

Research Paper

## Examining the Causes of Crisis in Urban Planning, with an Emphasis on Radical Planning Theory

Mojtaba Rafieian<sup>1\*</sup>, Mohammad Ghazaie<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Associate Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

<sup>2</sup> PhD Candidate, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran

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### Abstract

The advent of modern planning in the early twentieth century and its failure in practice caused the emergence of a planning crisis which theory-practice gap has been its central theme of debate. This gap begot various readings of urban planning theory to make theory and practice much closer. Radical planning, as one of these readings, deprives the power of central government in favour of empowering the citizens and considers the highest level of participation in decision-making processes for them. Nevertheless, it failed to address the planning crisis and theorists continued theory making to address the crisis. Hence, the current study aims to investigate radical planning with a critical perspective by using a deep-seated research method and referring to related topics. Results ended in finding reasons led to the failure of radical planning to address the planning crisis. The uncertainty of the radical planning process, the idealistic looks of theorists and radical planning mismatch with the current forms of state planning are three main reasons which hindered it from addressing planning crisis despite being the turning point of urban planning theories.

**Keywords:** Planning crisis, Radical planning, Social learning, Planner, Transformation.

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Modern planning has been formed since the early twentieth century. After World War II, it was accompanied by a set of distinct values which together gave rise to the formation of normative planning theory. It expresses the components which formulate the ideal theory of physical planning, and that is urban planning responsibility to put that ideal theory into practice. Normative planning theory consists of two parts: how to do urban planning, and the kind of urban environment that urban planning should seek [1]. Regarding how to do urban planning, five schools of planning theories are considered by Hudson [2-3]. The first planning theory is synoptic, which is rooted in the philosophies of rationality and utilitarianism. It affects public interests by considering planning professionals as the absolute wise. Then, incrementalism was broached, which expands the planning knowledge by introducing different stakeholders. Next, advocacy planning was

introduced, which considers planners as the spokeswomen of different groups. It suggests that planning is designed for a minority group to be heard. After that, transactive planning was considered to take into account mutual learning and create decentralized planning bodies. Finally, radical planning was suggested, which focuses on decentralized control and the testing of alternative social organisations [4-8].

Considering these schools of thoughts suggest that theorists have been trying to improve planning theories by increasing the role of stakeholders. The ignorance of citizens for one thing and the difficulty to bridge theories into practice were two main reasons which made theorists work on new theories one after the other to address planning crisis and theory-practice gap [9-10]. Grabow and Heskin in the light of the crisis state that not only the goals of planning should change, but the very structure of it needs changing as well. That is why they and later Friedman tried to shift power relations and considered citizens' role as the most significant component of the planning process. They improved citizens' level of

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\* Corresponding author: rafiei\_m@modares.ac.ir

participation from non-participation and manipulation to real participation [4, 11-12]. Through these transformations, radical planning has become the turning point of planning theories. The theory derives its roots from the radical geography that Marx and Engels are considered as its pioneers [13]. Although Friedman extended radical planning theory to address the gap, theorists after him continued working on the planning theories which ended in the formation of communicative and collaborative planning [14-16]. Therefore, it seems that, although radical planning intended to narrow the theory-practice gap [8, 7], itself remained at the stage of theory [17]. Hence, the primary question of the current research is why radical planning failed to address the theory-practice gap and theory making has kept continuing. As Hall states, the accumulation and transfer of planning knowledge are required to prevent similar mistakes [18]. To this aim, authors tried to investigate planning crisis through radical planning perspective by using the case study methodology (deep-seated) which addresses a specific subject and explores it deeply, to evaluate the various aspects of the phenomenon critically.

