

EXPLORING THE ABSTRACTIONS
IN THE PLANNING DEBATE



FALUDI

INTRODUCING A THEORY OF PLANNING

Andreas Faludi in conversation with
Chandrima Mukhopadhyay

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EXPLORING THE ABSTRACTIONS IN THE PLANNING DEBATE



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FALUDI

INTRODUCING A THEORY OF PLANNING

‘Andreas Faludi: Introducing a Theory of Planning’ came out of almost a year’s research, which focused on understanding Faludi’s ideas, thoughts and theories and his contribution to the field of Planning. I had picked up my interest in working on the project during the final submission stage of my PhD dissertation. As a few senior academics, conversant with the topic, had initially pointed out, the subject was quite complex. And the transformation of our the initial thoughts we had regarding the booklet into a final product which addresses the subject matter in depth, was not easy at all. The process of developing the booklet has been time and energy demanding, however it was all worth it. It is a project I enjoyed immensely. I have had to work with various exciting people, including the Young Academics, the AESOP Young Academics Booklet Team, the InPlanning Digital Platform’s technical team, and not in the least prof Andreas Faludi himself. The process to compose this book has the full support of prof Faludi. I thank him immensely for the various feedbacks on draft. It has been a pleasure working with him and all other contributors. I am sure you’ll find this a worthwhile read!



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Exploring the abstractions in the Planning Debate

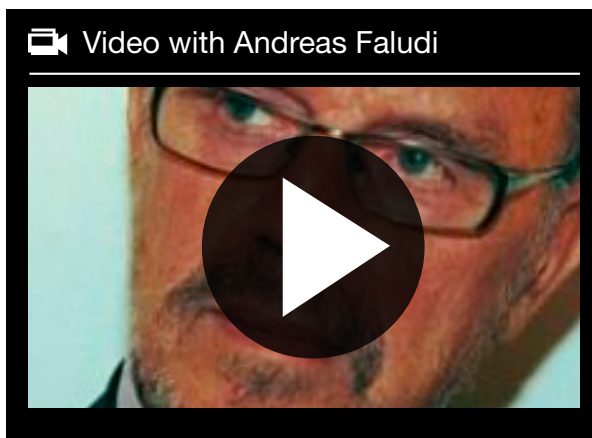
We are pleased to present the very first booklet of ‘Series B: *Exploring the Abstractions in the Planning Debate*’ on Andreas Faludi, ‘Andreas Faludi: *Introducing a Theory of Planning*’.

This series presents conversations with influential planners in theory to reflect on the path of their career and discuss how they inspired and addressed the development of planning theory. It aims to provide an introduction to their theories and ideas: what and how they contributed to the field of planning; what and who influenced the development of these theories; and how this implicated/ reflected on planning debate in theory and/ or practice. Accordingly, it focuses on their contribution to academic literature. At the same time, it considers significant people and events that have influenced the evolution of the planners’ ideas and themes. Our effort has been to present the thoughts in its purest form, and in simple way, making it easy to follow for the first time readers, considering how difficult it is at times to transform ideas clearly.

The process of development of Series B and deciding on the content unfolded various ways of looking at “planning theory”. Firstly, as the first booklet discusses, one way of understanding planning theory was considering “procedural theory” as planning theory proper, as claimed by Andreas Faludi. Faludi’s procedural theory was highly criticized to be far from its origin discipline ‘Urban Planning’. Secondly, there is at least a small group of scholars who readily identify planning theory as literature published in journals like *Planning Theory*. Thirdly, the other way of understanding planning theory is “abstractions in the planning debate”. As also reflected in the above-mentioned description of the series, we consider the third definition of planning theory for the purpose of this series. However, readers can expect each booklet to be influenced by the particular scholars’ school of thought. For instance, the very first booklet on Andreas Faludi upholds the discussion of planning theory focusing on “procedural planning theory”. The future booklets will similarly reflect upon other schools of thought.

The development of the series is developed in two parts, Part 1 and 2, each comprising of 10,000 words. A YA author develops the first part and the Part 2 is consisted of interviews with other scholars. However, both the parts are graphically compiled together and presented as a whole document in this publication. One of the challenges with this booklet series is that particularly Series B is dedicated to a scholar and NOT to a theory. The challenging task is to summarize the eminent scholars’ long academic life’s contribution in 10,000 words and deciding on the content in terms of “planning theory”. This is the first publication of Series B, with many more in the process of making. We extend our heartfelt gratitude to all the senior scholars of present and forthcoming booklets who have not only enthusiastically agreed to take part in the project, but have also relentlessly supported our YA authors in spite of their very busy schedule.

With thanks and regards
Boolet Series B team



To play video click on this link
<https://youtu.be/SBC-RDEzDIw>

Introduction

Professor Andreas Faludi is popularly known for taking a new approach towards planning theory in the history of planning education in the UK. He is an honorary member of the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). After serving his term as Professor of Spatial Planning Systems in Europe at Delft University of Technology, he has recently been appointed a Senior Professor of Spatial Planning at the Department of Planning and Media Design at Blekinge Institute of Technology at Karlskrona in Sweden for teaching a course at the MSc programme on 'European Spatial Planning and Regional Development'. On the 13th of June 2014 Faludi received an honorary Doctorate from University of Groningen, the Netherlands, for his ground-breaking work regarding the discipline of spatial planning. He started his career as a planning theorist through his appointment to write *Planning Theory*, accompanied by *A Reader in Planning Theory*, during the early 1970s. Pergamon Press commissioned it in reaction to the Royal Town Planning Institute's curriculum for recognised planning schools. This booklet celebrates the completion of forty years since publication of his pioneering books in 1973.

Faludi's career as a planning theoretician

I am privileged and honored to be involved in a conversation with Prof. Faludi about his contribution towards the field of planning theory, as he himself had brought a revolution about what 'planning theory' is or should be in the history of UK planning education. 'Planning theory' as a subject has largely evolved since then. Its definition is still debatable in Euro-American academia (Friedmann, 1998; Fainstein, 2005). Nonetheless, as mentioned by one of his peers, Charles Hoch from the University of Illinois in Chicago, Faludi influenced the way we see planning discipline today.

Prof. Faludi's year-long work on the American literature on planning theory as a British Council Scholar at the University of Southampton in 1967 built the foundations. *Planning Theory* provided planning academics in the UK with a new way to think about the 'Theory of Planning'. Nevertheless, it was highly criticised by his contemporaries and raised a huge debate. In the later part of his career, he shifted his focus to empirical research. His other milestone projects include the decision-centred view of planning, the conformance versus performance of planning, the rule of doctrine in Dutch planning; finally, his current endeavours for the last decade have been on European Spatial Planning and Europeanisation. I consider that there has been a common thread in his thinking between the theory of planning and his next book on *A Decision-Centred View of Environmental Planning* (Faludi, 1987). The common thread of thought is reflected even in his works *Rule and Order: Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century* (Faludi and Van der Valk, 1994) and *European Spatial Planning* (Faludi, ed. 2002). Hence, I discuss the latter in substantial detail in section 6, on Faludi's career path beyond the Theory of Planning.

A unique and most interesting feature of this booklet is that it shows how Andreas Faludi's contribution towards the development of planning theory was built upon two experimental, non-traditional (planning) schools of thought that helped him understand mainstream planning better. These are the Chicago School and the Institute for Operational Research (IOR) School, discussed in sections 1.1 and 6.2 respectively. Amongst them, the Chicago School was the first social science-based planning programme. In the first part of his career, he spent a significant amount of energy in understanding the theoretical foundation of planning, purpose of planning, practice of planning, planning methodology, etc. He then moved to Dutch planning and European spatial planning. In this article, I argue strongly that he has never moved away from his inclination to understand the foundations of planning. He has always attempted to explore this in his empirical research.

Methodology

This booklet starts with an introduction which I have developed as a Young Academic (YA) author. It is based on materials recommended by Prof. Faludi. The draft is developed through much iteration with the full support of Andreas Faludi in terms of materials and in terms of feedback and clarification of statements. The second part of the booklet is set up around the views of his peers and critics of his contribution to planning theory. Interviewees have been selected based on suggestions made by Prof. Faludi, and snowball method, however, with his confirmation. Prof. Faludi has contributed in both parts, by reflecting upon the YA author's and his peers' views. A forward in the form of video comes from him directly.

I first develop the arguments claimed by Andreas Faludi, followed by brief definitions of useful concepts. A discussion about his critics' position is also included. It is acknowledged that the arguments are made from a different time, almost forty years after the subject was introduced in the UK under particular circumstances. Therefore, this is a challenging task. However, the planning discipline has matured and greatly evolved in the UK and other parts of world since 1973; specific branches have emerged from this debate, and hence, this particular subject is not at the centre of contemporary discussions. However, there is still an ongoing debate about planning as an academic discipline in the UK (Davoudi and Pendlebury, 2010). On the other hand, there is still little consensus on what planning theory is, even after forty years in Euro-American academia. Hence, the subject is still of interest and still significant in relation to identifying planning as a distinct discipline.

1 ‘Theory of Planning’ as planning theory proper

Before embarking on the debate over planning theory, my very first impression of the subject is that Prof. Faludi’s introduction of ‘theory of planning’ is not a mere introduction of a new subject in the discipline, but redefines the scope of the discipline itself. As Faludi confirms, there was much talk about a broader form of policy planning at the local level in the UK at that time. His personal encounter and dissatisfaction with the ‘creative leap’ approach in design-oriented architecture and planning education, the influence of broader forms of policy planning, and his exposure to the American literature on the social sciences motivated him to come up with this new definition of theory of planning. In his work, he attempts to structure planning education for future generations of students by asking the most important question: ‘What is the purpose of planning?’ He raises planning to a level equivalent to the sciences by referring to ‘human growth’ as the purpose of both the disciplines. This remained controversial even at a later date (Stewart, 1982). He intended to empower future-generation planning students to competently achieve their goals through self-awareness by introducing the ‘theory of planning’ in the formal planning education curriculum. This remains even more important on the grounds of planning education, as the purpose is to build up a common intellectual foundation for a distinct undergraduate discipline of ‘planning’. The planning discipline in the UK has struggled to gain its own identity distinct from Architecture, Urban Design, Engineering, etc. This section presents the major arguments made by Faludi (1973) to establish his theory of planning as planning theory proper. It may be useful to remember that Faludi had changed his mind about these arguments and labeled them as non-falsifiable planning methodology in a later time period of his career. The following section presents the useful concepts from the same book.

1.1 Argument 1: Planning Theory should be concerned with Theory of Planning rather than Theory *in* Planning

Being called upon to construct a planning curriculum, planning educators in the UK came up with two distinct types of theory during the early 1970s: ‘Theory of Planning’

and 'Theory *in* Planning'. Andreas Faludi's first major contribution towards the field of planning theory came through clearly distinguishing between these two theories and his argument that 'Theory of Planning', rather than 'Theory in Planning', should constitute the core subject of planning theory (Faludi, 1973). By definition, 'Theory *in* Planning' helps planners to understand their area of concern. It is also identified as a substantive theory. 'Theory *of* Planning' helps planners to understand themselves and their operating methods. Theory *of* planning is synonymous with procedural theory. Being largely influenced by the North American literature, Faludi took cognisance of social science in understanding 'Theory *of* Planning' which is concerned with organisation of planning agencies and planners. This view was strongly resisted and Faludi was criticised for his position by his peers in UK, firstly because the social sciences were an alien field to the planners, and secondly, and mainly, because of completely discarding substantive theory and insisting on treating 'Theory *of* Planning' as planning theory proper.

