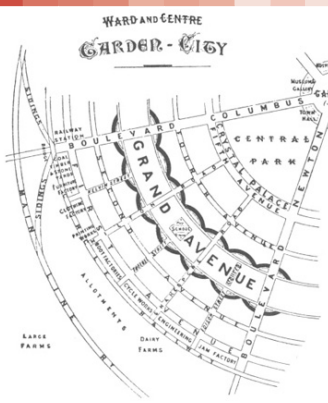
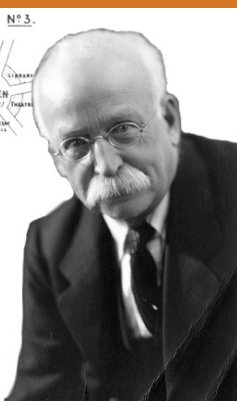
AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

## Garden City Movement

Ebenezer Howard

- Bounded city with agricultural belt integrate town and country
- Community ownership of the land, with public revenues based on rents rather than taxes
- Social reform and economic self-sufficiency

“Town and country must be married, and out of this joyous union will spring a new hope, a new life, a new civilization.”  
*Garden Cities of To-Morrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*, Ebenezer Howard, 1902  
 AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW




# Modernism

Le Corbusier

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning



- **Founding member of Congrès International d'Architecture Moderne**
- **Radically efficient Taylorist physical and social urban order**
- **Open floor plans, walls independent of the structure, set in parks with access to transit and freeways**
- **Utopian designs for public housing**

"Modern town planning comes to birth with a new architecture. By this immense step in evolution, so brutal and so overwhelming, we burn our bridges and break with the past." *L'Urbanisme*, Le Corbusier, 1924

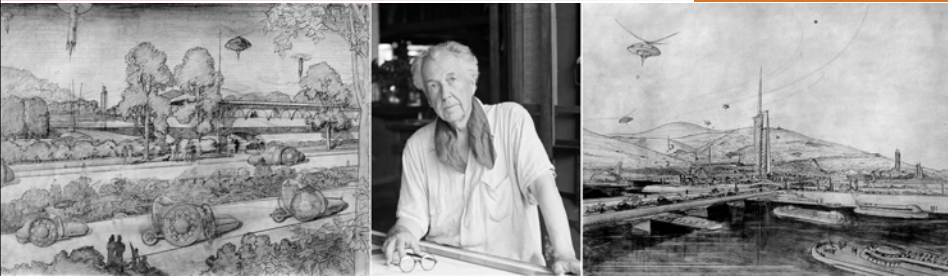
AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

# Broadacre City

Frank Lloyd Wright

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning



- **A response to Le Corbusier's Radiant City (1932)**
- **Proposed to replace dense industrial cities with small cities (pop. < 10,000) covering the entire US, connected by highways**
- **Each city embedded in nature with its own cultural and educational centers**
- **An economy of self sufficiency, without land rent and landlords, profit and bureaucracy**

"Who is going to say how humanity will eventually be modified by all these spiritual changes and physical advantages... The whole psyche of humanity is changing and what that change will ultimately bring as future community I will not prophecy. It is already greatly changed."

Frank Lloyd Wright  
Broadacre's "Citizens' Petition" 1943

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | **School of City & Regional Planning**

2. Emergence of Planning

## Utopianism, Interrupted

**Planning Movements contained elements of utopianism**

- Rejected historic precedent as a source of inspiration
- Proposed substantially new social, physical, and economic arrangements

**But ultimately failed as visions**

- Social and economic proposals largely ignored
- Provided intellectual rationale for suburbanization, urban freeway systems, dense public housing segregated by uses, and urban renewal
- Goals ultimately challenged
- Lacked processes of revision and learning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | **School of City & Regional Planning**

