

Regional Housing Planning:  
An Analysis of Practice

by

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SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF  
URBAN STUDIES AND PLANNING  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE  
DEGREES OF

BACHELOR OF SCIENCE IN  
URBAN STUDIES

and

MASTER OF CITY PLANNING

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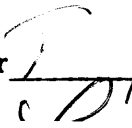
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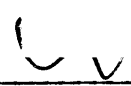
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AN ANALYSIS OF PRACTICE**

by

**RALPH MICHAEL NICOSIA-RUSIN**

Submitted to the Department of Urban Studies and Planning  
on April 28, 1982 in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements of the Degrees of Bachelor of Science  
in Urban Studies and Master of City Planning  
at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology

**ABSTRACT**

The 1974 Housing and Community Development Act provided for the development of regional housing plans as part of a regional comprehensive planning effort. This is an examination of the author's involvement in the design and execution of a regional planning project at the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council. By examining the context of this planning activity, it attempts to identify proper choices of style (blueprint vs. process planning, rational-comprehensive vs. disjointed-incrementalism, and functional vs. normative) as well as address issues involving the planner's role, required skills, client identification, and selection of substantive issues.

The examination of practice is primarily based on the planning theory of Andreas Faludi. The original variables of Faludi's model are modified to provide a greater level of detail in describing the characteristics of the planning context. In applying this model to the author's experience a close fit was found between predicted styles of planning and those followed by the housing staff at MAPC.

The model did not provide any direction however, on the other issues of role, client or issue identification. Based upon this reflection on practice, the author provides a statement of guidelines on these issues. These guidelines require further testing and would serve as the basis for further investigation on this topic.

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

My deepest gratitude to my wife, Jennifer, and her parents, Grace and Joseph Nicosia, for their enduring support and patience through an exasperatingly prolonged endeavor. For all their sacrifices and assistance, I will remain ever indebted.

My thanks and appreciation to Larry Susskind for his guidance and assistance through this thesis effort. Ms. Norma Bogen was director of the housing staff at MAPC during most of the period reviewed in this thesis. My many thanks for the benefits of her insights and experience, and my apologies for any misrepresentations of events or failure to sufficiently acknowledge individual contributions.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
Title Page	1
Abstract	2
Acknowledgements	3
Table of Contents	4
Introduction	5
Chapter 1: A Narrative Review of My Experience at MAPC	8
Chapter 2: A Review and Adaptation of Faludi's Planning Theory	23
Chapter 3: Results of Applying Faludi's Model	42
Chapter 4: Conclusions and Further Thoughts	52
Bibliography	61
Appendix A: Description of Dror's Variables to Adapt Faludi's Model	64
Appendix B: Application of Model to Author's Experience at MAPC	75

## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this thesis is to analyze my professional practice as a regional housing planner at the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council. From the fall of 1974 through the spring of 1978, I served on the regional housing planning staff of the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council (MAPC). Under the supervision of Norma Bogen, director of the housing and neighborhood development staff, I was the principal designer and researcher for MAPC's housing element of its regional comprehensive plan. This plan was required by the 1974 Community Development Act which set the tone for urban programs for the last seven years and represented a major departure from the old categorical programs of the sixties. Consequently this experience represented the opportunity to establish directives for regional housing activities at the outset of significant national innovation in housing and community development programs. Since evaluation is considered the critical link in most theoretical models of the planning process, the analysis of my practice as a regional housing planner appears to be a constructive exercise to further my abilities as a practicing planner.

I also approach this task with the hope of developing a better understanding of the role of the professional planner in our society. I was somewhat surprised by the level of emotion which accompanied many of the discussions and outright conflicts between planners in the field. While it is perhaps naive to expect otherwise at times it seems to appear that the analytical activities pursued by planners are inconsequential in terms of their affect on planning recommendations once the planner has arrived at their personal value opinion on an issue. To the degree that this occurs planners seem to approach being professional opinion givers rather than professional informers to public opinion or policy decisions. If planners seek status as professionals and associated benefits such as tenure secure from political activity, our society could become easily ruled by technocracies with strong biases quite distinct from public opinion or actual public interest. Therefore I feel quite strongly that planners should give a major commitment to furthering the professionalization of planning in terms of the development of a theory of planning.

This leads to the second objective of this thesis- the development of a theory of planning that could be used to evaluate one's professional practice and roles within planning agencies in order to approach an ideal of the role of planners in the evolution and growth of our society. This was one of the most difficult

aspects of this thesis. There are a variety of competing theories of the proper role of planners, each of which have their merits and drawbacks. How does one select a theoretical framework to evaluate one's professional practice? This perplexity led me to seek a general theory of planning that bound the competing views of planning into a comprehensive structure. The most appropriate work which I found for this purpose was Faludi's theory of planning. However Faludi's constructs were based upon very broad variables which were difficult to use for examining a situation with any detail. Consequently in this thesis I employ Dror's detailed facet description of the planning process with Faludi's theoretical construct in order to have a general theoretical approach that is able to examine my practice at a reasonable level of detail. This means that the approach analyzing my planning practice is itself experimental and the flow of sections may suffer at times in order to employ sufficient thoroughness in testing this approach.

My first task in this analysis was to record my experience at MAPC in terms of major approaches to the work program, an assessment of resources and constraints, MAPC's tradition in housing planning, directives which we were to follow, and major issues which came to light. This is presented in Chapter One as well as a description of our final planning product.

The second chapter introduces Dror's facet description of planning and Faludi's positive theory of planning. By combining Dror's detailed description of planning with Faludi's comprehensive theory of planning, I develop an instrument which can examine with some detail the conditions of a planning task and relate these conditions to appropriate modes of planning. The details of this synthesis of these two theories is recorded in Appendix A, while the text of Chapter Two contains the summary and commentary based upon this Appendix.

In Chapter Three I apply this framework to my planning experience at MAPC and compare the predicted response to various conditions with the approach which was actually followed. While this is a subjective exercise with the greatest bias occurring in what one recalls and omits, it produces a thorough analysis of the experience in a manner which is constantly relating observation to hypothesis. Again the detailed record was placed into Appendix B and Chapter Three is a summary and commentary on this analysis.

Upon completing this basic exercise of recording my experience, selecting and adapting a theoretical framework for analyzing this experience, applying this theory to my experience and examining the results, one can be left with two

conclusions. The first would be that both the theorist and the practitioner are very good for they support each other very strongly. The second conclusion is that little has been learned from this application and that maybe the wrong questions or issues have been addressed by the theory. The theory succeeds at being a general comprehensive statement regarding the basic scale and nature of a planning effort given the conditions under which such an effort is to occur. It does not, however, address the issues confronted by the practicing planner which are probably most critical to the performance of the practice. These issues are raised at the end of Chapter One, and will be examined at the end of Chapter Four to see just how well Faludi's theory and this re-examination of my practice enabled me to evaluate key decisions I had to make in my practice of planning at MAPC. Finally, I offer a model of professional practice within the context of regional planning in the United States. This model is based upon an effort to synthesize my reflection and analysis of practice around those issues raised at the end of Chapter One.

## **CHAPTER ONE**

### **The National Directive for Regional Housing Planning**

Through the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974, Congress established major new directions for the nation's urban policy with the initiation of the Community Development Block Grant Program and the Section 8 Housing Assistance Payments Program . Title IV of this Act also created changes in the 701 Comprehensive Planning Program. Since 1954 this program had provided major direction (and financial assistance) to state and local planning activities, most notably the funding of local master planning activities. Now Congress was requiring that each recipient of such assistance carry out an ongoing comprehensive planning process.

The Act further defined this process as one which would result in a plan which would, at minimum, contain a housing element and a land use element. These elements would specify broad goals and annual objectives, programs, and evaluation procedures, and be consistent with each other and stated national growth policies. The housing element was to take into account all available data so that the housing needs stated in the element would adequately support existing and prospective population growth.

### **Regional Housing Planning in the Boston Metropolitan Area**

Several months after passage of this act I was hired by the Boston Metropolitan Area Planning Council as a staff housing planner with principal responsibility for the preparation of the region's housing element. Other positions on this staff included the director for housing and community development and a research assistant. The staff was later expanded to include one other senior housing planner. Our group was responsible for A-95 reviews (of all housing proposals and a portion of CDBG and planning grant applications) review of environmental assessment forms for residential developments, provision of technical assistance to member cities and towns regarding the new community development block grant program and associated housing assistance plans, assistance to housing authorities in housing development activities, participation in state housing planning activities, summarizing local growth policy statements, preparation of the regional growth policy statement, participation in the regional comprehensive and land use planning effort, as well as the preparation of the housing element. Furthermore, our staff was involved in the collection and

maintenance of building permit and employment data. I also became involved in designing and implementing a data base management system on a time-share computer system for tracking A-95 review activity, data storage and retrieval and report writing functions for the agency.

### **History of Regional Planning at MAPC**

Prior to the fall of 1974, MAPC had been very active in promoting and assisting in the development of subsidized housing. In 1969 MAPC received a 701 Special Project Grant to establish the Office for Housing Development. At the same time the state legislature created the Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency and passed Chapter 774, "the anti-snob zoning law". This Office for Housing Development emerged then at the same time that suburban communities were becoming aware of their responsibilities for subsidized housing. The Office became a clearinghouse for housing information, referrals, and technical assistance. Background information was published relating to housing programs, organizing housing authorities, nonprofit development corporations, and local housing need surveys. Staff also became involved in field visits to meet with interested groups for purposes ranging from explanation of subsidized housing programs to assistance with site selection.

In 1973 and 1974, the Council collaborated with the State Department of Community Affairs in producing a detailed fair share plan for allocating subsidized housing in the region. This plan was unanimously adopted by a meeting of the full Council in 1974. This plan allocated subsidized housing according to a formula based upon local need and a redistribution of the total need to those localities with a low local need, with a strong employment base, and with the fiscal capacity to absorb the need. It became the basis for local housing assistance plans and for state and federal allocations of program resources at a regional level.

This previous experience had significant impact in developing the work program for a regional housing element. First, much of the work for a "standard" housing element had already been completed and summarized in the 1974 housing needs and allocation study. Secondly, the current director of the housing staff had already been through the experience of building up mechanisms for subsidized housing production and then had them turned off cold by the President's moratorium on subsidized housing. Third, since the late 1960's it appeared that the need for housing assistance was creeping up into higher and higher income

percentiles of the region's population. Fourth, the volume of subsidized housing which would be allocated to this region under the Housing and Community Development Act of 1974 was insignificant compared to the documented need for such assistance.

Reflections on these experiences produced a mandate for this regional housing planning effort- rather than refine current activities in promoting subsidized housing, concentrate on approaches to reducing the need for subsidized housing.

### **Work Program Design Issues**

In designing the work program for developing the housing element, the issue of reducing the need for subsidized housing was a dominant consideration. My major concern in developing a program of analysis was identifying the leverage points where state and local public action could improve the market's ability to provide modestly priced housing. This approach led to a predominantly supply-side analysis of problems in the housing market since it appeared that the principal factors affecting the demand for housing-income and financing- were primarily influenced by national policies. We did however remain cognizant of these factors and included suggestions where relevant, e.g. increasing income through economic development activities, or advocating for the use of state bonds for mortgage financing.

The other major characteristic of the work program was that it followed a relatively classical approach to planning- goals formulation, problem identification, system analysis and theory articulation, establishment of objectives and criteria, generation of alternatives, and selection of an appropriate array of policies and programs which we referred to as a regional housing strategy. Throughout most of the planning process this work program flow served as a guide for our actions, though many accommodations were made to the realities of time and data resources.

### **Strategy vs. Plan**

The concept of creating a regional housing strategy, rather than a plan, was an important distinction in our minds. The methodology of most regional housing studies was to develop an estimate of demand in each housing price category, compare that to the number of standard quality dwelling units available in each price category and the inevitable shortage in the lower priced categories

represented the need for housing assistance. The surplus in the higher priced categories would represent the need for demand-side subsidies, the balance of unmet need would represent the need for supply-side strategies. Regardless of the variations of detail from this methodology, the end product of most regional housing plans reported in the literature (Listokin 1976) were fixed numerical tables indicating how many units of what type of subsidy were needed where and how many of those units represented families relocated from central city to suburban locations. We had two considerations with regard to this approach. The first, which was publicly known, was that we had such a plan already. The second consideration, only mentioned at staff meetings, was that we really didn't believe in our numbers. There was nothing sacred about them and we were to some degree glad that there wasn't sufficient resources to fill these need estimates as we had detailed them because we knew that, at the level of detail specified, they would produce havoc in the housing market. In striving to create a regional housing strategy we were more concerned with identifying processes and policies which would move to improvements in the efforts of the housing market to satisfy the housing needs of the region, rather than to determine some precise end-state or ideal solution.

The concept of a regional housing strategy also contained the notion of a set of policies, programs and actions which at minimum would render consistency and at best re-enforce each other to produce a total impact much greater than the sum of their individual impacts would indicate. For example, reducing the use of larger lot zoning might lower the cost (to developer's) of new construction but unless we also could promote conservation of the existing housing, such a decrease in land requirements alone would not result in lowering the price of new construction since the increase in demand due to the need for replacement housing would allow developers and landowners to earn higher profits. On the other hand if we could lower the demand for new construction by decreasing the need for replacement housing, then reduction in the cost of developing new homes would have a greater chance of being passed on to consumers in terms of lower sale prices. Since the regional housing market is a system of submarkets with linkages to each other, we felt it would be important to have a strategy which constituted an orchestrated set of policies and programs to both accommodate and take advantage of this characteristic of the housing market.

## Professional Values

Another factor influencing my approach in designing our work program was that I perceived my role as a housing planner as a technocrat trying to find ways in which the housing market could express itself as efficiently as possible. This was based on several considerations. First among these was my belief in the filtering theory of the housing market such as articulated by LGrigsby (1963). These theories predicted that changes in demand or supply in one part of the market would affect other parts of the market depending upon how strongly related or linked. Such theories have been supported by historical observations of neighborhood change and urbanization processes though there is some contention as to what type of additions to supply will have the greatest benefit for lower income households. Boston's South End is one example of a neighborhood originally constructed for wealthy families, eventually deteriorated and filtered down to the city's poorest families and now, as a result of changes external to the neighborhood, it is attracting wealthier families again. Today, this filtering action has led to tension and conflict since there is not a surplus of housing available into which poorer families can move. The filtering model of housing markets predicts that an insufficient increase in the supply of housing for middle income families will result in a shortage of housing for poorer families. Conversely, improvements in lowering the cost of new construction should result in either improvements in the quality of housing or reduction in the price of housing over time.

I also believed that within the constraint of overburdening our environment, planners should allow families to seek their own preferences with regard to housing, its size, price and location. I personally do not believe all of the "apologies" for growth control but felt that most of them boiled down to the understandable sentiment of wanting to close the door behind oneself after having located in a community with abundant open space and suburban/rural character. I personally favored sound growth management (accommodating growth in a manner consistent with the environment's ability to support development) vs. growth control (accommodating only as much development as the local electorate will support). Similarly, I disagreed with the regional land use issue of sprawl which was usually based on studies such as the Urban Land Institute's study, The Costs of Sprawl, which was a hypothetical analysis of development patterns for undeveloped fringe areas and was not relevant for guiding the development of existing metropolitan areas. The concern for land use maps with optimum

geometric patterns of development seem to be a carryover of planning's evolution from the engineering and design disciplines and neglects the fact that a family's satisfaction from their place of residence has little to do with whether or not they contribute to a particular density pattern on a regional land use map.

### **Personal Values**

Another factor which contributes to my image of the problem and my biases in evaluating alternative responses was my personal identification with the problem. As part of the post World War II baby boom, I was quite aware of the difficulties of participating in the housing market. Even though my wife and I held professional jobs, we felt as if the escalation in housing prices had precluded us from living in at least half of the communities in the region and probably 75% of those within the inner core of Route 128. This represented a major departure of our expectations and this certainly piqued if not biased my interest in the operation of the regional housing market.

### **Research Findings**

In following our work program we discovered several facts that we had not anticipated prior to our analysis. First, tremendous improvements in housing condition had been realized through the 1960's in terms of reduction in the number of units with inadequate plumbing, overcrowded, or dilapidated units. The analysis also showed us what a tremendous impact the demographics of the region were having on the housing market. As an example, during the sixties there had been a tremendous reduction in the average number of persons/room across all income and household size categories. It was not possible to explain this reduction in overcrowding by examining construction activity alone, especially since construction in the sixties included a much higher proportion of smaller units than earlier construction periods. What does appear to account for the lowering of overcrowding was that a significant proportion of that population was reaching adulthood and able to find suitable housing in the recently expanded rental market and thereby reduce the numbers of persons in the parent household.

Our analysis also led us to conclude in 1975 during a new construction surplus (caused by an economic recession) that current housing production volumes would lead us to a tight housing market by 1979-80 and an absolute housing shortage by the early 1980's. This finding was later corroborated by state and national analysis (Office of State Planning, 1976; Joint Center for Urban Studies

and Planning, 1976). When we first projected this condition we were quite surprised and a bit tentative in our discussion, however as these later independent reports confirmed this analysis we gained more confidence in our general understanding of the dynamics of the regional housing market.

### **Dynamics of Exclusionary Land Use Policies**

In trying to discover causes for this insufficient level of production, we came across another condition which we had not anticipated at the start of our analysis. We knew communities had previously excluded subsidized housing through large lot zoning and prohibition of multi-family developments. What we were not prepared for was the extent to which communities were barring all but the most expensive developments and even that was carefully restricted in terms of volume.

