THE ROLE OF THE CASE STUDY METHOD IN TRAINING FOR URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING

BY

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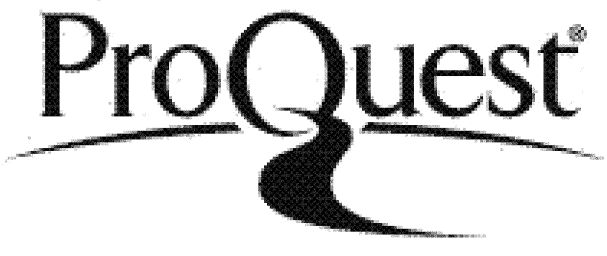

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ABSTRACT

The case study method of instruction is a teaching method which uses discussion of a case to illustrate or to derive principles important to a profession from the case material. Case study also provides a framework for students to analyze complex situations common to the planning profession. For purposes of training in urban and regional planning, a case is defined as a narrative record of an issue which has been faced by planners together with surrounding facts and opinions upon which decisions were made.

Although the case method is used in various courses of study, a systematic exposition of its pedagogic advantages has not been produced for planning. This thesis attempts to fill the gap in the literature by: 1) adapting and demonstrating use of the case method of instruction as a pedagogy in undergraduate planning education; 2) developing problem oriented methods for analysis of case material drawn from planning practice; 3) proposing that a normative theory of planning offers the best structure for planning education; 4) documenting the strong and permanent ties between geographers and planning education; 5) proposing formation of a Case Writing in Planning Programme as a means of improving planning education.

These objectives are met through presentation and analysis of four original planning cases. Each case is analyzed differently in ascending order of difficulty and complexity. Each analysis contains a "Best Planning Practice" and a "Best Educational Practice " section which highlights appropriate professional and pedagogic use of the case material.

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INTRODUCTION

BECAUSE WISDOM CAN'T BE TOLD: AN INTRODUCTION TO THE CASE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION IN UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING EDUCATION

Since the 1970's, the number of planners trained at the undergraduate level has increased substantially. The number of colleges and universities offering undergraduate Planning programmes has also increased. Often the Planning programme has administrative and/or curriculum ties to the institution's Geography department. The trend to greater reliance on undergraduate programmes for training entry level planners has created a dilemma for Planning educators. Heretofore, planners have usually been trained at the post-graduate level where concerns for developing professional competence outweighed demands for a liberal education. It was assumed (correctly) that a person's broader, non-professional education had been met with attainment of a first degree. The dilemma of the undergraduate Planning educator is to develop professional competence, especially a capacity and appreciation for problem solving, in young planners while simutaneously meeting general education objectives.

The purpose of this thesis is to address the problem of how to achieve these dual educational goals. Specifically, the thesis will: 1) adapt and demonstrate the use of the case method of instruction as a pedagogic tool in undergraduate Planning education, 2) analyze case material drawn from Planning practice in a variety

of means to develop problem solving skills and to teach effectively, 3) show that a normative theory of Planning offers the best structure for Planning practice, 4) document the strong and permanent ties between geographers and planners, 5) propose formation of a Case Writing in Planning Programme as a means of improving Planning education.

Another objective of the thesis is to contribute to the drive for teaching excellence by demonstrating the utility of the case method in Planning. That this thesis came to be written by a geographer/planner who taught undergraduates for ten years was not a chance occurrence.The author has had the opportunity to use a variety of pedagogic methods in the classroom. Other Planning educators who are usually drawn from Planning practice or directly from post-graduate Planning programmes may not have had a similar opportunity to teach before writing a thesis. As trained planners, their educational preparation probably did not include training in teaching methods. A similar state of affairs exists in other disciplines. For undergraduate Planning educators, teaching methods which achieve several educational goals simultaneously;e.g.,transmission of factual material, development of ethical values and professional outlook, improvement of communication skills and problem-solving ability, and maturation of the student need to be developed and distributed.

The objectives listed above are met,first, by

presentation and analysis of four original cases drawn from Planning practice. Each case is analyzed differently with analysis ranging from cases which illustrate principles of professional practice to more advanced analysis where principles are derived from case material. Although some Planning educators use case material in the classroom, the literature does not contain a systematic review of this pedagogy in Planning. The thesis attempts to fill this gap.

The remaining objectives dealing with ties between Geography and Planning are achieved through an analysis of enrolment data and by relating geographic research to Planning practice.

Of course, the ultimate goal is to increase the effectiveness of Planners by improving the quality of education they receive at the undergraduate level.

I-1 ENDEMIC TURBULENCE AND THE CASE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION

In 1974, the American Institute of Planners (now reorganised as the American Planning Association) published Planning in America (Godschalk, 1974) It explored the relationship between Planning practice and Planning education. However, its subtitle,Learning from Turbulence, was a telling commentary on the state of that relationship. During the past decade, the Planning profession attempted to subdue the turbulence by seeking

a clear and consensual view of which public problems can be addressed by planners. But the character and scope of problems seems to relentlessly change and expand. Planners deal with problems that range from design of cities and managing urban growth to the efficient functioning of local, regional, and national governments, to the provision of public services such as housing and health care, to economic dislocations and regional decline. In this milieu, planners are unable to reach a consensus about the specific problems they should address or about the methodologies they should use. Consequently, no clear theory of Planning has emerged. In a word used by Schon and Nutt (1974;p.181), the turbulence afflicting Planning remains "endemic".

The task for Planning educators, then, is to train students not only to deal with an array of unique problems ranging from environmental to social to governmental activities, but to do so within the context of a profession that offers little theoretical guidance about how this is to be done. The ideally trained student would possess technical and problem-solving skills combined with sufficient communicative skills to convey plans and policy alternatives to decisionmakers and to the public. Traditional teaching methods such as the lecture can arm a student with some technical skills, but it does little to develop other aspects of this ideal education. In spite of its shortcomings,

Tyler (1958;p.256) observes that, "If a judgment is based on the dominance of the lecture as an instructional method in higher education, the inescapable conclusion is that the learning objective is mastering predetermined content. The assumption is that knowledge of the past - its events, achievements, techniques - prepares the student for solving future problems. What easier way is there than to tell it to him in lectures and have him read about it in books." The difficulty with this oversimplification is that it assigns other, equally important, educational objectives to a secondary position. Educational objectives such as development of critical thinking, independent judgment, and reasoned argument are not advanced when the student is passively involved in the learning process. Yet these latter objectives are crucial to the proper education of a planner. As Melvin Webber (1963;p.57) said, planners are expected to deal with the "wicked" problems of society; that is, those which are non-recurrent, unique, and complex. The passive nature of the lecture method of instruction, albeit necessary to transmit some information especially to large numbers of students, can provide only a portion of a planner's total education. Other teaching methods which actively involve students in the learning process should also be used.

Disciplines such as Business and Public Administration found that the case method of instruction provides a means for developing these important skills.

An examination of their experiences can shed light on the direction Planning educators might take.

The term case method means different things to different people. It is often used interchangeably with case study, case history, or case report. To the medical professional, a case refers to the medical history of one person. To the legal professional, a case refers to a report on the persons involved in, and the circumstances surrounding, one event together with relevant statutes and court precedents. As normally used in Planning, a case is a narrative record of an issue which has been faced by planners, together with surrounding facts and opinions upon which decisions were made. The case method of instruction is a teaching method which uses discussion of the case to illustrate or derive Planning principles and sharpen a student's problem-solving and communication skills. The distinguishing aspect of this method is that it is not based upon a systematic exposition of facts or theoretical material, but rather on concrete problems to be solved. It is also experiential in that learning derives from the student's personal experiences in analyzing and offering solutions to specific Planning problems. In the case method of instruction, the student has a distinct, active role and responsibility for reading the case and participating in discussion of it. An early advocate of this method, Charles Gragg,

observed (1953; p.3):

> "It can be said flatly that the mere act of listening to wise statements and sound advice does little for anyone. In the process of learning, the learner's dynamic cooperation is required. Such cooperation from students does not arise automatically, however. It has to be provided for and continually encouraged."

During discussion of the case, students may be asked to search the literature and examine relevant data from other sources for theoretical and factual insights which might be useful. As the discussion unfolds, the complexities, unanticipated events, and human factors common to any Planning issue become apparent. In the case method, learning becomes a part of the intellectual persona of the student. "By forcing himself to think and feel into the very heart of an objective problem and to come up with a practical decision, the student derives a maturity and independence of mind that is not readily available in a typical lecture or discussion kind of course. (Upgren, 1958; p.239)

The merits of the case method have been known to educators for some time. For example, law has traditionally been learned by reading cases under the tutelage of a licensed lawyer. In the United States, use of the case method was broadened when it was adopted at the Harvard Business School by Wallace Donham. Professor Donham taught at, and was later Dean of, the Harvard Business School in the 1920's and 1930's. Because the case method diffused from prestigous Harvard to many

other institutions of higher learning, it is worthwhile to note Donham's observations on the applicability of the case method to teaching social sciences.

> "In education content becomes less significant than habits and skills. Content erodes and changes its form like an ocean sand dune in winter gales. If particular content is not used, memory fails or the mind gets clogged with "inert ideas"...Skills, on the other hand, generally improve with use, expand and give confidence in power to deal with successive novel situations. This growth of skills in use is, of course, true of skills in building logical theories, in dialectics, as well as of skills in understanding and interpreting complex factual situations...By using carefully selected concrete situations as the basis for training and practice, useful content can be given to the student not as inert knowledge but with the freshness and vitality that comes with use. Skills in action develop." (1949; p.145)

The Harvard Business School continues to rely upon the case method of instruction.

The history of case method use in Public Administration (another of Planning's academic siblings) dates to the mid-1940's when Pendleton Harris and his associates at the Harvard Graduate School of Public Administration compiled some twenty short cases and used them extensively in post-graduate seminars. Their success prompted Harvard to join with other universities (Syracuse, Princeton, and Cornell) to form, in 1948, the Committee on Public Administration Cases (CPAC). "The CPAC became a precursor to the Inter-University Case

Program which was later established in 1951." (Lee, 1983;p.6) In 1957, the Inter-University Case Program appointed a Committee on Cases for the First Year Course (in Political Science). According to Allan K. Campbell, Chairman of the committee, and Edwin A. Bock, Staff Director of the Inter-University Case Program, the First Year Course Committee:

> "...had an ambitious teaching purpose in mind when it decided to produce broad-spectrum cases instead of fictional, tailored, or vignette-sized studies. It wanted to introduce into the elementary course case studies which (1) dealth with situations in which important values were at stake in the governmental process, and (2) showed how the fate of these values was affected by key aspects of governmental structure and process...Finally, the Committee agreed to search for cases which met its value and process requirements in substantive policy areas that seemed important in modern times: foreign policy, civil rights, science, the military, and government and the economy. " (Bock and Campbell, 1962; p.vi)

The Inter-University Case Program produced two collections of cases; Case Studies in American Government (Bock and Campbell; 1962) and State and Local Government: A Case Book (Bock; 1963) and a collection of essays: Essays on the Case Method (Bock, et al; 1962). It should be noted that these published cases are intended for use by undergraduates taking an introductory course in Political Science. Three of the four cases herein (chapters 4, 5, and 6) are likewise

intended for use by undergraduates taking introductory Planning courses. The case presented in chapter 7 herein may be used either by advanced undergraduates or by post-graduates beginning their training.

Although the efforts of the Inter-University Case Program broadened use of case material in Public Administration and Political Science, very little attention was paid to the pedagogic use of the material. That is, advocates sought to have it adopted by an instructor but offered little, if any, guidance as to its proper use in the classroom. Lee (1983; p.6) deftly summarised this dilemma.

> "In education for public administration today, there is a resurgence of interest in the development and use of "cases" that call for administrative and managerial problem solving...In spite of this growing interest, a review of the literature indicates that case authors, as well as text editors, are not always clear about what specific objectives the case analysis is to accomplish and how cases are to be analyzed effectively. Often, the text editors seem to develop a catalog of individual cases and literally dump them on the laps of the instructors and the students, hoping they will somehow manage to survive. This "sink or swim" approach may represent what frequently happens in the real world: as a method of training, it is haphazard, unnecessarily wasteful of time, and of little intellectual challenge."

The "sink or swim" approach to use of case material is lamentable. Effective use of this material requires that the instructor condition students to the use of case study because most undergraduates have no

experience with this teaching method. The instructor must also prepare himself for analysing cases in a manner which matches the abilities of the students. However, the instructor may also have limited experience with the case method. For this reason, each of the cases presented in this thesis is followed by a "Best Educational Practice" section which offers detailed guidance in analysis of the case. Each analytical procedure following a case is different; that is, each case is followed by a unique teaching method for revealing important lessons contained within the case.

Each case is also followed by a "Best Planning Practice" section which points to techniques or methods which might have been used to better handle the situation described in the case. The first section helps the instructor help the student understand the complexities of the case and to identify major problems. The second section aids the student to broaden the methods at his disposal to overcome obstacles to goal achievement. In combination, these sections go beyond mere presentation of the case into the all important arena of case analysis. To use Lee's metaphor, the objective, the objective is the teach the instructor and student to swim rather than sink.

Although organisations of professional planners in the US and UK set standards for the recognition of university Planning programmes, neither the American

Planning Association (APA) nor the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) offers guidance in pedagogic matters. Their position is succinctly stated by the RTPI; "As a matter of policy, the (Town Planning) Institute wishes to reduce to a minimum the extent of the precise requirements it provides for educational institutions affecting the internal organisation of their courses." (1974; p.806) These organisations do, however, set a variety of standards which must be met before recognition is conferred on the programme. In other words, they seek to achieve and maintain quality education through organisational and curricular means rather than through pedagogic standards. While this policy recognises the lack of teaching expertise of the organisations, it does have the unintended effect of sanctioning any teaching method. Again, the instructor seeking to improve his teaching is left without direction.

In addition to the teaching/learning advantages already mentioned, the case method of instruction has another: it is attuned to the changing age structure of American undergraduate students. The US Department of Education reported that the average age of undergraduates in the US was 27 years old.(Atlanta Constitution; Oct 21, 1985) Also, approximately half of all undergraduates are commuters. These facts indicate many mature students combine higher education with a career in progress. They

seek a university qualification to enhance their skills and performance in that career or in one they intend to pursue. Since their expectations of university training are job related, by addressing real world problems, the case method of instruction maintains interest. Also, a key assumption underlying this teaching method is that students can learn from one another so the life experiences of mature students broadens and adds depth to this mutual learning process. These advantages would also find useful application in continuing professional development programmes offered by the APA and the RTPI.

Changing age structure of undergraduates and continued growth of life-long training opportunities for planners will have an impact on educational institutions. According to Chudwin and Durrant (1981; p.23) "...their (mature students) numbers represent the 2-4 percent annual growth in college enrollments during the 1970's. Further projections show 25 million adults in organized educational activities in 1990." The announcement from the Department of Education reinforces this view.

I-2 STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

To achieve the objectives of the thesis, it is divided into an introduction and eight chapters. Chapter one charts the recent growth of enrolments in undergraduate Planning and Geography programmes and growth in the

number of universities offering first degrees in Planning. These growth patterns in the US indicate acceptance of graduates in the job market. Commitment to Planning among geographers remains high and is likely to be permanent as evidenced by some Geography departments adding Planning to their departmental title.

Chapter two records the changing responsibilities of university geographers as the needs of education for a profession; ie, Planning, entered academia. The first attempts by geographers to influence public Planning policies through their research appeared in the 1950's. In the 1960's, the quantitative/positivistic models which dominated geographic research brought with it a stronger concern for policy issues especially those in an urban context. Some geographers who received university training at this time applied their skills to real world problems as planners. Their experiences returned to the universities prompting a re-evaluation of educational objectives and, indirectly, created the environment in which undergraduate Planning programmes mushroomed in the 1970's. The move into educating planners brought new concerns for geographers. Among the concerns were: what is the nature of the relationship between academic geographers and the Planning profession? Is education for a profession compatible with the traditional goals of the university? Chapter two documents the evolution of ties between Geography and Planning and concludes that undergraduate Planning

education, provided it does not lose sight of non-planning values, is compatible with a liberal university education.

Chapter three explores the relationship between theory in Planning and Planning education. Planning education is intertwined with the character and perception of public problems and the Planning profession's attempts tp deal with some of them. The chapter charts the changing definitions of Planning over the past 40 years and notes that lack of a consensus on the definition and role of Planning retarded development of a unified theory in Planning. Since Planning education, in large part, involves teaching the theoretical structures of the profession, shortcomings here weakens the entire educational process. With this weakness in mind, a theoretical framework which best fits the needs of Planning education - a normative structure - is presented and defended. An advantage of normative structures is that quantitative and qualitative research methodologies are equally suited to problem-solving. This characteristic permits use of material from other social sciences while increasing the range of techniques available for problem solving. The chapter concludes with a description of natural and contrived learning situations and introduces the case method of instruction.

Chapters four through seven present four original cases each analysed in a different manner. The four

means of analysis are: (1) cases which illustrate principles, (2) a structured method of case analysis, (3) cases from which principles are derived, (4) the self-actualizing case method. The means of analysis are listed in order of ease of integration into a course and the level of student experience with case study required to benefit from the analysis. Illustrative cases are the least difficult to adopt.

Chapter four is the first of four cases which comprise the heart of the thesis. This cases describes population forecasting techniques. It is the only case which illustrates principles rather than providing material from which principles are derived. As such, as a teaching device it is nearest to the lecture method of instruction where the instructor plays a greater role as "expert" rather than as discussion leader. The pedagogic advantage is that the case bridges the gap between classrooom presentation of concepts and their application to real world situations.

The students are, of course, required to participate in a discussion of the case. In the "Best Educational Practice" section which follows each case, the instructor is directed to the importance of assumptions underlying population projections; to the future orientation of Planning; and to the desirability of relating forecasts to capital improvements. The intent is to enable students to see population forecasting in a context broader then "number

crunching".

The "Best Planning Practice" section outlines several means by which the mechanics of the forecast could have been improved.

Chapter five is a case which describes assessment of the environmental impact of development along barrier islands in coastal Georgia (USA). The case material is important to planners because, first, it deals with a complex regulatory process involving an array of actors and government agencies wherein the planner must define the role he plays. Second, the material looks at development in a sensitive environmental area; a scenario where human factors may outweigh technical expertise. The "Best Educational Practice" section lists six principles which logically could be derived from the case. These, and others, would be identified in a classroom discussion of the case. In addition, other teaching strategies such as role playing and the Socratic method are shown to have application. The "Best Planning Practice" section outlines two environmental evaluation methods which might have been used to involve the planners to a greater degree in the decision-making process.

Chapter six is a case focusing on formation of regional economic development policies for the State of North Carolina (USA). The material is important to planners because economic development strategies, especially those designed to assist lagging regions,

have become synonomous with regional planning. Also, the case involves the policy development process of state government; a process to which planners provide advice and technical assistance. The "Best Educational Practice" section demonstrates use of a structured method for analysing case material. This method allows principles to be logically derived within a tightly structured format. However, discussion of derived principles is encouraged to allow students to learn from each other and to sharpen communication skills. The "Best Planning Practice" section examines the policy process shown in the case and compares it to a theoretical model. Further, because portions of the case were inadequate to provide a valid evaluation of the proposed policy, several alternative evaluation techniques are reviewed. Special attention is given to the quantitative/qualitative debate in evaluation research.

Chapter seven is a case which focuses on planners engaged in primary data gathering; e.g., questionnaire design and administration, use of public opinion data to guide policy formulation, and decision making. The level of content and structure of the case analysis presupposes some familiarity with survey procedures and with the case method of instruction. The case is based on the author's experiences in Elizabethton, Georgia (USA). Data derived from three different questionnaires was used to assist in the development of a recreation

plan and financing package and, secondly, to support a Community Development Block Grant application.

The "Best Educational Practice" section uses two advanced means of analysis originally developed in Business and Engineering courses. The Self-Actualizing Case Method (SACM) has been used to allow advanced Business students the opportunity to enter into problem-solving activities on their own. This chapter demonstrates application of the technique to Planning. Likewise, the guided design method of case analysis although developed to teach Engineering (but used in Political Science courses as well) is shown to have application in Planning education. The applicability is shown by analysing the case material in the eight step structured format of the guided design. Like the SACM, this teaching method promotes creative approaches to problem-solving while maintaining a rigid analytical format.

The "Best Planning Practice" section supports the legitimacy of a planner's concern for public opinion on policy issues. After reviewing the three questionnaires presented in the case, the merits of alternative approaches to primary data gathering are discussed. The educational goal is to sensitize the student to the need to be less dependent upon secondary sources of data and to consciously design sample surveys to gather information. As in other "Best Planning Practice" sections, the scope of the presentation here is

sufficient only to permit self-education of the student. That is, space limitations preclude a complete review of sample surveys. The intent is to impart enough information to enable the student to continue the learning process on his own.

The concluding chapter, chapter eight, shows how the substantive chapters of the thesis achieved the goals set in the Introduction. Major findings are summarised and related to the theoretical, professional, and educational concerns of Geography and Planning. Finally, a call for systematic writing and collection of cases is made.

Every thesis is a compromise between conflicting objectives and this one is no exception. One such compromise has been in the selection of case material. The four cases presented cover topics important to planners: population forecasting, the economic development process, the environmental planning process, and sample survey research. Of course, many other topics important to the Planning profession other than those chosen could have provided excellent material for cases. Their exclusion was related to thesis length and in no way reflect adversely on their importance. Each case divides attention between straightforward technical matters and those more elusive, but equally important, human factors which influence the planning process. The length restriction also disciplined the author in

balancing detail with scope of coverage. The aim throughout has been to cover fundamental concepts of a variety of topics to demonstrate the adaptability of the case method to a wide range of settings.

The second compromise was between a faculty versus a student orientation. That is, most Planning educators, as most Planning students, are unfamiliar with the mechanics of the case method of instruction. The author opted to address primarily the needs of the educator. Analysis of each case offers alternative teaching approaches to the case material and suggests substantive topics which should be covered in discussion of the material. Of course, since the instructor and student exist in a symbiotic relationship, the benefits of the instructor's improved teaching accrue to the student as well.

A third compromise was, in reality, an exercise in restraint. Each case is limited to a small geographic area. No case covers national or international topics. It has been the author's experience that planners trained in undergraduate Planning programmes find first jobs in smaller Planning agencies. By relating case material to this geographic reality, their training is more beneficial to them.

A final compromise was between a 'nuts & bolts' versus an 'intellectual' approach to case material. The author choose the former. Each case deals with a specific problem encountered by planners in their normal

workday rather than with fanciful scenarios. This is not to say these grander scenarios do not have educational usefulness. They do. Nelson Polsby's interesting book What If postulates that "social science fiction" provides a means for thinking about events that never happened in order to better understand events that did. Essentially, social science fiction is a fictionalized case. While such materials do provide an intellectual challenge to students, the author believes learning is enhanced and the real needs of the student are met when their training is related to conditions they are likely to encounter in the real world. The case material reflects this belief.

Note

(1) Sometimes improvement cannot be made to words written by someone else. The chapter title is unashamedly taken from Charles Gragg's classic, "Because Wisdom Can't Be Told", listed in the bibliography.

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CHAPTER ONE

EMERGENCE OF UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING EDUCATION: THE PRACTITIONER'S DEGREE

Former US Secretary of Education, William J. Bennett, as reported by the New York Times said,"...many American students are being ripped off by the colleges they attend." Mr. Bennett criticised undergraduate curriculums for failing to give students an "adequate education in the culture and civilization of which they are members." The faultfinding theme was also found in the Association of American College's (AAC) report Integrity in the College Curriculum: A Report to the Academic Community. It documented the declining status of the undergraduate liberal arts degree. Mr. Bennett's comments and the AAC's report are indicative of the censure currently directed at American educational institutions. Critics charge that higher education purports to imbue students with values and characteristics which lead to more productive and meaningful lives but instead simply expose them to courses and curriculums which have no clear purpose or goal. The result, they argue, is that the educational process has become, at best, a training ground for white-collar employment or, at worst, an enterprise run for the benefit of faculty and administrators.

Accepting that constructive criticism of education is welcome, the comments of Bennett and the AAC may promote a revitalisation of interest in undergraduate

education. Within this context, this thesis presents a method for improving teaching in undergraduate Planning education. Specifically, the rationale for using a case method of instruction in Planning education will be justified and outlined. Demonstration of the applicability of this pedagogy in undergraduate Planning curriculua, especially those linked to Departments of Geography, is a major purpose of this thesis. The immediate objective is improvement of teaching and learning in Planning; however, the ultimate goal is to contribute to the improvement of education in its broadest sense.

To meet these objectives, a work on the art of teaching must deal with specific aspects of the pedagogic process. Davis (1976) touched upon the problem of lack of specificity in books about college teaching.

> ...the concern (for improving college teaching) often grows out of a vague uneasiness that "all is not well" and a feeling that "something should be done," but becomes expressed in forms that analyze the context in which teaching is done without penetrating the teaching-learning process itself. (p. 116)

> It is important to be reminded from time to time that the quality of college teaching can and must be improved, but such volumes are of limited value unless accompanied by companion works which discuss in some depth the nature of effective college teaching and the concrete steps that can be taken by college teachers to improve classroom instruction. (p.117)

Planning education as used here will refer to the process of training students for the Planning profession. Unless otherwise indicated, it will not refer to planning an educational curriculum or other pedagogic matters. The term undergraduate Planning educator will be used because it is less cumbersome than educators in undergraduate Planning programmes and because it is consistent with the term undergraduate Planning education.

This chapter will; (1) chart the recent growth in enrolments in undergraduate Planning programmes in the United States and in the United Kingdom; (2) examine reasons for the changing enrolment; (3) examine current teaching practices.

1.1 EMERGENCE OF UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING PROGRAMMES

Undergraduate Planning education in the United States is a recent phenomena. Of 34 4-year degree programmes, 28 were established since 1965. (see Hankins, etal.1988, for complete survey data.) The trend toward such programmes continues as 4 came into being since 1980 including those at the University of Miami and at the University of Southern California. In addition, 18 4-year non-degree programmes are operational, most coming into existence since 1970.

The emergence of undergraduate Planning programmes in an educational area heretofore dominated by postgraduate programmes (graduate programmes in American

terminology) has had an effect on both educational institutions and on the job market for planners. Before 1965, only 6 institutions of higher learning in the US offered a baccalaureate degree in Planning. The institutions and the date of programme initiation were:

University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign (1920)
University of Washington (1940)
Michigan State University (1946)
University of Virginia (1954)
University of Cincinnati (1961)
Western Washington University (1964)

None of these early programmes were administered in Geography Departments.

Since 1965, 28 additional 4-year Planning programmes have been established with 9 of them administered by Geography Departments. Of the 18 4-year non-degree Planning programmes, 11 are administered by Geography Departments. Table 1-1 summarises dates of origin and administrative ties to Geography Departments for all types of Planning programmes.

As the number of Planning programmes has risen sharpely -- an increase of 466 percent in degree granting programmes from 1965 to 1987 -- the number of students enrolled has also risen. In the decade 1972 to 1982, the number of undergraduate Planning degrees awarded increased 64 percent. Although the total number (505 in 1982) remains modest, it represents an important component of many Geography Department's enrollment. As if to emphasize this point, several university

departments have been renamed Departments of Geography and Planning, ie, Appalachian State University, East Carolina State University, Indiana University of Pennsylvania, Eastern Kentucky University, Southwest Texas State University. In interviews with the author, Departmental Chairmen at several universities offering 4-year, non-degree programmes (minors, concentrations, specialisations) stated that students enrolled in Planning courses represented a majority of their upper division enrollment. The student typically majors in Political Science, Public Administration, or another social science, but seeks a minor in Planning to enhance job prospects after graduation.

TABLE 1.1

DATE OF ORIGIN OF UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING PROGRAMMES IN U.S.

YEAR STARTED	NUMBER OF SCHOOLS
1976 to 1987	8
1965 to 1975	20
before 1965	6
ADMINISTRATION	
Four Year Degree Programmes	
TOTAL	34
Geog. Dept. Admin.	9
Four Year Non-degree Programmes	18
Geog. Dept. Admin.	11
Accredited by Amer.Planning.Assoc.	10

The rise in enrolment in Planning courses has, in

the US, been counterbalanced by a decline in the number of bachelors degrees awarded in Geography. Table 1-2 summarises the number of undergraduate degrees awarded in Geography and Planning in the US and UK since 1972.

While the number of Planning degrees increased 64 percent from 1972 to 1982, the number of undergraduate Geography degrees declined by 881 or 20.4 percent. However, decline in Geography should not be attributed to the increase in Planning degrees. That is, it cannot be assumed that the student would have majored in Geography had the Planning alternative not been available. Such an assumption is invalid for several reasons. First, if the Planning degree were not offered there is no evidence to suggest students would switch to a Geography major. Undoubtedly, some would, but others would find an academic home in other disciplines. Second, the number of degrees awarded in the social sciences has declined. Geography as a social science has not been exempt from this general trend. Finally, even if all Planning degrees awarded in 1982 were shifted to Geography, the resulting total would not equal the number of Geography degrees awarded in 1972. Rather than detract from course offerings and enrolments of Geography Departments, Planning programmes have expanded and complemented them.

In the US, Planning degrees are listed as City, Community, and Regional Planning. In the UK they are listed as First Degrees in Town and Country Planning.

British data is derived from University Statistics, Vol 1 Students and Staff, Universities Statistical Record American data is from Digest of Education Statistics (various years).