## 3. Codification of Professional Planning Practice

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

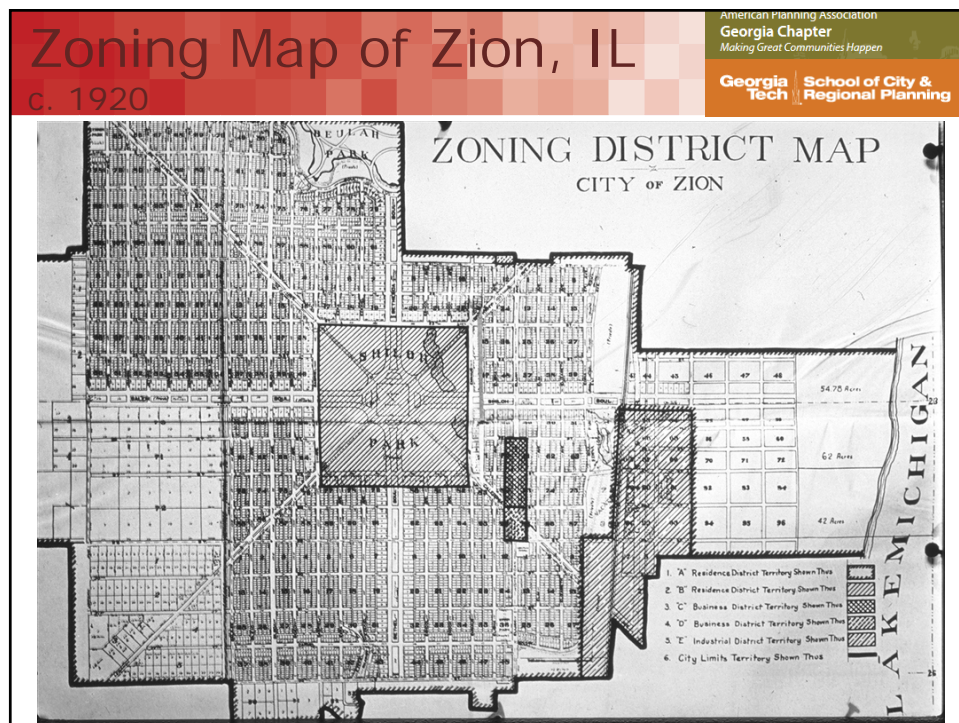
16

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*  
**Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning**

3. Codification of Profession

## 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
- **1923**
  - Standard State Zoning 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





American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

3. Codification of Profession

- **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

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

3. Codification of Profession

## Depression Era Innovations

- **National urban/urbanization policy**
  - National Resources Planning Board
  - New Deal economic management
  - housing and work/welfare programs
- **Regionalism**
  - Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)
- **Planning**
  - 1934: American Society of Planning Officials formed
- **Planning education**
  - movement from apprentice-based to university and social science-based education