While the majority of accounts of exclusionary behavior were gleaned from discussion with homebuilders and therefore biased we nonetheless gained insights into the methods of local growth control that extended beyond larger lot zoning and expensive subdivision requirements. In some cases, it appeared that speculative developers faced outright harassment ranging from repeated failures of local health officials to appear for scheduled percolation tests to issuance by conservation commissions of cease and desist orders during mid-construction based upon extremely broad interpretations of their jurisdictions. The problem was enhanced by total lack of concern to develop local administrative mechanisms for regulating development which were sensitive to the timing and risks involved in a development project (or were covertly very sensitive to them). As Frieden (1979) discovered in his case studies in California there is no housing advocate in the regulatory process. Consequently, there is no one to appeal if local officials are stepping beyond their jurisdiction by imposing excessive delays or unable to resolve interagency disputes (e.g., a fire marshall requiring clearance of trees from around the houses and a conservation commission requiring their preservation).

While environmental concerns were often cited as the basis for local no-growth policies, the use of large lot zoning, excessively wide streets, granite curbing and wide sidewalks usually result in greater disturbance to the natural environment, more extensive grading, increased surface runoff, and high land utilization rates for a given number of new dwelling units. Raising development costs in the suburban communities also pushes development out to the fringe areas

of the region, counter to the expressed desires of most environmentalists to reduce sprawl.

In listening to stories of the ways in which development projects are blocked, we began to understand an important dynamic in the local regulatory system. Each local regulatory official has their own segment of the public interest to protect- health, environment, fire safety, traffic safety, etc. They have every incentive to be as conservative as possible in their judgements and no incentive to take risks in the interest of residential development. In fact, each of these officials is safest if there is no development at all because then there is no risk of a problem arising within their area of responsibility. They are safer to be on the side of overstepping their authority than to be underutilizing it. The penalties for such abuse of power are almost non-existent and the legal remedies for the developer are too costly and time-consuming to pursue in most instances.

### **Implications for Regional Comprehensive Planning**

This realization of the impact of the local land regulatory system on housing production caused the housing staff to examine regional land use and growth management plans with careful scrutiny to avoid aggravating the situation. As could be expected this led to areas of disagreement between our two planning groups. One of the difficulties in resolving such disputes is that analyzing the impact of a complex regional development pattern is a difficult challenge and one that by necessity must rely upon a set of beliefs regarding what is good or bad without a clear theoretical framework. For example, one might argue that a more tightly constrained development pattern would be preferable in terms of reducing energy consumption resulting from journey to work trips. But how much will the resulting congestion reduce anticipated cost savings and what are the additional indirect costs associated with the proportion of the population which would be exposed to the higher levels of air pollution which occur in denser areas? What disincentives are being produced for further industrial investments in metropolitan areas with tightly constricted development patterns? In summary, what rules do planners follow in prescribing the proper development patterns for an entire region?

### **Efforts for Resolution of Inter-Staff Conflicts**

The housing and land use staff became embroiled in a serious difference in philosophy which developed into an inter-group animosity. Each group had a

different view of how the world works, what the purpose of a comprehensive plan was, the role of an agency such as MAPC in creating change, and procedures for defining problems and developing alternative solutions. This made it impossible to resolve differences through staff discussions, though many hours and memos were used in attempts to do so.

These two divergent views had to be formally integrated twice during the planning process. The first was the development of a regional growth policy which was widely circulated and discussed as part of a State Growth Planning Process initiated by Gov. Dukakis's administration and a special legislative commission on growth-related problems. This forced both sides to commit to writing and describe in quantifiable terms, the nature of the plans which had until then only been presented in vague and piecemeal fashion. The most that could be claimed for the success of this integration was that the plans were compatible at the grossest of terms but they put out two entirely different messages as to the priorities of the day and the policies required to accommodate regional growth objectives.

This exercise was repeated at greater detail for the submission of a land use and housing element to HUD. Again, there was a failure to unify the approach. The HUD area office had a variety of problems with the land use element in terms of compliance with grant requirements. Once the issues of producing integrated reports had passed by, the two groups grew even further isolated as they initiated their implementation activities.

This failure to resolve housing and land use issues was not a result of the difficulties of the issues themselves, but the organization of planning responsibilities. Essentially responsibility for the production of the comprehensive plan and the land use element were delegated to the same staff. The director of that staff was on even status with the director of the housing and community development staff. Consequently, the organizational structure itself ensured that the problem would continue unresolved.

### **Characteristics of the Regional Housing Strategy**

The thrust of the regional housing element was not a particular set of figures as much as a call for a shift in attitude among cities and towns regarding housing production. It involved a three element strategy to address the shortage of housing in the region-

- \* maintenance and revitalization of existing housing and neighborhoods throughout the region;
- \* removal of obstacles to more effective operation of the private housing market in meeting housing needs;
- \* development of shared growth management techniques to equitably distribute the responsibility for meeting regional housing needs.

This strategy was developed in response to our analysis of problems which existed in the Boston metropolitan area relative to obtaining the goal of "A decent home and a suitable living environment for every resident of the metropolitan region." This major goal was further articulated as five sub-goals:

(1) The maintenance and rehabilitation of existing housing and the preservation and revitalization of neighborhoods to meet the regional housing need to the extent possible.

(2) Sufficient housing production to eliminate the gap between the supply of existing housing and the regional housing need and to provide for a range of housing opportunities.

(3) A range of densities, housing types, and prices in all communities of the region, consistent with sound planning, and sensitive to environmental concerns, including encouragement of owner occupancy by households of all income levels.

(4) All communities receptive to all age, income and minority groups in all areas of the region, to facilitate freedom of choice and equal access to employment, sound neighborhoods and public services.

(5) Continuing efforts to meet the housing needs of the households of the region, and especially of those of low and moderate income through measures that reduce the cost of housing and/or effectively increase the level of family income available for housing.

These goals became the basis for nine long term objectives (twenty-five year time span) and numerous one and two year objectives and related policy and program responses.

### **Design Methods**

While the objectives were developed as a response to an examination of the region's goals and housing problems, the policy and program responses were developed by first inventorying the range of possible activities for MAPC which relate to housing issues and then selecting those which best responded to our long term objectives, and which were deemed economically and politically feasible.

This inventory was generated using two principle approaches. The first of these entailed scanning recent literature on housing programs and policies and land use and growth management. The second approach involved brainstorming using different organizational frameworks-sub-goals, issue areas, and implementation techniques. We eventually decided to organize these by a framework which combined issue areas and implementation techniques as categories since these seem to fit best with the purposes of our housing element and the regional comprehensive plan.

### **Adoption and Implementation**

The plan was approved by a meeting of the full Council on April 26, 1978. I left MAPC one month later, the housing and neighborhood staff director, Norma Bogen, had left ten months prior to me. The third member of our team, Len Bogorad, left some two months after my departure. Consequently, implementation of the plan was placed in the hands of staff who had not participated in the planning and analysis that lead to the development of a package of program and policies otherwise known as the housing element.

A basic reality of regional planning agencies (rpa's) is that the majority of their funds are derived from federal grants. Consequently, the federal government has major influence on the scope of activities which are pursued by regional planning agencies. At the time the housing element was coming to completion, the federal Areawide Housing Opportunity Program was starting up and offering rpa's bonus housing, community development and planning funds. This became a major project for MAPC. While the bonus funding enabled progress to be made toward some of our housing goals, it could not be considered a step toward a long term solution of the region's housing problems. The dwindling level of allocations for subsidized housing over recent years is further sign of the futility of this approach.

I believe that the new staff, as to be expected, brought their own pre-conceived agenda for regional housing activities with them to the job and that this greatly influenced the degree to which the housing element was pursued versus complied with. The new director of the housing and neighborhood staff was appointed after losing her position at the State Banking Commission during the transition of a new governor. She brought with her computer tapes on banking loan practices which were part of her research on redlining. This became a major project at MAPC since I surmise that it was hoped that it might position MAPC in

an attention-getting activist role against the banks. My own personal judgement is that while redlining had historically contributed to the deterioration of large areas of our urban centers the banking commission's own earlier reports suggested that this was a declining phenomena, that concern had shifted from lack of investment due to redlining to over-investment and displacement due to an expanded middle-income demand for urban neighborhoods, and more importantly this was not what I would term "a central issue" to regional housing.

A central issue to regional housing should address structural causes of the discrepancy between the regional housing needs and the housing supply. While elimination of redlining is an important component of conserving our urban housing stock, it was an issue that was already addressed by state and federal regulations including the Community Reinvestment Act. The Boston region had strong citizen advocacy groups involved in monitoring bank performance with regard to this issue. It is difficult to see therefore how the use of MAPC resources on this issue would contribute significantly to closing the gap between the regional housing need and the housing supply.

One can also argue, however, that such an approach is a more pragmatic tactic in terms of contributing to the longer term survival of MAPC as an agency, for increasing the status of MAPC's housing activities, to increase its name recognition with the general public (if the research paid off by incriminating the banks of substantial discrimination in lending), and position the staff generally as activist in a manner that would be non-threatening to the member communities of MAPC since it was not the communities themselves that were under attack (as opposed to an activist campaign for reforming local land regulatory practices). I provide this comment on succeeding activities not in an attempt to either criticize these activities or to claim superiority in my/our approach to regional housing issues. Rather, I think it illustrates clearly that different planners favor different approaches, that planning, as much as planners support their recommendations as objective, rational conclusions, involves strong personal biases in approach, and that self-evaluation of one's planning approach is difficult but important if planners are to contribute to the professionalization of their occupation. The professionalization of planning is, in my opinion, critical given the role that bureaucracies and their regulatory powers have assumed over the past ten to fifteen years. If the planners and the policy makers in these agencies as technocrats make normative decisions which have substantial impact on our society in an environment relatively isolated from public scrutiny, it is imperative

that such technocratic power is based upon sound techniques. If our biases are to dominate such activities, then we should not lay claim to being guided by professional skills and we should revert such decisionmaking to the political arena where decisionmakers have greater public accountability. It is from this concern that I engage this research.

### **Unresolved Issues**

After having recorded my experience at MAPC and reflecting on the various decisions which caused the most anxiety or the issues which seemed to generate the greatest amount of disagreement, I have identified a list of issues which I feel should be included in an examination of one's practice.

Who was my client? It is important for planners to have some sense of whom they are working to please. A client can be viewed as someone who is either paying for one's services, someone who will be the benefactor of one's services, or both. At the top of this list one could cite HUD as my client. They were footing the majority of the bill and they were asking for work products that could be used by them for the purpose of planning, program development, and administration. Next on the list would be the cities and towns who provided the balance of funds for our work and who had formulated the Metropolitan Area Planning Council to help them collectively achieve their individual goals. Or I could view my client as either the executive director or my immediate supervisor who had created my position and hired me for the objective of assisting them fulfill their perceived mission in their own roles. Another possible client would be the population of the region. They were, after all, the individuals whose lives would be enhanced or vexed by the implementation of our plans and who footed the bill for enabling all levels of government to engage in these activities. Finally, if I emphasized the criteria of a client being the benefactor of one's services, then I would identify the population actually suffering housing deprivation as my client.

Each of these definitions of client have merit and drawbacks. The federal government does not necessarily know what is in the best interests of those persons affected by housing policies, yet if HUD's interests are not heeded the future ability of MAPC to obtain the resources required to keep it operating could be endangered. The cities and towns often pursued strategies that were in conflict to expanding housing opportunities. Supervisory staff may only be interested in attracting newspaper coverage, generating opportunities to distribute favors, etc. or their perception of needs may differ from the planner's or from

other possible clients. The majority of the population may perceive a housing shortage as in their individual best interest for it preserves the value of their own homes. Should they be the client that the planner tries to please first and foremost? The population of persons facing housing deprivation now and in the future is difficult to identify, is unorganized and therefore impossible to communicate with except through cumbersome and expensive survey procedures. (Impossible in the case of future populations.) While planning usually involves some confusion as to client, I believe that regional planning, especially housing planning, excels in its ability to confuse and perplex the planner/client relationship.

Given this great ambiguity about client and the impossibility for the planner to have a traditional relationship with a client, what type of role should the planner assume? Should the planner confine his activities to that of a technocrat and if so, towards what objectives should technical skills be applied? Or should the planner assume the role of an activist on the behalf of a client population that is poorly organized and, in terms of long range planning, may not even be currently participating in the regional housing market. Should this activist role occur within the planner's agency if the planner finds that the responsibilities of the position are in conflict with the policies and politics of other staff, or the organization itself?

What skills must a regional planner have to contribute effectively to an understanding of regional housing problems?

How does the practicing planner select which issues to engage? Should there be a concentration on long term structural solutions or short term relief of symptomatic problems. Should there be an effort to dramatize solutions (demonstration projects which will attract media attention and connote an image of action) or should the planner be involved in factual analysis and documentation of problems (sometimes viewed as ivory tower activities)?

How much should a planner be concerned about organizational political considerations such as how does your planning affect the popularity of the executive director with the executive committee or how well does your planning activities fit into agency values? What are your agency values and concepts of self-image and should these affect your work program design? This issue came up during the last year of the project. MAPC had a reputation for being a think-tank on regional problems and this brought with it a mixture of respect for its professionalism yet disregard for being too academic. The housing staff felt that

it could pursue formal analytical planning techniques yet try to be sensitive to opportunities for innovative approaches to improve the operation of the regional housing market. When a new executive director took over during the last twelve months of the project there was increasing emphasis for projects which communities could perceive as direct services they were getting from MAPC as well as activities that would attract local media attention to MAPC. This was a difficult adjustment to make in our work program given the emphasis it contained on medium and long term structural reform of land use policies regarding residential development and the scarcity of activities which could be pursued to improve housing conditions without significant levels of funds.

This also brings up the related topic of image in terms of public interest in the subject and how this affects your work program design as well as the level of resources you can secure for your work and the interest of the organization's hierarchy in your activities. What is the best strategy to take if you feel that you are involved in an issue of vital concern to the region as a whole but find you are unable to generate sufficient public attention to create the popular pressure necessary to counter other public activities which are aggravating the very problems you are trying to solve?

While these are not an exhaustive list of issues confronting a practicing planner I believe that they comprise many of those which were of greatest concern as I sit back in judgement on myself. I present them at this point in the text to provide a context by which to evaluate how well the formal theories I will discuss in the next chapter address the types of issues which I had the greatest difficulty in resolving.

## CHAPTER TWO

By what theoretical basis does one evaluate the appropriateness of one's planning experience? This was the question I held in the forefront as I returned to recent literature on planning theory. Comprising a substantial portion of the literature were works which offered a theory of behavior to follow once an approach had been adopted, such as advocacy planning or theories on creating institutional or systematic changes. Other works were involved in the issue of planning within a contextual framework such as transportation or water planning techniques. Neither of these categories offered a satisfying perspective for this self evaluation. While I am not laying claim to an exhaustive search through current literature I was struck by the realization that throughout four years of academic work in planning and too many years of part-time thesis work, I was not familiar with a good general text on what planning is and what comprised a general theory of planning.

My description of a good general theory of planning is one that would provide a definition of the purpose of planning and proceed from there with a prescription for approaches to planning that should be followed given different situations and purposes. It should provide guidance as to what are the critical elements of a planner's environment which tend to act as determinants and constraints on planning activities and how does one optimize advantages and counteract obstacles in executing successful planning programs. The theory should be general enough to encompass the diverse range of activities classified as public sector or urban planning yet specific enough to provide the planner with clear direction in the practice of the profession, especially with regard to the issues discussed at the end of the previous chapter.

I did find one work which approached this concept of a general planning theory- Andreas Faludi's Planning Theory (1973). Faludi's theory is attractive in several aspects. First, it offers a general framework which relates the planning environment to types of approaches in planning. In doing so, it unites many conflicting schools of planning into a common framework. This reduces the issue of selecting a planning methodology to an analysis of the condition in which the planning process must function. Secondly, I found it appealing in that it is based upon the assumption that the rationale of planning is promoting human growth. By first impression, this theory appears to offer a framework which is not only

comprehensive but also rational with respect to an explicit value statement as to the purpose of planning.

Before examining the structure of Faludi's theory let's consider the significance of Faludi's statement of a rational for engaging in planning in the first place. This is an important basis that is often overlooked in the development of planning theories, but it indeed addresses an essential question- why engage in planning? One can disagree as to Faludi's answer to this question or whether or not his answer to this question is sufficient, but at least he recognizes the importance of establishing an explicit rational for planning as the basis of any theory of what planning should be.

The goal of promoting human growth does not imply promoting population and economic growth, although it might. Faludi is more concerned with promoting an increase in "the variety of goals attained, as well as... (the) capacity for future goal attainment." (p.40). This concept is central to the notion of promoting a pluralistic society. This is an especially intriguing value statement given that a major concern of critics of planning is the potential for sacrificing individual choice in the interest of efficient allocation of resources.

Faludi also views growth as a process of learning and creativity, defined as the gaining of insights into the existing order of things, and the transformation of that order into a new one." (p. 41). This view gives Faludi's rational for planning a progressive aspect that I consider essential to a notion of planning. For planning in many ways is an expression of a human desire to take reins on our environment and to play an active role in the creation of our destiny. As much as our lives are a product of fate, rare is the person willing to abdicate all to the whims of fate. Inherent in even the basic struggle for survival is the need to plan for tomorrow's meal and shelter and to secure such with as little effort as possible. Faludi's concept of the purpose of planning appears to be a manifestation at a societal level of the basic processes we follow as individuals in learning how to survive and hopefully thrive in our environment. Consequently, it is not surprising that Faludi creates his models of planning agencies from models of the learning process in individuals.

