Remaking Chinese Planning as a Profession:
Growing Demand and Challenges

Kuang-ting Huang

A dissertation

submitted in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

University of Washington

2012

Daniel B Abramson, Chair

Jeffrey Hou, Chair

Kam Wing Chan

Susan H. Whiting

Program Authorized to Offer Degree:
College of Built Environments

University of Washington

Abstract

Remaking Chinese Planning as a Profession:
Growing Demand and Challenges

Kuang-ting Huang

Chair of the Supervisory Committee:

Associate Professor Daniel B. Abramson
Department of Urban Design and Planning

Associate Professor Jeffrey Hou
Department of Landscape Architecture

Since China initiated its pro-market reform in 1978, the way Chinese cities are governed has undergone a profound change. Central to such change is the fundamental revival of urban land as economic assets, because of which making plans for future land use has become an increasingly important government function and therefore the practice of urban planning (*chengshi guihua*) has begun to expand and take shape as a profession. However, with the expansion and professionalization of Chinese planning, there is also a growing criticism against the way urban planning has been developed into a development- and profit-driven profession. This dissertation thus aims to examine the evolutionary process of Chinese planning, through which the key factors causing such contradictory development are identified: First, since the 1994 tax sharing reform, the government at the local level has been put under intense pressure to increase its reliance on land transfer revenue and pursue land development. Increasingly, the role of urban planning has been limited to serving as a tool to facilitate the process, leaving other concerns largely unaddressed. Second, with the production of urban planning now becoming a marketized activity, not only has the practice of Chinese planners become profit-driven, but more importantly, the increasing market competition has also impelled them to act in conformity with their clients' interests, even in opposition to the interests of the general public. Third, the professional development of Chinese planning, from accreditation to licensing, is

mainly under the control of the government. Although Chinese planners are allowed to connect with each other through the two long-existing professional associations – China Association of City Planning and Urban Planning Society of China, neither of them have been shouldered with actual responsibilities in overseeing and regulating the behaviors of their members. Based on the factors identified above, there is an urgent need for Chinese planners to advocate for an effective governing representation, only through which the profession can enforce strict adherence to self-regulation, better harness its increasingly marketized practice, and promote its further growth and professional development.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1 Introduction: Overview of Dissertation

1.1 Background and Research Focus

Since China initiated its pro-market reform in 1978, the way Chinese cities are governed has undergone a profound change. Central to such change is the fundamental revival of urban land as economic assets, because of which making plans for future land use has become an increasingly important government issue and therefore the practice of urban planning (*chengshi guihua*) has recovered after years of abandonment and further developed into a distinct profession of its own.[1] This dissertation thus aims to examine the professionalization of Chinese planning. On the one hand, the purpose is to study the evolving role of urban planning in facing the changing nature of land use; on the other, because the development of urban planning as a profession only occurred with the decline of China's planned economy, the examination also presents a unique opportunity to rethink the relationship between government and market, especially through uncovering the driving forces behind the transformative practice of planning.

1.2 Research Questions and Objectives

The professionalization of urban planning in China can be traced back to the early 1980s: In 1985, Urban Planning Society of China (*Zhongguo Chengshi Guihua Xuehui*) was formed as the first representative organization to promote academic development of the field;[2] in 1989, the first national-level legislation on urban planning – Urban Planning Act (*Chengshi Guihua Fa*) was enacted; in 1993, Ministry of Construction established a four-grade registration system for planning institutes to

[1] The term "urban planning" or "planning" throughout this dissertation is used in its broadest sense, referring to the Chinese term "*chengshi guihua*." Here it can be defined as all planning activities concerned with the entire urbanized area and rural hinterland of broad metropolitan regions. Other terms that may share similar definition include "city planning," "regional planning," and "town planning."

[2] Although the establishment of Urban Planning Society of China can be traced back to 1956 as a sub-committee of Architectural Society of China (*Zhongguo Jianzhu Xuehui*), it was in 1985 that it began to present itself as an independent academic society.

set forth the minimum requirements for professional practice;[3] in 1994, China Association of City Planning (*Zhongguo Chengshi Guihua Xiehui*) was founded to foster professional development of Chinese planning; in 1998, accreditation for planning education was initiated under the charge of Ministry of Construction; and in 2000, the first licensing exam for urban planners was held to further control the entry to the field (detailed in Table 1.1).

Table 1.1 Institutional Establishment of Urban Planning Profession (National Level)

Year	Institutional Establishment	Governed / Enacted by
1956	establishment of Academic Committee of Urban Planning	Architectural Society of China
1985	establishment of Urban Planning Society of China (in place of Academic Committee of Urban Planning)	China Association for Science and Technology
1989	enactment of Urban Planning Act	Ministry of Construction
1993	initiation of official registration for planning practicing institutes	Department of Urban Planning, Ministry of Construction
1994	establishment of China Association of City Planning	Ministry of Construction
1997	establishment of Advisory Committee on Planning Education	Department of Personnel, Ministry of Construction
1998	initiation of accreditation for planning education	Department of Personnel, Ministry of Construction
2000	initiation of professional licensing for urban planners	Department of Urban Planning, Ministry of Construction

Notes: (1) Urban Planning Act was replaced by Urban-Rural Planning Act in 2007.
(2) Ministry of Construction was renamed as Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2008.
Source: Compiled by author.

[3] According to the Regulation for Governing Urban Planning Institutes of 1992 (*Chengshi Guihua Sheji Danwei Zige Guanli Banfa*), all planning institutes are classified into four grades (further simplified into three in 2001) in accordance to their staff qualifications, working experience, and resources. Planning institutes of Grade A are allowed to undertake all levels of planning projects throughout the country, while institutes of other grades are subject to more restrictions and only allowed to practice at the local level.

