CASE STUDIES IN PLANNING RESEARCH,

EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

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CASE STUDIES IN PLANNING RESEARCH, EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

by Roger Smith and Martin Wynn

I. INTRODUCTION

The object of this paper is to discuss the use of case studies in planning research, education and practice. Such a task needs justifying. Certainly there is little formal discussion of this thematic and some might argue that little is to be gained from this as case studies have successfully been employed by both planning researchers and teachers for sometime now. Time spent by the enquirer on formal discussion of the case study approach could be better employed by simply getting on and doing case studies as and when they seem appropriate to his own main line interests. In contrast, there are those who survey their own experiences of case studies and conclude that despite their long established usage they have little to offer the teacher or the student in the way of generalized learning.

As for the practitioner, Professor Ian Masser - who is far from an opponent of case studies as a research tool - relays the doubt that "they are less likely to be immediately productive to a particular agency than applications of new methods of plan making." Perhaps for this very reason, those who consider that planning research should be exclusively geared to improving planning techniques, are often critical of the utility of case studies.

It is because we believe that case studies have a role to play in planning education, research and practice and yet perceive the confusion (compounded by the inability of critics to distinguish between good and bad examples) about the nature and objectives of the approach that we have prepared this paper. In fact the case study approach is well established in a number of disciplines and we have selected two for detailed consideration, because we believe that they have a great deal to teach those who wish to use the approach in planning.

The academic discipline of economic and social history has largely been built up on case studies, and such studies are used almost exclusively as the means of acquiring new knowledge and understanding. The transmission of this knowledge and understanding is then passed to students through the traditional methods of reading, lectures and seminars. We can label this approach as traditional/academic. In contrast is the approach, devised at Harvard, where for some teachers
case studies are used not to add new understanding to the overall corpus of knowledge embedded in the discipline of business studies but simply as a teaching tool which aims to make the students more effective decision makers. This use of case studies can be labelled practical/pedagogical. We then go on to examine three sets of planning case studies that have, to a greater or lesser extent, been based on these earlier models.

The first is a case study of the growth and development of a new town (East Kilbride) which was undertaken very much in the traditional/academic mould. The second is a series of development control case studies which were prepared purely for teaching purposes and so belong to the same family as the Harvard business studies (practical/pedagogical). The third series of case studies are the so called Trent/OECD studies which we believe break new ground, in that they are multi-purpose studies that can be used for research and teaching, and perhaps most importantly, can contribute towards improving planning practice. We then move on to a more general evaluation of the role of case studies in planning research, teaching and practice and suggest some possible ways forward. Before we embark on this progression, however, we shall briefly examine some existing definitions from other disciplines of what constitutes a case study.

II. CASE STUDIES - TOWARDS A DEFINITION

A useful starting point here is the definition of the case study provided by Adelman et al., who perceive the case study as a research approach in the social sciences. They see case study as "an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus an enquiry around an instance."² Nisbet and Watt, however, hint at the potential of certain case study techniques for both research and teaching. They see the case study as "more than just an extended example or an anecdote interestingly narrated. It must have interest, relevance and a sense of reality, but it must go beyond mere illustration."³ They go on to stress that evidence must be gathered systematically and presented in a way that demonstrates the interaction of factors and events. The approach attempts to give a fair and
accurate account of specific cases in such a way as to allow the reader to penetrate the superficial record, and also to check the author's interpretations by examining an appropriate selection of the objective evidence from which the case study has been built.

As Adelman has said, an important element to stress about the good case study is that it is "strong on reality". One can, of course, at this point become seduced by a wide range of epistemological problems about the definition of reality and speculation about how the investigator's own assumptions and expectations can itself warp the truth. We shall eschew such discussions here. Rather we would stress that our major concern in carrying out case studies whether for research, teaching or in practice, is to attempt to uncover the complex chain of events and the multiplicity of factors which have a bearing on decisions and their implementation. Indeed Walton, talking generally about the behavioural sciences, argues that:-

"The case study can attend to aspects of a change program which other methodologies cannot; namely, processes of change and of change interventions".

