DUTCH PLANNING EDUCATION IN ITS INTERNATIONAL CONTEXT

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Dutch planning education is unique. But in explaining what's unique about it we must resort to shared experiences. Inevitably, some of the richness of detail and the intimate familiarity with what we are concerned with gets lost in the process. It is part of the human condition that this should happen. On the credit side of the balance sheet we find that, by abstracting from unique experiences, we increase the range of options from which we can draw.

This paper starts with two propositions, therefore. They form the essential background to the argument. One is that one cannot understand planning and planning education other than against the backcloth of shared experiences forming its international context. The other proposition, on the face of it contradictory, is that one cannot understand them other than by seeing them as responses to unique situations. Between them these propositions encapsulate the problem of the social sciences. On the one hand we want to do full justice to situations as experienced by those concerned, and on the other we cannot do this but by comparing them with like situations thereby abstracting from the particulars.

So, what I shall do is to explain the uniqueness of Dutch planning education in terms that are intelligible to an international audience. In so doing, I refer to the international influences also on Dutch planning education. Openness to such influences is one of the characteristics of the Dutch.

Between 1895 and 1905 increasing attention was being paid everywhere to urban problems. Reformers concerned with remedying them formed something of a planning movement. Cherry (1974) sees the international dimension as an important characteristic of this movement:

"(...) Internationalism in planning made distinct advances, for the previous impression of separated and autochtonous movements, became one of international co-ordination around some clearly defined principles".

The Dutch participated in this international planning movement wholeheartedly. In 1963, Van der Weijde told a gathering of the International Federation of Housing and Planning (one of many held in the Netherlands) the reason why:

"We are fond in this country of big windows on all sides of the house, with the curtains drawn apart, so as to see distinctly what is happening outside".

What he failed to mention is yet another reason: that passers-by should see how neatly-kept our homes are. Dutch planners are quite fond also of

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showing off their achievements. On the whole, international audiences are appreciative of what they see. With Needham, I, too, would defend the position that the praise bestowed on Dutch spatial planning is justified.

Dutch plannning has drawn much inspiration from its internationalism. The debate between engineers and architecturally orientated planners in Germany at around the turn of the century has been echoed in Dutch planning circles, with the internationally renowned architect and planner Berlage taking a lead in promoting Camillo Sitte's ideas (De Ruijter, 1987). Even more important was the New Town Movement, although its importance lay more in the stimulus which it gave to debate than in its actual impact. (Fockema Andreae, 1963). So great was the interest that the International Garden Cities and Town Planning Association was invited to set up its headquarters in The Hague. It is still there under the name of International Federation of Housing and Planning.

This is not the place to dwell over the contribution by Dutch planners and housing reformers to its development. (But see Van der Weijde, 1963) Dutch planning owes a great deal to the IFHP, too. In 1924, the annual conference was held at Amsterdam. Raymond Unwin, amongst others, lectured on the need for survey before plan, and regional planning was another topic leaving identifiable traces in the development of Dutch planning thought.

There are distinct German influences, too, on Dutch regional and national planning. On the whole, Dutch planning is much more like its German counterpart than, for instance, British planning is. This is so for the simple reason that the legal system is more like that of Germany. Obviously, though, after World War II the sources of inspiration were almost exclusively Britain and the United States. Systems planning and, somewhat later, strategic choice were noteworthy amongst them.

There are about as many reasons for emphasising the uniqueness of Dutch planning as there are for stressing the inspiration which it has drawn from abroad. Traditionally, development proceeds by way of a form of public-private partnership which is the object of the envy of many foreign observers. (See for instance Strong, 1975). Responsibility for housing policy rests primarily with central government. Since 1902, it has provided the funds for housing corporations building affordable housing for the working classes. In fact, central government has become deeply involved in spatial planning. Each major project is the outcome of complicated negotiations between it, as the main source of finance, local government, as being mainly responsible for planning and, not the least important, the provision of land, as well as building and investment companies providing the balance of the cash and know-how.