TABLE 1-2
QUALIFICATIONS OBTAINED

	UK		US	
YEAR	GEOGRAPHY	PLAN	GEOGRAPHY	PLAN
1983	1996	277	na	na
1982	1991	288	3445	505
1981	1980	300	3273	414
1980	2017	292	3443	395
1979	1990	291	3577	404
1978	1954	259	3719	521
1977	1844	166	3594	526
1976	1737	158	3733	448
1975	1587	127	3950	389
1974	1540	122	4231	410
1973	1508	100	4201	289
1972	1555	107	4326	308
	-----	-----	-----	-----
TOTAL	21699	2487	41492	4609

In the UK, qualifications obtained in Geography were remarkedly stable especially in the 1978-1983 period. During that five year span, the number of degrees awarded increased by 42 or 2.1 percent. The increase from 1972 to 1983 was 441 or 28.3 percent.

The number of first degrees in Town and Country Planning was also very stable at a relatively high level during the 1978-1983 period. The change was + 18, 6.9 percent. This period of modest growth followed several years of very rapid increases in the number of first degrees awarded in Planning. From 1973 to 1978, the number of degrees awarded went from 100 to 259, an increase of 159%. The sharp increase here was due to the reorganisation of local government which not only

focused national attention on local governments but also created many Planning jobs outside London. However, in 1985, changes in central government policy caused declines in enrolment and output from Planning programmes. "The early 1980's saw the closure of RTPI recognised Planning courses at Aston University, Gloucestershire College of Arts and Technology, Trent Polytechnic, Liverpool Polytechnic, and elsewhere." (Brenikov and Thomas, 1985;p.22) The repercussions of these closures are beginning to be felt as reflected in the downward movement in enrolments since 1981. Brenikov and Thomas observe..."The overall output of full-time graduates continued to fall in 1984: this was due to a drop in undergraduate totals." (p.22) Brenikov (1985; p.20) commenting on the Interim Report of the working party undertaking a review of Planning education in the UK said..."the figures of a projected average annual demand for 320-420 newly qualified planners per year compared with an output likely to remain below 400 from 1988 is indicative that demand and supply are in reasonable balance for the foreseeable future. On the evidence now available there is no case for closing more Planning courses."

In the UK, in 1983 the number of first degrees in Town and Country Planning was 80 percent of the total number of higher degrees in the field. This ratio is quite different then in the US where, in 1981 the 414

undergraduate Planning degrees awarded were 38.7 percent of the 1070 masters degrees awarded in City, Community, and Regional Planning. In the US, the Masters degree is perceived as the credential needed for entrance into the Planning profession. However, this requirement seems to be eroding. In 1978, 1192 MAs were awarded, but the number declined to 1070 (-10.2 percent) in 1981. Several factors seem to be responsible for the trend toward greater reliance on undergraduate training for planners. First, employers of planners are increasingly aware that persons without an advanced degree can perform adequately on the job. This observation is consistent with that reported by other writers. After reviewing bodies of data from the armed services and federal civil service Berg (1970) showed unequivocally that the critical determinants of performance were <u>not</u> increased educational achivement but other personality and environmental conditions. Collins (1979) found that "many skills used in managerial and professional positions are learned on-the-job, and the lengthy courses of study required by business and professional schools exist in good part to raise the status of the profession and to form the barrier of socialization between practitioners and laymen." (p.17) The fact that many professional Planning skills are learned on-the-job not only inclines the student to forego additional formal education, but also justifies an employer's offer of a lower initial salary to recent BA graduates. In

times when local government budgets are strained (as now) the lower salary requirements of undergraduate planners is an incentive for employers. This condition, however, increases pressure on undergraduate Planning educators to prepare persons who are capable of adequate professional performance immediately after graduation.

A second reason for increased emphasis on undergraduate Planning education, especially among geographers, is that Planning provides access to a professional field where geographic techniques can be applied to the problems of society. Russell (1983) provided a summary of employment data showing significant entrance of geographers into Planning. This unique and mutually beneficial relationship resulted because; (1) the man-land foundations of Geography found ready application in the early era of land use Planning; (2) as Planning moved away from emphasis on land use to greater concern with social and economic issues, the "quantitative revolution" in Geography produced methodologies which, again, found application in Planning practice. Willatts (1971) charted the nature of linkages between Geography and Planning from 1940 to 1970 and found "significant contributions to the deeper understanding of (Planning) problems and to policy making from geographers in universities and central and local government." (p. 311) Thus Geography and Planning created a special relationship which, from the geographers viewpoint, demonstrated the applicability of

geographical analysis of society's problems and, not least of all, attracted undergraduate students to the department.

Finally, an undergraduate Planning programme legitimizes public activity by the academic community. Many Planning issues are intensely controversial and political,ie, housing for the poor, airport/industry location, zoning. As a geographer, an academic may be involved, if at all, as a land use or cartographic consultant. As a planner, however, that person conceivably could be involved in all aspects of plan preparation and policy formulation. The American Association of Geographers (AAG) has encouraged academic geographers to 'go public' as a means of creating a wider awareness of Geography as a discipline and, ideally, fostering a revival of interest in it. The goal is reversal of the downward trend of majors in Geography.

In sum, several powerful forces promoted growth of undergraduate Planning education beginning about 1965. Students found a Masters degree was not necessary for the coveted first job. Academic geographers found a viable means for demonstrating the applicability of spatial analysis and organisations promoting Geography found a proper and ethical means of doing so. The result of these activities was a strong upsurge in the number of undergraduate Planning programmes and in enrolments.

1.2 UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING EDUCATION: SEARCH FOR A MODEL

Planning education has mirrored the changing nature of the Planning profession. That is, as Planning moved from a land use/urban design focus (1930 -1960) to a social/economic emphasis (1960 - 1970's) to a management/policy making definition (1970's - present) Planning education sought to keep pace. The result, according to Mann (1972) was that the profession and its educational practitioners were not sure what it is they are or ought to be doing educationally. Tentativeness and confusion regarding curriculums was found in a survey of graduate programmes.

> Most (Planning) departments were unable or unwilling to state a coherent, well-elaborated program of Planning education...Responses tended to fall into four general groups. Of these, the first three suggested the absence of an identifiable theoretical thrust for the program with a consequent problem regarding program evaluation. (Denbow and Nutt, 1973, p. 206)

The confused state of Planning education spawned a number of proposals for reform. Levin (1976) suggested that all "new faculty should be required not only to have substantial practical experience, but the criteria for hiring, promotion, and tenure should be revised to give substantial weight to agency and consulting background."(p.23) Flannigan (1978) advocated project work simulating a real-world problem to teach decision-making which is, in his view, the core of

Planning. Perhaps the most detailed prescription for reform of Planning education was offered by Doebele (1970).

> To be more specific, I suggest that: (a) a far larger part of conventional curricula be oriented toward the kind of problem-solving simulations ("cases") now practiced in business and law schools (b) a new universitywide institution be established to engage in a broad scope of service arrangements with the widest possible variety of urban "clients" and (c) Planning faculties be divided into clinical and academic appointments.
>
> "Cases" as described above, when they can be prepared with sufficient thoroughness and in quantity, may become an admirable instrument. Their distillations of critical episodes provide a reasonable facsimile of reality, yet they can be taught effectively to very large classes with extreme economy of curriculum time. (p.271)

Doebele's emphasis on case methods of instruction is important because it offers a workable solution to the problem of how to integrate real world situations into a classroom learning environment. Perhaps more than other academic disciplines, Planning is caught in a cognition/process dichotomy. That is, should it focus on cognitive skills; those technical skills required of a professional planner or should education seek to transmit the ability to apply skills in the environment within which planners work? The answer to these questions is that Planning education should aspire to both goals. Undergraduate education should not only

teach skills, but should also provide those powers of intellect which enable analysis of complex problems and offer means for their solution. Study of cases - here defined as a narrative record of a real world situation together with surrounding facts and opinions upon which decisions are made - offers a pedagogic model for equiping planners with the skills necessary to deal with unfamiliar problems.

Case study has been successfully used in other educational programmes for the professions notably in Business, Medicine, Law, and Social Work. Planning educators have used, and are using, case studies in the classroom, but the paucity of reports on their use indicates little concern for pedagogic issues. Nevertheless, Planning education can benefit from the expanded and systematic use of case studies.

SUMMARY:

From 1972 to 1987, the number of undergraduate degrees awarded in Planning in the UK more than doubled, in spite of recent central government cutbacks which closed several RTPI recognised courses. The number awarded in the US increased 64 percent from 1972 to 1982 and the number of universities and colleges offering 4-year degree programmes in planning increased from 5 in 1964 to 28 in 1982. An additional 36 institutions of higher learning offer non-degree programmes. This growth has been facilitated by two factors; enthusiasm for

Planning among university geographers and acceptance of graduates of such programmes in the job market. As evidenced by some Geography departments adding Planning to their name, the faculty see these as permanent ties.

Although educators have tried to keep pace with increasing enrolments and with a rapidly changing profession, no clear and consensual pedagogy has emerged in undergraduate Planning education. For lack of a better model, lectures, project work, and internships are the most commonly used teaching methods. However, the successful use of the case method of instruction in other professions would indicate some applicability in Planning education.

When the undergraduate Planning curriculum is viewed in its totality, case studies can best serve as the preferred pedagogy in courses focusing either on the political aspects of Planning or where decisions about alternative solutions to problems must be made. In other courses where mastery of content is the objective, cases can be used to illustrate specific points. The result is a marriage of courses stressing analytic techniques and using case study with those of a more cognitive nature using traditional teaching methods and case study.

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Chapter Two
Interface of Geography, Planning and Professional Education

Geographers are deeply involved in undergraduate Planning programmes primarily as a result of the intersection of trends in the development of Geography and Planning. The development of Geography as a social science moved from emphasis on four traditions (eg. spatial, area studies, man-land, and earth science) to greater involvement in the issues of the day as it became more scientific in the sense of formulating testable hypotheses.

On the other hand, as Planning developed, the trend was from architecture and engineering through urban design to its present concern for guiding public policies in socio-economic, governmental, and environmental matters. As these two trends developed and eventually intersected, problems and opportunities for education in both fields were created. As stated previously, one purpose of this thesis is to examine the implications of this intersection for Planning education. Toward this end, this chapter (1) charts development of a concern for public policy issues among "applied" geographers; (2) identifies key elements in the evolution of Planning in the 20th century especially as they relate to concurrent developments in Geography (some aspects of this evolution are detailed in chapter three); (3) outlines the problems confronted by

Geography /Planning educators as they move into education for the Planning profession.

2.1 DEVELOPMENT OF APPLIED GEOGRAPHY AND CONCERN FOR POLICY ISSUES

Depending on one's point of view, Geography has either been plagued or blessed by the enormously wide ranging interests of geographers. In the words of Thomas Wilbanks (1985;p.7), "Geography attracts people with an aversion to intellectual boundaries, with an instinct that physical artifacts on the landscape are important in understanding processes - people with curiosity, ecclecticism, practicality." If Geography is defined as the science concerned with the spatial pattern of phenomena on the earth's surface, then the tools of the science could be applied to any entity distributed in space. Indeed, this eclectic nature is reflected not only in the breath of topics discussed in geographical journals but also in the more than 70 topical and regional subdivisions recognised by the Association of American Geographers. Several research areas in Geography notably regional theory, land economics, land use and industrial location have had a significant impact on town and country Planning. This impact resulted from a changing view of the nature of Geography. Minshull (1972;p.154) offered insight into this change and provides a philosophical basis for the

geographer's concern for public policy issues.

> "Referring... to man's experience in space, it seems that geography examines this by seeking answers to five basic questions. What is the particular space of our total environment like? How do we use this space now? How do we arrange ourselves, our things and our activities in this particular space? To what extent are we involved with the earth's surface? How could we arrange ourselves in, and to make use of, this particular place in a better way?"

The first four questions Minshull poses relate to the four traditions of Geography. The final question, however, goes beyond scientific research into matters of judgment and normative values and implies an interest in geographical principles applied ("applied Geography") to achieving "better" conditions. Durrenberger (1971;p.94) lends weight to this position by stating, "Human or cultural Geography turns out to consist of the first three traditions (of Geography: spatial, area studies, man-land) applied to human societies." Thus, there exists within the geographical profession a philosophical basis for applying the concepts of Geography to human societies in order to work toward a betterment of conditions. For at least the past three decades, geographers have been involved in this effort.

Beginning in the late 1950's, the assimilation of statistical techniques into Geography spawned the "quantitative revolution". A significant aspect of this change was the deliberate placing of spatial

associations into hypothesis testing frameworks amenable to application of exact statistical testing techniques. In terms of the scientific method, the "quantitative revolution" irrevocably changed Geography as much for requiring formulation of testable hypotheses as for the emphasis on numeracy. Pioneers in the transformation of Geography focused much of their attention on the urban environment. By doing so, they began to forge ties with Planning professionals who were at that time re-defining the nature of Planning. Harris and Ullman (1945) generated new theoretical models of the internal structure of cities. Their early work was extended by Murphy and Vance (1954) and by Epstein (1955). Other work on land use (Bartholomew, 1955); basic/nonbasic economic functions (Alexander, 1954); and cities as central places (Berry and Garrison, 1958) moved Geography into the mainstream of research activity germane to Planning. Much of the significant early work was collected by Mayer and Kohn (1959). Their seminal Readings in Urban Geography provided the intellectual background for a second generation of urban researchers.

Among researchers, concern for public policies and for delineating the interface between Geography and Planning was also gaining momenteum at this time. As early as 1954 Mayer contributed "Geography in City and Regional Planning" to the Professional Geographer. He identified existing ties and accurately prophesized

future linkages. Other writers addressed not only research content but also indicated educational changes required to move Geography more firmly into policy development (Ackerman, 1962). The employment potential was another motivating factor. University geographers traditionally trained others who taught at all levels of education. The opportunity to place graduates in the Planning field was not unimportant. "Geography is an excellent background for a person who desires a career in Planning" (Cooper, 1959, p.248). Indeed, placement of geographers in Planning did expand.

> "In 1967 slightly over 10 percent of the membership of the American Institute of Planners (AIP) had their undergraduate degree in geography. In 1974...about 20 percent of the AIP membership had at least a minor in geography, only slightly less than the percentage of AIP membership with a minor in architecture, and highest among the social sciences" (Harrison and Larsen, 1977, p. 139).

Geographers continued to move into Planning in the 1980's. After reviewing employment patterns listed in the Directory of Applied Geographers, Russell (1983, p. 471) said:

> "The most striking example of this (specialization) is that by far the largest number of applied geographers, especially those in public service, are in some aspect of planning and development...a total of 1,104 designations in various aspects of planning for the future were made by the 1,124 applied geographers. This is over 35 percent of the total 3,131 designations."

A similar move into Planning occured in Great

Britain. One estimate indicated that as many as 40 percent of the intake into the Planning profession had taken first degrees in Geography (House, 1973). As geographers moved into Planning, Planning concepts and concerns moved into Geography. That is, as geographers gained entrance and acceptance in the Planning profession, the paradigms of Planning began to appear in Geography classrooms and in the geographic literature in a synergistic cross-fertilization. Borchert (1985:p. 2) believes Planning related issues are at the heart of Geography.

> "Properly used in its broadest sense, zoning regulation...is simply a geographically sophisticated alternative to either unlimited permission or total prohibition of a given land use. It is a rational, geographical way to move from polarity to compromise on many land-use issues. In short, many policies on public revenue, expenditure, and regulation both shape and change the maps of settlement on the land; such policies are at the heart of geography."

Platt (1976:p.1) also saw a vital role for geographers in an important Planning topic, land use control.

> "Geographers have a major contribution to make in this process (of land use control). While lawyers may create new techniques and planners may draw elegant designs, neither profession is comfortable with the various actualities of land, their measurement, spatial analysis, and interpretation. Geographers are uniquely trained to analyze land in terms of its physical, economic, and cultural attributes and to present their findings through appropriate

> graphical, statistical and written means."

Wilbanks (1985; p.7) sees a geographical basis for national public policy.

> "Spatial patterns, relationships, and structures are at the heart of policy making (1) in a democratic system in which every role in the legislative branch is cast by a representative of a geographic area, and (2) in a federal system in which so many of the roles of the federal government have arisen so directly from a concern with geographic linkages...A person cannot get very far in making policy within this system without either being a good lay political geographer or having access to good geographic information and advise."

These observations attest to the wide scope and legitimacy of geographers' concerns for public policy issues. They also show how far Geography has moved from the four traditions expounded by early 20th century geographers. This move away from "classic" Geography was facilitated In the US, in 1981 the 414 undergraduate Planning degrees awarded were 38.7 percent of the 1070 masters degrees awarded in City, Community, and Regional Planning. by the quantitative revolution which swept through the social sciences, Geography included, in the 1960's when a positivistic model dominated geographical research. Statistical testing of hypotheses framed within a theoretical structure largely replaced traditional methods of research. Again, much of the research conducted was useful to planners, especially regional planners. Isard's (1960) influential Methods

of Regional Analysis established a standard for methodology which others followed. Central place theory was rigorously tested by a variety of researchers which led to formulation of an urban systems theory (Berry and Horton, 1970).

Mayer (1965) provided a mid-decade compilation of geographic material which complemented his earlier work. As a harbinger of the environmental movement soon to come, White (1965; 1966) and Saarien (1966) began research into the perception of, and adjustment to, natural hazards. By the late 1960's, geographers were engaged not only in urban research, which had by then become traditional, but were extending their purview to include environmental and behavioural matters.

In the 1970's, geographers continued to use 'applied Geography' as a focus for research and professional involvement in public policy formulation. Of course, geographic techniques had for some time been applied to societal problems. Several decades before, Stamp (1960) directed attention to this topic. His view of Planning research, however, was based on Geddes' trilogy: survey, analysis, plan. Under Stamp's direction, the First Land Use Survey of Britain was conducted in the 1930's. The objective of the survey, according to Stamp, was simply to record the factual position of land use. This view of the objectivity of the geographer being distinct from the subjectivity of the planner was not shared by later geographers (Ley,

1977). They began to see research from normative perspectives rather than from completely objective or positivistic positions.

Other researchers extended the range of applied Geography to political districting (Morrill, 1976), poverty (Smith, 1977), and pollution (Starkie, 1976). Concern for applied Geography remains strong as indicated by the fact that the Professional Geographer - published by the Association of American Geographers (AAG), introduced a regular "Applied Geography" section in 1983.

The interest in applied Geography engendered several debates within the discipline. The first concerned the activist role of geographers. That is, when research results so indicate, should the researcher advocate a particular policy which, he believes, will bring about positive results? Sant (1982) argues that such intervention in social and environmental policies is necessary.

> "Applied geography is concerned about ends rather than means. It accepts axiomatically the view that the efficiency of our activities and the quality of our lives, now and in the future, are closely associated with how we use this planet and its resources, how we distribute ourselves on its surface and how we relate to fellow men" (p. 1).

On the other hand, Coppock (1976) believes the distinction between pure and applied research is not

very appropriate in subjects such as Geography. He discounts active intervention as a legitimate role for geographers. However, he does see considerable merit in application of commissioned research to specific problems, and concludes; "Despite these dangers, problem-and policy-oriented research within the broad field of applied Geography is both good and necessary" (p. 10).

In the absence of a clear code of ethics, the individual researcher must be the judge of the extent of his involvement in the political process.

The second debate prompted by applied Geography revolves around the question: is applied Geography synonymous with Planning? Planning is inherently political and takes place within a statutory framework. Neither feature characterizes applied Geography. While recognizing that some geographers are personally concerned with public policy formulation and implementation, the major thrust of professional Planning is directed to these goals. Applied geographical research may complement Planning practice but it doesn't duplicate it.

In spite of these debates, concern for policy issues is clearly in the mainstream of contemporary Geography,as indicated by the fact that the theme of the 1984 Annual Meeting of the Association of American Geographers held in Washington, DC was "Geography and Public Policy."

The move into Planning had other difficulties as well. These centered on two major issues. First, can a university department of Geography teach both traditional academic Geography and courses devoted to policy issues? Second, is a professional education compatible with the traditional goals of a university?

Regarding the first question; yes, departments of Geography can offer policy related courses, indeed Planning degrees, without interferring with other offerings of the department. As indicated in Chapter One, several Geography departments in the USA have renamed themselves Departments of Geography and Planning. There is not, to the author's knowledge, one instance of an American university Geography department splitting into separate Geography and Planning divisions. In fact, other observers have stressed the opportunities for cooperative research within departments sharing geographic and Planning interests (Stutz and Heiges, 1983).

The question of compatibility of professional and general education at the undergraduate level is not easily framed. The divergent expectations of society and the individual regarding the purpose of a university education come into conflict. That is, is a university education simply training for white collar employment or is its proper concern the development of the "whole person" who contributes disproportionally to society's welfare. Of course, there are many aspects to this

question. Too many, in fact, to be completely addressed here. Suffice to say that since an undergraduate Planning degree prepares a person for direct entry into a profession, it needs to be shown that it is not incompatible with general education goals. Later sections of this chapter will be addressed to this issue.

2.2 INTERFACE OF GEOGRAPHY AND PLANNING

In the 20th century while Geography was becoming more interested in public policy matters, the Planning profession was also undergoing transformation. The origin of modern Planning was in 19th century reform movements. Cities then were characterized by physical squalor and appalling deprivation for most inhabitants. By exposing inhumane living conditions in New York City, Jacob Riis (1890) generated concern for the eradication of slums and improvement of social and environmental conditions in urban America. Much of this concern was made concrete in legislation dealing with housing and sanitation, and, following the Columbian Exposition of 1893, with large scale plans for re-building some of America's cities. Reps (1965; p. 497) was impressed not only by Burnham's grandiose city plans, but also by what he saw as the long term benefit of the City Beautiful movement.

> "In 1910, at the first great international meeting of city planners

> held in London under the sponsorship of the Royal Institute of British Architects, Daniel Burnham summarised the leading events in America during the previous two decades: The inception of great planning of public buildings and grounds in the US was in the World's Fair in Chicago. The beauty of its arrangement and its building made a profound impression not merely upon the highly educated part of the community, but still more perhaps upon the masses, and this impression has been a lasting one."

Although the majestic grandeur of Burnham's plans for Chicago, San Francisco, and Manila may now seem unrealistically lavish, he was a major influence on the formative period in American city Planning. To Burnham, Planning was design applied to the urban environment. Ashworth (1954; p. 193) saw a similar development in the United Kingdom.

> "In 1910, it (the Royal Institute of British Architects) called the first town planning conference to be held in Great Britain and it had its own town planning committee, which in 1911 published some interesting notes on the content of town planning. It declared positively that a successful scheme must be based on a thoroughcivic survey, recording the physical state of the site, the social and economic condition of the people, and the historical and archeological interest of the locality and its buildings...There was much in these recommendations that was admirable and clearsighted. Far more questionable was the supreme role allotted to the architect."

The ascendancy of urban design-as-Planning in the early 20th century was at the expense of the social

concerns of earlier reformers. That is, the redevelopment of cities by architects usually did not include plan components to alleviate the plight of poor people. Gist and Fava (1974; p. 646) saw this change in the content of early Planning conferences.

> "The early advocates of city planning also claimed it would benefit the poor. But over time and with a gradual change in the makeup of their leadership, planners altered their priorities. In their efforts to win acceptance from businessmen, some planners by 1916 seemed to have given up earlier commitments to the poor. The first National Conference on City Planning, held in 1909 and 1916, dealt principally with planning as a means of solving social problems; after 1911, however, the conferences were dominated more and more by architects and landscape architects little interested in housing and other social reforms."

The urban design faction dominated Planning until the end of World War II. By then acceptance by the public of a greater role of government in matters hertofore seen as beyond the scope of government made change in Planning inevitable. Ashworth (1975: p.235) observed "By the nineteen-forties that (lack of concern for quality of life in plans) was changing. Town Planning was becoming concerned with the way people lived as well as with the way buildings looked. And it was achieving distinctiveness because it began, at its occasional best, to concern itself with the nature and function of a town as a whole." In the United Kingdom, the Town and Country Planning Act of 1947 changed the

thrust of Planning by making it obligatory and the responsibility of county councils. In the US, the Housing Act of 1949 and the Urban Renewal programme of the early 1950's provided an impetus to federal government intervention in housing and urban redevelopment. This expanded role for Planning made some planners aware of the inadequacy of knowledge about cities and political processes and of the shortcomings of theory in Planning.

To partially overcome this lack of knowledge, the American Planning Association (APA) submitted a statement on the need for "Basic Research on the Urban Environment" to the Ford Foundation. According to Scott (1969; p. 477):

> "The suggested program of research included proposals for small, exploratory studies and for larger research efforts. Among the smaller projects outlined were studies of the influence of town size upon the costs of providing services, doing business, and living, and of the efficiency of towns of various sizes in providing the amenities of life...Related to these studies would be another aimed at understanding the implications for cities of the economic, social, and geographic mobility of American families."

The APA's interest in research on cities came at a time when geographers were becoming interested in policy oriented research (documented in the previous section). Whether this intersection of interest was serendipitous or a result of a mutual response to conditions is not

the issue. The result is that geographers found an outlet for their research results in a profession likely to use them. The ties forged here have continued; in fact, strengthened.

In the mid-1960's, two forces brought important changes to Planning practice. The first change was initiated in the United States by the rapidity and sheer volume of social programmes adopted in President Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society." Model Cities, Headstart, Community Action Programmes and others created a new social framework (and jobs) for planners. The second change was the introduction of more scientifically rigorous methodologies. The need for more substantive methods and theory was astutely recognised by Ashworth (1954; p. 237) some years before.

> "And in the non-economic aspects of town planning, proposals are also made which appear to be rooted in theories of social organization reached by intution, but not adequately supported by observation or experience...Town and Country planning in its modern sense is very young, richer in error than in anything else, constantly in danger of being led astray."

To overcome this propensity to be "led astray", planners developed new, more systematic methods of looking at the Planning process. Bracken (1981; p. 16) noted this development and saw a link between it and subsequent emphasis on policy formulation.

> "In the search for more systematic ways to plan and manage urban affairs, theorists looked at the concepts of

> urban planning in a more general sense and set aside the prevailing 'unique' attitude towards the urban type of planning which had originated in the design tradition. An important consequence was the adoption of the 'rational- comprehensive' approach which became established in the 1960's...The approach was built upon several conceptual adaptations from other fields of which the most central was the 'social problem/policy formulation model."

The rational-comprehensive model of Planning was widely adopted and spawned a number of quantitative methods to achieve its ends (e.g., a systems approach to Planning, urban simulation, Planning programming budgeting systems). Of course, Geography was undergoing a similar quantitative revolution, so the output of geographical research continued to find acceptance and application in Planning.

During this time period --1960's to present-- the Planning profession came to be characterised by endemic turbulence (see Introduction for a more detailed discussion of this concept). As statutory requirements mushroomed and ecology became part of everyone's vocabulary, planners were forced to integrate humanistic and environmental perspectives into traditional concerns. Further, the demand that plans be implemented led planners to an even greater awareness of the political dimensions of Planning. The result of this potpourri of change agents was a splintering of the profession into a bewildering array of subfields; i.e.,

social planners, health planners, transportation planners, land use planners, etc. Within such a dynamic context, theory in Planning was slow forthcoming. Instead of developing theoretical generalisations, the profession moved to a position nearer public adminstration where such constructs are less important than an ability to manage events. Bracken (1981; p. 36) said that "the urban planner's principal task can be described as generating alternative setting of public policy instruments, such as a land use plan, or a strategic policy document. The broad purpose...is to regulate the spatial organization of activities and, with the help of control over public infrastructure investment and influence and control over development in the private sector, to ameliorate urban problems." In this view, planners are problem solvers, analyzing and guiding public policies to achieve desired goals.

Figure 2.1 summarises development and eventual intersection of some parts of Geography with Planning. Of course, not all of Geography nor all geographers are concerned with public policy issues in a Planning context. Other subfields followed a different development path.

The intersection of Geography and Planning has had ramifications in Planning education. This topic will be taken up in the next section.

Fig. 2.1 Interface of Geography and Planning

GEOGRAPHY	YEAR	PLANNING
4 Traditions	1900	housing, sanitation, urban design
quantitative revolution/ applied geography	1940	rational/ comprehensive
public policy concerns	1980	guiding public policies

2.3 PROFESSIONAL AND GENERAL EDUCATION

Colleges and universities in western society have historically prepared people for the professions. Doctors,lawyers, ministers, and engineers have been trained at such institutions. However, during the past 30 years the purpose of higher education in America and elsewhere has come into question. Muller (1974; p. 149) allegorically described the transition as:

> Once upon a time (when it was still an elite minority enterprise) American higher education served two primary purposes reasonably well. colleges and universities transmitted knowledge and values. Their graduates were literate and civilized...Then society became technologically complex at an accelerating pace inthe twentieth century. The technological society developed an enormous demand for varieties of sophisticated and specialized skills...Professional schools developed at the undergraduate and graduate levels, specialization proliferated, and what I call "higher skilling" to a large extent replaced what was still called "higher education."

Muller, who was President of the Johns Hopkins University, laments the change which he sees as deleterious to development of the "whole person." However, he need not fear for the integrity of the university because the goals of professional education complement rather than conflict with traditional educational goals. To understand the commonality of goals it is first necessary to establish criteria for a "profession."

Using a variation of the Delphi Technique, Preston (1976) identified the six most frequently mentioned characteristics of a profession. They are:

1) It has a skill based on theoretical knowledge.

2) The skill requires education and training.

3) Competence in the skill must be demonstrated by passing a test, so that the practice of the profession is restricted.

4) The integrity of the profession is maintained by a code of conduct so that the client is protected against personal idiosyncracies on the part of practitioners.

5) It gives a service for the public good.

6) It is organized as a profession and strives for public status as well as financial rewards.

