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REGIONAL PLANNING AND PLANNING EDUCATION
Implications of their changing environment
and practice: with special reference to
Anglophone, Southern and Eastern Africa

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CONTENTS

Summary	S1
 Part I - Identifying the Issues	
1. Questions, levels, meanings	
1.1. What people are arguing about	1
1.2. Some varieties of regional and subnational planning	5
1.3. The many levels for education and training	7
1.4. Introduction to Parts Two and Three	11
 Part II - Regional Planning: The Evolving Relations Between Environment, Practice and Education	
2. Relations in the 1950s to late 1970s, in North and South	12
3. A critique for the 60s and 70s	
3.1. Criticisms of regional development planning in the South	15
3.2. Criticisms made of education for regional planning	17
3.3. Criticisms made of physical planning and its education, in North and South	18
4. Relations since the late 1970s	
4.1. Some trends in conditions in Africa	22
4.2. Developments in education in the 80s, in North & South	23
4.3. Problems in training - recent surveys in Africa & Asia	26
5. A critique for the present period	
5.1. Rethinking training	27
5.2. Rethinking planning	29
5.3. Rethinking education	31
 Part III - Contents of Education and Training	
6. Contents and curricula: on core topics and themes	
6.1. Knowledge, skills and attitudes	33
6.2. Inter-disciplinarity rather than mega-disciplinarity	39
6.3. Procedural theory, project analysis and policy analysis	41
6.4. The role of social science	42
7. Conclusion	44
Appendix A - Framework for Part Two	45
Appendix B - University education in rural & urban planning in Zimbabwe: a case study	46
Notes	55
References	60

List of boxes

Box 3.1 - Ravetz and others on the formation and limitations of conventional British Town-and-Country-Planning	20
Box 4.1 - The debated future of separate urban and regional planning education in the Netherlands	24
Box 4.2 - University education in rural and urban planning in Zimbabwe	25
Box 6.1 - Knowledge, skills and attitudes in planning	34
Box 6.2 - Demands for skills in administration, communication, and inter-personal and interorganizational relations	37

Abbreviations used

BTCP	= British Town and Country Planning
LDC	= Less developed country
RTPI	= Royal Town Planning Institute (U.K.)
UZ	= University of Zimbabwe

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"By education most have been misled;
So they believe, because they so were bred;
The priest continues what the nurse began;
And thus the child imposes on the man". (Dryden)

SUMMARY

1.1. Three types of problem arise in regional planning education: (a) problems common to all education; (b) problems of practice-oriented education, for example issues of scope, relevance, and of orientation to needs that will be different in the future than at present; and (c) problems specific to regional planning education itself.

Regional planning is intersectoral area-focussed planning. This leaves great room for choice of emphases, e.g. in the type of area focus, with settlement/town planning at one end of a spectrum. The emphasis in integration can be on physical space or socio-economic groups, functions, sectors or organizations. So besides difficulties of multi-disciplinarity are those from the involvement of different, partly competing, professional traditions.

One can identify some core areas in common for regional planning education, and define a core-and-specialisms model; but there is much disagreement over the bounds and contents of a core. We need to draw too on a specialisms-plus-generalisms model and an a-la-carte menu model. What must be rejected is a fixed-menu single-restaurant model.

1.2. Regional planning thus covers various types of planning, and various types of planner and participant. Contributory strands include:- (a) physical planning, (b) macro-economic planning, (c) project planning, (d) administrative/management planning, (e) participatory planning, etc. In rural regional planning there are also streams of work in (f) "integrated rural development planning", and (g) natural resource planning; and so on.

1.3. "Education" is about more general knowledge and skills (e.g. in learning and problem-solving). "Training" is more specific in content, and has to be more particular to a given job in a given time and place. One can discuss education in a more cross-country way.

We can distinguish many levels and types of regional planning education and training, for people with different backgrounds and positions - national, sectoral, regional and local. These include various levels of integrated area planner, who cannot be masters-of-all-trades, and of community planner. The lower the geographical level, the greater is the importance of knowledge of human relations, production techniques and community development. An undergraduate training can be suitable for "bread and butter" physical planners, who need to cover a number of technical skills, and will not immediately acquire wide-ranging authority or involvements. It seems desirable to have postgraduate levels of ability and maturity for staff in district- (and certainly provincial-) level development management.

1.4. To look at (a) needs in training and education for regional planning, one must also analyse (b) major trends in the environment of planning, and (c) the organization, requirements and weaknesses of current planning practice. Sections 2 to 5 attempt a broad comparative analysis on these lines; section 6 then takes up some detailed content issues. We thus look both at the "what" of education and training, and at context issues, the "for whom, how, where, when, by whom, for how long"; but with more on content and curricula, and on the education of professionals with a large involvement in planning.

The study grew out of work in Zimbabwe on university education in rural and regional planning, but gives considerable attention to experiences in other parts of Anglophone Africa and Asia and in North America and Europe. British town-and-country planning is discussed at

length because of its influence in Anglophone Africa. We also look at experiences with in-service training, as both education and training are likely to be ineffective if considered in isolation.

2. In analysing the 1950s to late 1970s in Africa, as a "baseline" period, three features to note are: (i) the emergence of new forms of local government; (ii) the reorientation of sub-national administration towards "development administration and management"; (iii) the carry-over from colonial and settler contexts of British "town and country planning". That tradition has itself later evolved in Britain. Before the 1960s physical specialists-with-a-generalism were dominant. The 1960s brought a concept of physical generalists who would specialize in controlling other technical specialists. This was soon outdated in Britain, but had an influence on emergent urban-and-regional planning professions in Africa. In the 1970s in Britain there was a move to the idea of generalists-with-a-specialism (often a social specialism) working with specialists-with-a-generalism. In both Britain and Africa, town-and-country planning remained limited outside of environmental planning, yet sometimes partly resisted either evolving into a "broader church" or linking to other streams such as "management planning" and socio-economic planning.

3.1. The physical and (macro-)economic strands in regional development planning have often dominated in practice, with unsatisfactory results. This domination was either pursued individually or via a non-integrated partnership ("spatial separatism"). In the 70s' and 80s' critiques of those approaches, two major proposals for better integration were as follows: (i) by an improved technocratic synthesis, aiming for complete models; or (ii) by a stress instead on local-level and political syntheses, administrative decentralization, participation and bottom-up development. This second line draws more on less conventional regional planning strands - (d), (e) and (f) in 1.2. above.

3.2. 1960s and 70s regional planning education typically had many of the same features as the practice:- a belief in planning as being similar to engineering, a stress on manipulating the location of towns and industry, neglect of production itself and of rural development, and sometimes attempts by economic or physical planning to dominate (or even ignore) other disciplines.

3.3. While economic planning did draw on a new sub-discipline of development economics, physical planning and its education were often somewhat imitative of Western and Northern (even South African) set-ups. This meant weaknesses in relating to people, politics, administration and implementation. The disillusion with conventional town-and-country planning in Britain may reflect its tendencies to environmental determinism, paternalism and technocracy, and its insufficient linkages to social theory, to other disciplines and to other participants who are needed in planning. Even the best qualified team needs, as its key skill, the ability to consult widely. The importance of management/administrative planning, production development and community planning suggested a need for more social-science based planners, and more association with other branches of public management and policy analysis.

4.1. A review of trends since the late 1970s in the environment for planning in Africa indicates that conditions in the 1990s will continue to be radically different from the 60s and earlier 70s. One can draw from this a series of suggestions for education and training.

4.2. The decline in conventional settlement planning worldwide has been reflected in both the numbers and focus of regional planning courses, with shifts away from a physically centred view of planning in many countries. But in some Third World countries the pressures of rapid new urbanization have led to new strongly physical planning courses. The settlements para-engineers they produce need complementing by other types of skill and of planner.

With national independence only from 1980, Zimbabwe is a special case. Appendix B (summarized in Box 4.2) looks at the interplay there of a various ideas about the organization of education and planning.

4.3. Major FAO and Commonwealth Secretariat reviews of training for decentralized planning and administration suggest that most training has failed to adapt itself well to the variety in national set-ups and conditions. It has been weak in identifying real priority needs, in addressing many important groups requiring training, and in using adult learning and on-the-job approaches.

5.1. These reviews propose that in-service training be much more carefully designed, based on detailed analysis in the country concerned. Even in training though, there are limits to tailoring detailed contents so as to fit fast-changing conditions, as opposed to giving people more general skills for adapting by themselves.

5.2. Trends in the environment for planning have necessitated further rethinking of planning, in the West and East as well as South. The main line is to move further away from blueprint-style planning (technocratic plan-document plus bureaucratic control measures) and towards adaptive process-oriented planning, with increased participation and interchange. Regional planning agencies must think about not only direct investments, but also about the roles of information collection and dissemination, forecasting, indirect influence and negotiation.

5.3. Broad political, economic and technological trends, and our inability to exactly predict detailed changes, establish a case for maintaining a clearer distinction between education and in-service training. Education should have a strong emphasis on helping people acquire the knowledge, skills and attitudes to go on responding to new developments, and to be able to learn in on-the-job experiences, in-service training and periodic updating. It should stress topics that will not be soon outdated. Skills in monitoring and evaluation are particularly important. Universities cannot primarily function as in-service training centres. Their main role must be to concentrate on higher levels of education and general skills and on relevant research and its dissemination.

6.1. We can usefully look at educational contents and curricula under the linked headings of: knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Under substantive knowledge comes knowledge of e.g. particular sectors (in production and services as well as infrastructure) and social processes. A theoretical core on dimensions and trends in development is important; also knowledge of competing social values, of actual roles & limits of planning, and of data analysis and project

analysis methods. These take us on into procedural knowledge. This should cover not only official procedures and "the" planning cycle, but also basics of research, diagnosis, and decision-making; including the intelligent collection and use of data and statistics.

These areas in turn take us onto skills. Some planners need skills in drawing and physical design; most need skills in other areas of design too, i.e. in problem analysis and problem solving. Next come skills in management, interaction, negotiation, mobilization, communication and teamwork. Finally there is the area of attitudes, concerning adaptability, self-awareness, social commitment, and interest in working with others and perceiving their viewpoints. This includes considering the questions of why and for whom, not just how.

6.2./6.3. The length of lists of desirable skills etc. make it important to be clear on different levels of study, and also on:-

- (i) the value of an inter-disciplinary and problem-oriented approach as well as just a multi-disciplinary piling together of bits of different disciplines and professions;
- (ii) the difference between core general subjects (e.g. some procedural theory, project analysis, research methods and statistics) and optional specialisms (e.g. physical design skills or land classification). More broadly, different types of subnational planner have partly different needs.

Especially at higher levels, some attention is needed to "policy analysis", which is the extension of the older areas of project analysis and "planning theory". This fits with a view of planning education as a training in coming to justifiable decisions. One part of policy analysis concerns theories of ends as well as of means; and this becomes especially relevant in times of increased scarcity.

6.4. An implication from the required areas of knowledge, skills and attitudes is the importance of social science studies. Planning is not like car design and manufacture. In particular it would be unwise to train people for decentralized planning without seriously studying how that operates in reality (and not only in foreign texts on professional practice). Failure to view planning and decentralization as also being political, social and bureaucratic processes can have many undesirable effects, including ineffectiveness or cynicism.

7. There are limits and even dangers in the "core-and-specialisms" model. It better fits relatively simple planning situations, where the range of specialist demands is less; and the idea of a core raises a danger of its mis-specification, though the latter is the main problem, not the idea itself. The less clearcut the boundaries and content of the core become, the more one may move towards an a-la-carte "menu" model. What will clearly remain core topics for all though are general planning skills, major processes in development and planning, and skills of working with others. Each type of planning calls for skills in one or more basic disciplines, awareness of other disciplines, and skills in administration and development management. The resulting variety of types of planner is both inevitable and desirable. We cannot create all-in-one planners or teams of all the specialisms, but can try for a suitable range of generalists-with-a-specialism and specialists-with-a-generalism who can work together (and have some career flexibility).

PART I - IDENTIFYING THE ISSUES

1. QUESTIONS, LEVELS, MEANINGS

1.1. What people are arguing about

Discussions of education and training for regional and subnational planners lead one into a series of complex issues. Some of these are found in any field of education or training; others are common to all education and training that is oriented to planning and action; and finally some are specific to regional planning. Each set of issues contains many possible occasions for disagreement or simply misunderstanding. The discussions often run into difficulties.

Part One in this study tries to reduce the scope for people to talk past each other. It identifies a number of major issues and difficulties, and specifies those concentrated on here. In Parts Two and Three we look in more detail at options and contending views. Part Two examines the evolving organization and environment of regional and subnational planning, and the related practice and requirements of education and training. Part Three then considers in more detail the contents of education and training. A fuller introduction to Parts Two and Three is given in section 1.4. Before that we will try to clarify the terms and issues.

(a) Difficulties characteristic of training and education for regional/subnational planning

Regional planning is not a field with sharply definable boundaries. It broadly covers planning, whether done at national or subnational levels, for the development of particular geographical areas, viewed in a more integrated way than from the perspective of any one sector. So it is inter-sectoral area-focused planning. However there are various types of area focus and of "integration". At one extreme the geographical area considered can be a single settlement. This town / urban / city / settlement planning naturally contains distinctive foci of its own; though the larger the settlement is, the more similarities there are to considering a whole region; and its distinctiveness is again less if one is looking at management of existing settlements rather than new construction. On the type of integration, physical planners focus relatively more on integration of geographical space, socio-economic planners more on the coordination of different sectors and groups, and administrative planners more on the coordination of organizations. Town planners for example can take each or all of those emphases. However, very many have a physical emphasis, and often call the wider field spatial or physical planning. Related to that, they often see town planning as the parent of all regional planning, rather than as a special case or sister of it.

Intra-regional planning is concerned with development within a particular region, and inter-regional planning with the linkages and relative positions of different regions. I am concerned here with intra-regional planning, though the two overlap. Intra-regional planning is done not only by those who call themselves "regional planners". So sometimes one may talk of "subnational planning", to

more clearly include the work of people who are not in regional planning offices but who are trying to plan for regional development in a relatively integrated way; e.g. they may be in departments of agriculture or natural resources or community development. A merit of the term is that it covers both rural and urban planning, but without the connotations of infrastructural and urban emphases that can accompany the label "urban and regional planning". Unfortunately "subnational planning" also covers people who plan in or for a region but do not take an inter-sectoral and integrated approach. Next, as planning is only a means, our field might be called "work for planned regional development", for that clearly includes activities in implementation, review and so on. But since it is an unwieldy phrase we mainly stick with "regional planning", the label in common use.

The nature of regional planning raises difficulties for its practice and its education. The attempt to be intersectoral forces it towards multi- or inter-disciplinarity; and there is always more that needs to be covered than the available time or abilities will permit. This is partly just an acute instance of a typical problem in development studies and planning. In addition though in regional planning, the divisions between the disciplinary streams which have moved or expanded into the area are notably deep. Partly related to this, there are many levels and types of regional planning. (The term "multi-level planning" reflects the necessity for planning simultaneously at national level and a number of sub-national levels.)

Some divisions between the disciplines are intellectual, and concern the concepts and theories of development they use, their research priorities, and so on. But the divisions are also social and in a further sense ideological, as different organized professional groups and traditions compete for preeminence or control in certain types of work. The groups are marked by their own characteristic training, experience, educational institutions and other professional apparatus (journals, associations, conferences, etc.). As a result, as Higgins puts it, regional planning is "an uneasy polygamous marriage" of various streams, from physical planning, socio-economic planning and administration, each of which in turn contains several significantly different substreams. This fact is so basic to an understanding of both the practice of regional planning and the options and debates over its education, that in the next section (1.2) we will say more on the major streams involved.

One can certainly identify shared areas where different approaches have drawn on each other or on a common source. Some people then define "core" areas for regional planning training, around which there are optional specializations. Core areas would include some that are common to much of planning - e.g. perhaps general planning theory, project planning, research methods and data analysis - and others that are specific to regional planning, such as regional theory and local government administration. But people differ on what should be in the core, often to such an extent that some reject the whole idea of a generic core plus optional specializations. Many others at least hold that the appropriate content of a "core" subject can differ greatly between streams. And some even feel that their "specialization" - be it physical settlement planning or economic

planning or community mobilization or whatever - should in fact be the core or at least its greater part.

In Part Two we look at these disagreements. I think there are core areas in regional planning, not identical to the traditional core of any of the various parent disciplines which contributed to it and whose graduates may seek to be involved in it. Part Three will look at teaching these areas. But I accept that there are legitimately different streams of regional planning. One needs to complement and go beyond any core-and-specialisms model for education: firstly, with a specialisms-plus-generalisms model, because "core" topics may have to be approached differently for different groups, according to what is their main specialism, and because the core varies for each group, since specialisms are demanding; and secondly, with elements of an a-la-carte "menu" model, where there can be many defensible combinations of topics, depending on people's particular environment and work. What I will reject is any fixed-menu single-restaurant model, where one discipline or profession asserts that study of all or nearly all of its syllabus is a necessary or sufficient condition for working in regional planning. Even a fixed-menus multiple-restaurants model has problems, through limiting the adjustment of "dining" choices to the "doing" contexts.

(b) Standard issues and difficulties in education and training

Whatever field of education and training one works in, there are always doubts and differences over educational philosophy and method, partly due to problems in determining cause-effect relations in teaching and learning. The differences inevitably come up as one faces an equally unavoidable series of practical issues: questions on course content, level and emphasis, and on precise learning objectives; and contextual questions about who should be educated or trained, how, where, when, by whom, and for how long. Who should be educated has particularly strong links with content questions. In answering all the questions one has to distinguish between different levels and types of education and training.

Section 1.3. tries to identify relevant spatial levels for our discussion. Then in Parts Two and Three we look at more details of the contexts and contents respectively. We will mainly consider the education of professionals - i.e. people whose primary work is planned development (which does not only mean those who are members of some institute of "chartered planners"); and will consider each of pre-employment, mid-career and ongoing training and education.