The Dutch three-tier system of government makes for another unique feature. It is described as the "decentralised unitary state" which is an apt name for a system combining French centralism (the French occupied the Low Countries during the Napoleonic era) and early nineteenth-century German local autonomy.

Legal doctrine, too, bears the stamp of continental, and in particular German, ideas concerning the role of the state. Dutch planning is legalistic, which is in sharp contrast with its messy practice. The two together make for a particular form of schizophrenia. Dutch planners are good negotiators, but they seem to negotiate with feelings of guilt. So, the real planning that goes on has few friends, and virtually no theorists. A parliamentary inquiry into practices surrounding subsidies to private development companies engaged in subsidised housing projects, provides evidence of the same form of schizophrenia.

Finally, what is perhaps stronger than elsewhere are the sectoral fiefdoms. The engineers keep our feet dry, and it is with some justification that they claim a certain pre-eminence and independence. Also, the only Dutch new towns in the real sense of the word have been built in a sort of no-man's land - the polders, the products of proud Dutch engineers.

Having outlined the specifics of Dutch planning I proceed to discussing planning education. First of all I introduce the notion of a "natural history" of planning education. It is a sort of ideal type, and a common denominator of the histories of planning education in many countries.

In order to be able to understand the specifics of a situation, we must have an explanatory framework, and this is what I introduce after the notion of a "natural history". Having analysed Dutch planning education in these terms, I turn to the challenges which it faces. From my relatively secure position at the University of Amsterdam, I perceive the situation no differently from Needham. We lack a well thought-out planning education doctrine. By this I mean a coherent view of planning in practice and how to educate students to deal with the challenges which it poses. Obviously, Needham's theory of spatial planning would be one of its cornerstones.

In the conclusions I show why the international dimension is of vital importance to Dutch planning education. So I particularly welcome the establishment of the Association of European Schools of Planning. Going by past experience, it is safe to predict that the Dutch will be amongst its most enthusiastic supporters.

1. The "natural history" of planning education

By the "natural history" of planning education I mean a sort of "inner logic" in the development of thinking about programmes, their institutional base and their relation to practice. The general direction is towards increasing emancipation until planning education enjoys the status of an academic programme and a discipline in its own right. This inner logic takes us through four stages. On the whole, planning education begins as part of design programmes. There follows a phase of specialised planning programmes within the overall framework of design education. The next stage is that of the multi-disciplinary programme. Finally, we see the emergence of planning programmes in their own right, arranged around a disciplinary core of planning theory, planning methods, and some kind of practice input in the form of studios or projects and/or internships and the like.

The first programme to achieve this fourth stage, and one that has provided a model ever since, has been the graduate programme known as the Program of Education and Research in Planning offered at the Social Science Division of the University of Chicago in the forties and fifties - the first ever to be offered at a social science faculty. This "Chicago School" has been important, not the least because it was the first to launch the idea of a discipline of planning. (See Faludi, 1987, chapter 2).

Of course, not every country reaches the final stage. But Dutch planning education follows the four-stage model faithfully. Up until World War II, urban design formed part of architecture at Delft University of Technology and of landscape design at the Agricultural University at Wageningen. (De Ruijter, 1983). After World War II, specialisms in urban design developed. In addition, interest in planning grew within human geography. Gradually, this resulted in two experiments in multi-disciplinary education. One was that of the inter-disciplinary study groups organised from Delft University of Technology in which, alongside with urban designers, human geographers and others participated. Many of the present generation of

leading figures have participated in them. The other experiment was the setting up of planning specialisms for people with an intermediate examination in geography, sociology, psychology or politics. This was the case at Amsterdam and Nijmegen. Finally these were converted into four-year programmes, a strategy of "forward defence" in the face of a general reduction of the length of university studies in the Netherlands about which more below.