Similar characteristics of a profession were cited by McGlothlin (1964; p.4). "Professions are intellectual, learned, and practical. They have techniques which can be taught; their members are organized into associations; they are guided by altruism; and they deal

with matters of great human urgency."

The characteristics which distinguish professions can be divided into two categories: pre-qualification and post-qualification. Post-qualification aspects of a profession have to do with professional ethics and proper behavior within a professional culture. They are standards set by practicing members of the profession and are not directly related to higher education. Post-qualification standards -- normally operationlised through licensing or registration of practitioners -- are the main differences between professions and non-professions. Planning is a profession because, among other things, planners consciously associate to maintain the integrity of the profession.

Pre-qualification standards for the professions are the "intellectural," "learned," and educational aspects. These standards consist of familiarity with factual material and ability to reason within the bounds of this material. Clearly, these standards are not only compatible with ideals of a traditional liberal education, but may in fact define such an education. In Planning, conversance with the professional material is usually demonstrated in two manners. First, the person who aspires to a Planning position usually has a university degree, either a BA or an MA, and met standards set by the educational institution, not by the profession. Muller mistakenly assumes university standards (higher education) must be altered to meet

professional needs (higher skilling). Professions do suggest guidelines for certification by a professional organisation, but these do not replace standards set by the educational institution.

The second pre-qualification standard the new planner must meet is successful demonstration of competence in the field. Usually this means passing the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) exam or the Royal Town Planning Institute's (RTPI) exam. While it is not required to work in the field, certification by either organisation often facilitates upward mobility in the profession.

Although an exhaustive review of education for the professions is beyond the scope of this thesis, suffice to say that the level of education required for entrance into Planning equals that required by other professions. A major difference being that some professions; eg, Accounting, Engineering are licensed under statutory regulations.

SUMMARY

For at least the past 30 years, geographers have made significant contributions to Planning practice. These contributions resulted from a convergence of trends occuring in the development of Geography and Planning in the 20th century. Until the 1940's, the primary focus of geographical research was on the four traditions of the discipline. Beginning in the late 1940's, geographers extended their purview to include

examination of urban structure, location theory, economic development and framed questions in a spatial context useful to Planning application. Eventually this trend led to an interest in influencing public policies to achieve a desired goal. A debate over the extent of professional involvement in policy implementation is ongoing and unresolved.

While Geography was re-defining its nature, Planning was also undergoing change. After the 1939-45 War, Planning moved away from its roots in architecture and urban design into a greater concern for social, economic, and governmental matters. In the United States, this movement toward social concerns was accelerated by a plethora of Great Society legislation of the 1960's. These programmes required that Planners develop management and policy skills. By the late 1970's, planners and geographers came to share a professional interest in public policy development.

The intersection of these trends has had ramifications in Planning education, especially among geographers. Educators are asked to teach both in a traditional academic and in a professional context. This chapter argued that these requirements are not incompatible. Professional and general education goals can be simultaneously met. A case method provides a means for instruction in the context because the qualities it promotes -- problem solving skills, better communication skills, transference of knowledge -- are

useful to any educated person.

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CHAPTER THREE

CASE METHOD AND NORMATIVE THEORY: AN APPROACH TO PLANNING EDUCATION

Against a backdrop of uncertainty about the role of theory in Planning and doubt of the efficacy of planner training programmes, this chapter will: (1) review the changing definition of Planning over the past four decades, (2) outline reasons for accepting a normative approach to Planning theory as a means of bridging the gap between academic and non-academic planners and to improve Planning education, (3) present a teaching/ learning technique - the case method - which allows for the incorporation of change while developing a student's cognitive and analytical abilities.

Linkages between Planning education and Planning theory have never been strong. The absence of ties exists in spite of the fact that many leading theorists are themselves Planning educators and reflects the viewpoint of non-academic practitioners who undervalue theory in their workday routine. Nevertheless, undergraduate Planning educators see a need to integrate theory into their teaching. This need arises from the dual goals of undergraduate Planning education; instilling professional competence into students while promoting those qualities of thought which characterise an understanding and reflective person. Planning educators see that the profession is required to adhere

to a widely accepted sequence of scientific enquiry...- classification, hypothesis formulation, relation to theoretical constructs, methodology selection, data collection, testing, interpretation, recasting and theory modification and, ultimately, prediction. Although the social sciences are least sophisticated in respect to development of a scientific methodology, Planning educators believe the profession will advance in this direction when students they are now training enter the field. Educators teaching other future social scientists have come to the same conclusion. The need to instil habits of precise analytical thinking based on application of the scientific method is a valid and necessary part of Planning education.

The relevance of theory is, however, questioned by some practitioners. "There is now a yawning gulf between theorists and practitioners, with the former showing very little interest in practice and the latter often displaying an anti-intellectual hostility towards academics." (Breheny and Hall, 1983) These doubts were also expressed by an American economist and echoed by a planner. In address at Savannah State College, Dr. Bernadette Chacherel stated there is no discipline of economics; there is only politics. She validated her view with many anecdotes wherein the conclusions of economic planners were discarded in favor of political expediency. Similarly, Tom Foxx, an American planner said Planning can not be taught, it can only be learned

on-the-job. He was referring, again, to the inherent political nature of Planning. Planning, he believes, is essentially a face-to-face process of convincing those in power of a particular course of action. In other words, he sees little merit in a scientific approach to Planning and dismisses a positivistic view which seeks formulation of general laws. Or, as George Sternlieb (1978; p. xi) phrased the problem,

> "Theory and practice in city planning are uneasy bed companions. The stress on the operating planner; dealing with the personalities at work in a variance board meeting, the realities of coping with fund raising, of political realities and the like, seemingly can find little immediate guidance in the theory of the trade."

An important goal of the Planning educator is to bridge this gap seen by Foxx and Sternlieb. But the seemingly endless confusion and disagreement about the role of Planning in society make this task difficult. As William Grigsby (1978; p.344) said: "Planning suffers from what might be loosely termed an identity crisis, except that the condition has persisted for so long that 'crisis' may not be the correct term." It is therefore necessary to look at the nature of this "identify crisis" before proposing a means of dealing with it.

3.1 CHANGING DEFINITIONS OF PLANNING

A framework for examining changing definitions of Planning is provided by Cherry (1984). He identified three major periods of change: post-war euphoria,

distributive plans of the 1960's, and crisis in the role of Planning in the 1980's. This framework encompasses important episodes in the history of Planning, yet is lean enough to be manageable.

The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act created a Planning system in Great Britain that served not only to focus the nation's hopes for a new urban form, but also provided a model for other nations. The legislation was comprehensive in scope, made Planning mandatory, and introduced a development permission system which remains the essence of the British Planning process.

The character of Planning in the post-war era was essentially physical. L.B.Keeble, later President of the Town Planning Institute, was influential in setting this tone. His widely read text (1952) defined town and country planning as " the art and science of ordering the use of land and the character and arrangement of buildings so as to secure the maximum degree of economy, convenience, and beauty." (p.1) Keeble strongly believed a land use/design role was the legitimate concern for planners.

Keeble's viewpoint was challenged in the Report of the Committee on Qualifications of Planners, known as the Schuster Report.(1950) The report defined the scope of town and country planning anew by stating Planning is primarily a social and economic activity limited, but not determined by, the technical possibilities of design. A major impact of the Schuster Report was to

greatly increase the number of non-design planners (geographers, sociologists, economists) entering the profession. As the relative percentage of design planners (architects, engineers, surveyors) declined, the focus and definition of Planning would inevitably shift away from "place-based" to "people-based".

By the 1960's, following a decade of innovative legislation (urban renewal, model cities in the U.S.) concern for equitable distribution of society's resources - social justice - began to predominate in Planning. The land use/design element, however, remained strong. McLoughlin (1965) attempted to unite these components and introduce a systems methodology by writing:

> Among the advances now being made in planning techniques, these especially seem to point towards an emergent theory of physical planning. Central to such a theory is the view of the physical environment as a system of spatially differentiated activities which interact in various ways through flows of persons,goods, or information...It follows that planning is the deliberate control or regulation of this system so that the physical environment shall yield the greatest social benefits in relation to costs when judged on the basis of specific goals. (p.260)

McLoughlin's view of Planning as a service profession seeking control of urban communications networks led him to early advocacy of a systems approach to Planning (1969). Although other writers, notably Chadwick (1971), also advanced this viewpoint, it did

not have a significant impact on the profession. Methodological problems aside, reconciliation of the physical and social dimensions of Planning remained.

Emphasis within the profession was rapidly shifting away from methodological considerations to concern for creating a process of rational decisionmaking or what has come to be known as procedural Planning theory (PPT). The intent was to influence public policy in such a manner as to provide for spatial efficiency and social justice. Planners borrowed heavily from the social sciences to provide the components of PPT. These were set forth - in slightly varying forms - by several writers. Reif (1973) and Altshuler (1965) provided detailed expositions. Taylor (1984) defended PPT against criticism that it serves only to maintain the economic/institutional status quo and legitimises the capitalist state. Without identifying it as such, Hall (1970) offered a clear "sequence of operations" which is in fact a rational decisionmaking model. His sequence contained eight steps: define a problem area, define objectives, identify difficulties, project determinants and limitations, formulate alternative approaches, evaluate different solutions, interpret findings, and produce a plan. The plan is "an ordered sequence of operations, designed to lead to the achievement of either a single goal or to a balance between several goals."(p.4)

The idea that Planning is a process of preparing a

set of decisions for action in the future became - and remains - a major raison d'etre for the profession. Acceptance of this definition moved Planning further from its land use/design origins and placed it in the mainstream of policy formulation. A working group of Planning authorities summarised the early 1970's definition of Planning. "Planning", they wrote," is clearly a continual process with no logical end point or conclusion...The relationship between managing and Planning is difficult to define...Some of us felt that Planning was a distinct element in a managing process. Others of us felt that Planning was more or less best described as a principle or style informing the managing process" (Progress in Planning, 1973, p.53-54).

Obviously, if a group of Planning authorities could not agree on the role Planning plays in managing public policy, the profession was headed for an identity crisis. This uncertainty of role coupled with changing demographic and economic conditions in western democracies set the stage for the muddled image of Planning in the eighties.

The third stage in the recent history of Planning is not yet completed. Doubts of the impact Planning has had on management of the physical and social environment have always been present, but became more persistent and impenitent in the 1970's. Faber and Seers (1972) collected many of these criticisms in <u>The Crisis in Planning.</u> Seers (1972) observed that there are many

powerful forces acting on the planner, not the least his own preference, tending to restrict him to a more-or-less ceremonial role in the state machine. The self-criticism of Planning continued throughout the decade. Blowers (1980) illustrated the difficulties inherent in implementing provisions of structure plans. McAuslan (1980) argued Planning law is, in reality, little more than a prevailing ideology which maintains and buttresses the concept of private property. While undertaking to provide a historic critique and evaluation of the built environment in Britain, Ravetz (1980) denigrated a variety of Planning and architectural concepts. She believes the ultimate judges of planning - consumers of the built environment - remain dissatisfied.

Following the inability of the 1968 and 1971 Planning Acts to provide a longlasting and coordinated system of planning for the tiers of British government, Bruton (1982) stated:

> "In these circumstances,with an inadequate planning framework, and the assumption that the planning function is apolitical, is it any wonder that the planner is confused and uncertain as to his role, and the purpose of town and country planning as provided by statute." (p. 83)

The confusion and uncertainty mentioned by Bruton exist but their cause is diffuse and related to factors beyond the control of the profession. Breheny and Hall (1983) believe economic recession coupled with

government philosophy have been major causes of the retreat from strategic Planning and the loss of prestige for both planners and Planning. This theme was also identified in another article by Bruton (1984).

> "We are beginning to face the fact that the relatively high economic growth rates of the late 1950's to early 1970's could well have been atypical and that stagnation, decline or, at best, a slow rate of growth may well be the norm for the industrialized societies of the West...Rational approaches to planning and the use of complex models to forecast the future have been shown up for what they are - expensive, and no more than useful aids to decisionmaking." (p.9)

At this point in time economic, political, and demographic changes are forcing planners to re-assess their role in society. In fact, the continuance of the Planning profession is questioned. Staiger (1985; p. 42) believes there is growing sentiment planners are headed for extinction. After reviewing arguments for and against Planning, Klasterman (1985; p. 16-17) states, "...the arguments for planning outlined above cannot be taken as a defence of the status quo in planning, but must serve as a challenge to the profession to learn from its mistakes and build on new and expanded conceptions of the public interest, information, and political action to realise its ultimate potential." The eventual outcome of this reassessment will shape the future of the profession for years to come.

3.2 THE CASE FOR NORMATIVE THEORY IN PLANNING EDUCATION

The changing, yet overlapping definitions of Planning; eg, land use/design, social/economic, management/decisionmaking have produced a troublesome situation for Planning educators. First, they are confronted with the expectation to be proficient in a variety of disciplines as change has littered the educational field with the remnants of previous styles. Second, the profession lacks a clear theoretical framework around which the multifarious doctrines could be organized (see Healy, 1982). It is in the interest of planners and Planning to bring some kind of order to the theoretical underpining of the discipline. Because of the extreme diversity of viewpoints on both philosophy and methodology, the nature of this order is a contentious issue but not an unimportant one. Bracken (1981) points out ..."theory is not an optional extra, it is the foundation upon which a better understanding of the nature and possibilities of urban Planning may be sought" (p.102). Debate over theory in Planning has paralleled a similar debate in other social sciences. Geography, for example, has been somewhat rift by the debate. At its heart the debate has centered on normative versus positivistic approaches to research. The issue is more than semantic. Accepting Faludi's (1973) notion that Planning is the application of scientific method - however crude - to policy making, then the theoretical basis for research defines the

discipline. This definition, in turn, creates a de facto structure for education. Faludi also provides a useful distinction between theory in Planning and theory of Planning. The former refers to an approach to scientific research; the latter refers to an approach to decision-making. Returning to the definitions of Planning discussed previously, the land use/design and social/economic stages were theories in Planning. Procedural Planning theory, on the other hand, was a theory of Planning. In philosophical terms, any of these theories may be validated using normative or positivistic constructs.

However, the question remains; what theoretical framework best fits the needs of Planning education? Whilst the tremendously varied needs and viewpoints of planners cannot be entirely satisfied within any one framework, a normative theory of Planning offers the best structure for Planning education. The remainder of this section defends this conclusion. The case study section then proposes a method to incorporate the pedagogic aspects of this structure into educational programs.

Since the normative/positivism debate is essentially epistemological it is necessary to briefly outline the major tenets of each viewpoint.

In the history of science, the term positivism derives from emphasis on the positive sciences; that is, on tested and systematized experience rather than on

undisciplined speculation. First used by Auguste Comte, positivism was a philosophical movement which dictated the following theses: (1) science is the only valid knowledge and facts the only possible objects of knowledge, (2) philosophy does not possess a method different from science. Positivism denied the existence of forces that go beyond facts and the laws ascertained by science. (Abbagnano,1967) In other words, subjective judgments and societal values play no part in a positivistic approach to problem solving. In the mid-20th century, positivism came to be associated with the 'quantitative revolution' which spread through the social sciences.

> "One direct legacy of the developments of the sixties was the emergence of a number of lines of quantitative-theoretical work in economic and urban Geography; in some the quest for formal mathematical theories has been pursued vigorously. These particular areas of theoretical research appear firmly grounded in a positivistic approach to social science research,and operating on this basis they come as close as it seems possible for the social sciences to come in emulating the approaches...of the physical sciences." (King, 1966, p.187)

Unlike Geography, the direct impact of positivism in Planning was not as apparent. In fact, it is difficult to identify a clearly articulated defense of positivism in Planning. (Hightower,1970)

Normative theory originated in the social sciences especially sociology and anthropology. A norm, in the

social sense, is a shared definition of desirable behaviour. A study of behaviour adhering to norms (adjective: normative) is divided into two types: (1) collective evaluations or a consensus among people in a group as to what ought to be,(2) collective expectations or consensus as to what behaviour of members of a social unit will be. (Gibbs,1968) Collective or societal values and subjective measures are an intrinsic part of a normative theory of behaviour.

In Geography, the term normative has taken a different definition. A normative model, according to R.J.Johnston (1973, p.129):

> describes the "best" solution to a locational pattern, given a set of assumptions. Central Place Theory is thus a normative model of the size, spacing and functions of settlements, within the set of assumptions on which the theory is based. Normative models may be considered as optima, against which reality may be compared, to assess the efficiency of the latter in terms of spatial organization.

The set of assumptions upon which the normative model is built may, of course, contain any number of subjective values. For example, classic central place theory measures spatial efficiency in economic costs, downplaying the importance of such noneconomic variables as inequities in access to transportation. A normative theory of research, then, incorporates values (the researcher's and society's) as well as facts into the research design. Inclusion of such values is anathema to positivists. Proponents of normative theory argue that

since Planning is concerned with the rational allocation of scarce resources among competing clienteles the means of decision must reflect the value society places on the needs of each group. Implementation of adopted policies is impossible if these values are ignored. (Bolan,1969) Bruton (1982) confirms a normative view of Planning by writing..."Planning is not neutral. Rather it is centrally involved in the distribution of scarce resources; conflicts of interest are an inevitable consequence of that distribution". (p.83) He implies that a value system need be used to resolve the inherent conflicts.

The positivistic position in the social sciences eroded because of challenges along four fronts. First, in a purely philosophical vein, discovery of the probabilistic aspects of quantum mechanics and the introduction of relativity theory into physics created doubt about the nature of scientific facts. Specifically, that the structure of nature is not entirely orderly but influenced by random events. Second, Marxists have attacked positivism as consisting of "an attachment to the liberal virtue of objectivity in an ideological world, of a faith in technocratic scientific solutions, and of a naive optimism." (Harvey,1973) Third, the positivistic approach has failed to deal with questions of values and ethical considerations, especially planning social change and social policy. (King,1966) Fourth, the quantitative

aspects have been challenged as a pursuit of mathematical elegance as an end in itself. Roberts (1974) observed that as the techniques employed have become more elegant, the point of the exercise has become less evident. The gap between quantitative methods and Planning practice was cited by Openshaw. (1979)

> The over-riding purpose of planning as a science should be to demonstrate in an unequivocable manner the reasonableness of the planning process. Clearly quantitative methods have an important role to play in this task. Yet at present models are often used to hide the unreasonableness of planning and to give it a technical gloss and pseudo-scientific basis it cannot sustain. (p.30)

For these reasons a positivistic approach to social science research is unsuited to the needs for theory in Planning. Although some researchers, notably analysts of the urban economy, continue along positivistic lines, most planners and geographers agree with Dror (1968) who values the interdependence of facts, values, and action.

> Much of the practical sterility of the contemporary "modern science of society" results from mistaken notions about whether "factual inquiry" should be, or even can be, divorced from social reality and social problems, from the construction of abstract theories, and from introspective contemplation...such notions lead to an unsophisticated disregard of the interdependence of facts, values, and action. (p.vi)

The worth of normative theory lies in, first, its emphasis on values, including political values, which

agree with the realities practicing planners confront daily. "Planners, whether they like it or not, are in the business of surviving and prospering in a political environment."(Sillince,1984 p.21) Second, the output of normatively based research is comprehensible to political decisionmakers and is therefore more likely to be implemented. Third, normative theory creates bridges to other social scientists concerned with public policy and allows research results from these disciplines to be incorporated into Planning practice. Finally, as a pedagogic tool, normative theory is useful because the principles of scientific research remain intact, yet methodology is not limited by requirements for quantitative techniques. Quantitative and non-quantitative research methodologies are equally suited to normative theory.

3.3 CASE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION

Before entering the classroom as a social science teacher for the first time, any neophyte educator is confronted by a bewildering array of teaching methods. He/she must make several decisions prior to that memorable day,i.e., what are the goals of the course and what instructional method(s) will be used? These questions are, of course, interrelated. Generally, course goals are to convey the concepts and factual material of the discipline and to encourage precise

thinking in matters germane to the discipline. If factual material is to be delivered to a large number of students then traditional expository techniques such as a lecture and readings may be used. If analytical goals are stressed, the educator may choose from a variety of disscussion techniques,e.g.,role playing, simulation games,in-basket problems, or case studies. While no single method is suited to every combination of class size, student competence, and educational objectives the case study method is a valuable pedagogic tool for Planning educators. The remainder of this chapter will (1) describe the general applicability of the case method, (2) describe differences between cases which illustrate material and others from which principles can be deduced, (3) outline the four case studies which follow.

All learning may be divided into two categories: natural and contrived. Natural learning occurs as an individual constantly makes new discoveries about his/her environment, assimilates this information, and makes use of it at appropriate occasions. Natural learning is highly experiential; that is, learning occurs as the person experiences events through involvement with them. It is directed by the intrinsic needs of the life situation and, rather than being directed by a predetermined design, natural learning is embedded in the complex total life situation

(Simmons,1975).

Contrived learning is society's attempt to make learning more efficient. To achieve the desired efficiency an instructor contrives learning situations which adhere to a programme. Of course, the bulk of learning which takes place in schools at all levels is contrived learning. While accepting the accelerated learning which it offers Simmons (1975) lists some unintended results that can substantially lessen its efficiency. First, since learners are part of a large class, planned learning situations cannot be precisely tailored to individual needs. Second, it is easier to contrive learning situations of the cognitive type so these predominate in institutionalized programmes. The third drawback is related to the second. The low level of experiential involvement together with the apparent irrelevance of much cognitive learning to real life results in a low level of learner motivation. Fourth, the overwhelming cognitive element causes imbalance in the maturation of the learner so that, in the extreme case, the attitudinal and interpersonal elements remain grossly underdeveloped in relation to the cognitive element. Finally, some contrived learning is so unlike real life that it is difficult to transfer learning to real life situations.

Since the randomness of natural learning cannot be relied on to produce desired results in large numbers of students, contrived learning must continue to be the

main thrust of schooling. Yet to be effective as a learning/teaching method it must overcome the shortcomings identified by Simmons. Although the first of his caveats (need for large class size) cannot be altered by any teaching method, the remaining four can be addressed by using case studies as a teaching method. Following a description of the case method, these shortcomings will be re-examined.

The term 'case method' has several different definitions varying with the discipline. For example, in psychiatry, social work, or medicine a case refers to a person having specified problems. Anyone reviewing the file on the case may be engaged in a case study. In evaluation studies, a case refers to the object under review. Evaluation of a school implementing a new reading programme is refered to as a case study of reading programme implementation. Neither of these examples has a pedagogic intent although some elements contained in each could be used to construct a case for study by students.

As a learning/teaching method the case method has several unique characteristics. It is a variant of the discussion procedure in which a class begins with a common body of facts relevant to a particular problem and proceeds to work out the best possible solution. The discussion is limited to a written description of a typical situation (a case) that involves principles, practices, or both within the field of study.

(Umstattd,1964) As a pedagogic tool, the case method is characterised by being detailed, limited, and unified (Sandford & Bradbury, 1971).

Combining these characteristics, a case method as a means of educating students can be defined as a discussion technique using a detailed, limited, and unified description of a real life situation to illustrate principles and to promote desirable habits of thinking. The ideal is to combine cognitive with experiential elements in a case study so information is assimilated rather than simply remembered. Also, it is appropriate to undergraduates. "Enough evidence already exists to indicate that the capacity of the case approach to arouse interest does not depend merely on the vocational appeal of professional training. I am fully convinced that the case approach is widely applicable to undergraduate work in college" (Donham, 1949; p. 251).

Returning to Simmons' cautions of contrived learning, it is apparent that a student's motivation to learn is directly related to his involvement in the learning activity and to the extent to which he can see its relation to real life. To be successful, cases must achieve both objectives. Involvement and relevancy are especially critical in higher education. Achievement of these objectives is, according to Pearson Hunt, one of the main strengths of the case study method. Hunt was on the faculty at the Harvard Graduate School of Business

Administration where the case study method was pioneered. While he recognized the cognitive aspects of the method his teaching goals are to improve "ways of thinking" and to facilitate transfer of learning from the familiar to the unfamiliar.

> The desired result of the case method is the ability to reason in dealing with problems in the area of the course. Appropriate use of theory, and the acquisition of factual material and procedural skills are also important goals, but the heart of the method is the use of problems to train the student to discover and then to fix in his mind ways of thinking that are productive in the chosen field. (Hunt, 1951 p.175)
>
> The maximum goal of the case method is the development of a mind which has superior ability to transfer its powers from familiar types of problems to new ones. (Hunt, 1951 p.177)

Hunt's advocacy of the case study method relates directly to Simmon's caveats of contrived learning. That is, since cases are drawn from real life situations and since the technique requires student participation in discussion and analysis of it, higher learner motivation and transferribility of skills results. The ability of classroom discussion to enhance motivation and maturation of the student was noted by Lengerman F. Wallace (1981).

> Another pay off students attested to was a decrease of alienation which they felt resulted from their experience in the discussion group. As they put it,"Everyone got to know each other better." Because they "enjoyed the atmosphere as well as the extra

> help" in the discussion groups they rated the discussions as "excellent tools to learning." The students themselves were responsible for presenting material, raising questions and synthesizing ideas presented during the discussions, and this decreased their feeling of powerlessness. (p.210)

In sum, the advantages of the case study method derive from two sources, the content of the case itself and the method by which it is used. "Its purpose is to make the learning process more experiential, while retaining some of the cognitive aspects which have in the past dominated conventional learning methods." (Simmons,1975,p.190)

Although the case study method has several significant pedagogic advantages, its use in the classroom is not without shortcomings. These disadvantages arise from (1) difficulties in preparing a "detailed, limited and unified" case which illustrates principles and promotes directed discussion, (2) student's mastery of basic concepts varys, (3) the instructor's ability to lead discussion without restricting opinion is tested. This final objection cannot be resolved by any teaching technique. Mastery of the case and experience leading discussion activities provide a formula for success here. The problem of student's comprehension of basic principles can be approached by combining discussion of case studies with material from other sources;i.e.,library readings, textbooks, or materials prepared by the instructor.

Sandford and Bradbury (1971) found only one published example of an economics course based entirely on case studies -- a first year course taught by V.R. Fuchs and A.W. Warner at the Columbia University School of General Studies. As described by Fuchs and Warner (1960), their introductory course sought to teach basic economic principles to mature students. The case study course was organised around concepts and tools such as demand, supply, equilibrium, and elasticity rather than around policy questions.

A review of pertinent Planning literature did not reveal a published example of pedagogic use of case studies. However, the method finds use in policy analysis (Guess and Farnham, 1989), economics (Carr,1982), social work (Donnison,1979), law (Brennan, 1981), and business (NBEA,1982). The absence of published reports in Planning does not indicate a paucity of use by educators. Rather it is indicative of lack of a coordinated mechanism to write and publish cases. This shortcoming is addressed in chapter eight where a case studies in planning programme is suggested.

The next four chapters are examples (each one chapter in length) of the case method use in Planning. Each case covers a different topical area in Planning. All are divided into two broad categories: those that illustrate principles and those from which principles can be derived. The first type are most commonly used

although they offer little training in problem-solving. The merit of cases as illustrations is vividness derived from realism. Cases from which principles can be derived show that an examination of the details of a Planning problem can lead to an understanding which permits the transference of learning to other situations. Cases of this type are preferred because the student must understand the facts of the case then perform for himself the task of inducing from them one or more principles (Sandford and Bradbury, 1971). The Harvard Business School uses this type case.

3.4 CHARACTERISTICS OF A WELL WRITTEN CASE

As indicated above and in the Introduction, the cases presented herein certainly do not cover all important topics in Planning. The field is simply too large. The four different cases cover commonly encountered topics but, more importantly, they illustrate different methods of analyzing Planning cases and, ideally, will pique interest among Planning educators. To reap full benefits of this interest it is first necessary to distinguish categories of cases and to define characteristics of a well written case in Planning. Lee (1983;p.6-7) saw two general categories of case studies:

> "...one oriented toward development of theory and generalizations and the other toward an application of theory to problem solving. The former includes the study of a particular agency history, a particular policy or

> program, or decision making on a particular issue - the ultimate purpose of which is to develop generalizations...By contrast, the applied problem oriented case study refers to the study of problem situations that require analysis and decision making. The purpose of this case study is not so much to develop generalizations as to apply the known generalizations to the resolution of practical problems or puzzles."

All of the cases herein are problem oriented. This approach was chosen for several reasons. First, upon entering the job market, planners are expected to possess certain identifiable problem solving skills. These skills can be developed through analysis of case material. Second, development of theory and generalisations is, in fact, using case studies as a research, not a pedagogic, tool. In this context, "What the case study does represent is a research strategy, to be likened to an experiment, a history, or a simulation..." (Yin, 1981; p.59) Such use of case studies is, of course, legitimate but outside the scope of this thesis. Third, problem oriented case studies contain the many technical and human elements which furnish abundant material for classroom discussion. As a method of instruction, problem oriented case study offers several learning advantages not often used in traditional instruction. Lee (1981;p.7) sees these advantages as: "(1) the opportunity to force the student to relate the textbook principles to a concrete situation and to make a practical judgment; (2) the

opportunity to foster a kind of practical, analytical capability that is required in job situations; (3) the opportunity to increase the student's "vocabulary of experience."

Achievement of these educational goals requires, among other things, well written cases. However, as the Introduction pointed out, case study means different things to different people/professions. There are no universally accepted standards for writing cases; in fact, differences of opinion extend to items to be included, length, detail, and source of material. Since the objective of this section is to define key features of a well written case in Planning, it is worthwhile to look at [illegible] case writing in other professions.