Although highly criticised, Andreas' position on the 'Theory of Planning' was largely accepted as it filled a void in the absence of a consensus in the area of planning theory amongst planners. In spite of the criticism, his book *A Reader in Planning Theory* (Faludi, 1973) became very popular amongst other scholars as it was rightly or wrongly criticised. As Patsy Healey mentions in Part 2, his 'Theory of Planning' became a critical foil for her. This book became popular, according to the sales figures, and continued to be so for the following two decades, especially in the USA as it became a standard textbook there. As mentioned by one of his followers in Part 2 of this biography, the book was an excellent documentation of articles on the rational planning model from the American literature and was widely adopted as a mandatory textbook for many of the best-known PhD programs in the USA, being replaced later by the political economy literature in the late 1980s.



PATSY HEALEY was first introduced to Faludi during 1969/70 when he was in Britain at Oxford Polytechnic. As Healey mentions,

“He played a very important role in promoting planning and planning theory in the UK. He actually brought with him many ideas that were developing at that time in the United States about Planning Theory. And I had been away for my fieldwork for my PhD. I came back around end of 1970 and I found myself very soon involved in the Planning Theory group which he had formed.”

Healey took over the post Faludi had in Oxford Polytechnic when he left for the University of Delft. Healey, being Andreas’ contemporary, and equally interested in the institutionalization of planning, has crossed paths with him many times in their careers and is known for addressing the issue in a different way. She has been a severe critic of Faludi’s procedural planning theory in the first place. Faludi himself acknowledges her comment on his contribution as very important one. As Healey mentions,

“Because he laid the foundation for spreading ideas, which had been developing in the US much more widely. And his book, particularly the Reader in Planning Theory, was really important. Not many people these days read his contribution, the book on Planning Theory. But it remains an interesting book and he was trying to pull together his rationalist approach in planning that had been strongly developing in the US. What happened of course then we started criticizing his ideas. So he found himself at the point of criticism.”

Healey acknowledges his text as a very foundational text. And a lot of people ever since really know the papers that were in that book. In the US the book was replaced later by some collections of Susanne Fainstein and Scott Campbell (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003). And there was another collection in 1996 edited by Seymour Mandelbaum (Mandelbaum, Mazza and Burchell (eds), 1996). But until then *A Reader in Planning Theory* was used for many well known planning programs across the US, the UK and elsewhere. Some of the articles from the reader are still very much in discussion. According to her, perhaps the shift to a stronger political economy perspective happened more slowly in the US than it did in Europe,

where these ideas were very strongly developed in the 1970s. There was a very strong clash between the rational ideas that Faludi strongly articulated in the textbook and these political economy ideas in the 1970s.

Faludi's theory became a 'critical foil' for Healey in the field of Planning Theory. In response to that, she started finding some alternative philosophical bases, which she then found in the sociological and phenomenological literatures, and later in critical pragmatist literature. So those were the ideas that were influencing her. She feels because of that she perhaps was often critical of Faludi's work that time. As she articulates, perhaps if she reviews the issues Faludi had raised at that time, she may be more positive about them.

What are the evidences of the two types of theory?

To discuss the distinction between these two types of theories, there were very clear evidences of distinction in the planning education and practice of that time. Firstly, it was apparent from two types of problems faced by planners in practice. The first set of problems was planners' specific concern about their particular core subject. Examples include land-use planning, what motivates the object of their planning, what causes changes, etc. This problem can be taken care of through appropriate means, for example, computer models and factor analysis. This is known as 'Theory in Planning' or substantive theory. The second set of problems relates to the planner himself, the organisation of planning agencies, and planners' procedures. It is about how organisations work and why. Faludi proposed that the answer to these questions can be drawn from theories in social science, especially system theory, operational research and organisation theory – to understand how planning agencies and planners work – and social psychology. Faludi claimed that this second set of problems could only be answered by the theory of planning, and should be considered as the core subject of planning theory, considering the broader form of policy planning. However, Brian McLoughlin and George Chadwick had already introduced the system view of the city in order to understand spatial problems as scientific problems and not as design problems (Davoudi and Pendlebury, 2010).



During their involvement in the Planning Theory circuit, **CLIFF HAGUE** participated in the discussion from a counter position to a procedural theory of planning and political economy approaches to planning. In response, Faludi had addressed this issue in a paper 'Three paradigms of planning theory' in the reader by Patsy Healey, Glen McDougall and Mike Thomas (Faludi, 1982).

In relation to empirical work, he mentions Faludi as a leader in European thinking, in terms of looking at planning from a European perspective. As he explains, in the late 60s and early 70s planning education was changing very significantly. The previous generation of planners largely came from Architecture or Engineering background. Many academics were running consultancy, and were involved in consultancy practices. Very few scholars were publishing academic articles. In response, Faludi says,

“The dominance of architectural designers and the specialist versus generalist conflict in planning and planning education is something I addressed in the ‘Essays on Planning Theory and Education’.”

They had subjects like Principles in Planning Practice. However, Planning Theory was hardly taught. There were scholars like Chadwick and McLoughlin who were bringing the ideas of theory into the program (Chadwick, 1971 and McLoughlin, 1969), drawing substantially on systems theory, drawing also on a developing literature in the Journal of the American Institute of Planners. As Hague mentions, before Faludi and Chadwick, there was high priority on narrow definition of planning and how you approach it. The courses about planning principles focused on usual discussion on land use segregation, and hierarchy of roads. So there was use of completely different language. There was also different form of training for undergraduate and postgraduates. Even Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) was talking about it. Different professors in different schools take different positions as they believed in one approach or other. Chadwick published in 1969 and Andreas published in 1973/74. There was a breakthrough during that time in understanding planning theory. Through his books on *Planning Theory and A Reader in Planning Theory*, Faludi puts this kind of debate as legitimate, as something that should be in planning courses. Faludi's contribution was significant in this way.

Faludi clarifies that Chadwick and McLoughlin influenced him less directly than did the US authors. However, he knew both of them. Chadwick was on the board of Pergamon Press, and the series ran quite long, into 31 volumes. Regarding inclusion of Planning Theory into the RTPI syllabus, contrary to what Hague says, Faludi confirms, planning theory was on the

syllabus, which the RTPI prescribed. This is why the Pergamon series included something on planning theory (which he was then asked to write). However, he doesn't think the RTPI had much of an idea as to what planning theory was – which is where the procedural and the political economy views came into their own.

In addition to this, Faludi himself had recognised the distinction between subject matter and process-oriented theory in the course of his teaching career during his interaction with final-year students who have some practical experience. As he states, 'teaching makes you think about most fundamental problems.' Faludi's idea of distinguishing between 'Theory of Planning' and 'Theory in Planning' was very much influenced by Britton Harris (1967): 'We have a great need of a science of planning to know what is science in planning' (cited in Faludi, 1973: 4). The Royal Town Planning Institute used to have a subject called 'Theory of Planning' in their syllabus. It is also evident from the description of its objectives that planning theory included two different types of theory. One of the objectives of this subject was to test:

the candidate's understanding of the nature and objectives of physical planning, its role in society, fields of action and relevant theories concerning land use, settlement and urban change.

(Royal Town Planning Institute, 1969)

Amongst these two distinct types of theories, procedural theory was addressing more fundamental and general issues. Faludi insisted that as procedural theory is about more general theories, which extends beyond city planning, and hence, learning from such theories can be applied to general field of planning, it should be considered planning theory proper. His rationale of doing so was based on transfer of lesson from a field to other. However, by this argument, he implicitly raises question about scope of the discipline 'Planning'. As a further explanation to this, he explains, lack of understanding on 'Theory of Planning' or 'Procedural Theory' would not lead to effective planning even in the presence of the best 'Theory in Planning'. This means, it is imperative to understand theory of planning to improve effectiveness of theory in planning. Hence, he argues, procedural theory should be the core subject of planning theory. He was of course very much influenced by the idea of broader form of policy planning as a discipline with specialisation such as physical planning. This statement leads us to his second main argument. However, it should be noted here that Andreas already raises his concern about 'effectiveness of planning' which, I argue, is carried forward in his future research, for instance, on 'conformance versus performance' (Faludi, 1989), 'performance of spatial planning' (Faludi, 2000) and beyond.

Why do we need to distinguish?

Faludi (1973) argues that there is a problem in making no distinction between Theory of Planning and Theory in Planning. According to him, planning is the application of scientific methods to policymaking. Here, the notion is that planning, as a discipline, uses knowledge from science. John Friedmann is known for invoking similar notions as he describes planning as scientific-technical intelligence (Friedmann, 1969). To elaborate this point, planning agencies employ consultants to advise decision-makers. The 'Theory of Planning' raises the question of how the relationship between the consultant and the decision-maker distorts the process of decision-making itself. Faludi points out that 'validity' of the method is key to the formulation of the policy itself. By not making the distinction between 'Theory of Planning' and 'Theory in Planning', one would miss the difference between the form and the content of policy. Faludi projects rationality as a methodological approach (rather than an empirical approach) in his book on Popper (Faludi, 1998). Initially his intention was to formulate a hypothesis for testing, the assumption being that, cumulatively, this would lead to an empirical theory. Later on, as a result of various discussions, he changed his position on planning theory. Being influenced by Popper, he reformulated his thinking, saying that it was really planning methodology, which was on a par with the methodology of science, and it did not make any sense to test it empirically. However, this reformulation came about at a later point in his career. In summary, Theory of Planning contributes towards the understanding of rationality as a methodology within planning. Theory in Planning is incapable of enlightening us on this matter. This point is again elaborated in section 6.

Why is the Chicago School significant in this discussion?

Faludi's contribution towards a new way of thinking about planning theory was highly influenced by the Chicago School. The idea of rational planning and its limitations entered the planning discourse via the Chicago School. However, although he drew upon the views of the Chicago School scholars, he was unaware of the school while writing the book *Planning Theory* (Faludi, 1973). He presented an excellent account of this in his next project, which was published in the form of his book *A Decision-centred View of Environmental Planning* (1987). The background of the Chicago School was rooted in the history of the New Deal in the USA that promoted the federal government's interventionist role.

The 'Chicago School' refers to a graduate programme known as the Program of Education and Research in Planning offered in the Social Sciences Division of the University of Chicago. It was an experimental set-up, mainly promoted by the famous Chicago sociologist Louis Wirth, to fulfill staff requirements in the Tennessee Valley Authority, an outcome of the New Deal. The Chicago School was an outcome of other social scientists' desire to be more meaningfully involved in practical problems, and city and town planners' concern to broaden the foundation of their professional expertise.

Wirth depended upon the Social Sciences Division in the University of Chicago, where fields such as Urban Ecology had already emerged, to run such a programme. Charles Merriam from University of Chicago, and Walter Blucher, Executive Director of American Society of Planning Officials, were amongst the sponsors. Louis Wirth had pursued Rexford G. Tugwell, the ex-governor of Puerto Rico, to chair the programme. The programme started in the autumn of 1947. Merriam promoted planning as a staff function in local government rather than a task for independent commissions. Blucher had perceived the need for high-level planners. Tugwell had proposed an institutional set-up for planning to be the fourth power of government. Wirth himself had seen planning as an applied social science thriving on substantive research. The other significant participants of the Chicago School were Melville C. Branch, Harvey S. Perloff, Julius Margolis, Richard Meier, Martin Meyerson, Edward C. Banfield and Herbert A. Simon. This school defined the uniqueness of planning as:

the process by which a team of planners was able to assemble and to reduce to reciprocal relatedness the materials furnished by the ordinary techniques of political sciences, economics, sociology, anthropology, engineering, and architecture, and by which it could project a composite future.