2. An explanatory framework

Some time ago, Crispin (1975) put forward a framework for analysing planning education. In a previous comparison of Dutch and British planning education, I have used it to good avail, I hope. (See Faludi, 1982a).

Crispin suggests that there are three factors at work in planning education: (1) developments in practice; (2) developments in higher education; (3) educational thinking. In combination, they give rise to what I would like to call planning education doctrine. It is the outcome of reflecting upon how to educate practitioners for vocational roles in tomorrow's world, roles that require more than technical and administrative skills: substantive insight and the capacity to think and to learn and to adapt to new situations rapidly.

I am now going to explain Dutch planning education in terms of these three factors, beginning with Dutch planning practice. Under each heading, I shall try and make experiences in the Netherlands accessible by making comparisons with situations which are better known because they have been documented in English.

Dutch planning is characterised by a strong development orientation at the local level. There is a contrast here with, for instance, British planning, where the control of development is the linch-pin. This development orientation results from the traditional way in which the production and management of the environment take place in Holland. (In a more literal translation from Dutch Needham talks of this as 'spatial ordering'). It is that of a public-private partnership. In terms of the Leiden-Oxford Study (Thomas et al., 1983), the promotion of development takes precedence over its control.

Local planning, where this development orientation is strongest, is the bastion of more design-orientated planners. They do draw on the skills of social researchers engaged in surveys, but the general assumption, explained by Needham following Van der Cammen (1979), is that these surveys come prior to planning work proper - that is, prior to the making of spatial plans. Planning at provincial and central level is more concerned with policy and co-ordination. There is a stronger emphasis on research and on policy analysis rather than the making of plans. This has something to do with the nature of plans at these levels. As against our most important local plans (the so-called 'bestemmingsplannen'), which are binding, regional and national plans are indicative. However, their indicative character is counterbalanced by the strong engineering tradition, mentioned above, in various kinds of sectoral planning. Engineers have their strongholds precisely at provincial and/or national level.

Altogether, these various streams have never really coalesced into one overall planning movement, which is surely one of the reasons for why the process of professionalisation is incomplete. (Faludi and De Ruijter, 1985; De Ruijter, 1987). So, we at Nijmegen and Amsterdam seem te be living in a different world from the designers and engineers. They educate planners in their image, much as we do in ours.

Turning to Dutch higher education, we must take note, first of all, of the university-polytechnic rift just alluded to. I use the term polytechnic,

not in the British sense, but in the French, where the école polytechnique, far from being an upstart amongst institutions of higher learning, enjoys extra-ordinary status. In the Netherlands, too, the standing of these institutions is equal to that of universities, but they are seeped in different traditions. Universities are orientated towards the liberal arts. The polytechnic institutions, or universities of technology, as they are now called, are obviously orientated to engineering. The rift between the two has contributed to the incomplete professionalisation which characterises Dutch planning. Urban designers are the product of design education, mostly at Delft University of Technology. Even though they may work side by side with social-science based planners, doing largely similar work, their loyalties and their professional cultures are different.

A second characteristic of Dutch higher education, mentioned also by Needham, is that there are few institutional links with practice. There is no Royal Town Planning Institute, let alone a "recognised schools" policy by which the profession influences university curricula. In Germany, such institutionalised links exist, although they take a different form than in Britain. Not so in Holland. Curricula are drawn up by universities within the broad outlines of the Academic Statue defining the nature and length of courses. It was one of the startling discoveries of coming to this country, that I actually missed the Royal Town Planning Institute. At least, you could disagree with its educational policies. So, as early as 1978, I muttered that I had softened on this professional institute and its role. In Britain, I had been critical of its retarding influence on planning education. Since then, I have come to value it for providing a forum for planning educational debate (Faludi, 1978, pp. 7-8).