## **2. PLANNING CRISIS AND THE EMERGENCE OF RADICAL PLANNING**

In the early twenties, although modern planning tended to meet individuals' needs, it was not successful in practice [2,19]. According to Friedman, nine out of ten planners considered their mission to be failed or had little impact. This confusion and the critical theory in the 1940s spoke of a crisis not only pointed out to the theory-practice gap but highlighted the crisis in the inability of the state to meet the legitimate needs of the people. The crisis has raised the awareness of planning theorists about the incapability of regional and urban development policies in meeting the expected goals [8, 21]. Freedom of market forces was considered as one of the primary reasons for planning crisis which prevented the public and stakeholders from engaging in the planning process [22]. Also, Friedman cites three other reasons for the planning crisis, explicitly. The first, which refers to the absence of actors in the planning process and absolute reliance on specialists is recognition crisis. The second reason is the accelerated phase of historical events that considers the continuous changes in the world as the context of the crisis. And, the third one is the unpredictable nature of the events that we face [8].

These reasons together and especially the ignorance of actors in the planning and decision-making/taking led to the emergence of inefficiency and problems associated with the rational interpretations of planning. Consequently, theorists tried to legitimate planning in social sciences and prepared it for accepting pluralism ideas in the planning process, which led to incremental, advocacy and trans active planning [23-24]. The critiques of these theories and their low feasibility caused the continuation of the planning crisis and the existing theory-practice gap. One of the most trenchant criticisms is Goodman's critique of advocacy planning. Goodman believes that advocacy

planning could lead to a dead end. His analysis indicates that pluralist mechanisms cannot solve the problem of non-democratic regimes because they have no intruder system against the unity of policymakers, planners and industry. Hence, although advocacy planning helps citizens to have a voice, it does not necessarily mean that their voices would be heard [25].

Friedman proposes four solutions to get rid of these problems. Relying on technology, the free market, persuading and suppressing the people are the first three solutions. The fourth one, which is probably the most critical one, relies on the reorientation of the political power in civil society. It can transform the state and corporate economy via the inside mobilisation of the citizens' activities and revitalisation of the political community considered as radical planning. Friedman proposed the fourth solution – the radical view – as the best way of dealing with the crisis, and he put forward three other ways to illustrate the importance of the radical theory. Radical Planning seeks to re-orient power relations which connects civil society to the political community [26]. Radical planning also makes it probable to work for systematic inequalities transformation [27]. Friedman explained radical planning through using a chain which social guidance and transformation are located at its ends. This chain justifies the integrity of social organisers, activists, and citizens as planners; that work together, on the contrary, or entirely beyond the scope of the state-sanctioned and the formal planning processes. Friedman defines planning theory in four broad traditions: Social reform, political analysis, social learning and social mobilisation [8]. As he stated in *insurgencies*, at first, he was aware of the three traditions of these four. Then he realised the contradictory of such a vision toward planning, which made him add the social mobilisation tradition as the fourth tradition and counter-tradition to state-centric planning to other traditions. Each of these traditions connects the knowledge to the practice and follows the continuation of a chain of interconnected structures that can be used in two broad forms of planning: planning as social guidance and transformation. Planners involved in these two spectra are necessarily in conflict with each other. This is a conflict between the interests of the bureaucratic state and the rationality of the political community. The pressure for a comprehensive system of transformation is intensifying when the legitimate government capability is reduced during a widespread crisis system, and the government is somewhat weak and no longer capable of suppressing the political community radical actions. In practice, planning as social guidance acts as joint planning, professionally practised practitioners drive it. In contrast, planning as social transformation is further illustrated by the fourth tradition in planning thought, which consists of inclusion-, power-, and subjectification-oriented approaches [28-29]. Beazley believes that planning as social transformation can be considered as radical planning which helps to the social change and creation of a more just society [30]. Sager also introduces planning by intentional communities as a kind of radical planning [31].

On the other hand, when the planning crisis had reached its peak in the late modernisation era, states did not have enough resources to form the city in their own desired way. Consequently, they faced the pressures of renowned movements and reforms for democratization and decentralization. As a result of these issues, political participation and the term "insurgent citizenship" were strengthened gradually, and local governments and non-governmental organisations became more critical in urban governance [32]. Thus, unjust authoritarianism of the states and their financial weakness gave rise to their decentralization. Moreover, owing to increased awareness and demanding of citizens, the concepts of an insurgent citizen and radical planning were drawn up to counteract the centralised government and meet the citizens' desires [33].

