

## IV.

# THE EDUCATION, OCCUPATION AND EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES OF TOWN PLANNERS IN GERMANY

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### 1. INTRODUCTION

Though activities in town planning and urban design<sup>1</sup> have a long tradition in Germany, town and regional planning is a young discipline at universities in Germany. At the end of the 19th century town planning was constituted as a specific science (Albers 1975). It was based on other sciences, such as scientific hygiene, statistics and engineering, housing and urban research. Until World War I town planning was becoming established as a discipline through specialist periodicals, textbooks, handbooks, conferences, exhibitions as well as through institutions and planning practice. Especially planning of town structure. This development is marked by books<sup>2</sup>, by specialist periodicals<sup>3</sup> as well as by several conferences and exhibitions. At first the science of urban planning was an optional part of the courses in architecture and construction engineering at the technical universities. There was no individual specialisation and it was impossible to get a special degree in urban planning. Since the 1920s the field of urban planning has been enlarged by regional planning and strategic planning and there has been a specialisation (e.g. transportation planning, settlement planning, etc.) and the development of different schools of thought.

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<sup>1</sup> The terms urban planning and urban design are used synonymously. The terms urban design and urban expansion were used at the end of the 19th century, whereas urban planning is more modern. Today urban design is commonly understood as construction methods, whereas urban planning is in its entirety preparation, planning and execution.

<sup>2</sup> By Reinhold Baumeister in *Stadt-Erweiterungen in technischer, baupolizeilicher und wirtschaftlicher Beziehung*, 1876; by Josef Stübben in *Der Städtebau*, 1890; and by Camillo Sitte in *Der Städtebau nach seinen künstlerischen Grundsätzen*, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> In *Der Städtebau*, published by Theodor Goecke, Camillo Sitte and later Werner Hegemann.

For 20 years after the Second World War a hostility against planning was wide-spread - planning was equated with collectivism and dictatorship. In the 1960s this hostility was replaced by a concept that started from organisational theory and Keynesian economic policy. In a general euphoria about planning, urban development planning played a minor role in comprehensive management ideas. Its function was to provide adequate spatial structures for economic structural change. At the end of the 1960s, as a consequence of changes in social and economic structures - but also because of students movements in 1968 - the establishment of specific courses in planning studies was discussed. Especially members of "progressive" circles thought that planning should be more connected with politics and economics. This discussion started in architectural courses, as students and lecturers formulated socio-critical positions and introduced a political dimension of architecture<sup>4</sup>.

Though there had been initiatives for a planning law since the 1920th, the *Städtebauförderungsgesetz*, passed by the SPD/FDP federal government in 1971, was the first law established. It refers only to urban renewal areas which have to be named. The establishment of the professional organisation of town, district and regional planners (*Stadt-, Regional- und Landesplanung*, SRL) in 1969 reflects the increasing importance of planning in public opinion. Urban development planning was interpreted in a spirit of fundamental change as a reform model for social compensation, modernisation and democratisation. In Germany there are two kinds of urban development plans, *Stadtentwicklungspläne* and *Bauleitpläne*. The *Bauleitpläne* consist of preliminary land use plans and binding urban development plans. *Stadtentwicklungspläne* have the character of an initial stage for *Bauleitpläne* in contrast to the latter they are not legally fixed. Stock-taking, the definition of objectives, comments about sectoral problems in urban development like housing, industry, transportation and/or spatial elements characterise *Stadtentwicklungsplanung*. Topics like comprehensive management, integrative public overall planning and strategic planning were the subjects of political and public discussion. The main agenda of this debate was a social and economic reform. As a result of this planning euphoria many big cities established their own urban development plans.

It was realised that the subject matter of urban planning cannot be imparted through the study of architecture in traditional, artistic and technical ways. It was necessary to establish specific courses of studies in planning. It was recognised that the education in planning is different from those in architecture. Architecture refers to the design of buildings, while planning is more concerned with methodical and systematic organisation of space. Planners have to acquire a wide range of qualifications. The objectives are:

- members of different courses of studies should work together,

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<sup>4</sup> The titles and the designation of the courses used at the Technical University of Hamburg-Harburg are mentioned here as one example (Schubert 1993: 15). The contents of the courses are similar at many Universities, although the designation differs.