(Faludi, 1987: 23-24)

The most striking element of the Chicago School was that contributions came from varied backgrounds, such as the social sciences, organisation theory, and system theory, which did not have anything to do with 'city planning' as a subject. Accepting 'planning' as a much broader concept, Chicago agreed that planning is a generic term; it refers to decision-making as well as implementation, and relates to public policy (Faludi, 1987). There are interesting accounts from various scholars from different positions: John Friedmann, who was part of the Chicago School (Friedmann, 1998); Susan Fainstein, an American scholar who experienced the influence of the Chicago School from the outside as a critique (Fainstein, 2005); and Faludi, as a European scholar working in UK and motivated by the Chicago School of thought but without any knowledge of its existence (at that time) (Faludi, 1973). In Part 2 of this biography, the second-generation scholars such as Charles Hoch from the University of Illinois share their experiences. Hoch has largely been engaged with Faludi's work, and was trained by the first generation of Chicago School scholars. At a much later date, Friedmann (1998) reiterated his experience of discussing the rational planning model with eminent scholars who came from a varied range of disciplines such as institutional economics, public administration and philosophy. He provides an excellent account of overwhelming acceptance of the rational decision-making model, coming from a system theory background and occupying the central role in planning theory for next couple of decades. However, Fainstein (2005) provides a skeptical view of the same, voicing her disapproval of the overwhelming acceptance of the rational planning model, and raises questions about the model on the ground of being detached from its urban context.



CHARLES HOCH was introduced to Faludi through his text-books on Planning Theory (1973). He confirms the impact of Faludi's books even in the context of US until it was replaced by political economy literature in the 1990s. In relation to Friedman's influence, Faludi confirms:

"Yes, Friedmann influenced me a great deal. I came across his work already in late-1967 when I attended sociology seminars at the University of Southampton. Maurice Broady who was my mentor at the time had come across Friedmann and his work (in particular where Friedmann referred to Karl Mannheim) whilst spending a sabbatical in the US. In fact, it was Maurice Broady's idea that I should compare US and British planning theory, which put me on the path of exploring planning theory. I simply started out with exploring the Journal of the American Institute of Planners (as it was then called) for articles that could tell me what planning theory was. There was a lot of stuff in there, but little systematic argument as to the, as we would now say, 'problematic' of planning theory, so I had to answer this question as well as I could for myself, with the outcome that you know."

Although belonging to different generations, Hoch and Faludi have interacted through their readings and development of theoretical frameworks. Working on American pragmatism, Hoch referred to Faludi, Friedmann and other scholars from Chicago school of thought. Faludi replies:

"Charlie is right in saying that this came down to drawing on and exploring the 'Chicago School', but I was not yet fully aware of the existence of this school. It was only later that I discovered that there was such a school. (See the chapter in 'A Decision-centered View of Planning'.)"

Hoch's first article on American pragmatism came out in 1984. And this was reflected in Faludi's second theoretical framework, which was published in 1987. Attending the first ACSP-AESOP conference in 1985, discussing rationality and Popper, Hoch very succinctly describes Faludi as:

"A person building this intellectual bridge of Planning Theory... and in fact providing part

of the intellectual infrastructure for creation of the worldwide discipline of what we call spatial planning.”

Faludi responds to this as:

“Charlie is right about the ‘political-economy’ school. I became aware of this, partly through the criticisms leveled against my work, but partly also through my reading German literature, where these debates were even more articulate at the time. Indeed, I seem to remember that I came across the very term in a German paper by one Naschold. My own idea was (and continues to be) that this paradigm articulated a different problem. See my paper on ‘three paradigms’ from I believe 1982. My interest in Popper and Neurath is from a later date. In the mid-1980s, I tried to integrate Popper in my work. Neurath came towards the end of the 1980s, but he was less influential. There is a biographical detail here: Neurath combined experience in the same countries as I: Austria, the Netherlands, the UK. Only the order was different. But Neurath did not have half as much influence on my thinking as Popper.”

Hoch describes how Faludi’s ideas have been transferred to practice. As he elaborates, everyone in practice knows what the rational planning model is: the core framework for most planning judgment. Faludi came up with this core idea of planning that is essential for a kind of reflexive device. This goes back to the core of the pragmatic conception of learning, focusing on how decision-makers learn to prepare for the future.

What Hoch likes about Faludi was the attention to practical consequences as the focus for plans that assess and test for differences useful for judgment and decisions. This is a pragmatic approach that Hoch sees in Faludi’s work. Hoch is less convinced that planning theory can guide institutional design for planning in a compelling way. For example, Faludi uses the concept of doctrine to describe a cultural policy consensus that provides a tacit social framework for deliberating among different expectations for the future. So the Green Heart planning doctrine shaped planning deliberation in the Netherlands for generations. But for Hoch pragmatic planning theory does not do doctrine in this thick cultural sense, but remains tied to the thin collaborative norms of social learning. The multiplicity and diversity of planning institutions and plans flow from practical responses to complex social and environmental problems. Planning theory does not, in Hoch’s view, resolve the differences offering justification or explanation for specific institutions or doctrines. Other theories do that work. Planning theory focuses on the practice of advice and its relevance for deliberations about options for the future across audience, context and scale.

Before moving on to the second argument, it must be summarised that the resistance to his

theory was mainly due to his tendency of procedural emphasis to separate planning theory from the urban context, especially at a time when planning was very much rooted in the physical aspect of city and urban design. As already explained, he had his own rationale for broadening the field of planning beyond this. However, his critics (especially those blaming him for detaching planning from urban) must be satisfied to a certain extent by his own statement in *Planning Theory* (1973) where he acknowledges the co-existence of two, and does not try to completely discard theory *in* planning:

The distinction between theory *in* planning and theory of planning (planning theory) should not result in an entirely separate development of the two. Clearly, both types of theory are needed for effective planning.

(Faludi, 1973: 7)

1.2 Argument 2: Planners should view procedural theory as forming an envelope to substantive theory rather than vice versa

During the early 1970s, urban and regional systems were pictured as socio-technical complexes, institutional aspects being a part of the system (Faludi, 1973). Those institutional aspects were shown as embracing various kinds of planning agencies. In Figure 1 below, this idea supports the diagram on the left-hand side, substantive theory forming an envelope over procedural theory. He cites examples from disciplines like urban sociology and regional science, where underlying institutional and non-spatial aspects have been added to substantive theory. However, in contrast, as a continuation of his first argument about the Theory of Planning being the core subject of planning theory, Faludi argues that planners should view procedural theory as forming an envelope to substantive theory than vice versa. This occurred as a result of his consideration of policy planning as a broader form of planning, having specialisation areas like city planning. In that case, as theories related to city planning are substantive theories, they are encapsulated by procedural theory. In the following diagram, Faludi's argument is evident in the second diagram below on the right-hand side.

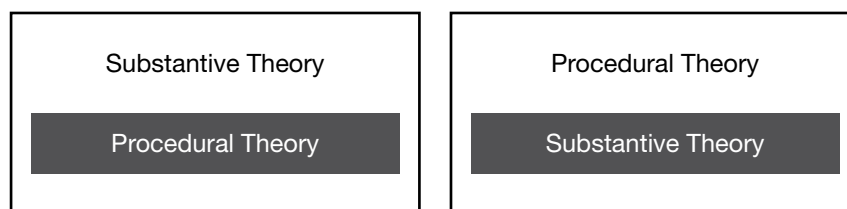


Figure 1 illustrates Faludi's argument about the relationship between procedural and substantive theory. It is based on Bolin's (1969) 'issue attributes'. Issue attributes are defined as actors' motivations, opportunities and skills (Bolin, 1969). He

argues that such attributes affect the mode of planning in which way a planning agency engages itself in the process. For example, if reliable predictions could be made, then the planning agency would get engaged in the project in a particular way; on the other hand, if there were a great amount of uncertainty, then their involvement would differ. His stand on models of planning organisations and their operations evolve out of this and are discussed in detail in the following sections. On this basis, Faludi proposes planning theory (Theory of Planning) incorporating consideration of substantive theory. However, he repeatedly confirms that his sole intention in putting forward this argument is to ensure planners are explicitly aware of themselves and their methods of operation instead of simply considering these as common sense and ignoring the sound intellectual basis for their planning activity.

1.3 Argument 3: Rational planning is superior to any other form of planning

Faludi argues that rational planning is superior to any form of planning as it offers a scientific way to make decisions. The reason for engaging in rational planning is that it promotes human growth. In this section, we first define the rational planning process, its relationship with planning, the way Faludi conceptualises human growth (which will be revisited in the section on useful concepts) and its relationship with rational planning. Finally, based on all these items, I develop his argument of considering rational planning as the superior form of planning. His take on 'human growth' is a useful concept, also because through this he gives planning and science equal positions in serving humanity.

What is the rational planning process?

The idea of a rational method of decision-making was borrowed from other social science disciplines and was introduced into planning in the USA by the Chicago School in 1949 (as already discussed in section 1). The rational planning process assumes that planners take intelligent, rational action through the generation of alternatives, their evaluation, and choices based on that evaluation. To reiterate, Faludi was not aware of the role and importance of the Chicago School, and the pivotal role it played in planning in the few years that it existed, while writing his book in the early 1970s. However, he was aware of the school in a sense that he had read many papers by authors who had either taught there or have been students. He draws an analogy between the decision-making process in planning with that in 'system analyses' and 'operational research'. The following are some excerpts from his book *Planning Theory* (Faludi, 1973):

at that time, a systematic approach to helping a decision maker choose a course of action by investigating his full problem, searching out objectives and alternatives, and

comparing them in the light of their consequences, using an appropriate framework – in so far as is possible analytic – to bring expert judgment and intuition to bear on the problem.

(Quade, 1968 as cited by Faludi, 1973: 38)

Operational research is the attack of the modern science on complex problems arising in the direction and management of large systems of men, machines, materials and money in industry, business, government and defense. Its distinctive approach is to develop a scientific model of the system, incorporating measures of factors such as chance and risk, with which to predict and compare the outcome of alternative decisions, strategies and controls. The purpose is to help management determine the policy and actions scientifically.

(Beer, 1966 as cited by Faludi, 1973: 38)

This relates to the ‘context of discovery’ and the ‘context of justification’, meaning that how discoveries are made (or, in terms of planning, how plans are formulated) is one matter and how they are justified quite another. This motivated Faludi to switch from planning theory to planning methodology. Besides reflecting decision-making methods, the two definitions mentioned above also demonstrate that the intention is to make decisions more analytical and scientific. As already briefly discussed in section 1, on distinguishing between the theory of planning and theory in planning, a rational decision-making process empowers planners to scientifically evaluate policy alternatives when making decisions. The process involves public input to a goal setting model (driven by contextual factors), after which experts reach a decision using modern statistical and economic analysis tools. This would also ensure the validity (i.e. reliability) of the method, hence making it objective rather than subjective. One can definitely criticise this from a pragmatic and positivist point of view. Hoch’s (1984) method of analysing planning theories from a pragmatic point of view (discussed later) can be a useful resource here. This article addresses normative versus positive theory in section 5.

How do we define Planning as rational action?

Faludi conceives ‘human growth’ as the purpose of planning. As he clarifies, ‘if pursued deliberately, and with no a priori restrictions put on what alternatives and consequences to consider, then planning will cumulatively lead to human growth, also in the sense of self-awareness.’ Planning promotes human growth by use of rational procedures of thought and action. He cites the following examples to prove his point:

The environment ought to be protected; scarce resources should be preserved; help should be given to underprivileged groups; public transport ought to be given priority

over private transport; certain patterns of urban growth should underlie the future development of a region.

(Faludi, 1973: 36)

From his examples, it is evident that decisions are apparently taken through a rational planning process to achieve certain pre-decided goals. However, the actual process is an iterative one and much more messy. Faludi was criticised by those saying that he was talking about rationalisation after the fact. It is also evident that decisions are not value-neutral; they have a position. As a next step, he addresses the question of who is making the decision, and their interest or stake in it. Given the same alternatives, planners with a specialisation in the environment would make different decisions from those with a specialisation in economic growth, due to their differences in stakes within the project. If environmental planning theory and economic theories are considered theory in planning, then theory of planning would indicate why a particular decision is taken rather than others. This will depend on the decision-makers' stake in the project.