While it is difficult to imagine anyone not finding these values appealing, it's open to debate as to whether or not this is a definitive enough statement of purpose for establishing a theory of planning. For example, a planner in Soviet Russia could rationalize that developing policies which promote the state's interest over individual's rights is improving the capacity for future goal

attainment. On the other hand a libertarian might also argue just as effectively that a laissez-faire government is the most effective way of promoting human growth.

What use then is a goal that supports such diverse concepts of the role of planning in society? My own opinion is that while a goal of this generality is of limited use in resolving conflicts among planners, there are two principal reasons why it is a suitable goal statement as to the purpose of planning.

First, precisely because it is general enough to encompass a wide range of philosophies it does not preclude any of the various schools of thought regarding planning. Given Faludi's objective to create a general theory of planning, and not a theory of planning for a particular context, the generality of his goal statement is not only acceptable, but necessary.

Secondly, it is a goal which I feel is provocative. If planners, regardless of their philosophies and politics, reflected on their activities in terms of how they impact on the promotion of human growth, then I think there would be an enhancement of the activities of the profession. It is a concept which has more definition than "the promotion of the greatest public good", and I feel that its inclusion in debates on various planning issues would provide a more specific orientation than currently exists in the literature.

Given this statement as to the purpose of planning, what are the characteristics of the planning process? Faludi describes planning in terms of three bi-modal dimensions. These were developed after he realized that the terms being used to describe various approaches to planning could, for the most part, be summarized into three pairs of concepts- blueprint vs. process planning, rational-comprehensive vs. disjointed incrementalism, and normative vs. functional planning. Since these descriptions represented the two extremes along his dimensions of planning, Faludi expected that most real planning programs would lie somewhere between the two extremes on each of the dimensions. Faludi also reasoned that there are determinants and constraints on a planning agency which influence where planning activity might fall along the continuum between these opposite modes. For each of these dimensions, Faludi identified variables which would assist in empirically testing his theory of planning.

### **Blueprint versus the Process Mode of Planning**

As mentioned earlier, the first of Faludi's dimensions is concerned with the nature of the planning product- whether it approaches the blueprint or the process

mode of planning. Given city planning's origins from the disciplines of civil engineering and architecture, the traditional product of city planning has been viewed as a blueprint, plan, or map of a fixed end-state. Blueprint planning can also refer to any planning which tries to define a particular endstate- a master plan, fixed allocation of resources, capital improvement budgets, etc. The process mode of planning, on the other hand, is more concerned with identifying the process which will guide change rather than to determine what that change will be.

Faludi identified three factors which act as determinants and constraints on the nature of the planning product. He hypothesized that blueprint planning is brought about by a firm image and complete control over the environment, subject to the constraint of small time-lags; and process planning by uncertain image and incomplete control, subject to great time-lags acting as constraints.

### **Images**

The concept of a firm image implies that the planner is working on a problem where he knows with relative certainty how to affect change on a system or environment. For example, a landscape architect knows with relative certainty what type of planting materials will thrive in difficult environmental systems. A social planner trying to stem vandalism in public housing projects is faced with much greater uncertainty of how to accomplish this objective.

Faludi observes that uncertain images are more congenial for dealing with people. First, they are not specific as to how they affect any particular individual and therefore they tend to afford greater opportunity for individual autonomy. Secondly, since the image of an ideal environment is less certain, recommendations tend to be more cautious and respectful for the complexity of the systems they are trying to affect.

### **Degree of Control**

When a planning agency has complete control over a system then it is not anticipated that there is the need to anticipate any responses from the system other than those for which they were planned. For example, if an agency owns a parcel of land, designs a park for it, and has the power to also build that park, then the agency may plan the park with some certainty that it will be built to their plans and within a predictable time frame. This could be contrasted to a

situation where an agency was limited to planning powers, the land was owned by the city's public property department, all construction had to be contracted through public works, design details are being negotiated with both a citizen group concerned with amenities and safety and the Park Department which is primarily concerned with maintenance and security, and the local housing authority is in the background trying to get control of the site for a public housing project. In this latter set of circumstances the development of a park would be quite uncertain and a planning agency might find it more productive to plan the process by which this parcel would be developed as well as the criteria to be followed in decision-making and then secure agreements from all parties to follow this process rather than to introduce a specific detailed design.

The current discussion of combining categorical programs into block grants is an example of a possible shift along the continuum from blueprint towards process planning on a federal level. In this instance an explicit policy of relinquishing control is being considered and the mechanism for achieving this is to amend grant programs in a manner that has greater concern for process rather than product.

### **Time Lag**

Faludi is concerned with two types of time lag affecting an agency's ability to pursue process or blueprint planning. The first, internal time lag, is the amount of time required by a planning agency to incorporate newly received information into the planning process. The second type, external time lag, refers to the amount of time it takes for an action of the planning agency to make an observable change on the system under analysis.

The greater the internal time lag, the less frequent will a planning agency be able to revise its plan within a given period of time, and this will be a constraint in pursuing process planning. Faludi points out that the planning of large engineering works often takes longer than their execution and thereby part of engineering's propensity for blueprint planning is attributed to this long internal time-lag. But complex planning studies can also involve a considerable internal time lag such as master plans, and Faludi argues that by definition such internal time lags become a constraint on the planner's ability to engage in process planning.

The other type of time-lag, external time-lag, refers to the amount of time the project takes to complete, to achieve its impact on the external environment,

and for the planning agency to receive observations of these affects. This, like internal time lag, will act as a constraint on pursuing process planning. While internal time-lag can be adjusted by a planning agency allocating more planning resources to a particular project or by utilizing technology such as data processing and computer mapping, external time-lag is more difficult for the planning agency to affect, with the possible exception of collecting observations.

Paludi identified what he thought would be observable variables which could be used to verify his theory. These are summarized in Table II-1.

TABLE II-1

**VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH INTO BLUEPRINT  
VERSUS PROCESS PLANNING (FALUDI)**

CONCEPTS	VARIABLES
Mode of Planning (blueprint vs. process)	Existence or non-existence of definite program covering considerable time spans; confidence expressed in it; frequency of reviews and changes.
Image (firm or uncertain)	Indications in planning reports and from planners of firmness of assumptions underlying programs.
Internal time-lag (long or short)	Time taken for program formulation extracted from reports, case studies, interviews, statistics.
External time -lag (long or short)	Time earmarked for completion of projects; time after which first results are expected to become available.
Control (complete or not)	Legal powers; administrative resources; financial assets; type of power structure and administrative system; informal controls.

## **Rational Comprehensive versus Disjointed-Incrementalist Mode of Planning**

The rational comprehensive approach to planning is the traditionally stated approach of the planning process. Since many planning projects fall far short from even approaching the ideal of following a rational process of planning within a comprehensive perspective, there have been some strong criticisms of this approach.

Faludi summarizes these criticisms (principally from Lindbloom (1965)) as:

- \*The synoptic ideal is not adapted to men's limited intellectual capacities;
- \*The synoptic ideal is not adapted to inadequacy of information;
- \*Nor is it adapted to the costliness of analysis;
- \*The synoptic ideal is not adapted to failure which must be anticipated in many circumstances, to construct a satisfactory set of criteria, as for example, in the form of a welfare function;
- \*The synoptic method is not adapted to the closeness of observed relationship between fact and value in policy-making;
- \*The synoptic ideal is not adapted to the openness of the systems of variables with which it must contend...;
- \*The synoptic ideal, lastly, is not adapted to the diverse forms in which policy problems actually arise...

To these I would add that in proclaiming to utilize a methodology of a standard that we cannot follow, planners are involved in a deception which undermines their basic credibility as professionals.

Faludi argues that these criticisms are based upon the assumption that all rational-comprehensive planning is also blueprint planning. As soon as one considers rational comprehensive planning as process planning then these criticism are no longer valid. While Faludi is correct in claiming that these criticisms are based upon blueprint planning, use of process planning does not eliminate all of the problems in trying to fulfill the ideals of the rational-comprehensive approach, although it does make it an approachable ideal.

## **Disjointed Incrementalism**

The major features of disjointed incrementalism are

- \*Margin-dependent choice;
- \*Restricted variety of policy alternatives considered;
- \*Restricted number of consequences considered for any given policy;
- \*Adjustments of objectives to policies;
- \*Reconstructive treatment of data;
- \*Serial analysis and evaluation;
- \*Remedial orientation of analysis and evaluation
- \*Social fragmentation of analysis and evaluation.

The disjointed-incrementalist view is primarily an attempt to develop a realistic theory of planning and public policy decision-making. It also arises out of an opposition of fundamental choices affecting large parts or even the whole of a community. Advocates of this approach prefer that analysis and evaluation in society take place at a very large number of points.

For the purpose of his theory Faludi defines the rational comprehensive mode of planning as that approach

whereby the programmes put forward for evaluation cover the available action space and where the action space has itself been devised from an exhaustive definition of the problem to be solved.

The disjointed incrementalist mode of planning is one

where the programs considered by any one planning agency are limited to a few which deliberately do not exhaust the available action space, and where that action space is itself ill-defined. (p. 155).

Faludi theorized that the planner's images of society would be a controlling factor in one's tendency to follow a rational comprehensive or a disjointed incrementalist approach. He summarized this hypothesis as

holistic images of society, as reflected in the structure of planning agencies and in their procedures, makes for rational comprehensive planning subject to the constraints of narrow images and small relative autonomy, whereas atomistic images do the same for disjointed incrementalism, subject to the constraints of wide images and great relative autonomy. (p. 156).

Ideally, the best variable for judging where on the continuum between rational-comprehensive and disjointed-incrementalism to place a particular case would be the range of alternatives considered relative to the available action space (the universe of all possible alternatives). Obviously it is impossible to establish what the available action space is, in fact one might argue it's only limit is the imagination of planners. Faludi offers as a proxi-variable the extent to which a planning agency investigates programs of agencies with an "overlapping action space".

Whether a planning agency can be considered more holistic or less holistic in their image of society is indicated by the degree of centralization or decentralization of decision-making structures and procedures. Thus agencies with centralized decision-making structures would hold a more holistic image of

society and therefore gravitate towards the rational-comprehensive mode of planning.

Table II-2 contains Faludi's research design for this dimension of the planning process. The variables which Faludi offers are highly correlated and almost indistinguishable-

- \*centralization of decision-making
- \*linkage between areas of responsibility of planning agencies
- \*range of powers.

In my view, the choice between rational-comprehensive planning and the disjointed-incrementalist mode is perhaps the profoundest issue planners face in designing work programs. All of planning falls short of truly rational-comprehensive planning and yet the majority of planners would loathe to describe themselves as disjointed-incrementalists. Consequently, most planners operate under an uneasy tension somewhere on the continuum between the two.

This dimension of planning, as described by Faludi, creates several problems for analyzing practice. First, Faludi totally ignores the conflict in using fixed resources to be comprehensive in one's analysis versus being thorough and in-depth (increasing rationality) in an analysis of a few issues. The systems on which a planner is trying to operate are so complex and causative relationships are so confused that it is impossible for planners to adopt a rational comprehensive analysis.

Secondly it is also unclear if Faludi's solution to this dilemma, the integration of process planning with rational comprehensive analysis, is significantly different from the approach argued by the disjointed-incrementalist. Therefore, aside from restating that the disjointed-incrementalist approach is diametrically opposed to the traditional concept of rational-comprehensive planning (a la blueprint mode) Faludi adds little to enhance our understanding of the proper response to adopt in a particular planning environment or set of circumstances.

The variables that Faludi chooses for research for this part of his model have little meaning in the practice of planning. The range of contexts that an urban planner will experience will probably not vary that widely in terms of the variables which Faludi proposes. Furthermore, the distinctions between images of society and scope of images are difficult to determine. Perhaps this weakness stems from Faludi's approach to planning from a behavioral science orientation, rather than developing a theory from the perspective of a practicing planner.

TABLE II-2

**VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH INTO  
RATIONAL-COMPREHENSIVE VERSUS  
DISJOINTED-INCREMENTALIST PLANNING (FALUDI)**

<b>CONCEPTS</b>	<b>VARIABLES</b>
Mode of Planning (rational-comprehensive vs. disjointed incrementalist)	Extent of investigation preceding formulation of programs relative to the overlapping action space with other agencies.
Images of society underlying (holistic or atomistic)	Centralization or decentralization of decision-making structures and procedures.
Scope of images (wide or narrow)	Number of known linkages between the areas of responsibility of planning agencies.
Relative autonomy (high or low)	Range of powers; flexibility in the use of resources for alternative purposes.

### **Normative versus the Functional Mode of Planning**

Friedman has defined functional planning as the mode of planning in which "...the planner assumes the goals to be given in the situation and is rational with respect to the means only..." and normative planning as "chiefly concerned with the ends of action of a social system. The goals of normative planning are the system itself." (as quoted by Faludi, Planning Theory, p. 172).

In establishing a research model, Faludi suggests that the mode of planning (normative versus functional) is determined by the range of ends taken into consideration and whether or not a statement of objectives and assumptions are supported by argument or not." One determinant of this mode is the relative degree of autonomy which is measured by variables such as the range of legal powers, and flexibility in the use of resources for alternate purposes. A second determinant is the role of the planner as defined by terms of reference and administrative rules, informal arrangements and occurrence of political conflict involving planners.

TABLE II-3

**VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH INTO  
NORMATIVE VERSUS FUNCTIONAL PLANNING (FALUDI)**

CONCEPTS	VARIABLES
Mode of Planning (normative versus functional)	Range of ends taken into consideration; statement of objectives and assumptions supported by argument or not.
Relative degree of autonomy (great or small)	Range of legal powers; flexibility in the use of resources for alternative purposes.
The role of the ("political" or "bureaucratic")	Terms of reference and administrative rules; informal arrangements; occurrence of political conflict involving planners.

As previously noted, Faludi provides us with a philosophy of planning, steeped in the language of behavioral scientists. It is a useful perspective in which to view the structure of public planning activities within a society. The variables are broad and are not part of the vernacular of the practicing planner. Faludi's construct are useful for understanding the tendency for planning to pursue different approaches in different set of circumstances. This does not approach the smaller scale decisions which compose the major part of the anxieties one undergoes in the practice of planning. The problem is further aggravated when one considers that reality never approaches the extreme ends of the continuum that Faludi has used to describe planning. Therefore the theory can only be applied in terms such as "...given that there is relatively strong autonomy for the planning organization, we can expect that it will approach rational comprehensive planning, subject to the constraints of...". The broad variables used to determine imprecise locations on a continuum, categorize the theory as one which can be easily confirmed (there's enough flexibility to make all our observations conform to the theory), and very confusing if utilized for seeking specific guidance in the practice of planning. I feel an appropriate analogy is the utilization of federal program policies for work program design. If you are being monitored by HUD, it is not very difficult to redescribe any activity into the buzzwords and criteria that compose the evaluation form. On the other hand, planners would have little direction if they set out to develop their work program based solely upon the program policies published in the Federal Register.

One solution to this problem of imprecision is to differentiate Faludi's broader variables into several sub-variables. A ready-made construct for this task is Dror's facet description of the planning process.

As briefly alluded to at the start of this chapter, Dror described the planning process in terms of groups (facets) of characteristics. These groups are:

- \*the environment in which planning is to occur;
- \*the subject matter of the planning process;
- \*the nature of the planning unit;
- \*the form of the product of the planning process.

Dror adapted the concept of facet from Louis Guttman. While Guttman's definition of the concept of facets is eloquently confounding, Dror's application of facet design to planning results in what appears to be an outline form for a relatively exhaustive discussion of the characteristics of planning. Dror prefaces this presentation of a facet description with a discussion of planning which is of

separate interest but Dror fails to draw any relation to this discussion and his facet design. Nevertheless, Dror does present us with a neatly ordered classificatiuon system for inventorying attributes of the planning process, which was exactly what I perceived as necessary to flesh out Faludi's theoretical structures.

A major disadvantage to striving to increase the complexity of an approach is that concept is soon overwhelmed by laborious detail. The narrative description of how I welded Dror's facet design onto Faludi's planning theory has been relegated to Appendix A. A summary of Dror's facet design appears in Table II-4 and tables illustrating Faludi's research design with the additions of Dror's variables also follows.

TABLE II-4

**DROR'S FACET DESCRIPTION OF THE PLANNING PROCESS**

THE ENVIRONMENT

- A<sub>1</sub> Characteristics of the general environment (physical, demographic, ecological, social, cultural, etc.)
- A<sub>2</sub> Resources in manpower, knowledge, capital, etc. which are potentially available for the planning process and for eventual plan execution.
- A<sub>3</sub> Political/cultural constraints on the range of alternatives that can be considered by the planning process.
- A<sub>4</sub> General goals for the planning process, contextual goals, and basic directives which govern what must be included and excluded from the planning process.

THE SUBJECT MATTER

- B<sub>1</sub> Structural relation between the subject matter and the planning unit.
- B<sub>2</sub> Degree to which the subject matter is predetermined or elastic.
- B<sub>3</sub> The degree of penetration.
- B<sub>4</sub> Significance of the subject matter of the planning process.
- B<sub>5</sub> Orientation of subject matter toward the planning process.
- B<sub>6</sub> Extent to which the subject matter has already been subjected to planning.
- B<sub>7</sub> Scope of the activity subjected to planning.
- B<sub>8</sub> Demographic territorial area related with the subject matter of the planning process.
- B<sub>9</sub> The time span.

THE PLANNING AGENCY

- C<sub>1</sub> The basic nature of the planning unit.
- C<sub>2</sub> Primary or delegated planning unit.
- C<sub>3</sub> Status.
- C<sub>4</sub> Values, information, and character of the planning unit.
- C<sub>5</sub> Resources and means.
- C<sub>6</sub> Work system, procedures and methods.
- C<sub>7</sub> Organizational Structure.

