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The tuition of American planning

From dependency toward self-reliance

Planning education in the United States was initially aligned with and dependent on the design professions. Today it is linked with the social sciences, but a pattern of dependency remains. As the pool of students declines, several events are likely to occur: the few large, secure schools of high repute will adapt and remain strong while many smaller planning programmes will be lost. Attempts at expansion of undergraduate programmes will fare less well in the schools with smaller graduate planning programmes because of resistance by other social science disciplines. It is clear that the new alliance with the social sciences has not achieved the self-reliance of planning education.

In 1928 the guardians of urban planning in American universities and in the profession at large established three goals for the development of planning education; organisational independence from the parent disciplines of landscape architecture, architecture, and engineering; a broader disciplinary base, especially in the social sciences; and the anchoring of all programmes in the methods and materials of physical design. In the two decades that followed this resolve, discussions of planning education overflowed with controversy about the correct prerequisites to a planning education, the centrality of design, the constant shortage of degree-holding graduates, and the role of social science in the discipline. The influence of the social sciences, rising from the New Deal period, became dominant by 1960 when enrollments suddenly swelled and the planning schools were flooded with students. New programmes and schools were created at an average rate of three per year. Most of these new schools were affiliated with social science departments and faculties, not with the design professions. Enrollment growth peaked about 1975 and has turned downward since, in concert with a broad enrollment depression in the social sciences and allied fields.

In the last decade, American planning education has begun to recognise and respond to circumstances and forces quite different from those that determined its path from 1928. Today the pressure is to be technically stronger, less scientific, and more entrepreneurial in both style and substance. Two educational responses are emerging: (i) a new emphasis on planning in and with the private sector; and (ii) an expansion of undergraduate programmes. In order to understand better the

potential impact of these changes on the structure of American planning education, several characteristics of today's programmes are surveyed and analysed below that bear ultimately on questions of disciplinary self-reliance. Comparisons are drawn among six categories of planning education programmes: three graduate and three undergraduate. Graduate programmes are differentiated by the author at three levels of quality: the top 10 per cent, the top 33 per cent, and those programmes ranked below the top 33 per cent. Undergraduate programmes are classified as 'recognised' planning degree programmes, non-recognised planning degree programmes, and non-planning degree programmes. Some of the questions to be asked are: How might these different groups of programmes be constrained in responding to enrollment declines? How will the responses of some groups affect other groups? What patterns of support might be expected from allied disciplines in an environment of shrinking demand for planning education? In general we shall see that, given an increasingly rivalrous environment, it is the bigger, better, more cost-effective graduate programmes, organised in traditional, professional schools of design that are found to be in positions of competitive advantage. The great majority of programmes, on the other hand, tend to be small, weaker in reputation, less cost-effective, and organisationally tied to the social science disciplines. The old path to self-reliance has led to a new dependency and the road ahead is congested with competition.

The early years: setting the goals

The views of the profession on planning education in the United States were first clearly articulated in 1928 by the leadership of the field at a conference on planning research and instruction at Columbia University. The positions taken then culminated thirty years of piecemeal development divided between general education of the public, enrichment courses in universities for other professions, and the departmentalised training of planners in degree-granting programmes of which there was only one at the time, at Harvard.¹

The Columbia conference set three goals for the future of the field, proclaiming that 'this is not just a speciality of some other profession!':

1. More separate schools of city planning;
2. Professional education that draws upon the several arts and sciences; and
3. Planners 'trained to design ... even though it may be impractical ... to master all aspects of city planning, a city planner should be master of one, at least ... design.'²

The history of planning education since 1928 reveals how, in striving to achieve the goal of independence, the field has slowly but deliberately abandoned its anchorage in design, shifting its ground to the social sciences.

In 1938, Carl Feiss of Columbia University measured national progress toward these goals with a survey. He found that planning courses were being taught in 194 different institutions, and no two courses were alike. The newest participants were in the Midwest and the South. There were almost none in the Southwest. In schools where specialised technical material was taught, there was little inter-

departmental interaction. Where there was interaction it tended to be unbalanced; planning took from the other disciplines but did not reciprocate.³ There were then only four graduate degree-granting programmes in the United States: Harvard, MIT, Cornell, and Columbia. By 1941, five more programmes had appeared. They focused on natural resource planning, reflecting the national and regional themes of planning fostered by the New Deal.⁴

A new definition of planning was working its way through the ranks of the profession. The Committee on Education and Personnel Standards of the American Institute of Planners conducted an opinion poll of AIP members in 1942. It contained twenty-three position statements with which respondents could either agree or disagree. On 22 of the 23 items, disagreement was negligible. Only one statement drew divided opinion. It asserted that a degree in engineering, architecture, or landscape architecture should be the prerequisite to a planning degree. The Full and Associate members agreed. The Junior Members did not.⁵

The other major national planning organisation, the American Society of Planning Officials, also had a Committee on Education which concluded that there were basically two things wrong with planning education: the quantity of it and the quality of it.⁶ Firstly, the number of graduates each year fell far short of filling the needs of public agencies. Secondly, the 'location of most planning courses in schools of architecture, landscape architecture, or engineering', they said, 'has tended to produce planners who think too exclusively in terms of design at the expense of broader social and economic factors which are of equal importance.' Steps were taken to remedy this problem at the University of Washington, Cornell and MIT where it soon became possible for a person with a general social science background to earn a graduate degree in planning.

The literature from the mid-40s to the mid-50s contains many fresh and persuasive proposals for planning education. At the University of Chicago's new programme, Rexford Tugwell argued that planners really must know everything, but be taught it in a special way, different from the other disciplines.⁷ Martin Meyerson, also at Chicago, accepted Sir Raymond Unwin's idea of 'planning as an art as well as a science', and then proceeded to redefine art as a general intellectual inventiveness, completely indistinguishable from creative science.⁸

The fashion among youthful planners was a disdain for design. The Director of Planning for Cleveland, who later chaired the programme at MIT, wrote that 'today's planner need have no outstanding native genius or talent for "design"'. To limit the recruitment of students by this 'design' criterion, he concluded, would 'uselessly deprive the field' of practitioners.⁹

The AIP National Conference in 1947 adopted a committee report on 'The Content of Professional Curricula in Planning'. The report stated that while a prospective student might find it useful to know a variety of disciplines, 'a properly composed planning curriculum will provide what he needs to know in each of them without necessitating previous specialization.' It further asserted that manipulation of the physical environment involved tampering with the subject matters of social science: economy, political science, and sociology. And these subjects are not just the trimmings, 'They are the sources and guides of the thought process of which sound planning consists.'¹⁰

By 1948 there were thirteen schools of planning. Only three had ten or more students.¹¹ Design competence versus social science competence was still the most hotly-debated topic at the national conference. One young planner, two and one-half years out of school, publicly confessed, 'It must seem strange that I believe planning to be as much a social science as anything else.'¹²