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

3. Codification of Profession

## 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 Ladislav Segoe, first of "Green Book" series, appears



American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

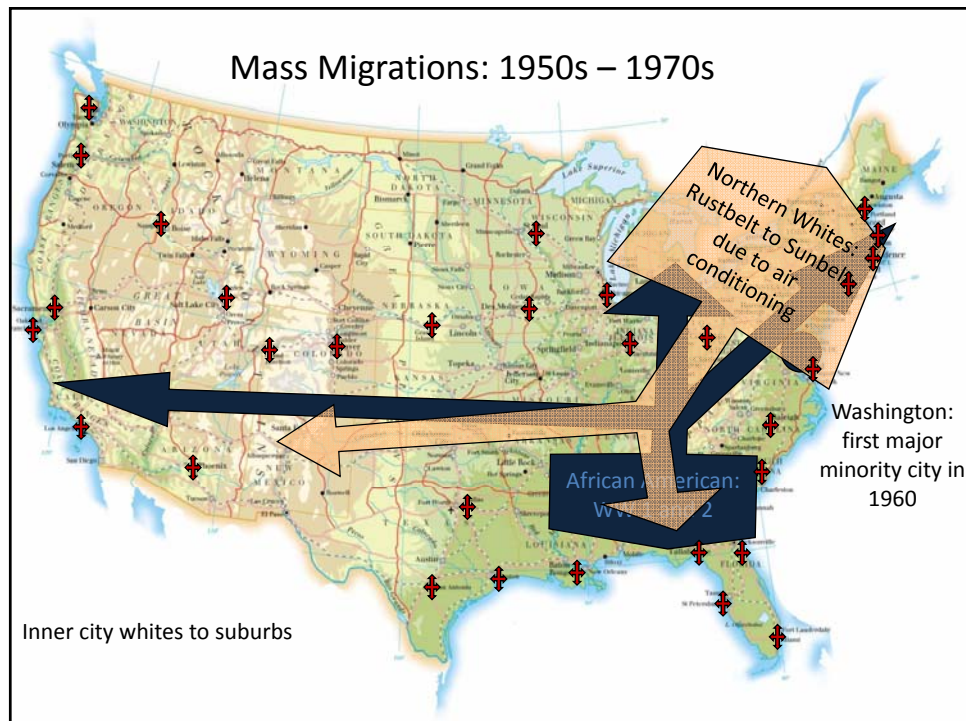
School of City & Regional Planning

3. Codification of Profession

## 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.”

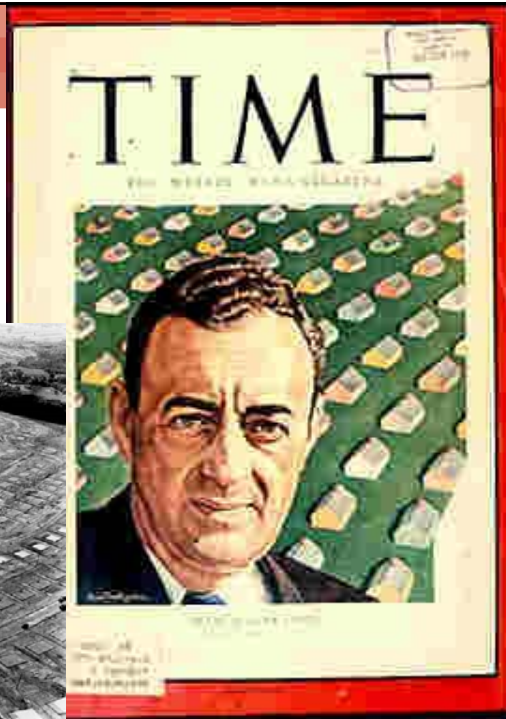




## Levittown

William  
Levitt

*Time*: July 13, 1950



3. Codification of Profession

## Urban Renewal & General Planning

- **1949 Housing Act (Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill)**
  - First comprehensive housing legislation
  - Aimed to construct 800,000 housing units
  - Inaugurated urban renewal
- **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
- **1954 Housing Act**
  - Stressed slum prevention and urban renewal rather than slum clearance and urban redevelopment
  - stimulated general planning for cities under 25,000 (Section 701)
  - "701 funding" later extended to foster statewide, interstate, and substate regional planning.
- **1964 T.J. Kent publishes The Urban General Plan**

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

School of City &  
Regional Planning

3. Codification of Profession

## 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

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

School of City &  
Regional Planning

**1971:**  
Lancaster Square dedicated by U. S. Senator Hugh Scott: This "dramatic redevelopment of a one time area of obsolescence is a showplace of design with dramatic firsts."