THE NATURE OF THE PLAN

- D<sub>1</sub> The realism of the plan.
- D<sub>2</sub> The form of the plan
- D<sub>3</sub> Degree of detail.

TABLE II-5

**USE OF DROR'S FACET DESIGN IN FALUDI'S RESEARCH FRAMEWORK  
BLUEPRINT VERSUS PROCESS PLANNING**

<b>FALUDI'S CONCEPTS</b>	<b>DROR'S VARIABLES</b>
Mode of planning (blueprint vs. process)	D <sub>2(a)</sub> -Flexibility of plan; D <sub>2(b)</sub> -Audience for plan; D <sub>2(c)</sub> -Complexity of plan.
Image (firm or uncertain)	B <sub>6(a)</sub> -State of theory regarding subject matter; B <sub>6(b)</sub> -Level of concensus regarding objectives.
Internal Time-Lag	A <sub>4</sub> -Basic directives for planning process; C <sub>6</sub> -Work systems, procedures, methods; B <sub>3</sub> + B <sub>7</sub> , penetration and scope/C <sub>5</sub> , resources.
External Time-Lag	B <sub>9</sub> -Time span.
Control	C <sub>5</sub> -Resources and means (including legal powers); C <sub>7</sub> -Organizational Structure; C <sub>3</sub> -Status B <sub>1</sub> -Structural relationship between subject matter and the planning process.

TABLE II-6

**USE OF DROR'S FACET DESIGN IN FALUDI'S RESEARCH FRAMEWORK**  
**RATIONAL-COMPREHENSIVE VERSUS**  
**DISJOINTED-INCREMENTALIST PLANNING (FALUDI)**

<b>FALUDI'S CONCEPTS</b>	<b>DROR'S VARIABLES</b>
Mode of Planning (rational-comprehen- sive vs. disjointed incrementalist)	
Images of society underlying (holistic or atomistic)	B <sub>5</sub> - Orientation of subject matter to planning process B <sub>8</sub> -The demographic territorial area related with the subject matter C <sub>4</sub> - Values, information & character of planning unit D <sub>1</sub> - Realism of plan
Scope of images (wide or narrow)	B <sub>3</sub> - Degree of penetration B <sub>4</sub> - Significance of subject matter B <sub>7</sub> - Scope of activity subject to planning B <sub>9</sub> - The time span
Relative autonomy (high or low)	A <sub>3</sub> - Values, power group & ideologies which limit the alternatives to be considered A <sub>4</sub> - Terms of reference for planning process B <sub>1</sub> - Structural relation between the subject matter and the planning unit B <sub>2</sub> - Degree to which subject matter is pre-determined C <sub>2</sub> - Primary or delegated planning unit
Planning resources to scope of work (high or low)	A <sub>2</sub> - Resources available for planning process C <sub>5</sub> - Resources & means C <sub>6</sub> - Work systems, procedures, and methods C <sub>7</sub> - Organizational structure

TABLE II-7

**VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH INTO  
NORMATIVE VERSUS FUNCTIONAL PLANNING (FALUDI)**

<b>FALUDI'S CONCEPTS</b>	<b>DROR'S VARIABLES</b>
Mode of Planning (normative versus functional)	
Relative degree of autonomy (great or small)	A <sub>3</sub> - Values & ideologies which limit alternatives to be considered B <sub>9</sub> - The time span C <sub>2</sub> - Primary or delegated planning units C <sub>5</sub> - Resources and means
The role of the planner ("political" or "bureaucratic")	A <sub>4</sub> - General goals for planning process B <sub>4</sub> - Significance of the subject matter

## CHAPTER THREE

Having modified Faludi's research structure, I then analyzed my planning experience in terms of Dror's variables. The new research model has twenty-two variables or facets. For each of these variables or facets of my planning experience I stated Dror's facet, and the relevant hypothesis which I developed in Appendix A. I then recorded my observations on that facet of my planning experience, and finally listed my conclusions as to how well my experience verified the hypothesis. This format was repeated for each facet with some facets having as many as three hypothesis. Again, to improve the readability of the text, I have assigned this work to an appendix (Appendix B). In this chapter I will summarize the conclusions from having performed this exercise. This summary will be organized by each of Faludi's dimensions of planning. The discussion will first involve a description of where my planning experience fell on the continuum between the two modes of each of Faludi's dimensions of planning. This will be followed by an analysis of how well this conformed to the theory given the determinants and constraints which existed for this project.

### **Blueprint vs. Process Planning**

The housing element which constituted the final product of our planning effort could be categorized as highly process oriented. The major portion of the housing element was concerned with identifying policies that could advance the regional housing goals and objectives. While we were required by the 701 grant conditions to develop quantifiable objectives wherever possible, these were never given as much weight as the direction and magnitude the numbers represented. We did produce community-specific production targets. These were issued with the well qualified title, "Draft Preliminary Community Allocations of Subregional Needed Housing- To Begin Discussion and Analysis With Local Officials- Subject to Ongoing Refinement."

This great tentativeness was born out of our awareness of the existence of an almost militant attitude of local communities regarding their right to determine their rate of growth, which had been further entrenched by the local growth policy process. It was also an admission of our limited ability to develop refined growth prediction without a much richer, up-to-date data base, and a sophisticated land use model.

The underlying strategy was that if these numbers were published it would initiate discussion about growth at a local level. We also hoped to improve the public's concept of future growth needs relevant to present and past rates of growth. Many of the local growth policy statements which are reviewed had stated the need to slow growth or the

need to develop more housing but at a moderate rate. Rare was the community that provided any precise definition to these terms. We felt in many instances, the volume of housing production that had to be sustained, while significantly higher than current volumes, was well within the definition of moderate growth when compared to past periods of high growth. It seemed that if growth discussions could be quantified, then perhaps there would be less disagreement over local growth rates. Therefore in these tables we included an extra column which showed the average annual new construction during the highest consecutive three year period occurring in the period 1960 - 1976. This would give each community an idea of how future production rates would compare to what had been their period of greatest growth during the last fifteen years.

The centerpiece of the housing element was the initiation of a shared growth planning process,- itself a process plan. Since one of the motives for communities to adopt exclusionary tactics was to ward off growth excluded from neighboring communities, it seemed imperative that solutions be sought at a subregional scale as this was the scale at which the problem operated. This approach is further substantiated by the fact that housing markets operate at a subregional level in response to the location of employment opportunities.

The concept involved establishing subregional production targets which would stay constant. Communities participating in the plan would analyze their growth capacities. If one town desired to plan for less growth than initially allocated they would have to negotiate agreements with another community in the subregion who would be willing to accept a higher rate of growth in exchange for the first town providing acceptable compensation, e.g., a water well-field or a sanitary land fill-site. (For more information on compensation techniques see O'Hare (1971).

This concept needed a lot of details to be worked out, especially with regards to creating sufficient incentives for participation. In this manner, our whole approach consisted of revising local regulatory systems to promote the required level of housing production and therefore very little of our housing market resembled a blueprint. The housing element also satisfied the condition of being widely distributed with a low level of technical language and thereby would support the type of public participation necessary for process planning.

Having established that the housing element was a process plan, was this defensible in terms of our theory? With regards to Faludi's concept of the impact that firmness of image on the planning process, it can be argued that the lack of public understanding of the cumulative impact of local regulations on housing production would require a process plan to develop the public consensus for any reform to be initiated.

The pursuit of process planning was supported by federal requirements requiring the establishment of evaluation procedures for monitoring progress towards objectives. Internal and external time-lags could impose some constraints on successful implementation of process plans as resources were judged insufficient for increases in data collection activities and some key activities in local regulatory practices (such as harassment, administrative delays in processing permit applications or scheduling inspections) would be difficult to observe. This constraint was offset by an even stronger constraint against implementing a blueprint regional housing plan- MAPC's total lack of control over local regulatory procedures and lack of authority to directly become involved in the production of housing. One of the unique aspects of a regional planning agency is that there is no regional implementation agency. Consequently, MAPC's inability to initiate the implementation of its housing plan was an overwhelming constraint on the development of a blueprint plan.

### **Rational-Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism**

Faludi's major variable for locating a planning process between these two modes was to analyze the extensiveness of investigations into the action space of other agencies prior to the development of new programs. In developing my modification of Faludi's theory I did not find any of Dror's facets to correspond to this variable in order to make it more specific.

A regional planning agency by necessity has to look into the action space of other agencies since it has little action space of its own. We not only examined what actions could be taken by other agencies, such as the cities and towns and the state, to improve housing production, but we also considered what activities should occur in functional areas other than housing which could help promote housing production. It therefore seems safe to term our planning effort as fairly comprehensive.

Our recommendations were based on an analysis of the housing market using current housing market theory, our understanding of urban growth dynamics, and discussions with principal actors in the housing market. Our projections of need were based upon an explicit model of housing need which was supported by independent assessments of state housing production needs and also later substantiated by the Joint Center for Urban Studies analysis of national and regional housing production needs. Therefore our approach was sufficiently methodical and ground in current theory of housing market behavior to be judged rational.

Our analysis and consequent recommendations were also based upon a long term view of the region's housing market and not just a response to the current "hot" issues as

one would anticipate with a disjointed-incrementalist approach.

Having established that our approach was representative of rational-comprehensive planning, was this in conformance with the determinants and constraints of Faludi's theory?

The first of Faludi's variables related to the extent to which we as an agency held a wholistic or atomistic view of housing. In my modification, I expanded this to include how well the subject matter was orientated towards the planning process; the relevant territorial area; the values, information, and character of the planning unit; and the realism of the plan.

It was theorized that if the actors which influence the behavior of the subject matter are hostile to planning, than there will be a greater tendency towards disjointed incrementalism. Here, we were clearly treading on new and hostile soil in discussing reforms of local ordinances to improve housing production. This should have pushed us towards a disjointed-incrementalist approach.

The geographic jurisdiction of MAPC was a close fit to the boundaries of the metropolitan housing market and therefore this enhanced our ability to pursue comprehensive housing planning. The other aspects of image, the planning unit's values and the realism of the plan are much more vague. Prior to our project, I would say that both the staff and the Council members held a rather atomistic view of regional housing needs. Regional housing needs were considered to be identical with subsidized housing. This reduced the problem to securing housing subsidy resources from the state and federal government, promoting use of these resources by local housing authorities, and having towns accommodate such projects in their zoning or improving the ability of the State's Anti-Snob Zoning Law, Chapter 774, to override local zoning constraints. In 1974, the housing staff interjected a wider view of the Council's concern for housing, and began arguing this view to its Housing Advisory Committee and to other staff planners. Without this staff initiative, the housing element would have had a much narrower focus.

With regards to Faludi's next variable, scope of images, it is difficult to distinguish from the preceding variable. I used Dror's facet variables to describe it in terms of the degree of penetration of the subject matter, the significance of the subject matter, and the scope of the activity subject to planning.

In reviewing my experience I assessed that the level of penetration on any particular issue did not consume such a dominant share of our resources to preclude a comprehensive assessment of housing issues. Regional housing planning was not a significant issue in terms of public discussion at that time and according to the theory, this did not create pressures on MAPC to consider a wide range of alternatives. In

general I concluded that the scope of our investigations were comprehensive with respect to housing and its relationship to other functional planning areas, and yet was limited enough to rationalize program proposals with goal statements and supportive analysis and theory.

Faludi also identified a planning agency's relative autonomy as a constraint in pursuing comprehensive planning, the lower the level of autonomy, the more it would be a constraint. From Dror's facet design, I assessed the political/cultural constraints on the range of alternatives that could be pursued; general goals and directives pre-established for the planning process; the structural relationship between housing and MAPC; the degree to which the subject matter is predetermined; and the role of MAPC as a primary versus a delegated planning unit.

In reviewing the perspective of the various actors involved in housing, I concluded that from their perspective, our action space was highly restricted. While the state was going through a major assessment of state growth policy and therefore open to new policy initiatives, its posture to date had been one that focused on urban problems and to some extent placated suburban no-growth attitudes especially in adopting a bottoms-up policy with regards to growth policy. Cities and towns saw their regulation of housing production and land development as integral to the concept of local autonomy. Blacks and minorities had grown distrustful of suburban integration efforts, viewing them as an attempt to dilute their power as an electorate, and had refocused their concerns on urban revitalization issues. Housing advocacy groups such as Citizens for Housing and Planning Actions (CHAPA) and League of Women Voters viewed the major housing issue as the location of public housing. Bankers bemoaned low production levels but were more concerned with issues of their trade rather than seeing no-growth attitudes as relevant to their long term interests. Even if they did perceive this relationship they were inactive relative to advocating for increased housing production. As to be expected, homebuilders were the most active advocates for measures to increase housing production, but they approached it from the interest of a producer and not a consumer. Environmentalist and local conservation commissions generally favored no development over development and low density development over concentrated development. Consequently in choosing to address the issue of promoting sufficient residential development to respond to regional housing needs, we had few organized allies on our side.

The requirements of the 701 program encouraged the pursuit of comprehensive planning in several respects. First, they required the use of common databases by various government units in the same geographic areas. This is an essential first step in

integrating planning actions and counter-balanced the high level of decentralized decision-making which occurs on public issues in our metropolitan areas. Hud also required grant recipients to "develop and carry out policies, procedures and mechanisms necessary for coordinating local, areawide and state housing policies with functional planning and capital investment atrategies, when available." (24CFR 600.70(a)(4)) This requirement was a push towards comprehensive planning by proposing linkages which should be examined between housing and other functional planning areas.

MAPC's lack of control over any part of the housing production process or the local land regulatory system should have acted as a constraint on MAPC's pursuit of a comprehensive planning approach for housing. The remaining two facets, the level to which the subject matter is pre-determined and MAPC's role as a primary vs. delegated planning unit are less definitve in their impact on pursuing the rational-comprehensive or the disjointed incrementalist modes of planning.

Where it was fairly clear from Faludi's model that the plan whould have been dominated by a process approach, the issue of rational-comprehensive planning vs. disjointed-incrementalism is much more complex. While MAPC had some regulatory mandates requiring such an approach, and while staff members saw the greatest advantage in pursual of such an approach, one can still wonder if it is the proper approach for the wrong animal? The choice between rational-comprehensive planning and disjointed-incrementalism boils down to a fundamental decision as to the nature and role of a regional planning agency in metropolitan areas.

One side can argue that given the weak representativeness and consequent isolation from the general electorate, the best role this agency can serve is to gather and analyze data as a backdrop for decisionmaking at the local and state level. MAPC in this manner plays almost an auditing role, providing a balance sheet that shows how previous activities have contributed and taken from the accounts of various social objectives. Recommendations can be made how to put accounts back in order but the decision-making power still rests with the people whose money is at stake. This has been the traditional model that MAPC has pursued. It entails the risk of being regarded as ivory tower think tank or as pain-in-the neck know-it-alls. After all, who enjoys being audited?

Another role MAPC can consider is an activist/catalyst role. In this role basic policy measures are made up front and then efforts are spent pushing changes in the system to accomplish such measures (a more disjointed-incrementalist approach). It requires garnering media attention to reports, identification of "hot" issues and developing leadership on these issuses. It can become involved in coalition building and legislative lobbying. As it does so it runs the risk of being perceived as an empire

builder/power broker. Critics can charge that here we have a group of technocrats wielding influence on the political system with no accountability to the general electorate. As staff resources are transferred from basic data collection, analysis and report writing activities to more activist/leadership activities, policies can become more of a product of the personal politics of professional staff than of professional analysis.

The approach of the housing team strongly favored the rational-comprehensive approach over the disjointed incrementalist approach. We as staff members believed it to be our responsibilities to develop a convincing documented argument for our policy recommendations. We were weak on one critical link in our argument- the quantitative impact of local regulations on housing costs and production volumes- but otherwise we provided documented analysis of the housing market and its performance vis a vis the housing needs of the current and anticipated population of the region. It was comprehensive in that our analysis viewed housing in the context of the regional land market, the infrastructure required to support development, the factors shaping political attitudes towards housing, and the role housing played in supporting other regional objectives, especially economic development.

As a professional planner I feel comfortable with this choice in terms of my responsibility to contribute a professional analysis of facts to the formulation of policy development. I recognize that it was an opinionated analysis and probably contains and omits critical pieces of data as a result of my personal opinion about the subject of residential development. But it is there, stated explicitly, for anyone of opposing view to grapple with and counter. If I started with my opinion as a professional statement of fact and proceeded from there with the strategizing of a campaign to make changes in the system in accordance with my personal opinions, instead of enhancing our understanding of how the system behaves, I would only be improving my understanding of how the system responds to political pressure.

A third alternative to these two models would have been to reduce our level of comprehensiveness and to have concentrated planning resources on a more narrow problem, but still with a rational analytical basis. An example of this was the redlining study referred to in Chapter One.

### **Normative vs. Functional Planning**

According to Faludi, an agency's disposition towards normative planning will be determined by the relative degree of autonomy and the perceived role of the planner. Using Dror's construct, I examined the values, ideologies and limits on alternatives to be considered, the available time span (a constraint for normative planning), the agency's

role as a primary or delegated planning unit, resources and means (another constraint for normative planning), general goals for the planning program and the significance of the subject matter.