Radical planners, referred to as radical geographers, seek to provide a broader understanding of planning which is beyond the technical definitions failed to address the theory-practice gap. They are thinking of changing the mechanisms, and the dynamics shaped the capitalist mode of production that underlie social inequality, the spread of poverty, deprivation and oppression in society [34]. They consider radical planning as a public human process that everyone should actively participate in, and they have equal opportunities as well. This strategy is a cure for political mistakes that are rooted in planning, through responsive planners for organising participatory mechanisms as well as providing technical support [35]. Radical planning reduces the role of planners to a trainer and sometimes mediator, and, on the other hand, strengthens the position of citizens as the main actors, to the point where they can be as radical planners. In fact, in radical planning, the goal is not to achieve consensus at all costs; instead, the goal is to authorise most disadvantaged groups and those whose voices have not been heard in the community [36]. Therefore, radical planning is rooted in modernism decline, criticisms of advocacy planning, the planning crisis, and the low feasibility of planning which points to the theory-practice gap.

### **3. METHODOLOGY**

The methodology of this paper is based on a descriptive-analytic and deep-seated method. In this way, a snowball sampling method is used to study the relevant theoretical literature and documents. Hence, through studying articles and books related to radical planning and planning crisis, the researchers who have been cited in them were taken into consideration. This process continued until the radical planning features, and the reasons for its incapability to respond to the existing gap in planning were identified.

### **4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

#### *4.1. Radical planning aspects due to the planning crisis*

Despite Forester, Healy and Innes's efforts toward equity, participatory and communicative planning in the

1980s and 1990s [37-39], critics still consider planners as specialists who help citizens to reach integration through redistribution of resources communicatively. Hence, the traditional perspective of planning which believed that planners understand citizens' needs better than themselves, remains [40-42].

Recent movements in radical planning took some steps to develop planning beyond its professional boundaries. These movements not only responded to the supremacy of civil society organisations in the development of communities, cities and regions but brought up a new generation of planners who are not necessarily employed by traditional private and public consulting firms. This planning knowledge demonstrates how the daily actions of marginalised citizens, identified poor women, illegal immigrants and other marginalised societies, created social and urban developments. These disadvantaged started their acts – developing homes and infrastructures as well as predisposing the context to the formation of making a real – to reach their rights to cities when they found their needs unmet [43-44]. Holston considered these spontaneous and unplanned activities as insurgent urbanization developed more than two-thirds of the Third World cities [45]. Almost 85% of the inhabitants of the Third World cities occupy their properties illegally. In the labour market of the Third World cities, a small percentage of people have regular jobs, and a significant proportion of them have odd jobs. These cases indicate that only a limited share of the economic and spatial development of the Third World cities occurs through formal structures and professional planning [46].

Consequently, the majority of marginalised populations take the responsibility of existing challenges in their neighbourhoods and cities and make a living outside of the formal decision-making and professional planning system. Thus, addressing the planning crisis and citizens' rights to the cities was tied to the transformation in the main actors of urban development. Planning organisations shifted to informal community-based processes, and professional and formal planners turned into grassroots activists. That is how planning inherent in the activity of citizens emerges. These transformations, as the primary foundations of radical planning theory, indicates that radical planners should use sound systems similar to instrumental rationality, though for radical purposes. Radical planning may implicitly refer to the notion that planning must disrupt the liberal democratic government for the production of economic and social projects, or that planning should expose human societies to natural systems [12, 47-49]. The required knowledge for radical action arises from the knowledge gained by the mobilised group in practice. Thus, without knowledge, there would be no radical action; without radical action, there would be no theory; without theory, there would be no strategy, and without a strategy, any actions would not be possible. More importantly, planners and people have an interactive and interchangeable role. Since the mobilised communities as the leading actors of radical and transformative actions are inherently small, and their position of action is not

dichotomous, interconnected roles become possible as well [8].

