

**PROFESSIONAL ATTITUDES IN URBAN PLANNING AND MANAGEMENT: AN
EXPLORATORY STUDY OF THE PROFESSIONAL CULTURE OF
THIRD WORLD PLANNERS AND PLANNING CONSULTANTS**

by

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(ABSTRACT)

This research is concerned with the professional culture of planners and planning consultants working on aspects of urban planning and management in Third World settings. Research on planners' professional culture is of intrinsic value in development studies, where little is known about the socio-economic background, values, attitudes and role orientations of either group despite the key roles both groups play in the management of human settlements. The particular point of departure here, however, is the significance of such research to planning studies. Of particular relevance, in this context, are the critical notions in the current literature on Third World urbanization and planning that the skills and attitudes of planning professionals are not attuned to the economic, social and environmental questions which lie behind the material aspects of human habitat in Third World countries. This, it is contended, is in part due to the socialization of Third World planners to Western attitudes, standards and values during their professional training in industrialized countries.

The research reported here represents an attempt to explore these issues, drawing on samples of planning practitioners in several Third World countries (Barbados, Jamaica, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and of planning consultants and academics working regularly on urban problems in Third World settings. The results were derived from a questionnaire survey designed to elicit information on respondents' role orien-

tations and values, and on their attitudes toward specific issues that relate to the theory and practice of urban planning and management. These include attitudes toward rural-urban migration, the informal sector, squatter settlements, self-help service provision, the use of Western versus indigenous methods and solutions, and receptiveness to current ideas about project replicability and cost recovery.

Findings revealed that Third World planners and planning consultants do share some important professional traits as well as elements of a common culture, with a core of shared ideology, similar to that found among developed-world planners despite the differences in contextual detail. Nonetheless, the study findings point to significant overall differences in the attitudes of Third World planners and planning consultants toward planning issues and professional role orientations. The typical Third World planner is a middle-class male of mid-career age who attaches a good deal of importance to his profession and supports the notion of success via technical competence, and administrative and managerial skills, and yet at the same time pragmatic and grassroots-oriented. Furthermore, Third World planners as a group do not see the profession as elitist, nor do they regard Western concepts, methods or training in developed-world institutions as inappropriate to their professional roles. The typical planning consultant, on the other hand, though also male is somewhat older, is more likely to have a social science than a planning, architecture or engineering background, is more likely to have a higher degree, and is rather skeptical about professional effectiveness and egalitarianism.

It is suggested here that the difference between these actors emanates from the differences in the *modus operandi* of each group. In short, whereas planning consultants have the luxury to conceptualize problems and solutions in stable environments, insulated from the cut and thrust of local practice, Third World planners operating in environments afflicted with rapid change, uncertainty and instability are of necessity

compelled to adopt a more pragmatic outlook. Thus despite the seeming overpowering circumstances, Third World planners were found to be guardedly optimistic, quietly confident and resiliently content to pursue their ideals. It was thus concluded that contextual factors to which planners are exposed to are major determinant of planners' professional role orientations and world-views.

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Chapter I

Introduction

Background to the Study

One of the most significant characteristics of modern society is its overwhelming dependence on 'experts' not only in the developed world but also in developing countries. This dependence appears to stem from a growing social and technological complexity of the problems faced by society. Such problems are far beyond the capability of any individual to handle on his/her own, due either to insufficient knowledge or insufficient power. The individual must turn to the expert to help him/her decide what course of action to follow. In the area of social planning, the onset of a variety of problems —congestion, overloads on services, unemployment, rapid urban growth, overcrowding, degradation of the urban environments —which appear to defy solution, has forced society to look toward the 'expert' to provide workable solutions.

Accorded privileged status by these circumstances, the 'expert' has increasingly assumed not only the responsibility for solving problems and recommending means for attaining goals, but also for articulating the goals themselves. In essence, the role of the expert has become institutionalized in all aspects of human endeavor. As Benveniste

(1972) observes, “professionals not only play significant roles in most nations, in public policy, but also are ubiquitous in any large organizations”. Within governmental systems, both at the national and sub-national levels, planners act as technical advisors and administrators and sometimes as decision makers as well. In these capacities, they are instrumental in **defining** the problems to be solved, **determining** the solutions to be **considered**, and frequently, in **selecting** the strategy actually adopted. Inevitably, in doing so they give expression to their views as to what society wants and about how it will react to what is provided. This development has led many researchers examining public policy to contend that the professional ambitions of experts and bureaucrats have outstripped the capacity of elected officials to imbue policy with social purpose, or to subject it to democratic control (Reade, 1987).

In fact Salisbury (1964) argued, more than two decades ago, that city politics in developed countries of the West was dominated by a ‘coalition’ of (1) appointed bureaucrats or officials who are the ‘professional workers in technical and city related programs’ and (2) elected office bearers who predominantly reflected the interests of the local business elite. This was, of course contrary to the implicit assumptions of pluralist theorists who perceived social systems as being dominated by an equal exchange between the polity, elected officials and experts. Salisbury’s view is that expert professionals control a vast ‘hidden agenda’ of issues that never end up in debate at the executive level. By defining what is or is not ‘technically feasible’ and by simply being in control of the routine or habitual processes of decision-making, experts have an independent effect on public policy outcomes. Furthermore, he noted, elected officials very often find themselves being able to change things “only at the margins” precisely because of the expert professional’s control of the ‘hidden agenda’.

In many ways these views are reinforced by political science analyses on community power structures. Of particular relevance are the works of Bachrach and Baratz

(1970), whose critique of community power studies and what they call the two faces of power, provide a perspective on power which explicates the paradox of the pluralist position. Specifically, they argue that power may be exercised by restricting the scope of decision making to relatively 'safe' issues, creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process of public consideration to only those questions which are comparatively innocuous to the expert's point of view. Furthermore, they also allude to the power of 'non-decision making' of groups preventing certain issues from being considered.

According to Vasu (1979), the analysis of non-decisions has a direct bearing to any analysis of official behavior in the planning process because "non-decisions themselves are the result of an exercise of power—the power to limit the scope of the agenda"(p. 16). In this context, planners, as experts, are instrumental in choosing policy alternatives since they determine how problems are structured. As Benveniste (1972) explains:

For many experts the only relevant actor is the Prince, who happens to pay wages, supply office space, provide status, and offer access to the substance of the research; these evident attributes make the Prince an attractive target for experts' attention.

This means that in many instances experts and planners tend to emerge as the equivalent of selective filters for communication and decision in the social system. They use their available time to consult in selected circles. Since they limit participation in planning they permit information and influence to flow only within a selective portion of the body politic (p. 13).

Underlying these analyses is a 'managerialist' or bureaucratic perspective which suggests that power in society lies with managers, experts and bureaucrats and that in the specific context of urban planning, power is exercised mainly by professional planners.

By far the most influential analysis of such urban managerialism in recent years is Pahl's (1969) seminal essay on urban processes and social structure. Pahl's conceptualization of the urban system is this:

There are fundamental spatial constraints on access to scarce resources and facilities. Such constraints are generally expressed in time/cost distance. There are fundamental social constraints on access to scarce urban facilities. These reflect the distribution of power in society as illustrated by: bureaucratic rules and procedures, social gatekeepers who help to distribute and control urban resources. Populations limited in this access to scarce urban resources and facilities are the dependent

variable, those controlling access, the managers of the system, would be the independent variable (p. 201).

This view of the city is shaped by what Pahl postulated to be the inevitable conflict generated within urban systems through competition for scarce resources. The greater the demand for a certain resource in a given locality, the greater the amount of conflict created. He further suggests that when social location (such as occupational level, for example) is constant then the spatial location becomes the conditioning factor that determines differentials of access to scarce resources, and that the units of access are bureaucratically determined. Taking locational and social constraints as givens, he asks what potential for mobility is present in the city. Since the distribution of life chances is neither random nor arbitrary, what are the consequences and causes of such distribution? The answer, according to Pahl, lies in a better understanding of urban phenomena, which entails researching into operations of the 'managers' of the urban system, the experts and 'social gatekeepers' who mediate in the allocative processes and who have the capacity to shape the socio-spatial system to a certain extent. This latter point is particularly significant because members of the gatekeeping professions only occupy just one niche within the total complex of the instrumentalities of state power. He identified these to include housing managers, planners, architects, social workers, realtors, and so on. Pahl considers these occupations and professions to be crucial types, whose importance as a structural component in the urban system depends on "how far they may conflict with each other, how far their ideologies are consistent and how far they help to confirm a stratification order in urban situations" (Pahl, 1975, p. 206).

The perspective which stresses the power of public bureaucracy and treats planners as managers of the urban system is firmly rooted in the work of Max Weber (1947). Pahl's approach to sociological explanation, like that of Weber, rests on the analysis of the goals and values that guide the individual's actions toward others. Indeed, his thesis

on urban managerialism or 'social gatekeepers' implies a kind of Weberian ideal type¹ of bureaucratic personality.

A particular point of departure here is the recognition that Third World countries, like developed countries, operate and/or maintain allocative and distributive mechanisms which, to invoke Lasswell (1958), determine "who gets what, when and how". Accordingly, Third World countries have in place planning intervention institutions staffed by a cadre of professional experts who determine issues regarding resource allocation and social redistribution. This context has magnified the role of planners in public management concerning such matters as the allocation of public resources and the delivery of services. Those who administer these systems of allocation, to paraphrase Pahl, are managers and have considerable discretion either in determining the rules or in administering the rules determined elsewhere. The process of planning, and by implication the individual planner's input into that process, has marked policy consequences for the distribution of life chances in urban environments.

Despite the significance of this issue there is, however, a gap in the knowledge base about who the planners are in the developing world. How, for example, their activities and actions influence issues of public policy and the extent to which their conduct shapes built environments is generally undocumented. Whereas in developed countries there exists a body of literature detailing who the planners are, with respect to their belief and value systems, and why and how they influence public policy, no studies of a similar nature have been undertaken in developing countries. As Rodwin (1981) cogently puts it, "We do not have comparative analyses for developing countries indicating the ways urban planners are trained, their social and economic backgrounds and values, what they

¹ According to Saunders (1981), **ideal types** are 'yardsticks by means of which empirical reality can be rendered accessible to analysis ... Although they are mental constructs, ideal types are not simply conjured up out of nothing in the mind of the researcher, but are developed on the basis of existing empirical knowledge of actual phenomena' (p. 128).

do compared to what they say they do, how their activities are changing and how they are likely to change in the future" (p. 211). This study aims to fill the void in the literature by providing empirical information about the professional culture of Third World planners and of planning consultants working in areas of urban planning and management in developing countries.

Current Research Concerning Planners' Professional Culture

Pahl's managerialism formulation spawned a number of studies which sought to explain the activities and attitudes of 'urban managers' or 'social gatekeepers' (Davies, 1972; Paris, 1974; Ford, 1975; Randall, 1981; Williams, 1982). A particular outcome of such work has been the characterization of bureaucrats in general and planners in particular as 'evangelistic bureaucrats': ideal types whose distinctive values, attitudes and role orientations, translated into day-to-day decision-making, steer urban development along particular channels: channels with specific socio-spatial outcomes. This contention has recently been corroborated by empirical research in Europe and North America which shows the professional culture of urban planners in developed countries to be dominated by rationalistic, problem-solving, technocratic and managerial orientations (Knox and Cullen, 1981; Baum, 1983; Howe and Kaufman, 1979), thus reinforcing neo-Weberian, 'managerialist' ideas and theories about planners (Pahl, 1977; Leonard, 1982).

From this perspective, planners in developed countries are seen as key actors whose distinctive professional ideology — an amalgam of paternalism, environmentalism, aesthetics, futurism, and spatial determinism (Knox, 1987) — becomes implicated in many aspects of urban development and is, cumulatively, etched into the urban landscape. This professional ideology has been shown to be the product of selective

recruitment, socialization during formal education, work experience, professional discourse, and career structure and rewards. It is not generally seen, however, as part of a coherently articulated set of values and principles bound by broadly accepted ethical tenets, a strong group consciousness and control over a definite segment of knowledge in the way that, for example, the ideology of medical and legal professions can be understood. Rather, the ideology of planning is seen as an evolving legacy of the distinctive phases of the material circumstances of planning (Harvey, 1985).

A particular feature of this evolution has been the acquisition, along with paternalism, environmentalism and the rest, of an 'evangelical mantle' (Davies, 1972). According to Davies, this mantle was developed by the profession in order to immunize itself against the persistent criticisms leveled against its members as the result of the conflicts which inevitably arise from the pursuit of their work. It is related to a self-image of imaginative far-sightedness, selflessness, fairness and humanitarianism 'beset by the carping criticisms of narrow-minded rate payers, greedy speculators, parochial councilors, apathetic citizenry, calculated vested interests, ... irresponsible young people, jealous rival professionals, reluctant legislators and twittering academics' (Davies, 1972, p. 94). The mantle of evangelism allows the planner to turn a deaf ear to these criticisms. But it can also lead to 'bureaucratic aggression' (Cox, 1976), the relentless pursuit of conventional planning wisdom at the expense of 'defenseless citizens'. The cumulative result, at the very least, has been to recast the urban landscapes of Western cities. According to some, it has perpetuated the socio-political *status quo* and transformed planning from an 'enabling' to a 'disabling' profession (Ravetz, 1980).

This type of research is of intrinsic interest in development studies, where very little is known about the socio-economic background and ideology of the professionals who must somehow cope with the brunt of world urbanization. The central issue, in this context, relates to the manner in which the power of public bureaucracy manifests itself

in developing countries. There, public bureaucrats are generally able to exercise even more power, both directly and indirectly, than their counterparts in developed countries. For instance, the state, rather than providing a supportive and/or facilitative role, is characterized by a directive posture in the economic and social spheres. In this context, bureaucrats and planners as agents of change play a key role in setting the public policy agenda and in the formulation of policy, even when the actual decisions are taken by persons in positions of political authority. They also implement the formulated policies, either directly (for example, in spheres such as housing, health, infrastructure, education, social services, etc.) or indirectly (for example, in the implementation of the state's production policies). Besides, they oversee and monitor compliance with the government's allocative, redistributive, and regulatory policies by non-governmental institutions (Ozgediz, 1983).

The key role of public bureaucrats in relation to urban and regional development in Third World settings is well established. In his seminal work, Riggs (1963) has argued strongly that "A phenomenon of utmost significance in transitional societies is the lack of balance between political policy-making institutions and bureaucratic policy-implementation institutions. The relative weakness of political organs means that the political function tends to be appropriated, in considerable measure, by bureaucrats. Intra-bureaucratic struggles become a primary form of politics" (p. 120). Similarly, the preeminence of bureaucrats in developing countries is best summarized by Bottomore, who has observed that government officials:

assume exceptional responsibilities and acquire exceptional power in conditions where economic and social planning is undertaken on such a large scale. In many respects, government officials are to the economic development of the new nations in the 20th century what the capitalist entrepreneurs were to the economic development of Western societies in the 18th and 19th centuries (Bottomore, 1965, p. 92).

Urban planners and other urban professionals as part of this bureaucratic superstructure have considerable leverage, especially regarding the management of urban development.

It follows that urban planners in the Third World may be regarded as powerful actors in the whole process of urbanization and development. At the same time, it should be acknowledged that their impact is strongly conditioned by the limited economic capacity of Third World countries to confront the complex problems of urbanization and development (Rondinelli, 1986). Resources are generally limited and both national and local economies are locked into inferior positions in an increasingly globalized economy. It is not surprising, therefore, that, in spite of the local power and influence of urban planners, the track record of urban planning and management in the Third World is poor (Conway, 1985).

Another set of parallel issues concern the assertions made by many commentators from diverse perspectives that bureaucrats, planners in particular and planning consultants engaged in Third World planning are elitist and/or that they favor "Western" theories, models and strategies that are inappropriate to Third World settings (Noe, 1981). The implication, of course, is that the **outcomes** of the planning process, having been mediated by a distinctive, Western-oriented professional ideology, are, at best, regressive or, at worst, part of the structural reinforcement of Third World dependency. As Qadeer puts it, "Despite intellectual protestations, city planning in the post-colonial era has become a practice of enforcing pre-packaged concepts and faddish policy cliches. Such predispositions have turned city planning into an instrument of misdevelopment in the Third World (1983, p. 268)". In a similar vein, Okpala observes in relation to Africa:

Concepts and theories employed in today's African urban studies have often been transfers from Western urbanization studies which have embodied transfers of cultural values. These have generally been applied without paying enough attention either to indigenous socio-cultural value systems, nor to analyzing and interpreting the relevance of Africa's point in an urban evolutionary continuum ...the uncritical transfer and application of such concepts has led to prescriptions and recommendations for urban management policies and programs that have proved largely ineffective, and involved much misdirection and misapplication of limited resources (Okpala, 1987, p. 137).

The suggestion that the skills and attitudes of planning professionals are not attuned to the economic, social and environmental questions which lie behind the material aspects

of human habitat in Third World countries is by no means new. Writing more than two decades ago on planning in Nigeria, for example, Muench and Muench (1968) concluded that,

professional planners tend to transfer—unfiltered—many ideas and standards acquired during their training. Being middle class themselves, even the most cognizant of them often feel that conditions in the oldest parts of Nigeria's cities are so bad that demolition is the only solution, and consequently the needs of these areas receive no attention. The professionals, like the politicians, want to plan and carry out projects that will illustrate what a modern nation Nigeria has become (p. 379).

Though lacking empirical grounding these views and opinions continue to pervade the development and planning literature. For example, Benninger (1987), reviewing the training of professionals in Latin America, Africa and Asia, concludes that there is an overemphasis on academic, formal education, “wherein concepts, techniques and materials are borrowed from the West ... Graduates of these courses are unprepared for decision-making related to solving problems on the job. The requirements of development agencies and local authorities are not considered in the design of courses. In many countries an emphasis is still placed on physical land-use planning and on urban design with a ‘city beautiful’ bias” (p. 147). As Benninger points out, such views are now an established part of the conventional wisdom on urban planning and development processes, appearing prominently in United Nations regional commission reports. The United Nations Economic Commission on Africa (1983), for instance, emphasizes the unsuitability of textbooks and training materials that are, in the main, imported from industrialized countries. Meanwhile, the United Nations Commission for Latin America has characterized the training of planners as “an intellectual substitute for real policy-making” (quoted by Benninger, 1987), alienated from the reality faced by low-income populations.

Criticisms such as these are directed towards the education and training offered both in the Third World and in developed countries. Universities in the Third World have often copied the middle-class-oriented, generalized programs of Western insti-

tutions; the latter, meanwhile, offer students very few courses that are tailored to Third World planning issues. As a result:

By learning how to solve design problems of developed societies, these students become increasingly socialized to a world view and belief system shared by developed societies. By the end of their training they become conversant in all the clichés of contemporary design—from 'Post-modernism' to 'Portmanism' from 'Joint development' to 'Zoning Incentives'. This socialization can be even more subtle as students become committed to Western standards for blight, density, open space, etc. and as they come to accept some hackneyed design principles as the neighborhood unit formula. Since very little of this has anything to do with the immediate challenges of environmental design in developing countries, they simply, and unwittingly, become still another conduit for the transfer of not-too-relevant technology from the developed to the developing world (Banerjee, 1985, p. 29).

Nevertheless, large — and increasing — numbers of Third World students continue to pursue planning degrees in the United States, Britain, France, Australia and other developed countries because of the kudos of foreign travel, the status conferred by Western degrees, the financial support associated with many courses, and the expectations of family and peers that senior professionals do study abroad (Meier, 1988). Moreover, even though it may often be recognized that there is little congruence between the skills provided by Western institutions (or their Third World clones) and the skills that are needed by Third World planners, the burden of adaptation almost always rests with the latter (Banerjee, 1985).

Consequently, it is argued (Lloyd, 1979), the selective middle-class recruitment of Third World planning students is compounded by formal education and training, producing a professional culture that is dominated by elitist and technocratic attitudes. This, in turn, makes for "cultural collisions" (Zetter, 1980) between the social and environmental needs of developing countries on the one hand and the conventional wisdoms and accepted solutions of the industrialized, commodified nations on the other. But it is not simply a matter of relevance. The socialization of Third World planners and policy makers to Western attitudes, standards and values is also seen as part of the structural underpinnings of Third World underdevelopment, the preconditions for the 'global reach' of transnational capital (King, 1980). Thus:

In a subtle process of cognitive colonialism, values, language, methods and professional ideologies are largely transplanted. Students, often more interested in the professional qualification than the

education it represents, become bearers of the new expertise. The metropolitan degree is a badge which reinforces the cultural dependence of the ex-colonial. The export of educational software—ideas, values, beliefs—is of far more importance than that of hardware. The ideas go first (the mass transit system, public housing, the 'modern movement')—the consumer goods flow later. In the old days, trade followed the flag; now, it is assumed, it follows the diploma (p. 217).

Another source of 'exogenous' ideas imposed on Third World planners is the dialogue they must sustain with professionals from major international donor agencies such as the World Bank and the Agency for International Development. Dependency on Western expertise to compensate for limited manpower and resources means that the economic, social and technical preferences of experts and consultants (private, academic and institutional) in donor countries become a central part of the dialogue. Quite simply, Third World planners often find that they must talk the language of the outside experts, with the result that this language can become an instrument of mystification, reinforcing the "unhealthy apex role" vested in Western agencies and experts (Benninger, 1987, p. 158). More specifically, it seems reasonable to assume that discourse with outside experts and consultants will, one way or another, condition the values and attitudes of Third World planners.

These analyses notwithstanding, their validity is, however, questionable given an absence of concrete empirical evidence in the literature either in support of or refuting such observations. This is especially so with respect to the professional culture of urban planners and planning consultants in Third World settings.

Statement of the Problem

This study explores the professional culture and world-views of Third World planners and planning consultants working on aspects of urban planning and management in Third World countries. Little is known about the values, attitudes or role orientations of either group, yet both groups are unquestionably key actors in the determination of urban development processes. The analytical task is premised on neo-

Weberian 'managerialist' theory which, as noted previously, assumes that the locus of power in society generally lies with bureaucrats and experts, and that in the specific context of urban development, power is appropriated largely by planners. Questions of particular relevance in the extension of this theory to Third World urban phenomena include: Who are the Third World planners and planning consultants? What is their background? By what values do they live and work? Do they share a common set of values and attitudes? Do they share the rationalistic, technocratic and managerial attributes of their Western counterparts? What are perceived to be the most important qualities for a planner or planning consultant to be effective in Third World settings? How do their attitudes as managers of the urbanization process relate to specific issues of the theory and practice of planning and urban management? More specifically, what is the conventional wisdom with regard to key issues such as housing and infrastructure standards, the role of the informal sector, the potential of self-help and sites-and services initiatives, citizen participation, rural-urban migration, and so on? (A detailed discussion of specific issues is presented in the next chapter).

In an attempt to expand the analysis of the beliefs, perceptual, role orientations, and attitudinal structures of planners, samples of planning practitioners drawn from several Third World countries and another represented by planning consultants from the developed world, are examined comparatively in terms of perceived role orientations and various personal and background factors. The main objectives of this study can be summarized as follows:

1. To compare and contrast the extent to which developing and developed world planners are alike with regard to their professional role orientations and how their perceptions, attitudes, and values relate to selected issues of the theory and practice of urban planning and management.

2. To comparatively analyze beliefs and perceptions, and attitudinal dispositions of developing world planners and planning consultants.
3. To relate differences of planners' background characteristics, career trajectories, professional roles, ethics, values, and attitudes to specific issues of the theory and practice of urban planning and management.

Significance and Contributions of the Study

The topic under investigation has both theoretical and practical significance. First, the need has been established for investigation of the professional culture of Third World planners and planning consultants working on aspects of Third World development and planning. While the influence of planners and other urban managers' activities and actions on the socio-spatial processes of developing countries is readily acknowledged in the literature, the extent to which this influence manifests itself is yet to be determined. Weber (1947) has noted that total sociological explanations are impossible and that research must progress by selecting potential aspects of the social world for study based on ideal-type constructions. By utilizing the belief and value systems of developing world planners, Weber's framework has the potential to provide useful theoretical insights. Besides, the approach represents a first attempt to apply neo-Weberian 'managerialist' theory to urban phenomena of developing countries. Also, the selection of an internal social aspect, a key dimension of the power structure as a unit of analysis represents a departure from current preoccupation with external factors (colonialism, etc.) as the sole determinant of the Third World conditions.