Walton goes on to make the important point that it is only through the case study that the processes which determine the outcome of a decision can be known and understood. Within this decision-centred framework, which would seem to have particular relevance to the planning process, timing, sequencing and pacing need careful attention. And so, Walton concludes, case studies must:-

i) Contain longitudinal data from each of several phases - pre-intervention, intervention, and post-intervention,
ii) Contain a rigorous description of the process, especially during the intervention phase,
iii) Conceptualize and theorize about the process itself e.g. the place of interactions, phases, critical incidents and their effects on subsequent attitudes and actions.
III. CASE STUDIES IN ECONOMIC HISTORY AND BUSINESS STUDIES

Having broadly set out what we mean by case studies we can now move on to examine what the two contrasting discipline of economic history and business studies can teach us from their lengthy experience in the employment of case studies.

A. Economic History

We will search in vain in historical writings for any general discussion of the case study approach. The case study in historical research is such a well established technique that a few opening remarks at the beginning of an article or a book is all that is thought necessary to justify the approach.

The first point to make is that with few exceptions historical research in Britain is conducted in an informal way, in which academics, occasionally assisted by a research assistant, select an area of enquiry according to their own interest. Often the starting point is a generally held view on a particular issue - e.g. living standards in the industrial revolution or the 'great depression' of the 1880s or 1890s - set out in one of the major text books. The academics then proceed to illustrate and debate these issues through the use of case studies, which may take various forms. Some will tackle the general issues by arguing their points with reference to specific localities, e.g. what was happening to living standards during the first half of the nineteenth century in Nottingham, Coventry or St. Helens. Other academics may choose to examine specific industries and use them as cases.

The case study research approach is particularly suitable for the economic historian, partly because of the nature of his discipline, and partly because of the limited research resources at his disposal. Temperamentally the historian is reluctant to work as a part of a large team - the tradition of the gentleman scholar is still strong. These attitudes tend to exclude historians from working rigorously within predetermined research frameworks. But even if this were not so it would be difficult to study all towns or all industries. Selection is therefore inevitable, and those
areas selected provide the focus for case study inquiry. It should, however, be pointed out that some scholars do not necessarily rely on undertaking a single case study, but will make up what seems to them to be an appropriate package of case studies.

It sometimes happens that case studies are undertaken not to test general hypotheses but to open up new areas of inquiry. This is certainly the case as far as business historians are concerned. Business history is still largely limited to the undertaking of specific studies of individual firms or industries. And indeed some historians openly reject the notion of history ultimately leading to a series of generalizations. According to this view, history is concerned with understanding particular and unique events undertaken at particular moments in time. It is easy to move on from this to argue, perhaps rather extremely, that historical case studies can be justified exclusively within their own terms of reference.

One of the more impressive qualities of the historical case study is its attention to detail and meticulous scholarship. This is ensured by the very rigorous standards imposed by the editors of the historical journals. Often an article of 8,000 words will take more than a year to prepare. And although it is not normal to reproduce all the evidence as a part of the case study, comprehensive and detailed referencing to all sources is obligatory. This means that often vigorous debate within the academic community can, and does, centre around the nature and reliability of the sources.

A major failing of the case study approach, as it is used by historians, is that little attention is given to developing case study teaching techniques. Rather, it is just generally assumed that the university teacher and student are part of the same academic community, and that the teacher will therefore disseminate his case study knowledge and understanding both formally and informally throughout that community.
Students are thus encouraged through lectures, to read the case studies and then critically evaluate them in essays and seminars. Should the undergraduates be required to undertake a final year dissertation, then this could take the form of a case study. The justification for doing this is that it offers insights into the way that the historian pursues his craft and may provide initial training for the student wishing to undertake a postgraduate research degree.

