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K.G. LAVERY

PhD. IN URBAN STUDIES

THE EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION OF PROFESSIONALS:

A Study of British Town Planners in the 1980's

APRIL 1987

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ABSTRACT

THE EDUCATION AND SOCIALISATION OF PROFESSIONALS : A STUDY OF BRITISH TOWN PLANNERS IN THE 1980s

The relative importance of recruitment, education and work in reproducing the ideologies of town planners was examined. One postgraduate and three undergraduate courses with different orientations and institutional settings were studied. The impact of external pressures on socialisation, notably the parent profession, was also examined.

The main findings were:-

- (i) Course content varied between schools because of staff differences but the undergraduate courses had a common form reflecting the influence of professionalism.
- (ii) Tensions between staff, reflecting conflicting views of planning and different disciplinary backgrounds, caused anxiety and confusion about the nature of planning among undergraduates.
- (iii) Formal education was important for the socialisation of British undergraduates, as they adopted the view of planning held by the majority of their teachers. Anticipatory socialisation was more important for the socialisation of postgraduates and overseas undergraduates. Postgraduates entered their school already holding its 'radical' view which was reinforced there whereas the prior socialisation of overseas undergraduates in authoritarian cultures meant they adopted a 'conventionalist' view of planning, irrespective of which school they attended. Most students, however, entered planning school believing that planning education ought to be vocational.
- (iv) When starting work graduates experienced 'reality shock' with a number of consequences: they adopted a narrower conception of planning; they displayed a shift towards a 'radical' view of planning, including a keener appreciation of politics; and, they felt ill-prepared for the routine aspects of work, particularly development control. Many also became frustrated with planning. This was not due solely to 'reality shock' but also to poor career prospects and a hostile political climate towards planning.

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GLOSSARY OF ABBREVIATIONS USED

AA	Architectural Association
ADC	Association of District Councils
ASP	Association of Student Planners
BASW	British Association of Social Workers
BMA	British Medical Association
CES	Centre for Environmental Studies
CLS	Community Land Scheme
CNAA	Council for National Academic Awards
CCA	County Councils' Association
DES	Department of Education and Science
DOE	Department of the Environment
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council
EPA	Education for Planning Association
GCA	Garden Cities Association
GLC	Greater London Council
IEDO	Institute of Economic Development Officers
INLOGOV	Institute of Local Government Studies, University of Birmingham
ICE	Institution of Civil Engineers
IMCE	Institution of Municipal and County Engineers
IMunE	Institution of Municipal Engineers
JEB	Joint Examination Board
LGB	Local Government Board
MPOS	Metropolitan Planning Officers' Society
MHLG	Ministry of Housing and Local Government
MTCP	Ministry of Town and Country Planning

MWP	Ministry of Works and Planning
NAB	National Advisory Body for Higher Education
PAG	Planning Advisory Group
RIG	Radical Institute Group
RSA	Regional Studies Association
RIBA	Royal Institute of British Architects
RTPI	Royal Town Planning Institute
RICS	Royal Institution of Chartered Surveyors
SSRC	Social Science Research Council
SPA	Student Planners' Association
SI	Surveyors' Institution
TCPA	Town and Country Planning Association
TPI	Town Planning Institute
TPPs	Transport Policies and Programmes
UGC	University Grants Committee

(X)

THE CASE STUDIES

University of Civic - a social science orientated postgraduate planning course in a high status university.

University of Plateglass - a middle of the road undergraduate planning course in a low status university.

University of Redbrick - an undergraduate planning course with a land-use and design emphasis in a high status university.

Robbins Polytechnic - a social science orientated undergraduate planning course in a polytechnic.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 IDENTIFYING THE PROBLEM

A person's job takes up much of his or her life and is a crucial influence on attitudes towards many issues, personal identity and relationships with others. Hughes (1958) suggests that all occupational groups develop 'collective pretensions' about their work in order to justify its value to themselves and outsiders. Above all this is true of professional people who: "claim a legal, moral and intellectual mandate. Not merely do the practitioners, by virtue of gaining admission to the charmed circle of colleagues, individually exercise the licence to do things others do not do, but collectively they presume to tell society what is good and right for the individual and for society at large in some aspect of life. Indeed, they set the very terms in which people may think about this aspect of life." (Hughes, 1958, p 79).

Professionals develop sets of ideas or 'ideologies' about, among other things, the essential nature of their occupation, its aims and methods. In short, professions can be viewed as having distinct 'sub-cultures' which are accepted, to varying degrees, by members of the profession and even some laymen.

Would-be professionals are not born into these sub-cultures: they acquire the characteristics of their culture by internalising its values, beliefs and assumptions. I am, of course, referring to 'socialisation', one of the central ideas in sociology. 'Professional socialisation' is a highly specialised stage of a life-long process. Nowadays virtually all the established professions require their novices to undergo extensive training - usually by completing higher education courses recognised by the relevant profession - before entering practice. These training courses do more than merely transfer information and knowledge about professional practice. They are likely to have a major formative influence on young professionals by socialising them into the values and beliefs of their chosen profession. These values are sometimes an explicit part of the curriculum but more often they are implicit and incidental to the formal education. Merton's (1957) distinction between 'direct' and 'indirect' learning is important here. 'Direct learning' is the process of learning from formal instruction whereas 'indirect learning' occurs where values are formed as a by-product of contact with lecturers, students and possibly practising professionals. The socialisation of professionals can therefore be seen as a set of experiences - many of them unintended by educators - through which laymen internalise the core elements of the professional sub-culture.

This thesis is concerned with one British profession - town planning. In Britain, town planning is a bureaucratic profession and although not as powerful as traditional professions like medicine, planners do help shape the physical environment which has further social and economic consequences. Town Planners certainly have distinctive views on the form of development and pattern of land uses, preferring certain types of layout, design, materials and land-use patterns; they hold characteristic views on public policy - on what government policy and legislation should be and what the relationship is, and should be, between planning and politics; and they have unique attitudes towards their own occupation, its area of concern, its aims and methods. Moreover, the vast majority of town planners undergo formal training in universities and polytechnics. These courses are formally controlled by the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI).

I shall examine the relative importance of recruitment, formal education and practice in reproducing and maintaining the value system of the planning profession. I shall also look at one issue which is likely to have a crucial impact on socialisation - the determination of planning curricula.

1.2 WHY STUDY THE SOCIALISATION OF BRITISH TOWN PLANNERS?

Questions usually arise from doubt and in my case I began to question, when doing an undergraduate planning course, town planning and planning education. Although most of my fellow planning students were indifferent to courses in sociology and government, they awakened my interest in politics, power and professionalism, especially in relation to town planning, the occupation I know best.¹ I began to see planning as a political exercise involving decisions which potentially alter the form and location of new development, and in some cases prevent it. Planning therefore has the potential to redistribute spatially capital investment, particularly private capital. This obviously affects the owners of capital as well as the users of buildings, but it also has externality effects on other groups by, for example, affecting land values and the quality of the environment. I soon discovered, however, that professional planners were helping to perpetuate a myth that planning was a technical matter. This attitude, so it seemed to me, created 'technical planning problems' and demanded

¹ I worked in planning departments at North Tyneside Metropolitan Borough and Tyne and Wear County Council in summer vacations from 1977 to 1983. This amounted to eight months experience.

'experts' to 'solve' them. Yet planners made virtually no attempt to understand the underlying social and economic forces which gave rise to these 'problems'. Since they could not understand the problems it was unlikely, I thought, that they would be able to solve them.

I began to suspect that planning schools were socialising students into these technocratic ideas. I was convinced that the planning profession should not be above examination and criticism and that both planning practice and education were too important to be left entirely to professionals. They are matters which ought to be aired and discussed widely. I wanted to unmask what I felt was the real face of the planning profession and dispel some of its myths and pretensions. In particular, I wanted to examine the process of socialisation in the planning schools. (Thus, I began my research well before registering to do a PhD).

The discussion of planning education, to date, has been dominated by planning teachers and practitioners. Planning educators, in particular, find it difficult to be detached about planning education. After all, they have a material interest in the matter and often take too much for granted. Another more sceptical approach is needed, treating all assumptions - including those held by planning educators themselves - as conjectures to be tested.

As an ex-planning student with limited experience of practice I had a reasonable knowledge of planning education and practice and was also able to look at planning education through the student's eyes. I also tried to approach my research in a more detached way using the sociology of the professions, as opposed to looking at the problem through the eyes of a planning teacher, for I was to study planning teachers as well as students.

There has been a limited amount of work on the ideologies of planners (e.g. Glass, 1959; Foley, 1960; Pahl, 1972; Healey and Underwood, 1978; Knox and Cullen, 1981), but more needs to be done, especially on the reproduction of these ideologies. Research on planners' ideologies is certainly worthwhile for as Pahl comments: "Planners must become more conscious of their own values, biases, assumptions and preconceptions. Until they acquire some understanding of their own brand of ethnocentrism, their ability to achieve social goals will be limited." (1972, p. 9)

We should be interested in whether students internalise values during their education since this may subsequently influence how they exercise their discretion when practising as planners. I am assuming that planners have at least some discretion when formulating plans, interpreting them and making recommendations to councillors and further that they are likely to apply this discretion in line with their

own professional values rather than the wishes of councillors or the demands of the market. I am not suggesting that town planners are all powerful in shaping our environment. On the contrary, as I shall argue in chapter 3, although they have some discretion, their actions are tightly constrained by the forces operating in the modern capitalist economy. Nevertheless, an understanding of how planners use their discretion, albeit limited, is important and my research will provide a minor input to such a study.

Planning educators ought to be interested in the effects of planning education on students. After all, they ought to know whether or not they achieve their aims. Moreover, they ought to know whether planning courses have any unintended effects. Planning schools, whose courses are explicitly vocational, have continually failed to monitor their effectiveness in preparing students for jobs. The need for such research is even more urgent today since a new generation of students are doing planning degrees which, according to some commentators (e.g. Thomas, 1979 and 1981; Healey, 1981), are less uniform and more liberal than was previously the case. Yet we know remarkably little about the effects of different planning curricula on students.

Knowledge of the effects of planning education would also help educators to specify more clearly what they are trying to do. Questions about the effects of planning education on students are, in principle, empirical. A concern with effects should not, therefore, be equated with 'evaluation', that is, asking whether the outcomes identified are desirable. Consequently, knowledge of the effects of planning education cannot tell educators what to do; such a question can only, in the final analysis, be answered in terms of values. Nevertheless, such knowledge can aid the achievement of clearer objectives and this is desirable. Mager (1975), for example, lists four arguments in support of the latter assumption: clear objectives are the only sound basis for selecting course content and methods; they are also necessary if we are to know whether education is effective; students benefit since they have a better knowledge of what is expected of them; and finally, specifying objectives encourages educators to think more carefully about what is worth teaching.

Some educators may object to such research arguing that they are not concerned with socialisation. The facts may, of course, be at odds with what some prefer to think is happening. Nutt, Susskind and Retsinas (1970) suggested that US planning schools were unaware of the socialisation that was going on. This may apply to British planning schools too. There is already a great deal of evidence to show that

attitude change does take place, to varying degrees in the schools of other professions.

Other educators, by contrast, have claimed that planning education not only transmits knowledge in the conventional sense of understanding but also socialises, or should do, students into the 'right' values. Faludi, formerly a planning lecturer in England but now a professor of planning in a Dutch university, suggests that planning courses should be 'integrated' which means: "in particular, integration of people and their socialisation into some loose system of values. It is a delicate process always carrying the risk of failure, and in any case one that requires time, constant attention and care to trigger off and maintain." (1978, p. 145). Two other British planning educators, Bruton and Crispin, also suggested that project work in planning courses should promote certain attitudes in students, including: " (i) Enthusiasm for planning. (iv) Acceptance of the need for planning." (1973, p. 14)

Others have been critical of planning education for promoting certain values among students. Reade, for example, formerly a sociology lecturer in a British planning school, claims planning schools are an affront to liberal educational values: "Education should promote both understanding and skill. It should not seek to promote commitment, either to the idea of planning or to the planning

profession. That the aim is to promote such commitment is, however, openly admitted. It is said, for example, that mature students are less suited to planning courses, since it is easier to inculcate the 'right attitudes' in school leavers. And, among the latter, preference is often given to those who already show commitment to planning These suggestions are frightening. They might be appropriate to religious seminaries, or to party schools, but surely not to education in an open society." (1976a, p. 492)

As part of my research I examined the sociology of professional education. The field is dominated by research on the high status, established professions of medicine and law with little work on lower status, marginal professions such as town planning. I believe I can make a worthwhile contribution to the study of professionalism by looking at a marginal profession since the focus on high status professions has distorted the sociology of professional education by portraying it as a smoother process than is likely to be the case in many lower status professions. There tends to be more consensus in high status professions and their public image is usually favourable. In addition, their students are carefully selected, tend to be highly committed, drawn from a narrow range of backgrounds and, as a result, a fairly homogeneous group. Lower status professions, by contrast, tend to

have a less than favourable image, are torn by internal disputes and attract students from a wide range of backgrounds. Thus there seemed to be good grounds for believing that the role of education in socialisation might be more critical in relation to the marginal as compared to the established professions.

1.3 THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS RESEARCH

In this study I hope to discover the values of the planning sub-culture and whether planning students are socialised into them. My study can be divided into five broad stages:

(i) Anticipatory socialisation and entry to planning school.

Who are the planning students? Why did they come to study town planning? What ideas about town planning and attitudes towards their education did they bring with them? Why did students enter particular schools? How are students selected for town planning courses?

(ii) Formal training.

What do the staff of planning schools want to achieve? One might expect the specification of objectives of a professional course to be clearer than those of a more general academic course since, as we shall see, most of the students wish to enter

professional practice. What are the planning schools actually doing in practice? This can be inferred from an examination of day-to-day teaching practice. One might find that the formal aims, as stated in prospectuses or by the head of department, are not accurate guides to what is actually being done. Moreover, it would not be unusual to find different lecturers pursuing different goals. Operational goals can be seen as the product of a bargaining between members of staff with a compromise eventually emerging. The curriculum might be contradictory and change over time due to shifts in the balance of power, new ideas or outside pressures. The point is to identify the actual goals underlying each part of the curriculum.

(iii) Socialisation at Planning School.

Are there any changes in students' attitudes and values towards town planning during their time at college? Do planning students form a cohesive group? If so, what are the group values and what impact do they have on socialisation? It is not enough to ask whether or not the stated objectives of staff are achieved as this ignores unintended outcomes.

(iv) Starting work in the local planning authority.

What happened when planning students entered town planning practice? How well did students feel prepared for planning work? How accurate were their

expectations? How did their early experience affect attitudes towards town planning?

(v) Comparative aspects.

I wanted to discover whether or not there are appreciable differences between the cultures and, in turn, the curricula, staff and students of different planning schools. To what extent are student attitudes influenced by course content? What difference did courses stressing different views about the nature of planning make? Did influences peculiar to the school in question explain student attitudes or are more general social processes operating?

This study has many limitations. I did not conduct a comprehensive study of socialisation in planning schools. I only looked at selected aspects of planning ideology using a small number of case studies. Little attention was paid, for example, to the detailed environmental preferences of planners since this would have required an extensive and time-consuming participant observation study of planning school and practice well beyond the scope of this thesis. In addition, I paid little attention to the socialisation experience of overseas students since this would have required a study of planning practice abroad which was also beyond the scope of my research.

Studying socialisation involves making an assumption that it is possible, at least to some extent, to

discover the effects of experiencing town planning school on students' values. This implies that it is possible to speak of the effects caused by the experience of planning school. In principle, these outcomes can be identified even though they may change over time. At the outset I also make two working assumptions which I shall test: first, that it is reasonable to view the town planning profession as a distinctive sub-culture and, second, that formal planning education is a major agency for the transmission of this sub-culture to would-be town planners.

1.4 THE RESEARCH STRATEGY

Underlying Philosophy and Theory

I approached the study of planning education by asking the same questions and using the same methods as sociologists have done when studying education in other professions. In the sociology of professional education a considerable amount of work has been done, though not on planning.

The research philosophy which underpinned this research was similar in spirit to that advocated by Glaser and Strauss (1975). They urged researchers to construct 'grounded theory': this involved approaching the research problem with an 'open mind', allowing the theory to 'emerge' from the facts and be refined and modified to fit the data in the course of the

research. I did not have a completely open mind but approached my fieldwork with a number of alternative expectations drawn from various sociological theories and tried to be sensitive to the data as it unfolded. As I became more closely attuned to the nature of my chosen planning schools some of these expectations, as will be shown later, were modified while others were dropped and new ones emerged.

After reviewing previous work on professional socialisation I developed my own approach. This involved first examining the external influences on a profession's role which impinge on socialisation followed by a detailed study of professional education to see the impact of these influences. This approach has four key features:

(i) A historical approach.

It is important to examine the history and context of professional education and its parent profession if we are to understand the socialisation process. There are many external factors which impinge on professional schools and they often vary over time leading to changes in professional practice, image and ideologies. I shall show in this thesis, for example, that the content, style and appearance of town planning courses has been greatly influenced by changing job opportunities for town planners. The past decisions of educators to meet what they

saw as changing job opportunities also influence and limit future options.

(ii) A comparative approach.

I pursued questions about professional socialisation in a number of institutional contexts. This proved a very worthwhile exercise as I found that planning schools responded to external pressures in different ways depending on their institutional status and historical background. This, in turn, influenced what was taught in planning schools and had an impact on socialisation. In Britain a department's status is derived from the general reputation of the parent institution in the academic hierarchy with Oxbridge firmly at the top and the polytechnics and colleges of higher education at the bottom. Thus a planning school in a well established university had high status while a polytechnic school had low status.

(iii) Seeking out conflicts.

I deliberately set out to look at staff as well as students and expected to find differences between, and conflicts within, schools. This proved to be the case. My thesis shows beyond doubt that the planning curriculum was an arena of struggle with various groups of lecturers competing for control. I also show how these conflicts affected socialisation.

(iv) Examining the link between education and practice.

This involved examining planning students at three crucial stages of the socialisation process - entering the professional school, the experience of education and starting work. I shall show that education has a crucial if somewhat contradictory role in the socialisation of planners: it plays an important part in inculcating basic professional values but fails to equip students with accurate expectations of work.

The Selection of Case Studies

Four planning schools were selected for study. At the outset of my research I guaranteed to all those concerned that all individuals and planning schools would be treated in confidence. For this reason I have given each planning school a fictitious name and have concealed the identity of individuals. I studied the undergraduate courses at the University of Plateglass, the University of Redbrick and Robbins Polytechnic and the postgraduate course at Civic University. All four courses were recognised by the RTP1.

The courses were chosen after studying the development of planning education. I wanted to cover the range of course orientations in planning education. My reading of planning education literature revealed three common course orientations - the traditional land-use planning and design orientation, the 'procedural'

orientation and the social science orientation (these terms are explained in Chapter 4). I wanted to discover what impact course differences had on socialisation. I therefore examined planning school prospectuses and chose the above four schools. Robbins and Civic appeared to epitomise the social science approach to planning education. Robbins was set up in the late sixties in a low status institution. From the beginning it was staffed by social scientists and soon acquired a reputation for being 'radical' and 'trendy'. It was eventually recognised by the RTPI in the late seventies. By contrast, Civic was an old established planning school in a high status institution. The school expanded rapidly in the late sixties with young social scientists joining and replacing most of the traditional professional planning lecturers. The postgraduate course then moved away from a technical orientation to a broadly based social science approach. Plateglass appeared to have a strong procedural and quantitative orientation. The school was established in the mid-sixties in a low status university. Redbrick had a traditional land-use planning and design orientation which had changed little from the early sixties. The course was conservative in keeping with the image of the parent institution, a high status university. I also used a small amount of material from a number of other planning schools.

I chose mainly undergraduate courses for two reasons. They are more interesting places to study professional socialisation since their students enter planning school at a younger age knowing less about town planning and undergraduate courses are now the most common way of entering the planning profession and are likely to continue and increase their dominance as state financial support for postgraduate planning students declines.

Originally I had approached Redbrick, Civic and two Polytechnics. The departmental heads in the latter two schools were unwilling to give me access to their departments. I can only speculate about their reasons but it seems likely that they felt threatened by my research since it asked questions about the purpose and effectiveness of planning education² at a time when the National Advisory Body for Higher Education (NAB) was about to begin a review of public sector planning education with rumours rife that some

² I was later informed by two senior lecturers at one polytechnic that there had been a staff meeting to discuss my research proposal. They decided not to grant me access because a majority of staff felt threatened by the research. To the best of my knowledge, the departmental head at the other polytechnic did not consult his staff.

schools would be closed. After being rejected by the two polytechnics I chose Plateglass University and Robbins Polytechnic as suitable replacements.

Once I had gained access I had few problems in securing the co-operation of the staff and students concerned. The support of the head of each planning school was undoubtedly important. My position as a young town planning graduate was crucial. It made it easier for me to establish a rapport with students since I had much in common with them. I played the role of 'friend' with some success. Previous researchers have commented on the problems they faced when studying students. These problems arose, in part, because the researchers were older, of higher status since they were usually lecturers, and outsiders usually from sociology or psychology (e.g. Olesen and Whittaker, 1968; Abercrombie, 1974). Here, for example, Olesen and Whittaker comment on the problems they encountered with characteristic honesty: "we should not overlook some students' views of us as undercover agents, who were collecting information that would eventually return to condemn them, or, at the very least embarrass them. It would be foolish for us to leave the field with a saccharine coating to insulate us from the thought that, despite our most vigorous efforts, some actors could only view us, wholly or partly, as spies, snoops, burdensome intruders, interfering busybodies". (p 44, 1968)

I had, however, expected to encounter difficulties in establishing a rapport with staff due to my youth and lower status. To my surprise I experienced few problems except at Civic where initially some members of staff - notably the course director - were unhappy about permitting me to study their school, until they discovered I was an ex-planner rather than a sociologist.

Research Methods and Techniques

No single research technique can be expected to yield data relevant to all aspects of a student's experience of planning school. Consequently, several techniques were used including interviews, conversations, questionnaires and documentary evidence. In addition, several different types of actor were approached including students, lecturers, practitioners and prominent planners and academics representing bodies such as the RTPI. The variety of techniques and of data sources enabled me to cross-check information and reduce errors.

I decided that attitudes and opinions were best determined by intensive interviews and questionnaires. I conducted 'semi-structured' interviews where the questions were formulated beforehand. This was necessary to ensure coverage of those topics most central to the research project. Nevertheless, the majority of the interview questions were open, allowing plenty of opportunity for the expression of opinions. I did not classify responses into

preconceived categories but coded the information after examining all the responses to a particular question. Since I wished to obtain spontaneous answers and personal opinions I did not send copies of interview schedules in advance. I did, however, indicate my reasons for asking to interview the respondent. Nor did I reveal my hypotheses to those people I interviewed since this, I believed, might bias my findings. Some psychological research (Weber and Cook, 1972) shows that people who are told the experimental hypotheses in advance more often perform in ways that will support them than do other people.³ I did not do a participant observation study - a method frequently used in socialisation studies - mainly because I already had experience of planning school.

I interviewed a small number of prominent persons who were, or had been, involved in planning education as teachers or through membership of interested bodies such as the RTPi and CNAa. This helped set the scene. I then approached the four schools and

³ The course director at Civic objected very strongly to my refusal to reveal my hypotheses (Appendix 1).

interviewed the head of each school and a small number of staff, usually four in each school in a short space of time. I wanted to discover the range of views held by staff in each school so I interviewed lecturers with differing academic and professional backgrounds as well as those in junior and senior positions. Interviewing more than one lecturer helped me to correct the errors which arose in single interviews. Moreover, interviewing a number of lecturers revealed differing interpretations of the same facts. This was usually related to their different standpoints as a junior or senior member of staff or as a member of a particular faction, that is, holding different views on the nature of town planning and purpose of planning education. I learned a great deal about the internal staff politics of each school. I did not interview all lecturers because I thought that such an approach would, as well as being time-consuming, endanger the spontaneity of answers: lecturers might discuss my research among themselves and come to a consensus, conscious or not, on how to deal with my questions.

I then interviewed two or three students from each year of each school to gain some idea of what the courses were like. After studying the interview transcripts a questionnaire was designed for all first and final year students in the undergraduate courses and all students in the postgraduate course. The intention was to measure the similarities and

differences in the attitudes and backgrounds of students both between years and schools.

Information on the curriculum was collected - prospectuses, student timetables, lecture course notes, reading lists, project briefs, exam papers, methods of assessment as well as information on students. In some cases confidential course documents, such as, recent reports of RTPI visiting boards were obtained.

Finally, a questionnaire was sent to recent graduates of the three schools (see Appendix 3).⁴ Each graduate was also sent a list of graduate destinations for their planning school and asked to update and correct it. This enabled me to improve the lists supplied to me by the planning schools.⁵ I also obtained

⁴ Robbins refused to provide this information.

⁵ Civic refused to supply this information but they did distribute my questionnaire for me (Appendix 1).

graduate destination lists from the other planning schools - the undergraduate courses at Newpool Polytechnic and the postgraduate course at Provincial University. This helped me to overcome the problems resulting from the refusal of Robbins and Civic to provide graduate destination lists.

It is important to recognise that I did not conduct a longitudinal study. This is a weakness of my research but it would have been too time-consuming. I have assumed that graduates and final year students would have given the same responses when first years as did the current first years when they were questioned about their attitudes towards planning and planning education. This is a reasonable assumption given that town planning education has not changed much over the five years before my study. Indeed, there has been virtually no staff movement and the climate of opinion has been pessimistic since the late-seventies. This stability reduced the disadvantages of not doing a proper longitudinal study. Moreover, my research design does have at least two advantages over a longitudinal study. First, the problem of 'repeated measures', where respondents recall their responses to the previous questionnaire and give the same answer in each

subsequent questionnaire, could not arise. Second, longitudinal studies enable respondents to think about and discuss the questionnaire with colleagues in advance. This might reduce the spontaneity and thus the reliability of replies. This is less likely with my research design.

1.5 THE PLAN OF THIS THESIS

I begin by examining the various theories of professional socialisation. Then I look at the development of town planning practice and education. Finally, and most importantly, I study the various stages of socialisation into the town planning profession and assess the relative importance of each stage.

Chapter 2 reviews the literature on professional socialisation and sets out my own approach. I distinguish between two sets of influences on socialisation - 'internal' and 'external' factors. Hitherto work on professional socialisation has ignored external factors and concentrated on internal factors without recognising that the latter are often heavily influenced by wider social and economic pressures. My own approach seeks to combine both 'micro' and 'macro' aspects of socialisation. Part of this involves a careful study of the history and wider context of planning practice, professionalism and education. I do this in Chapters 3 and 4.

Chapter 3 looks at the development of the town planning profession and, in particular, examines how changes in planning practice and ideas reflect changing social circumstances. Chapter 4 charts changing planning curricula and ideas about planning education and relates them in turn to wider social and economic pressures on the planning schools and the profession.

Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8 examine the process of socialisation in town planning. These chapters, which are based almost exclusively on my own fieldwork, form the central part of the thesis. The process of socialisation is divided into three key stages - entering planning school, experiencing planning education and starting work. In all four chapters I look for differences and similarities between different types of planning course and within schools.

Chapter 5 examines the town planning curriculum - course content, teaching methods and forms of assessment. The aim is to discover the underlying assumptions and reasoning behind the curriculum. Chapter 6 is concerned with entry to planning school. It provides a profile of contemporary planning students and looks at their ideas about town planning practice and education, as well as their reasons for entering planning school.

The experience of planning school and how it affects student values is studied in chapter 7. Chapter 8 is concerned with the early years of planning work and how this affects socialisation. It looks at the accuracy of student expectations of planning work, how effective students felt their courses were in preparing them for work and how both these factors influenced their values.

Chapter 9 summarises the whole thesis and spells out the implications for planning education and the sociology of professional education.

2. THE ROLE OF FORMAL EDUCATION IN PROFESSIONAL SOCIALISATION : A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In order to explain the role of formal education in the socialisation of town planners we need a theoretical framework which suggests which aspects of the process to examine. This chapter develops such a framework.

I shall be particularly concerned with the question of whether students acquire a 'professional ideology or ideologies' while at professional school and if so whether they continue to hold it (them) when they are practitioners. Professional ideology is seen as a set of values and ideas which define an area of esteric knowledge which is claimed to be the property of a single occupation. It describes the essential nature of an occupation, its aims, methods, central and peripheral activities and relationships to other groups.

I begin by outlining the two classic approaches to professional socialisation which I refer to as 'functionalism' and 'interactionism'. Most of this work was carried out in US medical schools in the fifties and early sixties, the heyday of sociological

work on professional socialisation. These two approaches developed in opposition to one another and the socialisation of medical students became a key part of a much wider debate within US sociology where the hitherto dominant paradigm 'structural functionalism' was challenged by the new pretender 'symbolic interactionism'. Virtually all subsequent discussion and research on professional socialisation is derived from this debate. I then examine the similarities, differences, strengths and weaknesses of the two approaches and, at the same time, introduce more recent approaches using material on a range of professions. Finally, I set out my own approach to professional socialisation which overcomes some of the flaws of previous work.

2.2 EXISTING APPROACHES TO PROFESSIONAL SOCIALISATION

The Functionalist and Interactionist Approaches

The best known functionalist work was done by researchers at Columbia University. Their seminal work is contained in a book, published in 1957, by Merton et al The Student Physician (see in particular the articles by Merton, Huntingdon, Fox and Reader). These studies were the culmination of growing interest in American sociological circles with professions and adult socialisation. They also reflected the widespread interest in using social science to inform policy making: in this case, US medical teachers were

interested in the impact of medical school on the values of student doctors.

Merton et al held several key assumptions derived from 'structural functionalism' which, although implicit, directed their work. First and foremost, they thought that society remained in order because there was a consensus on basic values. Second, they viewed society as a stable, integrated whole which could be divided into 'sub-systems', processes and arrangements which, when taken together, served to maintain the whole. In other words, the various social processes and arrangements existed by virtue of their function in supporting and maintaining society. The functionalists ascribed a crucial function to adult socialisation: new members of society learn the norms, values and attitudes associated with their roles in society thus ensuring its continued existence.

However, Merton and his colleagues did not use a conventional 'structural functionalist' framework. Merton (1957b), for example, had questioned universal functionalism by suggesting that certain practices and institutions could be 'dysfunctional' to certain sub-systems or even the whole of society and that not all functions were indispensable. Moreover, Merton criticised all-embracing theories such as Parsons' theory of the 'social system' and advocated, in its place, the development of 'theories of the middle

range'. He was also more committed to carrying out detailed empirical research.

Professional socialisation was seen from the professional educator's perspective: how does the social structure of medical school form the behaviour of students? They contended that at medical school the professional sub-culture was transmitted to eager would-be doctors. This was due, in part, to the fact that students undertook their training at a crucial time when entering adulthood and were therefore, impressionable. More importantly, however, the students themselves formed a cohesive group which openly supported the values promoted at medical school and thus assisted socialisation. In particular, the teachers in medical school were treated by students as role models to emulate. The students therefore 'internalised' the 'professional role' of the doctor which was seen as a set of values, attitudes and norms associated with behavioural regularities. This change was enduring and guided future professional behaviour.

What was particularly interesting about the functionalist account was not that medical school performed the 'manifest function' of training for medical practice but that it also performed the 'latent function' of teaching students the clinical values, attitudes and norms characteristic of practising doctors. Moreover, the learning sequence

unfolded in a systematic way where students progressively acquired the knowledge and skills and at the same time learned professionally relevant values, attitudes and norms (Fox, 1957). For example, in their second year of medical school students were taught how to conduct an autopsy. Examining a corpse was not merely a lesson in anatomy, however, as it also helped them develop the value of 'detached concern' - of being able to avoid becoming emotional and to treat the body merely as an object for study.

The second approach to professional socialisation is known as 'interactionism'. The best known work in this tradition was done by Becker and his colleagues from Chicago University. They did a detailed study of the University of Kansas Medical School which is reported in Boys in White published in 1961. They used the perspective of 'symbolic interactionism' to challenge the findings and methods of the functionalists.

Symbolic interactionism developed in the 1930s but its origins lie in the writings of Mead, a Chicago philosopher at the turn of the twentieth century. His ideas were developed by, among others, Blumer, Hughes and Becker - all Chicago sociologists. Unlike the functionalists the interactionists deliberately did not hold a well-developed explicit theory of society. They rejected the idea of a simple structural model of

society. Nevertheless, a distinctive perspective did underpin their work which had a number of implicit assumptions about the working of society. They did not see society as a well structured system of closely related parts but rather as a loosely arranged, diverse range of groups interacting with each other. These groups competed with each other for power and status. Their theory was pluralist for they did not expect, a priori, certain groups to gain power at the expense of others. They did not view society as stable but rather as in a state of flux with some groups gaining power and status while others remained the same and yet others declined. Strauss et al (1964) called this the 'negotiated order'.

Since social behaviour is seen as the product of interaction between groups it follows that the only way to understand it is to discover what groups think: how do people understand their social situation and which among competing 'definitions of the situation' prevail. This led interactionists to do detailed qualitative research concentrating on looking at the world through the eyes of their subjects by participating in their daily routines and experiences. This produced a rich micro-sociology describing occasions in great detail and avoiding generalisation.

Interactionists were particularly interested in occupations for they were considered a critical influence on the formation of a person's identity. Part of this interest was a concern for adult socialisation. They saw socialisation as a continuous process of learning where attitudes were developed and modified throughout life. They disagreed with those who suggested that attitudes and associated behaviour were formed during certain stages such as childhood or early adulthood. Traditionally the interactionists concerned themselves with studying those at the lower end of the social scale, the 'underdogs'. In the fifties, however, they increasingly turned their attention to more powerful groups such as the professions. They looked at medical school through the eyes of students using participant observation. Students entered medical school with idealistic notions about becoming top class doctors. They were surprised, however, to find that medical school had an academic rather than medical orientation. Many courses were taught by researchers not doctors and few seemed to have practical application. In addition, the course was highly structured and had a heavy workload. At first students tried to do all their assignments and, as a result, worked long hours.

Students soon realised that it was impossible to do everything and this led to confusion and despair. Increasingly they began to discuss with each other how

best to study and eventually developed a shared understanding of their situation and collective response. As it was not possible to do everything they concentrated on what they saw as the important parts of the course. This shared understanding and response was called a 'perspective' containing views on how to survive the course with the greatest comfort and least effort - how "best" to study, how much it was "reasonable" to spend on various tasks and so on. The students concentrated on finding out what teachers required of them and then studying only those aspects likely to come up in examinations. Their criterion was grades. Students espoused medical values in front of teachers but in private they held different values aimed at surviving medical school.

Becker and his colleagues were careful to point out that the student perspective was often at odds with the intentions of medical educators. For example, teachers encouraged students to adopt 'critical attitudes' towards textbooks and to become interested in theory and research. However, they were continually disappointed to find students fact-bound and pragmatic. Medical students did enough to graduate and this meant they concentrated on being students rather than doctors. They also stressed that the cynicism of Kansas students was forced on them by the realities of medical school but it was only a temporary response to a temporary situation. Students

abandoned their ideal of becoming top class doctors in order to survive. The researchers found the the students idéalism returned on graduation but it was more informed about the limits of medicine, a 'pragmatic idéalism'.

The interactionists were concerned with behaviour in specific situations and unlike the functionalists they were not interested in whether or not abstract values and norms were acquired and endured to influence later behaviour. Indeed, they doubted the very existence of an abstract 'professional role'.

They saw medical school as largely unrelated to medical practice since students and doctors had different amounts of power, played to different audiences with different values. Rather, they suggested that medical training was a rite of passage where students, by jumping the various hurdles, proved to their teachers that they had the capacity to become fully fledged doctors. Only on graduation did the students, and their teachers, come to think of themselves as doctors. They still had a great deal to learn when they entered medical practice.

A Critical Examination of Existing Approaches

This section evaluates the current approaches to professional socialisation. In particular we shall compare what they say about the effect of professional

education, the education/practice relationship, student status and professional curricula.

(i) Does professional education have any effect?

Functionalists suggest that students internalise the 'professional role' while at medical school. This is seen as a detailed set of values, attitudes, knowledge and techniques associated with doctors. It describes the situations doctors are likely to face and how to deal with them. The students progressively come to think of themselves as doctors. One of the key findings was that medical students, who had entered medical schools for 'humanitarian' reasons, adopted progressively cynical attitudes.

The Interactionists challenged this account and suggested that the concern with the professional role is fruitless since it is too generalised and abstract to relate to actual behaviour in specific situations (Becker et al, 1961). While they accepted that students improved their understanding of medicine they argued that they only acquired a knowledge of basic medical values such as 'medical responsibility', the idea that the doctor is responsible for the patient. They were critical of those who suggested that students internalised a professional role for, as they saw it, the students were "not doctors, do not face the problems doctors face, and consequently cannot employ the perspectives and culture of doctors". (Becker et al, 1961, p. 47). Nor did they believe

students really became cynical. Students temporarily abandoned their ideals to survive the rigours of medical school but this idealism returned on graduation tempered by a better knowledge, a 'pragmatic idealism'. This was seen as a common phenomenon whereby people reject and modify naive stereotypes and adopt more realistic, specific views.

I have sympathy with the Interactionist view since ideologies often function simply as rationalisations or ways of boosting a person's self esteem. Nevertheless, professional ideologies can and sometimes do influence behaviour. Underwood (1980), for example, showed that town planners in a London borough tried to co-ordinate the activities of other departments, such as housing, when preparing a district plan. These attempts failed but we can conclude that the planners had internalised the belief that they should co-ordinate the work of the local authority. Malpass (1975) provides a similar account of local authority architects in Newcastle-upon-Tyne. They aspired to be leaders of the building team and claimed a central position in the housing process.

The functionalists were also heavily criticised for taking an "oversocialised" view of man (Wrong, 1961). Behaviour is explained by students internalising the expectations of their teachers. "Internalisation" is

where a person incorporates a set of values, attitudes and norms into his or her personality with a corresponding obligation to act accordingly or suffer guilt (Campbell, 1964). Wrong suggests that such an explanation is based on a one-sided view of human nature. He points out that much behaviour can be explained, at least in part, by other factors such as self-interest or coercion. Becker et al (1961) tried to show that students did what teachers required not because they internalised their teachers' role demands but to pass the course. Wrong makes a further point: all theories trying to explain social order inevitably rest upon assumptions about human nature which are difficult to test.

Wrong is correct. It is unreasonable to explain behaviour solely by internalisation for to do so prejudices the explanatory value of other possible influences. The only way forward is to try to devise ways of separating the possible influences and then test them. But how can we evaluate the influence of different factors? We cannot, for example, peer inside a person's head to see whether or not he or she has internalised a set of values. We have to rely on inference from what a person says or does. Campbell suggests that we can infer that a person has internalised a value where, "the actor would be expected to commit energy to its defense and

maintenance even where external supports or pressures are not available" (1964, p. 396).

When the conditions are not clear cut we have to rely on people's verbal accounts and, in the last analysis, assumptions. We know of circumstances where internalisation is most likely, such as in small isolated groups (Rosow, 1965). Rosow also suggests that individuals are less likely to internalise values where conflicts exist within groups. We might also expect that over time students will internalise the relevant values as they progress through their course because of involvement in the field, association with colleagues and the investment of time and effort.

The functionalists have rightly been criticised for assuming that socialisation is always successful (Coulson, 1972; Pemberton and Boreham, 1976; and Lacey, 1977). However, the functionalist model could, but has not been used to, explain unsuccessful socialisation. As Simpson et al (1979) suggest one or more of the 'necessary' conditions might not be present: teachers within a school may have conflicting views about the purposes of the course; students may bring views to their education which are incompatible with what they are taught; or students' experience of practice may not accord with their education.

There is another view of professional socialisation which I shall call the 'anticipatory socialisation approach'. This approach accepts the notion of professional roles but unlike structural functionalism attaches little importance to professional education. The best known example is the work of Jacob (1959) who suggested that university education generally had a minimal effect on students since their personality acts as a filter controlling its influence on their values. University education merely refines and polishes the values of students to fit into society. Goldsen et al (1960) also found that the values students brought to their education directed the development of their values. What they learned had to fit in with their prior expectations.

Joseph (1980) in a study of English estate management students came to a similar conclusion. He began using an interactionist framework but his findings cast doubt on the approach. He found that there was a large degree of anticipatory socialisation. Students arrived at estate management school already socialised into the values of the profession and the course merely confirmed rather than conferred these values, as well as equipping students with knowledge and skills. For example, Joseph found that one value students and practitioners alike held was a belief in the desirability of what was considered 'practical' as

opposed to 'theoretical'. This value helped students to filter their experience. They concentrated on those subjects considered practical, such as land surveying and building construction drawing, and, by contrast, disliked the 'impractical' subjects, notably economics and town planning.

Joseph extended his thesis by doubting the significance of 'secondary socialisation' and asserting that professional schools generally have little impact on the values of students. This view is supported by studies of teacher training (Deniscombe, 1981). I do not believe that the anticipatory socialisation view is applicable to the majority of professions, although it may be applicable to professions such as teaching where applicants have a good understanding of the occupation and its values. The idea that 'real' socialisation only takes place during childhood and thereafter a person's values remain largely unchanged since they match them to the most "suitable" occupation cannot explain the common incidence or assertion of major value changes among students of nursing (Simpson et al, 1979) medicine (Merton et al, 1957) and even town planning (Reade, 1976; Allen, 1981). Moreover, much evidence suggests that anticipatory socialisation is often faulty. Olesen and Whittaker (1968), for example, found that students entering nursing school had been socialised in the service values of nurses stressed

by lay images, but not the ethos of the nursing school. The nursing school's ethos was unknown to the students and conflicted with their own values. The nursing school stressed 'professionalism', 'principles' and 'theory' whereas the students were initially preoccupied with mastering technical skills and procedures. Furthermore, students tended to drop the lay image in favour of the school's view (Davis, 1968; and Simpson et al, 1979).

There are certainly good reasons for believing that anticipatory socialisation varies within and between occupations as well as over time. Occupations differ in their public visibility. Nursing and teaching are visible occupations whereas town planning and accountancy are more obscure. We would expect anticipatory socialisation to be stronger in the former than the latter. Even within occupations professional schools probably differ in their ability to attract committed students. The most 'desirable' schools may well attract committed students with a high degree of anticipatory socialisation whereas the 'less desirable' schools attract less committed students with little idea of the occupation.

This section has revealed a major difference in the theoretical assumptions between functionalism (and the anticipatory socialisation view) and interactionism: the former believe that people can internalise

abstract values which guide later behaviour in concrete situations. If the functionalist assumption is accepted a number of socialisation patterns are possible within professional education: (i) students arrive at professional school already holding professional values which are then reinforced; (ii) students arrive holding values which are in opposition to those held by staff and the prior values prevail; (iii) students arrive without holding professional values and socialisation takes place.

(ii) The relationship between school and practice.

The functionalists and interactionists hold different assumptions about the link between education and practice. The functionalists believe that the professional school represents the prevailing norms of their profession and that there is a certain amount of uniformity in professional work. The interactionists, by contrast, assume that professional schools are independent and not representative of the wider profession. Moreover, they believe behaviour is situationally specific and therefore expect variations in practice.

Once again the differences are due in part to different assumptions about whether a professional role can exist but there is also an empirical question about the link between education and practice. Do

teachers in professional schools share the values and ideas of practitioners? And do professional courses adequately cover areas of practice? Unfortunately, neither group examined the relationship between training and practice. There are other interactionist studies that approach socialisation from the practice side. For example, Freidson (1970a, 1970b) examined medical practice and Healey and Underwood (1978) studied British town planners. These writers played down the importance of education as a source of practitioners' ideas and values but they did not examine education.

Who is right about the relationship between education and practice? Bloom (1965) observed that even in the early sixties, medical schools had recruited a variety of non-medical staff to teach on medical courses. Wakefield (1979) suggests that the broadening of the professional curriculum - especially in the direction of the social sciences, notably sociology - was common among all professions from the late sixties onwards. The non-professional teachers do not usually uphold professional values. Glazer (1974) argues that there has been acute pressure on the courses of the 'minor professions' such as social work, teaching and town planning to become 'academic'. Consequently, such schools have recruited members of more established academic disciplines since it adds to their prestige. Glazer concludes that this has led to a neglect of practice. Some of the work on the "minor professions"

supports this view (e.g. on teaching, McNamara, 1981 and Petty and Hogben, 1980) showing that there are many non-professionally qualified lecturers and that as a result practice is neglected and professional values are not promoted. However, this is not unique to the 'minor professions' since it has also occurred in the more established professions. Lortie's (1959) work in the US suggests that the relationship between law education and practice is also tenuous.

The closeness of the education/practice relationship is likely to vary. However, I do not accept the interactionists' assumption. I agree with Atkinson (1983) when he accuses Becker of deliberate exaggeration leading to a nonsensical position which is reflected in the title of one of his articles, "School is a lousy place to learn". Boys in White gives the impression that medical school has nothing to do with medical practice and that students do not learn medicine at medical school. This is absurd and Atkinson is surely correct when he suggests a more sensible criticism is that medical school is a place where students learn lousy medicine. This criticism does, of course, assume that the concept of professional role has some merit.

I accept in principle, the functionalist position that it is possible for students to internalise a set of

values which influence their later behaviour as practitioners. However, the relative influence of education in internalising values is an empirical question and is likely to vary between and within professions. The point is to study the link rather than rely purely on assumptions.

(iii) Students - colleagues or subordinates?

The functionalists and interactionists held radically different views on the status of medical students which are revealed in the very titles of the two classic books. The functionalists saw medical students as 'student physicians', junior members of the medical profession already enjoying some status while being carefully guided by their senior colleagues to full professional status on graduation. The student group or "little society" was seen as the crucial factor in developing professional values since the students themselves discouraged dissent and promoted, supported and sustained the values of their teachers. By contrast, the interactionists saw medical students as "boys in white", subordinates required to undergo a rite of passage before gaining admission to the profession. The Kansas student culture was two-faced: in front of teachers they were conformist but among themselves they were more critical.

Underlying these differences were opposed assumptions. The functionalists assumed the interests

of the professional school and the students were identical - the teachers wished to train the students to become doctors while the students were eager to learn the knowledge, techniques and values of doctors. Order resulted from shared interests and values. The interactionists, however, saw students as subservient to the teachers, since the latter held power. Moreover, the teachers did not regard students as colleagues since they had yet to prove whether they were capable of becoming doctors.

Despite these differences both agreed that student cultures emerged to help students cope with the demands of medical school. Moreover, once established these cultures expanded to regulate and shape a whole range of values. The students became, in effect, a whole society in miniature. How can these apparently contradictory findings be resolved? My view is that the opposed findings were due not to the different perspectives of the researchers but to the fact that two different socialisation patterns were being studied. The functionalists studied a school where a sense of partnership prevailed whereas in Kansas the teachers treated students as subordinates on probation. Bloom (1965) cites research by Miller (1961), Christie and Merton (1958) and Johnson which found significant differences between the value climates of medical schools.

Bloom (1971) in a later study of Downstate Medical Center at the State University of New York (SUNY) discovered a third socialisation pattern - where there was no distinctive culture. SUNY was essentially a '9-5 institution', a place where students were trained but where no strong loyalties were formed. The value climate was ambiguous and at times contradictory. Most of the staff held an 'academic' orientation stressing the skills of the research scientist whereas students were interested in medical practice. There was also 'disunity' among staff - especially between the basic scientists, the full-time clinical staff and the voluntary clinical staff - over the status of students. This meant role expectations were unclear and led to a high level of anxiety among students.

Atkinson (1977) in a more recent study of students at Edinburgh Medical School found major differences in atmosphere and learning environment within the school. Students experienced opposed definitions of their status leading to anxiety and disaffection. In some clinical sessions in hospitals, such as general medicine, students were to be 'student physicians', whereas in other sessions, such as the surgery, they were treated as 'boys in white'. Atkinson suggests that ambiguity, conflict and segmentation among staff are crucial features of professional socialisation and criticises previous writers for portraying medical school as internally homogeneous and socialisation as a smooth process. He

is particularly scathing of the interactionists since, unlike the functionalists who usually assume professions to be unified, they would be expected to study differentiation and conflict.¹

In part, this arose from the failure of interactionist researchers to study staff. Bucher (1970) is one of the few interactionists to examine staff in medical school. Bucher found that there were important divisions within medical school with different factions defining problems differently and wishing to push the school in different, often opposite, directions. For example, there was a conflict between the basic scientists, oriented towards research and the doctors, interested in practice. While the doctors saw the role of basic scientists as serving medicine, the latter saw their disciplines as independent with their own aims of producing knowledge and resented the doctors' implication that they were peripheral to medicine. Bucher also stressed that these factions were not stable units since individuals often changed allegiance depending on the issue of the day.

¹In a later article Becker, Geer and Miller (1963) recognise that there is often a lack of consensus among staff about what should be done in day-to-day teaching practice.

Lacey (1977), a British sociologist, examined socialisation among graduates doing one year teacher training courses - the Postgraduate Certificate in Education (PGCE) - in five British universities. His work is a distinct variant on the interactionist approach. He found that students played a much more active role in their own socialisation: not only did they interpret and respond to their social situation but they often changed it. He also stressed the role of individuals in socialisation rather than the group. He showed that teaching students were not homogeneous but held divergent views and as a result responded differently.

Lacey's thesis relates to criticisms of the functionalists and to a lesser extent the interactionists - that they use 'deterministic' explanations (Coulson, 1972; Joseph, 1980; and Pemberton and Boreham, 1976). These critics suggest that the functionalists are mistaken to see society as consisting of strong, pervasive institutions and individuals as weak and passive. They claim the functionalists see socialisation as a one-way process whereby passive individuals adjust to well-defined roles prescribed for them by society where individuals have little influence over the process: they can either accept the roles or not join the group.

Clearly Lacey's findings cannot be explained by functionalism but can we generalise from his study? I believe his thesis should be treated with caution since teaching is not typical of most professions. PGCE courses, being nine months in length, are exceptionally short compared to most professional courses. Moreover, teachers are a more divided group than most with many sub-groups based on teaching subject, sex, type of qualification (teaching certificate, BEd degree or PGCE), union membership and type of teaching work (primary, secondary, tertiary). In Britain teacher training courses tend to be viewed as an 'easy option' and of little relevance to teaching practice. (Deniscombe, 1982; Purvis, 1973). Finally, and most importantly, it has been widely observed that students come to teacher training courses with well developed views on what is required in the job. Unlike entrants to other professions teaching students have an exceptionally good knowledge of their future career due to their extensive experience as pupils.

There have been occasions when professional students have challenged their teachers but this tends to happen when the social climate more generally is conducive to this, such as from the late sixties to mid seventies when the social climate was more critical of authority.

However, most evidence suggests that even in so-called radical periods most professional students remained conservative. For example, Rockwell (1971), himself a self-proclaimed radical, suggests that US law schools attract conservative-minded students from high status backgrounds who willingly conform fully aware of the rewards they will get as practising lawyers. Radical students tend to shun law school, making dissent unlikely. Bankowski and Mungham (1976) say much the same about British law students. British medical students also tended not to question their training in the early seventies (Simpson, 1972; Jeffreys, 1974).

Consequently, there is merit in the idea that well-established institutions such as professional schools are likely to exert a powerful influence on a person's personality. Even Berger and Luckmann, (1967) writing in the phenomenological tradition, recognise the power of institutions over individuals.

Empirically many institutions are characterised by stability. This does not deny that all institutions are socially constructed but they are still encountered as 'social facts' and they have a tendency to protect themselves.

There is a range of student cultures: they maybe supportive of the professional school, privately hostile to staff values, openly hostile to staff or

be an ill-defined, contradictory culture. Once again differences are likely within and between professions. The question of which culture is likely to emerge in particular circumstances is empirical and suggests three further questions: what conditions favour the formation of a cohesive student culture? What factors influence the values of these cultures? And, what impact do different cultures have on socialisation. I shall tackle these questions later on in the chapter. A further conclusion of this section is that socialisation can be an ambiguous, uncomfortable and contradictory experience for students because of staff segmentation. It is therefore crucial to study staff and look for any conflicts in values.

(iv) The neglect of teaching practice and curricula
The functionalists and interactionists concentrated on the latent functions of professional education but at the expense of looking at the manifest function - the transfer of professional knowledge (Atkinson, 1983). This is a serious weakness for it ignores a whole area of values implicit in curricula which may form a crucial part of the socialisation of professional students. The deficiency can only be corrected by borrowing some of the basic principles of the sociology of education especially the British interpretative tradition sometimes known as the "New

Sociology of Education"² and exemplified by Young (1971).³

Young and his colleagues asked - what counts as educational knowledge? How is the curriculum determined and why is it taught in a particular way? They recognised that curricula were not neutral packages of knowledge. The design of a course - be it at school or university - rests on opinions about what counts as 'knowledge' and which methods are most 'appropriate'. A professional curriculum will contain assumptions about the nature of the profession, its central and peripheral activities, appropriate methods and proper relationships with other groups. The curriculum is therefore socially constructed and this raises the question of what and whose values underpin it.

Young and his colleagues have been heavily criticised for adopting a 'voluntaristic' view of man and for ignoring constraints on teachers and consequently the distribution of power (Dale, 1977). Critics argue

²Karabel and Halsey (1978) use this term, for example.

³The "New Sociology of Education" has in turn been criticised for neglecting the latent functions of schooling (Dale, 1977).

that the curriculum will reflect the values of those in power and it is therefore important to try to relate the values underlying the professional curriculum to the wider power distribution in the profession. This is an age-old problem for sociology - trying to combine voluntaristic and structural perspectives into a compelling explanation. The implication is that curricula and teaching practice as potential sources of values should be studied since they may have an impact on socialisation.

(v) Discussion

The literature review has revealed a variety of views on the nature and importance of socialisation in professional schools. The functionalists believe that the schools play a vital role in inculcating basic professional values which help guide later behaviour in practice. Others - the 'anticipatory socialisation' school - believe professional education merely confirms and reinforces prior values. Yet others, such as Bloom and Atkinson, suggest the effect on professional schooling is often contradictory and unintended. By contrast, the interactionists reject the whole notion of 'socialisation' and suggest that schooling is merely a 'rite of passage' which most professionals undergo before being accepted by the larger profession.

The varying accounts are partly the result of opposed theoretical assumptions. Those who favour the functionalist, anticipatory socialisation or even the

Bloom/Atkinson views assume that there is some merit in the concept of 'professional role' whereas the interactionists reject the idea. My own view lies between the functionalist and interactionist extremes. Behaviour sometimes results from the prior internalisation of values but, as I shall argue in the next section, values have functions other than guiding behaviour and are only one possible influence on action. Professional values help individuals make sense of their position in and outside work. The work ethic still dominates Western countries. Work, probably more than any other factor, confers economic and social rewards on people. It also greatly contributes to the individual's personal identity. In Britain (and USA) being a 'professional' has long been a symbol of prestige. A professional ideology therefore enhances a person's self esteem by defining him/her as a decent person of high ideals, well educated, a valuable member of society, regardless of whether these claims are widely recognised. Professional ideology also helps the individual understand his or her work situation. It offers a simplified representation of the work environment and the relevance, distinctiveness and importance of his or her role and actions. By doing this it provides a framework for the professional to communicate and co-operate with fellow professionals and others. Thus, socialisation is a useful concept but it may only be of limited value.

The different approaches also reflect real differences between and within professions as well as over time. Some writers have generalised from their own findings to other schools and professions without an appreciation of differences. This has also resulted in empty debates concealing real differences in socialisation experiences. This has largely been a result of a tendency to make assumptions about relationships and patterns rather than examine them. Few researchers examined the link between education and practice in different professions and many assumed staff in professional schools were homogeneous without studying them. A further weakness of existing work has been the failure to look at curricula as potential sources of values. The implication is that a superior approach to professional socialisation would examine curricula, staff and the links between education and practice.

The real question is not whether socialisation occurs before entering school, during training or practice but what is the relative importance of each stage of the socialisation process in reproducing the professional value system. This begs more fundamental questions: what is the public image of the profession? Does the profession have a common value system? Who determines the aims and content of training? Existing work provides few clues about which stage of the process socialisation is likely to occur, if at all. They tell us little about the role

the professional school plays in relation to the larger profession. Indeed, they focussed on the internal dynamics of professional socialisation to the exclusion of wider social influences and power structures. Some interactionists (Becker et al, 1963) and functionalists were aware of this flaw: "The medical school was studied as a microcosm. Outside its doors lay the larger medical profession that it was training students to enter. Yet physicians, patients, and medical professionals whose trajectories extended beyond the medical school and university medical centre were rarely seen or merely glimpsed in passing. The organisation of the medical profession was only occasionally mentioned. And even the social system the medical school was examined in a selective way. Its academic structure was thoroughly explored, but its economic and political dimensions and their potential impact on the educational and socialisation process were hardly considered." (Fox, 1979, p. 91) I shall show in the next session how my approach overcomes this flaw.

2.3 A NEW APPROACH TO PROFESSIONAL SOCIALISATION

It is still possible to develop an approach to professional socialisation which is applicable to all professions. What is needed, however, is a more sensitive approach which provides scope for different

socialisation outcomes. We must recognise that the conditions a profession finds itself in, such as the degree of internal unity, or its public visibility, may have a crucial impact on socialisation. Below I shall set out what I expect to influence socialisation outcomes.

My own approach is divided into two parts. The first part breaks new ground by examining professional socialisation at the 'macro' level. It sets out my assumptions about the role of values and education in professions and identifies a number of pressures - external to the professional school - which are likely to impinge on socialisation. The second part is more conventional focussing on the internal dynamics of professional socialisation. Its novelty lies in the consideration given to how external factors affect socialisation, but also the attention devoted to curricula, staff and the link between education and practice.

Understanding the Wider Context of Professional Socialisation

Three external influences on professional education are identified - the parent profession, professional job markets and academia. I examine each factor and show how they can influence professional education.

(i) The Parent Profession.

It is important to begin by setting out my own assumptions about the role and nature of professionalism and professional values for this colours my assessment of previous work and helps explain my own approach. In Western countries since the late nineteenth century the term 'profession' has been a social symbol depicting an occupation which has high social status but also enjoys certain privileges such as a monopoly over a set of jobs, an area of expertise and control over entry, training and practice.

Not all occupations usually regarded as professions enjoy all the above attributes, but all strive to achieve them. What distinguishes professions from other occupations is the distinctive strategy they use in an attempt to secure the rewards. Professionalisation is the attempt by an occupation to achieve 'collective upward social mobility'. Unlike unionisation, which is a conflict based strategy, it is a consensual strategy adopted by the middle classes (Krause, 1977). Indeed, it is a strategy most frequently employed by the 'educated middle classes' (Parkin, 1968). They in particular value the professional image because their social position rests on intellectual achievement and qualifications rather than ownership of property.