- the achievement of knowledge in social sciences (psychology, sociology, economics, political sciences),
- teamwork.

## 2. TOWN PLANNING EDUCATION

Institutes or departments for urban and regional planning were set up since the seventies in existing universities (Technical University, Berlin), while some new universities (TU Hamburg-Harburg, Dortmund University) established such departments from their beginning. Thus urban planning is no longer only an optional subject and it is now possible to complete an individual subject with a degree (Dipl.-Ing) and to do post-graduate degrees (Dr.-Ing). Today urban planning can be either studied as a complete course (TU Berlin) or as a partial course, e.g. at the Technical University in Hamburg-Harburg students have to meet certain requirements. They have to pass the first part of their degree (*Vordiplom*) at another university or a final degree at a polytechnic.

The education in urban planning combines sociological theories and technical problems, as well as analytical thinking and practical activities. Urban planners have to organise the spatial allocation of land uses (the German legislation talks about urban development in cities and regions). Surveys have to be combined with scientific methods, facts have to be recorded with empirical methods. It is understood that the ability to explain development objectives and planning by techniques at work in prognosis and scenarios is limited. Planning is also about anticipation and creation, it cannot be reduced to technical, economic and social aspects. This is the main difficulty in the education of urban planners. Students have to obtain an analytical qualification as well as to develop creative skills.

Thus it is not surprising that the courses of studies and the curricula at German universities are not standardised, although the courses are defined by the regulations for the conduct of an examination in urban planning (*Rahmenprüfungsordnung Raumplanung*). The education at Hamburg-Harburg contains several subjects with different names. The first section embodies detailed aspects of urban planning, the basics of urban design, urban projects, urban transport, ecology, environmental protection, open space planning, settlement planning, district and regional planning and housing. In this section students should learn in a systematic way the basic elements, methods and instruments necessary for an urban planner. Students should also develop conceptual work (outlines, drawings, plans).

The second section of the education contains theoretical and methodical elements. Students should learn theories of planning, statistics, data processing and methods of description. These subjects should impart the basic theoretical and methodical knowledge which is necessary for the making of planning decisions. In addition students should develop methods of defining objectives and developing

strategies, as well as criteria to evaluate different alternatives and hypotheses and the ability to verify the logic and rationality of certain planning concepts and processes

Finally there are further essential elements of planning education. These are inputs from neighbouring sciences, such as sociology, economics, the history of town planning, planning law, politics and administration. On every level of planning, urban planning is confronted with statements and requirements that are based on these other disciplines. Additionally there are several optional subjects, like the planning of places of work, production and service, redevelopment in historic preservation areas, planning and construction in developing countries. Other optional subjects are offered. Study trips and practical experience, construction problems and techniques of repair are further important structural elements of the training.

### 3. THE CONTENTS OF EDUCATION

Compared to traditional studies of architecture, the introduction of study projects is a new qualitative element in the education of planners. These projects should be a focal part of the education. They should be oriented at practical problems, students should learn to combine different contents of the education in order to develop a concept. To work on a project should provide students with an orientation by their future job environment and the essential abilities of urban planner by inter-departmental and exemplary learning. In particular those are:

- the ability to combine overlapping aspects and factors of urban development to planning actions in order to give them proper importance in relation to each other;
- the ability to analyse situations and problems and to detect new problems in a reliable way;
- the ability to formulate approaches to solutions, working plans and processes;
- the ability to work with given circumstances and schedules;
- the ability to work out alternative concepts, to evaluate them, to present them and to defend them;
- the ability to work in a team or an organisation.

Contributions from other subjects should be related to the projects as far as possible. Students have to invest one third to one half of their total college time for the projects. Single projects (one student) are not welcome. Projects are divided in two stages. In the first stage projects are analytical, in the second they are conceptual. Projects can be proposed by both, lecturers and students. Every student can take part, they are no closed-shops. The project themes are presented on a "project market". The presentation of the interim and final project reports is public. Initial projects are usually proposed, structured and supervised by lecturers, advanced projects are more or less self-determined by the students. The students of one project normally have a room on their own, where they can collect plans,

newspapers, articles, books etc. and where they can meet and work on their subject as a team. The students have to work up two projects of two university terms and one project of one university term plus the time for the diploma of three months.