In fact, the professionalization of Chinese planning in the past three decades has not only made significant progress in terms of institutional establishment; but, more importantly, in a quantitative sense, the profession has also experienced a major change. As the following Figure 1.1 demonstrates, the number of degree-granting programs since the early 1990s has begun to grow at a steady pace, from less than 20 twenty years ago to almost 180 at the present; while during the same period of time, the number of practicing institutes in urban planning has also witnessed a similar expansion, from 76 in 1995 to 240 in 2011 (see Figure 1.2).[4] Indeed, Chinese planning is currently in a state of rapid expansion; but, what has been usually neglected behind the seeming prosperity of the profession is the fact that since the late 1990s there has also been a growing criticism against its loss of legitimate goal – that is, to serve the city and its people in

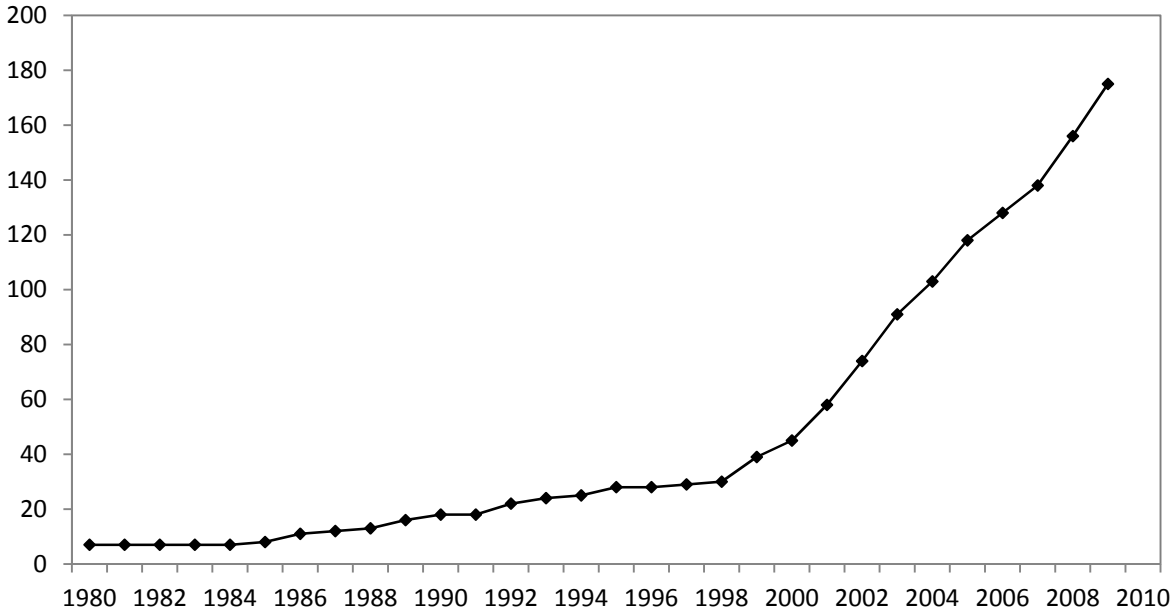

Figure 1.1 Number of Degree-Granting Programs in Urban Planning, 1980-2009
Source: PRC Ministry of Education, Department of Higher Education.

[4] Here I only take Grade A planning institute as a representative sample, because this level of registration is administered by the government at the central level and therefore the data is readily accessible and reliable.

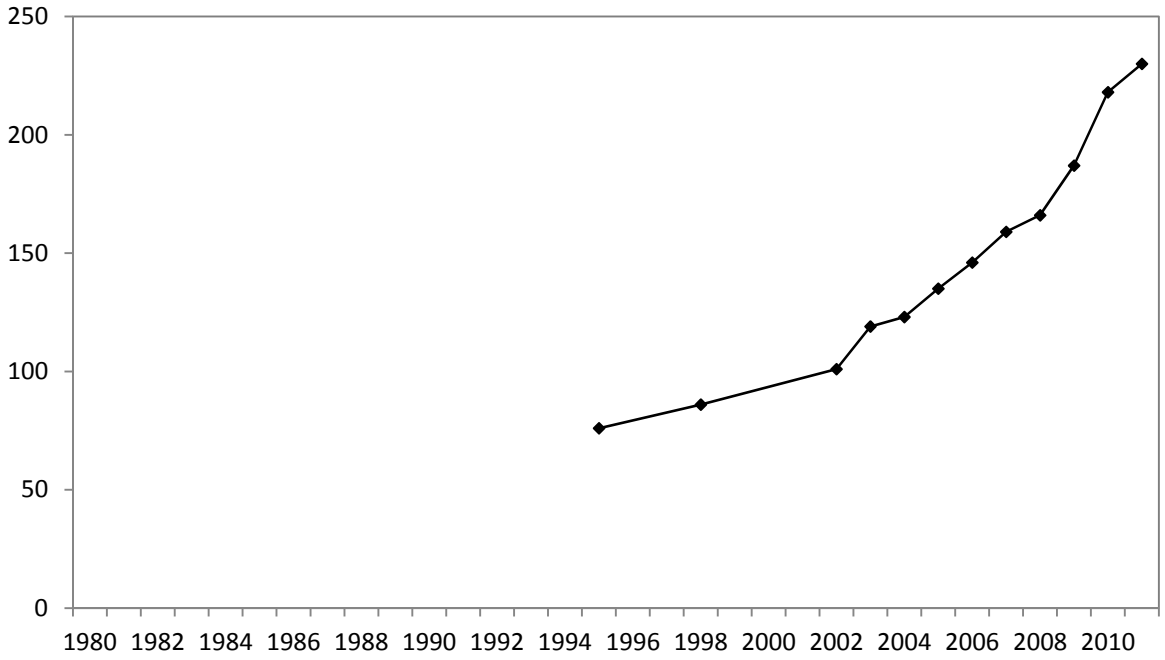

Figure 1.2 Number of Registered Planning Institutes (Grade A), 1995-2011
Note: Data for the periods 1996-97 and 1999-2001 are not reported.
Source: Compiled by author using data from Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (former as Ministry of Construction).