Even Harvey Perloff's seminal ideas on the education of city and regional planners seem to have undergone substantial transition between their first appearance in 1951 in a conference paper and their 1957 publication in his landmark book. In 1951 Perloff identified three kinds of planners that were needed: (i) general staff planners; (ii) specialist planners in design, research, and project evaluation; and (iii) technician planners—with a knowledge of planning procedures. In subsequent versions of the work there were only two. While he took considerable care to expand upon the generalist and the specialist, the education of the technician was dropped from the model.¹³

Finally, in 1951, G. Holmes Perkins noted that that year's national planning conference was of historical significance because the session on planning education had been moved up from the basement to the ballroom and for the first time in years there was no acrimonious debate on the subject. 'The education pendulum had swung over to the point', he declared, 'where more stress is being made upon the social sciences in this country than in any other part of the world.'¹⁴

Still, the shortage of graduates was of crisis proportions. The 'reservoir' of war veterans' benefits was expected to dry up and planning schools were looking forward to a significant drop in enrollments. And as to quality, in many schools more than one-half of the curriculum still consisted of studios, an expensive format meant for training in design.¹⁵

Frederick Adams of MIT conducted another national survey of planning education in 1954. He estimated that no more than 125 college-trained planners were entering the field per year. Total enrollment in planning schools was about 300, including part-time students, for an average of 13 students per school. Job opportunities, if conditions held for the next decade, justified a total enrollment of at least 500 and at least 200 graduates per year. He noted that during the previous 10 or 12 years the number of institutions offering professional planning degrees had increased, but the average number of faculty and full-time students had decreased. 'How will it be possible', he asked, 'substantially to increase enrollments and at the same time raise admissions standards and improve the course requirements?'¹⁶

Louis Dolbeare of Philadelphia, assisting a prospective student in writing to all US and Canadian planning schools and in evaluating the twenty-five responses, concluded in 1957 that:

1. Most schools were not seriously interested in adding to the number of students;
2. Planning faculties were too busy teaching to be concerned with public relations;
3. A non-design background was a liability and virtually excluded in three cases; and