Professional authority rests on imputed expertise (Freidson, 1973). Occupations only achieve such power by persuading elites, ultimately the State, to recognise their claims to possess expertise which is of value to 'society' and that the members of the occupation are 'competent and responsible' enough to be granted powers of self-government. This recognition is rarely gained easily but requires a long careful propaganda campaign. Once a certain degree of power and status is achieved there is a continuing need for the occupation to justify its position.

Successful professionalisation is difficult to explain since the sources of professional power and status are complex and historically contingent. Nevertheless, I would argue that three factors are crucial. First, an occupation will only become a fully fledged profession if it is accepted by elites as socially significant, that is serious and undesirable consequences would follow if the profession did not exist. An occupation is likely to be considered as socially significant where its role is thought to be central to the economy, such as accountancy in the twentieth century. On the other hand, its social significance may be due to its relation to cherished social values, as appears to be the case with university teachers. Second, third parties such as clients, consumers, government and competing occupations with an interest in the task may have an influence on the

professionalisation process. Certainly, the extent and ferocity of competition from other occupations for the rewards in question is likely to be important. Finally, the historical dimension is critical since the sources of professional power and status - power relations and social values - change over time. Professional privileges are not simply the result of the role they play in modern society (Portland and Fielding, 1981). Many of today's most powerful professions, such as barristers, are the product of previous rather than current power relations. Thus the 'longevity' of a profession can itself be important in the maintenance and further development of professional privilege.

Professional values - or rather professional ideologies - are crucial resources to the parent profession. Ideologies are symbolic weapons used by occupations to pursue and defend power and status. They are particularly important during the process of professionalisation or in defending professions when they are under attack from other groups.

Professional education becomes an area where professional legitimation takes place. Would-be professions commonly try to justify their claims to expertise, competence and responsibility by a credentialist strategy - by creating their own qualifications and examinations and ultimately getting universities to recognise their knowledge by providing

courses. These professional schools owe their existence to professionalisation. Once established however professions have an obvious interest in influencing course content and staff recruitment to ensure that favoured ideologies are promoted.

This view of professional ideology has two important implications. First, we would not expect to find professional ideologies to be internally consistent since they are used to defend professions in many different situations and to a variety of audiences. Indeed, we would expect inconsistency and ambiguity to be commonplace and we might even expect multiple ideologies to exist within a single profession. We would, however, expect a certain amount of consistency among the core ideas of an individual. This does not imply that such beliefs and ideas are, or must be, logically consistent but merely that the individual will seek to maintain a rough subjective consistency among the core ideas and beliefs of his or her professional ideology. An awareness of serious inconsistency would probably lead to tension and anxiety but people are usually well able to avoid this by not recognising inconsistencies or rationalising them.

A second implication is that we would not necessarily expect professional ideologies to be accurate guides to behaviour since they are largely symbolic. Most professions, for example, try to portray themselves

as unified in order to keep potentially critical outsiders at a distance. Professional ideologies often promote ideal roles indicating aspirations rather than reality. We would therefore expect professional ideology to be only one influence on behaviour. There are likely to be situational constraints and requirements which do not accord with the professional ideology. The latter may result from other groups getting their definitions of the situation accepted.

My 'general approach' is only a set of assumptions and insights. We know that the following factors are likely to have a crucial impact on professional socialisation: (i) the degree of unity in the parent profession; (ii) the lay image of the profession; (iii) the independence of the professional school vis-a-vis the larger profession and the extent of the latter's influence over practice; and (iv) the ideologies promoted by the profession (or its factions). We also know that the above factors are not static but vary over time. Thus in order to apply the above insights to town planning a careful historical examination of the profession and its educational sector's development is necessary.

(ii) Professional Job Markets

Much of the attraction of professional schools lies in their vocational orientation as an avenue to 'good'

jobs and high social status. There is therefore pressure on schools to ensure that graduates obtain reasonable jobs which involve servicing job markets. Professional bodies by regulating and controlling professional education try to ensure that their interests are met by schools. For example, Rockwell (1971) has suggested that because the majority of U.S. law students eventually work for the large corporations there is considerable pressure on the law schools to ensure that curricula and even student attitudes meet the requirements of big business. Allen (1981), a social science lecturer in a British Planning School, has argued along similar lines, that as local authority planning departments are the main consumers of planning graduates there is pressure on planning schools to serve their interests by reproducing the social relationships and attitudes of the planning office in the school.

But professional teachers do not always simply provide a service to the traditional employers, the parent profession. Some teachers may have a material interest in expanding their area of academic concern. This will be especially true where traditional job markets for graduates contract, since teachers will be under pressure to adjust curricula to serve new job markets to ensure graduates obtain jobs. This will

help the school retain its vocational appeal and attract good quality students.

Bankowski and Mungham (1978) provide a fascinating account of how changes in the job markets for recent law graduates led to changes in legal education. In the mid-seventies the traditional market for lawyers' services began contracting at a time when students were graduating from law school in increasing numbers. This led some law teachers and practitioners to move into new areas such as legal aid. For the teachers this was an opportunity to pioneer new intellectual property and offered the rewards of publications in new journals, promotion in the more trendy law schools and even new professorial chairs. For some legal practitioners the new area offered extra sources of income but it also improved the job prospects for law graduates. This led to conflicts within schools, between schools, and in the larger profession between those advocating expansion of the lawyer's domain and those defending the status quo. These conflicts are likely to have an impact on student attitudes towards the lawyer's role.

It is clear that professional job markets exert considerable pressure on professional curricula and that these pressures are not always the same as those coming from the parent profession or its dominant faction. We shall have to look carefully at the impact of job market pressures on town planning schools.

(iii) Academia

There may also be pressures on professional schools to follow 'academic' rather than 'professional' values. This has been largely ignored. Goodlad (1976) points out that there is a potential conflict between professional training validated by a profession and the institutional scepticism and detachment implicit in the university approach to knowledge. We can also reverse Goodlad's thesis, however: once professional courses become established within universities they are likely to come under pressure to adopt an 'academic' rather than 'professional' approach. An academic approach would be more detached by encouraging understanding whereas a professional approach would promote professional values rather than question them. An academic approach is most likely where the professional teachers are career academics with traditional academic qualifications interested in research rather than professional practice. Professional schools may come under pressure - from their parent institutions and in the polytechnic sector the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) - to appoint staff with academic rather than professional credentials. Glazer (1974) suggests that the 'new welfare professions' such as social work, town planning and teaching are particularly vulnerable to academic pressures. The State through its research funding agencies as well as government departments may indirectly influence the curriculum and staff recruitment by encouraging research in certain areas.

Clearly, the composition of the relevant committees will be important.

McNamara (1977) observes that there has been great pressure on teacher training colleges to follow academic routes. This has resulted in sociology, psychology and philosophy being taught on such courses, often from first principles, by academics rather than teachers. He illustrates how this led to a change in the teaching of sociology from 'educational sociology', a normative sociology for teaching to the 'sociology of education', an academic, analytical approach.

In my research I shall look closely to see whether there are pressures from parent institutions, research funding bodies and the CNAA on planning courses and staff recruitment to follow academic values.

The Mechanics of Professional Socialisation

Here I outline my approach to the study of the mechanics of professional socialisation. The areas examined will be the curricula and each stage of the socialisation process - entry to planning school, socialisation while at planning^{school} and socialisation at work. Few researchers have studied the first and last of these areas. This section is based on the

assumption that a variety of socialisation situations are possible within the planning profession. The micro perspective deals with this problem by virtue of its eclecticism: at each stage of the socialisation process the different possible situations are identified as well as where each situation is most likely to occur and with what consequences. A distinctive feature of applying the micro approach to town planning education will be the decision to examine a number of schools. This will make it possible to assess whether conditions vary significantly within the profession and if so what are the consequences for socialisation. I now turn to the four aspects of the socialisation process.

(i) Town Planning Curricula

My research covers new ground here because I shall examine the form and content of the curriculum and the taken-for-granted assumptions which underlie it. Even though sociologists since Weber have recognised that the curriculum provides pupils with a framework to interpret the world few have studied professional curricula in this way (Erlanger and Klegon's, 1978 work on law students is an exception). Professional curricula are certainly based on assumptions on the part of staff about what does and does not count as professional knowledge. The medical curriculum, for example, stresses a technological and scientific approach to health care (McKeown, 1979).

The curriculum is essentially a framework for a course. It defines the course titles, arranges them in a sequence, allocates time to them and specifies teaching methods and forms of assessment. It is also usually wrapped up in a written rationale with objectives. We can distinguish between the form and content of the curriculum.

Most professional courses have a remarkably similar form. Isolation is a marked feature of those institutions most successful in changing values. I would expect that the more a professional school approximates a 'total institution'⁴ the more likely it will shape the values of students towards those held by staff. Much of the work already discussed shows the isolation of professional students. Most professional courses have a heavy workload which reduces the amount of time a student has available to follow his or her interests or to reflect on the course or profession. They also tend to be highly structured - the curriculum has few options thus students are unable to choose areas of study but are told what to do (Bloom, 1971; Simpson et al, 1979). Moreover, professional students are usually taught as an independent group and have few opportunities to meet staff and students from other disciplines. Professional schools are also sometimes physically

⁴This term was used by Goffman (1969) to describe the isolation of asylum patients.

separate from other schools. Intellectual and physical isolation tend to lead to social isolation with professional students socialising with each other. This leads to the formation of a cohesive group who increasingly identify themselves as 'professionals'.

Professional curricula are not necessarily coherent since they may contain contradictions. A coherent curriculum can result from consensus among the staff, where power is concentrated in a school so that the leaders can enforce their views on the rest of the staff or where an external professional body sets strict requirements. I would expect that, other things being equal, where one set of objectives and assumptions dominate a curriculum, then students would adopt these assumptions and internalise them. However, where the curriculum contains conflicting assumptions, socialisation is more problematic and students would be less likely to internalise the values.

We would expect curriculum conflicts where there are conflicts within the larger profession about its role and essential tasks. We would also expect conflicts where a professional course is 'multi-disciplinary', where a number of disciplines make up the professional package. Medical schools, for example, include a whole range of scientists and medical specialists.

Law by contrast is more homogeneous. Conflicts are more likely where staff are heterogeneous in terms of discipline. Not only do they value their discipline above that of their colleagues but these differences are often exaggerated because the members of the various disciplines or factions are usually members of different intellectual and social groupings.

It is possible for professional schools to vary in the values which underpin their curricula. Where would we expect diversity or uniformity in professional education? The amount of consensus within the larger profession about the professional role and knowledge base is important. Where there are major conflicts they would probably surface in professional education. Diversity is also more likely where external pressures affect institutions differentially, where, for example, professional education expands in leaps and bounds while there are changes in practice which in turn influences staff recruitment in the new or expanded schools. The power of the parent profession is also important. Where a profession has an effective monopoly over a set of jobs it can exert more control over education since withdrawal of recognition would have serious consequences for the school. A powerful profession would probably encourage uniformity.

The formal curriculum is often a poor guide to teaching practice. In part, this is because it is often vague, telling us little about the actual values staff promote. Moreover, while there is considerable control over the formal curriculum, there is usually little real control over teaching practice. Once lecturers have been allocated course title, space on the curriculum and a teaching method, they have considerable freedom in deciding the content. This autonomy is reinforced by the private nature of the relationship between teacher and student. In some professional courses there is also pressure on students from some members of staff to concentrate on certain parts of the course. Cannan (1972) points to the importance of casework in social work courses whereas Lipman (1970) observes that studio work is regarded by most teachers as the core of architectural education. This is why I shall study staff as well as formal curricula and, in particular, try to find out which values underlie teaching practice.

(ii) Entry to Planning School

It is vital to know the ideas and values relating to the course and planning profession which students bring to planning school since they may influence how students react to their education. There appear to be three main possibilities. Students may arrive at professional school with highly developed views congruent with staff views making the teacher's task of socialisation an easy one of confirming and

developing these values. Students may enter school with highly developed views which conflict with those of the staff thus requiring 'resocialisation'. There is also a third situation where students enter a school with poorly developed views and ignorant of many of the basic professional values. In this case the school must teach students the professional values from first principles. Clearly the situation could be more complicated since there may be variations in values held among both staff and students.

In order to throw light on why students enter planning schools and eventually the profession we need to know more about the selection of planning schools by students and the selection of students by planning school staff. In my research I examine both. I now outline some ideas which will throw light on these two processes.

During adolescence young people begin forming values and interests which direct them to certain occupations. They also develop expectations about the sort of career they could follow given their academic capabilities, their class background, sex and family situation. Occupational choice is therefore a compromise between aspiration and expected likelihood of gaining admission. Having chosen a profession or group of occupations the student begins a period of anticipatory socialisation - the process of acquiring

the knowledge, values, attitudes and norms characteristic of his/her chosen profession. The nature and extent of anticipatory socialisation depends on the public visibility of a profession (Anderson and Western, 1976). Professions vary considerably in the attention they receive from society on TV, radio, cinema, newspapers, literature and schools. Consequently, some occupations have a clear public image whereas others are more obscure. Those occupations with a clear public image are more likely to attract students with a clear and well developed idea of the job. For example, students entering teacher training college do so with a thorough idea of their future career. After all they have spent at least 13 years in school as pupils. By contrast, students entering accountancy, architecture, town planning and social work will probably have less clear ideas about their courses and subsequent careers. Moreover, students attracted to highly visible professions are more likely to have homogeneous attitudes than students entering an obscure profession.

Law has a high profile as a high status, conservative, male-dominated profession and thus tends to attract conservative-minded, male students from high status backgrounds (Erlanger and Klegon, 1978). Social work, by contrast, is a relatively low status, female-dominated, profession with an ambiguous and often unfavourable public profile attracting at least

two types of students. First, those students, particularly women from lower middle class and skilled working class backgrounds, attracted by the caring image of the profession. Second, since the late sixties social work has attracted more politically minded students, particularly male and feminist university graduates with middle class backgrounds, who see social work as a way of tackling major problems such as inequality (Cypher, 1975).

Some entrants have privileged access to knowledge about their chosen profession through having contacts with practitioners who may perhaps be parents, friends or relatives. The son following in his father's footsteps is a common phenomenon in the established professions of medicine and law. For example, the Todd Report on Medical Education discovered that 20.9% of final year medical students in 1966 had medically qualified fathers. This contrasts sharply with US engineering students as Eichhorn (1969) found that only 8% of students had fathers who were engineers.

Within a profession do certain schools attract certain types of students? If a school has a distinctive public image then prospective students can match their values to those of the school. A school with a distinctive public identity will probably attract many applicants with compatible orientations resulting in a homogeneous group whereas a less distinctive school

will attract a more heterogeneous group. Students choose a particular course for many reasons, such as geographical proximity or the status of the parent institution.

In Britain there is a strong hierarchy of academic prestige which has changed little over time. Oxbridge is firmly at the top, followed by London and the major civic universities, the minor civics and the new universities, the new technological universities (formerly the colleges of advanced technology) and with the polytechnics and colleges of higher education at the bottom (Halsey, 1979). It is interesting to note that views of the 'top' university departments in virtually any subject correspond closely to this academic hierarchy. For example, in Wilby and Segal's (1983) casual guide to the 'top' schools in biology, chemistry, engineering, english, geography, history, law, physics and government, Oxbridge featured in the top category of each subject.⁵

⁵Heath and Edmondson (1981) found that even in sociology, a non-traditional subject, Oxbridge has a high reputation despite the fact that at Oxbridge sociology is marginal.

Institutions as a whole may also have distinctive images such as Oxbridge known for conservatism and elitism and Essex often thought to be more flexible and radical. Newcombe's (1943) work shows that Bennington Liberal Arts College in the US was renowned for its liberal tradition and attracted students for this reason. Within subject areas schools sometimes have a reputation for a particular approach. For example, in geography Bristol and Cambridge are often thought to be places stressing 'quantitative' approaches whereas Oxford and Durham emphasise 'qualitative' approaches (Wilby and Segal, 1983).

Entering a profession and a particular school is not however merely a matter of self-selection on the part of students. Some professions are more difficult to enter than others. There is intense competition for places in medical schools with at least 20 applicants for each place. By contrast, entering teacher training college at undergraduate or postgraduate level is easier.

Recruitment to high status professions tends to be socially and sexually selective with large numbers of males from upper middle class backgrounds entering medical and law schools. Do teachers in professional schools try to select middle class males? Do they try to select like minded students and reject those with 'unsuitable' attitudes?

Simpson (1972) believes that many medical teachers try to use the interview to select applicants with the 'right' attitudes but claims they are guilty of self-delusion. Cannan (1972) claims that social work teachers use the interview to look for 'insight' a vaguely defined quality judged to be desirable, but claims that they are unsure what they are looking for and how to tell whether a candidate has the ability. Reade (1976) claims that in selecting town planning students, teachers show preference to those who show 'commitment' to planning in the interview. There is little evidence to support these claims, however.

Most professional schools interview applicants before offering places but the interview's importance as a selection device is likely to vary with the degree of competition for places. In schools where there is intense competition for places it may be used as a selection device but where there are few applicants staff may use it to encourage applicants to come to their school. If the interview is used as a selection device it would not be surprising to find selectors systematically favouring certain types of candidate but not necessarily those who display the 'right' attitudes. They are more likely to prefer applicants who are outgoing, can express themselves well and can show that they know something about the course and profession at the expense of those who are introverted, nervous, inarticulate and ignorant about

the course. Lewis (1973) examined the selection of university teachers in the US and concluded that factors other than merit were crucial, such as being a 'nice guy' or someone who would fit in with the other members of staff.

(iii) Students and socialisation

We need to look at student cultures since they can have a major influence on the nature and extent of socialisation. We have some knowledge of the impact of different cultures from previous research. We would expect cultures which are supportive of staff to reinforce socialisation by encouraging students to internalise staff values. By contrast, where cultures are more independent and even hostile, one of two outcomes could result. Students could accept staff values in front of them but privately question them. Acceptance is therefore merely temporary in order to survive the course and students do not internalise values. However, this could also lead students to challenge their teachers and question their education. The latter is more likely when there are important disputes within the larger profession. Where no distinctive professional student culture develops we would not expect students to internalise staff values.

In examining town planning education we need to know in what circumstances strong distinctive cultures will emerge and what influences the content of these

cultures. I now set out some ideas which will guide us when we look at town planning

The most important factor favouring the formation of a strong student culture is where the group-supported values are important to the individual (Newcomb, 1966). Most of the research already discussed shows that student cultures emerged, as a form of mutual support, to help students cope with the intellectual ordeal of professional school. The degree of isolation in the school is also important since out of a common experience grows a strong culture. Schools can influence the degree of isolation through curricula control and work requirements.

Propinquity and frequent contact favour close and continued contact and the size of the student group can also be important. A strong culture is more likely to emerge when the student group is small (Hare, 1952). The group should be small enough for all members to recognise one another and to discourage the formation of smaller groups. Course length is also a factor. The longer the course the more likely a strong culture will emerge since the professional students will be isolated from others. The more homogeneous that students are in terms of values on arrival the more likely is the formation of a strong culture. It would not be surprising to find people with common interests, aspirations and attitudes

associating with each other. Homogeneity among students is more likely in an institution with a distinctive public identity.

What influences the content of the student culture once formed? The first, and often the most important, influence is the professional school itself. Staff have considerable power over students.

The fact that professional courses have a serial pattern is also important. The new recruit arrives and finds an already developed sophisticated culture. In addition, he is a low status person at that time. Hence, it is likely that the newcomer will readily submit to the student culture, especially since the culture is likely to be a ^{well} tried response to their situation. The serial pattern of professional courses can cause serious problems for staff when the student culture is anti-school since the newcomers are likely to learn the ways and values of the older students (Wheeler, 1966).

Obviously the values students bring with them will influence the culture, although the school may control this, to some extent, through selection. The values students bring with them are likely to be influenced by the general social and political climate and especially the public image of the profession. These

factors do of course vary over time. Finally, there may be other important external influences such as involvement in student groups elsewhere in the university, or contact with professional students in other universities or even contact with practitioners.

(iv) The link between education and practice

One of the novel aspects of my approach is that I look at the relationship between education and practice. Two extreme situations are possible. There could be complete continuity between education and practice, where the school reproduces the value system of the larger profession as well as teaching the 'knowledge' and 'skills' used in practice. Several writers have claimed that this situation exists in medicine (Merton, 1957; Fox, 1957), law (Rockwell, 1971) and town planning (Allen, 1981). Discontinuity is also possible where the school fails to promote the values held by practitioners or the knowledge and skills used in practice. Lortie (1959), for example, found that graduates left US law schools with the general values of the profession but only had a minimal knowledge of the procedures and institutions of legal practice. This was because law schools were removed from the realities of legal work and graduates had therefore to learn the required skills and develop attitudes and values specific to the work situation. Researchers have come to similar conclusions on the education of US nurses (Simpson et al, 1979) and British teachers (Hanson and Herrington, 1976).

In reality, however, the link between education and practice is likely to lie somewhere between these two extremes. Three important questions arise: To what extent does a school resemble practice? What circumstances would lead us to expect the relationship between education and practice to tend towards continuity or discontinuity? And finally, how will continuity or discontinuity affect socialisation?

One of the most important factors affecting the education-practice relationship is the degree of uniformity of practice. Where conditions of practice vary considerably it is difficult to organise a curriculum to meet these needs. Nevertheless, a profession may still have a common culture despite having a myriad of specialities. This is especially true of older professions such as medicine and law who are not as divided as some of the newer professions. Closely related to whether a common culture exists is the amount of control a profession has over the education of novices. Again the older professions have more control resulting from their monopoly power over sections of the job market. A further factor is academic pressure to relegate the importance of training.

Where there is continuity between education and work I would expect values to be reinforced and further developed by work experience. Where, by contrast,

student expectations are inaccurate and their values are different to those held by practitioners then I would expect graduates to question their values and move towards the practitioner view. There are several reasons why graduates would probably conform to the culture of practice. The new recruit arrives to find an established culture which is a response to the social situation of practitioners. As a low status newcomer it is easier to submit to the existing culture: career progress and social standing amongst colleagues may depend on conformity. The newcomer is therefore likely to conform without overt coercion. In any case, mere association with a group of practitioners with distinct values will encourage the newcomer to conform. It is conceivable that the newcomers may challenge the values of their superiors but this is only likely where such values are supported by factions within the larger profession.

Similarly, if graduates enter work with a good knowledge of practice and having already developed the required 'skills' then little further training will be necessary. Where graduates enter work without the necessary knowledge and skills, however, they will have to learn them on arrival.

We will be more able to predict what will happen in each aspect of the professional socialisation process when we have completed the examination of the town planning profession and the planning schools, since

many of the critical conditions within the profession will become apparent, such as the degree of unity within the profession and the extent of independence of the planning schools. A further distinctive feature of my research is its comparative nature. I shall examine a number of planning schools which will allow me to discover whether conditions vary between schools, such as values underpinning curricula and student cultures, and what effect any differences have.

2.4 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There are three main approaches to the influence of professional education on students' values. First, the functionalists who suggest professional education has a major formative influence on a student. Second, the interactionists who argue that students react to their education by changing their ideas and behaviour but that professional education has little lasting influence on students. Finally, there are those who believe that students come to professional schools already socialised into the 'right' values: professional education confirms rather than confers values.

All three approaches have flaws, however. Most serious of all are the erroneous assumptions made about professional values. Those holding the functionalist or anticipatory socialisation view

believed in the concept of a 'professional role' whereby students internalised a set of values and norms which guided their behaviour in practice. The interactionists rejected this position and suggested that people did not internalise abstract values but responded to specific situations as they found them. Both are wrong. Values exist in abstract, are internalised and sometimes influence behaviour but they have other functions such as providing meaning and rationalisations for people. Moreover, values are only one influence on behaviour. Thus professional values are important and socialisation is a useful concept albeit a limited one.

The three main approaches also ignored a whole host of influences external to the professional school, not least the organisation of the parent profession, which can have a crucial impact on socialisation. Each of the approaches made assumptions about the relationship between education and practice but the links have not been studied. They also commonly portrayed the professional school, and the larger profession, as internally homogeneous and failed to examine curricula as a source of professional values and a possible influence on socialisation.

My own approach attempts to overcome the main flaws in previous work by combining a macro and micro

appreciation of professional socialisation in town planning schools. The macro perspective involves a historical examination of the wider context of professional socialisation focussing on the organisation, ideologies and powers of the town planning profession and its relationship to the planning schools. The macro perspective will be developed in chapters 3 and 4. The micro perspective is applied in chapters 5 to 8. It begins by examining town planning curricula and then each stage of the socialisation process, entry to the planning school, the experience at the school and starting work. Its most distinctive feature is its eclecticism: it assumes that a number of socialisation situations are possible and sets out where each is most likely to occur and with what consequences for socialisation. When we apply the micro approach we will be more able to predict which socialisation situations are most likely since, having already applied the macro approach, we will know more about the detailed circumstances of the town planning profession and schools. The other novelty in the application of the micro approach is that it involves examining curricula and each stage of the socialisation process.

3. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE TOWN PLANNING PROFESSION

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the development of the town planning profession, the changing nature of the activity and its associated ideas from a sociological perspective. An understanding of what town planners do is vital to a study of socialisation. Moreover, by providing a history of planning ideas it will help the reader appreciate what the current ideas are and how they evolved.

The development of the town planning profession is viewed historically since an appreciation of how a profession gained legitimacy is needed if we are to understand why it continues to be accepted as necessary. Moreover, current ideologies are partly products of past struggles to gain legitimacy. This is true of all professions. Unfortunately, much of the literature on the sociology of professions - especially professional education - fails to treat ideology as problematic. I shall show that there is a link between changing social circumstances and the ideologies of the planning profession.

The plan of this chapter is as follows. The development of the British town planning profession will be traced using the theoretical perspective developed in Chapter 2. I have divided this history

into four periods, with distinctive social settings which influenced town planning practice and ideas, and in turn marked significant points in the fortunes of the profession.

3.2 THE ORIGINS: RESPONSES TO THE VICTORIAN CITY AND THE 'PLANNING SCHEME'

Early Town Planning Legislation

Nineteenth century Britain experienced unprecedented population and urban growth. Weber (1963, p. 46, Table XVIII) notes that in 1851 the total population of England and Wales was nearly 18 million and was divided more or less evenly between urban and rural areas. By 1891, however, the population had increased to 29 million and the balance between urban and rural areas had shifted dramatically; while just over 8 million people lived in rural areas, a massive 21 million people lived in urban areas.

Although the industrial towns were the engines of British capitalism they were repulsive places for large numbers of poor people without a decent diet, living in crowded dirty conditions without adequate sewerage and pure water supplies. As a result, the industrial working classes had high infant mortality rates, poor health as well as short life spans. There was a growing gulf between rich and poor and the ruling classes were becoming worried about growing discontent among the working classes. Disraeli, for

example, expressed concern about the growth of 'two nations' in novels such as Sybil.

Pressure for reform was growing from the working classes and enlightened industrialists. The labour movement began pressing for better working class housing in the latter half of the nineteenth century (Merrett, 1979). The 'Workmen's National Housing Council' became the sounding board for working class demands for municipal housebuilding. Enlightened industrialists and liberals also promoted public health and housing reforms as a way of buying off working class discontent and improving workers' health and thus the profitability of firms. A group of philanthropic industrialists also pressed for the introduction of controls on the design and layout of new housing to improve urban living conditions by producing a more healthy and pleasant environment. This became known as town planning. Some even built private model towns to illustrate the effectiveness of town planning, for example, Saltaire near Bradford built in 1853 by Sir Titus Salt. This pressure eventually led to state intervention. The Royal Commission on the Health of Towns headed by Chadwick reported in 1844. This formed the basis of the historic 1848 Public Health Act. Further legislation followed concerned with public health and housing. Unfortunately many of the controls and regulations which were established were ineffective since they required the affected property owners to be compensated.

Hebbert (1977) points out that the arguments for town planning were given added weight in 1904 by the findings of the 'Inter-Departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration'. The Committee studied the poor physique of Boer War recruits and unexpectedly concluded that local authorities should provide parks and regulate the density and layout of new development to improve the health of town dwellers. The Government took these findings seriously partly because of economic rivalry and fear of war with Germany. Cherry (1974) suggested that many felt Germany was 'ahead' of Britain partly because of its town planning system.

The most important source of pressure for town planning came from the widespread concern for the 'land question' (McDougall, 1979). Land values had increased enormously in the growing towns as a result of industrial and commercial investment and the actions of public authorities. Yet landowners were the main beneficiaries even though they had not worked for them. The increased value became known as 'unearned increment' and was widely resented especially by industrial and commercial capital and the large urban municipalities. The work of the economist Henry George (Edn. 1966) legitimated the growing hatred of the landowning classes. Landowners were widely viewed as parasites and portrayed as

scapegoats for virtually all the problems of the day. Radical groups, such as the Land Nationalisation Society, pressed for the complete abolition of private land ownership but most, including the Liberals, favoured taxation of the 'unearned increment'. The Liberals invested a great deal of political capital in their attack. Although the economic importance of landowners had declined with industrialisation they retained political influence in the Conservative Party, the House of Lords and the county councils. The Liberals were keen to undermine this and establish industrial and commercial capital as the premier political force in Britain (Douglas, 1974).

The 1906 Liberal government was keen to establish its radical credentials. It was under strong pressure from the labour movement to produce housing reform and from industrialists and local government to deal with the land problem. Town planning legislation was anticipated as part of a wider package of reform and this aroused the interest of the land and construction professions and local government. The architects, engineers, surveyors and the Association of Municipal Corporations (AMC) soon became the most prominent advocates of town planning. The AMC, in fact, took the initiative by drafting a Bill in 1908, supported by the above professions, which was presented to John Burns, the President of the Local Government Board. They were able to draw on two developments which had

paved the way for town planning. First, the local government system was now firmly established and public health and housing legislation had instituted many procedures and practices which could be used for town planning (Cherry, 1974). For example, byelaw control had introduced the practice of submitting plans to local authorities and the principle of local inspection had been accepted. Second, in the latter half of the nineteenth century a new body of rules governing restrictive covenants over building schemes had been developed (Schuster Report, 1950). These covenants were in effect a form of private town planning and were to have an important influence on planning law.

In 1908 a housing and town planning Bill was introduced but failed to become law because of lack of Parliamentary time. In 1909, however, town planning became a state activity when the Housing, Town Planning Act was passed. John Burns, when introducing the Bill, ambitiously claimed that the town planning measures would "secure, the home healthy, the house beautiful, the town pleasant, the city dignified and the suburb salubrious" (cited in Cullingworth, 1976, p. 16). The Act empowered local authorities to co-ordinate new suburban development but the powers were only permissive. Central to the Act was the 'planning scheme' which was similar to the private restrictive covenant except that it was to be prepared and enforced by a local authority. It could specify

the road layout, the location, size and number of buildings; it could control the design, external appearance and use of buildings; it could designate certain areas as zones restricted to certain uses and identify types of development which required the individual to apply to the local authority for permission to develop; finally, it could specify buildings and areas of landscape for preservation. The Act required local authorities to compensate those landowners whose developments lost value because of planning restrictions. Schemes were negative: while local authorities could prevent development they could only guide future development but not guarantee it.

Although the 1909 Act was a modest measure, it provoked strong opposition from Conservatives, landowners and the County Councils Association (CCA) representing rural interests. The opponents successfully weakened the Bill during its passage. The proposed betterment levy was reduced by an amendment from 100% to 50% and it was conceded that schemes could only become law if approved by the Local Government Board (LGB - a central government ministry) and no objections had been raised in Parliament. This delayed the whole process of preparing a scheme. More importantly, the fear of paying compensation discouraged local authorities from imposing restrictions which would adversely affect landowners. Thus the powers were rarely used: by 1919 only 13 schemes had been submitted to the LGB (Cherry, 1982).

Some commentators (e.g. Cherry, 1970, 1974; Simmie, 1974; and Cullingworth, 1976) suggest the 1909 Act was a minor political concession to the labour movement linking its origins with those of public health and housing. Undoubtedly, there was a close link between town planning and housing but this was only true of philanthropic industrialists and middle class radicals.¹ The labour movement showed little enthusiasm for town planning. The 1909 Act resulted mainly from pressure from industrial and commercial capital to reduce the power of landowners and improve urban conditions as well as from vested technical interests. The connection between town planning and the land question is clear when viewed alongside Lloyd George's 'People's Budget' of 1909. The budget proposed valuing all land and the introduction of a land duty, but it was defeated in the Lords and caused a general election in 1910. The Liberals fought the election on the slogan 'God gave the land to the people' (Douglas, 1974).

¹ The connection of town planning to public health explains why it was part of the Ministry of Health until 1942 when the Ministry of Works and Planning was created.

The end of the First World War led to the second period of town planning legislation. The elite feared social unrest might erupt as it had done in other countries. The political climate of 'homes for heroes' favoured radical reform, especially improving conditions for working people. Following the publication of the Tudor Walters Report, the 1919 Housing, Town Planning Etc. Act was passed. It effectively introduced council housing. Like the 1909 Act planning was ancillary to housing. However, the preparation of planning schemes became compulsory for all boroughs and districts with populations in excess of 20,000 but only for land in course of development. Further legislation followed, notably the 1932 Town and Country Planning Act which sought to control suburban growth. Cullingworth (1976) notes that between 1930 and 1940 2.7 million new homes were built in England and Wales. In London alone the population increased by only 2 millions but the urban area trebled in size (Hall, 1975, p. 33). The 1932 Act extended planning powers to almost any land developed or not but the powers were permissive and still carried compensation liability. The Act even rescinded the compulsory element introduced by the 1919 Act. The Restriction of Ribbon Development Act 1935 administered by the Ministry of Transport also helped to regulate the spread of development along major roads.

To recap, there were four key features of town planning before the Second World War. The schemes were negative: they could restrict and guide but not ensure development took place. Second, planning legislation was weak. Planning schemes did what private developers would do anyway since local authorities wished to avoid compensating owners. Third, in a period of massive urban growth, schemes only covered a fraction of new development. Only 5% of land in England was subject to operative schemes at the outbreak of war (Cherry, 1982). Finally, there was fragmentation of responsibilities due to a plethora of local planning authorities (county councils, boroughs, urban and rural districts) unrelated to each other encouraging incremental rather than planned development.²

Town Planning as a Profession

Although the legislation was weak it nevertheless created an employment base which facilitated the professionalisation of town planning. According to Schuster, before the 1909 Act there were only four

² The Barlow Report (1940) found that in the inter-war period enough housing land had been set aside to accommodate 290 million people! This strengthens the point about fragmentation and shows how planning was inhibited by compensation liability.



practising town planners - Adams, Parker, Unwin and Mawson. The prospect of planning legislation, however, spurred the interest of those groups likely to be responsible for town planning - the architects, surveyors and engineers.

The architects were the first profession to show interest in town planning. Cherry (1974) observes that in 1904 the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) sent a memorandum to all local authorities urging them to employ architects, claiming that only they were qualified to undertake town planning work due to their artistic training. Town planning was viewed as an architectural problem. In 1907 RIBA established a special committee to consider the town planning Bill and lobbied John Burns. In 1910 RIBA staged an extravagant and successful town planning conference.

The interest of the municipal and civil engineers began in 1906. By 1907 a special committee had been set up to discuss planning problems with the National Housing Reform Council. The introduction of the 1908 Bill further increased interest among engineers who were likely to be responsible for the preparation of planning schemes, given their foothold in local government. In 1909 the Institution of Municipal and County Engineers (IMCE) set up a town planning committee and several conferences were organised.

The interest of the surveyors was only aroused when the 1908 Bill was laid before Parliament. They supported the Bill and "In his Presidential address in 1909, Alexander Stenning, stressed that while town planning was a step away from the older system, it was not socialism - a point of importance to the surveyors who largely represented landowners rather than local authorities" (Cherry 1974, pp. 47-48). The surveyors did not claim an exclusive right to do town planning work, but wanted to contribute and were suspicious of planning by municipal authorities.

There were conflicts between the three professions about who would do town planning work but no one group was strong enough to dominate the other two. This led to the formation of the Town Planning Institute (TPI) in 1914. This was clearly a compromise between the three groups as well as a coming together of like-minded people, viz the advocates of town planning from each 'parent profession'. The TPI was controlled by these professions and composed almost exclusively of members of the three groups with a spattering of town planning propagandists, such as, Geddes. At first TPI membership was by selection but by 1916 an examination had been agreed.

During the years leading up to the Second World War town planning became a distinct technical field but not a separate profession. The TPI had not yet created a clear collective identity and it was still

firmly subordinate to the parent professions . Nevertheless, there were some who claimed that town planning should be a distinct profession, such as Adams and Lloyd in 1926: "we should have the ambition to make town planning not merely an auxiliary branch of other professions, but, in the course of time, a distinct profession - to which the architect, engineer and surveyor will still have contributions of expert aid to make, but in which many will be engaged exclusively in the practice of regional and rural planning, of town designing and town building'." (cited in Cherry, 1974, p. 97)

This is an early example of what became known as the 'physical generalist ideology' - the idea was that town planning was a discipline and profession in its own right involving the consideration of all aspects of a planning problem - architectural, engineering, surveying, economic and social - and drawing them together into a synthesis in a plan. It was physical in that it was considered a process of designing physical artefacts and generalist in that the town planner was distinguished from the parent professions by his understanding of all aspects of the problem and the unique ability to produce a synthesis.

Those working as town planners, invariably under the borough engineer or surveyor, had low status. There was only one way to increase their status in local

government, which unlike central government was heavily professionalised. The early town planners had to claim equivalent professional status to their engineering, architect and surveying colleagues in order to stabilise and increase their power and status (Hague 1976, 1984). They had to claim they possessed an exclusive set of skills to justify holding on to planning jobs. Thus, the physical generalist ideology was a result of insecurity and an attempt to establish a separate identity. Attempts to make the planning profession independent failed, however. Nevertheless, in 1931 the physical generalists scored a notable success: the 'Intermediate Examination' was introduced enabling candidates who were not members of the parent professions to enter town planning. These entrants became the first real physical generalist planners.

In the twenties and thirties the TPI was consciously engaged in a professionalisation strategy. To this end it promoted a conservative, technical image of town planning, and carefully avoided overt political involvement in the hope of gaining state support for independent status and a large town planning function. In particular, the link between town planning and the controversial field of land taxation was ignored. A further example of the TPI's obsession with presenting a technical image occurred in 1938 when the new town propagandist F.J. Osborn was relieved of the editorship of the TPI journal (cited in Ravetz, 1980).

Town Planning as a Collection of Ideas - the Garden City Movement

In the late nineteenth century a disparate group of amateur, utopian groups emerged concerned with the urban problems. Initially, they were distinct from the planning profession and had little influence on early legislation. They included socialists such as Robert Owen, progressive architects critical of dreary byelaw housing, and intellectuals such as Geddes who urged comprehensive physical and regional planning based on systematic surveys.

At the turn of the century Ebenezer Howard succeeded in uniting the utopians when he published his ideas in 1898 in a book called Tomorrow - A Peaceful Path to Real Reform. He proposed 'garden cities' as the solution to the problems of Victorian towns. Howard examined the advantages and disadvantages of town and country life. He concluded that both had costs and benefits and tried to show that the 'garden city', combined the advantages of both town and country but had none of the drawbacks of either.

Howard suggested that population and industry should move from the big cities to new garden cities. These would be small enough to establish friendly communities thus overcoming the isolation of the individual which he thought existed in big towns. Land uses such as housing and industry would be separated and all houses would have good access to

work, entertainment and the countryside. Each town would be surrounded by a large 'green belt' of agricultural land. When a town reached its limit of 30,000 population a new garden city would be built beyond the green belt. Howard was advocating the creation of a federation of small towns which he called the 'Social City'.

Howard showed no interest in detailed town design; his plans were schematic. His main concern was the economics of building garden cities. He suggested that they could be privately financed. Capital could be borrowed to buy the land. It would then be possible to repay the loan by recouping the increased land values resulting from urban development. Any further profits could be used to improve and expand each garden city. The land would therefore be owned by the community, not by private individuals. This is the crux of Howard's proposal as revealed in the title of his book Tomorrow - A Peaceful Path to Real Reform: 'real reform' meant the abolition of private landownership but not capitalism whereas 'peaceful' meant it was a market process without expropriation.

Howard's book was profoundly influential and only one year after its publication, in 1899, the 'Garden Cities Association' (GCA) was founded with Howard as president. This later became the 'Town and Country Planning Association' (TCPA). In the early twentieth century the GCA had little in common with the

advocates of town planning. The latter - especially the philanthropic industrialists and professionals - regarded the proposal to abolish private landownership as outrageous and the notion of creating garden cities in the countryside as unnecessary; they merely wished to regulate suburban expansion (Fischman, 1977). The labour movement ignored garden cities just as they ignored town planning.

In 1903 and 1920 Howard succeeded in building two garden cities, at Letchworth and Welwyn Garden City. Letchworth attracted capital but failed to provide the promised interest and capital repayments and Welwyn failed due to a shortage of capital. Despite these setbacks the propagandists worked hard spreading their gospel. Howard, with the help of Ralph Neville, a leading Liberal, enlisted the support of affluent English liberals, industrialists and professionals. This wider support was only gained at a price, however, since the radical social idealism was discarded in favour of stressing the physical aspects. Following the disappointing private schemes the TCPA began campaigning for state-funded garden cities. Wythenshawe Garden City (1930) was the first to be built with public funds.

The TCPA developed a clear visual image of the garden city and a sophisticated language of aesthetics. This began to attract professionals to the movement but obscured the social, political and economic

implications of garden cities. In the experiments many innovatory designs were developed. Unwin and Parker, Howard's architects at Letchworth, promoted low density cottage style development and the idea of a socially mixed community arranging large and small houses side by side. Both ideas were based on the image of the English feudal image. They also advocated low density development and plenty of open space. Howard had originally proposed that garden cities should be divided into six 'wards' which would be self-contained units for many services such as schools and churches. American thinkers further developed these ideas but they called them 'neighbourhood units'. The American architect Perry suggested that a neighbourhood was not only a technical device as a focus for services but could also create a sense of 'identity' and 'community' among the residents.

3.3 THE SECOND WORLD WAR AND COMPREHENSIVE TOWN PLANNING

The 1939-45 War marks a watershed in the history of town planning. The commissioning and findings of reports on town planning during the War stimulated great interest - notably the Barlow Report on the distribution of population and industry, Scott on land utilisation in rural areas, Uthwatt on compensation and betterment and Reith on new towns. For a brief period town planning became the central preoccupation of the British intelligentsia (Hebbert, 1977).

A crucial reason why the war government was so keen to promote interest in town planning was that the war effort itself had involved much planning and this encouraged a belief, among the establishment and prominent intellectuals, in expertise and 'generic planning'. The climate of opinion was technocratic for there was a widespread feeling that Britain's problems were not really political but required expert action. Generic planning refers to the process of planning all activities - social, economic and physical. The faith in generic planning also rested on admiration for its application in fascist countries and Tennessee in the USA before the War. The town planning propagandists were able to stress that town planning was a necessary part of wider generic planning. In any case the government had to consider reconstruction since German bombs had caused mass destruction. The government also used town planning as a way of boosting morale by promising a better tomorrow (Hebbert, 1977; Backwell and Dickens, 1979). The importance of planning was officially recognised in 1943 when the Minister of Town and Country Planning Act transferred the powers and duties, with a few minor exceptions, under the 1932 Act from the Ministry of Works and Planning (itself only created in 1942!) to the new Minister of Town and Country Planning, Lord Reith. In addition, the Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) Act 1943 extended planning control to all land not covered by a planning scheme or a resolution to prepare one.

After the War, Labour was swept to power with a huge majority and was committed to radical social reform which included town planning. The 1947 Town and Country Planning Act established the new planning system, following most of the the recommendations of the war reports.

The number of local planning authorities was reduced since powers were only vested in counties and county boroughs. Each local planning authority was required to survey its area and prepare a development plan within three years to be renewed every five years. No development could take place without planning permission, except in a few defined circumstances. Planning authorities were given wide powers to acquire and develop land by compulsion or agreement. The financial provisions were radical: a 100% betterment levy was imposed on new development. Planning authorities were, however, no longer obliged to compensate landowners for a loss in development value caused by planning restrictions.

The Bill received widespread support. Only the financial provisions were controversial. One of the critical recommendations of the war reports - the idea of creating a central town planning agency - was not included in the Bill or the Act. The idea had been strongly resisted by local government, and by Whitehall departments which feared that a new powerful national planning ministry might encroach on their own responsibilities (Hague, 1984).

A number of related Acts were also passed after the War. The 1945 Distribution of Industry Act, (rushed through by the Conservatives) administered by the Board of Trade, following Barlow's recommendations. The building of new factories and infrastructure was to be government-aided and there was to be control over new industrial building through the granting of industrial development certificates. The New Towns Act 1946 was passed with unanimous support. It followed the ideas of the Reith Report and Abercrombie's Greater London Plan 1944, providing for the designation of new towns and the creation of development corporations - government agencies with powers to build and plan new towns. The 1949 National Parks Act was also passed with little opposition, creating a National Parks Commission and providing for the designation of 'National Parks'.

Taken together, these Acts formed what Reade (1981) aptly calls the 'planning package'. The two principal aims were to contain urban sprawl and preserve agricultural land: both aims could be achieved by designating 'green belts'. Another was to decentralise population and jobs by establishing self-contained 'balanced communities' - the new towns. At the local level planning was supposed to ensure a 'good environment' and activities in the 'right' places. To achieve this, land uses such as housing and industry were to be segregated; 'socially balanced neighbourhoods' were to be created; and

development would be low density with large amounts of open space.

The package had four underlying social values. First, a consensus view of society. This included the notion of planning for the 'public interest' as well as ideas of 'community' and securing the 'best' use of land. Second, there was deference to the 'expert' since the legislation vested much power in professional planners. Third, a set of environmental preferences which were anti-big city. Planners preferred small, orderly, low density settlements where there was a strong 'community spirit' (Hall et al, 1973). This image was based on the form and social organisation of the traditional English village (Foley, 1973). Underlying this preference for rurality was a wider concern for stewardship of the land (Hall et al, 1973). The ideology underlying the 1947 system was a sentimental, aristocratic, nineteenth century view of the world (Glass, 1973).

Labour welcomed the town planning propaganda because it was an enthusiastic advocate of social and economic planning. Town planning was intended to be the visual symbol of Labour's intention to create a better planned Britain (Reade, 1981; Hague, 1984). The war propaganda had manufactured public enthusiasm for town planning and reconstruction. Planning also won mass support because its ideology was ambiguous, thus appealing to a wide spectrum of groups (Glass, 1973).

Foley (1973) developed this further by suggesting planning had three basic ideologies: planning as the 'right' use of land appealing to Conservatives; planning as the creation of beauty favoured by a wide spectrum of aesthetically inclined people; and planning as part of a radical programme to create more equality favoured by socialists. The availability of alternative ideologies enabled the planners to gain support from virtually all groups in society. In addition, planning was a response to widespread demands to curb the power of property capital (Backwell and Dickens, 1979). Many believed that during the War speculators had been buying up blitzed urban land at low prices in the hope of making a profit later at a time when most people were suffering. Such was the consensus on the need for planning that it would probably have been introduced by a Conservative administration had they won the election. A final reason, despite the apolitical posture of the town planning movement, was the strong affinity between Labour and the town planning movement. Reade suggests that town planning was the physical expression of Labour's political philosophy, "plain living and high thinking - austere yet decent and gracious, comfortable, yet avoiding any hint of ostentation" (1981, p. 12).

In 1951 the Conservatives returned to power and remained there for 13 years. The fifties were a decade of prosperity with the private sector playing

an increasingly important part in the economic revival. The political climate changed dramatically with a resurgence in individualism and hedonism and a corresponding loss of faith in state intervention. This affected town planning: most of the planning system remained, though parts were dismantled (e.g. the betterment levy), but policies were applied less strictly and without enthusiasm. Town planning came to be seen as a technical activity once again divorced from mainstream social policy (Harrison, 1978; Reade, 1981). The TPI actively promoted this separation.

The Professionalisation of Town Planning

The 1947 Act created a massive manpower shortage. The TPI saw this as an opportunity to break the links with the parent professions and increase its power and status. Consequently, the TPI fought hard to monopolise this much enlarged, lucrative employment base. The bid for independence demanded a distinct collective identity. If planners were to justify exclusive rights to town planning work they would have to claim that only they had the appropriate skills. The 'physical generalist' ideology emerged to satisfy this need and found expression in planning education: two undergraduate five-year courses in town planning were established in the forties. This was a significant change in recruitment patterns and guaranteed a steady output of undergraduate physical generalist planners. The TPI's concern to pursue an exclusive membership policy was highlighted in 1946.

Then L. Dudley Stamp pressed the TPI to exempt geographers from the Institute's Intermediate Examination. This was rejected by the TPI who reaffirmed their exclusive membership policy.

The TPI's bid for independence inevitably brought it into conflict with the parent professions. This happened in 1947 when the TPI applied to the King for a royal charter. The parent professions united to oppose the application by lodging counter petitions in 1948. At this time the Schuster Committee had been appointed to look at the educational requirements of town planners so the Privy Council decided to await the report before making a judgment.

The shortage of town planners led to interest in who would do the job and the appropriate training. There were a number of interested groups besides the TPI: the parent professions who wished to retain their influence and privileged position; the elite civil servants at Whitehall who thought the parent professions and the TPI were technicians ill-equipped for town planning work; the growing numbers of social scientists and geographers who wanted to be involved in town planning; and, finally, local authorities who wanted to keep the planning function.

Silkin, encouraged by his civil servants, began arguing, at a meeting of the CCA in 1947, that administrators should have the key role in planning

rather than technical professionals. He even suggested that a 'Diploma in Planning Administration' should become the qualification for town planning officials. He was trying to widen the membership of the planning team. Eventually, Silkin appointed a Departmental Committee chaired by Sir George Schuster to study the education requirements for the new planning system.

The Schuster Committee reported in 1950. It had considered the views of many bodies and individuals, such as, the parent professions, TPI, TCPA and universities. The TPI had argued for professional exclusiveness, using the physical generalist ideology. Thomas Sharp, in particular, argued that town planning was not a job for a team of specialists but one man: ". . . planning is design: design is one man's responsibility (with of course the subordinate help of assistants)." (1950, p. 20, para. 71). Clearly the physical generalist ideology was based on the consultant's experience of preparing plans singlehandedly.

The Committee, however, rejected the arguments of the TPI and concluded that planning was primarily a social and economic activity merely limited by the technical possibilities of design. Administrative skills were just as important. Moreover, town planning was a team job requiring many specialists. This became known as the 'specialist view'.

The Committee made a number of recommendations. The TPI would be recognised as the national institution for town planning but only if changes were made. The TPI's membership would have to be widened, recruiting specialists previously excluded. In addition, it should enlarge its view of its responsibility for the advancement of thought and knowledge. The membership of the TPI Education Committee should be widened with at least half the representatives and the chairman coming from the university sector and the provision that a certain proportion of the TPI Council had to be members of the parent professions should be rescinded. Town planning should become an all graduate profession, admitting graduates with degrees in any 'basic educational discipline' followed by a postgraduate town planning course. This should become the normal way of entering town planning, but the new undergraduate courses were supported as experiments.

The Committee was heavily influenced by the traditions of Whitehall and Oxbridge (Hague, 1976, 1984). They were suspicious of the technical training provided by the TPI and the parent professions and adamant that town planners required a 'rounded' university education followed by a planning qualification. It was even recommended, much to the horror of the TPI, that planning authorities ". . . should look behind the letters (AMTPI), and consider whether the proven abilities of the candidate combined with his

education, training and experience, really fit him for the post in question." (1950, p. 61, para. 216)

However, the 1951 Conservative government ignored the report and the TPI exploited this by adopting the recommendations selectively. The privileged positions of the parent professions were removed making the TPI more independent. The TPI also gave exemption from its intermediate exam to economists, geographers and later sociologists. This led, in the fifties, to a change in recruitment patterns with more geographers entering planning and a corresponding decline in the numbers of entrants from architecture, engineering and surveying. This further increased the independence of the TPI because the new recruits had sole allegiance to the Institute.

The Royal Charter saga restarted in the fifties. In 1952 the TPI made a second application despite continued opposition from the parent professions. In 1953 the Privy Council rejected it. A further petition was lodged in 1956, strengthened by the changes the TPI had made following Schuster. RICS did not oppose the petition and RIBA actually supported it. The Institution of Civil Engineers (ICE) and the Institution of Municipal Engineers (IMunE) remained opposed and were joined by the Law Society. However, the TPI made concessions to the Law Society and eventually gained their support. Finally, in 1959 the TPI gained its Royal Charter, further strengthening

the independence of the TPI from the parent professions.

3.4 THE NEW PLANNING SYSTEM AND THE RISE OF THE SCIENTIFIC PLANNER

The sixties was a period of prosperity and confidence. Great faith was placed in technology. There was a great deal of new development to plan with large-scale suburbanisation of homes and jobs and redevelopment needed in many towns. As in the forties, politicians realised that physical reconstruction was a potent visual symbol. They wanted to be seen to be 'doing things' by bringing the environment up-to-date. The political and economic climate was therefore highly favourable to planning but unlike the forties, support was only forthcoming from elite groups such as government, civil servants and developers.

The pace of slum clearance increased dramatically. It reached a peak of 87,473 demolished houses in 1971 (Merrett, 1979). In the forties the slums had been cleared by German bombs but local government had to do it in the sixties. On cleared sites many high rise blocks were built. The shopping and commercial areas of many towns and cities were redeveloped. Large indoor shopping precincts were built. Inter-city motorways and the road networks of many cities were also built.

Planners, as well as other professionals, particularly highway engineers and architects, played an important part in advocating and legitimating redevelopment. They were not alone nor were they the most powerful advocates but they did provide the ideas and lend their 'expertise' to the cause. Dunleavy (1981) concluded that the large construction companies were the main force behind the campaign for high rise and industrialised building. It was they, not the professionals, who conducted a carefully orchestrated campaign. Nevertheless, it was the professionals who provided the vision of the new Utopia with high rise blocks set in attractive parkland and connected to the city centre with high speed motorways. The planners helped justify high rise on the grounds that accommodating large numbers of people in urban areas would help secure urban containment objectives.

Strategic Planning

In the sixties many felt that town planning should be done at a strategic level. This interest stemmed from a belief held by some at central government level that the local government structure was ill-equipped to deal with the 'planning problems' of large cities. The idea of a 'city region', promoted by geographers, was receiving more attention from politicians and civil servants. The argument was that the 'sphere of influence' of a city - its catchment area for shopping, work and entertainment - extended well beyond the administrative boundaries and built-up

areas of cities. In the post-war period such spheres of influence had been significantly enlarged due to improvements in public transport and the building of motorways. This meant many local authorities - because of their 'outdated' boundaries - were having problems planning development and transport.

The development plans were also experiencing problems. At one level they were too detailed since the precise land use allocation maps became hopelessly out-of-date in a period of rapid growth. Moreover, the requirement that all plans and objections had to be checked by the Minister was cumbersome and led to serious delay. In addition, the detailed plans for some areas - such as small towns unlikely to experience significant development - was creating unnecessary work.

At another level many thought development plans were not detailed enough. Plans were land use zoning maps providing little guidance on the form development should take. Nor were the policies justified in writing. In the sixties people became increasingly aware of their environment and demanded controls over it. Many - especially the planners - also criticised development plans for failing to deal with transport and regional issues.

Eventually, the Minister, Keith Joseph, appointed a group of specialists in 1964, many of them planners,

known as the 'Planning Advisory Group' (PAG) to study the development plan system. PAG reported in 1965 and reiterated the misgivings planners held about the system. The findings were enthusiastically received by the new Labour Minister, Richard Crossman. They suggested that major policy issues should be distinguished from detailed local matters and suggested that only the former should be subject to Ministerial control. Local planning authorities should be required to submit development plans for Ministerial approval. These would be general policy statements with diagrammatic maps indicating broad patterns of future development, not detailed land use allocations.

The proposed development plans would also deal with transport. PAG also suggested that the development plans should be required to identify 'action areas' where development was likely and comprehensive planning was thus needed. Local authorities would be required to produce 'local plans' for action areas. Ministerial approval would not be needed but they must conform to the development plan. PAG also recommended that the development plan should be produced at the sub-regional level.

Changes in public participation were also recommended. Objections to the development plan should only be concerned with general policy and principles and should be considered by the Minister.

In addition, there should be an opportunity to comment on detailed proposals at the stage of draft local plan. Such objections should not normally be considered by the Minister although he would have reserve call-in powers.

The late sixties witnessed an important change in the social climate when many British institutions - and town planning was no exception - were scrutinised and found wanting. Many believed that planners were doing a 'bad' job and planners were urged to become more sensitive to the social and economic consequences of plans. Planners were blamed for destroying town centres and working class communities (see, for example, Young and Wilmott's classic study of Bethnal Green) and replacing them with a widely disliked bleak urban environment. It is important to note that the councillors by and large avoided blame, passing responsibility on to officers. The main reason for criticism was that planning, through redevelopment, had interfered on a massive scale in people's lives, but it was also because the public were generally more aggressive, more environmentally conscious and less willing to trust 'experts'. No doubt greater awareness of the environment among the public was linked to the increase in home ownership. Central government became concerned about the growing discontent over planning and responded by commissioning the Skeffington Committee in 1968 to examine public participation. Like the PAG report it urged the need for more public participation in planning.

There was a growing acceptance of the city region concept among local authorities. Some even co-operated to produce early sub-regional plans for areas such as 'South Hampshire', 'Coventry - Solihull - Warwickshire' and 'Leicester - Leicestershire'. These studies were important in the world of planning ideas, moving away from the traditional 'blueprint' approach with precise land-use allocations to a 'broad brush' sub-regional approach, as advocated by PAG. They used social surveys and techniques, such as, modelling, which were widely regarded as technically innovative. Meanwhile in 1966 the Labour Government commissioned studies of the local government structure in England and Scotland. It was widely anticipated that the proposals for a new system would embrace the city region concept.

The development plan system was revamped when the 1968 Town and Country Planning Act was passed. It implemented many of PAG's and Skeffington's recommendations. Local planning authorities were obliged to prepare 'Structure Plans' - broad policy statements about future development. These plans required ministerial approval and had to cover transport and have regard to regional strategies. Local authorities could choose to prepare 'local plans' which did not require ministerial approval but had to conform to the structure plan. As Cullingworth (1976) notes, the Act assumed that local government would be reorganised and that town planning would be dealt with solely by strategic authorities.