(c) Difficulties common to practice-oriented education

All practice-oriented education tends to encounter problems of scope, for it has to cover both the theories relevant to its area of concern and the real-world demands and constraints met in application. It has to be intellectually wide-ranging and yet relevant to action. So it must analyse the needs of current practice, and the environment which produces both the practice and the problems that it tries to tackle. This environment goes on changing, and education has to be relevant as much to the future as to the present. Given the need to

respond to particular conditions, there is always a danger of over-generalization across time and place. Part Two of the study looks at these questions. On the other hand there is also the need to distinguish between education and training. Training provides some of the necessary adaptation to specific jobs and conditions, whereas education covers more general and less transient issues. (We treat the distinction further in section 1.3.)

(d) Background and orientation of the study

Since the start of 1984, the Institute of Social Studies and the University of Zimbabwe have had a joint project of multidisciplinary postgraduate education and research in rural and regional planning. I participated in the project preparations from 1981, including in a conference on training for rural and regional planning, held in Harare in 1982. Later I spent four and a half years there as a full-time project member in the new university department of Rural & Urban Planning, during 1984 to 1989. One activity of the project of cooperation has been to set up a Southern and Eastern African network of rural and urban planners, with the intention of bringing together physical and other subnational planners. For the network's first conference, in Harare in 1988, I prepared a theme paper on education for planning (usually called "planning education"). A later version of the paper was presented to a 1989 conference on planning education, held in Birmingham to mark the 75th anniversary of the U.K.'s Royal Town Planning Institute. The present version is considerably revised and extended, drawing on comments on the earlier papers, and on recent literature and my further thoughts.

The study thus is oriented first to Anglophone and Southern/Eastern Africa, and grew originally from a special interest in intra-regional planning in mainly rural areas. But it deliberately uses extensive comparative perspectives. Certain things apply in common across countries or across different types of planning, and comparison is vital for understanding. In addition Anglophone Africa, especially Zimbabwe, has a strong presence of town-&-regional planning of the British variety, which therefore receives detailed attention here. Besides, town-and-regional planning has a substantial literature on planning education, much of which is relevant to regional and development planning as a whole; and I look at some of the British, Dutch, Indian and other international work, including from the 1989 Birmingham conference. One reason why urban and regional planning generate much work on education, and on planning theory, is the feature we mentioned earlier: the whole area is a crossroads of different disciplines, which have sought to define their mutual relations (or hierarchy) or to merge into a new synthesis, and have therefore needed to analyse what is central for practice and education.

Apart from drawing on urban-and-regional literature, especially where it emphasizes wider regional planning, I will refer to the considerable recent work on training for decentralized planning in developing countries, and other work on training for development management and development planning.

1.2. Some varieties of "regional planning" and "subnational planning"

Many disputes in regional planning result from its plural origins. Higgins (1981) spoke of "an uneasy polygamous marriage" between several contributor lines of work:

1. Physical planning;
2. Soviet-style "balance planning", and more advanced forms of consistency analysis like input-output models;
3. Western models of economic growth and for fiscal policy;
4. Project planning and management.

He argues that the limits to each of these lines, especially if used in isolation, have become clear:- as shown for physical planning for example by folies de grandeur like Brasilia; and, for lines 2 and 3, by the often disappointing performance of national and regional macro-economic planning in LDCs. When lines 1 and 3 were combined in "growth centres" policies, the results could be more unsatisfactory still (ibid.:155).

Higgins wrote as an economist, and so distinguished three strands deriving more from economic planning (# 2-4 above) but only one from physical or town planning (#1). One can take a more disaggregated view of "physical planning"; for example there are typically differences in perspective between the architects and the engineers who work in town and regional planning, not to speak of the generalist physical planners (often with a geography background) who insist they are separate from each of architecture, engineering and socio-economic planning; plus there are transport planners, housing specialists, landscape architects, and so on.

There are other strands besides those deriving from physical or economic planning. Conyers (1985) lists in addition, as approaches in rural regional planning:-

5. integrated rural development planning, and
6. natural resource planning.

These are rather distinct streams of work from those mentioned so far, often involving other people, with a separate training and experiences, who attend different meetings, read partly different literature, and have different career paths. Social anthropologists often energetically declare themselves not the same as sociologists; and in regional planning one is certainly talking of bigger differences than that. For example integrated rural development planning has mostly involved agricultural rather than industrial or macro economists, agriculturalists rather than engineers, and geographers rather than architects. Natural resource planning has involved ecologists, hydrologists, foresters, land management specialists, and so on.

Both Conyers and Chitsike et al (1986:Ch.3) also emphasize:

7. administrative planning; this has links to #4 above, but it includes much other work from public and development administration and local government;
- and: 8. participatory planning; Higgins himself emphasised this as a vital element needed in regional planning, and as related to community development, adult education, social planning, &c.

These administrative and participatory planning strands began to better penetrate regional planning in the 70s and 80s, but still have a long way to go.

In sum, there is a range of types of regional/sub-national planner, and even more so of types of people importantly involved in regional/sub-national planning. One might at least distinguish between substantially physical/environmental planners, socio-economic development planners, and development managers/administrators. (See e.g. Conyers & Hills, 1984; Conyers, 1985. [1]) Each of these categories itself contains much variety in job definitions and emphases; and there is often substantial overlap between the categories in the work they do and the topics they study. There are many ways of dividing up professional territory, but all these types of "planner" are needed, as seen for example from countries where regional planning functions relatively more effectively. [2] It is not correct for one type to try to keep the name "planner" only for themselves. Sections 2 and 3 below look at the roots in British professional history of such claims by some physical planners, and at their limits in Africa as well as Britain. There is also a strong case even within each type for entry along a variety of paths. It helps to feed a range of experiences into planning.

Without trying to downgrade other varieties of sub-national planner, the main attention in this study will thus go to physical planners, (socio-)economic development planners and development administrators. This reflects the background to the study as described earlier, and the need for socio-economic planners to be more aware of the other two broad groups, both of which are sometimes more influential and more organized. Most attention will go to the physical planners, as they are often more distant from the socio-economic planners and also contain a large sub-group who insist that the core of regional planning lies within their discipline alone. To many of them it is axiomatic that regional planning must primarily be seen as the planning of human settlements and their areas of influence; and correspondingly they feel that they should dominate regional planning and its training.

To review: we began with a broad definition of regional planning, as integrated planning for particular geographical areas. Within this one can try to distinguish between (A) core and (B) specialist topics. The core could be broken down into (A1) parts which are common to all planning, and (A2) parts which are distinctive to regional planning. The areas of specialism can be broken down too, for example according to the sort of geographical area focussed on. One can in general distinguish within regional planning according to (i) the type of geographical area taken and (ii) the type of emphasis in integration. We saw that the latter could be spatial, functional or organizational. The geographical focus could be: (1) within an urban settlement; (2) an urban settlement and its zone of influence; (3) rural; (4) a region that includes many significant urban centres. (This breakdown does not give mutually exclusive cases but indicates differing emphases.)

Both core and specialist areas could include subject matter from physical, social, and managerial disciplines. However, disciplines

tend to differ over where the boundaries of A1 and A2 lie, i.e. over what a core would contain. This reflects the differences in emphasis just mentioned. For example an emphasis on spatial integration often goes with a stress on physical construction and planning of urban settlements; perhaps reflecting the idea that human-geographical space is defined by urban hierarchies, and a reliance on tools derived from architecture. In such a perspective urban planning is closer to the core than are rural and wider regional planning, and any general regional core (A2) itself is held to contain much from geography and town planning (e.g. urban form, central place theory, construction management), while any generic planning core (A1) may be held to contain relatively little. Those who take socio-economic and administrative emphases tend to define core areas (A1, A2) differently from physical planners, including more social, economic, political and administrative theory and associated tools of analysis, and less on for example urban form, which they see as instead belonging to a specialism in urban/physical planning.

The position taken here is closer to this sort of socio-economic and administrative perspective. At the same time, having worked for a few years in physical infrastructure planning, I firmly respect the contributions of the physical and spatial disciplines (and readily support for example some construction management and central place theory in any core area A2.) Teamwork is needed, not an attempt by one profession to exclude or marginalize others.

One might ask, why don't people just accept that there are different approaches in regional planning, so that the term should generally be used with qualifiers. Yet that is often not done. Later we will see more on the social and intellectual sources for this. One may still ask: even if people fight over use of the term "regional planning", what does it matter where one draws boundaries for the use of certain words, as long as one remembers what the various usages actually refer to? The answer is that control over terms can affect control over certain types of work and how they are done. "Regional planning" is a term that is contended over, and this is of more than semantic interest if groups try to exclude or marginalize others involved in its practice and education. In some cases this involves urban- and physically-oriented planners subordinating more rural/ regional or social/administrative emphases. But from whichever side it is done we should be wary of it.

1.3. The many levels for education and training

(a) "Education" and "training"

Authors often distinguish "education" and "training". "Education" is more general in focus and concentrates on the knowledge, understanding, skills and attitudes that are relevant to many situations, not just a few. This includes the knowledge and skills for diagnosing what type of situation one is in (and so knowing what specific skills may be called for), and for adapting to changes in the situation. A key goal in education is helping people learn how to learn and how to go on learning. "Training" provides the skills

that are more specific to particular situations (jobs/countries/times/...). There is of course a continuum between "education" and "training", but it is a wide spectrum, within which one must make distinctions. So I will sometimes contrast "education" and "training" in the senses just indicated.

The title of this study refers to planning education, as a stress on "education" fits a piece written from a university and for a wide audience. The specifics of "training" should vary according to the national organizational set-up, job-descriptions, political culture and strategy, staffing situation and so on. These can vary a lot even between countries in one region. The discussion here is at a broader level, and refers especially to education at universities. However some findings and proposals on training for decentralization will be drawn from recent studies, including a general approach or methodology for designing training. For whenever one looks at education or training it should be with an awareness of the other, as they are complementary and each has limited effectiveness in isolation.

(b) Levels for education and training

Eversley described our manpower planning alternatives as these:-

- (i) to try to create all-in-one planners - which is impossible;
- (ii) to try to ensure the availability of teams of all the relevant disciplines - which is usually impracticable;
- (iii) to try to create a satisfactory range of types of planner - which is less unrealistic (Eversley, 1973:262).

This final preferred alternative links to Perloff's proposal for "generalists with a specialism" - not people who each try to do everything, nor just a team of specialists, but people with a common understanding of major processes and contextual issues, in addition to a personal area of specialization. The range of specialisms then gives a range of types of planner. The spread and overlap of their skills helps them to work together, and allows relatively small teams to tackle many types of job. Serious use of the term "specialism" implies something more than having taken an optional paper in the final year of an all-in-one degree programme. Indeed in some cases one refers instead to "specialists with a generalism", people fully trained in one line of planning who add to that a general training on major other lines and how they can relate to each other effectively.

Perloff, who wrote the influential early study "Education for Planning" (1957), argued that training all-in-one regional planners "is becoming not only more difficult but also more unrealistic" (1971:22); and he proposed that this strengthened the case against seeking a uniform educational pattern through which all regional planners should be forced.

He distinguished between regional planning training at the following levels:-

1. For top decision-makers. (Presumably this would involve seminars and very short courses.) [3]
2. For national development planners. (Probably short courses.)

3. For national planners especially involved in regionalization and disaggregation. (Presumably via diploma, M.Sc., or research courses.)
4. For sector planners concerned with regional aspects. (Presumably via diploma or short courses.)
5. Generalist (i.e. genuinely multi-disciplinary) regional planners (via Masters or diploma courses, or research).

This sort of list can be extended and refined. For example to level 4 one could add physical planners who are acquiring broader training in regional planning. What is more important is Perloff's general line of argument. Instead of uniformity, there should be "the 'regionalization' of education within a number of established fields (that is, the training of regional specialists in various fields)" (Perloff, 1971:22), through studies in regional planning done in parallel with, or as a follow-up to, specialization in one of many other fields. Given the political and economic uncertainties affecting regional planning in many LDCs, "such joint training is not only a matter of educational logic but of career necessity as well" (ibid.). It permits some career flexibility.

A decade later Higgins offered a modified list. Besides Perloff's categories 1 to 4, he provided a significant extension or revision of category 5. Whereas for Perloff this category concerned all-purpose regional planners, who (if competent) would inevitably be a "rare breed" (1971:21), for Higgins two further important possibilities have opened up. (We could also add administrative or management planning to his list.)

6. Various levels of integrated area planner
 - who are inevitably not masters-of-all-trades, but can be general analysts and coordinators;
7. Community planners.

Integrated area planning for regions with millions of people is, he argues, in many ways similar to national planning. Training at this level would have quite a lot of "regional science". Elsewhere Higgins is caustic about the achievements of that subject in its narrowly technical forms. He refers to it here "interpreted broadly to include all disciplines relevant to economic, social and environmental interactions in space" (Higgins, 1981:173).

Similar arguments apply at the level of regions with around a million people, but "bottom-up planning" aspects now become fairly important. The regional planner at this level:

"must be capable of talking to spokesmen of the communities and of evaluating projects in terms of the needs, wishes and aspirations of the local populations. If so, we may wish to add to his training...some knowledge of anthropology, of community development and animation sociale etc.

"When we move to the 'district' in the sense of areas with 100,000 to 500,000 population the opportunities for working directly with the population are further enhanced... the importance of 'regional science' [even as defined above] declines.

"When we arrive at the community level and the 'barefoot planner', we have reached a point where the planning exercise, and the training needs, are totally different from those at the national level. Here "regional science" has almost totally disappeared.... social work, animation sociale, community development constitute the essence of the exercise" (Higgins, 1981:173).

But this 'barefoot planner' would also need some knowledge in a series of areas such as "agronomy, hydrology, engineering, marketing, soil analysis, etc." (ibid:173).

Amos makes a similar contrast, arguing for a transition from scientific analysis of broad issues at the national level, to human relations and production techniques at the local level (1982b:4). Brine too stressed some study of community development in planning education (1972); Cormack adds that different approaches may be needed for urban and for rural areas (1983).

Equally important, for none of the geographic levels that we have identified (within groups 6 and 7), nor for groups 3, 4 and 5 above, is it sufficient to train regional planners through just a minor extension of traditional education in either urban settlement planning or economic development planning (Conyers, 1987).

We can add at least two groups to Higgins' list: 8. Local leaders; and 9. General public. We will not look at them here, but must remember that there are groups vitally involved in regional planning who are not called regional planners but can need training.

Amos proposed a partly comparable list for Zimbabwe (1982b:5):-

- (i) national level policy analysts/planners, working on national spatial strategies; who would need a two year taught M.Sc. after a relevant first degree; [similar to Perloff's #3];
- (ii) regional planners working on spatial strategies for large areas; some would require the same training as those in group (i);
- (iii) development officers working for a local authority or other local body. He suggested that these be trained at undergraduate level, through a B.Sc. in development planning/management.
- (iv) project planners, needing a one-year postgraduate course.

Project planners will often be working too in sector planning or other aspects of development management; and both of these can require skills beyond those of a typical B.Sc. graduate in town and regional planning. In general, studying issues of synthesis and prescription is perhaps best tackled by those with an intellectual and personal maturity more usually found at postgraduate levels, and preferably after relevant work experience, with their course chosen on that basis. After the course such people, with a good relevant first degree, work experience and postgraduate training, should outrank those with only a first degree (usually a Lower Second) in planning (McLoughlin & Berry, 1989; Saini, 1989). From the Masvingo provincial planning work in the early 80s in Zimbabwe, Underwood thus put forward a different list from Amos'. It agreed with his type (ii) but not with types (iii) and (iv). There it instead distinguished (a) "bread-and-butter" physical planners, to work on service centre projects

etc., who could come from an undergraduate training; and (b) district-level development coordinators, who would need a postgraduate diploma or something equivalent (Underwood, 1982:6).

Underwood and others agreed though with Amos, Perloff et al, on the general approach:- each group needs to be introduced to the range of skills, partly because some of them will move between levels in the course of their career; but all will have to specialize to a significant extent, and learn how to work with others. [4] Masvingo continues in the frontline of Zimbabwe's subnational planning; and the recent efforts there, notably the CARD programme, have emphasized this necessity of team-work, not just an attempted reliance on committees or one-man planners (Ndebele, 1987; Weyl, 1987).

1.4. Introduction to Parts Two and Three

We have now raised certain themes of the rest of the study:-

1. Regional planning calls for various types of planner, and various types of education and training. One must at least try to distinguish core areas and specialism areas; and the former must include skills of interaction. In fact one needs to go further, and recognize the need for various specialisms that still share certain generalisms.

2. The types of training required for decentralized planning vary according to the country and the details of its system. So there are limits to what can be said at a multi-country level, even within one region. Similarly, patterns of organization taken from the colonial era or the North (especially if taken long ago) are not always suited for present-day Africa.

3. However the distinction between "training" and "education" is important. Education" is less country- and time-specific. Its role is to give the more general capacities needed for working in particular situations which go on changing. This sort of "education" has become more rather than less necessary in the fast-changing, unpredictable and difficult 80s and 90s.

Part Two will try to identify past and current links between planning education, planning practice, and their environment, and to critically comment on those links and, where relevant, consider possible alternatives. (Appendix A provides a framework for this analysis.) Section 2 discusses strands in subnational planning and training that were inherited or established in Africa in the independence years of the late 50s, 60s and 70s. Section 3 reviews criticisms of those approaches, including of conventional planning syllabi and of Northern (particularly British) derived urban-and-regional planning. Section 4 looks for changes in conditions from the middle or late 1970s, and - together with Section 5 - at their implications for subnational planning and education. Section 5 draws together suggestions for properly adapted training, adaptive planning, and education that strengthens skills in facing situations and problems.

In Part Three, Section 6 looks in more detail at the possible contents of education and training. Appendix B is a case-study of university-level education in Zimbabwe. Section 7 then concludes.

Parts Two and Three can be read independently. Readers are also invited to use the summary for any sections of less interest to them.

PART II - REGIONAL PLANNING: THE EVOLVING RELATIONS BETWEEN ITS ENVIRONMENT, PRACTICE, AND EDUCATION

2. RELATIONS IN THE 1950S TO LATE 1970S, IN NORTH AND SOUTH

New strains and perceptions became prominent in Africa in the 1980s. We can roughly see a transition period in the later 1970s and early 1980s, reflecting the oil price shocks, depressed relative prices for most other primary commodities, international recession, more frequent droughts, and ongoing subcontinental conflicts. We can thus take two rough periods for discussion, the first being before the 1980s and the second since the late 1970s. The overlap reflects the lag between events and reactions; practices can carry on for a while even after conditions have changed. The earlier period was in most of Africa the run up to independence and the immediate post-independence era. We need here to briefly note the changes it brought in local government, the emergence of development administration & management, and the carry-over of Western urban-&-regional planning.