B. Business Studies

The case method pioneered by the Harvard Business School for management training strikes an interesting contrast to the traditional/academic use of case studies in economic history. The approach was specifically devised as an alternative to established teaching methods. Under the previous system the students were passively presented through lecture courses with a

"recapitulation of the results of business experience arranged, catalogued, systematized, and then presented without the lumber of discarded precedents."

Through this method the business student would be presented with the final and definitive results which long experience had taught to be the best and most expedient methods of business conduct. This approach, which will be recognized in essence in many of the applied as well as the academic disciplines, has a number of advantages. The teaching can instill confidence in the student, and will hopefully have given him a wide grasp of the subject in a relatively short period of time.

For Stone Dewing, however, the fundamental justification for undertaking business studies is not to train a man to know but how to act. He then goes on to argue that a case study teaching method is the best way of training a man for action. It enables the students at an early stage to be brought face to face with the realities of possibilities, probabilities and expedients.
Thus in the Harvard Business School the case studies are seen as a teaching tool aimed at making the student a more effective decision maker in the market place (practical/pedagogical). They are not designed primarily to enrich a body of academic theory about the nature of decision making within the firm or company.

Great care has to be taken in selecting the case study - taking into account the problems of acquiring information in firms relating to "difficult" decisions. Indeed Harvard employs research assistants exclusively to help select and prepare the case studies.  

The case study largely relies on the collection of all the relevant data that was, or became, available over a period of time. One case study, for example, was prepared to demonstrate to the student how the broad economic, political and social environment has to be taken into account in decision making.  

It concerned the volume of leather stocks that the Dempsey Shoe Company needed to maintain. The starting point was a description of the purchasing policy prior to the appointment of a new purchasing controller. Information was provided on the company's cash balances and stock holdings, the shoe production policies, the amount of leather held and the current prices. Data was also provided to enable an assessment to be made on the future demand for shoes.

The initial policy devised by the new controller, on the basis of this information, was then given. Basically this involved purchasing enough leather to last the company for six or seven months. The figures were then provided on which the company decided to substantially increase its holdings of leather, financed by heavy borrowing from note brokers. Much of this depended upon the forecast of availability of cattle of the right age in South America and the demands for leather in Germany and France.
Such a case study is presented to the students in chronological sequence and at each decision point, and armed with the type of information data-base outlined above, they are asked to make their own decisions. Having made them, they are presented with the next decision-making stage. And so the case study proceeds. Throughout the student is forced into taking decisions and defending them in front of his peers.

The Harvard Business School's brochures continue to emphasize that the case method remains the "basic mode of instruction," although general conceptual schemes and analytical methods are now found in most modern business courses. The old fashioned, pure case course has become more a 'cases and concepts' course with role plays, games and other devices from the modern tool bag deployed where appropriate. Nevertheless, the case studies themselves are still generally regarded as one of the most wide-ranging and powerful teaching tools used in modern business studies courses.

IV. AN INTRODUCTION TO SOME CASE STUDIES IN PLANNING

Having offered a definition of case studies and seen something of how they are used in the disciplines of economic history and business studies we can now move on to see how they have been, or might be, used in the realm of planning research, education and practice. We start by reviewing a recent study of the planning, growth and development over the past twenty-five years of East Kilbride new town. This was a study undertaken very much within the tradition of the case study approach employed by economic historians - the traditional/academic approach.

We then move on to examine a series of development control case studies which were prepared for use in the education of student planners. These studies are clearly related to those used in the Harvard Business School - practical/pedagogical.