Faludi's variable for assessing whether a planning project resembles normative or functional planning is the range of ends taken into consideration and whether the statement of objectives and assumptions are supported by argument or not. Based on this description, I would assess our effort as more closely aligned with the normative mode rather than the functional mode of planning. Our traditional planning approach included an initial discussion of goals and objectives which was later refined as factual analysis was completed. Objectives were ordered into a three element strategy of mutually re-enforcing objectives-

- \* maintenance and revitalization of existing housing and neighborhoods throughout the region;
- \* removal of obstacles to more effective operation of the private housing market in meeting housing needs; and
- \* development of a shared growth management techniques to equitably distribute the responsibility for meeting regional housing needs.

These objectives and our goal statements were developed over a two year time frame with our Housing Advisory Committee in which philisophical discussions were given free rein and resulted in reshaping of our value statements throughout the process.

In terms of Faludi's model this affinity for normative planning was in accord with most of the determinants and constraints which we had identified. Although we inherited a variety of federal objectives to accomodate, these did not in practice act as a constraint on our own goal development, and in truth, we as staff did not really explicitly address them until the end of our planning project while we were preparing for our review. If we had been at odds with the broad constructs of eliminating the effects of discrimination, preserving existing housing and neighborhoods, and providing for distribution of housing resources to meet the needs of all citizens then we would have felt that our position as a delegated planning unit of the primary federal 701 planning program constrained our ability to pursue normative planning. However, since we were in philisophical accord with these objectives we had no difficulty with federal requirements.

We also had sufficient time span to engage in a dialogue about basic goals and objectives with our advisory committee and to a somewhat lessor extent we also had the resources and means to support normative planning. While housing per se was not a headline grabber at that point in time, local land use and growth policy was a popular

current issue. It was our hope that by injecting a strong value statement for land use policies which accommodated housing needs into the discussion of local growth objectives we could achieve some enhancement of residential development (or at least minimize devastation to the housing market).

### **Overview**

Based upon this analysis I would conclude that Faludi's model does correspond with my own choices as a practicing planner and does provide for some measure in which to evaluate the appropriateness of my analysis. By incorporating Dror's facet structure I was able to direct my examination to details which I would have otherwise overlooked. On the other hand it is difficult for me to assess if my recall has been completely candid as one's memory always seems biased towards self-flattery. In trying to evaluate whether or not I consider this a useful exercise for an analysis of one's practice, I decided that the most truthful test would be to ask if I would repeat this exercise in the future. This made my evaluation easy- no, I can never imagine repeating this type of analysis.

First, it is a great exercise for anyone who feels the compunction to perform a boring endlessly repetitive and tedious exercise to ensure an accurate recounting (again within the bounds of our tendency towards self-flattery). This would be bad enough if the process of so much detail does not contribute more to confusion than to perception. It reminds me of the first time I used SPSS with a friend to analyze a survey in an attempt to perform a cost benefit analysis of adaptive design regulations. Our imaginations were unlimited as to the possibilities various cross-tabulations could produce. We created so many cells of data that even though we had a preliminary hypothesis to consider, the quantity of data became completely overwhelming (especially when it conflicted with our hypothesis).

I had given some thought to providing additional effort to refine this model by trying to create more of a relational order in the modified variables, but I could not foresee achieving that great of an improvement in the conceptual powers of the model. Faludi's basic theory is intuitively comprehensible. My modification with Dror's variables allow it to examine an experience with greater precision than Faludi's original construct, but I do not feel in retrospect that it is effective in revealing the strengths and weaknesses of our decisions in designing planning programs.

In taking a retrospective view I have doubts about some decisions and take pride in others, but these don't seem to really deal at all with the inter-modal choices posed by Faludi. For example, I feel that the balance between research and activism is the

greatest dilemma for planners and not only as a tradeoff but as a choice of style as well. While this issue parallels Faludi's rational-comprehensive vs. disjointed-incrementalism dimension there seems to be a lot missing. Perhaps it comes down to a planner having an intuitive sense for leadership and finesse even if its restricted to the medium of report writing and distribution. Clearly different planners can follow similar "inter-modal choices" and have degrees of magnitude difference in effectiveness. I can also foresee someone coming into a situation and breaking all of Faludi's rules and still have a successful experience.

On the other hand I am impressed by how well Faludi's theory held up in applying it to the more detailed aspects of my planning experience. I think that an inventory of one's planning environment and an application of Faludi's construct at the start of a major planning project can be very helpful for a planner to make maximum advantage of his/her resources. In this manner I found Faludi's concept satisfying in that they do start to offer a theory of planning that can be utilized by the practicing professional in the execution of the practice.

## CHAPTER FOUR

In this final chapter I would like to address the issues of:

Why wasn't Faludi's planning theory a good model for an analysis of practice?

What issues were overlooked by this approach?

Given this reflection on my practice, how would I resolve these issues?

In Chapter One, I began my analysis of practice by narrating my experience at MAPC and highlighting some unresolved issues which I hoped an analysis of planning would address. In Chapter Two I elected to utilize Faludi's Theory of Planning because it synthesized most of the major schools of thought regarding approaches to planning. I also identified principle weaknesses, the most critical being Faludi's use of very broad variables which had more relevance for a philosophical view of planning rather than a theory which could guide the decisions of the practicing planner. I then set about differentiating these broad variables into more discrete elements of planning in the hope that this would result in a more applicable model upon which to base an analysis of practice.

This experimental construct is developed in greater detail in Appendix B and applied in Appendix C. Chapter Three contained a commentary and evaluation of the fit between this model of planning and my experience as well as an assessment as to the value of the exercise. Basically, I concluded that the model, in all of its laborious detail, did little to resolve the issues which I had posed at the end of Chapter One.

### **Major Obstacles In Utilizing Faludi's Model**

In Chapter Two I already presented several criticisms of Faludi's model regarding the broadness of his constructs and the simplification of the issues involving rational-comprehensive planning, including Faludi's total neglect of the resource constraint on rationality as greater comprehensiveness is pursued. I concluded in Chapter Three after reviewing the results of applying this construct that my experience fit well with the modes predicted by the model but that in retrospect this was neither surprising nor enlightening. It was not surprising because the terms are so imprecise that one's approach can fit within the model's framework and still have room to meander in a variety of directions. I also recognized that however hard one strives for candid self-criticism there is always that urge to re-order one's memory of an experience to conform to desired patterns and this can occur at a sub-conscious level. More importantly though, it fits because the theory expounds a very common-sense, easily intuitive notion of how

to respond to the major work program question facing a planner. While this may be good material for helping to structure the thinking of the novice to planning, it does not provide satisfying firm ground upon which a practicing planner can structure planning approaches to complex problems.

I have concluded that the greatest benefit from using Dror's facet description of planning to modify Faludi's variables was the resulting re-interpretation of Faludi's behavioral science terms into more common terms of the trade. This also helps one to shift thinking and to focus on elements of one's experience which would otherwise be overlooked by Faludi's broad constructs. But my major error in selecting this approach was not to recognize that while I had greatly increased the level of detail of the model's independent variables, little was done to increase the specificity of the dependent variable. All it enabled me to do was to argue in greater detail and perhaps with more certainty which broad construct of planning I should follow. It did little to help me understand all the issues relative to client identification, issue selection, professional objectives, implementation strategies, etc., i.e., those issues which plague practicing planners and lead me to select this topic for thesis research.

### **Further Thoughts**

Having completed a formal testing of Faludi's theory and finding it inadequate for examining critical issues which I had encountered during my experience at MAPC, I would like to examine these issues again. The following discussion represents a statement of my opinion on these issues formulated after having given considerable reflection as to professional responsibilities of a practicing regional planner.

### **Identification of Client**

As confusing as the issue is, there is no avoiding the fact that if the practicing planner is not addressing the concerns of the immediate employer, the planner will have a very short-lived opportunity to practice. Therefore, a planner must make an initial assessment of the interests of the employer and determine if they are compatible with the planner's own interests and values. While a planner may be able to assess those values formally stated in job descriptions, presented in job interviews, and illustrated by an agency's work products, the planner does face great risks at being at odds with an employer's hidden agenda. The worst case exists with those employers who have never successfully articulated to themselves what their expectations are for their staff's performance.

But this is just a starting point. The planner should then review a list of all potential clients and consider what their interests are. These can be viewed as the planner's second order clients. Planners must also consider how their employers view the needs of these second order clients (creating a third order client relationship for the planner to consider). For my situation at MAPC I could diagram this client structure as shown in Figure IV-1.

FIGURE IV-1

**STRUCTURE OF CLIENT RELATIONSHIPS**

HUD (funding agency)  
Members of MAPC  
Municipalities within the region  
The region's general population  
Special interest groups

Employer  
(executive director)

Supervisor (if any)

Planner

Client Relationships

Strongest  
Strong  
Important, but very subjective

Through the course of a project these relationships will strengthen and weaken among the various components. I would suggest that initially the strongest relationship was employer-planner and the funding agency. Once the basic parameters of the work program are established that are necessary to satisfy funding requirements, planners will turn their attention to other second order client groups. Ideally, analyzing the needs of these other groups should be done from both the employer's point of view and the planner's own perspective. If the planner has a chance to review an assessment of the needs and interests of these second order clients with the employer, then there is a reasonable chance that concurrence can be reached and the planner can proceed with the more detailed design and execution of a work program without as much risk of being caught in a conflict between one's employer and one's perceptions of the needs of second order clients.

After this point in work program development, more and more of the planner's attention becomes focused on the needs of these second order clients. The greatest risk to the practicing planner is losing touch with the constantly evolving interests of the employer. This is an extremely difficult task to do because of limited access to one's employer and the dynamics of the agency's project life cycle.

Given that a regional planning agency depends on federal grants for maintaining its staffing capacity, a key responsibility of the agency's director is to anticipate new developments in federal programs. For example, no sooner had the 701 comprehensive planning effort been staffed, then the agency turned its eyes onto the 208 water quality planning program and transportation planning activities. The importance of ongoing projects is often evaluated solely on their impact on the agency's ability to secure future grants. In such a system, it is quite difficult for a staff planner to be both faithful to initial work program designs and to respond to the ever-evolving list of emerging federal concerns. This results in the planner having to make extremely difficult choices between pursuing activities which respond to a "self-invested" perspective of the needs of the region and the current fashions of federal agencies.

What choice should the planner follow? Happily, new federal concerns are frequently issues which have trickled up from the grass roots level and are therefore compatible with issues the planner has already identified on the local level. Otherwise planners must call them as they see them. The important point is to be aware of these shifts in client interests and not to be frozen to an earlier analysis of the interests of employers and secondary clients that has now become outdated. An alternative strategy is for the planner to build up a constituency for these second order clients by actively

involving various representatives and outside groups in the planning program. This is often done through task forces, special committees, etc. To be effective a substantial time commitment is required. While this may dilute resources required for other aspects of the planning program, it has the potential benefit of providing a more permanent direction for planning activities by insulating them from some of the impact of staff turnover. In the best of worlds this would be done with the support of the executive director.

### **The Planner's Role**

Perhaps a more meaningful phrasing of the choice presented by Faludi's rational-comprehensive vs. disjointed-incrementalist mode would be the analysts vs. activists role in planning future change. I would also argue that the key to determining the emphasis the planner places on these two roles is the accountability of the planner to the population being most directly impacted (the greater the level of accountability, the freer the planner is to pursue an activist role). Therefore, in a regional planning agency, a planner has a high responsibility to provide well reasoned analysis of the needs and subsequent policies that should be pursued.

The majority of persons affected by the policies advocated by a regional planning agency do not even know that such a creature exists, let alone have the opportunity to provide critical comments or exercise control over staff activities. The goal of this role of analysts should be to achieve change in the region through the education of local, state and federal government officials as to the region's needs and problems, and why certain responses will help and others worsen the situation. If regional planners just run with their personal philosophies and begin an action plan without strong backup analysis, they are neglecting the role that regional planning has been assigned to in our governmental system. Furthermore, while they may gain some short term increase in public exposure, the role of the regional planning agency will be weakened over the long run because its contribution will be viewed as weak and trivial (given the absence of implementation powers). If regional planning agencies do not provide well reasoned analysis of the collective problems of its member communities then it will have failed its principal mandate for existence.

### **Skills of the Planner**

Regional planning requires a strong knowledge of urban growth models and theories, land use economics, as well as a general understanding of economics and

market theory. Regional planners also require the analytical skills of political science, especially for the purpose of identifying interest groups and their influence on the system being analyzed. An understanding of statistical application is also important, especially for interpreting the relevance of work of consultants and researchers as to the problems with which the regional planner is concerned. It is important to have highly developed communication skills distributed among the staff of a regional planning agency. If the analytical work of the staff is to obtain its potential educational benefit, it must be communicated clearly and effectively to a wide variety of groups and individuals.

### **Substantive Issues**

For regional planning to achieve its greatest contribution it should focus on those issues which by nature cannot be dealt with at only the local level and vary across regions of the state. This principle has been easily followed in the area of physical network systems, but gets overlooked and confused in issues involving housing, social needs and land use policies. The planner must always begin the analysis with a collective regional need and then tackle the issue of distributing responsibility for satisfying this need to the local level.

Also regional planning should give greatest priority to issues within the influence of local government. Of next importance would be issues influenced by state government followed by the federal government and other actors. These criteria ensure that the analysis of the regional planning agency is serving the informational needs of those public officials with the greatest influence on the region and the most sympathetic to regional needs.

### **Professional Objectives**

The regional planner must realize that he/she is situated in an agency usually one step removed from implementation powers. This can be a frustrating feeling and it means there is little opportunity to derive the satisfaction of seeing tangible consequences from one's efforts. On the other hand, when planners are involved in direct implementation activities, they are usually frustrated at the lack of time and resources for problem analysis and other planning activities. Planners seeking the satisfaction of "being where the action is" or becoming a "shaker and mover" would be wise to avoid the regional planning context.

On the positive side, regional planning agencies have the potential to allow planners the context for the application of theoretical knowledge and analytical skills to "real life" situations. A serious problem though, is the tremendous time lag between the planner's work products and changes in the situation that the planner is trying to affect. The planner has very little feedback as to the appropriateness of his/her analysis. Consequently the ability of the planner to learn and improve from the practice of regional planning can become impaired over time. This places an extra emphasis on the regional planner to remain in communication with professional colleagues through the literature and conferences in order to expand his/her understanding of the problems and behavior of metropolitan areas.

### **Implementation Techniques**

A regional planning agency such as MAPC typically has three types of implementation techniques -- education, A-95 comment and review, and "low-value incentives". Education through publication of analysis and advocacy for policies supported by this analysis was already argued for as a legitimate role of the regional planner. Similarly, the A-95 comment and review process was discussed in Chapter One. Some agencies have utilized A-95 review as a general coercive measure to exert pressure on communities to conform to their policies across the board. The housing element which I worked on won approval for MAPC to use its A-95 powers to penalize communities involved in exculsionary land use practices but these were never implemented.

"Low-value incentives is a term I employ to describe a range of incentives MAPC can offer communities, all of which could be characterized as weak. These primarily involve technical assistance activities and the pass through of small grants to communities as exemplified by HUD's Areawide Housing Opportunity Program (AHOP).

The ability of MAPC to influence local policy through technical assistance could probably constitute a separate thesis. But given the small cost of planning activities relative to typical municipal budgets, I find it difficult, a priori, to appreciate why a community should adopt policies it would otherwise avoid, in exchange for some free technical assistance. The greatest opportunity for technical assistance to achieve an impact is in those situations where a lack of understanding of how to solve local problems also contributes to the persistence of regional problems. Without a careful strategy, regional planning agencies can throw away a lot of staff resources on technical assistance programs that gain them very little in return.

A strong advantage to have an active technical assistance effort in a regional planning agency is the learning value of such activities for the rpa's staff. This circumvents the isolation of the regional planner/analysts and improves the planner's understanding of the obstacle to implementation of regional policies. If it is not possible to involve all staff in technical assistance projects then there should be some mechanism for technical assistance staff to impart the value of their experience to the analytical staff.

Again, given MAPC's isolation from electoral accountability, it is difficult to envision MAPC ever being given a significant sum of money to allocate. If they do receive sizeable shares of funds it will likely follow the model of the AHOP program where bonus amounts of housing subsidies were offered as an incentive for communities to stop excluding subsidized housing.

### **Final Thoughts**

Having just proceeded through the list of issues which had been irksome to me while engaged in my regional planning practice, I am intrigued by the question of how did I reach some clarification of the direction that a regional planner should follow in resolving these issues? While Faludi's theory and other theories I read did not offer me any direct insight they did enable me to shift my thinking from the substantive issues which I had been caught up with as a practicing planner to the theoretical issues of how to practice planning. Eventually this concentration on one theory of planning became constrictive and I was having great difficulty formulating any conclusions outside the structure of Faludi's theory. A recent reading of Lawrence Susskind's "The Logic of Planning Practice: A New Focus for the Teaching of Planning Theory" (1974) offered a contrasting approach to a theory of planning. Though it was not followed in this last section it allowed me to break away from Faludi's constructs and to come to grips with the questions I wanted to ask myself and then utilize my experience to answer them. Although I cannot assess the value of these observations for the reader, this last exercise has improved my understanding of what I would consider a model of professional regional planning in the U.S., given the current authorities and constitution of regional planning agencies.

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## Metropolitan Area Planning Council

### List of Documents that Constitute the Regional Housing Element:

Chapter 774: Four Years Later: An Interpretive Analysis of the Law and Review of Activities. August 1974.

Developing Housing Strategies for the Metropolitan Boston Region: Problems and Goals. November 1976.

Developing Housing Strategies for the Metropolitan Boston Region: Problems of the Local Property Tax. June 1977.

Facing the Region's Housing Problems. Draft, March 1978.

The Housing Element of the Comprehensive Plan-Summary Statement. March 1978.

Housing Metropolitan Boston: The Challenge and the Response, A Program Design to Meet the Housing Needs of Metropolitan Boston. December 1971.