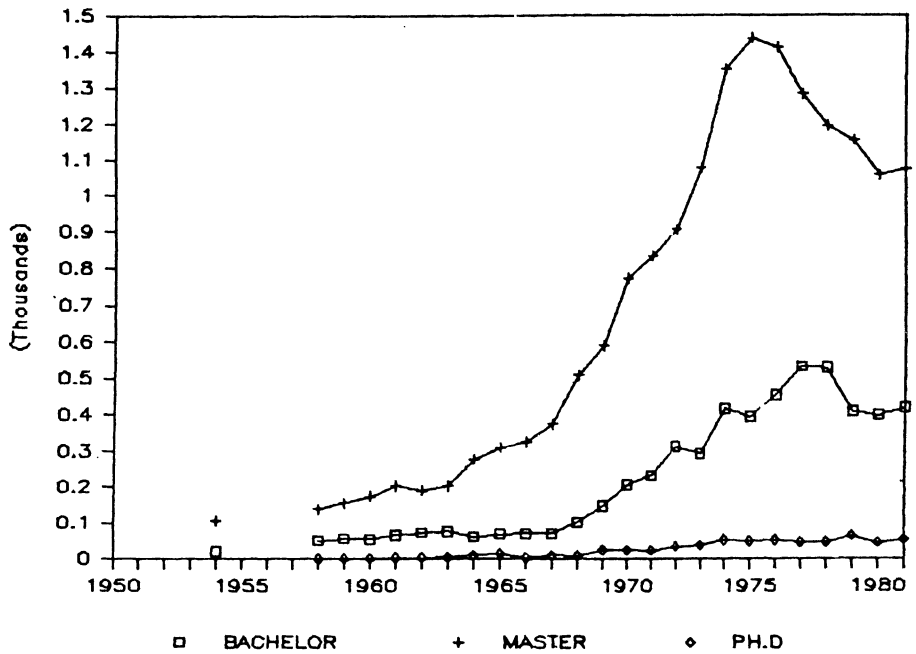


Fig. 1 Planning degrees conferred, 1950-1981

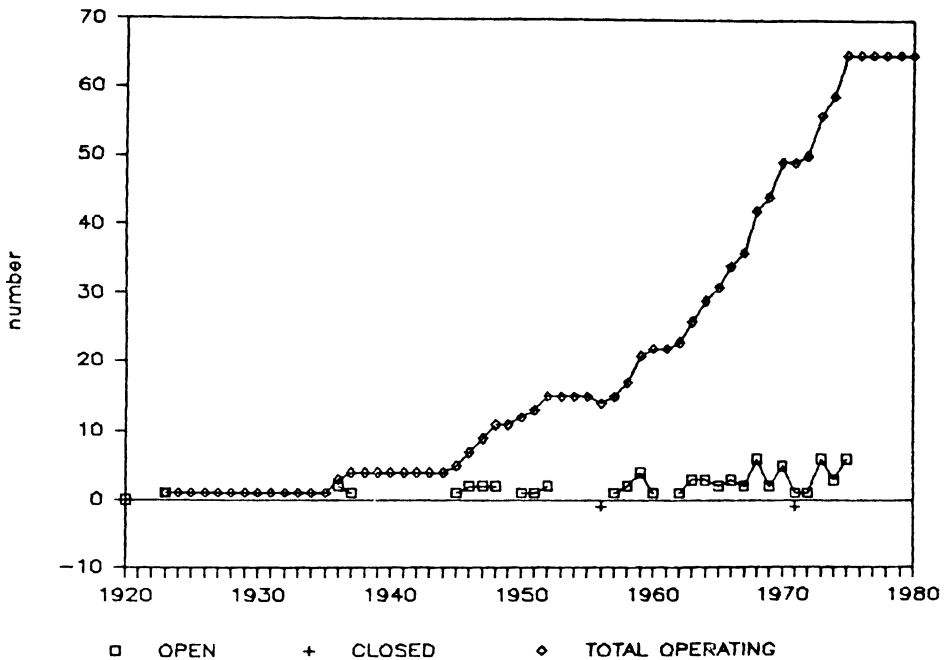


Fig. 2 Graduate planning programmes, 1920-1980

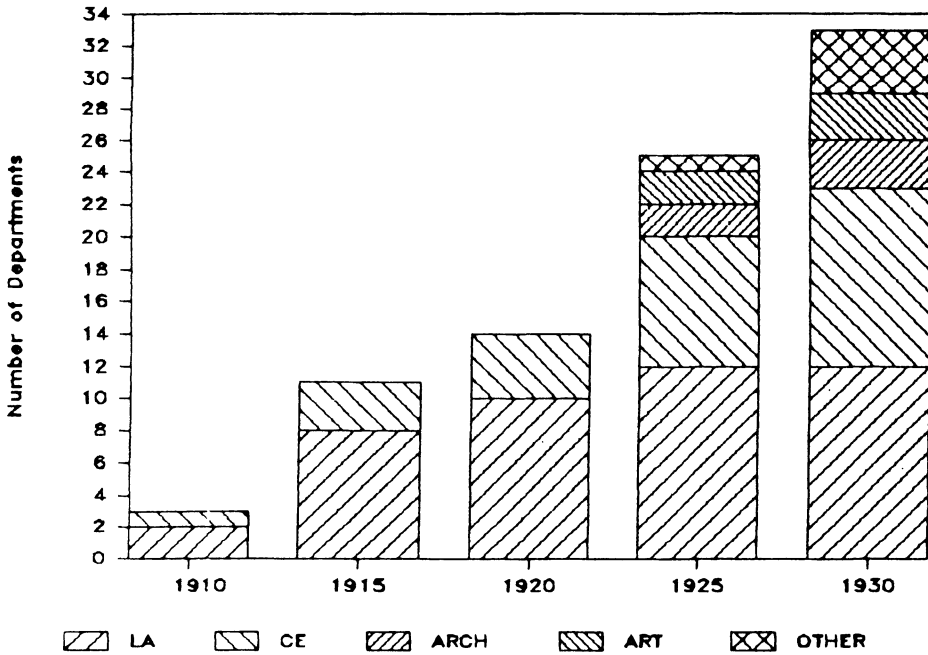


Fig. 3 College departments with city planning instruction in the USA, 1910–1930

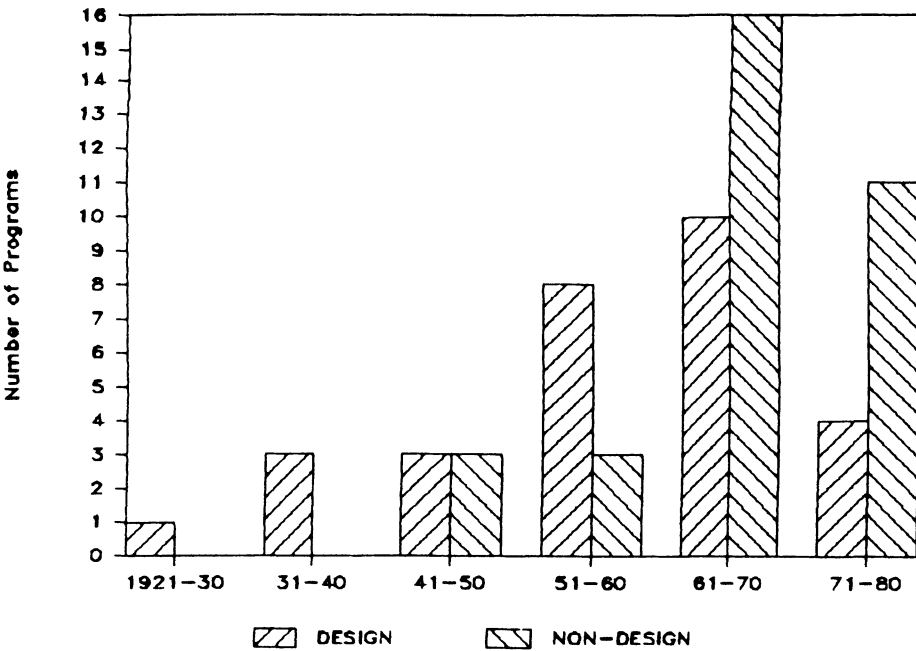


Fig. 4 Graduate planning programmes established in design and non-design schools

4. Some schools might have been less than enthusiastic because the applicant was a woman.¹⁷

In short, the educational system was slow to change. While there had been some modest growth in the number of schools and the number of graduates, planning education had neither met the demand for quantity nor achieved those qualities of independence and breadth that were its goals. Still wanted was a discipline that stood on its own feet and stood on new ground.

The dream comes true: 1960–1975

From 1960 to 1975 the growth in the number of planning school graduates was phenomenal, from fewer than 200 to nearly 1500 masters degrees per year, as shown in Fig. 1. Undergraduate degrees also multiplied, nearly tenfold, to roughly 500 per year. The number of PhDs granted grew from near zero to about 50 per year.¹⁸

The demand for planning graduates throughout the 1950s was driven by new federal programmes of urban renewal, highway building, and metropolitan expansion to accommodate the post-war population growth. The liberal programmes of government in the 1960s expanded, even beyond the dreams of the planning leadership, the application of planning skills to social and environmental problems. By the early 1970s the field was almost breathless with opportunities. To meet these mushrooming needs, new graduate programmes were established at the rate of three per year between 1960 and 1975 bringing the total to nearly 65, as shown in Fig. 2.¹⁹

As the number of schools increased, the typical administrative location also shifted. The original dominance of departments of landscape architecture, civil engineering, architecture, and art from 1910 to 1930 is shown in Fig. 3.²⁰ Planning programmes began to be established outside of design schools about 1945 (see Fig. 4²¹). After 1960 the popularity of these new locations far surpassed that of departments within schools of design.

There are several reasons for this phenomenon. There are a limited number of American universities with schools of architecture and landscape architecture, so that when universities lacking these design programmes elected to establish programmes in planning, they had no choice but to find non-traditional homes for them.

It is also clear that the existing design schools either chose not to capture the new demand for planning or were unable to do so. If they had chosen a policy of unconstrained expansion, then the historical balance of power in those schools—the dominance of architecture in most cases—would surely have been upset. Planning faculty increasingly represented a different and potentially threatening standard of scholarship as planning education adopted the social science model.

Probably for similar reasons, the new demand often was not captured by the existing departments of geography, sociology, economics, or political science. Geography, shown for example in Fig. 5, like the other social sciences, had all the