Second, comparative studies of planners from different cultural contexts and of Third World planners, in particular are rare. A recent study by Kaufman (1985) on

American and Israeli planners is an exception. The present study is unique in one respect: it looks at planners in not one but five cultural settings, exploring and comparing attitudes, values and role orientations held by Third World planners with those of international planning consultants to specific issues of the theory and practice of planning and urban management in developing countries. As such, it is a first attempt to adopt a comparative approach to current theory on urban managerialism.

Finally, from a practical standpoint, a sensitive portrayal of planners' values, attitudes, role orientations, career trajectories and aspirations is (i) a useful benchmark for those concerned with planning education and its relevance to culturally diverse settings, and (ii) an essential prerequisite to training programs designed to increase the capacity and efficiency of urban management in developing countries. An elaboration of both points is in order.

As previously argued, developed-world institutions offering planning education usually fail to sensitize training programs to meet the specific educational needs of Third World students. This problem persists, despite the increasing number of Third World students seeking training in developed world planning institutions (Banerjee, 1985; Zetter, 1980). Whether this indifference, as Banerjee calls it, is by design or simply a lack of information about the peculiarities of socio-cultural dimensions of developing world conditions is unclear. However, there is an emerging consensus that the training of Third World students requires a fundamental reorientation in current practice (Banerjee, 1988). In this regard, the study results could be used as a basis for sensitizing and reorienting curricula in ways which are relevant to the solution of contemporary planning problems in developing countries.

Second, the use of training to enhance capability and competence has long been recognized by Third World governments and international development agencies alike. However, the experience has not always been a total success. For example, where re-

sources have been spent, the resultant training has not always enhanced the capability and capacities of institutions to deal with urban problems as had been anticipated (Kayila, 1985; Satin, 1985). A major drawback of such initiatives relates to the fact that urban innovations have often been based on inappropriate models which have failed to provide the structures or skills and perspectives necessary to sustain efforts for urban improvement and development (Nyamu, 1985). This study will illuminate some of these problems and provide a useful insight into planning and management processes of developing countries. Specifically, it will provide data which could be used by local institutions, governmental agencies, and international donor agencies as input into the design of training programs to increase the capacity and efficiency of urban management in developing countries.

Study Limitations

It should be acknowledged that this study is exploratory. No empirical research precedent has been established in this area despite the conjecture and debates in the literature concerning the issue under investigation. In addition, it should be recognized at the outset that the research design was conditioned by operational difficulties relating to the distribution of the questionnaire. These included turnaround time of overseas mail services, miscommunication, unreliable telephone services, and the inability of the researcher to visit the individual countries from which the sub-samples were drawn to get first hand experience of the respondents' operational settings. Nonetheless, the researcher strongly believes that the results reported here are not only indicative of the professional make-up of Third World planners, but also provide useful insights for further work in this area.

Chapter II

Theoretical Framework

Conceptually, the professional culture of planning professionals in general and Third World planners and planning consultants in particular can be framed at two levels: the metropolitan and international scales. In the context of the latter, the values and role orientations of planners can be seen against the context of a world-system (Wallerstein, 1984) in which key actors, like the "World Cities" (Friedmann, 1986) in which many of them operate, have to contend with — and are able to exploit — increasingly interdependent relationships that are embedded in globalized economic, political and cultural processes. In the world's metropolitan areas (including those of the Third World), at least, urban planning can no longer be a parochial activity. The point here is that, to the extent that planners can influence the character and trajectory of urbanization, they are increasingly implicated in the dynamics of a world economy that is itself increasingly articulated through the system of world cities. At the same time, of course, these same forces can be expected to have an impact on the values and role orientations of planning professionals.

In this study, however, the conceptual framework operationalized is urban managerialism, which relates to the metropolitan scale. At this level, it will be recalled,

planners are seen as 'social gatekeepers': ideal types whose distinctive values, attitudes and role orientations, translated into day-to-day decision, steer economic and social change along particular channels. This perspective was articulated in the 1970s within the field of urban geography and sociology, largely as a consequence of dissatisfaction with ecological perspectives (Rex and Moore, 1967; Saunders, 1981). While this perspective is a useful starting point, its utility remains uncertain and controversial (Norman, 1975; Pahl, 1975; Williams, 1978). However, given the poverty of analytical frameworks concerned with the manner by which the distribution of power and appropriation of resources influence spatial forms, urban managerialism remains a useful perspective for researching the values and role orientations of planning professionals who constitute an important element in the distribution of power in society. Indeed Pahl has recently stated that, irrespective of the theoretical position one adopts regarding class in a capitalist society, "independent analysis of the agents of allocation is still necessary." Furthermore, he observes, "Sadly I feel that so long as the surplus has to be concentrated, in order to be distributed, so long will rules have to be generated and agents have to apply them. Some may think the managerialist thesis is dead, but whether or not this is so I am quite certain that managers will not lie down" (Pahl, 1979, p. 89). This suggests that there is value in examining the belief and value systems of a group of actors—planners who participate in the allocation of public resources and the delivery of services.

Review of Literature

Specific Issues in Urban Planning and Management in the Third World

Third World countries have to contend with urgent problems of development, unprecedented rates of urban growth, severe economic difficulties and sharply limited resources (El-Shakhs and Amirahmandi, 1986; Sumka, 1987). The United Nations has estimated that by the year 2000, about two-thirds of the world urban population will live in developing countries (U.N., 1980). Africa, for example, currently one of the least urbanized areas of the world with 21 per cent of its population defined as urban, is expected to experience an increase in that proportion to about 40 per cent by the year 2000. According to recent reports, countries of Sub-Saharan Africa are: experiencing urban population growth rates more than twice the growth rates of their nations as a whole; are urbanizing more rapidly than countries at comparable levels of income elsewhere in the developing world (Latin America, the Caribbean, and Asia); and have urban populations increasingly concentrated in the largest city in the country (Rivkin and Rivkin, 1984; World Bank, 1981; World Resources Institute, 1986). Thus, even countries which are primarily rural and oriented to agricultural production are facing major urban challenges.

In the context of individual Third World countries these broad challenges can be disaggregated into a series of substantive issues which include rural-to-urban migration, the role of the informal sector, housing and infrastructure standards, self-help and sites-and-services initiatives, public participation, and so on. The lessons learnt from the attempted resolution of these issues has produced, in the literature, a conventional wisdom which pervades Third World urban development processes. An examination of this conventional wisdom is central to the question of the professional culture of plan-

ners working in Third World settings. It is the explication of this conventional wisdom associated with these issues which constitutes the main thrust of this section.

A review of the extensive contemporary literature on these issues highlights the existence of stereotypes, which despite the diversity of perspectives and the implicit policy dimensions — point to the dominant themes underlying the conventional wisdom (McGee, 1976; Perlman, 1976; Drakakis-Smith, 1981; Portes and Walton, 1981; Grimes, 1976; Linn, 1983; Payne, 1977, 1983; Turner, 1967, Peattie, 1982; Gilbert and Gugler, 1981; Weeks, 1975; Moser, 1978; Conway, 1985). These are summarized below.

Rural-to-Urban Migration

One of the most vexing problems associated with rapid urban growth concerns the constant flow of rural migrants to urban areas in search of better economic opportunities. This influx in urban areas manifests itself in various forms: urban unemployment and underemployment, squatter formation, excess capacity on public infrastructure services, etc.: all conditions that make the planning and management of urban growth much more difficult. The question as to why people move and substitute rural poverty for urban privation has been addressed in the theoretical literature (Shaw, 1976; Lowder, 1978; Laquian, 1977). A more relevant question is what approaches are advocated to counteract the consequences.

In their efforts to slow urban growth, many planners and policy-makers in developing countries have resorted to direct and indirect mechanisms of migration controls. Direct controls on migration flows to cities include instruments such as identity cards, entry taxes, and entry passes. Such controls are widely enforced in countries like South Africa and Indonesia (McCarthy and Smit, 1984; Richardson, 1977, 1981). Other measures that have been vigorously enforced include local restrictions on employment

and informal sector activities and the demolition of squatter settlements or the withholding of services from them. However, these methods have generally proved to be ineffective. Rather than affecting migration flows, they have in most cases “seriously impeded the efficiency of large segments of the urban factor and goods markets, destroying valuable capital stock, and wreak havoc with the lives and welfare of the majority of the urban population affected by those policies” (Linn, 1983, p. 45).

On the other hand, indirect control mechanisms start from the premise that local controls are difficult to enforce and instead are based on the notion that changes can occur only by changing economic and social conditions at the origins and destinations of migrants. Rondinelli (1983), for example, has suggested that efforts need to be directed toward the improvement of conditions in rural areas, and generation of opportunities, especially jobs, at intervening locations between the areas of origin and the dominant cities attracting migrants.

While the scope of such policies cannot be adequately discussed here, the basic wisdom inherent in them is significant to note. This is the realization that policies designed to control migration flows must address broader issues of development both at the national and sub-national levels. In particular, the redistribution of economic opportunities in rural areas, investments in agricultural systems, education and health facilities.

The Informal Sector

A particular manifestation of rural-urban migration is the massive urban surplus labor eking a living out of the informal sector. What policies should be adopted toward the informal sector which appears to be growing exponentially? Can an urban-oriented

strategy such as the regularization and promotion of informal sector activities resolve the urban employment problem characterizing Third World cities?

The term “informal sector” was first coined by Hart (1973) in a classical paper examining informal income opportunities and urban employment in Ghana. In discussing its origins, Hart stated that “price inflation, inadequate wages, and increasing surplus to the requirements of the organized labor force in towns lead to a high degree of informality in the income generating activities of the urban labor force” (p. 62). It was further developed and legitimized by a mission to Kenya organized by the International Labor Office (1972), which argued that the informal sector provided a wide range of low cost, labor intensive, competitive goods and services. It thus recommended that the Kenya government promote the informal sector (ILO, 1972). Subsequent analyses not only confirmed the existence of successful informal sector activities in many Third World countries but also showed that a significant proportion of the urban work force was concentrated in this sector (Beinefeld, 1974; ILO, 1975; McGee, 1976). More recently, Gilbert and Gugler (1981) have suggested that in some Latin American and Asian countries, the informal sector absorbs as much as 39 to 69 per cent of the urban labor force.

A recurring theme throughout all these studies is the contention that although often ignored or harassed by the authorities, the informal sector is not a problem but a source for future economic growth of the city. In addition, informal sector jobs though irregular and unorganized provide a livelihood to migrants as well as services that the formal sector fails to provide. In fact findings by the International Labor Office have tended to contradict earlier accounts which saw informal sector activities as primarily those petty traders, street-hawkers, shoe-shine boys and other groups underemployed on the streets of large cities of the Third World. The report concludes “In developing countries the bulk of employment in the informal sector, far from being only marginally

productive, is economically efficient and profit making, though small scale and limited by simple technologies, little capital and lack of links with the other [formal] sector” (ILO, 1975, p. 225).

However, the most fundamental question underlying the whole informal sector issue concerns the ability or inability of small-scale enterprises to generate not only employment but also autonomous economic growth and consequently the utility of policy recommendations directed at the expansion of productive activities in the informal sector.

To understand some of the key aspects of this debate it is useful to outline briefly the main positions advanced in the literature regarding the potential of the informal sector. In examining the potential growth of the informal sector, Weeks (1975) offers a dual sector model to explain the relationship between the formal and informal sector enterprises. In so doing he stresses factors external to the character of the enterprise, but lays specific emphasis on the role of the state in basing his two-sector distinction on: ‘the organizational characteristics of exchange relationships and the position of economic activity vis-a-vis the state. The difference in these categories, according to Weeks, is in the nature of the relationship each has with the state. He sees this primarily as a consequence of economic insecurity of operation in the informal sector, which in turn is a direct result of the latter’s limited access to resources of all types. The particular importance of Week’s formulation of the informal sector concerns the emphasis placed on the structural position of each sector. This in turn allows him to articulate within the model the crucial question of the growth generating role of the informal sector. Weeks maintains that there are considerable advantages in having an evolving and dynamic low-wage sector in developing countries, not simply because capital formation is higher there than in the formal sector, assumed by earlier perspectives, but because the informal sector has an important contribution to make in three areas:

- The sector could produce a significant proportion of consumer goods bought particularly by low-income groups, such that expansion would reduce dependence in industrialization policy on import 'reproduction'.
- The work-shops of the informal sector could provide a source of indigenous capital goods.
- Informal sector growth relative to that of the formal sector could mean a shift towards a more labor-using form of industrialization, which in theory should increase the incremental employment/output ratio—while ensuring a more efficient utilization of capital (p. 2).

This perspective, however, is not shared by some analysts, particularly those espousing radical views (Bienefeld, 1975; King, 1974). Critics of the informal sector strategy argue that the level of capital formation possible in this sector is constrained by structural factors in the total socio-economic system such that small-scale activities in the urban sector of countries with external oriented economies can only participate in economic growth in a dependent, subordinate way. This leads, it is argued to “involutionary” rather than evolutionary growth of the sector. The position taken is one that assumes an “exploitative” relationship between large firms [formal sector] and small enterprises in the informal sector. Thus, it is argued that measures to promote informal sector development cannot really provide substantive solutions to the problems of unemployment and poverty without fundamental changes in the overall political and economic structure which perpetuate dependency (Moser, 1978).

A less critical position is that adopted by Gilbert and Gugler (1981) who, while not completely rejecting the potential merits of the informal strategy, sound a cautionary note. Their position is that a policy strategy for promoting the informal sector to alleviate the problem of urban surplus labor must of necessity be both ‘specific’ and ‘comprehensive’. In other words, before such a strategy is adopted, an articulation is required, on the one hand, of the interrelationships that exist between the informal and formal sectors, and on the other seek solutions to the urban employment problem outside the urban arena. Without engaging such a two-pronged strategy, they suggest that the prospects for the informal sector is doomed to failure:

Where the rural-urban flow continues unimpeded, no solutions to the employment problem can be effected within the urban labor market, let alone by promoting the informal sector. Rather, the issue of rural-urban inequality has to be addressed. This is of necessity a long-range proposition, and it

faces formidable obstacles everywhere. Yet if there is an urban employment problem, it can be solved only in the rural areas (p. 77).

These observations notwithstanding, the informal sector approach is now considered the key to the solution to the problems of Third World unemployment and economic growth (Mazumdar, 1976; Perlman, 1976; Linn, 1983).

Problems Associated with Low-income Housing

The "favelas", "the bustees", "the bidonvilles", "the barriadas"² unserved by water and other basic urban amenities and subject to all the vicissitudes of disaster (fire, floods, epidemics, poverty) have come to symbolize the urban conditions of most developing countries (Grimes, 1976; Laquian, 1977). A review of the literature suggests two possible explanations for this state of affairs: (a) the extent of housing demand because of rapid urban growth which has exerted unprecedented pressure on urban land and housing resources; and (b) the proportion of low-income households to the total urban population has steadily increased so that the vast majority of people currently have little in the way of capital or incomes with which to obtain a pre-built and publicly constructed dwelling (Payne, 1983; Lim, 1987; Linn, 1983).

Consequently, the urban poor have resorted to unconventional solutions to their housing problems: squatting and illegal sub-divisions. Such solutions necessarily entail occupying private and/or public land illegally and erecting physical structures using temporary building materials. While these self-help solutions may appear adequate to the urban poor, to the urban authorities they are unacceptable primarily because they violate the central elements of building codes: minimum requirement standards for construction materials, minimum lot size and minimum floor area. Koenigsberger (1983)

² These are just a variety of terms used in various parts of the Third World to describe the phenomena of squatter settlements.

explains this conflict this way, "The results of self-help development of this kind are happiness at the neighborhood level and chaos at the city level" (p. 52). Official response to the problem, until recently, has been to resort to a variety of measures designed to discourage further squatting. These have included setting minimum physical standards for individual land and structure in the hope that they would prevent people from building low quality housing that authorities consider to be unsafe and unhealthy. To many squatter dwellers these standards have proved unattainable.

At times urban authorities have used strategies that include the eradication of squatter settlements without regard for the resources that the occupants had invested. Such measures have been vigorously pursued, though in many cities of the developing world self-help housing constitutes a substantial proportion of urban housing stock. For example, United Nations studies show that this form of housing accommodates more than 50 per cent of the population in Mexico, 40 per cent in Calcutta and as much as 85 per cent in Addis Ababa.³ However, since the recent recognition by some Third World countries that demolition of squatter settlements and slums was a hopeless solution to the problem, a feeling of optimism has surfaced based on the premise that an answer to the problem might be at hand. This has been instigated by the adoption of sites-and-services schemes for low income groups, combined with programs to upgrade squatter settlements, whereby squatter residents themselves undertake the task of constructing houses, thereby reducing significantly housing costs to be met by public authorities.

As a policy concept, sites-and-services schemes involve the opening of new tracts of urban land which are then provided with such basic facilities as potable water, sewerage, roads and refuse disposal. On the other hand, squatter upgrading schemes

³ United Nations, Center for Human Settlements, 1984

entail the extension of essential services and amenities to an existing squatter area or slum enclave. These forms of self-help have been accorded additional emphasis lately by virtue of the fact that major international donor agencies (World Bank, USAID, etc.) are now stressing self-help efforts in their housing assistance programs being implemented in many developing countries.⁴ As such, the new conventional wisdom in Third World urban housing has become the promotion of self-help initiatives.

This new orthodoxy followed the pioneering studies of researchers such as Turner (1967), Mangin (1967), and Leeds (1970) in Latin America, where a functional relationship between social needs and environmental forms among squatters was noted. Central to their analysis was the argument that the vast settlements surrounding major cities in developing countries were not “rings of misery”, nor “creeping cancers” but evolving communities. Rather than being demoralized and parasitic, the residents of the squatter settlements were seen as active, organized and self-mobilizing and their housing sub-standard only if looked at ‘at one point in time’ (Perlman, 1976). According to Peattie (1982), this form of housing represented a large stock in progress, on the way to becoming adequate through continuous investment by the individual households —as contrasted with official standards and criteria which are perceived to be static, ‘once-and-for-all provisions’. This intellectual justification of the functional role of squatter settlements, coming at a time when many Third World governments had become visibly incapable of solving the housing problem, provided the momentum for policy makers and planners to seize upon this concept and try to translate it into public policy.

⁴ The United States Agency for International Development has been actively supporting community upgrading schemes under its Housing Guarantee Loans Programs for many years now. Similarly, other bilateral agencies such the Canadian International Development Agency, the European Development Fund, and the Asian Development Bank have been encouraging the theme of self-help construction in countries that include Jamaica, Zambia, Mexico, Kenya, Senegal, Pakistan, Tanzania, Sudan, Botswana, El Salvador, etc..

As the number of nations applying this approach has increased, concern is being expressed regarding its implementation and validity. Some analysts (Laquin, 1977; 1983) have expressed concern about the administrative problems involved in such a massive self-help drive, especially regarding donor agency insistence on cost recovery matters.

However, a more fundamental concern has come from the more radical “political economy” view of urban development policy. Here it is argued that the new orthodoxy is at best designed to serve the interests of the elite, and at worst inherently incapable of tackling the causes of inequality (Burgess, 1977; 1978; 1982; Bromley, 1978). Thus, policies such as sites-and-services and squatter upgrading schemes premised on self-help initiatives are dismissed as attempts to institutionalize poverty in cleaner shantytowns (McGee, 1977; Conway, 1982). The position of the radical school is perhaps best summarized by Conway who forcibly argues:

If we are to increase the supply of land for housing through government intervention, improve the supply of land for housing by the formal and informal sectors, finance equitable land development, legitimize and improve existing squatter settlements, and prevent their unnecessary demolition—all policy actions recommended by HABITAT (UNCHS, 1982)—then this surely calls for radical alterations in governmental land appropriation mandates and legal powers. It remains open to conjecture whether any “capitalist” political system, peripheral, dependent or metropolitan, can mount such a challenge to this integral part of the very economic system to which to the polity owes its livelihood and its continued allegiance (Conway, 1985, p. 188).

Simply put, tinkering with the issues at the margins will not solve the problems of poverty among the urban poor without a fundamental restructuring of socio-economic systems. Such constructs, though theoretically valid, tend to appear superficial in the world-view of policy makers and planners who must confront problems at hand with practical solutions. Not surprisingly, the incorporation of self-help initiatives into housing projects has been heralded as a watershed in the design and implementation of housing policies for developing countries. Nevertheless, some analysts warn against viewing self-help initiatives as a ‘solve-all’ strategy—a panacea:

Sites-and-services schemes are both necessary and inevitable, but there can be no avoiding more radical changes which will redistribute the resources of the city and increase the rates of public services provision and job creation (Gilbert and Gugler, 1981, p. 115).

Public Participation

Should there be active public involvement in the urban development process in developing countries? This question has gained wide currency in development and planning literature as exemplified by the variety of descriptions: "bottom-up planning", "grass-roots planning", "participatory planning", "democratic planning", and "collaborative planning" (Conyers, 1982; Fagence, 1977; Kent, 1981; Friedmann, 1979; Lloyd, 1979). While some of the reasons for encouraging the active participation of the public in the planning process parallel those espoused in developed countries,⁵ a more fundamental reason for adoption in developing countries is that it is "a major prerequisite in steering emphasis away from Western-style planning to appropriate frameworks, and away from purely technical solutions of what are essentially complex social problems" (Potter, 1985, p. 149). In addition, it is argued that public participation would ensure some measure of accountability, in order to prevent the development of elitist planning bureaucracies which become alienated from 'the hopes and wishes of the people they hope to benefit' (Soussan, 1981).

The basis of this reasoning relates to the observation that the professional education and training of Third World planners, most of whom were trained in developed-world institutions are on a "cultural collision" course (Zetter, 1980). By adopting Western standards, Third World planners are accused of accepting "Western-style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth" (Potter, 1985, p. 156). The essence of this perspective is best articulated by Potter when he states that:

⁵ Public participation is usually encouraged on grounds that it provides insights into local conditions and the needs of the local people; that it facilitates the smooth implementation of plans; and that it is a democratic right that people should be involved in their own development (Conyers, 1982).

An appropriate technology of planning in Third World contexts must thereby involve well-articulated means of encouraging public participation in the planning process, which together with strong community-based planning foundations enable the aspirations and perceptions of individuals to be directly taken into account. In this light self-help imperatives in the cities of developing countries must be construed as a form of public participation, albeit one that cries out for formal recognition and regularization by planners and politicians (p. 157).

However, this perspective is not entirely shared by other analysts who argue for participation from a planner's point of view. Koenigsberger (1983), in particular, has argued strongly that in most developing countries, the high levels of self-help activity mean that the question of public participation arises in a reversed form because "it is the public that does the planning and the development; it is the planner who is not allowed to participate" (p. 51). His contention is that currently the initiative for planning in developing countries is in the hands of private self-help individuals, and planners are part of the process only as 'controllers' rather than 'initiators' or 'leaders' of development. To others, however, public participation in the planning process is a non-issue. It is contended that because of the magnitude and pressing nature of the environmental and socio-economic problems faced by many developing countries, public participation is at best a luxury, and at worst entirely unnecessary. Buttressing this view is also the notion that educational and literacy levels in developing countries are such that trained professionals are the only people that possess the knowledge to make judgement and reach decisions about planning matters.

The extent to which these conflicting views and opinions are incorporated into planning exercises by Third World planners or are an integral part of the lexicon of professional culture is unclear. What is clear, though, is that these perspectives have fundamental implications not only for the day-to-day function of planners but also how they are educated and prepared for their roles.

In summary, what emerges from the foregoing analysis are elements of a 'conventional wisdom' which argues for solutions that attempt to exploit the viability of both informal sector activities and self-help housing initiatives through the institution

of public participation at all levels of planning and development. It also criticizes measures designed to arrest the pace of rapid urban growth by merely controlling migration flows in the absence of a concerted effort directed at the broader issues of development both at the national and sub-national levels. In this study, the existence of this 'conventional wisdom' in the current literature serves as a backdrop against which the professional culture of planners working in Third World settings can be assessed.

Summary of Hypotheses

With reference to the theoretical framework outlined in the Introduction and articulated in this Chapter, the questions raised in this study can be translated into the following hypotheses:

- Hypothesis 1. Third World planners exhibit consistent sets of values, attitudes and role orientations that parallel those of developed-world planners because of the socializing influences of professional education on Third World planners trained in both developed-world and home institutions, which inculcates a world-view and belief system shared by developed societies.
- Hypothesis 2. People most likely to be planners or managers of the urban system are drawn disproportionately from certain types of background.
- Hypothesis 3. Managerialism and its associated skills forms a major component of the professional culture of Third World planners because professional socialization cannot be divorced from the ideological tenets of the profession.
- Hypothesis 4. The professional ideology of Third World planners and planning consultants like that of their developed-world counterparts is eclectic with regards to commonly held values and principles, an intensity of group consciousness and

claim over a definite segment of knowledge. This orientation is directly associated with the fact that planning is a publicly sanctioned profession.