What is human growth?

In relation to the rational decision-making process, Faludi considers planning a rational process, as its sole purpose is human growth. Here, human growth is defined both as a product and a process. Planning promotes human growth in two ways. Firstly, it identifies the best way of achieving ends, and hence, growth as a product. Secondly, it contributes to learning; hence, future growth, and also growth as a process. This concept will be revisited in more detail in the section on useful concepts.

How is human growth related to planning?

In the next step, he connects human growth with planning. Through the process of planning, we find measures of human growth in operational terms. However, these might change during the process of planning. Rational planning forces one to be explicit about their assumption, their environment, and how one relates to it. Through this process of planning, one develops sequential arguments, leading to human growth even without any form of action. This facilitates self-learning and develops awareness of oneself; hence, it contributes to future growth. Here Faludi finally brings in the analogy with scientific methods. Like the scientific method, rational planning forces planners to be explicit about all their assumptions and to submit all their considerations to public scrutiny. However, both Fainstein (2005) and Mannheim (1936 as cited by Fainstein, 2005) would contradict this point on the ground of relationalism (as coined by Giddens (1990) as cited by Fainstein, 2005), especially when Faludi himself has mentioned that decisions are shown as being taken in linear form, whereas in reality many iterations are involved. In response,

Faludi points out that his argument in *Planning Theory* (Faludi, 1973) has been that: ‘the rational planning process is not a prescription for how to plan but rather a prescription for how to present the results of planning’. He also continues to argue for this in his book on Popper (Faludi, 1998) saying, “Rationality is a methodological rule for how to evaluate decisions. It belongs to the context of justification and not to the context of discovery.”

What is meta-planning?

Meta-planning is a problem faced by planners of systematically improving planning agencies and their procedures in parallel to their core subject of concern. To do so they need a framework. This can be found in both new and existing institutions. Senior management faces the problem where they have to deal with both external actors (funding sources, politicians, other departments, other organisations), and internal members. They are constantly making efforts to develop a procedure to do so. While theory in planning is incapable of dealing with such problems, theory of planning can potentially develop a framework to carry out meta-planning. Planning theory can solve the problems of meta-planning better by answering: ‘In a given situation, which type of planning agency, and which procedure, will serve the end of planning best?’ (Faludi, 1973: 12). Faludi confirms that even though his motivation beyond planning theory was to improve the teaching and structure of planning programmes, by the time he wrote *Planning Theory*, he had advanced his thinking and was involved in debate on planning, mainly in the UK. By the time *Planning Theory* came out in late 1973, his eyes were already fixed upon the Netherlands, where he was much more involved in how to understand and to improve planning practice.

The relationship between meta-planning and rational decision-making is that the latter provides a framework to solve the problem of the former. As Faludi (1973) elaborates, planning is an information process. It is observable, within limits, and subject to manipulation. And hence, it is the object of planning. He claims that theory of planning provides a framework of self-guiding systems for planners to be consciously involved in the process of meta-planning. The methods of decision-making can be improved on the basis of insights gained from consciousness. As Faludi mentions, critics have often overlooked this component. He was trying to introduce self-awareness and self-criticism into the model. By defining a self-guiding system, they gave direction to the consciousness of a decision-maker. Its connection with human growth is that if human growth is the purpose of planning, then it is deliberately acknowledged in the process of meta-planning, Faludi encouraged the planning discipline to take cognisance of social science in order to solve the problem of meta-planning. Being aware of meta-planning might not change the control variables in reality, but it would at least encourage planners to make realistic plans. This would finally lead to effective planning.

Reflecting upon the concept of meta-planning forty years down the line, I see the concept of institutionalisation and ethical considerations in research evolving.

Institutionalisation is a result of formation of a particular organisation with the intention of achieving a predefined goal. Moreover, it is also recognised in core planning research. For instance, institutions fund particular research to promote a particular outcome, which generates future business for them. Such dilemmas are often discussed and considered as ethical considerations in today's academia and are part and parcel of Euro-American planning research. However, Faludi did not pursue his research further along this line, while Patsy Healey had developed her own theories on institutionalisation (Healey, 1992).

Why is rational planning considered a superior form of planning and how does it support Faludi's view on procedural theory?

Rational planning is considered a superior form of planning as, firstly, it promotes human growth, and secondly, such a model encourages taking decisions in a more scientific way, which could be repeated by anyone else in the future and would result in the same solution. In short, it encourages one to take decisions more objectively. In this regard, Faludi also claims planning and science to be twin sisters. It is an altogether different discussion whether natural science and planning can operate in the same way. There are two main points to raise. Firstly, natural science does not deal with human subjects as does planning. However, Faludi argues that his intention was never to restrict the notion of 'science' to natural science. In fact, his key experience in leaving Austria and coming to the University of Southampton had been to enter more deeply into the social sciences. Secondly, the purpose of science is mainly to understand nature, whereas planning also aims not only to manipulate nature but human behaviour (mainly the case in policymaking). This concept is worthy of particular attention and will be looked at in the subsection on useful concepts. Faludi's way of doing so was through the outcome of decisions being presented in such a way as to make them transparent, accessible and thus subject to rational criticism. He states that a decision can be deemed rational only in relation to an agreed definition of the situation surrounding it.

Hence, he was implicitly saying that planning is contextual and cannot be completely detached either from its disciplinary origin (urban) (which has been taken up by Patsy Healey), Taylor (1998) and Fainstein (2005)) or from its geographical-socio-economic-political context (which has been partly addressed by Hoch (1984)). Faludi's view on detaching the theory of planning (planning theory) from the urban was highly criticised, mainly as being 'content-less' (Thomas, 1979). As already mentioned, although Andreas himself acknowledged the existence of both theories and their contribution towards effective planning, his stand on the theory of planning as the core subject of planning theory had implications of abandoning the 'urban' or 'city' to be the roots of planning discipline. This is where the main controversy started and it still remains the same. In my opinion, from a perspective taken forty years ago and from a physical planning-dominated discipline, Faludi's main aim was to extend the scope of the discipline of planning beyond

mere urban design and he attempted to make the discipline more scientific and hence more superior than it was at that time. However, the following arguments will provide us with better tools to obtain a firmer grip on the topic. Besides traditional architect-planners, Faludi's (1973) procedural theory also received criticism from neo-Marxist (Scott and Roweis, 1977).

1.4 Argument 4: Planning theory should draw upon cybernetics models to understand organisations of planning agencies to achieve effective planning.

Faludi interestingly draws an analogy of the human mind as a learning system with the general model of planning agency. He argues that the 'Theory of Planning' as planning theory is useful in encouraging planning agencies to solve the problem of meta-planning by drawing knowledge from cybernetic model to employ planning strategy. This is possible as we have our normative view of how the intelligent mind works. There are two objections to this model: the oversimplification of reality and the undermining of individuals' qualities.

Cybernetics is about guidance and control. This field has used theories from biology and mathematics, and their application in military technology in World War II had already introduced this area in many disciplines. The underlying philosophy of this field was that small amounts of energy in terms of information flow contribute towards larger amounts of energy in terms of process, which has a physical basis and can be measured, analysed and manipulated. It was claimed that this process is repeated in human organs (and human bodies in general) and social organisations, as well as socio-technical systems.

Planning as a learning system incorporates higher-order feedback loops belonging to a controlled feedback system. Figure 2 below presents a simple controlled feedback system depicting the human mind as a learning system. Slowly, Faludi introduces new elements into this simple model, such as memory, technology image, program and self-image. Self-image is important in relation to consciousness, as described in Section 1.3, where the model of consciousness includes self-awareness and self-criticism. Those elements clarify how someone would learn from their memory, how they would develop a technology image from their prior experience, how it is stored as a program in the mind, and how one learns to also develop a self-image with an intention of improving oneself. He draws on Deutsch (1966), Buckley (1967) and Etzioni (1968) to demonstrate the existence of consciousness. Higher-order feedback is, according to Faludi (1973), internal to a system, and hence, relates to one's sensitivity. Finally, Faludi produces a more complicated future image that an intelligent mind would consciously attempt to achieve at a future point of time. Figure 3 graphically presents the future image that also takes constraints and unknown variables into consideration, as one would always operate within an open system.

His framework, developed from theories on cybernetics, deal with the models and the operation of planning agencies. Figure 4 is a representation of the local planning authority in the UK. This framework shows how they form part of a whole. As it claims, it creates language to converse about planning.

1.5 Argument 5: There are specific limitations imposed by the planners' role in consecutively evaluating means and ends, as

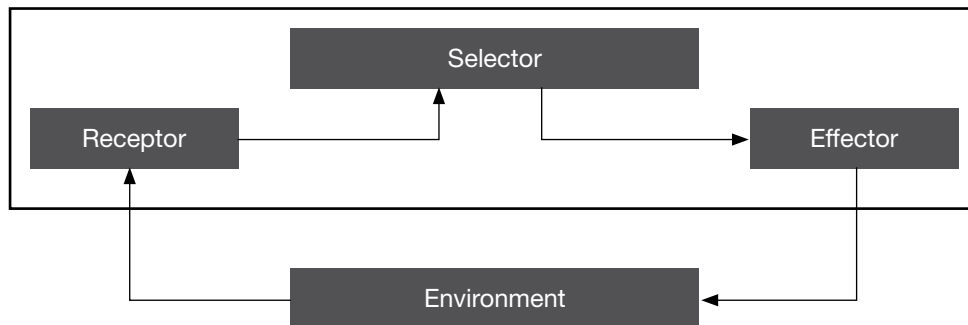


Figure 2 A lower-order controlled feedback system

SOURCE: FALUDI (1973)

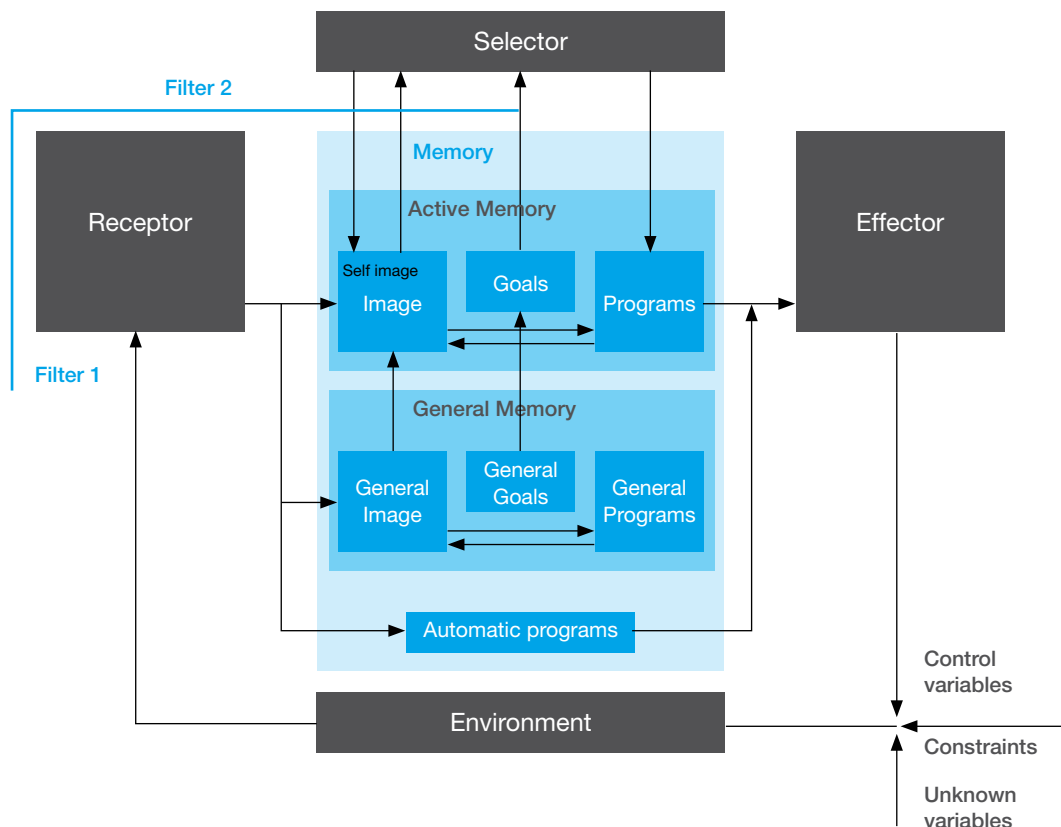


Figure 3 THE FUTURE IMAGE WITH CONTROL VARIABLES, CONSTRAINTS AND UNKNOWN VARIABLES

SOURCE: FALUDI (1973)