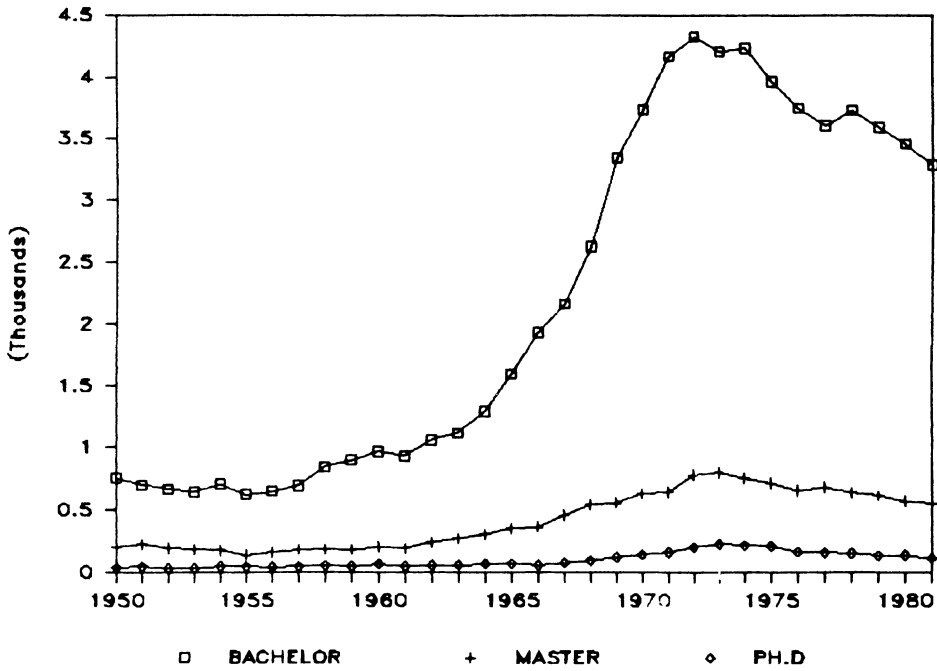


Fig. 5 Geography degrees conferred, 1950–1981

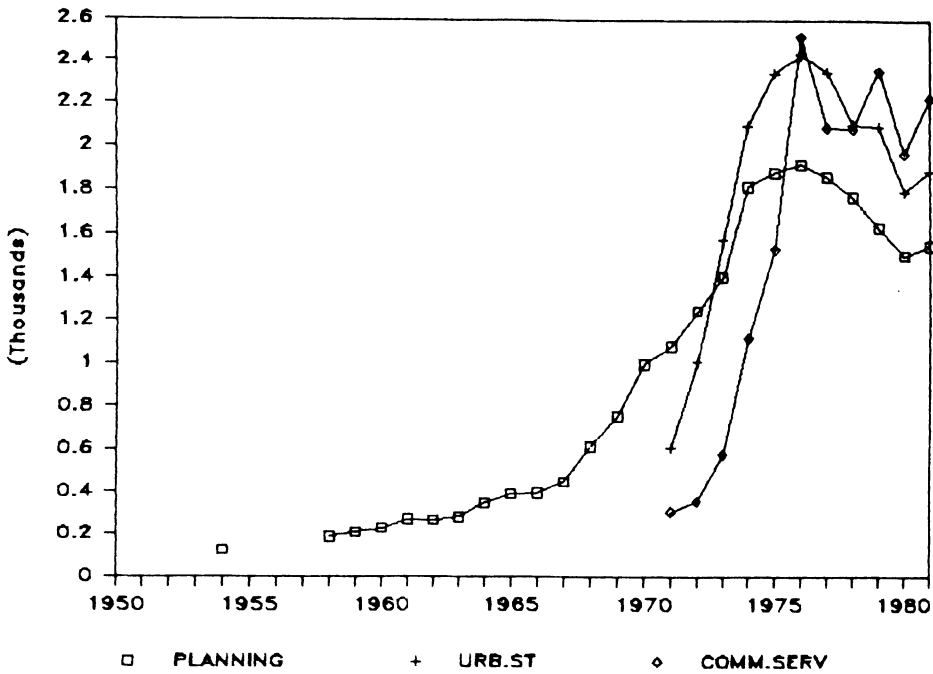


Fig. 6 All degrees conferred, 1950–1981

students it could handle as enrollments were expanding at rates similar to that of planning.²²

Even free-standing planning schools did not fully develop their market potential. New fields of urban studies and community services, near rivals of planning, shown in Fig. 6, were invented to absorb the great demand.²³ PhDs in planning, as well as from other social sciences, were the core of these new faculties.

Planning's shift to the mode of the social sciences and the increased number of schools and students were mutually supportive events. The shift to social science provided a respectable academic model for planning scholars. The increased numbers provided a market for their endeavours to establish an independent intellectual basis for the discipline.

Finally, as a non-design field, planning education was now less expensive and easier to house in conventional non-specialised academic facilities, thus making it more competitive and attractive to university administrations in an era of rapid expansion and rising costs.

By the middle of the 1970s the whirlwind of growth wore out. Demand for planning education began to drop in the US, stimulating widespread concern about its future. We turn now to consider the causes and correlates of this crisis and their potential impacts upon the future of planning education.

Forces at work since 1975

There is widespread belief that the major cause of declining graduate school enrollments in planning has been a shrinkage of the pool of college graduates resulting from national changes in demographic structure. Yet we can see from Fig. 7, showing all degrees granted by US universities from 1950–1981 in all fields at the bachelors, masters, and PhD levels, that aggregate levels since 1975 have been quite stable and could not account for the recent decline in planning degrees granted.²⁴

Demographic shrinkage is real and continues. In the US, for example, this is reflected in recent forecasts that show the number of high school graduates dropping almost continuously from about 2.9 million in 1980–81 to 2.3 million in 1991–92.²⁵ Yet this is a decline of only about two per cent per year. To translate these high school graduates into baccalaureate degrees and then into masters degrees requires numerous uncertain assumptions about rates of application to college, acceptance standards, delayed older student applications, the availability of private and public funds to individuals and institutions, and the changing nature of programmes that universities are offering to anticipate their stiffer competition. Thus it is not surprising to find that forecasts of future degrees granted by universities for the next decade show relatively even levels of output for the nation as a whole.²⁶

The harsh aspect of these changes is not in the aggregate numbers. It is in the disaggregated numbers. In the production of university degrees, the disparities are among disciplines. It is primarily this depression that we are experiencing in the planning schools.