improving their living environments: In 1996, the State Council issued a special notification to warn against the rising ineffectiveness of urban planning in land use management:

> Since the enactment of Urban Planning Act, although urban planning has made significant progress in terms of institutionalization, some local governments do not obey the law but often use urban planning to facilitate all forms of illegal development, further undermining the effectiveness of urban planning and causing the waste of valuable land resources (State Council 1996).

Despite the warning from the State Council, this issue has not received further attention until the news media began to report on specific cases in details since the early 2000s. Specifically, a journalist of Xinhua News Agency Wang Jun in 2004 published a widely publicized commentary titled "The Secret of Land Enclosure behind the Revision of Urban Planning (*Chengshi Guihua Xiubian de Quandi Xuanji*)" on the Outlook Weekly

(*Liaowang Zhoukan*).[5] By quoting extensively from the former vice-director of Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design Dong Guangqi and the former Vice-Minister of Construction Zhou Ganzhi, both of whom have extensive experience serving as planning review board members, the commentary uncovered how urban planning is widely used as a tool to illegally "enclose" a large amount of farmland for accommodating an unsustainable expansion of urban construction (Wang 2004: 8).[6] Soon after the commentary was published, major portal websites (e.g. sina.com.cn) began to headline Wang's story and immediately drew serious attention from the central authorities. Driven by such pressure from the media, Ministry of Construction in early 2005 issued a decree called "Notice regarding the Strengthening the Revision, Review and Approval of Urban Master Plan (*Jianshe Bu guanyu Jiaqiang Chengshi Zongti Guihua Xiubian he Shenpi Gongzuo de Tongzhi*)" and called for immediate suspension of all pending review and approval on urban master plans (*zongti guihua*).[7] Roughly in the same time, Ministry of Land and Resources also published a notice on China Land and Resources News (*Zhongguo Guotu Ziyuan Bao*) called "High Alert against the Excessive Land Use in Urban Planning (*Gaodu Jingti Chengshi Guihua Pengzhang*)" to express its cautionary attitude towards the distortive effects of local government on planning practice:

[5] Established in 1981 under Xinhua News Agency, Outlook Weekly (*Liaowang Zhoukan*) is not only the first weekly publication in China focusing on politics and business news; given its national coverage, circulation and privileged connection to senior Communist Party officials, it is also considered as the most influential news weekly.

[6] Here the term "enclosure (*quandi*)" is commonly used in the media and scholarship to recall the infamous "enclosure of the commons," which in classic Marxist teaching was a part of class conflict that eventually eliminated the English peasantry and saw the emergence of the bourgeoisie.

[7] Urban master plan (*zongti guihua*, or translated as comprehensive plan) is a statutory type of urban planning, aimed to provide a strategic structure of urban land use for a time span of twenty years. Every ten year, all master plans would need to be revised. *Wang Jun*'s story was actually published at a time when most cities just submitted their revised master plans for review and approval. Details regarding the preparation and implementation of master plan, and its relations to other types of urban planning will be discussed in the following section.

> As revealed by the news media, some local governments are taking the opportunity of formulating urban master plan to illegally enclose an excessive amount of farm land for construction. This has not only caused widespread public concern; but the State Council has also made it clear that now there is an urgent need to enforce a more strict and effective guidance for the practice of urban planning (Ministry of Land and Resources 2005).

Increasingly, the issue about local government distortion in planning practice has not only become an important concern of central government and a common headline in the news media; but, more importantly, there is also a growing interest among Chinese journalists to further take a critical eye on the professionalization of urban planning. For example, three journalists of Southern Metropolis Daily (*Nanfang Dushi Bao*) in 2011 published a continuous series of commentaries under the title of "*Chengshi Guihua Yaocong Liyi Jiuchan Chongxin Huigui Gonggong Shuxing* (Urban Planning Should Shift Its Focus Back to Public Interest)," emphasizing the marketization of urban planning as the primary factor causing Chinese planners' common lack of commitment to public interest (Southern Metropolis Daily Editorial 2011: A02);[8] while more recently, there are a growing number of news articles published to criticize the widespread profit-driven practice of Chinese planners (e.g. Southern Metropolis Daily Editorial 2012: A14; Southern Weekly 2012: 16).

Just as the chief planner of China Academy of Urban Planning and Design Zhang Bing pointed out, it was since the late 1990s that Chinese planning has begun to receive a growing criticism, focusing on its fundamental loss of legitimate goal (Zhang 2005: 21). While during an interview for this study, two planning professors also commented that

[8] As a daily newspaper distributed mainly in the Pearl River Delta area, Southern Metropolis Daily is known for investigative journalism and provocative commentary.