Finally in this section we look at a series of plan implementation case studies that can be used for both researching and teaching the planning process and also, we suggest, as a monitoring and self-learning technique within local authorities.
A. The East Kilbride Case Study

The east Kilbride case study was one of three longitudinal case studies of the development of new towns undertaken by the Building Research Establishment. The aim of the East Kilbride study was to critically examine the justification for setting up the new town, taking into account as wide a range of factors as possible. These included economic, social, political, administrative and geographical considerations set within the context of current opinions and concepts, and historical experiences and precedents. The next stage was to examine how these factors were translated into an initial master plan and early policy statement. Much of the remainder of the study was taken up with an analysis of the range of factors which determined the degree to which these plans and policies were implemented and the external factors which were responsible for bringing about major revisions in plan making and plan implementation.

The techniques used to research the study would be familiar to any economic historian, and to a degree it might be argued that much of the study could be viewed as a contribution to contemporary history. But so long as the case study does in fact provide insights into the process of post-war urbanization, this alone might be seen as satisfactory justification for the research.

Of course it can be argued that planning students and practitioners alike can gain in maturity of judgment by continually adding to their stock of case studies relating to the relationship between urban growth and planning. But the East Kilbride case study has a more direct purpose; it is to tease out what the experience of planning and building one new town has to teach the planner about goal setting and the relationship between Government and appointed boards in urban development. No attempt was, however, made to formally link this work into learning programmes.
B. Development Control Case Studies

This series of six case studies plus tutor's manual was devised to provide representative 'real world' examples of the "eighty per cent or so of planning applications which can be classed as being rather small-scale and not of regional or national importance". They were designed for use in undergraduate planning courses, the central concern being to assemble material which could be used to confront the user with commonly encountered real world problem situations. As such, they were clearly inspired by the 'practical/pedagogical' type of case used at Harvard, and more recently used in a planning context by Victor Moore at Reading.

Each case study consists of two main components:

1) selected 'real world' documents - letters, memoranda, completed forms, etc. (with fictitious names substituted as necessary) and

2) a set of link commentaries, progressing the narrative.

Both types of documentation are presented in a simple and straightforward manner, and colour-coding ensures that a distinction can be made between hard data and the more qualitative descriptive commentaries, which as previously noted, Walton points out as being two essential elements of a good case study.

It is of importance to note here that to achieve Walton's third prerequisite - conceptualization and theorizing about the process itself - of necessity involves teachers and students in interchanges that go beyond what one would normally expect in the lecture/brief discussion presentation that characterizes so much of undergraduate teaching in planning and indeed in general. But it is essentially here in the utilization and adaptation of the Development Control Case Studies to different course and student needs, that the success or failure of the exercise lies. As Smith and Walker have pointed out, it is ultimately the ability to provoke relevant questioning of an on-going process, test hypothesis and speculate where a process is heading that will provide the most valuable lessons to be derived
from the case study method (Figure 1). To this end, the

PLANNING DECISION EXERCISE
tutor's manual that accompanies the six volume set suggests a series of leading questions and debating issues that should be followed-up and further developed if the full potential of these case studies is to be realized in undergraduate teaching.

C. **Trent/OECD Plan Implementation Case Studies**

This series of case studies\(^1\) is being developed at the Department of Town and Country Planning, Trent Polytechnic, and had the initial stimulus of a small OECD pump-priming grant.

The essential component of each case study is a 'data-base' consisting of data relating to the plan-making and implementation processes in local level planning schemes taken from Spain and England. This data is structured to provide a framework for research, teaching and local authority usage. It is perhaps worth briefly elaborating on the major elements of the data-base:

**Introductory Material**—included at the beginning of the case study, should provide the necessary terminology and introduction to the legal, administrative, political, financial and spatial frameworks within which the case study takes place. Original documents (or extracts) may be used, but the Introductory Section should not be too lengthy and at most should constitute no more than about 30% of the complete data-base.

**Documentary Evidence and Commentary**—The data-base documentation must be suitably sequenced or progressed by the addition of commentary pages. Although each case study will, to some extent, necessitate its own special treatment, one page of commentary per 3–8 pages of documentation would seem about the right 'balance' in preliminary experimentation with the prototype case studies. Similarly, plans, photos, etc. help to provide a more complete visualisation of the project as well as providing interest and helping to avoid monotony.