In Public Administration, Stein (1962;p.25-26) defines the key features of a case as:

> "A public administration case may be defined as a narrative of the events that constitute or lead to a decision or group of related decisions by a public administrator or group of public administrators. Some account is given of the numerous personal, legal, institutional, political, economic, and other factors that surrounded the process of decision, but there is no attempt to assert absolute causal relationships. Psychological speculation is avoided, though repetitive patterns of behavior are cited, and interpretations of personality by other participants in the action are quoted or summarized. The study contains much detail and an effort is made in the composition, by a variety of rhetorical devices, to give the reader a feeling of actual participation in the action. While background and aftermath may be briefly summarized the main detailed

> account is confined to a restricted time period. Emphasis throughout is on decision, whether taken as act or process, and exploration is made of rejected and hypothetical alternatives. The decision problems selected for treatment involve policy rather than technical issues."

The perspective Stein describes is that of a detached observer omnipotently viewing the action of the actors. He stresses the importance of the human element in decision making but does not restrict case material to policy or non-technical material. Chapter Four will show cases can be used to illustrate application of technical principles and to serve as a springboard into lectures on technical matters.

Bauer (1955;p.202) emphasizes clarity and precision, essentially good reporting in the preparation of cases in college administration.

> "There are two requirements the case writer must constantly be aware of. These are objectivity of presentation and clarity of focus. Objectivity of presentation is not a simple matter. Cases invariably involve human beings in more or less complex situations. The case writer is subject to the human tendency to identify, often unconsciously, with one or more of the actors in the case drama...The second requirement, clarity of focus, also demands continued attention. Each case must focus consistently on the problem presented in the case to sustain the interest of the reader, challenge his attempts at analysis, and motivate him to weigh alternative decisions or administrative actions."

Bauer stresses the human "drama" which, in his opinion, forms the heart of a case. In Planning, the

political (read human) factor is always present in the implementation of plans and cannot be ignored. Chapter five looks at the role of the unexpected in Planning policies and presents a method for analyzing such.

Not all case writers focus on the human element entirely. Some case books draw material from newsworthy and/or controversial topics. Holzer and Rosen (1981;p.x) represent this genre.

> "The cases in this book, Current Cases in Public Administration, are drawn primarily from news media, including newspaper and newsmagazine feature articles, magazines, interest group publications, journals of controversy and critique interviews, and excerpts from popular books... With students uppermost in mind, we have chosen cases that are:
> 1. Relatively succinct in order to retain student interest.
> 2. Entirely current - 1976 to the present. We find that students relate best to those cases that evoke familiar names or dramatic events.
> 3. Readable. Students today are accustomed to lively, pithy reportage from television, newspapers, or newsmagazines. They are alienated, if not confused, by lengthy, detailed, academic presentations, such as tables, model forms, and charts so characteristic of other casebooks. We rely most heavily on materials written by investigative journalists and other professionals."

The case selection criteria of Holzer and Rosen overestimates the impact of "pithy reportage" on students and underestimates their ability to deal with "detailed, academic presentations." Some of the technical aspects of Planning practice are complex and

do not become less so by avoidance. Case studies can help the student master these complexities by showing their relevancy to the real world and by isolating and analyzing key elements in situ. Chapter seven here focuses on the complex subject of sample surveys and demonstrates the applicability of case analysis methods developed in business and engineering.

In Planning, cases are seldom prepared for pedagogic purposes. This gap in the literature has been recognised by others. Writing in the journal Evaluation and Program Planning, Mitchell McCorcle (1984;p.205) said, "The case study...has great, largely unrealized potential for advancing knowledge and practice in the applied social sciences." As this thesis attempts to do, McCorcle (p.207) went beyond decrying the absence of case studies in Planning. He proposed guidelines for writing cases.

> "First, if so much attention and effort is to be lavished on a single case, then it is important to choose the right case; the right situation. It should be a treatment of a significant issue or dilemma. It should focus, moreover, on aspects of the situation that are confusing or not previously understood... Second, the case should be rich in detail. Detail is, to the case researcher, what a larger sample size is to the experimental or survey researcher - each detail adds another data point, thus increasing the potential precision of the conclusions... Third, the case should be a description. If there is one canon of rigor for the case study that transcends disciplinary boundaries, it is a measure of the ability of the case writer to differentiate and

> separate description from evaluation, facts from opinions, and data from analyses.
> Fourth, a case study requires a different focus than do traditional reports of research or practice...Traditional research attempts to control or screen out external factors that might affect the experiment's treatments or subjects..- In a case study, though, it is just these external factors which are of utmost importance.
> Finally, a case should be a story...as a means to break free from the limitations imposed on the social sciences by a method based on the natural sciences.

McCorcle's guidelines were prepared for authors who might wish to submit case studies for possible publication in Evaluation and Program Planning. As such they are primarily concerned with the mechanics of presentation and less concerned with content of the case. It should be noted that these guidelines also are excellent for preparation of cases for pedagogic purposes. The characteristics which make a case suitable for a journal devoted to evaluation also makes it suitable for evaluation in the classroom.

A different catagory of Planning cases - those which stress content - are represented by Allan Jacobs (1980;p.xxii). The former Planning Director of San Francisco said:

> "I think the six cases (in Making City Planning Work) are representative of the kinds of matters city planning customarily deals with at the local level. They range from plans for the physical development of the whole city, to neighborhood planning, to single building development issues, to zoning, to specific programs for

> carrying out the plans. They deal with long- and short-range physical development in relation to social and economic issues of the city and its people. The cases also describe the kinds of interactions that take place between a planning department and other agencies, both at the same and at different levels of government. The points of view and roles of various actors who have an impact on city planning and the development of the city are also considered - the elected and appointed officials, the people acting as individuals or groups, the developers, the press, and certainly the planners themselves."

Although Jacobs' perspective was that of participant observer, he sought objectivity and did not editorialize on events or personalities described in each case. His work is valuable as examples of cases devoted to theory development in Planning. For pedagogic purposes, however, cases such as these and others of book length such as Sands and Bower's (1976) case study of vacancy chains in New York state have a limited role in undergraduate Planning education. A book length case is too long except in those courses dealing with that one specific topic. Sands and Bower's work might be appropriate in a course on housing. Second, cases focusing on metropolitan Planning (such as Jacobs') are of little interest to rural or small city planners. Accepting that all cases are geographically limited, generalisations drawn from cases seeking development of theory are limited to that single spatial unit. Third, generalisations derived from theory building cases are sanitized in that the problem

situations are clearly defined, relevant data is systematically gathered and analyzed and general conclusions drawn. However, most real world planning problems are not like this. Problem-solving cases, on the other hand, are not so structured. Skills developed dealing with complex problem- centered cases where information is fragmented and unstructured and personal behaviour is not always logical are transferable to other settings and problems.

Combining the foregoing directives into a single standard, for use in undergraduate Planning education a case should have the following characteristics:

1) An identifiable problem which has significance for the Planning profession.

2) A brief statement of the relevant facts in the situation including, as necessary, historical information, statutes, major actors and interest groups or other details which shed light on the central problem.

3) The decisions (or non-decisions) made by appropriate decision makers.

4) Alternative policies considered.

5) A description of consequences of decisions made or left unmade.

6) In terms of writing mechanics, the perspective of the detached observer is preferred although dramatic highlights (as in a public hearing) and human emotion should not be excluded as inappropriate. A

primary goal is to objectively report reality and keep the readers interest.

The length of a case may vary with the objectives of a particular course. Generally, as McCorcle suggested, no case should exceed 20 pages in length. Longer cases run the risk of excessive detail leading to rambling discussions of spurious topics. Golembiewski and White (1980) provided Public Administration cases which average three pages in length. Their goal is to cover a variety of topics but the danger is oversimplification to the point the case material becomes unrealistic. Holzer and Rosen's (1981) collection of public administration cases vary from three to seven pages in length.

In summary, the ideal case should deal with substantive issues, contain necessary facts and information on people and places to allow discussion, and be written in a style which captures and maintains interest.

SUMMARY

Over the past 40 years, Planning passed through several discrete periods where varying viewpoints about the nature of the profession reigned. Each viewpoint which gained ascendancy had a cadre of advocates who advanced new roles for planners and new definitions of Planning. By the mid-1980's, the profession was unable

to assimilate these divergent views into a coherent theory of Planning and sought a new direction and, perhaps, a new role. Within this context Planning educators must prepare the next generation of planners without a clear vision of where the profession is heading. While not a panacea, Planning education would benefit from acceptance of a normative approach to Planning theory and by wider use of case studies as a teaching tool to use the results of research. Accepting that the bulk of research in the social sciences is normatively based, Planning would be in a position to benefit from such research. A stronger theoretical base for Planning is a wider one supported, in part, by research from all social sciences.

Pedagogically, case studies offer educators a means for promoting qualities of thinking and for transfering learning from the familiar to the unfamiliar. These qualities are especially desirable when the future character of Planning is unclear. Mastery of changeable content is less important than mastery of ways of analyzing and solving Planning problems.

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CHAPTER FOUR
CASE ONE: PROJECTIONS AND FORECASTS

As described in the preceding chapter, case studies are divided into two types; those from which principles are derived and those which illustrate principles. The following case is of the latter type. It illustrates use of population forecasting methods and the planner's concern for the future. The educational goals are: 1) create a framework for expressing reasonable concern for events occuring in the future; (2) illustrate the theory and methods of basic population forecasting and the need to relate future population size to other Planning goals; (3) enhance the student's ability to recognize methodological problems in completed work (replace the 'was done' with the 'should have been done'); (4) offer insight into the process used by a Planning agency to make a recommendation to the Governing Council. Since instruction centers on a discussion of the various topics, the student is also expected to develop habits of articulating personal observations.

The text following presentation of the case is intended to indicate one direction classroom discussions might take. Of course, it is not the only direction. An instructor may use the case as a springboard into a more intensive review of one aspect of it. For example, if theory were stressed in the course, the framework for consideration of the future might be highlighted. If

techniques were stressed, analysis of population forecasting formulae could be discussed in detail. Each instructor must decide the best use of the case in their situation.

One note before proceeding. Unlike demographers, planners have a tendency to use the words 'projection' and 'forecast' interchangeably. However, they are not synonymous. At stake is not merely a nicety of vocabulary; here poor Planning practice may accompany imprecise terminology. Issermann (1984; p.209) describes the differences as:

> Projections are conditional ("if, then") statements about the future. They are calculations about the numerical consequences (the "then") of the underlying assumptions (the "if")...To project it is unnecessary to assess the likelihood of the underlying assumptions; but lacking such an assessment, the projection is merely a hypothetical, technical exercise and not a prediction of what will occur in the future ...A forecast, on the other hand, is such a prediction. It is a statement of the most likely future. Unlike the analyst who prepares projections, one who forecasts accepts responsibility for evaluating alternative "ifs" and identifying those that are most likely to be true. (p.209)

While there is no precise point where a projection becomes a forecast the difference should be kept in mind. The need to assess assumptions is especially important where numerical equations are used to project, not forecast, a future population size.

The following case shows use of population

forecasting techniques by a small city Planning Department. Best Educational and Best Planning Practice sections follow the case. The purpose of these sections is to enable the Instructor to make the best pedagogic and technical use of the case.

****

4.1 A CASE STUDY OF POPULATION FORECASTING

The Planning staff of a small city undertook a study to identify policies required in the short term future (defined as 5 years) to minimize negative impact of demographic trends. The study was conducted in-house; that is, entirely within the Planning agency. No consultants from outside the office were brought in and, because they were not required by law, no public hearings were conducted.

At the onset of the study the staff decided to ignore trends over which local government policies would have no control. Following a period of discussion and analysis the staff made these recommendations to the Governing Council:

1) Capital improvements for primary education should be reduced.

2) Capital expenditures for continuing or life-long education should be expanded.

3) Pre- and postnatal hospital services should be reduced, but geriatric and long-term facilities should be expanded.

4) All recreational facilities should be up-graded.

5) The Land Development Plan should be reviewed with a view towards increasing the amount of land available for multi-family housing. The amount of land intended for industrial use should be reduced.

6) Electronic mail delivery services should be regulated.

These recommendations were made based upon the following analysis. The population of the city has been growing continually since 1940. The 1990 population size was projected by extrapolating growth trends 10 years into the future (1980 to 1990) using a geometric projection equation.

YEAR	POPULATION
1940	56,665
1950	60,977
1960	60,159
1970	62,357
1980	65,402
1990	67,822

Although total population growth is important to the economic vitality of the city, the staff recognized growth would not be uniform in all age groups. National trends indicate a sharp increase in the number of persons aged 60+ while the age group 0-9 is showing a decline as birth rates remain low. Assuming the local population structure will mirror national trends, it follows that capital expenditures for primary schools should be reduced while additional housing for the elderly should be built. Similarly new medical

facilities should include long-term care on the expectation that the elderly would make greater use of such. Demand for maternity and pediatric hospital facilities should decrease.

Another national trend reflected in the deliberations of the Planning staff was a move towards smaller family size. In 1970, the average American family had 3.2 persons. By 1980, average family size declined to 2.8. The number of dwelling units required to accomodate a growing population is increased substantially when a reduction of family size is occuring simutaneously. Further, the rapid rise in the cost of housing will mean fewer single-family houses will be constructed while more multi-family units including condominiums will be built. Since neither the decline in family size nor the changing mix of housing types was foreseen in the original Land Development Plan, a review of it is required.

The Planning staff was aware that not all forecasts of future events need be empirical. Subjective judgments thoughtfully applied can also play an important role in preparing a complete picture of factors affecting the locality in 1990. For example, in industrial societies the amount of time devoted to leisure and recreational activities has risen steadily for several decades. Since 1950 the number of visitors to American National Parks has increased 1000 percent. As workers demand a shorter work week, time devoted to recreational activities will

increase even more. The Planning staff believes government at all levels must not only begin preparing for greater useage of existing facilities but must also provide new opportunities for constructive use of leisure time.

In a similar projection of established trends the Planning staff recognized personal at-home computers have revolutionized many aspects of society; i.e., banking, entertainment. To prevent misapplication or fraudulent use of this technology, the staff recommended some type of regulation be developed. They were specifically concerned about a need to control the flow of electronic mail between large volume merchandisers and subscribers to a mail service.

End of Case

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4.2 BEST EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

The advantages of a case method of instruction were given in Chapter Three. Among these were enhancement of communicative skills and maturation of the student through discussion of the case. But the conditions in which meaningful discussion occurs is elusive and difficult to define. In the classroom there are many ways by which the instructor can open the discussion. Some may use standard openings such as "What is the issue?" or "What are the facts?" The choice of introductions is, of course, a personal preference with each instructor. However, a structured format

provides a means for working with any type case and promotes habits of analytical thinking among students. Commenting after years of experience with the case method at the Harvard Business School, Merry (1954;p.113-114) said, "Under the case system, discussion commonly proceeds by breaking down the given situation and examining critically each of the parts." Heeding this advice, the following four questions refer to the major points which the case offers, then each point is discussed in detail. Question four is discussed in the "Best Planning Practice" section.

The four questions are:

1) Since the future is inherently unknowable are the results of a forecasting exercise worth the time put into it?

2) Was the 1990 population size a forecast or a projection?

3) Were the subjective judgments of the staff logical?

4) What other means might have been used to forecast a 1990 population size?

Question One: The Value of the Future

Since Planning is by definition concerned with the future, are planners merely a subset of futurists? If not, what is the role of the planner in forecasting alternative futures? The answer lies in exploring the theoretical basis of futurology and noting the differences between it and Planning.

Man has been obsessed with the future since he first conceived the idea. He has tried to gain some control over it by methods ranging from human sacrifice to operations research and systems analysis. He has consulted oracles, augurers, astrologers, soothsayers, and statisticians. He has pondered over the entails of animals, studied tea leaves, and gazed at crystal balls and reams of computer print-out. In spite of these varied and elaborate techniques, the future remained opaque and approached with more than a little apprehension. This malaise was summarised by Eric Hoffer (1976):

> A disconcerting aspect of our time is that we do not know what is happening to us. Rapid, drastic change means the intrusion of the future into the present with the result that the present has become as unpredictable as the future. We do not know whether the present crisis is an ending or a beginning; whether we are descending or ascending. (p.1)

Individuals and society need to assauge the fear Hoffer describes by preparing, in so far as it is possible, for future conditions. Of course, this process is intrinsically limited, but necessary. A rational society cannot approach the future completely unprepared so turns to futurists and planners for guidance.

Futurology (futurism, futuristics) is the art of predicting technological, economic, political and social changes. The history of futurology is found in utopian aspirations of many people including Plato, Thomas More,

Karl Marx and Edward Bellamy. Each described societies where strife, competition and environmental ugliness was eliminated and replaced by a sharing, communal and ecologically balanced community. The history of Planning also identifies many utopians such as Jean Baptiste Godin, Robert Owen and Ebenezer Howard. In spite of some historic similarities, differences between futurists and planners outweigh similarities. First, futurists subscribe to a belief that scientific and technological developments are relatively amenable to prediction and can serve as a basis for predicting social change (Ferkiss, 1977). Planners do not share this view, pointing to the fact that causal links between technological advances and social change are imperfectly understood and are interwoven with other sociocultural factors. Further, the short time span in which planners function will not be greatly affected by technological change. Existing housing shortages or locating London's third airport will not be affected quickly by technological advances in the construction or aviation industries.

A second difference between futurists and planners arises from the relative weight given the specific future event compared to the underlying general cause of the event. Futurists are less interested in attempting to predict the course of particular sets of events than in foreseeing the broad currents which will influence future history (Ferkiss, 1977). For example, as a

futurist, Marx believed his "scientific socialism" was the inevitable future course of history. Planners see the future quite differently. They are chiefly concerned with the course of specific events especially their interaction. A future population size, for instance, is of interest per se, but of greater interest is its impact on future demands for housing, health care, education, etc. Planners reject historicism while futurists, recognising the limitations of mindless extrapolation, see utility in the concept.

A third difference between futurists and planners is related to the second; that is, differences arise from the scale of the projections made. Futurists observe the historical record in order to make long term predictions of social change (Miles, 1975). Planners do not use such holistic theories which describe historical cycles as a basis for forecasting alternative futures. They use a more modest, incremental approach. Utopian planners, for example, were content to build small communities to demonstrate the utility of their ideas rather than to describe societies resulting from inescapable historical cycles. Planners replace concern for broad historical currents with broad concern for impacts of specific policies at specific times and places. To use Miles' terms, futurists do macroforecasting while planners do microforecasting.

Finally, planners and futurists differ in the techniques used to predict future events. Ferkiss

identifies seven methods of futurism: trend extrapolation, analogical forecasting, genius forecasting, delphi technique, cross-impact matrix, simulation and scenario building. Futurists make frequent use of a number of these techniques. Herman Kahn qualified as a genius forecaster. He also refined the delphi or expert consensus technique (1972). The utility of computer simulation to model the operation of complex, dynamic systems was demonstrated by Meadows (1972).

Of the seven techniques, only trend extrapolation is frequently used by planners and then only in a numerical manner. Regression analysis has been used not only to test covariance among variables but also to predict possible impacts of altering one or more variables in "what-if" situations (Krueckeberg and Silvers,1974). Analogical forecasting has been used in predicting the course of economic growth in developing countries by charting growth relative to historical patterns in western nations. Criticisms directed at the unreliability of these analogs, however, restricted application (Berry,1970; Mills,1984).

It can be concluded that planners have a legtimate, in fact necessary, role to play in forecasting future events. Baxter and Williams (1978) believe the usefulness of the Planning procedures will in many cases hinge on the reliability of the forecasts of the future. However, because of differences in time frame and in use

of historicism and because planners need to apply forecasts to policy options, planners and futurists do not engage in identical work. Ferkiss overstates the extent of common ground when he said, "All planners are necessarily de facto descriptive futurists" (p.24). Planners are concerned with guiding government policies into the short-term future while futurists are using history as a guide to the long-term future.

Question Two: Forecast or Projection?

Specification of initial conditions and assumptions is a vital step in the process of forecasting. Peter Hall (1980) recognises that in the present state of the art there is no one easy and reliable way by which errors made in the past would not be duplicated in the future. Among the steps he presents to improve forecasting is the need to be conscious not only of the need to improve on "the mechanical exercises in statistical trend extrapolation which now passes for forecasts in Planning" ,but also to be aware of individual valuations placed on future goals. Analysis of the case presented in this chapter should critically examine the assumptions underlying the numerical projection and also ascertain if and how personal values entered into the process.

It is apparent the assumptions underlying the projection methodology were not thoughtfully examined. In fact, they were not explicitly stated. The implicit

assumptions of the geometric technique used are that a historical growth rate can be projected into the future and that it will remain constant during the period of the forecast. Additionally, a step-down technique was used to determine future population elements. That is, national trends in age structure, family size and use of leisure time were stepped-down to the local area. These latter assumptions are valid only if the local population exactly mirrors the national population; an unlikely occurance. Further, the step-down from national demographic data to the local situation (a small city) is too broad to have much relevance. The national data is aggregated from thousands of smaller spatial units such as cities, counties, and townships. The mean of this aggregated data may be significantly different from the observed city. For example, if the city had a large non-white population, the higher birth rate in this segment would mean a larger family size and require more, not less, capital expenditure on primary schools and pediatric care. The case did not indicate any analysis of the racial composition of the city's inhabitants. Every population projection technique makes some assumptions about the factors that affect the future population size. Since these assumptions were not analyzed in the case it is impossible to assess the most likely future. A projection, not a forecast, was made or, in Hall's terms, the projections were "mechanical exercises in statistical trend extrapolation."

Question Three: Validity of Subjective Judgments

Concern for regulating electronic mail is a different matter. Here there was a conscious albeit limited attempt to forecast (not project) a future. There is no doubt computers and electronic gadgets have irrevocably altered western, perhaps global, lifestyles. But when projecting these conditions into the future a methodological problem arises: should the opinions of many people be collected and compiled or should the informal experience and intuition of the planner suffice? The answer to this question sets the limits of citizen participation in this portion of the Planning process.

The problem of predicting the impact of technological advances on society is that it is diffuse, yet ubiquitous. The term 'post-industrial' society has been coined to describe the context in which this change is occuring (Bell,1974). In spite of the problems associated with such forecasting, Hall (1980) believes such basic work should be done by one or more independent teams of specialists united by a common competence and interest in the historical method. Ideally there would be two such groups to guard against too easy acceptance of some single orthodox interpretation of the future. While financial and other resources may not have been available to the Planning staff to hire teams of consultants, they could have invested time in a

citizen participation exercise. There is no indication they did. Wider participation in the process of future scenario writing would broaden the range of topics considered, provide credence to the sometimes derided process of futurism, and, since the policies being considered would presumably require action by government, provide political support for them. Often it is difficult to gain public support for policies affecting future activities. Wenk (1979) believes a basic deficiency in developing policies to deal with the future with the aid of anticipatory techniques lies in a flabbiness of citizen interest in the future. Nevertheless, there is a planning ethic which requires planners to seek participation of those who will be affected by plans and policies. Rather than seek public in-put the Planning staff apparently relied entirely upon their personal experience and intuition. This kind of intuitive forecasting using personal values has many pitfalls even if one claims a "genius methodology" is in use.

Inclusion of the electronic mail question also violated a rule laid down by the Planning staff that they were ignoring trends over which local government would have no control. Since the central government already enjoys a monopoly over mail services, and electronic mail would not remain wholly within the city's corporate limits, the central government would promulgate whatever regulations deemed necessary. The

staff, it seems, ignored its own guidelines.

More substantially, the planners failed to come to terms with two vital elements of any futures exercise: identifying values leading to a future scenario and presenting alternative futures or alternative actions to achieve these futures. The technique used by the Planning staff was normative in that they constructed the future in terms of specific goals and values (Miles,1977). They prepared a number of recommendations about what the future ought to look like: e.g.,more hospital beds for elderly patients. Other types of medical care, for example,a nurse corps providing at-home care, are possible and may be favored by a majority of the population. Also, reduction of primary school expenditures shows a concern only with quantitative measures rather than quality indicators; i.e.,lower pupil/teacher ratio or expansion of facilities to improve quality.

The recommendations are value laden, inescapably reflecting values of the people who made them (the planners). Wherever normative procedures are used values come into play, but their negative impact can be minimized if a wider cross section of the community were involved. Lack of a wider range of individual values devalues the validity of the projections.

Another shortcoming of the exercise was that the planners did not present alternative futures or alternative means of achieving goals. The

recommendations were presented on a these-and-no-others basis. Decision makers (politicians) were faced with only one decision; accept or reject a single set of policies. These circumstances would place the politicians in an awkward position; if they reject the recommendations they have no alternative policy, yet if they accept them they are seen to accept a set of policies without knowing other courses of action. Since Planning is a process always involving politics the staff should have allowed for more flexibility in their recommendations. Presentation of alternative policies would have served a dual purpose first by creating a consensus among decision makers and, second, by demonstrating to those whose favored policy was not selected that their views were considered.

Public participation and political action are important and related components of the Planning process. Wenk (1979) argues that informed public participation is the point of new appreciation of the future. He believes "...policy decisions at the top will systematically include a balanced consideration of the future only if political pressures to do so are sufficiently intense and continuous, and political acts rewarded...With better tools of information, a creed of future concern and heightened involvement, citizens could be intimately involved in long-range planning." (p.319) The task of the planner at the local level is to invent the means for creating such citizen involvement.

The task of the Planning educator is to create within his students the ability to recognize that the goal of Planning is not a plan but is the implementation of policies through a political process involving values other then his own.

4.3 OTHER PEDAGOGIC APPROACHES TO THE CASE

In the foregoing discussion, the main points of the case were isolated and discussed. Of course, this is not the only pedagogic approach. Several other teaching methods could be used in this or any other case. Other methods reviewed here are (1) use of mini-cases; (2) scenario writing; (3) expert commentary.

Mini-cases can be used to quickly focus attention on crucial aspects of a Planning problem. Many Planning issues are value laden so students enter the classroom with preconceived views of a "correct" position in these matters. A basic purpose of education is to help the student see issues and events from different perspectives in order to develop a capacity for critical appraisal. Oliver and Shaver (1966) have developed a teaching method using different types of mini-cases to explore aspects of public issues. That believe that:

> To discover types of instructional materials necessary to lay the foundation for a critical political judgment, we first asked ourselves what information and commitments the student is likely to bring to a discussion, what information we must give him before a dialogue can begin, and what additional information he is likely to need or seek as he gets

> deeper into a problem...An issue must be presented as personal, relevant, and salient to the student if he is to become sufficiently concerned to want to handle it or structure it in his own mind. Yet we want him to see the problem in broader, more complex terms than those which will appear relevant or important at first encounter. (p. 143-144)

The materials they developed to broaden the student's intellectual horizons include some to effect empathy and emotional impact; materials for historical and conceptual clarification; cases to provide situational referents for abstract social and political procedures; and controversial cases.

In the case material of this chapter, a mini-case could be used to prepare the student for understanding the relationship between assumptions underlying population projections and the forecasts themselves or between forecasts and public policy formulation. A case should be short enough to be read and discussed in one class session. The issues should be sharpely defined to create discussion points. A mini-case might take the following form.

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Skiing in a Poor County

Avery County, North Carolina (USA) lies in the heart of the Appalachian Mountains in the midst of a booming ski area. Before 1970, the area was an isolated pocket of poverty especially hardpressed when summer tourists departed. Technological developments now permit

the manufacture of snow on cold mountaintops thereby opening a ski area for affluent off-the-mountain people. Rapid development of ski areas caused the County's permanent population to soar from about 10,000 in 1970 to 20,000+ in 1985.

A group of concerned citizens petitioned the County Commissioners to adopt and enforce restrictive development controls in order to curb population growth. They projected a county population of 40,000 within 15 years, a total, they argued, beyond the capacity of the fragile mountain environment. Further, in their view, the economic development has not reached "natives" leaving them poorer then ever.

The local Chamber of Commerce countered these arguments by noting that tax revenues and the number of persons employed increased dramatically while unemployment in the Winter decreased. In their view, any restrictions on growth would have a chilling effect on the local economy.

End of Mini-Case

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Questions for discussion.

(1) Should the County Commissioners base their policy decisions on current conditions or on conditions likely to develop?

(2) What additional information would be needed to accurately forecast economic growth?

(3) Is it ethical (or legal) for residents of a

desirable area to restrict the number of persons who can move in?

(4) Is economic and population growth compatible with environmental quality?

Of course, this is not a complete list of questions that could logically follow from the case. Questions asked are at the discretion of the Instructor. The important point is that the case provide a focus about which the student can formulate and articulate views.

Another teaching method which could use the case material is scenario writing. According to Hirschhorn (1980;p.172), "Scenario writing is a generic term. It encompasses a broad range of approaches, assumptions, and techniques, but all share in common an attempt to describe or write a "history of the future". In this instance, students might be asked to write a scenario of likely policy decisions when assumptions governing population projections change. Basic to this teaching strategy is the obvious contention that policy decisions reflect choices among competing policy premises as well as alternative conclusions. This pedagogy has an additional advantage in that the student's write-up can be presented in class giving them the opportunity to learn from one another.

A final teaching technique which might be used to analyze the case is expert commentary. This method uses a combination of discussions and lectures from visiting experts to cover different facets of a case. In the

population forecasting case, the material is of interest to a number of disciplines. For example, the sequence might be used:

Class 1...Instructor introduces case....discussion

Class 2...Geographer lectures on case....discussion

Class 3...Economist lectures on case....discussion

Class 4...Law Enforcement Officer lectures on case....discussion

Class 5...Planner lectures on case....discussion

Class 6...Wrap-up discussion

Depending upon the amount of time available, the case review may extend over a number of classes (as indicated) or it may be condensed into a single, sufficiently long, class period. Of course, the number and background of lecturers may vary with each case. The advantages of this method are that students hear viewpoints of different specialists in a short time.