**1976:**  
demolition of west superstructure

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

## 4. Synoptic (Comprehensive) Rational Planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*


Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

4. Rational Planning

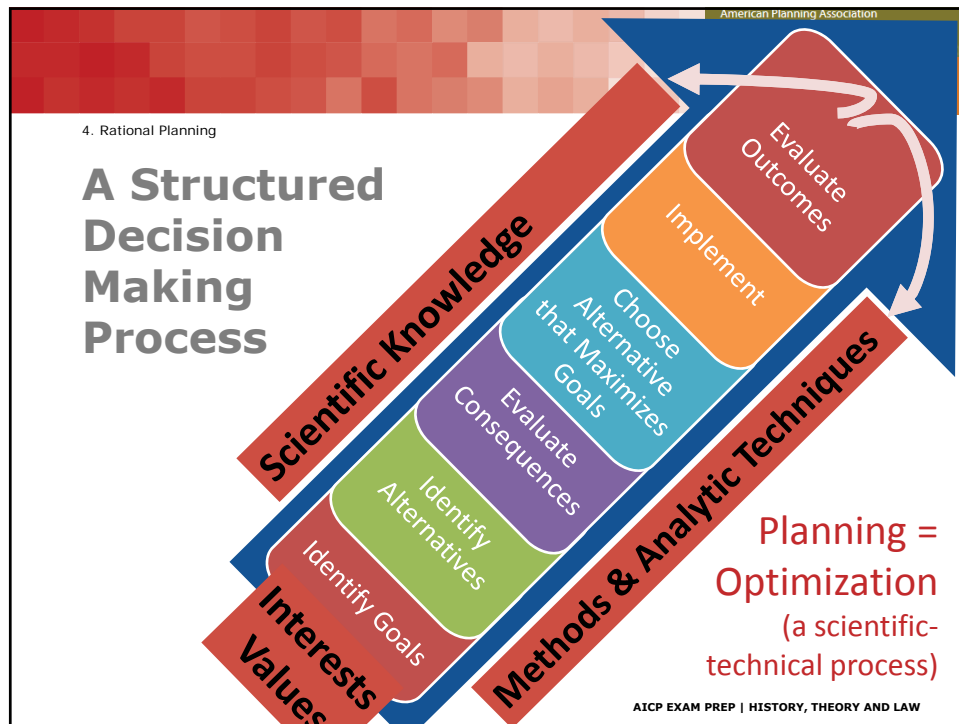
### Rational Planning Defined

- **A structured process of decision-making that seeks to maximize the achievement of desired goals (ends) by careful consideration of potential consequences of available alternatives (means)**
- **Rationality focuses on**
  - the quality of decision
  - the subordination of action to knowledge and of knowledge to values

The planner is an expert capable of designing for and coping with complex urban conditions by using specialized Knowledge, techniques and technologies in support of well-structured decision processes.



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

4. Rational Planning

### University of Chicago Program of Education and Research in Planning, 1947 - 1955

- **Rexford Tugwell**
  - A vision of science contributing to guide societal choices and to curb the irrational decisions of politicians
  - Conceived of society as a complex organism and planning as a central brain and nervous system coordinating its functions for the betterment of the whole (planning as the "fourth power")
- **Martin Meyerson and Edward Banfield**
  - Authors of *Politics, Planning and the Public Interest*
  - Introduced the rational planning process in the context of a study of public housing in Chicago

### Other Rational Theorists

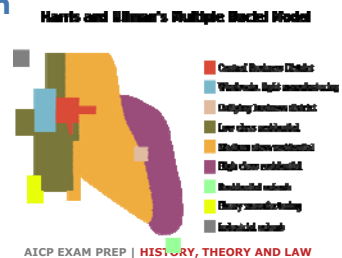
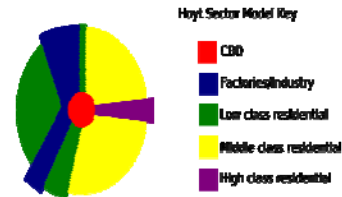
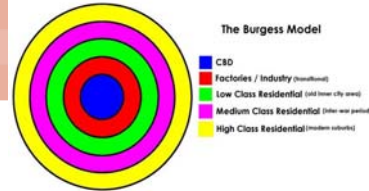
- **Davidoff & Reiner, 1963**  
"A Choice Theory of Planning"  
Planning consists of sequential tasks:
  - Value Formation: widen & publicize choices concerning future conditions or goals
  - Means Identification: Identify and evaluate a universe of means
  - Effectuation: implement and monitor
- **Andreas Faludi, 1973**  
"A Reader in Planning Theory"
  - Normative procedural theory of planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

4. Rational Planning

## Urban Models

- **1925: Concentric Zone Theory**
  - Burgess
- **1939: Sector Theory**
  - Homer Hoyt
- **1945: Multiple Nuclei Model**
  - Harris and Ullman
- **1962 Penn-Jersey Transportation Study urban growth simulation model**
- **1968 Pittsburg Community Redevelopment Model**

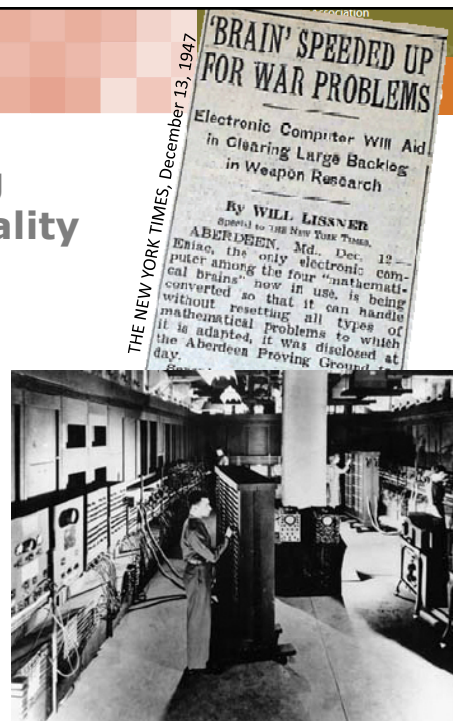


AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

4. Rational Planning

## Why This Increasing Emphasis on Rationality in the 1950s?

- **Optimism in the power of science to resolve social problems**
- **Depression and WWII experience with planning**
- **Increasing emphasis on social and economic as well as physical aspects of urban problems**