**Commentary Pages**—Reporting should be as simple and as objective as possible. Often it is important to remember that much of the data can be included as it stands and
without editing. Therefore the commentary pages are intended as simple linking mechanisms to help progress the narrative.

Central Features---Emphasis should be placed on a comprehensible, manageable presentation, clearly summarised in the contents page. Colour coding, cross referencing, indexing and flow diagrams may also be used to provide added clarity and increased usefulness.

As a research technique, these case studies, and particularly those undertaken in Spain, have provided valuable new insights into the plan implementation process that are being matched against other case studies taken from Barcelona and Santander and complemented by more quantitative studies and analysis of the planning and development processes. In this sense, this can be seen as a 'case study sampling' technique, which methodologically attempts to bridge the gap between the need for an initial research framework involving some loose hypotheses formulation and the freedom to move inductively from case study findings to formulate (or 'discover') new hypotheses from which tentative generalizations may be made. This approach, which is close to that used by Professors Masser and Faludi in research projects in Holland, would seem to have particular merit for investigating and documenting change processes in overseas countries where an established body of knowledge relating to such processes may not exist. At the same time, however, such a case study approach may be used more conventionally to test hypotheses drawn from an established body of knowledge, more in the traditional/academic mould employed by the economic historian. (Figure 2)

The data-bases also form the point of departure for a variety of post- and undergraduate teaching possibilities. A series of question and answers and debating points are now being devised to help draw out the key issues from the two British case studies, for use in planning courses at Trent.
Figure 2

Stage 1: Well established expectations of how the implementation process works

Stage 2: Selected case studies

Stage 3: Incremental modifications to well established expectations

Continuous revisions
These may then be used in conjunction with the case study games\textsuperscript{26} that have been designed and successfully employed for the Buildings General Improvement Area and Cofferidge Close case studies. (Figures 3 and 4) Building on experience gained through running metropolitan-scale urban game simulations, these case studies have been translated into local level games that attempt to guide participants along the decision-making course contained in the case study and yet conserve the element of choice essential to learning by inquiry and through interaction with other participants as each decision-stage in the case study is met. There thus emerges a variety of instructional possibilities based-on comparing the real case study decision course, with that followed in the simulation (Figure 5).

Finally, the potential of this type of case study as a local authority's 'self-learning,' monitoring device is now being explored. The case study data-bases have been circulated to those parties involved in the two British case studies with a view to compiling summary reports from each of these parties to complement that of the research team. This will help broaden perspectives on the data, and collectively forms a composite overview rarely available to Local Authorities. It is also hoped to run versions of the case study games with planning officers and members of the public in the case study areas, constituting a self-learning exercise for all involved and further feedback on data-interpretation that can subsequently lead to improvement and refinement of the games themselves.

The data-base material also provides scope for the type of Decision-Analysis exercises devised by Friend, Jessop and Hickling\textsuperscript{27} over the past decade. These can be used, in fact, both for under- and post-graduate teaching as well as in the local authority. Here then, not only can students learn about the decision-making process in the case study, but they can also gain first hand experience of a widely acclaimed operational research technology.
Figure 3

Map of Cofferidge Close, prior to redevelopment, 1970.
COFFERIDGE CLOSE, STONY STRATFORD, MILTON KEYS

KEY DIAGRAM

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HIGH STREET

SILVER STREET

NORTH

GEORGE YARD

MARKET SQUARE

NB Thick lines represent the boundaries between different land ownerships. Area 1 is owned by Mr. White-Bread, a baker whose shop is located on square A 4. Area 2 is owned by James's, who run a rather dilapidated and noisy garage on square C 1. Area 3 is owned by Wolverton Urban District Council, who use the squares marked W as a yard for the Technical Services Department. Existing buildings on site are marked ▲.