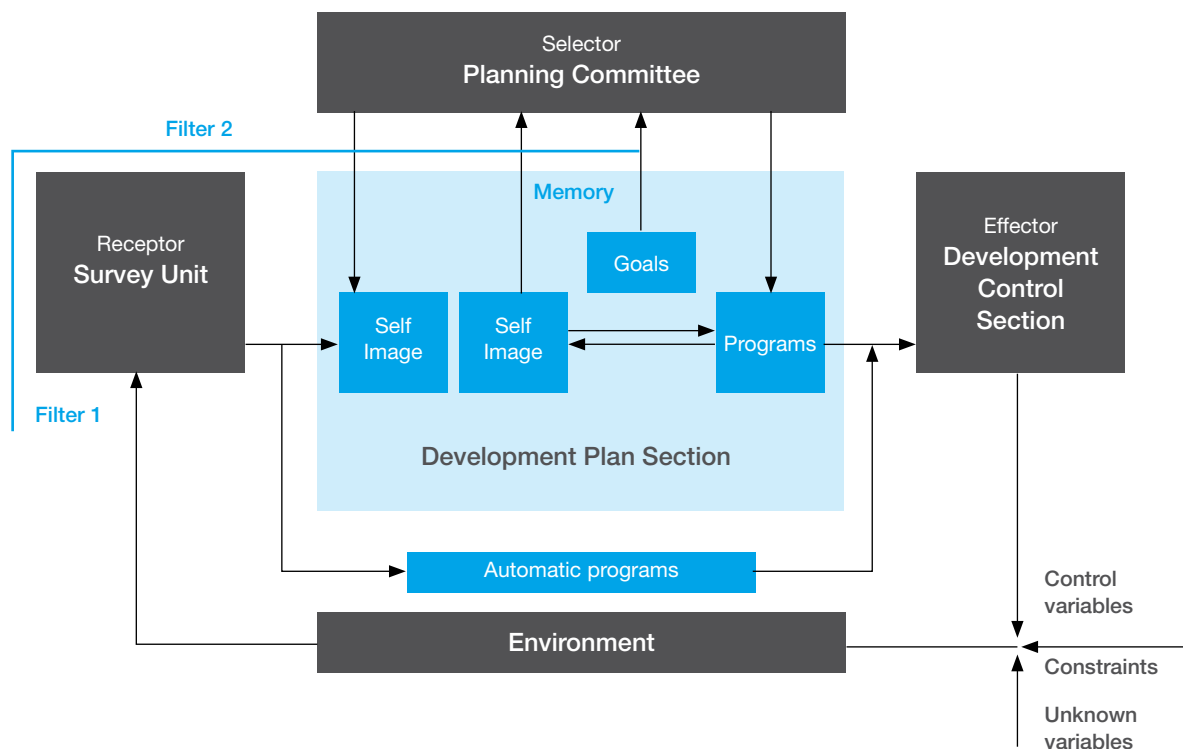


Figure 4 THE MODEL OF PLANNING AGENCIES AS APPLIED TO LOCAL PLANNING AUTHORITIES
 SOURCE: FALUDI (1973)

the use of normative theory [versus positive theory] is limited.

Faludi (1973) argues that there are specific limitations imposed by the planners' role in planning organisations' ability to evaluate means and ends consecutively, striking a pose between normative and positive theory. He raises the question as to what extent planning theory can be based upon normative theory as opposed to positive theory (Stewart, 1982). He draws on John Friedmann (Friedmann, 1966/67) to discuss the normative versus positive model of planning. John Friedmann, in turn, had depended on two German sociologists, Max Weber (Weber, 1947 as cited by Faludi, 1973) and Karl Mannheim (Mannheim, 1940 as cited by Faludi, 1973), who raised the question about the rationality of society. The debate is about two forms of planning: functional and normative. Functional planning assumes ends as given and the planner can select the means to achieve the given ends. In normative planning, planners select the ends and the means together. While it was common within the planning discipline at that time to consider deciding on the ends as political goals, Faludi (1973) argues that planning should be based on a normative foundation where planners choose ends with recognition of the available knowledge, following Karl Mannheim (Mannheim, 1940). He clarifies that he was highly criticised by Eric Reade (Reade, 1985) for that position. However, this became less relevant because, according to the decision-centred view, the definition of the decision-situation (in relation to which a decision may be said to be rational) is always a matter of agreement.

In order to elaborate on this, Friedmann (1966/67) had borrowed Weber's (1947) theory on purposive versus value rationality, which are in turn equivalent to Mannheim's

(1940) theory on functional versus substantial rationality. Both purposive and functional rationality are about rational orientation to a system of discrete individual ends. Both substantial and value rationality are concerned with evaluating both ends and means with basic consideration of human purpose. Faludi argues for a greater degree of substantial and value rationality (in normative mode) within planning. In contrast, his experience (1973) has been that in a complex society there are fewer people in strategic positions to comment on substantial rationality.

He draws on the analogy of Friedmann's adaptive versus developmental planning with functional versus normative planning. Following Friedmann (1966/7 as cited by Faludi, 1973), he argues that adaptive planning is weaker, as goals are prescribed by outside agents, whereas developmental planning is more autonomous, and normative planning is superior to both as it allows the planner to control both ends and means. Positive or functional planning is inferior as the ends are under the control of outside agents. However, physical planners without an understanding of such social science theories would practice the positive theory of planning where they have limitations in evaluating means and ends separately. They would restrict themselves to the theory in planning, and their lack of knowledge on theory of planning might lead them to ineffective planning.

1.6 Argument 6: In relation to multi-planning agencies, the patterns themselves must be subject to rational consideration by strategic planning agencies setting the framework within which other planning agencies operate.

This last section presents the argument from Faludi's Planning Theory (1973) on multi-planning agencies. It originated from Friedmann's (1965, as cited by Faludi, 1973) idea on 'comprehensive planning as a process' and Meyerson's (1956, reprinted in Faludi (ed.), 1973) 'middle-range bridge'. Faludi (1973) explains that planning would proceed in a rational-comprehensive manner, and would extend its scope to the end of the actions following normative planning. There are compromises one must accept for the sake of progress in any one of these directions; such compromises would give birth to multi-planning agencies. This type of agency results from the limited information-handling capacity of individual planning agencies. By a 'multi-planning agency', Faludi (1973) means any number of planning agencies with overlapping action spaces, continuously coordinating what they are doing, with a cumulative rationalising effect. Each one specialises in solving one particular kind of problem, and must give away part of their autonomy to form the multi-planning agency.

Moreover, he claims that there should be some patterns of communication and control. The strategic planning agencies are central allocators of resources and task. The

argument is about whether independent agencies would grow together to form a multi-planning agency or larger planning agencies would differentiate internally. Here I argue that there have to be different rationales for taking either of these approaches. Budget cuts often result in organisations merging. The discovery of new functional areas may result in internal differentiation. Faludi introduces concepts like specialisation, linkage (especially in terms of positive and negative coordination), networks, and strategic planning agency. The terms 'positive coordination' and 'negative coordination' are coined by Scharpf (1971, as cited by Faludi, 1973). Positive coordination is an attempt to discover other agencies' intentions so that these can be considered as constraints to the formulation of a programme of action. Negative coordination concerns all agencies in a joint exploration of their common action space. Positive coordination, having its own constraints, leads to strategic planning, as the decisions to be taken in relation to positive coordination are of strategic importance, at a level above original agencies. Figure 5 below depicts the resource budgets in strategic planning, where the effort is focused on one particular agency, which therefore becomes an area of high interdependence.

To support his argument of theory of planning being the core planning theory, Faludi considers the example of strategic planning agencies having authority over planning resources. He argues that geographers deal with land resource budgets; however, planning resources are more central to their operation and they are directly related to multi-planning agencies. This is why planning theory rather than substantive theory would be of more interest to other social science disciplines such as geography.

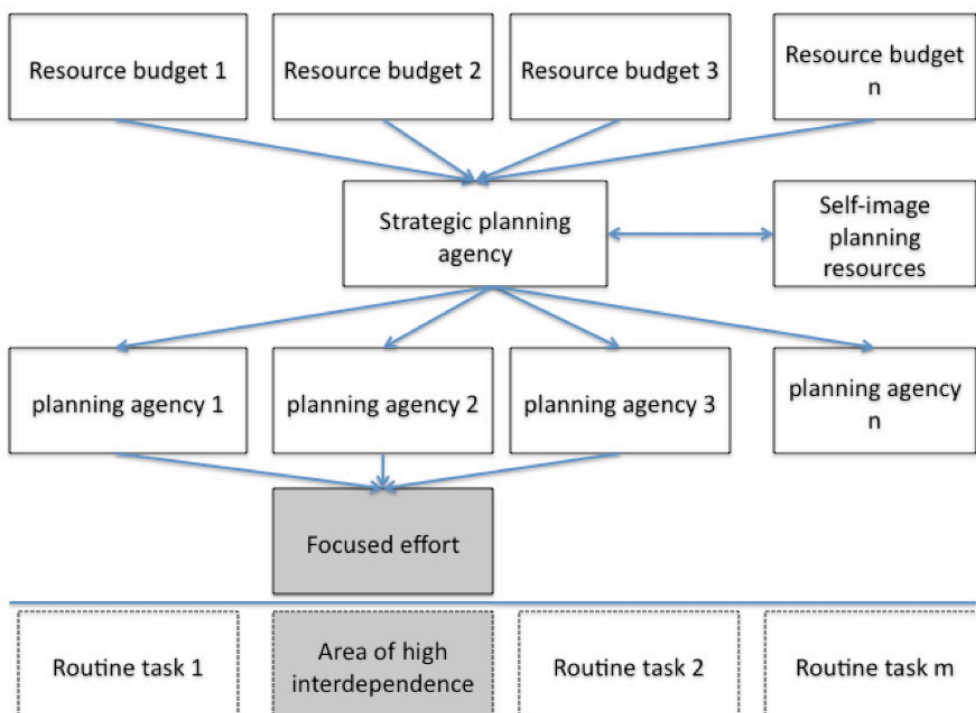


Figure 5 RESOURCE BUDGET IN STRATEGIC PLANNING

SOURCE: FALUDI (1973)

2 Useful concepts

Although the useful concepts emerging from Planning Theory have already been discussed, this section very briefly summarises them.