"although the demand for planning service is now on an unprecedented rise and therefore urban planner has become a very popular occupation choice, it does not mean that urban planning has been developed into a well-respected profession. On the contrary, Chinese planners are often subject to government distortion and criticized for becoming too profit-driven to fulfill what the general public expects (Informant 63 and 64)." Thus, the key questions that deserve research attention are: why, at a time when Chinese planning is quickly developing into a profession, is there a growing and persistent criticism against the way it is practiced? And, more specifically, what implications does the critical view of Chinese planning carry for its ongoing professionalization? By focusing on these two questions, this dissertation aims to study this seemingly contradictory trend now emerging in Chinese planning and in the rest part of this chapter, a detailed explanation of the research project is presented, including: methodology, significance of research and outlines of chapters.

1.3 Methodology and Information Resources

To examine the two research questions posed above, this dissertation applies both primary and secondary sources of data. For the latter, two distinct strands of literature are of particular significance: The first includes a selected list of journals, conference proceedings, books, and news articles published in Chinese language.[9] Although not much of it has been devoted to studying the professional development of Chinese planning, this is still a good source of information since most of it is written by planners themselves and therefore contains a lot of valuable insights (Ding 2005; Ruan 2001; Shen and Wu

[9] In particular, this dissertation heavily relies on three particularly important Chinese journals in urban planning, including City Planning Review (*Chengshi Guihua*) by Urban Planning Society of China (*Zhongguo Chengshi Guihua Xuehui*), Urban Planning Forum (*Chengshi Guihua Xuekan*) by Tongji University, and Planners (*Guihuashi*) by China Association of City Planning (*Zhongguo Chengshi Guihua Xiehui*).

2006; Wei 2005). The second source of literature used in this dissertation is from a small group of scholars and observers based outside mainland China (e.g. Abramson 2006, 2007, 2011; Buck 1984; Campanella 2008; Friedmann 2004; Leaf 1998; Leaf and Hou 2006; Ma 1979; Ng and Wu 1995; Tang 2000; Wu 2007; Xie and Costa 1993; Yeh and Wu 1999). In contrast with the previous one, this relatively small body of scholarship, by nature, contains an international comparative perspective and therefore most of it is interested in examining the unique historical and political context in which Chinese planning is practiced. In particular, some of the recently published articles by Daniel Abramson, Fulong Wu, Michael Leaf, and Li Hou have also paid attention to the drastic change that is now occurring in the professional field of urban planning. Although their research does not aim to study how planning has been evolving as a profession, they make valuable contribution to identifying the emerging challenges faced by Chinese planning. And, indeed, their works are an importance source of inspiration for this research project.

For the first-hand source of information employed in this dissertation, most of it is collected through in-depth interviewing with planning practitioners, educators and students. In particular, the design of interview is mainly based on suggestions given by a group of planning professors and students during my pilot study in the summer of 2008: First, as Figure 1.1 demonstrates, because there was only a limited number of planning schools in the 1990s, these schools are not only the most established providers of professional training in the field; more importantly, they have been also playing an very important role in the development of Chinese planning profession and therefore should be the preferred site for conducting fieldwork (Informant 1 and 3). Second, although the majority of existing planning schools in China originated from the field of architecture, it

should be important not to overlook those programs that are derived from other academic fields, such as geography, landscape architecture, and civil engineering. Planners with different academic backgrounds tend to have different approaches to planning. Third, planners practicing in different professional settings are usually involved in very different planning tasks. Specifically between planning production mainly in the private sector and planning administration in the public sector, Chinese planners have been increasingly separated into two distinct groups, playing very different roles in planning process.

Following the suggestions identified above, three locales are selected for intensive field study, including Nanjing, Shanghai, and Beijing. On the one hand, this is because these three cities are not only where those most highly-regarded planning schools (e.g.