Figure 4
1. THE REAL DECISION MAKING COURSE OF THE CASE STUDY

\[ A_2 \rightarrow B_3 \rightarrow C_2 \rightarrow D_2 \rightarrow \ldots \text{ etc.} \]

The underlying assumption in the use of decision trees in decision analysis is that one particular course of action emerges from a wide range of possible courses of action as a result of a large number of intermediate decisions which progressively reduce the range of alternatives open to consideration. These decisions only involve more than one organisation and must be regarded as the product of complex adjustment processes in which several organisations are involved in a search for a mutually satisfactory choice of alternatives. Wagner et al.

2. THE CASE STUDY (GAMES) SIMULATION

(i) Decision-making situation A is presented to students who are formed into representative teams.
(ii) Student teams choose decision path \( A \rightarrow X_4 \) to be halted at the discretion of the instructor.
(iii) Instructor reveals decision path \( A \rightarrow B_3 \) followed in the case study.
(iv) Group Discussion/Debate of \( A \rightarrow A_4 \rightarrow X_4 \) cf.
\[ A \rightarrow A_2 \rightarrow B_3 \rightarrow \]
(v) Instructor sets new decision-making situation C (or B, D, E, F, etc.) for student teams.
(vi) Student teams choose decision path \( C \rightarrow T_1 \) to be halted at the discretion of the instructor.
(vii) Instructor reveals decision path \( C_2 \rightarrow D_2 \) followed in the Case Study etc.
(viii) Group Discussion/Debate of \( C \rightarrow C_3 \rightarrow T_1 \) cf. \( C \rightarrow C_2 \rightarrow D_2 \)

etc. etc.

In the decision-course figures (left), solid lines represent made decisions. Broken lines represent decision options not taken.

Decision-Making Courses in a Real Case Study (above) and a Case Study Game
V. SUMMATION AND FUTURE DIRECTIONS

Here, we attempt to draw together various arguments introduced in the preceding discussion and outline how we see case studies being used in planning research, education and practice in the future.

A. Research

On the research side, the traditional/academic case study has been employed in planning studies within more systematic frameworks than has usually been the case in disciplines such as economic history and anthropology. Nevertheless, as Ian Masser has recently noted, "Relatively little attention has been given to the systematic examination of the dynamics of the planning processes with respect to different types of planning activity," and it would seem future case study research has an important role to play here.

Certainly much more needs to be known, for example, about the dynamics of strategic planning and its relationship to the implementation process. Here case studies of selected examples are an obvious way forward. They may be based on the approach of Professor Peter Hall in The Containment of Urban England in which the effectiveness of general government strategy was examined in a series of case studies at the local level (the 'top down approach') or they might be done as by Faludi and his associates, who had no generalized model of how the Dutch strategic planning system worked so had to start with individual local cases hoping ultimately to arrive at a series of generalizations which would be of a wider applicability, (the 'bottom up' approach).

Here we can see parallels with what we noted was the approach of the economic historians. There are overt parallels too, concerning the types of generalizations that can be made. The economic historian might use his case study of the plight of the handloom weavers during the first phase of the industrial revolution to shed light on the plight of the framework knitters, who experienced similar problems of being
overtaken by advanced technology. In a similar way local case studies of, say, the working of Housing Investment Programmes might shed light on the allocation of resources in other areas of local authority expenditure like recreational provision. But we can also heed the historians warning that some case studies might simply demonstrate the uniqueness of a particular series of events and activities. This is also a useful point to make where appropriate, and should warn us against readily assuming that the planning and plan implementation processes can always be reduced to an overriding and comprehensive theory.

B. Teaching

As we have observed at the beginning of this paper, case studies have been used in the training and education of planners for a considerable period of time, although precisely how they have been used has not been systematically explored, nor have the various justifications for this approach been critically examined. There does, however, seem to be in the planning schools two justifications for using case studies. One is to use them to illustrate, by example, some general principle or principles of how the planning system works in practice - to use Malinowski's term "it puts flesh and blood on the skeleton"\textsuperscript{30} - very much within the traditional/academic case study mould.