- Hypothesis 5. The attitudes of Third World planners to specific issues related to the theory and practice of urban planning and management are most likely to be influenced and conditioned by contextual factors to which they are exposed to in their operational settings, despite the fact that planning can be seen as a form of deliberate intervention with intentions not just environmental, but also for social change.

Chapter III

Research Methodology

Research Design

The survey research method has emerged as the most dominant and influential instrument of research in social sciences (Jones 1985). Its utility, particularly for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory analyses, has made it the most potent component of the 'tool-kit' for many researchers. For this study the mail questionnaire survey method was selected as the best and appropriate research instrument to gather the necessary data. Long regarded as the step-child of survey research, this technique is now considered an equal to the traditionally accepted survey method of face-to-face interviews. According to Dillman (1978), "the day for mail questionnaire surveys has arrived." More recently, Jones (1985) has stated "Questionnaires received through the mail or found in magazines and places of business have become so commonplace that they may be replacing the face-to-face interview as the typical example of surveys (p. 183)". Besides the fact that it is less expensive than, for example, face-to-face interviews or telephone surveys, it was the most appropriate means of gathering data on planners' attitudes, perceptions and role orientations drawn from five regions of the world. These

include planners from India, Zimbabwe, Zambia, the Caribbean, and international planning consultants based in the first world, especially the USA. Such an approach offered the potential for comparative analysis.

The option of doing a one-country case study was considered and ruled out because it would have required enormous resources for field work, which were beyond the scope of the researcher. For these reasons the use of face-to-face interviews and telephone survey were considered impractical. Also, the viability of this research technique was enhanced by the logistical support afforded by national planning institutes for the internal distribution and collection of questionnaires in the countries from which the sub-samples were drawn.⁶ These considerations notwithstanding, it is important to note the inherent limitations of this method of data gathering. This relates to lack of flexibility owing to the inability of the respondents to seek clarification on questions that may have appeared ambiguous. Thus potentially increasing the number of incomplete questionnaires and misunderstood questions. Conversely, the mail questionnaire technique denied the researcher the opportunity to observe respondents in their operational settings. This may have further compounded the intangible, elusive character of the phenomena studied as well as the subtle nuances of attitudes.

Dillman (1978) has noted three requirements that must be fulfilled to maximize survey response. These are: minimize the costs for responding, maximize the rewards for doing so, and establish trust that those rewards will be delivered (p. 12). This study attempted to meet these requirements in the following way: (a) it emphasized how the study could help the researcher develop a better understanding of the professional and organizational culture of developing world planners and how such information could be used by educators and international donor agencies alike to orient and/or develop

⁶ The national planning institutes referred to are equivalent to professional planning organizations in developed countries.

training programs that are consistent with the values, attitudes, role orientations and aspirations of planners, (b) the questionnaire was reasonably short: in a pretest, the average time needed to complete the entire questionnaire was found to be approximately 15 to 20 minutes; (c) the questionnaire was sent to participants with self-addressed and stamped envelopes, (d) the participants' trust was established by assuring them that the results of the survey would be published in such a way that it would not be possible to identify individuals, and (e) official backing by the respective planning institutes reinforced the authenticity of the study as well as minimizing the likelihood of respondents reacting negatively to a solicitation of information by an outsider.

Sample

The sample for the study consisted of two groups of professional planners: Third World planners and international planning consultants. The first group consisted of planners working at both national and local government levels drawn from India, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and the Caribbean. The planners constituting the sample population of this group were selected based on their availability as well as the level of cooperation and logistical support the respective national planning institutes were willing to provide in order to conduct this research. Other national planning institutes contacted and solicited for support included: the Kenya Town Planning Chapter and the Malaysian Institute of Planners. While a response was received from the Kenya Town Planning Chapter expressing interest in the study, they were constrained by a government order which requires any research project done by outsiders to be approved and granted official authority from the Office of the President before it may start. Such a process, in the researcher's judgement, would have entailed unnecessary delay and uncertainty, since there was no guarantee of approval. Kenyan planners were therefore

excluded. As for the Malaysian Institute of Planners, no response was received acknowledging the initial letter of inquiry. A copy of the letter from the Kenyan Planning Chapter and other correspondence can be found in Appendix C.

The second group consisted of a cadre of professional planners from the developed world who have devoted most of their academic and/or professional careers to problems of the developing world, either as individuals or through such bilateral and multilateral agencies as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). This group of planners was included in the study for one primary reason. The World Bank and the Agency for International Development have for more than two decades been in the forefront of development activity in developing countries, providing the necessary resources for translating developmental goals into "realizable" outputs. As such, they play a key role in helping to set the development policy agenda. The World Bank alone, since developing a specific focus on urban programs in the early 1970s, has become the single largest source of capital for urban projects in developing countries (Sumka, 1987).

Besides exerting influence through development capital, the World Bank and other multilateral and bilateral agencies implicitly or explicitly influence development and planning thinking in developing countries via scores of documents published in a variety of journals. The World Bank, though a late starter into the field of urban development, has a list of publications on housing, urban planning and management that run into scores of titles. The United Nations, according to Qadeer (1983), had over 950 documents published on building, housing and city planning even before the publications "glut" from the Habitat Conference in 1976. Such outpourings, in more cases than not, include policy prescriptions that have far reaching implications, in particular when those who recommend them also provide the means for carrying them out. While these observations may be an oversimplification of a very complex relationship between the

developing countries and donors, the impact of Agency professionals can hardly be ignored. Thus whether people in the developing world or elsewhere, care to accept this reality or not — “Multilateral and bilateral agency planning professionals rule, OK.” The determination of the sample for the first group was based on the size of the active membership of the following planning institutes: The Indian Institute of Town Planners, Zimbabwe Institute of Regional and Urban Planners, Zambia Institute of Planners, Jamaica Town and Country Planning Association, and Barbados Town and Country Planning Society. The latter two were combined to form a unit, ‘the Caribbean’, due to the small size of their active membership. The actual selection of respondents was left to the respective planning institutes who were requested to use a simple random distribution system. This approach was used because of the problems encountered by the researcher to obtain Institute membership registers. Besides, mail turnaround and telephone communications to and from the multiple sites was prohibitively expensive both in time and money—and not entirely reliable.

Respondents in the second group were selected using a simple random sample based on the listings taken from the participating Agencies’ staff telephone directories. An initial list developed out of the staff directory was sent to the directors of the Water Supply and Urban Development (World Bank) and Office of Housing and Urban Programs (USAID), respectively to verify whether the job functions of individuals listed conformed to their title descriptions. This was necessary because of the high internal mobility rate of personnel within the two agencies. For example, an individual may have joined the World Bank as a planner, but over time they switch to other disciplinary areas that are not planning-related. Academic respondents were selected using a simple random sample based on the academic listings taken from the 1986 Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Guide and the National Faculty Directory.

In all, 165 developing world planners (70 Indian, 40 Zimbabwean, 20 Zambian, and 35 Caribbean) and 100 international planning consultants were surveyed. The sampling rate was 1 in 10 for India, 1 in 3 for other countries. The distribution of the instrument to Indian planners occurred between January and June, 1987 realizing 52 responses, an overall response rate of 74 per cent. It is relevant to note that setting up the logistics in India took more than 9 months. The distribution of the instrument to Zimbabwean, Caribbean, and International planning consultants occurred between the months of March and July, 1987. While the distribution to Zambian planners occurred between the months of May and November, 1987.

The variation in the distribution dates was conditioned by two factors: (a) the time it took for a particular planning institute to respond to the initial letter soliciting logistical support, and (b) delay in clearing international bank drafts to cover internal postage and return parcel post to the U.S.A. Besides, the discrepancy in the distribution dates underscores the difficulties of conducting survey research from a "remote" site. Turnaround time of overseas mail services, miscommunication, unreliable telephone services, delays in securing international bank drafts to cover internal postage expenses, etc. are illustrative of problems that occurred. Two copies of the questionnaire, modified, where appropriate, to conform to the characteristics of the two sub-samples (that is, Third World planners and planning consultants, respectively), and correspondence with respective national planning Institutes can be found in Appendix A and B.

Composition of Returns

Of the 265 questionnaires originally mailed to respondents, 186 (70.2 per cent) usable questionnaires were returned. Of this number, 52 (19.6 per cent) were Indian, 25

(9.4 per cent) were Zimbabwean, 16 (6.0 per cent) were Zambian, 18 (6.8 per cent) were Caribbean and 75 (28.3 per cent) were international planning consultants.

Dillman (1978) has noted that investigators using the TDM (Total Design Method) method in 48 individual mail surveys the average response rate was found to be 74 per cent. Of equal significance in Dillman's observation is that no survey obtained less than a 50 per cent response rate, a level once considered quite acceptable for mail surveys (p. 21). In this study, the first group consisting of Third World planners had a combined response rate of 67 per cent and a sample size of 111, while international planning consultants yielded response rate of 75 per cent and sample size 75. Only 2.3 per cent of the returns were unusable. These included questionnaires returned because of incorrect address (1), questionnaires returned stating that the potential respondent did not wish to respond (3), changed job function (1) or respondent was too busy having just returned from a consulting trip overseas (1). Factoring the unfavorable conditions under which the instrument was carried out, particularly among developing world planners, the response rate was felt to be very satisfactory.

Survey Instrument

The basic strategy for this study was to utilize a mailed questionnaire to gather data within the constraints inherent in "remote-type" survey research. To achieve the objectives of the study, a four-part questionnaire was developed. The first section contained questions designed to obtain standard background information including age, academic level, degree type, school attended by setting, job type, employer, developing country experience, past professional activities and parental occupation.

The second section was composed of 14 attribute variables dealing with attitudes to professional roles and ethical values. These attributes were selected from the Royal

Town Planning Institute's recommendations on the education and training of planners and operationalized by Knox and Cullen (1981). The thrust was to ascertain planners' conception of a well balanced/equipped planner. In other words, what attributes/qualities are perceived as most desirable in a good, successful planner. It is also relevant to note that the same skills and attributes typify those advocated by the American Planning Association.

The third section of the questionnaire consisted of 41 Likert-type questions with 7-point interval scales and semantic differentials ranging from 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree'. The 41 statements were generated from current literature on planning and planners, with many of the statements being quotations from leading scholars and practitioners of Third World urbanization and development. For example, the statement "Developing countries must take advantage of their backwardness by learning from the urban experiences of technologically advanced countries," is attributable to Raghuramiah, former Indian Minister of Housing and Urban Development (Bhargava 1981). The Likert scale was used to elicit planners' disposition toward specific issues relating to the theory and practice of urban planning and management in developing countries. Respondents were asked to indicate their degree of agreement with each statement in the questionnaire. For example, "The answer to the urban dilemma of developing countries lies in indigenous theory, indigenous design and indigenous planning". A score from 1 (strongly agree) to 7 (strongly disagree) was recorded for each item for each respondent.

Finally, the fourth section of the questionnaire sought planners' motives for selecting planning as a career and the extent to which their actions impacted planning and urban development.

Before administering the survey instrument to respondents, a draft questionnaire was discussed with peers and educators. Concerns were raised regarding the extent to

which one could justifiably generalize for all developing countries in phrasing questions, given the apparent differences in the levels of development, culture, social, political and physical attributes. While acknowledging these concerns, it is the researcher's conviction that the alleged differences are basically a red-herring. Developing countries or the Third World, as some prefer to call it, have more in common in terms of their planning and development experiences than many people care to admit. Among other things, the developing countries from which the samples for this study were drawn exhibit structural conditions of underdevelopment. These are manifested in the distribution of urban systems, regional disparities and incidents of high urban growth, particularly among the large cities. Consequently, the major cities are afflicted, (with a few exceptions), with intractable problems of obsolescence, inadequate facilities and services, slums and squatter settlements and overcrowding. Finally, it should be noted that all respondents were drawn from the English-speaking world. This is not just a matter of pragmatism: it means that all of the respondents would have been able draw on the same pool of planning and urbanization literature, and ideas; and that all will have been working within the framework of a socio-legal legacy of British colonialism.

The instrument was pilot-tested in August, 1986 in India. Pretesting provided relevant information which proved useful in sharpening the survey instrument.

Data Preparation

Testing for comparability of sub-samples

One of the stated objectives of this study involves a comparative analysis of the values and attitudes of Third World planners and planning consultants. To accomplish this task required establishing a valid basis for combining the sub-samples in such a way. First, comparisons of pairs of sub-sample means (by t-tests) and variances (by F-tests)

revealed that there were very few attitudinal statements on which significant differences were recorded by the Third World sub-samples (Caribbean, Indian, Zambian, Zimbabwean). Table 1, which compares sub-samples of Zambians and Zimbabweans illustrates this pattern. On the basis of these results the Third World sub-samples were combined and their overall responses compared with those of planning consultants. As Table 2 shows, there were significant differences for the means and/or variances for the great majority of the statements. Thus it was concluded that, in general, the attitudes of Third World planners were different from those of planning consultants.

Nonetheless, it is important to point out the areas in which there was (a) consensus, and (b) disagreement between the two groups in terms of the overall responses to several of the 41 attitudinal statements. Table 3 lists items indicating convergence between the two groups in terms of overall responses. Similarly, Table 4 lists items indicating divergence in the groups' overall responses. These results are used later in the analysis as basis for establishing the 'conventional wisdom' of each group.

Testing for Sampling Adequacy

Prior to applying the factor analysis procedure—discussed in more detail in the next section — a correlation matrix of the 14 attribute variables (noted in the second part of the questionnaire) was computed to determine the appropriateness of the factor model. This procedure was done for both sub-samples. The test-statistic for this procedure is known as Bartlett's test of sphericity. A key condition for this test-statistic is that the data be a sample from a multivariate normal population. Thus it is used to test the hypothesis that the correlation matrix computed for all the variables is an identity matrix. If the value of the test-statistic for sphericity (based on a chi-square transformation of the determinant of the correlation) is large and the associated significance level is small then the hypothesis that the population correlation is an identity is rejected.

Table 1. Zambian and Zimbabwean planners: Comparisons of sub-sample means and variances

ITEM*	GROUP									
	Zimbabwe					Zambia				
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/V	Sig. F	T/V	Df	Sig. T	
	(N = 25)	(N = 16)								
"Planners trained to develop technically correct solutions"	4.36	1.58	3.56	2.09	1.77	.208	1.37	39	.173	
"Aimless policy drift a cause of urban population growth"	4.76	2.08	3.87	2.21	1.13	.769	1.29	39	.204	
"The answer to the urban dilemma of LDCs lies in indigenous solutions"	4.16	2.26	3.12	2.06	1.21	.716	1.48	39	.148	
"Current approach to planning in LDCs is static and technocratic"	5.52	1.50	3.25	2.23	2.21	.080	3.89	39	.000***	
"Standards for housing and urban services are too high in LDCs"	3.36	2.08	2.50	2.03	1.01	.947	1.33	39	.192	
"Planning is engrossed in architecture and engineering in LDCs"	4.40	2.99	3.31	1.81	1.47	.446	1.65	39	.107	
"Planners think big while the economic reality is such that people cannot afford to do so"	3.92	1.47	3.14	1.71	1.35	.497	1.59	39	.121	
"Western technology is irrelevant in developing countries"	4.28	1.96	4.06	2.32	1.39	.457	0.32	39	.749	
"Planning in LDCs is elitist and unrealistic"	5.52	1.22	4.50	1.93	2.47	.047*	2.07	39	.045*	
"Planning in LDCs serves the interests of elites"	5.00	1.58	2.44	2.03	1.65	.265	4.53	39	.000***	
"LDC planners are ambivalent about technical matters"	4.12	1.48	3.93	1.73	1.36	.492	0.37	38	.716	
"Planners trained in MDCs lack appropriate planning tools"	4.20	2.08	5.12	1.66	1.56	.377	-1.49	39	.143	
"Planners' claim to professionalism"	4.64	2.06	5.06	1.62	1.61	.358	-0.68	38	.498	

Table 1 (continued)

ITEM*	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/V	Sig. F	T/V	Df	Sig. T
"Planner's role is to safeguard the public interest"	3.04	2.09	2.43	2.13	1.04	.912	0.89	39	.377
"LDC planners lack solutions for rural/urban migration"	4.37	2.20	4.93	2.38	1.77	.720	-0.77	38	.448
"Planners should encourage self-help approaches"	2.48	1.85	1.81	1.76	1.11	.858	1.15	39	.258
"Site and services and slum upgrading are mere palliatives"	5.64	1.63	4.62	2.44	2.25	.074	1.60	39	.118
"Planners' effectiveness based on objectivity"	2.68	1.90	2.31	1.62	1.39	.518	0.64	39	.528
"Influencing decisions by providing technical information"	2.52	1.47	2.37	1.48	1.10	.873	0.31	39	.756
"Planning is primarily a political activity"	2.68	1.67	3.18	2.45	2.15	.092	-0.79	39	.436
"The price paid to improve the environment is too high"	4.60	1.80	4.50	2.06	1.31	.536	0.16	39	.871
"Planners should work within rules of their agency"	4.40	1.75	5.44	1.89	1.17	.716	-1.79	39	.081
"Planners should distribute resources to the have-nots"	2.20	1.38	2.18	1.79	1.68	.247	0.03	39	.980
"Private developers lack concern for public good"	3.88	1.87	3.37	2.47	1.73	.220	0.74	39	.463
"Planners better placed to determine community needs"	5.92	1.07	5.00	2.68	6.21	.000***	1.54	39	.132
"Staking values in competition with those of others"	3.95	1.89	3.25	2.43	1.65	.275	1.03	38	.309
"Planners in LDCs too concerned about the environment"	5.04	1.92	4.12	2.30	1.43	.418	1.37	39	.177
"The informal sector in LDC cities serves a critical function"	1.56	0.96	1.44	1.09	1.30	.556	0.38	39	.708

Table I (continued)

ITEM	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/V	Sig. F	T/V	Df	Sig. T
"Planners training fosters equitable considerations"	2.92	1.89	2.62	2.09	1.23	.638	0.47	39	.643
"Encouraging citizen participation in the planning process"	2.36	1.78	1.19	0.54	10.67	.000***	2.55	39	.015*
"People should determine who lives in their locality"	4.68	1.79	3.50	2.16	1.45	.408	1.90	39	.065
"Citizens should not override plans drawn-up by professionals"	5.48	1.32	5.56	2.09	2.50	.044*	-0.15	39	.878
"Western solutions and standards regarded as the norm"	4.76	2.24	2.93	2.26	1.02	.936	2.53	39	.016*
"Donor criteria for urban project viability serves the interest of LDCs"	3.40	2.19	3.25	1.80	1.48	.435	0.23	39	.821
"Eradicate, prevent squatter formation by providing orderly housing projects"	4.32	2.11	4.70	2.32	1.21	.663	-0.61	39	.545
"Lack of interagency coordination a major problem"	3.24	1.83	2.00	1.75	1.09	.877	2.15	39	.038*

Scale: (1) strongly agree, (2) moderately agree, (3) slightly agree, (4) Neutral, (5) slightly disagree, (6) moderately disagree, (7) strongly disagree

* < .05

** < .01

*** < .001

*A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Table 2. Third World planners and Planning Consultants: Comparisons of sub-sample means and variances

ITEM*	GROUP									
	Third World Planners (N = 111)					Planning Consultants (N = 75)				
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/V	Sig. F [†]	T/V	Df	Sig. T	
"Planners trained to develop technically correct solutions"	3.22	1.93	4.50	1.58	1.47	.077	-4.79	183	.000***	
"Aimless policy drift a cause of urban population growth"	4.18	2.22	5.58	1.63	1.84	.003**	-4.68	183	.000***	
"The answer to the urban dilemma of LDCs lies in indigenous solutions"	3.20	2.18	3.73	1.84	1.41	.119	-1.71	180	.089	
"Current approach to planning in LDCs is static and technocratic"	3.93	2.33	2.44	1.38	2.84	.000***	4.91	178	.000***	
"Standards for housing and urban services are too high in LDCs"	3.34	2.22	2.13	1.57	1.99	.002**	4.05	182	.000***	
"Planning is engrossed in architecture and engineering in LDCs"	3.90	2.08	3.06	1.73	1.44	.094	2.89	183	.004**	
"Planners think big while the economic reality is such that people cannot afford to do so"	3.54	1.87	3.26	1.65	1.28	.256	1.02	182	.307	
"Western technology is irrelevant in developing countries"	3.52	2.18	4.61	1.70	1.65	.023*	-3.65	184	.000***	
"Planning in LDCs is elitist and unrealistic"	4.33	2.20	3.56	1.74	1.62	.028*	2.55	184	.012*	
"Planning in LDCs serves the interests of elites"	3.63	2.09	3.36	1.79	1.36	.155	0.92	183	.357	
"Third World planners are ambivalent about technical matters"	4.04	1.94	4.14	1.53	1.61	.032*	-0.41	180	.680	
"Planners trained in MDCs lack appropriate planning tools"	4.80	2.07	3.80	1.81	1.32	.201	3.41	183	.001**	
"Planners' claim to professionalism"	4.08	2.14	5.44	1.63	1.72	.014*	-4.63	183	.000***	

Table 2 (continued)

ITEM	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	F/V	Sig. F	T/V	Df	Sig. T
"Planner's role is to safeguard the public interest"	2.65	1.98	4.32	1.91	1.08	.744	-5.67	182	.000***
"LDC planners lack solutions for rural/urban migration"	4.20	2.21	3.59	1.92	1.32	.200	1.92	182	.053*
"Planners should encourage self-help approaches"	2.00	1.48	2.09	1.39	1.13	.582	-0.14	184	.887
"Site and services and slum upgrading are mere palliatives"	5.02	2.05	5.24	1.95	1.10	.680	-0.74	184	.462
"Planners' effectiveness based on objectivity"	2.14	1.50	3.85	2.15	2.05	.001**	-6.36	183	.000***
"Influencing decisions by providing technical information"	2.23	1.50	4.21	1.75	1.36	.142	-8.21	184	.000***
"Planning is primarily a political activity"	3.54	2.27	2.78	1.62	1.96	.002**	2.48	184	.014*
"The price paid to improve the environment is too high"	4.74	2.03	5.58	1.51	1.81	.007**	-3.01	182	.003**
"Planners should work within rules of their agency"	3.76	2.05	4.39	1.64	1.57	.041*	-2.21	181	.028*
"Planners should distribute resources to the have-nots"	2.20	1.50	2.50	1.36	1.21	.375	-1.58	184	.170
"Private developers lack concern for public good"	3.36	2.13	4.09	1.79	1.41	.115	-2.45	184	.015*
"Planners better placed to determine community needs"	5.00	1.99	5.64	1.43	1.93	.003**	2.35	184	.020*
"Staking values in competition with those of others"	3.29	2.07	3.26	1.57	1.74	.012*	0.09	183	.932
"Planners in LDCs too concerned about the environment"	4.58	2.07	4.53	1.72	1.45	.091	0.18	182	.861
"The informal sector in LDC cities serves a critical function"	1.76	1.36	1.96	1.10	1.53	.053*	-1.07	183	.287
"Planners' training fosters equitable considerations"	3.04	2.00	4.62	1.91	1.10	.668	-5.38	183	.000***

Table 2 (continued)

ITEM	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	I/V	Sig. F ¹	T/V	Df	Sig. T
"Encouraging citizen participation in the planning process"	1.90	1.41	2.47	1.54	1.19	.409	-2.53	184	.012*
"People should determine who lives in their locality"	4.13	2.19	4.43	1.63	1.80	.008**	-0.98	181	.329
"Citizens should not override plans drawn-up by professionals"	4.80	1.99	5.34	1.51	1.75	.011*	-2.00	184	.047*
"Western solutions and standards seen as the norm"	3.89	2.32	4.04	2.12	1.20	.414	-0.42	181	.677
"Donor criteria for urban project viability serves the interest of LDCs"	3.07	2.06	3.00	1.99	1.07	.765	0.24	183	.814
"Eradicate, prevent squatter formation by providing orderly housing"	3.81	2.34	6.12	1.38	2.86	.000***	-7.58	182	.000***
"Lack of interagency coordination a major problem"	2.08	1.59	2.17	1.34	1.40	.123	-0.41	184	.682

Scale: (1) strongly agree (2) moderately agree (3) slightly agree (4) Neutral (5) slightly disagree (6) moderately disagree (7) strongly disagree

* < .05

** < .01

*** < .001

*A copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix A.