Therefore, owing to the planning crisis, governments, especially in Third World countries, could not meet citizens' needs, which led to concepts such as insurgent citizens and radical planning. These concepts refer to citizens and marginalised groups' actions to address their unmet needs without relying on the central government. The required knowledge for radical planning actions is not limited to official policies. Instead, the practices of excluded groups as the ultimate source of any changes in power relations should be scrutinized [50]. In terms of radical planning perspective, hence, the key to address the planning crisis and the theory-practice gap is avoiding a bureaucratic organisation.

#### *4.2. The Role of Clients or Planners in the Planning Crisis*

As discussed earlier, the crisis of recognising and the absence of actors in the planning process are the primary reasons for planning crisis. Hence, the identification of actors, radical planning clients and radical planners' tasks can offer illustrations of planning concepts needed to overcome the planning crisis and theory-practice gap.

The client or audience of radical planning is a mobilised community. Since radical planning is a radical and contradictory action, states cannot organise or supervise it. Consequently, its motivation should be driven by society [49]. Self-realisation requires an awareness of the promise of salvation and the assurance of the possibility of transformation. These processes can be coupled with the external intervention of organisers who can provide new knowledge and skills for their independent action. Thereby, the community not only should gain the critical awareness of its particular conditions of oppression, but it should learn direct action, negotiation, and translation of emotions and passions to make realistic and efficient programs for structural transformation [28]. Therefore, actors or planning clients whose ignorance caused planning crisis, stand at the top of the list in radical planning in a way that the power would be taken from the central government and it would be given to them.

Tasks considered for radical planners are points which can help to understand required changes to mediate planning crisis. In general, it can be argued that radical planning begins with a critique of the present situation. Hence, as soon as planners or clients understand that the current situation is not the preferred one and they can be the basis of transformation; they quickly ask themselves the question: "how can this transformation take place?" Planners try to break down barriers that distort communities' understandings of urban problems and help them to find practical solutions to problems. Radical planners are sources of information and tools for communities, who help them with their chosen solutions' technical aspects [49]. Radical action is an opposition action that will be launched against the state and its

suppression firms sooner or later. Thus, what is happening is due to the adoption of the strategy by the mobilised and ready-to-run groups.

In most cases, the encounter would be peaceful, and despite the precise control, the group can seek to cooperate actively with the state. Planners can mediate the above encounters through using technocracy, confiscating the language of the state and representing the group's demands, following the methods that will lead to the state approval. Planners are never autonomous in mediation, and they must act as representatives or moderators. Hence, planners should be committed to the transformation project of the group ideologically. They should consider themselves as elements of a collective struggle [8, 51-52].

Sandercock believes that radical planners should not consider the communities as their customers while they are trying to empower them. Still, instead, they should consider themselves as their friends. They should also help the people to identify and enlighten their goals and empower them to achieve their right to self-determination collectively [53]. Despite the first four readings of planning in which planners act on behalf of the community, the radical planner is not the key actor and pressure factor anymore. For example, a professional equity planner aims to find some types of redistribution of resources on behalf of the poor. Representing others is not accepted by radical planners. In Heskin's definition of radical planning, it is the community which is the founder of radical planning, and planner is someone who empowers and helps the community, but never imposes her solutions on them. She will not express her suggestions only if she is asked. Hence, citizens are considered as the object and the engine of radical planning, simultaneously. The main objective, here, is to produce required insights for transformation [27, 54].

Similarly, Leavitt drowned herself into the community in which she was working and made a very close relationship with community members. She helped them through the preparation of documents and taught them how to deal with the existing ruling bureaucracy, but she never did these tasks for the community and tried to act with them [40]. The identity of the radical planner is like a person who opposes the state and stands on the opposite side and is no longer a state planner. However, it does not mean that community-based planners have nothing to do with the state. For a successful relationship between radical planner and the community, they should become closer to the community and practice. Planners should be committed to immediate action and involved in the broader goal of human liberation. At the same time, they should maintain the necessary distance from the action group. An essential distinction between radical planning and other forms of bottom-up planning, such as community-based planning, is the opposite element. Friedman points out that opposition strategies can take many ways: without violence or violent, reformist or revolutionary, political or political struggle [8].