Structures for local government and development planning were created, extended or reformed. They often became significantly different from those in the former colonial power or during the transition to independence. Elected local government has had mixed fortunes in independent Africa, with many a rise and fall (Mawhood, ed., 1983). All countries have emphasised the role of centrally appointed and directed officials at local levels.

Major efforts were made to orient public administration towards more developmental functions. Again this "development administration" often became significantly different from earlier models. The new term covered several ideas:- (i) the administrative system had to apply itself to new tasks; (ii) development tasks vitally needed administrative inputs and expertise; (iii) the type of administrative systems appropriate for developing countries could differ from those in the former colonial powers or in the colonial period. District administration staff have received new duties and training, with some move away from control functions and towards promotion. (We will see the issue of control versus promotion in physical planning too.) Over time the term "development management" has become equally common. It adds more stress on skills of planning, and project and policy analysis; and more clearly extends beyond administrators, to cover others involved in integrated development approaches. Many institutes and programmes for training national and local government were established in the 1950s and 60s in the Third World (Paul, 1983). Later we will see some of the problems that were met.

It is likely that area- and settlement-level coordination will be controlled by politicians and general administrators, because the decisions must reflect political, administrative and social considerations, as well as economic or physical ones. This is one reason why "development management" and associated training have become well-established. At the same time the British type of town planning frequently felt that its concern with the total built or man-made environment, and its professionalized status, entitled it too to be general coordinator of subnational development.

(Note that all the labels possible under "town/urban/city and country/regional planning" refer to the same stream of work. Sometimes the "country/regional" sub-label is left out, which reflects the Northern history and predominant urban emphasis of the stream. It can attach no adjective at all to "planner"; but what is meant is still a physical/land-use/environmental planner.)

Originally town planners saw themselves as the coordinators of land use. With the slogan that "everything happens in space", this sometimes became a claim to coordinate development as a whole. However, conservative members held back, remaining as pure physical planners, and social scientists pointed out the insufficiency of land as the currency in societal allocations. More ambitious urban-and-regionalists then sought to cover all "planning" and coordinate the use of other scarce resources too, especially in countries like Britain where there is rather little as a national development planning system. This can lead them into competition with public administrators, economists and others, as well as with politicians.

Western urban-and-regional planning has been imitated to an important degree in Africa. The British physical planning set-up in particular was transplanted into most of Anglophone Africa, for example in Southern Rhodesia by the 1933 and 1945 Town & Country Planning Acts. In some cases there was also influence from South Africa. In contrast, British style town-and-regional planning has had rather slight impact in India, where socio-economic planning, development administration and the older professions of engineering and architecture are more powerful. [1] Town-and-regional planning in Anglophone Africa may often have had less local adaptation than did local government and administration. The ex-colonies seem here to have even lagged behind trends in the former colonial power, including in education (Rambanapasi, 1988). There was no town planning counterpart to the new sub-disciplines like development economics and development administration. Use of a professionalized set-up that was copied from and linked abroad may have been a source of inflexibility.

The British "town and country planning" tradition is in fact rather specific to Britain and its ex-colonies, and differs from professional patterns in Continental Europe. Town planning there is less separate from architecture and engineering and has less stress on comprehensive legal development control. Architects and engineers dominate site-specific work, while more strategic planning involves various types of management planner and consultant (Faludi, 1978; Fryer, 1989). The body of 14,000 professional members of the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) in Britain dwarfs the comparable bodies in Europe, if they exist at all (Williams, 1989). How far British-style development control in fact achieves its stated objectives is open to doubt (Reade, 1987, 1989). Even the Netherlands, often taken as a model of successful physical planning, does not share the British pattern of a large separate town-and-regional planning profession seeking a monopoly in certain types of work and supervising separate required forms of education. There is instead more emphasis on development promotion through partnership-cum-negotiation between various agencies, national and local, public and private. (Faludi, 1987.) [2] And more widely too:

"On the European continent... physical planning has generally been seen as a field of government regulation or public policy, to which experts from various professions or disciplines contribute according to the nature of the particular task in hand. In Britain by contrast, the main effort has generally been put into defining 'planning' as a 'profession', supposedly distinct from other professions, or even as a mode of thought and action supposedly distinct from other modes" (Reade, 1989:1).

In the physical planning tradition, attention to regional planning emerged as a subordinate extension of town planning. (See e.g. Underwood, 1986, on the move in Rhodesia from the 1945 Act to the 1976 Regional, Town & Country Planning Act.) Town planning was in turn viewed in terms derived from the older technical disciplines of architecture, civil engineering and surveying. In Britain each of these had acquired formalized professional status, and they dominated town and regional planning until the 1960s. Only in the 1950s did significant numbers of people with other types of training enter:- firstly, those who sat directly for the professional town planning examinations; and secondly, especially from the 1960s, people with a non-technical first degree, mainly from geography but also from social sciences. In the 1960s the status of such entrants was equated with the entrants from the technical disciplines.

Town planning became defined by the British RTPI as no longer primarily just a specialism into which some members of the more established technical professions might move. Instead it was asserted as a quite distinct profession, whose contribution lay in organizing, coordinating and controlling the contributions from many other disciplines (Town Planning Institute, 1967:35; [3]). Yet the basis for such claims to special expertise and power was sometimes just a knowledge of development control legislation and procedures (Faludi, 1978:109). People without a university degree could obtain full professional status by part-time study over five years, much less than was needed to enter other professions.

One development in Britain in the 60s and early 70s was therefore the emergence of many new university courses in urban-and-regional planning, especially at undergraduate level. Faludi, himself a supporter of the trend, argues that the main cause was that chartered Town Planners were seeking to establish their independence and legitimacy within the British structure of professions (1978:2). In Continental Europe and North America there was much less interest in undergraduate courses. It was also a boom phase in funding for all degree courses in Britain, comparable to post-independence booms in African universities. Even so there are more postgraduate than undergraduate courses. [4] The 1950 Schuster report on education had argued that planning is a team activity involving many professions, in which coordinator roles require people of postgraduate quality. The report was otherwise largely ignored until the 70s, for it questioned the assumption that planning is a separate profession centred around physical design, regardless of whether it be dominated by technical specialists or generalist controllers (Healey, 1983).

The assertion of a controller self-image in the 60s and 70s by the RTPI no doubt influenced some people in Anglophone Africa, during their training in Britain (where so many still went until the 80s), and via professional and technical assistance links. No sooner was the self-image stated than it was outdated in Britain by the mid-70s' reorganization of local government, which was itself a reflection of deeper trends. "Planning ceases to be the exclusive concern of individual departments...and now attends more to linkages between the areas of concern of existing departments", to furthering co-operative styles of work, and to integration through common planning procedures (Faludi, 1978:140, 56). Town-and-regional planning became clearly seen as "just one out of a number of professions which are prominently concerned with public planning" (ibid:140). This better reflected the reality of "a complex world of overlapping institutional areas of concern and conflicting interests" (ibid:141). However, a narrower view still prevailed amongst many physical and town planners.

The RTPI's response to the changes was not to broaden its membership beyond physical/environmental planning. (In contrast, Australia, New Zealand and the USA all now have just a "Planning" Institute/Association.) It did though permit more flexibility in approved education. A variety of specialisms, not only in town planning, were now allowed around a core curriculum. This signalled "the abandonment of one of the pretences of the [controller] concept - that every planner should be capable of covering the entire field of physical planning" (ibid: p.58). [5] Social and management sciences became more drawn on. But despite claims to supervise sub-national planning as a whole, the Institute was unwilling to represent other types of planning equally with physical planning. This applied even to the administrative or "management planning of coincident physical, social and economic factors" that was emphasised by Amos, former President of the RTPI and chief planner in Liverpool (Amos, 1971; Haynes, 1980). As we saw, management planning has been recognized elsewhere, in "development management". Some results of British town planning's narrowness will be seen in Section 3.

3. A CRITIQUE FOR THE 60S AND 70S

3.1. Criticisms of regional development planning in the South

There are many variations in interpreting the experiences of the 60s and 70s. I will take only a few illustrative points which have likely implications for education or training.

(a) Some positions in regional theory stress the limits of "spatial separatism". Conventional regional planning allegedly saw itself largely as designing a regional set of investments to match a set of sectoral economic plans, which had been largely derived by aspatial analysis and treated as a separate sphere from territorial and physical planning. A few regional planning theorists go so far as to see the separation as the main source of problems in development planning [1]; but this may reflect a weakness or absence of analysis of some other problems, including the following.

(b) A series of "gaps" in planning were identified - in the supply of fundable projects, in implementation, and so on. The importance of project planning and management became clear, in all its stages:- identification, formulation and screening, detailed design and appraisal, funding, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and adaptation/succession/termination.

(c) Both in project and other planning, perhaps the greatest "gap" was in adaptability, not in *ex ante* refinement. *Ex ante* plans always proved wrong in some of their assumptions and were usually soon outdated even where assumptions had originally been right (Hirschman, 1967). A blueprint-planning belief in a mainly predictable or controllable environment proved wrong time and again, at any rate outside simpler physical infrastructure projects. Regional planning must be "part of an ongoing process of managing change, which involves building upon and strengthening the existing administrative system" (Conyers, 1985:60).

(d) Another lesson was the priority of production development - for example in order to cover the recurrent costs of physical and social infrastructure. This was illustrated by the common weakness of policies for growth centres and service centres that put infrastructure creation first.

(e) Within production, the importance of agriculture for the majority in most regions was underlined; but so were the greater complexity and demands in rural programmes. The "unconventional" strands mentioned earlier have had more to offer for rural regional planning than have traditional economic and physical planning strands (Conyers, 1985). Neglect in particular of the administrative and participatory planning strands is one of the main criticisms of 60s and 70s approaches.

Higgins (1981) proposes that two distinct concepts of "regional planning" are now present, each trying to go beyond the previous work. One concept stresses spatial analysis, disaggregation and integration; and the unification of economic and physical planning strands via an improved technocratic synthesis. The other concept stresses administrative decentralization, participation, and bottom-up planning. These terms already figured in some 1970s critiques of past planning, but operational working out of what the approaches might require in terms of planning and training has mainly occurred later.

3.2. Criticisms made of education for regional development planning

Weaknesses in regional planning were reflected in education. In the mid-1970s the Institute of Social Studies surveyed some courses in or oriented to the Third World (Uribe, 1977). The main findings and conclusions applied to all the countries that were looked at, and were summarized in Apthorpe, Helmsing & Gasper (1982).

"1. The conceptualization of planning. The main finding here was that planning was presented as mainly a technocratic matter of knobs and buttons...on development

machines [that were] to be pushed and pulled, as if planning were not a socio-political-economic process but [instead just] a form of technical rationality.... matters of implementation were left out of the curricula...as if implementation were a matter of public administration only... the whole [area] of evaluation was very much neglected in the courses.."

"2. The substance of planning. Here the main finding was the strong emphasis...on the urban-industrial thesis and the manipulation of the spatial system of urbanization [i.e. concern mainly with industrialization and with spreading it around].... growth centres and poles figured prominently... [Courses neglected] the more difficult issues of.. intervention in the organization of production itself... [In] the urban industrial approach the rural areas and their particular circumstances were either neglected altogether... or were reduced to agricultural problems alone."

"3. The theory and practice of planning education... Courses were on the whole not problem-focussed but built up on a disciplinary basis. Case studies, if they were included at all...had the status more of extras.... The lecture method was the main form of instruction and learning used. The aim may have been to achieve an interdisciplinary approach but it was left just to the poor students to achieve this as it was too difficult for the instructors apparently... As for the mixes of disciplines actually achieved... 'the rider' and 'the horse'...partnership approach ...was aimed at in many of the programmes surveyed, with one discipline only in the saddle. It must be said that some single disciplines tried to achieve this feat of riding even without any horse at all!" (Apthorpe et al, 1982:1-2).

Economic planning and physical planning were the main disciplines seeking the saddle. Both have been forced to improve their links to administration and management, though one still meets some lone riders out on the range. While the 1970s literature on crises in national and regional economic planning is well-known, the parallel critiques in physical planning may be less familiar and are looked at next. [2]

3.3. Criticisms made of physical planning and its education - in North and South

"Western planners and architects have played an instrumental role [in Third World development], first by loaning the images of the dominant culture, which the newly independent countries aspired to for prestige and self-esteem, and secondly by training the rising professional classes of those countries. This was a culture transplant of the most dubious kind, if we consider the rarefied and irrelevant nature of much planning theory, even in its own society. Yet this was what was absorbed by a small professional elite who then tried to apply it in Third World conditions." (Ravetz, 1986:136)

Ravetz is typical of recent criticism of some past physical planning. Ukwu was equally scathing on the role of expatriate physical planners in Nigeria, who often arrived as disciples of one urban layout prophet or another. Their lack of local orientation was seen in the habit of tagging on to their reports the section on "socio-economic conditions" after the other sections had been written (Univ. of Zimbabwe, 1982:7). Local disciples can also be found. Some studied abroad; but local courses have often been of equally dubious relevance. Zetter's review of both foreign and local courses warned that developing countries were receiving irrelevant models of development and of planning education. His cases from Nigeria, Ghana and elsewhere showed a tendency to replicate U.K. courses, and apparent "preference... for teaching the more 'familiar' physical traditions.. Integration of social, economic, political and physical planning issues in the courses is..limited. Thus planning activity is taught as distinct from the central issues of development and rapid urbanisation which give rise to the need for planning" (1981:27). Gwani (1989) reports no significant change since then. [3]

Western and Northern urban-and-regional planning has both strengths and weaknesses for development planning in Africa. Emphases on development control and on infrastructure reflected the situation in urbanized societies with vigorous industrial and commercial sectors, which were to be both supported and supervised. The same also partly applied in settler colonies, though the machinery of control was further emphasized there at the expense of the indigenous populations. One should consider how far the approach needs to be changed for purposes of promoting development in independent Africa, especially in rural regions.

Conventional physical planning has often had the virtues of an applied orientation, and sometimes of scope and idealism. Its limitations were suggested in the following statement by a practitioner, at a conference in Zimbabwe.

"Physical Planning...[has seen itself as] the 'coordinator of space'. The danger of this traditional view is that it emphasizes the words space and physical.... Well what is wrong with this view?... Firstly, it leaves out PEOPLE... The second thing wrong....is that emphasis is placed on preparing plans...[and not on being involved in] the whole process of planning, implementation, monitoring progress and replanning." (Underwood, 1982:1-2; emphasis in original).

To counter these limitations, physical planning in Africa is re-running the experience elsewhere in trying to come to terms with community-, socio-economic- and management-planning, whether by uniting or by establishing well-reasoned terms of coexistence. We saw that in the parent stream, British Town and Country Planning (or BTCP in Ravetz's acronym), there were moves along those lines, but not a full coming to terms. There are legitimate worries over the possible overextension of a field, bringing too much under a single umbrella; but then the claim to exclusive control of the title and status of "planner" must be dropped. Physical planners have tried to square this circle by denying that other disciplines give attention to the real requirements of practice and planning. While this might have

been true in some cases, for example in economics a generation ago, it no longer generally holds, and hence nor do the exclusive claims.

Public disillusion with BTCP has gradually accumulated over the past generation. Some commentators within the field offered diagnoses of its problems besides its inevitably controversial and exposed role (e.g. Eversley, 1973; Faludi, 1978; Stretton, 1978). Their comments have been supported by much that has happened since. Through the 1970s and especially the 80s, mainstream BTCP has been in retreat in Britain. The hostility of Thatcherism towards most planning has only accentuated rather than caused this trend. [4]

Similar but newer analyses of BTCP come from Ravetz (1986) and Reade (1987). They note BTCP's "own poverty of ideas. As a practical discipline, it was not too concerned with theoretical issues but tended to stick to the ideas formed during its evolution, or to borrow from other fields", often in a superficial way (Ravetz, 1986:45). This problem was more marked in Britain because: "in other European countries land use planning has... been seen more as a set of policy questions on which experts of all kinds might be expected to pronounce, [so] there has... been more of an intellectual challenge.... In Britain, on the other hand, in part I think because so much of the planners' energies have been put into defending their professional bailiwick...fundamental questions have been and still are very much neglected." (Reade, 1989:1).

The result is that "most curricula over the years.. [have been] a shifting collection of unrelated topics.. in [those] countries which have inherited the 'Anglo-Saxon' model of town planning" (McLoughlin & Berry, 1989:9).

Ravetz tries to trace BTCP's main intellectual sources. Several strands that she mentions are listed here, as points (a) through (g) in Box 3.1. Some are specifically British but others are common to urban-and-regional planning more widely. Planning education in Africa as well as Britain can note their limitations.

It became clear over time that no planning team, even if well trained, well experienced and well funded, could by itself master the complexity of major, and even many normal, planning problems: "there is never all the necessary substantive knowledge concentrated in one mind or one agency" (Faludi, 1978:162). [5] Instead, it needs the skills to undertake wide consultation at an early stage, to try to obtain information held by many other agents. This is necessary for even technocratic effectiveness, as well as for respecting political and democratic rights and for reducing the danger of pursuing proposals that later encounter widespread unforeseen opposition.