Planning and science as twin sisters

Planning and science are portrayed as twin sisters, as both disciplines aim to dispel fear and ignorance about their nature. Although Faludi's rationale behind comparing them was to draw an analogy between their aims, there would be controversy in positioning these two disciplines in parallel as they work in different ways. Whereas science aims to understand reality in a more robust and thorough way, planning uses knowledge from science to apply it in policymaking. Critics would oppose planning being given an equal platform to science, as truth is explored in different ways in the two disciplines. In Faludi's opinion, 'planning aims to arrive at decisions that are rational in the sense of being the best possible decision, given the accepted definition of the decision situation.' In relation to this, Stewart (1982) argues for planning to remain as an arts discipline rather than a 'proper' science discipline that uses scientific analyses and methodologies in order to construct future scenarios and evaluate them.

Human growth

'Human growth' is a complex concept, as it is understood both as a product and as a process leading to that product. Interestingly, the continuous process of growth utilises the product of previous growth; moreover, the aim of the growth process may not be to achieve a product but to achieve still further growth. Faludi has used this concept even beyond planning theory. In his current endeavour about European spatial planning, he emphasises learning as the product once again.

Multi-planning agencies

As discussed above, by multi-planning agency Faludi (1973) means any number of planning agencies with overlapping action spaces continuously coordinating what they are doing, with a cumulative rationalising effect. Each one specialises in solving one particular kind of problem. Each organisation must give away part of their autonomy to form the multi-planning agency. This is well understood within the backdrop of the kind of the broader form of planning discipline he was concerned about.

Planning society

Faludi (1973) introduces the concept of a future 'planning society' in the closure of Planning Theory. His concepts on promoting human growth and a future planning society are influenced by Friedmann (1966/67). This concept came as a criticism of totalitarian planning. It leaves room for the individual and the group. It incorporates awareness of the limitations of human knowledge and information handling capacity. Such a planning society recognises widely divergent views. Planning agencies are concerned with an evolving framework of planning. In a wider sense, Faludi's contribution to planning theory raised questions about the profession of planning, and more importantly, about its future. He describes planning as a 'state of mind'.

3 Reaction to the Theory of Planning from Various Continents

Faludi's position on the theory of planning received mixed reactions from the different continents. This is probably not surprising, considering the various ways of evolution of a discipline like planning. On a wider perspective, his position on planning theory raised questions about the discipline itself. Through the Chicago School, part of US academia was already familiar with those ideas. In the UK, planning discipline was undergoing restructuring at that time. As a result, Faludi was commissioned to write two books: *Planning Theory* and *A Reader in Planning Theory*. In Europe, especially as is evident from the writings of Dutch scholars, planning was rooted in two approaches: firstly, planology, which was based on social geography; and secondly, urban design. Hence, Faludi's position on planning theory was taken as a departure of the planning discipline from urban design by his peers both in the UK and the Netherlands. This overall subject is worth revisiting in the twenty-first century and there is still very little consensus on what planning theory should be in Euro-American literature. However, there is no doubt that planning has taken a different shape in terms of discipline altogether since then.

In my personal view, I find that there have been three ways of reacting to Faludi's stand on planning theory from the US, UK and Europe, in line with their various ways of understanding planning, rooted in historical development. Firstly, the proponents of the Chicago School were concerned about raising the profile of planning as a discipline through the introduction of scientific decision-making. Secondly, UK scholars, planning practitioners and academics teaching planning as a 'creative leap' approach resisted theories from the social sciences, which were an alien field to them. However, they were very much accepted by sociologists in planning education. They were also concerned about its detachment from its roots in urban planning (and hence, criticised it as without content). Thirdly, Faludi's European counterparts (predominantly Dutch planners) experienced this as planning moving away from urban design or physical planning. In the Netherlands, planners were geography-based. They championed their own 'substantive theory': that the foundation for teaching planning was geography. I would argue that this line of thought

has been followed up in his later theoretical and empirical researches too. We will come back to this in section 6 to present how Faludi's later endeavours also followed the same string of thought, implicitly or explicitly.



Acknowledging Faludi's very important and influential contribution towards Planning Theory, **Willem Salet** points out his intention of emancipating Planning Theory from Urban Design:

"In practice planning has been dominated for 60 years by urban designers, this had become problematic in two ways. First of all, urban designers have a very physical perspective on urban area planning: substantial planning is morphological; it's about the spatial forms of things. During 1970s, it became clear that the meaning of spatial forms depends in many ways on socio-economic and political relationships. So social and spatial dimensions are interrelated. That's an important question. For this reason many sociological and organic relations came into planning theory. Peter Hall's famous books on the morphological perspective were one substantive, social and socio-economic critique on urban design.

And the other critique came from Andreas who considered the act of planning as a rational process to organize collective action. He made a bridge with action theories and organization theories, particularly from UK backgrounds. And this was completely different because what used to happen in urban planning practices was that urban designers were responsible for master plans. In 1970s it became clear that the new generation no longer simply accepted plans from authoritative planning agencies. And the process of organizing collective action had become a very complicated thing. And Andreas said, this is as such to naturalize the process of organizing planning that's a very complicated thing. And to naturalize this is a discipline as such. And it's very different from simply implementing a master plan designed by urban designers. The two ways, one-way Peter Hall's, and the other way, Andreas' one, they are moving away from the traditional position of urban design. It was in that stage needed to emancipate the position of planning as such."

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4 Continuation of the debate: Bifurcation of perspectives

The debate over planning theory has continued in two distinct directions since then. One direction led towards political economy, and other one was towards contextualising planning theory in the urban economy. We will see many booklets forthcoming in this series that deal with this later type of planning theory.

4.1 Theory of Planning: Towards Political Economy

Faludi's first major theory on planning theory dominated planning academia both in the USA and the UK. As a continuation of the debate, Charles Hoch from the University of Illinois was a follower of his work and developed the literature on pragmatism, drawing from Dewey in parallel. Hoch (1984) argues that widely read American planning theories rely on the pragmatic concept of action to bridge the gap between 'doing good' and 'being right'. His main point was that by 'being right', planners focus on process, and by 'doing good' planners focus on ends. Whereas 'doing good' is connected to moral and political values, 'being right' is connected to technical activity to achieve preciseness and accuracy. He draws upon theories of Meyerson's (1956) middle road, Lindblom's (1959) science 'of muddling through', Davidoff's (1965) advocacy planning, Friedmann's (1973) transactive planning, and Grabow and Heskin's (1973) foundation for a radical concept of planning, which was the same as had been drawn upon by Faludi to develop his argument for a theory of planning. All these theories form a part of the book *A Reader in Planning Theory* (Faludi (ed.), 1973). As a conclusion, Hoch (1984) establishes the fact that the planning theories in the rational school of thought do not intend to separate the process from the substance. However, such theories overemphasise the effectiveness of problem-solving as a means to an end and undermine an uneven distribution of power too lightly. As previously mentioned by Faludi, he was unaware of such parallel development and Hoch's involvement with his work to such a great extent. He had withdrawn himself from the debate while also moving to the Netherlands to accept the offer at Delft University of Technology.

As he clarifies, his withdrawal from the debate was not precisely the result of his move, but he had got tired of the decade-long debate. After him, scholars like Hoch took his perspective of theory of planning forward. As Hoch mentions, Faludi's books on theory of planning were also widely read in the USA for the next two decades until replaced by the political economy literature in the early 1990s.

4.2 Planning Theory: Contextualised in the Urban

The development of planning theory predominantly took this other route, which is grounded in the urban context. Contributors to this kind of planning theory are overcritical of Faludi's theory of planning. They do not feel any urge to distinguish between urban theory and planning theory, as Planning is very much contextualised in the urban environment for them, and hence, discussing planning theory outside the urban equates to being without content. In a way, proponents of this kind of planning theory also focus on planning process; they also advocate the interrelations between means and ends. However, this approach is very different from procedural planning theory. For instance, Fainstein's (2005) objective is to deliver a just city. She encourages scholars to think about how to deliver a future city through a just process (beyond what would be the final form of the city) and hence, to think about governance. In doing so, she is definitely concerned about and acknowledges the interaction between planning processes and also about 'just city' as an end product. However, this was not central to Faludi's (1973) procedural planning theory.

5 Implication for various Disciplines and Specialization: Planning, Policy and City Planning

Before moving on to the next chapter in Faludi's career path beyond the theory of planning, here is a brief reflection over one of the most significant contributions of theory of planning towards Planning discipline. It is also like coming back to where I had started from: questioning the discipline of Planning and its purpose. As a result, we encountered with various disciplinary identities in the conversation: city planning and policy planning in the UK, planology and urban design in the Dutch context, and the evolution of political economy in the USA. From this perspective, in spite of all the criticism, Andreas Faludi remains a strong pillar in the development of the planning discipline in the UK by questioning its whole purpose. His motivation was his complete disgust with the creative leap approach in architecture and the planning education during his tenure as a student. On the one hand, he had this noble intention of improving the intellectual foundation of the discipline. On the other, his approach raised the profile of the discipline by giving it an equivalent platform to science in terms of its purpose and methodology. The debate over planning as a distinct discipline is still alive in the UK context (Davoudi and Pendlebury, 2010).

6 Faludi's Career Path beyond 'Theory of Planning': An Evolution of Thinking

6.1 Planning Methodology

This section briefly introduces Faludi's (1983, 1998) perspective on planning methodology. Faludi, in the course of time, changed his view on planning theory. Interpreting Popper for the planner audience, he expressed his opinion that planning theory is not about testing hypothesis, but its central focus is planning methodology as with methodology of science. His initial position on raising the profile of the planning discipline to the same level as the sciences is evident here again. He mentions that he even changed his view on the purpose of empirical research, which he now viewed as the preparation of grounds for methodological reflection.

6.2 IOR School

Besides the Chicago School, the Institute for Operational Research (IOR) was another experimental school outside the mainstream planning discipline that influenced Faludi and contributed towards the development of planning theory (Faludi, 1987). IOR was set up in 1963 as a unit of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations, located in the city of London and at Sussex University in the UK. The Tavistock Institute was known for its tradition of qualitative research for attention to the human dimension of organisational decision-making. IOR provided British operational researchers with a platform to connect with public policy. It became popular after its publication on *Local Government and Strategic Choice* in 1969. It was later renamed as Centre for Operational and Organisational Research. The key person in promoting IOR has been John K. Friend. Faludi and Mastop (1982) consider the IOR School as second only in influence to the Chicago School.

IOR's first experiment was a case study on communication, followed by a large-scale research in the building industry concerned with decision-making within the city

administration of Coventry from 1963 to 1967. A committed and enthusiastic team became involved in understanding the decision-making process in local government, with the aim of improving planning. They considered both the formal and social aspects of decision-making with the help of social psychologists to understand how decisions were made. Their aim was to interpret practice correctly. It resulted in the publication of *Local Government and Strategic Choice: An Operational Research Approach to the Process of Public Planning* (1969). Although their initial purpose was to design a socio-technical system in which organisational arrangements could be explicitly matched to the behavioural as well as the operational dimension of the task, they finally developed a platform, Analysis of Interconnected Decision Area (AIDA), to graphically present interconnected decision-making, with alternatives to keep the decision-making process open so that every assumption could be changed at will. This perspective finally evolved into strategic choice.

Its similarity with the Chicago School is that it views planning as a choice between alternative courses of action. IOR's contribution was that it added a dimension of viewing planning as a strategic choice under uncertainty and concerned with matters interrelated. Here comes the difference between operational decision and planning decision that have been built upon in his future research on Decision-Centred view of Environmental Planning that is discussed in the next section. In summary, the IOR School changed the view of planning as 'plan-making' by stating that it was:

not so much concerned with the description of the future – a future over which there is only limited control – but with providing a firmer case for action which there is power to take now. Planning is not so much concerned with producing a plan as with gaining a better understanding of the problems with which we are faced now and in the future, in order that we can make better decisions now.