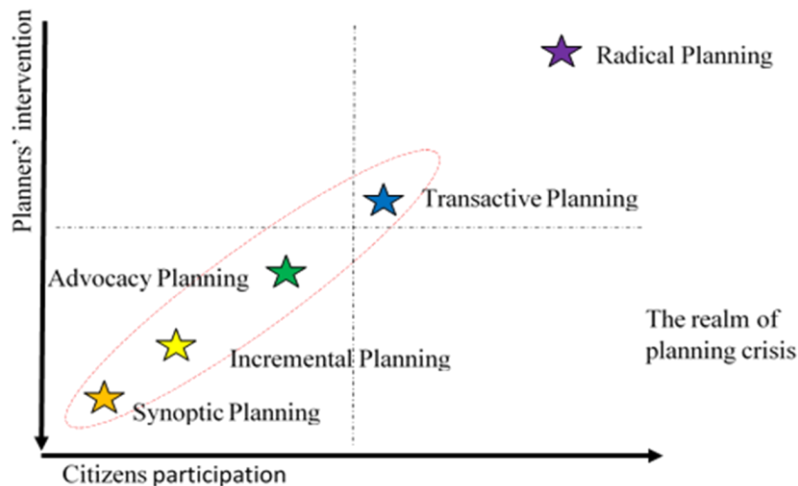


Fig 1. Citizens' participation and planners' intervention in five planning theories

As Figure 1 indicates, urban planning theories come up with a crisis after their emergence, which points to the theory-practice gap. Critical urban planning theorists believed that technological perspective and the ignorance of stakeholders in the planning process are two main reasons which gave rise to the emergence of the planning crisis. Therefore, they sought to increase and decrease citizens' and planners' roles in the planning process, respectively. However, despite all their efforts to transform the planning process, planning crisis and theory-practice gap were not addressed appropriately. Therefore, some suggested that they should stop planning, and some considered changing the principles of planning and creating a radical form of it. As a result, a significant leap occurred in increasing and decreasing citizens' participation and planners' interventions, respectively. Consequently, citizens' involvement reached its peak, planners' and states' power was recaptured and made available to citizens. That is how radical planning was broached as a panacea for planning crisis.

#### 4.3. Radical planning action methods to overcome planning crisis

Leavitt's study, outside of the formal planning and regulatory frameworks for more social transformation, illustrates how research can be useful for radical planners. In 1994, Leavitt moved to a poor community in Newark to work with a multi-ethnic anti-poverty movement. As a part of her work, she first lived with a low-income family and experienced the difficulty of life intimately. Through this experience and research, she recognized that the community need help for its daily needs which had been ignored by municipality programs [40]. Her detailed knowledge of local conditions is mainly derived from her informal observation and spending time at community members' homes. Leavitt's story indicates a new type of planning that goes beyond formal and institutionalised processes. It also suggests how it is essential to living the lives of the mobilised community and having a participatory observation to understand their sheer lived experiences.

Given that she reduces the distinction between practice, research, and theory, she creates probabilities for mutual learning. However, her methods do not differ significantly from other forms of community-based or advocacy planning. Leavitt on behalf of a suppressed group of residents focused on daily needs such as access to recreational facilities and safer intersections. It should be taken into account that Leavitt was working in a community where its people did not have the required skills, resources, or political awareness to be directly involved in radical planning. Eventually, there was an insurgency in Newark although the Leavitt's descriptions did not reveal enough information about the sequence of events or preparatory processes leading to it. She did not provide enough information about the experiences, skills, and social conditions which were key to prepare community members to commit themselves to an insurgent action [17]. Therefore, radical planning promotes a new epistemology, in which the knowledge of marginalised actors to act locates at the forefront as the guiding force in political activity [54].