American Planning Association  
**Georgia Chapter**  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech**

**School of City & Regional Planning**

# 5. Challenges and Responses to Rational Planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
**Georgia Chapter**  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech**

**School of City & Regional Planning**

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Challenges to Synoptic (Comprehensive) Rationality in Planning



**Problems are "wicked"**

not subject to optimization



**Knowledge is limited**

not subject to comprehensive consideration



**Interests are plural**

"public interest" is subject to over-simplification and bias

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Wicked Problems: Impediments to Optimization

**Goals and means are uncertain**

- Broadly defined groups/clients
- Diverse interests
- 5 – 20 years before results discerned
  - feedback and corrective actions are difficult

**Problems are “wicked”**

- Each attempt to create a solution changes the understanding of the problem
- Problem definition evolves as new possible solutions are considered and/or implemented
- Not the same as an intractable problem

Horst Rittel & Melvin Webber (1973). "Dilemmas in a General Theory of Planning". Policy Sciences 4: 155–169.

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Characteristics of “Wicked” Problems

- No definitive formulation of problem
- No stopping rule
- Solutions: not true-or-false, but good-or-bad
- No immediate or ultimate test of solution
- Every wicked problem is essentially unique.

- 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

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Knowledge Is Limited Impediments to Comprehensiveness

**Synoptic rationality is essentially impossible**

- Cognitive limits
- Resource limits
- An infinite regression

**Procedural rationality is a more attainable goal**

- Seeks to approximate rational decision making within these limits
- More "descriptive" than "normative"

## Incrementalism & Mixed Scanning

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Incrementalism


Planning is less scientific and comprehensive and more politically interactive and experiential.

**Charles Lindblom**  
*The Science of Muddling Through, 1959*

- Select goals and policies simultaneously
- Consider alternatives only marginally different from status quo
- Make simplified, limited comparisons among alternatives
- Trust results of social experimentation over theory
- Act incrementally through repetitive attacks on the problems being addressed
- Satisfice rather than maximize

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning



Major policy changes are best made in little increments over long periods of time.

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Mixed Scanning

**Amitai Etzioni**  
*Mixed Scanning: A Third Approach to Decision-Making, 1967*

**"Bounded" instrumental rationality simplifies the world less than incrementalism**

**A wide-angle examination of patterns across all possibilities**

- long-term context & plan
- **A close-in examination of the most promising options**
  - short-term choices

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
 Making Great Communities Happen  
 Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Interests Are Plural Community, Power and Social Justice

- **1960s**
  - Communities consist of multiple voices
  - Planners' incapacity to discern public interest
- **Planning goals cannot be reduced to a unified notion of the public interest**
  - Single voice usually = most powerful voice
  - Marginalized voices typically excluded
  - Inclusion of marginalized interests in plans requires planner to act decisively from a social justice perspective
- **Planning responses**
  - Advocacy Planning
  - Radical Planning

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

**1960s Challenges to Rationalism & its Modernist Underpinnings**

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

**1960s Challenges to Rationalism & its Modernist Underpinnings**

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

**Jane Jacobs**

**THE DEATH AND LIFE OF GREAT AMERICAN CITIES**  
JANE JACOBS

**Robert Moses**

**CROSS MANHATTAN ARTERIALS AND RELATED IMPROVEMENTS**

LOWER MANHATTAN EXPRESSWAY  
MID MANHATTAN EXPRESSWAY

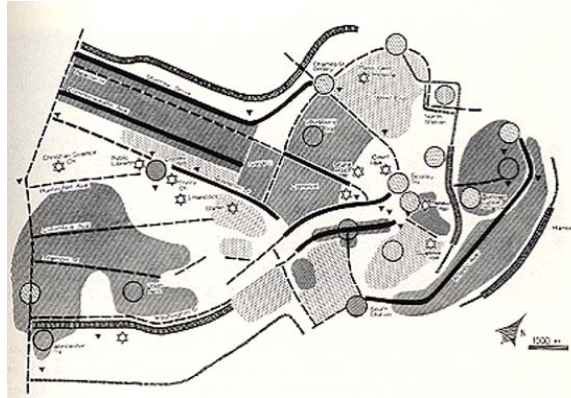
DOWNTOWN REDEVELOPMENT  
THE CENTRAL CITY  
POST OFFICE  
THE NEW EAST SIDE

Looking west along route of Lower Manhattan Expressway from Hudson River to East River