(Centre for Environment Studies, 1970: 16 as cited by Faludi 1987: 91)

Both the Chicago School and the IOR School motivated and supported Faludi in diverging from the view of planning as a superior way of forecasting the future. The Chicago School states that the future state is important for what it implies for present behaviour. The IOR School says that planning should never be regarded as a superior way of decision-making for the future. It should always help in improving ongoing choice. IOR promoted a viable form of planning, which does not reject existing practice, but builds upon it. At its root, conforming to Faludi's (1973) objective in the theory of planning, IOR questions the assumption that what is being planned is outside the agency of planning. The emphasis is on day-to-day decision-making, and the interconnectedness of decision-making is the core message of the IOR School. The following section, on Decision-Centred View of Environmental Planning, builds upon this.

6.3 Decision-Centred View of Environmental Planning

Faludi's next major research on the decision-centred view of environmental planning was built upon the core message of the IOR School as discussed in the last section. In this book, *A Decision Centred View of Environmental Planning*, Faludi discusses three approaches to bridge the gap between the IOR School and academia: firstly, a study on local planning on failure of plans: the twin concept of operational and planning decisions; secondly, the impossibility of formulating goals without looking at alternatives; and thirdly, criticism of procedural planning theory: the suspicion that it underrated the subject matter. He himself sees this as a continuation of his thinking on the theory of planning. He had hoped that the decision-centred view would transcend the proceduralist versus substantivist controversy (Faludi, 1985). His above-mentioned book came out in 1987 following a publication in 1985 in *Landscape Planning*.

In this book, Faludi attempted to define three views of planning, each emphasizing a different aspect: the object-, control- and decision-centred views of planning. This section will briefly define these three views, and will discuss Faludi's rationale behind considering the decision-centred view as the most acceptable one. The object-centred view advocates for knowledge of its object being a sufficient basis for planning. Faludi, following his criticism of substantive theory forming the core of planning theory, is against such a view. The second one, the control-centred view, admits that causal knowledge provides technologies for intervention but fails to pay due attention to the methodological and organisational problems of applying such knowledge. Finally, connecting IOR School and the mainstream literature develops the decision-centred view. It is primarily concerned with the rationality of ongoing action. Plans form a part of decision-centred view, but their implementation is not significantly important as per this theory. He develops his decision-centred view based on environmental planning.

The decision-centred view of planning sees it as systematic decision-making, concerned with the rationality of ongoing decision-making, and a plan (not essentially a superior-minded blueprint showing a future state) as a system to support decision-making. This view has been highly influenced by the IOR School, as we can see. Faludi distinguishes between operational decisions and planning decisions: the former being about day-to-day decision-making and the latter forming the broader plan. Very succinctly, he explains that physical development involves a stream of interconnected decisions. Operational decisions do not necessarily involve implementation; they involve commitments, with cost implications. Planning decisions are tentative and supportive of operational decision-making. The bottom line is that even the noblest plan (and hence planning decision) is useless unless it translates into operational decisions. Likewise, operational decisions are superior in deciding whether planning decisions need to be changed. This is based on the strategic choices or interrelation between decisions.

Two major rationales behind Faludi's standpoint of looking at planning as 'decision-centred' are that it influences operational decisions with real effects on the outside world, and public decision-makers are responsible for their decisions. With operational decisions, interrelations exist between decisions. Following this line of argument, there is a need for formulation of a framework to guide our decisions. Such a framework is the plan and developing and adapting this framework is planning.

Faludi used environmental planning to elaborate his theory on the decision-centred view. For this purpose, he defines 'environment' as a configuration of resources. This consists of land decision units. Such land decision units are linked by channels of communication, and are protected by the land regime. Within this line of argument, environmental planning can be defined as the sum total of operational decisions, with respect to public environmental measures. In this way, public environmental measures are defined as 'externalities of the second order', which are discussed in detail below.

Faludi (1987) presents four different theories in relation to the discussion of decision-centred view of environmental planning such as D. Bökemann's *A Theory of Environmental Planning* (original version: *Theorie der Raumplanung* in German), A.J. Scott's *The Urban Land Nexus and the State*, S.T. Rowe's 'Urban planning as professional mediation of territorial policies', and N. Lichfield's 'Towards land policy for human survival'. As already mentioned, an important concept introduced by this theory is the 'land decision unit', to show that environmental planning is a series of decisions on land decision units. Land decision units are composed of:

1. Man-made and natural resources
2. The infrastructural channels linking them
3. The land regime protecting them from intrusion
4. The land title identifying the decision-maker
5. Faludi's most recent take on this topic would also include the diffuse set of stakeholders concerned besides those with the land title. However, this was not a part of his original theory on decision-centred view.

Land decision units have an effect on the situations these primary decision-makers face. Activities on land decision units are potentially affected by, and in turn exert influence on, activities on other land decision units. Faludi's view on the decision-centred view of environmental planning is:

The object of environmental planning is the sum total of all operational decisions which the authority concerned could take with respect to environmental measures being addressed to land decision units (respectively to their title holders) within its jurisdiction. (Faludi, 1985: 251)

As he mentions, he would go beyond the term 'jurisdiction' if he encountered similar situations now. In his recent work, he is critical of 'territorialism' as implied in the notion of jurisdiction here.

Does it bridge the gap between procedural and substantive theory?

Faludi had finally hoped to bridge the gap between procedural and substantive planning theory through the decision-centred view of planning. Being influenced by Popper and the IOR School, he changed his view on the theory of planning, considering this more as a planning methodology. As the discussion on the IOR School and the decision-centred view show, he gave more importance to day-to-day operational decision-making and considered planning decisions as a supporting system to operational decision-making. Operational decisions are more central to procedural planning theory, or, let's say, planning methodology. This is an ongoing decision process: it is about who is taking what decision, in what capacity and why, with what aim in mind. Planning decisions, as described by Faludi in this context, are more or less central to a general understanding of substantive theory. Hence, by establishing that decisions in a planning process are interrelated, he attempted to establish that there is a middle way between procedural and substantive theory.

6.4 Rule and Order: Dutch Doctrine

His next influential contribution was his empirical research on planning doctrine in the Dutch context. The concept of doctrine evolved from Faludi's intention to explore the rationale behind the success of Dutch planning which shaped national development in the second half of the twentieth century. His book written together with Arnold van der Valk, *Rule and Order: Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century*, was published in 1994. According to him, its core lay in the predilection to Rule and Order. In the Dutch doctrine, plans are carried out. The Dutch believe in a plan-led system where the plan is the future shape of the area. The term 'plan-led system' is originated from UK planning system. In Dutch, it means a 'presumption' in favour of the plan whereas on the Continent plans are like the law: they are expected to be observed whatever the circumstances so as to provide legal certainty. They believe in order and neatness, where authorities are called upon to maintain order. Faludi's empirical research suggests that plans do not in fact do that. This made him fulminated against creating a make-believe world as if plans provided certainty.

What is a Doctrine?

As Faludi (1998) explains, 'It is this doctrine which frames the thoughts and actions of planners, welding them together into a planning community with the common purpose of *Keeping the Netherlands in Shape* (Faludi, 1989a)'. 'Doctrine' is equivalent to 'paradigm'. 'Doctrinal change' is analogous to 'scientific revolution'. For example, 'grass roots organisation' can be considered as a doctrine. Another example of doctrine would be the 'London doctrine', which is concerned about the reconstruction of central areas, new towns, and the green belt. The most explanatory and convincing definition of doctrine is:

Doctrine is to an activity ... what personal habit and philosophy are to individuals. It may not be completely written or codified and is, in fact, likely to be rather taken for granted by the participants involved. It is less self-conscious and less official than public policy per se. Doctrine defines the situation for participants, specifying which problems are to receive major attention, the solutions to be employed, and why alternative approaches should be ignored and disregarded.

(Faludi and Van der Valk, 1994: 17)

What are the elements of planning doctrine?

The role of an overall frame of planning doctrine is consensus building. Without consensus, planning consists of endless argument. Behind every approach, there are presumptions as relation to alternatives and consequences. The following figure presents such a framework. The first two rows in the table are planning concepts, and the third one shows planning principles, which draw on constitutional thinking and/or ideas about scientific method.

Definition	Interrelated and durable notions about <ul style="list-style-type: none">– Spatial arrangement– Development– How they are to be handled
Principle of spatial organisation	A location- and time-specific synthesis of planning concepts
Planning principles	Notions about the: <ul style="list-style-type: none">– Preparation– Form– Working of plans

Figure 6 PLANNING DOCTRINE

SOURCE: FALUDI AND VAN DER VALK (1994)

In addition, values are also considered one of the elements. The values behind Dutch planning are Rule and Order. Spatial organisation principles are more central to doctrine than planning principles. Planning doctrine combines heterogeneous elements, including the institution of planning. With the Dutch planning example, Faludi concluded that the Dutch planning community, politicians and policymakers have imbibed the doctrine so much that they make their decisions while subconsciously conforming to the doctrine. This doctrine works as a framework in the background for their decision-making.

When does a doctrine change?

'Doctrine' has been compared to 'paradigm'. The following are three elements that show when to speak of doctrine.

- a. Planning subject: government or planning agency
- b. Recognises relevant planning area: for example, the federal government in the USA is not concerned with physical planning: consciousness of problem
- c. Adheres to doctrine over time: duration

Doctrine is distinct from its mode of expression. The benefit of doctrine is to reduce the burden on plan-making. Planning becomes cumulative and progressive. This accounts for the effectiveness of Dutch planning. Doctrinal discourse is exceptional. It is a matter of debate how changes of doctrine happen. Doctrine relies on deceptively simple but ambiguous concepts. Where no good catchphrase was found, major innovations failed to gain acceptance. A doctrine's validity, comprehensiveness and consistency are subject to rational debate.

The openness of doctrine is also a matter of debate. Doctrine should not be completely open. Faludi and Alexander (1996) think that it can be more or less open. Does it allow for generation or absorption of diverse concepts? As Faludi explains,

Doctrine should include multiple scenarios, homing in on short-term actions which leave open the widest possible choice.

(Faludi, 1994: 24)

The fact that doctrine discourse is more political than normal planning is no reason for professionals to stay out of it. Doctrine expresses their deepest concern. Advocacy for an open doctrine means more tolerance of change than in the existing rigid one. Doctrine presents an investment. A balance is required between consensus building and critical attitude. An absolute attachment to doctrine should warn policymakers against uncritical acceptance.



WILLEM K KORTHALS ALTES emphasizes on Faludi's contribution towards an innovative understanding of Planning Theory, which was very controversial at that time. He quickly moves to Faludi's research on conformance versus performance, which he has been involved in. This is about the debate on the roles of the plan in implementation. He elaborates:

“I remember Andreas had an imaginative list of concepts that should not be used in planning, ‘plan implementation’ was one of these concepts. Plans are not to be implemented in the future, but plans have a role in guiding operational decisions today. This is what Andreas called a decision-centered view of planning. Andreas especially studied the performance of strategic planning.”

He explains that the concept of planning doctrine shows that planning is about working in context. Faludi first used the concept of planning doctrine in his work on the Dutch situation to understand its success. Concepts as Randstad and Green Heart have structured Dutch planning for decades.

“On one hand, Andreas has defended the norm of rational decision-making – you must have an open mind in weighing alternative options based on the expected consequences –, on the other hand, Dutch practice showed that limiting alternatives contributed to what is generally considered to be a planning success. By using the term ‘planning doctrine’ Andreas associated the concept to the negative aspects of doctrinaire thinking.”