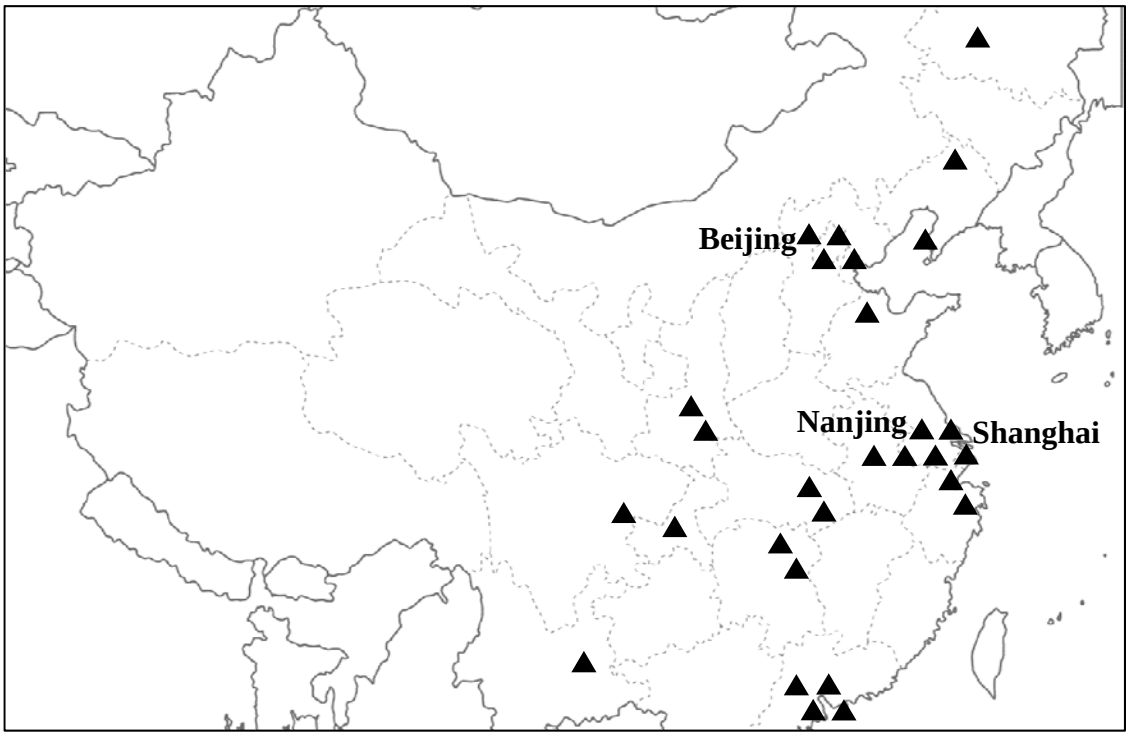

Figure 1.3 Distribution of Accredited Planning Schools, 2011
Note: There are now 29 planning schools in total that have received accreditation.
Source: Compiled by author using data from the result of 2011 accreditation published by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development (http://edu.mohurd.gov.cn/).

universities of Tongji, Tsinghua, Southeast, and Nanjing) are located; as the most populated and developed cities in mainland China, they are also where the full range of professional planning activities are concentrated. On the other, in consideration of travel distance and related costs, because Nanjing and Shanghai are relatively closer to each other, these two cities are further given special focus during my field study. In specific, Tongji University in Shanghai has been long considered as the leading educational institution in the field, while Southeast University and Nanjing University in Nanjing are also among the first ten planning schools, which have passed the ACUPE accreditation.[10] Meanwhile, because of their national reputation, graduate students of these planning schools are usually selected from a nationwide pool of applicants and therefore good representative samples of other planning schools. In sum, the site selection for this study, as Figure 1.3 shows, tends to favor the southern Jiangsu region, where there is a higher concentration of accredited planning schools. And, as a result, this study involved face-to-face interviews with 112 different levels of planning educators, professionals and students. Their professional statuses and affiliated institutions are specified in the following Figure 1.4, Table 1.2 and Appendix I.

[10] The first ten planning schools that have passed accreditation (either at graduate or undergraduate level) include: Tsinghua University, Southeast University, Tongji University, Chongqing University, Harbin Institute of Technology, Tianjin University, Xian University of Architecture and Technology, Huazhong University of Science and Technology, Nanjing University, and South China University of Technology (Zhao, Zhao, and Mao 2010: 54).