The 1968 Act increased the autonomy of planning authorities relative to central government and county highway departments. They had more discretion in determining and applying detailed planning policy and the scope of the development plan was widened to cover highway and transport matters. A new system of public participation was introduced for structure and local plans.

While there was growing enthusiasm for strategic planning, there was also a growing concern, held by many in both central and local government, that the rigid departmentalism and professionalism of local government was 'inefficient', in that, different departments were pursuing different and sometimes contradictory objectives. Many felt that this hindered local government from tackling the social problems it faced.

One of the recommendations of the Maud Committee in 1967 was that local authorities should adopt a 'corporate approach', replacing a fragmented service department approach with a centralised authority and committee structure to ensure that policy and implementation were co-ordinated. This was reiterated by the Royal Commission on local government also chaired by Maud. The most significant study was, however, undertaken by the Bains Committee in 1971 which again advocated the corporate approach. Its two key recommendations were: (i) there should be a policy

and resources committee with overall responsibility for allocating resources, deciding general policy and making major decisions; (ii) there should be a 'chief executive', an officer who would lead and co-ordinate a team of chief officers. Clearly there were close intellectual links between the proposals for a corporate approach and the new development plan system but no formal connection. They were in fact different styles of planning and were competing for the key co-ordinating role.

The Growing Power of the Planning Profession

In the sixties the TPI finally achieved independence of the parent professions, but only after a struggle. In doing so it created a new self image of town planning as a profession and discipline in its own right rather than merely an extension of architecture, engineering or surveying. This new image was accompanied by a massive growth in personnel and a change in recruitment patterns from a profession previously dominated by members with prime allegiance to the parent professions to one where most had allegiance only to the TPI. The profession became more powerful since it was bigger with a separate education and career structure. Attempts were made to expand the scope of town planning to cover social and economic issues.

An internal conflict rocked the TPI in the mid-sixties. I shall rely on Faludi's (1972) excellent

account of the conflict, which became known in the profession as the 'specialist-generalist' conflict. The terms are confusing and require some explanation. The 'generalists' were really the 'physical generalists' described earlier. They believed that town planning was an independent discipline and profession and that it was possible to provide a valid professional education for planning with undergraduate town planning degrees. This position was not only held by those TPI members who had qualified straight from school by doing the professional exams or those who had done undergraduate planning courses, but also by postgraduate entrants with degrees in non-professional subjects. Both groups had prime allegiance to the TPI and were predominantly younger generation planners in junior and middle level posts. I shall call them the 'pure planners'. The 'specialists' claimed that planning was a team job since it was not possible to master all aspects of planning work. Consequently, all specialists making a contribution to planning should be eligible for TPI membership. The specialists were largely those older generation TPI members who were also members of one of the parent professions, especially RIBA. I shall call them 'doubly qualified planners'.

The so called specialist-generalist debate was not therefore a conflict of ideas but a job demarcation dispute.

The conflict began in 1963 with the publication of a TPI report prepared by a Council member, L.W. Lane. It advocated the specialist view and proposed making it easier for members of other professions to enter Planning. The two most controversial proposals were: (i) the rule that persons aged over 50 who had made a 'special contribution' to town planning but had no formal planning qualifications were eligible for TPI membership should be reduced to 45; (ii) the range of degrees recognised by the TPI as giving exemption from the Intermediate Examination should be widened.

In 1964 with Lane as the new president, the TPI Council decided to implement the proposals. Many TPI members, especially the 'pure planners', were critical of the proposals and the Council agreed to conduct a survey of the membership with a request for replies by the end of January 1965. Unease continued to build up among the pure planners who feared the proposals would block their promotion prospects by enabling unqualified architects to move into senior planning posts. This led to the convening of an Extraordinary General Meeting (EGM) in January before the results of the survey were known. At the EGM, Sharp and Keeble used the physical generalist argument to oppose the Council's proposals. They succeeded for the EGM ended with a 75% majority opposed to the proposals and a demand that the ballot papers be destroyed! Although not binding, these decisions were a victory for the pure planners because in the 1965 TPI Council

elections the physical generalists, led by Sharp, were elected in large numbers replacing many of the specialists.

This victory was followed by a revamped education policy favouring undergraduate generalist courses drawn up by Professor Kantorowich. It coincided with a massive expansion of planning education, following pressure from the TPI, local government and the MHLG, in the late 1960s/early 1970s, especially in the undergraduate sector. This guaranteed a permanent generalist victory since the products of the generalist courses - both undergraduate and post-graduate - soon began filling the ranks of the profession.

Physical generalism must be seen in the context of British local government where functions were rigidly divided among departments headed by separate professions. Town planners needed it in the mid-1960s to help them defend their exclusive membership policy, their jobs from poaching by other groups and professions as well as establishing a separate educational system, an independent planning department, and a separate career system headed by chief officers with qualifications only in town planning. Faludi (1972) is surely correct when he suggests physical generalism was not generalist

at all but merely a bid for recognition of town planning as a new local government specialism.³

³ The paranoia of the pure planners is understandable when the full extent of the parent professions' dominance of senior planning posts is seen.

TABLE 3.1: QUALIFICATIONS OF BRITISH LOCAL GOVERNMENT OFFICERS RESPONSIBLE FOR PLANNING IN 1963

	Town	County	Municipal Boroughs	Urban & Rural Districts	Total
<u>All Chartered</u>					
<u>Planners</u>	58	70	45	37	210
Planners Only	2	11	-	1	14
Double Qualified	56	59	45	36	106
<u>Non-Planners*</u>					
Architects	10	11	22	45	88
Engineers	40	6	148	209	403
Surveyors	4	2	27	46	79

* A few chief officers are doubly qualified in non-planning professions and have been counted twice.

Source: Goss, 1965, p. 26.

Few local authorities had separate planning departments. Goss (1965) mentions Newcastle, Sunderland, Liverpool, Manchester and Leicester as exceptions.

Within a few years, however, the physical generalist ideology itself came under attack from within the profession. It was challenged by the 'procedural ideology' which stressed planning as a method of policy making for a broader area than physical planning. It was claimed that 'planning', not town planning, was a distinct methodology and discipline concerned with 'problem solving' which could, in principle, be applied to any policy area. Planning was still regarded as technical and remained a unique body of generalist skills but with a much broader application, but more emphasis was laid on methods and techniques. The procedural vision was outlined by McLoughlin (1969) and Chadwick (1976).

Once again, the use of ideology was closely related to events and struggles within the profession. In the mid-sixties both local and central government were agreed on the direction that policy making should go: it should be more centralised and use 'rational' methods and 'sophisticated' techniques. Central government encouraged the use of modelling techniques in shopping and transportation studies and local authorities were adopting the ideas of corporate management and installing chief executives. These new developments brought new areas of power and jobs - the chief executive's post, information systems and research work. This encouraged planners to make claims to dominate the new fields using proceduralism.

The procedural ideology was a further attempt to reassert the independence of planning at a time when planners moving into the new territory of strategic planning were being challenged by new groups. Social scientists - especially the Regional Studies Association (RSA) - were critical of planners: they argued that planners were ill-equipped to deal with social and economic issues since they had a narrow, technical, design background (RSA, 1969a). Planners used proceduralism to rebuff such criticisms, and more social scientists, especially geographers, were attracted to planning as a career.

The procedural ideology was, therefore, a bid for new jobs and a response to attacks on the profession. The TPI education guidelines gradually moved in the direction of proceduralism. Evidence of the shift towards proceduralism is the result of a ballot of the RTPI's⁴ membership in 1971 about the future role of the Institute (RTPI, 1971) where the membership were asked to consider five possible roles from no change to an 'institute of planning'. The membership plumped for the 'institute of environmental planning' option. This was a partial victory for the proceduralists for they had succeeded in widening the RTPI's area of

⁴ In 1971 the TPI, following an application to the Privy Council, was given permission to use the prefix 'Royal' in its title.

concern, but many felt this did not go far enough for it still excluded areas such as corporate planning.

The sixties saw a massive growth in planning manpower due to the establishment and expansion of planning departments as a result of the 1968 Act and local government reorganisation in 1974. In 1960 the total membership of the TPI was just over 4,000 but by mid-1973 it was nearly 9,500 (Cherry, 1974, p. 241).

3.5 PROTEST, ECONOMIC DECLINE AND THE LOSS OF CONFIDENCE (1970-1983)

Despite an unprecedented property boom in the early seventies, planning began to fall into decline. Problems started as a result of growing public criticism of planners, a new local government system and their failure to co-ordinate public investment, but things got worse in the mid-seventies when the economy slumped. Eventually, this led to a drastic change in the political climate: the enthusiasm for large-scale state intervention was replaced with a renewed faith in the 'free market'. The State's new role was to produce the conditions where business could thrive. Central government, through legislation, circulars and ministerial speeches, encouraged local authorities to use their planning powers to meet the needs of industry. In addition, both local and central government took measures to

stimulate employment generation in the areas most affected by economic decline.

Public criticism of planners intensified in the early seventies and social scientists played a major part in raising doubts among the public. In the late sixties 'urban sociology' mushroomed into a major area of study. Many sociologists studied the planning system and came to broadly similar conclusions: planning had many unintended and undesirable effects, one of which was the redistribution of wealth from the 'have nots' to the 'haves' (Davies, 1972; Dennis 1972; Hall et al, 1973; and, Simmie, 1974)⁵. Hall et al concluded, in their comprehensive study of planning, that planning had increased suburbanisation and, as a result, lengthened the journey to work and created a land shortage forcing up land values. These changes benefitted developers and rural and suburban dwellers at the expense of the urban working class.

⁵ These social scientists were in turn criticised particularly by Marxist writers (Pickvance, 1977; Ball, 1982) for exaggerating the power of the planners. The important point is that planners were seen by the public as much more powerful than was actually the case and became scapegoats.

The planning system suffered a further setback in 1972 with the reorganisation of local government. The Redcliffe-Maud Commission reported in 1969 and favoured large unitary authorities, where all local government functions in an area are vested in one authority, except in Greater Manchester, Greater Birmingham and Greater Liverpool as well as the existing county of Greater London where there would be a two-tier structure. In the latter areas the county would be responsible for planning and transportation and the districts for service provision.

The 1970 new Conservative Government did not implement these proposals. It claimed that large unitary authorities would hinder 'vital local democracy' which demanded smaller authorities. The 1972 Local Government Reorganisation Act therefore created a two-tier system of counties and districts for the whole of England and Wales. Planning was split between the two tiers. The counties were made responsible for structure plans and the districts for development control and local plans. Conflict was inevitable.

The early seventies also saw the planners dream of becoming co-ordinators crumble. Partly in response to the above criticisms but also in an attempt to become co-ordinators and increase their own power, some of the more ambitious planning authorities tried to broaden the scope of plans to cover subjects such as

employment. They were trying to make land-use plans all-embracing corporate plans. They failed since central government - in a whole host of circulars (e.g. circular 23/69) - resisted these moves. In a study of the London boroughs, Healey and Underwood (1978) found that the role played by planning departments varied considerably depending on the 'balance of power' within an authority both between the various departments and officers and members. Nevertheless, they still concluded that most planning departments merely regulated new development. Many planners, however, wished for greater power: they wanted plans to have greater scope, dictating the investment policies of other local authority departments, but they rarely had enough power to counter that of the powerful service departments, such as, housing and education. In 1973 the Heath Government required counties to prepare a separate transportation plan for their areas - the 'Transport Policies and Programmes' (TPPs) - which further reduced the scope of structure plans as corporate plans (Sharpe, 1975). Moreover, the legal profession not planners dominated the post of chief executive in the post 1974 local authorities.

1976 marked a turning point in post-war planning policy. Regional aid was cut and the new town programme halted. The Labour Government passed the Community Land Act 1975 as a further attempt to come to grips with the land question. But it coincided

with the collapse of the property boom and the Government's commitment was half hearted as it only allocated small amounts of money to the scheme (Boddy, 1982). The new policy recognised 'inner city problems' by switching resources to the inner urban areas. In 1978 the Inner Urban Areas Act introduced a much enlarged 'Urban Programme' seeking to rejuvenate the most deprived urban areas by providing money to local authorities to improve social, environmental and economic facilities. In the Seventies, local authorities increasingly began taking action to alleviate unemployment by, for example, assisting businesses through grants, loans and guarantees, improving infrastructure, providing sites and premises and providing vocational training, using the Section 137 provision of the Local Government Act 1972 which allows local authorities to raise a 2p rate to be used for many purposes including economic development.

In 1979 the Conservatives returned to office. They were committed to reducing the role of the State. They cultivated a new anti-State, anti-bureaucracy political climate which favoured free enterprise. Local government, in particular, was attacked by the Conservatives, since they believed it was costly and inefficient. Expenditure was restricted and for some functions contracting out was encouraged, such as refuse collection. In 1979 the Conservative Government repealed the Community Land Act and reduced

the circumstances where Development Land Tax was payable. Both the Conservatives and the Whitehall mandarins were sceptical of the competence of local government. Town planning was hindering economic growth. In the words of one senior mandarin "local government is seen as being perhaps restrictive in its attitudes to development and a lot of the stories we receive are those of pettifogging, parochial and restrictive attitudes to the development control system"⁶. They believed planning authorities should facilitate and promote development, speed up their operation and reduce 'bureaucracy'. In 1980, for example, the Conservatives published Circular 22/80 which urged planning authorities to speed up development control.

The concern with the speed of development control decisions was not new, nor was it exclusive to the Conservatives since it had been urged by governments throughout the seventies. A whole host of circulars had been issued, notably the Circular 'Streamlining the Planning Machine' which led to the commissioning of Dobry to study the speed of development control decisions in 1973. The report suggested ways of doing this but they were not implemented.

⁶ A DoE under-secretary speaking at the ADC Urban Dimensions in the 80's seminar held at Bristol in September 1984.

Despite the rhetoric the Conservatives showed little enthusiasm for dismantling development control. The Local Government, Planning and Land Act 1980 did enable the Secretary of State to designate 'Enterprise Zones', special areas for industry where, among other things, planning controls would be relaxed, but by 1983 only 23 zones have been designated. However, the Government did weaken strategic planning by, for example, directing county councils to make major modifications to structure plans. Structure plans are becoming, in effect, 'trend plans' - doing little that would not happen in the absence of planning. This happened in 1984 when the Avon Structure Plan was approved on condition that considerably more land was to be made available for housing to meet demand. The Local Government, Planning and Land Act, 1980 which transferred most of the remaining county development control powers to district councils. District councils are now almost wholly responsible for development control - except in relation to minerals and refuse disposal - and are more able to use their powers to contravene the relevant structure plan when it is in their interests to do so.

The Planning Profession Under Attack

Despite the unfavourable context the number of RTPI members passed 12,500 in 1980 (Amos et al, 1982). The profession increased its grip over local authority

planning jobs. In 1980 68% of all town planners were RTPI qualified or studying for membership. The remaining 32% may seem large but it includes specialists such as statisticians, landscape architects and planning technicians; those who entered planning, without professional qualifications, during the 'shortage' years of the Sixties and early Seventies; and ageing senior planners with qualifications in the 'parent professions' who were practising planners before the expansion of planning education. RTPI qualifications are now the recognised qualification for planning.

The procedural ideology dominated during the expansionist years. Its high point was the publication of Planning and the Future by a RTPI working party in 1976 proposing the extension of the planning method to cover the planning of 'society'. Hague (1984) rightly observes the irony of its timing since it coincided with the collapse in public spending following the appeal to the International Monetary Fund. Proceduralism soon faded thereafter since it was out of tune with the new political climate. The failure of corporate planning to become a reality also contributed to the demise of proceduralism.

This left planners in disarray. Cuts in local government spending resulted in reductions in planning manpower. Initially this meant fewer graduate town

planners were recruited but increasingly authorities stopped replacing staff when they left. The counties were worst hit: there were redundancies in some (e.g. North Yorkshire, Planning, No.363, 1980) while in a few others the planning department was dismantled and its functions transferred to other departments (e.g. Hereford and Worcester, Planning, No.351, 1980, Wandsworth, Planning, No.401, 1981). The resulting poor career prospects, as well as the ideological attacks, undermined the morale of the profession.

The RTPI was forced to go on the defensive and justify its existence. Yet, this was difficult for a profession unwilling to dispense with its apolitical posture but finding itself with an unsympathetic government. The general climate was of disenchantment, despair, eclecticism and confusion. This was captured in Underwood's (1980) aptly titled book, Town Planners in Search of a Role. The RTPI was divided between the 'Radical Institute Group' (RIG), which campaigned for the RTPI to align itself to the Labour Party, and the majority of planners who were unwilling to do this. They responded not with a coherent all-embracing ideology but more pragmatically.

Planners still use a number of 'sub-ideologies' to maintain and create a role for their departments, but also to provide a sense of purpose and identity for individual planners. The first general ideology is of

the planners as 'problem solvers', practical people who mediate between different groups - the councillors, other local authority departments, other public bodies, the developers, amenity groups and the general public - to resolve conflicts. The second is about planners as guardians of the environment. In some ways this is a return to the Garden City movement. Planning tools such as 'green belts', 'national parks', 'Areas of Outstanding Natural Beauty' and 'conservation areas' are used to protect the countryside and urban areas of architectural or historic importance. This strategy is particularly successful in affluent suburban areas and historic towns since the planners can gain the support of amenity groups and owner occupiers.

A third ideology is of 'positive planning' - planning is about 'getting things done', 'implementation' and 'creating jobs'. Planners, in particular, pioneered economic development in local authorities. A survey in 1981 found that in 31% of English and Welsh shire districts the planning department took care of economic development (ADC, 1981). A more recent survey carried out in 1984 by the Policy Studies Institute found that half of economic development officers were planners (Mills and Young, 1984). In 1978 the RTPPI recognised the importance of economic development to the planning profession by establishing an Employment Planning Working Party.

Planners have successfully pushed the positive planning role in depressed areas. In these areas, planners can gain the support of councillors, the public and prospective firms who may benefit.

TABLE 3.2: AVERAGE AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT ON EACH ASPECT OF PLANNING. (in percentages)*

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Percentage of All Planners Employed	18%	34%	10%	4%	12%	11%
<u>PLANNING ACTIVITY</u>						
Development						
Control	15.0	44.7	28.8	12.9	33.4	23.9
Local						
Planning	11.4	24.1	24.2	13.3	22.4	27.6
Strategic						
Planning	18.3	2.3	1.5	26.7	4.6	10.2
Economic & Employment						
Planning	5.0	1.7	4.1	8.4	4.7	3.3
Research &						
Information	9.7	4.6	16.2	7.4	8.2	9.1
Conservation	7.1	6.2	4.9	3.5	2.7	2.7
Others	33.5	16.4	20.3	27.8	24.0	23.2

* Source Amos et al, 1982. The above authorities employ 89% of all planners in Britain.

1 - Shire Counties; 2 - Shire Districts; 3 - London Boroughs; 4 - Metropolitan Counties; 5 - Metropolitan Districts; 6 - Scottish Authorities.

A further ideology is concerned with improving decision-making with better information and research. This is of course derived from the procedural ideology and has been used by planners to move into information technology and 'research'. Planning departments, especially in the counties, were usually the first within their authority to establish information systems and do 'research'.

Table 3.2 shows the significance of the new planning activities of economic development and research also how the traditional planning activities - especially development control, local planning, strategic planning and conservation - still take up the bulk of the planners' time. The figures probably underestimate the current numbers employed in districts and overestimate the numbers employed in counties since the survey was carried out in 1980-81 before the full effects of the 1980 Act were known. Consequently, today's planner is most likely to work in a district in development control or local plans.

3.6 CONCLUSION

The number of competitors for a profession's area of responsibility and associated jobs is critical though historically contingent. The planning profession was a late starter and therefore had the misfortune to develop in an area of intense competition. The TPI gradually broke the grip of the parent professions

over town planning jobs. Town planning jobs are now restricted to RTPI members, but this is a de facto monopoly not a legal one. Local government town planners also have their own separate departments and career structure. At central government level, however, the RTPI's claim to exclusive rights over town planning work has never been recognised since policy work is dominated by administrators and research by specialists.

The RTPI's monopoly over local government town planning jobs was not inevitable but resulted from an unusual combination of events. The jobs could have been taken by members of the parent professions, lawyers or graduate administrators. The RTPI eventually secured a monopoly in part because the parent professionals could not sort out who would take care of town planning. Eventually they compromised and agreed to control town planning collectively. The first town planners had a common interest in professionalising in order to increase the power, status and salaries by the creation of a new separate profession with its own career structure. Otherwise they faced the prospect of remaining under the borough engineer or surveyor on a low salary with little prospect of promotion.

The early town planners campaigned for a new separate profession; the existence of town planning under the control of the parent profession was an unstable

one requiring resolution. The first decisive event was the Schuster Report. The TPI selectively implemented the recommendations, weakening the influence of the parent professions. The second event was in 1965 when those with sole allegiance (the 'pure planners') defeated the doubly qualified planners. The parent professions had completely lost their grip over planning and constituted a small minority of the profession. Professional ideology played a vital part in the pure planners' success. It helped them to demarcate jobs by claiming that town planning was a distinct discipline and profession requiring its own department and career structure. It also helped to show that town planners, like other local government professions, were 'experts' and not internally divided.

Throughout this chapter I have taken a materialist perspective on planning ideology. The ideas of town planners helped them to cope with certain conditions and relationships. Ideology was a resource helping the group extend and defend its power and status but was also a source of personal identity for individual planners. I have also shown the value of studying professional ideology historically since old ideologies, which may have been a consequence of previous relationships and conditions no longer present, often influence the present position of particular professions.

Planners have always claimed to be 'experts' though what is meant by town planning has varied over time. This claim to exclusive expertise is the key feature of professions. Professions discover or redefine problems in terms of their own claimed expertise. Hence professional ideologies are typically technocratic and profession centred.

The claims need not necessarily be true but must be recognised by key groups - clients, competing occupations, employers, society at large and even the professionals themselves. Obviously ideology is crucial in advancing these claims by defining the problem and thus the jobs and knowledge base as well as adopting an esoteric vocabulary.

The claim to possess neutral expertise is especially necessary if an occupation is to gain power in local government, since there is a strong belief that officers should be impartial experts who advise elected members when making decisions and policy. It is no coincidence that all the local government professions, such as architects, engineers, social workers, surveyors, lawyers and accountants, claim to be impartial.

Planners differ from most professions in the way they try to depoliticise their work. Most professions do so by defining their work in terms of tangible

services to individual clients. Doctors, for example, treat 'sick' people whereas social workers treat people with 'social problems' and architects design buildings for developers. These are all tangible relationships with identifiable clients, but what do planners produce and who do they plan for? Planning is a collective service provided to 'society' rather than specific individuals and it is a regulatory activity and not a tangible service with clear visible outputs.

Because planning is intangible ideology has acquired a particularly important role. This is why the notion of the 'public interest' is so central to planning ideology: planning is justified on the grounds that it benefits the whole of society (the 'public interest') and not just certain groups. This notion is also used to conceal the conflicts between the real gainers and losers from planning decisions by suggesting there is an abstract beneficiary who also gains by the decisions. The environmental and aesthetic preferences of planners have also helped to conceal and defuse conflict. In one sense the price paid for the acceptance of planning as a profession was diminishing the initial link between planning and land taxation.

By defining problems in terms of land uses and aesthetics and using vague ideas planners help to mystify planning.

This ambiguity and the existence of a number of sub-ideologies also helped gain support from a wide spectrum of interests.

Planners, like most people, like to regard themselves as important and of value to society. Hence planners have held grandiose ideas of planning as a much broader activity than merely administering statutory town planning powers. Planners are - and always have been - unwilling to attach great importance to development control, the Cinderella of planning practice.

Planners have also frequently portrayed planning as a 'positive' activity whereas in fact their powers are primarily negative and planning departments have small budgets unable to undertake much development. They also come to think of themselves as 'town planners' with distinctive attitudes, knowledge and skills. Like most professionals they have shown great concern to demarcate their jobs and knowledge from others. Consequently, professional ideology must be viewed in the context of other professions. Town planners stressed their distinctiveness by suggesting that they had a generalist outlook. Generalism arose when planners originally pushed for independence from the parent professions (physical generalism) but adapted to changing circumstances to become a stable element of planning ideology (proceduralism).

Planning is currently a profession in decline principally concerned with defending itself and planners ideas are adapting to this new task. The role of planning education in the professionalisation has been cursorily touched on in this chapter. Yet professionalisation obviously has many important implications for planning education and vice versa. This is dealt with in the thesis. The effect on planning education and socialisation of changing job requirements, ideologies and recruitment patterns, as well as conflicts within the profession, will be covered in chapter 4 and in subsequent chapters. The findings of this chapter also have a number of implications for the socialisation of planners since planning is obscure and has an ambiguous meaning. Consequently, the sort of people who are attracted to planning, their reasons for entering the profession and the expectations they bring, are all intriguing issues which will be covered in chapter 5. The planning profession has a long history of internal differences, therefore it will be interesting to see how conflicts between staff within planning school, if they exist, affect socialisation. This will be examined in chapters 6 and 7.

4. TOWN PLANNING EDUCATION

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter has two objectives. The first is to describe the development of planning education focussing on the underlying educational philosophies and course content. This will help the reader appreciate the range of contemporary planning courses as well as how the courses I selected for study relate to this range. The second aim is to explain the changing nature of planning education by using the materialist perspective developed in chapter 2. Planning education will be examined by reference to a number of 'external' factors of which four are crucial: the role of the RTPI with its formal controls over planning schools and its struggle to professionalise town planning in the face of competition from other groups; the decline in the traditional job market for graduate planners; the public image of town planning; and 'academic' pressures on planning schools.

The central argument is that planning education is vulnerable to many external pressures, particularly the RTPI's concern to demarcate a job market for its members. Town planning education is inextricably bound up with professionalism. However, in recent

years the influence of the RTPI has waned because local planning authorities have cut recruitment forcing planning graduates to look elsewhere for employment. This, along with government pressure to cut planning education, has forced schools to broaden their courses to cover areas other than traditional town planning in order to enhance their graduates' employment prospects and justify their continued existence.

The chapter is divided into into four sections - 1909-1960, 1960-1970, 1970-1976 and 1976 to 1984. The analysis will concentrate on the last three periods.

4.2 EARLY TOWN PLANNING EDUCATION (1909-1960)

Architectural specialism

Town planning education began in 1909 when the Department of Civic Design was established, following a donation by the industrialist Lever, at Liverpool University with Professor Adshead, an architect, occupying the new Lever Chair. His staff included Abercrombie and Mawson. It was no coincidence that the Department was created the same year as the Housing, Town Planning etc Act was passed. From the outset planning education was vocational aiming to meet the demands of private consultancies and local authorities. In 1912 Unwin was appointed as a

part-time lecturer in the Department of Civil Engineering at Birmingham University with financial support from the industrialist Cadbury. He gave two lecture courses on town planning until 1915. The lecture courses restarted in 1920 without Unwin but did not lead to the creation of a separate department probably, as Cherry (1974) observes, because Birmingham did not have an architecture school and most planning schools in the country developed from such schools. In 1914 a Chair in town planning was created at University College London. Adshead left Liverpool to occupy it and the Lever Chair was filled by Abercrombie. Shortly after its foundation in 1914 the TPI became involved in planning education. It wanted to emulate the success of the parent professions and considered the best way to do this was to become a 'qualifying association', an occupational strategy which reached its peak in the early 1900s (Millerson, 1964). In 1916 an examination syllabus was devised and entry was restricted to those qualified to at least intermediate level in one of the parent professions - RIBA, IMCE, ICE and RICS. According to Cherry (1974) five subjects were examined - town planning history, town planning practice and town planning in relation to architecture and amenities, engineering and surveying and the law. In addition, a sketch plan and short report on a subject

set in a one day exam was required as well as a submitted design and a report on a set problem. The first examination was held in 1920. However, by 1931 only 146 candidates had been examined including resits (Cherry 1974).

The TPI was not, however, the only qualifying association in town planning. RIBA and IMCE had certificate and diploma examinations in town planning and RICS had a town planning paper in their own examinations. Moreover, the majority of practising town planners had no qualification in planning. All the professional bodies concerned therefore had an interest in establishing common entry requirements and standards. Consequently, in 1930 the 'Town Planning Joint Examinations Board' (JEB) was established with five TPI representatives and two each from RIBA, RICS and IMCE. In 1931 the new Board devised an 'intermediate' examination syllabus open to candidates without qualifications in the parent professions. This represented a weakening of the parent profession's grip over the TPI. By 1939 there were 71 candidates for the intermediate examination and 111 for the final (Cherry, 1974). In 1932 the Board introduced the 'recognition system' whereby the holders of certain planning qualifications were exempt from the TPI's final exam and after a spell of

practical experience could become corporate members. The first courses to be recognised were at the Universities of Liverpool, London and Durham (now Newcastle).

In 1934 planning schools were created at Leeds and Edinburgh art colleges. In 1935 town planning courses were established at the School of Architecture at Manchester University by Professor R.A. Cordingley (who also established the Durham School) and at the School of Planning and Research at the Architectural Association (AA). In 1936 the 'Schools Committee' was created as a sub-committee of the TPI Education Committee to provide advice on recognition, and the 'visiting board' system was established in 1937 to inspect recognised schools every four years. By the end of the 1930s seven schools provided recognised courses - Liverpool, London, Durham, Leeds, Edinburgh, Manchester and the AA. In 1940 the TPI strengthened its entry requirements by deciding that intermediate qualifications in one of the parent professions were no longer sufficient for direct entry to its final examinations.

Early town planning education was closely associated with architectural education: most of the early planning courses began in architecture schools and the

majority of planning teachers were architects and part-time. All the recognised courses were restricted to those with qualifications in one of the parent professions and some were restricted solely to architects. Planning courses were seen as 'finishing' courses for members of the parent professions, resting on the view that town planning was merely an extension of engineering, surveying and especially architecture, hence the term used by Thomas (1979a), 'architectural specialism'. The content of all the above courses was close to the TPI syllabus resting firmly on the assumption that town planning was concerned primarily with the physical environment. Not surprisingly, neither the courses nor the TPI syllabus made any attempt to cover humanities, geography, statistics or social studies. Planning education - especially the plans and reports required from individual students - was based on the private consultancy model of the planner single-handedly producing a plan for a client. This is not surprising given the dominance of planning education by architects who, unlike the engineers and surveyors, did not have a strong foothold in local government but were employed largely in consultancies. Indeed, the pioneers of planning education were nearly always famous consultants, for example, Abercrombie, Holford, Sharp, Mawson, Unwin and Mears.

By 1939 the TPI was the leading though not dominant qualifying association for town planning. It had established its role in relation to town planning education as the self-appointed arbiter of standards and had created the tools (recognition, visiting boards, syllabi) for carrying out the task. The scale of planning education was small. Healey (1981) estimates that the total output of qualified planners from recognised courses was probably less than 100 and most of these were part-time. In addition, however, there were a number of unrecognised courses at the Universities of Birmingham and Cambridge, Cardiff School of Architecture, the London College of Estate Management, the Royal Technical College in Glasgow and Aberdeen. There were also correspondence courses since completing the TPI examinations externally was still the most common method of entering the TPI. There also remained large numbers of practitioners, largely engineers and surveyors, without formal planning qualifications.

The emergence of education for 'pure planners'

Town planning education entered its second phase with the establishment of the post war planning system which greatly increased the demand for trained manpower. In 1945 a five-year honours degree was introduced at the University of Durham for school-

leavers. In 1947 the course was recognised by the TPI and hailed as the ideal planning course (see table 4.1). It was followed in 1949 by a similar five-year degree at the University of Manchester. These new undergraduate courses were of great significance, being based on the idea that planning was an independent profession and discipline. Like intermediate candidates for the TPI external examinations the undergraduate planners would have sole allegiance to the TPI, hence the term 'pure planners'. The growing number of pure planners was undermining the grip of the parent professions over the TPI.

TABLE 4.1 BSc HONOURS IN TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING AT KINGS COLLEGE, UNIVERSITY OF DURHAM

FIRST YEAR: mathematics; history of town planning (up to 1850); human geography; elements of geology; elements of architectural design and construction; surveying and cartography.

SECOND YEAR: history of landscape design and garden planning; history of town planning (from 1850 to present day); geography of British Isles; surveying; valuation; outlines of agriculture; principles of architectural planning.

THIRD YEAR: theory and practice of planning; principles of civic design; landscape design; public works engineering; central and local government organisation.

FOURTH YEAR: theory and practice of planning; outlines of economic organisation; public works engineering; statistics; sociology; statutory planning.

FIFTH YEAR: professional practice; public utilities; a written thesis.

Practical work continued throughout the course.

SOURCE: The Schuster Report, 1950.

The new courses, although by no means a radical departure from architectural specialism, were a clear expression of the physical generalist educational philosophy: town planning was a unique physical design process which involved considering all aspects of a planning problem - social and economic aspects as well as architectural, engineering, surveying - and devising a solution, the plan. Both courses were divided into two parts. The lecture courses aimed to give students a knowledge of the factors affecting planning (e.g. engineering, architecture and sociology) and the skills which the planner 'needed' (e.g. statistics and valuation). The 'creative' skills of design and planning were taught through 'practical work', exercises where students, usually individually, were required to prepare drawn plans and written reports to 'solve' simulated planning problems. The courses were in greater depth than the TPI examinations and made a number of innovations. The Durham course, for example, broadened the scope of contributory factors, disciplines and skills relevant to planning by including courses in geography, theory of planning, economics, statistics and sociology. Nevertheless, the two courses were similar to architectural specialist courses since studio practical work still had a central role and course content was largely concerned with design.

In 1951 Liverpool University replaced its one year full-time diploma in planning for architects with a two year full-time Master of Civic Design degree open to graduates of any discipline. Although at post-graduate level, it also followed Durham's lead by devoting more attention to geography, social studies and survey techniques. At the time the courses at Durham, Manchester and Liverpool were the only ones not to restrict entry to members of the parent professions. In 1950 the TPI followed suit by widening the scope of its examinations with the introduction of 'Elements of applied geology and economic organisation' and 'outlines of social and economic organisation'.

Following the War there was growing pressure from groups (senior administrators at the Ministry of Town and Country Planning, geographers and social scientists) hitherto not involved in town planning who nevertheless had an interest in the newly enlarged function to broaden the basis of planning education. This view was expressed by the Schuster Report which argued that town planning was primarily a social and economic activity requiring a specialist education at postgraduate level on top of a university degree in any subject. Schuster's recommendations were, however, only partially implemented largely because of

hostility from the TPI and the parent professions, government disinterest and the fact that planning education did not expand in the 1950s. One recommendation which was followed was the proposal to relax entry requirements. In 1953 geographers and economists were given exemption from the TPI's intermediate examination and in 1963 sociologists were given the same privilege. This further increased the independence of the TPI vis-à-vis the parent professions and strengthened its application for a Royal Charter. This led to large numbers of geographers entering town planning.

After weathering Schuster and obtaining a Royal Charter the TPI had established itself as the dominant qualifying association for town planning. Cherry (1974) observes that in 1949 the TPI put forward 316 candidates for the final examination compared to 95 from IMunE, 6 from RICS and 6 from RIBA. By 1959, however, IMunE put forward merely 5 candidates with the remainder coming from the TPI. Consequently, it was a formality when the JEB was dissolved at the TPI's request (a Schuster recommendation) in 1961. Changed recruitment patterns were both a cause and consequence of this new dominance. Increasing numbers of men and women with sole allegiance to the TPI entered the profession - undergraduate town planners

and graduates who were not members of the parent professions doing postgraduate courses or the external examinations. In 1960/61 the number of British geographers entering full-time planning courses exceeded that of British architects for the first time (Goss, 1965). Despite the new undergraduate courses and Schuster the fifties was a period of stability since no new schools were recognised and output was steady. However, an increasing number of TPI members qualified through formal courses. In 1964 only 14% of members entered the TPI through the external examination (Goss, 1965). According to Noble (1968) the intake from planning schools was 323 in 1960/61 with 45 undergraduates, 57 full-time postgraduates and 221 part-time postgraduates. Thus planning education remained predominantly part-time.

4.3 EXPANSION AND PHYSICAL GENERALISM (1960-1970)

The period between the early 1960s and early 1970s was perhaps the most crucial of all for both planning education and the profession. In the background were four important factors. First, the TPI's view that there was a shortage of town planners was widely accepted and a major expansion of higher education in general was anticipated. The TPI clearly wanted a major expansion of town planning education provision.

Second, despite the TPI's dominant position in relation to planning education, it was still divided about who should do planning work and the ideal training. On top of this there were a number of outside groups - geographers, social scientists and architects for example - with an interest in the planning function and planning education. Third, the nature of planning work itself was changing with a move towards a broader form of 'spatial planning' with the 1968 Act and the increasing adoption of research and corporate management. Finally, the public image of town planning deteriorated markedly in the late 1960s as a result of academic critiques and growing social protest.

In the early 1960s the TPI pressed the MHLG and the Ministry of Education to expand planning education considerably for two reasons: first, it was claimed that there was a shortage of trained manpower with many vacancies remaining unfilled for long periods and large numbers of 'unqualified' persons employed as town planners; second, the demand for places on full-time planning courses greatly outstripped supply. Noble (1968), for example, estimated that in 1968 the real ratio of applications to places, accounting for multiple applications, was 8 to 1 for all undergraduate courses and within this category as high as

11 to 1 for the university courses. At postgraduate level the applications/places ratio was considerably lower but demand still easily exceeded supply. The University Grants Committee (UGC) set up a special sub-committee to examine the issue and the Department of Education and Science (DES) did likewise for the non-university sector. Both accepted the TPI's case and made provision for a massive increase in provision. Ten new schools were recognised¹ in the

TABLE 4.2: NUMBERS OF STUDENTS IN RECOGNISED PLANNING SCHOOLS FROM 1960 TO 1980

	'60	'70	'76	'80
<u>FULL-TIME</u>				
UNDERGRADUATES	45	258	290	355
POSTGRADUATES	57	277	293	242
PART-TIME	221	127	115	287
TOTAL	323	622	698	848

Source: Healey, 1981.

1960s alone and existing schools expanded. The number of full-time students increased fivefold in ten years (table 4.2).

¹ The following schools offering full time courses at undergraduate and/or postgraduate level were recognised from the early 1960s onwards: the polytechnics of Birmingham, Bristol, Lanchester (now Coventry), Oxford, Liverpool and Polytechnic of the South Bank and the universities of Edinburgh, Dundee, Sheffield, UWIST, Belfast, Nottingham, Strathclyde and Glasgow School of Art. Gloucester College of Art, Kingston Polytechnic, the Chelmer Institute, the polytechnics of Central and North London and the universities of Glasgow and Reading were also recognised later in the 1970s.

The anticipated expansion of planning education clearly helped fuel the 'specialist/generalist' conflict in the mid 1960s. Both groups knew that whoever won would be able, through educational policy, to shape the future composition of the profession by influencing what sort of people became planning students and, through course content, what sort of planners students became.

The specialists believed that planning education should take people from a wide range of relevant backgrounds and teach them how to apply their specialisms to planning. Planning education was therefore best undertaken at postgraduate level building on undergraduate specialisms. Educational diversity was expected because the needs of specialists varied: some schools might specialise in training architects whereas others would take geographers and yet others economists. The generalists, by contrast, believed planning was a discipline in its own right and that the professional planner was the natural leader of the team who could draw on the knowledge and skills of the contributory and subordinate specialists. In principle, the discipline could be taught at undergraduate or postgraduate level but the latter was considered

inferior because graduates had to be taught the new discipline from first principles in less than half the time available to undergraduates. The generalists urged that all curricula should cover the core knowledge and techniques implying uniformity.

Following the 1965 TPI Council election the generalists dominated the Education Committee with Professor Kantorowich as Chairman. They were keen to establish and reinforce a distinct identity for the profession. It was widely recognised that the profession needed a large number of direct entry planners with sole allegiance to the TPI to establish its identity. Education policy had a vital role to play and the new Committee therefore wasted no time in devising a new syllabus. In 1967 Kantorowich presented the new syllabus to the General Meeting of the TPI. His paper became the classic expression of physical generalist educational philosophy. He favoured the undergraduate approach and indeed "the test of the planning profession's claim to a distinct field of activity is the practicability of framing an undergraduate educational programme" (1967, p. 180). He claimed, moreover, that this could be done and had already been achieved at his own school at Manchester where he felt the undergraduate course was coherent

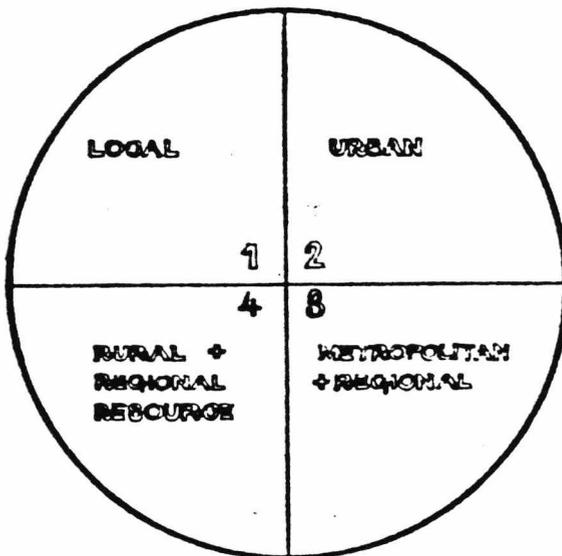
and academically respectable, developing in students a more advanced and balanced level of knowledge and skill in planning than postgraduates. Undergraduates were more willing to acquire from first principles a variety of disciplines and develop the all important creative skill 'the faculty of creative synthesis'. Graduates, by contrast, were less adaptable and biased towards their first discipline. In addition, they did not cover planning in as much depth. The purpose of the postgraduate course was not to build on the first disciplines of graduates but to teach them a new discipline. Thus they were seen as conversion courses.

The new syllabus comprised four parts. Part one covered the background to planning including written examinations on the history of the physical environment, social and economic factors influencing planning, planning and aesthetic factors. Part two was concerned with planning theory, techniques and procedure and applications to different 'levels' of planning.

Parts one and two together were supposed to provide the essential background knowledge needed before the student could begin to plan. Parts three and four

were concerned with developing 'genuine' planning skills - creativity and synoptic skills. Part three required practical studies. The first was a main study in one of the levels of planning (table 4.3) requiring a survey, analysis and fully documented plan for a specified problem. Two supplementary studies, one a 'practical' exercise, the other written, were also required. Both studies had to be on the level of planning thought to be opposite to the level chosen for the main study (table 4.3). Part four required written papers on advanced theory and technique on the level chosen for the main study and the two adjacent levels (table 4.3). The reason for requiring students to cover all the levels of planning was to ensure that all TPI members had a 'competence' across the whole spatial range of planning.

TABLE 4.3: THE SPATIAL RANGES OF PLANNING



Source: Kantorowich, 1967.

The new syllabus was based on the assumption that planning was still concerned with land uses and design. The parent professions were still regarded as the neighbouring disciplines. Nevertheless, the remit of planning was significantly expanded to include strategic and regional planning. This was a response to the widely anticipated expansion of the role of planning following the PAG report, but also a reflection of the increasing number of geographers entering the profession. However, the new syllabus only paid lip service to research, mathematical techniques and management skills, areas of increasing importance in planning practice.

Practical work remained central to the syllabus since at least half a planning course had to be devoted to it. Practical work had always been important because it was the 'professional' element of planning courses but it had added significance in the 1960s since it underpinned the notion of the generalist planner (Reade, 1981a). Students were supposed to acquire the 'synthesising skill of planning' through practical work by learning how to balance all the different areas of specialist knowledge and formulate a plan. Thus practical work distinguished planning courses from others as well as the professional planner's

skill. The attachment to practical work also illustrated how the TPI's view of planning remained a legacy of the pre-1939 consultancy model. In practical work the TPI encouraged students to undertake survey work in groups but to do the analysis and devise the plan alone. The new syllabus also made little mention of politics, councillors and local government. It regarded the process of devising a plan as technical and ignored the then reality of local government planning where other professionals, particularly municipal engineers, headed planning and councillors formally made the decisions. Rather, it was based on the ideal of the town planner as the team leader and private consultant. The new syllabus also expanded the number of contributory disciplines by devoting more time to social studies and economics and allowed, for the first time, a small degree of choice and specialisation.

The crucial importance of the TPI syllabus was its use as a model for courses seeking recognition or continued recognition. The new syllabus was enforced enthusiastically but not equally on all institutions. Those most affected were new undergraduate courses in the public sector. Unlike universities, these institutions had low status and only awarded diplomas

rather than honours degrees since they did not yet have CNAAC approval. TPI recognition was thus vital to such schools by boosting their status and allowing them to attract better qualified applicants. The effectiveness of the syllabus on undergraduate courses was shown by Crispin (1974) in his detailed study of course content and teaching methods where he concluded that RTPI influence was reflected by the uniform approach which undergraduate courses adopted to gain exemption from the Institute's final examination. The syllabus had least influence on postgraduate courses in universities, particularly in well established planning schools already enjoying recognition. Although there was still a degree of uniformity among postgraduate courses it was not as marked as at the undergraduate level. Of the five postgraduate courses Crispin (1974) examined in 1971, three were clear generalist courses similar to the 1967 syllabus with a heavy taught workload, little choice and emphasis on practical work. However, the other two courses allowed a certain amount of specialisation and gave less importance to practical work. It is notable that the latter were established high status university courses which already enjoyed TPI recognition whereas two of the three generalist courses were in newly established polytechnics. The third was in a high

status university school with an undergraduate course which had pioneered the generalist philosophy.

A further effect of the new syllabus was the removal of exemption rights for architects, engineers and surveyors. They now had to take the intermediate examination before they could enter the final examination and the one-year conversion course for architects on old fashioned specialist lines disappeared. This helped promote a major change in recruitment levels with fewer architects and increasing numbers of geographers and direct entry planners entering planning as shown in table 4.4 below.

TABLE 4.4: ORIGIN OF ENTRANTS TO THE TPI (in percentages)

	<u>1951</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1969</u>
Architects, engineers and surveyors	77.9	36.0	29.4
Geographers, economists, sociologists, etc.	7.0	29.4	41.6
Direct entry planners	15.1	34.6	28.8

Source: Cockburn, 1970d.

4.4 PRESSURES TO BROADEN AND LIBERALISE PLANNING EDUCATION (1970-1976)

The 1967 syllabus soon came under attack from many angles - town planners, planning teachers and other academics. Many felt it was too narrow, failing to reflect many of the developments which had taken place

in practice, such as the use of modelling and corporate planning (McLoughlin, 1973; Hall, 1973, Eversley, 1976). Others felt it ignored the need to teach management skills (Eddison, 1972 and CES, 1973) while some planning academics thought it was too rigid, restricting the scope for specialisation and compromising academic freedom (EPA, 1972).

The procedural ideology had gained ground among planners in the late 1960's (McLoughlin 1965, 1967; Chadwick, 1971; Amos, 1971). The ideology assumed that planning was a problem-solving discipline which could, in principle, be applied to virtually any field - including health, education as well as the environment. Many proceduralists began to urge that town planning education should be revolutionised (CES, 1973). Faludi, in particular, translated proceduralism into an educational philosophy. The main aim of a procedural planning course would be to teach the generic planning process, often in the abstract - how to identify problems, analyse them, generate possible solutions, evaluate them, implement them and monitor progress. Faludi called knowledge of the generic planning process 'planning theory' and claimed that this would distinguish planning from other disciplines. Unlike single disciplines,

planning theory was a 'meta discipline', its uniqueness being based on its multi-disciplinary nature and particularly its feature of 'integrating' knowledge from a variety of disciplines into a programme of action (Faludi 1976, 1978).

The educational vehicle for teaching planning theory would be project work (Faludi 1972a, 1973b). Unlike practical work in physical generalist courses, however, project work would not be concerned exclusively with producing graphic plans and reports similar to those prepared in planning offices. Rather it would be used to examine aspects of the planning process: "I would expect the library desk to become as important in project work as the drawing board, the typewriter as omnipresent as the T-square, the questionnaire as maps, the interview as the appraisal of visual qualities, in short, the brains as important as the all too often very personal feeling about right and wrong which seems to occupy such a central place in project work today" (Faludi, 1978, p. 26). After teaching the planning process, it could then be applied to one or more policy fields - spatial planning, economic planning or social planning.

In an appendix to an article Faludi (1976) outlined his model course. The curriculum was divided into three levels which should not be thought of as academic years. In level one there would be a series of introductory lectures and seminars in planning theory, planning techniques, the social sciences from first principles, mathematics, statistics and computing. There would also be a series of projects, small problem-solving exercises aimed at developing particular 'skills', such as 'working in groups' and 'communication'. In level two only planning theory and techniques would be compulsory and students would choose one option, the application of one social science to planning. In addition students would have to undertake one major project, the preparation and submission of a statutory planning document, such as a "structure or local plan, a school building programme, a social development plan" (1976, p. 130). In level three there would be seminars in planning methodology involving both staff and students. Students would also have to write a research paper related to their social science option. Finally they would take part in a group project aimed at examining the issues cutting across institutional boundaries. In Faludi's model planning theory and techniques form the core of the course, being compulsory in all three levels, and

a substantial amount of time is devoted to the social sciences.

The procedural approach still had similarities to physical generalism. Both were generalist, seeing planning as an independent discipline. Generalism, in both cases, was linked to the claim to synthesise or integrate knowledge from a number of specialisms and therefore to professional demarcation disputes. Project work was also central to both but took different forms. Both approaches aimed to develop prescriptive skills - devising plans or generating solutions. Neither paid much attention to the routine aspects of local government planning such as development control, administration and politics. Proceduralism saw planning as a broader activity, however, covering all public policies in urban and regional matters.² The two approaches also had different intellectual neighbours. Whereas physical generalism was close to the parent professions, proceduralism was close to the social sciences, management and quantitative techniques.

² The different approaches are sometimes reflected in course titles. Physical generalist schools tend to refer to planning as 'town and country planning' or 'town planning' whereas procedural schools usually refer to 'urban and regional planning' or just 'planning studies'.

Not all planning schools were equally enthusiastic about proceduralism. Some adopted it wholeheartedly whereas others paid little attention to it. Those showing enthusiasm for proceduralism emphasised the idea of generic planning but tended to apply it solely to environment. Crispin (1974) found in his research on teaching methods in 1971 that three undergraduate schools had just begun to base some projects on generic planning ideas. Proceduralism was most enthusiastically adopted by new undergraduate public sector courses. Thomas (1979) observed that proceduralism (he called it the 'process approach') demanded a bigger role for the social sciences. Consequently, a move towards proceduralism would be accompanied by recruitment of social scientists. He was able to show, on the basis of a study of eight planning schools, that between 1965 and 1975 those schools professing proceduralism or a social science approach recruited more social scientists than those claiming to be physical generalist or architectural specialist (table 4.5).

By the early 1970s town planning teaching had become a full-time career. Previously, it was a job undertaken on a part-time basis by architects. Noble (1968), for example, found that in 1968 there were nearly twice as

many part-time teachers in the recognised planning schools as full-time teachers (98). Moreover, there

TABLE 4.5: RECRUITMENT OF SOCIAL SCIENTISTS TO
SELECTED PLANNING SCHOOLS 1965 - 1975*

SCHOOL	1965	1970	1971	SOCIAL SCIENTISTS AMONG STAFF	NON-MEMBERS OF PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATIONS AMONG STAFF	COURSE ORIENTATION
				(percentages)	(percentages)	
A	0	1	1	7%	40%	PROCEDURAL
B	0	1	1	9%	9%	ARCHITECTURAL SPECIALIST
C	1	1	2	11%	26%	PHYSICAL GENERALIST
D	0	1	1	6%	18%	PHYSICAL GENERALIST
E	1	6	7	21%	27%	PROCEDURAL
F	0	1	4	33%	42%	PROCEDURAL
G	NF	2	4	25%	31%	SOCIAL SCIENCE
ALL	2	13	20	16%	28%	

Source: Thomas 1979. Information only available for 7 of 8 schools studied.

* Social scientist covers graduates in economics, sociology and political science but not geography.

was no career structure for full-time teachers in the planning schools. The Association of Student Planners' (ASP) survey of planning teachers in 1969 found, for example, that only a small proportion (18%) of teachers who replied had taught in more than one

school. Thomas (1979a) pointed to a new development in the early 1970s, the rise of career academics - teachers who saw themselves primarily as academics and sought to make a career exclusively in planning education. He showed that roughly half those planning teachers leaving planning schools between 1972-75 did so to move to another planning school. Moreover many of these career academics were social scientists and geographers, often with no experience of planning practice. For example, in the schools he studied, 32% of geographers were not members of a professional association, whereas the corresponding figure for economists was 50% and a staggering 69% for sociologists and political scientists. It is reasonable to assume that those who were not members of one of the development professions had no practical planning experience.

Many of these career academics, particularly the social scientists, and to a lesser extent the geographers, brought a new educational philosophy to the planning schools - the 'social science specialists' view (Thomas uses this term). The approach dates back to the Schuster Report but was resurrected in the early 1970s by a number of academics (Reade 1971; Pahl, 1972; Healey, Hebbert and Hopkins, 1976). Planning was seen as a specific form of government intervention rather than as a discipline in its own right. The approach was more academic

being primarily concerned with understanding planning. They felt planning courses should help students to understand planning using social science rather than develop skills and knowledge deemed necessary for planning practice. The social scientists believed in more traditional academic teaching methods with more emphasis on essays and seminars and research and less on project work. They also challenged the RTPPI's control over planning education. Thomas (1979a) cites the formation of the Education for Planning Association (EPA) in 1971 as evidence of the emergence of a group of planning teachers, many of whom were social scientists, who were self consciously academics and challenged the role of RTPPI (EPA 1972). Many of the new planning teachers had interests which extended beyond mainstream town planning to include other areas of government policy such as housing, transport, regional planning. In a survey of staff teaching interests found that the following were among the most popular- techniques, theory, economics, transport, sociology, regional planning, politics, geography, and housing (Thomas, 1977). Development control was mentioned so few times that it did not even merit a separate classification.

The adoption of physical generalism and especially proceduralism led to the recruitment of social scientists and geographers as planning teachers. Once appointed, however, many social scientists challenged their predetermined role and promoted a social science specialist approach. Thomas (1979a) found at least one recognised postgraduate course which followed the social science specialist view. The approach was, in fact, commonplace outside the recognised planning education sector in related degrees in geography or urban studies or specialist postgraduate courses (Crispin, 1974). Most recognised courses however were predominantly physical generalist or procedural but included one or more lecturers teaching courses informed by the social science perspective. Faludi's (1970) research on sociologists teaching in planning schools in 1969 showed this and identified the conflicts between the planners and the sociologists. The majority of lecturers in planning schools - mainly physical generalist at the time - tended to view sociology instrumentally as a contributory discipline which would help planners to be more 'socially aware' and deal with the problems they face in practice. The sociologists, by contrast, took a wider view of their role as examining the role of planning and planners. The latter approach dismayed many professional

planning teachers because they felt it was too critical and too academic. There were also conflicts between social scientists and advocates of the procedural approach. This was illustrated by the heavy criticism by social scientists of Faludi's (1974 and 1976) articles on planning theory and the place of sociology in *the* procedural curriculum. They criticised what they saw as his instrumental view of sociology and knowledge in general and insisted that it was part of their task to subject planning and planners to critical analysis (Allen, 1974; Frost, 1977; and Cooke and Rees, 1977).

It has now become the conventional wisdom in planning circles that planning education became more diverse in the early 1970s with some schools promoting proceduralism, while others favoured physical generalism and others a social science approach. This was supported by Thomas (1979) and Healey (1981). Their accounts focus on differences between schools but ignore differences within schools. Both adopted a consensus view of the planning curriculum, that is that staff all agree on the underlying approach to planning education. Yet Thomas' own evidence showed clearly that all schools contained staff with a variety of disciplinary backgrounds in architecture,

planning, geography, economics, sociology and so on. If there is any truth in Thomas' claim that there is a link between disciplinary background and approach to planning education then it is more likely that curricula are characterised by conflict and tensions, not consensus. Each school is likely to contain some staff favouring physical generalism, others favouring proceduralism and yet others social science. Consequently, conflict and tensions are likely to be endemic to planning education. Faludi's (1970) research revealed the existence of different education philosophies within the same school. Thomas' reliance on two data sources, school prospectuses and interviews with the head of each school he studied, also added to the confusion because both are likely to give the appearance of consensus and promote the dominant view, whereas an examination of teaching practice or interviews with other members of staff may have thrown up internal tensions and divisions. Nevertheless, it appears that by the mid-1970s many planning courses contained large slices of social science and proceduralism and gave less attention to the physical generalist approach.

The role of the validating bodies: flexible or restrictive?

In the early 1970s three validation bodies - the RTPI, the Council for National Academic Awards (CNAA) and

the Social Science Research Council (SSRC)³ - emerged as significant influences on the content of planning education. The RTPI recognises certain courses as affording exemption from its own examinations whereas the CNAAB is the main degree awarding body for the non-university sector of higher education and the SSRC provided the lion's share of funding for home students on postgraduate planning courses as well as sponsoring research in planning schools and elsewhere.

In the early 1970s the RTPI played a passive role in the development of planning education, slowly accepting and legitimating changes rather than initiating them (Thomas, 1979a). The selection of Option 4A in the ballot of the membership in 1971 that the RTPI would be an 'Institute of Environmental Planning' had implications for education policy notably the idea that the Institute would no longer concern itself with the whole curriculum but only that core which was identified as: planning methodology;

³ In 1983 the SSRC was renamed the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC).

knowledge and understanding of the physical environment; and, knowledge and understanding of the administrative context and organisation. In 1973 the RTPI translated this into 'foundation' and 'applied' components which became draft policy in 1974 and official policy in 1976.

The new guidelines tried to translate Option 4A into education policy but in practice were an uneasy compromise between the 1967 orthodoxy and Option 4A. The guidelines were supposed to be flexible and avoid dictating course content and teaching methods but did promote a new type of planning course, with foundation and applied components, the latter enabling the student to concentrate on a particular area or subject. However, the guidelines were ambiguous since while claiming to be flexible over teaching methods it was still asserted that "practical work has proved to be the best vehicle available for developing the essential skills that a professional planner requires. For this reason the Institute will expect to see specific proposals for practical work as an important element within any course leading to a basic planning qualification" (RTPI, 1974, p. 806). The guidelines also stressed the importance of creative design skills and retained the idea of spatial scales.