On the other hand, Sandercock provides a collection of empirical examples of how radical planners are moving towards social transformation. Radical planning emerges in response to injustice and oppression. Although it includes racism, marginalization, gender discrimination, inequality, and social exclusion, it is not limited to them. The radical act arises from experiencing and criticizing the existing situation of unequal relations and the distribution of power, opportunity and resources. The purpose of these actions is to transform systematic inequalities structurally and empower the systematic powerless. In putting radical planning against the proposed planning activities theoretically, Sandercock acknowledges that radical planning requires an epistemological failure of what planners have been thinking and doing so far [25]. She also acknowledges the relationship between planning for social guidance and planning for social transformation. Sandercock states that radical planning does not necessarily begin as great and well-defined actions, but instead takes smaller actions or what she calls "a thousand

tiny empowerments" [17]. These small changes predispose the socio-political spaces to radical action [55].

Nevertheless, her work never discusses how a repressed group or community which lacks resources and power, would be empowered. Even more puzzling is how a community in a volatile context would go toward authoritarianism, let alone it wants to be in a radical or insurgent plan for community transformation. Radical planning also faces some dilemmas in practice, which are the critical distance (if the planners stay far and indifference, the level of trust will decrease. On the other hand, although trust can be gain through direct action, the ability to mediate might drop dramatically), open inquiries (planners hope to be able to use all information to implement a local act which requires subjective inquiry. Do we do the tasks correctly? Is the selected theory correct?), and the unity of opposites (there are opposite issues in radical planning which radical planner should be able to deal with when it comes to practice) [28].

*4.4. Principles of radical planning to overcome the planning crisis*

As it was discussed, radical planning tried to change dominant planning principles to address the planning crisis and the theory-practice gap. The first significant principle affected by radical planning and its implications was the formal, governmental and top-down nature of planning. Radical planning transformed planning into an informal, non-governmental, and bottom-up activity. Based on the radical planning perspective, planning is not done by state planners anymore. In return, planning becomes available for people to plan their own lives. Therefore, the emergence of radical planning and its related concepts are accompanied by regeneration in planners.

Moreover, owing to radical planning principles, existing boundaries and social distances between planners

and citizens disappeared, and planners and citizens converted into a single soul in two bodies. Grabow and Heskin (1973) state that "Planner is one of us (citizens) or that we can all be a planner [7, 55]". They considered the change in power source as another reason for the theory-practice gap. Consequently, the decision-making power has been transformed from the state and administrative planners to the citizens. Through this change, the planner or the creative citizen, does not play a representative role in decision making. Still, as a mediator, radical planner tries to familiarise citizens with their rights and educate them to attend in decision-making and empowerment assemblies.

Hence, in radical planning, decision-making is rooted in citizens, their movements and mobilisations rather than the state. These conditions give the highest level of participation to citizens and provide a leap from manipulation to real involvement (Figure 1). This is critical because citizens often have better understandings of local situations than professional planners, and civic participation causes better problem-solving [56]. NGOs also enter the planning practice and decision making. Therefore, planning becomes a general process which is not governmental anymore and mainly opposes the state. It also adopts various strategies, including negotiation, revolution, reformation or insurgency. Therefore, the concept of radical planning can be considered as the turning point of urban planning theories, especially concerning citizens' participation and the role of government in the planning process. The authors believe that the primary application of radical planning in urbanization is to break the foundations of government domination and policymakers in the planning and decision-making processes. Moreover, this is radical planning which considers the highest amount of participation for citizens in comparison to its previous and subsequent planning theories.

**Table 1.** Changes in the system of urban planning with the emergence of radical planning

Before the emergence of radical planning	After the emergence of radical planning
A formal and governmental Planning Process	The informal and non-governmental planning process
The existence of a boundary between planner and citizens with different degrees in different types of planning	The removal of the boundary between the planner and citizens
Planning is a practice for governmental interests	Planning is an opposition action
Planning is more state- and planner-oriented	Planning is based on the people and their movements.
The planning strategy is monolithic	The planning strategies are multiple to increase its feasibility.
The existence of manipulation in citizens' participation	Planning considers the highest participation rate for citizens.
NGOs and local governments have no in the planning process	NGOs and local governments get significant roles in the planning process.
The importance of the planners' role in the planning process with varying degrees in each of the theories	Reducing the role of the planner in the planning process and considering her as a mediator and/or moderator

(Source: Authors)

Table 1 compares changes that have been made to the urban planning process after and before the emergence of radical planning. The left column shows conditions led to the planning crisis and the emergence of the theory-practice gap. In contrast, the right column represents conceptions which are introduced as radical planning principles and changes which have been made after its creation. In fact, radical planning theorists believed that by relying on these characteristics and changes, they could overcome the planning crisis, and consequently, citizens can find their own needs, but how successful this theory has been in approaching its goals is a question which is discussed in the following.