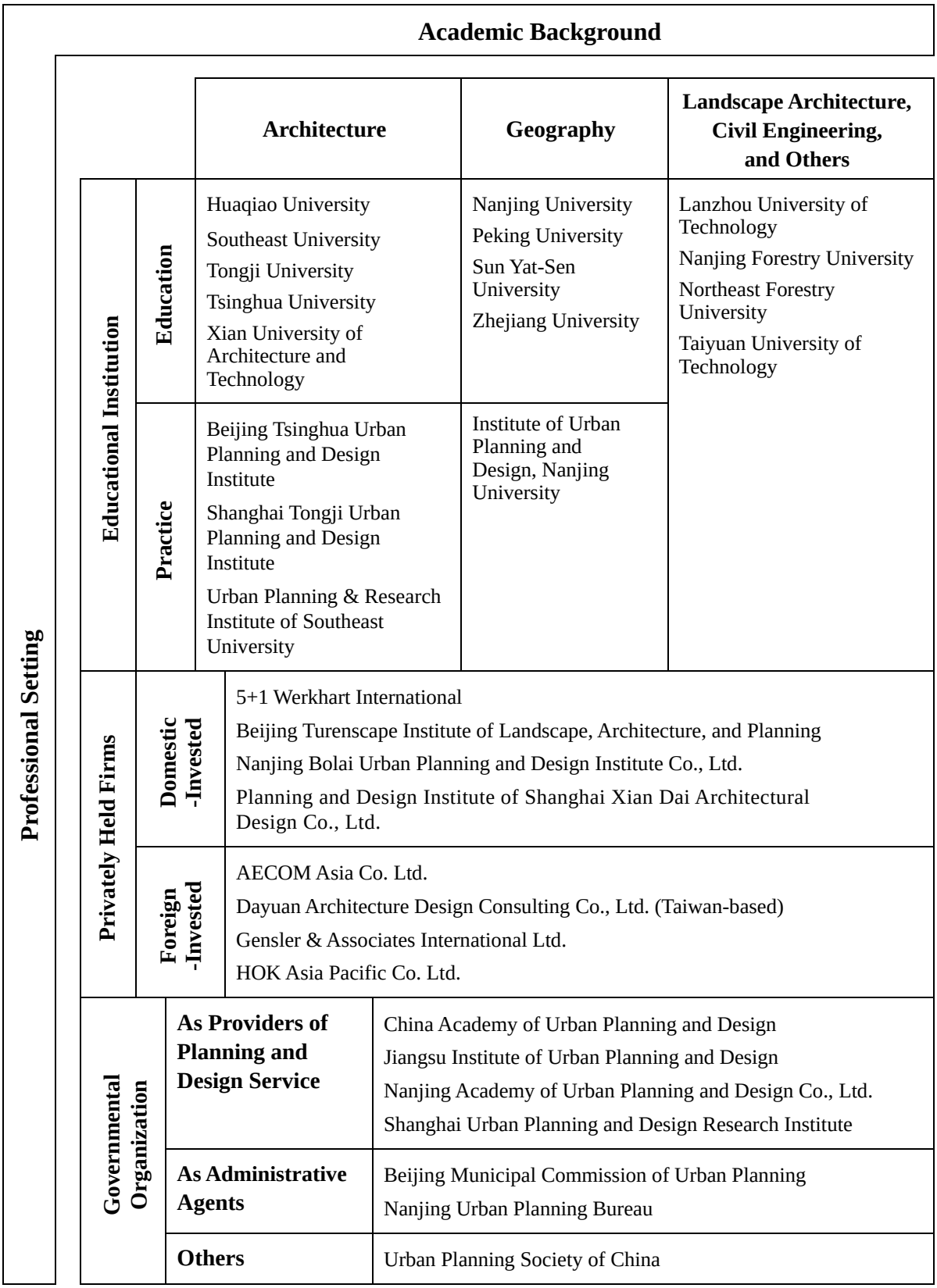

Figure 1.4 Affiliated Institutions of Participating Interviewees

Table 1.2 Professional Statuses of Participating Interviewees

Position		Number
Faculty Members most of them are practicing planners as well	Professor	**19**
	Associate Professor	**15**
	Lecturer	**11**
Urban Planners	Project Planner and Designer	**20**
	Project Administrator (Official)	**3**
Students Currently Enrolled most of them are involved in project-based practice	Ph.D. Student	**13**
	Graduate Student	**11**
	Undergraduate Student	**18**
Others	Journalist, Public Official	**2**
Total		**112**

1.4 Significance of the Research

With the practice of urban planning necessarily concerned with the change of urban environment, the development of Chinese planning, despite being a relatively unexplored area of research, provides a fertile ground for studying the ongoing rapid transformation of Chinese cities from an institutional perspective. Especially because since the late 1990s, as summarized earlier, there has been a growing criticism against the loss of Chinese planning's legitimate role in improving the living environment of the city and its people, studying how urban planning is defined, organized and actually practiced to affect the development of Chinese cities has become an increasingly urgent task. Specifically with regard to the issues that have already caused serious concern, such as the distortive effects of local government and the prevalence of unregulated profit-driven practice, here the key point that needs to be stressed is that although Chinese planning in the past three decades has undergone considerable expansion and professionalization, it has not evolved to

enhance its guiding role in the process of urban development. Thus, this dissertation aims to contribute to a broad reflection on the evolution of Chinese planning profession. By focusing on the emerging controversy between its recent growth and simultaneous loss of legitimacy, my primary intention is to highlight the fundamental inadequacies of Chinese planning's increasing professionalization and to point out some of the emerging challenges through the process.

1.5 Dissertation Structure and Chapter Outlines

Under the central theme over the professionalization of Chinese planning, this dissertation will be organized into three major parts. As the following figure 1.6 demonstrates, the first part, as presented in Chapter Two, is to provide the theoretical foundation for this research project. By reviewing some of the most representative literature on the evolution of modern profession, mainly from Eliot Freidson, Magali Larson, and Andrew Abbott, a number of important issues about professionalization are discussed and further applied to examine the case of American planning. Then, the second part includes two interrelated chapters, each of which focuses on one aspect of the emerging criticisms against Chinese planning: government distortion and unregulated profit-driven practice. One the one hand, this two chapters are to explain how Chinese planning has been evolving to meet the growing service demand and now finding itself confronted with new challenges. On the other, these two criticisms focused here are also examined with regard to its relation to professionalization. Finally, to answer the second question posed earlier about the implications of the critical view on Chinese planning, the last part of this research project examines one particularly important aspect of professionalization – standardization of knowledge, and discusses its influence on the