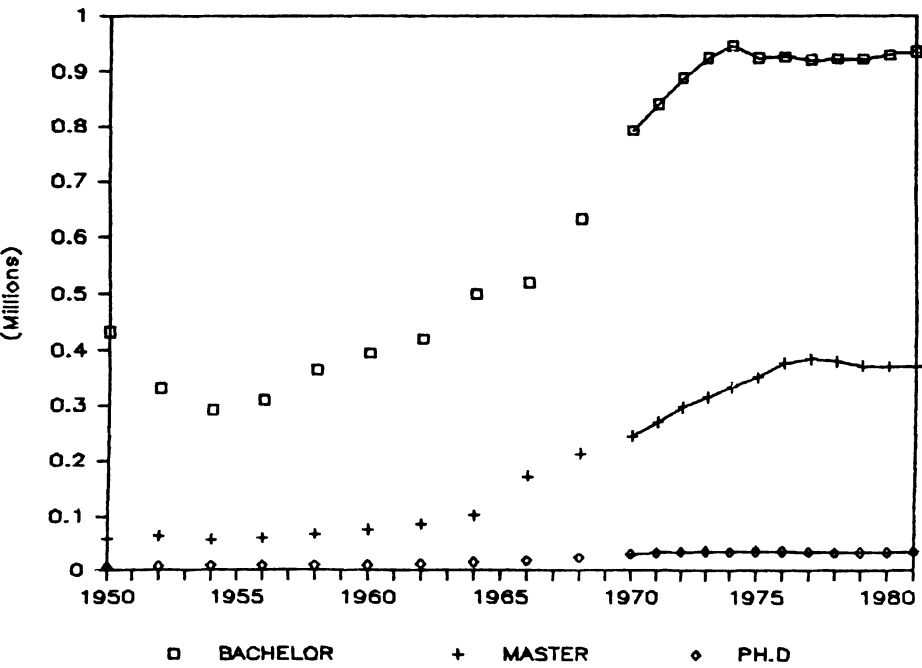


Fig. 7 All degrees conferred—all fields, 1950–1981

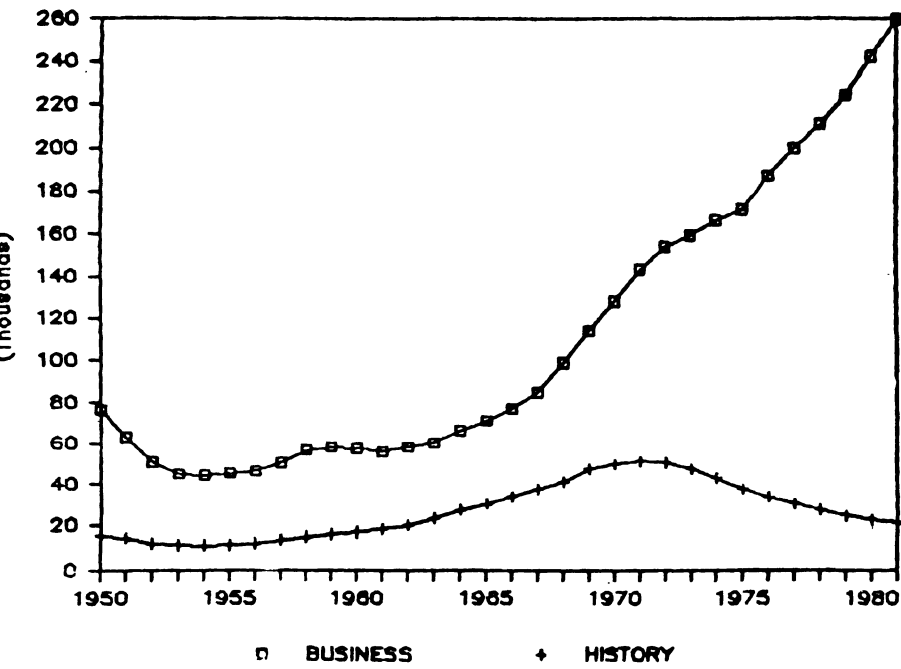


Fig. 8 All degrees conferred in business and history, 1950–1981

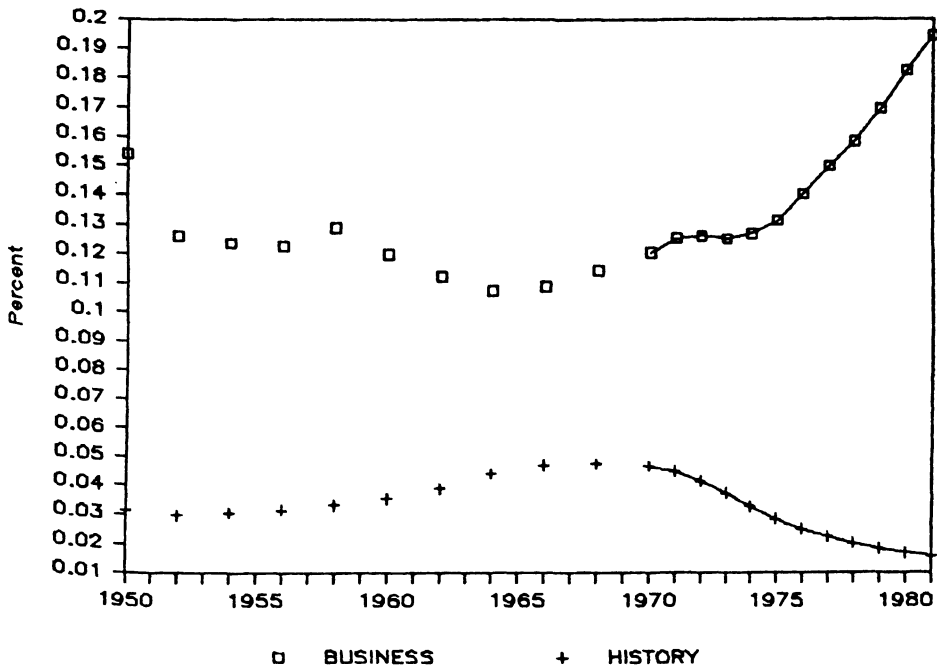


Fig. 9 Percentage of all degrees in business and history, 1950–1981

The most dramatic indicator of what is happening to planning and related disciplines can be drawn from a comparison of two larger fields, business and history. Fig. 8 shows the number of degrees granted in these two fields over the past 30 years.²⁷ Business, since 1975, is probably the discipline of greatest absolute growth. History is one of the worst cases of decline. The divergence of these two is even more dramatic if we examine their changing relative shares of all degrees granted, as shown in Fig. 9, which reveals that the shift began well before 1975. In the earlier period, from 1950 to about 1965, business declined as history rose. Since 1965, they have each changed course.

Among the fields highly correlated with the recent growth of business are law, economics, engineering, architecture and landscape architecture. Among those fields sharing the relative decline with history are sociology, political science, geography, planning and urban studies.²⁸

This great preferential shift has many manifestations. In 1983, 50 per cent of the second year undergraduates in one of the colleges of Rutgers University selected computer science as their major field of study. Massachusetts Institute of Technology reports concern that almost one-third of its 3296 sophomores, juniors, and seniors are majoring in electrical engineering and computer science, leaving, for example, only 36 sophomores majoring in mathematics and only 11 in management.²⁹ These are powerful forces that are threatening to change the very nature of the university.

There is a new role model for students, the entrepreneur. A recent survey of Catholic students' attitudes showed that student interests in 'helping others in

difficulty' and 'developing a philosophy of life' had sharply declined, while there was a corresponding rise in the desire to be 'very well off financially.'³⁰ As one commentator has put it, 'Money is the long hair of the 80s.'³¹ But it isn't just the money. It's a style, characterised variously as the new hedonism, the new materialism, and the new realism.³²

Educators in the field of journalism report that their enrollments have risen in two decades from 15 000 to 75 000. These numbers far outpace the number of jobs in journalism which have changed very little in 20 years, as the print media jobs have simply shifted over to the broadcast media. Half of today's journalism graduates go into advertising and public relations. Another 25 per cent go outside the field of communications. Only one in four makes it to a journalism career.³³ The odds are comparable for students of architecture, who continue to enter their field of study fully aware that many who graduate will be unable to sustain an architectural career.

Another dimension of change is political and is found in the impact of political decisions on the economy of planning. The list is long; reductions in budgets for housing and community development programmes, decentralisation and dismantling of planning functions, increased restrictions on access to information, and the increased politicisation and privatisation of policy research.³⁴ President Reagan's appointment of an IBM engineer as the first director of the National Science Foundation to be selected from industry parallels the Thatcher government's appointment of a former professor of the Manchester Business School to head the Social Science Research Council in Britain, signalling a new, more pragmatic view of government research.

While students have sensed that social science may not lead to a well-defined vocation and politicians may have concluded that social science did not deliver on its promised solutions, the fact is that many social scientists and planners themselves are rethinking and challenging the method-centered objectivist social science paradigm. These challenges come from three directions. The first is humanism. Humanistic story-telling and narrative styles of analysis are reclaiming ground lost in the last few decades to quantification and large-scale numerical data analysis—notions of data and methods are becoming more pluralistic. The second is a radical perspective, based on Marxist general theory, that seriously challenges the neoclassical model of economy and its various adaptations in politics and sociology. The third is a new behaviouralism. Those with a behavioural view of practice and theory want to build a theory of planning from the analysis of language and behaviour, rather than from traditional academic paradigms of reason and decision. Each of these branches of thought represent strong new stirrings in many American planning schools.