Not only were Dutch universities autonomous as far as programmes are concerned, they practiced "dynamic conservatism" with consumate skill in the seventies. For many years they resisted tooth and nail any attempt at more ministerial control over expenditure and the length of programmes. From the beginning of the eighties, this has been met by what one can only describe as a hyperactive response. We are being flooded with radical reforms, and squeezed left, right, and centre. The Department of Education and Science, frustrated for years by ungovernable institutions of higher learning, now exercises enormous power by the use of the purse-string, and does so with considerable cynicism. A public and a body politic which are indifferent, at best, have let them get away with murder. Comparative research into higher education is not my field of interest, but I hazard the statement that the reforms under way here, and those which are still in the offing, easily count amongst the most radical. Which does not mean to say that I am all for them. In this climate of opinion it is easy to tear down established institutions; but to return to universities their self-confidence and intellectual backbone will be beyond the powers of departmental policy makers.

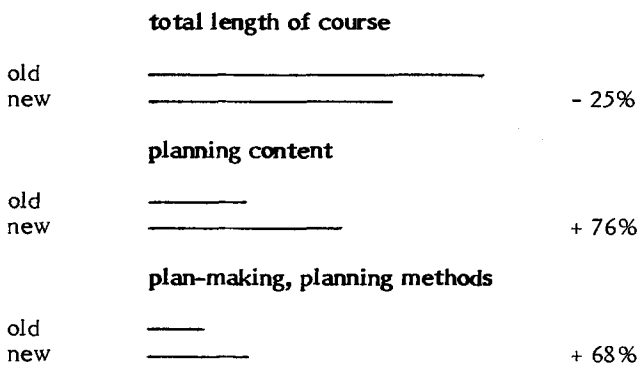
In any case, planning education has benefited from the turmoil. University programmes were to be cut uniformly to four years. This meant that the type of multi-disciplinary, two-and-a-half-year programme which Amsterdam and Nijmegen as the only two programmes offering planning degrees were involved in ceased to be feasible. It is on these programmes that I concentrate on because, for reasons already explained by Needham, if ever we are to achieve the aims which he has outlined, it is through these programmes.

Amsterdam and Nijmegen, and this is the strategy of "forward defence" referred to above, seized the opportunity offered by the government

policy in which the reforms of the eighties were put forward. They declared that the time was ripe for planning to have a study programme in its own right extending over the entire four years which all university programmes were to last.

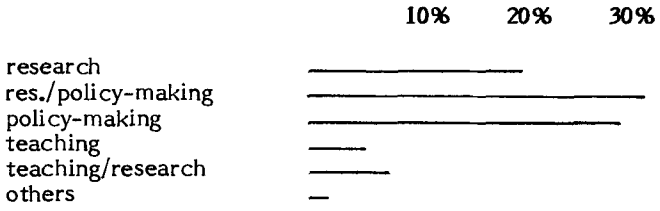
Planning seems to be the only discipline which succeeded in pulling this one off. Of course, planning is small fry in comparison with medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine and the like, which are the big spenders and which suffered most. That there has, indeed, been a gain is illustrated by figure 1 showing the amount of time spent on planning under the old regime and the new. As you can see, the overall length of study has been reduced by something like twenty-five percent. But the planning content as measured in terms of hours of study has increased by no less than seventy-six percent! In the Amsterdam situation this means that plan-making, including methods and techniques, has also gone up by something like te same percentage. It was never true that the universities of technology educated the plan-makers, and the universities the survey researchers. But now, this is even more evident.

FIGURE 1. Comparison of old and new programm.



A recent employment-survey of our graduates (Trompe, 1986) confirms their involvement in plan- or policy-making. Only twenty percent do research, but thirty percent are engaged in policy-making, and an even slightly higher percentage combines, as I am sure is common these days, research with policy-making (see figure 2).

FIGURE 2. Graduate employment.