4.4 BEST PLANNING PRACTICE (Question 4)

In the population forecasting case, the Instructor should make it clear that much of the rationale underlying the population projection was inadequate. The following pages show how these projections could have been improved. These improvements involve specifying assumptions about rates (birth, death, migration) , societal trends, and recognizing pitfalls surrounding numerical projections.

Selection of a projection methodology depends on

the availability of data and on the uses for which the projection is needed. Three projection methods used today are mathematical trend extrapolation, cohort component model, and demographic-economic models. (Isserman,1984)

The most widely used methods of trend extrapolation are equations describing arithmetic, geometric change, and change described by regression equations. Data requirements are few and easily satisfied. Personal computers permit quick and easy calculation of the projection.

When age and sex structure as well as the size of a future population is important, a cohort component technique may be used. It traces the effects of predicted birth, death, and migration rates on future population size.

Economic-demographic approaches to forecasting tie population change to economic conditions. The various techniques can be divided into two groups; those that first determine levels of economic activity then base population change recursively on that economic activity, and secondly, those that determine economic and demographic levels simultaneously. Although population change has economic consequences and determinants, the simultaneous approach has been used in only a few large scale models. (Isserman, 1984) The more common (and more useful in the classroom) approach begins with future employment and derives population size from an expected

ratio of population in the labor force age cohorts to employment.

The Instructor can devote as much time to forecasting techniques as is considered necessary. The purpose of the case is to complement other teaching by illustrating application of the techniques to realworld situations. This use of case study is not difficult for the Instructor to integrate into a course. However, the full range of benefits available from case study, notably discussion of the case, do not appear. The following chapters demonstrate a wider use of case study.

SUMMARY:

Use of case study material as a pedagogic tool serves not only to transmit factual material and procedural skills to students, but also develops methods of thinking about Planning problems. That is, the student should begin to develop a logical approach to problem solution consisting of: (1) problem definition, (2) arrangement of facts and skills necessary for handling the problem, (3) process of creating alternative solutions, and (4) selecting the 'best' solution from competing alternatives. In the studied case, the problem was to determine a future population size and to relate Planning policies to it. Skills required to complete this task include an understanding of the theory of futurism and of population projection

techniques. The important educational aspect of the exercise are the habits of mind developed through repeated opportunities to analyze case material. An additional benefit is familiarity with the technical aspects of forecasting that students gain.

In the case used, links between forecasting and Planning policies are paramount. There are two ways forecasting relates to policy: one as a service to current policy makers, the other as a service to the wider debate about policy goals. In the current economic climate the first use can be of great value to planners devoted to Planning as a 'practical profession'. The second use of forecasting is equally important because it involves planners and the public in the process of guiding future events, the inescapable focus of Planning. The range of case study material germane to Planning for the future is broad: energy forecasting, transport, land use, housing demand. Accepting that forecasting will remain an inexact art, the case study approach provides a sound educational tool for training students.

The methods used to analyze the case in this chapter were of the elementary type. That is, they are intended for use with students beginning their training. Subsequent chapters use more detailed methods in which Planning principles are derived from case material.

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CHAPTER 5
PLANNERS ROLE IN ASSESSING ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACT

National governments, agencies and professional groups, as well as many international agencies and organisations (World Bank, UNEP, WHO, EEC) either require or are examining the utility of requiring the preparation of EIAs in project planning and, to a degree, in policy and programme planning. (Benson, 1982) That assessment of environmental impact of Man's activities continues as a vital concern for planners and geographers should not come as a surprise. Planners have been concerned with broad environmental matters since the beginning of the profession. Issues of sanitation, land use, and housing were vital to early planners and remain an important part of the discipline. Glikson (1971) argues that ecological factors form the true basis of Planning. Although the roots of Planning are in environmental matters, it was the legislative mandate for EIAs that legitimised such attention. Traditional roles for planners have combined with legal requirements to create the field of environmental Planning.

The case material presented here offers two different aspects of the involvement of planners in environmental matters. The first aspect highlights the legal procedure used to resolve conflicts in environmental controversies. It also stresses the need to identify key issues and actors. The second aspect of the case looks at the technical means which might have

been used by the planning staff to insure greater involvement in the Planning process. The material is hypothetical, but contains physical and political elements from several of the author's experiences. The structure of the material is such that the instructor should guide the student to derive Planning principles from the case. That is, the logic is inductive in that principles are inferred from the material and elaborated in the classroom. The curriculum at the Harvard School of Business is entirely based on the derivation of principles from case studies. As in the previous chapter, the review following the case illustrates some principles logically derived from the material and examines aspects of "best professional practice" and "best educational practice". The case material concentrates on the coastal zone; that is, the band of variable width which borders the continents and inland seas. The unique environmental characteristics of the coastal zone give rise to some equally unique policy problems.

Because ecology and land use in the coastal zone directly affects marine ecology (and vice versa), environmental and resource management decisions concerning any point in the area may have multiple consequences. Assessing the consequences of Planning decisions as they move through the natural and cultural environment provides ample discussion material for any class.

A second reason for the importance of this area is the rapid and extensive development occuring. In 1980, approximately half the population of the USA lived within 50 miles of the coastal zone including the Great Lakes (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1982). A large portion of this population seeks the recreational value of the coast either for a short visit in the Summer or as a vacation home site. Coastal communities must build a public infrastructure to meet peak demands which greatly exceed average demand. Finally, the area is important because of the role it plays in a much wider ecosystem. Marshlands in particular are among the most fecund zones in the world. They serve as a nursery for marine and other wildlife and as a feeding ground and hatchery for commercially important fish and shellfish. This complex web of life is easily disturbed by the introduction of chemical pollution, excessive sediment, or wastewater discharges.

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5.1 THE ENVIRONMENTAL PLANNING PROCESS: CASE STUDY OF WASSAW ISLAND, GEORGIA

Wassaw Island, Georgia lies in the coastal zone of the Atlantic Ocean at the mouth of the Ogeechee River 10 miles southeast of Savannah, Georgia (USA) and one-half mile from Tybee Island, a popular summer resort. Wassaw Island is located on the Racoon Key, Georgia topographic quadrangle (portion reproduced here). Most of the island

is extremely low, rising less than 5 feet above mean sea level. Low lying areas are covered in spartina and other salt tolerant grasses and are flooded daily by the rising and falling tides. Tidal flats are used non-commercially as oyster beds. A few areas of the island rise above marshlands. Here palmetto trees, dogwoods, and a variety of low shrubs form a vegetative cover. These higher areas are not subject to tidal fluctuations. The beach on the island is unspoiled and picturesque. Beginning at Bradly Point, it extends more than 5 miles southward. Beach sands are predominantly weathered quartz and feldspar, light in colour and relatively stable. Beach erosion is not evident.

Birds are the dominant wildlife on the island. Pelicans, gulls, egrets, sandpipers, and numerous others use the area throughout the year. The loggerhead turtle, an endangered species, uses the beach in the late Spring and Summer to lay its eggs. The species has become endangered primarily because its eggs are taken illegally by people who consider them a gourmet delicacy.

Until the early 1960's a rough trail from the mainland provided access to the island. However, damage to the dune system by 4-wheel drive vehicles prompted the island owners to block the road. Now the only access is by boat.

DEVELOPMENT PROPOSAL

In 1988, a group of developers obtained an option

to purchase the island provided they could get the permits required by a variety of government agencies. The option expires December 31, 1989. They propose to build 1320 condominiums on 60 acres of high ground on the island. The density will be 22 dwelling units per acre. A non-public road would be built following the old trail. Amenities to be offered potential buyers include a marina on the river, swimming pool, tennis courts, restaurant, and landscaping.

A significant problem confronting the developers was the need to provide water and sewage treatment. Public water supplies were unavailable because of the prohibitive cost of pipeline extension. Groundwater on the island is brackish. Eventually the developers decided to use a combination of mainland wells and a solar powered desalination plant as water sources.

Sewage treatment proved to be a more difficult problem. The 1320 dwelling units would produce - at an average 100 gallons/capita/day approximately 400,000 gallons of sewage daily. The restaurant, swimming pool, and other incidental users would produce an additional 100,000 gallons daily.(see Goodman and Foster, 1969, for standard rates) Considering the sensitivity of the surrounding marshlands to increased biochemical oxygen demand (BOD...a measure of oxygen consumed by aerobic bacteria during a fixed time period) the effluent from the sewage treatment facility must be well oxidized and chemically stabilised material. To achieve these goals,

several treatment methods were considered: a) activated sludge; b) land disposal; c) deep well disposal; d) combination of methods.

Deep well disposal involves the injection of liquid wastes into a porous subsurface stratum. The strata underlying the island consists of Cretaceous and Tertiary limestones, dolomites, and sandstones which are considered ideal for such use. However, the cost of the method is high, capacity limited, and the possibility of a fractured strata allowing groundwater contamination led to dismissal of this method.

The land disposal method consists of re-cycling sewage through plant communities. Approximately 30 acres would be required to recycle the half million gallons of sewage produced daily. Since high ground on the island must be put to revenue generating uses, this method was also rejected.

An activated sludge process is the most commonly used form of treatment. The process consists of three stages. A primary settling stage removes 60 % of the suspended solids and 35 % of the BOD material. A secondary stage subjects the sewage to biological degradation which brings the total BOD and suspended solids removal to about 90 %. Tertiary treatment (often not used because of the expense) would remove about 90 % of the plant nutrients, mostly nitrogen and phosphorus compounds, and the remaining 10 % of BOD materials not removed in the secondary stage.

Proximity to ecologically sensitive marshlands would make tertiary treatment mandatory. The extra expense would make the total cost prohibitive.

The final solution to the problem of sewage treatment was a combination of activated sludge treatment and land application. The first step consists of primary and secondary treatment on the island. Phosphorus and nitrogen compounds remaining after action by aerobic bacteria are a usable fertilizer. In a watery solution, this sludge will be pumped or carried by tanker to the mainland where it will be applied to lawns, golf courses, etc. Several American cities sell the dried sludge as an organic fertilizer to partially recoup treatment costs. The cost of removing the sludge from the island is less than the cost of tertiary treatment.

THE PLANNING PROCESS

Wassaw Island lies within Chatham County which does not enforce land use regulations such as zoning or subdivision regulations in nonurban areas. Locally, only a building permit and a public health permit attesting to the quality of the water treatment facilities are required. In addition, permits are required from the State of Georgia, Department of Natural Resources, under the Water Quality Control Act and the Safe Drinking Water Act. Since Georgia has chosen not to participate in the national government's Coastal Zone Management

Act, no permits from the federal Coastal Zone Management office are required. A dredge and fill permit from the Army Corps of Engineers will be required for construction of the access road and marina. This requirement covers all navigable waters under Section 402 of the Water Pollution Control Act of 1896.

The Planning staff of the Metropolitan Planning Commission (MPC...a joint commission of Chatham County and the largest city in the county, Savannah) were alarmed that the proposed development would irrevocably alter a unique ecosystem. They also feared loss of life among residents if a hurricane induced storm surge would inundate the island.

In the absence of locally enforced land use controls, the planners sought to influence the local and state public health staff to deny the water quality permits. The public health officials refused saying that, based on the preliminary plans provided by the developers, a permit could not be denied. The water treatment plans were innovative and acceptable. They also argued that larger environmental issues could not be addressed within legislation specifically dealing with drinking water quality.

The development proposal would have gone unnoticed by the public had it not been for the public notice requirement for a Dredge and Fill permit (a 402 permit). When the proposal became known, the Georgia Conservancy and the Audobon Society quickly organised opposition. At

the public hearing in January, 1985, they argued that:

a) The sediment from road and marina construction would cover and kill valuable oyster beds.

b) The road would disrupt natural water flow through the marshlands.

c) The influx of people to the beach in the Summer would destroy a valuable and irreplaceable nesting area for loggerhead turtles.

d) The proposed development created a population density too high for the island.

e) There were no provisions for public access to the beach.

f) Because the island is so low, potential for overwash during storms is great.

g) The possibility of oil spills from boats using the marina is high. Any spill would adversely affect the bird population.

The developers and local Chamber of Commerce countered the environmentalists arguments with:

a) The roadway would allow natural water flow through concrete culverts.

b) Only a very small portion of the marshland would be used for the road. The remainder would be left in its natural state and deeded to the Georgia Conservancy if they wished to maintain it as a bird sanctuary.

c) The danger to the loggerhead turtle comes from egg

poachers.Island residents would be educated to respect the turtles and egg laying areas would have limited access by people using the beach.

d) Development would provide 200 jobs during construction and 20 permanent jobs afterwards.

e) Development would provide more than $50 million to the County's property tax base.

f) The proposal provides a model for environmentally sensitive development of the beach. The solar powered desalination plant and the activated sludge/land application sewage treatment are especially innovative.

g) Other beaches are very crowded and the rich need a quiet place to relax.

The MPC did not make a presentation to the hearing officer. The environmentalists interpreted their silence as a lack of regard for environmental matters. The Chatham County Commissioners passed a resolution in favor of development.

In November, 1988 the Army Corps of Engineers denied the 402 permit. They objected to the scale of the dredging and filling required to construct the access road. After an initial period of indecision the developers realised the denial did not terminate their proposal. They began a search for a mainland site to construct a dock or, if one could not be found, for an existing dock to lease. Their intention is to provide access to the island by boat. By doing so, they would

remove objections raised by the Army Corps of Engineers and save money in the process.

The coalition of environmentalists believed they had "won" when the 402 permit was denied. When they learned of the developers plan for access by boat they became dispirited. Lack of a pressure point in the Planning system; that is, a point where the project could be affected by public in-put, caused the participants to question the worth of Planning en toto. Three alternative strategies were open to the environmentalists. One was to stage protest demonstrations in hope of attracting wide media - coverage. Eventually, or so this view maintains, public pressure would build until it became impossible to proceed with the development. A second tactic was to have a State legislator introduce legislation requiring an EIA for all development in the coastal zone. Now an EIA is required by the federal government only where federal funds are expended. Considering the time lag between introduction of legislation and enactment (if enacted) this tactic would not affect Wassaw Island. Finally, working with a national conservation organisation such as the Nature Conservancy, Wassaw Island or a significant part of it might be purchased and designated a permanent natural area.

At this writing, the issue has not been resolved. The developer has not, as yet, found a mainland docking facility and the environmentalists continue to function

as a group albeit at a smaller scale. MPC planners have had no involvement since their request to the Public Health Department was rejected.

End of Case

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5.2 BEST EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

The factual material of the case is typical of development in coastal areas. However, the instructor using the material must ask,"What Planning principles can be derived from it?" That is, what is the pedagogic value of the case? Analysis of the case will proceed along two avenues. First, some principles which can be deduced from the information provided are examined. Other teaching approaches are also reviewed. Second, aspects of best professional practice especially geographic dimensions of environmental conditions are discussed. As in previous cases, the discussions are more indicative than exhaustive. Each instructor may emphasize or deemphasize topics according to the needs of his students and the goals set for the course.

STUDY OF CASE MATERIAL

<u>Principle One: In the absence of regulatory controls, planners have few tools to deal with haphazard development.</u>

In the United States, Planning controls are administered by local governments and are permissive. That is, adoption and enforcement are at the discretion

of local authorities. Only Hawaii has a statewide zoning plan. In this case, Wassaw Island was not included in the City of Savannah's zoning jurisdiction and federal coastal zone management guidelines were not adopted by the State of Georgia. Stripped of authority, local planners were essentially cast into a subordinate role. In spite of their reduced role, the planners could have had a greater impact on guiding development in these ecologically sensitive areas. Several methods will be discussed later in this chapter. However, one technique that might have been used after the development proposal was announced is fiscal impact analysis. In this analysis, the full range of costs of the development which accrue to the public (new classrooms, teachers, police, roads, etc.) are compared to the revenues generated by the development (sales, property, and personal taxes). If the balance tips against the public interest, the development may be halted. However, since the Chatham County Commissioners publicly favored the project, MPC opposition to it would place the planners in the unenviable position of arguing against their employers.

Principle Two: From the public's viewpoint, the planner may be superfluous.

The MPC played a very minor role in the planning process. In fact, their only role was to lobby the public health staff to withold a water quality permit. The groups which argued for environmental concerns were

composed of "average" citizens.

> There is a new mood in America. Increasingly, citizens are asking what urban growth will add to the quality of their lives. They are questioning the way unconstrained, piecemeal urbanization is changing their communities and are rebelling against the traditional processes of government and the marketplace which, they believe, have inadequately guided development in the past. They are measuring new development proposals by the extent to which environmental criteria are satisfied -- by what new housing will generate in terms of additional traffic, pollution of air and water, erosion, and scenic disturbance. (Reilly, 1973, p.33)

Although the principle derived here is valid in many cases, it is not universally true. Had federal government money been involved, an EIA would have been required. In that situation the planners role would have been greatly increased. However, even if the Planning staff were committed to environmentalism, it would not be a substitute for citizen involvement in the Planning process. Whenever final decisions are made by politicians attuned to public pressure, citizen involvement will be necessary.

Principle Three: Enforcement of environmental legislation is fragmented among overlapping jurisdictions.

The problem of fragmented jurisdictions and authorities in coastal areas has been widely documented (Platt, 1978). It is apparent in this case where the local government has control of land use planning; state

government regulates water quality, and the federal government (through the Army Corps of Engineers) oversees dredging and filling in navigable waterways. While the system might appear irrational, there are legitimate reasons for this division of authority. The state regulates water quality throughout watersheds which extend across county borders. Likewise, the federal government has responsibility for navigable waterways which might cross several states. Nevertheless,problems do occur when one level of government overrules (by denying required permits) the intent of other levels.

Principle Four: In coastal areas, environmental and economic factors are complexly interrelated.

The ecological balance of coastal areas is notoriously sensitive to changes brought by Man's activities. This stress has manifested itself in a number of serious problems involving dredging and filling; port construction and modification; drainage and pollution; offshore oil drilling and mining; development and construction; public access and use of beaches; power plant construction; and transportation (Jackson and Reische, 1981). Although several of these stresses were evident in the case, it is difficult to follow their impact through the ecological ladder and throughout the region. For example, disruption of the high ground on the island may destroy the only habitat

for the woody shrubs and trees. Several species of smaller birds would be affected by this loss. As has already been noted, dredging and filling operations would adversely affect the nursery function of the marshlands. Other, more subtle, long-term affects may not be noticeable until irrevocable damage has been done. Although the environmental fragility of the area is widely recognised, its attraction for recreation and permanent residence cannot be denied. The scale of population growth in coastal Georgia is indicated by rising mail volume. In conversation with the author, the Director of the Savannah Mail Distribution Center said that mail volume increased 47 percent since 1981. The point is that conflict between economic and environmental interests is inevitable. The case represents one skirmish in an ongoing war. To be effective, the planner must be knowledgeable about economic and environmental dimensions of development and act, in so far as legally possible, as advocates of the public interest. As such, neither of the major actors were satisfied by the planner's role.

Principle Five: It is important to ask the correct question.

The MPC Planning staff obviously had reservations about construction on Wassaw Island. However, their ability to affect the final decision was diminished when they sought to influence the water quality permit decision. The treatment plans put forward by the

developer were, in fact, innovative and capable of handling water quality matters in an acceptable manner. Essentially, the Planning staff were asking questions about water quality when the more important issues of wetlands disruption and whether the development en toto was inimical to the local ecology went unaddressed. The groups opposed to development did confront the developers on these issues.

Principle Six: Confrontional situations are fluid with major actors continually changing.

When the development proposal was first announced, the developers sought required permits through routine government channels. At the onset there was no public opposition. When the water quality permits were granted, two major actors - the public health department and the MPC staff - were removed from the Planning process. Only when the 402 permit was considered did the other major actors - conservationalists, Chamber of Commerce, Chatham County Commissioners - enter. It should be noted that issuance of the water quality permits need not precede consideration of the 402 permit. There is no set sequence of permit issuance. The conservationalists were alerted to the development by the public notice requirement of the 402 permit process. Had they overlooked this notice they might not have become involved at all or their tactics may have changed if they entered at a later point. The Chamber of Commerce and the County Commissioners may have taken a position

only to counter the environmentalists. The lesson for the planners and developers is that victory should not be claimed until all of the required permits have been obtained.

5.3 OTHER TEACHING METHODS

One of the great merits of the case study as a pedagogic device is its flexibility. That is, the material can be approached from a variety of perspectives to achieve the goals set by the instructor. In the review of the case material thus far, derived principles are listed and briefly discussed. In some circumstances, as the first case reviews of an introductory course, the instructor may identify key points for the students. However, as the students become familiar with the process, they would be expected to derive principles independently.

The process of deriving principles could be structured to promote personal as well as professional growth. For example, the class could be divided into small groups each identifying, say, 7 principles found in the case. After a time, the instructor would begin a second stage process of selecting the 10 most important principles. In the ensuing discussion, members of each group would have to promote and defend favorite principles to have them selected for the "Top 10". As noted in Chapter 3, analysis of the case and discussion of principles afterward not only enhances learner

motivation, but also develops maturation of the student.

Another teaching technique is to use the case material as a basis for a role playing exercise. Role playing is an instructional technique used to simulate a real world experience using students to portray critical actors in the situation. Although this method is most common as a therapeutic tool in psychology and social work; ie, psychodramas and socio-dramas, it is used to train other professionals.(Klein, 1956; Chesler and Fox,1966) The moot court, for example, is a role playing exercise popular in law schools. The author has successfully used a variation by producing a moot public hearing where students play the roles of developer, planner, environmentalist or other participants. Each student is familiar with the case and several are selected as role players. As the exercise unfolds any student may, at appropriate times, interject relevant comments on behalf of the "public" and all participate in a follow-up discussion. In subsequent cases, reversal of roles of students requires that they become familiar with the various viewpoints present in any Planning issue.

A third approach to instruction with case material is the Socratic method. In this technique the student is questioned by the instructor with the answer to a question leading to the next question. The goal is to logically reduce a case to its essential elements. Tank (1984) used this technique in teaching a course on the

legal aspects of geology.

> I use the case-history approach and employ the Socratic method. Students learn the law by reading the law. Most of our seminar meetings are devoted to a careful review and discussion of assigned legal cases and hypothetical problems. The emphasis on discussion develops communication skills as well as a better understanding of how the law is applied in a variety of factual situations. (p. 156)

One facet of Tank's approach should be noted; ie, his use of factual and hypothetical material. Often an instructor desires to analyze a single important point, but it might be obscured by other material in a real world case. While remaining true to the factual material, an instructor may remove extraneous information creating, in effect, a hypothetical, but more pedagogically useful case.

5.4 BEST PLANNING PRACTICE

The planners involved in this case study did not play an important role in the outcome because they had no statutory basis for involvement. However, students should be aware that other measures could have been taken. These measures are not restricted to coastal matters but relate to techniques applicable to a variety of environmental issues. One technique is environmental evaluation to determine the least offensive location for certain types of development. Although techniques differ somewhat in details, most use a combination of objective

and subjective criteria to produce a numerical assessment of several factors. Owen (1979) reviewed several such evaluation techniques. One of them ...

> Much more directed towards Planning purpose was a method set out by Kenneth Fines (1968) to discover locations for development causing the least deterioration to environmental quality...Fines combined the observations of both trained and lay people...A sample of 45 people was asked to rank a series of 20 photographs in relation to another photograph which was accorded a control value of 1. Overall values were recorded numerically for each of the other photographs. The study area was then divided into grid squares and a numerical value was given to each square on the basis of its visual correspondence with one example in the range of photographs. A two-dimensional map was prepared from these scores showing the distribution of landscapes of differing environmental quality and value. Proposals for development were then assessed in terms of their intrusion into "high-scoring" areas. The line scoring the least number of points was judged to be the most suitable, consonant with other evaluations of cost and social nuisance. (p. 121)

Environmental evaluation techniques are important primarily for their public relations value. That is, since they usually deal with aesthetic assessment of the environment they have little legal substance. Nevertheless, the impact of such evaluations can be significant if the results are translated into political activity directed at decision makers.

Another approach to sound planning is to determine the amount of land on Wassaw Island in each of several categories; eg, marshland, beach, above 5 feet in elevation. The intent of the exercise would be to identify areas or zones where development of any sort would be unadvisable. This task can be quickly and efficiently done by using cartographic random sampling techniques. The goal of areal sampling, as any other sampling, is to secure a sample which will correctly identify the geographic features of the study area. To achieve this goal, every part of the area must have an equal chance of being selected as an "observation" thereby eliminating bias towards one portion of the overall area. Of course, sampling error due to chance differences between the characteristics of the sampled and unsampled areas remains. This error can be calculated provided the sample size is sufficiently large and unbiased (Nachmias and Nachmias, 1976). Random points for a study area can be selected by first placing a grid over the study area. Each cell of the grid should be small enough so that the total number of observation points will be statistically significant. A second movable grid is prepared so that it fits onto one cell of the initial grid and has its vertical and horizontal axis divided into 10 parts. An equal number of points will be located in each cell. From a table of random numbers or by casting 10-sided dice, a random x-value and a random y-value can be generated for each point.

The land use category under the point is noted and totalled with all of the other observations.

A variation of the random point selection process is the systematic aligned method of point selection uses the grid and cell subdivision, but only the initial point is randomly selected. All other cells receive a point using the same x and y coordinates. Although this method is speedier and simpler than random point selection, care must be exercised to insure that a recurring feature is not introducing bias. For example, if a river flowed through the study area in a cardinal direction and if the point fell within it, every cell would exaggerate the amount of river.

A simplified random traverse land use sampling method has also been developed by Dalton, etal. (1978) It involves preparing a chart with a series of two digit numbers proceeding around the perimeter of the study area. A line joining two 2-digit numbers randomly selected completes the traverse. Systematic aligned (drawing lines parallel to an original randomly selected line) or systematic unaligned may be prepared. The percentage of land in each land use category is the summation of the percentage of the line lengths in that use. To avoid confusion, percentages for each line should be calculated beforethe next line is drawn.

Information provided by areal sampling can form a rational basis for regulating development on barrier islands. For example, development might be prohibited

if, say, 80 percent of the island were less than 5 feet above mean sea level. It could also provide vital information on potentially dangerous situations such as storm surges. McHarg's (1969) widely praised Design With Nature follows this general approach.

SUMMARY:

Most often, planners become involved in environmental issues within a legal framework. That is, conflict between opposing views is resolved in a process set by statutes. Therefore, it is important that a planner's education provide a body of theory and concepts covering both environmental matters and Planning procedures. The case emphasized the latter because the discussion format which forms the heart of the case study approach to teaching is suited to this type material. Factual environmental material can be presented in a lecture/project format. Wherever the decision-making process incorporates subjective material, the outcome will be influenced by the presentation of views. Case studies not only teach the Planning process but also sharpen the student's communication skills. While the case material lends itself to different pedagogic techniques; ie, deriving principles through discussion, role playing, Socratic questioning, the educational goal remains constant: create learning situations which motivate prospective planners to appreciate the connection between knowledge and action.

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CHAPTER 6
ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT CASE STUDY

The following case focuses on economic development issues, but should be of interest not only to regional planners, but to policy makers and program evaluators as well. Considering the close ties between economic development and Regional Planning, topics which affect the philosophy of economic development affect planners. Recently events, especially in Great Britain, have restricted the scope of Regional Planning policies which pursue national objectives. The original impetus to Regional Planning was the great disparity in levels of economic development between regions in Britain. But..."the Regional Planning bonanza of the 1960's and early 1970's depended on vigorous growth and a solid professional commitment to forward Planning: it quickly evaporated as these were not sustained." (Hall and Breheny, 1983, p. 113) Other observers have reached the same conclusion. (Diamond and Spence, 1983; Bruton, 1982) In other words, the recession of the mid-1970's created a condition where half of the nation could not continue to send scarce resources to the other half. Thus regional economic growth policies involving the large scale transfer of funds between regions fell into decline. They were replaced by governmental attempts to involve the private sector in Planning especially through the establishment of enterprise zones, urban development corporations, and the introduction of the

urban development grant. (Bruton, 1982)

Regional Planning developed simultaneously with national concern for promoting economic development as a means of achieving social welfare goals. A common goal was reduction in unemployment in regions of high unemployment. Often one region contained multiple problems. Diamond and Spence (1983) listed nine objectives of regional Planning derived from national aims, and of these eight were economic goals. The final one is broadly stated as..."there may be non-economic objectives such as he preservation and strengthening of regional cultures and identities." (p. 14) The goals of economic development and regional Planning have essentially merged.

While regional strategies declined, new policies which focused on smaller geographic areas and using private sector expertise and money were developed to promote economic development. Morcambe (1982) observed that in the housing market "Government policy is becoming increasingly concerned with the operation of the private sector residential development process and with a responsibility for the whole market. Present demands are for government policy to work through and reinforce market mechanisms." (p. 103)

A similar, but not identical, process occured in the United States. At the federal level, large scale regional economic development agencies have been either eliminated or severely curtailed. Estall (1982) charted

the history of one such region -- Appalachia -- and concluded for all of them that "the immediate future for regional Planning is not bright." (p. 57) In fact, the Reagan administration proposed the elimination of the Appalachian Regional Commission each budget year. The Bush administration is likely to follow a similar path in order to reduce the federal budget deficit.

In spite of these cutbacks for multistate regions, economic development activities remain a vital part the American Planning scene, but their locus has shifted from federal to state and local governments. For example, administration of the Community Development Block Grant programme (a major funding source for economic development activities) shifted entirely to the states. The rationale being that national aims concerning the equitable distribution of society's output will be achieved as the sum of state policies seeking equality within the state. In this new scenario, the state has become the keystone as policies created at this level are crucial to all aspects of economic development.