Impacts of Housing Development on Community and Region. September 1977.

Low and Moderate Income Housing Needs in the Boston Region. October 1974.

MAPC Resources for Community Development, Neighborhood Revitalization and Housing Rehabilitation. April 1978.

Metropolitan Boston Regional Housing Strategy - Goals, Objectives, Policies, Implementation Techniques. March 1978.

Problems Involving the Supply of Housing in the Boston Region. September 1976.

Rehabilitation Grant and Loan Programs in MAPC Communities. In preparation.

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## APPENDIX A

This appendix is divided into three sections to correspond to Faludi's three modes of planning- the blueprint vs. the process planning mode, the rational-comprehensive vs. the disjointed incrementalist mode and the normative vs. the functional mode of planning. Each section will begin with a summary of Faludi's theory and his proposed research format (Faludi, 1973). This will then be followed by an analysis of more detailed variables and these will be assigned to Dror's major categories (Dror, 1963). Therefore by the end of this chapter we will have completed the assembly of a detailed framework to utilize in analyzing the planning experience narrated in Chapter One.

In preparation for this modification to Faludi's theory it is first necessary to discuss Dror's effort to provide a system for analyzing the planning process in terms of its components and elements. Dror begins his introduction on the application of facet design with an excerpt from a paper by Louis Guttman who originated the concept of facet design.

Perhaps the most practical way of defining the concept is in most general terms. Consider a set of A of any elements  $a_1, a_2, \dots$ , and a set of B of any elements  $b_1, b_2, \dots$ . Let C be the direct product of A and B:  $C = A \times B$ . That is, a typical element of C, say c, is a pair of elements  $c = (a_j, b_k)$ , one coming from A and the other from B. If A has m elements and B has n elements then C has mn elements. We shall say that C is a two-faceted set, and that A and B are facets of C. A facet then is a set of elements. In general, C may be the direct product of any number of facets, not just two.

Facet theory is useful for designing the universe of content of research projects. This aspect of the theory is part of facet design. Facet design may also refer to population, P, being studied. The facet formula for a project can always be written in the general form:  $P \times C = R$ , where R is the set of possible responses of results. (Guttman, "An outline of some new methodology for social research", Public Opinion Quarterly, vol. 18(1954), 395-404)

Dror recognizes that the environment is not an independent variable since planning is usually directed at trying to cause a change in the environment. Since it is relatively fixed over a short period of time and it is an important factor that shapes the planning process, Dror includes it as a primary facet. The main secondary facets are:

A<sub>1</sub> Characteristics of the general environment (physical, demographic, ecological, social, cultural, etc.)

**A<sub>2</sub>** Resources in manpower, knowledge, capital, etc. which are potentially available for the planning process and for eventual plan execution.

**A<sub>3</sub>** Political/cultural constraints on the range of alternatives that can be considered by the planning process.

**A<sub>4</sub>** General goals for the planning process, contextual goals, and basic directives which govern what must be included and excluded from the planning process.

The subject matter of the planning process is differentiated by Dror into nine secondary facets:

**B<sub>1</sub>** Structural relation between the subject matter and the planning unit.

**B<sub>2</sub>** Degree to which the subject matter is predetermined or elastic.

**B<sub>3</sub>** The degree of penetration.

**B<sub>4</sub>** Significance of the subject matter of the planning process.

**B<sub>5</sub>** Orientation of subject matter toward the planning process.

**B<sub>6</sub>** Extent to which the subject matter has already been subjected to planning.

**B<sub>7</sub>** Scope of the activity subjected to planning.

**B<sub>8</sub>** Demographic territorial area related with the subject matter of the planning process.

**B<sub>9</sub>** The time span.

The primary facet of the planning unit is described by seven secondary facets:

**C<sub>1</sub>** The basic nature of the planning unit.

**C<sub>2</sub>** Primary or delegated planning unit.

**C<sub>3</sub>** Status.

**C<sub>4</sub>** Values, information, and character of the planning unit.

**C<sub>5</sub>** Resources and means.

**C<sub>6</sub>** Work system, procedures and methods.

**C<sub>7</sub>** Organizational Structure.

The last primary facet, the form of the plan to be arrived at, is composed of three secondary facets:

**D<sub>1</sub>** The realism of the plan.

**D<sub>2</sub>** The form of the plan

**D<sub>3</sub>** Degree of detail.

It is not clear what rationale was used by Dror in producing this specific facet description of the planning process. Prior to his presentation of this facet design Dror reviews definitions of the planning process and develops his own definition the elements of which are described in some detail. Immediately after this definition and prior to describing his facet design Dror states that "It is on these elements of the definition our

facet design of planning is based." Yet many of the elements of his facet design are not included at all in his definition of the planning process. There is no rational argument providing the connecting link between Dror's definition of the planning process and his facet description of it. This makes modification of his design difficult to keep in line with his systematic view of the planning process except by extrapolating from the character of the facet elements themselves.

Dror also admits that this scheme may not be appropriate for research applications without modification. "In its present, rather amorphous form, the facet design of planning to be presented in this paper is intended to serve more as stimuli for directing thought toward basic problems than as a ready-made apparatus which can be directly applied to empiric investigations." While Dror's facet design is untested with regards to empirical research, it certainly provides a useful framework of great detail to begin an analysis of the planning process. It is my hope that in combining this detailed framework with Faludi's operational model of the planning process, I can develop a comprehensive model with sufficient precision to analyze my experience in regional housing planning.

TABLE II-1

**VARIABLES FOR RESEARCH INTO BLUEPRINT  
VERSUS PROCESS PLANNING (FALUDI)**

CONCEPTS	VARIABLES
Mode of Planning (blueprint vs. process)	Existence or non-existence of definite program covering considerable time spans; confidence expressed in it; frequency of reviews and changes.
Image (firm or uncertain)	Indications in planning reports and from planners of firmness of assumptions underlying programs.
Internal time-lag (long or short)	Time taken for program formulation extracted from reports, case studies, interviews, statistics.
External time -lag (long or short)	Time earmarked for completion of projects; time after which first results are expected to become available.
Control (complete or not)	Legal powers; administrative resources; financial assets; type of power structure and administrative system; informal controls.

Given this construct, one would aim to develop variables that could be observed and from such observations predict whether a planning project would tend towards producing a blueprint or a process plan. Obviously, the proposed measures are at a very general scale, but Faludi's construct does provide an operational framework on which to design a more detailed research model. But this task shall be taken up in a later chapter. For now we will continue with our presentation of Faludi's theory.

In reviewing Faludi's variables there are some that fit quite well with Dror's facet theory and others that don't. It is also important to ask how can these variables be made more definitive?

To do so we examine Dror's facet design to see which of his variables would give us a more precise observation of Faludi's major variables or would in and of themselves help us predict the mode of planning.

To begin with, Dror has identified the form of the plan (sub-facet D<sub>2</sub>) as a characteristic of planning and this is essentially the same as Faludi's blueprint versus process mode (or the dependent variable we are trying to predict). In Dror's elaboration on this variable he lists the types of plans which might be found- fixed-time plans, work plans, "and more". He also states that

The modern tendency seems to be in the direction of composite plans, including long-range and short-range time-tables, financial and physical breakdown, contingency and pre-determined elements, and so on, It seems that the more complex and large-scale the subject matters of the planning process is, the more multiform and complex the plan has to be (p. 342)

I propose that Dror's secondary facet be broken down into more elements. These would be

D<sub>2</sub>(a)- Flexibility of plan- Does the plan define a particular end state or does it merely specify objectives and allow the system flexibility in how it moves to accomplish these objectives?

D<sub>2</sub>(b)- Audience- number of copies of plan, degree of technical language in plans, distribution of plan.

D<sub>2</sub>(c)- Complexity of plan- variety of issues, time ranges, and actors involved in implementation.

Of these new secondary facets, I would select D<sub>2</sub>(a), flexibility, as the key distinguishing characteristic which would identify a plan's location on the continuum between blueprint and process planning. I also propose that as one moves towards process planning the audience for the plan must be larger, they will tend to have less detailed technical expertise, and the plan will be distributed to a wider variety of actors. Also we would expect that the complexity of the plan in terms of issues, time frames,

and actors would increase as one approaches process planning. For example, early in the process of transportation planning an agency has to produce a draft environmental impact statement. This point in the planning process involves a schematic design for the proposed improvement. This resembles process planning in that the whole purpose of such a document is to converge on common objectives before making a substantial commitment of design resources. Alternative schematics are considered and therefore there is still flexibility in the plan. A draft EIS is readable to professionals outside the area of transportation or environmental engineering, it's widely distributed and it's relatively complex in the range of issues it covers. This is contrasted to the final engineering drawings for a highway which are relatively fixed and expensive to amend in any major way. These are just produced for the contractors and supervisory actors and are quite technical and specialized in their language and format. While in appearance they may be quite complex, they deal only with those issue required to construct the roadway.

Faludi suggested that firmness of image could be observed from statements in reports or from planners regard for the firmness of current theories. This seems to be quite an accidental type of observation. Perhaps it would be better for the researcher to directly determine if the state of theory regarding the subject matter being planned allows for planned actions to achieve anticipated results. The converse of this would be that planners can identify with some certainty the causes of problems. A researcher could make an assessment of the state of theory from a review of relevant literature on the subject.

Even if planners feel that they can produce changes to the system with some certainty they may disagree widely as to what those changes should be. Therefore this issue of firmness of image can be differentiated into uncertainty of theory and uncertainty of values.

Dror's secondary facets do not adress this issue of image. His primary facet  $B_1$ , the subject matter of the planning process, is an appropriate general category for image, and his secondary facet  $B_6$ , the extent to which the subject matter has already been planned seems to be a sub-factor of image. The more a subject matter has been planned, the more we know about the response of the subject to public actions and the more discussion and opportunities for resolution of values have already occurred. Therefore I propose to modify this secondary objective into:

$B_6(a)$ - the extent to which the reaction of the subject to planned interaction is understood; and

$B_6(b)$ - the extent to which there is agreement as to the objectives to be pursued.

Faludi's variable for internal time-lag is more descriptive than causative. In Dror's facet design we find that under secondary facet A<sub>4</sub>, "basic directives concerning some aspects of the working methods to be used during the planning process, such as giving an opportunity to interested persons to have a hearing". This is clearly one way in which the internal time-lag is determined. In fact all the procedures a public agency must follow from personnel hiring, property acquisition, construction contracting, and citizen participation either add time to the total length of the planning process or reduce the amount of time available for issue resolution or the design process.

Another facet of planning that affects internal time lags is C<sub>6</sub>, "work systems, procedures and methods." Obviously agencies with sophisticated information collection and processing systems will be able to respond more quickly to changes in the external environment. Satellite land use mapping systems, computer generated design drawings and engineering programs, forecasting models, etc. could all aid in reducing internal time lag for certain types of planning. Some subject areas, however, might be quite unaffected by improved information collection and processing technology.

Another important factor affecting internal time lag is the utilization of the capacity of the planning agency. As planning resources (in terms of number of staff hours, data processing time, skills, etc) are over-utilized, internal time lag will rise sharply with subsequent increases in utilization. The absolute capacity of an agency is impossible to determine. However, a comparison of B<sub>3</sub>, the degree of penetration, and B<sub>7</sub>, the scope of the activity subject to planning, to C<sub>5</sub>, resources and means, provides a relative measure of the agency's utilization.

For external time-lag, Faludi suggested observing the time earmarked for completion of projects, and the time after which first results are to become available. These are covered by Dror's secondary facet B<sub>9</sub>, the time span.

Dror's facet design approximate Faludi's variable for control fairly well. These would include C<sub>5</sub>- resources and means, C<sub>7</sub>- organizational structure, C<sub>3</sub>- status, and B<sub>1</sub> - the structural relationship between the subject matter and the planning process. Dror does not, however, include legal powers explicitly in any of his secondary facets. I am broadening his definition of facet C<sub>5</sub>, resources and means, to explicitly include "legal powers".

The analytical framework for the blueprint versus process mode of planning is summarized in the following table which also includes the previously described changes in Dror's facet design.

Several of Dror's facets begin to touch upon aspects of this variable, but none of them are quite satisfactory.

# USE OF DROR'S FACET DESIGN IN FALUDI'S RESEARCH FRAMEWORK

## BLUEPRINT VERSUS PROCESS PLANNING

FALUDI'S CONCEPTS	DROR'S VARIABLES
Mode of planning (blueprint vs. process)	D2(a)- Flexibility of plan; D2(b)- Audience for plan; D2(c)- Complexity of plan.
Image (firm or uncertain)	B6(a)- State of theory regarding subject matter; B6(b)- Level of concensus regarding objectives.
Internal Time-Lag	A4- Basic directives for planning process; C6- Work systems, procedures, methods; B3 + B7, penetration and scope/C5, resources.
External Time-Lag	B9- Time span.
Control	C5- Resources and means (including legal powers); C7- Organizational Structure; C3- Status B1- Structural relationship between subject matter and the planning proces.

The variable Faludi offers are highly correlated and almost indistinguishable-

\*centralization of decision-making

\*linkage between areas of responsibility of planning agencies

\*range of powers

Let us examine Dror's facets to see which may help us identify conditions which would favor rational-comprehensive planning over disjointed-incrementalism.

A<sub>2</sub>- resources in manpower, knowledge, capital, etc. which are potentially available for the planning process and for eventual plan execution. (Hypothesis: The greater the level of resources available, available, the stronger the tendency for rational-comprehensive planning.)

A<sub>3</sub>- Various values, power groups, and ideologies which limit the alternatives to be considered by the planning process, in terms of methods that can be used for plan execution (e.g. force), of conditions that are required for recruiting the necessary support for the planning process, of the actual resources that will be put at the disposal of plan execution, of the actual resources that will be put at the disposal of plan disposal of plan execution, and the like. (Hypothesis: The more constraints and restrictions on an agency's autonomy in plan execution, the greater the tendency towards disjointed incrementalism.)

A<sub>4</sub> The terms of reference within which the planning process is to take place, including general goals set for the planning process; contextual goals, that is, values and institutions which should not be impaired; basic directives concerning some aspects of the working methods to be used during the planning process, such as giving an opportunity to interested persons to have a hearing; and so on. (This facet does not act as a variable as much as a direct determinant or constraint on the degree to which the planning process should tend towards the rational-comprehensive or the disjointed-incrementalist mode. It is also related to facets B<sub>2</sub>, degree subject matter is pre-determined, and C<sub>2</sub>, primary or delegated planning unit.)

B<sub>1</sub> The structural relation between the subject matter and the planning unit. (Hypothesis: The greater the autonomy of the agency over the subject, the greater the tendency toward rational-comprehensive planning.)

B<sub>2</sub> Degree to which the subject matter is predetermined or elastic. (Hypothesis: The less the subject matter is pre-determined, the greater the ability to pursue comprehensive planning.)

B<sub>3</sub> Degree of penetration. (Hypothesis: The greater the horizontal penetration

- (inter-relationships between subject matter and other areas) the more comprehensive the plan; the greater the vertical penetration (single aspect) the less comprehensive the planning.)
- B<sub>4</sub> The significance of the subject matter of the planning process. (Hypothesis: The greater the public interest in a plan, the more pressure there will be for planners to justify their analysis and the more planners will be forced to give honest consideration to a greater number of alternatives, which in turn lead to planners following the rational-comprehensive planning.)
  - B<sub>5</sub> The orientation of the subject matter toward the planning process. (Hypothesis: If the subject matter, i.e., the actors which influence the behavior of the subject matter, are hostile to planning, there will be a greater reliance on disjointed-incrementalism.)
  - B<sub>7</sub> The scope of activity subjected to planning. (Hypothesis: The larger the scope, the more comprehensive the outlook but there must be a reasonable relationship between B<sub>3</sub>, penetration, plus B<sub>7</sub>, scope, with respect to C<sub>5</sub>, planning resources, if there will be a rational-comprehensive planning process.)
  - B<sub>8</sub> The demographic territorial area related with the subject matter of the planning process. (Hypothesis: The larger the area, the greater the tendency to employ the rational-comprehensive planning mode.)
  - B<sub>9</sub> The time span. (Hypothesis: The longer the time span, the greater the use of the rational-comprehensive approach.)
  - C<sub>2</sub> Primary or delegated planning unit. (Hypothesis: The higher up on the hierarchy of planning (federal, state, regional, local planning), the greater the amount of rational-comprehensive planning.)
  - C<sub>4</sub> Values, information, and character of planning unit. (Hypothesis: The greatest determinant of any approach but difficult to predict except that facet C<sub>2</sub> may determine types of values held by planners who are attracted to that level of planning.)
  - C<sub>5</sub> Resources and means. (Hypothesis: Important in determining ability of planning unit to have its rationality keep up with its comprehensive views.)
  - C<sub>6</sub>- Work systems, procedures, and methods. (Hypothesis: Critical to examine to see if analysis and operations match agency's rhetoric.)
  - C<sub>7</sub>- Organizational structure. (Hypothesis: Well co-ordinated structure is required to tie functional areas together for comprehensive planning.)

D<sub>1</sub>- The realism of the plan. (The more tightly bound the plan is to realistic, implementable actions, the less comprehensive it will be in its outlook).

### **Normative versus Functional Planning**

In examining Dror's facet design we identify several which relate to this research structure.