So, "planning theory suggests that planning should fuse with all kinds of societal decision-making... Corporate planning units in public authorities, rather than becoming... super-brain trusts...tend to be small and view it as their main task to induce existing departments to adopt planning" (Faludi, 1978:171-172). A one-time chief strategic planner for London concluded similarly that the

BOX 3.1 - RAVETZ AND OTHERS ON THE FORMATION AND LIMITATIONS OF CONVENTIONAL BRITISH TOWN-AND-COUNTRY-PLANNING

- (a) An "environmental-determinist approach":- a belief that control of physical settings was the key to influencing social and economic change, and a preoccupation with creating model physical environments and settlement hierarchies. "In recent years, in the more progressive physical planning departments there has, however, been a gradual erosion of this reliance on environmental determinism" (Cormack, 1983:211). But some writers still almost equate national development to physical development. They may partly reflect a declining "Fordist" era, of "metal-bashing" production-line factories supported by muscle-bound fixed physical infrastructure. (See Castells, 1986.) [6]
- (b) A simplistic set of categories, with tendencies to dichotomize (town/country, homes/work, planned development / chaos).
- (c) A simple and Eurocentric picture of the nature of cities; plus, in the British case, a degree of distaste for large cities.
- (d) A well-intentioned and mildly authoritarian paternalism which, when extended from model industrial estates and garden towns to the whole of a nation, faced "an enormous and in the end impossible task" (Ravetz, 1986:48).
- (e) A belief in social harmonization through apolitical professional expertise. In place of an analysis of alternative and competing social values, BTCP has carried a baggage of unexamined values (partly utilitarian), hidden beneath its catchphrase of "good planning". Like orthodox welfare economics, it has attempted the sleight of hand of being a prescribing policy discipline that yet claims to be apolitical (Reade, 1989). [7]
- (f) Reliance, to a large extent, on geography for major intellectual tools, rather than on the other social sciences as had been envisaged by the pioneers of BTCP. Sociology for example seemed unwilling and unable to come up with the sort of supposedly universally applicable and clear-cut toolkits that town-and-regional planning was looking for (like central-place theory). Sociologists often limited themselves to ex post dissections of "great planning disasters". Eversley stressed that the social framework in which the planner operates remained absent from all the reports on planning education in the U.K. (1973:301).
- (g) The systems approach imported from management science in the 1960s did provide tools, but not substantive theory. It gave one framework for the theories that town planning had already absorbed; but as we know, its results have been far below the original claims. (See Rittel & Webber, 1973; Stretton, 1978.)

problem in the 70s was not so much that the town planner in Britain was "ill equipped technically to cope with the urban situation as it exists today, but that he has failed to bridge the gulf between himself and the other constituent members of the planning process" (Eversley, 1973:305).

Given the emergence or increasingly recognition of "management planning", as well as community and socio-economic planning, Faludi and others made the case for a social-science based stream of urban and regional planners. These might be better coordinators than the traditional physical planner, for a type of planning which has the role not of dominating other inputs, but which is catalytic, supportive and coordinating, facilitates community involvement and has a high content of policy matters, rather than just administration of development control (Faludi, 1978:117; also Eversley, 1973:Chs.6-9). This view may not have been fully accepted by the Royal Town Planning Institute or some of its counterparts in Africa, but was taken on board in some African systems of development management.

A related view arose from Zimbabwean work in the early 1980s on provincial planning, much of which was by physical planners (like the following extract):

"Our experience...has demonstrated that to achieve anything one cannot merely prepare physical plans... [One] needs to go out into the countryside, talk to the people, find out what they want and what their problems are. One needs to involve them in preparing a solution to these problems and one needs to win their wholehearted support in putting this solution into practice. But it does not end there. The planner himself needs to be involved in putting the plan into practice. He must help coordinate the development efforts of other agencies and sometimes even prod these agencies into action. Most importantly he must help mobilise local resources, he must help the community to stand up, face their problems squarely and do something about them." (Underwood, 1982:2; emphasis in the original).

It is perhaps not surprising that British town-and-regional planning balked at following Faludi's logic towards a more general conception of planning, where development control and urban design etc. would become "optional extras [in planning education], instead of the other way round" (Eversley, 1973:336). The move might partly merge BTCP with other streams of public management and planning.

The 1982 RTPI guidelines on planning education retain as required core areas the physical environment and physical development, plus planning methodology and administrative context. Social context continues to be underplayed, though most universities try to remedy this in their own syllabi. There are many strains involved, given the limits to what can be done even in a two year postgraduate or four year undergraduate programme. Definition of a large common core for all intra-regional planning becomes more questionable as urban and regional systems become more complex. The "core" becomes ever larger and one needs to think instead more in terms of degree of centrality. The strain is greater when there is a commitment to retain physical

development in the core and yet a need to acknowledge several other core areas. In all courses supervised by the RTPI there has been a sequence where it was gradually accepted that planning is more than physical design, so that general planning methodology was added; secondly that it concerns people, institutions, organizations and classes, so that some social theory was added (even if not in RTPI guidelines); and last, expansion to cover a range of liaison and promotion roles and associated management skills. With all these defined as "core" the result is likely to be a superficial education (Batty, 1984), especially at undergraduate level where students enter without solid background in one discipline. According to Batty the current core is maintained only at the insistence of the central Institute (Rodriguez-Bachiller, 1988:58). It helps legitimate the Institute's attempt to supervise all intra-regional planning.

Exemplars of Faludi's conception at university level seem to be found less in British-style urban-and-regional schools than in the prestigious Indian Institutes of Management, in American graduate centres of planning or public policy, and in development management groups such as at the universities of Birmingham and Manchester. A strength of these multi-disciplinary institutes is that they are also inter-disciplinary: no discipline thinks it has a right to dominate.

While BTCP's desire for preserving its professional territory was understandable, some suggested there could be a price to pay. "Do professional [town-and-regional] planners ever ask themselves whether there is a reason for this prejudice against them...? And do they ask whether this prejudice is connected with their reputation for a narrow, secretarian outlook, for the kind of professionalism which is merely part of the status game...?" (Eversley, 1973:337).

4. RELATIONS SINCE THE LATE 1970S

4.1. Some trends in conditions in Africa

Since the late 1970s there have been significant changes in the environment and practice of subnational planning in Africa. For most of them one can draw implications for education and training. The following points are just a sample. Readers can check how far they apply to or have been acted upon in particular countries.

There are the obvious impacts of lesser availability of public revenues and foreign exchange. Subnational planners know the declines in the condition and utilization of existing capital stocks. The implied needs are for better planning, provision and implementation of routine, periodic and emergency maintenance; better operation, use and management of existing facilities; and rehabilitation and replacement. Planning education will go astray if it looks only at new investment. There have been corresponding shifts of foreign assistance towards programme aid and commodity aid, and away from large-scale projects. There is increased relative attention to (i) programme planning, policy planning, small projects, etc., and (ii) planning of recurrent expenditure and recurrent demands arising from new projects, including

for imports and skilled manpower. All this increases the need to go beyond "project shopping list" regional plans. (Perhaps "stocking-list" is a better term; shopping lists are drawn up with more realism than are Christmas requests from those who aren't going to pay!)

One could continue to note trends and implications: degradation of the natural environment, rapid urbanization, and the focus for employment purposes on services, the informal sectors, rural and small-scale industries; etc. More generally, there is continuing volatility in the total environment for planning:- in natural climate, in domestic policy/ political/ organizational contexts, and in international political/economic/medical/technological environments. The needs for adaptability are great. Yet there is more unwillingness (due to recruitment freezes, etc.) to release staff for other than short courses and to give study leave for local programmes.

The importance of the monitoring and evaluation (M & E) of programmes has further increased:- for identifying problems, drawing and disseminating lessons, and in general increasing the productivity of investments and adapting to new and frequently changing circumstances. The quantity of M & E has increased; and its quality and relevance need to increase too. Old-style planning approaches (with the production of a large plan document, which is then to be implemented, somehow) have been seriously disappointing, not least in Zimbabwe. This applies both to most five year plans (though Botswana's rolling-plan methodology seems to give one exception; Gasper, 1989), and to the idea of "integrated rural development" as meaning large high-cost enclave projects or the type of provincial plan externally prepared en masse in Tanzania. Current trends in rural regional planning emphasize instead the use of lower levels, administrative regions (especially districts), and integration into the administrative machinery (Conyers, 1985).

There is continuing high centralization of resource allocation in African states, but also in some cases a revival of decentralized institutions and/or strengthening of their staffing (e.g. in Tanzania, Kenya, Botswana, Zimbabwe). Training is important to follow up these changes in institutions and establishments. Skills are needed in project planning, non-directive coordination, negotiation and lobbying, to go beyond ineffective "stocking-list" plans and to help make something out of decentralized institutions in a setting where centralization is sure to remain fairly strong (B. Smith, 1986). There are relevant lessons here from experience elsewhere.

4.2. Some developments in education in the 80s. in North and South

Training and education for planning are varied fields and not widely documented; but recent literature records at least some trends.

Rodwin's review of regional planning education in America (Rodwin, 1987) reports that urban-and-regional planning schools have largely disappeared. Most have instead become schools of "urban studies and planning", with a more inter-disciplinary approach. Physical design is now more the preserve of schools of architecture.

BOX 4.1 - THE DEBATED FUTURE OF SEPARATE URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNING EDUCATION IN THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, the type of shift described by Rodwin happened in the undergraduate spatial planning programme in Nijmegen, where the planning department became a dependent and reduced component of a school of policy sciences. (Four other departments in the country were closed, partly due to falling demand for their graduates; Faludi, 1987.) Needham, one of those affected, is troubled by an apparent "contradiction between: [a] the spatial planning (broad) is so good; [b] the education in spatial planning (broad) is so weak" (1988:307). By "weak" he means the limited scale (including previously) of separate spatial planning education in universities. But he still calls for "a positive response to the present situation" of threats to separated education. This must include the development, somehow, and fairly fast despite its seeming absence or weakness after many generations, of:

a "separate science/theory of spatial planning... This theory must be more than human geography, or other disciplines which describe and analyse the physical environment and how it is used. If the theory...goes no further than that, then education in spatial planning.... will - under the pressure of cuts in university funding - be absorbed into some larger department.. Equally the theory must be more than administrative or policy science. If planning education should move in that direction, then the result would again be absorption." (Needham, 1987:309).

Whether theory can be created to meet the survival wish of a particular academic group remains to be seen.

Faludi writes from a department (Amsterdam) less immediately threatened by amalgamation, and where any threat is instead of absorption into human geography, which he would dislike more. He resists the idea that the heart of even a physical/environmental planning education could be human geography, for it would be to assume that the link between generalized knowledge and practical action is unproblematic. Instead the core has to include planning theory and methods and appropriate social science (which is so in both Amsterdam and Nijmegen). Correspondingly, he is in two minds on the merits of absorption into policy studies. He accepts that large areas are taught in common; and that the specifics of physical/environmental planning could be taught as one of a set of optional specializations. But he notes that the move would not be accepted by planners oriented to physical design, and so would deepen existing rifts. He feels too that education in physical planning has developed its own approaches and traditions, and claims indeed that some of these may be so suitable for education concerned with relating knowledge and action that they might be adopted for other policy areas too (Faludi, 1987, 1989.) Yet if that were true, which needs further demonstration, it could strengthen the case for unification. The balance of the argument would also depend on how large proportionately are the areas in common. Section 6 below suggests that they are quite large.

"Regional science" schools have been too narrow and technocratic to spread, and remain just a handful. What have become very common are urban-&-regional specializations in schools of social science, especially in postgraduate schools of public policy. [1] There may be lessons here that apply beyond the USA; for even the U.N. Centre for Human Settlements reports "a pronounced decline in the popularity of conventional settlement planning among policy-makers and practitioners" (1986:98). The need for a shift from "plans" towards "policies", which try to promote as well as guide, is a corollary of the limits to State control and capacity (Rodriguez-Bachiller, 1988). There were cutbacks in traditional urban-and-regional/physical planning education in other rich countries, including Britain, the Netherlands (see Box 4.1) and Australia. [2]

For the Third World, it is widely argued that super-rapid urbanization justifies higher education programmes with a very strong physical planning emphasis, including 4-5 year BSc's. [3] This can also be seen as a reaction against a superficiality of current RTPI education, by returning to physical construction. The arguments need qualification, for one must distinguish types and levels of planner and of possible career path. In some cases the courses advocated can be seen as training of construction officers, senior technicians or, as Synghal calls his intended product, "urban engineers". This is different from a regional planner or a policy planner and coordinator. The assumption that there is one all-purpose type of "planner", who can be trained in a 4-5 year undergraduate programme to be able to work in or supervise virtually any type of intra-regional planning, and rightfully exclude those with other types of training, is partly a hangover from a discredited British model.

BOX 4.2. UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN RURAL & URBAN PLANNING IN ZIMBABWE

Several of our themes are illustrated by the case of university-level planning education in Zimbabwe, which has emerged mainly in the 1980s. ISS provided support at postgraduate levels. Changes in national policy and organization have brought new professional and educational demands, for example for staff working on district and provincial plans and programmes. There have been many views on how to respond, including on the relative weight to give to different types of education and skill. The present courses at the university's Rural & Urban Planning department correspond to roughly these levels:

- B.Sc.: for junior physical planners, and for generalist physical planner roles at municipality or district levels;
- Postgraduate diploma: for development officers, development administrators and "handy-man" socio-economic planners at various levels, plus sectoral officers working in integrated development;
- M.Sc.: for further professional roles, including in policy planning, management planning, lecturing and research.

While this set-up inevitably reflects various factors and constraints, it does match the recommendations by many authors that one should prepare a range of types of planner, as we saw in Section 1.3. above. Appendix B analyses the case further, including the perspectives on education that have been under debate.

Some advocates of urban physical planning education accept this (e.g. Saini, Synghal). Even urban physical specialists need more on general planning theory and method, and on social theory and analysis, than is typically covered in these proposals (e.g. in the course on, yes, "Social Aspects of Planning", in Thin-Fook's syllabus). We look at this further in Section 6.

While there may in some cases be divergence of concerns between urban planning education in the North and the South, in the 80s in Britain planning schools became more dependent on intake of Third World students, in response to cuts in government support and a danger of closure. Ironically the schools with courses most oriented to LDC conditions were most likely to be cut, and Third World students often landed in courses oriented to British law and development control (Hughes, 1989). There can be many painful problems on the alternative road, of trying to support the teaching of students in their own countries. [4] Hughes concludes that development studies courses of a more general nature can be as well or sometimes better done in Northern universities; but for urban-and-regional planning, sending students to British-style or similar courses is not justified, given the courses' lack of concern for Third World conditions. [5]

4.3. Problems in training - recent surveys in Africa and Asia

In the field of "training" in the narrower sense, recent FAO and Commonwealth studies report a typical lack of fit between training, planning, and the environment for planning. From a review of training for decentralized administration in Africa, Balogun (1986) lists a series of weaknesses:-

- in specification of training objectives;
- in analysis of actual needs; e.g. despite the 1970s shifts away from elected local government and towards deconcentration and integrated development administration, training programmes continued to emphasize devolved local government plus matters specific to individual Ministries;
- in trainee selection; there was excessive attention to civil servants, as compared to politicians and people outside government, and in particular to administrators as compared to technical specialists, and a neglect of several other groups whose involvement is important for decentralized planning;
- in training methods; there was still too much reliance on schoolroom styles, and inadequate use of adult learning approaches, case studies, etc.

Conyers, citing many reports, extends Balogun's last point: "it is impossible to make any broad generalisations about the types of training required...[but] one general point.. can and should be stressed [on training style]. That is the need to move away from 'conventional training', in the sense of formal courses in special training institutions, towards less formal training which is much more closely related to the practical work environment and combined with a package of measures designed to improve administrative performance at regional and local level" (1986:30).

Maetz & Quiet's review (1987) for FAO presents similar findings, and takes the analysis further. They argue that much training for decentralized planning has failed because it was not tailored to the conditions in a given country at a given time. Too many programmes simply worked from the premise that there is a need for decentralization training in country X (indicated perhaps by a new Act or Ministerial speeches, or by the many problems encountered in decentralization and the apparent shortages of all types of skills); and just concluded "let's do something" (probably similar to courses elsewhere). The programmes then run into the constraints on planning and training that are set by job descriptions, specific laws and regulations, budgetary powers and allocations, Schemes of Service and career prospects, conditions for release on study leave, and so on.

Maetz & Quiet take as typical a course for district planners in Karnataka State, India. It is known for its curriculum design, but it overanticipated government decentralization. Many participants got transferred even while on the course "and the conditions (particularly the financial procedures) were not adequate to allow participants to apply what they had learned" (1987:35). The programme was abandoned.

Other cases of this sort are cited. We can add one from Southern Africa (based on an interview with a lecturer). In 1980-81 FAO sponsored the pilot "AGRIPLAN" training programme for district levels in Zambia. Many high-level man-years were lavished on preparing case studies and a valuable set of manuals for block-release courses (FAO/ODG, 1981). But there was not enough political and bureaucratic commitment to the programme at that time. There were weak links to operating agencies and local training institutions; staff in the target group were not released on a regular basis; and when released, they often showed little interest in performing village-level investigations or other tasks which carried no prestige or tangible reward, or which might rarely be possible in their current work environment. There was no direct follow-up in Zambia, though the curriculum work has been drawn on elsewhere.

A different approach to training seems to be called for.

5. A CRITIQUE FOR THE PRESENT PERIOD

5.1. Rethinking training for subnational planning

Maetz & Quiet (1987) suggest that training efforts must be preceded by detailed analysis of decentralization in the country:- what are the actual working features, not just the proclaimed general intentions? This requires investigation of several areas:-

- (a) Administration/Organization - concerning the administrative, political and legal will and effort to promote decentralization;
- (b) Finance - concerning the real extent to which sub-national levels can allocate resources;
- (c) Planning - concerning the exact scope and procedures of sub-national planning;
- (d) People's Participation - what is its content?

They provide checklists of questions for each of these areas.

This sort of analysis reveals that patterns differ greatly between countries. In one country there may be some decentralization in the dimension of organization, but little in the other dimensions (ibid., on Tunisia), while in another country there can be almost the opposite situation (ibid. on Nepal), and so on. Training programmes should not be designed before this sort of analysis is done; in some cases it may then prove to be not worth going on to a design. One certainly needs to distinguish between countries which are still only talking of decentralization, others which have just established structures, or perhaps specified general procedures or moved on to stating detailed rules, and yet others which have gone on to operationalization of rules in practice.

Maetz & Quiet propose further stages for the analysis, to follow on (1) this review of the state of decentralization. The stages are:- (2) listing all the actors involved in the country's decentralized planning system; (3) analysing their interactions; (4) specifying the tasks to be implemented by key actors, and (5) identifying manpower, knowledge, skills and attitudes required to implement those tasks; (6) comparing current practice with the desired operation of the country's system; (7) looking at current staffing patterns. From all this one can then (8) finalize the training needs assessment. For example, in the early stages of a policy, training may need to be on a small scale, and mainly to study the situation; in other cases it may pilot an approach and involve action-research; in yet others it might be on a large scale. Choice of trainees and so on should depend on the nature of decentralization in the country concerned.