The following case reviews the process one state -- North Carolina -- used to develop a mechanism to allocate funds among 5 regions. Sections dealing with "Best Educational Practice" and "Best Planning Practice" follow the case. As in other case study chapters, these reviews are intended to illustrate one means of analyzing the case. Other means, perhaps taken from

other chapters, can also be used to meet specific educational goals.

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6.1 DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMIC POLICY: NORTH CAROLINA CASE STUDY

Policy Background

The state of North Carolina, USA, is divided into 5 economic regions. The economy of the coastal plains is based on large scale farming augmented by low-wage manufacturing firms located in small towns and rural areas. The Piedmont is the most industrialised and populous region in the state. For many decades, textile and cigarette manufacturing firms were dominant employers, but recent competition with foreign manufacturers has reduced the role of textiles. However, it remains the largest employer of manufacturing workers in the state. The mountain economy is based on small scale farming and manufacturing operations but tourism is increasingly important.

Poverty persists among a significant portion of the population. In the mountains, 31 percent of the population are below the poverty level; 30 percent in the upper coastal plain; and 21 percent in the lower coastal plain. Statewide,19.5 percent are classified "poor".

Beginning with Great Society programmes of the mid-1960's, state government relied on federal money to support economic development activities. Primary

vehicles for such funding were the Public Works and Economic Development Act of 1965 (EDA), Appalachian Regional Commission (ARC), Community Development Block Grants, and Urban Development Action Grants (UDAG). Policy goals of these programmes were to promote economic and social development through rural industrialisation. As conceived by policy makers, employment growth in rural areas and small towns could be stimulated because several important competitive factors were present. These factors included the availability of transport, especially motorways, large labour pool, low wages, low levels of unionization, and land availability. Policy makers reasoned that financial incentives would induce many manufacturers to locate in these depressed regions.

After 20 years, it is apparent that these policies, even in the most favourable review, met with limited success. Rural regions of the state continue to lag behind national income averages while unemployment is consistently higher. Hansen (1970) foresaw that economic development in rural areas imposed an additional cost burden which led him to doubt if any federal policy could significantly alter poverty levels in rural areas. Even the much publicized reverse migration from urban to rural areas in the 1980's has not had an impact on rural industrialisation. After reviewing relevant literature, Estall (1984) concluded that the supposed attraction of rural areas (and concomitant rejection of large cities)

was nowhere apparent. He saw that some large regions, notably the South, did have industrial employment growth, but large cities did also.

In the 1980's, a mood of fiscal conservatism dominates the American body politic. Most federal economic development programmes have been eliminated or had funding reduced or have been turned over to the states for administration. No new federal programmes are envisioned to replace those eliminated. In this context of shrinking federal support within a new political philosophy, state government policy makers were confronted with the task of creating a means for dealing with the persistent problem of rural poverty.The tack adopted by North Carolina was patterned after the federal UDAG programme; that is, state funds will be used to leverage greater amounts of private capital. Priorities for allocating funds among the regions were set by an economic index of each region.

Policy Implementation

Since any adopted policy will affect action in the future, policy makers assumed the following trends will continue into the short term future:

a) Outmigration from rural areas will remain low while former migrants continue to return. The result will be a rapidly rising rural population and a large labour pool depressing wages.

b) Women will continue to enter the labour force and will remain employed after birth of their children.

c) Urban areas will remain attractive as sites for new or expanded industries.

d) Unionization levels and wage demands of manufacturing workers will remain relatively low.

e) The political climate will remain fiscally conservative for some time, therefore levels of funding for economic development will be low.

In this political philosophy, successful policies will work through, and reinforce, market mechanisms.

Through an Executive Order, the Governor's Office established a statewide Economic Development Agency (EDA) to oversee all phases of state-supported economic development. The governor directed that the following guidelines be used in allocating state funds:

a) All recipients of state support shall share in the total cost of each project. The amount of cost sharing shall be determined by the following formula where the economic index columnn is the number of percentage points below the all region mean.

Economic Index	State % Share	Local % Share
5	90	10
4/3	80	20
2/1	70	30
At or above mean	50	50

b) An economic index will be created and compiled for each region in the State. The index shall include, but not be limited to, measures of poverty, unemployment, and percent

manufacturing employment. These measures shall be weighed so as to emphasize the relative importance of poverty and, to a lesser extent, unemployment. The index shall be updated annually using the latest information provided by the various State agencies.

c) All EDA funds shall be allocated according to economic index scores. Priority shall be given to regions having the lowest scores provided they meet other criteria.

d) All requests for State funds must show they are necessary for completion of "bricks & mortar" projects or for implementation of a programme that will benefit residents of the region and State; AND that private sector funding, to exceed the total of all government funding, will be available only if State funds are used.

Since the Governor directed that cost-sharing percentages and allocation of funds among the regions be keyed to an economic index, it is important that the index be well conceived. An economic index is the summation of indicators of selected or all sectors of the economy. The monthly change in the number of new housing units started, for example, is an indicator of the health of the housing construction industry. When taken singularly the indicator may not accurately reflect true economic conditions. Some unique factor may

have affected that one indicator. However, a more valid, complete picture is obtained when several indicators measuring different parts of the economy are viewed as a single unit.

The EDA staff (chiefly economists and planners) devised the following index:

POSITIVE FACTORS

percapita income	_____
retail sales - 10000	_____
manufacturing emp.	_____
farm employment	_____
total employment	_____
value of building permits - 10000	_____
Positive Factor Total(PFT)	_____

NEGATIVE FACTORS

percent population below poverty x 1000	_____
percent unemployed x 1000	_____
Negative Factor Total (NFT)	_____

Original Difference = PFT - NFT

At the first determination, the <u>difference</u> between the positive and negative factors is arbitrarily assigned a rating of 100. Subsequently, the index is calculated from:

$$\text{Index} = \frac{100(\text{2nd calculation of difference})}{\text{Original Difference}}$$

Although the true PFT/NFT difference provides the basis for the index calculation, conversion to a 100 scale facilitates public comprehension and allows for reporting change as a percent.

Policy Evaluation

Since its implementation in 1981, the State's economic development policies have met with a mixed reaction. The State funded 104 projects (of 216 applicants) contributing $45 million to economic development activities. These grants leveraged $200 million in new construction with the creation of more than 3000 new jobs. The average cost per new job created was $15,000 compared to an average of $13,000 for the federally funded Jobs Corps and $4,500 for the Jobs Partnership Training Act. Every region had projects funded with the Upper Coastal Plain (22 projects) and the Mountains (17 projects) leading. Typical projects were public construction of expanded water storage capacity enabling a textile dyeing plant to expand or public construction of a downtown parking deck to serve a new in-town shopping center. Very large, expensive projects have not been funded.

The adopted policies have not been without critics. Businessmen criticize the programme because, they argue, administrative guidelines used to allocate funds are too heavily weighed toward social goals. That is, the highest ranking is given to projects in lagging regions. Many worthwhile projects are unfunded because they are

located in regions with a relatively high score on the economic index. These critics believe more weight should be given project factors such as permanent jobs created without regard to geographic location.

These businessmen also lobby for higher funding levels. The $45 million spent on the creation of 3000 new jobs represents a public investment of only $15,000 per job; an amount recouped through income, sales, and property taxes. The public benefit would be greater if more projects were funded. On the other hand, liberal critics charge that funds are a direct and unnecessary subsidy to businesses that have traditionally provided their facilities as part of normal operating expense. They would have located or expanded facilities if a profit were possible regardless of the availibility of public money. The funds, they argue, are merely a sop to businessmen. Further, considering the tens of thousands of new jobs recently created in the State without public assistance, the 3000 created with it are of little significance. Finally, the new jobs created are taken by recent migrants into the region thus existing social problems are not ameliorated.

In the 1988-89 budget, EDA funds are set at $12 million, the same level as the previous year.

End of Case

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6.2 BEST EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE

The case material is concerned with an important

topic in Planning ,regional economic development. However, as no one case in, say, the law of taxation or clinical psychology, could cover the entire field, it is necessary that the instructor using this case not extend it beyond reasonable limits imposed by the facts. Analysis of the case may logically lead to larger issues such as policy development procedures in state government, but the case material (as a sample of one) should not be used as a prima facie endorsement or repudiation of any one view. General principles derived from case studies are valid only when they are found in more than one situation. Because the case material is complex and touched on several issues, a structured means of analysis is appropriate to use.

Ang (1974) demonstrated use of a six step structured procedure for analyzing a case. The steps are:

1) Summary of facts

2) Central problem(s)...What are the major and minor problems in this case?

3) Alternative courses of action:

   a) What are the alternatives which are being considered or might be considered?

   b) Analyze the pros and cons in each alternative.

4) Recommendation...What course of action is best?

5) Reasons...Explain fully the reasons for the

recommendation.

6) Principle...What principle emerges from this case?

Ang's approach has the advantage of requiring the student to summarize facts in the case thereby preventing hasty decisions and subsequent rationalisations. Also, students learn to differentiate among forms of logic. For example, following presentation of the case, students may, either individually or as a group, use an inductive method of study. They might infer a principle that a properly conceived index can serve as an accurate barometer of a region's economic health. Later this principle (if verified from other cases) can be deductively used to provide either alternative courses of action or guidance on selection of methodologies. As other cases are analyzed, more principles are identified and collected. By the end of the course the compiled principles can provide a core of useful information available to the student to analyze problems encountered on-the-job.

Although every student and instructor may see the case slightly differently, a step-by-step analysis could proceed as:

Step One: Summary of Facts

As the federal government withdraws from active management of regional economic development programmes, states are required to prepare, implement, and evaluate

such policies. The Governor of North Carolina moved into this policy vacuum when he established an Economic Development Agency (EDA) and directed that funding for economic development be allocated among 5 existing regions according to priorities set by an economic index for each region. The index created by the EDA staff relied heavily on unemployment and income data. The result was criticised by both conservatives (excessive reliance on non-project indicators) and liberals (social objectives were not achieved).

Step Two: Central Problems

a) Creation of a procedure within state government to deal with economic development.

b) Specification of programme goals; ie, are they to be predominantly social (reduce unemployment and increase per capita income) or economic (promote expansion of private sector business)?

c) Creation of a means for allocating funds among competing applicants and regions.

d) Preservation of unique cultural traits in the midst of economic change.

Step Three: Alternative Courses of Action

The course of action adopted would, of course, depend upon the goals set for the programme. Since the primary goals were to achieve social equity among regions and to use public money to leverage private funds, alternative policies might have had a greater reliance on job training programmes for unemployed, or

offered incentives to business to locate or expand in lagging regions. These incentives might include payments for each new job created, construction of new facilities, or rebates on property and/or inventory taxes. Administratively, economic development advisory boards could be established for each region. Their purpose would be to identify appropriate projects within the region and oversee the expenditure of funds.

Another alternative is to offer low interest loans to finance job creating projects. Repayment would establish a revolving fund to finance additional projects.

Step Four: What Course of Action is Best?

Here each student must make a judgment within a framework provided by the preceding steps.

Step Five: Reasons for Recommendation

Responses here would vary as each student defends a preference. The basis for judgments will be discussed in the next section.

Step Six: What Principles Emerge from the Case?

Several principles can be identified. Among them are:

a) Policy goals must be clearly articulated before programme activities are enacted.

b) Expenditure of funds is the most potent tool regional planners have to effectuate stated goals.

c) Regional Planning and economic development activities are closely linked.

Steps 4 and 5 often pose problems for instructors because the student may argue that his opinion about the best course of action is inherently unassailable. That is, because opinions are more personal than common descriptive assertions and reflect a great deal about the persons uttering them, questions about them may imply criticism of the person. The instructor, then, may avoid criticising the recommendations for fear of denigrating the student. Drake (1976) provides a sound method for avoiding this impasse. All value claims (or opinions), he argues, whether moral, aesthetic, or general are best to regard as conclusions to arguments, as assertions which in themselves are not totally significant. (p. 103) They attain significance only when they are justified. For example, a student might believe that the private sector operated by free men in a free market economy is the best way to deal with unemployment. This value claim must be justified by alluding to underlying statements or preferably to empirically based statements. Typically, the series of underlying statements might resemble these:

a) In industrial societies, the highest standards of living and the largest number of jobs created is in the nation having the least government intervention in a free market; namely, the USA.

b) Wherever national policy has sought to achieve an equitable distribution of wealth by curbing or eliminating the free market, unemployment and

underemployment has risen and quality of life fallen.

c) Government now in power, particularly the UK and eastern Europe are seeking a return to the free market as a means of revitalizing a stagnant economy.

d) Therefore, the unfettered free market economy is the best approach to reducing levels of unemployment.

Challenges to the student's recommendations (Steps 4 & 5) can now be made to the justifications supporting their selection rather than to personal value claims or opinions. This separation is important to prevent even the appearance of personal attacks on the student.

There are several pedagogic advantages to having the student write an analysis of the case following the procedure suggested by Ang. First, the analysis will be done by one student working alone communicating in written form. This is an important consideration in education today when there is much concern for "writing across the curriculum". That is, students must be shown the need for good communication skills in subjects other than composition and literature. Later, each student might be asked to make an oral presentation based on their written material. If the presentation were videotaped, the student could concentrate on the presentation rather then on speaking extemporaneously. Also, the individualized written work eases the grading problem for the instructor.

Second, the tight format for analysis enforces a logical sequence of operations. To use Pearson Hunt's

(1952) observation on the value of case studies, "habits of mind" are instilled. Since the goals of education are behavioural as well as cognitive, it is important that students master the means of dealing with the unfamiliar as they learn the factual material which comprises the discipline of Planning.

6.3 BEST PLANNING PRACTICE

The case presents two important aspects of Planning practice. The first is the process of formulating, implementing and evaluating public policy especially the spatial dimension of that policy. The second looks at the extent to which the methods used by the planners did, in fact, relate to the goals set by policy makers. These topics -- policy development and choice of implementation methodologies -- are interrelated; in fact synergistic. Although policy formulation focuses on broad political or social goals and implementation deals with specific bureaucratic tasks, they combine to form a major part of the policy process. While the instructor might isolate portions of this process for detailed discussion, the process can only be understood within its context and in its totality.

The goal of the following discussion is to examine the policy process given in the case and compare it to a model theoretically developed.

The policy process can be divided into three distinct phases or environments: (1) the policy formulation environment, (2) policy implementation, (3) policy evaluation. The case contains elements of all three phases. According to Nakamura and Smallwood (1980) the policy formulation environment:

> ...has been viewed as the most formally structured of the three, centering on legally prescribed policymaking mechanisms. Key public actors include "legtimate policy-makers"(e.g., the president, Congress,governors state legislatures, etc.) plus other nongovernmental individuals and/or groups that are capable of influencing these policy makers...A policy can originate in this environment in response to the interest of powerful governmental or nongovernmental actors...or in response to crisis situations...or because of more general public concerns and pressures.(p. 22)

In this case, the economic development policy was formulated by a "legtimate" policy-maker (the Governor) in response to a general public concern about unemployment and poverty in some sections of the state. However, by clearly stating the means by which funds would be allocated the Governor stepped into the implementation environment. Apparently he was unwilling to allow actors in this environment to divert his intention that social welfare goals remain paramount. Several observers have noted the opportunities for divergence from original policy goals possible in the implementation environment. Although theoretically the

actors in this environment are guided by the mandates legitimized by the policy makers in the policy formulation environment, they can also be influenced by their own perceptions and/or attempts to gather support for their implementation efforts. (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980; Rein and Rabinovitz, 1978) Deviations from the original policy intent may also result from faulty application of funding methods or, in the worst case scenario, from a hidden agenda pursued by implementation actors.

In the case material, there is no indication the economic index was created in such a manner as to invalidate the Governor's directive to give priority to regions having low scores on the index. The weighting given negative factors (percent population below poverty and percent unemployed) was sufficient to increase their relative value. Also, factors indicative of an expanding economy; ie, value of building permits were weighed to discount their relative value.

It seems, then,the Governor's directives were followed; in fact, there was no explicit attention given to alternatives. The third part of the policy process - evaluation - remained the responsibility of the staff. Recent evaluation work has focused on the efficacy of social service and health organisations to provide services required by law. But, as Franklin and Thrasher (1976) point out, "Examples of total integration of planning, implementation, and evaluation are rare;

however, where they do exist, they are most often on the level of service delivery rather than programme effectiveness." (p. 6) That is, the evaluation techniques used simply report on the delivery, not the effectiveness, of services provided.

In the case study, the policy evaluation section contained two elements neither of which adequately evaluated the economic development policy. Like the reporting system mentioned by
Franklin and Thrasher, one portion of the evaluation merely summarized the number of applicants, projects funded, and indicated their geographical distribution. Such reporting should not be mistaken for evaluation. The comparison with other job creating/training programmes is also methodologically faulted. While it appears the State's economic development policy is capable of creating jobs at a cost not greatly exceeding federally funded programmes, ie, the Jobs Corps, the cost rises substantially if the private sector investment is considered. Further, the Jobs Corps trains a large number of youths at skills training centers where the total cost includes their room and board. If these costs were deducted, the gap between the programmes widens.

By focusing on the relatively minor point of job creation cost, attention was diverted from the real goals of the policy -- reduction in unemployment and increases in per capita income. These major issues were

not directly addressed although it is implied that both goals are being effectively met.

The policy evaluation section also mentioned political reaction to implementation of the policy. Although some key actors (members of Congress, state Legislatures, Governors) in the policy formulation environment may be attuned to such political commentary, it does not gauge the effectiveness of the programme in reaching stated goals. For example, the food stamp programme in the US has made significant progress in eradicating hunger yet it has been the target of numerous political campaigns to curtail its activities. In the political arena, the existence of a programme might be offensive to some who seek its elimination regardless of its effectiveness. Likewise, political proponents of a programme may defend it long after its ineffectiveness has been shown.

Apparently, the evaluators saw no reason to propose changes in the economic development policies perhaps because criticism came from both ends of the political spectrum. Neither the allocation procedure nor the funding level was targeted for change.

Improving the Policy Process

Accepting the weakness of the evaluation measures shown in the case, what would be better professional practice? Specifically, what means are available to evaluate spatial dimensions of public policy? This

section will demonstrate some means by which the policy process could have been improved. Although economic development strategies have been applied regionally for some time, evaluation of their spatial impact is only beginning. Diamond (1984) observed, "One discernible trend of geographical research in the past decade has been the beginning of attempts to identify and measure the effects of public policies with spatial objectives such as urban renewal, containment and regional policy." (p.33) While he correctly identifies this embryonic trend, he cautions, "that the discussion of methodological problems in (spatial) policy analysis is at an early stage of codification and considerable ambiguities remain." (p.35) These caveats are reminders that evaluation of regional policy cannot claim to be unimpeachable. While evaluating policies and/or programmes, the instructor must direct students to empirical data rather than value claims and assessments of effectiveness must be done in a carefully delineated framework.

The framework for evaluation might follow that proposed by Nachmias (1979) who identified two distinct but interrelated types of evaluation. The first is process evaluation which is concerned with the extent to which a particular policy or programme is implemented according to stated guidelines. The second type of evaluation research, impact evaluation, examines the extent to which a policy causes a change in the intended

direction. It calls for delineation of operationally defined policy goals, specification of criteria of success, and measures of progress toward the goals.

Process evaluation was discussed earlier in conjunction with the three environments of the policy process. It was noted that the Governor was active not only in policy formulation but also stepped into the policy implementation environment. He carefully bridged the gap between policy formulation and implementation.

In other situations, the separation between these environments might be unbridged creating potential for the implementation phase diverging from the original policy intent. For instance, the following means are possible to achieve the policy goal of economic development in lagging regions:

a) Project factors could be weighed heavily to direct funding to high scoring projects regardless of geographic location.

b) A cost-benefit analysis could be required for each project with funding going to those having the most favourable ration regardless of geographic location.

c) Absolute numbers rather than the percentage of population below poverty level could be used in an economic index.

Use of any, or all, of these means to implement the Governor's directive would divert it from the intention of channeling the bulk of assistance to economically lagging regions. Note that each of these means is

professionally defensible and legitimate. In other situations with different policy goals they could be used.

The point here is that evaluators (and instructors teaching evaluation) must see that the selection of implementation techniques matches the intent of the formulated policy. When intentions are clearly articulated and related to goals,the likelihood of misunderstanding and misdirected activities decreases.

While the political context of the policy formulation environment is readily apparent and expected, the political overtones of the implementation phase should not be underestimated.

> Politics does not end with the formulation of policy. Many of the same problems that hinder rational decisionmaking also limit the effective implementation of policy. Moreover, for some participants the most important part of policymaking begins after the formulation of policy. Interests that are not satisfied with the formal decisions of the legislative, executive or judicial branches work to shape a policy to satisfy their own desires by maneuvering to control its implementation or administration. At times, this means trying to block any implementation. (Edwards and Sharkansky,1978 p.12)

The full implications of political maneuvering in the implementation environment are seldom open to analysis based on empirical data. However, review and study of relevant cases offers a means of identifying and highlighting key components and actors and provides

insights into these parts of the policy process not otherwise available.

While process evaluation is important to policy planners (if this term can be used to describe persons devising implementation strategies), the public are more concerned with impact evaluation. That is, the public are concerned with evaluation as the determination and assessment of the results (outcome/impact) of programme activities. (Miringoff, 1980) The evaluation must ultimately answer the question...did the programme /policy/plan make a difference?

Evaluation research has developed primarily from social and health fields and reflects this origin in the types of designs commonly used. Typically, evaluation designs fall into one of the following categories:

- Experimental designs
- Quasi-experimental including time series and non-equivalent control groups
- Comparative designs
- "Bargain Basement" designs including one-programme after-only designs; one-programme before- and after-designs; two group after-only designs

Although experimental designs provide excellent evaluation measures and yield answers to 'effectiveness' questions, they are infrequently used in regional Planning. The Achilles heel of the design is that it requires witholding programme benefits from a control

group or region in order to determine effects of the programme on the experimental group or region. Political realities and some laws require that the programme be administered uniformly to all regions and groups.

Comparative designs are those that compare the relative merits, advantages, or effectiveness of two or more programmes or programme elements without benefit of randomisation and experimental isolation. (Franklin and Thrasher, 1976) At best, a comparative design is a type of quasi-experimental design. Often, however, the comparative design is a reporting system for similar programmes or programme elements. The evaluation may consist simply of comparing quantified measures of outcome; ie, jobs created. The design is effective if the compared programmes are identical except for one key element. Observed differences in the outcome could be attributed to that single key element.

A comparative design was not possible in the case study because only one programme was considered. Some attempt was made to compare the State programme with Federal job training programmes, but this comparison was invalid because the programmes differed in many, not one key, elements. The design could have been effective in a pilot study where two or more programmes each with one major difference -- such as alternative methods of allocating funds -- were compared.

"Bargin basement" evaluation designs provide a quick, inexpensive, and simple means for answering some

questions about programme effectiveness. However, they are notoriously weak in establishing causal links between programme activities and outcome. The one-programme, before and after design attempts to document the effectiveness of a programme. It measures selected indicators (in this case, economic) before application of the programme and re-measures them after application assuming change can be attributed to programme activities. Because random selection and control groups are not part of the design, programme effects are difficult to separate from other events that occured during the course of the programme. Change in the indicators -- either positive or negative -- caused by non-programme factors would be incorrectly attributed to the programme.

It is apparent that of the evaluation designs discussed, none are ideally suited to evaluating regional economic development programmes. Diamond and Spence (1983) encountered a similar problem. They found the critical difficulty lies in estimation of the effect of the policy implementation among the relative changes taking place in manufacturing and employment in Scotland. In spite of the inherent limitation of evaluation research, public demand for some kind of determination of governmental programme effectiveness provides a powerful incentive for evaluation. Recognising the pitfalls, evaluation of the policy

process outlined in the case might have proceeded along one of the following three avenues.

A type of quasi-experimental evaluation, the nonequivalent control group, might have been used. The only difference between this design and the classic controlled experiment is that participants are not randomly assigned to experimental or control groups. The groups are therefore nonequivalent. The experimental group here would consist of those cities or counties selected for participation in the programme. The control group would be those similar sized cities or counties that were not selected. Changes in economic indicators in the experimental group not found in the control group could be attributed to the evaluated programme. The design is less powerful than the experimental design because chance similarities among the experimental group may account for post-programme changes in indicators.

A second evaluation technique that could have been involves several pilot programmes run during the first year of the EDA's operation. Each programme would be identical to the others except for one key element. Comparative examination of economic indicators measured pre- and postprogramme would show which element had the greatest positive effect. Participants in each programme would have to be identical or nearly so and use of a control group would insure that the programme had an effect beyond normal events.

A third evaluation would assign specific numerical

objectives for each region and for the State as a whole. These objectives may have been a reduction of, say 1.5 percentage points from unemployment each year or the creation of a set number of new jobs annually. When the actual totals are known differences between them and expected outcomes evaluate, in effect, the Planning process not the programme itself. Obviously, because it lacks random selection and control groups, such an evaluation method is extremely weak. The relation between outcomes and programme activities is not established. Nevertheless, such nonevaluations are often used to promote programmes whose 'goals are met or exceeded.

6.4 THE QUALITATIVE - QUANTITATIVE DEBATE

An instructor introducing policy evaluation research into the classroom would be amiss if a discussion of qualitative and quantitative methods were not included. Although a complete description of these methods is beyond the scope of this work, it is important that the student be made aware of key issues. The debate is more than methodological; it raises major epistemological questions.

The terms qualitative and quantitative methods mean more than specific data collecting techniques. They are more appropriately conceptualised as paradigms which are defined by Kuhn (1970) as a set of interrelated

assumptions about the social world which provides a philosophical and conceptual framework for the organised study of that world. According to Filstead (1979) "the researcher in the quantitative paradigm is concerned with discovering, verifying, or identifying causal relationships among concepts that derive from an a priori theoretical scheme."(p.37) That is, the researcher is following a logical positivistic approach to evaluation.

The qualitative paradigm, again according to Filstead, is "a dynamic interchange between theory, concepts, and data with constant feedback and modifications of theory and concepts based on the data collected...The approach is marked by a concern with the discovery of theory rather than with the verification of theory." (p.38) Data gathering techniques typically used for these purposes are participant observation, in-depth interviewing, and unstructured or semi-structured interviewing. In other words, the tools of Sociology and Anthropology.

Although the debate centers on questions of methodology, the root issue is epistemological. That is, is the information generated by qualitative case studies sufficiently rigorous for evaluation research? Yin and Heald (1975) unequivocally support qualitative evaluations. They argue that case studies provide rich insights into specific situations and that it is possible to aggregate case study experiences and to

assess the quality of each in a reliable and replicable manner by using a case survey method. Other writers have also advocated use of qualitative measures in evaluation research. (Wilson, 1977; Guba, 1978) In the case material here, case studies of individual funded projects could document the real impact of job creating plans. Later, a case survey along the lines suggested by Yin and Heald would assess the impact of the policy statewide.

Table 6-1: Features of the Qualitative and Quantitative Paradigms (from Reichardt and Cook,1979)

QUALITATIVE PARADIGM	QUANTITATIVE PARADIGM
Naturalistic & uncontrolled observation	Obtrusive & controlled measurement
Subjective	Objective
Close to the data; the "insider" perspective	Removed from the data; "outsider" perspective
discovery oriented	verification
exploratory, expansionist	confirmatory
descriptive, inductive	inferential
Process-oriented	Outcome oriented
Valid: "real","rich", and "deep" data	Reliable:"hard", and replicable data
Ungeneralizable; single case studies	Generalizable; multiple case studies
Holistic	Particularistic
Assumes a dynamic reality	stable reality

Analysis of the policy process shown in the case was largely qualitative because of the absence of data upon which to base a quantitative approach (although it is certainly feasible in other situations). But the qualitative approach has the advantage of highlighting problems of policy formulation and implementation which might otherwise be obscured in a detailed quantitative analysis. In a general undergraduate "Introduction to Planning" course, such a focus on the policy process might be preferable to "number crunching" better suited to a quantitative techniques course.

SUMMARY

The case material contained elements of two topics important to planners: economic development techniques and evaluation of a policy process. Linkages between economic development and regional Planning were stressed and possible alternatives to the economic index used to allocate funds were identified. The policy process was divided into three components -- formulation, implementation, evaluation -- with emphasis placed on the possibility of the implementation environment diverging from original policy goals. Several techniques of programme evaluation were identified and discussed. It should be noted that the key point about evaluation is that it must be done consciously in a systematic manner. That is, whether the evaluation design uses a quantitative or a qualitative methodology, it should not

be an afterthought. The Instructor introducing evaluation techniques likewise should not consider it an afterthought to the implementation of policies.

In analyzing this case, an approach different from that applied in other chapters was used. Again, several pedagogical advantages of the case method of instruction were revealed. First, the case can be used to show more than one aspect of Planning practice. Here, problems of economic development were addressed, but consideration of these problems inevitably led to a discussion of policy development and evaluation. Essentially, a case within a case emerged. Second, the flexibility of case studies allows for multiple use of a single case. For example, the case could be expanded to provide students with the opportunity to perform a quantitative evaluation of the economic development policies (if data were provided) or they could be assigned the task of preparing an economic index to guide allocation of funds for social welfare programmes among cities in the State.

Finally, the requirement for a written synopsis of the case enforces a logical framework for analysis. The analytical methods learned here will be available to the student when he confronts unfamiliar cases. The ability to deal with the unfamiliar is, ultimately, the final goal of all education.