Even so, when Faludi's interests moved on to European planning he considered whether the emergence of a European planning doctrine was to be expected, which has less focus on ‘Planning Theory’ and is more about empirical work. In particular, it addresses the role of planning in society and in the development of communities, the way cross-border planning works and how institutional structure impacts on planning. In response, Faludi notes that:

“(Altes) points out the influence on my work of the strategic choice approach. In all these respects, I found that chapters 14 and 15 of ‘A Decision-centered View of Environmental Planning’ are perhaps instructive. That work was a kind of end-point of his planning theoretical work and the beginning of much work since - although he did not anticipate at the time that he would also ‘go into’ European planning.”



Following graduation **STEPHEN HAMNETT** went with Faludi at the beginning of 1974 to work as part of the Planning Theory Group, which he established at Delft University of Technology in The Netherlands and stayed there until 1976. He was involved with Faludi's empirical work directly. He was particularly engaged by Faludi's interest in comparative planning theory, which he came to share while at Delft, and also by his enthusiasm for understanding Dutch planning, how it differed from the Anglo-Saxon tradition and the reasons for this. These interests came together in the Oxford-Leiden Study, a significant comparative study of local planning in the Netherlands and England. He developed an interest in comparative studies of planning systems which has informed his teaching and research ever since and now extends to comparative studies of the legal and planning systems of different Australian states and of countries in east and south-east Asia.

According to Hamnett, Faludi defined the field of Planning Theory in the two books published in 1973. While there were important contributions to the field before that, especially in the US literature brought together in *A Reader in Planning Theory*, Faludi's major achievement was to bring these contributions together as a coherent field of theoretical inquiry. He also acknowledged Faludi's new fields of enquiry, making contributions of significance to the understanding of Dutch planning, both within The Netherlands and internationally, and, latterly, to the field of European Spatial Planning in which, once again, he has played a key role in defining the field.

While Faludi's distinctions between "theories of" and "theories in" planning were not accepted by all scholars at the time, or since, he established the terms of the theoretical debate. The field of planning theory has developed substantially since the early 1970s and now encompasses a rich and diverse body of literature, but Faludi will be remembered for introducing and popularising the term "planning theory" back then. It was the norm for many years for scholars, whether critical or not, to explain their position in debates about planning theory by reference to Faludi's work.

As Hamnett mentions, not all students enjoyed grappling with the theoretical debates that Faludi's lectures opened up. Then, as now, there were some planning students who saw theory as somehow divorced from the "real world" of planning practice for which they were

preparing. But few students could fail to have been impressed by Faludi's enthusiastic presentations and his innovative approaches to teaching and to planning education more generally. Now in his 70s, Faludi remains an energetic and dynamic presenter at conferences and a highly-effective communicator.



TON KREUKELS describes Faludi's contribution towards the international community of Planning Theory as basic and seminal. He made the academic discipline acquainted with new insights at that time on planning and policy processes, especially those in the administrative, organizational sciences and systems and operational research fields (procedural knowledge as opposed to substantive knowledge in urban and regional planning).

His second major contribution is his empirical research on Dutch and European Planning. In the eighties, a period of international comparative research: the Leiden - Oxford studies; a study about urban and regional planning in the Netherlands in an international comparative way: set out in *Rule and Order Dutch Planning Doctrine in the Twentieth Century* (Faludi, 1994). In this period his specific approach towards urban and regional planning, related to the procedural theories became broadened to a discourse analysis of policy making, in which especially political sciences and administrative law/science offered the munitions.

Finally, this broadened approach became focused on urban and regional planning in a EU context and especially from out a EU level from the nineties onwards. This is manifest in a varied set of publications for an international audience and in relation to a number of co-authors in Western Europe and in the US (the Lincoln Institute contributions).

Faludi's work inspired a lot of scholars and especially students, of which a great number contributed as doctoral students to diffusion and contribution of his research in the eighties, and nineties especially. At the same time there have been especially in the seventies and eighties a number of blockades in the communities of academic urban and regional planning in the US especially. People as Friedmann, Fainstein and Fainstein and other mostly Marxist inspired academic urban planners at that time has little affinity with the procedural theories, as brought to the fore by Faludi. At the same time they did oppose the somehow rational(istic) approach to planning and policy making in Planning Theory. The same applies to the UK in the seventies and early eighties, with the young Marxist or structuralist scholars from Oxford and London, Edinburgh etc. favoring more explicit left wing theories of human progress.

Interestingly Kreukels points out, especially in the Netherlands, a number of students, especially doctoral students working with the 'Andreas Faludi frame of analysis' in the eighties (TU Delft) and in the nineties (University of Amsterdam and later also the Radboud University of Nijmegen), disseminated his approaches and thoughts to the professional world, directly and indirectly.

6.5 European Spatial Planning

Faludi has been engaged with European spatial planning for the last two decades. As we will see in Part 2, Peter Hall identifies him, of course due to his personal encounters with him, more as a policy researcher in relation to European spatial planning than a planning theoretician.



PETER HALL has been associated with Faludi for long period, about 30 years. They have been in contact through common academic network and met at various conferences and seminars. Hall has known him especially for his work on European Union, especially due to Hall's interest in the subject matter.

Hall considers Faludi more as a policy analyst or policy maker than a theoretician in the pure sense, which is of course influenced by his interest in the subject. To him, Faludi's main contribution is developing the concept of territorial cohesion, which he considers a significant component of EU integration policy. Faludi's contribution to European Planning forms an important building block.

The debate on European Spatial Planning started with the idea of promoting European integration. A Committee on Spatial Development (CSD) was formed with a delegation from each member state in 1991. Since 1993, the European Parliament has also become a 'co-decision maker'. The first official draft of the European Spatial Development Perspective (ESDP) was submitted as a result in 1997. The planners tasked to produce the ESDP were termed as a 'roving band of planners' by Faludi (1997). Faludi's contribution towards European Spatial Planning has been along the lines of strategic planning. The core statement made by him on strategic planning is: 'They are about shaping minds, not places'

(Faludi and Zonneveld, 1997). This shows the divergence of strategic planning from project planning, also conforming to Faludi's way of thinking, as has been evident so far. Dutch planners, being very close to their Rule and Order doctrine, are still compromised on their plans to give priority to policymaking, as it is difficult to speak in terms of maps in a multi-lateral context.

Since 1999, European planning discourse has been surmounted towards policy-making to achieve territorial cohesion. Based on the Financial Perspective 2007–2013, from 2008 the EU budget has had cohesion policy as the second largest budget item. Territorial cohesion policy was a minor element in this policy (Faludi, 2013). As Faludi explains, for a while, it loomed large in the minds of planners, but it has been a disappointment. Currently, the European Commission hardly ever refers to it. The only vehicle for promoting territorial cohesion, albeit indirectly (and without actually mentioning the term), is the European Territorial Cooperation objective of the Structural Funds. There are also 'Integrated Territorial Investments', but once again without making reference to territorial cohesion. Faludi's contribution towards European Spatial Planning includes numerous publications on territorial cohesion policy with critical understanding of 'territory', evidence-based planning, open methods of cooperation, European integration and cooperation as a learning machine, multi-level territorial governance, and soft European spatial planning (Faludi, 2005a, b; Faludi, 2006a, b; Faludi and Waterhout, 2006a, b; Faludi, 2007a, b; Faludi 2008a, b; Faludi, 2010; Faludi 2012a, b). Without exploring them in detail, it can be interpreted from these phrases that his very original intention of raising the planning discipline from its design orientation and taking it to a level of policymaking has remained an emphasis throughout his career. Faludi's contribution towards informing policymaker about the future of their policy within European spatial planning undoubtedly deserves a booklet on its own. This booklet, as part of a series on the development of planning theories, is restricted in scope.

7 Conclusion

This article has presented Andreas Faludi's contribution to planning theory; he redefined the term 'planning theory' as 'Theory of Planning' within UK planning education, and hence highly influenced the way the planning discipline is seen today in the Euro-American domain. We have also briefly discussed his research beyond the 'Theory of Planning', mainly in the European context including European spatial planning, as he is widely known as a policy researcher in Europeanisation. Besides documenting Faludi's (1973) arguments, concepts, and critics, this article puts forward the following arguments.

1. There has been a common thread in Faludi's thought, reflected in his research areas, in terms of his concern over the effectiveness of planning. He mentions that he had moved away from 'planning theory' as such long ago. However, his recent research is informed about theories.
2. Introducing a subject such as the 'Theory of Planning' into the formal planning education curriculum empowers planners to have greater control over means and ends. It is very meaningful within the debate of whether 'planning' has a distinct identity as a discipline.
3. The model of planning organisation must take both hard and soft tools (or means) into consideration to ensure effective planning. Hard tools would include elements on organisational rules and regulations; soft ones would include those such as changing one's attitude towards how to approach problems.

Contributors/ Interviewees

WILLEM SALET is a Professor of Urban and Regional Planning at Department of Geography and Planning, Faculty of Social and Behavioral Sciences at the University of Amsterdam since 1995. He was Faludi's successor at University of Amsterdam. Salet got introduced to him as a planning student at Utrecht when Faludi was appointed as Professor of Planning at University of Delft. Faludi initially supervised him for his dissertation.

WILLEM K KORTHALS ALTES is Professor in Land Development (since 1997) at TU Delft, OTB Research for the Built Environment. In 1995 he has finished his PhD at the University of Amsterdam on a research project financed by NWO (the Dutch Science Foundation) and supervised by Faludi, analyzing national spatial planning in the Netherlands. They have been colleagues in TU Delft too. Faludi says, "Willem was one of the 25 PhDs that I have supervised – and one of the best. I was amazed by the sovereign way in which he summarized and analyzed my work."

CLIFF HAGUE is a town planning practitioner, academic and theorist. He was Professor of Planning and Spatial Development at Heriot-Watt University, Edinburgh, until 2006, and now is Emeritus Professor and works as a freelance consultant and researcher. He was first introduced to Faludi through an organization called Education for Planning Association in 1971. This involvement came as a part of expansion of planning education in UK. He has also been associated with Faludi through the Planning Theory circuit, which became more Europeanized in the 1980s. Later, there was quite a bit of interaction during the 1990s as Faludi was very much a leader in the Europeanization of planning. Dick William from Newcastle was also a significant figure in this regard. Dick was significant in UK planning education, in making people aware of European dimension and what was happening there. As Faludi recollects, "from 1974 I was in the Netherlands in a different, and to some extent still - because it's changing to the worse - more positive context than Thatcherite Britain. So Cliff's trajectory from then on was different from mine, but we met again in the European context where both of us became active. (And I underwrite everything he says about the role of Dick Williams.)"

CHARLES HOCH is a Professor of Urban Planning and Policy at University of Illinois at Chicago, USA. He finished his PhD from UCLA where he had John Friedman, Harvey Perloff and John Dyckman, the pioneers of Chicago School of thought, as his teachers. Hoch was highly influenced by these highly ambitious academics, who made the field respectable from a theoretical point of view.

PATSY HEALEY is Professor Emeritus in the School of Architecture, Planning and Landscape at Newcastle University. She has qualifications in Geography and Planning and is a specialist in planning theory and practice, with a particular interest in strategic spatial planning for city regions and in urban regeneration policies. She is also known for her work on planning theory.

PETER HALL is a Professor at Bartlett Professor of Urban Regeneration and Planning, The Bartlett School of Planning. He received his Master's (1957) and Ph.D. (1959) degrees in Geography from the University of Cambridge and has taught at the London School of Economics; at the University of Reading (1968 88), where he was Dean of the Faculty of Urban and Regional Studies; and at the University of California at Berkeley (1980 92), where he is Professor Emeritus of City and Regional Planning.

STEPHEN HAMNETT is an Emeritus Professor at School of Natural and Built Environments at University of South Australia. Faludi supervised his dissertation during his postgraduate planning program at Oxford Polytechnic (now Oxford Brookes University) from 1971 to 1973. He was a student in his planning theory class when his important books *Planning Theory* and *A Reader in Planning Theory* were published (1973).

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