Many of Balogun's and Maetz & Quiet's criticisms of past training are quite valid. But one should also ask whether trainers are really so inept. Some may feel that they cannot be merely hand-maidens, meeting only immediate in-service training needs. For example, even if elected local government has been downgraded, they might go on emphasizing it if their studies and experience have led them to believe in it. Some trainers may also consider that planning environments (including de facto and de jure organizational set-ups) are rather variable over time. They would point out a tension between Maetz & Quiet's awareness of the political roller-coaster nature of decentralization (ibid.:45-6) and the call for ever more precise tailoring of training to immediate conditions.

Sceptics would further note that the links between just a partial set of causes (namely, training) and the whole set of effects (namely, the behaviour and effectiveness of those involved in planning) are inevitably rather thin and conditional. Paul (1983) spells out conditions for training to have much impact, based on an analysis of the wave of new institutions and courses in public administration and management that were set up in developing countries in the 50s and 60s. Donor interest tapered off after the mid 60s as it became clear that such training had limited impact by itself. It was concluded that many of the required conditions for impact were often absent. These conditions probably include:-

- i) a national policy on training, to ensure that training is not haphazard and that it is adapted to local needs;
- ii) a sound education system, that produces people able to make effective use of further training;
- iii) an adequate stock of educated manpower, so that the supply to the public service is not desperately short or constantly being drained off elsewhere; this is affected too by salaries and other conditions in the public service;
- iv) linkages between training activities and the arrangements for performance evaluation, promotion and career development, so that officers are seriously interested in training;
- v) a performance-oriented administrative culture in government, that for example welcomes the testing and introduction of the sorts of innovations taught in training courses.

Subsequent waves of training activity, including in decentralized planning, seem to have rediscovered these and other requirements and how difficult they are to fulfil. So the idea that training can in general have a direct, immediate and strong impact is questionable. This increases the case for giving more attention instead, or also, to "education". One aim there is to foster skills and understandings that aid the taking up of opportunities whenever they arise - which will not be only, or even mainly, in immediate or easily foreseeable situations.

We thus have two lines of response to the limitations of past training. One is to try for more exactly tailored training of particular actors in planning. The other is to stress broader education and the qualities needed for adaptation in fast-changing environments. These lines stress different factors but are not mutually exclusive. Current thinking is no longer of training as an initial remedial activity, but as a recurrent need of all staff. (The Indian Administrative Service for example now requires some annual training for every member; Sanwal, 1988b.) Underlying a stress on "education" is also a reassessment of the requirements of planning.

5.2. Rethinking planning

The 1980s have forced rethinking in planning, in South and East and West. In Britain for example, two of Faludi's predictions were fulfilled (Faludi, 1978:8,10). First, disillusion with town and country planning (BTCP) grew, as we saw; and some dismantling of development control has occurred. Second, there emerged an oversupply of town-and-regional planners, especially from B.Sc. courses. University plans had been too heavily influenced by the profession's own rosy estimate of demand for its services! (ibid:35). One result has been further diversification in course content, moving towards a more pluralistic conception of planning. [1]

A condition for 1980s disillusion with BTCP was the outdating of some of its presumptions - including concerning fairly steady and easy economic growth, and relative social consensus, as experienced in the 1950s and 1960s. The task of town-&-country planning then was simply to control the effects and location of the economic growth, and

(thanks to the degree of consensus) to redistribute some of its fruits. In the 1980s the tradition has needed to re-examine some of its assumptions and tools, and seek more pro-active roles.

Ravetz contrasts the quality of rethinking in BTCP in the 1980s with that seen in architecture, its equally criticized elder brother. There may be less in Britain under the name of "community planning" than of "community architecture". She attributes this to town planners' greater proneness to "universal solutions [and preoccupation] with control over space rather than creation of place" (1986:106); and also to possible narrowness in a profession that - compared to other groups or disciplines - is overwhelmingly linked to government and lacks a very strong independent intellectual tradition. (In Zimbabwe, Zamchiya too notes that "physical planning, unlike all other professions, is primarily a function of government"; 1984:4.)

A few urban-and-regional planners seem to feel that the only changes they need are more powerful tools in modelling and legal control. But blueprint planners are a declining breed in both East and West. [2] A major review of the last generation of development planning in the South (summarized in Sagasti, 1988) suggests that we should move in the following directions:-

- (a) To acknowledge more fully the need to adjust plans continuously to the changing circumstances, and break down the conventional and rigid framework of short-, and medium- and long-term time spans seen as 1 year, 5 years and 15-25 years;
- (b) To build "a broad and solid social support base to transcend the mostly technocratic character of the conventional approach. It is essential to disperse and disseminate planning capabilities throughout society" (p.440), and to design procedures for participation by interested parties - including NGOs, private sector bodies, research groups, and some international agencies.
- (c) "The turbulent nature of the contemporary social environment and the requirement that planning capabilities be dispersed preclude the possibility of postulating a 'central designer' who would put forward an institutional framework and oversee its implementation [The central designer must] be complemented - or even replaced - by a 'synthesist' capable of articulating individual initiatives into coherent but not necessarily totally consistent lines of action supported by a series of provisional consensus" (p.441). That applies for provincial and district levels as well as nationally.

This assessment of the requirements of the 1990s clearly leads us further in the directions proposed earlier by writers like Faludi, Higgins, Hirschman, Waterston and Wildavsky. If regional planning is to avoid producing still more "stocking-list" plans or unimplemented blueprints, then it must vitally involve ongoing interchanges with other agencies and levels. McNeill (1985) has similarly argued that before a sub-national agency rushes ahead with preparing plans it must assess its actual power and capacity. It should then decide how to distribute its efforts between, on the one hand, (a) direct action, if and where it has the capacity to carry that out; and on the other hand, more modest but sometimes more useful activities, including (b)

information collection and dissemination, (c) forecasting, (d) supervision and regulation, (e) indirect influence and negotiation, and (f) lobbying to increase its own powers - but that should only be effective if it has at least performed the basic functions in (b) to (e) adequately. This applies almost as much to regional planning at the centre as it does at weaker lower levels.

The type of education called for in these perspectives on planning is different from that needed for technical blueprinting.

5.3. Rethinking education

One area of uncertainty in education for planning concerns the procedural and substantive theories to use in planning, as there are conflicting views in circulation. Further, there is uncertainty and controversy over the goals and criteria to be applied in planning and education. Thirdly, there are uncertainties over a number of parameters which reflect other people's choices and affect choices in education. One such set of parameters concerns the future numbers and types of jobs in planning. Another set covers the future availability of resources, on a sustainable basis, for allocation by planning, and also the other conditions in which planning will operate.

The uncertainties and room for disagreement in these areas provide a case for education which is both broad and flexible. One response to uncertainty is to give a broad range of content. A more radical stance is to argue that there is sometimes little point in teaching things that will soon be superseded, by others which cannot be predicted confidently. Faludi suggests "the exact requirements of practice cannot be anticipated by more than two or three years", i.e. less than the length of an undergraduate course (1978:178). Instead students should learn things that are less liable to be outdated and which will help them deal with new situations as and when they emerge. Rodriguez-Bachiller's survey of town planning education stresses that "skill-transferability to other activities.. is becoming one of the obvious requisites of any education system, as the need grows for multiple career re-orientations in an individual's life" (1988:193).

"Rethinking education" does not mean revising syllabi every year or two in an attempt to match the latest turn in policy, but instead becoming clearer on the distinction between education and training. Education neither can nor should try to adapt to every detailed change in conditions; for many changes will soon be superseded or reversed. Neither can education reliably anticipate most of the future shifts in organization, policy and conditions. Even at present, unless we know from the time people enter university the exact jobs they will go into, people follow too many different career paths for us to try to make university courses a form of in-service training.

Secondly, rethinking education means aiming to give people the knowledge, skills and attitudes to be able to respond to new twists and turns, and to learn from on-the-job experiences and in-service training in the particular positions that they enter. Education should assist them to grow, rather than reduce them to a slot. Zetter

argues that the fast-changing situations faced by Third World sub-national planners imply "that planning education must accommodate generally shorter and perhaps more closely focused courses" and later periodic updating and retraining (1981:32).

It would be unwise though to expect universities, not least in Africa, to operate mainly as centres of in-service training. In planning especially, it is hard enough for lecturers to try to keep up with multi- and inter-disciplinary fields, theory and practice, domestic and comparative experiences, regular teaching (including field trips and student projects) and research and consultancy and administration. They do not have the flexibility to respond rapidly to new in-service training needs. But they can help people learn to act in situations by themselves. Brand was "hesitant to even use the term training with reference to most university education. But the university should be able to help impart the perspectives which would permit a more effective and meaningful application of skills" (Brand, 1982:2). It is sad if people's main opportunity for this more fundamental education is used on (soon-to-be) obsolete techniques.

Universities are outside the civil-service career and authority structures, so that they are not directed or rewarded according to those in-service criteria and inevitably diverge from them. There is plenty of experience to show that university staff can mount effective short courses. But they may not be recognized and promoted on that basis. It is sometimes more manageable for university lecturers to contribute to short courses mounted by others. Research is critical for university promotion, but also for the ability of lecturers to contribute to training and education, advice and public awareness. Staff and student research are central to universities' contribution, by providing source materials and ideas for use in a variety of situations. Workshops to help generate, exchange and disseminate these ideas are therefore a key activity.

Overall, "the University's role in manpower training.... should be to provide general education and training in relevant fields rather than to cater for the specific needs of individual government agencies or particular posts" (Chitsike et al, 1986:47). In times of scarcity and stress, calls for more direct university involvement are understandable and partly justified. But apart from the scarcities in universities themselves (with budget cutbacks in many countries, and explosions in student numbers in others), universities both should not and cannot do what is the job of in-service training institutions. They should and can do things which those institutions cannot.

Part III of the study takes up more detailed issues in syllabus design. What are appropriate course contents will of course depend on the course context, i.e. trainees' backgrounds and prospective work, the level and setting of the course, etc. The sheer number of contexts means one cannot try to spell out here appropriate contents for all relevant types of course, or go on to course outlines or reading lists. Instead the discussion of contents will be on broader approaches and emphases, and should be relevant to most contexts.

PART III - CONTENTS OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

"There is...both at national and sub-national level a need for planning skills which may be sub-divided into two broad categories. One category consists of basic disciplines (e.g. economics, sociology, engineering etc.) which have been broadened with regard to their interconnectedness to each other and which have been deepened with regard to making...decisions... The other category consists of administrative skills, which have been strengthened both in relation to policy formulation and co-ordination and in relation to development management... all planners should have some knowledge of both categories, but in practice sufficient depth of knowledge will only be secured by assembling teams of variously, but appropriately, trained specialists." (Amos 1982b:3)

6. CONTENTS AND CURRICULA - on core topics and themes

6.1. Knowledge, skills and attitudes

In this section we ask what should people who work in regional planning have studied for it. We will refer both to people who are primarily general regional planners and those who are primarily or also physical planners or economists or administrators or whatever. Similarly, we will not consider only those who take a separate study programme in regional planning. [1] In practice we see both separate programmes and cases of just components in other programmes; and this is understandable and largely defensible. The range of issues studied and how far people go into them will depend on how much time there is available, and on which parts of planning they are involved in; but we can define some areas about which all need at least some knowledge.

As we saw earlier, we need therefore to qualify the "core-and-specialisms" model for regional planning education, by a "specialisms-plus-generalisms" model, where for example "core" topics sometimes have to be approached differently for different groups, according to what is their main specialism. The more one stresses this the more one moves towards defining different cores.

There are indeed limits and even dangers in the "core-and-specialisms" model. It can be applied in greater detail to each of the streams in regional planning than it can to the field as a whole. It better fits relatively simple planning situations, where the range of specialist demands is less; and even there does not justify the presence of just one type of planner at local levels. [See note 2 to Section 1.] And the idea of a single and standard core can be used by a professional institution that is obliged to accommodate some of the richness of the field but is trying to retain central control. While the idea of a core raises a danger of its mis-specification, the latter is the main problem, not the idea itself.

The less clearcut the boundaries and content of the core become, and the more one perceives the need for teamwork, then the more one

moves towards an a-la-carte "menu" model, where there can be many defensible combinations of topics, depending on people's specific environment and work. What will clearly remain core topics for all cases though are general planning skills, major processes in development and planning, and skills of working with others.

Educational discussions often distinguish between knowledge, attitudes and skills, and stress the importance of all three. "Knowledge" here includes knowledge of facts and theories. Planners need both substantive knowledge about the sectors and groups acted on by planning, and knowledge of procedures in planning, including of how things get done and how to get things done. Satisfactorily applying this knowledge also requires various skills and attitudes. There are many classifications of these various products of learning [2]; plus many lists of suggestions on what planners should learn. Peko (1988) notes how over time there has been an accumulation of layers in urban-and-regional planning courses, at any rate in the progressive ones. A reformist layer and a social activist layer have been added to the technocratic layers.

The classification in Box 6.1. draws on various lists, as an illustration rather than as a prescription. "Knowledge", "skills" and "attitudes" are not sharply distinct but flow into each other; the same goes for subdivisions like "substantive knowledge" and "procedural knowledge". This is reflected in the list. While the categories are imperfect, the list is still a helpful overview. It gives an (incomplete) "menu" that is relevant for both education and training. While discussing it, one can try to identify core areas, or at least the recommended "meals" for certain types of "customer". I will stress relatively neglected areas, rather than standard ones like - for example - regional development theory, which are even sometimes overemphasized.

BOX 6.1 - KNOWLEDGE, SKILLS AND ATTITUDES IN PLANNING

Substantive knowledge

e.g. of particular sectors; of social processes;
of competing social values;
of actual roles & limits of planning;
data analysis methods; project analysis methods

Procedural knowledge

[KNOWLEDGE]

e.g. of planning procedures;
research skills;
diagnostic skills;

Design skills - in drawing and physical design;
in other areas of design

[SKILLS]

Problem-solving skills

including management skills;
interaction skills - in negotiation, mobilization, &c.

Social skills

including communication skills

Adaptability

[ATTITUDES]

Self-awareness; attitudes to others

Social commitment

One could itemize for ever areas of substantive knowledge which planners would desirably possess. The problem is to select a feasible limited menu. Conyers suggests these as "some of the more obvious [substantive] subjects likely to be required" in professional programmes:-

General development; regional development; rural development; spatial location; demography; rural/urban settlement; transport (Conyers, 1987:25-6). [3]

Even this list is not always taught, and requires comment.

- (a) Brine stressed that courses must include a theoretical core on dimensions and trends in development. With such a core, different contributors to planning can better interrelate, both in teaching programmes and in practice. "No conventional 'Theory and Practice of Town and Country Planning' core philosophy is likely to suffice" (1972:197). Equally, physical environmental dimensions must be noted. Some planning programmes recognize these points but then turn away from the more demanding core that is needed.
- (b) A weakness of much teaching is that the study of the context for planning is done only in the positive mode, and the study of planning itself is only in the prescriptive mode. There is no systematic attention to social objectives and criteria for appraisal; these are mistakenly assumed to be clearly given or obvious. And there is too little positive study of planning itself, including of the sociology of planning (Masser, 1980.) Planning should be examined as a social activity in the same way as others, for the practice can differ from the rhetoric. Improvement in planning is likely to be linked to better self-awareness, and to be helped by more of this positive study.
- (c) It is essential that regional planners know about production and services and organization, as well as about infrastructure (preferably employment-generating). This implication from the 60s and 70s is further strengthened by trends for the 80s and 90s. Yet there is quite an inertia in some courses.

For procedural knowledge, defined here as knowledge of procedures in planning, Conyers suggested the following major subject areas:

Planning theory; local government administration; community participation; research methods; project planning and implementation; financial management; general management (Conyers, 1987:26).

These should cover both official and informal procedures, the stages and requirements in various types of planning cycle (e.g. some of the cycles in construction management), and understanding of processes in research, problem-solving and decision-making generally. A few points are worth highlighting.

- (a) There is a big difference between knowing some data analysis techniques and understanding how to collect and analyse data. Research methods are too often taught as just a ritual introduction to survey designs, standard deviations, correlation coefficients and t-tests. Low quality data swamped in non-sampling errors is accepted and ritually processed, or often never used at all (Maetz & Quiet, 1987:41-2). "Planning education" at

university level must give students some ability to collect and interpret data and social statistics, including knowledge of sources and of exploratory data analysis and an introduction to micro-computers. Without such skills one cannot systematically contribute to problem-identification, -definition and -solving, and can at best function as a technician. (See Zetter, 1981). There is now less prestige for indiscriminate collection of data (usually processed late, if at all, and often not applied). Two important developments are new methods of "rapid appraisal" and of exploratory data analysis, instead of undirected number-crunching. At the same time, computer literacy and the intelligent use of ever more powerful micros have become vital.

(b) These research tools link to skills of diagnosis (Higgins, 1981). There are useful materials written for sub-national planning (e.g. Bendavid Val & Waller, eds. 1975, van Raay 1981, FAO/ODG 1981); and a wider family of tools has emerged and been tested in the fast-growing literature on "rapid appraisal" (e.g. Grandstaff & Grandstaff, eds., 1987). Teachers need to catch up here.

From diagnosis one moves on to design. Hendry (1989) records how student projects often fall down when they arrive at the stage of generating alternative solutions, with a resort to calling out for "more research" and "clearer guidelines". Design activities need skills beyond those in analysis, including elements of creativity and innovation (Alexander, 1982). The intuition that we need intuition here has achieved greater theoretical respectability with the discovery that design skills relate more to the right side of the brain, while analytical and conceptual work relate more to the left. One can, and needs to, improve design skills through training. [4]

Faludi sees the strengths in "town planning education...as an example of education for practice" (1978:135), notably its emphasis on project work. But he found that traditional urban-and-regional education often gives too much relative importance to physical design, and can in fact do poorly on the criteria for project work: problem-orientation, action-orientation, and instilling innovative behaviour. There are other types of design issue too, in problem analysis and problem solving, on which it is even more important for planning students to spend time. Correspondingly, there are other types of project work besides physical designs (Faludi, 1978: 24-6, Part II). He discusses types of student project which highlight matters of political context, complexity, and uncertainty.