Table 3. Third World planners and Planning consultants: Attitudinal statements on which there was strong agreement

	GROUP	
	Third World Planners (Response)	Planning Consultants (Response)
"Planners working in major cities should encourage self-help approaches in the supply of urban services"	Agree	Agree
"Popular urban strategies such as sites and services, slum upgrading or self-help are more palliatives that institutionalise poverty in cleaner shantytowns"	Disagree	Disagree
"Planners in the Third World are too concerned about protecting the environment and not enough about economic development"	Disagree	Disagree
"People have a right to control who lives in their neighborhood"	Agree	Agree
"Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want"	Disagree	Disagree
"Citizens should not have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals"	Disagree	Disagree
"Lack of coordination between planning authorities and other government agencies responsible for the provision of urban services and infrastructure is one of the major problems impeding planning efforts in the Third World"	Agree	Agree

Table 4. Third World planners and Planning consultants: Attitudinal statements on which there was strong disagreement

	GROUP	
	Third World Planners	Planning Consultants
	(Response)	(Response)
"The existing approach to planning in the Third World is not only static and technocratic but also unrelated to overall national development plans, objectives and constraints"	Disagree	Agree
"The standards set for housing, public facilities, etc., in developing countries are so unrealistic that a great majority of people can never reach them"	Disagree	Agree
"The insulation of planners from political whims and their claim to professional expertise enables them to better interpret public mandates"	Neutral	Agree
"The prime responsibility of the planner is to safeguard people from inappropriate development"	Agree	Neutral
"Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information"	Agree	Disagree
"The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of services to various members of the community"	Agree	Disagree
"An appropriate response to the problem of squatter settlements is to prevent the formation of new squatter settlements, the eradication of existing eyesores and replacing them by orderly and appropriately designed housing projects"	Neutral	Disagree

Based on this result, the researcher can then proceed to use the factor model. Another indicator of the strength of the relationship, generated automatically is the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy. KMO is an index for comparing the magnitudes of the observed correlation coefficients to the magnitudes of the partial correlation coefficients. For example, small values for KMO measure indicate that a factor analysis of variables may not be appropriate since correlations between pairs of variables cannot be explained by the other variables. This study adequately fulfilled the above conditions in the following manner. For the Third World sample correlation matrix the value of the test-statistic for sphericity was:

- KMO measure of sampling adequacy = .62936
- Bartlett test of sphericity = 204.4410, Significance = .001

Results for the Planning consultants sample correlation matrix were as follows:

- KMO measure of sampling adequacy = .60732
- Bartlett test of sphericity = 203.45192, Significance = .001

Methods of Analysis and Interpretation

In addition to bivariate techniques, two multivariate statistical procedures were used for data analysis: FACTOR ANALYSIS and CLUSTER ANALYSIS. The former refers to a series of statistical techniques whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of smaller number of hypothetical variables. It is based on the premise that underlying factors which are smaller in number than the observed variables are responsible for the covariation between observed variables (Kim and Mueller, 1978; Goddard and Kirby, 1976). According to Goddard and Kirby (1976), factor analysis assumes that the relationship between observed variables and some underlying factors is a linear one. Factors are assumed to be common to two or more variables or unique to

each variable. The primary objective of factor analytic techniques is to reduce information contained in the observed variables to a manageable state with minimal loss of information. Similarly, cluster analysis refers to a group of multivariate procedures whose primary purpose is to identify similar entities from the characteristics they possess. The procedure identifies and classifies variables or objects so that each object is similar to others in its cluster with respect to some predetermined selection criteria. Based on such criteria, Hair et al (1987) suggests that the resulting variables must exhibit high internal (within cluster) homogeneity and high external (between cluster) heterogeneity. That is to say, if the classification is successful, the variables within clusters should be close together while the variables in different clusters farther apart. The primary value of this method lies in the preclassification of data as suggested by “natural” groupings of the data itself. The choice of these two analytic techniques for data analysis was based upon their facility of data reduction and summarization. An elaboration on each is presented in the following sections.

Factor analysis

This method permits the researcher to analyze the interrelationships among variables with respect to their common underlying dimensions and/or factors. These factors may be considered the essential determining constructs representing a new set of variables which are solely defined in terms of the original dimensions. The varimax criterion for orthogonal rotation was selected because it maximizes the number of very high and low factor loadings, thus providing the simplest factor structure solution. The varimax criterion centers on simplifying the columns of the factor matrix. Rotation of the factors in most cases improves the interpretation by reducing some of the ambiguities which often accompany an initially unrotated matrix. In rotating the factor matrix, the vari-

ance is redistributed from the initial factors to new factors to achieve a simpler, in Thurstone's (1947) terms, theoretically more meaningful factor pattern.

According to Kim and Mueller (1978), four conditions must exist to permit a meaningful factor analysis: (a) to produce meaningful results, the sample size should be 100 or greater or no less than 50; (b) as a general rule, there should be four or five times as many observations as there are variables to be analyzed. Most researchers recommend at least three variables for each factor (Goddard and Kirby, 1976); (c) factor loadings of .30 are considered significant, and if the loadings are .50 or greater they are considered very significant; and (d) use of the eigenvalue of 1.0 or greater as the cut-off point to determine the variance accounted for by highest factor loadings. In other words only factors having eigenvalues greater than 1.0 are considered significant. This study fulfilled these conditions in the following manner. First, sample sizes of 75 and 111 for international consultants and Third World planners, respectively were realized. These exceeds the minimum recommended sample sizes. Second, with the exception of one factor, all the other factors had at least three variables as recommended. Finally, in this study the lowest factor loading was .19 and the highest .82. However, only factor loadings of .30, which are considered significant— were included in the final factor solution.

Cluster Analysis

The utility of cluster analysis lies in its capacity to reduce data consisting of large numbers of observations to manageable proportions with minimal loss of information. This procedure is particularly useful when, for example, a researcher collects data via a questionnaire that contains a large number of observations that may be meaningless unless classified into manageable groups. Using the cluster analytic procedure the researcher can achieve a more concise, understandable description of the observations.

A key requirement for cluster analysis relates to the need for the researcher to select a criterion (i.e., clustering algorithm) that attempts to maximize the differences between clusters relative to the variation within clusters (Hair, et al, 1987; Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984). The selected clustering algorithm ensures that the ratio of the between-cluster variation to the average within-cluster is “comparable (but not identical) to the F-ratio in analysis of variance” (Hair, et al, 1987, p. 301).

A hierarchical clustering algorithm using Ward’s Method, which calculates the distance between two clusters as the sum of squares between the two clusters summed over all variables was used in this study for data manipulation from the 41 Likert statements. With this hierarchical clustering algorithm each observation starts out as its own cluster and is joined by another close cluster in the next step to form a new aggregate cluster. Eventually all individual clusters are joined together in successive steps to form a new cluster which may result in a single large cluster or form what is referred to as a *dendrogram* or *tree graph*. (Figures 1 and 2).

A minor inconvenience with this technique is that it does not offer a standard objective selection procedure for determining the number of clusters. However, a few guidelines are suggested which range from using distances between clusters at successive steps and stopping when the distance exceeds a specified value or when the successive distances between steps makes a sudden *jump* to computing solutions for several different numbers of clusters, and then deciding among the alternatives based on a priori criteria. These may include practical judgement, common sense or what the researcher deems to be the most meaningful and interpretable cluster solution. All these guidelines were tried in this study and the computation of different cluster solution guideline provided the most satisfactory result.

The procedure for interpreting the cluster solution involved examining the 41 statements used to develop the clusters and then assigning a label that best or accurately

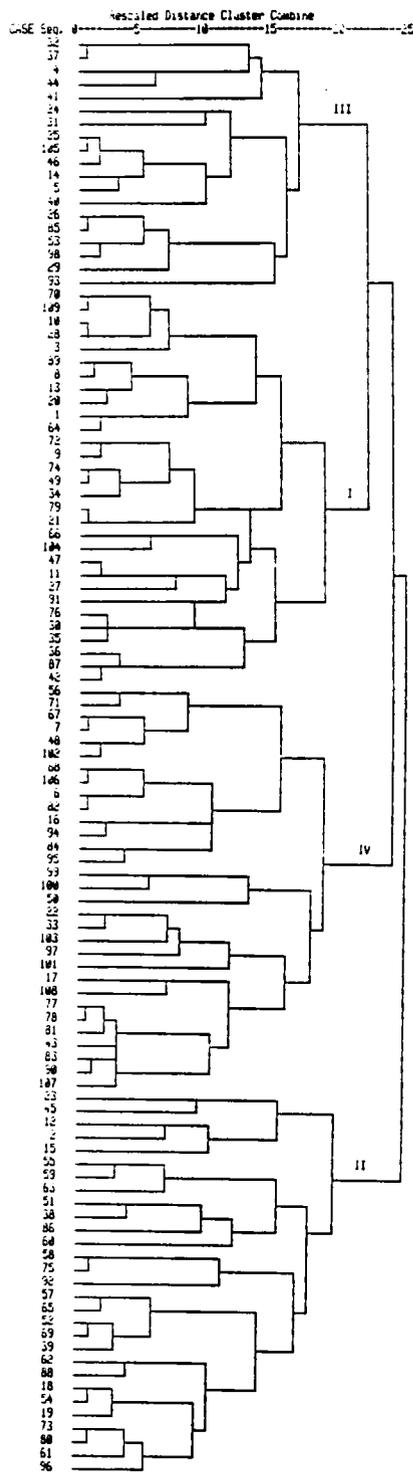


Figure 1. Ward's Method Dendrogram: Third World Planners

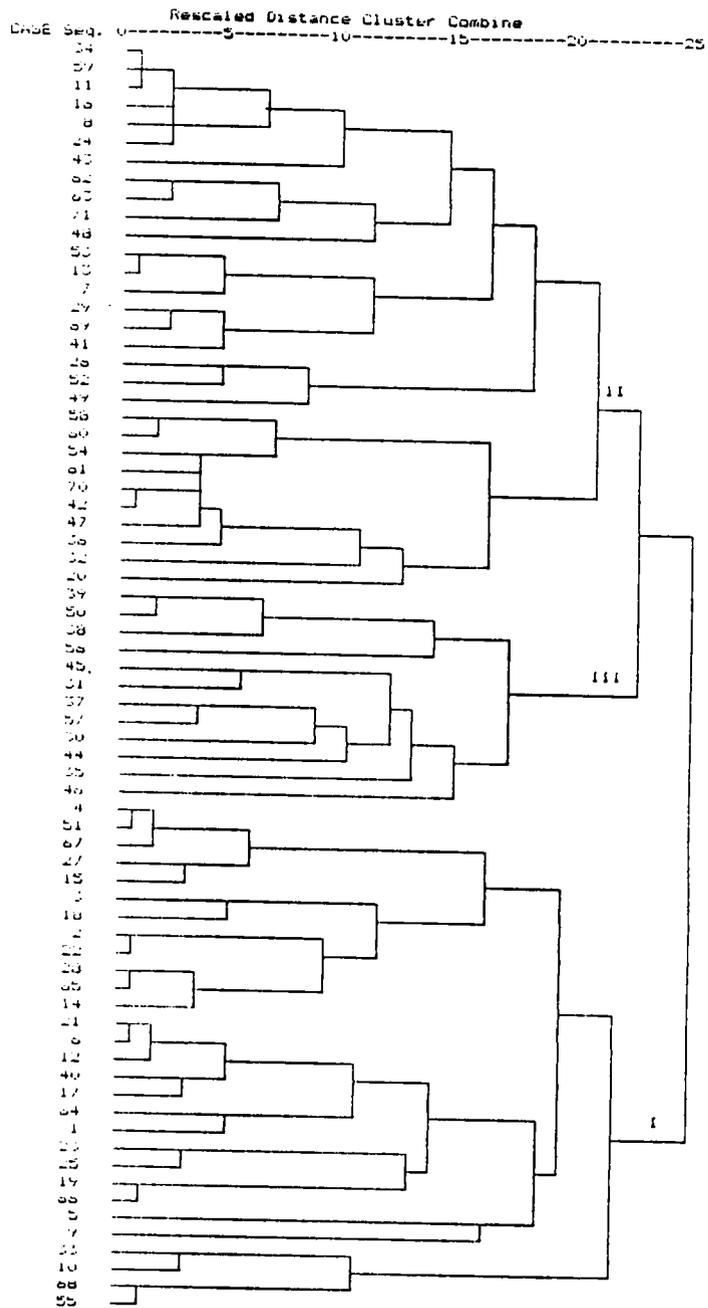


Figure 2. Ward's Method Dendrogram: Planning Consultants

described the nature of the clusters. A four and three cluster solution was realized on data for Third World planners and planning consultants, respectively (see Figures 1 and 2). A detailed discussion is presented in the next chapter. The SPSS-X computer package was used for data preparation and analysis.

Chapter IV

Analysis and Presentation of Results

The evidence about the professional culture of Third World planners and planning consultants working in Third World settings is presented in two sections in this Chapter. In the first section results on Third World planners are presented, while section two reports findings on planning consultants. Each sub-sample was analyzed separately using the methodological techniques discussed in the previously Chapter. This approach was used in order to establish the 'conventional wisdom' of each group, which serves to provide departure points for further comparative analysis. By presenting results in this format it became feasible to draw comparisons between the two sub-samples with respect to their subscribed world-views. Such a synthesis occurs in the concluding Chapter.

The Environmental Context of Third World Planners

Although much has been written and said about planning in developing countries, the planners themselves remain something of an enigma. This is somewhat ironic given the fact that planners' work has often been the focus of critical attention. Furthermore, despite general Third World societal support for *planning* as an activity, there

is considerable antagonism towards *planners* in the literature who are seen as part of the *establishment* acting in support of the interests of privileged classes and/or maintaining the *status quo* (Soussan, 1981; Potter, 1985). Questions about who they are with respect to their values, attitudes, professional role orientations, and social mores remain largely answered. The main objective of this chapter, therefore, is to begin to fill the void in the literature by providing empirical information about the professional culture of Third World planners and planning consultants working in areas of urban planning and management in developing countries. However, before embarking on such an exercise it would be useful to briefly discuss the operational settings and issues confronting planners in the countries from which the sub-samples of Third World planners were drawn. The overall aim is to provide a framework on which to base some inferences and speculation about planners' professional culture in conjunction with what the data reveals.

The Operational Settings

India

India is sometimes described as the 'largest democracy in the world'. With a population estimated at 700 million in 1982 and a land surface area of 1.2 million square miles the characterization could not be more fitting (Hall, 1980). Not only is India a multi-cultural nation, organized politically on a federal basis, but it is characterized by a wide range of economic and demographic contrasts. The interaction of these factors inevitably affect the nature of its urban development and the character of its problems.

Although India has in the past been portrayed as a nation characterized by food shortages and industrial backwardness, in recent years it has achieved agricultural self-sufficiency as well as emerging as a major economic power in Asia. The achievements consist of a large and powerful industrial base, a comparatively well-developed transport

and communications network and a large supply of educated manpower. Despite these achievements, India still remains a poor country by world standards with a GNP per capita of \$260 in 1984 (World Development Report 1986).

Demographically, India remains rural; only 25 per cent of its population was urbanized in 1984. However, with over 150 million people living in cities and towns, it has the third largest urban population in the world (Bhargava, 1981). In a recent study, Lea and Courtney (1985) suggest that if current trends in urban population growth continue, the total urban population will reach 300 million by year 2000. Unlike most countries of the developing world wherein one or two large cities predominate, India entered the 1980s with more than 15 'millionaire' cities. Major urban agglomerations which include Calcutta, Madras, Delhi and Bombay between them encompassed approximately 30 million people in 1981. And with a population growth rate of 3.3 per cent a year their expansion is far from stabilizing. The incidence of rapid urban growth has resulted in numerous problems: overcrowded housing, inadequate facilities and services, deficient infrastructure, unemployment, and a proliferation of slums and squatter settlements. Attempts to improve these conditions have proved notoriously difficult. This is due in part to the intractable nature of many of these problems, and the lack of effective planning, but is also the consequence of what some analysts perceive to be bureaucratic intransigence to change and the pursuit of inappropriate and unrealistic planning solutions based on alien values (Soussan, 1981).

Regarding the shortcomings of the planning system, the root of the problem is as much a current failure as is an extension of the country's colonial legacy. To illustrate: India entered the independence phase without a formalized comprehensive planning system. Pre-independence efforts by the British to develop such a system were unsuccessful due to India's size, multiplicity of urban centers and federal political structure. Hall (1980) suggests that if India failed then, the post independence conditions have

made the prospects for developing such a system even more difficult because of rapid urbanization amongst the largest centers, population growth and attempts at industrialization. He concludes:

As a result, the variegated approach to urban planning and its administration, presents, on the one hand, an array of disparate urban and rural local bodies with separate jurisdiction and on the other, a wide range of variously overlapping functional authorities and other agencies controlled and directed by different state level authorities and departments (p. 43).

To improve the planning system at the sub-national level the Indian government passed in the 1970s legislation which allowed states to establish urban development authorities, particularly to assist with planning and development efforts in major cities. To date, more than ten major cities (which include Calcutta, Madras, Delhi, and Bombay) have functioning urban development authorities that receive financial support from the national government as well as from international donor agencies such the World Bank to augment local capacity in planning and management. However, such efforts have not been well received in some planning quarters. Thus:

The establishment of urban development authorities represents a piecemeal fragmentary approach without solving and may be, even adding, to the chaos of subsystems within the metropolitan area (Raj, 1978, p. 343).

Criticisms such as these, however, only tell part of the story. The other dimension to planning in India concerns the role the profession has played in addressing the urban challenge facing India. There is a general feeling that the profession has been wrapped up in 'technocratic and normative physical planning exercises' rather than providing workable solutions to the urban malaise that characterize India's cities. As Misra (1978) explains:

Urban planning has been least concerned with policy alternatives for solving the various development problems. It has been so much engrossed in architecture and beautification, in engineering exercises and professional isolation that it has paid almost no attention to social and economic framework for urban planning. It sees no contradictions in palatial houses with all the extravaganza one can think of on the one hand and mud walls and huts on the other. Its designs of houses, roads, sewage plants and any other thing one can think of, is nothing but a replica of what has been done in countries like the USA. Planning is thus delinked from social and economic realities and consequences (Misra, 1978, p. 353).

Some of the most blatant disabling consequences of professionalism are indeed found in the planning and construction of India's new towns. In a case study of Bhubaneswar, State capital of Orissa, Grenell (1972) amply demonstrated the extent to which the profession had endeavored to create physical symbols in its own self-image rather than addressing the socio-economic needs of the urban poor. He contends that the pattern of physical development to emerge has been more reflective of alien western values (planning principles and bureaucratic practices) which are consonant with those held by administrative and elected officials. This pattern, according to Grenell, is reflected throughout other Indian new towns with predictable outcomes: the marginalization of the urban poor. For instance, far from improving environmental and housing conditions, basic infrastructure services and associated urban amenities, job opportunities in low income areas continue to deteriorate unabated.

Of late, however, there are signs that the profession has begun to modify its orientation by incorporating socio-economic aspects into planning programs (World Bank, 1985). For example, non-conventional housing solutions such sites and services and squatter upgrading schemes are now part of the planning idiom. Whether such overtures will have a lasting effect must be assessed, on the one hand, against allegations that some Third World countries have embraced sites and services and squatter upgrading schemes simply to acquire soft interest loans from donor agencies (Payne, 1984) and on the other the selective use of squatter eviction tactics by Indian authorities. For instance, Gibney (1986) notes that the action to remove squatters as recently as 1985 in Bombay was upheld by the Indian Supreme Court. Undoubtedly, this and similar such actions vindicate those in the planning profession who have constantly argued for the 'de-elitization' of urban planning in India. Thus:

An important institutional change in the country is in the field of planning. Planning in India, no matter what its brand and what its spatial level, is essentially elitist and unrealistic. Much of it is ivory-tower planning with scant sensitivity to the human dimension of poverty....The problems that small man who forms a majority in India faces, do not interest them...It is unfortunate indeed that

the elite planner sees a challenge when he designs a large dam, a large building or large factory, but he sees no challenge in designing a plan, programme or scheme which will make the lives of millions and millions of our countrymen a bit more livable...There is a great need for much of planning and development activities being oriented to the poor (Misra, 1978, p. 357).

This mind set, alongside the difficulty of devising a planning system that responds adequately to explosive urban growth, slum and squatter settlements and resulting pressures on housing, infrastructure and public services, particularly within the context of underdevelopment is not unique to India. Rather, it typifies a general pattern in other Third World countries grappling with the task of planning and development.

The Caribbean

As noted previously, the Caribbean countries from which data on planners were collected include Jamaica and Barbados. Although the two countries are different in size (Jamaica, the larger of the two, has an area 25 times that of Barbados and a population 11 times greater) share a number of salient features. Both countries share a British colonial legacy (administrative and planning structures); they are classified by the World Bank as middle income countries (although Barbados is clearly the more prosperous of the two—per capita income is \$3040 versus \$1115 for Jamaica), and their island economies are based on tourism and export of primary products. As such they are heavily dependent on multinational corporations and foreign capital. More importantly, they are characterized by a high degree of urbanization (over 50 per cent) and high levels of urban primacy as compared to other Third World countries (Potter, 1985; Payne, 1983). For example, Jamaica's capital, Kingston, where about half the country's population lives, is about 12 times larger than Montego Bay, the second largest town. This is also the case in Barbados where almost 50 per cent of the total population is found in Bridgetown, the capital. This uneven distribution and concentration of population in both countries not only accentuates regional disparities, but also encourages rural-to-urban migration on a large scale.

The surge of rural migrants to cities has generated numerous social, economic and environmental problems. Housing shortages, inadequate facilities and services, structural decay, unemployment and burgeoning squatter settlements, are just a few examples underlying the conditions of major cities, particularly in Jamaica. As such most of the efforts to grapple with problems of urban growth have concentrated in and around the towns themselves, particularly in areas of public housing and urban renewal. These have ranged from squatter upgrading, sites and services schemes to high rise apartments. However, their impact on current housing demand has been negligible (Hudson, 1980). Beyond this micro focus, there are comprehensive planning initiatives that are being pursued by each country as illustrated below.

A national planning system to correct the highly skewed settlement pattern noted above, did not come into being in Barbados until 1970, two years after independence. With technical assistance from the United Nations, the *Physical Development Plan for Barbados* was published in 1970 (only physical development for the island), with the primary aim of deconcentrating population, economic activities and services out of Bridgetown. Without spelling out details regarding specific components of the plan to be implemented it would suffice to note the following observations.

As a document it appears to have succeeded in establishing the much needed data base for articulating the island's growth patterns and functions, but failed in its development thrust to realize the stated goals and/or provide planners with an effective instrument for correcting existing disparities. Needless to say no provision was made for public participation in the planning sequence. As Potter (1985) explains:

The settlement pattern proposed seemed to take little heed of the existing distribution of population and economic activities, or indeed, recent government locational decisions... Similarly, the plan took little account of the disposition of high grade agricultural land and water catchment areas. In short, the document appeared to be more publishable than practicable. In many respects, it amounted to an idealistic application of central place notions, without any effort being made to dovetail them to local circumstances (Potter, 1985, p. 131).

Beyond this, little can be said about the planning system in Barbados, other than that the problems noted above continue to be the primary focus for planners and other development organs.

Unlike Barbados, Jamaica has witnessed several national development plans since achieving independence in 1962. For instance, the first National Physical Plan, which sought to correct some of the disparities between Kingston and the rest of the island was initiated in 1966 and updated in 1978 covering the period 1978-98. The implementation of the various components of the plan at the national level is the responsibility of three entities: the Town and Country Planning Department, the National Planning Agency, and the urban Development Corporation. Of the three, the Town and Country Planning Department has been in existence since 1957 (the other two are post-independence creations) following the promulgation of the Town and Country Planning Act of the same year, providing the statutory basis for all physical planning. The National Planning Agency is more concerned with national economic planning, even though some of its work overlaps with the former. The Urban Development Corporation, on the other hand, functions as 'a developer in the public interest and to make development happen in designated areas'. At the local level various local authorities have jurisdiction over local planning matters which include zoning enforcement procedures.

While this type of planning system was intended to approach the planning process in an integrated fashion in reality it has achieved the opposite. Knight (1984) argues that the multiplicity of planning agencies not only distorts the planning process, but also hampers implementation. Part of the problem is attributed to the fact that the planning system at the local level relies on outdated regulatory and enforcement procedures such as the Development Order encompassing Kingston, which was enacted 20 years ago, for cities many times smaller and less complex than today's metropolitan (Rivkin, 1984).