Moreover, the application of the guidelines was inconsistent: some visiting boards insisted on courses meeting the 1967 guidelines with a broad coverage of the spatial scales and large amounts of practical work (Hague, 1976b) whereas others allowed developments in line with Option 4A.

The reason for this inconsistency is that while the composition of the RTPI Education Board - the policy-making body - had changed with increasing numbers promoting Option 4A (e.g. Amos, Law and Eddison), it still included influential figures advocating the old orthodoxy (e.g. Miller, Brenikov). More importantly, however, the Visiting Panel - a small panel of specially selected RTPI members eligible to be on visiting boards - was under the control of Miller who promoted physical generalism. As Chairman he was in a powerful position because he could choose who would go on particular visiting boards to implement and interpret education policy. It is notable that between 1970-77 members of the Visiting Panel made an average of four visits each according to Thomas' evidence (1977). However, there were large variations between Panel members: Miller (17 visits) and Turnbull (11 visits), both exponents of physical generalism, were chosen far more

frequently than other members; by contrast, noted advocates of Option 4A made far fewer visits, for example, Amos attended two, Collins four and Bruton and Law one each.

Thomas' (1979a) view that there was a major relaxation of RTPI policy in the early 1970's allowing procedural and social science schools to undertake initiatives is therefore exaggerated. Although there was an important limited relaxation of policy it was not always implemented by individual visiting boards. While the power of liberals increased on the Education Board their influence was sometimes thwarted by physical generalists on the Visiting Panel. Nevertheless, an important relaxation did take place partly because of the growing influence of the liberals but also due to pressure from other internal groups - the Radical Institute Group (RIG), EPA and students. 1975 saw the formation of RIG and the group won three places on the RTPI Council. One of RIG's main concerns was to implement fully Option 4A in education policy by encouraging variety in content and teaching methods, research into current practice and a critical approach to planning education. There were a number of academics involved in RIG, notably Hague who became a member of the Education Board in 1978. Many

planning academics under the umbrellas of both RIG and the EPA were demanding greater freedom.

Planning students also urged a more liberal approach to recognition. In 1969 the Association of Student Planners (ASP) prepared a report setting out student views on planning education, based on a large survey of students. They criticised planning courses for, among other things, lacking coherence and being superficial. More important, however, were student critiques in the early 70's. The re-formed Student Planners Association (SPA) produced a manifesto in 1975 which challenged the role of the RTPPI and urged greater diversity and a critical outlook. More specifically, SPA questioned the value of traditional practical work, the emphasis on design and called for more emphasis on social and economic issues rather than physical aspects. Planning education was seen as out of touch having "much in common with old fashioned architecture courses and the training required for private consultancy work but it bears little resemblance to the sort of education required by modern planning in its bureaucratic and political context" (Swann, 1976). There was student dissent with two much publicised cases at Heriot Watt and Manchester University.⁴

⁴ Swann (1976) notes there was also dissent at Dundee University, Trent Polytechnic, Newcastle University and UWIST.

The CNAA Town Planning Board - which consists of direct appointments and nominations from colleges and the RTPI - is responsible for approving and validating town planning courses. In the early 1970s the CNAA's main task was to approve new courses and with Kantorowich as Chairman the Board pursued a firm physical generalist line. Crispin (1974) tells of two examples where the CNAA insisted that the 1967 guidelines were followed by Leeds and Lanchester Polytechnics.

Gradually the CNAA became more liberal as the physical generalists lost power and were replaced by social scientists (e.g. Westergaard and MacKenzie) and planners keen to follow the spirit of Option 4A (e.g. Bruton and Taylor). Evidence of liberalisation occurred in 1974 when Oxford Polytechnic's application for a one year specialist masters degree was successful. Previously the CNAA had opposed giving masters status to graduate planning courses because it saw them as conversion courses. During the early 70's the CNAA took an even tougher line than the RTPI but gradually relaxed its policies responding to initiatives from elsewhere.

The SSRC became responsible for awarding grants for students undertaking graduate planning courses in 1968. In the early 70's the SSRC did not adopt a physical generalist line despite having Kantorowich as Chairman because it included many others with different views. More importantly, however, because the early 1970s was a period of expansion, the SSRC was not required to discriminate between different approaches; all were funded.

Underlying Factors affecting planning education

The move towards proceduralism and social science and the more relaxed attitudes of the RTPPI and CNAAs were not simply a result of new people occupying the key positions. Rather, underlying social and economic factors explain the changes. First, planning practice itself had changed and diversified. The development plan system was broader in scope and more sophisticated techniques were being increasingly used in practice. There was also a growth in planning related activities - corporate planning and the Urban Programme. The RTPPI was keen to promote in education generic planning, social science and modelling as a way of bolstering and legitimising its claim to monopolise the new job opportunities.

Second, the social climate of the late 1960s and early 1970s had changed radically. Planners were being urged by many groups to become more sensitive to the social and economic effects of planning. These pressures filtered down to education as the need to liberalise teaching. The introduction of social science to the planning curriculum - especially sociology - was partly an attempt to broaden narrow technical horizons and make planners more 'socially aware'. Sociology in particular symbolised being up-to-date. To be progressive, planning schools had to show sympathy to sociology. More generally sociology replaced the humanities - literature, philosophy and Latin - as the dominant contemporary liberal discipline with many vocational courses making room for sociology (Wakefield, 1979).

Third, new groups were challenging the TPI's monopoly over planning and related tasks especially social scientists under the umbrella of the Regional Studies Association (RSA). They criticised professional planners for having a narrow technical background, being ignorant of new quantitative techniques, having little appreciation of social and economic issues and as a result ill-equipped for many of the new tasks required for the development plan system (RSA, 1969). Many of these social scientists helped establish

planning courses, mainly at postgraduate level in universities, which did not seek RTPI recognition. Some specialised in the application of quantitative techniques to planning (e.g. Reading). Others (e.g. LSE) examined planning and related activities from social science and public administration perspectives and yet others were concerned with specialised aspects of planning such as transportation (e.g. Imperial College), rural planning (e.g. Aberdeen) and overseas planning (e.g. UCL). All this occurred at a time when two major reports were published urging a broad-based approach to planning education. The Sharp Report (1970) called for a broad-based education for persons to deal with land-use planning and transportation while the Centre for Environmental Studies (CES) Report (Diamond and McLoughlin, 1973), was critical of professional planning education and suggested that a broader education was needed for 'urban governance'. It was based on the procedural view of planning. Accordingly planning courses were needed specialising in different policy fields with more stress on social and economic issues.

Finally, there were pressures on planning schools to recruit career academics with research and publication

records to upgrade their status in the eyes of their academic peers and to tap the funding available for planning research from the SSRC, CES and DoE (Thomas, 1979a; Healey, 1981). The existence of research funding favoured social scientists and procedural planners rather than physical generalists because they were more amenable to academic values.

But not all schools had responded equally to the above pressures. There were still many physical generalist schools which made few concessions to proceduralism and social sciences but had been unable to resist them completely. They had provided some space for the new subjects on the curriculum but attached little importance to them by devoting little time to them and teaching them in the early years. These schools tended to be older schools with undergraduate courses in universities. By contrast, the newer schools, predominantly in the public sector, enthusiastically adopted the new conceptions of planning and gave the new subjects prominence in their curricula. However, they also retained elements of the physical generalist approach.

Why did some schools readily succumb to the new pressures and legitimate the new approaches whereas

others were more resistant, merely acknowledging the new approaches? There appear to be three major reasons. First, they reflected different institutional settings. The status of the parent institution was critical. Planning schools in low status institutions (e.g. new universities, polytechnics and colleges) were under greatest pressure from within the parent institution to establish a reputation for themselves. One obvious strategy was to appoint lecturers with academic credentials who would bring resources and prestige to the school through research contracts and publications. Schools in well established institutions were under less pressure to make a name for themselves. Second, the age of the school was important and usually corresponded to the status of the parent institution. Most of the schools in high status institutions were already well established before the late 1960s and had reached their maximum size. Consequently, most only grew moderately in the early 1970s and were therefore less able to respond to the above pressures. By contrast, low status schools were predominantly created in the 1960s in new institutions. Thus, new schools which expanded rapidly during the early 1970s were more vulnerable to the pressures. Finally, there were also contingent

factors such as the appointment of a new head of department with particularly strong views which coloured staff selection.

4.5 THE DECLINE OF THE TRADITIONAL JOB MARKET (1976 - 1983)

Planning education entered a fourth phase in the late 1970s when it came under increasing attack as a result of expenditure cuts in local government and higher education. Local government cuts drastically reduced graduate recruitment by planning authorities - hitherto by far the largest employers of planning graduates - forcing graduates to look elsewhere for jobs. This led Government, during its reviews of higher education, to single out planning schools for cuts on the grounds that there was an oversupply of planners. Naturally, planning school staff became increasingly preoccupied with defending themselves and showed correspondingly little interest in other aspects of educational policy. Nevertheless, these pressures had critical implications for graduate job destinations, course content, philosophy and the morale of staff and students.

The decline in recruitment of planning graduates began in 1977 picked up temporarily in 1978 reached a low point in 1980 but improved and remained steady thereafter (table 4.6). For virtually the whole period the traditional job market - local planning authorities and private consultancies - could not even absorb half the graduates from planning schools. Consequently, graduates have increasingly found jobs in related and non-related fields but surprisingly few became unemployed. The job market for planning graduates has diversified.

TABLE 4.6: JOB DESTINATIONS OF TOWN PLANNING GRADUATES REMAINING IN THE UK, 1977-1984¹ (percentages)

Job ²	1977		1978		1979		1980		1981		1982		1983		1984
	UG	PG	ALL												
MAINSTREAM PLANNING	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	44%	48%	50%	53%	46%	61%	47%
PLANNING RELATED	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	NK	15%	13%	16%	15%	15%	10%	15%
SUB TOTAL	43%	60%	63%	72%	50%	67%	32%	49%	59%	61%	66%	68%	61%	71%	62%
NON-RELATED	29%	19%	17%	11%	17%	13%	33%	19%	28%	14%	16%	14%	19%	8%	10%
UNEMPLOYED	20%	18%	14%	11%	24%	14%	24%	24%	4%	4%	5%	3%	8%	4%	15%
OTHERS	8%	4%	6%	6%	9%	6%	3%	1%	9%	22%	13%	15%	12%	17%	12%
SURVEY TOTAL	255	229	262	236	NK	NK	NK	NK	254	132	224	101	237	100	291
TOTAL OUTPUT	311	344	322	325	345	238	355	242	330	213	283	172	306	156	424

Source: 1976-1980 SCMP, 1981-83 Thomas (1984) and 1984 RTPI (1985).

¹ The SCMP figures are the employment status on 1 November after the year of graduation whereas Thomas and RTPI data is for the employment status as of 31 December after graduation. In addition, the Thomas and RTPI excludes graduates of '3 + 1' courses who left after three years and therefore probably exaggerates slightly the proportion getting planning jobs.

2 Mainstream planning refers to town planning jobs in local authorities, planning departments, central government and private consultancies. Related planning refers to jobs in fields such as surveying, housing, transport and related local authority work.

In the early 1980s it was widely held, inside and outside the planning schools, that the employment prospects for planning graduates would remain bleak in the foreseeable future because further cuts in public expenditure were likely. This view was endorsed in a major study by Amos et al (1982) based on a large sample survey of manpower requirements in 1980. Amos et al set out four scenarios for future employment requirements ranging from a depressed economy with a right wing government intent on reducing public expenditure to a buoyant economy with a left wing government committed to increasing public expenditure. It was estimated that for 1980-1990 the demand for planning graduates would be between 690 and 1850, that is, 69-185 graduates per annum. These estimates were based on guesses about what the future economic, social and political circumstances would be and took into account the structure of the current manpower and therefore the likely wastage rates and replacement needs. These gloomy predictions came at a time when the output of full-time graduates was exceeding 500 per annum, meaning that in the depressed 1980s supply was expected to be approximately five

times greater than demand. The SSRC review of planning education in 1981/2 endorsed these fears by suggesting undergraduate supply would be three times greater than demand. The scene was set for massive cuts in planning education.

The SSRC started to cut expenditure on town planning studentships in 1976/77, before the full extent of the oversupply of planning graduates had emerged. The cuts were due to DES cuts in the total spending of the SSRC. The main cuts occurred in 1977, 1980 and 1982 when a number of schools lost 'quota' status, that is a number of studentships were no longer automatically available to the school. In addition, those schools who retained quota status received fewer studentships on average: for example, in 1977 UCL and Oxford Polytechnic received 14 studentships each but in 1984 they had 4 and 5 respectively. The polytechnics were hardest hit by the cuts in studentships because the DES established 15 places as a desirable minimum for a full-time postgraduate course. Once numbers fell below this figure the polytechnic school came under pressure, usually from within the institution to close the course. Since 1984 only one polytechnic, Oxford, has offered a full-time postgraduate course. SSRC studentships are vital because there are few alternative sources of funding for British students. Local planning authority secondments used to be more common but they have virtually disappeared. Postgraduate

schools have responded by trying to attract overseas students, with some success. For example, in 1980 28.5% of graduates from postgraduate RTPI courses were from overseas (Healey, 1981).

When making cuts the SSRC discriminated between courses on the basis of academic 'quality' (SSRC 1977 and 1980). They favoured courses with a broad coverage of planning issues such as transport and housing as well as land-use planning, and with a "strong and explicit social science content" offering scope for individual thinking through the writing of theses and reports. The SSRC clearly favoured courses adopting procedural and social science views of planning. Although the SSRC cuts hit recognised schools badly the non-recognised specialists courses suffered most. Few of the 'new planning courses' set up in the late 1960s and early 1970s survived.

In 1981 the University Grants Committee (UGC) cut university grants by 6% on average. Town planning was identified as a subject where cuts could be made: three undergraduate courses (Manchester, Newcastle and UWIST) and two postgraduate courses (Liverpool and UCL) were identified as courses which should be maintained, four postgraduate schools were asked to have

talks with neighbouring institutions and four were not mentioned. In the event no university planning course was closed as a result of UGC cuts but some schools lost staff through voluntary redundancies.

Much more serious was the scrutiny of planning education in the public sector undertaken by the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education (NAB).⁶ Finally, after a struggle between public sector planning schools, the NAB Committee, NAB decision-making body, made the final recommendation to the Secretary of State to close Gloucester, Liverpool and Trent and these courses did not recruit in 1984.

The effect on town planning education

From 1976 onwards there was a growing mismatch between the demand and supply of mainstream planning jobs. Yet in the mid-1970s the average town planning curriculum was still dominated by town planning as opposed to the new employment fields for planning such

⁶ NAB was established in 1982 by Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Education, to provide advice on academic provision and allocation of resources in public sector higher education.

as economic development. Planning education was therefore increasingly at odds with the new job market for planning graduates because only half were working in mainstream planning (table 4.6). The poor employment prospects for planning graduates affected recruitment to planning schools. The number of applications and the quality of applicants fell in 1979, 1980 and 1981. In 1979, for example, several public sector schools had difficulty filling all their places: there were major shortfalls at Birmingham, Gloucester, Coventry, PCL, South Bank and Coventry (EPA Newsletter).

The recruitment problem appeared to be closely linked to unemployment among planning graduates both reaching a low point in 1980. Consequently, there was considerable pressure on planning schools to improve the job prospects of their graduates and to market their courses more aggressively. This encouraged many schools to have broader courses to prepare graduates for jobs outside planning. A number of planning courses now, for example, carry part exemption from the examinations of professional bodies such as RICS, the Institute of Housing and the Chartered Institute of Transport. In addition, many planning schools now point out forcefully in their prospectuses that their

degrees prepare graduates for a wide range of jobs: "This planning course is an exciting alternative to conventional economics, geography and social science degrees. It provides a combination of social sciences, quantitative methods, environmental design and practical projects which makes graduates attractive to a very wide range of careers in industry and government in addition to the opportunities in planning with local authorities, for which it provides a direct entry." (Chelmer Institute).

Once again not all schools responded equally to these pressures. At undergraduate level the lower status schools were under greatest pressure to broaden their courses and adopt a more aggressive recruitment policy because their applications had fallen dangerously low and fewer of their graduates obtained planning jobs. For example, table 4.7 shows that more Redbrick graduates, a high status course, gained mainstream planning jobs than their counterparts at Plateglass, a medium status school, and Newpool, a low status school. Moreover, it was the lower status new schools which possessed more younger teachers, often social scientists, interested in fields other than town planning. These lecturers took this opportunity to press for broader courses. By contrast, the higher

status university courses were more insulated from these pressures because they had

TABLE 4.7: JOB DESTINATIONS OF GRADUATES FROM SELECTED SCHOOLS 1979-1982

	REDBRICK UNIVERSITY		PLATEGLASS UNIVERSITY		NEWPOOL POLYTECHNIC	
<u>JOB</u>						
Mainstream Planning	39	65%	34	56%	14	47%
Planning Related	8	13%	13	21%	10	33%
Sub Total	47	78%	47	77%	24	80%
Not Related	12	20%	12	20%	6	20%
Unemployed	1	2%	2	3%	-	-
Other	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	60	100%	61	100%	30	100%
Not Known	12	20%	3	5%	3	10%
Source: Survey						

little difficulty attracting large numbers of well qualified applicants and higher proportions of their graduates obtained planning jobs. Just as importantly, however, they were staffed predominantly by architects and planners interested primarily in town planning and therefore were less able to respond.

Postgraduate courses were under severe pressure to broaden their concerns, not as a result of the employment situation, but because the SSRC was showing, at a time of cuts, a clear preference for broad-based social science planning courses. In addition, many schools were trying to attract overseas students to make up for the smaller number of home students and enable the courses to continue. These pressures had two major consequences. First, most postgraduate courses became broader with a high social science content. Second, virtually all courses now have masters status not because all the schools subscribe to a specialist view of planning but for pragmatic reasons: masters degrees have higher status and are therefore more attractive to overseas students.

The above changes in course content were facilitated and legitimised by the validating agencies. Since I have already covered the SSRC I shall now deal with the CNAA and the RTPI. The CNAA became considerably more liberal in the late 1970s. Bruton, a noted liberal, became chairman in 1979 and the Board also included other liberal planners (e.g. Amos, Dean and Morphet), liberal planning academics (e.g. Healey, Taylor, Crispin and Carter) and more social scientists

(e.g. Westergaard, Goldsmith, Blowers and Hood). The physical generalists had lost their power base and it was therefore not surprising that the new Board favoured broadly-based social science courses with less emphasis on design. All seven of the lecturers I interviewed who had recently dealt with the CNAAs, and the three people who had been on the Board recently, supported this view.

TABLE 4.8: THE 'CORE' OF PLANNING EDUCATION

Planning Methodology: Derivation and application of the planning process, including problem definition, survey, analysis, plan formulation, evaluation, implementation, monitoring and review. Types of uncertainty and their effects. Skills of communication. Research methods and theory building. Theories of planning in the environment, their epistemology and interests. Procedures and practice of planning including plan-making, implementation and development control. Factors likely to frustrate the intentions of plans and contingency arrangements that can be made. Physical, social and economic impacts of environmental planning. Relation of environmental planning to other forms of planning. Professionalism in planning.

The Physical Environment: Land, buildings, space and the development process. Complementary and conflicting land uses. Infrastructure for urban and rural development. Processes of economic and technological change and their effect on the physical environment. Maintenance of environmental standards. The aesthetic, energy and social justice implications of different forms of physical development; their manifestation at different spatial scales, and characteristic response to them through the environmental planning system.

The Administrative Context: The development of the environmental planning system in the UK and elsewhere. Existing systems of central and local government in the UK, and their management processes. Legislation regulating the practice of environmental planning and related agencies. The influence of legal, procedural and political factors on plan-making, implementation and development control. Involvement of the public and elected members. Finance for development and maintenance of the environment.

Source: RTPI Education Guidelines, 1980.

Similar changes occurred at the RTPI. In the late 1970s the physical generalists lost power on the Education Board. In 1978, for example, Collins, a liberal, chaired the Board which also included Amos, Dean and Kitchen, all liberals. More important, however, was the emergence of RIG. By 1978 RIG had four members on the Education Board (Thompson, Hague, Roberts and Swann) and by 1980 Thompson was Chairman and in 1983 took over the chairmanship of the Visiting Panel from Amos. RIG built an alliance with the liberals on the Board and set about revamping the education guidelines. Revised guidelines appeared in 1980 representing a significant policy shift. The new guidelines set out to fully implement Option 4A by requiring that all courses cover the 'core' of planning (table 4.8) which should be at least one

third of the course, with at least one third of the course being devoted to 'specialised studies'.

The new guidelines broke completely with the 1967 orthodoxy by encouraging specialised studies and diversity. In the words of one senior RTPPI figure the new guidelines moved "away from the idea that there is a course of education which is suitable for planners and which they should pursue. Now, alongside that and parallel to it, there's also been a requirement that there should be more emphasis on depth and rigour and intellectual excellence rather than spread. What one is not saying is that one should turn out specialist planners. My own view is that if you give someone a more rigorous training in say regional planning they would be better equipped to pick up rural planning, economic planning, etc., because they've been acquainted with the intellectual equipment."

The new guidelines were hailed as a major liberalisation. It was openly admitted by the RTPPI that one of the reasons for the revision was the fact that career opportunities in traditional planning jobs were *restricted*. Three changes were particularly significant. First, schools were supposed to have freedom in developing their own specialisms moving

away from the restricted scales approach. Second, project work was no longer required, or even encouraged, since choice of teaching methods was left to the school. It was even suggested that staff should have enough free time to keep abreast of practice and undertake research, perhaps a snipe at traditional project work which was time-consuming for both staff and students. Finally, to ensure the new guidelines were implemented in spirit, Thompson was appointed to the key position of Chairman of the Visiting Panel. He was therefore able to make sure that people on visiting boards supported the new guidelines. He quickly expanded the Visiting Panel to include academics and more practitioners, many of whom were liberals and RIG members.

However, the claims that the new guidelines are more liberal and that the guidelines are only concerned with the core and specialist aspects of the course are open to question. The composition of individual visiting boards will determine how education policy is interpreted and this may involve going beyond the guidelines as happened in the mid-1970s.

One major consequence of the changes is that curricula now cover activities other than planning while the

space devoted to traditional town planning has been reduced. Yet this has occurred at a time when local planning authorities are being increasingly forced to identify with development control and small-scale design and conservation work. Strategic and regional planning have been largely abandoned as has large-scale modelling and research. Amos et al estimated, for example, that in 1980 development control took up nearly half the time in shire districts and approximately one third of the time in metropolitan boroughs and London boroughs. Moreover, Amos et al (1982) estimated that 71% of all replacement needs in planning between 1980 and 1990 would occur in development control largely because those working in development control were older on average.

Consequently, while development control demands the lion's share of graduate planners who enter planning, schools devote little attention to the subject. The low status of development control has been recently acknowledged by the SSRC review of planning education in 1981/2 (Healey, 1981; McLoughlin, 1982) and a number of planning academics (e.g. Thomas, 1983; Howes, 1983; and Batty, 1983). There is also evidence to indicate that young graduate planners feel their

courses provided a poor preparation for development control according to a recent survey by the Metropolitan Planning Officers Society (MPOS) in 1982. Generally, respondents felt their courses had been too 'academic' and insufficiently 'practical' and development control was one subject they thought they had been poorly prepared for. On a scale of 0 to 5, 9% rated their preparation for development control highly (a score of 4 or 5), 24% voted it reasonable (a score of 3), 54% gave it a poor rating (1 or 2) and 13% felt it was non-existent. There is no evidence to suggest that development control was well served by planning education in the past. Early planning education and literature focussed on plan preparation, ignoring implementation. In fact, the small amount of research and publications on development control are largely products of the 1970s (Underwood, 1981).

4.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Planning education is undoubtedly vulnerable to a whole range of social and economic pressures. The two which have exerted most influence are the RTPI and the graduate job market. Over the years the RTPI acquired formal controls over planning education by becoming accepted as the legitimate validating body. Cockburn

(1970d) was right to conclude that throughout its history debates about planning education have been preoccupied with professionalism. Planning education has been the central arena where the RTPI's need to create and maintain both an occupational monopoly and separate identity has surfaced. On some occasions this has involved disputes within the profession and on others struggles with other professional groups with claims on the town planning function. Since establishing its monopoly the RTPI has showed a continuing desire to remain in control of planning jobs and has therefore had to adapt to the changing nature of practice as well as seizing new job opportunities for its members where and when they occurred. Both physical generalism and proceduralism were, first and foremost, professional ideologies concerned with demarcating a set of jobs for town planners. Their application to planning courses was part of this process by legitimising the profession's claims and passing the ideology on to new recruits. Planning education has thus been saturated with professional ideology and rhetoric.

The second big influence was the job market for the products of planning education. Planning education

has always been heavily vocational. Consequently, it is important that schools ensure their graduates get jobs when they leave college if courses are to continue attracting reasonably qualified applicants in sufficient numbers. From the beginning, planning education serviced one job market only - the statutory planning system. However, since the late 70's increasing numbers of planning graduates have been unable to get planning jobs thus putting pressure on schools to broaden their courses in an attempt to prepare graduates for jobs in related fields. The cuts in planning education have further encouraged this process because they were justified on the grounds that there was an oversupply of planning graduates. Thus, planning schools have defended themselves by arguing that planning courses provide a good preparation for jobs outside statutory town planning.

Until the 1970s planning education was largely a professional matter divorced from academic pressures. However, academic values have since exerted more influence on planning education in two ways. First, from within planning schools because in the early 1970s large numbers of career academics without professional affiliations or planning experience

entered planning schools promoting academic values. Second, from outside planning schools notably parent institutions, especially lower status institutions, the SSRC and, more recently, the CNAA, all keen to ensure that planning courses are academically respectable with emphasis on depth and rigour and less attention on job related skills.

All the above pressures, which sometimes conflict and operate on different time-scales, are filtered through the institutional setting of the planning school. In general, schools in high status institutions have been more insulated from the pressures whereas their lower status counterparts have been more vulnerable. This has led to a certain amount of diversity within planning education. Nevertheless, over the years all planning courses have become considerably broader in their coverage. Until the early 1960s a planning course resembled an architectural training but nowadays it is more akin to a public administration degree. Ironically, planning education has never given much status to development control, the mainstay of planning practice. Most schools are also characterised by tensions between staff and eclecticism reflecting the mix of disciplinary

backgrounds considered necessary for the planning package and the variety of pressures they are subject to.

The above pressures - especially the RTPI's attempts to professionalise planning - greatly affected the recruitment of teachers and planners to the profession. Physical generalism and proceduralism introduced new disciplines to the planning package and led to the recruitment of geographers and social scientists, many of whom had very different values to those already in planning schools. The RTPI's attempts to create and maintain a separate professional identity led to drastic changes in recruitment of students. The profession favoured full-time undergraduate and postgraduate courses rather than part-time courses or qualifying externally.

In this chapter and the previous one, I have discovered that while the planning profession does have a common culture in some respects, in that there is a general belief in the value of professionalism and that town planning is a distinct profession, there are still major internal disagreements between the physical generalists, the proceduralists and the RIG supporters. In addition, planning practice itself has

become more diverse over the past 15 years: while development control and local planning still consume the lion's share of planning graduates, new job opportunities for planners exist both within and outside local authority planning departments in areas, such as economic development, tourism, transport, corporate planning and housing.

5. TOWN PLANNING CURRICULA

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter examines 'professional knowledge' as it is expressed in town planning curricula and teaching practice. I seek answers to the following questions: what counts as planning knowledge? how is it taught? what assumptions underlie curricula, teaching methods and teaching practice? and who decides curricula? In addition, I try to discover to what extent, if at all, planning curricula are distinctive and whether or not there are appreciable differences between the different planning courses.

The curriculum is a neglected aspect of professional socialisation. Professional knowledge generally and planning knowledge in particular is highly problematic and should not be taken for granted. A planning curriculum rests on a whole series of value judgments about the nature of planning, its central and peripheral activities, appropriate methods and proper relationships with other groups. Thus, professional curricula are heavily value laden and the acquisition, perhaps selectively, or rejection of these values by students is likely to be a critical part of their socialisation. However, before we can discover

whether students are socialised into curricula values, we must first identify them. This is the main purpose of this Chapter.

The Chapter draws heavily on interviews conducted with samples of staff at the four main schools - 5 each at Civic, Plateglass and Redbrick, and 4 at Robbins - and 7 interviews with prominent persons involved with planning education. I have also used documentary details and prospectuses from the above courses as well as a few others.

I first set out my expectations. Then I analyse planning courses paying special attention to any distinctive features and significant differences between them. Next, I examine teaching practice to see how closely it matches the official curriculum. Finally, I set out the assumptions underlying planning courses.

5.2 EXPECTATIONS

Below I outline the general approach adopted and then set out the detailed expectations to be tested.

General approach to professional curricula

It is important to adopt a micro-sociological approach to the curriculum because it is socially constructed.

Moreover, planning curricula are likely to involve tensions and struggles between different groups trying to shape it to further their own values and interests. I expect tensions to exist in planning curricula because they reflect conflicts within the wider profession and tensions are likely between staff with different disciplinary backgrounds who make up the planning education package. Not only are staff of different disciplinary backgrounds likely to value their own discipline above that of their colleagues but they may also inhabit different intellectual and social worlds.

It is also important to adopt a macro-sociological approach by relating curricula to their wider social and economic context since they can only be understood as the result of a complex interplay between influences both internal and external to the school in question. Clearly, curricula will, to a great extent, reflect the interests of the resident staff. However, while staff obviously have some autonomy in their own subjects and can only teach what they know, they will nevertheless be subject to a range of external pressures, to varying degrees according to the status of the parent institution. These pressures are the social climate towards planning, the planning graduate job market, planning practice and academia. Lecturers, and possibly students, are likely to use

external factors as resources to promote and legitimate their views and proposals. It should of course be borne in mind that staff were not recruited in a social vacuum. Their selectors were subject to various pressures about what sort of staff were needed at the time. Some of these pressures may also impinge on schools through validation bodies, particularly the RTPI.

The complex interplay of factors leads ~~me~~ to expect considerable diversity in planning education. As shown in chapter 4, external pressures affected planning schools differentially according to three main factors: whether the schools is in a high or low status parent institution; whether the course is undergraduate or postgraduate; and whether or not staff expansion occurred in the late 1960s/early 1970s. Major differences are expected between the four schools selected for detailed study. The Curriculum at Civic and Robbins are expected to reflect a social science specialist view of planning, Plateglass a procedural view and Redbrick a physical generalist approach. These differing philosophies are likely to have important implications for teaching methods.

Detailed expectations

The analysis in chapter 4 leads to more specific predictions that:

- (i) there will be internal tensions in all the schools;
- (ii) the course aims of Civic, Plateglass and Robbins should be broader than those at Redbrick. Redbrick and Plateglass should also adopt a more prescriptive approach to planning education while Civic and Robbins should be more analytical;
- (iii) social science subjects should dominate at Civic, Robbins and Plateglass whereas design is likely to dominate at Redbrick. I also expect to find an emphasis on quantitative techniques at Plateglass. In addition, there is likely to be more specialisation, and student choice between options at Civic, Robbins and even Plateglass than at Redbrick;
- (iv) there should be a greater emphasis on projects at Redbrick and Plateglass but more stress on seminars, workshops and essays at Robbins and Civic. Moreover, Plateglass projects are likely to be more concerned with

analysing aspects of the planning process, whereas Redbrick projects are likely to be more concerned with preparing plans. They will also probably involve more group work whereas Redbrick projects are likely to be more individually based. Finally, Plateglass projects are likely to make more use of social science by examining the social and economic aspects of planning whereas at Redbrick the physical aspects are likely to be emphasised;

- (v) both the RTPI and the CNAA should have a tolerant attitude towards planning curricula. By contrast, at a time of dwindling funds the ESRC is likely to favour the broad-based social science approach; and,

- (vi) pressures to broaden curricula to prepare graduates for jobs in fields outside mainstream planning should be increasingly strong at Plateglass and Robbins but relatively weak at Redbrick. I also expect to find the younger social scientist career academics are the people pressing for such changes.

5.3 THE NATURE OF TOWN PLANNING CURRICULA

The purpose of this section is to identify particular distinguishing features of planning curricula

vis-á-vis other professional courses, apart from the fact that they deal with 'planning', and the differences between planning courses.

The distinctiveness of town planning curricula

In common with most other professional subjects, all the town planning courses I examined claimed to combine a vocational training with a broad academic education. It is surprising that postgraduate planning courses also have such an aim given that their students are already educated to degree level. There is also a tendency for planning schools to claim that their courses provide a vocational preparation not only for a career in town planning but also for a range of other jobs. Such claims are commonplace in professional subjects where the traditional graduate job market has undergone severe contraction. However, it is also true of many non-vocational subjects and clearly reflects the fear, on the part of educators, that graduate unemployment may discourage students from applying to their schools.

Planning courses are highly structured, probably more so than other professional subjects, with little student choice permitted until the latter half of the course. For example, there is a marked difference between the first three years of an 'average' undergraduate planning course and a range of degrees

provided at the University of Kent. While the Newpool Polytechnic planning course is wholly prescribed in the first three years a range of Kent degrees - including economics, management, sociology, urban studies and even law - contain a degree of choice throughout. Postgraduate planning courses are clearly different to those postgraduate courses which are research orientated but - being highly structured, taught courses - are more akin to a US masters degree or undergraduate planning degrees, although they usually permit more student choice in the final year.

Planning courses are also noteworthy for the sheer number of lecture courses and projects which students undertake. In the first year, for example, undergraduates at Redbrick, Plateglass and Robbins take nine, six and ten lecture courses (excluding projects) while Civic postgraduates take 19 courses in their first three terms. By contrast, a social science student at Kent has five courses in year one and four in each of the following two years. Planning courses can also be distinguished by breadth of coverage. Most cover the following areas: policy studies, mainly of town planning but also related areas such as housing and transport; science subjects such as ecology and geology; the social sciences including sociology, economics and government; engineering, design and graphics; quantitative

techniques, including statistics and computing; and a wide range of projects. Most academic degrees are based on one discipline and even multi-disciplinary degrees are unlikely to cover as many subjects as planning degrees attempt to.

Planning courses, like most professional courses but in marked contrast to most arts and social science degrees, have heavy taught workloads. For example, whereas the average Kent social science student has four lectures and four seminars per week in terms one and two, planning students have far more lectures (between 4 and 10 for undergraduates), fewer seminars (an average of 2 for undergraduates) and devote considerable time to project work (anything up to 15 hours per week). The taught workload tends to be very high in the initial stages of the course and gradually declines thereafter.

Perhaps the most distinctive feature of planning education is the heavy reliance on project work as a teaching method. It is often difficult to distinguish projects from other teaching methods such as lectures and seminars because the term is used to describe combinations of teaching methods. Notwithstanding this, many projects do have unique features. First, most are based on the idea of 'learning by doing' whereas most academic courses give greater priority to

'learning by studying'. Many projects simulate planning practice by, for example, requiring students to gather their own data on perceived problems and propose 'realistic' policies with available powers in mind. Some involve role playing exercises. Second, all courses claim that projects have a special role to play in improving understanding of planning practice since they apply knowledge to 'realistic' situations. For example, one of the aims of projects at Civic is "exposure to the complexities and sheer awkwardness of the concrete realities with which practising planners must cope." A third claim for projects is that they develop 'practical skills' such as written, graphic and oral communication. Fourth, projects frequently have a strong prescriptive element requiring students to produce a solution to a defined problem. Indeed, some course documents claim that 'problem-solving' is itself a 'skill' developed in projects. Fifth, there is considerable staff/student contact in projects. Staff may, for example, spend several days each week working with students on projects. Sixth, projects frequently involve students working in groups with the aim of developing "group study and co-operation" (Robbins Polytechnic) which is said to be a feature of practice. Seventh, projects are frequently time-consuming. For example, Redbrick warns the prospective student that he/she will "be expected to devote at least half his study time (i.e. some 18 to

24 hours per week)" to projects. Finally, it is claimed that projects have a unique role to play in using knowledge gained from a number of lecture courses to understand all aspects of planning problems.

So in summary, planning curricula appear to have the following distinctive features: trying to combine vocational training with general education; are highly structured, indeed 'planned', permitting little student choice; cover a large number of disparate subjects; have a heavy taught workload; and use projects.

Having identified the shared features of planning courses, I now turn to the differences.

Differences between town planning courses

I examine differences in course structure, content, workload and teaching methods between schools.

(i) Course structure

I use the term 'course structure' to refer to the organisation of the course - the sequence of courses and the amount of freedom students have to structure the course to suit their own preferences and requirements.

TABLE 5.1: UNDERGRADUATE COURSE STRUCTURES

REDBRICK

YEAR 1	YEAR 2
Maths and Statistics History and Principles Ecology and Earth Sciences Landscape, buildings and structures Settlement Environmental perception, aesthetics and design Economics Government Sociology Practical work	Planning Techniques Design in planning Studies in current practice Settlement analysis: - economics - sociology - services and communication Theory and practice: - concepts and applications - political and institutional framework Practical work
YEAR 3	YEAR 4
Theory and Practice Settlement Analysis Design in Planning Studies in current practice Two options Practical work	Implementation and finance: either - property development - regional economics and development Town and Country Planning Law Professional practice and management Advanced theory and technique Practical work

PLATEGLASS

YEAR 1	YEAR 2
Sociology Economics Politics Introduction to planning Maths and statistics Environmental design Projects	Urban sociology Urban economics Planning theory Locational analysis Planning techniques Environmental design Projects
YEAR 3	YEAR 4
Urban planning Regional planning Local planning Rural planning Transportation planning Planning administration Projects	Planning legislation Planning procedures Management and communication Work experience seminars Three options Projects

ROBBINS

SKILLS FOR PLANNING THEME	POLICY THEME	PUBLIC INTERVENTION THEME	ENVIRONMENT AND SOCIETY THEME
Y Basic skills: E - written and verbal A - numeracy R - physical appraisal methods 1 - urban design		The Individual and Government: - individual in society - growth of public intervention - British Government - introduction to law	Foundation: - physical - economic - social Settlement: - evolution - theory and analysis
Y Planning methodology E skills: A - evaluation skills R - projection and modelling 2	Policy formulation and analysis: - housing - transport - economic issues - social issues	Development of British Planning Finance and built environment: - development process - public financial policy Law and Administration: - public administration and local government - planning law	
Y Communication and work E organisation skills A R 3	Policy co-ordination: - development plan system - community policy - corporate policy - strategic policy	Advanced study: - current planning issues - comparative study	
Y GENERAL ASPECTS E A Introduction R Overview of Implementation People and organisations 4 Planning implementation in other countries		SPECIFIC ASPECTS Reactive implementation Active implementation Interactive Implementation	

Table 5.1 reveals that all three main undergraduate case studies have a 'foundation/applied' structure. Indeed, the structures are remarkably similar to those observed by Crispin (1974) in his 1971 survey of planning courses. He found that there was considerable uniformity in the structure of undergraduate courses. Each course was divided into two parts: part one (the first two years) focussed on 'theory' and 'disciplines' relevant to planning; whereas part two (the last two years) concentrated on planning practice. This structure remains intact.

First year students are introduced to town planning, its historical development and current framework. A number of subjects claimed to be relevant to planning are explored - the basic ideas and methods of the social sciences and environmental sciences, the ideas and techniques of environmental design, and elementary quantitative techniques. In year two the various disciplines are applied to urban studies and planning in a general way, with course titles such as urban economics, design in planning and planning techniques. Robbins Polytechnic differs from the three other courses in that disciplinary divisions, at least at the level of course labels, are no longer present. Policy areas, such as transport and housing, rather than disciplines are used as an organising principle and they are examined using insights from a number of

social science disciplines. In year three all courses cover areas of planning practice and related policy areas. In theory, students are supposed to use the foundation subjects to examine these subjects. Thus, the task of combining different disciplines is left largely to students. This task is often known as integration or synthesis and is highly valued as the following quotation shows: "The programme has been specifically designed to provide an overall integrated scheme of studies with a pyramidal structure" (my emphasis from a Plateglass course document). The desire to achieve 'integration' and break down traditional disciplinary divisions is sometimes explicit in particular courses or tasks. The definition of policy field differs. Plateglass and Newpool follow the old 'scales' approach, examining urban, rural, regional and local planning in turn. Plateglass also covers transport. The Robbins approach is a little similar but has a wider area of concern: 'Community Policy' covers state intervention at the local level including local planning; 'Corporate Policy' covers intervention at the urban/city level; 'Strategic Policy' is more traditional strategic planning. Redbrick appears to depart completely from spatial scales by focussing on topics such as leisure, retailing but 'design in planning' resembles 'Local Planning'. In the final year all courses focus on practice-orientated subjects.

The Plateglass, Redbrick and Robbins undergraduate programmes all have a '3 + 1 structure', that is, a three-year degree followed by a one-year degree. By contrast, Newpool has a straight four-year degree. The former has greater flexibility allowing students who do not wish to become town planners to leave after three years. The Plateglass course also includes a sandwich year after the third year where students spend a year in a planning job. At Plateglass and Robbins it is claimed that there is a clear distinction between the three-year degree which is primarily 'academic' and the final year which has a 'professional' orientation. Robbins, for example, claims the final year is concerned with 'implementation', that is, 'getting things done'. By contrast, Redbrick and Newpool make no such claim. In practice, however the distinction is not clear anywhere. For example, in Plateglass and Robbins, students undertake a number of graphic and site planning projects, usually considered as 'professional' subjects, in the first three years.

Many of the projects at Robbins and Newpool are closely related to lecture courses whereas at Redbrick and, to a lesser extent, Plateglass projects are run separately. For example, first year Robbins students attend two lecture courses on settlement - 'Evolution of Settlement' and 'Theory and Analysis of Settlement'

- and also undertake a closely related project which involves studying the physical, social and economic structure of a particular settlement and explaining its development in a suitably illustrated report. This course also draws on the physical, social and economic foundation courses and the basic skills course. By contrast, first year Plateglass students undertake eight projects on visual communication which are unrelated to the lecture courses. Projects tend

TABLE 5.2: SELECTED COURSES: AMOUNT OF STUDENT CHOICE*
UNDERGRADUATE COURSES

COURSES	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS	NEWPOOL
YEAR 1				
Compulsory	6	9	14	8
Optional	-	-	-	-
YEAR 2				
Compulsory	6	8	10	8
Optional	-	-	-	-
YEAR 3				
Compulsory	6	4	7	4
Optional	-	2	-	-
YEAR 4				
Compulsory	4	2	7	2
Optional	3	2	-	2

POSTGRADUATE COURSES

	CIVIC	SILICON CHIP	GREENFIELDS	PROVINCIAL
YEAR 1				
Compulsory	19	9	11	3
Optional	-	-	-	2
YEAR 2				
Compulsory	-	3	3	-
Optional	3	2	3	2

* Only lecture and seminar courses are included. Projects and theses are excluded.

to run more or less continuously at Plateglass, Redbrick and Newpool, whereas at Robbins there are sometimes big gaps between them. For example, Robbins students have no projects in the first term of year two.

Table 5.2 shows that there are minor differences in the amount of discretion students are permitted in structuring the course. Redbrick students do options in their third and fourth year while at Newpool and Plateglass options are provided only in the fourth year. There are no options at Robbins. Plateglass and Robbins require two extended essays; one in the third year and one in the fourth year. By contrast, at Redbrick and Newpool only one extended essay is required, in the fourth year.

Postgraduates have considerably more freedom. They have more options but also do a thesis on a topic of their choice. The postgraduate thesis is more demanding than undergraduate dissertations. At Civic, for example, the thesis is expected to be 30-40,000 words and to be "either a record of original work or an ordered and critical exposition of existing knowledge". By contrast, the Newpool extended essay should be 8-15,000 words and "Whilst originality is not essential it will be encouraged." A further difference is revealed from a comparison of tables 5.1

and 5.3. The structure of postgraduate courses is best described as 'core/specialist' rather than 'foundation/applied'. Few courses are taught from first principles. From the outset disciplines are applied - urban politics, urban sociology and urban economics. Students are also introduced straightaway to the statutory framework and current issues of planning and related areas. The second year is purely 'specialist' concentrating on the thesis and three options.

Nevertheless, table 5.2 still reveals significant differences between postgraduate courses.

TABLE 5.3: CIVIC POSTGRADUATE COURSE STRUCTURE

YEAR 1

Terms 1 and 2

Planning Analysis
Planning Law
Planning Practice
Plan Implementation
Urban Sociology
Urban and Regional Economics
Transport Planning Techniques
History of Planning
Development of Urban Form
Urban Politics
Decision Method
Development Infrastructure
Workshops
Projects

Term 3

Thesis research Methods
Policy Area Studies:
Transport
Employment
Housing
Health
Social Services
Rural Resources
Projects

YEAR 2

Terms 4 and 5

Thesis

Term 6

Thesis

3 options:

Countryside Planning
Health Services Planning
New Towns
Planning in Developing Countries
Transport Planning
Employment Policy Planning
State Housing in Britain
The Inner City
Operations Research
Employment Analysis
Demography
Politics and Planning
Urban Design

Notwithstanding the fact that the postgraduate courses are more specialist, there are within this two types of course. Civic is one kind with an intensive taught first year which covers the 'core' requirements as set out in the RTPPI's education guidelines, followed by a specialist research year. The other kind of course is represented by Greenfields. The 'core' material is spread over two years as are projects. Moreover, options and the thesis are, although substantial, less important. The Silicon Chip University course lies midway between the two approaches.

(ii) Course content

There are major differences in course content in three areas: (a) the perspective adopted, that is, whether the material is approached, for example, from a social science or professional viewpoint; (b) the extent to which certain skills are stressed; and (c) the extent to which selected aspects of planning practice and other policy areas are covered. I examine differences between undergraduate courses first then differences between undergraduate and postgraduate courses and, finally, differences among postgraduate courses.

Table 5.4 reveals three major differences between the four undergraduate courses. First, they vary in the attention devoted to quantitative techniques and modelling. Plateglass gives considerable time to them

while Robbins does little and Redbrick and Newpool lie between the two extremes. Moreover, while Redbrick, Robbins and Newpool teach statistical techniques, computing and modelling, at Plateglass the

TABLE 5.4: UNDERGRADUATE COURSE CONTENT: LECTURES AND SEMINARS

TEACHING PERSPECTIVE*	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS	NEWPOOL
YEAR 1				
Design	15%	27%	17%	28%
Quantitative	33%	9%	5%	14%
Social science	37%	35%	54%	36%
Wide policy coverage	-	9%	-	-
Planning	15%	17%	17%	14%
Miscellaneous	-	2%	8%	8%
Total hours	270	224	265	257
Projects**	22%	125%	52%	105%
YEAR 2				
Design	19%	33%	-	16%
Quantitative	29%	22%	-	16%
Social science	52%	38%	-	51%
Wide policy coverage	-	-	73%	-
Planning	-	8%	27%	18%
Total hours	210	184	268	229
Projects	19%	160%	52%	118%
YEAR 3				
Design	-	7%	-	-
Quantitative	23%	-	-	-
Social science	-	-	-	21%
Wide policy coverage	12%	38%	83%	79%
Planning	65%	18%	17%	-
Options	-	36%	-	-
Total hours	171	137	178	170
Projects	23%	199%	112%	159%
YEAR 4				
Planning	67%	100%	100%	60%
Options	33%	-	-	40%
Total hours	135	91	133	225
Projects	259%	311%	225%	93%

* Design covers urban design and the physical environment; quantitative covers quantitative techniques, modelling and computing; planning covers planning practice and procedures.

** Projects have not been analysed. The figure refers to staff/student contact hours on projects as a proportion of the total hours devoted to lectures and seminars.

quantitative approach extends further into the degree programme. For example, parts of the regional planning, transportation and locational analysis courses are taught using quantitative social science approaches. Second, courses differ in the amount of emphasis on social science. At Robbins, social science teaching dominates the first year and strongly informs the teaching of policy areas in the third and fourth years. Newpool and Plateglass, although not stressing social science as much as Robbins, give it more prominence than Redbrick. Moreover, the policy subjects at Newpool in the third year are taught from a social science perspective. Finally, Redbrick gives more attention to the design approach, stressing the physical and visual aspects of planning. Robbins gives little space to design while Newpool and Plateglass lie between the two extremes.

One aspect not covered by Table 5.4 is the amount of time devoted to studies of the development process. This topic is largely neglected by Plateglass and, to a large extent, by Newpool. Robbins provides a whole course on the development process in year two and devotes considerable time to it in the final year. Redbrick covers the topic in the second year 'Theory and Practice' course and the final year 'Implementation and Finance' course. Newpool gives some attention to the topic in the 'Built Environment'

course but largely from a design, rather than social science, perspective.

The above differences are broadly reflected in the content of project work. All four courses run a project on social survey methods while Redbrick, Robbins and Newpool run a basic modelling project. There are, however, two distinct approaches to projects - a land use/design approach and a wider policy orientation. The former concentrates on the land use and design aspects of planning while the latter focuses on the social, political and economic

TABLE 5.5: COURSE COVERAGE OF SELECTED SKILLS, ASPECTS OF PLANNING PRACTICE AND RELATED POLICY AREAS

	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS	NEWPOOL
SKILLS					
Quantitative	0	5	3	2	3
Design	0	3	5	2	2
Research	5	3	2	3	2
PLANNING PRACTICE					
Development Control	1	1	2	2	3
Design/Conservation	1	2	5	1	4
Local Planning	3	4	5	4	4
Rural Planning	3	3	4	0	4
Strategic Planning	5	5	3	4	4
RELATED AREAS					
Urban Policy	5	3	2	5	3
Economic Policy	4	4	1	4	3
Housing	4	3	1	4	4
Leisure	0	0	3	0	0
Social Services	3	0	1	4	0
Transport	4	4	3	3	3

Values 0-5 indicate the amount of emphasis given to each item. 0 is where the coverage is non-existent whereas 5 indicates considerable emphasis.

aspects of planning. The former also includes more design and graphic work while the latter are largely desk-based. Projects at Redbrick are largely of the design mould while most projects at Newpool, Plateglass and Robbins adopt a wider policy approach. Undergraduate courses also vary in the extent to which they cover related policy areas. Table 5.5 shows that, for example, Robbins devotes considerable time to related policy areas such as housing and urban policy whereas Plateglass, Newpool and particularly Redbrick give more emphasis to statutory planning. Redbrick, Plateglass and Newpool stress most areas of planning practice whereas Robbins ignores rural planning and design work. Indeed, Robbins concentrates on the planning and related problems of large cities. Redbrick emphasises design and local planning most, while Plateglass stresses local and strategic planning.

Postgraduate courses devote much less attention to design, particularly graphic skills. They also devote less attention to prescriptive projects but emphasise critical analyses of policy through case studies, workshops and research. Undergraduate courses, by comparison, attach little importance to research. Also, as table 5.5 shows, postgraduate courses spend more time on strategic planning and wider urban and regional policy issues but even less time than their

undergraduate courses on development control. However, not all postgraduate courses are alike. Once again, Civic and Greenfields represent the two most common approaches, although probably the majority of postgraduate courses now resemble Civic. At Civic social science clearly dominates whereas at Greenfields design and quantitative approaches are more important. Civic also attaches more importance to research.

(iii) Workload and teaching methods

While all undergraduate courses have a heavy taught workload, Redbrick stands out (see table 5.6) by

TABLE 5.6: UNDERGRADUATE STAFF/STUDENT CONTACT HOURS
IN A 'TYPICAL' WEEK*

	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS	NEWPOOL
YEAR 1				
Lectures	10	10	7	8
Seminars	3	3	4	2
Projects	5	14	6	9
Total	18	27	17	19
YEAR 2				
Lectures	8	9	9	7
Seminars	3	2	3	2
Projects	2	14	5	9
Total	3	25	17	18
YEAR 3				
Lectures	6	7	5	4
Seminars	3	2	3	3
Projects	2	14	8	9
Total	11	23	16	16
YEAR 4				
Lectures	6	4	4	4
Seminars	1	2	1	3
Projects	15	14	12	7
Total	22	20	17	14

* These figures are approximations for the 'typical' student week in terms one and two.

its heavy commitment to project work which takes two full days each week. Crispin (1974) in his 1971 survey of planning courses found undergraduate lecture/seminar workloads similar to today's courses but more time was spent on projects: the average undergraduate spent 19.2 staff/student contact hours on projects per week in year one, 16.8 in year two, 18.7 in year 3 and a staggering 24.6 in the final year. The Civic postgraduate student has a similarly heavy lecture/seminar workload in the first two terms with nine hours (mainly lectures). In the third term Civic students have seven hours of lecture/seminar courses per week.

The first year Civic student's project workload is much lighter than his or her undergraduate equivalent: five one-day workshops are held in the first term and there is a project in term two and one in term three taking up one day a week. In year two, however, the taught workload is light with only three hours in terms four and five spent on three optional seminar courses. The rest of the student's time is taken up by the thesis. This is a massive change from the early 1970s, when postgraduate students had a much heavier taught workload in both years (Crispin, 1974). Other postgraduate course workloads appear heavier than Civic's but still significantly lighter than most undergraduate courses, and spread more over

two years. At Silicon Chip, for example, postgraduates get 150 hours of lectures in their second year and this excludes projects and an option.

Table 5.6 also reveals the importance attached to different teaching methods in undergraduate courses. Projects dominate teaching at Redbrick and, to a lesser extent, Newpool but are less important at Robbins and especially Plateglass until later years. However, I am not in a position to know whether Redbrick students actually spend more time on project work than students at Robbins and Plateglass. A further difference in project work is the extent to which it is group or individually based. Redbrick projects are usually tackled individually while projects at the three other schools are largely group based.

Redbrick gives less weight than the other schools to seminars and essays. For example, second year Redbrick students have to do five essays compared to eleven by second years at Robbins. Moreover, the Redbrick essays do not count towards the final year mark whereas the Robbins essays do.

5.4 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF TOWN PLANNING CURRICULA

There are important differences in course structure, content and teaching methods between planning schools

which suggests that there is no clear consensus as to what is required either in the profession or among planning academics. There is room for choice as to which subjects are included, how they are arranged and what teaching methods are used. This section explains the different choices which were made in each school.

The novelty of my approach is to explain curricula as the outcome of the interplay of factors, internal and external, to the planning school. Clearly, staff have the main influence but they do not have a completely free hand since external pressures such as the RTPPI and graduate employment patterns are also likely to have an impact. I deal with the internal factors first.

5.4.1 INTERNAL INFLUENCES ON CURRICULA

This section identifies the values which underpin town planning curricula.

Dominant course philosophies and underlying values

Approaches to planning education may be classified in a number of ways Rodwin (1975), for example, identifies four - 'city planning', 'regional science', 'policy studies' and 'urban studies'. In table 5.7 I have adapted a diagram taken from Reade (1982) which distinguishes a 'planning' and 'urban studies'

approach. Basically the planning approach is normative and 'practical', focussing on what ought to be done and trying to teach students the techniques of how to plan. By contrast, the urban studies approach is positive, concentrating on explaining planning practice and the world with which planners have to deal. Reade asserted that the urban studies approach is characteristic of social scientists who study planning practice while the planning approach is characteristic of practising planners and most

TABLE 5.7: TWO EDUCATIONAL PHILOSOPHIES FOR PLANNING

	FIELDS OF INTEREST		
	Urban design	Statutory town planning	Related policy fields
Emphasis on analysis.		URBAN STUDIES APPROACH	
Emphasis on prescription - improving how things are done.		PLANNING	
Emphasis on the development of techniques.		APPROACH	

planning teachers. In fact, I shall show that elements of both approaches have been adopted by planning schools to differing degrees and that, in practice, there are three basic approaches to planning education.

These three approaches are the 'social science/specialist approach', the 'land-use and design approach' and the 'generalist planning approach'. The social science/specialist approach approximates to the urban studies approach whereas the land-use and design and planning approaches are closer to Reade's planning approach. The differences in course philosophy are both explicit and implicit and are related to different views of town planning. They occur on four fronts: first, whether town planning is seen as an autonomous profession or as an aspect of public policy; second, whether it refers to land-use or statutory planning or a wider range of activities; third, whether a 'generalist' or 'specialist' view of planning is adopted and, if the latter, the particular aspects of planning in which a school specialises. Finally, whether or not planning is viewed as a discipline in its own right or as an application of various other disciplines. The social science specialist view does not see planning as a discipline or profession and adopts a specialist approach. Both the land-use and design and generalist planning

approaches see planning as a distinct profession and discipline. However, the land-use and design approach defines planning more narrowly to cover statutory planning and design whereas the generalist approach sees it as more wide ranging covering areas such as housing, transport and social services. I now examine each approach in turn.

(i) The social science/specialist approach

The social science/specialist approach is followed by Civic and Robbins. Both are based on the idea that planning is a wide-ranging form of public intervention. In a course document, for example, Robbins proclaims that "planning is interpreted as an activity that involves state intervention into both public and private actions. Throughout the course the aim will be to ensure that students appreciate the political and philosophical debates about planning and public intervention." The last sentence indicates that planning is a field of endeavour motivated by various political philosophies. Planning is not seen as a distinct discipline or traditional profession. As a Civic lecturer noted "it's more of a profession in the sense that it's people who administrate towns, cities and regions and the spatial aspects of policy but not applying some esoteric knowledge but applying various skills and insights but not with a unified theoretical position." Great importance is attached to the social

sciences and little attention devoted to design. Such courses are 'specialist' in that they either concentrate on particular aspects of planning or permit students to develop their own interests. As the Robbins course leader explained "we don't spend a great deal of time talking about rural issues, recreational issues, national park issues and so on. We concentrate particularly on big city problems." The specialist emphasis of the Civic course is provided by the thesis which takes up virtually the whole of the second year.

Despite the specialisation both Civic and Robbins feel their courses provide a good preparation for a wide range of policy-making jobs - inside and outside the planning profession. As one Civic lecturer explained: "we don't specifically equip people with a bag of urban design tools. We wouldn't necessarily expect a student to be able to go straightaway into a job and design a town shopping centre. On the other hand we would expect a student from here to be able to go into a local plans section or a structure plans section or a policy and research unit or even into a corporate planning or social services planning and to be given some policy, research or plan formulation task to do and be able to get on with it." Moreover, while both Civic and Robbins aim to satisfy the requirements of the RTPI, they see traditional planning jobs as merely

one of a number of job outlets for their students. Apart from Robbins the wide public policy view of planning is held mainly by postgraduate courses. However, a few other undergraduate courses are moving towards this approach and many non-RTPI recognised courses such as the Urban Studies degrees adopt a similar approach.