The other usage involves giving planning students the 'feel' of real life decision-making through case study role-plays, simulations and project and decision exercises that clearly take considerably from the Harvard approach.

Of these two case-study teaching traditions, we would particularly stress the value of the latter, which puts the emphasis on experientially-based learning. In other words, learning about principles and concepts is more likely to be absorbed by the student if anchored in experience, and this of necessity means that case studies have to be effectively packaged to facilitate such learning.
We have already seen how the Development Control and Plan Implementation case studies have been developed along these lines and Romanos (Figure 6) at Illinois University has made similar use of case study game simulations. It is perhaps of interest here to note that the Harvard Case Method is currently under attack from the President of Harvard University, Derek Bok, who argues that business studies should not just be concerned with teaching people how to maximize profits, but should rather be concerned with wider issues, such as human resources, corporate planning, business and government and corporations and society. To deal with matters of this complexity, relatively straightforward Harvard Case Method hardly seems appropriate. For our purposes the coverage that Bok wants to give business students bears similarities with what many planning teachers want to give their students. Urban planning is not simply a process of linear decision-making, it is concerned with a complex mix of political, social and economic issues and values. Its goals are not clear and are often conflicting. This complexity of texture needs to be transmitted and case study game simulations - with their realism and immediacy - seem an ideal teaching method for achieving such ends.

Before leaving this section, we should note that these 'real life' games, based on case studies cannot be prepared without research. Either the teacher can take material already made available by the case study researcher or he will have to undertake his own research, which, incidentally, written up in another form may add to the sum total of planning knowledge. Thus as far as case studies in planning education are concerned, necessary links exist between the researcher and the teacher.

C. Practice

We now turn to examine somewhat more thoroughly the concept of the case study as a direct aid to the planning practitioner. In this paper we must approach the matter cautiously because as yet we have not been able to field-test any of
Figure 6

CASE STUDY SIMULATION
the Trent studies in offices. We must therefore be content here to speculate, drawing on the work of others where appropriate.

Our starting point is the belief, now generally accepted, that monitoring is an important element in the plan making and plan implementation processes. The point we should like to make here is that on occasion the case study, if developed and 'operationalised' specifically as a self-learning device for planners, can have a role to play in the monitoring process, which the DoE have suggested can serve three interconnected purposes:

1) to develop an information base,
2) to track the progress of work and
3) to assess plan or programme performance by showing whether intentions are realized, and what kind of impact the plan or programme is having on the community.

It is a self evident truth - or perhaps more accurately, we believe that it is a self evident truth - that in the normal course of events people learn from their own experiences. If we may be forgiven for a degree of pomposity, people develop and grow in maturity through an internal systems mechanism of their own. A planning office, however, does not quite work like that. There may be something of a fork memory, hampered by a steady turnover of staff and the fact that few, if any, working in the office have an overview of what is happening or has happened. Yet it would seem that it is important for a planning office (a) to have its experiences systematically recorded, so that all members of an organization can draw on that experience and (b) to have that experience critically analysed. It is here that the case study approach may have a contribution to make. It may be useful - always remembering the limited resources now available in terms both of manpower and cost - for planning departments to prepare full data banks of significant cases with which the Department has had to deal over the years.

Here we would wish to stress that these case studies are not
simply a collection of letters and documents lifted from the files and presented in some sort of chronological order. Rather we are thinking of case studies researched with the same attention to scholarship that is achieved in the case studies of the economic historian.

The justification for this approach is manifold. Firstly it is a mirror held up against peoples own activities which helps to put the general flow of events and activities into their perspective. More significantly, however, the case study may give each individual participant a clear picture of how his own work fitted into the general scheme, and thereby make him more effective next time he engages in a similar exercise.