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Urban Design Theorists

1960 *Image of the City* by Kevin Lynch



Kevin Lynch

THE  
IMAGE  
OF  
THE  
CITY



basic elements of  
"imageability"

- | paths
- ▬ edges
- nodes
- Districts
- ☆ landmarks

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Advocacy Planning

Paul Davidoff "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning"  
*Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 1965

Planner ≠  
value neutral technician

- **Large inequalities in political and bargaining processes**
  - Many communities under-represented/unorganized
  - "Citizen participation" programs usually react to official plans and programs
- **The "public interest" is plural, not unitary**
  - A single plan cannot represent the public interest
- **Planning should be pluralistic & represent diverse interests**



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*


Georgia Tech

School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Advocacy Model

- Planners “represent and plead the plans of many interest groups.”
- Planners assist various interest groups (“clients”) to *propose* their own goals, policies & plans
- Planners advocate for the interests of their clients
  - Special responsibility toward marginalized interests



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
 Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech

School of City & Regional Planning

5. Challenges to Rational Planning

## Two Traditions of Radical Planning

**Structural Critique of Legitimacy of Political and Economic Power Structures**

- **Robert Kraushaar:** *Outside the Whale: Progressive Planning and the Dilemmas of Radical Reform*
- **Dilemmas of transforming society from within**
  - New responses to problems
  - New perspectives on how society defines those problems

**Spontaneous Activism Guided by Community Self-Reliance and Mutual Aid**

- **Saul Alinsky:** *Rules for Radicals*
- **Hierarchical bureaucracies and centralized planning seen as structurally reinforcing inequality**
- **Sought to empower common citizens to experiment with solving their own problems**



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



## 6. Communicative Planning, Political Action and Pragmatism

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## National Response, 1960s – 70s

- **Johnson's Great Society**
  - 1964-1966: Civil Rights Act, HUD
  - 1966: Model Cities Program
- **Nixon: The Environmental President**
  - 1969-1970s: NEPA, EPA and Environmental Acts

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## Postmodern Critique

Beauregard, Mandelbaum, Sandercock, Fainstein

<p><b>Knowledge</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Knowledge is not objective but rather socially constructed</li> <li>▪ Reality lacks an internal logic that can be uncovered and manipulated through rational and scientific principles</li> <li>▪ Knowledge is open-ended           <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Partial</li> <li>▪ Particular</li> <li>▪ Historic</li> <li>▪ Local</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<p><b>Emancipation</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ Modernist Planning's premise of a unified concept of liberation (that reality can be controlled and perfected) leads to domination</li> <li>▪ Recognizes the rights of marginalized groups to freedom as each group defines it, rather than their inclusion as consenting "interests" in a well-ordered society</li> <li>▪ Planning in different voices</li> </ul>
-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## Social Learning Argyris & Schön

**Planning seen as integral to a dynamic system of social change & learning**

- Planners engage in "reflection-in-action"
- Examine espoused theory and theory in practice
- Are catalysts and boundary spanners
- strive to create a decision structure that is self-correcting (learns from reflecting on its own choices)

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## Transactive Planning, John Friedman

- Carried out face-to-face with people affected by planning decisions, with involvement throughout the plan decision-making process
- Emphasizes processes of personal and organizational development and not just achievement of functional objectives

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## Citizen Participation

**Sherry Arnstein, *A Ladder of Citizen Participation***

- A critical focus on the practice of citizen participation
- Challenged planners to expand the role of citizens in plan-making and implementation

The ladder consists of eight rungs, numbered 1 to 8 from bottom to top:

- 1— Manipulation
- 2— Therapy
- 3— Informing
- 4— Consultation
- 5— Placation
- 6— Partnership
- 7— Delegated Power
- 8— Citizen Control

Labels on the right side of the ladder:

- Degrees of citizen power (levels 6, 7, 8)
- Degrees of tokenism (levels 3, 4, 5)
- Non-participation (levels 1, 2)

Handwritten text on the right: *je participe, tu participes, il participe, nous participons, vous participez, ils participent*

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## A Theory of Communicative Reason

Jurgen Habermas

- Rejects abstract rationalism as masking social structures of inequality
- Provides for an alternative rationality linked to community engagement
- Identifies priorities, justifies claims, and selects strategies based on deeply deliberative processes of public interaction and debate

The diagram shows a central diamond shape with four colored boxes:

- Top (red): Mutual Comprehension
- Right (green): Shared Values
- Bottom (purple): Truth
- Left (blue): Trust

Surrounding text:

- Top: Action
- Bottom: Language
- Center: Intention to Reach New Understanding

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

6. Communicative Planning

## The Communicative Turn

John Forester, Patsy Healey and Judith Innes

- Seeks to mobilize the creative and self-empowering power of a community
- Planning seen as a communicative act centered on social-learning and culture-building
- Planners facilitate deliberative processes that seek to produce a system of shared meanings between planners & the public

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

6. Communicative Planning

## Communicative Rationality

- **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 communities together**
- **Emphasis on**
  - transparency
  - inclusiveness
  - truth-seeking

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning



AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

6. Communicative Planning

## Communicative Planning in Action

Lawrence Susskind

- The public interest is revealed through the interaction of stakeholders seeking to negotiate desired outcomes within well-structured processes
- A focus on process design and facilitative skills

**A Seven Step Model of Planning Practice**  
*and classic readings from the planning field*

- 1. Define the Problem** (Yellow box) - *Davidoff, Pratt, Hartman, Abrams*
- 2. Map Stakeholder Interests** (Orange box) - *Webber & Rittel*
- 3. Analyze Institutional Resistance and Pressures for Reform** (Red box) - *Meyerson & Banfield*
- 4. Engage the Stakeholders** (Pink box) - *T.J. Kent, Abuduler*
- 5. Seek Agreement on What Needs to Be Done** (Blue box) - *Krumholz, J. Jacobs, Friedmann*
- 6. Implement Changes in Policies, Programs and Procedures** (Light Blue box) - *Lindblom, Wildavsky, Caro*
- 7. Reflect, Encourage Public Learning, Make Adjustments** (Green box) - *Schün*

© 2002 Lawrence Susskind. Used with permission.  
Department of Urban Studies and Planning, Massachusetts Institute of Technology

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

## 7. Planning under New Federalism

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## New Federalism

- **1972 State and Local Fiscal Assistance Act**
  - inaugurates general revenue sharing
- **1974 The Housing and Community Development Act**
  - replaces the categorical grant with the block grant as the principal form of federal aid for local community development.
- **1980 "Reagan Revolution" begins a new (counter-New Deal) policy environment**
  - reduced federal domestic spending
  - Privatization
  - stronger property rights
  - deregulation
  - increase subordination of state interests to individual interests

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Housing and Economics

- **1970 Miami Valley (Ohio) Regional Planning Commission Housing Plan**
  - the first plan in the nation to allocate low-and moderate-income housing on a "fair share" basis.
- **1993 Enterprise Zone/Empowerment Community (EZ/EC)**
  - Aims tax incentives, wage tax credits, special deductions, and low-interest financing to a limited number of impoverished urban and rural communities
- **1992 HOPE VI: severely distressed public housing**
  - \$5 billion
  - replaces "severely distressed" public housing projects with mixed-income housing and provides some of the original residents housing vouchers to rent apartments in the private market

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Techwood Homes

- 1936: first public housing project in the nation

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Centennial Place, 1996

The nation's first master-planned, mixed-income community with public housing as a component.

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## New Urbanism

- **New Urbanism emphasizes urban features**
  - compactness, walkability, mixed use
- **Promotes a nostalgic architectural style reminiscent of the traditional urban neighborhood**
- **movement has links to the anti-sprawl, smart growth movement**

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## 1984 Seaside, Florida

Andres Duany and  
Elizabeth Plater-Zyberk



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Professionalization of Planning

- **1971**
  - AIP adopts a Code of Ethics for professional planners
- **1977**
  - First exam for AIP membership conducted.
- **1978**
  - American Institute of Planners (AIP) and American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) merge to become American Planning Association (APA).
- **1980**
  - The Associated Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP) is established to represent the academic branch of the planning profession.
- **1981**
  - ACSP issues The Journal of Education and Planning
- **1989**
  - The Planning Accreditation Board (PAB) is recognized by Council on Post Secondary Education to be the sole accrediting agency for professional planning education

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Contingency Theory

Hoch, Christensen, Alexander

- **Planning is a professional act that occurs within a political community**
- **Political and social interaction are central activities in decision making and in learning**
- **Planners must respond through different planning approaches under different circumstances**
- **Approaches depend on degree of**
  - Agreement about goals
  - Uncertainty
  - Imminence of decision
  - Need for community buy-in
  - Etc.