In summary, we experienced for two decades, 1955-1975, forces which greatly increased the number and size of planning faculties, located many of the newer programmes outside professional schools of design, and shifted the intellectual centre of the discipline from the design professions to the social sciences. As these changes settled down in the mid-1970s, fulfilling goals adopted before World War II, the forces that had given them shape themselves began to shift. About 1975 a new social mood, political programme, and economy began to put

pressure on planning education to be technically stronger, more product oriented, more private and entrepreneurial in style, less scientifically pretentious, more experiential, less expensive, more competitive in the academic marketplace, and more competitive in the professional marketplace.

Some problems in the present structure

The current problem for planning schools is how to best move forward in the face of these forces, especially the competition. Some of the competition comes from the completely irrational expansion of already excessive programmes, such as business and journalism. The balance comes from other fields whose base of support is also contracting and who will make claims that their merit exceeds that of planning and that they should be sustained at planning's expense.

There are two strategic responses that are being widely adopted. The first is the development of new options within graduate programmes, designed to serve the private development sector. These range from new programmes in real estate, fiscal management and economic development to revitalised programmes in urban design. If vigorously pursued their chances of success in many cases are considerable because they respond to the motives of students and the markets for jobs. They are also quite consistent with the historical roles that planners have played as entrepreneurs since the days of Ebenezer Howard and Daniel Burnham.

The second, quieter change taking place is the expansion of undergraduate programmes. This is a way of developing feeder programmes for graduate faculties and, at the same time, producing planners who, at lower starting salaries, are more marketable. Also, it has been argued persuasively that the kind of broad, yet practical, education that planning offers, at its best, may in fact be considered quite a good education by traditional liberal arts standards, as opposed to the often narrow education selected by students unguided by distribution requirements.³⁵

These developments should be encouraged. They bolster two important characteristics that will be required of a programme that intends to endure: (i) the ability to appeal to the immediate demands of fashion and economy; and (ii) a stable student population, balanced between undergraduate and graduate courses.

There is a third requirement for survival as a discipline—scholarly production. Those departments of a university which excel on this dimension supply their institution with its identity. A programme that fails to develop a record of distinction and recognition for research, does so at great risk, for its disappearance will be considered a small loss to its university.

Planning programmes that have achieved a strong research reputation have, for the most part, done so by adopting the standards of scholarship found in the mainstream of social science. They now have the problem of maintaining that research distinction while adapting to a more professionalised and more undergraduate agenda. The situation is complex and is revealed in a closer look at graduate and undergraduate planning programmes in the US and their variations in size, quality, productivity, and disciplinary affiliations.

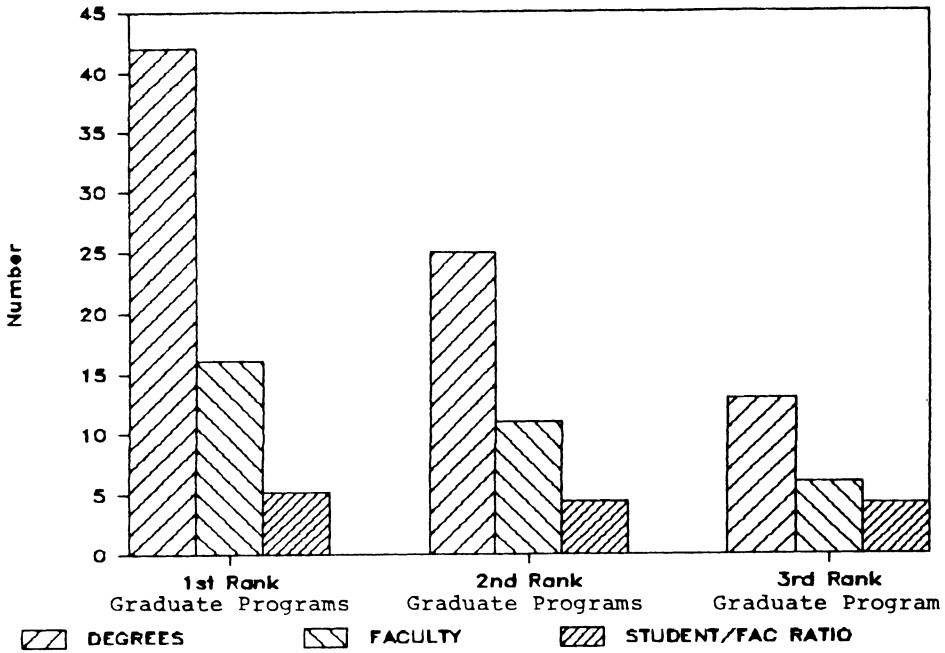


Fig. 10 Average degrees granted, 1982–1983, showing faculty size and student/faculty ratios

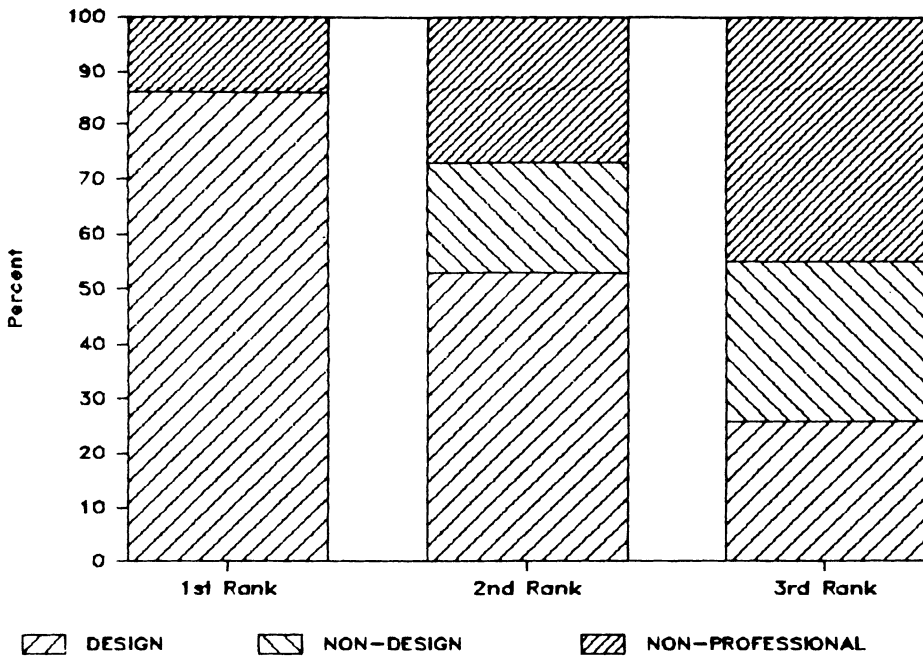


Fig. 11 Proportion of graduate programmes in professional and other schools

THE GRADUATE PROGRAMMES

Graduate programmes are the dominant form of planning education in the US. For the purposes of this study American graduate programmes are grouped by quality into three categories: 1st Rank, those among the top 10 per cent (seven programmes); 2nd Rank, those among the top one-third but below the top 10 per cent (15 programmes); and 3rd Rank, those below the top one-third. Data are presented on 69 programmes that were 'recognized' by the National Education Development Committee, which are essentially the same programmes that are recognised today by the Planning Accreditation Board. Nine recognised programmes have been omitted because of missing data (all would have fallen in the 3rd Rank). To avoid charges of chauvinism the author's institution at the time of writing has also been excluded from these calculations.³⁶

There is a striking correlation of size with quality. Fig. 10 shows the mean full-time equivalent (FTE) number of faculty, the number of masters degrees granted in 1982–83, and student/faculty ratios for the three ranks of graduate programmes. The average programme in the lower two-thirds has an FTE faculty of 6 and granted 13 degrees. The 1st rank schools have more than twice the FTE faculty and more than three times the number of students. One must conclude that better faculties are bigger faculties and draw more students.