The idea of the case study in practice, however, is not simply to provide a descriptive account but to inject a critical and analytical component. Often, because planning offices do not systematically record their experiences they are often in the process of continually reinventing the wheel (and sometimes continually inventing the square wheel). There is often the need to draw upon the experience of previously undertaken cases, which should thus be critically evaluated in order that existing strengths should continue to be in the fore and that lessons can be drawn from previous mistakes.

We can here make the point that case studies could successfully be interchanged between various authorities, so that the experiences of personnel in one planning department could be shared by those working in another authority. Thus, for example, a critical and analytical case study of the planning problems faced by North Yorkshire Planning Department in dealing with the coal mining issues at Selby could be of great value to Leicestershire Planning Department dealing with a similar situation in the Vale of Belvoir. But again, presentation and utilization of the case study material is all important. Here, then, there
is scope for the Harvard type seminar approach and the case study game that may be followed up by problem solving and decision-analysis exercises like those devised by Friend and Jessop (Figure 7) that may be used for retrospectively analysing case study decisions and debating unresolved (and perhaps closely related) problem dilemmas. Looser seminar objectives may include focusing on the particular aspects of the case study - the importance of legislative powers, political expediences, etc.

The use of case studies as a self-learning and monitoring device for local authorities is the most undeveloped and yet perhaps potentially the most significant application of case study research. Paludi's recent call for 'action-research' involving local authority personnel, in a series of simulations of locally based planning decisions and the Hickling-Friend in-house strategic choice exercises - largely based on case examples - are attempts to contribute towards the monitoring and consequent improvement of local planning that Haynes and Steeley amongst others have supported in recent years. It is in this sphere, above all, that our attention should be focused in the future. But because of the need for a high quality of scholarship in preparing the case study, and the importance of appropriate packaging and presentation of the cases for the practitioner, such future developments (Figure 8) will clearly rely to some extent on continuing experience in case study research and teaching.
TECHNOLOGY FOR STRATEGIC CHOICE
(HICKLING/FRIEND)


3. John Nisbet and Joyce Watt, Case Study, Redigude 26, Guides in Educational Research, University of Nottingham, School of Education, Nov. 1978, p. 3.


8. An exception to this in demographic history is the work of the Cambridge Group for Demographic History.


12. Ibid., p. 2.


17. The Sheffield/Trent Case Study Project, sponsored and financed by the University of Sheffield, Trent Polytechnic and the Social Science Research Council, was directed by Dr. John L. Taylor, who edited the six volume series and was the author of the Tutor's Manual. All seven volumes can be obtained from: Local Government Training Board, 8 The Arndale Centre, Luton.


21. The four case studies completed in the OECD series were:
   - Martin Wynn, *The Buildings, Eastwood* (General Improvement Area);
   - Peter Totterdill, *Cofferidge Close, Milton Keynes* (City Centre Retail Area);
   - Martin Wynn, *San Cosme, Spain* (Construction and Renewal of State Housing Area);

   Additionally two further case study data-bases from the Barcelona periphery are now complete:
   - Martin Wynn, *Can Serra, Spain* (High Rise Private Residential Development);
   - Martin Wynn, *Molins de Rey* (Industrial Expansion Scheme).

   All are available from the Department of Town and Country Planning, Trent Polytechnic.


25. For further discussion of these two approaches - 'bottom-up' and 'top-down' - see J.L. Taylor, M.G. Wynn, R.J. Smith and I. Haywood, 'Local Plan Implementation - Some Case Study Implications for Research, Teaching and Training' in Martin Wynn and John L. Taylor (Eds.) OECD Plan Implementation Case Studies Companion Volume, OECD Paris/Trent Polytechnic and A. Faludi et al., Oxford-Leiden A Comparative Study of Local Planning op.cit., Project Paper I.


31. See Romanos, M. 'Undergraduate Planning - Is Gaming the Answer?' Simulation and Games, Vol. 9, No. 1, March 1978.


35. See note 17 above.
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