The unexpected bonus for planning education was an unintended consequence of the reforms, and, in the eyes of the ministry, unwelcome. Needham reports how one of the two schools concerned was singled out for closure, apparently so as to compensate for the expansion of planning education. This has never come to pass, and we at Amsterdam are warm supporters of our brethren in arms at Nijmegen who have suffered so much under this arbitrary ruling. As things are, their inconclusive fight with the powers that be has resulted in finances for their programme being cut, but, again, Needham is a better source on this.

Of course, such tales are by no means unique. British planning education has been under attack, too. There, the motivation seems to have been in part ideological, with the Thatcher government wanting to weaken planning. No such motivation can be discerned in Holland. Indeed, no reasons have been offered by the Department of Education and Science at all, which makes you feel particularly vulnerable.

Once again, the new four-year programmes have been a bonus for planning education, but I am not sure that you would call it well-deserved. Before the plans of the Department of Education and Science became known and its consequences had been analysed, no body of opinion in favour of four-year planning programmes in their own right existed. Indeed, there was very little thinking going on about planning education. Planning education doctrine as a distinct body of thought was virtually non-existent. My own private frustration was that, whereas long before I had declared myself a supporter of four-year planning education of the type about to be introduced (see Faludi, 1978), there was not a single occasion during all those years when anybody cared to refer to my arguments, be it in an affirmative, or (and I would have welcomed that also) in a critical sense.

There are a number of reasons for the virtual absence of planning education doctrine. First, many small countries suffer from what I would call the "critical mass" problem. There are only a few scores of planning educators, and few of those make it their business to think about planning education as such. So, all the openness of the Netherlands notwithstanding, there very little exchange of ideas on planning educational matters, and the attempts which Barrie Needham and I, individually and jointly, have made to engender such exchanges, have come to very little.

Indeed, the academic tradition in planning has been fairly weak, too, up until the late seventies. This results in frequent crises of identity, undoubted achievements in practice which Needham has referred to notwithstanding, and the virtual absence of a uniquely Dutch school of thought in planning theory (which alone could provide the intellectual backbone to a planning education suited to Dutch circumstance). Time will tell, but the emancipation of planning education may turn out to have been pre-mature.

3. Challenges

Dutch planning education faces challenges. There is, first of all, the threat which is inherent to the "natural history" of planning education. It is the threat of loss of identity due to absorption into policy sciences which Needham, arguing from the emergent situation at Nijmegen, has made us aware of.

Secondly, the decline of the planning function in government, if it comes, will have obvious consequences. Even though the planning function will, in all likelihood, continue, this does not mean that the employment prospect of new graduates will be bright.

Thirdly, the whirlwind of change at universities is still raging. There are more reforms in the offing, some of them entailing new threaths, for instance the re-integration into human geography.

Lastly, the lack of planning education doctrine means that there is the danger of losing one's bearings. In particular, integrity and self confidence are difficult to maintain, because, to use a term culled from the strategic planning literature, it is hard to establish the "business we are in" (see Drucker, 1972).

Inherent to the natural history of planning education as outlined above is a steady move away both from planning as engineering design or survey research towards the recognition of its political, legal and administrative dimensions. Spatial planning is being perceived as one function of government, in particular of local government, amongst other functions. What, then, makes it distinct? To put if differently, is not the logical next step to integrate planning education with programmes in public administration and/or policy sciences? Now, this forms an obvious threat to the identity of education for environmental planning. When I first discussed it (see Faludi, 1982a, pp. 6-7), this seemed hypothetical. But soon the Nijmegen school might come under the umbrella of Policy Sciences, as we have heard. The challenge, as Needham rightly argues, is to show what is the specific nature of spatial planning (for reasons which will be obvious to readers of my "A Decision-centred View of Environmental Planning", I prefer the term environmental planning to Needham's spatial planning; see Faludi, 1987) over and above policy planning.