However, there is a crucial difference between the Civic and Robbins courses. Civic is more academic, placing a great deal of emphasis on research and devoting little attention to the teaching of so-called 'hard skills' such as graphics and quantitative techniques. This is a deliberate decision on the part of Civic lecturers. They want the thesis in particular to cultivate "a questioning attitude of mind rather than a dogma. We've got no procedural planning dogma. We don't teach students how to plan." In addition, they do not feel that teaching hard skills is their job: "They're (Civic students) not always as sharply rehearsed in whether you need planning permission to put up a vending machine outside for more than 28 days. Not enough practical, low grade, mechanical skills. We would argue that those are skills best acquired in the office anyway. We're not here to turn out cannon fodder." By contrast, Robbins lecturers are more concerned to develop 'practical' skills and Robbins courses do

contain more prescriptive projects and courses on 'hard skills' than Civic.

There was widespread agreement among the four Robbins lecturers I spoke to that the course had the characteristics outlined above and there also appeared to be universal approval of the course among staff. Indeed, as one lecturer noted "the CNAA in one of their comments said we didn't have enough disagreements. Everything was a bit too cosy." The social science bent of the staff is clearly reflected in their disciplinary backgrounds: six of the ten full-time staff had first degrees in social science and two had first degrees in town planning and masters qualifications in social science. Moreover, while six of the staff were RTPi members none had qualifications in the parent professions. Another feature of the course, which is not apparent from course documents, is the strong left-wing political orientation of the staff. Most see planning as a political tool to bring about greater equality: "virtually everyone, with one or two exceptions, is involved in some kind of politics outside the course. They're politically active. So they're not just strict adherents of what planning should be about. They're actually involved in promoting those views about planning and public intervention elsewhere. Some of us are community activists and some are active in the Labour Party."

Robbins is an open, democratically-run school. By and large decisions about the course are arrived at collectively by the staff. Consequently, the course reflects their interests, but students also have a say. In the early seventies when the course was an unorthodox and 'radical', not recognised by either the CNAA or the RTPI, the Polytechnic pushed the School towards seeking recognition by recruiting new staff and moving the then head out. Throughout this transitional period, the students campaigned to retain the radical flavour of the course by, among other things, lobbying the governors, organising a conference on planning education and publicising their case in the planning press. The lecturers I spoke to who were at the school during its early years acknowledged the importance of students in maintaining the orientation of the course.

Nowadays, students have informal and formal influence over course content. The school has a committee which meets once a term to discuss the course. The committee includes nine student representatives and nine lecturers. Even on matters such as the recruitment of new staff, students are involved. They have access to applications and frequently draw up their own shortlists, although these are only advisory. Shortlisted candidates meet both staff and students before the formal interview and there is a

student representative on the interview panel along with the school head, another member of staff and a host of officials.

While all five Civic lecturers I spoke to agreed what the basic characteristics of the course were, there were still important tensions between them on two issues - the question of how vocational the course should be, and the political views of staff. The basic division appeared to be along disciplinary lines between what I shall call the 'theoreticians', largely social scientists with little or no experience of planning practice, and the 'empiricists', mainly professionals. Five out of the six theoreticians were social scientists and only two were RTPPI members. By contrast, three of the four empiricists had substantial professional experience and none were social scientists.

The empiricists are keen to strengthen the vocational nature of the course by increasing the amount of taught professional material at the expense of theory and research. By contrast, the theoreticians want to strengthen the social science theory and research orientation by reducing the amount of taught workload and making it easier for students to transfer to PhDs early on in the course. The tension comes to a head over the question of how much project work there

should be. Some of the theoreticians are critical of project work. They see it as time-consuming and superficial: "they do take up an enormous amount of time because they have got this sort of expandable quality to them like Parkinson's Law. They expand to fill all the time available." The empiricists, by contrast, strongly favour projects: "those of us who are planners who've done the job would believe, I suspect, that a well run project is an extremely good way of integrating a whole set of information, ideas, techniques. It's theory in practice. It's a very good learning device. It's a means whereby students learn to work with other people of different ideologies, different disciplines, different cultures. Also they learn how difficult it is to be succinct and to make good the presentation side. We don't make a meal of this in the sense of having good pretty drawings but we like the group to be able to present snappily." Of the five lecturers I interviewed, one was strongly opposed to projects while three were of the view that they have a role to play but should not be expanded and one was strongly in favour of them. Notwithstanding this disagreement, there is unanimous support that the course should retain RTPPI recognition reflecting the belief that recognition influences the willingness of good quality graduates to come on the course.

The second source of tension is between what I shall call the 'Fabians' and the 'radicals'. The Fabians include the three professionals, one academic geographer and one to two social scientists, whereas the three to four radicals are all social scientists. The Fabians feel the radicals are guilty of political bias and dislike their theoretical approach: "we've got one or two members of staff who in later life seem to have moved left, left, left! I don't think our job is to brainwash students into seeing things as we see them politically. I think left-wing staff tend to do that." The radicals rebuff this charge and feel that the world can only be understood in terms of a world view which is clearly political. Of the five interviewees one was clearly a Fabian, two were radicals and the other two were non-committal.

The Civic School, like Robbins, is collectively run by the staff and has an unusually weak professoriat. Consequently, the course reflects the dominant social science and research interests of the staff. Students have no formal representation on the School Board but there are informal channels for making their views heard at end of year meetings with the course tutor. In addition, students can influence the course to some extent through their choice of options. In the mid-seventies, for example, there were tides of student enthusiasm for radical topics, such as Marxist

economics, which resulted in new options being offered. There are no major student grumbles now.

(ii) The physical generalist approach

The Redbrick undergraduate course is clearly based on the view that planning is a professional activity "centrally concerned with the understanding and organisation of territory." Planning is seen first and foremost as an activity concentrating on the physical aspects of designing settlements and arranging patterns of land use. This focus was recognised by all five lecturers interviewed and explains why a great deal of time is devoted to design and local planning.

Planning is also viewed as a profession in the traditional sense of there being a distinctive body of knowledge which only RTPI planners possess. The traditional professional view was seen as dominant by all five lecturers although only two approved of it. Planning is viewed as a distinct discipline resting on a knowledge of the planning framework, an understanding of the basic principles and applications of a number of 'relevant' disciplines and distinct procedural and design skills. The dominance of generalism means the students must cover all aspects of physical planning if they are going to master the discipline. In principle, it is claimed that a

Redbrick student is capable and well prepared to enter any physical planning job. As one Redbrick lecturer noted there is a strong view within the Department that the present course "is the minimum necessary to train someone to be a planner - anything less than this would not be an adequate training." This explains why there is little choice and specialisation for students and why the course covers most aspects of planning although, in fact, it concentrates on the physical side. The dominance of projects is closely related to the idea of planning as a discipline because they are supposed to develop the distinctive skill of synthesis, that is applying different disciplines to a problem and producing a solution. As one lecturer, who disapproved of projects, observed: "they believe that the only way you can do planning is to slave over a drawing board and do it through practice. You can't learn planning by attending lecture courses and reading books. In a sense I think they would say that planning is very much a learnt discipline rather than a taught discipline and the only way you can learn it is to do a lot of practical work."

There is no consensus among Redbrick staff, however. In 1982, of the 18 full-time lecturers in the school principally concerned with the planning courses, 10 were clearly what I shall call the 'old guard' while

seven were 'reformists' and one could not be identified with either group. The old guard were advocates of the physical generalist view of planning whereas the reformists did not hold a unified view but on most issues found themselves in opposition to the old guard. These differences in part reflected differences in disciplinary background but were also generational. The old guard were predominantly senior members of the school, over 40 and with a background in architecture or planning or both: of the 10 lecturers, four were architect/planners, one was an architect, two were pure planners, two were geography/planners and one was a natural scientist/planner. By contrast, the reformists were junior members of staff, younger and often without professional affiliations: of the seven staff, two were geographer/planners, two were pure planners, one a statistician, one a social scientist and one a geographer/social scientist. Of the five lecturers I interviewed, two were of the old guard, two were reformists and one was a service teacher.

The old guard were generally happy with the course but the reformists want changes. Some would like to see more stress on education rather than training. As one commented "I do have a big worry about the product from this school in comparison with more traditional disciplines and that is there is so much commitment to

doing things in this course in terms of lectures and practical work that the students don't learn to work by themselves. I think part of a university education should be that students are trained in research method and methods of trying to find out for themselves, working in libraries."

This would entail greater emphasis on analysis and research with more free time for reading, essays and research. This concern also reflects an underlying view that town planning is not a profession in the traditional sense but a form of political intervention administered by officials. Of the five lecturers I interviewed, two wanted more emphasis on educational objectives and three did not.

The preference for a more academic approach has implications for teaching methods. The reformists want less practical work. The two reformists and service teacher all supported the plea for fewer projects while the two old guard lecturers wanted to retain them more or less as they are. The reformists also wanted to see changes in the nature of projects. The service teacher, although rarely involved in project work, felt "that they don't take full account of changing political and economic circumstances so there's a certain fantasy world element which encourages the belief that planners can achieve much

more on the ground than they can in reality. Project work should be more related to the real world." The belief that a greater measure of realism was needed in projects was held by the two reformists I interviewed as well as other reformists among the staff. They felt that there should be less emphasis on the production of a drawn plan and more on written work, on case studies of practice and devoting attention to the limited powers available.

Redbrick is neither open nor democratic. Formally, the school board, on which all lecturers have a place, is advisory and decisions are made by the professors. In practice, the professors run the School and the course reflects their view of planning. In the words of the service teacher, "it's tightly controlled from the top." Nevertheless, the course reflects staff interests because there is a large majority of old guard lecturers.

Students are represented on a committee which reviews the course and on the School Board, but they have no voting powers and are sometimes barred from parts of the School Board meetings considered 'confidential'. In the 1970s there had been student unrest although current students are passive. Some students had complained vociferously about the heavy workload, the lack of realism in projects and the emphasis on

physical rather than social and economic aspects of planning.

(iii) The mainstream planning approach

Plateglass has a more middle-of-the-road course philosophy. It is more broadly based than Redbrick but defines planning more narrowly than either Robbins or Civic. The aim is to prepare students for policy-making jobs mainly in statutory planning. Moreover, Plateglass is more generalist covering social science, design and quantitative techniques.

There are, however, considerable tensions between three main groups of lecturers all competing for space on the curriculum, the 'modellers', the 'planners' and the 'Marxists'. These divisions are recognised by the staff and were identified by four of the five lecturers I interviewed. The correlation between group and disciplinary background is loose. Of the 14 full-time lecturers, three are Marxists, two are modellers and nine are planners, although four of the planners have sympathy with the modellers. Two of the Marxists are social scientists and one is a geographer/planner; one of the modellers is a natural scientist and the other a mathematical geographer; of the nine planners, three have first degrees in geography, two in architecture, two in planning, one in social science and one in natural science. While

none of the Marxists or modellers are RTPPI members, seven of the planners are. Of the five lecturers I interviewed, two were Marxists and three were planners, although one was sympathetic to the modellers.

The planners are fairly satisfied with the course. They are also committed to retaining its professional orientation and generalist nature. Indeed, they would like to push the course in a slightly more traditional direction with less mathematical techniques but more design, rural planning and projects. The modellers want to see changes too, spending more time teaching students mathematical techniques, computing and quantitative social science. They feel this would be possible by a reduction in Marxist social science teaching and design projects. They question the intellectual validity of Marxist social science because they feel it is politically biased and they also consider that traditional design projects are dated and time-consuming.

The Marxists were sceptical of projects. As one said, "it's a waste of time. It squeezes out the reflective work - reading books. For example, last term there was this design project which was a disaster; it took up all their available time and they didn't do anything else. Consequently, when they did essays for

me - okay I gave them some marks because they'd been to lectures and read my lecture notes - but they'd squeezed out the reading which is so necessary." The Marxists would like to reduce the prescriptive element (projects) of the course and emphasise analysis more. They also feel the course should be broader than it is, preparing people for jobs outside local government planning.

Once again, these disagreements reflect wider differences in views about the nature of planning. The planners see planning as a distinctive discipline and profession but not in the physical generalist sense. They define it as the activities of planning authorities which are wider than land-use and design. Planning is seen as part of the welfare state and not a traditional profession. Nevertheless, it is regarded as a discipline which can be distinguished from other related subjects by its generalist nature and prescriptive emphasis. The values of the planners are similar to those of the majority of practitioners. They hold a consensus view of planning. The aim of planning is to promote the 'public interest' or, as one planner said, "to mould the environment to the needs of society." Planning is self-evidently desirable, as the following comment illustrates: "I don't think there is an aim. The aim is a continuing one - an ongoing role in regulation

and ameliorating and dealing with urban environments. In the short-term there are problems to be avoided, things to be done, things to be regulated in terms of allocation of land, creating built environments and so on. In the middle range there's an obligation concerned with resources and wise use of future resources. In the long-term there's an obligation to look for future pitfalls." These vague answers illustrate the tendency to convert means into ends. The machinery of planning has become an end in itself and a mystery. Many of the planners hold a 'soft' technocratic view of planning, accepting that planning is controlled by councillors but feeling that the professionals really know best.

The modellers' views have much in common with those of the planners. They see it as a discipline and a technical activity and hold a consensus view of the world. However, they do not equate planning with statutory practice but see it as a distinctive set of skills, methodology and theory concerned with urban and regional systems. They hold a systems view of planning. The Marxists do not see planning as a discipline but as essentially political intervention from which some groups gain and others lose. Thus they adhere to a conflict view of society and feel that planning ought to aim to create more equality.

Plateglass is relatively democratic. The content of the course is determined by the School Board on which all staff have a place. Consequently, the course tends to reflect staff interests. Students have little formal power but are represented on a committee which advises the School Board. They also have one representative on the Board. Plateglass students are passive and have not pressed for major changes in the recent past. Four of the five lecturers I interviewed felt staff recruitment was relatively open but one Marxist felt that the head still had considerable power because he represented the school on the selection panel. Because the course reflects the interests of staff, it is essentially a compromise between the planners, modellers and Marxists. However, the planners have the upper hand and this is reflected in the course structure since the social science and modelling courses occur early in the course while the planners dominate the final two years.

(iv) Discussion

Major differences are evident in the study between the undergraduate courses on the one hand and the Civic postgraduate course on the other hand. In the undergraduate courses staff/student relationships are more authoritarian. Lecturers claim to know best and the right to decide what students do; by implication

students cannot be trusted to make many decisions for themselves and need to be 'spoon-fed'. Lecturers design the curriculum and students have little real say in the matter. The idea of integration - in the official curriculum - is a further illustration of authoritarian relationships. Integration implies imposing on students (and some staff) a definition of planning and how the various subjects seen as part of the planning package make contributions.

The undergraduate courses also focus on teaching students 'how to plan'. Underlying this is the assumption that planning is a discipline - a distinct process of identifying problems and proposing solutions. The idea of the generalist planner is closely related to this and is embodied in the structure of undergraduate curricula.

Theory and practice are separated in undergraduate course structures and, moreover, practice dominates theory. This explains why theory subjects are taught in the early years by pure academics while practice subjects are taught later on usually by professional planners. The separation is based on the professionals' view that 'practical abilities' and 'intellectual understanding' are distinct and that the former is promoted by the 'applied' parts of the course and the latter by the theory parts of the

course (Reade, 1982). This distinction is reflected in two-tier structure of the courses.

Official explanations try to give the impression of consensus among lecturers within a school. The implication is that consensus is desirable. The Newport course document was revealing here: "the perception of environmental planning held by the Department has become clearer and more unified with the experience of teaching the course" (my emphasis). The quotation reveals a further feature common to many official explanations, the notion of the 'Departmental view'. Here is another example, this time from Redbrick University: "As conceived by this Department, the discipline of Town and country Planning is centrally concerned with the understanding and organisation of territory" (my emphasis). It is commonplace to hear phrases such as the 'Department's view', and 'research policy'. Indeed, the RTPI requires planning schools, when making written submissions for continued recognition, to state their 'research policy'.

A curriculum is a set of course labels arranged in a particular sequence. In addition, forms of assessment and teaching methods are specified. Within the labels and broad guidelines lecturers have freedom to teach whatever they wish. I can, therefore, distinguish between the formal and informal curriculum. One lecturer pointed out the implications of this

distinction: "There is a much closer control over the structure of the degree programme and the kind of labels that courses have. There's much stricter control over that than the actual material that is taught in a course." I now examine the informal curriculum.

Informal versus formal curricula

The formal curriculum at Robbins, and to a lesser extent Civic, is an accurate account of teaching practice, because there is a consensus among staff on course aims. By contrast, at Plateglass and Redbrick the formal curriculum promotes the appearance of

TABLE 5.8: FACTIONAL CONTROL OF TEACHING PRACTICE*

PLATEGLASS	Marxists	Planners	Modellers
Year 1	36%	36%	27%
Year 2	35%	26%	39%
Year 3	6%	65%	29%
Year 4	-	100%	-
REDBRICK	Old Guard	Reformists	
Year 1	66%	34%	
Year 2	35%	65%	
Year 3	70%	30%	

* Options have been excluded. The fourth year at Redbrick has been excluded because it is almost entirely devoted to an individual project, which is dominated by the old guard.

consensus whereas teaching practice is characterised by conflict. At Plateglass teaching practice is informed by three conflicting views, whereas the explanations and structure of the formal curriculum are dominated by the planners' view. Similarly, teaching practice at Redbrick is informed both by the old guard view and a variety of other views known collectively as 'reformism', but the former's view dominates the formal curriculum. Table 5.8 shows the proportion of staff/student time commanded by each faction at Plateglass and Redbrick.

The conflict in teaching practice at Plateglass and Redbrick can be illustrated with the case of sociology. The sociologists see their role as studying planning and, therefore, as central to planning education while the planners see it as a contributory - and by implication marginal - discipline which, among other things, teaches planners to be socially aware and shows them what to do. The Plateglass sociologist I interviewed recognised this conflict: "the stuff I write about is very clearly about policies and I think that is difficult for the planners in inverted commas in the Department to cope with." At Redbrick and Plateglass the planners' view of sociology prevails in the curriculum since sociology is taught as a contributory discipline in the early stages of the courses. However, in the teaching of sociology it is the sociologists' view which prevails.

A similar story could be told about the teaching of politics at Redbrick and Plateglass. The planners see politics as a contributory discipline which studies party politics and how it affects planning through councillors and national government policy. The politics teachers define their subject more widely and view it as central to the study of planning. Unfortunately, I did not interview economists at Redbrick or Plateglass, although I did at Civic, and do not know whether the same situation applies in their discipline.

5.4.2 EXTERNAL FACTORS: CONSTRAINTS AND OPPORTUNITIES

In this section I look at how external factors impinge on planning schools through two avenues: through staff recruitment and outside persons or agencies with formal access or control over the course, most notably the RTPI but also the CNAA, ESRC and external examiners.

(i) Influences on staff recruitment

External factors exert most influence on planning curricula indirectly through staff recruitment. As noted in chapter 4 three factors are important - the school's institutional setting, the time of expansion and the personalities involved.

The time of expansion was most important. All three schools with large numbers of social scientists and/or

procedural planners were either established (Robbins and Plateglass) or expanded (Civic) in the late 1960s/early 1970s when there was strong pressure to teach social science, procedural ideas and quantitative techniques on planning courses. Redbrick, by contrast, was an older school which expanded in the 1950s/early 1960s when physical generalism was in favour and not surprisingly recruited mainly architects and professional planners many of whom are still at the school. Redbrick only grew moderately in the late 1960s/early 1970s.

The status of the school's parent institution was also important. Schools in the two low status institutions (Robbins and Plateglass) were under pressure from the parent institution to establish reputations for themselves by appointing lecturers with research credentials. At Plateglass, for example, the head of department claimed that the Vice Chancellor played an active part in staff recruitment with a preference for candidates with good research and publications records. By contrast, the two schools in high status institutions had virtual autonomy in staff recruitment.

Finally, personalities were inevitably important. At Civic in the late 1960s, for example, the new head of department's enthusiasm for a wide-ranging social science approach to planning resulted in the appointment of a number of social scientists which

quickly transformed the course. By contrast, at Redbrick the head professor had monopolised staff recruitment since the 1960s and had made sure that architects or professional planners were employed rather than social scientists.

(ii) RTPI

The RTPI is the most prominent external influence. All the lecturers I interviewed felt the RTPI was now more flexible than it used to be in the early seventies. Some lecturers (3 out of 5 at Plateglass and Civic, 1 out of 4 at Robbins and 1 out of 5 at Redbrick), however, still felt the RTPI was a constraint preventing them from doing things which, if left to their own devices, they would do. Other lecturers (2 out of 5 at Plateglass and Civic, 2 out of 5 at Redbrick and 2 out of 4 at Robbins) felt that the latest guidelines allow schools to do as they wish. It is significant that in all schools other than Robbins, the staff who felt the RTPI was a constraint were rarely professional planners, had little if any contact with the RTPI, were usually junior members of staff and frequently social scientists.

Some lecturers felt the threat of RTPI withdrawal of recognition, imposing conditions or even disapproval, was used by others - mainly the planners - to legitimate course changes favourable to them and/or retain certain parts of the course. This points to a

distinction between direct and indirect RTPI influence. Direct RTPI influence is where the RTPI visibly exercises power by requiring specific course changes or even withdrawing recognition. What lecturers intend to teach is also influenced by their knowledge of the kinds of course structure, content, labels and teaching methods RTPI visiting boards prefer. Such 'knowledge' might, of course, be mistaken. Some lecturers might even claim to be privy to RTPI thinking on education and push the course in ways favourable to themselves under the guise of expected RTPI pressure. Two Plateglass lecturers claimed this had happened: "the RTPI is used as a constraint by the Head of Department in his attempts to direct the Department in certain ways - 'you can't do that because the RTPI won't let us' sort of arguments." Three Civic lecturers made similar claims.

The above illustrates how difficult it is to know whether the 'threats' are accurate assessments of RTPI education thinking. At Civic and Plateglass these threats are made by senior members of staff who act as link men when RTPI visits take place. Their power rests on the condition of two factors: first, the link man has power because there is consensus among staff that RTPI recognition should be retained. The second source of the link man's power is ignorance of RTPI education policy among non-professional staff and a willingness to rely on his/her account. It appears

that those who appeal to RTPI education policy to legitimate course changes present the RTPI as a more restrictive body than may actually be the case. Appeals to the RTPI are normally used to support or protect the 'professional' parts of courses such as projects and design. For example, one non-professional lecturer at Civic commented "I would be very surprised if the RTPI tomorrow said 'well lads, we've decided you don't really need projects and we'll still give you recognition if that's what you want'. I bet that within a year there wouldn't be any projects on this course." This lecturer clearly believes that the RTPI requires projects but this is by no means clear as the RTPI guidelines state that: "Throughout a course, choice of teaching methods is the responsibility of the educational institution" (RTPI, 1980, p. 9).

It should also be noted that the attempts of the RTPI link men within schools to push their courses in 'professional' directions are frequently resisted by non-professional staff also appealing to external factors. Here, for example, one Plateglass lecturer questions the importance his school attaches to the RTPI: "the situation in planning generally has changed so much that we can no longer gear courses to producing people who are going to go on to be conventional RTPI town planners. Well then to make such a big deal about the RTPI visits is just absurd. Planning education has got to do what they did in America to say 'bugger off' (to the RTPI)."

Other lecturers, particularly in the lower status schools, were sympathetic with this line of reasoning (one at Redbrick, two at Plateglass and Civic and all four at Robbins) and they felt it had two implications; first, schools must have regard to the new job markets as well as traditional planning jobs and, second, the RTPI was in a weaker position to regulate planning education because it no longer controlled the job market for planning graduates.

The RTPI indirectly influences the naming of courses and projects. Schools sometimes choose course labels carefully in an attempt to please the RTPI. One lecturer at Robbins said that satisfying RTPI requirements was often a matter of carefully selecting the right labels and phrases in the submission. Planning course documents are notable for the repetitive use of terms and cliches put together in a formula fashion. Words such as 'implementation', 'integration', 'synthesis', 'problem-solving' and 'decision-making' occur time and time again.

A good example of RTPI influence are the course changes at Redbrick in 1979. There were few significant changes in content and structure but complete change in course titles. The four significant changes were the introduction of options in the third year; the introduction of choice of projects in the fourth year; a reduction in social science courses (social policy disappeared although touched on in the theory

and practice) taught earlier on, for example, 'politics of planning' (now 'political and institutional framework') was moved from the third to the second year; finally, studies of current practice were introduced. Most of the changes were, however, cosmetic: 'planning theory' became 'concepts and applications', 'valuation' became 'implementation and finance' and 'property development', 'techniques' became 'environmental perception, aesthetics and design' and 'urban economics', 'applied sociology' and 'civil and utilities engineering' were combined to form 'settlement analysis'.

The RTPPI also visibly exercises power. The RTPPI has, on a number of occasions, asked for changes in course content and teaching methods. This happened to Redbrick. The course was given full exemption but only for one year to enable the appointment of a 'dialogue' member to liaise with the school with a view to overcoming the reservations of the then visiting board. Projects came under heavy fire. There was too much emphasis on graphical presentation but not enough on verbal skills; they were too time-consuming; they focussed on physical aspects to the detriment of social and economic aspects; there should be more realism with more emphasis on 'plan feasibility'; they should do more to develop group working skills.

The Redbrick example illustrates two points about the recognition system. First, it casts doubt on the belief that the guidelines have become more flexible and that they provide academic freedom. They remain ambiguous and there is a continuing need for schools not only to meet the guidelines but also to satisfy the preferences of visiting boards and RTPI Education Board which sometimes go beyond the guidelines. Second, it shows what happens to a school when the indirect mediative influence of the RTPI through the professional staff does not operate - direct external pressures are brought to bear to bring the school back into line. At Redbrick the professionals among the staff are predominantly elderly, identify with the physical generalist approach of the 1967 guidelines and no longer have strong links with the Institute's education sector. Redbrick found itself out of touch with the current orthodoxy and paid the price.

Giving conditional recognition is rare and de-recognition almost unknown. More commonly RTPI visiting boards grant full recognition for five years but still comment on the course. It is expected that the school in question should consider the comments and act on them where possible. At the next visit the school is required to explain how it responded to the previous board's comments, and this commonly involves making small changes. For example, the RTPI visited Robbins in 1980 and, according to one lecturer, "suggested improving the design skills side and we

have done that over the last two or three years. There's been more design appraisals, site analyses throughout the course whereas before it was only a quite small element of the fourth year. Now there's an element in each year. That wouldn't probably have happened unless the RTPI had made it clear that they were unhappy with it." This influence is overt and although only in the form of encouragement it nevertheless places the onus on the school to respond by either following the RTPI's advice or providing acceptable reasons for not doing so. Similar examples occurred at Plateglass and Civic.

The RTPI can also be supportive, however. For example, the RTPI has supported schools in their attempts to press parent institutions for more money to buy books and for new staff to be appointed. The RTPI has also lobbied funding agencies such as the ESRC to discourage them from cutting studentships for postgraduate courses.

(iii) CNA and ESRC

It is more difficult to assess the influence of the CNA and ESRC on planning courses on my evidence since I only looked at one polytechnic school and one postgraduate course. All four Robbins lecturers felt the CNA was more liberal than it had been in the early seventies concentrating more on 'academic' rather than 'professional' issues². In addition, on occasions, the CNA like the RTPI is supportive of schools.

(iv) External examiners

External examiners appear to have little real influence on the content of courses. They tend to be chosen from a small circle of people involved with the CNAA, RTPI and ESRC, and are usually selected for their sympathy with a School's approach. Parent institutions rarely interfere in the detailed affairs of the school.

External factors have most influence on curricula through staff recruitment, with schools in low status institutions being most vulnerable to outside pressures. The RTPI appears to be the second most important influence on planning courses, although its power is largely exercised indirectly.

5.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Undergraduate planning courses are more similar in form than in content. They are heavily structured, permit little student choice, cover an extraordinarily large number of disparate subjects, have heavy taught workloads, use projects extensively, divorce theory from practice in the course structure, and have a

² I also interviewed four other lecturers (one in a university and three in polytechnics) who had been, or are, members of the CNAA and they all supported this view.

prescriptive orientation. What is significant is that the professional view of planning is found in the form of undergraduate courses: in effect the form is a 'hidden professional curriculum' containing a number of messages about the nature of planning as a discipline and a profession.

The Civic postgraduate course was different. It was less heavily structured, permitted more choice, with a lighter workload, an analytical orientation and theory and practice were not separated. The 'hidden curriculum' contained in the form was anti-professional, displaying all the hallmarks of an urban studies philosophy.

Course content varied between schools but not always as expected. *My* expectation based on the analysis in chapter 4 that Plateglass would be a procedural course proved incorrect. Elsewhere *My* expectations were more accurate. Plateglass, Civic and Robbins contained more social science than Redbrick, while the latter devoted more time to design. I also found that Civic, Robbins and to a lesser extent, Plateglass, were broader courses than Redbrick.

Variations in course content and teaching methods were related to variations in staff interests and backgrounds. Schools with large numbers of social scientists stressed social science approaches whereas those with a predominance of architects emphasised

design. However, external factors had a major influence on curricula because staff recruitment was heavily influenced by wider pressures. All three schools with a large number of social scientists had expanded during the period from the late 1960s onwards when there were pressures on planning education to become more liberal, more research oriented and devote more attention to social and economic aspects of town planning as well as new areas of practice demanding social science.

External factors continue to influence curricula. The RTPI acts as a constraint by promoting current orthodoxies such as the use of the projects and certain course structures. More importantly, the spectre of the RTPI is an indirectly conservative influence on courses since it is sometimes used by the professional planners in planning schools to retain or promote a professional orientation. Similarly, non-professional teachers sometimes appeal to external factors such as the changing pattern of planning graduate employment destinations to support their attempts to broaden courses and reduce RTPI influence.

There were tensions between staff, but the nature of the tensions varied from school to school. Moreover, it is usually possible to divide staff up in more than one way. Staff factions exist for a number of reasons. First, and most importantly, there are

conflicting views on the nature of planning. In some cases the different groups cannot even agree on what their disagreements are. Second, there are tensions between the disciplines which are seen as necessary for the planning package. Finally, there are tensions in trying to mount a professional course within an academic institution. These sources of tension are sometimes independent of each other and this helps explain why staff divisions vary between schools and within schools according to which issue is at stake. These tensions are not always apparent in the official documents or the course structure but they are reflected in teaching practice. In some schools, such as Robbins, however, no major division exist.

The view of planning held by lecturers was only loosely related to their disciplinary background. Disciplines do not necessarily socialise lecturers into particular views of planning but present them with opportunities and constraints. There is choice. A geographer can usually focus on quantitative, social science or physical science approaches and the choice made is likely to influence the view of planning adopted. For example, at Plateglass one geographer was a Marxist/social scientist while another was a modeller and at Redbrick another of similar age was a conventional planner. There was also diversity between lecturers with first degrees in town

planning. Both backgrounds contain a degree of manoeuvre whereas architecture or sociology backgrounds appear to have more limited choices. It is rare to find an architect who does not hold a design view of planning or a sociologist who does not hold a social science view. On top of this there were generational and political differences.

6. ENTERING PLANNING SCHOOL

"He is like a hungry child with a coin looking at a long counter of sweets which he has never tasted who must decide on one purchase - and who doesn't know the value of his money."

Rosenberg writing about occupational choice, 1957, p.3.

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with entry into planning school and examines the following questions: Who are the planning students? Why did they come to study town planning? What ideas about town planning and attitudes towards their education did they bring with them? Why did they enter particular schools? How are students selected for town planning courses? In answering these questions I shall try to determine what, if anything, is distinctive about entry to planning school vis-à-vis other professions and courses, and whether there are any appreciable differences within planning education between institutions and students.

My conclusion will be two-fold. Students enter planning school overwhelmingly for vocational reasons. However, most students, particularly

undergraduates, are poorly informed about town planning itself.

The plan of this chapter is as follows. First, I set out my expectations. Second, I describe the characteristics of planning students covered in my survey. Next, I set out their reasons for studying town planning and the expectations which they brought with them concerning town planning education and practice. Then, I outline why students enter particular schools. Finally, I examine how planning schools select students from among the applicants. In the conclusion, I draw out the themes of this chapter and the implications for the rest of the thesis.

This chapter draws exclusively on my survey of undergraduates at Redbrick, Plateglass and Robbins and postgraduates at Civic. It comprised interviews with a small sample of students from each year of the four courses and questionnaires sent to all first and final year undergraduates and all Civic postgraduates (Appendix 1).

6.2 EXPECTATIONS

An important issue in recruitment to the planning profession concerns the ideas about town planning and attitudes towards their education that students bring with them. They may influence how a student responds

to his/her education and later career. I expected that students would enter planning school with poorly developed and inaccurate knowledge of town planning. This is because a young person's access to information about town planning is severely limited.

Town planning is an obscure occupation receiving little attention on TV, radio, cinema, newspapers and literature. Many people have never heard of town planning. This contrasts markedly with other more visible occupations such as medicine, teaching, law and nursing. Applicants for teacher training courses, for example, have a good idea of what the job involves due to their long experience as pupils. To a lesser extent, aspiring doctors, lawyers and nurses, for example, have some idea of what their chosen occupation involves through contact with practitioners and the coverage these occupations receive in the media.

Moreover, the public image of the town planner's work is frequently inaccurate. Town planners are often confused with architects, housing officers, highway engineers, environmental health officers and sometimes even private developers. They are often considered to be a powerful figure who, quite literally, plans our towns and cities. In reality, of course, the town planner's role is more limited.

Town planning is also a small, young profession. Consequently, it is unlikely that students will have had much contact with practising planners. The phenomenon of sons/daughters following in their parents' footsteps is common in high status established professions but this is unlikely in town planning because it is not a high status profession and most practising planners are, in any case, young. Class background may also play a crucial part. High status professions recruit students overwhelmingly from the upper middle classes and such students are more likely to have had prior contact with middle class professionals not only parents but also friends, relatives and neighbours. By contrast, lower status professions - for example, social work (Cypher, 1975) and engineering (Eichhorn, 1969) - recruit large numbers of students from working class backgrounds who are much less likely to have had prior contact with middle class professionals.

Thus I expect to discover that planning schools recruit large numbers of students with little knowledge of town planning. Moreover, I expect that students would have little knowledge of the differences in identity, course philosophy and curriculum between schools when entering courses. Nevertheless, I still expect to find important differences between postgraduates and undergraduates and between high and low status schools. Two situations are likely:

(i) students enter planning school with a poor knowledge of town planning and are ignorant of many planning ideas, such as, generalism and a profession centred view of planning. Thus the task of the planning school is to teach students the professional values, or at least those of the staff, from first principles;

(ii) students enter planning school with greater knowledge of town planning and a good idea of different course orientations. Consequently, many are likely to arrive with views and values similar to staff and therefore socialisation is likely to be a process of confirming and further developing these views and values.

I would expect the first situation to be a description of most undergraduates whereas the second is more applicable to postgraduates. This is because postgraduates are more likely to have had better access to information and town planning practice and education through their first, usually related, degree and possibly prior contact with planners. However, there may also be differences between undergraduate schools. It is likely that students on high status courses will enter planning school better informed about planning and more committed. This is because the competition for places is more intense in higher status schools. Consequently, higher status schools will be more able to use the interview as a selection

device to discriminate between applicants, favouring those displaying a knowledge of and commitment to planning. By contrast, some of the lower status schools have recently experienced difficulty recruiting students and are therefore less likely to be discriminatory and more willing to take students with little knowledge of planning.

6.3 PROFILE OF TOWN PLANNING STUDENTS

Who are the planning students? What are their basic characteristics and backgrounds? Most undergraduate respondents were young, usually entering planning school straight from school. For example, only 4% of Redbrick and Plateglass respondents combined were over 24 years old. Howes and Harrison (1983) conducted a survey of first and second year planning students in all seventeen recognised undergraduate courses in 1981: they too found that the majority of planning students were young. Robbins was untypical with 40% of the respondents over 24 years old mainly because it encourages applications from mature students and has large numbers of overseas students who tend to be older. Not surprisingly, students at Civic were older than their undergraduate counterparts since they had already completed first degrees. Nevertheless, many of the Civic students were relatively young, coming straight from undergraduate courses.

Most planning students are male. In my survey 67% of respondents were male. Redbrick was a little different from the other schools with 50% females. This is because Redbrick had large numbers of females in the first year. The 1982/83 entry was, in fact, an unusual year for Redbrick which normally has a large preponderance of males. Howes and Harrison (1985) found that 65% of their respondents were male. The numbers of females on planning courses is below average for university courses in general. For example, 41.1% of students accepted by universities in October 1983 were female (UCCA 1984). A larger proportion of planning students are female compared to some science and vocational subjects such as Physics (15%) and Civil Engineering (10%). By contrast, there are larger proportions of females in arts and social sciences, such as, Sociology (70%) English (65%) and even 43.9% of medicine (44%).

TABLE 6.1: COUNTRY OF ORIGIN OF QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

INSTITUTION	Home	Overseas*	Total
Civic	71%	29%	17
Plateglass	91%	9%	21
Redbrick	81%	19%	32
Robbins	52%	48%	25
Total	74%	26%	95

* Most overseas students come from south-east Asia.

The majority of planning students are British. Robbins is again untypical having significantly more overseas students than other undergraduate courses. This is largely because the Robbins course is new and of low status, only gaining RTPI recognition in 1980. This meant that in its early years, before recognition, few British students knew of its existence. The school was, however, successful in attracting overseas students. In recent years, Robbins has attracted more applications from British students and the numbers of overseas students are declining, though still high compared to other schools.

Civic also has large numbers of overseas students but this is more typical of postgraduate courses because since the mid 1970s sources of finance for home students (mainly the ESRC and local authorities) have been severely cut. This has meant fewer home students and the available places have been filled by overseas students (table 6.2).

TABLE 6.2: NATIONALITY OF CIVIC POSTGRADUATES 1976-1980

	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1976-1980 (percentage)
Home	23	18	21	11	10	68%
Overseas	3	6	8	9	13	32%
Total	26	24	29	20	23	100%

Source: Civic University Records.

Most undergraduates take A levels before entering planning school (94% of undergraduate respondents). Geography was easily the most favoured A level; economics, maths and english were also popular A levels (table 6.3).

TABLE 6.3: MOST POPULAR A LEVELS TAKEN BY UNDERGRADUATE QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS	ALL STUDENTS WITH A LEVELS
GEOGRAPHY*	16	28	8	71%
ECONOMICS	9	11	12	44%
MATHS	12	10	8	41%
ENGLISH	1	14	6	29%
ART	2	8	2 4	21%
HISTORY	4	7	1	16%
PHYSICS	5	4	2	15%
CHEMISTRY	1	6	3	14%
SOCIOLOGY	1	2	4	10%
LAW	2	-	4	8%
BIOLOGY	2	1	3	8%
OTHERS	6	6	11	3 2%
NONE	1	-	4	-
TOTAL	21	3 2	25	-

* Geography includes environmental studies but excludes geology and art includes art history.

Harrison and Howe's 1983 survey reached similar conclusions. The most common A level combinations were - geography, economics and maths, and, geography, english and art. Few students took all science A

levels (table 6.4). Planning students' A level backgrounds have not changed over the years when my survey is compared with earlier surveys (Noble, 1968; Asp, 1969).

TABLE 6.4: A LEVEL COMBINATIONS OF UNDERGRADUATE QUESTIONNAIRE RESPONDENTS

INSTITUTION	ARTS ONLY	SCIENCES ONLY	COMBINED ARTS & SCIENCES	NO A LEVELS	TOTAL
Plateglass	38%	9%	48%	5%	21
Redbrick	66%	9%	25%	-	32
Robbins	40%	4%	40%	16%	25
Total	50%	8%	36%	6%	78
ASP Survey (1968/69)	64%	4%	43%	-	-

Source: Survey, ASP (1969).

Table 6.5 shows that for Civic postgraduates a geography degree is the most common background. If anything, however, Civic is rather untypical of most postgraduate courses in that it recruits fewer geographers and more graduates of other disciplines, particularly the social sciences. However, in 1983 and 1984, the Civic students were predominantly geographers and this was reflected in the response to my questionnaire. Of 17 respondents, 11 were geographers, 3 social scientists, 2 had related

professional degrees and 1 other degree. At Silicon Chip University the postgraduate planning courses recruited a total of 38 students between 1976 and 1982 of whom 24 (63%) had geography degrees and 6 (16%) had joint degrees including geography as a subject but only 3 (8%) had single honours social science degrees.

TABLE 6.5: DEGREE BACKGROUNDS OF CIVIC POSTGRADUATES

SUBJECT	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1982	1983
Geography	7	9	15	14	12	8	9
Social Science	9	8	5	2	4	2	1
Arts/Humanities	3	2	-	2	1	2	1
Related Professional Degrees	4	4	8	2	4	3	2
Others	3	1	3	-	2	1	-
Total	26	24	31	20	23	15	12

* 'Geography' includes environmental studies, urban studies and planning studies. 'Social Science' includes anthropology, economics, government, social administration and sociology.

Source: Civic University records.

Few students have parents who work, or had worked, in planning or related jobs. Only 9% of students' parents had planning-related jobs. All but one of these students went to Redbrick (5) or Civic (2). However, postgraduates were much more likely to have had contact with a practising planner before

entering planning school than undergraduates: 12 (75%) Civic postgraduates had prior contact with planners compared to only 4 Plateglass students, 6 from Robbins and 8 from Redbrick, totalling 23% of all undergraduates. This in itself partially confirms the expectation that postgraduates would be more informed about planning practice and education than their undergraduate counterparts.

TABLE 6.6: SOCIAL CLASS ORIGINS OF HOME-BASED TOWN PLANNING STUDENTS*

	SOCIAL CLASSES						TOTAL
	1	2	3NM	3M	4+5	UNKNOWN	
Civic Postgraduates	3	5	-	3	-	1	12
Plateglass Undergraduates	2	9	4	1	2	2	20
Redbrick Undergraduates	11	11	3	1	1	-	13
Robbins Undergraduates	4	2	2	3	2	-	27
Total	29%	39%	13%	12%	7%	3	72

Medical Students (1966) 40% 36% 22% 3% -

University Entrants (1982/83) 24% 49% 21% 6% -

* Social class defined by parental occupation using 1971 Census definition: classes 1, 2 and 3NM (non-manual) are referred to as middle class.

Source: Survey, UCCA (1983) and Todd Report (1968).

Entry to planning school is socially selective: planning schools, like most of higher education, recruit students predominantly from middle-class backgrounds (table 6.6). However, planning schools do

not recruit as extensively from high status backgrounds as some subjects, such as medicine. There were also major differences between planning schools with higher status institutions (Civic and particularly Redbrick) recruiting more students from middle-class backgrounds.

6.4 SELECTION BY STUDENTS: THE REASONS FOR STUDYING TOWN PLANNING

Occupational choice is a process of matching values with expectations (Ford and Box, 1974). It is a rational process where an individual strikes a compromise between what he/she wishes to do,

TABLE 6.7: REASONS FOR 'CHOOSING' TOWN PLANNING AS A COURSE OF STUDY*

	All	C.	PL.	RE.	RO.	H.	O	M.	F.
1. Interest in environmental & geographical issues	49%	59%	52%	55%	32%	57%	28%	48%	55%
2. Vocational	65%	76%	67%	65%	56%	62%	72%	60%	71%
3. Reformist	14%	12%	10%	10%	25%	16%	8%	16%	10%
4. Attracted to course	17%	-	14%	35%	8%	19%	8%	17%	16%
5. Negative reasons	9%	-	-	6%	20%	6%	12%	6%	10%
6. Others	4%	12%	10%	-	4%	3%	8%	6%	-
TOTAL	94	17	21	31	25	69	25	63	31

Key: C. - Civic, PL. - Plateglass, RE. - Redbrick, RO. - Robbins, H. - home students, O. - overseas students, M. - males and F. - females.

on the basis of imperfect knowledge, and the expected likelihood of success. How did students come to study town planning? What ideas about town planning and attitudes towards their education did they bring with them? Why did they enter Civic, Robbins, Plateglass and Redbrick?

Most students brought with them a vocational attitude towards their education and an interest in environmental issues. The most popular reason cited by students (65%) - both during interview and in questionnaires - was the vocational nature of town planning courses.¹ Town planning degrees were thought to be 'practical' providing a 'training' for a career as a town planner as well as a 'useful' preparation for a wide range of other careers. Virtually all students citing this as a reason wished to become professional town planners. Here are some typical responses: "Offered an interesting and varied career with fairly good opportunities and prospects." (Plateglass student) "Because town planning is my chosen career." (Civic Student) "To qualify for MRTPI." (Civic student) "I began to think it's probably better to do a vocational type degree where

¹ The response of interviewees was virtually identical to questionnaire responses. Of the 32 students interviewed, 66% cited vocational reasons, 53% cited interest in geography and environmental issues, 13% were attracted to the course itself or cited negative reasons, 10% cited reformist reasons and 6% gave other reasons. Like the questionnaire responses, Robbins Polytechnic students stood out as different.

there's a job at the end rather than just a general social science or geography degree." (Plateglass student).

As expected, postgraduates were more likely to cite vocational reasons. Overseas students were also more vocationally motivated. Here are some typical replies: "can get a job easily in Malaysia." (Redbrick student); "Because my country needs qualified planners. The prospect is good and the pay is high relative to most other forms of employment, like engineering, etc" (Redbrick student). In part, this reflected the fact that planners were still in great demand and highly paid in some overseas countries, particularly Hong Kong, Singapore and Malaysia. However, some students, particularly postgraduates, were already employed by government planning departments who had sponsored them to do a British planning degree.

Females too were more likely to cite vocational reasons than their male colleagues. A few students (5 of the 31 interviewed) said they had seen town planning as a useful preparation for a wide range of jobs: "Because the type of skills developed are not solely restricted to the planning profession, they should also be useful for work in management services, marketing, market research and finance" (Redbrick student).

The second most popular reason was a 'concern for the environment' and an interest in geography. Approximately half of the questionnaire respondents cited this reason (table 6.7). Below are some examples: "I was very interested in the urban planning section of my geography course" (Civic student) "Because I enjoyed studying geography at A level" (Redbrick student).

Many undergraduates saw town planning as a natural progression from their A level subjects, especially those taking geography. Postgraduates, especially geography graduates, cited an interest in geography and the environment as a crucial reason for doing a town planning degree. One Civic student, for example, graduated from university with a geography degree and wished to work in a field related to his degree. Town planning was one of the few careers open, apart from schoolteaching, which was closely related to geography. Few overseas students expressed an interest in geography or the environment. Surprisingly few students (less than 1 in 7) mentioned 'social reformism/idealist' reasons. Here is one of the few would-be reformers: "I had a social conscience - in inverted commas! I wanted to do something for people and I couldn't be a social worker because they get too involved. I faint at the sight of blood so I couldn't be a doctor. So, I thought, if I could create a decent environment for people to live in then

in that way I'd be helping the community. I wanted to do a job that would involve contact with people" (Plateglass student). Slightly more Robbins students cited social reformism as a reason for doing a town planning degree. All but one of these were home-based students attracted to the Robbins course by a radical, unorthodox image.

Not all planning students had wanted to study town planning and others were unsure why they did so. These students amounted to nearly one in ten of students. Here is the example of a Robbins student: "Considered it to be the next best alternative to an estate management course which I was unable to follow due to disappointing A level results." There were, in fact, important institutional differences. Robbins students cited negative reasons most frequently and this was reflected in their responses to the question in table 6.7. Many Robbins students simply had not originally wanted to do a planning degree. Consequently, fewer Robbins students cited vocational reasons or an interest in the environment. This reflects the fact that Robbins - a low status institution with low entry requirements - attracted students unable to get places on other courses or elsewhere. Some of the overseas students at Robbins, in particular, were desperate to obtain a British university or CNA A degree almost irrespective of the type of degree. The experience of one overseas Robbins student is instructive. Originally he applied

to British universities and polytechnics to read mechanical engineering but failed his A levels. He resat his A levels and applied to British universities and polytechnics to read maths and economics but was not offered a place. He then applied to Robbins Polytechnic to read estate management as first choice and town planning as second choice. In the event he passed his A levels and entered the town planning course having failed to secure a place on the estate management course.

Anticipatory socialisation

Anticipatory socialisation is usually thought to be an important aspect of the socialisation of professionals: it is the process whereby applicants for professional courses acquire ideas and knowledge of the courses and profession. I discovered that most undergraduates brought vague and inaccurate ideas about town planning education, whereas postgraduates were, in general, better informed.

Many of the undergraduates I interviewed admitted that they were unsure what to expect from their course. Five out of the 26 undergraduates interviewed even said they had no expectations whatsoever. Here is the example of a Robbins student, "I didn't expect a great deal. I came along and started the course not knowing what it was about." Not surprisingly, most undergraduates brought a layman's image of town planning to planning school. This lay image, like

those of most professions, exaggerates certain ideals and aspects of the town planner's work. The lay image of the medical profession is frequently that of a heroic doctor fighting to save lives - usually through skillful surgery or the application of complex treatment; the lawyer is seen as the advocate involved in major courtroom battles - upholding 'justice'; the town planner is seen as the person whose task it is to plan the built environment - involving both the undertaking and control of new development. In reality, however, town planners only regulate the form and location of new development. As already mentioned, the majority of students, both undergraduates and postgraduates, were career minded. They viewed planning school instrumentally as a place where they would receive a practical training for town planning.

Postgraduates saw town planning as a broad-based activity covering the whole environmental field including land use regulation as well as transport, housing, economic development and regional policy. The majority of Civic postgraduates already had a fairly detailed knowledge of these areas acquired during their undergraduate courses. They also had views on the nature of the planning profession. Planning was seen as the application of the knowledge acquired during their first - usually geographically

based - degree.² A postgraduate planning degree was seen as a logical follow up to a geography or urban studies degree expanding upon ideas and techniques already developed and applying them to planning practice.

That undergraduates had rather vague and inaccurate ideas compared to postgraduates is not surprising when we consider the sources of their knowledge and therefore their expectations. Postgraduates were much more likely than their undergraduate counterparts to have either worked in a planning office or at least had pre-course contact with town planners (table 6.8). Unfortunately, the closed question in my questionnaire excluded first degree experience as a possible source of information. Yet my interviews with postgraduates revealed its crucial importance.

All 6 Civic students interviewed had learnt a great deal about planning on their first degrees which were all in related areas - four in geography, one in environmental studies. By contrast, undergraduates' exposure to town planning was extremely limited. The main sources of knowledge were literature, especially the course prospectus, the RTPI, especially the guide 'Town and Country Planning as a Career' and a visit to a planning office.

² Of the six Civic students interviewed, three had degrees in geography, two in environmental studies and one in urban studies.

TABLE 6.8: SOURCES OF INFORMATION ABOUT TOWN PLANNING FOR STUDENTS BEFORE ENTERING PLANNING SCHOOL

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	CIV.	PL.	RED.	ROB.	TOTAL
1. Literature	41%	62%	52%	56%	50
2. RTPI	35%	52%	55%	40%	44
3. Visit to a planning office	29%	33%	42%	24%	31
4. Careers adviser	59%	29%	39%	32%	36
5. Acquaintance with a town planner	47%	24%	16%	16%	22
6. Visit to a planning school	12%	5%	10%	36%	15
7. Worked in a planning office	41%	14%	6%	8%	14
8. Others	-	5%	13%	-	5
TOTAL	17	21	31	25	94

Aspiring undergraduate students do not have to make the decision to study town planning until relatively late. Many professions, such as architecture, engineering and medicine, require specific O and A level subjects as a condition of entry. Town planning schools do not have such strict requirements. Consequently, whereas the would-be doctor often selects his career before choosing O and A levels, an aspiring town planner can delay his decision (Rogoff, 1957). 70% of the undergraduate questionnaire respondents decided to apply to do a town planning degree after they had chosen their A levels; only 23% had decided to study town planning before choosing A levels; the majority of postgraduates (65%) decide to do planning while on their undergraduate courses.

For many applicants, especially the undergraduates, the interview in planning school is a vital source of information. All serious home applicants are interviewed before they are offered a place. Many applicants to undergraduate courses make their decision to study planning after their interview. My questionnaire, as shown in table 6.10, failed to consider interviews as a source of information, but meetings with students revealed them as crucial. Only 42% of undergraduate questionnaire respondents had applied to planning courses only. Most applicants to planning schools also apply for other courses: 80% of undergraduate respondents, seriously considered applying for non-planning courses and 58% did so (table 6.9). The courses which compete with town planning are geography (including urban studies and environmental studies), architecture and estate management. Social science courses are not considered by aspiring planning students (table 6.10).

TABLE 6.9: APPLICANTS TO UNDERGRADUATE PLANNING SCHOOL

INSTI- TUTION	CONSIDERED NON-PLANNING COURSES	APPLIED TO NON-PLANNING COURSES	ONLY APPLIED TO PLANNING COURSES	TOTAL
Plateglass	71%	45%	55%	20
Redbrick	77%	57%	43%	30
Robbins	92%	73%	27%	22
Total	80%	58%	42%	72

Once again, Robbins students stand out. Many more considered and applied for non-planning courses but fewer of them applied to geography courses and more applied to courses in the 'other' category which covered a whole range of subjects. In fact, it was overseas students at Robbins who ignored geography and applied to other courses. This reflects the fact that many of the Robbins students, particularly the overseas students, did not particularly want to do planning. Female students were also more likely to apply to non-planning courses.

TABLE 6.10: THE ALTERNATIVES TO AN UNDERGRADUATE TOWN PLANNING DEGREE*

	GEOG.	PROF.	S.S.	OTHER	TOTAL
Plateglass	45%	15%	10%	5%	20
Redbrick	40%	33%	3%	7%	30
Robbins	23%	23%	18%	27%	22
Home Students	41%	26%	11%	2%	54
Overseas Students	22%	22%	5%	44%	18
Male Students	30%	20%	4%	10%	50
Female Students	50%	36%	23%	18%	22

* S.S. refers to social science and OTHER to other subjects whereas PROF refers to related professional subjects include architecture, estate management and landscape architecture.

Selecting Civic, Plateglass, Redbrick and Robbins

The main factors influencing a student's decision to go to a particular school were the general reputation of the institution in which the planning school is located, geographical reasons and the impression gained during the interview (table 6.11). The responses varied significantly, however, according to which planning school students were attending. General reputation, for example, was rated most highly by Redbrick and Civic students but not by those at Robbins and Plateglass. What students usually meant by reputation was the status of the institution, and not the planning school, in the British academic hierarchy. Redbrick and Civic are high status institutions whereas Robbins and Plateglass are lower status institutions. Table 6.11 conceals Civic and Redbrick's status as 'first preference' institutions; Plateglass, by contrast, is second or third in the pecking order and Robbins is much lower down the order of preference. Here is the example of one Redbrick student who rated the reputation of the parent institution above that of course content as a reason for going to Redbrick: "My first choice was Plateglass and I chose Plateglass because they didn't do a lot of drawing. But when I visited the Department I didn't like it very much. I was then advised that Redbrick had the best reputation and if you can get in there to go there."

TABLE 6.11: WHY STUDENTS 'CHOSE' THEIR PLANNING COURSE³

REASON	CIVIC		PLATEGLASS		REDBRICK		ROBBINS	
	1	2	1	2	1	2	1	2
1. Staff and students were friendly	6%	24%	19%	38%	19%	41%	36%	36%
2. Good facilities	18%	18%	14%	19%	50%	47%	24%	36%
3. Reputation	76%	24%	38%	38%	72%	19%	0	0
4. Course stressed physical planning	12%	6%	9%	24%	16%	31%	5%	40%
5. Course stressed quantitative methods	12%	12%	5%	29%	6%	6%	5%	32%
6. Course stressed social science	59%	12%	19%	29%	3%	22%	32%	40%
7. Broadly-based course	47%	35%	43%	38%	31%	34%	56%	4%
8. Only offer received	6%	0	14%	9%	6%	0	16%	24%
9. Wanted to go to the place	47%	47%	9%	48%	22%	44%	28%	36%
10. Wanted to go to the institution	29%	24%	5%	38%	25%	59%	16%	36%
11. Other	24%	0	19%	0	16%	0	16%	0
TOTAL	17		21		32		25	

* 1 refers to 'very important' and 2 to 'important'.

³ There is a potential reliability problem with this table since respondents might have cited 'respectable' rather than real reasons for ending up at a particular planning school, that is, they may not admit that they did not choose the school. This is most likely to apply to Robbins students. Table 6.11 also illustrates respondents' tendency to cite more reasons when answering a closed question. Interviewees cited only five main reasons: the reputation of the parent institution, particularly in the case of Redbrick and Civic students; geographical reasons; the impression gained at the interview; course content, especially Civic, and to a lesser extent Redbrick students; and negative reasons especially Robbins, and to a lesser extent Plateglass students.

Many of the Redbrick and Civic students originally wanted to enter their planning school while a large number of Robbins and Plateglass students had wanted to go elsewhere or do other things but were unable to do so. So for many students in the lower status institutions the idea of 'choosing' a planning school is a misnomer: they had little choice in the matter. Here, for example, a student explains why he came to Plateglass: "Because I got rejected by the three places put above Plateglass on my UCCA form."

Many of the students at Robbins, in particular overseas students, had not originally wanted to study town planning there. As two Robbins students commented: "Failed to meet the offers given by universities. Robbins was the only poly I had applied to"; "it was the next best alternative to an estate management course which I was unable to follow due to disappointing A level results." Robbins, and to a much lesser extent Plateglass, attracted and accepted many students who saw the school and/or the course as a 'second best'. This is revealed in table 6.11 where 23% and 40% of students went to Plateglass or Robbins respectively because it was the only offer they received compared to only 6% of students from both Civic and Redbrick.

A number of students wished to study town planning in a particular area. 'Geographical factors' covered a multitude of reasons: to be close to home; to be far away from home; to be near friends; to remain or go to a particular area or town; and, in one case, to go to the town where his favourite football team was based! For some students the impressions gained during interviews at planning schools helped them decide which school to go to. This reason was excluded from the questionnaire but many interviewees mentioned its importance. Some were impressed by friendly, informal atmospheres, others by tough interviews and a formal atmosphere. Some students were attracted by the facilities and buildings.