The relation between projects and lectures is sometimes not well-balanced and that causes several problems, related to timing and structure. Techniques to learn are different in their didactic. Whereas projects are oriented at practical problems, subjects have their own theoretical and abstract systematics, which are transversal to the work in a project. It is often difficult to use the lectures as an input for the project work, because topics and timing do not match exactly. A segmentation between projects and lectures and between different lectures themselves is the result. Projects are overcharged as an "integrative subject" for all different lectures. Although the importance of projects in the studies of planning is undisputed, improvements in co-ordination and harmonisation are discussed.

Sometimes it is criticised that planning education were "overcharged" (Krüger 1984:84 pp). The curriculum seems to be a mere addition of components of different courses: architecture, regional planning, sociology, geography etc.. Considering integration it leaves much to desire. The criticism is that it is left to the students to define the subjects of urban planning as a cross-section-task precisely. To the students who can furthermore set up priorities of their own choice within the scope of the heterogeneous offer.

#### 4. SOCIAL DEMAND

The prospects for the education of urban planners result not only from a critical self-reflection, but also they are determined by a social demand. Possible fields of activities are:

- local governments, esp. urban and district planning authorities;
- independent offices;
- planning departments in the building and housing sector;
- private and semi-public developing agencies;
- research departments.

When courses in urban planning were established job prospects seemed to be of great promise. Especially because many administrations established new authorities for urban (development) planning and cross-sectional tasks. During the early 80s it became more difficult for graduates to find a job (Brake et al.; 1978). Where permanent employment had been the rule at many institutions before, there were now short-term jobs, special projects, consulting jobs, employment schemes and free-lance jobs. This "grey area" served to some extent as a further qualification and practical experience and sometimes enabled students to find permanent jobs.

There was a tendency to prolong study times for several reasons. Almost all students have to work part-time to earn their living. Many students have a qualifying degree and use the study of planning to obtain further qualification, to avoid

unemployment or a loss of qualification. As a result of these different previous experiences students have different motivations to study. Highly-qualified students partly study planning to obtain additional certificates, second degrees, to work in research projects or to tide-over a waiting-period.

After a decrease in demand for planners in the mid 1980s, the demand has increased as a result of the German reunification in 1989. Planning agencies in the old German *Bundesländer* undertook contracts of cities and communities in the new *Bundesländer* because new building authorities like those authorities in former West-Germany had to be organised as soon as possible.

## 5. PRESENT SITUATION

The reunification resulted in a diversification and establishment of new fields of activities for urban planners, that could not be treated by traditional disciplines of planners, architects, sociologists and social workers. These traditional fields of activities were closed-shops for a long time, but today planners have the possibility to work self-determined. Today planners need specific knowledge for their work that differs from the contents of their traditional education. Modern education should contain different elements on various levels, such as:

- social planning;
- advising of self-help groups;
- help for self-help;
- the support of tenant groups;
- the training of craftsmen;
- the organisation of different structures of qualification.

The work of new institutions and intermediaries, the specialisation on new topics, the expansion of specific and traditional qualifications and the conglomeration of different practical jobs is often combined with democratic self-administration, the removal of labour division and comprehensive ideas about living, housing and working.

At the end of the reunification boom and the beginning of increasing poverty it can be recognised that strategic overall planning is losing its importance. Market-oriented planning models imported from the United States are used to manage different problems. Regulations that do not correspond with the free market system were brought into discredit. Strategic planning is replaced by management of crisis, short-term reactive activities and negotiation planning. Urban development and urban reconstruction is characterised by new organisational planning models like "public-private partnerships" and new supporters like developers of projects and investors. Planning methods, the use of sciences in planning and comprehensive management are "out", whereas co-operative administration, city management and just in time management are requested. According to the model of rationalisation in private economy, planning should, analogous to lean production, be reduced to lean planning.

Parallel to planning systems such as preliminary land use plans and binding urban development plans the differentiation of planning instruments and the development of a variety of new planning models have to be recognised. The administrative planning tools form a formal but important framework. Independent of this framework, some absolutely incompatible planning cultures exist. Planning culture can be defined as the comprehension of assignments, operational procedures, instruments, basic objectives and their mutual dependencies.