Frankly, I myself am ambivalent on this. There are many things common to environmental planning and other forms of planning. Also, a perusal of text books will demonstrate the large debt which we own to administrative and policy sciences. It is conceivable, therefore, to think of planning education as a form of education in policy planning. What makes it distinct is its focus on the environment. Environmental planning education, then, is a specialisation, so to speak, within policy science education.

But I also believe that environmental planning education has developed distinct traditions and approaches which would make it a particularly suitable vehicle for education for policy planning and public administration generally. So, rather than being absorbed in more general programmes in public administration, planning education might even be one of the models which it could follow. It might then be a **primus inter pares** amongst the various branches within policy planning education (see Faludi, 1978).

The decline of spatial planning in government is the second challenge. As Needham has shown, the quality of the spatial order in the Netherlands comes not in the last place from government initiatives. It is remarkable how little dissent there has been about the pivotal role of government in spatial ordering in the past. However, this is changing. Government functions are being questioned radically and there are several dimensions to this. First of all, there is the public/private dimension. Deregulation is a common theme in policy debates the world over. The present Dutch government has made it one of the cornerstones of its policy.

The same is true for decentralisation. Substantial powers and responsibilities have been decentralised already. Predictably, this is not always matched by decentralisation of funds.

There is an inter-sectoral dimension as well. On national and provincial levels, planners were extra-ordinarily successful in the seventies in focussing public attention on spatial planning issues. The eighties show a decline in this interest. The sectors are attracting far more attention. Environmental

health and transport provide good examples.

In addition, all levels of government are being streamlined. As a consequence, employment opportunities in mainstream planning are declining. Graduating spatial planners find it increasingly difficult to get a job in a planning authority. (So far, they have been extra-ordinarily successful in exploring alternatives, but for how long can this continue?) This poses a threat, even more so since policy makers are increasingly inclined to let success of graduates in finding employment weigh heavily. I shall return to this in due course.

The whirlwind of change at universities shows no sign of subsiding either. There are developments afoot which, between them, may spell the end of planning education as we know it. One threat applies to Amsterdam, in particular, although, of course, we would like to think that, as Amsterdam has always been one of the bastions of planning education, it is of wider concern. It lies in the loss of our status as an independent department. The move towards four-year education, the great leap forward described above, would never have occured, had we not been actors in our own right. Combined with the presence, at that time, of a planning panel of the then Academic Council, this was what made this move possible. (As the then Chairman of that panel I can vouch for the fact it was less motivated by educational doctrine than by the prospect of job continuity which an expansionary planning education policy offered).

But there is no such panel looking after the interest of planning education any more. Together with the Academic Council, it has been abolished. Worse still, in future, planning education may lose its statutory base, too. University programmes are based on a ministerial decree, called the Academic Statute. Now, even though the procedure of obtaining it is very cumbersome, once you have succeded in getting official blessing for your programme (bestowed by inclusion in the Academic Statute), then your own institution cannot change your status at will. In other words, you are not at the mercy of your next-door neighbour in academia. As everybody in this game knows, it is the next-door neighbour whom you must watch most carefully.

There are plans, not only to abolish the Academic Statute, and to give to universities the authority to approve their own programmes (this being the standard practice in Anglo-Saxon countries), there are moves afoot also to modularise university education. I am afraid to say, the University of Amsterdam is in the vanguard of this movement. Superficially speaking, modularising programmes offers advantages. By standardising the length of courses, and by ensuring that all modules start and end at the same time, the mechanics of switching from one programme to another are improved. This helps with giving students so-called flexibility. The derogatory undertone is intentional, as we shall see.

This is because, innocent though modularisation may seem, there is the assumption underlying that students seek out paths through educational programmes which are optimal to them as individuals. But one must not underestimate the role of peer-learning, and of partaking in the culture of an academic department, during the several years of one's programme of study. On this count I am prepared to defend the record of our department against all-comers. But the very close contact which we have with students in contingent upon them spending several years with us. (Also, there is no greater satisfaction than seeing students whom you have met as eighteen-year olds, still wet behind their ears, grow intellectually until they leave the department as quite mature individuals. I, for one, am quite willing to fight for **that** privilege.)