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CHAPTER 7
SAMPLE SURVEY: A CASE STUDY FOR ADVANCED STUDENTS

Published data such as that provided by government agencies or private businesses are the primary sources of numerical information about characteristics of a population. For a variety of reasons, this data may be unuseable in its present form. The data might be out-of-date, collected for spatial units unsuited to the task at hand, or the content may be unrelated to the specific needs of the planner. For these reasons, the planning agency or researchers must themselves collect primary information The process of information gathering can be approached from two directions: all of the persons in an area could be asked a number of questions, or some of the people in an area could be asked a number of questions and their responses used to represent the attitudes of everyone living in the area or the overall conditions in that area. Unless a very small population is under study, the latter method, a sample survey, is the most cost-effective means of obtaining information.

Awareness of sampling procedures, techniques, and limitations is important to planners for several reasons. First, planners often deal with spatial units which are not used by data gathering agencies; eg, neighbourhoods, concentrations of environmental or socioeconomic deficiencies. The direction which the research takes might be dictated by the availability of

published data perhaps creating a bias in the results. To maintain integrity of a research project, the planner must match the geography of his data units with the areal extent of the studied territory. Second, a planner is often concerned with public attitudes about a sensitive topic; eg, public housing in the suburbs, development in environmentally sensitive areas. Correctly gauging public opinion may mean the difference between successful or unsuccessful plan implementation. A properly designed and administered questionnaire can provide the information necessary to guide Planning policies. Finally, knowledge of survey methodologies will allow a planner to assess the validity of information gathered by others. Poorly designed questionnaires or improperly administered surveys can provide misleading information. To avoid error, a planner must recognise data of dubious value.

The following case presents three different questionnaires each used for a different purpose. Unlike previous case chapters where little knowledge of the subject or of case study procedure was assumed, analysis of this case presumes students are familiar with the discussion method of case analysis. Teaching methods which maximize student in-put into the entire process of analysis are presented. Students need not be familiar with sampling techniques to benefit from the discussions which form the heart of this pedagogy. The educational goals are development of problem-solving ability and

enhancement of knowledge of professional practice through group discussion guided by a structured analytical format. Since the case is intended for advanced students, diversions into non-sampling topics such as the role of public opinion in policy formulation or Council/consultant relations are possible at the discretion of the Instructor.

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7.1 SAMPLE SURVEY: CASE STUDY OF ELIZABETHTON, GEORGIA

The population of Elizabethton, Georgia is 3465, equally divided among blacks and whites. Following several decades of decline when blacks out-migrated, the population grew 10.4 percent from 1978 to 1988. The recent upward movement in population reflects reversal of established migration patterns rather than a rise in birthrates.

The city was governed by a Mayor-Council form of government. In principle, the Mayor was responsible for routine government activities, but, in reality, department chiefs operated without supervision. However, in 1986 a newly elected Mayor and Council re-organised the government structure to a Council-Manager form. In 1987, a City Manager was hired to oversee daily operational matters while policy making authority continued to rest with the Mayor and Council members.

The new officials faced two problems which took precedence over others. First, demand for improved recreation facilities, especially from whites,

increased. Second, the black population organised efforts to improve environmental conditions in the northeast quadrant of the city. They argued that poverty, poor housing, and a deteriorated public infrastructure were concentrated in these neighbourhoods. The local Chamber of Commerce was leading the drive for improved recreational facilities. To document support for their belief that most citizens wanted more facilities, they designed a questionnaire (reproduced as Table 7-1 at the end of the chapter) and had it printed in the local weekly newspaper on two different dates. The total number of responses, of course, did not appear in the questionnaire. When the results were tabulated, the Chamber, in a widely publicised press conference, interpreted them as a demand for action from the voters to the City Council. Members of the Council were reluctant to immediately agree with the Chamber's assessment because they (Council members) had some doubts of the accuracy of the survey and because they did not want to be stampeded into an expensive construction project. To provide technical assistance in each of these policy areas, the City contracted with a Planning consultant. His responsibilities were: (1) assess the validity of the Chamber of Commerce's survey; (2) propose policy alternatives to meet legitimate recreation needs; (3) identify specific geographic areas in the northeast quadrant of the City which require immediate

improvements and propose policy options to meet these objectives.

The consultant reviewed the Chamber's self-administered questionnaire and concluded it was flawed. His conclusions were based upon the following analysis.

The goal of the Chamber's survey was to determine public opinion on the need for additional recreational facilities from a sample of the population. If the selection of respondents was done so that the probability of selection was known, it would have been a probability sample. Under such conditions, inferences about the larger group (the population of the city) can be made. However, if respondents are selected in a manner that the probability of selection is unknown, a nonprobability sample results. Where this is the case, any inferences made about the population are open to question. There is no accepted theory of inferences about populations based on information from nonprobability samples. Since every element in the population being sampled did not have an equal chance of being selected (not everyone reads the newspaper) the probability of selection was unknown. Therefore, the sample was nonrepresentative and any inferences based on it are suspect.

Another fact which detracted from the validity of the survey was that the total number of returns to the questionnaire greatly exceeded normal return rates. The total number of responses to questions was 5459. This

total divided by 5 responses per questionnaire indicated 1092 individual returns were received. Considering that the total number of households in Elizabethton is approximately 1200, returns were received from a phenomenal 91 percent of all households. According to Dillman (1978) a normal return rate for mail questionnaires is 10 percent with 20 percent considered very high. A low return rate could be expected from a newspaper questionnaire.

The consultant believed this unusually high return rate resulted because the questionnaire did not ask the respondent to indicate place of residence. Since the newspaper circulates beyond the city limits, non-residents could, and apparently did, respond without being identified as such. It was also possible that multiple responses were received from one or more households. Or one group of interested people could have flooded the Chamber with completed questionnaires.

In the consultant's judgment, the problems of poor questionnaire design and faulty administration invalidated the results of the Chamber's survey.

Although the Chamber's survey was flawed, the consultant recognised that development of politically feasible recreation policies must be based upon solid public support. To determine the strength of support for particular facilities he proposed that another survey be conducted within the City. It would be a probability

sample using a questionnaire administered by trained interviewers. Since methods of financing new recreational facilities are often controversial, the questionnaire would also examine attitudes toward tax increases to support the programme. The questionnaire proposed by the consultant is shown as Table 7-2.

To insure responses from all sections of the community, a 10 acre grid was laid over a map of the city. One hundred and eighty (180) cells were sufficient to cover its entirety. Each cell was assigned a three-digit number (001 - 180) and sixty (60) were randomly selected using a table of random numbers. Within each selected cell, face-to-face interviews were conducted of half the heads-of-households by teams of two interviewers.

The consultant was aware that a person's attitude toward an object or activity has three components. These components were identified by Sudman and Bradburn (1982; p.123) as: "(1) the affective, whether the respondent likes or dislikes the object; (2) cognitive, what the rewspondent knows or thinks about the object; (3) an action component, the respondent's willingness or intention to do something with regard to the object of the attitude." The ultimate goal of the survey was to ascertain the strength of the action component of the public's attitude toward recreation.

The survey was administered and results indicated a

preference for swimming pools clearly reinforcing results of the Chamber of Commerce's survey. Also evident was a preference for no tax increase of any sort. Respondents favoured a plan where construction and operation of any new recreation facilities are financed by user fees. That is, the action component of attitude supported a user specific fee structure rather than a general tax increase. Believing that financial matters were the province of the City Council, the consultant made no policy recommendations about the "best" means of financing the recreation programme. However, to meet the requirements of his contract with the City, he proposed three plans to meet present and future needs for recreation facilities.

Plan One proposed a centrally located indoor/outdoor swimming pool with an active playground adjacent. Two additional playgrounds linked by bicycle paths curving through the City were also envisioned. Total construction cost was estimated at $1.4 million. Annual maintenance will be $100,000.

Plan Two proposed a centrally located outdoor swimming pool and a combination picnic area/playground along the river. Total construction cost was estimated at $1 million. Annual maintenance will be $80,000.

Plan Three proposed a centrally located indoor/ outdoor swimming pool. Total construction cost

was estimated at $1 million. Annual maintenance will be $80,000.

Regarding environmental improvements to the northeast quadrant of the City, the consultant believed the scale of problems was beyond the financial ability of the City to solve alone. Therefore, after consulting with the Town Manager, a decision was made to apply for a Community Development Block Grant (CDBG). If approved, this grant from the Federal government would cover 100 percent of the cost of specified improvements to a maximum of $1 million per year. The grants are competitive with awards made to projects benefitting the greatest number of poor people, defined as those below income levels set by the Federal government. The task, then, was twofold: identify those areas having the highest number of poor people and, secondly, propose improvements that would directly benefit them.

Because the spatial units used by the Bureau of the Census did not conform to the neighbourhood geography of the City and because census data was out-of-date, the consultant decided to conduct a data gathering survey in the northeast part of the City. The goals of the survey were to document extent of poverty and other socioeconomic problems in the area, and identify specific geographic areas where these problems are concentrated. Table 7-3 is the questionnaire used for

this purpose. Since many residents do not have telephones, a face-to-face interview was required. The consultant hired and trained students from a nearby college to conduct interviews after 5 PM on weekdays and on Saturdays. A pilot survey was conducted to resolve any semantic problems in the questions and to familiarize the interviewers with the task at hand.

The Community Development questionnaire was standardised, but not all questions were answered directly by the respondent, e.g., questions A8, C3, and C4 are completed by the interviewer. Questions C3 and B1 use an ordinal scale while the other questions use a nominal scale. Questions about income are notoriously difficult to handle because of the respondent's reluctance to answer such questions or because of misleading estimation of income by the respondent. By carefully structuring the income question, information can be obtained with an indirect question. In question B1, the top of the chart is family size and the figures below are annual and weekly incomes corresponding to the poverty level set by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development. By referring to question A1 (number of persons living in the house), the interviewer uses the appropriate income level for the family size. If the family had, say, five members, the interviewer would ask. "Does the family living here earn more than $12,200 per year?" The correct box would then be checked. By structuring the question in this manner, estimations of

income are avoided and reliability of the data enhanced.

Results of the survey created a sense of disbelief among Council members. They disputed data showing 62 percent of all dwellings were overcrowded (more than one person per room), 58 percent of all families were headed by a woman, 70 percent of all families had incomes below the poverty level, and 14 percent of all dwellings were without indoor plumbing. One Council member observed that he "didn't know of but one privy and that was out in the country." Another questioned a neighbourhood's ability to survive if 3 of 4 families were below poverty levels.

In spite of some misgivings, the City Council approved a CDBG application to acquire right-of-ways and pave 3.4 miles of roads, install street lights(to prevent street crime), and improve drainage in the designated neighbourhood. The projected cost of the programme was $1 million per year for three years. The plan also envisioned extensive rehabilitation of housing to begin in the second year of a three year programme.

END OF CASE

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7.2 BEST EDUCATIONAL PRACTICE: SACM FOR PLANNERS

Because the Harvard Business School pioneered and continues to make extensive use of the case method of instruction, it is not surprising that many innovations in the pedagogic use of case studies originate in schools of business. One such innovation is the Self

Actualizing Case Method (SACM). Used primarily in teaching marketing skills, the central premise of this method is that at advanced levels of learning, "students can be given an opportunity to circumvent the sometimes stifling effects of the instructor/apprentice dyad because they have usually accumulated enough knowledge and experience to enter into problem-solving activity on their own." (Gunn and Mitchell, 1982, p.67) Essentially, students are required to complete, on their initiative, all aspects of the case study including its presentation and analysis. They may, in some learning situations, evaluate the performance of other students in the class.

Before an educator undertakes use of a SACM technique in a Planning course he must; (a) fully understand the components of the method especially the relatively passive role of the Instructor, (b) transfer application of the method from a business/marketing context to a Planning situation. The following paragraphs deal with these topics. The operating format of SACM requires selection of case leaders. Individuals who serve as case leaders are selected by the Instructor so that teams are of equal caliber and each student has at least one opportunity to serve in this role. The grading procedure may require case leaders to appraise the quality of performance of other students. Non-leaders may evaluate the proficiency of the leaders in conducting the case study. The case leaders are a keystone in the SACM process because they are

responsible for assigning specific duties to team members, preparing and monitoring a schedule of work, and arranging for a final programme to be presented to the assembled class. Although the Instructor plays a passive role in the case analysis, he can influence the group's performance in several ways.

> First, the instructor is responsible for explaining the operation of the SACM and discussing good case analysis procedure with the trainees. Secondly, prior to the case analysis session, the leaders should meet with the instructor to discuss all relevant aspects of the assigned case. Thirdly, during the case analysis session, the instructor can interact with the trainees by making observations, expressing opinions and asking pointed questions when the leaders are stymied or clearly off track. However, when everything is running smoothly in the SACM, the instructor is ideally reduced to a prop. (Gunn and Mitchell, 1982, p.70)

When the operating format for SACM is established, case analysis can begin. The SACM incorporates use of a problem solving itinerary to guide students through the case study. The major components of this itinerary are:

1) situation analysis...The designated leaders systematically present all factors which relate to the problem. The presentation might be in the form of a skit or a role playing exercise which has the additional merit of establishing rapport between the leaders and non-leaders.

2) problem statement...a concise statement of the case problem

3) alternatives...broad courses of action which resolve the problem

4) criteria... rules or standards for selecting the best alternative

5) best alternative...the course of action which offers the best cost/benefit advantage

6) program...goals, strategies or tactics for implementing the best alternative

The observant reader quickly sees that the problem-solving itinerary for SACM parallels the procedural planning theory (PPT) outlined in Chapter 3 of this thesis. That is, the sequence of steps in the itinerary culminate in implementation of the "best" alternative course of action as the steps in PPT do likewise for the "best" planning policy alternative. Thus planning students who are familiar with PPT should be able to adjust quickly to the SACM Itinerary.

In the Elizabethton case, step one is self-evident, but difficulty arises in step 2;i.e.,what exactly is the problem faced by the consultant? Is he obliged to simply replace the Chamber of Commerce's survey with a reliable survey of attitudes towards recreation among City residents? Or is he responsible for the formulation of policy alternatives with or without gauging public opinion? The Instructor may specify that a sample survey is required to focus attention on the mechanics of

conducting such. Or he may leave the topic open to allow students the opportunity to explore other means of achieving broadly stated policy goals; e.g., forming a citizen's Recreation Commission to make recommendations. The analysis herein proceeds on the assumption that strengthening a student's knowledge of sampling methodologies is the educational objective. The problem (step 2) then becomes one of designing and administering a questionnaire in a manner producing trustworthy results. In the problem statement, steps 3,4 & 5 are a task -- common in Planning practice -- of weighing alternative means of conducting a survey to achieve desired objectives. These alternatives are detailed in the next section of this chapter. Final programme selection (step 6) is a political decision made by the City Council.

The SACM is often used in courses on marketing policy or sales management. "For example in consumer behavior, a case might concern analyzing customer perception of market stimuli relative to the introduction of a new fruit punch mix in supermarkets. (Or) a simulated problem in the marketing policy course may require trainees to analyze ways to improve public use of a mass transit system in a metropolitan area." (Gunn and Mitchell, 1982, p. 68)

The examples cited by Gunn and Mitchell have clear parallels in Planning practice. While market researchers are concerned with customer perception of a new fruit

punch mix, planners are concerned with public perception of the need for, say, recreation facilities. Success or failure of the product - fruit punch or recreation plans - may ultimately rest not with the merits of the product, but with the public's perception of the need for it. Their example of seeking ways to improve public use of a mass transit system illustrates a condition where marketing and transportation planning objectives merge. Whether SACM is used in marketing or planning, it provides advanced students with a constructive learning experience because it encourages independent thinking (free from an Instructor's direct guidance) which results in self-actualization in advancing problem-solving skills. The intensive group interaction also enhances communication skills and fosters the ability to work as a member of a team.

Of course, no teaching method is without its drawbacks.

> On the negative side, trainees have indicated that they felt coerced into participating in the case analysis where the SACM was employed. Some trainees have expressed the desire to sit back and reflect on the case analysis rather than enter into the fray. Some trainees have registered disenchantment with the grading system with a few feeling it is too subjective, and that their peers receive credit for trivial and/or redundant contributions. (Gunn; 1980, p.255)

The first of these criticisms can be alleviated if the Instructor carefully explains the goals and

procedures of the SACM before the class begins the case analysis. The explanation should highlight the "self-actualizing" aspect of the teaching method. Regarding disenchancement with the grading system, some differences of opinion among students are inevitable. However, the grading system can have indirect benefits since all participants are obliged to assess the performance of peers and must use criteria which are relevant and objective. Skill in developing and applying such criteria is nurtured through practice.

7.3 GUIDED DESIGN

Another instructional method which uses a systematic sequence of steps has been developed to teach policy studies and engineering. According to Donald Menzel (1978; p. 169), "The guided design method assumes that effective problem-solving requires one to:

1. identify the problem;
2. understand the basic objective;
3. comprehend various constraints, assumptions and facts;
4. generate possible solutions;
5. establish criteria and select a solution;
6. analyze the chosen solution;
7. synthesize;
8. evaluate;
9. report findings and make recommendations;

10. implement the decision;
11. evaluate the impact and, if necessary, revise the solution."

The eleven steps constitute a decision structure for teaching students how to solve open-ended problems and manage complex decision situations which would confront them upon graduation. Of course, before the problem could be identified (step one), the context in which it occurs, actors involved, and constraints on policy decisions must be identified. In other words, a case must be presented. The guided design teaching method, like SACM, is a variation of the case method of instruction. The differences between these methods and other uses of case material is that they require use of a structured means of analysis and deemphasize the role of the Instructor in completing the analysis. However, both provide a bridge between the typical undergraduate classroom where students are passively involved and the real world where they will progress largely through their own initiative. In the Elizabethton case, the guided design might be approached in the following manner.

The City Council is faced with two issues: first, how to relate recreation plans to the expressed preferences of the public? Secondly, how to devise a policy (plan and funding arrangement) for improving

environmental conditions in the northeast section of the city? The planning consultant, however, confronts a different problem albeit one related to the needs of the City Council. His problem (Step 1 of the analysis) is to gather, assess, and present reliable information which will assist decision-makers in the resolution of these public policy issues. Since the issues are geographically and politically contained wholly within the city, the locus of the data gathered would also be within the city limits.

Step 2 of the guided design analysis is to understand the objectives of the problem-solving exercise. The planner's ultimate objectives are stated in his contract; i.e., assess the Chamber of Commerce's survey, provide policy alternatives to meet legitimate recreation needs, identify specific geographic areas in the NE quadrant of the city which require immediate improvements and propose policy options to secure these improvements. To complete these contractual obligations in a professionally sound manner he must build on a foundation of reliable information. That is, the recreation facilities proposed must agree with public preferences and suggested improvements to the NE part of the city must adhere to the guidelines promulgated by the Federal funding agency. Since public opinion data on recreation is unavailable in any form and the socioeconomic data needed for the federal grant

application is unavailable at the neighbourhood scale, the first objective is to gather the needed information using a survey instrument administered within the city. A sample survey is the only feasible way to get public opinion information and socioeconomic data for geographic areas not used by data publishing agencies. Also, the usual constraints (Step 3) imposed on surveys - availability of money and time - are less restraining here since the population of Elizabethton is small and no deadline was set.

At this point the Instructor might pause to assess the progress made by each student or groups of students. As Menzel points out, "The steps (in the problem-solving structure) are sequential but not necessarily unidirectional. A student might begin with Step 1 and proceed through several steps and then find it advisable to return to Step 1. This occurs frequently in the policy process - problems are constantly being defined and redefined." (p. 169) If new information becomes available; i.e., guidelines for the funding proposal change, public reaction to the recreation funding proposals is negative, the problems and objectives may shift to a new focus. In any event, assessment by the Instructor is necessary to provide timely feedback to the student. This feedback and interaction with the students is an important part of the Instructor's role in guided design.

Step 4 requires that possible solutions to the policy question be identified. For the proposed recreation facilities, a list of solutions might be:

a) one large centrally located facility containing a variety of activities.

b) one central facility housing a swimming pool and several smaller facilities located in different parts of the city.

c) improved recreation facilities at all schools in the city.

d) a single multi-use facility jointly funded by State and/or County governments

e) no improvements

Selection of the "best" solution is made in accordance with the criteria established in Step 5. Although each student or group of students is responsible for setting their own criteria for selecting the best solution, a representative list might include; (1) improvements agree with preferences identified in the community survey; (2) cost of construction and maintenance would not require an excessive increase in the tax rate (excessive defined as greater than 20%); (3) all facilities would be located as to provide reasonable access and use by all citizens.

Step 6 provides an opportunity for interaction among all students. Each may have chosen a different "best" solution according to the criteria set in the

previous step. Led by the Instructor, a discussion of these competing alternatives would lead to one agreed solution to the recreation problems of Elizabethton. Subsequent steps in the guided design would then focus on this accepted solution. Alternatively, the Instructor might allow each student/team to proceed independently to Step 9. A discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of competing recommendations may take place at this step. In either situation, the learning value of the discussion and interaction among students is crucial. The students also recognise that they can learn from one another.

Assuming the class agreed upon a single policy in Step 6, Step 7 requires a synthesis of all material. That is, a plan for the project must be prepared. The basic components of this plan are:

1) justification of the need for new and/or expanded recreation facilities
2) a map showing location of all proposed facilities
3) detailed site plan for each location
4) implementation timetable
5) financing plan

The amount of time available to the Instructor will determine the procedure now followed. If a period of several weeks is available each student might be required to prepare a total plan. An advantage of this

tactic is that each student is involved in a number of different activities germane to Planning practice. However, if only a short time is available, groups of students could be assigned portions of the overall plan. The disadvantage of this tactic is that discussion of different plans is eliminated. In lieu of a discussion of plans, the student benefits from interacting with peers in completion of the assigned plan element.

Step 8, evaluation of the plan, is built around the development permission process. So far in the guided design, students have been concerned with elements of comprehensive Planning; e.g., gathering information, assessing probable effects, generating possible solutions. Now the focus subtlety changes to project Planning. As Slater (1984; p.75) points out..."Unlike comprehensive Planning which...is concerned with strategy, project Planning is concerned with implementation. That means the zoning code, subdivision regulations, and other regulations on land use will come into play here. This is the level of Planning at which negotiation takes place between the city or county government and the developers." Since the developer, in this case, is the City of Elizabethton, there are no negotiations in the normal sense. However, political negotiations are necessary to ensure implementation of the plan. In this situation, the author has used role playing as a pedagogic device. That is, students are

assigned the task of playing the role of various actors in the development process. In this case, actors might be a conservative councilmember who would rather keep taxes low than provide new recreation facilities or a representative from the northeast section of the city who considers a swimming pool an unafforable luxury, or a neighbor of a proposed park who fears increased noise and traffic. The format for the evaluation is a moot public hearing conducted by other students in the role of council members, planner, etc.

Although this evaluation process begs the notion that program evaluation is the determination and assessment of the results of programme activities, it does offer students the opportunity to appreciate the voter's views on Planning issues. Lawrence (1980) sees this participation in decision-making as a significant education advantage.

> "Guided design is a teaching method which stresses developing competence in problemsolving and decision-making. In a traditional political science course, students learn how political decisions are made. In a guided design oriented course, they make them."(p.321)

The direction taken in step 9 will be determined by the outcome of step 8. If, in step 8, significant objections to the agreed plan are raised, a return to step 4 - generation of possible solutions - may be required. Alternatively, if objections are not inimical to the basic thrust of the plan a second draft

incorporating responses to issues raised may be prepared. If no objections are raised, the decision making process can move to the final two steps. Since implementation and evaluation of the recommended plan require a decision of the Council, the exercise may end here. Or, if time permits, the Instructor may provide additional information about post-implementation activities. This information could be evaluated and, if necessary, plan revisions made.

SUMMARY OF SACM AND GUIDED DESIGN

A basic purpose of education is to maximize a person's capacities for initiative and creative problem-solving. Philosophers of education such as Robert Hutchins believe..."The object of liberal education is not to teach the young all they will ever need to know. It is to give them the habits, ideas, and techniques that they need to continue to educate themselves." (Hutchins, 1953:p.74) Both SACM and guided design provide such techniques for creative problem-solving in a structured manner. Since planners are usually confronted with non-recurring problems, such intellectual capabilities for self-education are especially desired.

However, does the pedagogy make a difference in achieving and maximizing problem-solving abilities? Lawrence (1980:p.324) is unambiguously positive on the merits of guided design.

> "Does guided design make a difference? I think so. First, group discussion is goal oriented and characterized by intense debate and the pressure of a deadline. Second, the projects reinforce content learning to a greater extent than I have experienced with any other method. Third, guided design alumni have tended to become leaders and self-starters in other more advanced courses. Their analytical and problem-solving skills appear to carry over to other nonacademic group situations as well."

The merits cited by Lawrence especially development of communication skills and carry over of analytical skills to other situations are important educational objectives. Their achievement is more likely when the educational context is related to real world situations and by allowing students freedom to pursue stated objectives while interacting with other students and the Instructor. Freedom to create a plan and an implementation strategy is especially welcomed by advanced students. The genius of SACM and guided design is that they allow creative problem solving yet maintain a logical, rigorous structure for approaching unique problems.

7.4 BEST PLANNING PRACTICE

In the preceding discussion of SACM, the problem statement was identified as evaluating alternative means of conducting a survey to achieve desired objectives.

Likewise, the information analyzed in the guided design was originally derived from a survey of residents. This section will discuss several methods of conducting a sample survey with a view towards providing guidance in the selection of one which best fits the needs of a particular problem. The intent is not to exhaustively review the vast literature on survey methodology, but rather to enable planners to assess the merits of alternative approaches to primary data collection. A second objective of this section is to analyze the content and administration of the three questionnaires presented in the case material.

The literature on survey methodology does not consistently define and use terminology. Here, the guidance offered by Roscoe (1975) will be followed. A population, as defined by Roscoe..."is a collection of objects, events, or individuals having some common characteristic that the researcher is interested in studying...A sample is a smaller group of objects, events, or individuals selected from the population for actual participation in the research." (p.20-21) A survey is defined as the process of examining certain characteristics of individuals or conditions in an area. A sample survey, then, is the process of examining some characteristics of a small group of objects, events, or individuals drawn from a larger population.

Preparing for the Survey

Before undertaking any survey, the cost in terms of time and money must be weighed against expected results. Before a commitment is made, the following questions should be answered. (Keber; 1982,p.45)

1) Is the data sought really necessary?

2) Are surrogate data available?

3) Have all sources of published data been checked?

4) Can the needed information be purchased somewhere at a cost less than that of a survey?

If the answers to these questions so indicate, a sample survey may be undertaken and personnel selected. In the case under review, the City of Elizabethton hired a consultant who, in turn, hired student interviewers. A decision regarding personnel was made early in the overall survey because key personnel involved in administering the questionnaire should also be involved in the preparation of it and in designating the parameters of the sample.

The consultant's first task was to review the sample survey conducted by the Chamber of Commerce. The questionnaire is reproduced as Table 7-1, Elizabethton, Georgia Recreation Survey. It was found to be unacceptable. The consultant's primary objections were that the sample was poorly drawn because the probability of selection of respondents was unknown, and because the total number of respondents greatly exceeded that which would be considered normal. Nonprobability samples, often dubbed man-in-the-street surveys, are sometimes

used to gather public opinion information. According to Selltiz (1951;p.515)..."the major advantages of nonprobability sampling are convenience and economy-advantages that may outweigh the risks involved in not using probability sampling." Obviously, the consultant did not wish to accept the risks involved in nonprobability techniques. His response to the need to collect information was Table 7-2, a questionnaire designed to assess the sample's attitudes toward various recreation facilities and methods of financing them. This questionnaire was administered by interviewers to a sample of randomly selected respondents.

The Chamber of Commerce's recreation survey and the consultant's questionnaire both sought to reveal public opinion on one issue, recreation. Although planners can legitimately use sample surveys to assess public opinion, some caution is necessary. Hennessy (1970;p.25-30) describes four factors which should be considered in any attempt to define public opinion. First, an issue must be present. "In common usage, public opinion often appears to be a generalized term describing something like a collective attitude or public mood." (p.25) However, use of the term in such a broad meaning is unproductive. To be useful in guiding public policy, public opinion must refer to a specific issue. Second, there must be a recognisable group of persons concerned with the issue. If views were gotten from only a small group of pro-recreation swimmers, the

opinion expressed may not reflect public opinion (although by chance it may). Third, any assessment of public opinion must be aware of the range of opinions on the issue in question. For example, the commitment of pro-recreation support may range from:

"I support recreation facilities at any cost."

"I support recreation facilities provided taxes will not be increased."

"I support recreation facilities provided a new facility is built in my neighbourhood."

Some of this support may evaporate when more facts on construction and financing are known. The survey instrument must be designed in a manner that separates shades of support or opposition. Fourth, the size of the public interested in the issue should be determined. If only a handful of vocal persons are concerned about new recreation facilities, then a "public" opinion is difficult to define.

The advantages of the consultant's recreation questionnaire were that the interval rating scale was appropriate for the task of measuring attitudinal or opinion information and the household status information gathered (questions 1 & 2 and address & race of respondent) would permit callbacks and, later, correlation with other responses. The drawbacks to this questionnaire and type of survey are: 1) a respondent's preferences in recreation are limited to those listed; 2) an extended time period is required to design and

pre-test the questionnaire; 3) monetary costs are high. In 1988, a reasonable cost would be 11 pounds sterling ($20) per completed questionnaire; 4) it is often difficult to design a questionnaire free of semantic ambiguities.