Preparing and implementing proposals calls for skills in communication, management, teamwork, negotiation and interaction. (Conyers, 1986, and Sanwal, 1988a, highlight this conclusion from African and Indian decentralization experiences respectively.) These are core skills, not optional extras. They are underweighted in many courses, both in education and training, perhaps because we teachers are short on them too! Planning, especially sub-national planning, is as much a matter of negotiating and building linkages as of technical calculation (Boisier, 1978; Leach, 1981; Chitsike et al, 1986). Sub-national levels have to persuade others, for they can rarely direct them. Some educators feel the topics can be left for in-service training but they are too fundamental for that. (Box 6.2.)

BOX 6.2 - DEMANDS FOR SKILLS IN ADMINISTRATION, COMMUNICATION, AND
INTERPERSONAL AND INTERORGANIZATIONAL RELATIONS

- Communication skills cover reading, writing and listening under pressure, as well as talking in a variety of situations.
- Management skills include managing oneself as well as others, given limited time and information; and synthesizing considerations and coming to decisions. (See e.g. Mosher, 1975.)
- Interaction skills concern relations with civil servants, politicians and consultants, and with ordinary people.

Hathway (1989) uses a similar classification of major skills:

1. Report writing;
2. Drawing spatial plans and diagrams;
3. Public speaking;
4. Keyboard skills;
5. Use of computer software packages;
6. Observation;
7. Listening;
8. Problem solving;
9. Creative thinking;
10. Numeracy;
11. Interpersonal behaviour;
12. Management skills.

In a sample of almost 100 practising British town-and-regional planners, he found that the skills required by all or nearly all were report writing, observation, listening, problem solving and interpersonal behaviour. Those used by a majority were management, drawing, keyboard, creative thinking, and numeracy. The use of drawing skills declined with seniority, while the need for management skills and public speaking significantly increased. The only skills for which a majority of the sample had taken a course were problem solving and numeracy. Areas that are nearly always needed or increasingly needed with seniority, yet where staff knew their skills weak, were management, creative thinking and public speaking. [5]

Far larger studies in India, on those working in district and sub-district development administration, have found that "most officers want skills in assessing community needs, handling inter-personal problems and delegation... The most significant recurring issue[s] for field officers [concern] the external environment of their work. These involve complex relationships with politicians, other departments, head office and beneficiaries; and require clarity about roles, interorganisational relationships, knowledge of administrative and financial procedures and motivation" (Sanwal, 1988b:501-2). But many of the management techniques that are now popular in training courses have been developed for much tidier contexts with narrower objectives, such as in the middle-levels of private firms, and are barely relevant to these needs of the public sector (*ibid.*).

Generalizing from similar studies in many countries, Sanwal reports that over two-thirds of the time of public managers, including senior technical officers, is spent on matters requiring administrative and communication skills (1988a). Forester too records how many urban-and-regional planners spend more time in direct discussions and negotiations, face-to-face or by telephone, usually informal and often one-to-one, than in any other type of work; and that yet they receive little or even no training for it (Forester, 1989; Healey, 1989). For understanding and improving on intra- or inter-departmental relations, some of the "organizational development" literature is useful (e.g. Armor, 1979; Khandwalla ed., 1988). For a practical digest and exercises on improving communication skills, see Clarke (1984).

These skills are especially important in local-level planning, for identifying needs and constraints, and trying to both respond to and influence people's concerns (see e.g. Fugelsang, 1982). In each of these areas, especially administration/management, there are relevant bodies of substantive knowledge, even if sitting in classes may not be sufficient for gaining skills. It is easier to analyse the issues with students who have work experience. With others one can do quite a lot via reading, cases, and role-play, but they will need later on-the-job learning.

Writing already in the early 70s, Brine proposed that:

"the quasi-political arts of management and communication would seem to be of central importance.... communication implies the catalytic process of spreading ideas and facilitating action throughout the development system. Perhaps achieving a preparedness in planners to work in this way is basically what education for planning should be about.. A programme...might miss fulfilling its ultimate purpose if it loaded its participants with a professional planning baggage which obscured the issues of management and communication. And if such a programme set out to teach, rather than to enable to learn, it would possibly stand an even slimmer chance of success.... A training programme... handing on a set of skills is appropriate in many technical contexts but can hardly hope to...develop attitudes of mind which will withstand the jolts of unknown futures" (Brine, 1972:197-9).

In the more turbulent 1980s the importance of adaptability was further underlined. "The problem is of course how to teach...skills in a way which will make them transferable to other problem areas... [and, especially] for the undergraduate level, to concentrate on relatively stable bodies of theory and on general skills and attitudes [which won't soon be superseded]" (Faludi, 1978:20,135). Skills in monitoring and evaluation are vital here; they are the tools for adaptation. These skills should include social, political and organizational sensitivity, since people are being studied, not just things. So evaluation must be learnt as social science, not as if it were control engineering. (See e.g. Curtis & Watson, 1984.)

In talking of adaptability one is now certainly talking of attitudes as well as skills. Yet: "The training programmes reviewed very largely neglected the issue of behavioural change of government officials" (Maetz & Quiet, 1987:40):- how to give staff the confidence and enthusiasm for new roles, and an interest in working together with other departments, local leaders and ordinary people; and how to modify attitudes concerning other participants, including central distrust of lower levels. An essential skill is the "ability to perceive other people's viewpoints" (Masser, 1980:47). Experience (perhaps internships) in more than one level or job is valuable here. Even in the absence of such exposure, group discussions, role-play and work on live problems can still be useful (Sanwal, 1988b).

Related to this, education must look at value attitudes, including the social awareness and commitment of planners: their "client-orientation". Planners should be able to consider why and for whom, not just how (Apthorpe et al, 1982). This is especially important

where professional knowledge brings exclusive rights to do certain types of work, and other professional privileges. More effective than any sermonizing may be wider experience. Eversley put this forcefully:

"it is not a syllabus which makes a planner, but a condition of awareness.. Awareness and sensitivity to men's conditions come from education, contemplation and contact with experience [...not from a] fiendishly universal syllabus... [nor from] several years in Development Control for Parking Orders... it seems that he [the management or community planner] may achieve the required widening of his horizons more easily by finding himself in a variety of working situations...than by taking yet more courses... implications for the planner's education are many: away from techniques and traditional skills orientated towards design and development control and, instead, tending in the direction of 'socialising the planner' - integrating him into the community whom he is supposed to serve... between completion of his training and joining the administrative system he should spend a period of service in the community itself, so as to gain a little comprehension of the widespread consequences of planning decisions" (1973:301,328,344).

After this overview of course contents we can take up some aspects that deserve fuller attention.

6.2. Inter-disciplinarity rather than mega-disciplinarity

A problem with lists of topics is that they are often too long. There is a danger of placing quantity above quality. Another problem is that the curriculum can be short on coherence. British town planning curricula have been "sometimes [described]... unkindly as a 'rag-bag sort of education'", especially at undergraduate level where there is more scope to fit in various bits and pieces (Faludi, 1978:137-9). Related to that: "students are taught the components, but must put them together themselves" (Needham, 1988:304).

Educational theorists distinguish between collection curricula, where unconnected topics are just added together because each is thought relevant, and integrated curricula, where the individual source materials are subordinated to strong coordinating themes. Teaching in collection curricula may be more didactic, with the teacher dictating his (supposedly) godlike knowledge (Bernstein, 1971). Part of the difference here is between multi-disciplinarity and inter-disciplinarity. In the former case there is a danger of just adding on various "specialist" inputs; in the latter case it is felt there are various important perspectives which need to be represented at many stages, including in problem formulation, not just pasted in as separate chapters.

Thompson (1979) notes though that highly integrated curricula can be unstable. Periodically re-established, they typically resettle out into "collection curricula". Integrated curricula are more demanding intellectually, socially and logically; and there are strong pressures for disciplinarity to reassert itself. Academic institutions,

like all institutions, are concerned with satisfying their members not only their clients. For example, undergraduate courses have to be taught, and are the main base for academic jobs; and they tend to be mostly disciplinary, if that is the easiest way to fill up long curricula. Corresponding job-slots have to be filled; and so established disciplinary divisions have great pulling power. The elements of the collection curricula then tend to ignore each other and to reflect disciplinary specializations. With time though, dissatisfaction with this leads to new moves for integration.

Even collection-curricula are demanding compared to traditional single-disciplinary approaches. Yet there are calls for a mega-disciplinarity, where all disciplines are to be synthesized into "unified social science" or "political economy" or "100 per cent integrated planning" or so on, which will produce "complete models". These attempts sometimes produce much general discussion yet an even bigger rag-bag of a syllabus.

A more modest but realistic approach is that of inter- (or supra) disciplinarity. Here one accepts that, for example, with some problems the restricted focus of conventional economics is adequate, but that different types of simplification are required for other settings and concerns. This task of "framing", or issue formulation, has to be faced problem by problem, not once-and-for-all via inherited disciplines or a new master-discipline.

Still more modest, and often realistic, is to accept that to a large extent a collection curriculum cannot be avoided, and to focus on making sure it is a relevant collection and that some integrating links are drawn. Two ways in which this is attempted are by including non-disciplinary policy-oriented modules and projects, and by emphasizing general frameworks and skills of wide application. We should next say more about some of those themes and skills.

6.3. Procedural theory, project analysis and policy analysis

The importance of procedural planning theory has long been stressed in urban-and-regional literature, e.g. in Faludi's still widely used text (1973). Procedural theory offers a framework within which particular topics can be related. However, procedures can differ significantly according to political system, period (e.g. a boom period with abundant funds as compared to a decline period), and sector (e.g. opening up a mine, versus community development; Johnson, 1984). [6] Recent reviews of courses in "planning theory" (Checkoway ed., 1986; McLoughlin & Berry, 1989) indicate how the field as taught and written on by urban-&-regional planners has run into trouble: courses use little recent literature by regional planners, there is very little standardization in whatever recent work they do use or in course structure, and students are often left confused. In contrast, the field has moved ahead more in the interdisciplinary work that emerged under the heading of "policy analysis".

Policy analysis has gone well beyond "'the' planning cycle" viewed as if it were a single thing, or the old debate on "disjointed-incrementalism versus comprehensive-rationality". For while Masser

regretted the lack of studies by urban-and-regionalists on planning as it is in practice, other branches in policy studies have built up a huge empirical and analytic literature. Good textbooks are already available (e.g. Hogwood & Gunn, 1984). McLoughlin & Berry hold that the failure of urban-and-regional planning to study itself reflects both professional complacency and an organizational context. Citing the research records of town planning schools and staff in Australia, they argue that research is "best 'located' in a lively multi-disciplinary social science environment [though] in close contact with colleagues in related built environment disciplines" (1989:12). Something similar could apply for rural planning, health planning etc.

Higgins stresses that project analysis is a critical area for "integrated planning" (1981). Making "shopping-list"/"stocking-list" plans is not really planning, if to plan means to prepare and to choose. Project analysis is a key tool in preparing and making these choices. It should therefore be a serious part (i.e. knowing how, not just knowing what) of any planner's training, though some will go much further with it than others. Part of this training must also give an awareness of non-project modes of planning and of the dangers possible in project-centred development. One should be careful too over transferring methods devised for large industrial or agro-industrial investments. Much project planning teaching for regional planners is unsatisfactory for that reason (Maetz & Quiet, 1987:43). Basics in project conception and appraisal (e.g. looking at options or organizational feasibility) can get neglected in favour of theoretical frills. (Good exceptions are the FAO/ODG "AGRIPLAN" course from Zambia, and Bridger, 1983.) Teaching must also look at the operation-and-maintenance sides of project management.

Project analyses can be seen as one branch in policy studies. Conversely, the growing field of policy analysis can be seen as partly a generalization of the approaches of project analysis, extended to further areas. If one agrees with Amos (1982a) that a planning course should be a training in coming to justifiable/sustainable decisions, then planning students need to tackle both project analysis and some wider policy analysis. The latter would become especially important at Master's level. Skill areas to be covered there should include: issue-identification and -formulation; applying basic questions about options, feasibility and logic; being able to find "quick-and-not-too-dirty" methods of analysis; being an adviser, and being a client (and knowing when and how to use outside analysts; Bremer, 1984); and being able to analyse objectives and criteria.

Planning theory has to include critical reflection on values as well as on knowledge and skills (Healey, 1989). When Masser wrote on "The Limits To Planning" (1980), he mentioned not just the limits of current substantive and procedural theories, but also limits from our understanding and conflicts concerning social objectives and criteria. He is not the first to say that planning must have theories of ends as well as of means. What he stressed though for the 1980s is that while questions of criteria and procedure may be less prominent in periods of steady growth, if a large majority are gaining, the questions come to the fore in times of austerity or major restructuring. Yet despite regional planners' stated concern with equity and distributive justice, and sometimes with participation, we have often not thought

carefully about the concepts, and in practice tend to alternate between various positions (Thomas, 1982). Planners need to study some quality surveying, not just quantity surveying. (Sillince (1986), Blanchard (1986) and Gasper (1990) are introductions for planners.)

6.4. The role of social science

The needs for policy analysis and for considering social values underline the relevance of social studies training. Faludi was clear that building a procedural theory core for planning education "would certainly mean a heavy reliance on social and political theory" (1978:23). He felt undergraduate planning students should be exposed to social sciences in their own right, for one or two years, not just in a module on "social aspects". The relation to planning should be covered in a course on planning theory. In the next stage (e.g. year) of the degree, students should continue with one social science as applied to planning (1978:Essay 8). The final stage would concentrate on research and project work, and a methodology seminar. He feared possible resistance from physical planners to the entry of disciplines with traditions of both breadth and rigour (1978:15); but in the 1970s there was quite a move of social scientists in the U.K. into teaching, and especially research, in urban and regional planning. Institutions in Africa sometimes still need to catch up here.

It may help to elaborate on areas where social science awareness is required, though many will be apparent already. Some are listed in the lead paper by a practising local physical planner to the 1982 Harare workshop on university-level training for sub-national planning. Presenting the experience of the Masvingo Province planning team, Underwood listed skills needed by a rural planner. They all apply to urban planning too (see Cormack, 1983, or Stretton, 1978). The importance of social science studies is seen in almost every item.

1. We need people with a good understanding of economics and the principles which encourage growth and development...
2. We need people with an awareness of the influence of local cultural and political factors...
3. We need people who can go into the field and undertake socio-economic surveys...
4. We need people who can distill all the information they have collected in order to make a balanced recommendation... They must then be able to explain their concepts and selections to district councils and be prepared to listen to the councils' response. There is a skill in accomodating local participation...without betraying professional principles.
5. We need people who are able to monitor developments ...and who are sufficiently adaptable to change their strategy if the situation demands it" (Underwood, 1982:4-5).

Education and training should therefore stress the following areas:-

1. Appreciation of political, social, economic and physical factors which make up and influence development. Too often planners are only concerned with physical factors and end up preparing plans which are unsuitable from other points of view, e.g., Mupandawana, Nyika.
2. Design skills...

3. The ability to sell his ideas.
4. [Understanding of] the problems of implementation...
5. [Understanding of] project management.. [e.g.] in sorting out problems so that the surveyor or engineer can do his job properly e.g. Gutu. This is particularly so where a project involves some community self help and some contract work...
6. Monitoring Development...
7. Stimulating Further Development and Community Action".

(ibid:5-6.)

In planning for production, employment and self-help we need more than physical construction and related skills. The extra perspectives cannot just be added on as marginal "specialist inputs". (Faludi lists variants of this misconception; 1978:Part 3.) Despite decades of unsatisfactory results, some planners see their task as similar to say car design, so that at certain limited stages they wish to call in social science skills for market research or sales. Social systems are not relatively simple, inanimate and largely closed; they are open, very complex, intelligent, reactive and evolving. It is mistaken to train people for regional or urban planning in the same way as for design of bridges. One cannot present social analysis as the application of a kit of fixed clearcut laws. Instead one can help people learn to better analyse the specific cases that they face. [7]

We must also give an understanding of how decentralized planning works in practice. The need for a political and administrative appreciation is driven home in many reviews of past training (e.g. Perloff, 1971; Balogun, 1986). Conyers put it this way:-

"decentralisation is fundamentally a political process, in the sense that it involves a change in the distribution of power or influence.. [This and other aspects of] political and administrative reality...limit the extent to which any form of decentralised administration can achieve objectives such as participation, speed and flexibility, and inter-sectoral coordination... those involved in..decentralisation programmes need a basic understanding of the process. It is very common for [them to learn] only through the actual experience of trying to implement a decentralisation programme...[and this] tends to be slow, painful and sometimes expensive" (Conyers, 1986:16,24,27).

Giving students more understanding of sources of resistance both in society and in the very structures of planning and management is partly "to prevent practitioners from falling into either despair or cynicism" (Brand, 1982:3). These are real dangers. Faludi found for example that some physical planners take from architecture a largely intuitive and individualistic approach to synthesizing a proposal. This can run into conflict with teamwork and participation (1978:110). Technocratic planners may become authoritarian or "frustrated, disillusioned and even cynical about the political process, something which they found either incomprehensible or disdainful or both" (Faludi, 1978:116). It is seriously misleading to talk about integrated planning and yet not introduce students to the real political and administrative processes by which syntheses are made.

7. CONCLUSION

A summary of the study appears separately, so our conclusion will limit itself to central themes.

1. We found it helpful to identify core areas to regional planning, though there are of course matters of degree. Besides certain topics generic to most planning, we stressed the centrality in regional planning - on grounds of technical as well as political necessity - of activities of consultation and negotiation.

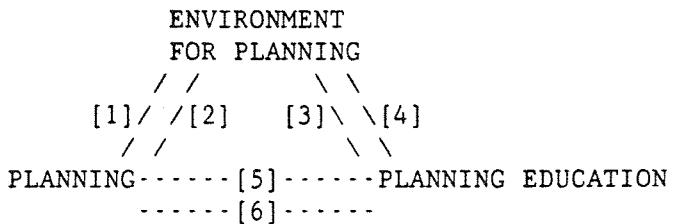
2. We accepted too that there are legitimately different streams of regional planning, with their own substantive concerns. It is not justifiable for any stream, such as physical settlement planning, to insist that its concerns must dominate a generic core for regional planning as a whole, or to ignore much of the actual content of that core. Instead we can say that each stream has a partly different core. The disputes between generic and substantivist views of planning are not going to disappear though, even if the former view made much headway in the past generation. There are limits to both a purely generic and a purely substantivist approach: much is in common between types, but much is specific. The generic view accepts this, but there remain choices of emphasis. As in life, whether one emphasizes the variety or the unity depends partly on context.