Of course, such archaic ideas are anathema to policy makers these days. Small schools, however conducive to the intellectual development of students and to the satisfaction of staff, are notoriously difficult to handle. They have their own hobby horses, there are so many of them that they are a burden on university administrations and, above all, the resources which they use cannot be switched at will. So, we have a ludicrous situation whereby, at the same time as industry is introducing small "quality circles" to improve productivity, universities are being refashioned to conform more to the industrial assembly-line model of days gone-by.

Above all, what I am afraid of is that modularisation will give a golden opportunity to those who have never accepted planning education in its own right to turn back the course of history. Once again, planning education might become a by-product of other programmes of study, in particular human geography.

Why would this be an intolerable situation? Many other reasons (resources not the least amongst them) apart, the main reason is that this would imply a gigantic step backwards in our thinking about the application of knowledge to action. If planning became again a by-product of education in human geography, then this would inevitably mean that insight into what is called the object of planning would again be seen as of supreme importance. More concretely, knowledge of spatial structure and processes would be seen as central to the academic programme, the underlying assumption being that decisions and actions flow more or less directly from that knowledge (see Faludi, 1982b). Now, these are the assumptions made by classical positivists rooted in the nineteenth century. (Not by twentieth-century logical positivists, or logical empiricists, though!)

The Nijmegen school concerned with the development of the action-oriented approach which Needham has been referring to is, of course, not guilty of this. But a little more explicitness as regards what knowledge of the object of planning cannot achieve, and a little more methodological refinement in their plight to establish a spatial planning theory distinct from geography, would strengthen their case.

Last amongst the threats which universities face is demographic change. The birth-rate dropped dramatically in the late sixties and early seventies, and there is no escaping the conclusion that there will be fewer potential university entrants. Financial stringencies apart, the reforms which we have suffered reflect this awareness on part of policy makers. Never mind that, at present, we are being stretched to the breaking point. Those who survive can look forward to fewer students and more time for challenging research in the future. I said, those who survive. The consensus of opinion has it that there will be more vicious cuts before we reach the minium of peace and quiet necessary for engaging in fundamental reflection.

The situation is not helped by the uncertain employment prospects of graduates referred to above. University graduates experience increasing difficulties in finding employment. The reform introduced five years ago has made the situation even worse, in the short term anyway. Figures 3 and 4 illustrate this. The first shows our intake over the years. I am glad to say that it reflects a healthy situation. University entrants are taking to our new planning programme. This is to our advantage for the obvious reason that staffing is related to numbers of students. But the shortening of courses, together with the requirements on students who have started their programme before 1982 to graduate in 1989 te latest, means that there will be a dramatic growth, indicated in figure 4, in the number of spatial planners graduating over the next couple of years. Set against the decline of the

planning function discussed above, this means that we might become the victims of our own success.

FIGURE 3. Intake (+) and estimated output (Ł).

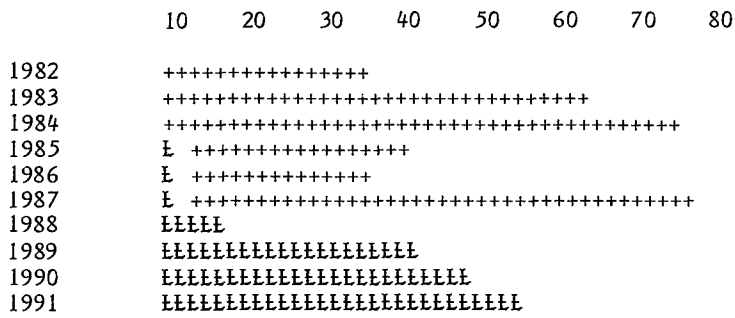
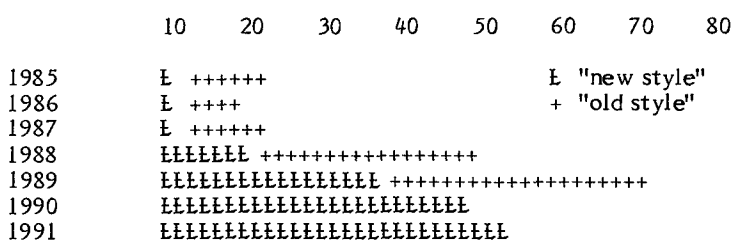