In this context the discussion about the importance of planning has been stimulated during the last years. In addition to the start of a democratisation in the planning process, structural problems in cities have stimulated the discussion about a planning culture. Social segregation, economic and social poverty are only a few phenomena of the increase in social inequalities, that result (city-spatial) in processes of reconstruction, differentiation and division. Parallel to calling into question planning as a public domain, tendencies to privatise public activities and new planning cultures, the old question has to be answered whether (spatial-oriented) urban development planning is able to meet (social) processes of polarisation or whether a lack of solidarity is forced because of economic and fiscal circumstances and influences.

## 6. CONCLUSION

New planning cultures vary according to their executors and the problems that are discussed (Brecht; 1993). Round tables, public forums, planning councils, building exhibitions and planning advisory boards are only a few examples for the variety of new planning cultures. With the help of mediation methods, new ways of co-operation should be tested. Intermediaries should play the role of negotiators; another topic is planning by projects; incrementalism should be changed into perspective incrementalism (Keller, Koch, Selle, 1993). To avoid conflicts that arise in traditional regulation, intermediary institutions should negotiate between urban development planners. They should develop more perspective solutions. In doing this, processes with unknown outcome have to be formed. "Fixed objectives should be replaced by a co-operative development of objectives and projects" (Selle, 1994; 13).

Today different planning cultures and methods seem to be heterogeneous and disconnected. In contrast to "day to day" planning, where business as usual has to be organised, planners enthusiastically develop planning and participation models for single projects. It is more difficult and complex to develop a co-operation and a planning culture for a whole city than for quarters and neighbourhoods. Several local administrations have realised the deficits in legal participation and are looking for more efficient methods. First steps of innovation in planning culture have been initiated "top down" as well as "bottom up". Local administrations accept open co-operation models that able them to identify conflicts very early and to avoid (expensive) mis-planning.

At the same time problems and planning tasks have shifted, therefore planning subjects have to be discussed again. The possibilities for communal management and self-determination seem to be decreasing, but cities have to solve new problems. Financial crisis, economic structural change, poverty development and social focal points are only a few topics of this challenge. Increasingly there are inner-city splitting processes distinguished by small scale heterogenization. Exaggerating, Haesusermann and Siebel (1987) talked about "cities split in three parts". Those split cities were characterised by the first city with supra-regional functions, glamour and highlights, the second city as a normal city for working, living and supply, the third city with residential areas for fringe groups, outcasts, unemployed and the poor.

According to Jürgen Habermas the seeming lack of structure mainly of metropolitan phenomena and partly paradox developments - such as the growth of poverty within wealth - were shortly and precisely paraphrased with the term "new complexity". Though Habermas formulated his statements to describe lacking political prospects, this metaphor gives a handy definition of non-simultaneities, co-existing social surroundings, urban life-styles and informal networks, the phenomena of modernisation and seeming backwardness which need to be corrected. This seeming complexity should not only be conceived with resignation. The powerlessness of urban planners should not simply be declared. On the contrary the point is to search for structures and inherent laws of those phenomena and to hunt for explanations and theoretical approaches that enables us to define the value of urban development planning more accurately. Escaping to artistic cities urban planning and pragmatism, putting the blame on politics and economics and the strategy of sticking one's head in the sand won't lead any further. Especially universities are challenged to impart orientation.

The only way to learn about the outlined new demands and activities is by studying in projects. Traditional lectures that are guided by the systematics of the subjects do not impart those abilities. Projects should enable students to work in groups, on problems and processes focused on real life. Especially the different disciplines should be combined to approaches to solutions in the students minds. Consequently there is no alternative to the study in projects. Students evaluate the position and importance of projects positively (Bose et. al. 1991, 10).

Considering the variety and heterogeneity of the outlined fields of activity, it seems impossible to transfer the demands for qualification into the contents and methods of education. A strong and one-sided specialisation narrows the professional prospects. The universities will deprive themselves of the ability to give an impetus to the practice or to have a corrective effect on practice. The dispute in the 1960s and 1970s, generalist versus specialist, is overcome. But in regard to the sketched changes a new discussion about the description of the profession is absolutely necessary.