From the interviews it appeared that most undergraduate applicants to planning school are ignorant of the differences in course content between schools, although responses 4-7 in table 6.11 refer to course content. This reinforces my cautious interpretation of table 6.11. The interview responses are more reliable because they were answers to an open question which are less likely to encourage respondents to cite 'respectable' reasons, that is, some of the closed answers in the questionnaire. By contrast, postgraduates were far more informed about course differences because of their greater knowledge of town planning and higher education. In my

interviews, four out of the six postgraduates said that they had a reasonable idea of course differences. Indeed, nearly 60% of Civic postgraduate questionnaire respondents specified the social science emphasis of the Civic course as a 'very important' reason for going to Civic while three of the Civic interviewees were discouraged from doing other courses because they were considered too design orientated or had too much stress on statistics and computing. Most of the undergraduates, however, were less informed about course differences before entering planning school. At Robbins, for example, five of the nine interviewees had expected the course to be more orientated towards professional planning and had been unaware of the social science emphasis and broad-based nature of the course, and three students had no expectations. At Plateglass six out of eight of the students interviewed had expected to spend more time on professional planning and to be less concerned with quantitative techniques. At Redbrick one third of the interviewees (3) were surprised at the amount of project work required and the emphasis on design, "I don't think I looked closely enough at the course beforehand. I didn't realise there was so much practical work and design work although I think it's made quite clear in the prospectus. I chose the place rather than the course" (Redbrick student). Four of

the Redbrick students chose the course because of its design emphasis while two were aware of the orientation but were surprised at the amount of attention given to social science and maths, "I came here because it was a drawing board oriented course. I wouldn't want to do anything which was five days lectures a week." Comparatively few students at Plateglass and Robbins were attracted there for course reasons, reflecting their low status and position as 'second preference' institutions, despite the responses to 4-7 in table 6.11. Only a minority of students chose to go to a particular planning school because of the course content. Those who did tended to be postgraduates or at Redbrick.

6.5 SELECTION OF STUDENTS BY STAFF

All home-based applicants are interviewed before they are offered places in planning school. This is the case in other professional degrees too - architecture, estate management and medicine. It is sometimes thought that professional educators use interviews to select like-minded students and reject 'unsuitable' candidates (Simpson, 1972 on medicine; Cannan, 1972, on social work). Some claim that planning educators seek students who are not only academically able, as measured by O and A level performance, but who hold the 'right' attitudes towards the profession (Reade, 1976b, Mullins, 1977).

The conventional wisdom overstates the importance of the interview as a selection device, in the case of town planning. This chapter has focused on the decision of students to study town planning rather than interviews. The student's decision to study town planning is the crucial issue whereas the selection of students by staff is more marginal.

All the staff in Civic, Robbins, Plateglass and Redbrick said interviews had two purposes. First, schools used them to inform students about the course and provide them with the opportunity to see the school and find out about the course and town planning. Second, interviews are also used to discriminate between candidates, helping to find out whether they are 'suitable' for the course. However, there were differences between the high and low status institutions.

At both Robbins and Plateglass, the lower status institutions, interviews are not used primarily as a selection method, as a matter of departmental policy, except in marginal cases but rather to inform students about the course. At Robbins, for example, all the 'best' qualified candidates are offered places. Only those applicants without conventional academic qualifications - usually mature people with work experience - are interviewed in order to discover whether they are 'suitable' for the course. At Plateglass, the 'best' qualified applicants are

offered places before being interviewed; only in marginal cases - for example, a student with 'poor' academic qualifications but experience of planning practice - is the interview used as a selection device. One of the Plateglass lecturers described the selection procedure as follows: "I think there are two sides to the interviewing thing. We pick fairly broadly in terms of O level scores and to some extent in terms of A level prospects - though we take those very cautiously. Anyone who scores above a certain number of points at O level we are, in principle, prepared to offer a place to. We set a fairly high threshold in terms of number of points scored at O level and, I think, providing people put us first, second or third in their ranking, we presume they've got some particular interest for coming here. We sit them all down and show them a film about the Plateglass area which is quite amusing. We get them around the university and let them loose on present students for the day. Then we tell them they've got a place which cheers them up. And then we have an interview afterwards to answer any queries and hope they have a nice day and so on. What we're really doing there is picking out the best people who are applying out of a group and saying 'we think you are interesting people. We would like to offer you a place.' Our objective in doing that is to capture as many people as we can."

The staff at Plateglass disagree about the purpose of interviews. Many of the professional planners among the staff feel interviews should be used to discover which students are 'suitable' for the course. Here, for example, a professor expresses his misgivings about the present approach at Plateglass: "I don't think the opportunity is taken to probe the student's commitment to planning nor to probe what the student actually knows about planning." He was critical of the lecturer in charge of student selection: "For my money, he places far too much reliance on a headmaster's report and the A level grades. In my experience commitment and a knowledge of planning is as revealing about the student's capabilities."

In all undergraduate schools, the main aim of the interview is to provide information and publicise the course. This is due, in part, to the reduction in applications for places in planning schools. Planning schools use the interview to encourage the 'best' applicants to come to their school. This led one cynical lecturer to comment: "The role the interview plays is to try to convince the candidate that this is the place they ought to come to."

At Redbrick and Civic, however, the interview is more important as a selection device than at Robbins and Plateglass, reflecting their positions as 'first preference' high status institutions: they receive more applications from students who genuinely wish to

go there. Nevertheless, even at Redbrick and Civic the importance of the interview as a selection device has declined in recent years due to falling applications. Even Redbrick now uses the interview as an opportunity to 'sell' the course to prospective students. To this end the Department has produced a document providing details of the course, Department, University and town for students' consumption.

The interview then still has a discriminatory purpose, particularly at the higher status schools, but what do staff look for when interviewing students? The course leader at Robbins, for example, was adamant - there is a poor correlation between A level success and examination success and a much better correlation between predictions of success based on the interview and actual success: "I have to say that we would be perfectly happy with the fact that we can judge on interviews." Other lecturers, notably the social scientists, were more sceptical about the effectiveness of the interview as a selection device. The arguments for and against the effectiveness of the interview rest on assertion. Evidence is available on the use of interviews as selection devices in general and is unfavourable: "research over a long period of time and in many countries has established the point that general interviews, conducted by those with no special aptitude in such matters, are a highly ineffective means of bringing to light qualities of character or temperament" (Kelsall 1967, pp. 110-111).

Some lecturers were unclear about what they were looking for in students. For example, a common response was that they were looking for students 'motivated' and 'committed' to planning. Unfortunately, some lecturers could not specify what performance by a student during an interview would 'prove' that he/she was committed. Other lecturers equated 'commitment' with some knowledge of town planning and a display of enthusiasm: "some awareness and enthusiasm for the subject coupled with reasonable prospects for scholastic work. The combination of someone who is reasonably competent in a broad range of subjects as evidenced by school work and so on plus having done a little bit of homework in terms of what the subject's about. Clearly, the ability to ask a few questions and hold some sort of discussion. A modest ability to work and interest in the subject is fine" (Plateglass lecturer). Clearly, some lecturers look for different things.

At Civic the interview is crucial as a selection device, especially in allocating the limited number of ESRC quota studentships to home-based students. The five Civic lecturers interviewed - who included the admissions tutor who takes part in each interview with another member of staff - all agreed that interviews at Civic had two aims. First, to select the most 'suitable' candidates on an individual basis. Here the course leader describes what is meant by 'suitable': "what we're looking for is brightness,

ability to take an idea or proposition and handle it; sufficient interest in the subject to be aware what's going on in their own area; what are the planning issues; have they gone and looked at the local planning authority's work; have they got involved in a public inquiry; ability to address via their own discipline planning issues; interest in planning research. It's a very subjective intuitive half hour of giving the student every opportunity to show that they are an intelligent, likeable, rounded person that will fit in with everybody else. Maybe it could be more rigorous, it may, in fact, favour the glib as opposed to the conscientious hard workers. There was a time when the public school glibs with their Oxbridge blue stockings came over well here. Thank God that's over." The Civic interviews also have a second purpose, however, of trying to achieve a balanced cohort of students. This means a mix of students of all ages, sex, nationality, academic background and views which is considered desirable. If there is any genuine bias in selection it is towards older applicants, especially those with some experience of planning practice.

6.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

In this Section I shall summarise the broad themes of the chapter in three stages. First, I identify the differences within planning education between undergraduates and postgraduates, between home-based

and overseas students as well as institutional differences. Second, I deal with the differences and similarities between entry to planning school and the schools of other professions. Finally, I shall set out the implications of the chapter for the rest of the thesis.

Internal differences in planning education

The typical town planning undergraduate is British, male, of middle-class background and with a mix of arts and science A levels, including geography. Postgraduates too have a similar background and most have geography degrees. Students chose town planning because of the vocational and practical nature of the degree and an interest in environmental issues.

However, I found major differences, confirming my expectations. While undergraduates had little prior knowledge of town planning postgraduates had more developed views. By and large they saw town planning as a government activity concerned with environmental policy in its broadest sense covering not only land-use planning but also housing, transport, local government and so on. Many undergraduates too also took a broad view of the planning function but only had a vague knowledge of the area. By contrast, postgraduates had a better knowledge usually acquired during their first degree studies. On top of this postgraduates had views on the nature of the planning profession: they saw the function of a postgraduate

planning degree as being to introduce the statutory framework of planning and enable them to apply their first degree knowledge and skills to planning practice. This closely resembles the specialist view of planning. The undergraduates were largely ignorant of planning ideas such as generalism before entering planning school. However, like the postgraduates, they had a clear view of the purpose of a planning degree: they saw it as a vocational training for town planning. There was also an unexpected difference between home and overseas students. The latter were far more vocationally orientated which is not surprising given that town planning is often a well paid, high status career in their own countries.

Similarly, as expected, postgraduates were more knowledgeable than undergraduates about differences between planning schools. Indeed, they were more likely to choose to do a course because of its course content and orientation. Many Civic students chose to go there because it offered a broad-based approach to planning rather than, what they saw as, the narrower approach of some other schools with a more technical or design orientation. Few undergraduates were well informed about differences between planning courses. For undergraduates, the decision to enter a particular planning school was heavily influenced by three factors - the reputation of the parent institution, the impression gained at interview and a rag-bag of

place related reasons. These reasons were also important for postgraduates.

As expected there were also major differences between planning schools in parent institutions of differing status. Planning schools at Civic and Redbrick were first preference institutions largely because they are in high status parent institutions whereas Plateglass and Robbins are not sought after because they are in lower status parent institutions. This has two important consequences. First, most of the students at Civic and Redbrick were more likely to have gone there by choice whereas many of the students at Plateglass and particularly Robbins had no choice. This applied especially to overseas students at Robbins, many of whom did the course because they could not get a place on other courses or at other schools. In addition, because Civic and Redbrick received more real applications per place, they had to discriminate between applicants looking for academically able students able to demonstrate some knowledge and interest in town planning. By contrast, Robbins, and to a lesser extent Plateglass, had to be more content with less academically able students, many of whom were not motivated for town planning.

Town planning vis-à-vis other professions

What distinguishes town planning students from other professional students is the relative unimportance of anticipatory socialisation, particularly among

undergraduates. All students entering vocational courses face the problem of knowing what to expect for, unlike students on 'academic' courses, they have had little contact with the subject at school. Nevertheless, most vocational students have some idea of the course and job through contact with practitioners and coverage in literature and the media. Undergraduates come to planning school, however, with unusually vague and poorly developed ideas of town planning.

Early socialisation into town planning also shares a number of features with that of other lower status professions. Town planning recruits larger numbers of students from lower class backgrounds than medicine or law reflecting its lower social status. Planning schools also suffer because planning is currently a profession in decline which is reflected in declining numbers of applications. This has forced schools, particularly those in lower status parent institutions, to reduce entry requirements, to market their courses in prospectuses and during interviews, and to accept larger numbers of students who are not particularly committed to town planning as a career. Such an aggressive approach to student recruitment is unknown among higher status professions where there is no shortage of well qualified applicants, but is more common among lower status professions, such as teaching (Purvis, 1973) and social work.

Another distinctive feature of planning is that the undergraduate's decision to do a planning course is made late in the day. Well over half of applicants to planning school also applied for other courses, usually geography, urban studies or estate management. The decision to do an undergraduate planning course is often made after the interview, making it an important event. Not only does the interview present the student with an opportunity to find out about a particular planning course but also to compare it with non-planning courses.

In common with general student course preferences, those of planning students reflect the traditional British academic hierarchy. Planning schools thought to have a good reputation tend to be those in high status parent institutions, particularly the older well-established universities rather than polytechnics and colleges.

Finally, students entering planning school can be divided into three groups, according to their initial orientations to the course. First, there are students, particularly overseas undergraduates and undergraduates in lower status institutions, who are not particularly interested in or committed to town planning. In this situation the planning school faces the challenge of motivating students and teaching them about planning. Second, many undergraduates arrive at

planning school committed to the profession but ill-informed about planning and ignorant of many of the basic professional values. In this situation socialisation will be a process of building on this commitment by teaching professional values, skills and knowledge. Finally, postgraduates in particular arrive at school already interested, well informed about planning and having matched their views to those of the school. In this case I would expect socialisation to be a process of confirming and further developing their understanding and values.

However, all three groups of students share an instrumental orientation to their education viewing it as a professional training. It will therefore be interesting to see how students respond to internal conflicts within the planning profession, but especially tensions within a school. Will they, for example, be receptive to certain values thought necessary for practice while being hostile to others considered unhelpful?

7. SOCIALISATION AT TOWN PLANNING SCHOOL

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on socialisation in planning school and is based on a sample survey of staff and students at Civic, Plateglass, Redbrick and Robbins. What happens to students during their time at planning school? Are there any appreciable changes in their values and attitudes towards town planning? If there are changes, what are the causes?

In the course of the chapter, three distinctive aspects of my approach to professional socialisation will be justified. I shall show how, by examining socialisation in a number of institutional contexts, important differences between schools in student intake, staff views and curricula have crucial effects on socialisation. It will be evident that different socialisation outcomes are possible within a single profession. I shall also show, in particular by looking at the effect on students of staff divisions, how socialisation in town planning school is rarely a smooth, planned and complete process but is messy, haphazard and partial. Finally, I find that students acquire some of the taken-for-granted assumptions which underlie curricula and that this is a crucial part of their socialisation, exonerating my belief that the manifest functions of professional education are just as important as the latent functions in affecting socialisation.

I first outline my expectations and then examine staff views on socialisation. Next, I set out the student experience of planning school. Finally, I identify and explain some of the changes which students undergo.

7.2 EXPECTATIONS

I expect to find different socialisation outcomes because of variations in the following - student intake, staff views and curricula. In chapter 4 I discovered three types of students: postgraduates who entered planning school committed to and reasonably knowledgeable about the Civic approach and town planning practice; undergraduate students committed to becoming planners but ill-informed about practice; and, other undergraduate students, particularly overseas students in the lower status schools, who were not especially committed to, or knowledgeable about, planning. Each group may react differently to their education. Similarly, in chapter 5, I found significant differences in curricula. Civic and Robbins had a social science orientation and were broadly based whereas Redbrick had a narrower design and land use orientation. Plateglass lay between the two approaches. I would expect the taken-for-granted assumptions underlying each course to be perhaps the most important values on offer to students. Thus, Civic and Robbins students are more likely to adopt a wider conception of planning seeing it primarily as a

political rather than professional activity. By contrast, Plateglass and Redbrick students are more likely to adopt a narrower, professional view of planning.

The existence of major divisions and tensions between staff in three schools leads me to expect socialisation to be a messy, uncomfortable, conflict-ridden process. At Robbins, where there is a consensus among staff, we would expect it to be smoother because there is a clear role model on offer.

I would expect students themselves to play an active part in their own socialisation through the formation of cohesive student groups. Such groups are likely to form because students come to planning school with common interests and background and, most importantly, face the same experience. They are taught as an independent group for long periods, doing the same work, attending the same lectures and seminars and frequently alongside each other or in groups on projects. Once established group values emerge and act as a form of mutual support, helping students to make sense of their experience and cope with it. As noted in chapter 2, the student group may be supportive of staff values or hostile to them, either openly or in private. Whichever values the group promotes are likely to have a crucial impact on socialisation. Where a cohesive student group does not emerge attitude change is unlikely to be

dramatic. I would expect strong student groups to emerge at all schools, but particularly Redbrick and Plateglass. At Civic the individually-based work in the second year may militate against the formation of a cohesive group whereas at Robbins the cultural differences between home and overseas students may also be an obstacle.

The critical issue is how will differences in student intake, staff views and curricula, affect socialisation? On the basis of chapter 2's discussion, there appear to be four possible outcomes:

(i) The anticipatory socialisation hypothesis.

Students arrive at professional school with well-developed views with which they filter their college experience determining which values they adopt and reject. Within this category there are two possibilities: students may enter college with similar well-developed views on planning, form a strong student culture which determines their socialisation (Joseph, 1981); or, they may arrive with a variety of well-developed views, no student culture develops and each student's views are developed and confirmed by some teachers, those who are sympathetic, but not others (Lacey, 1977).

(ii) The structural-functionalist hypothesis.

Students conform to one orientation, probably the dominant one and reject all others.

(iii) The symbolic-interactionist hypothesis.

Students conform to each orientation in front of the relevant member of staff when in contact with them but in private do not internalise any of the values.

(iv) The role confusion hypothesis.

The existence of staff with different views of planning and approaches to education may lead to 'role confusion' and anxiety among students and a lack of identity and confidence (Fowler, 1975; Bloom, 1971; Atkinson, 1977).

The Survey data will be used to test all four hypotheses. I shall look for differences between undergraduates and post-graduates, home and overseas students and students of different schools. Despite this eclectic approach I still have detailed expectations. I would not expect the anticipatory socialisation hypothesis to apply to undergraduates since, as Chapter 6 showed, they enter planning school poorly informed about town planning. However, it may explain the experience of Civic postgraduates, since they come to planning school informed with well-developed views, having matched them to Civic's approach. In such circumstances, formal education is likely to be a straightforward process of refining, confirming and further developing their views and understanding.

Formal education is more likely to have a critical role in the socialisation of undergraduates, however. Hypotheses (ii), (iii) and (iv) are therefore more applicable. The role confusion hypothesis is unlikely to apply at Robbins, however, because of the staff consensus. Students are likely either to internalise the values and views promoted or at least conform to them. At Redbrick and Plateglass where there are tensions between staff all three hypotheses may apply and they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. It is possible, for example, that students experience role confusion in the early stages of the course but later on internalise the dominant values.

7.3 STAFF VIEWS ON SOCIALISATION

In this section staff views on socialisation will be examined. One possible way to identify and explain attitude change among students is to look for any desired attitude changes contained in course documents. These intentions could then be formulated as hypotheses. Unfortunately, we found in chapter 5 that such documents provide little guidance on desired attitude change. Objectives were either vague, begged many questions about socialisation or said little. Consequently, during my interviews with staff I asked for their views on attitude change among students within their school to see whether they could provide any clues as to whether student attitudes change and, if so, in what direction.

From the outset, however, it should be recognised that, in the early stages of my fieldwork, I did not question lecturers directly about attitude change among students. By the latter stages of my fieldwork my interview schedule had changed to include a direct question on the topic. Hence, I questioned some Robbins and all Civic lecturers directly but none at Plateglass and Redbrick. Nonetheless, I asked all lecturers 'How do you think the course as a whole changes students?' which provided them with an opportunity to offer opinions on attitude change among students. However, it was noteworthy that few mentioned attitude change in response to this question. Virtually all said that students improved their knowledge, mastered new techniques and sometimes acquired a 'critical and questioning outlook'. Perhaps this silence indicates an ambivalence towards the whole issue of socialisation, that it is the lecturer's job to 'educate' not indoctrinate? Despite this, many lecturers offered views on and insights into socialisation when answering other questions. Below I set out these views covering each school separately and draw out some of the similarities and differences between them.

(i) Civic

At Civic there was a range of opinion. At one extreme, some (two out of five) felt there was virtually no change. The course did not fundamentally

alter student world views. They came with well-developed views which remain intact although their knowledge of planning and various techniques increased. At the other extreme, one lecturer felt student attitudes changed and developed although this varied enormously between individuals. The change he identified was strengthening the belief in the need to intervene in the environment to improve the lot of certain disadvantaged social groups - a broad welfare philosophy. He also felt that while the course sharpened students' understanding of planning and gave them a greater sense of realism, it did not undermine their original idealism.

Other lecturers (two out of five) fell between the two extremes and were more cautious. They felt it was difficult to generalise about attitude change. As one commented: "Students learn very quickly what the rules of the game are and are therefore able to perform appropriately and they can do this very competently without necessarily believing in the performance. Now in some cases it's transparent that they're not believing in the performance but in other cases it's not, so that makes it very difficult to identify. On the other hand, one can think of individuals who have come through the course and been introduced to new bodies of knowledge and who clearly have experienced a sea of change in the way they view planning or the way they view the world." The other lecturer suggested that there were major variations between overseas

students, home students seconded from planning jobs and home students straight from university. Many overseas students, particularly those from Hong Kong and Malaysia, experienced a culture shock when they began the course. Coming from an authoritarian culture they were used to being told what was right and wrong, and therefore had problems adjusting to the liberal values of British academia and left wing ideas. Sometimes they made the transition and their world view was transformed as they became more critical and adopted a left wing philosophy. Home students seconded from planning jobs usually came with clear views on planning and rarely changed. Home students straight from university further developed and refined their initial ideas but did not change their outlook fundamentally.

There was a consensus that the course was probably less influential in shaping student attitudes than an undergraduate planning course. The main reason cited was that Civic attracts reasonably well informed applicants who match their views to the orientation of the course while the staff selected like-minded students from the pool of applicants. Three lecturers also pointed out that attitude change is likely to vary enormously between and within years because the course is largely individually based with the thesis dominating the second year. All five lecturers agreed that the course succeeded in teaching students to be more 'critical'.

(ii) Plateglass.

Only three lecturers offered opinions on attitude change among students at Plateglass. One lecturer, a planner, felt the students were undogmatic: "There is a genuine open-mindedness towards accepting the broadness of the subject we teach. It never ceases to surprise me how tolerant students are in accepting what is really an extremely broad ranging course from principles of design right through to hard numerical programming and all the social sciences in between. If you go and talk to a group of engineers then my goodness me you discover some narrow-minded people. You try and get a discussion going about some social issue and they just don't want to know. All they want is some sort of formula for mixing up concrete or building drains. Okay I'm being a bit rude but they have a narrow focus upon the skill that they want to acquire. Our students are prepared to take on arguments and express interest and produce useful essays and the reading on a fantastically wide range of material." This suggests that students accepted the generalist view as expressed in the Plateglass curriculum and supported by the majority of lecturers.

The two Marxist lecturers agreed with the above account - that planning students did what was asked of them without complaining - but arrived at an opposite evaluation as the following quotation illustrates. Planning students have a "lack of any strong principles, lack of any well thought-out views on

anything, preparedness to take a whole lot of crap from everybody and not complain about it. They are perfect bureaucrats. They do what you tell them to do and they very seldom object." This view was supported by the other Marxist lecturer who equated planning students with rice pudding! "They're certainly not turned on by the course. As a teacher what I'm looking for are students that are positively enthusiastic about what they're doing, actually coming to seminars wanting to talk about things, reading books from the reading list, etc., or indeed doing exciting things in the university. But I find that students in the planning school don't fall into either category they're nice people but in terms of their work they're not enthusiastic about it."

Apathy is one possible way of coping with a heavy workload and , according to the Marxists, it was not directed equally to all subjects. Plateglass students were particularly apathetic towards social science because they found it difficult and doubted its value. As one Marxist teaching sociology commented: "They find theories particularly difficult. They also find sociology difficult because it is a subject in which competing theories are not a problem at all. Every sociologist knows there are different ways of looking at the world. The sorts of students we get in the planning school are the sorts of students who find it difficult to cope with that kind of thing. They want definite answers: they want to solve problems."

The lecturer went further by questioning his own effectiveness: "At a fundamental level I don't think it has an effect at all. For very few does it actually fundamentally question a view of the world which is essentially a commonsensical view that says that theories are for ivory towers and the important thing is to get out there and get your hands dirty, getting to grips with problems."

(iii) Redbrick.

Only three out of five lecturers talked about student attitudes and all three were 'reformists', two being planning lecturers and one an outside social scientist. All three noted that students willingly gave priority to project work and did little work for other subjects. As the social scientist noted: "Part of the problem teaching planning undergraduates is the whole problem of the convention a year adopts about whether you should read before a seminar, whether you should expect to pass exams by regurgitating lectures or whether you should have to go away and read several books before writing an essay. Now in this Faculty [social science] there is a completely different approach to the whole process of how much work you should do on a course outside lectures. Seminars are seen as being much more important than lectures. There's a completely different value system operating. Something happens to them [the planning

students] in the first term that completely shapes their attitudes and it affects the amount of work they put into this course." Like one of the Plateglass Marxists, the lecturer also questioned his own effectiveness: "I find it depressing sometimes that you've had a whole series of lectures trying to explain how politics intrudes into what planners can actually do and yet to many students you've made no impact and they still see it as a technical process that politics hardly influences."

(iv) Robbins.

Three of the four lecturers at Robbins interviewed commented directly on attitude change among students. They all distinguished between overseas and home students. One felt that many of the overseas students were remarkably unscathed by the course, partly due to the strength of their prior socialisation in an authoritarian right wing culture (usually Hong Kong or Malaysia) but also because their friendship networks were outside the school. The lecturer felt that overseas students rarely accepted the Robbins view of planning as a radical, political form of intervention and found it difficult to engage in critical discussion. The other two lecturers felt that overseas students did adjust by eventually accepting the Robbins view of planning but they did not become self-critical. They remained dogmatic. All lecturers agreed that it was more difficult to generalise about home students partly because they

were usually brighter but also it was more problematic to know whether their outlook had really changed. However, they felt that more home than overseas students internalised the radical approach and adopted a questioning approach although many still failed in the latter respect. Thus, the Robbins School aimed to change student attitudes in two respects, adopting a 'radical' view of planning and encouraging students to question everything including the teacher's view.

The other Robbins lecturer, who teaches statistics and modelling, did not comment directly on attitude change among students but did point to the operation of group norms. Students showed no interest in his subject and devoted little time to them largely, in his view, because the subjects were not given priority by the rest of the staff and because most students were not numerate.

Most lecturers remarked that planning students were very friendly. The following quotation is typical: "for the most part they seem to be very nice pleasant people. They seem to be able to get on with each other very well, they seem to be very cohesive." This suggests it may be more than mere friendliness but rather the emergence of a cohesive group with norms relating to behaviour and attitudes. The lecturers' opinions at Plateglass and Redbrick clearly suggested that a strong student culture existed. By

contrast, at Civic, according to one lecturer, "some cohorts develop very powerful collective spirits, attitudes. So much so that we sometimes despair that there's no debate that the conventional wisdom prevails in a particular cohort. Others are much more pluralistic and remain so". At Robbins, as already hinted, a strong collective spirit did not emerge among the students largely because the overseas students kept their distance by not socialising much with other planning students.

The Civic lecturers' views lend further support to our expectation that the anticipatory socialisation hypothesis is most likely to apply to postgraduates. However, the suggestion made by a number of lecturers that undergraduates, particularly overseas but also home students, had a commonsense, technocratic view of the world which filtered their response to their education, throws doubt on our expectation that the hypothesis would not apply to undergraduates. Instrumental attitudes may lead students to reject views of planning and related subjects considered 'theoretical' while adopting and concentrating on subjects thought to be 'practical'. The lecturers' views on undergraduates also lend some support to the structural-functionalist and symbolic-interactionist hypotheses. It is notable that at Plateglass, Robbins and Redbrick, the lecturers who complained that students remained untouched by their teaching were all in minorities. It might be that students internalise

or superficially adopt the values promoted by the dominant group of staff within each school.

7.4 THE STUDENTS' EXPERIENCE OF TOWN PLANNING SCHOOL

In this section I describe students' experiences of planning school. I examine undergraduates first followed by Civic postgraduates. However, before proceeding, I summarise the key differences and similarities between the students and courses of the four schools since, as we shall see, they help explain variations in socialisation outcomes.

The undergraduate courses were highly structured, covered a wide range of subjects and had heavy taught workloads. Theory subjects tended to be separated from practice subjects and prescriptive projects were used extensively. The postgraduate Civic course permitted greater student choice, had a lighter taught workload and a more analytical orientation with few projects. Civic and Robbins had a wide ranging social science orientation while Redbrick had a narrower design and land use emphasis and Plateglass lay between the two extremes. There were major staff tensions at Civic, Redbrick and Plateglass, but not at Robbins. Postgraduate students entered planning school reasonably well informed about planning practice and education whereas undergraduates knew little. Most students, particularly those from overseas, were attracted to their courses for

vocational reasons. At Civic and Redbrick, and to a lesser extent Plateglass, students were more highly motivated towards their courses than their counterparts at Robbins.

The Undergraduate Experience of Planning School

One of the striking features of the undergraduate's experience was a strong feeling of disorientation during the first year of the course. The first year was a collection of varied introductory courses. Students disliked it and commonly found the courses superficial and disparate. The following quotations were typical: "I don't like the bittiness of the course. Doing eight subjects and you never really get into any of them. You just get as much as you can from the lectures. You're never really able to study anything" (first year Redbrick student); "The first year is almost like a foundation year which gets everybody up to the same level. There is only one course which is directly planning related. Nothing seemed to link up and it was all bits here and bits there and people didn't really know what direction we were heading in" (third year Plateglass student). This disorientation led to frustration, "I don't really feel as if I've learnt anything this year. I've been here a year and I've been to most of the lectures and I haven't really been told a great deal. We've been flitting about over a heck of a lot of stuff and not really getting down to anything." (Redbrick first year).

Many students were confused that they spent much time on subjects such as sociology and economics which they felt were unrelated to planning. For example, many Robbins students (six out of eight interviewees) felt most of the first year was a waste of time and should have had more emphasis on planning. The confusion and frustration led a number of students to leave the courses voluntarily, particularly during the first year¹.

Disorientation was due not only to the course but also to the expectations students brought with them. While we found in chapter 6 that students knew little about town planning, they viewed planning courses as vocational. They wanted to be told what planning was and how to do it: "I expected - and I think everybody expected this - somebody to come along and say this is town planning, almost like a dictionary definition, but they didn't" (Plateglass final year student). This instrumentalism led students to react to their courses, at least initially, in a common way.

¹ Undergraduate planning courses have high wastage rates. Some of the leavers do so voluntarily while others are forced out. For example, the wastage rate at Plateglass from the first to second year was 13% in 1983, 20% in 1982 and 17% in 1981.

Disorientation gradually receded and students responded to their experiences in one of two ways. Most, particularly those at Plateglass and Redbrick and some overseas students at Robbins, persisted with a commonsense instrumental approach to their education. Their dislike of theoretical social science subjects hardened: the planning theory course was "fairly abstract and at times it was difficult to relate to planning. Generally we'd be taught a theory and then a critique. There's no perfect theory - we'd learn about one person then the next thing we'd learn would totally contradict the earlier theory. It seemed as if all these little egg-heads were sitting around designing their own little theories and coming along and criticising them" (Plateglass third year student). These same students also felt their course was not 'practical' enough. For example, in response to the question 'If you were in position to change the course, what changes, if any, would you make?' 29 students (9 Robbins, 9 Redbrick and 11 Plateglass) wanted to see their course more closely related to planning practice. Here are some typical views: "Reduce the amount of theoretical work and modelling bias of the course and replace this with a greater emphasis on urban design and practical work. More emphasis should be placed on how the subjects we study affect planning in practice and how planning in practice works" (Plateglass final year student); "Overemphasis on statistics, modelling, etc. Little attention to the realities of practice" (Plateglass

final year student); "It touches very little on the aspects of physical planning which I thought would be the main body of the course. Even what is done in the final year is very limited" (Robbins final year student).

Confusion never disappeared. While it no longer amounted to an identity crisis for students, it continued to cause anxiety and contributed to a lack of confidence. As one final year Redbrick student commented: "I never felt as though I had grasped any subject in thorough depth to benefit from it, or to feel as though I would have enough confidence in my knowledge of the subject when I go into an office". This underlying anxiety is also illustrated by the difficulty students had in coping with conflicts in views of planning between staff. The responses to section A of Table 7.1 confirm the existence of major staff tensions at Redbrick and Plateglass. In the first year these conflicts were a major headache for students adding to their confusion and anxiety as the following comment from a Redbrick first year shows: "Sociology teacher thinks planners are unnecessary, political tools, waste of money, hindrance. Other planners think they are 'God's gift to the UK'. Some say no theory, others stress theory. Some stress arts, others social science, maths, etc." Gradually students came to see the conflict as something more than personality differences but as relating to different views of planning. Here is a typical

comment from a Redbrick final year student displaying greater understanding of staff divisions: "There are three groups in the Department: A - those who feel strongly that the course should be orientated towards small-scale physical planning; B - those who feel strongly that the course should have a much broader, less narrowly practical, more flexible, social science, policy orientation; and C - those in between who feel that A and B are compatible." Most final year questionnaire respondents (76%) from Redbrick and Plateglass viewed the tensions in similar 'fundamental' terms. The differences between the responses for Redbrick and Plateglass in section B of table 7.1 reflect the larger number of first year Redbrick respondents.

TABLE 7.1: UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT VIEWS ON STAFF

TENSIONS*	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS
A. Aware of differences in views of planning among lecturers			
Yes	71%	84%	25%
No	24%	16%	75%
Don't know	5%	-	-
Numbers	21	32	24
B. Understanding of differences			
Fundamental	63%	44%	-
Minor	25%	56%	-
Others	6%	-	-
Don't know	6%	-	-
Numbers	16	27	-

* I have excluded the Robbins responses to section B because only a small number answered it. Section B is based on my interpretation of student statements.

Despite growing recognition of staff tensions the majority of Redbrick and Plateglass students saw them as undesirable, viewing consensus as a virtue which is a further indication of students' commonsense, consensus outlook: "Say someone asked me what planning was, it would be very difficult to come to one view on the basis of all these different distinct areas and specialities. You've got to try and integrate these all together into one view of planning" (Plateglass final year student). Only one of the 17 Redbrick and Plateglass students interviewed volunteered the view that conflict was healthy.

There was a consensus among the more senior students I interviewed at Plateglass and Robbins that the workload in the first year was both light and easy. However, it increased considerably in the second and third years and eased off in the fourth year. At Redbrick, students indicated that the workload was heavy in the first three years but lighter in the final year.

The heavy workload meant that students could not do all the work they were asked to do and responded by giving priority to certain tasks, usually those subjects carrying most marks. At Plateglass, for example, second year students commonly worked hardest in the planning theory and planning techniques courses, irrespective of whether they were interested in them, because the examination marks in these

subjects counted towards the final degree assessment. Giving priority to gaining high marks is common in higher education (Becker et al, 1968). Students also gave priority to tasks which required meeting deadlines, such as essays and projects, but particularly the latter because they ran more or less throughout the year, were continually assessed and usually counted towards the final year mark. At Redbrick, project marks constituted 30% of a student's end of year assessment. At Plateglass, the equivalent figure varied between 40% and 60% in the first three years while at Robbins it varied between 20% and 40%. Undergraduates, particularly at Redbrick, spent large amounts of their free time² on projects especially in the week leading up to the hand-in date: "You spend most of your time at home on projects. Although they tell you just to spend two days a week on projects, there's no way I spend just two days on projects. I think 'ah I've got to read this or do some maths' and I just do it in ten minutes or if I've got a spare hour during the day. That's just an added extra. I see my project work as being the most important."

² In my survey the average Robbin student spent 12 hours of his or her free time in a 'typical' week doing course work, while Redbrick students spent 15 hours and Plateglass students 18 hours. However, there was a large variation between students, anything from nothing to an extraordinary 50 hours. The figures may not be very accurate partly because in some cases students have estimated the total hours they work, failing to distinguish between free and prescribed time.

Students also responded to a heavy workload by doing little studying and reading. This was confirmed by my interviews, particularly with Redbrick and Plateglass students. Planning students were extremely selective in their reading and usually only looked at books noted by lecturers as 'essential' or for help with essays. Otherwise, they relied on lecture notes to get through seminars and examinations. Reading was seen as an unnecessary chore. Students often responded collectively too, by passing advice to each other on which books were worth reading and borrowing notes of books. Some were even more organised: "I'm in a reading syndicate with four people. All the lecturers star the important references and give additional references which aren't so important. So we divide the reading up between the four of us and do the starred references" (Plateglass third year student). Many students felt they had too much reading to do and one Plateglass student cited an example where his year had successfully pressed lecturers to reduce reading: "We got together and got them to give us reading lists with essential reading on and extra reading if you're really interested so that narrowed it down to a few particular references for each subject. So you knew what was essential and what was just peripheral".

The heavy workload had two consequences for students. It reduced time for reflection, "you don't really have enough time to actually think and formulate your views, your feelings on various subjects. You're

forced to churn out whatever you read in a book" (Redbrick student). It also contributed to a sense of frustration of not being able to follow their own interests and "it gets you into a state where you're thinking you'll never finish everything and not doing anything to the best of your ability" (Plateglass student).

Project work was an important part of the planning student's life particularly at Redbrick and to a lesser extent Robbins. For Redbrick students, project work dominated their college life and was something they either loved or hated. For example, in response to my survey, nine Redbrick students cited projects as a strength while ten thought it was a weakness. Robbins students generally enjoyed projects apart from the second year modelling project. Their satisfaction is evident in the responses in Table 7.2. They felt projects were related to planning practice, used knowledge acquired in lectures and seminars, and encouraged students to develop their own ideas. This was also confirmed in their answers to the question 'If you were in a position to change the Robbins course what changes, if any, would you make?' Not one Robbins student asked for fewer projects (compared to 10 Redbrick students) although one asked for more projects and six wanted to see more design work. Plateglass students also approved of project work, although a number criticised the environmental design

projects in the first two years of the course. Here is a typical comment: "The project work is important. We actually had to design our own piece of research which is quite a task. It stretched you mentally. This term we're doing a policy-making project based on Housing Action Areas. I think the project work is one of the best parts. It's usually quite taxing but it's more directly planning orientated, even the environmental design projects. We had to design our own housing layout right down to details of building materials."

Redbrick students were surprised by the emphasis on design, technical drawing and presentation. The following comment is typical: "We had a local site planning project which seemed to be nearly all a technical drawing exercise. It's just all neatness of presentation rather than putting a lot of thought into the design." Redbrick, and to a lesser extent, Plateglass, students felt that little encouragement was given to students to develop their own ideas as shown in the responses to statements A, D and F of Table 7.2. On further examination, this applied in particular to design projects as the following comment from a final year Redbrick student shows: "You get the tutors who've got their own ideas about design - these layouts with crescents and so on. You know that if you didn't do a layout with crescents on then it'll be frowned on."

The majority of students thought projects were related to planning practice but there was a noticeable trend for final year students at Redbrick and to a lesser extent, Plateglass, to see them as unrealistic: of the 19 final year Plateglass and Redbrick final year students who responded, 11 (five from Plateglass) thought projects were unrealistic, four were undecided (three from Plateglass) and four disagreed (two from Plateglass). Some of the more cynical students regarded projects as a complete waste of time. Here, for example, a fourth year Redbrick student comments on the urban structure design project: "I didn't think it was that realistic at all, you know, design a new town in a month and cost it. It seemed a bit of a farce really."

Site visits apart, Redbrick students usually spent two days working in studios on design projects with a few tutors mingling with students commenting on their designs as they evolved. The atmosphere was friendly and relaxed, despite being competitive, although it became more tense and frantic as deadlines approached. One student added that the studio atmosphere tended to promote conformity because everybody observed each other's work and gradually a collective solution emerged. Collective responses were also a feature of group projects which are more common at Robbins and Plateglass.

TABLE 7.2: UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS

PROJECTS

	AGREED	UNDECIDED	DISAGREED	NUMBERS
A. "For many projects the tutors want certain solutions rather than others"				
PLATEGLASS	65%	25%	10%	20
REDBRICK	78%	13%	9%	32
ROBBINS	42%	25%	33%	24
B. "Project work is closely related to lecture and seminar courses"				
PLATEGLASS	50%	5%	45%	20
REDBRICK	31%	19%	50%	32
ROBBINS	72%	8%	20%	25
C. "Most project work is not related to planning practice"				
PLATEGLASS	40%	20%	40%	20
REDBRICK	25%	34%	41%	32
ROBBINS	20%	8%	72%	25
D. "Practical work tutors usually encourage new ideas and approaches"				
PLATEGLASS	30%	5%	65%	20
REDBRICK	34%	25%	41%	32
ROBBINS	71%	21%	8%	24
E. "Project work neglects the contributions of many subjects taught on the course"				
PLATEGLASS	55%	15%	30%	20
REDBRICK	68%	13%	19%	31
ROBBINS	28%	20%	52%	25
F. "The marking of many projects is much more dependent on the tutor's likes and dislikes than in other parts of the course"				
PLATEGLASS	65%	10%	25%	20
REDBRICK	87%	13%	0	31
ROBBINS	29%	33%	36%	25

The planning students' experience was very much a collective one since they are physically and socially isolated from other students. They were taught as a group and all the tasks and courses they did were specially designed for them. They never attend lectures or seminars with students from other courses

and there were no joint projects with other students, such as architects, even though they often shared the same building. Thus, it was no surprise that a friendly, cohesive group quickly developed. Here are some typical comments: "As far as students go, it's like a little village here. Everybody knows each other and it's very friendly - a bit cliquey" (Plateglass student); "Our particular year is very cliquey in that we are a body of students. There are 25 in our year and 18 of that crowd you can count as a group. It's a warm group" (Redbrick student). Robbins was different, however for a number of reasons: although students were friendly they never developed into a strong group. The cultural divide between the large number of overseas students and

TABLE 7.3: FRIENDSHIP PATTERNS OF TOWN PLANNING

<u>UNDERGRADUATES</u>	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	ROBBINS
A. STUDENTS IN SAME YEAR			
Very friendly	76%	65%	56%
Fairly friendly	19%	35%	44%
Not friendly	5%	0%	0%
Numbers	21	31	25
B. STUDENTS IN OTHER YEARS			
Very friendly	29%	13%	12%
Fairly friendly	43%	61%	64%
Not friendly	29%	26%	24%
Numbers	21	31	25
C. STAFF			
Very friendly	10%	3%	16%
Fairly friendly	52%	74%	84%
Not friendly	38%	23%	0%
Numbers	21	31	25

home students was never fully bridged and the former retained strong links with their compatriots outside planning school. In addition, there were a number of home-based and/or mature students with existing friendship patterns beyond the planning school. Section A of Table 7.3 indicates that Robbins students were less friendly with students in the same year than Redbrick or Plateglass students. Moreover, out of the 14 students who stated that students in their year were very friendly, nine (out of 15) were home-based while only five (out of 12) were overseas students. As noted earlier, at Redbrick and Plateglass, the year was a cohesive group and students often socialise with each other. More importantly, however, group standards and norms emerged which explain why they responded to the work in a common way, but it also influenced their view of planning by reinforcing the commonsense approach valued by most lecturers in each school.

The responses to section B in table 7.3 indicate that students had little contact with planning students in other years. This was unexpected and suggests that when students arrived at planning school they did not enter a ready-made culture but had to create it afresh in response to the circumstances they faced and the values they held. Section C shows there were major differences between the schools. The students I interviewed at Redbrick and Robbins said staff were usually friendly and approachable whereas Plateglass

students felt lecturers were distant and unfriendly. This is clearly reflected in Table 7.3

The postgraduate experience of planning school

Civic students were also frustrated with the intensive, superficial nature of the course in the first year, but they did not experience a major identity crisis. Indeed, they did not feel the need for a distinct identity as a planner as undergraduates did since they already had established identities as geographers, economists or whatever. Nor did they hold the commonsense approach of many undergraduates. They readily recognised staff conflicts as the following comment from a first year illustrates: "On the one hand, the socio-economic and ideological aspects of, e.g., the urban question - on the other, we get the notion of - 'this course is about the real world, leave your woolly social science arguments at home!' This extends to 'Keep politics out of planning!'" Conflict did not present a problem for them since few held a consensus outlook. They were quite prepared to accept conflicts and ambivalence. Related to this, Civic students had totally different study norms and habits. Reading was seen as important and they thrived on the critical orientation of the course. This points to the importance of their prior socialisation into academic values and norms during their first degree education in influencing their response to planning school. Finally, Civic students did not experience the pressure that undergraduates

come under because their workload was lighter and they did not have as many deadlines to meet and the examinations, for example, consisted of take-away papers. The atmosphere was more relaxed.

Generally, the students enjoyed the course particularly its wide-ranging critical nature and the thesis. However, student responses to the course fell into two categories - those who were interested in research and those who wished to become town planners. Of the three second year students I interviewed, one wished to go into planning, two were more interested in research, even though one was a secondee from a planning office, and the other expected he would end up in a planning job. More generally, however, I would judge the 'planners' were in a clear majority. The researchers were happy with the course because they felt it provided a good grounding in social research. However, a few students felt that the 'core course', that is the taught courses in the first year, could have been reduced with fewer lecturers and more seminars. The planners

TABLE 7.4: POSTGRADUATE VIEWS ON THE 'STRENGTHS' and 'WEAKNESSES' OF THE CIVIC COURSE

STRENGTHS	Number of mentions	WEAKNESSES	Number of mentions
Thesis	8	Not practical enough	9
Wide-ranging nature	4	Not enough discussion	4
Quality of staff	4	Others	5

were reasonably satisfied with the course but felt that it should be more related to planning practice as Table 7.4 indicates. These were the views of two students: "Terminate those courses which bear no relation to planning (interesting though they are). Encourage more interdisciplinary activity. Encourage land-use planning. Introduce more quantitative techniques. Make it more professional" (second year); "They should be related far more to what happens in a planning office. A lot of things we do here seem rather irrelevant. You take sociology of cities. It's all about Max Weber's interpretation and corporatism. I would say that 85-90% of it would never be of any use in a strict planning sense. I could think of things more relevant, more important to do. We've never looked at a plan here. They don't teach us the skills we'll need in a planning office, they don't teach us how to interpret scales on a map. Development control is obviously one of the key things about a planner's life certainly for someone who leaves a school like this. Apart from the planning law course, that's 22 hours of planning law, that's all we had. I think that's far too inadequate" (second year). It is clear from the above quotations that some of the students who were committed to planning as a career echo the commonsense values of undergraduates. The overseas students I interviewed were critical that virtually no attention was given to planning outside Britain.

The first year at Civic was a collective experience but the second year was more individually based. However, although students were friendly, a strong cohesive group did not emerge and, unlike undergraduates, Civic students did not establish a common set of work norms. Postgraduates adhered to study habits and norms acquired during their first degree.

7.5 THE EFFECTS OF TOWN PLANNING SCHOOL ON STUDENT ATTITUDES AND VALUES.

It is important to distinguish between students who adopt a commonsense view of planning and those who acquire a radical view. I shall call the former 'conventionalists' and the latter 'radicals'.

These two groups are identified in Table 7.5. A third group which I have called the 'technocrats', have also been identified. They see planning as a technical activity where the expert knows best. As one Redbrick first year commented: "We are always being told by lecturer X it's political, but I feel it represents a job which is undertaken for the best of everyone - planners are best qualified to do this job." Not surprisingly, the technocrats held a consensus view of society since they saw planning as 'promoting the public interest' or 'collective good' or creating 'a better environment for everybody'. The second and largest group, the 'conventionalists', recognised that planning was political but only in a limited and

superficial sense; because politicians formally made the decisions. However, there was a widespread feeling among the conventionalists that control by politicians

TABLE 7.5 : STUDENTS VIEWS ON TOWN PLANNING & POLITICS

	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
A. Is planning political?	87	8	95
B. Understanding of the political nature of planning*			
Technocratic	8(8%)		
Conventional	48(51%)		
Radical	39(41%)		

* Student views were classified after an analysis of answers to A above and the follow up question "If yes, in what ways is it political?"

was undesirable. Politicians were frequently seen as hindrances who were 'ignorant', 'irrational' and guilty of 'bias' in order to maintain or gain votes. Here, for example, is the view of one conventionalist, a Civic second year: "The political permutations of planning have become too blatant. We went to the GLC planning offices recently and we saw the planners as merely pawns in many respects. They were putting forward ideas in a clear, logical, technical manner, devoid of politics in many respects. And you had the councillors sat around an oblong table - the right wing on one side and the left wing on the other. They weren't interested in the planner or what he had to say. They were interested in back biting and political propaganda. If something was desirable because it pursued a socialist aim then it was passed because there was a socialist majority on the council

but if it didn't have a socialist aim it was rejected every time. That's the thing I don't like, you're far too constrained by politics."

Like the technocrats the conventionalists believed planning would be much better if left to the professionals and that at heart it was a technical exercise: "I didn't used to think it was so political but after a little experience I realise now that especially as far as development control goes every decision is a political one and depends on the 'make up' of the council at the time. The same too is true of structure planning and policy formulation. It's a pity though because all this takes away from the professional nature of the job. Yes, I think it is political." (final year Redbrick student).

The 'radicals' also accepted that planning was 'political', but they went beyond the limited view of the conventionalists. They believed planning was political in a more fundamental sense: by its nature planning was about choice and the most important choice of all was whether or not to plan. The planning system existed because of political will. As a first year Civic student commented, "planning involves the redistribution of scarce resources (physical and socio-economic) and therefore benefits some groups at the expense of others as you cannot 'give' to some without 'taking' from others, even if this is indirectly through taxation. At present

planners generally don't acknowledge the distributive consequences of their plans."

The radicals also tended to adopt a critical left wing, anti-professional, wide-ranging view of planning. Here, for example, are the views of some radicals: "Ideally, in my opinion, a town planner shouldn't exist because he is dictating to other people what form his life or the environment in which he lives his life should be. And to me at a philosophical level this is not the way life should be but given the economic structure of this country and the political set up, etc., I believe that planning's role should be to ameliorate gross inequalities" (final year Robbins student); "The RTPI and this course are miles apart. We've had the RTPI here before saying they're really concerned with whether planners are getting the technical approach. They can't seem to see that the problems you're trying to solve don't manifest themselves in the technical approach. You can't solve the problems of bad housing or whatever by saying 'this window's got to be six feet away from that door!'" (final year Robbins student). This left wing political view of planning was held mainly by Robbins home students but there were exceptions as the following comment from a Redbrick second year student shows: "I've become more pessimistic towards town planning than I was before. And I think I've become more left wing" but the

student added "I don't think a lot of them (other Redbrick students) really question what they're told."

TABLE 7.6 : STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PLANNING, PLANNERS AND POLITICIANS.

	AGREED	UNDECIDED	DISAGREED	NUMBERS
A. "Planning is an essentially technical activity"				
TECHNOCRATS	6(75%)	1	1	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	24(50%)	7	17(35%)	48
RADICALS	9(23%)	1	29(74%)	39
B. "Planning produces a pattern of land use and form of development which benefits some groups at the expense of others"				
TECHNOCRATS	6(75%)	0	2	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	37(77%)	1	10	48
RADICALS	34(87%)	1	4	39
C. "It's in the interests of all groups in society to support planning"				
TECHNOCRATS	7(87%)	1	0	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	36(75%)	6	6(13%)	48
RADICALS	13(33%)	4	22(56%)	39
D. "Planning is an activity which does not involve political judgements"				
TECHNOCRATS	2	1	5	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	2	2	44	48
RADICALS	0	0	39	39
E. "Goals and decisions are the prerogative of councillors whereas planners supply facts"				
TECHNOCRATS	5(63%)	3	0	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	24(50%)	8	16(33%)	48
RADICALS	7(18%)	7	25(64%)	39
F. "The planner brings much needed rationality to council politics"				
TECHNOCRATS	7	1	0	8
CONVENTIONALISTS	33(69%)	12	3	48
RADICALS	10(26%)	14	15	39
G. "There can be no objectively right or wrong professional judgement"				
TECHNOCRATS	1	1	5	7
CONVENTIONALISTS	20(42%)	11	17	48
RADICALS	27(69%)	6	6	39

The differences between the three groups are evident in tables 7.6 and 7.7. In table 7.6, for example, the

technocrats and conventionalists saw planning as more technical than the radicals in the responses to A,D,F and G. They also tended to uphold the conventional wisdom about the relationship between officers and members which prevails in local government, that officers are politically neutral and merely advise members who make the decisions (see E in table 7.6). The consensus outlook of the technocrats and conventionalists is also revealed in C of table 7.6 although, strangely not in B. By contrast, the radicals were less likely to see planning as technical, more likely to see the officer's role as political (see E,F and G in table 7.6) and more likely to adopt a conflict view of planning (see B and C in table 7.6).

TABLE 7.7 : STUDENT VIEWS ON THE AIMS OF PLANNING

AIMS OF PLANNING	TECHNOCRATS	CONVENTIONALISTS	RADICALS
RANKED FIRST OR SECOND			
Beauty	3	25	14
Efficiency	4	26	14
Control	6	29	23
Equity	1	13 (27%)	24 (62%)
Others	1	4	1
Total	8	48	39
RANKED LAST			
Beauty	1	5	12
Efficiency	1	7	13
Control	0	4	5
Equity	5 (63%)	28 (58%)	7 (18%)
Others	1	4	2
Total	8	48	39

Table 7.7 shows that all students rated 'control' highly. This reflects a common view that planning and planners will continue to be necessary. However, the

technocrats and conventionalists were more likely to see the aim of planning as 'non-political' to achieve greater 'efficiency' or a more pleasant environment ('beauty'). The radicals, by contrast, rated 'equity' highly which provides more evidence of their political outlook.

Table 7.8 shows the composition of the three groups. The technocrats were all first years and most (5) are from overseas. Moreover, the technocratic view disappeared by the final year. The conventionalists were drawn mainly from Redbrick and Plateglass, but included the majority of overseas students from Robbins. Robbins and Civic had greater proportions of radicals in first and final years. Home students were more likely to be radical than overseas students whatever the institution or year of study. From this I can deduce the main effect of undergraduate planning education. This assumes that there are no major inter-cohort differences, a reasonable assumption given that there have been no major staff changes in the period and the climate of opinion towards planning has been stable since the late seventies. A few students entered planning school with highly technocratic views but soon dispensed with them. Then the majority of students adopted a view of planning similar to that held by most staff and underpinning the curriculum. Consequently, at the two schools (Plateglass and Redbrick) where a professional, technical view of planning predominated

among staff, students tended to adopt that view. At Robbins, by contrast, where a radical approach dominated a large number of student acquired radical views. At Redbrick 75% and at Plateglass 81% of students held a technical view of planning compared to only 48% of Robbins students who held radical views. This reflects the stronger student culture at Redbrick

TABLE 7.8 : COMPOSITION OF STUDENT GROUPS

	TECHNOCRATS	CONVENTIONALISTS	RADICALS
FIRST YEAR STUDENTS			
CIVIC	0	3	6
Home	0	1	5
Overseas	0	2	1
PLATEGLASS	3	8	3
Home	0	7	3
Overseas	3	1	0
REDBRICK	5	13	5
Home	3	11	4
Overseas	2	2	1
ROBBINS	0	9	8
Home	0	4	6
Overseas	0	5	2
FINAL YEAR STUDENTS			
CIVIC	0	2	6
Home	0	2	4
Overseas	0	0	2
PLATEGLASS	0	6	4
Home	0	5	4
Overseas	0	1	0
REDBRICK	0	6	3
Home	0	6	3
Overseas	0	0	0
ROBBINS	0	1	4
Home	0	0	3
Overseas	0	1	1
TOTAL	8	48	39

and Plateglass which promotes greater conformity but it also shows the power of anticipatory socialisation

among Robbins overseas students. Overseas students, particularly those from South East Asia, found it difficult to comprehend radical views. This explains why few overseas students adopted radical views, even at Robbins.

The Civic postgraduates were different again. Most felt their attitudes had changed in response to their education as Table 7.9 shows. Perceived change was greatest among home-based and first year students. Three areas of attitude change were identified. Most, (seven out of ten) felt their attitudes towards town planning had become more realistic. For a few, greater realism was accompanied by a loss of faith in planning while others remained committed: "I no longer wish to be a town planner" (second year); "Less confidence in planning's ability to solve societal problems" (first year); "When I was at University X I was a lot more vague. Since I've been here I know a lot more about what actually goes on and I think I've changed my attitudes towards the status quo - to the limits in which it can work. I used to be a lot more interested in world views and idealistic but now I've changed towards what can be done" (second year). Four students felt they had become more aware of the political nature of planning. For some this was merely greater awareness - "I didn't realise planning was such a political issue" (first year) - but for others it meant a new political commitment, usually to left wing ideas. As one second year said she was

"more angry about the inequalities of the system."
Two students felt that, as a result of the course, they now viewed planning as a more wide-ranging subject than land-use planning but one first year recognised

TABLE 7.9: PERCEIVED ATTITUDE CHANGE AMONG CIVIC STUDENTS

STUDENTS	CHANGE	NO CHANGE
All	11	6
Home-based	10	2
Overseas	1	4
First years	7	2
Second years	4	4

that "this may only relate to the academic views of planning expressed here and not to the working profession."

It can conclude that Civic students' perceptions were similar to those of their lecturers. For most students the experience of Civic did not drastically alter their attitudes towards planning or their world views. It was therefore, no surprise to find as many radicals among first year as final year students. Anticipatory socialisation was therefore crucial. Clearly, the course improved their understanding, but

it also built on their left wing leanings towards planning as a widely based form of intervention which should aim to produce greater equality. Most importantly, however, it tempered their idealism with an appreciation of what could be achieved. A minority even discarded their original commitment to planning as a career.

Although I have identified significant differences between students, I should not overlook the similarities. I deal with these below.

(i) Role inflation and confusion.

Students tended to adopt a grandiose conception of town planning. Few believed planning to be a narrow insignificant activity. Most, like the planning profession more generally, defined the role of planners widely, far broader than merely administering the statutory town planning system but as covering housing policy, regional policy and even general local government policy and expenditure too. This is indicated, to some extent in the responses of table 7.10. Nearly a third of all respondents felt that planning had considerable influence over housing while a further half felt it had some influence. Similarly, 22% felt planners had considerable influence over industrial location while 64% felt they had some.