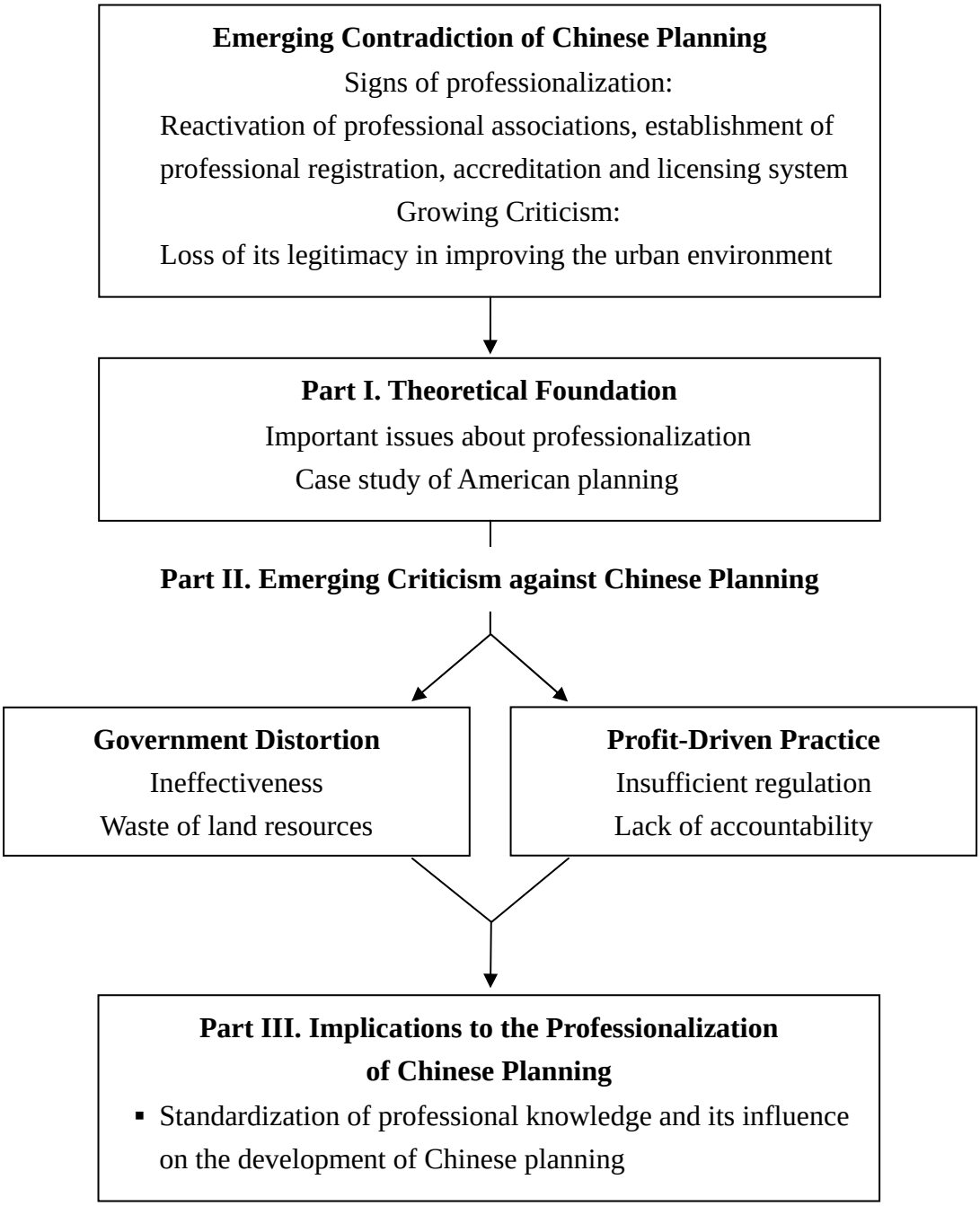

Figure 1.6 Structure of the Dissertation

development of the profession. Specifically, the initiation of educational accreditation in 1998 is emphasized as the key factor that is confining Chinese planners to focusing on technical matters and therefore undermining their capability to respond to the criticisms discussed above.

Chapter 2 Professionalization of Planning: A Comparative Perspective

This chapter is intended to provide a theoretical background for studying the development of Chinese planning profession. By reviewing the existing literature on professionalization, Section 2.1 summarizes major issues that commonly arise in the evolutionary process of profession and are central to the argument of this research project as a whole. Section 2.2 focuses on the case of American planning and examine its development as a profession especially with regard to the issues identified in the professionalization literature, based on which the research questions posed in the previous chapter are refined to obtain a comparative perspective on the Chinese case.

2.1 Conceptual Evolution of Profession and Professionalization

Since its inception in the early twentieth century, research on profession and professionalization has been focused on the classification of occupational groups as either professions or non-professions. Starting from Carr-Saunders's classic study on the definition of distinguishing characteristics of modern professions, there was considerable research effort on this so-called "trait" approach to distinguish profession from occupation (Carr-Saunders and Wilson 1933).[11] Regarding what constitutes an adequate or useful definition of professions, however, no consensus has ever been ever reached. For example, Geoffrey Millerson, based on a careful review of existing published works by twenty-one authors, listed more than twenty three elements that have been included in various definitions of profession. No single item was accepted by every author as a necessary characteristic of a profession, and neither were any two authors in agreement about which

[11] Since the 1930s, many sociologists applied this trait approach to examine occupations such as social work, teaching, nursing and librarianship, so as to determine the degree to which these occupations could be considered as "true" professions.

combination of elements could be taken as defining a profession (Millerson 1964: 4). Even so, Millerson identified six characteristics that were most frequently studied at that time and, as Robert Runte further traces their recent presence in the sociological textbook, many of them are still commonly used to define a profession even until today: skill based on theoretical knowledge; provision of training and education; competency testing of members; formal organization; adherence to a code of conduct; and altruistic service (Runte 1995).

Built on the base of this trait approach, sociologists since the 1950s began to adopt a structural-functional approach as to explain the relationship between the various traits (e.g. Caplow 1954; Goode 1957; Habenstein 1963). They argued, for example, that the traits of "education" and "competency testing" follow logically from the trait of "theoretical knowledge," while the other traits – "code of conduct," "altruistic service," and "formal organization," are developed to restrain professionals from taking unfair advantage of their specialized knowledge. In other words, here the monopoly over a body of theoretical knowledge was emphasized as the most fundamental trait among all that characterize a profession, and, gradually, the focus of research on profession since then, as Everett Hughes suggested, had shifted from "is this occupation a profession" to "what are the circumstances in which people in an occupation attempt to turn it into a profession, and themselves into professional people" (Hughes 1971: 340). In 1970, Eliot Freidson published a ground breaking study of medical profession and elaborated how professionals attempt to establish "exclusive control over the exercise of a particular skill and captured exclusive right of access to goods and services the layman is likely to feel he needs" (Freidson 1970: 117). By centering on the analysis of practitioner-client relationship,

Terence Johnson in his seminal work Professions and Power also noted that professional "producers" often justify their domination over clients and occupational competitors by reference to esoteric knowledge, through which they are not only empowered to define first the needs of their "consumers" but also the ways in which those needs are to be met (Johnson 1972: 41). Seen from such a "monopolistic" perspective, professionalization had been no longer seen as a process to enhance professional expertise and altruistic values; rather, in Magali Larson's words, it is "an attempt to translate one order of scare resources into another: the possession of scarce knowledge and skill is, indeed, the principal basis on which modern professions claim social recognition and economic rewards" (Larson 1977: 136).