These criticisms notwithstanding, the planning system has an in-built grass-roots orientation: it encourages community mobilization at all levels of planning. This is achieved through a cadre of professional planners (community development officers) who act as liaison between implementing agencies and the community. Their function is characterized by three goals: a) develop communal self-confidence and self-reliance; b) bring about organized community action; and c) facilitate the flow of information between the implementing agencies and the local communities. The significance of this approach is how well it has been embraced by all implementing agencies as the following observation by the Urban Development Corporation planners shows.

Finally, the experiences at the UDC indicate that for public agencies such as the UDC it is futile to talk about community participation unless the agency as whole supports the idea. This is perhaps a trifle more difficult than first appears for the tendency of urban-based technicians is towards top-down planning and implementation. But the arguments against this are too well-known to be repeated here (George, 1984).

Despite such efforts, however, the track record of implementation has been limited due in part to lack of trained technical staff (Knight, 1984). More importantly, aside from the country's lack of adequate resources (a problem common to most developing countries), Jamaica has been experiencing an unusually severe economic crisis for the past decade.

It is relevant to note here that Jamaica, in the mid-1970s under the leadership of Michael Manley (1972 to 1980) attempted to limit its dependence on foreign capital by charting a national program of development based on the principle of economic and political self-determination. This, of course, meant curtailing foreign control of the nations' productive sectors (agriculture, mining, etc) on the one hand, and espousing an independent foreign policy on the other. Both strategies were vigorously contested and opposed by the United States and US-based foreign companies. Consequently, Jamaica was "quarantined", so to speak by the US administration: it reduced its foreign aid allocation and made it difficult for Jamaica to obtain development assistance from agen-

cies such as the International Monetary Fund (Manley, 1981). Realizing planning and development efforts under these conditions, at any level, has been an impossible task.

It is also significant to note that after the ouster of the Manley government in 1980, relations with the United States have greatly improved. But whether this has provided Jamaica the much needed development resources is still unclear. What is clear though, is that an interaction of these forces has made the task of planners and those charged with realizing the country's planning and development goals, even more difficult.

Zambia

Zambia, a country with a land area of 290,586 square miles is located in southern central Africa and had an estimated population of 6.5 million in 1984. It achieved independence from Britain in the comparatively calm waters of the 1960s. Yet today's Zambia finds itself engulfed in "war" and economic turmoil: it is a launch pad for the decolonization process of the last bastions of white supremacist regimes in Africa: South Africa. These events have taken their toll on Zambia. As Turok (1979) acidly observes:

Hoping to make progress with its development in peace and order, it is surrounded by turmoil. Since its landlocked on all sides (having eight frontiers to contend with) its transport routes remain a perpetual worry. Hoping to establish some kind of rhythm in its export and imports, the sources of supply are bedeviled by frequent incidents while some markets remain out of reach when most needed. ...Zambia is subjected to all the vicissitudes of a war while it is not itself at war (Toruk 1979, p. 7).

Although Zambia is classified as a middle-income country, to date it remains a mono-commodity export-based economy. Mining, particularly copper which is the mainstay of the economy, has been severely curtailed by decline in the world demand for copper. Consequently, Zambia is in the midst of a deep economic crisis. With no relief in sight following the country's rejection of a reputed punitive economic restructuring program imposed by the IMF, the economic imperative is playing havoc on current and future

planning and development efforts. How to escape from this trap is the country's major preoccupation.

Urbanization in Zambia as in most of sub-Saharan Africa was a colonial invention (O'Connor, 1983). The discovery of mineral deposits in the north region and construction of a railway line from South Africa determined the spatial distribution of major urban areas. Segregationist planning and development policies were vigorously enforced, limiting the movement of the indigenous population and only providing temporary housing for those engaged in gainful employment. Thus, on the eve of independence and the abolition of restrictive laws, Zambia experienced extremely high urban growth rates (about 9 per cent per year). As of 1982, approximately 40 per cent of the population lived in towns and cities, making Zambia one of the most urbanized countries in the continent (Jayarajan, 1979). However, most of the country's population is concentrated in eight centers along the rail line, with five of the eight centers containing 60 per cent of the total population clustered in a 30 mile radius in the copper mining region.

Post-independence urban planning has, therefore, attempted to rectify the dual pattern of cities inherited from the colonial era. Two policy initiatives, one to deal with the physical pattern of class and racial segregation, and the other to increase the housing stock through home ownership and self-help schemes have been pursued since in 1968. Despite these programs, the housing situation in the major centers has not improved. Currently, a substantial part of the urban low cost housing stock consists of squatter units and they continue to grow in size and number as rural-to-urban migration continues unabated. Although urban squatting presents an unsatisfactory solution to alternative housing, Zambian policy makers and planners seem resigned to the fact that squatter settlements may well be a permanent implant in the built environment. In fact, the current view is to encourage improvement through self-help measures rather than

demolition (Pasteur, 1983). This realism is reinforced by the country's support of the World Bank sponsored program for sites and services schemes and squatter upgrading within the capital Lusaka in the early 1970s.

Generally, the planning system was inherited from the British and is centrally driven. The Minister, who is vested with all administrative and legal powers for planning, delegates the powers of plan preparation, development control and implementation to statutory bodies known as Planning Authorities. These are found both at the regional and local levels. Urban centers such as Lusaka constitute another tier. Another characteristic feature of the planning system in Zambia is that the statutory provision for the planning process only covers urban state land which constitutes 6 per cent of the country. Excluded are all mine land and mine townships with over half of the total urban population. This exclusion, according to Jayarajan (1979), seriously undermines the credibility of development plans.

Despite the emphasis placed on urban development lack of sufficiently qualified planners at all levels of planning activity has severely curtailed implementation, particularly the provision of urban shelter, services and infrastructure. This environment is unlikely to improve given the current economic conditions.

Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe, a country with an area of 150,803 square miles and a population estimated at 8.4 million in 1985, has been independent only since 1980. However, its inherited economic structure is unusually favorable. It is characterized, in Wallerstein's (1979) terms, as an example of 'semi-peripheral capitalist development'. As such, it is set apart from the rest of sub-Saharan Africa (except for South Africa) by virtue of having ceased to be a mono-commodity exporter almost a quarter of a century ago. It has a fairly diversified and relatively developed modern sector as well as being endowed with

natural resources (gold, tin, cobalt, nickel, chrome, coal, copper, etc.). Unlike India, it falls in the category of middle-income countries like Barbados, Jamaica, and Zambia.

The forces that precipitated urbanization in Zimbabwe are fundamentally the same as those that were at work in Zambia: the legacy of British colonialism. In his typology of African cities, O'Connor (1983) characterized the outcome of urban development in Zimbabwe as essentially 'European' both from a design and planning standpoint. The pervasive influence of Western values on Zimbabwe's cities is best illustrated by Davies when he states,

Their grid-iron central business districts, planned industrial areas, and 'garden city'-type white suburbs, express Western planning fashions of the day (Davies 1981, p. 75).

Nonetheless the inherited urban system places this southern African country in a unique position among developing countries coping with the problems of planning and urban development. First, only about 2.1 million people (25 per cent of the country's population) reside in cities and towns of 15,000 persons or more. However, the level of urbanization is expected to grow rapidly in the next two decades because of the relaxation of restrictions which held down migration to cities before independence (Davies, 1981). Second, the geographical distribution of established urban centers, while far from being complete, is sufficiently widespread and towns sufficiently diversified in size and function to constitute an emergent urban system with numerous centers to act as incubators for development activity (Davies, 1987). Finally, the push factors that have been shown to stimulate rural/urban migration in other parts of the developing world have not taken root on a large scale in Zimbabwe. In many respects, it would appear that Zimbabwe is better positioned to plan and anticipate potential urban problems. In fact since independence, the country has dovetailed urban policies with a rural development planning strategy intent on minimizing the rate of rural-to-urban migration through the establishment of growth points, district and rural service centers.

The basis of these favorable conditions is the country's strong centrally-controlled planning system at the national level and an effective local planning system at the local government level. The way the system works is as follows. Typically, central government determines policy, allocates and approves all programs before implementation, while local authorities concern themselves with the actual implementation and administration of programs. It appears that this arrangement serves the interests of both the government and planners well. As Underwood (1987) observes:

As a result of this strict control it has been possible to ensure that *sound* town planning principles are applied in the preparation of township layouts, and a fairly uniform approach has evolved, particularly with regard to design *standards* (Underwood, 1987, p. 29, own emphasis).

However, this approach to planning and management of urban development has not been without its critics. Thus:

The rationalistic and technocratic view of town planning in plan preparation has masked important socio-economic and political issues in terms of standards and what planning should achieve (Wekwete, 1988, p. 71).

Despite these sentiments many observers including donor agencies credit Zimbabwe for maintaining a planning system that, to paraphrase (Davies, 1987), 'has the wherewithal to cope with rapid urban influx' known to outstrip local government capacity in other Third World cities (Gasasira, 1981).

A case in point involves the methods used by authorities in dealing with the problem of urban squatting. Using local authority controls urban authorities have managed thus far to effectively control and discourage a surge in urban squatting, despite the pressures increasingly exerted on the existing formal housing stock. Where such measures have been ineffective —the demolition strategy is ruthlessly enforced. Such action is usually backed by police power and by uncompromising political statements condemning urban squatter settlements as 'illegal and crime-infested areas.' Thus:

The squatters are called upon to return to the rural areas, and if they refuse to comply with evacuation orders, are generally rounded up, subjected to police screening and in some cases transported to rural resettlement schemes (Underwood, 1987, p. 33).

However, at the same time the authorities have generally taken a pragmatic attitude toward squatting under conditions perceived by authorities to be in their best interest. A typical example of such a posture concerns the squatter upgrading effort outside the capital, Harare, financed by international donor agencies.

Beyond these issues, Zimbabwe has only just begun to articulate comprehensive planning initiatives as indicated in by recently published *First Five Year Development Plan 1986-90*. One policy initiative currently in the works involves a national urbanization policy to address a hierarchy of settlements starting with consolidated rural centers up to the level of existing dominant cities of Harare and Bulawayo. (Almost two-thirds of the country's urban population resides in these two cities). By adopting such a strategy it is hoped that by the end of the plan period, the present urbanization level of 25 per cent will have increased to 40 per cent. However, in the light of Zimbabwe's current level of development this rate would still be relatively small compared to other developing countries. For instance, Zambia which is approximately 40 per cent urbanized has almost half Zimbabwe's productive capacity. Nonetheless, if the logic is to have development drive urbanization then Zimbabwe would have succeeded where most have failed: the tendency to let urbanization race ahead of development.

Summary

Despite the considerable variation in physical, cultural, economic, social and political outlook, comparatively, the five countries examined reveal similarities and differences with respect to their urbanization experiences and the issues confronting planners. However, the significance of this exercise is not to be found in the levels and types of comparisons that can be drawn from this variety, but rather in what each country's description reveals about the contextual factors that planners are exposed to thereby

potentially affecting their attitudes, role orientations and perceptions about problems. It is these contextual forces that the analysis uses as departure points in an attempt to illuminate the professional culture of planners operating in Third World settings.

Third World Planners: Who are we?

Social Characteristics of Third World Planners

This section attempts to shed light on the breakdown of the sample with respect to age, educational background, and professional setting. As Table 5 shows, the typical Third World planner in this study is a male of mid-career age and most likely to come from a middle— or upper-middle class background. About 61 per cent of the total sample come from homes where the heads of the household (fathers) held professional or managerial positions. Only 21 per cent (the next largest single aggregate) come from semi-skilled manual and service backgrounds. In terms of education, the great majority had earned a first degree from a Third World institution, with almost two thirds of the overall sample reading some combination of planning, architecture and geography, and about one quarter reading engineering. The engineering discipline virtually disappears at the higher degree level, however, where 80 per cent of all respondents with higher degrees listed planning as the main discipline. Meanwhile, developed-country institutions awarded a much larger proportion of second and third degrees (40 per cent and 60 per cent, respectively, of the degrees awarded to respondents with two and three degrees). These figures are consistent with trends that have been noted elsewhere (Banerjee 1985), showing a steady increase of Third World planners seeking professional and advanced training in developed-country institutions.

With the possible exception of where respondents received their education, it is relevant to note that the general social composition exhibited by the study sample and

Table 5. The social and occupational characteristics of Third World planners (as percentages)

(N = 111)			
Age		Social status (indicator: father's occupation)	
Under 30	21	Professional/managerial	61
30 - 39	43	Clerical	4
40 - 49	23	Skilled manual	5
50 Over	13	Semi-skilled manual/service	22
		Unskilled	8
Sex			
Male	85		
Female	15		
Education			
<i>First main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	22	Developed	22
Architecture/Planning	20	Developing	78
Geography	19	Socialist	0
Engineering	24	Not applicable	0
Other Social Sciences	12		
Other	3		
<i>Second main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	69	Developed	35
Architecture/Planning	5	Developing	51
Geography	5	Socialist	0
Engineering	1	Not applicable	14
Other Social Sciences	5		
Other	1		
Not Applicable	14		
<i>Third main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	24	Developed	20
Architecture/Planning	1	Developing	13
Geography	3	Socialist	0
Engineering	1	Not applicable	68
Other Social Sciences	3		
Not applicable	68		
Substantive field (Main Professional Activity)		Type of Employer	
Research	6	International Donor Agency	2
Admin/managerial	9	City/Urban Dev. Authority	22
Physical Planning	41	Central Government	41
Development Control	23	Local Government	14
Local Planning	6	Private Planning Firm	6
Other	15	Other	15

the wide range of educational backgrounds reflected at the undergraduate level are all characteristic traits that have been found to predominate among developed-world planners (Marcus, 1971; Knox and Cullen, 1981 on British planners; Howe and Kaufman, 1981; and Vasu 1979 on American planners).

In terms of current occupation, over 40 per cent were working for central government agencies and 36 per cent were working for local government or urban development authorities. Only 6 per cent were employed in private practice, although more than 35 per cent had previously been engaged in teaching (Table 6). When asked to indicate their main professional activity or preoccupation, most (almost two thirds) listed physical planning and development control. The preeminence of these functions is not only reflective of the endurance of British planning legacy (Rakodi, 1986; Alexander, 1983), but also underscores the importance attached to managing and controlling land-use functions. Less than 10 per cent were engaged in administration and/or management; and only 6 per cent were in research (Table 5). What conclusions can be drawn from these observations? First, based on the current occupations of respondents it can be said that planning has become institutionalized as a public sanctioned and legitimated activity, as is the case in developed countries (Vasu 1979; Kirk 1980). Second, these statistics provide a clue about the type of individuals who are more likely to select planning as an occupational endeavor based on the coincidence of their personal traits and interests. To investigate this issue respondents were asked an open-ended question about what it was that had motivated them to become involved in urban planning.

In examining the responses to this question, four broad themes emerged (although it should be noted that some respondents gave more than one answer, thus matching more than one of the themes, so that the percentages add to more than 100 per cent). The first theme can be characterized as *challenge-seeking*; it is dominated by respondents' interests in exercising power and influence in paternalistic ways. Examples

Table 6. Employment history of Third World Planners (as percentages)

Previous Work Setting	Planning-related	Not planning-related
Private practice	29	12
Teaching	25	11
National government	25	6
Local government (urban)	25	4
Local government (rural)	5	2
Other	21	6

of responses that fit this category include comments such as, "Planning seemed to provide an opportunity to develop competence and requisite skills for leadership needed to achieve human condition." The possibility that planning could provide the capacity and necessary mechanisms and/or tools for addressing large scale problems is better expressed by the response of one practitioner, who stated, "The desire to become involved in the development process and urbanization. I also wanted to be part of a field that is at once challenging and satisfying." Some practitioners linked the interest in grand scale planning to an explicit concern with articulating physical and human issues. As one practitioner noted, "The challenge presented by cities and urban governance." And another was even more forceful when he said, "The concern for the big picture." Such motivations were mentioned by approximately 30 per cent of the respondents.

A rather different type of motivation, associated with a *social agenda* of some kind, was mentioned by about 35 per cent of the respondents. A general pattern typifying this interest is embodied in statements such as "The desire to make a contribution to the improvement of living conditions of the poor." Clearly many practitioners in this group saw planning as a tool for correcting social maladies. As one practitioner succinctly noted, "Caring about the world we live in and helping poor communities enjoy some of the freedoms and benefits I have had." Similarly, another planner saw his mission as "Improving the living conditions of low-income urban dwellers."

A third theme, evident in the responses of over 30 per cent of the sample, involved a concern for the *physical environment*. Indicative of this attraction were comments such as: "The love for nature and the need for the environment to be protected and husbanded while at the same time being utilized for development." Other practitioners, while aware of their dual role to balance the social and physical aspects of their mission, were rather categorical about where their interests lay. As one respondent observed, "The downward slide in the quality of life and *especially* of the physical envi-

ronment.” In a similar vein, another practitioner expressed his motivation in the following terms: “Concern for the physical conditions of our cities and the development of land around cities.”

The fourth major theme, mentioned by nearly 25 per cent of the respondents, is associated with the strong influence of *educational background*. Examples of responses that fit this genre include (a) “A natural off-shoot of architecture”, and (b) “My enjoyment of geography and the fact that planning is multidisciplinary and deals with people. Also career options were better.” Other respondents, while mentioning one of the other attractions, often prefaced their interest with pragmatic considerations. As one planner put it, “I had a strong geography background and the fact that there were not many people yet in the profession and hence a ‘guarantee’ for a job and good financial rewards.” Similarly:

Prior to joining the field, I had worked on a housing upgrading and planning project in Venezuela for two years. The experience was sufficiently stimulating that I sought formal qualifications and subsequent employment in the profession. Originally I was trained as an electrical engineer.

These themes are also reflected in the responses to another open-ended question: ‘What are the things you particularly like about the job you do?’ Most of the responses assumed the following tone: “The job provides the capacity to analyze difficult and challenging problems and to come up with imaginative ways of solving them.” The perception that the job performed was fulfilling and resulted in desirable outcomes is reflected in comments such as: “Providing low income people with adequate shelter and improving their overall quality of life” OR “The ability to influence national environmental policy issues.”

In response to a parallel question about what respondents find frustrating or what they *dislike* about their job, common themes to emerge included: (a) inadequate resources, (b) bureaucratic inefficiencies, and (c) political interference. Only one re-

spondent had no complaints, pointing out that "Frustrations are part of a planner's job. They should be treated as challenges."

The sense of frustration reflected in these themes, put into perspective the realities that Third World planners have to contend with. On the one hand, the issue of inadequate resources, both human and financial, is a real one: in some cases it leads to total paralysis. As one respondent cogently observed, "Lack of adequate financial and human resources and insufficient influence and power to speed up the implementation of recommendations and plans prepared by our department." In fact, examples of well conceived and well intentioned urban projects (from housing and road construction to basic infrastructure service provision such as piped water, sewage systems, etc.) that remain on the drawing board or half implemented are abound in many developing countries (Blair, 1984; Lowder, 1986). On the other hand, 'bureaucratic constipation' manifests itself in various forms: it can be less responsive and creakily inefficient, oriented more toward maintaining itself than toward producing a measurable output. Under these circumstances, all segments of society, including planners who constitute a sub-system of bureaucracy feel its crippling weight. As one respondent succinctly put it, "Planning grinds to a halt when you have to constantly chase bureaucracy to do its administrative bit."

Finally, the straw that seems to break the camel's back is the political environment which defines the operational context of planning. More specifically, political interference, whether inter— or intra-institutional, affects the performance of the individual planner in various forms; by limiting the way in which he can operate or the type of proposals he can incorporate in his plans thus curtailing the impact he can exert on the course of events. According to Conyers (1984), this situation may lead to 'a crisis of conscience for the individual planner'. An illustration of both these conditions were summed up by one respondent when he said, "Inability to get things done, a sense of

unfulfilled promises — all a product of political interference when in reality politicians lack a substantive understanding of the technical aspects of planning.”

Despite these frustrations, an overwhelming majority (82 per cent) of the respondents indicated, in response to another open-ended question, that they felt that they were able to exert a significant impact on the outcomes of urban development. In amplifying this conviction, many respondents also provided some clues as to their professional world-view. For example, (a) “Determining the size, shape and structure of urban areas and the level of facilities”, (b) “Enforcing development control procedures and encouraging public acceptance of planning requirements”, and (c) “Able to influence policy decisions affecting squatter settlements using technical skills.”

In sum, what emerges from this analysis is a sense that there exists among Third World planners a ‘collective ethos’ which remains guardedly optimistic, quietly confident and content to steadfastly pursue its ideals, despite the odds. The question then is what are the mental traits that sustain this penchant for survival? The answer to this question is explored next.

Perceived Attributes of a Good Planner

As an initial examination of professional orientations, respondents were asked to indicate the importance of specific attributes of a good planner working successfully in a Third World setting. As Table 7 shows, some consensus is reflected in the high degree of importance attached to professional integrity, to a sense of vision for the future, and to the possession of problem-solving skills. On the other hand, technical draftsmanship, emotional sensitivity, the ability to follow orders, and a sound knowledge of the law were generally regarded as being less important. Nevertheless, as the standard deviations in Table 7 suggest, there was a good deal of variability in the responses to these questions.

Table 7. Third World Planners: The perceived attributes of a good planner

Attribute	Rank	Mean†	Std. Dev.
Management ability	5	1.28	0.45
Technical Draftsmanship	14	2.04	0.63
Professional Integrity	1	1.10	0.34
Ability to follow orders	12	1.91	0.69
Social Awareness	4	1.20	0.40
Emotional Sensitivity	13	2.00	0.79
Problem-solving Skills	3	1.17	0.37
Sound Legal knowledge	11	1.84	0.64
Political Awareness	10	1.66	0.64
Sense of Public mission	9	1.52	0.60
Creativity	6	1.28	0.45
Spatial Awareness	7	1.32	0.56
Leadership Qualities	8	1.45	0.56
Sense of Vision for the Future	2	1.13	0.36

† Scale: (1) Extremely important, (2) Fairly important, (3) Not very important,

However, before examining this issue it is relevant to note that respondents were also asked to identify additional attributes and skills deemed useful in their own operational setting. A majority of the respondents (35 per cent) emphasized the ability to work with others, while interpersonal communication and organizational skills were stressed by 18 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively, of the total sample. Other additional noteworthy attributes include perseverance, technical grounding (e.g., economics or engineering), and interdisciplinary skills. It is instructive to note that most of these skills and attributes have been advocated elsewhere in the literature (Baum, 1980; Tips, 1986; Forester, 1980), as essential attributes and skills that planners need to possess to function successful, irrespective of the operational context.

To explore the variability in the responses to questions in Table 7, factor analysis was used. The varimax rotation of the 14 quality attributes produced five statistically significant factors, which collectively explain approximately 60 per cent of the total variance. Table 8 shows communalities for each quality attribute. The results presented in Table 9 allow only tentative conclusions: the leading factor accounts for less than 20 per cent of the total variance. Nevertheless, the composition of these factors points to an interesting and coherent structure to respondents' perceptions of what makes for a good planner. The leading dimension of differentiation among respondents (Factor I) is dominated by high loadings on managerial skills — management ability, leadership, and sound legal knowledge. The second dimension (Factor II) is based on a coherent but rather different set of attributes which relate to planners roles as mediators —social awareness, emotional sensitivity, sense of public mission, political awareness, and ability to follow orders. The third and fifth factors do not lend themselves so easily to such interpretative constructs: but the fourth factor can clearly be interpreted in terms of a cluster of attributes relating to creativity.