3. The presence of core topics does not imply that different types of student must study them together or in the same way or with the same contents. For this and other reasons one needs to supplement the core-and-specialisms model with a specialisms-plus-generalisms model, and also with an a-la-carte "menu" model where there are many combinations of topics according to people's particular environment and work. This menu model fits a recognition that the one-man planner and the self-sufficient planning team are fallacies. Instead the key needs are for adaptability, a capacity to work with other specialists, to obtain different specialist inputs according to the case, and to consult, assist and discuss far beyond any planning team.

4. Constraints of time and other factors always preclude ideal syllabi and force compromises. Appropriate balances will vary over time and place. Especially in a postgraduate programme one should not assume that people know nothing before the course, and both must and can know everything after it, from an all-in-one and once-for-all super syllabus. One must not ignore their previous training, or aim to convert them into something totally different, or forget their future opportunities for learning. As suggested in Appendix B, one purpose instead is to make them aware of and able to interact effectively with other relevant disciplines and professions. This calls for attention to general skills and a shared understanding of overall processes in planning.

APPENDIX A - A FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

The diagram indicates six possible types of linkage between (i) the environment for regional and subnational planning; (ii) the practice of planning; (iii) education for planning. This is not an exact set of categories but is a way of starting discussion in a more systematic way. The diagram can be approached both positively and (with the exception of links 2 and 4) normatively. Reading it in a positive mode we consider actual links in the past or as predicted for the future. Reading it in a normative mode we look for what should have been, or should be, the implications drawn from the state of other factors, for planning practice or education for planning.



Link 1 refers to the implications of wider changes for the practice of subnational planning. The changes could for example be in broad national policies, or in absolute and relative factor availabilities (e.g. availability of skilled manpower or foreign exchange or recurrent finance), or in the stage of development (e.g. the completion of the system of national trunk roads, or of provision of basic water supplies), or in the level or rate of urbanization.

Link 2 refers to the impacts of particular subnational planning approaches; e.g. impacts of villagization. These links are not our direct focus, but they are relevant when one is designing the content and targets of education. For example, if it is thought that provision of physical infrastructure is of overriding importance for local development, then education for planning should reflect that.

Link 3 refers to direct implications of the wider environment for education in planning, for example the implications of current social philosophy and of the availability of funds and staff for training.

Link 4 refers to any direct impacts of planning education upon wider awareness and opinion. But the main impact of education is probably via links 6 and 2, i.e. from education to planning practice, and from there on to national conditions.

Link 5 refers to implications of planning practice for education for planning. How should education reflect the current needs in planning? Is it doing so? If not, why not and what can be done? But when considering how education can serve subnational planning, we must also consider the effectiveness of, and alternatives in, planning. Education is a service sector, and does not provide good service by repeating every feature - including every weakness - of current practice.

It would be too cumbersome to follow exactly the sequence suggested by the diagram, but it has influenced Part Two.

APPENDIX 2 - UNIVERSITY EDUCATION IN RURAL AND URBAN PLANNING
IN ZIMBABWE: A CASE-STUDY

After national independence in 1980, public expenditures to the black peasant areas and townships in Zimbabwe increased greatly, as did flows of population to other rural and all urban areas. New District Councils were established in Communal Areas, and the electorates of Urban Councils expanded to cover black townships. Provincial Governors with a coordinating role, consultative Provincial Councils, and District, ward and village development committees were formed in 1984-5.

"..the provinces and districts have been required to produce coordinated development plans, which incorporate proposals from village level....[As a result] physical planners have had to extend their activities far beyond what would be normally be regarded as their role. Moreover, both sectoral agencies at provincial and district level and the Provincial and District Administrators responsible for inter-sectoral coordination have found that they need new planning skills.." (Chitsike et al, 1986:33).

Thus matching these and other changes were new educational demands. Several reports appeared on higher-level education and training. They partly rerun earlier discussions in other countries. There has been disagreement over what sort or sorts of person are needed, for what sort or sorts of work. Against a background of enormously rapid urbanization, and policies to create consolidated villages and rural service centres nationwide, one position calls for an all-purpose technical physical planner. It partly differs from the superseded British concept of a physical generalist-cum-controller, for it aims for a man who can work in the absence of specialists to be controlled; it is instead a cross with the old physical designer model. Another view is that all-purpose planners may be neither possible nor necessary. Instead one can train various types of generalists-with-a-specialism and specialists-with-a-generalism. Interesting experiments have begun in university planning education.

The government Department of Physical Planning has a major role thanks to U.K. type planning legislation, which was extended in 1982 to cover the Communal Areas. Initially it felt that the main area of shortage was not conventional professional physical planners, but people to work at lower levels and be involved in implementation and mobilization as well as in paper planning, i.e. regional development officers. [1] Professor Francis Amos was commissioned to advise on training needs in physical planning (1981:1). [2] His recommended B.Sc. curriculum indeed had little coverage of production or services as compared to physical infrastructure; but, in line with the international trends that we saw in Sections 2 & 3, the proposed degree was in Development Management rather than physical planning.

Amos argued that the planners needed at sub-national levels would have to fulfil various functions - coordinating, facilitating, and contributing throughout the project cycle - and should not therefore have a conventional or narrow physical training. Using Zetter's terms (1981:27) they need "less the understanding of reactive and control

philosophies but [instead] a clear understanding of a range of proactive roles". Amos indicated four main areas of skills they should acquire: Planning, Construction, Management (under which he placed project appraisal), and "Inter-personal" (where he placed knowledge of political relationships, inter-agency relations, staff management and community development). "This range of skills does not approximate to the training requirements of any single vocation or profession associated with physical development" (Amos, 1981:19).

In 1982 a workshop was held at the University of Zimbabwe on university-level training for regional and rural development planning. Some participants saw proposals for a new B.Sc. and new postgraduate courses as competitive; but majorities of the working groups were in favour of both a B.Sc. (though without agreement on the sort) and a postgraduate development planning diploma (UZ, 1982:25-6,28.) [3] The workshop endorsed creation of an inter-departmental Planning Centre in the University. This did not fit easily with an existing departmental working pattern, and was not accepted. Instead the unit for urban and regional planning in the Department of Geography was made into a full Department, to now cover both Rural and Urban Planning.

Retracing the 1960s discussions in Britain, Amos had stressed the role of a B.Sc. programme in building up a formalized local town-and-regional planning profession and a university department (1981:16-17; 1982a). Also significant was the greater ease of obtaining government bursaries for qualified undergraduates than for postgraduates; it is largely automatic. While the Amos and workshop reports helped to support the case for a B.Sc., new ideas on content were followed when the University introduced in 1986 a notably physical-planning oriented 4-year programme (Chitsike et al, 1986:14). The Government physical planning department had later stated that it preferred a purely physical/spatial planning degree, and that graduates in development management would have limited career prospects. [4] This might apply more inside that department, though "non-professional" Project Officers, i.e. non-physical planners, emerged even there as it moved into regional coordination and other tasks; while some international experience suggests purely physical planners rarely rise to higher decision-making levels, unlike those with broader training (Eversley, 1973.) More importantly, there are calls for sub-national development planners in more than one government department, as we will see later.

The B.Sc. in Regional & Urban Planning originally roughly matched Faludi's model (see Section 6.4 above) in its Year 1. Students took introductory social science courses in economics, sociology and public administration, a human geography course (called Settlement Systems & Planning), and a planning course (called Planning Systems). In Years 2 & 3 however it focussed on trying to form a para-engineer type of settlements planner, on similar lines to those advocated elsewhere by Synghal and Thim-Fook. There were compulsory courses in Planning Techniques, Infrastructure Planning, Environmental Design, Accounting, Land Surveying & Mapping, Planning Law, Architecture & Building Technology, Quantity Surveying & Costing, Estate Management, and Public Finance; and no options. Compared to the recommendations of Faludi and others, there was little further or applied social science, other than in public finance. Year 4 had papers on Professional

Practice, Rural Planning, Urban Planning, and Regional Planning, without options; and a dissertation. Every year has studio work.

"The BSc degree programme intends to produce both a policy-planner and an implementor-planner in one person" (UZ, 1985:3.) Some of the related philosophy of planning and education has been stated by Chris Rambanapasi (1982a, 1982b, 1988). He argues that "over the years, physical planning became thoroughly inter-disciplinary to the extent that the nomenclature 'physical planning' became a misnomer (1988:22). He retains the standard nomenclature though, rejects the arguably superficial multi-discipline courses in many town planning schools in Britain, and advocates a curriculum that is more physical-planning oriented than ever. Physical planning training is "to go beyond the conventional syllabi that exist in Western Europe and North America in order to incorporate those skills that are necessary for plan implementation (architecture, civil or municipal engineering, building technology, quantity surveying, valuation, land-surveying, project design and appraisal)" (1988:24). (Cost accounting is later added too; 1988:30. [5]) Seidman (1982)'s comment seems valid, on a bias to construction and away from other types of engineering and production and planning skill. Conventional Northern undergraduate syllabi also often include a required period of on-the-job experience.

The effect would perhaps be to train somebody like a construction planner for smaller Councils. Central government and large Councils' construction work will mainly use architect's and engineer's departments; non-government construction is not designed in detail by government, and the government has stated that there will be important peasant, private and voluntary sectors for the foreseeable future. There is certainly a case for a sub-regional general physical/ environmental planner. (See note 2 to Section 1.) There is also a shortage of senior technicians. Planning has though to act on more than local or central government construction, or construction in general. Some knowledge of quantity surveying for example may not outweigh a relative ignorance of agriculture, industry, and social and other services; or of evaluation, participation and decision-making; for those are not minor inputs to be given some hours in a final year. There are issues of logistics too in how to teach, study, integrate and apply so many subjects in one programme, especially when technical specialists can earn far more than as university lecturers. However early batches of students have entered with high school-leaving grades and made good academic progress.

Rambanapasi (1988) proposed a model for national and provincial planning in which "physical planners (generalists)" and "physical/technical planners" (pp.31-2) are to the fore. These integrated planners would perform a great range of duties, from evaluating development philosophies, to organizational design, through to "optimal" project location. [6] They are to work with groups of engineers and economists, with fewer and lesser functions. At local level there will be physical planners who can operate in the absence of other professionals. The ideal of a "more or less self-reliant graduate in terms of basic skills" (UZ, 1985:1) has attractions. But it runs contrary to much advice (e.g. in Amos' report), and needs reference to the emergence of cadres in various areas (e.g. building

technicians, surveyors). Given current shortages of some technical skills, the question is whether to train students in technique-areas from which they may be displaced, rather than train them in skills that will be of continuing use, and give more training to both present and future technicians. The 1981/2 Zimbabwe Manpower Survey reported that the skills of black technical assistants were deliberately hidden and undergraded in the Rhodesian system.

Parts of the background cited by Rambanapasi are the Soviet systems of planning and polytechnic education (Rambanapasi, 1982b; 1988:22-24,34). (He refers to "socialist countries" in general, but cites the Soviet model.) However the physical plans which he stresses as being "inseparable" from economic plans are lists of material quantities, not spatial plans; and the construction planning he notes (by Gostroi) has always been subordinate to economic planning (by Gosplan), roles which seem partly reversed in his proposal. Further, the USSR has a wealth of trained specialists, whereas his model appears to call for one-man Gostrois to handle district and municipal planning (and after further studies to lead provincial and national planning too; see note 6). The USSR is moving away from fully centrally calculated planning, not just in terms of material quantities. This is not being explained as due simply to new problems and challenges of the 1980s and 90s. Instead the system is officially condemned as having produced poor economic, social and environmental performance from the 1960s on. (See note 2 to section 5.)

The B.Sc. programme has recently been sharply modified, even before its first intake graduated. This is partly to go further in the direction of training professional physical planners. The first year courses in economics, administration and sociology have been dropped. They are partly replaced by a course in Rural Processes & Planning, while Quantitative Techniques and Environmental Systems become whole courses rather than parts of others. Reflecting these and other previous problems of scope, it has also been accepted that the vision of a one-man physical planner, jack of all the professions prominent in physical development, is not viable (or necessary), even after cutting mainstream social science from the syllabus. In Year 2 Real Estate Economics (as a prelude to Estate Management) and Planning Theory replace Accounting and Land Surveying/Mapping. In Year 3 Regional Economics replaces Public Finance; Quantity Surveying is at least made optional, and options in Transport Planning and Rural Planning are added. In Year 4 these last three topics continue as options. To make space for a compulsory paper in Project Planning & Management, rural planning thus becomes - in a mainly rural country - an option in the final year. However the whole programme has been renamed B.Sc. in Rural and Urban Planning. Studio design work is increased throughout, with a final project replacing a dissertation.

The new B.Sc. design is now more similar to British undergraduate programmes, but with significantly less on social analysis and administration. This is less problematic for local authority real estate planners than it is for regional socio-economic development planners. The latter group can be seen as partly catered to by the department's other courses; though some physical planners do not agree with this and consider that the B.Sc. can meet all needs. It is too

early yet to see how a stream of 30 or more B.Sc. graduates per year will find employment. Many new posts in the Department of Physical Planning have been created or requested, to channel the first one or two sets of graduates to be district level planners. But in the longer term government will not expand in the 1990s at the speed it did in the 80s, and it is possible that many of the graduates will move into the urban private sector and elsewhere.

In 1984 the University of Zimbabwe started a nine-month postgraduate diploma in rural development planning, with support from the Institute of Social Studies. This built on recommendations at the 1982 workshop and by Professor Amos (UZ, 1982:20). There were broadly speaking two target groups. The first group were the anticipated cadres of district-level generalist coordinator planners, whether in the District Councils, District Administration or elsewhere, who have been frequently spoken of since independence by Ministers and high officials. District Councils have however so far not been allocated planning posts based on a tertiary level of education. The Executive Officers appointed to be Secretaries of the Councils' Works and Planning Committees often have secondary education plus in-service training. In the District Administration though, new posts of Deputy District Administrator (Deputy D.A.) are in general for graduates, with development work as a large part of their duties. This set-up means that the officers have a clear career path perspective. There was steady demand for the diploma from D.A.s, Deputy D.A.s, and Council officers involved in planning. [7]

The second target group consisted of other professionals involved in subnational rural development, whether based outside or in the capital. Students have been drawn from a range of levels and Ministries - especially Local Government, Lands & Agriculture, and Public Service [Training Division], but also from Community Development, Natural Resources and elsewhere. In addition, about a third entered directly from undergraduate studies, from social sciences, geography, agriculture, etc. For these direct entry students an upper-second class degree has been the general requirement. Indeed most students were of that quality.

The content and philosophy of the programme had in the same way, firstly, an emphasis on a set of general tools and skills of wide application, especially in integrated planning, research methods and data analysis, and project preparation, selection and management. These are useful both for the generalist planners and coordinators and for the range of other professionals. In particular there was a strong emphasis on project planning and management, with originally up to 80 class hours and a full examination paper. The aim was to produce people reasonably competent with, not just aware of, project documents and the various stages of the project cycle. Secondly, and again of relevance to both groups, there was study of important themes and sectors. While still far from providing a full course in agricultural planning, it was thought important for rural development staff to have a good knowledge of agricultural production, organization and policy; besides looking at physical infrastructure, off-farm employment and services. Thirdly, there was a major course project, centering on field visits, and an individual dissertation.

The thinking behind this design was that there is a "diversity of planning-related activities at the sub-national level and... limited coordination between them; and, secondly... the situation is still very obviously in a state of flux... This...suggests the need for a course to focus on developing a common understanding of this overall process of planning, rather than on the specific needs of one particular type of planner" (Chitsike et al, 1986:40).

In a postgraduate programme one cannot afford to make either of two mistakes:- (i) trying to teach students everything; (ii) ignoring their previous training and trying to convert them into something totally different from before. The purpose instead is to make them aware of a range of other relevant disciplines and professions, to be able to interact effectively with them. As a nine-month programme the diploma was still extremely intensive, with considerable logistical demands. It proved manageable given the motivation and maturity of students. (Average age was approaching or around 30.) But questions remained over the range of material it covered in 9 months and of its sustainability on the staff input side.

Students returned or moved on to a very wide range of rural and other development posts in all the Ministries mentioned above, in rural parastatals and in NGOs, in that order. Both target groups seem to have been well served by the course (Chitsike et al, 1986:21-2, 33-5; Peter et al, 1989). Former students report a considerable degree of satisfaction in terms both of fulfilment of their expectations and preparation for employment and for further studies (Olthof & Manikai, 1990). Particular satisfaction was expressed with courses analysing rural development and those on project planning. There do not appear to have been notable problems in obtaining employment, where management and coordination roles in government have been more common than those in pure planning; teaching/lecturing and consultancy are also significant. Almost two-thirds of those working in Zimbabwe are outside Harare, and almost a third are outside major towns. There is also a rural bias in job content (Olthof & Manikai, 1990).

While "the Diploma responds to problems in the rural environment in a novel way", the older M.Sc. in urban and regional planning "remained tailored to the institutional/legal framework of planning as it evolved from pre-independence Zimbabwe", being product- (i.e. plan document-) oriented more than process-oriented, and concerned with control more than with change and participation (Chitsike et al, 1986:13-14). The 2-year course was offered every other year, and produced on average 4 or 5 students per year of its lifetime (1976-87). The Department of Physical Planning and urban councils absorbed nearly all the graduates. Many of the graduates, staff and employers felt though that the course produced neither a fully equipped physical planner nor a general regional/development planner. It remained of a very broad, non-applied nature, with much material simply reproduced from the U.K. (Olthof & Manikai, 1990:9,13). It has now been displaced by the B.Sc., the Diploma and a new M.Sc.

In 1988 elements of the rural Diploma and this old MSc, plus some new elements, were combined in a revised and unified postgraduate set-up, with a view to streamlining teaching inputs. The new Postgraduate

Diploma can also be seen as the first year of a two year M.Sc., but with a selection bar at the end of it and a likelihood that some who continue to the new M.Sc. will only do so after further employment. For the Diploma the result of merging the older programme was to reduce the time given to courses on project planning & management, production, and quantitative and (especially) research methods, and to increase the time on physical infrastructure, regional theory and legislation. The shifts are however the reverse of those if one compares instead with the old M.Sc. The new programme is far from being in physical planning, and has less on drawing and mapping than either of its predecessors. There are optional specializations in either rural or urban development. [8]

The new programme partly marked a move to a lower intensity, though still with many contact hours by most standards. Recommendations and commitments on inter-departmental teaching at postgraduate level could not be fulfilled, especially in a university then growing at 15% p.a. Given also a still rather long menu of lectures, reflecting the wide scope of planning and of staff concerns, one casualty in the transition was any individual student project or dissertation. This went against the findings of educational theory and past evaluations; but the problem of combining adequate supervision with lecturers' other commitments in teaching, research, administration, and consultancy has sometimes been a difficult one.