FIGURE 4. The crunch of 1988/89.



From the Student Careers Monitoring Project and more recent surveys (Gibson, 1986; Forsyth, 1986) we know that, due to retirements, there will be a continuing demand for new entrants into the British profession. The argument for maintaining an educational capacity to meet it is convincing. I am not sure, and so far nobody has done the necessary research to answer this question, whether the situation in the Netherlands is the same. I can envisage a situation in which core spatial planning jobs will virtually disappear for a period of maybe five or ten years. That would have a devastating effect on planning education. There are centrifugal forces in evidence already now, and the success of planning schools in increasing their intakes has raised many eyebrows outside planning education. As a consequence, planning education might be attacked and, if it collapsed, a future generation of planning academics might have to start from scratch yet again so as to provide the manpower to replace the wave of planners retiring around the year 2000.

In the stultifying situation which we are in, I perceive a threat also to intellectual integrity. It applies to universities generally, and to planning education more in particular. We have been through some nightmare years, and myopia has triumphed more than once. Changes in style, outlook and emphasis have been considerable. Obviously, a great deal has been done also which we can only describe as positive. It is said that there is nothing that concentrates the mind like the prospect of being hanged tomorrow. Well, a great many minds have concentrated, and there has been a tremendous in-

crease in what central policy makers like to term our "output". The number of publications has grown, as has their quality, and contract research, once regarded as "selling out to capitalism", is now a minor growth industry. Some of its most vociferous critics of the past are amongst those who particularly excel in acquiring commissions.

But I am concerned about how one can preserve one's intellectual identity in a situation that is, substantially, one of no-growth, if not of decline. Long-term thinking of a more fundamental nature seems to be notoriously difficult. In particular, the climate for developing planning education doctrine is poor. Few of our Yuppie-academics chasing commissions are inclined to make the necessary investment, turning instead to the more spectacular types of practice-orientated research which everybody urges us to do.

Yet doctrine is what is needed most. I am sometimes envious, therefore, of Nijmegen for their ability, threats to their existence notwithstanding, to continue debating spatial planning theory, even if I think that the Nijmegen school exaggerates the difference as against the decision-centred view of planning which I hold. Let me hasten to add that Needham's "core-model" has my full agreement, too, in particular since it conforms so neatly to the ideas of the "Chicago School" which I put great emphasis on.

4. Conclusions

The threat to intellectual integrity is one of the reasons for why I am enthusiastic about the Association of European Schools of Planning. The international dimension which it represents is vitally important, if perhaps not for Dutch planning, then for planning education. Establishing such an association can help to solve the "critical mass" problem: the lack of a sufficient number of planning educators, and in particular of those interested in planning education as such. It can give us also an element of international recognition. This always weights heavily in the Netherlands.

Lastly, AESOP may help us in rallying around the idea of academic education for practice, and in the development of a model that is suited for this type of education. As planning educators, we must uphold the idea of education for practice, but at the same time I am convinced that, at university level, this means academically sound education. With Needham, I am convinced, too, that Dutch planning education has an important contribution to make. It can reflect upon a planning system that has been unusually successful, as compared to many others. It needs more friends amongst its theorists, though. Unfortunately, at present, few people seem prepared to allow themselves to be called a theorist. Not a good starting point for the theoretical work which urgently needs to be done.

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