4.5. A critical look at radical planning in the realm of action

So far, radical planning and its relationship with the planning crisis was discussed. Here, we are trying to take a critical look at radical planning to see why planning crisis remained despite its primary features - the highest and lowest involvement of individuals and planners in the planning process, respectively.

As it was indicated, a radical planner should take part in the targeted community to make things ready for changes. She should increase the citizens' awareness gradually and provide the necessary education for them. It was also stated that the radical planner is not administrative. Hence, the presence of a planner and her actions in a suppressed community to increase the residents' awareness just because of personal motivations and helping the community, does not make any sense. So, the planner must be hired by the state or suppressed society, which is in contrast with the principles of radical planning. Even if the former took place, a planner who has learned the necessary educations under the supervision of the state and her interests have tied with states' claims could not help citizens to flee from the community suppression. Besides, the latter also seems impossible because the suppressed community does not have the required resources and awareness for hiring a planner.

Another criticism levelled at radical planning is related to the way that radical planning starts. As we know, radical

planning begins provided that the level of community awareness increases and they learn the necessary skills. However, how these social and political suppressed groups acquire the skills and essential confidence to revolt against the powerful repressive force (the central government), is causing disagreement. This is while a radical planner, who should act as a facilitator and mediator, does not have the required facilities to increase the level of consciousness of the oppressed group. Beard has provided an answer to this criticism to some extent [17]. She believes that participation in governmental programs teaches individuals something related to the limitations of governmental structures, power and the possibility of mobilisation. Over time, this regular participation could cause widespread social movements and deliberate forms of covert planning that will create a sense of social cohesion and help them to be further politicised. However, her answer still opposes the first critique.

The third and the last criticism levelled at radical planning is that the implementation of this planning in the centralised governments, which conflicting with them is somehow tricky, will not be possible. How members of a repressed community who do not have the required skills and will face the consequences if they oppose the central government, can mobilise for their salvation and freedom. In this regard, Beard introduces covert planning [17]. She believes that radical planning is initially carried out secretly and consciously. After experiencing success in enhancing their organisational skills, self-confidence will increase, residents feel a sense of belonging and become politically aware. This is a vital beginning for radical action. For instance, this process can be accelerated when the economic or political crisis occurs, and the repressive government is weakened. However, covert planning does not provide an answer for the centralised form of the state and the lack of freedom. Moreover, if the opposition of citizens to the central government becomes clear, the central government will face them undoubtedly.

These criticisms and ambiguities have prevented radical planning from meeting its goal, which was eliminating the planning crisis and consequently provided the basis for other planning theories such as communicative planning (Figure 2).

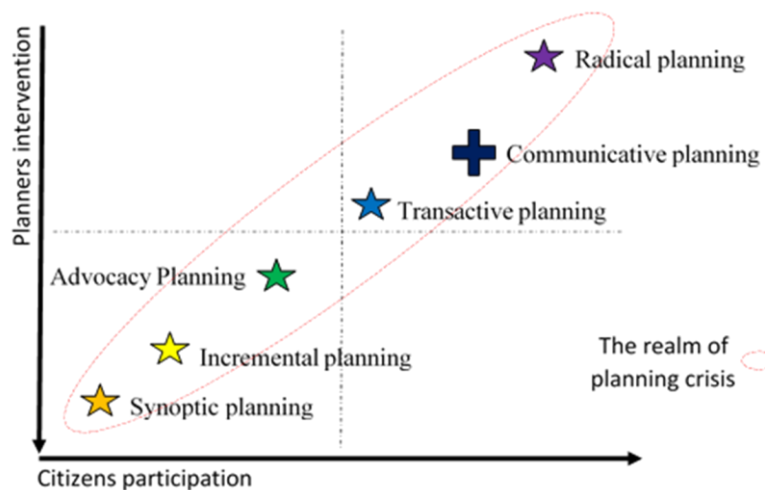


Fig 2. The realm of planning crisis with regarding the criticisms levelled at radical planning