TABLE 7.10 : STUDENT ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE SCOPE OF TOWN PLANNING

AREA OF CONCERN	DEGREE OF INFLUENCE			NUMBERS
	CONSIDERABLE	SOME	VERY LITTLE	
A. PATTERNS OF LAND USE				
Technocrats	25%	75%	0	8
Conventionalists	52%	39%	9%	46
Radicals	51%	38%	10%	39
TOTAL	49%	42%	9%	93
First Years	49%	48%	3%	63
Final Years	50%	30%	20%	30
B. URBAN DESIGN				
Technocrats	50%	37%	13%	8
Conventionalists	19%	55%	26%	47
Radicals	10%	77%	13%	39
TOTAL	18%	63%	19%	94
First Years	22%	56%	22%	63
Final Years	10%	77%	13%	31
C. HOUSING				
Technocrats	50%	37%	13%	8
Conventionalists	35%	54%	11%	46
Radicals	21%	58%	21%	38
TOTAL	30%	54%	15%	92
First Years	42%	45%	13%	62
Final Years	7%	73%	20%	30
D. LOCATION OF INDUSTRY				
Technocrats	13%	75%	13%	8
Conventionalists	21%	70%	9%	47
Radicals	27%	54%	19%	39
TOTAL	22%	64%	14%	94
First Years	30%	65%	5%	63
Final Years	6%	61%	32%	31
E. GENERAL LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICY AND EXPENDITURE				
Technocrats	25%	25%	50%	8
Conventionalists	6%	19%	74%	47
Radicals	8%	28%	64%	39
TOTAL	9%	23%	68%	94
First Years	8%	24%	68%	63
Final Years	10%	22%	68%	31
F. SOCIAL INEQUALITY				
Technocrats	13%	38%	50%	8
Conventionalists	6%	38%	56%	46
Radicals	11%	33%	56%	39
TOTAL	10%	35%	55%	93
First Years	11%	36%	53%	62
Final Years	7%	36%	58%	31

Nearly a third (32%) thought planners had at least some influence over general local government policy and expenditure while 45% felt they had some influence over inequality.

Whilst most students retained a grandiose view of town planning during their time at college their attitudes towards the scope of planning changed. For example,

30% and 42% of first year students felt that planners had considerable influence over the location of industry and housing respectively, while the equivalent figures for final year students were 6% and 7% respectively. However, the responses on all the other areas of concern identified in table 7.10 for first and final year students were similar. This suggests that as students moved through college they began to identify the scope of planning with what local planning authorities did.

The qualitative responses from interviewees were even more revealing, however, as the following cross section of views shows: "The amount of times that people say to you 'what do you do' and I say 'I'm a town planner' so they say 'ah, you plan towns'! It's a difficult subject to explain to people because it's such a wide course. You could say yes well the main area we're concerned with is development control - making sure things are built in the right perspective with other buildings. But to explain to people that you're looking into a far deeper far more reaching activity is difficult. This is a problem when you look at things in a wide based approach. It's very easy to explain technical things to laymen but when it comes to the corporate approach to planning - the inter-linking co-ordination between departments - it's very difficult to explain" (final year Robbins student).

"Its quite difficult. It covers a number of areas, anything from D.C. on the small scale to research and that side of things; local plans and structure plans. I don't think many of us would be able to define town planning. We're so busy dealing with the intricacies and deeper side of study" (third year Plateglass student).

"I wouldn't know how to define town planning because I've been so confused by what I've been taught. If I wanted just to get away with it I would say it's the study of using land to its fullest but that would be a very naive thing to say because there's so much more involved. You'd have to go into the whole thing about public administration, using public resources as well as land resources" (third year Redbrick student).

"I always have this problem whenever anybody asks what town planning is. I think you have to explain that it's more than just the control of land-use. It's concerned with the provision of services, some sociology, law and politics" (second year Redbrick student).

All the above comments show that students saw planning as a broad based activity. One even said "planning concerns almost everything you come across in your life". However, they also displayed some confusion about the nature of town planning. During interviews with students I asked the question 'what is town

planning?' and usually received the following response - a gulp followed by a long pause. Eventually, most students would reply by saying that planning was broader than statutory planning (24 out of 31 interviewees) but most could not define it.

(ii) The shift towards a profession centred view
The vast majority of planning students came to view planning through professional spectacles. This does not mean that they held a common view but merely that they all viewed it first and foremost as an occupation and 'profession'. Students came to identify themselves as 'planners'. This was often difficult to observe since it was taken for granted. It was however, evident on occasions from what students said during interview. Most students approved of planning and only a minority of the radicals rejected the concept of professionalism and disapproved of planning.

Students also commonly acquired and retained a vague and ill-developed belief in 'generalism' (table 7.11). They distinguished planners from other occupations by their generalist outlook rather than specific knowledge. Planners were said to have an appreciation of all the relevant areas of expertise and other considerations and were therefore best placed to make judgements. Hence, the students

descriptions of planners having an 'overview' or being 'generalists', 'co-ordinators' and 'catalysts'. Here are some typical student views: "He has the power to generalise, to put all the various experts together" (second year Plateglass student); "Planners have the ability to look at things as a whole" (final year Redbrick student); "Architects, economists and surveyors are specialist experts whereas the planner is concerned with the total fabric of the environment. This requires a broad based background with some knowledge of architecture etc. especially in the context of land-use development and control. Planners call upon specialist expertise of architects etc. working with them when formulating and implementing plans. Their important distinguishing skills are communication and co-ordination skills and the ability to provide the overview" (final year Civic student); "They have abilities at a number of levels. They're scientifically orientated, design and sociological in that they care for people...everything really. It's borrowed from a number of professions. I think that's what makes planners distinctive - they've got a broader view than other professions which are narrower in scope" (third year Plateglass student).

TABLE 7.11: STUDENT VIEWS ON THE DISTINGUISHING FEATURES OF THE PLANNING PROFESSION*

FEATURES MENTIONED	TECHNOCRATS	CONVENTIONALISTS	RADICALS	LS
1. Generalism	5(63%)	29(63%)		26(70%)
2. Planners have less technical expertise and play a more 'political' role	0	4		10
3. Planners are more 'socially aware'	1	3		6
4. Others	3	7		3
5. No answer	0	2		2

*78% of interviewees mentioned generalism as a distinguishing feature of planners.

Table 7.11 shows the popularity of the generalist belief. What is most interesting, however, though not revealed in the table, is that the belief in generalism was acquired very early on in planning school, but it remained vague and a few students even dispensed with it. This is partly because many students experienced recurring doubts about whether planning was a distinct profession and reflected genuine tensions between the planner as a professional and his/her role in a political activity.

Students also acquired a belief in the planning system rather than what it tried to achieve. They rejected the market and valued order as the following comments illustrate: planning helps "prevent deterioration (in social terms) that may be caused if the free market is allowed to dictate all land-use patterns" (first year Civic student); "To ensure smooth running of building

developments i.e. to make sure they are not harmful" (first year Plateglass student); "To provide a set structure for development in the future" (first year Robbins student); To make things more orderly" (first year Robbins student); "To create order from chaos" (second year Redbrick student); "If you can control some land development and stop it then fair enough" (second year Civic student). The preference for order is also reflected in table 7.8 where all three groups of students rated 'control' highly as an aim of planning.

Once again however the belief in the need to intervene or plan was vague. Few students said what was wrong with the market if left unregulated. Here, for example, a Civic first year student answered a question about what planning should be about: "From our training we know what should happen in the environment. We don't question the doctors who tell us not to smoke. We know why we should have houses here and why we should have shops here and roads there. We are competent in sociology, economics, geography and all the sciences. We are trained, we are qualified to make judgement on the environment." But on further questioning about what planning should be doing the student remained arrogant but vague, "what the planner should be able to tell the people is the necessity to create an environment which can supply its citizens with what the planners feel are basic to obtaining a fulfilled existence - good houses. A planner should be able to understand, by

his training, what constitutes bad housing, good schooling, good environment, water supply."

The above comments reflect an unwillingness to attribute specific purposes to planning, genuine tensions between the roles of professionals and politicians, and was confused about what planning was or could be. The tendency to convert means (the planning system) into ends further illustrates that planning had become a mystery among planning students. It was assumed by students and practitioners alike that planning, however defined, was a good thing and therefore needed no justification.

7.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

I began this chapter with a number of expectations about the processes underlying the socialisation of planning students. For undergraduates I felt that their socialisation would be largely determined by their experiences on the course - the dominant ideology, the extent of tension between staff and the student culture. By contrast, I thought that the socialisation of postgraduates would be determined by their prior anticipatory socialisation.

The findings confirmed some of my initial expectations but cast doubt on others. As expected the orientations postgraduates brought to planning

school had a crucial effect on their socialisation. However, this was also true of undergraduate overseas students. The cultural background of undergraduate overseas students, notably those from South East Asia, made it difficult for many of them to comprehend, never mind internalise, radical views of town planning. As a result, most adopted a conventionalist view irrespective of the view promoted by planning school teachers. Even with undergraduates, with their flimsy initial knowledge of planning, I found that their initial instrumental attitudes towards study helped filter their experiences. They responded to the parts of the course considered 'practical'. This was a surprise.

My expectation that staff views of planning would have an important effect on the socialisation of undergraduates but not postgraduates was partially confirmed: it only applied to home not overseas undergraduates. Nevertheless, home undergraduate students are the majority of all planning students.

My expectation that conflicts and tensions between staff would have an impact on socialisation was also largely confirmed. They had a major impact on undergraduates but not postgraduates. Undergraduates in particular often found planning school a painful experience when confronted with opposing staff views of planning. As a result many were confused about the nature and role of planning, and lacked confidence.

Planning schools did not build a sense of competence and pride, a faith in the undergraduate's chosen profession, a ready made identity. This outcome was due to two factors. First, conflicts between staff were rarely explained to students and courses were superficial. However, it also reflected the type of student attracted to planning courses. Undergraduates with their commonsense instrumental orientation, expected to acquire an identity and found it difficult to cope with staff conflicts, ambiguity and abstractions yet these were common features of the planning school experience. Postgraduates, by contrast, had no such expectations and were used to dealing with conflicts of ideas.

I had also expected student culture to influence socialisation at Redbrick and Plateglass but not Civic and Robbins. At Redbrick and Plateglass the student culture promoted homogeneity of views on planning than would otherwise have been the case. At Robbins and Civic student culture had little influence and homogeneity of views resulted from other factors - the dominant ideology held by staff for Robbins home students and anticipatory socialisation for Robbins overseas students and Civic students. However, the insignificance of student culture at Robbins and Civic may be specific to the cohorts studied. In chapter 5, it was noted that Civic lecturers felt that student culture had developed and had a powerful influence on the socialisation of previous cohorts of students.

Students leave planning school with either a conventionalist or radical view of planning. The conventionalists saw planning as a technical activity whereas the radicals viewed it as fundamentally political. The conventionalists tended to hold a consensus view of society while the radicals usually adopted a left-wing conflict outlook. However, both groups held a view of the planner's role which went beyond the activities of local planning authorities. This reflected a certain amount of confusion about what was meant by 'planning', but also the broad based views of planning teachers. In addition, both groups adopted a profession centred view of planning, viewing it as an occupation and being concerned to differentiate themselves from other occupations. This shows that professional socialisation had a subtle conservative impact since the student takes certain things for granted - that planning was desirable.

TABLE 7.12 : THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN PROCESS AND OUTCOME

A GROUP	B KEY DETERMINANTS OF SOCIALISATION	C LIKELY OUTCOME
Home Undergrads	Staff Views	Depends on B
Overseas Undergrads	Anticipatory Socialisation	Conventionalist
Home Postgrads	Anticipatory Socialisation	Depends on B
Overseas Postgrads	Anticipatory Socialisation	Depends on B

Table 7.12 identifies the relationship between process and outcome for the socialisation of town planning students. A number of conclusions are evident.

First, one process can produce different outcomes. For example, the effect of anticipatory socialisation, where it is important, will depend on whether students bring radical or conventional orientations to planning school. Second, different processes can lead to the same outcome. For example, a home undergraduate might leave planning school as a radical because his/her course and teachers were radical. Similarly, the views of a radical graduate from a postgraduate course would most likely have been due to the student's prior socialisation. Third, I can identify in advance which process is likely to govern the socialisation of a particular group but the outcome is contingent on the nature of the anticipatory socialisation or the staff views. Finally, staff views and course content on the one hand and anticipatory socialisation on the other hand emerge as the key influences on socialisation, not student culture.

I can conclude that the 'anticipatory socialisation' hypothesis is most accurate for postgraduates and overseas undergraduates but not home undergraduates. However, the 'role confusion' hypothesis has some applicability among all undergraduates in the early stages of their experience, but eventually students acquired one of two ideologies, albeit at a vague level.

The structural functionalist hypothesis appeared to account for the socialisation of British

undergraduates. Symbolic interactionism provided a crucial insight into the socialisation of all students - they did not acquire a detailed professional role model containing an operational guide to practice. Rather, it was a vague ideology which acted as a source of identity and personal comfort. However, My conclusions cannot be regarded as definitive on the basis of evidence collected so far as I have yet to examine whether student attitudes persist when they start work and whether they help guide and/or rationalise behaviour.

8. THE EARLY YEARS OF WORK

8.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the early work experiences of planning graduates in order to answer the following questions:-

- (i) How accurate were graduates' expectations of planning work?
- (ii) How well prepared did graduates feel for planning work?
- (iii) How does work affect attitudes towards town planning?
- (iv) Were there any significant differences between graduates of different schools?

The chapter is based on a mail questionnaire survey of recent graduates of Civic, Plateglass and Redbrick carried out in 1983.¹

The chapter is arranged as follows. First, I set out my expectations and describe the basic characteristics of the graduates covered in the survey. Then, I examine the main features of their work experience focussing on their expectations and

¹The survey did not cover graduates from Robbins Polytechnic because the school refused to provide a list of names and addresses.

reactions to their jobs and work environment. Finally, I identify and explain the impact of work on their attitudes towards town planning.

8.2 EXPECTATIONS

In chapter 3 I found that planning practice had diversified significantly in a number of respects since the early seventies. First, planning work had expanded beyond the traditional activities of development control and plan preparation to include 'economic development', research and information, corporate planning, tourism and so on. Second, major differences were evident in the work environment of planning authorities. Two planning systems have grown up. Local authorities, predominantly in the South and suburban areas, are heavily concerned with plan preparation and development control because there is still pressure for development. Other local authorities - mainly in the North, Wales, Scotland and inner urban areas where little development is taking place - are trying to promote development. Local authorities also differ in their political complexion with some Conservative administrations viewing planning as development control only. There are also variations in professional ideologies between planners : some see the role of planning as controlling development while others have a wider vision of it as promoting development and/or co-ordination of other local authority departments'

work. These differences may not, of course, be mutually exclusive. The point is that planning practice is increasingly diverse and, as a result, I would not expect planning work to promote uniformity in attitude among graduates, but rather result in greater diversity.

In chapter 4 I identified changes in the job market for planning graduates in the late seventies and early eighties. Town planning jobs were scarcer and many graduates found jobs in other fields. Most importantly, however, those who did enter planning were likely to find their career prospects restricted and would also encounter low morale among many practising planners. I would expect this to lead to frustration and low morale among graduates. It will be interesting to see whether this frustration affects their attitudes more generally towards town planning.

In chapter 5 I discovered significant differences in course coverage between Civic, Plateglass and Redbrick. Civic aimed to prepare students for research and policy making jobs in the public sector. Consequently, the course focussed on developing research skills and covered a wide range of policy areas including planning, housing, transport and economic development. However, the course made little attempt to cover urban design, quantitative techniques and planning legislation.

Redbrick, by contrast, concentrated on local planning and design but made little attempt to cover wider policy areas, such as housing, or develop research skills. Plateglass fell somewhere between Civic and Redbrick: local planning and design was covered but not to the same degree as at Redbrick while wider urban and regional policy areas were also covered and research skills developed. The course also emphasised quantitative techniques. None of the three courses gave much attention to development control. As a result of the course differences I should expect Civic, and to a lesser extent Plateglass, graduates to have more accurate expectations and feel better prepared for research and policy making jobs while Redbrick graduates should feel better equipped for design and local planning. All graduates, however, should feel ill-equipped for and have inaccurate expectations of development control. It will be interesting to see whether students try to match their specialism with planning jobs, but the scope for this is limited given restricted job opportunities.

In chapter 7 I identified two ideologies among planning students - conventionalism and radicalism. The conventionalists had a technical view of planning and consensus outlook whereas the radicals viewed planning as a political activity and held a conflict view of society. Nevertheless, both groups

viewed planning as a separate field and profession and as a much broader activity than statutory town planning. The conventionalists were drawn mainly from Plateglass and Redbrick while the radicals dominated at Civic.

In general we would expect that where graduates have accurate expectations of work and similar attitudes towards the job as practitioners then these attitudes will be reinforced and further developed by work experience. If, by contrast, their expectations are inaccurate and attitudes are different to those held by practitioners then we would expect them to question their attitudes and change them towards the practitioner view. Thus I would expect a radical on entering a planning office where similar views prevail to find his/her attitudes reinforced. However, where the radical enters an office where conventionalism dominates I would expect him/her to conform to the new culture.

There are several reasons why graduates would probably conform to the culture of the planning office. The new recruit arrives to find an established culture which is a response to the social situation of practitioners. As a low status person it is easier for the newcomer to submit to this culture : career progress and social standing amongst colleagues may depend on it. Most often the newcomer will change his/her attitudes without any

overt coercion by the reference group. The newcomer might, for example, imitate the attitudes of his/her colleagues and superiors. Indeed, mere association with a group of people with distinct attitudes and ideas will encourage the newcomer to adopt them. The question of what happens when a newcomer enters an office with a pluralist culture is more difficult, but will be examined. In addition, I should try to discern whether conformers actually internalise the new culture.

In general I should expect the taken-for-granted beliefs, which graduates hold in common with practitioners, about planning being a distinctive profession and worthwhile activity to be reinforced. However, it will be interesting to see what results when reality confronts ideology. What happens, for example, when graduates find planning to be a more narrow, less powerful activity than they had expected? Does it lead to frustration and disillusionment or an acceptance of the more limited nature of planning?

8.3 PROFILE OF GRADUATE PLANNERS

Who are the graduate planners? What are their basic characteristics? Table 8.1 shows that a total of 88 graduates replied to the mail questionnaire. The respondents were predominantly male with only 27% female. Table 8.2 shows most respondents were in

TABLE 8.1 : SURVEY OF PLANNING GRADUATES²

INSTITUTION	RESPONSE RATE	NUMBERS	GRADUATES COVERED BY YEAR OF GRADUATION
Civic	50%	32	1978-1982
Plateglass	65%	28	1979-1982
Redbrick	58%	28	1978-1982

their twenties. Not surprisingly the Civic postgraduates were older than their undergraduate counterparts.

TABLE 8.2 : AGE OF RESPONDENTS

	25	25-30	30	TOTAL
Civic	16%	56%	28%	32
Plateglass	57%	43%	-	28
Redbrick	39%	57%	4%	28

Graduates had developed lasting friendships with fellow graduates: 77% said they had kept in 'close contact' with at least some of their fellow planning graduates.

²Details of the questionnaire and survey are provided in the appendices. The 'real' response rate is likely to be considerably higher than indicated because it is almost certain that a number of questionnaires never reached the graduates for whom they were intended (Appendix 1).

Table 8.3 below shows that most graduates now work in 'traditional' planning jobs - in local authority planning departments and consultancies. Significantly more Civic postgraduates worked

TABLE 8.3 : PRESENT JOB OF SURVEY RESPONDENTS

JOB	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK
Mainstream town planning	47%	64%	79%
Planning related	19%	29%	14%
Unrelated	22%	-	4%
Unemployed	6%	7%	-
Others	6%	-	4%
<hr/> TOTAL	<hr/> 32	<hr/> 28	<hr/> 28

outside mainstream town planning compared to undergraduates.

Table 8.4 shows that the majority of undergraduates (60%), who work in planning, are employed by shire district councils compared to only 13% of Civic postgraduates who work in planning. By contrast, 53% of Civic postgraduates, who work in planning, work in higher-tier planning authorities that is, Central Government, metropolitan and shire counties. The corresponding figure for the undergraduates is only 27%.

8.4 : PRESENT EMPLOYERS OF RESPONDENTS WORKING IN TOWN PLANNING

EMPLOYER	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	TOTAL
1. Central Government	2	1	-	3
2. Met. Counties	2	1	-	3
3. Met. Districts	4	1	2	7
4. Shire Counties	4	4	5	13
5. Shire Districts	2	11	13	26
6. Scottish Regions	-	-	-	-
7. Scottish Districts	-	-	-	-
8. Planning Consultants	1	1	1	3
TOTAL	15	19	21	55

Table 8.5 shows that the undergraduates from Plateglass and Redbrick work in 'small scale' planning - development control and local plans - whereas more of the Civic postgraduates work in 'large-scale' planning - in strategic planning, policy, research and economic development. The postgraduate planners from Civic have much more diversified job destinations by type of work and employer than their undergraduate counterparts. Surprisingly, Redbrick graduates are more likely to have worked in economic development or strategic planning and less likely to have worked in development control than their Plateglass counterparts.

TABLE 8.5 : THE ASPECTS OF PLANNING IN WHICH RESPONDENTS HAVE EXPERIENCE*

ASPECT OF PLANNING	CIVIC	PLATE-	REDBRICK	TOTAL GLASS
1. Development Control	19%	61%	36%	26
2. Local Planning & Design	33%	52%	55%	31
3. Strategic Planning	29%	13%	27%	15
4. Research & Information	24%	22%	32%	17
5. Economic Dev. & Industrial Promotion	24%	4%	23%	11
6. Private Work	19%	4%	9%	7
TOTAL	21	23	22	-

Some respondents have experience of more than one area of planning.

Like current Civic students, the majority (63%) of Civic graduates had first degrees in geography. Others had first degrees in social science (22%), architecture (9%) and arts/humanities (6%).

8.4 THE EXPERIENCE OF PLANNING WORK

In this section I examine the work experience of planning graduates. How well equipped for planning jobs did they feel? How accurate were their expectations of planning work?

What is most striking about the findings of my survey is the similarity of graduates' experiences. I begin by considering graduates' attitudes towards preparation for planning work. Then I examine the work environment. It must be emphasised that this

section aims to describe rather than to evaluate the work experience of planning graduates.

Preparation for Planning Work

This section explores graduates' views on how well they felt prepared for work and the accuracy of their job expectations. First, I cover their knowledge of planning practice, their preparation for work practices, their expectations of the administrative content of work and their views on the nature of planning as practised.

(i) Knowledge of Planning Practice.

Two thirds of respondents with planning experience thought their course was a poor preparation for planning work (table 8.6). They felt their courses failed to equip them for the 'nitty gritty' aspects of planning work, especially procedures and legislation. As expected, most Plateglass and Civic graduates, unlike those from Redbrick, felt that their courses had provided reasonable preparations for strategic planning and research. Surprisingly, all but one of the graduates who had worked in economic development felt ill-prepared for the work. Respondents singled out two areas of planning work for which their education was of little help - development control and local plans. Nearly 70% of respondents who work, or have worked, in development control thought this aspect of planning was neglected or badly taught on their courses.

Redbrick graduates were more satisfied than their counterparts at Civic and Plateglass. It is important to recognise that most graduates covered in my survey work in these areas, especially the undergraduates (table 8.5). The following quotations illustrate the views of graduates concerning development control: "Law and development control: one hour per week with a specialist solicitor going at 90 m.p.h. over these important concepts and what is the nitty gritty of the whole profession is totally inadequate. Again, since being in practice, I think whatever your perspective, a thorough acquaintance with the law is essential to put your case over effectively" (Civic graduate); "Very little of the course was of any practical help when I entered development control" (Civic graduate); "Least effective was the

TABLE 8.6 : PREPARATION FOR AREAS OF PLANNING - GRADUATE

<u>VIEWS</u>	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REBRICK	TOTAL
1. Planning work in general				
Reasonable	6	7	7	20
Poor	15	15	14	44
Other	-	1	1	2
2. Local Planning				
Reasonable	3	2	5	10
Poor	2	10	7	19
Other	1	-	-	1
3. Development Control				
Reasonable	-	4	4	8
Poor	4	10	4	18
Other	-	-	-	-
4. Strategic Planning				
Reasonable	4	3	-	7
Poor	2	-	5	7
Other	-	-	1	1
5. Research				
Reasonable	4	4	-	8
Poor	1	1	6	8
Other	-	-	1	1
6. Economic Development				
Reasonable	1	-	-	1
Poor	4	1	5	10
Other	-	-	-	-

*Table only includes graduates with experience of town planning in the public sector.

preparation for a job in development control, the mechanics of which were not taught" (Plateglass graduate); "The whole question of development control was hardly considered, yet this is the most significant aspect of planning practice at the district council level" (Redbrick graduate); "The Plateglass course was strong on theory but did not spend enough time examining the development process. It was also weak on development control procedures and processes. 'Live' development control situations are very different from the text books on planning law" (Plateglass graduate).

Most graduates felt they were ill-equipped for local planning work too. Civic and Plateglass graduates were most critical feeling that they had an inadequate knowledge of legislation, procedures and design. Here are some examples: "no teaching on how to 'read' maps, plans etc. No indication given of what a planning job might actually involve" (Plateglass graduate); "We were very poorly taught in design which forms a great deal of planning practice" (Plateglass graduate); "the course had very little on how to carry out say local planning, principles of domestic design and materials" (Plateglass graduate); "insufficient emphasis on practical aspects - not only undertaking projects but also lesser things such as graphical techniques and use of a planimeter all of which are essential

in a planning office" (Civic graduate); "It was an inadequate preparation for local authority planning. To an extent the purely technical skills of planning were underplayed and the courses which took this element more seriously were sneered at as mere technicians courses" (Civic graduate).

Table 8.6 shows that Redbrick graduates were a little more satisfied with their preparation for local planning. Nevertheless, many still had reservations about the effectiveness of their course for local planning. While the design aspects of planning were covered, legislation, procedures and politics relevant to local planning were neglected. Moreover, although they spent considerable time doing site planning projects and attending lectures on related topics such as landscaping and architecture they were unhappy with this part of the course. Two-thirds of Redbrick graduates with planning experience complained about project work: they saw it as unrealistic neglecting the financial, legal and political factors of practice. Here are some examples: "much of the project work was not only lacking in educational value but was also positively/negatively misleading. Design based courses were of obvious importance but ignored the reality/constraints and were usually based on an outdated or inaccurate view of the planning system. Many of the course/projects were more relevant to

private practice in Saudi Arabia/the Moon than in G.B. today"; "too much emphasis was placed on an idealised view of planning and design ability. This does not reflect the day-to-day work of a planning office at all."

Redbrick graduates saw their course as a generalist one stressing land-use planning and design. It was considered 'dated' though a reasonable preparation for parts of small-scale planning such as design work. It was considered a poor preparation for research and large-scale planning. Table 8.6 shows that not one Redbrick graduate who had worked in the relevant areas considered the course a good preparation for strategic planning, research or economic development. Graduates were also critical of the generalist nature of the course : many felt that the course was superficial and wished they had the opportunity to study aspects of planning in detail. Table 8.8 shows 27% of Redbrick graduates think there should have been options in the course to give students the opportunity to cover topics in more detail. The following is a typical view: "specialism wasn't encouraged enough - when the course had finished I still could have been anything from a landscape gardener to a regional planner, but the depth of my knowledge was poor at both ends of the spectrum!"

Many Redbrick graduates approved of the social science aspects of their course, especially sociology, planning theory and government. They felt they had contributed to their understanding of planning practice. 11 out of 21 of those with planning experience cited the above subjects as the parts of the course which had prepared them most effectively for planning work. Two respondents did not answer the relevant question in the questionnaire. Many felt that the heavy course workload was a problem because it made reading and reflection difficult. It was clear that Redbrick graduates were keenly aware of the incoherent nature of the course: it "was not 'one' course.... it was lucky in the 70's to have a theory and sociology course which gave some intellectual rigour to my values - but the architecture and design courses were very narrow minded"; The Redbrick course was, "so badly co-ordinated and pulling in different directions that it did not succeed in achieving these aims. Much of the work set was far too ambitious e.g. plan a New Town in six weeks. Many teachers did not have a thorough knowlege of the legal/political/social/economic context of planning in G.B. Some parts of the course tried to socialise students into certain ideas about architecture, about the technical nature of planning; whilst others tried to teach the student that planning wasn't a technical activity."

Civic graduates also complained about the 'bitty' nature of their course. Many felt it was a poor preparation for planning practice but not everyone disapproved of this : some thought the course did not aim to do that while some had chosen the course for other reasons: "its greatest weakness is the lack of preparation for the practical details of working in a local authority planning department but, to be fair, I don't think that is what it was aiming to achieve." (Respondent's emphasis). Most Civic graduates saw their course as a research based degree applying social science to urban and regional issues in the broadest sense. Some saw it as a good preparation for research work and policy making in higher tier authorities. Table 8.6 shows that eight out of eleven Civic graduates who have worked in strategic planning and research thought they had been reasonably well equipped for their jobs. Here are some examples: "for a research orientated post like mine it was OK - for a practical 'general purpose' planner, say in a small district department - not so good. Particularly lacking in law and development control and urban design"; "I think the emphasis was more on policy issues and social science generally than in many courses which focussed on design etc. I chose it for that reason but that aspect may have disappointed others who would have preferred more of a development control/design focus"; "The Civic postgraduate course is not conventional in the sense of producing

development control officers - I'll be surprised if you find many Civic people in 'D.C.'. It very much encouraged wide ranging thinking over planning issues and getting planning into the political, social and economic context"; "The course fixed people up for county councils, government and higher administration, not for nitty gritty details, public consultation exercises, parish council meetings etc." (Respondent's emphasis); "The Civic course is excellent for people who are interested in general urban studies and research into them. It is undoubtedly somewhat lacking in teaching practical skills - even the most cynical of 'lefties' like me needs the practical tools to get the best out of or at least manipulate the system as it is - something I have come to appreciate more in practice."

Many Civic graduates did not wish to work in small-scale planning in shire districts. Moreover, many find employment outside mainstream planning (table 8.3). It was evident that Civic graduates, unlike the undergraduates, comprise three groups with different motives for doing the course. First, there are those who wish to become researchers or become policy makers in fields outside town planning: they are attracted by the broad nature of the course, the teaching on research methods and the opportunity to study a topic in detail through the thesis. Here, for example, a Civic graduate, who has a first degree in economics and now works as a

researcher for consultant economists explains why he did the Civic course: "The Civic course, with suitably chosen options and thesis, gave a better educational background for this sort of work (transport, housing, population, employment, retailing, etc.) than any postgraduate economics course I knew which were concerned with seemingly arid theoretical models."

Second, there are those who do the course as a 'secondary' qualification and then go back into their main area of work. This is often true of architecture graduates. Finally, there are those who wish to become town planners and see the course as a preparation for this. The latter were the ones to complain most bitterly about the course as a poor preparation for planning work. But even here most Civic graduates recognised that the course made no attempt to train urban designers and this was generally approved of: "I think the emphasis was more on policy issues and social science generally than in many other courses which focussed on design. I chose it for that reason but that aspect may have disappointed others who would have preferred more of a development control/design focus."

Plateglass students also thought their course had a broad based, 'radical', social science orientation. Like the Civic graduates many thought the course was a better preparation for

'large scale' planning and jobs in related policy areas though poor for small scale planning: "very strong on theory. Good academic level. Good for work in a county planning authority. Poor for work in a district planning authority. Weak on design, drawing and practice." A number of graduates approved of the social science part of the course: "its strength must be the course's broad social science base, which encourages a questioning approach." A minority of graduates disapproved of the social science element because they felt it was not relevant to planning practice and they disliked what they thought was a 'Marxist' bias. Most students were unenthusiastic about the quantitative techniques part of the course. Many thought there was an "absurd" stress on modelling and techniques. Nearly half wished to see a reduction in this element of the course (table 8.7). A small minority approved of the quantitative techniques and had chosen it for that reason. Table 8.6 shows that 88% of Plateglass graduates working in strategic planning and research, like their Civic counterparts, were satisfied that their course had provided a reasonable grounding for the work. However, most Plateglass graduates work in small scale planning. Indeed more Plateglass graduates work in development control and fewer in strategic planning, research and economic development than those from Redbrick. There is a mismatch between the Plateglass course,

the motives of students - most of whom wish to work in small scale planning, and their eventual job destinations. This is illustrated by the large numbers (83%) wishing to see more time devoted to planning practice (table 8.7) and the large numbers who work in small scale planning complaining about their poor preparation for work (table 8.6).

TABLE 8.7 : COURSE CHANGES RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO

<u>SEE</u>	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	TOTAL
1. Should be more related to planning practice.	19	20	18	57
2. More design	2	5	1	8
3. Less design	-	1	3	4
4. More techniques	1	3	1	5
5. Less techniques	-	11	-	11
6. More Social Science	-	-	4	4
7. Less Social Science	-	3	-	3
8. Reduce workload	1	-	5	6
9. More options	-	3	7	10
10.No Changes	1	2	1	4
11.Challenged need for the course.	-	-	2	
12.No answer	2	4	2	8
TOTAL:	32	28	28	88

*The answers are not necessarily mutually exclusive.

(ii) Work practices

Planning courses use teaching methods which simulate the work practices of planning offices. The undergraduate courses devoted more time to these

methods than the Civic postgraduates course. Many graduates (just over one-third 22/61) commented that their courses had equipped them reasonably for the work practices of the planning office. Many praised projects as useful. Here are some typical comments from graduates on what they considered to be the 'most effective' parts of their courses: "the insistence on meeting deadlines with projects and essay work. This is akin to practice in local authority planning developments, when committee deadlines have to be met, no excuses accepted!" (Redbrick graduate); "Project work was most effective because it trained the student to communicate ideas through writing and drawing. Group projects were an excellent preparation for the teamwork approach necessary in a busy planning office" (Redbrick graduate); "Role playing exercises, when properly managed, and project work were most useful." (Civic graduate); "Most effective teaching was through group projects relating to actual environmental problems" (Civic graduate).

Some graduates, particularly from Redbrick and Civic, remained critical of their courses for not equipping them well enough for the work practices of the planning office. Here, for example, a Redbrick graduate complains of being ill-equipped for,

"public speaking - presenting reports at committee meetings, speaking at public meetings, dealing with awkward questions etc. are an essential part of the local authority planners' work." Other Redbrick graduates were more qualified in their comments on projects, praising group projects but being critical of individual based projects stressing design and presentation: "the most effective were the projects whereby most of the work was done as a team, as this is how it is in real life. Least effective were those projects such as design a new town all by yourself in two weeks. Totally unrealistic!"; "Practical work was most effective, though there was too much emphasis on presentation and technical drawing. In practice such work is carried out by the technicians not the planning officer." Civic graduates were also critical mainly because they felt there should have been more projects though the few projects which were taught were well regarded.

(iii) Administrative aspects of planning work.

Many respondents complained that much of their work was administrative and mundane. Just over half (51%) of those graduates who had worked in planning authorities mentioned this.³ Here are some examples: "Work frequently routine and boring - far below capabilities of masters graduates. Not enough responsibility or opportunities to widen experience

³The figures for each institution were as follows - Civic 8(50%), Plateglass 14(67%) and Redbrick 10(44%).

therefore difficult to break out and progress up career ladder" (Civic graduate); "A frustratingly huge proportion of my time is spent oiling the wheels of the system rather than doing new creative work" (Civic graduate); "Excessive amount of routine work, much of which can be trivial" (Plateglass graduate); "The job can become rather administrative, especially during the preparation for an appeal or inquiry" (Civic graduate); "Very hierarchic arrangement - at most junior level get all the grot jobs with little involvement in anything of significance" (Plateglass graduate); "pretty home counties town is a typical dormitory area for London and most of the work was house extensions and their organisation meant all the 'real planning work' was done by local plans and control seemed more like clerks processing as many applications of fairly standard type as quickly as possible" (Civic graduate).

In qualitative terms Civic graduates were most unhappy with the administrative content of planning work. However, there appeared to be no correlation between concern about the level of mundane work and type of planning job. Frustration over mundane aspects of work is just as likely to be true of a strategic planner in a county council as a development controller in a small district. Clearly, factors other than the type of work are also relevant such as the amount of responsibility given and expectations.

(iv) Nature of town planning.

Most respondents found planning to be a more limited, less powerful activity than they had been led to believe during their education. They were surprised and disappointed that planning was usually a marginal activity in local authorities. Planning departments carried little clout vis-a-vis other departments. They were also surprised and frustrated that planning powers were largely negative. This of course relates to the non-tangible nature of much planning work since it is concerned largely with the regulation of new development. This resulted in frustration in not seeing positive results. Below, is a selection of comments which gives the flavour of respondents' views:

My attitudes, "changed considerably. Realisation of limited power of planning as a local government activity. Constraints of central government on the system. Importance of central government policy e.g. on overturning council policies on appeal, in rejecting revised GLDP etc. Lack of positive powers of planning to innovate. I now realise that planning is but one, small section of a local authority and the influence of planning is very dependent upon status of the department within an authority" (Redbrick graduate); "When started degree - even when finished degree - believed town planning

to be central and vitally important to all council activities. Reality is different. Planning is just one of several competing functions and rarely one of the most important" (Civic graduate); "I thought at one time that 'planning' had more influence in setting the local authority's objectives. Planning tends to 'respond' rather than 'initiate'. Planning's role as a 'co-ordinator' is much weaker than I imagined" (Plateglass graduate); "Still regard it as essential though frustrated at the lack of power (or will to use what power we have) to achieve positive results. Influence only minor developments which, though of importance, are not the main determinants of the local environment" (Plateglass graduate); "Frustrations arise from the lack of power to implement the various schemes/plans produced. One is often left with a feeling that one has merely completed an academic exercise" (Civic graduate).

The above comments raise a number of questions about the planners work environment, within the planning office, the local authority and beyond which I now consider.

The work environment

This section explores the planners' work environment focussing on graduate views on their relationships with councillors, other local authority departments

and outsiders such as developers and members of the public.

(i) Officers and Members.

Most respondents recognised the importance of the ruling group of councillors in influencing the power of the planning department. The attitude of the group towards planning - what areas of policy work and tasks should planners be concerned with - is critical. Obviously, the political colour of the party in power is significant but so too is the style of the administration. One respondent, for example, said his authority's 'right wing' conservative administration was 'anti-planning' and 'pro-private sector'. Planning was seen as a hindrance limiting its role to the statutory duties of development control. Another concerned respondent explained how his council reduced the size of the department and transferred some of its functions to other departments: "The party in control (extreme right wing Tories) have had an all-pervading influence on the working environment. Annual cuts have reduced staff members from 76 to 56 in three years and are now seeking to split what was once a Directorate (now merely a division of the Technical Services Directorate, along with Development and Engineers) into Economic Development under the Chief Executive with 12 staff (approximately 28 work on employment at the moment) and Planning with 30 staff" (Civic graduate).

Another graduate who had worked for a shire district and county but was now working for an inner London borough described the variations in influence of the party in power as follows: "The influence of the party in power has varied with each job. Tory authorities (shire district and county) appeared to have much less member influence/interest/contact with planners. Right wing Labour authority (old ruling group at London borough) also had less member interest with planning than current left-wing Labour authority. Other differences have been the amount of public participation encouraged by different authorities with my current authority heavily committed to participation and a more open approach to committees and sub-committees. The current administration also has more political policies (or recognises the political influence of policies). Other authorities tended to couch policies in more technical ways, playing down re-distributional effects."

From the above comments there appear to be at least three different types of councils. First, old style Labour and Conservative councils that see planning as a technical activity and tend to leave it to officers. Second, new style Conservative councils which are often openly hostile to planning and limit its scope sometimes identifying it solely with development control. Finally, there are new style Labour councils which favour planning and try to use

it for re-distributional purposes. Clearly, the politicisation of local government is affecting the planners' work environment especially in London and the larger provincial cities.

Not all junior planners have contact with councillors, however. Those working in development control and, to a lesser extent, local plans have most contact with councillors and were most keenly aware of their influence. Many disapproved of what they saw as 'council meddling' as the following comments show: "I find myself defending decisions by councillors. Often these decisions are reversals of officer recommendations which makes them difficult to defend on 'good planning' grounds" (development controller from Plateglass); "Frustrations arise, in the main, from the inexplicable behaviour by members of the Planning Committee" (development controller from Civic). Another Plateglass development controller was fed up with "plain stupid decisions by members" whereas a Redbrick local planner was frustrated with "incompetent members who ask stupid questions and don't understand logical answers." Other junior planners, particularly those working in research and strategic policy, had no contact with councillors and felt largely removed from their influence: "We are very much in an ivory tower situation with little (none at my level) contact with councillors, public etc. I think it would be

fair to say officers are 'left alone' for the most part" (Redbrick graduate whose job involves monitoring structure plan policies for a shire county).

Graduates were not only surprised by the impact of party politics on planning but also by the influence of struggles for power between local authority departments and even within the planning office. I now consider this area.

(ii) Bureaucratic Politics.

It came as a shock to most graduates to discover that planning departments were frequently at loggerheads or in competition with other departments over who decides policy or controls certain functions such as economic development. Even more worrying to graduates was the fact that the planners often lost out in the departmental battles. There was genuine frustration with the "lack of regard of the role of the planning department by other council departments" (Redbrick graduate), the "lack of impact of planning department in an authority dominated by the chief executive" (Redbrick graduate) and "lack of a corporate approach in local authorities with departments acting autonomously - the perennial communications problem" (Redbrick graduate). Of the 31 graduates who remarked on the status of the planning department within their authorities a massive 23 (74%) said that the planning department had low status vis-a-vis other

departments in their council. Only 8 (26%) said the planning department was well regarded and "has a leading role in setting the council's priorities" (Civic graduate).

Graduates were quick to acknowledge that the attitudes of the ruling party had an important effect on the status of the planning department but they also pointed out that the personality and views of the chief planning officer and his/her senior colleagues was important. As one Civic graduate commented: "a powerful chief makes all the difference: what is needed is a respected and charismatic person who elevates the position of a whole department." Here, for example, a Redbrick graduate contrasts two chief planning officers he has worked for: "in my first job the chief planner was much respected by the members, which definitely benefitted the department....in terms of the esteem given to the department as a whole and the amount of decision-making delegated to the chief planner. The fact that it was a small authority with only five departments helped the planning department to make a greater impact than it might have in a larger authority. The party in control of the authority had implicit faith in the chief planner or were usually convinced by his arguments. In my present authority, however, the party in control has penetrated into the core of the planning department. The planning department is larger than

in my previous authority and much less cohesive. The chief planner is a part of the management team but is less able to make an impact." Another Plateglass planner, whose job it is to keep a record of new development on a computer, commented "the chief planner's attitude towards the use of the computer has profoundly affected the very existence of my job. The Research and Information Section Head has obviously impressed upon the chief the value of computers."

Bureaucratic politics also operates within the planning office and this realisation also surprised graduates. One Redbrick local planner complained, for example, about the "lack of recognition of the importance of planning policies by development control staff and even my present Planning Officer!" Another graduate, a development controller, was also concerned about the attitudes of his/her colleagues and, in particular, "being the 'poor relation' of town planning. The Enforcement Officer is often a one-man development control section."

Sometimes juniors disapprove of the definition of planning imposed on them by senior officers. For example, a number of graduates explained that their senior officers defined planning narrowly as land-use planning ignoring areas such as industrial promotion and information systems which the juniors

felt should be important tasks of a planning department. Here is an example of a Redbrick graduate who sees his superiors as negative and unimaginative: "narrow minded and stale views of senior planning officers meaning reliance on past views and 'the system' - and in our case a very weak chief planning officer who is not confident to commit himself, and, who along with other senior planners is no initiator." Here a Civic graduate adds further support to the importance of the chief officer: "the views of the chief officer have had a very strong influence, both on the content of the work done (what is regarded as the 'scope' of planning) and its style - how to consult with other departments, other authorities. His experiences in a meeting or wherever quite quickly filter through the department, and can affect working styles dramatically."

(iii) Contacts with outsiders.

Many junior planners have little or no contact with developers or members of the public and therefore it is not surprising that many respondents made little or no mention of them. Some planners particularly those working in research jobs are isolated. One researcher in a county planning department even confessed that he had "never met or even seen the County Planning Officer" never mind outsiders. Other planners, such as development controllers or local planners, have more regular contact with

outsiders even at a junior level. Development controllers, for example, frequently advise members of the public or developers considering applying, or having applied, for planning permission.

It is not uncommon for graduates to become frustrated after contact with developers especially where they find themselves in a weak position vis-a-vis the developer. One Redbrick graduate, for example, complained about the "loopholes in the G.D.O. (The General Development Order) allowing hideous developments as permitted developments." The respondents found it difficult to understand the frequently hostile attitudes of the general public to them: "Finding people don't understand planners" (Redbrick graduate); "Being poorly regarded by politicians, press and public" (Redbrick graduate) and "dealing with members of the public who object to proposals for reasons other than planning ones" (Redbrick graduate) was a source of frustration. Planners have to come to terms with their poor public image but for some "the realisation that it is impossible to please everybody, and that the planning officer is an unpopular person is quite depressing" (Plateglass graduate). A few did enjoy contact with the general public, however. One Redbrick graduate "found the most rewarding areas of work to be those involving contact with the general public and outside bodies, such as exhibition duty and attendance at meetings or providing advice" and

another from "negotiating changes to planning applications such that all interested and affected persons are satisfied (a very rare occurrence)."

Three important graduate views on their experience have been identified in this section. One is that planners were dissatisfied with their planning courses and that this was largely due to their instrumental attitudes. The views expressed in the section on knowledge of planning practice and work practices were in response to a question about what a desirable planning education would be like. They felt that a 'good' planning course would have a strong vocational content. The second point is that graduates are disappointed and frustrated with real life planning because it is a less powerful activity than they had supposed and that planners as a profession are not held in high esteem. Finally, the importance of politics came as a shock to many graduates. In the next section I look at attitude change in detail and it will be interesting to see whether work experience alters the attitudes of graduates to planning more generally.

8.5 THE IMPACT OF WORK

This section identifies and explains changes in attitude. Do changes arise because of work experience or do they merely reflect differences in attitudes between cohorts of students? There are

three main areas of attitude change - on the scope of planning, its relationship to 'politics' and notions of professionalism.

(i) Reinforcement of the local authority perspective.

In chapter 7 I found that students acquired inflated views of planning during their early years of college which toned down with time. This process - of viewing planning as a more limited activity - continues when students begin planning work as Table 8.8 on page 409 shows. Attitudes towards the influence of planners over patterns of land-use, urban design and local government policy and expenditure do not appear to change substantially but there are significant shifts in attitudes vis-a-vis housing, industry and social inequality. Graduates are more pessimistic about the scope of planning. Table 8.8 reveals more significant differences between graduates working in town planning and those working elsewhere. In every case graduates working in town planning adopt a more pessimistic view of the scope of planning than either students or graduates working outside planning. This suggests that the experience of planning practice encourages graduates to increasingly identify planning with what local planning authorities do. This work experience reinforces a process which begins at planning school.

TABLE 8.8 : GRADUATE VIEWS ON THE SCOPE OF TOWN

<u>PLANNING</u>	CONSIDERABLE	SOME	VERY LITTLE	NUMBERS
1. PATTERNS OF LAND USE				
Final year students	50%	30%	20%	30
All graduates	54%	43%	3%	81
Town planners	46%	52%	2%	54
Rest	68%	25%	4%	27
2. URBAN DESIGN				
Final year students	13%	74%	13%	31
All graduates	17%	69%	14%	80
Town planners	6%	77%	17%	53
Rest	41%	52%	7%	27
3. HOUSING				
Final year students	7%	73%	20%	30
All graduates	4%	61%	35%	77
Town planners	0	55%	45%	51
Rest	12%	73%	15%	26
4. LOCATION OF INDUSTRY				
Final year students	10%	61%	29%	31
All graduates	11%	53%	36%	81
Town planners	2%	62%	36%	53
Rest	29%	46%	25%	28
5. LOCAL GOVERNMENT POLICY AND EXPENDITURE				
Final year students	10%	22%	68%	31
All graduates	1%	25%	74%	81
Town planners	0	21%	79%	53
Rest	4%	32%	64%	28
6. SOCIAL INEQUALITY				
Final year students	7%	36%	58%	31
All graduates	0	15%	85%	82
Town planners	0	11%	89%	54
Rest	0	21%	79%	28

The differences in response between graduates working outside planning and students tends to suggest some cohort differences. It is likely that the current graduates left planning school with more inflated views of planning than their final year counterparts of 1983 did. This would certainly accord with my expectations given the hostile climate towards planning in the early eighties

compared to the more sympathetic, optimistic spirit of the mid to late seventies.

Despite some cohort differences 55 of the 64 graduates with experience of planning practice felt their attitudes had undergone considerable change. Of these 55, 51 said the change was a recognition that planning practice was more limited than they had expected. The obvious conclusion is that graduates, as a result of working in planning practice, increasingly identify planning with the activities of local authority planning departments.

There were no significant differences between graduates of different schools but there were by planning job. Development controllers consistently adopted a more pessimistic view of the planners role than their counterparts in local planning and policy. This probably reflects the fact that the development controllers implement planning policy and are therefore keenly aware of the power of policies. By contrast, local planners, being more involved in formulating future policy, will be concerned to increase the influence of planning policy over development.

The recognition that the role of planning was more limited than they expected did not destroy the

majority (51-82%) of graduates faith in planning. They continue to assume that what they are doing is worthwhile. For some this means concentrating on the job and forgetting about wider philosophical questions. Here are some examples: "I now have much less time for impractical theories as I see the main satisfaction coming from getting things done on the ground"; "now I'm much more inclined to see it as a way of earning a living rather than an academic pursuit! Day to day matters seem to leave less time to reflect on what planning is for, and its 'philosophy'."

A minority became disillusioned with planning, leading to a loss of enthusiasm and sometimes personal unhappiness: "practice has hardened and continued original views - become even more cynical about the achievements of planning vis-a-vis theory and intention. In the uncomfortable position ethically of earning (a fairly decent) living at something I have serious doubts about"; "I am more cynical, slightly disillusioned and far less naive - we were told we were to be 'social engineers'!" For a few the disillusionment was so great they left planning altogether. Here is an example of a graduate who moved from planning to local authority housing: "Began course in 1974 with little idea about planning except concerning design aspects."

Finished course in 1979 with radical outlook on the profession, concerned with the politics of the urban environment as they effect and are affected by planning issues, rather than simple physical matters. Following the course my work experience was all the more frustrating for showing that, at least in my district, planning issues at officer and member level were seen in uni-dimensional terms, allowing no scope for comprehensive analysis or political input. I always felt that planning would not be satisfactory to me in the long term, but my experience certainly convinced me that a move to a more stimulating department was necessary."

(ii) Understanding of 'Politics'.

Graduates are more keenly aware of the political nature of planning than final year students. This is an unexpected finding and is shown in Tables 8.9 and 8.10. While virtually all respondents - and all graduates - acknowledged that planning was

TABLE 8.9 : UNDERSTANDING OF THE POLITICAL NATURE OF PLANNING

	CONVENTIONALISTS	RADICALS	OTHERS	TOTAL
Final Year Students	47%	53%	-	32
Graduates	26%	71%	3%	80

'political' there were significant differences in their view of politics. Table 8.9 suggests that a large number of students tend to dispense with conventionalism and adopt radicalism. Only 26% of graduates were conventionalists compared to 47% of final year students. While the conventionalists recognise that politicians formally control planning deep down they disapprove of this and feel that the officers know best. The following radical view is more common among graduates: "planning can't be divorced from the political process. Whist I believe planning is basically a technical exercise it is the politicians at the end of the day who make land-use decisions. Unfortunately, recommendations on policies and planning applications appear sometimes to be framed by officers to please committee members (i.e. because they know that is what the committee want) rather than treating them purely on their planning merits" (Redbrick graduate).

The notion of 'planning merits' assumes that officers know best, that their arguments are non-political and correct in an absolute sense. This view is not shared by the vast majority of graduates as the responses to statements A, F and G in table 8.10 demonstrates.

TABLE 8.10 : ATTITUDES TOWARDS THE POLITICAL NATURE
OF PLANNING

	AGREE	UNDECIDED	DISAGREE	TOTAL
A. "Planning is an essentially technical activity"				
Final year students	42%	3%	55%	31
Graduates	13%	4%	83%	84
B. "Planning produces a pattern of land-uses and form of development which benefits some groups at the expense of others"				
Final year students	77%	3%	19%	31
Graduates	93%	2%	5%	84
C. "It is in the interests of all groups to support planning"				
Final year students	39%	16%	45%	31
Graduates	37%	10%	54%	82
D. "Planning is an activity which does not involve political judgements"				
Final year students	6%	0	94%	31
Graduates	2%	0	98%	84
E. "Goals and decisions are the prerogative of councillors whereas planners supply the facts"				
Final year students	36%	19%	45%	31
Graduates	10%	8%	82%	82
F. "The planner brings much needed rationality to council politics"				
Final year students	45%	23%	32%	31
Graduates	27%	24%	49%	81
G. "There can be no objectively right or wrong professional judgement"				
Final year students	61%	6%	32%	31
Graduates	66%	7%	27%	84

The majority of graduates (71% - table 8.10) were 'radicals'. They recognised that politicians controlled planning and felt it was political in a more fundamental sense - like any government activity it involves the use of power and affects the allocation of resources. Here are some examples of radical views: "planning decisions may cumulatively shape the failure or success of

different areas and groups of people" (Civic graduate); "My understanding is that anything which involves the distribution and use of power is necessarily political" (Civic graduate); "Planning is about choices and choices always involve setting certain groups of interests higher than others. A 'technical' view of planning is not tenable". (Civic graduate); "Any system in which decisions are taken which benefit some groups in society more than others has a political dimension. The view of planning as an activity where decisions are taken on purely technical grounds is very misleading - the assumptions used inevitably have an implicit political dimension" (Plateglass graduate).

There is also a tendency among 'radicals' to hold a welfare view of planning - that planning should try to achieve greater equality - as the following comments show: "In the present climate planning will do well if it manages to 'keep its head above water' and not be dismantled. However, it must still strive to make sure that the decisions taken and the effects that come from these will not advantage groups in society at the expense of those who can't help themselves" (Civic graduate); "The aims of the present planning system should be to work towards directing resources to poorer areas and providing people with a better environment and standard of living, and stimulating their pride and interest in

it. I feel that these are the genuine aims of many planners, but the extent to which they can be achieved under the present governmental system is almost non-existent" (Redbrick graduate).

Responses to statements A, E and F of table 8.10 indicate that graduates have a more sophisticated view of the politics of planning. They recognise more than students that the relationship between officers and members is not as clear as the conventional wisdom, as illustrated in their response to statement E in table 8.10. The importance of bureaucratic politics is also widely recognised. However it is also evident in table 8.10 (C, D and F) that the process of acquiring a more sophisticated understanding begins during a student's education.

The key question is whether the differences in attitudes represent a change or merely cohort differences. Table 8.11 provides some of the answers since it shows major differences between graduates from Civic on the one hand and those

TABLE 8.11 : ATTITUDES TOWARDS POLITICS : POSTGRADUATES AND UNDERGRADUATES

	CONVENTIONALISTS	RADICALS	OTHERS	TOTAL
Civic graduates	13%	87%	0	30
(i) town planners	17%	83%	0	18
(ii) others	8%	92%	0	12
Plateglass and Redbrick graduates	34%	62%	4%	50
(i) town planners	24%	70%	6%	33
(ii) others	53%	47%	0	17

from Plateglass and Redbrick on the other. A much higher proportion of Civic graduates are radicals compared to Plateglass and Redbrick graduates. This replicates the finding of Chapter 7. There is no significant difference between the views of Civic graduates working in town planning and others, but there is a substantial difference between the same groups of Plateglass and Redbrick graduates. This suggests that the experience of planning practice has had little impact on the attitudes of Civic graduates towards the politics of planning since they enter practice with sophisticated and radical views. The same cannot be said of a large number of graduates from Plateglass and Redbrick, since Chapter 7 showed that approximately half enter practice with conventionalist views. Table 8.11 suggests that planning practice has a major effect on attitudes of Plateglass and Redbrick graduates since 70% of those working in town planning hold radical views while only 47% of the remaining graduates do.

(iii) Changing notions of professionalism.

Graduates, like students, were unclear about the purposes of planning. Table 8.12 shows that 'control' is most frequently cited (by 64%) as the most desirable rationale for planning. What is most striking about table 8.12 is the similarity of responses between those working in town planning and elsewhere and between graduates and students.

Planners clearly have a strong and enduring attachment to control and order.

TABLE 8.12 : GRADUATES' RANKING OF THE AIMS OF PLANNING

(Aims ranked first or second)

	BEAUTY	EFFICIENCY	CONTROL	EQUITY	TOTAL
All graduates	39%	52%	64%	52%	77
(i) town planners	39%	53%	65%	53%	49
(ii) others	39%	50%	64%	50%	28
All graduates & Students	44%	52%	65%	47%	174

Moreover, graduates felt that control was already the major aim of the current planning system. In response to the open question 'what are the ends of the present planning system?' 62% cited control. Control was, in fact, the most highly cited end, with 32% citing the creation of a 'better' environment as the aim, 24% citing welfare ends and only 8% citing the promotion of the 'public interest'.

Here are some examples: "controlling change in an orderly/planned fashion"; "the orderly spatial arrangement of activities"; "to rationalise and organise a fragmented land-use pattern"; "to get everything nice and orderly"; "to control the form and structure of development in order to produce a better and more ordered environment" (my emphases).

Graduates' ideas of order and control are, like their student counterparts, vague. Most fail to say why the market should be controlled, what problems the market creates, what an ordered environment would be like and how to achieve it. Such answers illustrate the tendency to attribute vague aims to planning: "to promote development (with some control), to improve conditions as much as possible e.g. housing, social environmental conditions etc. and to make the town/area in which you work a better/more functional place in which to exist". The above graduate does not say what improved conditions would be like and how they could be achieved. Nor does he say what a 'better/more functional' place would be like. As noted in Chapter 7 these vague answers reveal the tendency to convert means into ends. Regulation has become an end in itself. Moreover, it illustrates the extent to which planning is a mystery even among the 'experts'.

It is important to recognise that graduates value order and control before they enter planning practice. However, this does not mean that work experience has no effect on their views of the purposes of planning, since graduates working in town planning were much more likely to hold 'respectable' views of planning as a benevolent activity. For example, in their responses, 83% of the town planners attributed 'respectable' aims to

planning compared to only 38% of non-town planners. By contrast, 43% of non-town planners attributed 'non-respectable' aims to planning compared to only 17% of town planners. Here are some examples of critical views of the aims of planning; "to preserve sectional interests, especially middle class residential areas"; "to create jobs for planning graduates". These responses clearly reflect the need of planning practitioners to believe that what they are doing is worthwhile. Not all town planners thought planning was worthwhile, however, since a minority had become disillusioned or indifferent.

Graduates, like students, identified themselves as 'planners' and took it for granted that they were 'experts'. 80% of graduates implicitly assumed planners were the best people for the job while 13% challenged the idea, the latter being a much larger number than among students. Here are two examples of such challenges: Planners have a "lack of any detailed, specialist, professional expertise"; "Not at all sure it is useful to speak of a 'planner' in same context as discipline specific expertise such as is offered by economists, sociologists, demographers. Planning is a field of study which no one 'profession' should be allowed to monopolise."