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## STUDIENPLÄNE UND STUDIENNACHWEISE

BEISPIELHAFTER STUNDENPLAN FÜR DAS HAUPTSTUDIUM  
STÄDTEBAU / STADTPLANUNG

	5. Sem. WS	6. Sem. SS	7. Sem. WS	8. Sem. SS	9. Sem. WS	Dipl. Sem. SS	
2	1. Projekt		2. Projekt		3. Projekt	Diplomarbeit	2
4							4
6	Städtebaulicher Entwurf		Städtebaulicher Entwurf				6
8	Grundlagen des Städtebaus/ der Stadtplanung	Grundlagen des Städtebaus/ der Stadtplanung	Stadtbaugeschichte	Stadtbaugeschichte			8
10	Städtebauliche Gebäudelehre	Städtebauliche Gebäudelehre	Planungsrecht	Planungstheorie/ Planungsmodelle			10
12	Stadttechnik und Verkehrsplanung		Ökologie, Umweltschutz und Freiraumplanung		Wahlfach		12
14	Sozialwissenschaften		Sozialwissenschaften				14
16	Politik und Verwaltung	Siedlungsentwicklg., Regional- u. Landesplg.	Wohnungswesen, Wohnverhältnisse	Wohnungswesen, Wohnverhältnisse	Wahlfach		16
18	Wirtschaftswissenschaften	Wirtschaftswissenschaften	Wahlfach	Wahlfach			18
20	Methoden der Darstellung	Statistik, Empirie, EDV	Wahlfach		Wahlfach		20
22							22

IV.1 Esquema del plan de estudios de la Carrera superior en urbanismo y planeamiento (desde *Informationen zum Studium Städtebau-Stadtplanung*, guía a los estudios de urbanismo planeamiento, de la *Technische Universität* de Hamburgo-Harburg).

## Resumen del artículo de Dirk Schubert

FORMACIÓN, OCUPACIÓN Y OPORTUNIDAD DE EMPLEO  
DE LOS URBANISTAS EN ALEMANIA

*La ponencia tiene dos argumentos centrales: la descripción de la actual estructura del segundo ciclo de estudios de la carrera en Urbanística y Planeamiento, Hauptstudium Städtebau/Stadtplanung, en el ejemplo de la Universidad técnica de Hamburgo-Harburg, y un cuadro de los actuales problemas estructurales que sufren las ciudades alemanas, con algunos rasgos comunes con los otros países europeos y con otros específicos: las exigencias derivadas del proceso de la reunificación nacional y la demanda política de un nuevo tipo de planeamiento, junto al rechazo y a la dificultad de la disciplina para adaptarse a estos cambios.*

*El profesor Dirk Schubert desarrolla estos temas refiriéndose a los problemas centrales de la disciplina urbanística alemana y europea, como marco de las consideraciones apoyadas sobre la afirmación de la actualidad de la cultura urbanística espacial, la consideración del valor del proyecto como centro de su metodología educacional y profesional, junto con la confirmación de la validez del planeamiento como medio para la compensación y la democratización social.*

*Empieza con una rápida reconstrucción del desarrollo histórico de la identidad disciplinar, académica y profesional de la urbanística en Alemania, hasta llegar a la reciente afirmación de su autonomía. El urbanismo ha sido materia opcional en las carreras de arquitectos e ingenieros civiles, y, en los años veinte, una especialización dentro de éstas. Sólo al final de los años sesenta se superaron los prejuicios hacia el planeamiento, considerado colectivista y dictatorial, por la confianza en su utilidad para proveer las estructuras espaciales de apoyo a los cambios planteados según la política económica de inspiración keynesiana, lo que apoyó el nacimiento de cursos de grado y postgrado en Urbanística y Planeamiento, concretados en los años setenta, y que han ido evolucionando hasta la estructura presente.*

*Las carreras en Alemania no están estandarizadas y el plan de estudios es personal. La repartición de la estructura de los estudios en dos secciones es general. La primera es de aprendizaje básico, con carácter sistemático, y es llamada Vordiplom, según el nombre del título logrado a su cumplimiento; su valor es simplemente el acceso al ciclo sucesivo. La graduación en un politécnico tiene una equivalencia con este nivel de titulación, pero que difiere en cada caso. La segunda sección, Hauptstudium, es de tres años, con asignaturas, de corte teórico y metodológico y carácter problemático, y da acceso a la graduación.*