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

7. Planning under New Federalism

## Critical Pragmatism

- Draw on American pragmatist John Dewey and Richard Rorty
- Planning's emphasis on deductive reasoning is inconsistent with pragmatic problem-solving used by most public decision makers
- Calls for planners to use a blend of inductive and deductive reasoning
  - Abductive reasoning, or inferring to the best explanation

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
Making Great Communities Happen

Georgia Tech | School of City & Regional Planning

8. Supplemental Materials

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

8. Supplemental Materials

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

## Resources

### Theory

- Michael Brooks: Planning Theory for Practitioners, Chicago: APA Press, 2002.
- Susan Fainstein and Scott Campbell, eds.: Readings in Planning Theory, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, West Sussex (UK): Blackwell Publishing, 2012.

### History

- Mel Scott: American City Planning Since 1890, Chicago: APA Press, 1995.

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

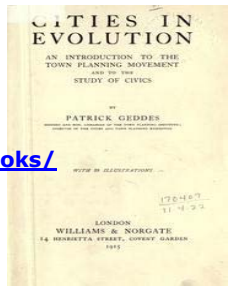
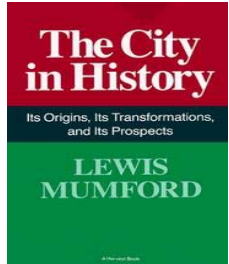
8. Supplemental Materials

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

## Additional Books

- 100 Essential Books of Planning**
  - <http://www.planning.org/centennial/greatbooks/>
- Selected Examples:**
  - 1915: Cities in Evolution (Geddes)
  - 1929: Neighborhood Unit (Clarence Perry)
  - 1934: Modern Housing (Catherine Bauer)
  - 1960: The Image of the City (Lynch)
  - 1961: The City in History (Mumford)
  - 1964: The Urban General Plan (T.J. Kent)
  - 1974: The Power Broker (Robert Caro)
  - 1980: The Social Life of Small Urban Places
  - 1991: Edge City (Joel Garreau)
  - 1994: Rural by Design (Randall Arendt)
  - 2002: The Rise of the Creative Class
  - 2004: The Devil in the White City

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning

8. Supplemental Materials

## Pioneers of Modern Planning

<https://www.planning.org/awards/pioneers.html>

- Patrick Geddes- Regional Planning
- Edward Bassett- American Zoning
- Daniel Burnham- City Planning
- Lawrence Veiller- Modern Housing Code
- Ian McHarg- Ecological Planning
- Paul Davidoff- Advocacy Planning
- Saul Alinsky (Rules for Radicals)
- Jane Jacobs (The Death and Life of Great American Cities)
- Paolo Soleri (Arcology)
- John DeGrove (Florida's Growth Management)
- Jean Gottman ("Megalopolis")
- Norman Krumholtz (Equity Planning)
- Peter Calthorpe (CNU, TOD)
- Andres Duany (CNU, Transect/SmartCode)

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW

American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

**Georgia Tech** | School of City & Regional Planning


8. Supplemental Materials

## Selected Planning Firsts

<https://www.planning.org/awards/landmarks.htm>

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> National Park- Yellowstone (1872)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> National Wildlife Refuge- Pelican Island, FL (1903)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> City Subway- Boston (1897)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> U.S. Transcontinental Highway- Lincoln Highway (dedicated 1913)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Limited Access Highway- Bronx River Parkway (1926)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> City Zoning Ordinance- New York City (1916)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> City Comprehensive Plan- Cincinnati (1925)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Skyscraper- Chicago (1884)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Planning Commission- Hartford, Connecticut (1907)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Regional Planning Commission- Los Angeles County (1922)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Historic Preservation Commission- Vieux Carre, New Orleans (1921)</li> <li>▪ 1<sup>st</sup> Historic Preservation Ordinance- Charleston (1921)</li> </ul>
--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------	-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW



American Planning Association  
Georgia Chapter  
*Making Great Communities Happen*

Georgia  
Tech | School of City &  
Regional Planning

8. Supplemental Materials

## APA History

- **1909**
  - 1<sup>st</sup> National Conference City Planning
- **1917**
  - American City Planning Institute
- **1934**
  - American Society of Planning Officials
- **1939**
  - ACPI becomes American Institute of Planners
- **1978**
  - APA = AIP + ASPO

AICP EXAM PREP | HISTORY, THEORY AND LAW