Table 8. Third World Planners: Communalities of perceived attributes of a good planner

Item	Communality
Professional Integrity	.51
Management ability	.56
Problem-solving skills	.54
Social awareness	.74
Creativity	.69
Political awareness	.57
Sense of vision for the future	.35
Sense of public mission	.58
Leadership qualities	.63
Emotional Sensitivity	.60
Spatial awareness	.65
Sound legal knowledge	.53
Ability to follow orders	.45
Technical draftsmanship	.66

Table 9. Third World Planners: Factor Analysis of perceived attributes of a good planner

	Factor I 'Managerial'	Factor II 'Mediators'	Factor III 'Rational'	Factor IV 'Creativity'	Factor V 'Technical'
Management ability	.725				
Leadership	.717				
Sound legal knowledge	.642				
Social Awareness		.822			
Emotional sensitivity		.585		.337	.349
Sense of public mission		.549	.481		
Political awareness	.335	.537		.346	
Ability to follow orders		.356	.354		.305
Spatial awareness			.793		
Professional integrity			.656		
Creativity				.786	
Problem-solving analysis	.341			.532	-.344
Sense of vision for the future				.486	
Technical draftsmanship					.796
Percentage of variance explained	17.9	11.9	10.5	9.5	8.0

The Conventional Wisdom

In order to probe more deeply into attitudes to the specific issues that confront planners in Third World settings, each respondent was asked to respond to 41 attitudinal statements. For the reader's assistance, these questions extracted from the Questionnaire are listed below:

1. "Planners should be primarily trained to develop technically correct solutions"
2. "Aimless policy drift has been the major cause of rapid increase in urban population of developing countries"
3. "The answer to the urban dilemma of developing countries lies in indigenous theory, indigenous design and indigenous planning"
4. "The existing approach to planning in developing countries is not only and static, technocratic but also unrelated to overall national development plans, objectives and constraints"
5. "The standards for housing, public facilities, etc, in developing countries are so unrealistically high that a great majority of the people can never reach them"
6. "Urban planning has been so much engrossed in architecture and beautification in engineering exercises and professional isolation that it has paid almost to a social and economic framework for urban planning"
7. "Planners think big while the economic reality is such that people cannot afford to do so"
8. "Western technology ...is irrelevant in developing countries where there is mass unemployment and the only unlimited resources for development are human resources"
9. "Planning in developing countries, no matter what its brand and what its spatial level, is essentially elitist and unrealistic. Much of it is ivory tower planning with scant sensitivity to the human dimensions of poverty"
10. "Developing countries must take advantage of their backwardness by learning from the urban experiences of technologically advanced countries"
11. "The benefits of urban planning accrue to a very small elite; the majority of urban dwellers remain unaffected or suffer disbenefits"
12. "Planners in developing countries are ambivalent about technical matters which are essential for effective urban interventions"
13. "Planners do not have the methodology at their disposal to handle the peculiar problems developing countries are facing, for most of them were trained in Western universities and institutions"

14. "The insulation of planners from political whims and their claim to professional expertise enables them to better interpret public mandates"
15. "Urbanization is process, and there is no way you can deal with it on a project-by-project basis"
16. "The prime responsibility of the planner is to safeguard people from inappropriate development"
17. "Third World planners are ill-equipped to deal with problems of rural-urban migration, squatter settlements and unregulated informal sector activities"
18. "Planners working in major Third World cities should encourage self-help approaches to housing and services provision"
19. "Popular urban strategies such as sites and services, slum upgrading or self-help are merely palliatives that institutionalize poverty in cleaner shantytowns"
20. "A planner's effectiveness is based primarily on his/her reputation for objective, accurate and in-depth analysis"
21. "Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information"
22. "Planning is primarily a political activity"
23. "The price being paid by taxpayers to improve the environment is too high"
24. "Planners should accept and work within the rules of their agencies, even if they do not always agree with them"
25. "The planner's job is to understand the point of view of the administration he or she serves, and assist it in achieving its objectives"
26. "Planners have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the have-nots of the community, particularly the poor"
27. "Private developers have little or no concern for the good of the community as a whole"
28. "Planners know the needs of the community better than residents"
29. "In the planning process, planners should stake their values in competition with those of others and openly strive to achieve them"
30. "The true participants in the process of city building in developing countries are squatters and illegal sub-dividers not planners as popularly assumed"
31. "Planners working in developing countries are too concerned about protecting the environment and not enough about improving the socio-economic conditions of the poor"
32. "The informal sector serves a critical function in the urban economies of Third World cities and should be promoted by all means possible to facilitate economic development"

33. "The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of services to various members of the community"
34. "People have a right to determine who lives in their neighborhood"
35. "Planners should involve citizens in every phase of the planning process"
36. "Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want"
37. "Citizens should not have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals"
38. "Third World planners regard western style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth"
39. "International donor agencies (e.g., World Bank, USAID, etc.) are acting in the best interest of developing nations when they insist on measures such as cost recovery, project replicability, and efficiency of implementation in the supply of urban services"
40. "An appropriate response to the problem of squatter settlements is to prevent the formation of new squatter settlements, the eradication of existing eyesores and replacing them by orderly and appropriately designed housing projects"
41. "Lack of coordination between planning authorities and other government agencies responsible for the provision of urban services and infrastructure is one of the major problems impeding planning efforts in developing countries"

The responses to these attitudinal statements provide a rich source of information on the role orientations of Third World planners. As a point of departure for further analysis, Table 10 lists all the statements which elicited strong agreement (an overall average of 2.5 or less on the 7-point scale) or disagreement (an overall average of 4.5 or more) and a reasonably low level of variability (standard deviations of 1.9 or less). What emerges from this exercise is a conventional wisdom that is pragmatic and grassroots-oriented, and that seeks to balance environmental issues against the onslaught of economic development.

Thus, there is, in overall terms, a strong commitment to citizen participation, the needs of the poor, the role of the informal sector, and the utility of self-help and sites-and-services programs (statements 35, 26, 32, and 19); and strong disagreement with any

Table 10. The 'conventional wisdom' among Third World Planners

Statement*	Mean	S.D.	
16	2.5	1.8	(Agree)
18	2.0	1.4	"
20	2.1	1.5	"
21	2.2	1.5	"
25	2.2	1.4	"
26	2.2	1.5	"
32	1.7	1.3	"
35	1.9	1.4	"
9	4.5	1.9	(Disagree)
13	4.8	1.9	"
19	5.0	1.9	"
23	4.7	1.9	"
28	5.0	1.9	"
31	4.6	1.9	"
37	4.8	1.9	"

* A copy of the Questionnaire can be found in Appendix A

suggestion that the pressure on economic development in Third World countries should take precedent or displace concern for environmental protection (statement 31). At the same time, the Third World planners' conventional wisdom does not subscribe to the view that Western-based training or Western models, methodologies and theories are inappropriate to its mission (statements 38 and 13). It is also interesting to note that there is strong disagreement with the suggestion that their profession is elitist and unrealistic (statement 9).

In sum, then it can be said that the conventional wisdom among Third World planners, although pragmatic and grassroots-oriented is steeped in managerialism and technocracy. In other words, managerialism and its associated skills (technical, problem-solving and organizational) are a major component of the job philosophy of Third World planners. This apparent contradiction was also noted by Tips (1986) in a recent study of Third World planning students, where 'Although people-centered planning, participation, communication, bottom-up planning etc [were] seen as solutions, at the same time the *style* of planning advocated (demanded) more stringent controls and a dissociation of planning (planners) from politics (politicians)' (p. 289). It is not clear, however, whether this ambiguity is a product of uncertainty about role concepts or simply a product of socialization to rather different demands of substantive issues (poverty, housing, resources, etc.) on the one hand and procedural issues ('getting things done') on the other hand. This distinction may also help to explain why, on the one hand, contrary to the literature on development and planning, most planners in this study, did not regard Western concepts, methods or training in developed country institutions as inappropriate to their professional roles and, on the other, the rejection of their portrayal as elitist.

A typology of Third World Planners

Standard deviations for many of the attitudinal statements outside this conventional wisdom show that a true consensus, indicative of a unified world-view, did not exist among the respondents. It was therefore hypothesized that there were distinctive sub-groups with rather divergent world-views. To explore this idea, a cluster analysis was undertaken, using Ward's method of clustering and data from the 41 Likert statements. A four-cluster solution was derived from this analysis, revealing some interesting differences in role orientations and world-views.

The largest group (n = 32) was characterized by average scores which were closely parallel to the '*conventional wisdom*' for the overall sample, although they tended to have a proclivity for conservatism and a technocratic orientation. They tended to agree more decisively, for example, with the proposition that planners should be primarily trained to develop technical competence (statement 1) and with views of planning as an apolitical activity (statements 14 and 22).

The second group (n = 29) can be characterized as '*defensive*'. They disagreed decisively with suggestions that planning in Third World countries is static, elitist and technocratic, that standards are unrealistically high and unrealistically grandiose, that lack of inter-agency co-operation is a serious problem, and that Western-style solutions are imposed in inappropriate circumstances (statements 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11, 38 and 41).

The third group (n = 19) can be characterized as '*paternalistic*'. As a group they disagreed strongly with propositions that planners should openly state their values (statement 29), that they are ill-equipped to deal with urban problems (statement 17), that many planning strategies are cosmetic (statement 19), and that people have a right to determine who lives in their neighborhood (statement 34). They are also distinctive

for their alignment with the notion that international donor agencies are acting in the best interests of Third World nations (statement 39).

The fourth—and in many ways most interesting—group (n = 31) can be characterized as '*radical*'. They are distinctive for their high levels of agreement with portrayals of Third World urban planning as static, elitist and technocratic (statements 4, 5 11). They support the view that Western solutions are often applied inappropriately (statement 38), and that the true agents of urban development are not professional planners but members of the informal sector (statement 30). Not surprisingly, they disagree strongly with the idea of eradicating squatter settlements (statement 40) and with the claim (statement 14) that planners' bureaucratic position enables them to better interpret public mandates.

In sum, the hypothesis that the professional culture of Third World planners consists of distinctive subgroups with divergent world-views is clearly borne out by the analysis. What is unclear, however, is what accounts for these diverse role orientations? What kind of factors are associated with the stereotypical Third World planner? More specifically, what kind of background and professional experience produces, for example, the 'conventional wisdom' among Third World planners?

As previously noted, both the professional ideology and the values and attitudes that form the world-view of the professional culture of planners have been shown in other studies to be a culmination of the processes of selective recruitment, socialization during formal education, working experience, professional discourse, and career structure (Alterman and Page, 1973). To this end, cross-tabulations of the four distinctive sub-groups derived from the cluster analysis with data on respondents' nationality, age, class background, educational history, and professional setting were undertaken. The results of this exercise provide at least some clues to the questions raised.

The defensive group, for example, was found to contain a disproportionately large number of planners who received their undergraduate degrees in a developed-country institution together with a high proportionate of planners from Zimbabwe. On the other hand, both the paternalistic and radical groups contain a substantial number of planners who read for their first degree in Third World settings. Interestingly the former group is dominated by planners from India (79 per cent) while the latter (that is, radical) contains disproportionately large numbers of planners from Zambia and the Caribbean with the remainder evenly split between planners from India and Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, the group subscribing to the overall conventional wisdom is drawn from a variety of national, educational and professional backgrounds.

On the whole, the analysis points to a statistically significant relationship between the location of the training institution awarding first degree and planners' disposition toward a particular role orientation ($\chi^2 = 7.12$ 3df $p < .04$). This observation is borne out by the fact that the location of the institution awarding the second degree has no apparent relationship on planners' disposition toward subscribed world-views since there are as many planners educated in developed-country institutions as there are for Third World settings. Surprisingly, age and professional setting bear no significant relationship on planners' subscribed world-views, nor is the subject discipline selected for both undergraduate and graduate education and/or training.

However, an examination of the specific operational settings discussed earlier, does provide plausible explanations for the existence of these divergent world-views. It is possible, for example, to begin to answer the following questions: Who are the radicals? What factors cause Zimbabwean planners to cluster in the defensive group? Regarding the latter, two general observations can be made. First, a close examination of the data shows that Zimbabweans also constitute a majority of those educated in a developed-world setting. This can be explained by the fact that before 1980 (the year

Zimbabwe achieved independence) planning practice as well as professional training at the local university was an exclusive preserve of white planners—in-keeping with the white minority government's policies of 'separate development'. In anticipation of independence, other groups (such as Asians and Africans) wanting to be planners sought training in developed countries. At independence these individuals returned home to fill the void created by the departing white professional planners. In fact, respondents' own data shows this to be the case as indicated by length of service in the current position. While this point reflects the historical circumstances of the country the clustering of Zimbabwean planners in this defensive group is significant for one important reason: it provides a basis for explaining the group's professional role orientation.

As previously noted, of all the countries examined, Zimbabwe is the only one that gives the appearance of operating a planning system (fostered by a favorable economic and infrastructure base, articulated urban system, etc.) that is perceived to be effective at both the national and local levels government—thus ensuring the application of 'sound planning principles' and 'design standards' in the formulation and implementation of plans and programs (Underwood, 1987). Besides, the country is yet to experience, on a large scale, the type of pressures resulting from rapid urban growth (proliferation of squatter settlements, housing shortages, inadequate services and facilities, etc.) which have been shown to outstrip the capacity of urban governments in other Third World cities (Rondinelli, 1986). Thus the general mind-set of Zimbabwean planners and/or other practitioners functioning in such a setting is one characterized by optimism, measured aggressiveness, belief in the system of planning and methods applied. Simply put, for these planners the planning system works. Under such conditions it is only logical to expect a defensive posture among these planners for they do not sense any contradiction or conflict between the methods they use in the process of planning and the final outcome. One might infer, therefore that the role orientation espoused by

this defensive group is highly positively correlated to the favorable conditions provided by the local context (socio-economic, political, etc.) and the institutional context of planning.

Who are the radicals? What factors help explain the disproportionately high clustering of planners from Zambia and the Caribbean in this group? A possible explanation may relate to the contextual forces planners from these countries are exposed to. In this context it is interesting to note that of the planners from the Caribbean a significant majority were Jamaicans. The relevance of this observation is that these two countries (Jamaica and Zambia) share a number of salient features. Both countries exhibit structural conditions of underdevelopment. With mono-commodity export-based economies (mining being dominant in Zambia, sugar, mining and tourism in the case of Jamaica) they are vulnerable to all the vicissitudes of world markets.

Plagued by economic stagnation and decline, Jamaica and Zambia find themselves hard-pressed to conduct any meaningful planning at any level. Furthermore, they find it difficult to maintain in functional condition whatever planning infrastructure might be in existence in urban areas in the face of continuing unabated urbanization (Hudson 1980; Jayarajan 1979). Not surprisingly, planners operating under these conditions have been forced to adjust their expectations, and modify planning techniques and prescribed solutions because of the disillusionment associated with the *modus operandi* of the conventional wisdom. This is evidenced by their early acceptance of self-help housing solutions such as sites and services and squatter upgrading before they even became part of the tool-kit of conventional wisdom. As Pasteur explains in relation to Zambia:

Lusaka and its large-scale squatter upgrading and site and services project provide one example of the growing acceptance during the 1970's of a range of aided self-help housing strategies and policies directed at dealing with the problems of urban growth in developing countries (Pasteur, 1983, p. 112).

It could also be argued that the appearance of radicalism is directly correlated with the frustration that planning professionals face in the operational context of Jamaica and Zambia. This radicalism may be in part due to not only the inappropriate application of Western solutions in a Third World milieu, but also in large measure exacerbated by international aid agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and their insensitive approaches and solutions in dealing with Third World problems. A typical example of such practice concerns IMF planners' tendency to apply, sometimes *in toto*, monetarist demand-management approaches, despite the fact that these were designed to cure ailments of developed-world economies. Not surprisingly, such approaches have largely been unsuccessful in restructuring economic ills of some Third World countries (Girvan, 1980). It would suffice to say that both Jamaica and Zambia have experimented with such prescriptions, but to no avail (Manley, 1981). It seems reasonable, therefore, to infer that the proclivity for radicalism results when planners' ability to function in the conventional mold is curtailed, on the one hand, by a hostile Third World operational context and on the other, is compounded by what is perceived to be manipulation by external institutions.

The group subscribing to the paternalistic world-view does not lend itself so easily to a clear pattern of explanation, save for limited speculative remarks. As observed, it is dominated by planners from India. How can this phenomenon be explained? In order to reasonably explain the significance of the high proportion of Indian planners within the paternalistic group it would be necessary to situate this fact in the Indian context. India has the third largest bureaucracy in the world after the USSR and China (Goodsell, 1985). This bureaucratic system is also renowned for its adherence to the principles of bureaucratic practice and professionalism and therefore not surprisingly its utility as a catalyst for social change remains contentious. As Singhi (1975) has observed:

The present-day bureaucratic system weighs too heavily in favor of routine administrative tasks and is unsuitable for the achievement of goals of national development (p. 321).

He contends that the bureaucratic structure, a legacy of British colonialism, has not only been unhelpful in the realization of development goals, but has also adversely influenced the pace and quality of social change. Since planners form a sub-structure within the bureaucracy (over 70 per cent of Indian planners surveyed worked in the public sector), it seems logical to expect their world-views to be coincidental with bureaucratic values which have been developed within what Singhi calls a 'caste-like system' where position is acquired and maintained by the use of power which emanates from the privileged status of being a professional and a technocrat.

It is from this position within the bureaucratic hierarchy that Indian planners claim legitimacy (via technical expertise) for defining the problems to be solved as well as determining solutions for resolving societal problems. This view, steeped in paternalism and elitism, is reinforced by this group's strong endorsement of the statement that 'planners know the needs of the community better than its residents'. Not surprisingly, there has been a call amongst the Indian planners for the 'de-elitization' of the planning profession (Misra, 1978). It is therefore possible to infer that where urban planners have a paternalistic predisposition they are more inclined to perpetuate the socio-political status quo in order to maintain their own position rather than to genuinely address the pressing problems of the urban poor.

In conclusion, while the foregoing has helped to put in perspective the professional culture of planners operating in Third World settings a number of questions still remain. Are the role orientations exhibited by the sample in this study common to planners elsewhere in the Third World? More importantly, are they shared by Western-based planning consultants concerned with Third World planning and development issues? This latter issue is explored in the succeeding section.

Planning Consultants: The Third World Interface

Developing countries have available to them a cadre of professional planners (planning consultants) from the developed world, who have devoted their professional or academic careers to the problems of the developing countries either as individuals or through such bilateral and multilateral agencies such as the World Bank and the United States Agency for International Development. Collectively, these individuals exert considerable influence on the development agenda of developing countries, especially in relation to policy prescriptions. For instance, there has been a fundamental shift in the last two decades in shelter policies in developing countries due in part to the efforts of John Turner, who led a crusade in developing countries questioning the negative official view of self-help approaches. But it was not until international donor agencies threw their weight behind these ideas that self-help measures became institutionalized and made part of the conventional wisdom. Today sites and services, and squatter upgrading projects are widely accepted as viable means to provide housing for low-income populations throughout the developing world (Lim, 1987).

The powerful influence exerted by the policy ideas emanating from these institutions is also enhanced by the actual physical presence of planning consultants in developing countries participating in project formulation and implementation which serves to reinforce their dominance. As Dyckman et. al., observe,

The foreign experts lend prestige to a project, add glamour to the local development schemes, and introduce such novelties as systems analysis, simulation models, computer displays, critical paths, linear programs and benefit cost and impact analysis (1984, p. 421).

Potentially, this has the effect of sustaining the values and attitudes of Third World planners. Yet very little is known about planning consultants' values and attitudes. Do they, for example, share a common set of values and attitudes with their Third World counterparts? What is the conventional wisdom among planning consultants with re-

gard to key issues such as housing and infrastructure standards, the role of the informal sector, the importance of self-help, public participation and so on? Is this conventional wisdom similar to that of Third World planners? This section explores these questions by first looking at the background characteristics of planning consultants.

Planning Consultants: Who are you?

Socio-economic profile and motivations

Table 11 contains the background characteristics of planning consultants in terms of age, educational background and professional setting. The typical planning consultant in the sample is a seasoned professional male in his mid-40s. In terms of education, over three quarters (83 per cent) had received their first degree from an institution in the developed-world compared to only 17 per cent educated in a Third World institution. About two-thirds held an undergraduate degree majoring in architecture and planning or in a social science discipline other than geography and planning. With respect to higher degrees, almost two-thirds held a masters or doctorate in planning with one-third qualifying in a social science discipline. As expected, almost all the respondents received their higher degrees from a developed-world institution. In terms of current occupation, approximately one-half worked for international donor agencies and the remainder were employed by universities. Those in the former were engaged in the administration and management of aid programs (58 per cent), consulting (22 per cent), and project planning (20 per cent); those in the latter were, not surprisingly, engaged principally in teaching and research. More important perhaps, an overwhelming majority (97 per cent) had some kind of work experience in the Third World.

In response to an open-ended question about what it was that had motivated them to become involved in urban planning, the answers fell into three broad themes:

Table 11. The social and occupational characteristics of Planning consultants (as percentages)

(N = 75)

AGE		Sex	
Under 30		Male	88
30 - 39	17	Female	12
40 - 49	64		
50 Over	19		
Education		Where degree awarded	
<i>First main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	4	Developed	83
Architecture/Planning	27	Developing	17
Geography	14	Socialist	0
Engineering	7	Not applicable	0
Other Social Sciences	37		
Other	7		
Not Applicable	4		
<i>Second main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	43	Developed	92
Architecture/Planning	12	Developing	3
Geography	9	Socialist	
Engineering	3	Not applicable	5
Other Social Sciences	25		
Other	3		
Not Applicable	5		
<i>Third main degree subject(s)</i>		<i>Where degree awarded</i>	
Planning	31	Developed	57
Architecture/Planning	3	Developing	
Geography	8	Socialist	
Engineering	0	Not applicable	43
Other Social Sciences	13		
Other	3		
Not applicable	43		
Substantive field (Main Professional Activity)		Type of Employer	
Research	11	International Donor Agency	53
Admin/management	43	University	47
Project Planning	10	Other	0
Consulting	12		
Other	14		
LDC work experience			
Yes	97		
No	3		

'social agenda', 'challenge seeking', 'intellectual idealism'. The *social agenda* was the most common of the themes, constituting 45 per cent of the respondents who saw the possibility of using planning as a vehicle for social change. To these respondents planning addressed directly the forces that perpetuate social differentiation:

Planning is a means of correcting biases in the market system and a tool to provide information and allocation of resources for future development—subject to constraints of social objectives.

The possibilities for planning were not seen only in terms of its mechanistic manifestation but also carried a missionary message of personal conviction as one respondent put it,

Desire to preserve and foster communications while helping people especially the vulnerable adjust to modern industrial growth. I am a classic do-gooder with hubris. The hubris has faded—not the ideas and goals.

However, most responses typifying this particular theme can be summarized by the following quotations

Social concern for the low income groups and the desire to contribute to the improvement of the city, the highest and noblest creation of mankind.

and:

Interest in economic and social development of urban centers, municipal management, and the potential to improve living conditions for low-income groups and to promote social equity.

The second theme, characterized as *challenge seeking*, was mentioned by 35 per cent of the sample. As one respondent explained, "My commitment to Third World development and the desire to make a contribution to the material well-being of those commonly referred to as 'less developed'." The potential for social engineering on a grand scale, seems to provide a liberating stimulus for some respondents whose careers were either stagnating or less satisfying. For instance, respondents often contrasted the narrowness of their occupations at the time with the broader scope and opportunities of planning. Thus:

My initial interest was architecture and soon realized that there was little point in carrying on with an elitist profession while something could be done for the majority of the people living in cities.

Another respondent put it even more bluntly when he said,

The challenge. It was intellectually stimulating, potential for innovation—breaking new ground. I was not all that convinced at the time that people were doing it right when I decided to go into planning and environmental design.

A very different kind of motivation, associated with *intellectual idealism* was mentioned by approximately 30 per cent of the sample who were attracted by the potential for applying theoretical constructs to practical problems.⁷ Examples fitting this category include “My work as an urban designer/political theorist makes it impossible not to come into contact with planning.” OR “The most meaningful type of ‘applied sociology’ to which I have been exposed.” Generally, however, the views of this theme are incorporated in the following quotation:

To acquire more knowledge and understanding of the urban social, economic, political and cultural systems and to make a minor contribution toward its well-being.

The three themes summarizing the respondents’ motivation for becoming involved in urban planning are significant in two respects. The first relates to their coincidence with the philosophical underpinnings of the planning profession identified in the literature (Glass, 1959; Faludi, 1973; Dyckman, 1961). More importantly, they provide some hints about the characteristic traits that form the basis of the respondents’ professional world-views.

In order to probe more deeply into this issue, respondents were asked to indicate the importance of specific attributes to a good planner to function successfully in a given operational context. Table 12 contains means, standard deviations and rankings of attributes as perceived by respondents. The results show that respondents attached great importance to such qualities as professional integrity, management ability, problem-solving skills, social awareness, and creativity. Conversely, technical draftsmanship, ability to follow orders, sound legal knowledge and emotional sensitivity were regarded not as important. However, as the standard deviations show there is ample variability

⁷ It should be noted that some respondents’ answers matched more than one of the themes. Consequently, percentages for all types of responses add to more than 100.

Table 12. Planning consultants: The perceived attributes of a good planner

Attribute	Rank	Mean†	Std. Dev.
Management ability	2	1.05	0.52
Technical Draftsmanship	14	2.56	0.79
Professional Integrity	1	1.05	0.23
Ability to follow orders	13	2.03	0.87
Social Awareness	4	1.17	0.38
Emotional Sensitivity	10	1.64	0.71
Problem-solving Skills	3	1.09	0.29
Sound Legal knowledge	12	2.01	0.60
Political Awareness	6	1.22	0.45
Sense of Public mission	8	1.55	0.68
Creativity	5	1.22	0.42
Spatial Awareness	11	1.76	0.69
Leadership Qualities	9	1.57	0.68
Sense of Vision for the Future	7	1.39	0.57

† Scale: (1) Extremely important, (2) Fairly important, (3) Not very important,

in the responses to the questions, which suggests that important attitudinal clusterings may be masked.