Let us look at these variations in size and quality from the point of view of productivity. If we assume that the number of students enrolled in these two year programmes is equal to twice the number of graduates, then the smaller schools of lower rank have a student/faculty ratio of 4.3 students per faculty member. The schools in the top rank have a ratio of 5.3 students per faculty member, nearly 25 per cent higher. Thus, the bigger, better schools are also more productive per faculty member. Other things being equal, this means that the bigger, better schools can make a stronger fiscal case for their survival.

Now let us consider where these higher quality programmes are located among the disciplines of their universities. We might hypothesise that they are the newer, more social scientific programmes established outside the traditional schools of design. We would be wrong. As can be seen from Fig. 11 and Table 1, of the top seven programmes, six are in professional schools of architecture and design. The one that is not is in a university that has no programmes in architecture or landscape architecture. The design schools also dominate the next rank of 15 schools, eight of which are in separate professional schools of planning and design.

Among the lower ranked two-thirds of the programmes we find a slim plurality in schools of design, less than one in four, and a wide array of alternative next higher units. We might conclude that not only is bigger better and more productive, but it is also in the best organisational position to adapt to many of the current demands for programme re-direction. If so, then it is also true that the greatest number of programmes in the field are those that are small, lacking in competitive reputation, and disadvantaged by their organisational positions. This assessment of the status of the field augurs great vulnerability. As we next consider the undergraduate programmes, in the light of potential undergraduate expansion, the range of the disparities increases.

Table 1 *Next higher unit of graduate planning programmes*

Next Higher Unit	Top 7 Programmes	Next 15 Programmes	Next 37 Programmes	All 64 Programmes
Vice President or Provost		1	2	3
Graduate School Dean			9	9
Arts & Sci/Liberal Arts	1	1	4	6
Social Sciences		1	3	4
Fine & Applied Arts		1		1
College of Resource Dev.			1	1
Professional Schools				
Planning & Arch./Design	6	8	11	25
Other: Bus./Publ. Adm.		2	5	7
Urb./Env. Stud.		1	3	4
Engrng./Env. Des.			1	1
Social work			1	1
Community Service			1	1
Educ./Hum. Ecol.			1	1
Totals	7	15	42	64

Source: Ranking of programmes is judgemental, based on quality of faculty, curriculum, research reputation, and university. Organisational data are from Roger E. Hamlin (ed.), *Guide to Graduate Education in Urban and Regional Planning*, Chicago, Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning and American Society of Planning Officials, 1978. Tabulation includes all Recognised Schools except Rutgers and four others for which organisational data were not available. Next higher unit, here and in subsequent tables, refers to that unit above the departmental level.

Table 2 *The ten recognised undergraduate degree programmes in urban planning: size and next higher unit of department offering degree*

University	Faculty	FTE	No. of Students		Next Higher Unit
		Faculty	Full-Time	Part-Time	
Cal. St. Poly/Pomona	13	5	122	48	Sch. Env. Des.
Cal. St. Poly/SLObis.	12	8	146		Sch. Arch/Env.
Cincinnati	24	15	149		Col. Design
U. Distr. Columbia	16	9	20	35	Col. Education
Ill. Urbana	16	12	58		Col. F/Ap. Arts
Iowa State	9	5	64		Col. Design
MIT	37	16	16	3	Sch. Arch/Plng
Mich. St. Univ.	10	4	45		Col. Soc. Sci.
U. Virginia	14	9	41	2	Sch. Arch.
U. Washington	16	4	65	15	Col. Arch/Plng
Mean values	17	9	73	10	

Source: Data compiled from: Wes Hankins, Mulu Wubneh, and Robert Reiman (eds.), *Guide to Undergraduate Education in Urban and Regional Planning*, Boone, NC, Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning, 1982.

THE UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAMMES

In contrast to the nearly 70 recognised graduate programmes, there were only 10 recognised undergraduate programmes in 1982. They are listed in Table 2. Their average FTE faculty is nine, about the same as the average graduate programme, and their student/faculty ratio is over eight students per faculty member, nearly double that of the average graduate programme. Eight of the 10 programmes are in schools of design.

Table 3 Non-recognised undergraduate degree programmes in urban planning: size and next higher unit of home department

University	Total	FTE	No. of Students		Next Higher Unit
	Faculty	Faculty	Full-Time	Part-Time	
U. Alabama	18	5	18	0	Col. A & S
Appalachian St.	5	1	9	1	Col. A & S
Arizona State	15	3	16	0	Col. Arch.
Brigham Young	4	3	16	0	
U. Cal. Davis	6	3		169	Col. Agr/Env.
E. Carolina	6	2	20	5	Col. A & S
E. Kentucky U.	7	1	15	0	Col. Soc. Sci.
E. Washington U.	7	4	41	2	Sch. Pub. Aff.
Indiana U. of Pa.	5	2	43	2	Sch. Hum/S.S.
U. Michigan Flint	9	4	—	—	Col. A & S
Moorehead State	—	—	4	0	
New Mexico State	11	1	20	0	Col. A & S
U. So. Miss.	7	2	25	2	
U. SW. Louisiana	4	2	63	6	Art/Hum/S.S.
U. Utah	10	2	37	0	Col. Soc/Beh.
Va. Commonwealth U.	19	6	60	20	Sch. Comm/PA.
W. Carolina U.	4	2	11	0	Col. A & S
Mean values	8	2.4	23	13	

Source: See Table 2.

We have data on two other classes of undergraduate programmes: non-recognised degree programmes in planning; and non-degree programmes, those which offer some concentration in planning but less than a full degree programme. Seventeen of the 18 non-recognised degree programmes are listed in Table 3. The average faculty size is 2.4 FTE and the mean number of full-time students is 24. Thus they are much smaller, more numerous than the recognised programmes, and their student/faculty ratio is somewhat higher—10:1. The other difference is their disciplinary affiliation. Only one is in a school of architecture: the majority (10) are in colleges of either arts and sciences or social sciences.