- A<sub>3</sub> Values and ideologies which limit the alternatives to be considered. (Hypothesis: The more constraints, the more planning will follow the functional mode.)
- A<sub>4</sub> General goals for the planning process, contextual goals, and basic directives which govern what must be included and excluded from the planning process. (Hypothesis: The more the ends of the planning process are previously determined, the greater the adherence to the functional planning mode.)
- B<sub>4</sub> The significance of the subject matter. (Hypothesis: The greater the significance, the more the ends will be scrutinized, and the greater the amount of normative planning will occur.)
- B<sub>9</sub> The time span. (Hypothesis: The greater the time span, the greater the tendency towards normative planning.)
- C<sub>2</sub> Primary or delegated planning units. (the higher up the hierarchy of planning agencies, the greater the tendency towards normative planning.)
- C<sub>5</sub> Resources and means. (Normative planning requires greater resources, especially in terms of time, than functional planning.)

## APPENDIX B

From the work in Chapter Two, I have identified 22 of Dror's facets (with a few modifications) that relate to Faludi's theory of the planning process. My intention is to utilize these twenty-two facets to summarize my planning experience in regional housing planning and then compare how well this experience fits this theory. To do this, I will follow the following exercise-state Dror's facet, state relevant hypothesis for this facet, record my observations on this facet of my experience, and finally conclude how well my experience followed the stated theory. Since there are twenty-two facets, the reader will have to bear with a repetitive format, but given the experimental nature of this exercise, the systematic approach seemed most useful for ensuring even application of the research design as well as to highlight those facets which seem to contribute most to understanding the planning process and the appropriate response to the planning environment.

**A2- The resource in manpower, knowledge, capital, etc., which are potentially available for the planning process and for eventual plan execution.**

**HYPOTHESIS- Rational vs. Disjointed Incrementalist Mode**

The greater the level of resources, the greater the tendency towards comprehensive planning.

**OBSERVATIONS**

The resources which were available for the planning process included:

**Manpower-** Three professional planners, one research assistant, one clerical staff.

**Knowledge-** Fourteen years combined professional planning experience, complementary skill backgrounds from social science, design, statistics, urban land economics, micro-economics, political theory, land use law, and architectural history.

**Capital, including planning technology-** little.

**Other-** Technical Advisory Committee members supplemented experience and knowledge but represented a low contribution to manpower.

The resources which would be available for the plan implementation phase were somewhat uncertain but would not vary greatly from those available for plan development unless new resources were generated as part of plan implementation.

**CONCLUSIONS**

Given that these resources were used to cover the range of activities described in Chapter One, there was really a relatively small level of resources. This would suggest that a disjointed-incrementalist approach would have been followed, yet, as later facets will describe, the planning process bore more resemblance to rational-comprehensive planning. This has implications for the soundness or rationality of the plan recommendations and our ability to pursue depth and/or scope of issues. One compensating factor was that although the resources were small, they were committed for three years and there was practically no staff turnover during the first two and a half years of the process.

**A3- Various values, power groups, and ideologies which limit the alternatives to be considered by the planning process, in terms of methods that can be used for plan execution (e.g. force), of conditions that are required for recruiting the necessary support for the planning process, of the actual resources that will be put at the disposal of plan execution, and the like.**

#### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The greater the number of constraints on alternatives considered, the less the tendency towards rational-comprehensive planning.

#### HYPOTHESIS-Normative versus Functional

The greater the number of constraints on values to be considered the less normative planning can be pursued.

#### OBSERVATIONS

Federal Values (The President's Urban Policy Report)-

State Values (The State Growth Policy Planning Process)- Early in 1975, a new state administration announced a state urban growth strategy which would redirect growth and investment back into our urban areas. It also called for a bottoms-up planning process for local communities to express their desires for future growth and for state government to comply with these local desires. Over time this policy became more sophisticated and balanced in the view that there were development needs that no community wanted to accommodate but were necessary for the benefit of all. In the meanwhile, communities thought they had state endorsement to beef up their slow growth/no growth policies.

Cities & towns- Concerned about fiscal and physical impacts of residential development as well as social change from new movers. Traditions of local autonomy in Massachusetts is a very sensitive issue and very difficult to get the legislature to restrict it in anyway.

Blacks and minorities- Opening up the suburbs is seen by minority leaders as diluting their political power base. Consequently minority political leaders appear to be concentrating their activities in obtaining resources for existing minority urban communities rather than in lobbying for suburban land use reform.

Housing advocacy groups- Primarily interested in tenant's rights and subsidized housing developments, the latter being the principal method which they employ to "open the suburbs".

Bankers- The banks have not been very vocal on local housing issues. The

appreciation in home values give added security to their portfolio of existing mortgages and reduces the amount of overhead per dollar volume in making new mortgages since their processing costs are incurred on a per loan basis but the average loan value is increasing. From this perspective, the short term trends are favorable to the banks but the long term reduction in construction activity and secondary economic impacts of housing price inflation could be harmful to them.

Homebuilders- They would prefer across the board relaxation of all regulations on their industry but would be happy for any reform which would provide greater certainty in the development and construction process; i.e., will play by any set of rules as long as the rules are made explicit at the start.

Environmentalists Local conservation commissions and environmental interest groups appear to view further urbanization of undeveloped or agricultural land as undesirable.

### CONCLUSIONS

The potential action field (the range of objectives and activities under consideration) was somewhat limited by local autonomy values and environmental quality values. We also could not count on traditional housing advocates and minority advocates to get heavily involved in private market production issues, without first investing considerable time and effort in lobbying and educating them as to the importance of this issue to their basic interests. It is unclear how these conditions should affect pursuit of rational comprehensive over disjointed incrementalism or to what extent we were constrained in pursuing normative planning.

**A<sub>4</sub>-** The terms of reference within which the planning process is to take place, including general goals set for the planning process; contextual goals, that is, values and institutions which should not be impaired; basic directives concerning some aspects of the working methods to be used during the planning process; such as giving an opportunity to interested persons to have a hearing; and so on.

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The extent to which basic directives require longer internal lag times, the less likely that planning activities will result in a process approach.

The extent to which the planning process is directed by outside factors to follow guidelines which increase the internal time lag time, the less the planning product will be a process and the more it will approach blueprint planning, unless such directives specifically require a process plan.

HYPOTHESIS-Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The greater the analysis of both ends and means and the extent to which a broad range of alternatives are considered, then the more that planning is following the rational-comprehensive mode (by definition).

HYPOTHESIS Normative vs. Functional Planning

To the extent that goal sets are predetermined, the planning process will approach the functional mode.

OBSERVATIONS

National goals were general enough that there was considerable latitude for the formulation of regional goals. The Housing element was required by HUD to "identify the housing needs of current and prospective populations in the areawide jurisdiction by appropriate geographical sectors and provide for the distribution of housing resources (including assisted housing) to meet the needs of all citizens in order to provide for a choice of housing types and locations" (24 CFR 600.70(b)(2)(i)).

**Federal Goals**

"Provide for the elimination of the effects of discrimination ...and provide safeguards for the future" (24 CFR 600.70(a)(2)).

"Take into account the need to preserve existing housing and neighborhoods through such measures as housing preservation, rehabilitation, changes in taxing policies and building codes, improvements in housing management and

maintenance, and the provision of adequate municipal services." (24 CFR 600.70(a)(3))

#### Coordination Requirements

"Develop and carry out policies, procedures, and mechanisms necessary for coordinating local, areawide and state housing policies with functional planning and capital investment strategies, when available." (24 CFR 600.70(a)(4))

#### Evaluation Requirements

"Procedures, including criteria set forth in advance, for evaluating programs and activities to determine whether the objectives are being met." (24 CFR 600.67(b))

#### Directives

"Develop policies, strategies and legislative and administrative proposals necessary to accomplish areawide housing goals and objectives." (24 CFR 600.70(b)(2)(ii))

Section 600.65(b) requires development of an environment impact analysis of the proposed policies and plans.

Section 600.66(d) requires an analysis of the impact of the proposed plans and policies on the long term maintenance and enhancement of National Register properties.

"Take into account all available evidence of the assumptions and statistical basis upon which the projection of zoning, community facilities and population growth are based." (24 CFR 600.70(a)(i))

The federal directives for the 701 regional housing element have a major influence on how the planning process locates on the continuum for each of Faludi's three modes.

#### Process versus Blueprint

The requirement for housing allocations is a blueprint type of planning product. However, with regards to many of the federal requirements the 701 regulations specify products which resemble process planning. Examples of this are:

"Provide for the elimination of discrimination...and provide safeguards for the future. (24 CFR 600.70(a))

"Take into account the need...through such measures as...

Develop and carry out policies, procedures and mechanisms necessary for coordinating...

Procedures, including criteria...for evaluating...to determine whether the objectives are being met."(24 CFR 600.67(b))

This latter requirement of the 701 regulations explicitly requires an essential element of a process plan- feedback mechanisms for adjusting public intervention according to how well the objectives of the plan are being achieved.

With regards towards influencing the planning process towards blueprint versus process planning, the federal 701 regulations required a complex planning product, some elements of which resemble blueprint products and other parts which resemble process products, both types of products however are to be subject to an evaluation process over time.

#### Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

##### Data base

Under federal regulation (24 CFR 600.70(a)(1)), we were to "Take into account all available evidence of the assumptions and statistical basis upon which the projections of zoning, community facilities and population growth are based. Two questions which the HUD staff had to address in their final report were "Has the same data for this element been used for other plans internally by the grantee or externally by other agencies?" and "Whenever internally and externally developed plans do not make use of same data (i.e., population, economic and land use projection or other data) or did not use specific data, are the reasons given adequate and acceptable?" In this effort to encourage the use of a consistent data base across functional planning activities within agencies and among separate agencies is a clear attempt by the federal government to develop the foundation of comprehensive planning. If each planning agency in a geographic area developed plans based upon a different set of assumptions of growth projections and consequent development needs, then planning in the region would be disjointed. This requirement appears to counter-balance the fact that the federal government continues to recognize the high level of decentralized decision-making in our metropolitan areas in the structure and requirements of the 701 program. Thus the requirement to utilize common databases is one attempt to have this disjointed decision making occur within a more comprehensive framework.

This is re-enforced by HUD's requirement that grant recipients "develop and carry out policies, procedures and mechanisms necessary for coordinating local, areawide and state housing policies with functional planning and capital investment strategies, when available." (24CFR 600.70(a)(4)) This requirement

pushes local agencies toward comprehensive planning by proposing linkages which should be examined between the functional areas and housing planning.

### CONCLUSION

Although the 701 program does little with regards to centralizing decision making it encourages the rational comprehensive mode of planning through regulations requiring local agencies to use common data bases and projections and to coordinate their plans and policies with other functional areas.

#### Normative vs. Functional

Some goals were already defined by federal regulations-

- \*elimination of the effects of discrimination (24 CFR 600.70(a));
- \*preserve existing housing and neighborhoods (24 CFR 600.70(a)(2)); and
- \*provide for the distribution of housing resources (including assisted housing) to meet the needs of all citizens in order to provide for a choice of housing types and locations.

While these goals provide some limit on the range of goals that can be pursued in a 701 funded regional housing plan, they do not seem to either determine or constrain significantly a planning agency's choice in pursuing either a normative or a functional mode of planning. They do help an agency with a functional planning orientation in that planning can occur with little analysis of goals other than those proposed by the federal government.

**B<sub>1</sub>- The Structural relation between the subject matter and the planning unit:**

- (a) subject matter is structurally identical with the planning unit or part of it;
- (b) subject matter belongs to an organizational structure of which the planning unit is itself a part;
- (c) subject matter does not belong to an organizational structure of which the planning unit is itself a part.

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The less control a planning agency has over its subject matter, the more the planning will resemble a process rather than a blueprint.

HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The greater the autonomy of the agency over the subject, the greater the tendency toward rational-comprehensive planning.

OBSERVATIONS

The Metropolitan Area Planning Council had no real direct implementation powers with regard to housing or over most of the factors affecting housing. The principal actors affecting the regional housing supply consist of the following:

- cities and towns- regulate development of housing
- housing authorities-build subsidized housing and provide rental subsidies
- homebuilders- develop and construct housing
- bankers-finance construction and purchase of housing
- property owners- control conditions, rents, tenant access to housing
- tenants- influence condition of rental housing
- state- regulates development, influences housing investment decisions through tax system, public investment programs, regulates other actors who affect housing through building codes, banking regulations, tenants rights legislation, zoning and subdivision legislation, state housing programs, etc.

The cities and towns were the members of the Metropolitan Area Planning Council and were therefore the employer of the planning staff, and hence ultimately have more control over the planning staff than the staff had over them. All plans and policies required approval by the full council membership. Our analysis of the housing market within the metropolitan area indicated that the cities and towns were operating their land development regulations in a

manner hostile to residential development and their related concern for slow growth was evident by the tone of local growth policy reports. MAPC controls over its local members consisted primarily of A-95 review power over local grants. This was a federal requirement that all grants must be reviewed for their conformance to regional plans. However, this review did not give MAPC a veto but only a chance to comment on grant applications. Theoretically the federal government would not fund a proposal with negative comments unless it did not feel that the comments were justified or sufficient to offset the benefits of the proposed grant activity. MAPC could adopt a policy to oppose funding applications from communities which had exclusionary zoning and land use controls, but there was no certainty that such a policy would be supported by the various federal funding agencies. Such a policy therefore ran the risk of antagonizing MAPC's membership without accomplishing anything else.

The only other "control" MAPC had over communities was its technical assistance program but it would cost a community less money to replace MAPC's technical assistance with private consulting than to revise its land development regulatory system.

Therefore the only real power MAPC had over its members was leadership and education regarding the cumulative impacts of local land use policies. Clearly, however, MAPC needed to enlist the authority of higher levels of government to move its membership to reform local regulatory systems which were preventing the construction of a sufficient number of modestly priced homes.

#### Housing Authorities-

MAPC has no control over local housing authorities except in determining whether or not a local application for state and federal funds is consistent with local housing needs. Usually they are. The largest issue here is to get local authorities to build as much large family housing as elderly housing. The federal requirement for local Housing Assistance Plans (HAP's) gave MAPC greater influence in this area. With this particular issue (balance between elderly and family housing) we were more involved in implementation than planning activities.

#### Bankers-

MAPC had no influence over bankers except to lobby for regulations on relevant issues such as redlining. Redlining appeared to be the only negative impact banking practices had on housing during the period of analysis.

### Property Owners-

Property owners affected the housing supply in many ways. First, they were the principle source of discrimination in the housing market, Secondly, they were responsible for deciding how much to invest in the repair and maintenance of existing housing. MAPC had no direct control over them but only had a third order control, i.e., MAPC could lobby state and local governments who could change laws such as property taxes, insurance regulations, and state fair housing statutes which would in turn influence the behavior of individual property owners. MAPC could also pursue direct communications with property owners through publications and the media on appropriate subjects as well.

### Tenants-

Tenants can negatively influence the housing supply by physically abusing the existing housing stock. Tenants may also require a better knowledge of their rights as well as support in helping them to overcome discrimination, and eliminate code violations and lead paint hazards. As in the case of property owners MAPC has no direct control or relationship with tenants.

### State government-

This includes the Office of Environmental Affairs, Department of Public Health, and the Office of Communities and Development, all of which affect housing and housing development. MAPC obviously has no control over state government and given the lack of a direct relationship with a large statewide bloc of voters, MAPC has little influence in the legislature. What influence it does have rests mainly with it building relationships with individuals in power in state government. There were two types of such relationships between MAPC and state officials. MAPC representatives, especially the officers and the executive director, were primarily involved with elected officials and agency heads. MAPC staff would also build relationships with state agency staff. Therefore MAPC had access to state government officials at both the upper levels and at the staff levels and could therefore initiate actions based on their merit, but it had little ability to win on a political issue unless the issue had little public interest and was therefore more determined by political party internal politics.

### Other functional areas-

MAPC had some control over regional transportation issues though this is a complex decision making process and not easily generalized. Housing staff's influence on this process was very weak.

MAPC was developing water quality plans including sewer extensions, new regulations, etc. This regional plan would theoretically control future funding, but substantial capital funding commitment had been made before the planning process started and by regulation water quality plans must consider land use controls as a preferable approach to further infrastructure investments.

### CONCLUSIONS

MAPC had very little control over the actors influencing the housing supply and residential development. According to the hypothesis stated earlier this should promote

- \*process planning over blueprint plans
- \*disjointed incrementalism over rational-comprehensive planning.

**B<sub>2</sub>- The degree to which the subject matter is predetermined or elastic.**

**HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism**

The less the subject matter is predetermined the greater the ability to pursue comprehensive planning.

**OBSERVATION**

While the federal regulations established to a significant degree the subject matter of the planning process they did not specify what proportion of resources had to go into what activities. They also required a certain degree of comprehensive planning. In any event, we felt free to explore any subject matter we wanted to. We imposed on ourselves a constraint of focusing on primarily land use related issues since we felt these were the types of problems most likely to occur at the regional level as opposed to local, state, or federal planning concerns.

**CONCLUSION**

Constraints on subject matter did not appear to play a major role in pursuing rational comprehensive or disjointed incrementalist approach.

### **B3- The degree of penetration**

#### HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs, Process Planning

When penetration and scope of planning (B7) are viewed against the resources for planning (C5), then if penetration increases and scope and resources remain constant, the ability to pursue process planning is diminished since there is a reduction in excess capacity in the planning agency to use for information gathering, analyzing performance data and subsequent program redesign and adjustments.

#### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The greater the horizontal penetration (inter-relationships), the more comprehensive the planning process; the greater the vertical penetration (focus on fewer aspects), the less comprehensive the planning process.