To explore this possibility, the responses to the questions on attributes were factor analyzed (Tables 13 and 14). As Table 14 shows, the leading factor which accounts for more than 22 per cent of the explained variance combines a set of attributes which can be associated with '*pragmatism*'—problem-solving analysis, political awareness, emotional sensitivity, and sound legal knowledge. The high loadings, in particular on problem-solving analysis and political awareness suggests that technical integrity and political effectiveness are critical tenets in the planning ethos of the sample. The second leading factor '*leadership*' equates leadership qualities with a sense of vision for the future. What this suggests is that in planners' world-view there is an underlying belief that they [planners] can provide the leaders required to steer and resolve societal problems. More importantly, combined with this belief is a strong ideological underpinning that planners as leaders not only can guide society in achieving its goals but also possess the vision of what society should aspire to be. In other words, at the very basic minimum planners assume a coincidence between society's vision and that of their own. Dyckman et. al., (1984) capture the essence of this belief when they state:

While there is no theoretical or practical agreement on the weight to be afforded to the future in the present, there is consensus among planners that they are guardians of a future interest, or at least the professionals chosen to throw light upon its contours (p. 216).

The third dimension '*rules-following*' is based on two attributes—ability to follow orders, and a sense of public mission—convey a rather interesting meaning. Although these attributes are not explicitly espoused on a daily basis they represent the cornerstones upon which the professional culture of planners or would be planners is predicated. Simply put, these are characteristic traits that differentiate professionals driven by personal gain and those operating in the public domain. Factor four combines a set of attributes which relates to planners' roles as '*technical*'—spatial awareness, manage-

Table 13. Planning Consultants: Communalities of perceived attributes of a good planner

Item	Communality
Professional Integrity	.54
Management ability	.70
Problem-solving skills	.75
Social awareness	.57
Creativity	.79
Political awareness	.67
Sense of vision for the future	.57
Sense of public mission	.66
Leadership qualities	.72
Emotional Sensitivity	.61
Spatial awareness	.51
Sound legal knowledge	.41
Ability to follow orders	.66
Technical draftsmanship	.35

Table 14. Planning Consultants: Factor Analysis of perceived attributes

	Factor I 'Pragmatists'	Factor II 'Leadership'	Factor III 'Rules-following'	Factor IV 'Technical'	Factor V 'Intellectual idealism'
Problem-solving analysis	.779				
Political awareness	.775				
Emotional sensitivity	.573		.479		
Sound legal knowledge	.431				.407
Leadership		.824			
Sense of vision for the future		.683			
Ability to follow orders			.813		
Sense of public mission		.450	.490	.464	
Spatial awareness				.647	
Management ability		.451		-.611	
Technical draftsmanship				.553	
Creativity					.747
Professional integrity				.301	.630
Social awareness	.382		.426		.480
Percentage of variance explained	22.3	11.1	9.7	9.6	8.1

ment ability, and technical draftsmanship. It is significant to note that management ability loads negatively on this dimension. This is not surprising considering that respondents (planning consultants) are more unlikely to perceive their functional roles in the traditional management mold, where it is seen to be a mechanism for control of resources, time, and personnel. Their function in developing countries is generally to provide technical solutions to problems rather than the day-to-day ponderous task of managing operations.

Finally, factor five is associated with '*intellectual idealism*' of the planning ethos. This dimension not only forms the kernel of professional expertise but is also a subtle mechanism for ensuring credibility and public legitimacy. Its centrality in the professional ideology of planners is exemplified by the following excerpt from a career guide to planning education:⁸

Planning is both a science and art. It demands technical competence as well as creativity, both hardheaded pragmatism and an ability to envision alternatives to the physical and social environments in which we live. It is an excellent career choice for those who desire a role in shaping the future.

In this context, it is not surprising that the trait features preeminently in the job philosophy of planning consultants.

Having established some of the underlying dimensions of professional culture it is now necessary to explore in more detail respondents' attitudes to specific issues which define their operational agenda in developing countries. For instance, their attitudes toward rural-urban migration, the informal sector, squatter settlements and service provision, self-help, the use of Western versus indigenous methods and solutions, etc. To realize this task respondents were asked to respond to a battery of 41 attitudinal statements identical to those noted in the previous section for Third World planners (see Appendix B).

⁸ 1984 Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning Guide

As the breakdown of the responses in Table 15 shows, the 'conventional wisdom' of planning consultants tends to reflect many of the dominant themes espoused in the literature on Third World urbanization and planning (Linn, 1983; Taylor and Williams, 1982; Lim, 1987; Blair, 1984; Potter, 1985). Thus the track record of planning is seen as poor; technocratic and elitist, with formal standards set unrealistically high; a great deal of emphasis is placed on the potential utility of the informal sector, self-help, sites-and-services initiatives, and public participation; there is also a strong commitment to basic needs of the urban poor as well as the view that bureaucratic inefficiency and institutional requisites are grossly inadequate to affect successful urbanization strategies. The conventional wisdom of the sample also places great emphasis on environmental quality. Nevertheless, as the standard deviations on scores for many of the attitudinal questions suggest, there is lack of consensus among respondents with respect to an all-embracing world-view. To the extent that this is the case it can be assumed that there exists within the overall sample distinctive sub-groups with divergent world-views. This possibility was explored, using Ward's method of clustering and data from each of the 41 attitudinal statements for each of the respondents. This analysis realized a three cluster solution, revealing some interesting patterns.

The first group ($n = 31$) is distinguished by average scores which are analogous to the 'conventional wisdom' for the sample as a whole. Thus, they view the track record of planning in developing countries as being technocratic and elitist, with unrealistic technical standards, deficient institutional capacity and favorably disposed toward citizen participation, the informal sector, self-help and sites-and-services initiatives (statements 9, 11, 17, 19, 35, 41). The group, however, deviated somewhat from this conventional wisdom in that they tended to disagree more decisively with the view that technical competence, professional integrity and an apolitical stance constitutes important preconditions for successful planning and urban management. They also strongly

Table 15. The 'conventional wisdom' among Planning consultants

Statement*	Mean	S.D.	
4	2.4	1.3	(Agree)
5	2.1	1.5	"
18	2.0	1.3	"
26	2.5	1.3	"
32	1.9	1.1	"
35	2.4	1.5	"
41	2.1	1.3	"
1	4.5	1.5	(Disagree)
2	5.6	1.6	"
8	4.6	1.7	"
19	5.2	1.9	"
23	5.6	1.5	"
28	5.6	1.4	"
31	4.5	1.7	"
33	4.6	1.9	"
37	5.3	1.5	"
40	6.1	1.3	"

* A copy of the Questionnaire can be found in Appendix B

disagree with the statement that "Third World planners regard Western-style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth".

The second group (n = 32) is distinctive for its critical attitudes toward the institutional context of planning in Third World settings and can be characterized as *radical*. They tended to agree more decisively with portrayals of Third World planning as static, elitist and technocratic (statements 4, 5, 9, 11). They also support the notion that Western derived solutions are often applied inappropriately (statement 38). On the other hand, they reject rather strongly the claim that planners' bureaucratic positions enable them to better interpret public mandates (statement 14).

Finally, the third group (n = 12) is very different, and can be characterized as having a *technocratic* world-view. As a group they strongly support the suggestions that planners should be trained to develop technically correct solutions, that planners should attempt to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information and that planners' effectiveness is based largely on their reputation for objective analysis (statements 1, 20, 21). They also regard bureaucratic structures as providing some insulation from political pressures and feel that it is important to accept and work within the established framework of agency rules (statements 14, 24). In addition, they are distinctive in their hard-line attitudes toward squatter settlements (statement 40). Not surprisingly, they are more than a little paternalistic, agreeing with the suggestion that planners know the needs of the community better than its residents (statement 28).

While this study confirms previous research which suggests that practitioners fall into several clusters of practical types (Howe, 1980; Baum, 1983; Knox and Cullen, 1981), several questions remain. What characterizes these divergent world-views? How can they be explained? Are they a product of the changing 'material circumstances of

planning' as David Harvey (1985) has suggested in relation to Western planning ideology? To illuminate some of these questions cross-tabulations of the three sub-types with data on respondents' age, educational history and professional experience were undertaken. This analysis, however, provided only partial answers. For example, age had no significant impact whatsoever on subscribed world-views among the groups.

Perhaps the most interesting finding of this analysis of subscribed world-views and professional socialization is that education may not be a major determinant of role orientation for many planners in the sample. There was, for example, no statistically significant relationship, on the one hand, between the groups' subscribed world-views and location of degree awarding institution ($\chi^2 = .704$ 2df, $p < .70$) and on the other, the main degree subject, particularly at the Masters level or higher ($\chi^2 = 9.1$ 10df, $p < .53$). However, the possession of a social science undergraduate degree is strongly associated with individuals inclined toward a radical predisposition ($\chi^2 = 20.21$ 10df, $p < .02$). These findings appear to be consistent with previous research findings which showed education not to be a major determinant of role choices among US planners (Howe, 1980; Baum 1983).

It has been postulated elsewhere that work setting can have a strong shaping effect on the role orientations subscribed to by planners (Howe, 1980, Rabinovitz, 1969). In this study, this hypothesis was tested using professional experience which encompassed two factors: job function and type of employer. The former factor was found to have a major differentiating effect on the subscribed world-views among the three sub-groups ($\chi^2 = 29.16$ 6df, $p < .001$). For instance, the group subscribing to the 'conventional wisdom' of the sample consisted of persons who defined their job function as administrators and/or managers of donor agency aid programs, while the group espousing a radical predisposition was dominated by academics engaged in teaching and research activities as was the group predisposed to the technocratic world-view. This

finding was also reinforced by the statistically significant relationship between type of employer and the espoused world-view of each group ($\chi^2 = 20.64$ 2df, $p < .001$). The group subscribing to the 'conventional wisdom', for example, consisted of persons who worked for donor agencies (60 per cent) while the radical and technocratic groups contained disproportionately large numbers of individuals employed by universities. While this finding was not entirely unexpected it is significant in one important respect: it confirms the importance of operational settings to which subgroups are exposed to regarding their role orientations and the extent to which these are reinforced by occupational positions. This is exemplified by the fact that the subgroups characterized by the radical and technocratic predispositions have in their work settings the latitude to evaluate problem situations without having to concern themselves with the repercussions their actions may generate. On the other hand, the practitioner-oriented consultants who are exposed more directly to real world problems must of necessity account for their actions. Consequently, their attitudes are more likely to be conditioned by the need to produce tangible results.

Chapter V

Discussion, Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

Summary

The general objective of this study was to explore and expand the research concerning the professional culture of Third World planners and planning consultants working on aspects of urban planning and management in Third World settings. Central to this objective was the concern that little is known about the professional role orientations, values and attitudes of either group, yet both groups are clearly key actors in the management of human settlements.

The analyses endeavored to discern the similarities and differences that emerge between attitudinal responses of Third World planners on the one hand and the planning consultants on the other. These attitudinal data were then analyzed in relation to respondents' background characteristics (age, education, professional status, class background, career path). In addition, contextual factors to which Third World planners are exposed to in their operational settings were utilized to supplement the analysis on the professional role orientations of Third World planners.

The data employed in this analysis were obtained through the use of mail questionnaires. A total of 165 Third World planners drawn from several Third World coun-

tries (Barbados, Jamaica, India, Zambia and Zimbabwe) and 100 planning consultants based in the developed-world were surveyed.

Respondents in these samples were asked to reply to a range of questions dealing with background and career information, attitudes to professional roles, values, and attitudes towards specific issues relating to the theory and practice of urban planning and management in Third World settings. These included attitudes towards rural-urban migration, the informal sector, self-help housing initiatives, the use of Western versus indigenous methods and solutions, and receptiveness to current ideas about project replicability and cost recovery. Simple 7-point Likert scales with a semantic differential ('strongly agree'/'strongly disagree') were used for most attitudinal questions. Out of the 265 mailed questionnaires, a usable return of 186 (70.2 per cent) was realized.

Discussion

Exploratory, descriptive research of the sort reported here must inevitably raise more questions than it answers. Before enunciating these, however, it is important to summarize the initial findings of this research. In this study, the typical Third World planner is a male of mid-career age and from a middle-class background. This finding appears to confirm the second hypothesis.

- Hypothesis 2. People most likely to be planners or managers of the urban system are drawn disproportionately from certain types of background.

The typical planning consultant, on the other hand, though also a male is a seasoned professional who is significantly older. (Over 60 per cent of the Third World planners were less than 40 years of age, whereas only 17 per cent of the planning consultants were less than 40). In terms of education, the great majority of Third World planners had

taken a first degree from a Third World institution, reading some combination of planning, architecture and geography or engineering. Meanwhile, planning consultants were more likely to have taken a degree in a social science subject other than planning or geography. This orientation is also reflected at higher degree levels. Thus, whereas 80 per cent of Third World planners with higher degrees had a Masters or a doctorate in planning, only about half of the planning consultants with higher degrees had a Masters or a doctorate in planning.

Notwithstanding the differences in educational orientations, Third World planners and planning consultants share some important professional characteristic traits. In particular, both the Third World planners and planning consultants clearly agreed on the qualities that are most desirable to a 'good' planner working successfully in a Third World setting: problem-solving skills, management ability, creativity, professional integrity, and a sense of vision for the future. There was also a high level of consensus that certain qualities were not particularly important: ability to follow orders, a sound legal knowledge, emotional sensitivity and technical draftsmanship. Finally, and more significantly, consensus also emerged when an examination was undertaken of the factors that motivated Third World planners and planning consultants to choose urban planning as a professional endeavor. The two groups' responses, when categorized, clustered neatly into three interrelated themes — 'social agenda', 'challenging seeking' and 'intellectual idealism'. These themes or their variants have been shown in the literature to undergird the philosophy of the planning profession (Foley, 1960; Baum, 1983). This finding strongly suggests that not only do Third World planners and planning consultants share elements of a common ethic —variously referred to in the literature as 'common threads', or 'common culture' and 'core of shared ideology' (Fisher, 1981), but this ethic is shared by developed-world planners as well, despite differences of contextual detail. Based on this finding, hypothesis one is accepted for the Third World sample.

- Hypothesis 1. Third World planners exhibit consistent sets of values, attitudes and role orientations that parallel those of developed-world planners because of the socializing influences of professional education on Third World planners trained in both developed-world and home institutions, which inculcates a world-view and belief system shared by developed societies.

Despite these similarities the most striking finding relate to the significant differences in the attitudes of Third World planners and planning consultants toward planning issues and professional role orientations. The apparent differences are even more magnified when a comparison is made between the “conventional wisdoms” of Third World planners and planning consultants. Thus, whereas the ‘conventional wisdom’ of planning consultants tends to reflect many of the dominant themes in the literature on Third World urbanization and planning, the ‘conventional wisdom’ of Third World planners is different in that it is disposed towards managerialism and technocracy and yet at the same time pragmatic and grassroots-oriented. These two categories represent the majority viewpoint and orientation of planning consultants and Third World planners in each group. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge that there exists within each group distinctive sub-types —‘conservative’, ‘defensive’, ‘paternalistic’, ‘radical’, ‘technocratic’, etc. This finding closely parallels the distinctive sub-types of professional role orientations found in studies of European, North American and Israeli planners (Knox and Cullen, 1981; Howe, 1980; Howe and Kaufman, 1979; Baum, 1983; Kaufman, 1985), suggesting that the professional ‘ideology’ of planning should not be seen as part of a coherently articulated set of values and principles bound by broadly accepted ethical tenets, a strong group consciousness and control over a definite segment of knowledge in the way that, for example, the ideology of the medical and legal professions can be

understood. These observations suggest that hypotheses three and four can be retained as stated.

- Hypothesis 3. Managerialism and its associated skills form a major component of the professional culture of Third World planners because professional socialization cannot be divorced from the ideological tenets of the profession.
- Hypothesis 4. The professional ideology of Third World planners and planning consultants like that of their developed-world counterparts is eclectic with regards to commonly held values and principles, an intensity of group consciousness and claim over a definite segment of knowledge. This orientation is directly associated with the fact that planning is a publicly sanctioned profession.

In addition to explicating the differences between Third World planners and planning consultants toward planning issues and professional orientations, the affects of several background factors were examined in order to explain the variations arising within each group. These include age, class background, educational history (main degree subject, location of institution awarding degree, etc), professional status (job function and employer type). Within the Third World group only one factor —location of the institution awarding the first degree —was found to be significantly associated with sub-types. The 'defensive' group, for example, contained a disproportionately large number of planners who had read for their first degree in a developed-country, together with disproportionately large number of planners from Zimbabwe. This factor, however, had no effect among the sub-types within the planning consultants group. However, professional setting was found to have a major differentiating effect on the subscribed world-views of the three sub-types within the planning consultants group. Thus, for example, the group subscribing to the 'conventional wisdom' of the sample consisted of

respondents whose function was to administer and manage donor agency aid programs, while the groups espousing radical and technocratic predispositions, respectively, were dominated by academics engaged in teaching and research activities. Meanwhile, the group subscribing to the 'Third World conventional wisdom' was drawn from a variety of national, educational and professional backgrounds. Beyond these observations, however, the profile data variables lacked explanatory power to differentiate distinctive sub-types found in each sub-sample.

To further illuminate the variations found within the Third World sub-sample, contextual factors to which Third World planners are exposed to in their operational settings were used to derive the following results. First, the sub-type with a 'defensive' predisposition, predominately dominated by planners from Zimbabwe, was favorably disposed toward the practice of planning. The mind-set among this group is one characterized by optimism and belief in the system of planning and methods applied to problems. Based on this finding it was inferred that the role orientation of Third World planners with a defensive inclination is positively correlated to the favorable conditions provided by the local and institutional context of planning. Second, the sub-type with a radical predisposition was found to be associated with Third World planners who were disillusioned with the *modus operandi* of conventional wisdom: a consequence of unfavorable operational setting. Since a large proportion of planners in this group consisted of Jamaicans and Zambians (both countries exhibit an unfavorable environment for planning), this led to the following inference. That the proclivity for radicalism results when planners' ability to function in the conventional mold is curtailed on the one hand, by a hostile Third World operational context and on the other compounded by what is perceived to be manipulation by external forces. Finally, the sub-type espousing a paternalistic world-view had a disproportionately large number of planners from India whose role orientation seems to reinforce the stereotypical bureaucratic image that has

come to be associated with certain dysfunctions of planning. Thus, it was concluded that, where planners have a paternalistic predisposition, they are more likely to sustain the socio-political status quo in order to maintain their own position regardless of the need to address the pressing problems of the underprivileged classes. These observations appear to support the hypothesis that contextual factors are a major determinant of professional role orientations of Third World planners.

- Hypothesis 5. The attitudes of Third World planners to specific issues related to the theory and practice of urban planning and management are most likely to be influenced and conditioned by contextual factors to which they are exposed to in their operational settings, despite the fact that planning can be seen as a form of deliberate intervention with intentions not just environmental, but also for social change.

Findings in Theoretical Perspective

Current literature on Third World urbanization and planning is replete with analyses that are critical of planners operating in Third World settings (see e.g., Noe, 1981; Misra, 1978; Benninger, 1987; Okpala, 1987). Characteristic themes underlying these analyses can be summarized as follows:

- Western-oriented concepts and methods contribute to the shortcomings of Third World urban planning and management;
- the socialization of Third World planners to Western attitudes, standards and values during their professional training in developed countries inculcates a world-view that is dominated by elitist and technocratic attitudes.

The implication, of course, is that the outcomes of the planning process, having been mediated by, a distinctive Western-oriented professional ideology are at best regressive or, at worst, part of the structural underpinnings of Third World underdevelopment. However, the findings of this study do not support these contentions. More specifically, the collective conventional wisdom of Third World planners does not view the track record of planning as weak or doomed, nor do Third World planners regard Western concepts, methods or training in developed-world institutions as inappropriate to their professional roles. Furthermore, they do not see the profession as elitist or technocratic; on the contrary they support the notion of success via technical competence and administrative and managerial skills. The irony is that planning consultants appear to be more skeptical about professional effectiveness and egalitarianism.

The difference between these actors raises some fundamental questions as to why these differences of opinion exist. Could it be that Third World planners are being characteristically defensive, lack realism and therefore only interested in sustaining their own position? Or are the differences simply a reflection of a much deep-seated problem involving perceptions and interpretations of Third World phenomena? One possible explanation may be found in a re-examination of the issue of standard-setting, which is at the center of the problem of environmental conditions in the human settlements. The issue as propounded in the literature is that standards related to shelter in Third World countries are largely elitist, unrelated to socio-economic realities, and imitative because they are often premised on middle-class technocratic perceptions of need rather than those of the underprivileged. Mabogunje (1978), captures the key elements of this argument when he states:

Every country has its own culture and the cultural influence on living patterns and shelter forms cannot be overemphasized. But the Western-educated elite (planners) has developed a technical perception of what 'ought' to be rather than a realization of what 'has' to be. This tunnel vision of technology plays a significant role in standard-setting in the developing countries. Modern is taken to mean Western; and modern housing means Western housing. What is indigenous is often considered dated and substandard. This leads to much inappropriate design and structures that are unsuitable for local culture and living patterns (p. 11).

Planners, however, are sometimes unjustifiably blamed for ill-fated development outcomes which may be beyond their making, particularly, if the expectations of other key actors (such as squatters, political leaders, etc.) are factored in the development process. In this context the following observation about squatter behavioral patterns, as seen by one commentator, offers valuable insights.

We greatly admired the effective use of space in villages and existing squatter areas, and I was able to insist that when we upgraded the settlements, those who were resettled should have the opportunity to plan their own layouts...Altogether a total of about 7,000 families were settled in 280 land parcels each for 25 homes. Each of the 280 groups could design its own layout, or select from a number of alternatives, thus giving them the chance to practice urban design and, hopefully, to keep to the organic layout of the existing settlements (which responded so efficiently to their life style) instead of the straight-jacket of the grid-iron. Sad to say they all opted for a grid-iron plan in a desire to conform to the system applied to the *better-off* sections of the community (Martin, 1983, p. 39; own emphasis).

The central significance of this observation is brought to the fore when he further observes that "the images people associate with social status are a more potent motivation than functional necessity or even economy." How then are Third World planners supposed to reconcile such contradictions? Operating under such conditions, should planners be blamed for continuing to prescribe solutions based on Western-oriented standards that may be ingrained in the perceptions of communities they plan for? Could it be the case that the expectations of low income communities are not fundamentally different from those of planners? If the latter question is answered in the affirmative, then perhaps the question of standards is a non-issue, rather, the process by which the aspirations of the underprivileged classes are realized.

An equally significant factor is the failure in the literature to recognize the powerful influence exerted on development issues by Third World leaders (politicians) who are sometimes unwilling, for political, prestige or personal reasons to accept skills, standards and solutions seemingly less sophisticated, grandiose and costly than those to be found in the developed world, even though they may be of greater relevance and far more appropriate. Thus, the Brasílias, Chandigarhs, Islamabads, Dodomas, New Delhis, Abujas having been built, at enormous costs, the planners become guilty by association.

And yet in reality planners are frequently faced with *faits accompli* not consistent with planning practices. The evidence presented in this study suggests this to be the case. Aside from the issue of inadequate resources, Third World planners cited political interference and bureaucratic inertia as key factors hampering planning efforts. One practitioner in this study articulated the dilemma of planners in the following terms: "Inability to get things done, a sense of unfulfilled promises — all a product of political interference when in reality politicians lack a substantive understanding of the technical aspects of planning." Unfortunately such influences are inadequately treated in the literature which sometimes display a lack of understanding of the issues that are external to the "agents of change", which ultimately determine and/or condition the ability of planners to realize certain objectives. Despite the seeming overpowering circumstances, the evidence presented found Third World planners guardedly optimistic, quietly confident and resiliently content to pursue their ideals.⁹

Implications and Suggestions for Future Research

This study has sought to explore the question whether Third World planners and planning consultants exhibit consistent sets of values, attitudes and role orientations that parallel those of developed-world planners, and if so whether their professional culture was also dominated by rationalistic, problem-solving, technocratic and managerial orientations. It also sought to establish how their attitudes as managers of the urbanization process related to specific issues of particular relevance to Third World countries. In this analysis, Third World planners and planning consultants do share with their developed-world counterparts elements of a common culture, with a core of shared ideology. However, this professional "brotherhood" seems to attenuate when 'the rubber

⁹ See, for example, Tips, 1986, p. 290.

meets the tarmac' — the practical reality of Third World planning. The professional culture of Third World planners, though steeped in rationalism, managerialism and technocracy, is tempered with pragmatism.