> "The best advice we can offer to those starting out to write attitude questions is to plagiarize. While plagiarism is regarded as a vice in most matters, it is a virtue in questionnaire writing - assuming, of course, that you plagiarize good quality questions. By using questions that have been used before, you can spare yourself much agony over the formulation of the questions and extensive pre-testing. If the questions have been used frequently before, most of the bugs will have been ironed out of them. Also, if the questions have been used on samples similar to the one you are interested in, you get the advantage of comparative data from other time periods or other samples." (Sudman and Bradburn; 1983 p.119)

Considering all these caveats, it can be concluded that the consultant's questionnaire was reasonably well designed and suited to the task for which it was intended. Of course, the problems of questionnaire design could be avoided if questionnaires were not used in the collection of information. The key-informant technique offers an alternative to sample surveys and has been used in a variety of social research notably by anthropologists. "In its broadest sense the key-informant technique may be defined as a method of gathering information about a social structure through the use of presumed knowledgeable individuals."

(Houston, 1978 p.535) Campbell (1958; p.339) elaborates on the use of key-informants:

> "...the technique of the informant means that the social scientist obtains information about the group under study through a member who occupies such a role as to be well-informed but who at the same time speaks the social scientist's language. It is epitomized by the use of one or a few special persons who are extensively interviewed and upon whose responses exceptional reliance is placed." (quoted by Houston, 1978)

Advantages of the key-informant technique are low cost and the ability to gather specialised, focused data. Informants are not choosen randomly..."but are selected because of their role or status which provides them with more complete and/or specialized knowledge...Information is usually gathered from key informants in personal interviews, although the technique can be adapted to telephone or mail inquiries." (Houston 1978; p.536-537)

In the Elizabethton case, responses from a few key informants might have provided the information subsequently obtained from a much more time consuming survey. Of course, the results of the technique are valid only if informants are objective, knowledgeable about recreation, and interviewed by a person trained in the mechanics of unstructured interviews.

Unlike the recreation questionnaire, the community development questionnaire (Table 7-3) did not seek the opinions of respondents. The questionnaire was

standardised; that is, all questions in the same order were asked of all respondents. The consultant opted to use interviewers because the high incidence of poverty in the area meant many people would not have telephones and may not read well. The interviewers were directed to conduct interviews after 5PM when working heads-of-households were more likely to be at home.

While the survey strategy adopted by the consultant was sound, other approaches were considered. His decision to use interviewers for face-to-face interviews was a judgment based on an assessment of the circumstances. Among other feasible survey strategies are telephone or mail surveys.

Telephone surveys have become common means of gathering information in such professions as journalism, political science, and especially marketing research. Landon and Banks (1978;p.398) observed that:

> "Marketing research increasing involves telephone interviewing for data collection. The percentage of households with telephones continues to increase. Improved telephone services...have increased efficiency. Higher crime rates in inner cities have made personal interviewing more difficult. Finally, improved sampling methods have reduced biases in telephone samples."

The major shortcomings of telephone surveys are difficulty of reaching some respondents ;e.g., farmers, executives, night workers and bias introduced into the results because of unlisted or non-working numbers or because the household does not have a telephone. In the

Community Development questionnaire, if a telephone survey were conducted, the housing condition and occupancy questions (numbers 13 & 14) would have to be deleted. Respondent assessment of housing condition has a potential for error. Since the housing condition information was critical to the grant application, a telephone survey was discarded.

Mail surveys provide another method for collecting information from a sample. Commenting on the state of the art, Kanuk and Berenson (1978; p.299) said:

> "Market researchers have long recognized the obvious advantages of mail questionnaire surveys. They are relatively low in cost, geographically flexible, and they can reach a widely dispersed sample simutaneously without the attendent problems of interviewer access or the possible distortions of time...Mail questionnaires are free from the costs and time consumption of interviewer bias or variability. Their or promised anonymity encourages respondents to freely divulge private or embarrassing or socially undesirable information. Finally mail questionnaires tend to be more valid than either telephone or personal interviews because they enable respondents to check information by verifying their records or consulting with other members of the family and because they permit leisurely and thoughtful reply."

The most serious drawbacks to mail surveys are their generally low response rates and subsequent problems of bias related to low response. Efforts to increase response rates have included preliminary notification either by mail or telephone, monetary incentives, and followup techniques. While response rates of 100

percent after three followups have been reported, often the increased cost exceeds the value of the additional information acquired.(Levine and Gordon; 1958) Obviously, the cost-effectiveness of followup mailings must be carefully determined.

In the Elizabethton case, the small population in the NE part of the city necessitated a high response rate to yield statistically significant results. Since the population of the area was known to be poor, it is likely education levels were low. It is reasonable, therefore, to expect a low response rate from a mail questionnaire. Also, like the telephone survey, the mail questionnaire would require self-assessment of the condition of the respondent's house. In these circumstances, the consultant choose not to use a mail survey.

SUMMARY

This chapter has two primary objectives: first, to demonstrate the applicability of two teaching methods - self actualizing case method and guided design - to Planning education and, secondly, to sensitize the student to the need to design sample surveys capable of gathering public opinion information useful in the policy formulation process.

The first objective is pedagogic; the second relates to professional Planning practice. Both teaching methods allow students freedom to pursue case analysis

and creative problem-solving with more flexibility than other teaching methods which may be dominated by the Instructor. The format of the SACM and guided design encourage students to sharpen their problem solving skills on their own initiative. Further, since each method requires interaction among the students and with the Instructor, the student's communicative skills and the ability to adjust to changing conditions are enhanced. Although these teaching methods were originally developed in Business and Engineering, the similarity of educational objectives makes them useful in Planning education. These parallels were demonstrated by analyzing the case material in the format of the SACM and guided design.

The professional planning aspects of the case focused on the legitimacy of planner's concern for public opinion on planning policies and on the criteria for selecting a survey methodology from several alternatives. The type of questionnaire used and the means of administration are determined by the nature of the data sought.

An Instructor using the Elizabethton case would clearly not focus on a detailed examination of survey techniques. The material is intended to acquaint students with the need to acquire primary data through surveys, the context in which such needs may arise, some problems of questionnaire design, and criteria used to select a survey method. By reviewing and analyzing the

consultant's decisions, the Instructor follows the lead of Donald Schon and Thomas Nutt who wrote..."A primary task of Planning educators is to hold up a mirror in which students can see themselves reflected and to work with students to elicit the tacit theories that inform the student's priorities so that students learn to carry out this process by themselves - learn, that is, both to act and to reflect on their own action." (1974; p.188) The mirror here is the examination through case study of one planner's response to a problem.

The material can stand alone as part of a course on Planning techniques or it can serve as a prelude to a more comprehensive review of sampling and survey methods. In either instance, the relation to the real world through the case adds relevancy to the classroom and enhances learning.

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TABLE 7-1

ELIZABETHTON, GEORGIA RECREATION SURVEY

Please complete the following questionnaire and return it to the address below. Select the five (5) items you consider the most important. Place an "X" after the item.

	TOTAL RESPONSES
Playgrounds for various age groups, including elderly	666
Ball fields with running track	333
Golf course	96
Recreation Building	454
Swimming pools	873
Skating, skiing and other winter sports facilities	252
Picnic grounds with equipment	460
Tennis courts	363
Roadside parks with drinking water, toilet,and picnic facilities	314
Camping centers	12
Boating, canoeing and fishing facilities	344
Bridle paths	220
Bicycle paths	487
Bandstands or shells	15
Undeveloped land for nature observation	285
Other (list)*	

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* Included bowling alleys (14); roller skating (4); motorcycle paths (21); public stables (6); public baths and showers (6).

TABLE 7-2
RECREATION ATTITUDE QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, my name is _____. I am working on the ELIZABETHTON RECREATION SURVEY. You may have read about it in the newspaper or heard about it on the radio. We are taking a survey of the whole city and would appreciate your opinions on the questions I have here. (ASK TO SPEAK TO THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD; IF NOT AVAILABLE, ASK TO SPEAK TO SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)
Interview Number ____
Address_____
Race___
(1) ___ Not at home. When will he/she return? Thank you.

___ Interview refused: Thank you...sorry to have bothered you
___ Head of Household
___ Spouse of head of household
___ Other (specify)_____
(2) How long have you lived at this address?
___ Less than 6 months
___ 6 months to a year
___ Over 1 year to 2 years
___ Over 2 years
(HAND CARD TO RESPONDENT) Please describe your feeling about the questions I'll ask. A score of 1 indicates you probably would not support the item...a score of 7 signifies enthusiastic support

CARD)_____2_____3_____4_____5_____6_____7
Would Not Support — Enthusiastic Support

Let's suppose for a moment that the City decided to proceed with an expanded recreation program. Using the card, what step would you choose to describe your feelings about the following?

(3)	5.3 Playgrounds for children	(10)	3.3 Softball
(4)	1.3 Golf course	(11)	2.5 Recreation building
(5)	6.1 Swimming pool	(12)	3.3 Picnic area
(6)	3.0 Tennis courts	(13)	1.4 Camping
(7)	4.2 Riverside boating	(14)	1.4 Horse paths
(8)	4.8 Bicycle paths	(15)	1.1 Bandstands
(9)	1.7 Undeveloped land for nature observation		

Operation of an expanded recreation program needs some means to finance it. Again using the card, what step would you choose to describe your feeling about the following alternatives for financing an expanded recreation program?

(16) 4.7 Construction and operation of facilities financed by an increase in the sales tax.
(17) 2.0 Construction and operation of facilities financed by an increase in the property tax.
(18) 3.8 Construction of facilities financed by a tax increase, and operation financed by a user fee.
(19) 5.3 Construction and operation financed by a municipal bond repaid from user fee collections.

THANK YOU

TABLE 7-3 COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT QUESTIONNAIRE

Hello, my name is _____. I am working for the City of Elizabethton. You may have heard about a survey we are conducting in this part of the City. We would appreciate your answers to a few questions I have here. (ASK TO SPEAK TO THE HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD. IF NOT AVAILABLE, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE SPOUSE OF HEAD OF HOUSEHOLD)

Interview number_____ Address

_____

Race ___

A. The Household

1. How many persons live in the house? ___

2. Are they all in the same family? __ Y __ N

3. Is the head of the household a man or a woman? __ M __ W

4. Do any disabled or handicapped persons live here? __Y __ N

5. Is the house rented or do you own it? __ R __ O

6. How many persons living here are over 62 years old? ___

7. How many persons living here are now employed? __

B. Household Income

8. Is the total household income above:

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
8050	9200	10350	11500	12200	12950	13650	14350
155	177	199	221	235	249	262	276

___ Below ___ Above

9. Does anyone in the household receive any social

assistance money? ____ Y __ N

10. Estimate the amount of social assistance received.

____

C. Condition of the Housing Unit

11. How many rooms are in the house? ____

12. Does the house have indoor plumbing? __ Y __ N

13. STANDARD DETERIORATED DILAPIDATED

14. VACANT OCCUPIED

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

CHAPTER 8
THE CASE METHOD OF INSTRUCTION IN PLANNING: CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS

The preceding cases demonstrated that the case method of instruction can be adapted to undergraduate Planning education in a variety of different manners each suited to the student's skill levels and to the Instructor,s objectives. Because geographers are deeply involved in the education of planners, they would also find merit in this pedagogy. This chapter will summarise findings of the research contained in earlier chapters and relate them to the concerns of the Planning profession. It will also detail characteristics of a well-written (for teaching purposes) case, and propose formation of an Inter-University Case Programme in Planning.

8.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

A.Undergraduate Planning education is a vital and permanent part of training for the Planning profession. Geographers are making significant contributions to these training programmes.

Before 1965, only six institutions of higher education in the US offered a baccalaureate degree in Planning. By 1988, this number increased to 34 with an additional 18 institutions offering a 4-year non-degree programme. Although the output of these institutions has

fluctuated, the 1982 total of 505 graduates was the second highest of the preceding ten years. In the UK, central government policy resulted in closure of several RTPI recognised Planning courses, but a recent survey of graduates indicated they are finding employment in the field and the future can be approached with cautious optimism. The output of the 19 undergraduate Planning courses recognised by the RTPI should be in reasonable balance with anticipated demand after 1988. (Brenikov and Thomas; 1985)

Although the number of baccalaureate degrees awarded in Planning in the US has not been increasing, and the number of first degrees in Planning in the UK has fallen, undergraduate planning education remains an important part of the Planning profession. Graduates of undergraduate programmes are finding jobs in the field and, in spite of general cutbacks in education budgets in the UK, enrolments have only been reduced, not decimated.

Another factor in the relative vigor of undergraduate Planning programmes is the link to Departments of Geography. Many planning programmes, especially non-degree programmes, enroll too few students to form a viable department on their own. Geography Departments, as chapter one documented, are faced with declining enrolments and welcome the additional students coming as Planning majors. The result is that enrolments in Geography increase while

Planning classes attain the critical number of students to have a viable programme.

These ties, however, are not mercenary and opportunistic. Geography as a discipline and individual geographers have a long history of concern for the spatial dimensions of society's problems and for relating research to public policy needs. It is an easy step from thinking about the spatial patterns of human activities to attempting to direct these patterns into the most efficient order. Geographic public policy research has been most common in the urban, economic, transport, and resource management subfields. Chapter two showed that the ties between Geography and Planning have been, and remain, strong. The fact that several American universities changed names from Departments of Geography to Departments of Geography and Planning indicates the faculty believes these ties are strong and permanent.

B. Within the subfield of Applied Geography, university geographers continue a tradition of directing research toward public policy issues. They also provide educational resources for the planning profession.

As geographers moved into planning programmes, ipso facto they moved into education for a profession. That is, they are training persons who must demonstrate skill levels in the job market or who must pass a skills/knowledge examination administered by a non-university body in order to join the ranks of

"certified" Planners. Further, they surrendered some autonomy when, in order to achieve recognised status for the programmes, they allowed either the APA or the RTPI to set some standards for curriculum and organisational structure. These standards also serve as guides to non-recognised departments who may, at some future time, seek recognition.

In this new educational context, Geographers are playing a dual role; as traditional teachers of textbook Geography and as planning educators training future professional Planners. These roles merge in applied geographic research. Chapter two charted the history of such research beginning 40 years ago with such pioneers as Chauncy Harris, Edward Ullman, Raymond Murphy, and L. Dudley Stamp to contemporary researchers as Brian Berry, Richard Morrill and Larry Bourne. Their research focuses on the needs of public policy formulation and evaluation; a focus shared with Planning. As the number of Geographers in Planning and the number of Planners trained in Geography departments increases, the impact of this research should also increase.

C. <u>A normative approach to planning theory can provide the means to facilitate linkages between researchers and planning practitioners and for improving planning education.</u>

Often abruptly, Planning changed its focus and direction. Until the 1950's, the profession emphasized urban design and physical planning, but concerns for

social justice came to the fore in the 1960's. Market oriented strategies shape planning policies in the 1980's. As a result of these changes, Planners have been slow to develop consensual theoretical structures to guide Planning.

Within this shifting context, planning educators must find the means of imposing an orderly framework on what is, in fact, turbulence. Chapter four epistemologically examined the positivistic and normative positions in the social sciences. It was concluded that a normative theory of Planning offers the best structure for systematically collecting and making educational use of concepts and research from the diverse elements which contribute to Planning practice. This conclusion was reached only after the propositions of positivism were rejected as unsuited to the stated need of providing an acceptable structure for planning education. Normative propositions were critically reviewed and accepted. Rejection of positivism should not imply a rejection of a scientifically rigorous approach to theory building. Properly applied normative theory requires hypothesis formation and testing from which generalisations and, ideally, predictions can be made. For Planning, an important merit of normative constructs is that they recognise the large role human values play in public policy issues.

D. Pedagogies developed in other disciplines, notably Public Administration and Business, are

applicable in Planning education.

The roots of Planning lie in Engineering and Architecture but as the profession matured it adopted additional concepts and techniques from disciplines such as Geography, Economics, Sociology, and Public Administration. The result of this amalgam is modern Planning. In fact, in at least one definition of Planning, Planning and Public Administration have essentially merged. (Slater, 1984) While acceptance of this view is far from universal, it can be stated without jeopardizing the legitimacy of either discipline that they share many values, methods, and concepts. It is reasonable, then, to extend this comparison to include methods of training future practitioners. That is, the skills required of a Public Administrator; e.g., creative problem solving, mastery of a body of technical knowledge, good communication skills, also characterise a successful Planner. The introduction to the thesis showed that the case method of instruction has been successfully used to train undergraduate students in Public Administration and, with a careful selection of cases, could be used to train Planners.

Likewise, the educational objectives of business educators have many points of contact with those of planning educators. Both seek to train professionals who can analyze complex, fluid problems creating viable solutions in the process. The introduction documented the history of the case method of instruction in

Business education especially at the Harvard Business School and emphasized the similiarity of educational objectives between Business and Planning. Chapters five and seven demonstrated the applicability to Planning cases of several analytical methods originally developed by business and engineering educators.

E. The case method of instruction can provide a pedagogy useful in a period of endemic turbulence in Planning.

The introduction and chapter three showed that changing definitions of Planning, differing views of a legitimate role for Planners, and a lack of accepted theoretical structures created a condition described as "endemic turbulence". Within this disorder, one constant factor is the knowledge that Planners in the future will continue to deal with difficult problems, communicate with other people, and process information. Accepting these conditions, an education which stresses skill development is preferred to one which emphasizes content mastery. That is, ability to creatively solve problems and communicate these solutions to others is of greater value than knowledge of changeable components of Planning. A case method of instruction which develops skills would be the preferred pedagogy. The case method has an additional advantage in that it can incorporate change with a minimum of disruption to its integrity as a teaching method. Further, it is sufficiently flexible to be used with various ages and student levels.

Students enrolled in introductory Planning courses may use cases which simply illustrate principles or techniques as they are applied to real world problems. More advanced students could use cases to derive planning principles.

These advanced students might be practicing Planners enrolled in continuing professional development short courses. While researching the Continuing Professional Development (CPD) experiment launched by the RTPI in 1984, Gibson and Welsh (1985; p. 30) found that chances of success of CPD activities are increased if:

> "(1) excessive time demands are not made on prospective participants; (2) the content of the CPD activity relates to their firsthand knowledge of planning activities; (3) the educational benefits are obvious."

The case method is a pedagogy suited to all of these objectives.

Finally, the case method of instruction offers mature students the opportunity to use lessons learned from life experiences. As shown in the introduction, mature students accounted for most of the growth in undergraduate enrolments in the 1970's. The trend to even greater enrolments of mature students is expected. The author taught at Pembroke State University where 40 percent of the undergraduates were 25 years old or older. By relating to realworld problems, the case method offers a relevancy to classroom activities which

heightens enthusiasm and may help reduce drop-out rates among these students.

F. The case method of instruction allows alternative means of case analysis thereby permitting its use in a variety of educational settings.

Harold W. Fox (1973; p.17) wrote "...the widespread and frequent use of business cases attests that the teaching profession esteems them highly. However, the very success of this educational tool poses the threat of boredom among students who tire of the repetitive exposure to the same method." Fox then identifies 24 different ways of handling business cases ranging from attentive reading of them to inviting business executives to class to discuss the case. Although planning students are unlikely to be bored by "repetitive exposure" to the case method, this thesis demonstrated the specific applicability to planning education of four detailed means of case analysis. Chapter four showed how a case can serve as a springboard into areas of content; here the content being population forecasting techniques. The case analysis stressed cognition over skills development. That is,mastery of content was the educational objective. Other teaching methods such as use of mini-cases, scenario writing and expert commentary were also shown to be appropriate in review of the case.

Chapter five demonstrated derivation of Planning principles from a case. In this instance, case material

consisted of environmental impact assessment in a sensitive coastal area. Other teaching methods including role playing and the Socratic Method were also shown to be suited to Planning case analysis. Chapter six, a case which focused on regional economic development in North Carolina (USA), was analyzed using a structured six step process. The sequence of steps presented allowed the student to analyze the case and to derive a number of Planning principles. Throughtout the analysis, students are required to discuss their views of the case with other students and with the Instructor. The discussion sharpens a student's communication skills. Chapter seven presented a case which dealt with primary data gathering, questionnaire design, and sample survey administration. Case material was analyzed with procedures originally developed in Business and Engineering. The structured analysis used a pre-set number of steps and a maximum amount of discussion among advanced students to reach a consensual solution to the stated problems.

The versatility of the case method permits its use in a wide variety of learning situations and with many different types of material. For example, where knowledge of content is important (as in a statistical techniques class) the instructor might illustrate technique application as in chapter four. In CPD activities where skill development is the educational objective, the Self-Actualising Case Method or the

guided design shown in chapter seven would be the best approach to teaching/learning especially with mature, knowledgeable students.

G. The case method of instruction provides a means for linking: (a) a Planner's experience with other specialty areas where he lacks expertise; (b) Planning education with Planning practice; (c) Planning and Geography.

Many planning educators have agency experience and routinely engage in consulting activities and/or research. But no one has a range of experience which covers the numerous subfields within the Planning umbrella. However, a planning educator with experience in, say, environmental planning could use the expertise acquired there in cases drawn from transportation planning or natural resource development. The barriers between subfields in Planning are not so high as to preclude transference of some knowledge and skills especially skills in problem analysis and presentation of plans and policies. Case material provides a link between one person's experience and other Planning subfields.

In a similar manner, case material provides a link between classroom activities and Planning practice, or, phrased differently, between academic and non-academic Planners. This topic has generated considerable controversy in the past. Some practitioners claim the Planning profession is hurt when academic Planners train

students for conditions that don't exist. Levin (1977;p.26) argued that:

> "One thing seems clear - the profession cannot afford to drift along on the assumption that there are more pressing problems than the reform of planning education. We must resolve never again to permit a fissure between the practice of planning and the teaching of planning...The working professionals have to take charge of planning education. The job is too important to be left to the educators themselves."

Although implementation of Levin's ideas would not benefit planning education, most conscientious planning educators agree that the training students receive should relate directly to professional practice. As emphasized throughout this thesis, a major advantage of case study is that real world material can be brought into the classroom for analysis and discussion. In addition to direct educational benefits, study of cases conditions students to realities they will face after graduation. Levin's path to reforming planning education is for practitioners to take charge of it. A better path, one which recognises the unique skills educators must possess, is to adopt a case method pedagogy as other professional schools have.

Preparation of cases can also provide common ground for academic and non-academic Planners if the case were jointly written. Cases which combine material from the practitioners experience with awareness of the educator's pedagogic needs would dispel much of Levin's

criticism of planning education.

Case study can also link research and methodologies in Geography to Planning education. Generally speaking, geographers do not systematically use the case method of instruction. Nevertheless, as chapter two documented, geographers have close ties to Planning. In terms of educational objectives, the goal is to effectively incorporate their expertise into teaching/learning situations in Planning. One way to achieve this goal is to use geographical methods in a planning context. Chapter six demonstrated creation of an economic index using spatial units which were subdivisions of a state and a composite of counties. Chapter seven described a method for randomly spatial units for survey use. These cases which apply geographic techniques to solving specific problems could be used in either Planning or Geography classes.

Another use of geographic material is to contribute to the development of Planning theory. By formulating and testing hypotheses from a geographic perspective, generalisations about similar areas or problems can be made. From this process, understanding arises and, ideally, reliable predictions can be made. Such research use of cases is practiced in other disciplines, notably administrative science. Yin (1981; p.58) has written "...to reaffirm the role of the case study as a systematic research tool. Although major improvements in case study research are still to be made, the goal is to

show that an acceptable craft has already emerged." Although the research use of cases has not been a focal point of this thesis, the potential for such use certainly exists.

The cases presented herein have shown the feasibility if integrating geographic material into a planning case. Other material such as Herbert and Johnston's (1980) three volume Geography and the Urban Environment or the Comparative Metropolitan Analysis Project directed for the Association of American Geographers by John Adams (1976) could furnish abundant information derived from geographical research for other cases.

H. Reform in the teaching methods used in Planning education could help counter Planning-and-Planners-are-dead voices.

Is the extinction of Planning as a profession possible? A selective reading of recent planning journal articles would indicate such a proposition is indeed conceivable. Staiger (1985; p.42) believes, "There is a growing sentiment that planners are headed for extinction." Likewise, Lord Young, Minister Without Portfolio in the Thatcher government, in a speech to the Association of British Chambers of Commerce on May 16, 1985 rhetorically questioned the need for the current system of town Planning in the UK. (see Town Planning Review, July, 1985 p.269)

In yet another critique of the effectiveness of

Planning, Klosterman saw planners as another layer of government bureaucracy. He concluded: (1985; p.16)

> "An objective evaluation of sixty years experience with town and country planning in Great Britain and the United States must recognise the tremendous gap between planning's potential and its performance. While there have been several remarkable successes, much of contemporary practice is still limited to the preparation of "boiler plate" plans, the avoidance of political controversy, and the routine administration of overly rigid and conservative regulations. It is thus an open question whether planning as currently practiced the world over, deserves high levels of public support or whether other professional groups and institutional arrangements can better perform the vital social functions (planning deals with)."

Not only is the profession criticised, but self-doubt and angst besets planners themselves. In a provocative psychological study of planners, Baum (1983) found them to be uncertain about their professional mission, doubting their own legitimacy, and, in general, frustrated by their powerlessness.

The increasingly frequent and vehement critical assessments of Planning and planners (ironically most from planners themselves) indicates widespread dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. It would be naive to believe that the adoption of the case method or any reform in Planning education could alone counter these attacks. Nevertheless, Planning educators cannot be unconcerned about this turmoil. Their defence of Planning can follow several tacts; among them is

improving the quality of Planning education.

But changes in traditional pedagogic methods are not easy to implement. Overcoming human inertia is a formidable task. Also, many educators believe this period of self-doubt in the Planning profession is caused by social and economic factors which are beyond the control of the profession. Others are not convinced change is necessary. However, after surveying 1189 students in 60 courses in three disciplines, Morano (1985;p.139) found that in courses related to Planning (Marketing, Law, Economics) "...teachers can enhance their effectiveness by using case studies, class discussions, role plays, and films." But even if the instructor is convinced of the efficacy of the case method of instruction, other barriers to adoption remain. Specifically, the reward system in higher education discounts the value of improvements in teaching. Beard (1972;p.125) phrased the problem as:

> "Many teachers in higher education have not developed new teaching methods. However, this is hardly surprising for until recently, the majority of teachers in higher education have not been offered any courses on teaching methods and those they now have are usually too brief to be really effective. Moreover, it is well known that in universities, prowess in teaching contributes little towards promotion in comparison with that in research. Development of new teaching techniques is therefore a spare time occupation even when interest and the potential value of a new method would seem to justify intensive work during a term or a longer period."

The threats to Planning are real and should be taken seriously. Despite barriers to adoption of new pedagogic methods, Planning educators should seek ways to improve the quality of education planning students receive. Improvement can be accomplished by individual effort and by joining together with others sharing the commitment.

8.2 A PROPOSAL FOR A CASE WRITING IN PLANNING PROGRAMME

After a review of material from a number of disciplines, guidelines for case writing in Planning were offered in chapter three. These suggestions were advanced so that the cases presented in later chapters could be evaluated in light of the author's intentions, and to establish a legitimate place for Planning cases in the fabric of the case method of instruction. Another purpose was to encourage Planning educators to write cases to overcome, as Hodge (1980; p.462) said, "...the familiar difficulty of obtaining case studies (that) seems to plague most planning classroom situations."

But cases written by individuals for their own teaching purposes would not solve the problem of a shortage of cases. To be useful in educational settings beyond that for which it was originally written, cases should meet several standards including consistency in content and presentation. In terms of content, the case should contain material that is credible, real, and

manageable. Unlike the "social science fiction" described in the Introduction, case material for Planning courses should deal with actual events which, in a different guise, are likely to confront the planner on-the-job. The content should also be substantive and complex enough to allow meaningful discussion of important issues. No one benefits from a frivolous 'bull session' on unimportant topics. In terms of presentation, the cases should be written in a lively, clear style to both engage the reader in a compelling drama and to avoid ambiguities which might arise whenever a complex situation is described. Further, to accurately reflect the many concerns of planners, cases should cover the range of phenomena typically encountered in a Planning agency. Finally, they should contain material which develops problem solving abilities and which challenge the student to see the development of theory in Planning.

It is clear that attaining these various goals is a large undertaking. The wide range of topics germane to Planning and the unique perspective on human relations which characterise the best cases would require the concerted efforts of many case writers to approach complete coverage. Additionally, the learning situation in which the cases might be used is tremendously varied. No one writer could have firsthand experience in all these areas. Therefore, if the proposition that the case method of instruction should be used more often in

Planning education is accepted, then a mechanism for many writers to systematically write, collect, publish, and distribute cases is necessary. In Public Administration, the Inter-University Case Programme served this function. In Planning, it would be necessary to create the vehicle. A Case Writing in Planning Programme composed of academic and non-academic planners (perhaps working under the auspices of the RTPI or the APA) could serve a similar purpose. Members of the Programme could set standards for cases, assign specific topics to knowledgeable individuals, act as a clearinghouse to collect and distribute cases, and organise training sessions to further use of the case method in planning education.

The "endemic turbulence" which characterised Planning in the 1970's continued into the 1980's. Economic and political currents continue to buffet the profession. Universities have also been subjected to external pressures as public financial support becomes tighter while demands for quality education increase. The intersection of these trends and their relation to education was identified by Burchell and Hughes (1978;p.liii) when they wrote:

> "The "leaky umbrella" picture of planning sheltering a variety of people and approaches may be completely inappropriate in the new environment facing universities. A clearer resolution of the professional role of planning and the linkage of the professional and educational

> systems may be concerns of a relevance heretofore unprecedented in planning annals."

The relationship of Planning education to the profession is a longstanding concern and one is reluctant to propose a remedy when the nature of the problem is debated. However, as Burchell and Hughes said, resolution of this problem cannot be delayed much longer. Perhaps this thesis offers one means of approaching it.

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