#### OBSERVATIONS

It is difficult to assess penetration unless comparing it to some other base. On one hand, other duties in the agency distracted us from pursuing as much analysis as we would like and we therefore felt that we could still glean more of an understanding by further research on most issues included in our plan. On the other hand we also felt that we had a better understanding of metropolitan housing problems than any other agency and that the types of decisions that would result from this analysis, would not be enhanced by further research. The area we felt weakest was in documenting local exclusionary practices, but since so many of them were now buried in local administrative policies and extra-legal activities they would be extremely difficult to document.

#### CONCLUSIONS

Many of the activities which would be critical to observe in process planning would be impossible to observe. This would raise external lag time since it would be necessary to rely on end end result data, i.e., building permits, rather than measures of specified objectives, e.g., eliminate local regulatory practices which discourage development. The other constraint on process plans was that planning staff were at capacity as measured by the inability to pursue all research and analysis tasks considered relevant to the housing element.

Penetration was not so intense on any particular issue to act as a constraint against rational comprehensive planning.

**B4- The significance of the subject matter of the planning process.**

**HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism**

The greater the significance of the subject matter the greater the pressure to consider a variety of alternatives.

**HYPOTHESIS- Normative vs. Functional Mode of Planning**

The greater the significance, the more ends will be scrutinized and the planning process will approach the normative mode.

**OBSERVATIONS**

On one hand, housing is a highly significant issue, given the universal need for housing and the extent to which it dominates our built environment. Housing development proposals often tear a community in two and cause major shifts in people's loyalties (e.g., the proposal by Archdiocese of Boston to build subsidized housing in Scituate). However, regional housing planning is not a significant public issue because the public perceive housing as a local government rather than a regional planning issue. This is to a large part attributed to the physical nature of housing which is a self contained independent structure on a specific site produced by a small autonomous contractor as opposed to "regional issues" such as transportation or water systems which are part of a large complex physical network. While the rationale for regional housing planning is that the production of any specific house on a specific lot is just as much of a part of a complex regional economic network as the single commuter in a private car is a participant in a complex transportation network, this is not a widely understood principle. Consequently regional housing planning does not have intense public scrutiny of its objectives and rationale for selected policies and programs to accomplish these objectives. Conversely, it cannot attract broad public support for its initiatives.

**CONCLUSION**

Regional housing planning is not a highly political issue and therefore this was not a source of pressure for the planning process to move towards the normative mode of planning.

**B5- The orientation of the subject matter toward the planning process.**

HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

If the subject matter, i.e., the actors which influence the behavior of the subject matter, are hostile to planning, there will be a greater reliance on disjointed incrementalism.

OBSERVATIONS

Residential development is well oriented towards the planning process since it involves land development and building construction, two activities which have a relatively long tradition of being regulated through local plans.

Residential development though has no tradition of being regulated or planned by regional planning agencies. Even more important, the activity of regulating land use was one of the more important issues we discovered and the autonomy of local government was a fiercely protected concept.

CONCLUSIONS

According to this hypothesis, the subject matter's resistance to regional planning should have prompted disjointed incrementalism.

**B6(a)- The extent to which the reaction of the subject to planned interaction is understood.**

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Plan

The greater the understanding of the behavior of the subject matter in response to public action, the more planning will tend to produce a blueprint rather than a process plan.

OBSERVATIONS

The impact that local regulations were having on residential development was not widely understood, although this impact was predictable in housing market behavior and the regulatory activities of the local governments were rational with respect to the politics of local land use planning. Therefore the housing planning staff had a firm image of how public intervention could affect housing but this was not a broadly held view outside of the staff.

CONCLUSION

While the planning staff's perception of how public interaction could improve housing production was firmly believed by them and we could therefore envision a blueprint for positively affecting housing production through public actions, due to the lack of publicly shared perceptions of the problems of housing production, an approach more similar to process planning was necessary for effective intervention.

**B6(b)- Level of consensus regarding objectives.**

HYPOTHESIS-Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The greater the consensus of objectives the more a planning process will tend to produce a blueprint rather than a process plan.

OBSERVATIONS

While the major goals were able to achieve reasonable consensus among agency staff and technical advisory committee members, the more detailed objectives were not as unanimously favored, or more accurately, we knew they would encounter resistance at the local level based upon past experience with related housing issues.

## CONCLUSIONS

There is insufficient consensus with regard to housing policies to produce a blueprint regional housing plan.

**B7- The scope of the activity subject to planning.**

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

Increases in scope will increase internal time lag and constrain an agency's ability to pursue process planning.

HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The larger the scope, the more comprehensive the outlook but there must be a reasonable relationship between B<sub>3</sub>, penetration, plus B<sub>7</sub>, scope to C<sub>5</sub>, planning resources if there will be a rational comprehensive planning process.

OBSERVATIONS

Scope of activity was pretty much limited to characteristics of the housing supply which had either an aggregate regional impact (vacancy rates, housing conditions, discrimination) or could be linked to regional land use issues (zoning patterns, capacity of regional infrastructure to support growth in various areas, and capacity of environmental systems of regional importance to accommodate residential development).

CONCLUSIONS

Scope was comprehensive with respect to housing and yet was limited enough to rationalize program proposals with goal statements and supportive analysis and theory.

**Bg-** The demographic territorial area related with the subject matter of the planning process.

HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The larger the geographic area, the greater the use of the rational comprehensive mode.

OBSERVATIONS

The MAPC district was a good approximation of the regional housing market. It is a rather large area containing 101 independent cities and towns.

CONCLUSIONS

It is difficult to predict a propensity for rational comprehensiveness or disjointed incrementalism from this observation.

**B9- The time span.**

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The longer the time span before results of planning activities can be observed, the greater the constraint on pursuing process planning.

HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The longer the time span, the greater the use of the rational comprehensive approach.

HYPOTHESIS- Normative vs. Functional Mode

The greater the time span, the greater the tendency towards normative planning.

OBSERVATIONS

Federal regulations required long term (20 years) and short term (one and three year) objectives to be addressed.

CONCLUSIONS

Use of short term objective allowed process planning initially which should eventually lead to blueprint plans.

Consideration of long term housing needs would prompt use of rational comprehensive approach as well as normative planning.

## **C2 Primary or delegated planing unit.**

### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The higher up on the planning hierarchy of planning agencies, the greater the amount of rational comprehensive planning.

### HYPOTHESIS- Normative vs. Functional

The higher up on the planning hierarchy of planning agencies, the greater the tendency towards normative planning.

### OBSERVATIONS

MAPC was a midlevel planning agency. It's role in the planning hierarchy was to translate federal policy objectives into an analysis of metropolitan needs and a set of policy and program responses suitable for state and local government to follow as well as to guide state and federal funding activities through A-95 review and comments.

### CONCLUSIONS

Given MAPC's position on the planning hierarchy planning should share characteristics of both rational comprehensive and disjointed incrementalist approaches as well as a blend of normative and functional planning activities.

### **C3- Status**

#### HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The status of the planning agency affects the amount of control the agency has which would increase the agency's ability to pursue blueprint planning.

#### OBSERVATIONS

Time and again as staff, we were amazed to see how much attention our A-95 comments would receive in local newspapers. While the receipt of a letter of concurrence may have been used by a local official to keep his/her name in the public eye or to keep up enthusiasm for a particular project, it also indicated a local perception that A-95 review was indeed an important hurdle to clear. Therefore it would appear that the perceived status of MAPC's A-95 review activities gave it some control over these communities through the A-95 review process.

MAPC's staff were also able to pursue more data collection and analysis than local government and often at a more detailed level than state government. MAPC also has some prestige for its data collection and analytical abilities. Often broadcast and other news media will give considerable coverage to MAPC's reports, such as a report we did on the inadequate level of housing production.

#### CONCLUSIONS

While MAPC's status is not overwhelming, it does have standing in terms of its review role in the federal funding process.

**C<sub>4</sub>- Values, information and character of the planning unit.**

HYPOTHESIS- This facet is a direct determinant of approaches taken in the planning process but it is a difficult variable to observe and categorize and then to predict the modes of planning which will be favored.

## **C5- Resources and means**

### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

Important in determining the ability of planning unit to have its degree of rationality keep up with its range of comprehensiveness.

### HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

The greater the agency's resources (including legal powers) the greater the tendency towards blueprint planning.

### HYPOTHESIS- Normative vs. Functional Planning

Normative planning requires greater resources, especially in terms of time, than functional planning.

### OBSERVATIONS

MAPC had extensive printouts of second and fourth count census data and had been receiving monthly reports on building permit data for several years. Other data resources included land use data, and a survey of zoning plans. Our technical advisory committee included people with a wide variety of experiences in housing. Although our staff was small and had other other responsibilities, the project was able to extend over three years.

MAPC has no legal powers over the member communities except the ability to comment on applications for federal funds through the A-95 process. There are very few carrots (such as program funds) which it can offer communities and even fewer sticks (such as overriding local regulations). Its major role still resides in providing leadership and direction to local planning.

### CONCLUSIONS

We had sufficient planning resources to pursue a rational comprehensive plan given the constraints we placed on scope of our plan (see B7).

MAPC's lack of implementation resources and legal powers would constrain the use of blueprint plans.

Planning resources were not a constraint on pursuing normative planning.

## **C6- Work systems, procedures, and methods**

### HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs, Process Planning

Procedures which result in a high degree of internal time lag will serve as a constraint on process planning.

### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

It is important to examine operation of planning process to see if sufficient analysis is completed in order for process to be truly a rational comprehensive planning process rather than a disjointed incrementalist approach disguised by jargon and rhetoric.

### OBSERVATIONS

MAPC did not have a central information gathering and processing effort. I was involved in installing a database management system with timesharing data processing services which would have been especially helpful in tracking federal funding activities and implementing policies involving MAPC's A-95 review function. It would also be a useful resource for negotiating projections of housing needs. However, during the period of the study, our staff's ability to gather and analyze data would have been somewhat of a constraint on any process planning activity which relied on this capability.

We were able to document the state of the housing market in 1970, changes from 1960 - 1970, and current building activity quite well. We also had projections of future housing needs which were based on the aging of the population, continuation of previous migration rates, and continuation of 1970 housing "consumption" patterns. Our analysis of causes of the documented conditions were based upon a mix of anecdotal data and market theory. It would be very difficult for us to document many of the extra-legal ways communities were blocking development and sending out the message to local builders to "move along to the next town". There were parts of the scenario that we could document but the data would be so complex that collection would be highly time consuming and summarization would be extremely difficult. We also could not precisely predict what impact removal of local barriers on residential development would have on price and volume. Our analysis would probably at best support an argument against any local, regional or state policy or action which would impose further costs or restrictions on residential development since we did

have current data which documented escalation of housing prices in excess of increases in income.

### CONCLUSIONS

The resources of the housing staff posed some constraint on the ability of the staff to pursue a process planning approach which would require substantial informational feedback unless a system involving other agencies was developed to gather such data or MAPC had an increase in resources, or existing resources were prioritized for such an activity.

MAPC's resources and the housing staff's resources also resulted in the housing plan being "qualified" in its quality of rationality since key arguments were not supported by systematic data collection and analysis.

## **C7 Organizational Structure**

### HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Planning

To the extent that organizational structure enhances the ability of those actors engaged in the planning process to control the subject of that process, then one would expect the product of that planning to resemble a blueprint more than a process plan.

### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

An agency must have a well co-ordinated structure to tie together the various areas of functional planning into a comprehensive planning effort.

### OBSERVATIONS

MAPC's organizational structure went through several changes during the development of the regional housing element. Initially all functional planning groups (land use, housing, open space, and water quality) reported to the deputy director of the agency. Transportation was planned by a semi-autonomous agency, the Central Transportation Planning Staff (CTPS). The land use group also had the lead in developing "the regional comprehensive plan". This raised several problems:

1. Confusion between comprehensive planning and land use planning;
2. Rivalry between functional planning groups;
3. Absence of comprehensive analysis; and
4. Lack of an integrating mechanism for overseeing implementation of comprehensive plan especially with regards for adjustments to plan as feedback is received.

### CONCLUSIONS

MAPC's lack of a strong co-ordinating function theoretically reduced the ability of the staff to pursue comprehensive planning. However our housing staff were constantly considering inter-relationship between housing and other functional groups. This was a consequence of our belief that a major regional housing problem resulted from housing production being sacrificed to the interest of other public objectives; therefore, we had a strong interest in the activities of the other functional planning groups and the consequences of their plans on residential development. We recognized that this was a two way street and circulated to these other groups pertinent sections of our work for the purpose of

obtaining their feedback as well as to persuade them to plan around accommodating residential development, rather than residential development accommodating the capacity of current infrastructure. We did not always find this exchange of planning products to be reciprocated, however, and there was no reliable coordinating mechanism to fill this function.

The lack of a strong coordinating mechanism and structure for plan development and implementation would act as a constraint on pursuing blueprint planning.

## **D1- The Realism of the Plan**

### HYPOTHESIS- Rational Comprehensive vs. Disjointed Incrementalism

The more tightly bound the plan is to realistic, implementable actions, the less comprehensive it will be in its outlook.

### OBSERVATIONS

An early concern in the development of our work program was to develop an implementable plan. Initially this was pursued by attempting to focus our attention on local actions which could have a significant impact on housing. We included in our definition of an implementable plan the requirement that it would cause change. Obviously the less impact an action will have, the easier it is to win approval. Our compromise between these two objectives was to consider constraints that we had to accept and work within those bounds. Therefore we did not address national monetary policy or program funding issues. We did consider reforming local regulatory activity but this within constraints of (1) preserving local autonomy, (2) offering inducements over requirements, (3) not expanding regional planning into a regional government role by utilizing state agencies as the enforcement mechanisms, (4) avoid impinging on Chapter 774 (an act which is zealously protected by the chairman of Senate Urban Affairs Committee), and (5) not including state funds in order to avoid scrutiny by Ways and Means, and to adhere to the state's austerity environment.

### CONCLUSIONS

The set of policies under consideration were limited to those actions that could be taken by local and state public agencies, banks, builders, and other local actors. They also were bound by having a reasonable chance to be implemented, with a tradeoff of a lower chance of implementation for a greater impact on housing market. The plan therefore was more comprehensive than many regional housing plans which only considered publicly assisted housing but it was held within the bounds of activities controlled by local actors.

**D2(a)-Flexibility of plan-Does the plan define a particular end state or does it merely specify objective and allow the system flexibility in how it adjusts to accomplish these objectives.**

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Plan

The greater the plan's flexibility, the more it can be described as a process plan.

OBSERVATIONS

Appendix A contain a summary of MAPC's regional housing strategy. It shows the development of goal statements to long term objectives to short term objective to policy and program responses. It is tantamount to a list of activities which MAPC could pursue to improve housing condition in the region. It is not a specific plan of x units of Type A in Community M. An estimate of housing production need was developed based upon populaton projections in order to satisfy federal contract requirements but these were presented in a very tentative manner. The title of each table was "Draft Preliminary Community Allocations of Subregional Needed Housing-- To Begin Discussion and Analysis With Local Officials- Subject to Ongoing Refinement." The major reason for this string of qualifiers was the almost militant attitude of local communities regarding their right to determine their rate of growth, which had been further fueled by the local growth policy process. In addition, we as staff felt very hesitant about prescribing a local housing production volume as such a projection required substantially more data about the local physical environment, the local housing market, local economic development activities, etc., then we had at our disposal, let alone the difficulty of constructing a sufficiently sophisticated predicitive model. So while the apologetic title was partially to dispel the irritation of local officials, it was also a description of exactly how we felt about these predicitons. We did look upon this publication as a good way to initiate consideration of housing needs in local development plans and to provide a quantitative interpretation to low, moderate, and high rates of development since even communities which were slated by land use staff for slow to moderate rates of growth had to increase housing production over their current rates but usually not to a high of a level as they may have experienced in the past. For this reason, we included in this table an extra column which showed the average annual new construction during the highest consecutive three year period, 1960- 1976. This

way communities could compare our estimates of required annual housing production rates to recent periods which would have been perceived as a time of rapid growth. Another issue addressed by this table was that current levels of housing production were inadequate, even if rehabilitation of the existing stock would occur to the extent that an absolute minimum number of units would be lost to deterioration.

Therefore, even our specified numerical allocation of housing need was offered as the first step in a dialogue with local communities which would hopefully result in their acknowledgement that housing production needed to be increased, that they could accommodate such construction, and that we could work with them in planning more specifically on the exact quantity, type and price of housing to be built in each community.

### CONCLUSIONS

The housing element can be described as strongly oriented towards a process product rather than a blueprint plan.

**D2(b)- Audience-Number of copies of plan, degree of technical; language in plan, distribution of plan.**

HYPOTHESIS- Blueprint vs. Process Plans

Process plans require widely distributed plans with little technical language.

OBSERVATIONS

The housing element was summarized in a document entitled "Metropolitan Boston Regional Housing Strategy". Several hundred copies were produced and distributed to local community planning departments, local MAPC representatives, and various state agencies and interest groups. The first fifteen pages of the document provide a description of goals and objectives, a detailed listing of policies to accomplish these objectives, and a summary of these activities according to the implementation techniques available to MAPC-Technical Assistance, State legislative actions, Public Information, Zoning Reviews, Property Tax Relief, and Planning Coordination. The next twenty-one pages presented the same material in the required HUD format which we had judged as too confusing and therefore had to develop the first narrative section of this report. The HUD format was followed by appendices which included the allocation of new residential construction, subsidized housing allocations, a copy of MAPC's Housing Assistance Plan Review Checklist form, a copy of our Housing Project Review checklist form, a list of documents which constituted the housing element and a list of laws, executive orders, and regulations pertaining to non-discrimination in housing.

CONCLUSIONS

Planning document met the basic requirement of process planning for wide distribution and low level of technical language. Plan was reviewed and approved by full Council membership.