This is the essential difference between the *modus operandi* of planning consultants and that of Third World planners. The former has the luxury of conceptualizing problems and solutions in an ordered and stable environment, far removed from the everyday activities of practice, whilst the latter working under conditions characterized by situationally specific rapid change, uncertainty, resource scarcity and instability requires a different strategy. Pragmatism, the philosophy of action rather than of knowing (Hoch, 1984), seem to be emphasized more by Third World planners in the process of realizing their professional goals. Simply put, the pragmatic view enables the Third World practitioner working in a situation of continuous flux, to see not the dilemma, but the plethora of options to facilitate change. This is fundamentally the source of optimism prevalent amongst Third World planners, whilst the skepticism associated with the planning consultants may be a result of the group's perception that the Third World is not an ideal environment in which planning can be effectively executed. This is reflected in their critical attitudes toward the institutional context of planning in Third World settings (page 110).

One interpretation of this is that Third World planners are able to successfully adapt their Western-oriented professional training (which potentially instills an idealist view of the world) to the imperfections of home environments. The study findings support this interpretation, given that most Third World planners did not regard Western concepts, methods or training as inappropriate to their mission. Another implication relates to the failure of most background factors (educational history, age, professional status, class background) used in the study to provide an adequate explanation for the distinctive sub-types of role orientations among Third World planners. This may be

explained by the contextual difficulties faced by Third World planners in responding to different demands of substantive issues on the one hand and procedural issues on the other. A more promising approach to the study of the professional culture of Third World planners might therefore be one that seeks to explicate the environment that encourages practitioners in a given context to adopt a more pragmatic outlook.¹⁰

Although it is often risky to formulate prescriptive measures directly from descriptive analyses, it is the researcher's conviction that certain practical implications can be associated with the study findings. These relate to two areas: planning education and mid-career training programs. It is in this context that the following tentative observations are put forth.

It has become fashionable to associate the shortcomings of Third World urban planning and management with what is perceived to be inappropriate education and training of Third World planners (see for example, Benninger, 1987; Yahya, 1984; Dawes, 1984). From the evidence presented in this study the basis for such notions and opinions seem to be unfounded. Third World planners appear to be able to adapt their Western acquired training to home situations. Nevertheless, it is important to acknowledge the likelihood that the findings may well mask complex problems. For instance, it is not clear how the process of adaptation manifests itself. In particular, how long does it take for a Western trained professional to adjust and function effectively in a Third World milieu? What methods are available to him/her to facilitate the adjustment process? Regardless of the responses to these questions one issue is clear: Third World professionals trained in a foreign milieu need a mechanism that would facilitate rapid adaptation to their home environments. This could take the form of short-term training to include in-service training and/or on-the-job instruction organized and sponsored by

¹⁰ For another perspective see Charles Hoch, 1987.

local planning agencies. Such a process would ensure that each new entrant to the profession is given a suitable orientation to the environment for planning practice at home as well as exposing him/her to the economic and political realities impinging on planning activity. In particular, it would help the returning professional adapt to the intricate legal and institutional framework of planning practice that is likely to be fundamentally different from that provided by the context of his/her professional training.

A second implication concerns the diverse role orientations characteristic of Third World planners and planning consultants. Their prevalence suggest that programs for planning education and training should pay particular attention to contextual imperatives. Given that a substantial proportion of Third World planners will continue to acquire professional and advanced training in developed countries it is imperative that such factors be taken into consideration in the design of professional training programs. In this respect, developed-world educational institutions could make a major contribution to the needs of Third World countries by sensitizing professional programs to meet the specific needs of Third World students. A useful starting point might be to offer courses designed to examine issues or policy questions in two contrasting settings (i.e., one a Third World country and the other a developed country). Such an approach would allow both Third World and developed-world students, in Qadeer's (1984) terms 'to transpose themselves intellectually to a Third World country, and thus become more aware of the social and institutional context of an issue as well as encouraging Third World students to better understand the bases of a problem'. Other elements required in the sensitization process could include the following:¹¹

- provide courses focused on the analysis of and solutions to Third World planning and development problems;

¹¹ Similar measures have recently been advocated in a variety of United Nations Publications.

- active financial support of research projects by faculty addressing Third World problems;
- initiate research and demonstration projects that would provide a teaching and learning context for Third World and developed-world students—some of whom may spend their professional life working in developing countries;
- support and encourage Third World students to pursue research in problem areas with potential applicability in their home environments.

In addition, a complementary strategy that needs to be considered involves educational institutions and international donor agencies conducting joint mid-career training programs for experienced professionals based in developed countries who are either working or preparing for work in Third World countries.

An alternative approach to this model would be for Third World countries themselves to consider developing professional training programs at regional centers supported by a number of countries sharing common languages and common regional problems. But more fundamentally, such a strategy would lessen the economic burden of developing professional training programs on an individual basis through the sharing of educational and financial resources. Besides it would minimize the need for individual countries to establish programs for orienting professional level entry planners trained in developed countries on re-entry at home. In the long-term the benefits provided by pooling the experiential knowledge of mid-career planners in the regional centers would be evident in the development of a critical mass that would not only raise the level of consciousness about planning problems and solutions affecting the regions, but also inform theories that pertain to explain Third World phenomena. In fact the United Nations has recently called for the establishment and support of such regional centers (Oberlander, 1984).

In conclusion, a few suggestions for future research can be presented. Much additional research on Third World planners' values remains to be done. In particular, there is a need to look more closely at the context in which Third World planners operate. The manner in which the prevailing social, economic, political and cultural structures condition the forms and the ways in which urban development takes place has a direct bearing on planners actions. This is underscored by the inferences made in this study regarding the effect of contextual factors on the professional role orientations of Third World planners. These inferences need to be validated.

Considering also the relatively weak relationship between the distinctive subtypes of role orientations and the profile data, future research should be aimed at developing variables that could better explain the divergent world-views of planners working in developing countries. In order to refine the material in this study, future research should also, of necessity, concentrate on specific operational settings in which multifarious contextual factors can be examined. Such studies could be used as a springboard for future comparative analyses. This would enable researchers to establish whether the role orientations exhibited by the sample in this study are common to planners elsewhere in the Third World.

Furthermore, to illuminate the professional culture of Third World planners research is required to examine planners' modes of operation. In particular, future research should be aimed at exploring the institutional setting of the professional practice of Third World planners; how they organize themselves; and how they interact with other professions and organizations involved in the development process, decision-makers and the general public. Generally, planners' position within institutional hierarchies determines the extent to which their work is legitimized by society. In this respect, an exposition of their position in the hierarchy should shed light on their values, attitudes and world-views. Also, research is required to investigate instruments of intervention used

by planners in the planning and management of cities and the linkages between these instruments and professional world-views. A useful starting point could be an analysis of specific policy instruments to meet planners' objectives such as the alleviation of poverty and unmet needs, employment and services, infrastructure provision and housing. Such an effort should pay particular attention to the impacts of interventions on the people they are intended to assist. Besides determining who actually benefits from programs, how they benefit and why they benefit, this type of research would pursue planners' motives and their rationale for selecting and executing particular policy interventions.

Finally, an issue of paramount importance noted in this study requiring critical attention concerns the apparent conflict of expectations regarding standards between decision makers (political leaders), low income groups and planners. In the literature it appears that decision makers desire grandiose solutions to problems (see, for example, Martin, 1983; Banerjee, 1988). From the evidence presented in this study, planners seem to be striving for solutions that are affordable and appropriate and thereby seemingly siding with low income groups. The paradox is that it is the decision makers (political leaders) who are supposed to be representing the needs of the poor who are insisting on more stringent standards. This situation raises some important questions. For example, how can such a contradiction be explained or reconciled? What should be the appropriate stance for planners in such situations? These questions have never been adequately addressed in the theoretic literature, yet their exposition could go a long way towards determining the transferability of Western explanations and experiences to Third World problems in general and the adequacy of the views of the current body of planning concepts to explain the role of planners in varied social contexts, in particular.

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Appendix A

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND PLANNING
201 Architecture Annex, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061, USA

Calvin Masilela

BITNET: ONIASC @ VTVM1

March 29, 1987

Dear Colleague,

I am writing to ask you to take a few minutes of your time to answer the enclosed questionnaire. Your answers will greatly assist me in my research, which is aimed at securing a better picture of the background, views, and orientations of the planners in developing countries.

Your answers will, of course be treated in the strictest confidence. There is no need to identify yourself by name; and the results of the survey will be published in such a way that it will not be possible to identify individuals and will be used for academic research purposes only.

Please return the completed questionnaire to the address noted at the end of the questionnaire. (For your convenience, a stamped, addressed envelope is enclosed). Your cooperation in completing and returning the questionnaire is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin O. Masilela
Project Director

SURVEY OF ZIMBABWEAN URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNERS

Part I. Social and Occupational Characteristics

1. Please indicate your age by checking the appropriate box:

- | | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| under 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30 - 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40 - 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50 or over | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Please list your degrees/diplomas here:

<i>Subject</i>	<i>University/College</i>
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____
_____	_____

3. Present position (please indicate rank and employer):

4. How would you describe your job, in general terms?

5. Excluding your present position, have you ever been employed in any of the following settings? (tick as many as appropriate)

	<i>Planning-related</i>	<i>Not planning-related</i>
Private practice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Federal government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local government (urban)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local government (rural)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part II. Planner's Job Philosophy

1. A good planner must have a variety of skills and attributes. Please indicate what you feel to be the relative importance of each of the following:

	<i>Extremely important</i>	<i>Fairly important</i>	<i>Not very important</i>
Management ability	----	----	----
Technical draftsmanship	----	----	----
Professional integrity	----	----	----
Ability to follow orders	----	----	----
Social awareness	----	----	----
Emotional sensitivity	----	----	----
'Problem-solving' skills	----	----	----
Sound legal knowledge	----	----	----
Political awareness	----	----	----
Sense of public mission	----	----	----
Creativity	----	----	----
Spatial awareness	----	----	----
Leadership qualities	----	----	----
Sense of vision for the future	----	----	----
Other (specify)	----	----	----
.....	----	----	----

2. Which of the following activities occupies most of your time at work? (*tick one box*)

- Teaching
- Research
- Administration
- Consulting
- Development planning
- Development control
- Preparation of strategic plans
- Preparation of local plans
- Urban design
- Other (please specify)

3. What are the things that you particularly like about the job you do?

4. What are the things that you find frustrating, or which you dislike about your job?

Part III. Specific Issues Related to Urban Planning and Management in Developing Countries

Instructions: Here are some statements that have been made recently about planning and planners in developing countries. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them by circling a number at the appropriate point on the scale.

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = moderately agree
- 3 = slightly agree
- 4 = neutral
- 5 = slightly disagree
- 6 = moderately disagree
- 7 = strongly disagree

	Strongly Agree							Strongly Disagree
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
13	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
14	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
16	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
17	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
18	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
19	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
20	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

		Strongly Agree							Strongly Disagree						
21	"Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	"Planning is primarily a political activity"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	"The price being paid by taxpayers to improve the environment is too high"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	"Planners should accept and work within the rules of their agencies, even if they do not always agree with them"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	"The planner's job is to understand the point of view of the administration he or she serves, and assist it in achieving its objectives"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	"Planners have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the have-nots of the community, particularly the poor"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	"Private developers have little or no concern for the good of the community as a whole"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	"Planners know the needs of the community better than residents"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	"In the planning process, planners should stake their values in competition with those of others and openly strive to achieve them"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	"The true participants in the process of city building in developing countries are squatters and illegal sub-dividers not planners as popularly assumed"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	"Planners in Zimbabwe (the Caribbean/Zambia/India) are too concerned about protecting the environment and not enough about improving the socio-economic conditions of the poor"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	"The informal sector serves a critical function in the urban economies of Third World cities and should be promoted by all means possible to facilitate economic development"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	"The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of services to various members of the community"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	"People have a right to determine who lives in their neighborhood"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	"Planners should involve citizens in every phase of the planning process"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	"Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	"Citizens should not have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	"Third World planners regard western style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	"International donor agencies (e.g., World Bank, USAID, etc.) are acting in the best interest of developing nations when they insist on measures such as cost recovery, project replicability, and efficiency of implementation in the supply of urban services"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	"An appropriate response to the problem of squatter settlements is to prevent the formation of new squatter settlements, the eradication of existing eyesores and replacing them by orderly and appropriately designed housing projects"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	"Lack of coordination between planning authorities and other government agencies responsible for the provision of urban services and infrastructure is one of the major problems impeding planning efforts in developing countries"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part IV. Your Motivation for Choosing the Planning Profession

1. What was it that motivated you to become involved in urban planning?

2. What is (or was) your father's occupation?

3a. Do you feel that you are able to exert a significant impact on the outcome of urban development? (*tick one box*)

Yes

No

Not applicable

3b. If you answered "yes" to question 3a, please list below those aspects of urban development which you feel you are able to influence, even in a small way.

Thank you for your help.

Please return the completed questionnaire to:

**Mr. S. Jogi, Provincial Planning Officer
Department of Physical Planning
Ministry of Local Government and Town Planning
P.O. Box 8056, Causeway
Harare**

Appendix B

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University

ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND PLANNING
201 Architecture Annex, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Calvin Masilela

BITNET: ONIASC @ VTVM1

May 24, 1987

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am currently engaged in a study of the beliefs, perceptions and attitudes of planners and scholars involved with planning, management and development in developing countries, and I hope that you will be able to assist me by completing the enclosed questionnaire. Your answers will, of course, be confidential.

In consideration of the important demands placed upon your time, I have constructed the questions so that they can be answered with a simple check mark on the scale, or a brief description. The average time needed to complete the entire questionnaire has been found to be approximately 15 minutes.

A self-addressed, stamped envelope is provided for your convenience. Once again, all information is strictly confidential and will be used for academic research purposes only.

Your cooperation in completing and returning the questionnaire is greatly appreciated.

Sincerely yours,

Calvin O. Masilela
Project Director

SURVEY OF INTERNATIONAL PLANNING CONSULTANTS AND SCHOLARS

Part I. Social and Occupational Characteristics

1. Please indicate your age by checking the appropriate box:

- | | |
|------------|--------------------------|
| under 30 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 30 - 39 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 40 - 49 | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 50 or over | <input type="checkbox"/> |

2. Please list your degrees/diplomas here:
Subject

University/College

3. Present position (please indicate rank and employer):

4. How would you describe your job, in general terms?

5. Excluding your present position, have you ever been employed in any of the following settings? (*tick as many as appropriate*)

	<i>Planning-related</i>	<i>Not planning-related</i>
Private practice	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Teaching	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Federal government	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local government (urban)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Local government (rural)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Other	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Part II. Planner's Job Philosophy

1. A good planner must have a variety of skills and attributes. Please indicate what you feel to be the relative importance of each of the following:

	<i>Extremely important</i>	<i>Fairly important</i>	<i>Not very important</i>
Management ability	----	----	----
Technical draftsmanship	----	----	----
Professional integrity	----	----	----
Ability to follow orders	----	----	----
Social awareness	----	----	----
Emotional sensitivity	----	----	----
'Problem-solving' skills	----	----	----
Sound legal knowledge	----	----	----
Political awareness	----	----	----
Sense of public mission	----	----	----
Creativity	----	----	----
Spatial awareness	----	----	----
Leadership qualities	----	----	----
Sense of vision for the future	----	----	----
Other (specify)	----	----	----
.....	----	----	----

2. Which of the following activities occupies most of your time at work? (*tick one box*)

- Teaching
- Research
- Administration
- Consulting
- Other (please specify)

3. Have you ever worked in developing countries?

- Yes
- No
- Not applicable

4. Has your past work ever included the following activities? (*tick as many as appropriate*)

- Development planning
- Development control
- Preparation of strategic plans
- Preparation of local plans
- Urban design
- Other (please specify)

Part III. Specific Issues Related to Urban Planning and Management in Developing Countries

Instructions: Here are some statements that have been made recently about planning and planners in developing countries. Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them by circling a number at the appropriate point on the scale.

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = moderately agree
- 3 = slightly agree
- 4 = neutral
- 5 = slightly disagree
- 6 = moderately disagree
- 7 = strongly disagree

	Strongly Agree						Strongly Disagree
1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
5	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
9	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
10	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
11	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
13	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
14	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
15	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
16	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
17	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
18	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
19	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

		Strongly Agree							Strongly Disagree						
20	"A planner's effectiveness is based primarily on his/her reputation for objective, accurate and in-depth analysis"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
21	"Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
22	"Planning is primarily a political activity"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
23	"The price being paid by taxpayers to improve the environment is too high"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
24	"Planners should accept and work within the rules of their agencies, even if they do not always agree with them"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
25	"The planner's job is to understand the point of view of the administration he or she serves, and assist it in achieving its objectives"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
26	"Planners have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the have-nots of the community, particularly the poor"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
27	"Private developers have little or no concern for the good of the community as a whole"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
28	"Planners know the needs of the community better than residents"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
29	"In the planning process, planners should stake their values in competition with those of others and openly strive to achieve them"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
30	"The true participants in the process of city building in developing countries are squatters and illegal sub-dividers not planners as popularly assumed"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
31	"Planners working in developing countries are too concerned about protecting the environment and not enough about improving the socio-economic conditions of the poor"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
32	"The informal sector serves a critical function in the urban economies of Third World cities and should be promoted by all means possible to facilitate economic development"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
33	"The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of services to various members of the community"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
34	"People have a right to determine who lives in their neighborhood"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
35	"Planners should involve citizens in every phase of the planning process"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
36	"Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
37	"Citizens should not have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
38	"Third World planners regard western style solutions and standards as the norm and apply them in extremely divergent cultural, social and environmental circumstances with insufficient critical appraisal of their true worth"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
39	"International donor agencies (e.g., World Bank, USAID, etc.) are acting in the best interest of developing nations when they insist on measures such as cost recovery, project replicability, and efficiency of implementation in the supply of urban services"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
40	"An appropriate response to the problem of squatter settlements is to prevent the formation of new squatter settlements, the eradication of existing eyesores and replacing them by orderly and appropriately designed housing projects"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
41	"Lack of coordination between planning authorities and other government agencies responsible for the provision of urban services and infrastructure is one of the major problems impeding planning efforts in developing countries"	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Part IV. Your Motivation for Choosing the Planning Profession

1. What was it that motivated you to become involved in urban planning?

Thank you for your help.

Please return the completed questionnaire to:

**Calvin O. Masilela
Department of Environmental Design and Planning
College of Architecture and Urban Studies
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
Blacksburg, VA 24061**

Appendix C

Virginia Polytechnic Institute
and State University

ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND PLANNING
201 Architecture Annex, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Calvin Masilela

BITNET: ONIASC @ VTVM1

November 14, 1986

The Secretary
Commonwealth Association of Planners
26 Oakleigh Park North
London N20 9AR
United Kingdom

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to you in the hope that you will be able to advise or assist me in conducting a questionnaire survey of urban and regional planners in the following Commonwealth member countries: Kenya, Malaysia and Zambia. The survey is part of my research on international comparisons of planners' backgrounds, attitudes, and role orientations.

Would it be possible for your office to send me a list of names and addresses of persons in the local Chapters of the Commonwealth Association of planners I can contact or a copy of the CAPS membership mailing list? I would fully acknowledge your role in any publications arising from the research.

Your co-operation on this endeavor will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Calvin O. Masilela
Project Director

COMMONWEALTH ASSOCIATION OF PLANNERS

REGISTERED ADDRESS: 26 PORTLAND PLACE LONDON WIN 4BE

President: PETER KS PLNBAMA MTCPPID MKTPIFHKIPBDM *Hon Secretary:* GEORGE FRANKLIN AADIPL RIBA AHA SPDIFRTPIAATP (INDIA)

Please reply to:

24 OAKLEIGH PARK NORTH

LONDON N20 9AR

Telephone: 01-445 0336

Calvin O Masilela Esq
Department of Environmental
Design and Planning
College of Architecture and
Urban Studies
Architecture Annexe
Virginia Tec
Blacksburg VA 24061 USA

1 December 1986

Dear Mr Masilela

Thank you for your enquiry of 14 November.

Membership of this Association is confined to professional physical planning organisations, a list of which is given in the enclosed brochure. You should be able to obtain the kind of information you are seeking from the Honorary Secretaries of the following:

Town Planning Chapter
The Architectural Association of Kenya
P O Box 44258
Nairobi KENYA

Zambia Institute of Planners
P O Box 3730
Lusaka ZAMBIA

Malaysian Institute of Planners
P O Box 10976
Kuala Lumpur MALAYSIA

If I can help you further at any time, please let me know. I wish you well with your research.

With kind regards.

Yours sincerely

George Franklin
Hon. Secretary

Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University

ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND PLANNING
201 Architecture Annex, Blacksburg, Virginia 24061

Calvin Masilela

BITNET: ONIASC @ VTVM1

December 8, 1986

The Hon. Secretary
Zambia Institute of Planners
P. O. Box 3730
Lusaka, Zambia

Dear Sir/Madam,

I am writing to you at the suggestion of George Franklin (Hon. Secretary, Commonwealth Association of Planners) in the hope that you will be able to advise or assist me in conducting a questionnaire survey of urban and regional planners in Zambia. The survey is part of my research on International Comparisons of planners' backgrounds, attitudes, views, and role orientations, particularly in developing countries.

Would it be possible for your office to organize mailings of my questionnaire? I do have access to a limited amount of funding and would, of course, be prepared to reimburse postal charges, etc. Also, I would fully acknowledge your role in any publications arising from the research.

It has been suggested to me that the most efficient way of organizing the survey would be to send your office a supply of questionnaires (depending on the size of your membership) and envelopes for you to mail out, together with addressed envelopes for respondents to mail back the completed questionnaires to you. Ideally, these envelopes should have postage pre-paid with a franking machine, to encourage a positive response. I would then ask you to return the completed questionnaires to me by parcel post.

If such a plan is not practical, perhaps you could send me a list of names and addresses of the Institute members.

Your co-operation on this endeavor will be greatly appreciated.

Sincerely,

Calvin O. Masilela
Project Director



TPH/01/46

REPUBLIC OF ZAMBIA

DEPARTMENT OF TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

COMMISSIONER FOR TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING

P.O. BOX 50027
LUSAKA

AIR-MAIL

2nd April, 1987

Mr. Calvin O. Masilela,
Department of Environmental Design and Planning
Architecture Annex
Virginia Tech,
Blacksburg, VA 24061 USA.

Dear Sir,

I would like to refer to your letter of 8th December, 1986 which was passed on to me for action.

The Zambia Institute of Planners has no funds to mail your questionnaires to Urban and Regional Planners throughout the Country and then have them mailed to you.

I think your suggestion of pre-paid postage with a franking machine may work. The institute has got approximately 20 Urban Planners while Regional Planners are not registered but could be contacted.

Yours faithfully,

C. M. Mbava,
for/COMMISSIONER FOR TOWN AND COUNTRY PLANNING



UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI
INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

TELEGRAMS: "VARSITY" NAIROBI
TELEPHONE: NAIROBI 334244
337293/4

P.O. Box 30197
NAIROBI, KENYA

24th November, 1986.

Mr. Calvin O. Masilela,
Dept. of Environmental Design and Planning,
Architecture Annex,
Virginia Tech,
Blacksburg, Va 24061,
U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Masilela,

I would like to refer to your letter of 9th November, 1986.

I am writing to advise you that it is not possible for us to assist you in conducting your questionnaire survey here in Kenya. For any research to be conducted here, the researcher must obtain research clearance from the Office of the President. The requirements for obtaining research clearance are as set out on page 70 clause 2 (a - e) of the enclosed brochure. Further details on affiliation in this Institute are set out on pages 68, 69 and 71. After reading this booklet you will agree with us that we cannot contemplate sending questionnaires for a researcher who has not been cleared by the Office of the President as this would be tantamount to going against the laid down government machinery.

If you would like carry out research in Kenya, it would be advisable to comply with the procedures stipulated in the booklet.

Yours sincerely,

A.W. Gatheru, (Mrs).
for: Ag: Director, IDS.

Encl.

AWG/bmn.

CAP

COMMONWEALTH ASSOCIATION OF PLANNERS

member of the informal group of
Commonwealth Professional Associations

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CAP SECRETARIAT

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October 1985

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