Neither students nor staff were satisfied with the "collection curriculum" that emerged in 1988. This phase of the curriculum cycle was therefore immediately followed in 1989-90 by some elements of a reintegration phase, to rationalize the outputs left after the rationalization of staff inputs. So work on intellectual integration continued after the administrative integration, to refocus and streamline the course towards the needs of particular types of planner. Former students request more on project planning and research methods, areas that had been cut back. Steps have been taken to partly restore the amount of attention to project planning and management; further increases are under discussion. This is both in demand and one feasible major focus in a short programme, where not everything can be covered and yet where graduates wish to have a distinctive profile. It would be mistaken though to make that the sole target or focus, for reasons that we mentioned earlier.

The new M.Sc. programme, in contrast to the diploma, emphasises policy analysis, research methodology and an individual dissertation. It has no purely physical planning element; and corresponds instead to the view of planning advocated by Amos (1971), Conyers & Hills (1984), and Faludi (1973, 1978):- as a generic activity that is needed in various levels and sectors, not just in physical construction and development control. The old urban-and-regional M.Sc. is being mainly replaced instead by the B.Sc. described above. The new M.Sc. can be entered from the Diploma or the B.Sc. or equivalent qualifications, preferably after work experience. It has rural, urban, and economic sub-specializations. It is still early to comment on its performance, but student evaluations and job placements so far are quite satisfactory. Student satisfaction seems clearly higher than in the

previous M.Sc., though with some calls for more computer training and a stronger applied orientation (Olthof & Manikai, 1990:12,16).

Roughly speaking the present courses thus correspond to the following levels of education/training:

- B.Sc.: for junior physical planners [9]; and it may provide people to work for example in "handy-man" planner roles, though it is oriented to physical infrastructure rather than production;
- Postgraduate diploma: for generalist development planners/administrators at various levels, plus sectoral officers needing to work in integrated development;
- M.Sc.: for higher levels, including in management planning, policy planning, lecturing and research. [10]

This set-up inevitably reflects a range of opinions, predictions, interests and constraints, but also the need for a variety of types of planner, as was argued in detail in Section 1.3. [11] It may well continue to evolve, perhaps as public sector employment becomes more difficult. The local professional physical planning association is bidding to exclude others from a number of roles, and for formal registration of various grades of planner, under their supervision. However, evolving societal demands, experience of limits to physical planning led development (such as in the original "growth points" strategy), and comparison with cases abroad will no doubt also exert some influence.

Notes to Appendix B - University-level education in Zimbabwe

[1] Interview with Dep. Director Horenz, June 1981.

[2] These were the terms of reference, and Amos elsewhere calls the report "The Training of Physical Planners in Zimbabwe" (1982b:1), but in fact entitled it "The Training of Planners in Zimbabwe". Despite the title, his consultations at the University excluded the Faculty of Social Studies (see his Appendix I), and his calculations excluded for example many people trained in rural development planning (p.11).

[3] E.g. some argued for just one course: "Professor Amos' proposal for an undergraduate course would be the best...because it accommodates almost all those courses the proponents of the diploma course argued for" (Rambanapasi, 1982a:36). Of the four working groups, two and part of another called for a postgraduate diploma. One called for a development-oriented BSc in public administration, including some agricultural economics and project planning; another group called for a BSc in rural development planning; and part of another group supported Amos' development management BSc.

[4] Dep. Director Mabvudza, cited in Univ. of Zimbabwe (UZ), 1982:21.

[5] Quantity surveying is seen as "the application of economics to buildings" (UZ, 1985:3); but it is more an application of accounting.

[6] The "physical/technical Planners... are associated with implementation organisations and their duties could include the following:

- 1) Evaluate the effect of various development philosophies, theories and policies on regional space economies...as a basis for adopting relevant development philosophy, paradigms, theories and policies that form the superstructural basis for planmaking...
- 2) Classify industries into territorial production complexes...
- 4) Study the propulsiveness of various industrial branches...
- 5) Indulge in the momentary fixation of socio-economic forces in space through the project-planning system. Thus they would determine the optimum location in space of elements of the territorial production complex...
- 6) Indulge in physical planning, project planning and organisational design for implementation [including]...the planning of the organisation of administrative hierarchies right up to the lowest level (ward), decentralisation strategies, institution building and the required ideological framework." (Rambanapasi, 1988:32-3).

[7] Some District Rural Development Officer posts were created in 1988 in the Department of Rural Development but have not been activated, due to disputes over the department's role relative to other agencies.

[8] The areas reduced almost exactly matched the areas that past and current students were reported as more in favour of (Chitsike et al, 1986:21,54). Unfortunately they were demanding areas to teach.

[9] Amos too (1981:16) spoke of the BSc as for junior professionals, some of whom could later take an MSc. He considered the Harare Polytechnic as a home for the BSc, but rejected it as too weak. This was confirmed when the University had to bale out their B.Tech. programme. In engineering as in planning, there is a shortage of technicians (e.g. less than one per civil engineer, compared to over two in most countries); but there are great socio-political pressures to produce - or call one's products - graduate professionals instead.

[10] Several of the graduates have lecturer or training officer posts in government.

[11] It is close to this recommendation for three types (Underwood, 1982): (a) provincial-level regional planners who understand regional economics etc.; [this would fit e.g. people with an economics/economic geography background who take both postgraduate years];

(b) 'bread and butter' planners at provincial level who prepare layouts and project reports for service centres etc.; [this might fit many of the people to be produced by the new B.Sc.];

(c) "a man on the ground [district level] who can feed up information and who can co-ordinate action. Such a man is lacking at present in our planning organization, and I believe such a man is crucial to the success of our development programme. He needs to be trained in basic planning skills, and management, and he needs to spend a great deal of his time dealing with councils and local people on a personal level" (Underwood, 1982:6). This third planner type relates most to the postgraduate diploma.

NOTES

Notes to Section 1: What people are arguing about

[1] Chitsike et al discuss rural and rural-regional development planning, as being at the intersection of at least four planning types: administrative, participatory, physical, and national (or, more narrowly, economic) development planning - besides being "a field of planning in its own right" (p.32). Similar points apply in other areas of regional planning.

[2] E.g. we comment later on the Netherlands. Every Kenyan District has a District Development Officer (mostly with a social studies or administration background) and has or is due to get an assistant DDO, a statistical officer, and a paraprofessional engineer (Cohen & Hook, 1987). The rather similar system in Botswana is of interest for it has continued from the early 70s without the frequent reorganizations seen in some countries. (a) Each District Council has one or generally more Council Planning Officers (CPOs), usually social/business studies graduates, working on coordination, project proposals, and monitoring and reporting on Council projects. Councils also have their own Works Departments, etc.; and receive support and guidance from central government departments. (b) Each District Administration includes two or (generally) more District Officers for the development programme. One type of post is DO(D) - District Officer (Development), again filled by social/business studies graduates. Duties include secretaryship of the District Development Committee, coordinating the preparation and monitoring of District medium-term and annual plans, and general development promotion and liaison. (c) The other post is District Officer (Lands), concerned with land-use planning, and some simple physical planning in a variety of situations (a "handyman" role). DOLs have geography, agriculture, physical planning or land management backgrounds. (d) Training provisions include manuals, annual DOD/CPO seminars and National District Development Conferences, short courses (e.g. at the Institute of Development Management) and access to foreign postgraduate courses. (e) The district-level planners receive backup and direction from many sources, including the Ministry of Finance & Development Planning, the Ministry of Local Government & Lands' HQ, and the Department of Town & Regional Planning (which is involved in district spatial planning and on specific layouts and structure plans; Gasper, 1989).

[3] Perloff's terminology was: "short courses" up to 8 weeks, "diplomas" of 2-9 months, and 1-2 year Masters courses.

[4] Another experienced urban-and-regional planner working in rural development offered similar advice: "the rural development planner [while] a jack of all trades...must have a basic specialism. No planner ever has all the requirements [so he must be a] member of a planning team [which has] a balance of specialist training" (Coleman, 1982:5).

Notes to Section 2: Relations in the 1950s to late 1970s

[1] In India very few urban-and-regional planners are trained or in post. Other professions are well esconced and offer superior career

rewards to the best students: for example the elite Indian Administrative Service. Those architects and engineers who work in town planning tend to treat it as a subsidiary rather than primary affiliation. Urban-and-regional planners usually rank below architects, engineers, economists or administrators in the various types of planning team, and are unlikely to figure as team leader. Their role is very largely limited to urban areas, and only in an advisory - and relatively uninfluential - capacity. (Chandrasekhara, 1989; Saini, 1989.)

[2] In the Netherlands, (i) micro-spatial planners (who are more prominent at municipal level), (ii) social researchers, policy planners and coordinators (who are more prominent at provincial and national levels), (iii) regulation drafters, and (iv) regulation implementers have not coalesced into a single profession. Plus sector engineers remain particularly powerful. There is no legal restriction of certain types of planning work to those recognized as "planners" by one professional association - probably wisely so, given the range of groups involved. (Faludi & de Ruijter, 1985; Faludi, 1988; Needham, 1988). There is a similar situation in France (Motte, 1989).

[3] ".the chartered planner['s]...special skill, a command of the planning process as a whole, qualifies and entitles him to organise and co-ordinate all planning operations as well as to design and control the implementation of the plan or policy" (Town Planning Institute 1967, cited by Faludi, 1978:15; emphases added). Given the struggle with established technical specialisms, Faludi called this definition "generalist", but noted that it could also be called "specialist in control".

[4] There is only one undergraduate planning department in Canada. Oddly, two undergraduate courses appeared in the Netherlands in the 1980s as a response to educational cuts; there had been no previous lobby for full undergraduate planning degrees. The universities of Amsterdam and Nijmegen used to run 2.5 year planning courses for students who already had a basic training of 3 or more years in some other subject(s). Faced with a cut of all basic degree courses to 4 years, they expanded their planning programmes to that length rather than cut them. (Faludi, 1987) In Britain the RTPI's own internal examination system is being replaced by an Open University course.

[5] Concerning other possible pretences: "What characterises this approach most is the fact that it uses a single model of education to deal with different orientations (... skill-oriented, policy oriented and academic oriented), different scales (local and strategic-regional) and different approaches (generalism, specialism)" (Rodriguez-Bachiller, 1988:207; emphasis added).

Notes to Section 3: A critique for the 50s to 70s

[1] E.g. Mabogunje (1980); Rambanapasi (1988).

[2] On economic development planning, see Faber & Seers (eds., 1972).

[3] E.g. Birmingham University's course for LDCs on New Town Management, based on Britain, was eventually dropped as inappropriate

- especially as most LDCs don't have the British type of new town (Amos, 1982a). Amos commented too on the M.Sc. in Regional & Urban Planning at the University of Zimbabwe in the early 80s: "The course is very much modelled on the courses leading to professional qualification in the United Kingdom and the Union [sic] of South Africa" (Amos, 1981:14). As of 1981/2 its Rural Planning paper had 2 hours on "Rural Development: problems and needs in Zimbabwe (and elsewhere)", 2 hours on Rural Industries, and 3 hrs. on Administrative & Financial Framework!

[4] Faludi lamented the "narrow outlook" and "poverty of [the] discipline" of town planning (1978:110-11). Eversley argued that a profession then still built largely on surplus geographers, moderate social science graduates, and technicians, who were taught partly irrelevant techniques rather than about social relationships, would inevitably end up as both frustrated and widely disliked (1973:Ch.12).

[5] See Faludi's Delft inaugural lecture (1978: final ch.) for a striking example of how the solution to a standard town planning problem depended on specialist knowledge that one could not expect any town-and-regional planning team to have without wide consultation.

[6] Rambanapasi argues that: "the process of land and property development...seems to hold the key to national development measured by the creation of and additions to physical stock" (1988:25). But physical stock is just an input category, and we need to measure how useful that stock is, for what, and for whom. Rambanapasi suggests we "define planning as an activity involving future changes in the productive stock, rather than management of the operation of existing stock", and sees projects as "the addition to physical stock" (1988:27). However, projects often do not require new physical stock; and planning cannot neglect whether stocks are useful/productive and well managed and maintained.

[7] Thomas (1982) notes that while all professions have ideas for legitimating their claims to authority, urban-and-regional planners are special in the directness of their claimed link to "the public interest". They supposedly identify and directly promote "the public interest" and guard it against the "irrationality" of politics. The underlying utilitarianism has many shortcomings (as well as strengths) as an ethic and as a planning theory. See Eversley (1973) & Sillince (1986) on utilitarianism in planning theory and practice.

Notes to Section 4: Relations since the late 1970s

[1] Thus Rodriguez-Bachiller (1988:Ch.3) finds that in some ways the structure of American planning courses is more uniform than 20 years ago. There is generally a core-and-specialisms set-up, with the core now freed from much obligatory physical planning content, and normally containing: 1) quantitative methods; 2) planning theory; 3) one or two courses in social sciences; 4) one or two practical projects; and beyond this a wide menu. Courses accredited by the American Institute of Certified Planners must still cover all the following:- physical structure and dynamics of change of and in settlements; likewise institutional and economic aspects of human settlements; planning theory, process, legislation and implementation; rural planning;

quantitative analysis and computing; communication techniques; synthetic exercise. But the Institute has little power to enforce its views, given the different history and diversified job market in the USA.

[2] In Australia, McLoughlin & Berry report a marked fall in the number of courses which had stuck to old-fashioned - heavily physical and technocratic - British town-planning lines. Faced with government expenditure cuts in the 80s these departments were hard hit, due to weak student demand, low cost-effectiveness, and very poor records in research. The surviving schools show a trend either to urban policy analysis and implementation issues, or to questions of detailed urban land use regulation. (McLoughlin & Berry, 1989)

[3] E.g. Saini (1989); Thin-Fook (1989); Synghal (1989); Rambanapasi (1988), and see Appendix B below.

[4] Hughes and his Pakistani counterparts give contrasted pictures of such a project; Hughes (1989), Engineering University, Lahore (1989).

[5] Afshar (1989) outlines another approach, from Guelph University in Canada, where the planning M.Sc. stresses rural and international-comparative issues. He notes problems of doing this in a field that is typically urban and often separates domestic and foreign students. The method tried is: (a) core courses with a global perspective, (b) separate sub-cores for Third World- and Canadian-oriented students, (c) electives that use both Northern and Southern perspectives. It has its own problems.

Notes to Section 5: A critique for the present period

[1] E.g. the leading centre at Oxford Polytechnic has largely shifted to modularized programmes and an a-la-carte-menu; as has Amsterdam in the second half of its course (Rodriguez-Bachiller, 1988).

[2] Agabanyan, one of Gorbachev's senior advisers, describes the later Brezhnev and Chernenko period in the USSR:- stagnant per capita real incomes, falling life expectancy, far lower shares of national income devoted to health and education than in other advanced countries, neglect of other services, waste of materials, and "policies targeted on extra construction instead of technical renovation" (1988:93). He calls for a large "move away from centralized allocation of resources to buying and selling in the market", and a reduction of the staff of central economic Ministries by 30-50 per cent. By the 1980s the gap between 1930s organization ("relations of production") and late 20th century forces of production had become too wide to tolerate.

Notes to Section 6: Contents and curricula

[1] Conyers lists conditions needed to justify separate courses on regional development planning, including whether: "(i) Regional development planning can be regarded as an activity in its own right, in the sense that it is more than just an element or extension of national development planning, settlement planning, local administration or community development. (ii) There are sufficient similarities

between regional planning practice in different countries, in different types and sizes of region and at national and sub-national levels, to warrant the identification of a common core of knowledge which would provide the basis of professional training programmes" (Conyers, 1987:31-2).

[2] E.g. Hathway (1989) separates "understanding" from "knowledge" and "skills".

[3] See e.g. Lacey (1989) on "What Planners in Developing Countries Need to Know About Population".

[4] Hendry cites Rugg (1986) on research on tackling problems that have no feasible formal solution algorithm. There is a common pattern in successful creative work: i) an initial conscious stage of baffled struggle; ii) the worker relegates the problem to the back of her (conscious) mind; iii) an unexpected flash of insight, giving a hypothesis; iv) a stage of conscious testing and amendment.

[5] Most older planners in Hathway's sample are reported to feel that students should pay more attention to skills, whereas most younger planners felt that understanding of planning issues was more important than skills. The meaning and context of the question they answered are too weakly reported for one to fully interpret the response, or to automatically accept Hathway's conclusion that there should be more emphasis on skills in university education. Some younger planners may already receive a broader skills training than their predecessors, and so feel understanding to be more important at the margin; and older planners may now take their understanding of issues for granted, regret having concentrated on skills of declining use to them (maybe drawing skills in this case), and hope for assistants oriented to current skills. There is also the anomaly that a large majority of those in the sample who trained around 1970 stressed understanding above skills, "despite" their 15-20 years experience.

[6] For community planning the answer though is not "teaching people detailed sector-specific substantive planning recipes. What people need are conceptual tools at the most general level which they can use to plan their own processes for dealing with a changing array of complex conflict-producing problems and crises" (Boothroyd, 1989:4). Boothroyd has developed a generic model of planning whose steps apply not only in all sectors but also at all recursive stages - from planning-for-planning to planning-for-implementation.

[7] Griffiths & Harrison (1989) helpfully suggest priority social science themes in education for planning. They outline problem-oriented rather than discipline-oriented approaches, with these targets: (i) to introduce major social and economic processes of change, and show that the physical and spatial forms in which problems arise cannot be separated from the socio-economic processes in which they are rooted; (ii) to introduce social science concepts and reasoning, and show that understanding is theory-laden not theory-free; (iii) to show how problems are socially defined rather than impersonally given. Like Healey (1989) they are influenced by the work of Burrell & Morgan (1979) in typologizing theories according to possible starting points.

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(2) for items noted as presented "to the Birmingham conference", see details given with Birmingham Polytechnic (1989).

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