Therefore, according to Figure 2 and its comparison with Figure 1, it can be stated that radical planning theory failed to overcome the planning crisis effectively. Thus, itself has also located in the crisis area. Therefore, the development of urban planning theories has continued. The difference is that post-radical planning theories do not consider the same amount of participation and intervention for citizens and planners, respectively. However, radical planning idealisation and its failure to implement in practice are taken into account. Consequently, the citizens' role has decreased again, and the power of planners in the process of planning has boosted.

## 5. CONCLUSION

Along with the emergence of modern planning, planners started talking about the planning crisis including the theory-practice gap and the lack of citizens' participation in the planning process. Recognition crisis, acceleration of changes and the unpredictability of events together gave rise to the planning crisis and affected planning severely. Consequently, other theories, including incremental, advocacy and transactive planning, were broached, which aimed at addressing the planning crisis. Nevertheless, planning crisis and the desire to address it remained and along with the gradual decline of modern planning and criticisms levelled at planning theories, especially advocacy planning; led to the emergence of radical planning.

Radical planning theory was accompanied by public movements and mobilisation in cities developments. Enhancing citizens' role caused the reduction of governments and expert planners' share in the planning process, and social activists replaced expert planners. Thus, the mobilised community, which generally pursues objectives in opposition to the central government, is considered as the leading actor of radical planning. The mobilised community could not be satisfied with critical knowledge solely to achieve its goals. Still, besides the critical awareness, it must also engage itself in direct action which starts from the criticisms levelled at the present situation by social actors. It also gives rise to violent, peaceful, revolutionary and negotiating strategies. Direct action, which is considered as the cornerstone of radical planning theory, aims to bridge the gap between theory and practice. The emergence of radical planning in urban planning has led to the elimination of the state and policymakers' domination in planning and decision-making processes through dedicating the highest degree of participation to citizens.

Radical planning theorists consider the increase and decrease of citizens' participation and planners' domination in the planning process, respectively, as two primary features to overcome the planning crisis. Furthermore, informal and non-governmental processes, the elimination of boundaries between citizens and planners, contradictory actions, and the diversity of strategies that transform radical planning into a turning point of planning theories have been useful as well. However, radical planning idealistic perspective made it unsuccessful in reaching its

primary goals and caused several criticisms. The inconsistency of radical planning with centralised systems and uncertainty in planners' interests and planning processes are some of the most significant criticisms. They affected the implementation of radical planning in practice and prevented it from reaching its ideal situations and eliminating the planning crisis. Hence, the planning crisis and the theory-practice gap remain, and consequently, theorists have pursued their theory-making.

However, new theories have not pursued the radical planning stream toward increasing the role of citizens and decreasing states power in planning practice. Instead, it seems that there are intentional covert efforts to ignore radical planning, and that is why there are limited references related to it in comparison to other kinds of planning theories. Therefore, planning theories experienced a downward trend. Planners as professionals and the distance between planners and citizens have emerged again. Citizens and mobilised communities lost their critical roles, and consequently, they turned into objects of planning not its engine. Planners also have found their lost power once again, and that is how planning turned into a kind of state action, and real participation gave up its position to manipulation in most cases.

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#### AUTHOR (S) BIOSKETCHES

**M. Rafieian .,** Associate Professor, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran  
Email: rafiei\_m@modares.ac.ir

**M. Ghazaie .,** PhD, Department of Urban and Regional Planning, Faculty of Arts and Architecture, Tarbiat Modares University, Tehran, Iran  
Email: mohammad.ghazaie@modares.ac.ir

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