Data on the size and next higher unit are not available for the third group of 36 non-degree undergraduate planning programmes. Data on home academic departments are available for most, however. Fig. 12 presents the distributions of all three categories of undergraduate programmes by home department affiliation. All recognised programmes are in departments of planning or urban studies. The other two groups reveal an overwhelming dominance of geography departments. One possible explanation of this may be that geography, as a discipline, bridges the physical and social landscape in much the same manner that planning bridges physical and social development. Alternatively, there are those who suggest that this phenomenon is in fact an expansionary response to decline. Indeed, degrees granted in geography have declined severely and began to decline several years before they did so in planning.

There is, yet, a fourth class of undergraduate programmes which do not claim the name of planning, but which fall under the rubric of urban studies and urban affairs. While we do not have any data on the characteristics of these programmes,

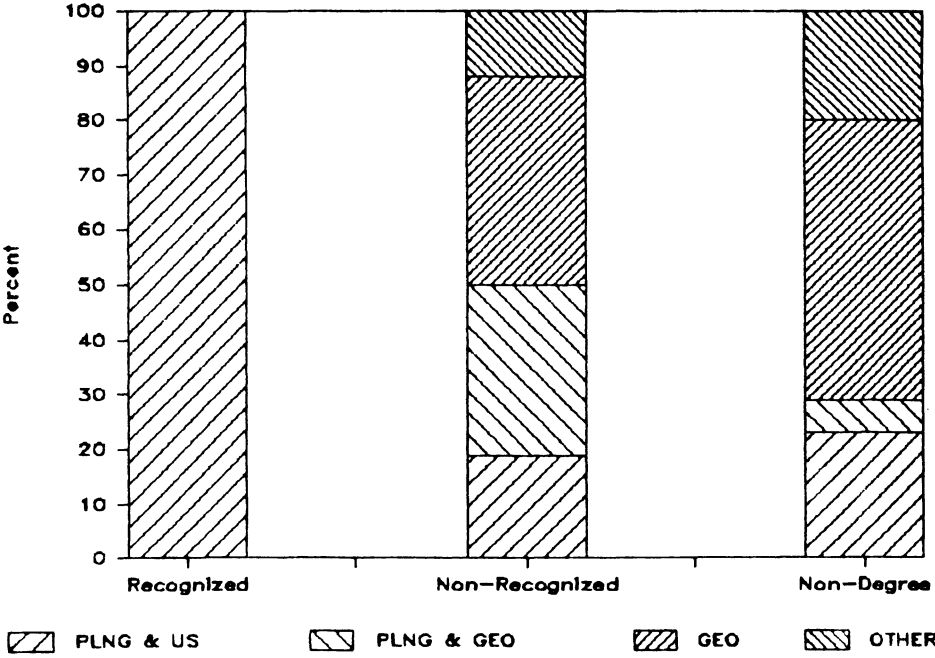


Fig. 12 Departments offering undergraduate programmes

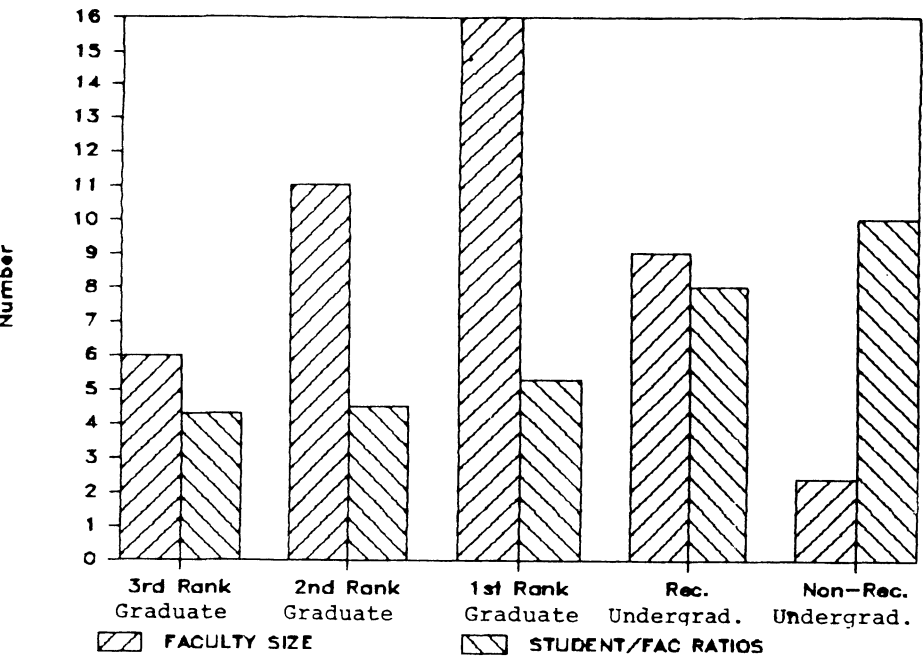


Fig. 13 Average faculty size and student/faculty ratios—graduate and undergraduate programmes

it may be fair to estimate that they number in the hundreds, are on the average very small, and are supported by departments of geography, politics, sociology, economics, and history for the most part, and in about that order of decreasing frequency.

The nature of the future

What are the implications of these findings regarding programme level, size, quality, and disciplinary affiliations in American universities? We are entering a period of conflict. This conflict has two dimensions. If graduate enrollments continue to decline and graduate planning programmes continue to move toward the private sector and traditional practice, then the few large, secure schools of high repute will remain large and strong. The others will compete with one another and against their former allies in the social sciences who are often larger and more research-oriented and thus wield more academic power. The result may be that many smaller planning programmes will be lost.

A second dimension of conflict runs between graduate and undergraduate programmes. Grouped by rank and recognition, Fig. 13 compares the faculty size and student/faculty ratios of undergraduate and graduate programmes. We must be aware that graduate and undergraduate programmes are housed, for the most part, in different universities. Of the 10 recognised undergraduate planning degree programmes, their institutions also have graduate planning programmes, but only one ranks in the top 10 per cent and only two more rank in the top one-third. Very few of the more numerous, smaller, non-recognised planning degree programmes and non-planning, urban studies programmes are affiliated with graduate planning programmes. Their associations are with the social sciences. The conflicts that will arise, if the graduate planning programmes decide to compete for the undergraduates, will once again be with the social sciences that are also suffering decline and the need to claim new markets. The stronger graduate planning programmes clearly have faculties of sufficient size to achieve recognition without adding new resources.

Thus the stronger graduate programmes, if they attempt to expand at the graduate level, will have a competitive advantage over the smaller graduate programmes; if they also attempt to expand at the undergraduate level they will have an advantage over all existing undergraduate programmes. The secondary effects will be that the smaller graduate programmes will compete with one another for a smaller share of the already diminished pool of graduate planning students. Their attempts to expand in the undergraduate market will most likely meet strong head-on resistance from the social science disciplines with the existing undergraduate programmes caught in between. Even without considering the problems associated with expansion, the declining student base in the social sciences and in planning may force universities to choose between these programmes. Thus it seems that wherever the structure of disciplines links planning to the social sciences, planning programmes are at risk.

So we see, finally, that after decades of sustained effort to achieve independ-

ence —‘This is not just a speciality of some other profession!’—from the design professions, we are now faced with a new struggle. After seeking one independence and achieving it, planning is now caught in a different net that frustrates anew the goal of self-reliance.

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