Most graduates, like students, thought the planners' expertise was their generalist knowledge. There was, however, a lower level of support among

graduates (48%) than among students (68% among first years and 62% among final years). The generalist ideology has been set out in previous chapters: It suggests that planners do not have a distinctive body of knowledge but rather an 'outlook', a 'way of doing things'. Those espousing the generalist ideology saw themselves as 'co-ordinators', 'problem solvers', 'catalysts' who take an 'overall view', have a 'broader' vision: "tries to look at and take account of all aspects of a problem, not just from one viewpoint"; "planners take an overall view which the other experts are unable to do from their training"; "they are able to take an overall view of the situation rather than being limited with a narrow vision."

It is interesting to note that generalism is stronger among non-town planners than town planners, with 57% of the former supporting it compared to only 43% of town planners. In addition, other views on the expertise of planners are common, particularly among those working in town planning. Some felt planners had no expertise, that it involved political rather than technical judgements; others felt planning was an "ill-defined and vague area of responsibility"; yet others felt planners were more socially aware and "concerned with the public good". This suggests that the belief in generalism is weakened by the experience of planning. This is undoubtedly a response to the low status and weakness of the planning function in

local authorities. The proliferation of other views on the nature of planners' expertise is also a reflection of the fact that planners have to justify their role to a wide range of different groups such as councillors, developers, other local authority professions and the general public.

In the preceding pages I have identified a number of differences in attitudes between graduates and students. I have also noted that by and large the evidence suggests that these differences reflect genuine attitude change, although there appeared to be some cohort differences between Civic and Redbrick graduates and students. This is certainly confirmed by the views of graduates : 55 (86% of those with planning experience) said that their attitudes towards planning had undergone major change since working in planning and table 8.13 below shows that they feel work experience has been a major contributory factor. 42% of graduates felt work experience to be the most important influence on their attitudes while an additional 20% thought

TABLE 8.13: GRADUATE VIEWS ON THE RELATIVE IMPORTANCE OF EDUCATION AND WORK EXPERIENCE IN SHAPING THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS TOWN PLANNING

	CIVIC	PLATEGLASS	REDBRICK	NUMBERS
1. Planning education most Important	5%	42%	35%	18
2. Work experience most Important	40%	37%	50%	27
3. Both Important	30%	21%	10%	13
4. Neither Important	25%	0	5%	6

it was at least as important as planning education. Work experience undoubtedly helped graduates develop and sharpen their views. Others discarded their radicalism and accepted the system.

Table 8.13 reveals an important difference between Civic postgraduates and Redbrick and Plateglass graduates: Civic postgraduates attach less importance to either planning education or work experience as influences on their attitudes. Some postgraduates pointed out that their undergraduate, non-planning, course had been an important influence on them, "my first degree at a polytechnic (a social science degree) has been the greatest influence on my attitudes to planning. Work experience has confirmed the basic limitations of town planning i.e. lack of positive powers over developments."

There was more frustration and lower morale among Civic postgraduates than among Redbrick and Plateglass graduates. The former were most unhappy with poor career opportunities and mundane work. The greater frustration did not appear to be related to job differences or poorer career prospects compared to Plateglass and Redbrick graduates. Indeed, if anything Civic postgraduates tended to occupy more senior posts than their Plateglass and Redbrick counterparts. The lower morale was a product of higher expectations. Academically, Civic graduates were the most highly qualified. They

graduated from Civic with masters degrees and all had 'good' first degrees (first or upper-seconds), usually from prestigious institutions.⁴

It is undeniable that morale was low generally among all graduates and that is partly attributable to planning education. Planning schools promote a grandiose view of planning work. All three courses, and Robbins too, focussed on the 'big issues', saw planning as a broad based activity and neglected the 'nitty gritty' areas of planning such as development control and procedures. It is also significant that, of the three courses, Civic was the most wide ranging and neglected more the mundane aspects of practice. As one Civic graduate commented, "as a result of local authority experience ... realised that my planning course inevitably led me to believe that planning is more important and high priority than is in fact the case". Another said, "a good deal of the work one does during the day is routine administrative paperwork and not as 'high powered' as it would seem when a student". Both respondents had entered planning practice expecting to be doing 'high powered' work. Hughes (1953) noted long ago that professions commonly inflate and dress up their role with pretensions.

⁴Of the 32 Civic postgraduates covered, 15 graduated from major Civic universities, 8 from Oxbridge, 2 from minor Civics, 2 from new universities, 3 from polytechnics and 2 from overseas institutions.

Planning has an occupational ideology which sees 'real planning' as formulating plans, either in the form of policies or designs. Administrative aspects of planning jobs such as development control therefore have low status.

The frustration is also a reflection of the fact that graduates are in junior management in their early years of work and usually get a higher proportion of 'mundane' tasks than their senior officers. However, this varies according to the amount of delegation practice by chief officers: "I think that the personality of the Chief Planner at my district has been most influential on my job. Until last year we had an older man who was winding down before retirement and had lost all interest in the job. We hardly ever saw him. Now we have a younger man who listens to what we say and is keen for less senior officers to be involved in things. Thanks to him I am now attending meetings which I would never have been invited to before and I am getting involved in more interesting projects" (Redbrick graduate). This raises a thorny issue in professional education - when educating aspiring professionals what level of management should they be prepared for? If they are equipped for management at the highest levels then frustration seems inevitable in their early years of work in junior positions.

However, low morale cannot be solely attributed to high expectations and junior posts. Special circumstances in the early eighties have led to greater frustration. Chapters 3 and 4 showed that the political climate has been hostile to local government and planning and promotion prospects were poor compared to the recent past. One respondent explained the sources of his dissatisfaction as follows, "deteriorating morale in the face of government cuts, declining job opportunities and lack of movement within the profession."

The peculiar historical development of the planning profession is a major cause of this frustration, rather than government cuts alone, and it is likely to remain so for some time to come. The profession expanded rapidly from the late sixties until the mid-seventies and a lot of young people quickly progressed to senior posts. In the late seventies recruitment was slashed. This has resulted in a top heavy staff structure, with a large number of young senior planners and a small number of juniors. This was a key finding of the Amos et al (1982) study of manpower in town planning. Moreover, the late seventies witnessed a reduction in the rate of private development and the collapse of public development - planners had less work to do. Coupled with the top heavy staff structure this meant senior officers monopolised the prestigious work,

delegating the more mundane tasks to juniors. Here are the views of some juniors: "Historic City Council Planning Office suffers from 'too many chiefs and not enough indians' therefore promotion prospects are poor and opportunities for carrying out more responsible duties restricted"; "very hierarchic arrangement - at most junior level get all the 'grot' jobs with little involvement in anything of 'significance'."

Instrumental attitudes permeate graduate responses to work experience, especially the undergraduates from Plateglass and Redbrick. When they face a new situation where there is uncertainty and a poor knowledge base they feel uncomfortable and blame it on their planning course for 'failing' to prepare them adequately for practice. Underlying this is an assumption that planning education ought to be first and foremost a vocational training for town planning, indeed 80% cited this as an important aim of planning courses. Moreover, a narrow conception of planning education is held - that planning courses ought to, in principle, prepare students for every conceivable area and task they may be asked to do as practitioners. Coverage of and training in particular areas and tasks is valued above academic quality, that is, teaching students skills of analysis and criticism. It also indicates the existence of a widely held taken-for-granted belief that many aspects of planning work demand technical

skills which could be taught. Graduates, like students, find it difficult to accept the ambiguity and uncertainty of planning skills and knowledge and even the purpose of the activity. This is because planners have a strongly 'practical', commonsense outlook - they want to be practical people who can do things and solve 'problems'. However, as noted in Chapter 3, town planning is by its very nature an abstract, non-tangible activity. It is ironic that the profession attracts, particularly at undergraduate level, such a large number of hard headed young men and women. Moreover, the commonsense outlook appears to come through planning education and practice almost unscathed.

8.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

My expectation that the diversity of practice and work environments would promote diversity in attitudes was not sustained. I identified attitude change in certain areas resulting from planning work experience which appeared to hold irrespective of differences in work environment: graduates adopted a narrower conception of town planning in line with the activities of local planning authorities; there was a shift towards more radical views of the politics of planning with a keener appreciation of the role of councillors and bureaucratic politics; there was a weakening in the generalist belief and a proliferation in views on what was distinctive about

town planners' skills and knowledge; and finally, although the majority of graduates continued to believe planning to be worthwhile many had doubts and some experienced a complete crisis of confidence with low morale and frustration.

Unfortunately, we were unable to discern any clear connections between attitude change and different work environments since the latter was not examined in detail.

The above findings lend support to symbolic interactionism rather than structural functionalism since the former correctly predicted that work experience would have a major impact on attitudes. Moreover, interactionism is more able to explain the existence of objectively inconsistent attitudes and the weakening of key beliefs such as generalism. It is noticeable that a number of graduates appear to hold contradictory views. For example, many view planning as a fundamentally political activity yet simultaneously believe that councillors should leave planning to the professionals. Interactionism could explain these contradictions as reflecting the everyday tensions of practice between officers and members but functionalism does not permit such ambiguity. Moreover, the weakening of generalism and the proliferation of other views can also be explained by interactionism - greater diversity reflects the diversity of practice, work

environments and wide-range of audiences to whom the professional has to justify his/her actions and existence. Functionalism views professional ideology solely as a guide to practice whereas interactionism correctly sees it as a resource to the profession, the department and to the individual as a justification, rationalisation and source of identity. It could be argued however that proliferation of views merely reflects an underlying confusion about town planning, lending support to the role confusion hypothesis.

My expectation that graduates would feel ill-prepared for development control and the 'nitty gritty' aspects of planning work was borne out. I also correctly anticipated the impact of course differences. The Redbrick graduates felt better equipped for design work and local planning than their counterparts from Civic and Plateglass. Conversely, the Civic and Plateglass graduates felt better prepared for research and strategic planning than those at Redbrick. There was an important difference between the Plateglass and Redbrick undergraduates and the Civic Postgraduates. The undergraduates largely worked in mainstream planning (80% had experience of planning practice). Most of these worked in development control and local planning in the shire districts. The postgraduates, by contrast, had more diverse job destinations and

fewer worked in mainstream planning. Of those postgraduates with planning experience more worked in strategic planning and research compared to the undergraduates, though a sizeable number still worked in development control and local planning. Finally, more of the postgraduates worked in higher tier authorities. The most serious mismatch - between the course orientation and the motives/job destinations of graduates - was for Plateglass graduates.

The tendency to blame planning education for 'inadequate' training revealed a strong instrumental, commonsense outlook which is characteristic of planners generally. Neither functionalism nor interactionism can explain the endurance of this outlook since planning education frequently tries to break it down. It reflects the fact, revealed in Chapter 6, that the planning profession, especially at undergraduate level, attracts people with a commonsense outlook which proves remarkably resilient. This lends considerable weight to the anticipatory socialisation hypothesis.

This Chapter has thrown more light on the role planning education plays vis-a-vis practice - that of promoting role inflation which leads to 'reality shock'. Planning education also fails to arrest the commonsense outlook of graduates. However, it

begins to cultivate attitudes - such as a recognition of the political nature of planning - which are further developed and refined through work experience.

Another distinctive feature of the town planning profession in the eighties is the incidence of low morale and frustration. This is partly a result of the grandiose view of planning promoted by planning schools but also the hostile political climate towards planning and poor career opportunities within the profession. Frustration encourages many graduates to question their professional beliefs leading to confusion, anxiety, indifference and sometimes personal unhappiness. Many young town planners undergo a crisis of confidence in their chosen occupation.

9. CONCLUSION : EDUCATION FOR A PROFESSION IN DECLINE

9.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter summarises the thesis and identifies a number of important conclusions both for the education of town planners and for our understanding of professional socialisation generally. It begins with a summary of the main findings followed by a section outlining the distinctive features of socialisation in town planning schools. The implications for theories of professional socialisation as well as town planning education more generally will then be examined.

9.2 SUMMARY

The starting point for the thesis was the assumption that professions have distinctive sub-cultures or ideologies which define their expertise, main activities and relationships with others. I had also assumed that these ideologies helped the profession legitimate its role but also provided practitioners with a sense of identity and a framework of meaning for work which, on occasions, would guide their actions. The thesis aimed to discover the relative importance of recruitment, formal education and work in reproducing the ideologies for the town planning profession. My hypothesis was that formal education would be the

most important agency for the transmission of the ideologies of the town planning profession.

In Chapter 2 I reviewed the literature on socialisation in professional education. Most of the research had been done on high status professions not town planning. Moreover, most of the work had been carried out in the 1950s and 1960s, usually in the USA. Nevertheless, the review helped clarify the nature of the problem and provided insights into theories and research methods. I found that there were three main approaches : the functionalists who suggested that professional education was a major formative influence on students; the interactionists who argued that students reacted to their education but that it was not a lasting influence and that work experience was most important in socialisation; and the anticipatory socialisation view that recruitment was most important because students came to professional school already holding the group's values and that education merely confirmed and reinforced their prior socialisation.

All three approaches had problems. The most important was the assumptions held about the role of professional values. The functionalists and those holding the anticipatory socialisation view believed in the concept of the 'professional role', that is

students 'internalised' a set of values and ideas which would guide their behaviour as practitioners. The interactionists argued instead that people responded to situations as they found them. They rejected the idea of values separate from specific social contexts and argued that the situations of education and practice were different. Accordingly, the responses of students and practitioners would be different. Both were wrong. Professional values can exist independently of one social situation but they have functions other than guiding behaviour. They provide meaning and identity for professionals in and outside work. Moreover, values would only be one of a number of influences on behaviour. Consequently, I suggested that socialisation is a useful concept but of more limited value than suggested by the functionalists.

The literature on professional socialisation also had other weaknesses. First, the wider context of the professional school, such as the organisation and power of the parent profession, was ignored. Yet I was able to show that external influences could have a profound impact on professional education, although their influence was likely to vary over time. Second, it generalised too readily without fully appreciating the differences within and between professions. Third, professional curricula were neglected as a source of values and potential influence on socialisation. Fourth, they

failed to study staff and, as a result, portrayed professional schools as internally homogeneous. Finally, they did not look at what happened to students when they graduated and started work.

I developed a theoretical approach which tried to overcome the flaws of previous work. It began with the eclectic assumption that a variety of socialisation experiences were possible within and between professions and even within a single school. Its most novel feature however was to look at professional socialisation at two levels of analysis, the macro and micro levels. I suggested that a macro analysis should be carried out which would involve examining the organisation, power and ideologies of the profession, and also studying the development of town planning education especially the pressures on it from the larger profession and academics. The macro analysis would then inform the micro analysis of the mechanics of socialisation in a selected number of town planning schools by suggesting the relative importance of each stage of the socialisation process in reproducing professional ideologies. The micro approach would involve fieldwork in looking at each stage of the socialisation process - town planning curricula, entry, the experience of planning school and the early years of work. The micro approach would also be comparative looking at a number of carefully selected cases in an attempt to cover the range of

socialisation experiences within town planning. The macro approach was applied in Chapters 3 and 4 and the micro approach in Chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

The development of the town planning profession was examined in Chapter 3. It showed that town planners, through an unusual combination of events, gained some of, but not all, the privileges of professionalism. The RTPI gained a de facto, but not legal, monopoly over town planning jobs in local government. Planners also enjoyed considerable autonomy vis-a-vis other professions within local government by establishing separate planning departments and their own career structure. However, by the late seventies they were unpopular with the Conservative Government and out of favour with the public at large.

Ideology was of critical importance to town planners in supporting their claims for greater power and status. In the early sixties the physical generalist ideology was used to help make planners independent of architects, engineers and surveyors. While in the early seventies planners used the procedural ideology in their largely unsuccessful bid to take over corporate management in local government.

Chapter 3 also showed how the profession's ideologies were partly a response to the

opportunities and constraints it faced and partly a consequence of past struggles and choices. For example, in the late seventies town planners came under attack from the Conservative Government for being bureaucratic, delaying development and costing jobs. The Government also cut local authority expenditure. This led to reductions in planning personnel at a time when planning schools were producing more graduates than ever before. Poor employment prospects and unpopularity led to low morale. Planners had to defend themselves but this was difficult for a profession which tried to remain apolitical. In the face of widespread unpopularity the profession's all-embracing corporate ideology collapsed and planners split into two camps - the radicals and the conventionalists. The radicals saw planning as political and felt the profession should align itself to the Labour Party. By contrast, the conventionalists (in the majority) felt planning was technical and should remain above politics. However, both groups still share some beliefs : they believe planners are generalists, they hold a grandiose view of planning and a profession centred view of planning, viz that there is still a considerable amount of expertise required for planning. Both groups also see planners as guardians of the environment.

Chapter 4 examined the development of town planning education. It became clear that planning education

had been vulnerable to outside pressures throughout its history. In particular, planning education was the arena where the RTPI's struggles to create and maintain an occupational monopoly and separate identity were fought. As a result, planning curricula were heavily impregnated with current and past professional ideologies. Since the early 1970s, however, the RTPI's influence had waned due to two developments: in the early 1970s, in response to academic and social pressures to liberalise planning education, planning schools recruited large numbers of social scientists and geography lecturers without experience of, or qualifications in, planning; second, in the late 1970s there was a severe contraction in the job market for traditional planning jobs and many planning graduates were forced to work in other areas some of which were related to planning and some of which were unrelated. These two pressures combined to encourage planning schools to broaden their curricula, but schools did not respond to the pressures equally. Undergraduate schools in low status parent institutions and the newer postgraduate schools broadened their curricula substantially while undergraduate and older postgraduate schools in higher status parent institutions remained relatively insulated from the pressures and changed less. The end result was much greater diversity in planning curricula with two extremes - the old fashioned physical planning

course and the new social science course. There were, of course, a host of variations between the two extremes.

In the light of the findings of Chapter 4, I selected four planning courses which I felt covered the range of course orientations and institutional contexts found in planning education : a physical planning undergraduate course in a relatively high status university (Redbrick); two social science specialist courses one a postgraduate course in a relatively high status university (Civic) the other an undergraduate course in a low status institution (Robbins); and finally an undergraduate course with a procedural emphasis in a medium status university (Plateglass).

In Chapter 5 the curricula of the four schools were studied in detail and largely confirmed my expectations about course orientations. Social science dominated at Civic and Robbins while design predominated at Redbrick. Plateglass did not, however, have such a strong procedural slant but had a mix of social science, design and modelling. Surprisingly, all the undergraduate courses had a remarkably similar form. They were heavily structured, permitted little student choice, had a wide ranging coverage of disciplines and areas of knowledge, had heavy workloads, used the project teaching method extensively, tended to separate

theory from practice and had a strong prescriptive orientation. Civic was different as it was less structured, permitted much greater choice, had a lighter workload, devoted much less time to project work and had a more analytical orientation.

The differences in course content resulted from variations in staff interests which were loosely related to their disciplinary background. Civic and Robbins were staffed mainly by social scientists whereas elderly traditional professional planners and architects dominated at Redbrick. By contrast, no one group dominated at Plateglass, but there were a significant number of academic modellers and social scientists as well as professional planners. At Civic, Redbrick and Plateglass there were significant conflicts between lecturers in their views of planning and their ideas about the course. At Civic the main conflicts were between the radical social scientists and the more conservative professional planners; at Redbrick the conflicts were between the older, traditional architect and planning professionals and the rest who were younger and some of whom were non-planners; at Plateglass the conflict was between radical social scientists, academic modellers and professional planners. Staff tensions reflected one or more of three factors which could be, in principle, independent of each other:-

- (i) different views of planning as a traditional profession or a political activity and also on the scope of planning as narrowly concerned with the development of land or more wide-ranging;
- (ii) tensions between lecturers from different disciplines, especially the professionals and the social scientists; and,
- (iii) tensions between career academics and those who retained an interest/contact with practice.

I found that the RTPI's influence over course content and form remained significant, especially in the naming of courses and the continued importance of project work. However, the RTPI's influence was by no means straightforward. Its most common and effective influence was indirect through lecturers, who were usually professional planners with an RTPI outlook, appealing to the RTPI education guidelines when pressing to enlarge or defend the 'professional' parts of the course. The RTPI also occasionally exerted a visible, direct influence through the visiting board/recognition system. By and large, the RTPI's influence was conservative preventing developments which departed radically from RTPI orthodoxy. However, in some cases the RTPI promoted changes to bring courses into line with current thinking.

Chapter 6 looked at entry to planning school. It found that anticipatory socialisation was relatively unimportant for undergraduates. They entered planning school with little knowledge of planning practice, the planning profession or of differences between planning schools. By contrast, postgraduates were more informed about both planning practice and education and many had been attracted to Civic because of its social science emphasis. However, all students, especially overseas students, were attracted by the vocational and practical nature of planning courses. Most students also came to planning school with an interest in geography or the environment. Planning schools clearly attract a particular type of student.

I also found that there were major differences in recruitment. Civic and Redbrick were 'first preference' institutions - they attracted far more real applications per place than Robbins and to a lesser extent Plateglass. This was largely due to the high status of the parent institutions rather than for course related reasons. This meant staff at Civic and Redbrick could afford to be more selective about who they admitted to the course whereas Robbins, and to a lesser extent Plateglass, were more concerned with filling all available places. This difference was reflected in the use of the interview. Civic and Redbrick used the interview more as a selection device whereas Robbins

and Plateglass used it to encourage students to come to their schools.

Chapter 7 examined the students' experience of planning school. It showed that socialisation was rarely a smooth, planned process, but a messy, haphazard and partial affair. Staff conflict and tensions had a devastating effect on undergraduates, particularly in the early years. It led to confusion about the nature of planning, anxiety and for some cynicism. This was also partly due to the common-sense view of the world held by most undergraduates. They found it difficult to come to terms with conflict and ambiguity and had expected to be told what planning was and how to do it. Thus, students played an active part in their own socialisation. They filtered their experiences with instrumental values by rejecting views and contributions which were considered 'irrelevant' or 'unhelpful' in becoming a planner while focussing on those parts of the course felt to be 'useful'.

Nevertheless, course differences had a crucial impact on the socialisation of undergraduates. Eventually, the majority of students internalised the taken-for-granted assumptions underlying curricula and the views of planning held by the dominant group of staff. Strong cohesive student groups formed at Civic, Plateglass and Redbrick and were supportive of the dominant staff view. This

reinforced socialisation and encouraged greater conformity. At Robbins, however, the student group was relatively weak mainly due to cultural divisions between home and overseas students. The effect of professional school was more varied with a majority of home students adopting staff views but a large number of overseas students resisting this or conforming but not internalising the views of staff. In many cases, the prior socialisation of overseas students into authoritarian cultures proved too strong. However, overseas undergraduates at Redbrick and Plateglass did internalise the dominant professional, not radical social science, ideology largely because it was consistent with their technocratic outlook. Civic postgraduates found their values and views reinforced, not changed, although most adopted a more left wing, political view of planning.

When graduates entered planning practice they appeared to undergo a number of common attitude changes. They adopted a narrower conception of planning, increasingly identifying it with the activities of local authority planning departments. Graduates also felt ill-equipped for many aspects of planning work, particularly development control and the nitty gritty aspects of planning practice and procedures. However, Civic and Plateglass graduates felt better prepared for wider policy areas and research whereas the Redbrick graduates felt better

equipped for design and local planning work. Again, this feeling of inadequacy for parts of planning work reflected the instrumental perspective held by graduates. They blamed what they felt were shortcomings on planning education reflecting the belief that planning education should be heavily vocational. The differences between the Civic and Plateglass graduates on the one hand and Redbrick graduates on the other hand reflected course variations.

There was also a clear shift towards a radical view of planning among graduates and a much keener appreciation of the influence of councillors and bureaucratic politics on planning. There was also increased cynicism towards planning. In part, this was reflected in the weakening of generalist philosophy and a proliferation of views about what was distinctive about planning but it was also a reflection of the diversity of practice and the large number of audiences whom planners face. The cynicism and frustration was due mainly to two factors: first, role inflation promoted by planning education and reality shock on entering practice; and second, poorer career prospects in planning and the hostile political climate which had lowered the profession's morale.

To sum up, planning education appears to play different roles for undergraduates and

postgraduates. It is critical in the socialisation of undergraduates, but much less important for postgraduates and overseas students. Undergraduate planning courses attract students who know little about planning but hold a commonsense view of the world. At planning school students learn about planning practice and some of the professional ideologies. Most courses include a variety of conflicting views about planning and students find this confusing. Eventually, however, most British undergraduates adopt the view held by the majority of staff. When entering practice they experience reality shock. They feel ill-equipped for many aspects of planning work and for contact with councillors, officers from other departments and outsiders. Postgraduates entered Civic with a reasonable understanding of planning and already holding a social science view of planning. At planning school their views were reinforced and they acquired a keener awareness of the political nature of planning. Like their undergraduate counterparts they experienced reality shock on entering practice. Consequently, for postgraduates, anticipatory socialisation and to a lesser extent practice are the most important stages of the socialisation process.

9.3 THE DISTINCTIVENESS OF SOCIALISATION IN TOWN PLANNING

Chapter 3 revealed that professional ideology was of critical importance to the planning profession. The

planners' need for an ideology is greater than in most other professions because planning is a peculiarly intangible service. It is both a collective service to 'society' and a regulatory activity. Thus, it is difficult to identify the effect of planning or who benefits. This means that planners are in particular need of an ideology to convince others that it is worthwhile. Ideology was particularly important to the RTPI during professionalisation, especially the Schuster period and the specialist/generalist conflict in the sixties. In the early 1980s ideology is needed by the profession because its legitimacy is being questioned. Moreover, planners like other local government professions and senior civil servants require ideology in their day-to-day work to help depoliticise their work and maximise autonomy because at the end of the day it is the councillors who formally make the decisions. Individual planners also require ideology to deal with other professionals and outsiders during work and also to give them self-confidence and a belief in their profession.

The planning profession has a clear interest in ensuring that planning education plays its full part in socialising newcomers into its ideologies to help them cope with professional life and promote the profession's image. I can therefore identify a set of pressures for planning education in the 1980s -

to equip new graduates with a clear ideology which they can employ to refute attacks on the profession, give them self-confidence, a belief in planning and a sense of identity. However, what is interesting is that in the 1980s the planning schools frequently fail to satisfy these pressures for a number of reasons.

First, the fact that planning and planning education are in decline has led to falling morale among both staff and students. Among staff there is no consensus on how to respond, mirroring the problems faced by the RTPPI with ideological divisions within its own ranks. On top of this many of the non-professional planning teachers increasingly feel that the interests of the schools are at variance with those of the RTPPI and that the schools should aim to service job markets outside town planning. A second reason is the type of students who enter planning school, especially at undergraduate level. They have a commonsense outlook and find it difficult to adopt a more politically aware yet positive position which is required in the 1980s. The problem is considerably added to by staff conflicts and tensions which are common. Students find it difficult to come to terms with staff conflict.

The conflicts and tensions between planning teachers is in itself a further, distinctive feature of socialisation in town planning. Although conflict is not exclusive to planning teachers the extent of disagreements is greater than in most professions and disciplines.

Planning education is particularly vulnerable to outside pressures. Like most areas of professional education the larger profession has tried to shape education to ensure graduates service its needs. However, planning is unusual in two respects. First, in some schools the non-planning academics dominate (e.g. Civic and Robbins) teaching. This is not uncommon in the welfare professions (Glazer, 1978) but is not true of the traditional professions, such as medicine where the non-medical teachers are subordinate (Jeffreys, 1974). Second, in recent years the diversification of the job destinations of planning graduates has put considerable pressure on schools to meet the needs of the new job markets. This is, in part, a consequence of the fact that the RTPPI, unlike many other professions, does not attempt to control the number of entrants to planning education.

The unimportance of anticipatory socialisation among undergraduate town planning students is another

distinctive feature. Most other professions - established and new - have either a high public profile (e.g. nursing, teaching) take a majority of better informed graduates (e.g. social work) or have well established patterns and networks of acquiring knowledge about the profession and its education through parents, friends and relatives (e.g. law and medicine).

9.4 IMPLICATIONS FOR THE SOCIOLOGY OF PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION

I now assess the implications of the thesis for the sociology of professional education by examining the key features of my approach and asking whether they helped provide an insight into socialisation in town planning professions more generally.

(i) A macro-historical approach.

I have shown that socialisation in town planning cannot be understood without an appreciation of the history and context of both planning education and the larger profession. Both have been subject, to varying degrees, to outside pressures over the years which have led to changes in practice and ideologies which have in turn affected socialisation. In the 1960s the RTPI exerted considerable influence over planning education whereas in the 1970s academic

pressures and changing job opportunities for planning graduates had a major impact. The hostile political climate, cuts in local government and planning education, and the resulting poor employment prospects for planners have also had a crucial effect on socialisation of students while at planning school but particularly on graduates entering practice. A macro examination of planning education also proved invaluable in aiding the selection of case studies in order to cover the range of planning schools and institutional contexts which existed in the early 1980s.

(ii) Town Planning as a marginal profession.

Town planning is unlike medicine or law. It is far less powerful. It is a new profession which only really came of age in the late 1960s. It does not control the output of planning schools although it is an important influence on the content of planning education. Nor does the RTPI have a legal monopoly over who practices as a town planner. Town planners are, for the most part, local government employees not independent consultants and, as a result, do not determine the terms and conditions of their employment. Councillors formally make decisions on planning matters and the RTPI has, in practice, far less influence over national town planning policy than, for example, the British Medical Association

has on health policy. Planning is also a divided profession with lower status than medicine or law and is unpopular with the public and Government.

Ideology is of critical importance to a marginal profession such as town planning. Consequently, socialisation is also important but it has both a more critical and complex role in relation to a marginal profession. The findings of my thesis have revealed some of the fallacies which have arisen because of the concentration of research on established professions and particularly medicine. Undergraduate planning schools have a crucial role in developing commitment, providing information and socialising students into professional values and ideas because anticipatory socialisation amongst undergraduates is almost non-existent. Because in the early 1980s the planning profession is weak and fragmented socialisation in planning schools is a messy, haphazard process and the schools sometimes fail to instill graduates with confidence, a sense of identity and a belief in planning.

(iii) Comprehensive approach.

By looking at all three stages of the socialisation process - entry and experience of planning school and practice - I was able to gauge the role of formal education in the socialisation process. No

other study had done this. I was able to show that formal education played a much more important role for undergraduate home students than for postgraduates or overseas students.

The novelty of studying curricula and staff was also fully vindicated. We found that planning teachers were rarely a homogeneous group. There were important conflicts between staff which had a major impact on socialisation, particularly among undergraduate students. We also found that professional ideologies were embedded in curricula and had an impact on socialisation. The taken-for-granted assumptions which underpinned curricula were passed on to students.

(iv) A comparative approach.

Approaching professional socialisation in a number of institutional contexts proved a worthwhile exercise as I found that planning schools responded to external pressures in different ways depending on their institutional status and historical background. This, in turn, influenced what was taught in planning schools and had an impact on socialisation. The older planning schools in higher status universities were less vulnerable to outside pressures than the newer schools in lower status polytechnics. Consequently, the latter underwent

considerable change in response to outside pressures whereas the former remained relatively stable.

I also found major variations in socialisation experiences both between courses and types of students. Undergraduates were more likely to conform and internalise dominant staff views on planning whereas postgraduates entered schools with like-minded staff. Different course orientations at undergraduate level were the crucial influence on socialisation yet there were important variations between schools. However, home students were more likely than overseas students to internalise radical views since the latter held authoritarian values and ideas which helped them to resist the radical views.

In the early 1980s formal education plays an important role in reproducing professional ideologies among undergraduate planning students but is less important for postgraduates. The anticipatory socialisation hypothesis explains the experiences of postgraduates whereas a mixture of the structural functionalist and symbolic interactionist hypothesis provided the most accurate account of undergraduate experiences. Even within town planning the importance of formal education varies enormously depending on the students

(undergraduate/postgraduate, home/overseas) and type of course (course orientation, degree of consensus among staff). The implications are two-fold: first, the importance of ideology and socialisation varies between professions and second the significance of formal education in reproducing professional ideologies varies between and within professions and over time. Only research which is historically grounded, examines the wider context of professional education and which is comparative will be able to gauge the importance of anticipatory socialisation, formal education and practice in professional socialisation. It is likely, however, that a similar story to planning could be told about other professions in decline, such as architecture and social work.

9.5 THOUGHTS FOR THE FUTURE

My initial motivation for doing the thesis was a suspicion that planning education was responsible for perpetuating a technocratic view of planning among students and young professionals. However, reality turned out to be rather different and certainly more complex. Some planning schools promoted technocratic views while others did not. In any event, the experience of planning practice in an increasingly hostile and politicised environment led most young graduates to adopt a radical view of planning, if they had not already done so. The

thesis was a learning exercise for me as it questioned two of my key starting assumptions - that planning education was similar in all schools and that education would always be the key element in socialisation.

Nevertheless, my research has provided an insight into planning education, the socialisation of town planners and the views of students and young graduates on their experiences of education and work. I am conscious, however, that a number of gaps remain in our understanding. While my research pointed to the importance of the work environment in the socialisation of planners we still know little about its impact and the variations in work environment, such as political control and styles of political leadership and management. A study of the political environment would be pertinent now given that local government is becoming increasingly politicised. We also know little about the impact of differences between types of authority such as those in affluent areas and those in depressed areas.

The thesis indicated that graduates from particular schools tended to follow particular specialisms within planning. For example, Redbrick and Plateglass graduates were most often found in development control and local plans whereas Civic graduates tended to work in higher tier authorities

on policy, economic development and research. There was also a suggestion that there may be significant attitude differences between planners in different specialisms. My sample of graduates was too small to identify meaningful differences but it would be interesting to establish the extent to which graduates specialise within planning and whether this affects their attitudes towards planning and their education. It would also be worthwhile exploring what happens to those graduates who entered related occupations in large numbers.

For obvious reasons I was unable to examine the early work experience of overseas planning students. An examination of the importance of British planning education in relation to the supply of planning personnel in countries such as Hong Kong, Malaysia and parts of Africa and their early work experiences would fill a major gap in our understanding. More generally, it would be interesting to look at the whole question of the export of ideas about British planning and planning education to former colonies.

I would have liked to have accompanied a visiting board of the RTPI and/or CNAA. This would have given me a better understanding of the recognition system. I did in fact seek the RTPI's permission to accompany a visiting board and it was granted.

Unfortunately, the school in question refused to permit an observer to accompany the visiting board.

While I am reasonably confident that I can generalise from my research findings to most other undergraduate planning courses and students in the early to mid eighties I am more doubtful about postgraduates. The undergraduate case studies were carefully chosen to cover the range of institutional contexts and course orientations. By contrast, the Civic postgraduate course is exceptional : it attracts many of the brightest graduates who enter the planning profession; it has a stronger research and social science orientation than most courses; and finally, Civic attracts a much more diverse group of students - in terms of age, disciplinary background (fewer geography graduates although they still form the majority) and nationality - than most other postgraduate courses. While some postgraduate courses resemble Civic others are more similar to the undergraduate courses with a fairly heavy workload, more projects, less social science and a smaller research element.

We need to know more about postgraduate education and the experiences of postgraduate students and graduates.

Notwithstanding my comments above I would have liked, in retrospect, to have included a more 'ordinary' low status undergraduate school in my sample. The Robbins school was exceptional in that it had an unusually large number of overseas and mature students, a staff consensus and a particularly radical orientation. My sample of undergraduate schools would have been more representative had I included a polytechnic school drawing mostly home-based students, with staff tensions and a middle of the road course philosophy. I did approach one such school (Provincial Polytechnic) but it refused to grant me access.

In the current climate of public expenditure cuts in higher education, which involved the closure of three public sector undergraduate planning courses on 1984, there is no prospect of introducing new blood on a significant scale to the teaching staff of planning schools. Most planning teachers are still fairly young and many have no experience of planning or it was at a junior level in pre-1974 reorganisation authorities. This is likely to result in professional obsolescence and could pose serious problems for the profession. Without new blood planning schools are likely to find themselves increasingly out of touch with planning practice and will find it difficult to respond to new demands and pressures, especially as my historical study showed

that new ideas tend to be introduced into planning education by new generations of teachers.

In the absence of an expansion of student recruitment the output of planning schools will fall from 1987 onwards because of school closures. This could lead to a shortage of town planners in the 1990s, particularly in the 'heartland' of development control and local plans/design. If this forecast is correct planning schools will have great difficulty in meeting the new demand as many are unsympathetic to providing training in these areas and in any event do not have appropriate staff. If past events are anything to go by no doubt we will see another review to establish the educational requirements of planning practice in the 1990s.

APPENDIX 1 : RESEARCH METHODS

1.1 GAINING ACCESS

In September 1982 I wrote to the heads of department of the three undergraduate planning schools I had chosen to use as case studies - Redbrick University, Bromfield Polytechnic and Provincial Polytechnic. I wrote to Civic University in December 1982 asking permission to carry out a study of their postgraduate course. The courses were chosen for the range of orientations - social science (Bromfield, Civic), procedural (Provincial) and design (Redbrick) - institutional settings and types of course.

My approach to Redbrick was successful but the head at Provincial Polytechnic replied "whilst I have no doubts about the possible value of your research I am afraid it will not be convenient for you to use the undergraduate course in this Department as one of your case studies during this current academic year." Initially, the Bromfield Polytechnic head welcomed my approach but asked for more details of hypotheses, methods and timescale. After receiving some of this information - especially the proposal to interview a small number of staff and students in the Lent Term - I was told my fieldwork would be inconvenient as two other reviews, one by the CNA A and the other by the Polytechnic, were planned for the Lent Term. The Head said my research would be too time-consuming and confusing for students in the Lent Term. I offered to rearrange my fieldwork and asked to meet the Head. At that meeting I was

told that a joint Staff/Student Committee had decided that my research was not welcome.

Following the set-back at Provincial I approached, in November 1982, the Head of Department at the University of Plateglass, an undergraduate planning course with a procedural emphasis. Fortunately, the Head was receptive to my proposal and granted me access. In January 1983 I approached the Head of Department at Robbins Polytechnic, a undergraduate planning course with a social science emphasis, as a replacement for Bromfield. In the light of the problems I had experienced with the two other polytechnics I asked one of the supervisors to write a letter of support to accompany my letter of enquiry. The Head of Department at Robbins granted permission for my study.

I also experienced problems gaining access to Civic. The Course Leader was initially extremely dismissive and negative, and asked for more details of my research. The course leader appeared to have a strong dislike for sociological research! In writing and at a meeting with a delegation of five Civic lecturers, including the Course Leader, I provided more details of my research and background but I was not prepared to reveal hypotheses on the grounds that it might bias my findings because I intended to interview some of the lecturers present at the meeting. I was given permission to proceed but my background - that I was an ex-planning student and not a sociologist - rather than details of my research appeared to be the crucial factor.

Once I had gained the approval of the Head of Department in each school, I encountered few problems in securing the co-operation of other lecturers, students and graduates. Only one student, a first year at Plateglass, refused to talk to me while another, a third year at Robbins, failed to turn up at an agreed time and place. One Civic Lecturer also refused to talk to me but otherwise staff, students and graduates were keen to participate in my study.

1.2 THE INTERVIEWS

After gaining access to each school I interviewed the head of department. On average these interviews lasted two hours. I asked a number of questions about the course, staff and students (Appendix 2). I also used the opportunity to obtain information on the following : student names and numbers; course details including reading lists, syllabi, staff/student contact hours, methods of assessment, teaching methods, and project briefs; staff C.V.s; any submissions to the CNA A and RTPI and the confidential comments of these bodies.

Following the interview with heads of departments and on the basis of the information I had obtained I was able to select a number of students and lecturers for interview. I interviewed staff and students at Plateglass and Redbrick in February 1983 and at Robbins in March 1983. Civic staff were interviewed in May 1983 and students in October 1983.

Excluding heads of departments I interviewed four lecturers at Civic, four at Plateglass, four at Redbrick and three at Robbins. On average the interviews lasted 1½ hours. The questions covered the course and students (Appendix 2). I tried to talk to a range of lecturers - junior and senior, academics and professionals, young and old and with varying disciplinary backgrounds. At Plateglass, Redbrick and Robbins I arranged interviews with lecturers directly but at Civic one lecturer made the arrangements for me.

For the student interviews I selected at random two or three students from each year. Altogether I interviewed six students at Civic, eight at Plateglass, eight at Robbins and nine at Redbrick. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on average and ranged between 20 minutes and 1½ hours. The interviews covered the student's reasons for entering planning school, views on the course and staff and attitudes towards planning (Appendix 2). At Redbrick and Plateglass I arranged interviews with students through the Secretary of the Student Society. At Civic the course tutor arranged for me to talk to all students about my research and I made arrangements for individual interviews after the meeting. At Robbins I made arrangements with students directly.

I also interviewed five 'prominent' people involved in planning education through the RTPi, CNA, ESRC and UGC. Three were academics, one a practitioner and one an administrator. I tried to find out what role the various institutions played in relation to town planning education,

particularly the RTPI. I was also able to obtain such information from the more experienced lecturers I interviewed in the four schools.

At all but 2 interviews I asked permission to record the discussion. Only one person, a Redbrick lecturer, did not grant permission, although two people, both Civic lecturers, asked me not to record small parts of the discussion. I also took a clip board and made a few notes during each interview. Appendix 2 shows that most of my questions were open ended. I coded answers afterwards, where possible. In all cases I told interviewees that their identities and the names of institutions would not be revealed.

1.3 THE QUESTIONNAIRES

Following the student interviews I devised a questionnaire which was sent to all first and final year students (Appendix 3). Typing errors on question 12 and the penultimate question of 18 meant it was not possible to use the responses to those questions. The aim of the questionnaire was to identify more clearly attitude changes between first and final year students. The questionnaires were despatched in March 1983 for undergraduates and November 1983 for postgraduates. No reminders were sent out. The response rates were reasonable being 54% overall and 43% at Plateglass, 46% at Robbins, 65% at Redbrick and 74% at Civic.

I asked each school for a list of addresses and occupations of recent graduates to enable me to send a questionnaire to them. The aims were to compare attitudes between students and graduates and to ask additional questions about work experience (Appendix 3). Robbins refused to provide the information on grounds of 'confidentiality' but Plateglass and Redbrick gave me lists of graduates from 1978 onwards. Civic also refused to give me the information on grounds of 'confidentiality' but agreed to send out a letter to recent graduates asking those willing to participate to return a slip to me stating their address and occupation. Students working overseas were excluded from my survey for obvious reasons.

I soon discovered that the lists from Redbrick and Plateglass were not particularly accurate. However, I was able to update them by enclosing with the questionnaire a list of graduates' addresses and jobs and asking respondents to correct any errors. The questionnaires for graduates' were despatched in August 1983. The response rate, taking into account returned questionnaires which had not reached the intended graduate, was relatively good being 58% overall - 50% at Civic, 65% at Plateglass and 58% at Redbrick. However, because the graduate records were not particularly accurate it is likely that a significant number of questionnaires did not reach the intended people. Hence the real response rate is probably much higher than 58%. The good response probably reflects the fact that a letter of support from the relevant head of department accompanied the questionnaire. In retrospect the response rates for the

student questionnaires would probably have been higher had I asked staff to encourage students to return them.

Appendix 3 shows that the questionnaires consisted of open and closed questions. The closed questions were pre-coded and most of the open questions were coded after analysing a sample of responses. All coded responses were transferred onto a computer and analysed using SPSS.

APPENDIX 2 : INTERVIEW SCHEDULES

Three typical interview schedules are listed below. However, it should be noted that the schedules did evolve a little during the fieldwork. Moreover, the schedules only provide a rough guide as to the issues and areas covered during interviews as I frequently had to respond to the interests and concerns of interviewees. I was also careful during the interviews to ask one question at a time, although this may not be indicated in the schedules below.

2.1 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR A CIVIC TOWN PLANNING LECTURER

Introduction

Describe research and purpose of the interview. Clarify details of lecturer's background and involvement in course.

The Civic Course

1. What would you say are the fundamental characteristics of the Civic course?
2. From your knowledge how does it differ, if at all, from other postgraduate and undergraduate planning courses?
3. How is the course content determined and by whom?
4. What effects, if any, do you think the RTPPI and SSRC have had on the course?

5. Why teach your courses to town planning students?
6. How do students react to your courses?
7. How much freedom do you have in deciding course content and choosing teaching methods?
8. Project work. Why is little emphasis given to project work at Civic? Who selects and designs projects?

The Civic Students

9. How, if at all, does the experience of the Civic course shape the attitudes of students towards town planning?
10. What do you look for when you interview applicants for the course?
11. What knowledge of planning and expectations of the course do students bring with them? (2 separate questions).
12. Are Civic students happy with the course? Has this always been the case?

General Questions

13. How would you define town planning?

14. What views of planning exist among staff in this school? Which views have the most support and what is your own opinion of them?
15. Do you see planning as political? If so, in what sense is it political?
16. Do you consider the planner to be a professional? If so, what makes the planner a professional?
17. What, if anything, is distinctive about planners?
18. Any other comments?

2.2 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR A CIVIC POSTGRADUATE STUDENT

Introduction

Describe research and purpose of interview. Clarify details of student's background.

Selecting Town Planning

1. Why did you decide to do a town planning degree?
2. What do you intend to do when you complete the course?

Choosing Civic

3. Why did you come to Civic? What factors influenced your decision?

4. Which other schools did you apply to?

The Civic Course

5. Are you happy with the course? What, in your view, are its main strengths and weaknesses? Please compare it with any other planning courses you know and/or your first degree.

6. Would you recommend the course to would be planners?

7. What, in your view, should be the main aims of a planning course? In what ways and to what extent does the Civic course meet these aims?

8. Is this a friendly school?

9. Ask about views on:-

- staff in the department, especially different views of planning;

- teaching methods;

- fellow students.

(Ask to compare with previous degree).

10. If you were in a position to change the Civic course, what changes, if any, would you make and why?

General Questions

11. What do you understand by town planning?
12. Do you see planning as political? If so, in what ways?
13. Do you consider the planner to be a professional? If so, what makes the planner a professional?
14. What, if anything, is distinctive about planners?
15. Have your attitudes towards planning changed since you started at Civic? If so, in what ways?
16. Any other comments?

2.3 INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR A ROBBINS UNDERGRADUATE STUDENT

Introduction

Describe research and purpose of interview. Clarify details of student's background.

Selecting Town Planning

1. Before you decided to do a town planning degree did you seriously consider any other courses? If yes, which ones?
2. Did you receive any careers advice before deciding to do a town planning degree? If yes, from whom?

3. What made you come to do a town planning degree?
4. What do you intend to do when you complete the course?
Why?

Choosing Robbins

5. Why did you come to Robbins?
6. How does the Robbins course compare with the other planning schools you know? What makes a particular school good?

The Robbins Course

7. Did the Robbins course turn out as you had expected?
8. Since beginning the course have you had any doubts that coming to Robbins was the right decision for you?
9. What, in your opinion, are the main strengths and weaknesses of the course? Why?
10. What are the most important parts of the course that you are doing this year? What makes them important?
11. What do you think about project work at Robbins?
12. What about the course workload? Is it too light or heavy or is it reasonable?

13. Which parts, if any, of the course give you most trouble?
14. If you were in a position to change the Robbins course, what changes, if any, would you make? Why?
15. Is Robbins a friendly school? Would you count many of your fellow students among your closest friends?
16. Are you aware of any conflicts between staff within the school? If yes, identify them. What do you think about them?
17. Have your attitudes towards planning changed since you began the Robbins course?

General Questions

18. How would you define town planning?
19. Do you see planning as political? If so, in what ways?
20. Do you consider the planner to be a professional? If yes, what makes him/her a professional?
21. What, if anything, is distinctive about town planners?
22. Any other comments?

APPENDIX 3 : QUESTIONNAIRES

3.1 QUESTIONNAIRE FOR UNDERGRADUATES

Dear Student,

You might already know that I am doing a study of planning education. I have already interviewed a number of staff and students in the Robbins planning school. I would be grateful if you would complete this questionnaire. Your answers will help me in my study of planning education.

All respondents will be anonymous. This questionnaire is not a test; there are no 'right' or 'wrong' answers. Whatever you think is the right answer for you. It is also important that you answer this questionnaire on your own without talking to fellow students. Where appropriate put a circle around your preferred answer. When you have completed the questionnaire please return it in the enclosed envelope.

Thank you for participating in my study.

With best wishes.

Yours,

Kevin Lavery

Year BAI/Diploma

1) Sex Male
 Female

2) Age

3) A level subjects

4) Are you a British based student? Yes No
 If not, what is your home country?

5) What are the occupations of your parents?

6) Did you know any planners before beginning
 this course? Yes No

7) Have you worked in planning practice? Yes No
 If yes, for how long?

8) Before you decided to do a town planning degree did you
 seriously consider any other courses? Yes No
 If yes, which one(s)?

9) Did you decide to do a planning degree before or after
 you chose your A levels? Before After
 Didn't do A levels

- 10) Which of the following sources provided useful information about planning?
- | | | |
|---|-----|----|
| Careers Adviser | Yes | No |
| Royal Town Planning Institute | Yes | No |
| Literature - newspapers, magazines, books | Yes | No |
| Visit to a planning office | Yes | No |
| Acquaintance with a planner | Yes | No |
| Worked in planning office | Yes | No |
| Other (please specify) | Yes | No |

11) Why did you choose to do a planning degree?

- 12) To what extent has the Robbins course conformed to your expectations?
- very closely
quite closely
not very closely
had no expectations

13) If it did not, in what ways?

14) Which university and polytechnic courses - including non-planning ones - did you apply for?

15) Which of the following reasons were important in your decision to come to the Robbins Planning School in particular? Please tick the appropriate spaces.

Very Fairly Not a
Important Important reason

Staff and students were friendly
Good facilities
Good general reputation
Course stressed physical planning
Course stressed quantitative techniques
Course stressed social science
Broadly based planning course
Only offer received
Wanted to come to the town
Wanted to come to Robbins polytechnic
Other (please specify)

16) What would you say are the main strengths, if any, of the course?

17) What would you say are the main weaknesses, if any, of the course?

18) Could you estimate the number of hours you spend working in your free time on average in a 'typical' week? Free time is defined as that time outside prescribed periods.

19) Please answer by ticking the appropriate spaces.
Are you friendly with:

	Very Friendly	Fairly Friendly	Not Friendly
students in your year			
students in other years			
staff in the Department			

Do you live in a flat or house? Yes No
If yes, do you share it with any other planning
students? Yes No

20) Are you aware of any differences in views of planning
among lecturers in your school? Yes No
If yes, what are the principal differences?
Are these differences reflected in approaches to
teaching? Yes No

21) Do the majority of staff in your school regard
practical work as the core of the course? Yes No

22) Please indicate the extent to which you agree with the
following statements about practical work by ticking
the appropriate spaces.

Strongly agree	agree	undecided	disagree	Strongly disagree
-------------------	-------	-----------	----------	----------------------

A) For many projects
the tutors want
certain solutions
rather than others.

B) Project work is closely
related to lecture and
seminar courses.

C) Most project work
is not related to
planning practice.

D) Project work tutors
usually encourage
new ideas and approaches.

E) Project work neglects
the contributions of
many subjects taught
on the course.

F) The marking of many projects is much more
dependent on the tutors likes and dislikes
than in other parts of the course.

I would now like to ask you a number of general
questions about town planning.

23) Do you see town planning as political? Yes No
If yes, in what ways is it political?

24) What are the aims of the present planning system?

25) Please indicate your preferred answers.

Area of concern How much influence do planners have on this area at present? Should planners have more or less influence here?

A) Patterns of land use.	considerable some very little	more remain less
B) Urban design	considerable some very little	more remain less
C) Housing	considerable some very little	more remain less
D) Location of industry	considerable some very little	more remain less
E) General local government policy and expenditure	considerable some very little	more remain less
F) Social inequality	considerable some very little	more remain less

26) Please rank the following in order of preference. The principal concern of planners should be:

Ranking to help create a more attractive physical environment
 to help create a more efficient environment
 to help ensure a fair and orderly control of development
 to help create a more equitable society
 other (please specify)

27) Please indicate, by ticking the appropriate spaces, the extent to which you agree with the following statements about planning, planners and politicians in local government.

Strongly agree agree undecided disagree strongly disagree

A) Planning is an essentially technical activity.

- B) Planning produces a pattern of land use and form of development which benefits some groups at the expense of others.
 - C) It is in the interests of all groups in society to support planning.
 - D) Planning is an activity which does not involve political judgements.
 - E) Goals and decisions are the prerogative of councillors whereas planners supply facts.
 - F) The planner brings much needed rationality to council politics.
 - G) There can be no objectively right or wrong professional judgement.
- 28) What would you say, if anything, distinguishes a planner from other experts in the urban field such as architects, economists and surveyors?
- 29) If you were in a position to change the Robbins course, what changes, if any would you make?
- 30) Do you have any comments on any aspects of your planning education which have not been covered above?

10) Which of the following sources provided useful information about planning?

Careers Adviser	Yes	No
Royal Town Planning Institute	Yes	No
Literature - newspapers, magazines, books	Yes	No
Visit to a planning office	Yes	No
Acquaintance with a planner	Yes	No
Worked in a planning office	Yes	No
Other (please specify)	Yes	No

11) Why did you choose to do a planning degree?

12) To what extent has the Civic course conformed to your expectations?

very closely quite closely not very closely
had no expectations

13) If it has not, in what ways?

14) Which university and polytechnic planning courses did you apply for?

15) Which of the following reasons were important in your decision to come to the Civic Planning School in particular? Please tick the appropriate spaces.

	Very important	Fairly important	Not a reason
Staff and students were friendly			
Good facilities			
Good general reputation			
Course stressed physical planning			
Course stressed quantitative techniques			
Course stressed social science			
Broadly based planning course			
Only offer received			
Wanted to come to the town			
Wanted to come to Civic University			
Other (please specify)			

16) What would you say are the main strengths, if any, of the course?

17) What would you say are the main weaknesses, if any, of the course?

18) Could you estimate the number of hours you spend working in your free time on average in a 'typical' week? Free time is defined as that time outside prescribed periods.

19) Please answer by ticking the appropriate spaces.
Are you friendly with:

- 24) Please rank the following in order of preference. The principal concern of planners should be:

Ranking

to help create a more attractive physical environment
to help create a more efficient environment
to help ensure a fair and orderly control of development
to help create a more equitable society
Other (please specify)

- 25) Please indicate, by ticking the appropriate spaces, the extent to which you agree with the following statements about planning, planners and politicians in local government.

Strongly agree agree undecided disagree Strongly disagree

- A) Planning is an essentially technical activity.
- B) Planning produces a pattern of land use and form of development which benefits some groups at the expense of others.
- C) It is in the interests of all groups in society to support planning.
- D) Planning is an activity which does not involve political judgements.
- E) Goals and decisions are the prerogative of councillors whereas planners supply facts.
- F) The planner brings much needed rationality to council politics.
- G) There can be no objectively right or wrong professional judgement.

- 26) What would you say, if anything, distinguishes a planner from other experts in related fields such as architects, economists and surveyors?
- 27) Have your attitudes towards planning changed since you began the Civic course? Yes NO
If yes, in what ways?
- 28) If you were in a position to change the Civic course, what changes, if any, would you make and why?
- 29) Do you have any comments on this questionnaire or any aspects of your planning education which have not been covered above?

WORK EXPERIENCE

12) Would you please list your job history since completing the Plateglass course, indicating the areas of experience (e.g. development control, corporate management, local plans, etc.)

13) What, if anything, are the main frustrations and satisfactions of the jobs you have had?

14) If you have worked in mainstream planning practice

How do you think your work environment (e.g. the party in control of the council, the status of the planning department within the local authority, the personality of the chief planner, etc.) has influenced, if at all, your job(s)? If you have worked in more than one authority please compare your experiences.

15) If you have worked in mainstream planning practice

A) How have your attitudes towards planning changed since you began your planning degree?

B) What has been the relative influence of your planning education and your work experience in shaping your attitudes towards planning? In what ways, if at all, have they influenced your attitudes towards planning?

PLANNING EDUCATION

16) What, in your view, should be the main aims of a planning course?

17) In what ways and to what extent did the Plateglass course meet these aims?

18) If you have worked in planning practice

A) Which parts of the course and/or teaching methods were the most effective and least effective preparation for the jobs you have done?

B) Are there any aspects of planning practice for which you feel the Plateglass course was a less than adequate preparation? Yes No
If yes, please explain:

C) From your knowledge of planning colleagues who did courses elsewhere do you think the Plateglass course has any particular strengths and/or weaknesses compared with other planning courses?

19) If you were in a position to change the planning course you did, what changes, if any, would you make and why?

The next questions are about your attitudes towards planning more generally.

- 20) Do you see town planning as political? Yes No
If yes, in what ways is it political?
- 21) What do you see as the aims of the present planning system?
- 22) Please indicate your preferred answers.

Age of Concern	How much influence do planners have on this area at present?	Should planners have more or less influence here?
----------------	--	---

A) Patterns of land-use.	considerable some very little	more remain less
B) Urban design	considerable some very little	more remain less
C) Housing	considerable some very little	more remain less
D) Location of Industry	considerable some very little	more remain less
E) General local government policy and expenditure	considerable some very little	more remain less
F) Social inequality	considerable some very little	more remain less

- 23) Please rank the following in order of preference. The principal concern of planners should be:

Ranking

to help create a more attractive physical environment
to help create a more efficient environment
to help ensure a fair and orderly control of development
to help create a more equitable society
other (please specify)

- 24) Please indicate, by ticking the appropriate spaces, the extent to which you agree with the following statements about planning, planners and politicians in local government.

- | | | | | | |
|--|----------|-------|-----------|----------|----------|
| | Strongly | | | | strongly |
| | agree | agree | undecided | disagree | disagree |
- A) Planning is an essentially technical activity.
- B) Planning produces a pattern of land use and form of development which benefits some groups at the expense of others.
- C) It is in the interests of all groups in society to support planning.
- D) Planning is an activity which does not involve political judgements.
- E) Goals and decisions are the prerogative of councillors whereas planners supply facts.
- F) The planner brings much needed rationality to council politics.
- G) There can be no objectively right or wrong professional judgement.
- 25) What would you say, if anything, distinguishes a planner from other experts in related fields such as architects, economists and surveyors?
- 26) Do you have any comments on this questionnaire or any aspects of your planning education which have not been covered above?

If you are willing to take part in a personal interview please write your name and address here:

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