*El plan de estudios de esta segunda sección -ver la ilustración- es abierto, con una cuota de asignaturas optativas, Wahlfach, creciente cada año y, según el profesor Schubert, su elemento central es la asignatura de Projekt, study proyect en inglés. Ésta se diferencia de la asignatura tradicional de las escuelas de arquitectura porque está enfocada como ejercicio sobre problemas prácticos construidos a través de una fase analítica y de una conceptual, y con una componente teórica caracterizada por la conjunción de distintas disciplinas a lo largo de todo el trabajo. Su papel es, por un lado, la orientación sobre la complejidad y dificultad del proceso del proyecto, la necesidad de organización y el futuro entorno de trabajo; y por otro el ejercicio sobre las correspondientes necesidades de acercamiento multidisciplinar, la necesidad de organización conceptual y la obligación del trabajo en equipo.*

*El estudiante tiene un gran margen de responsabilidad en la elección del "tema" de proyecto, con un profesor titular de coordinador de cada uno, aunque no siempre se consiga un seguimiento constante. Pero el problema subrayado es la sobrecarga del plan de estudios con asignaturas sin integración y sin una organización por prioridades.*

*El otro argumento sobresaliente del artículo está en el diagnóstico de los problemas que pesan sobre la enseñanza actual de la urbanística. Subraya algunos problemas individuales: el alargarse de la carrera real, el empleo a tiempo parcial de un número creciente de estudiantes (sea para autofinanciarse los estudios -un rasgo típico del perfil del estudiante del norte de Europa que marca una importante diferencia respecto a españoles o italianos- o porque esta titulación es considerada una ulterior especialización después de la graduación). Además, la oferta de empleo es, cada vez más a menudo, de tipo temporal. Pero el profesor Schubert se centra especialmente en cuestiones más generales, como los problemas económicos, sociales, físicos y administrativos de las ciudades -interesante la referencia a la interpretación tripartita de la ciudad hecha por Häusermann y Siebel- que en sus rasgos generales son comunes a las tendencias de otros países europeos, pero con la particularidad del impacto de los procesos consecuentes a la reunificación alemana.*

*Después del "boom" y de la crisis sucesiva, la situación actual presenta un fenómeno general de diferenciación de los instrumentos: nuevas culturas urbanísticas en formación que consideran la necesidad de trabajar con objetivos dependientes de la perspectiva y de ofrecer soluciones alternativas -en armonía con el desarrollo de modelos abiertos de participación y cooperación-, de detectar tempranamente los conflictos para evitar tener que parar y luego repetir el costoso trabajo de redacción del planeamiento, han cuestionado también su naturaleza como actividad exclusivamente pública. El profesor Schubert se pregunta entonces sobre la capacidad del planeamiento -fundada en la visión espacial- de enfrentarse a procesos de polarización cuyo origen es el estado de las relaciones sociales y económicas; y si la falta de solidaridad no será una consecuencia obligada de los actuales planteamientos políticos en materia fiscal y económica, producidos por la debilidad de referencias ideológicas desarrolladas en el presente.*

*Las críticas al refugio en el planeamiento de las ciudades patrimonio artístico, en el pragmatismo o en la descarga de las responsabilidades sobre los políticos y economistas, son interpretadas como renuncias al papel activo propio de la urbanística. Otra cómoda y brillante coartada intelectual -que oculta una actitud de resignación e impotencia- es, por*

*ejemplo, la instrumentalización, banal y fuera de su contexto, realizada sobre el pensamiento de Habermas. Etiquetadas como "Nueva complejidad", las paradojas del desarrollo presente, la no simultaneidad, la coexistencia de ámbitos sociales, estilos de vida y redes informales, los fenómenos de modernización y aparente atraso, pueden susistir sin más explicaciones y sin comprometer a la intervención quien las observe. La reacción a estas actitudes es necesaria, y el papel de las universidades es fundamental en la reflexión sobre el ejercicio de la profesión del urbanista, evitando caer, concluye el profesor Schubert, en el antiguo y superado debate entre generalistas y especialistas.*