Until well into the 1980s, this critical view of professionalization had evolved to reach a new level of sophistication in Andrew Abbott's *The System of Professions*, in which the author by focusing on the relationship between knowledge and jurisdiction further pointed out that professionalization should not be understood as a simple linear development of individual occupation, since the jurisdiction of one profession necessarily pre-empts that of others and therefore the development of various professions must be seen as interdependent (Abbott 1988). In particular, Abbott made two claims: interprofessional competition for jurisdictional expansion is the central feature of the system of professions; and the competition is mainly conducted through the standardization of knowledge. Thus, modern universities, as the primary legitimators of professional knowledge and expertise, have become an important arena for these interdependent professions to compete with each other. For example, during the past century the professions of law and accounting have repeatedly clashed over who has the

jurisdiction of the work – work on taxes, estates, financial statement. The competition is particularly serious in what kinds of courses are offered in which academic departments, because these courses can shape the disposition of forces in the open markets beyond (Abbott 1988: 208). Similar competition can be observed in other professions. As Davina Allen adopted Abbott's analytic approach and examined the recent development of nursing education, since nursing's relocation into higher education institutes, intense interprofessional conflicts have arisen as educators struggle to keep control over a nursing curriculum derived from an eclectic mixture of social and biological sciences. Having worked so hard to establish epistemological demarcation from medicine, recent development in nursing academia may be understood as an attempt to safeguard nursing's control over its knowledge base in face of competing claims from other disciplines such as the social sciences (Allen 2001: 29). In this sense, professionalization is itself a process of competition, through which all professions and their jurisdictional domains have to be in a constant state of change.

In addition to jurisdiction, Elliot Freidson argued that another distinguishing feature of professionalization is autonomy – the relationship between a profession and the sovereign state. The premise is that, if professionals are to be held accountable for their decision, they must be allowed discretion and free from meticulous supervision and direction by others (Freidson 1986: 147). Specifically, Freidson emphasized that professional autonomy is not absolute: the state has the ultimate sovereignty over all and grants conditional autonomy to some. To understand such autonomy, one must understand how a profession is practiced and organized in relation to the government, especially on matters such as licensing, accreditation, ethical codes, and so on (Freidson 1988: 24). For

example, because the professional organization of medicine (American Medical Association) in the U.S. have been delegated many of the powers that the state elsewhere has reserved for itself, including licensing and prosecution of practitioners, physicians in the U.S. are not only free to practice with few formal constraints but often taken to be prototypical of professional freedom as such (Freidson 1988: 33).

In sum, the literature on profession and professionalization reflects a persistent preoccupation with the question of control. Either from an evolutionary perspective of one profession or from an interactive perspective of multiple professions, the process of professionalization has been seen as a desirable way for professionals to obtain an exclusive control over their specialized field. To further understand how this interpretation of profession may apply to the research subject of this dissertation – urban planning, the following section examines the case of American planning by focusing two interrelated topics discussed earlier: jurisdiction and autonomy.

2.2 Development of American Planning as a Profession

The emergence of urban planning as a distinct occupation in the U.S. can be understood as an outgrowth of the 19th century progressive reform to mitigate the urban consequences of industrialization. With the firm support from an amorphous group of public spirited citizens, predominantly architects, landscape architects, social workers, engineers, and lawyers, there had been a growing consensus that urban planning should follow law and architecture and establish itself as a profession. Starting from the first National Conference on City Planning in 1909, American planners began to form their own professional organization – American City Planning Institute (ACPI), publish a quarterly magazine – The City Plan, advocate for state enabling legislation, and further

pressure cities to create planning commissions (Birch 1980a: 23).[12] However, due to the relatively diverse background of the profession's founders, the subsequent professionalization of urban planning has not followed other established professions to start with defining exclusive boundaries of its own. Rather, to prevent one professional group from dominating ACPI, the constitutional charter not only provided a rotating presidency among architects, landscape architects, and engineers but also kept its membership open to all willing practitioners. Until well into the 1920s, when Thomas Adams, a founding member of both ACPI and British Town Planning Institute, successfully convinced other members to adopt a much stricter entry control, ACPI finally decided to set up a classification system for membership, not only enforcing a distinction between practicing planners and administrators but also creating four membership classes: full, legal, associate, and honorary member (Ibid.: 26).[13] Increasingly, ACPI was acting more like other tightly-run professional associations such as American Institute of Architects; more importantly, following the first degree program established at Harvard in 1929, it also began to lay claim for a specialized skill, offering advices for anyone setting out to establish planning schools (Scott 1969: 267).

With the increasing professionalization of American planning, however, there was also a growing concern among planners about whether or not planning as a profession has been developed on the right track. For example, Henry Churchill, an active practicing

[12] The 1909 National Conference on City Planning was subsequently transformed into an annual event, while The City Plan in 1925 was changed to City Planning to reflect a shift in emphasis to planning process (Krueckeberg 1994).

[13] According to the ACPI constitution amended in 1927, a full member would have prior technical training in architecture, landscape architecture, and engineering or "special attainments" in planning and three years experience. A legal member was a lawyer who specialized in zoning. An associate could "be without special professional qualifications" and an honorary member was a distinguished person having an interest in planning.

planners and planning critic, argued that the essence of professional work is the making of decisions and the acceptance of personal responsibility for them. Since planners at that time were merely performing staff services for decision makers, planning was still far away from defining itself as a profession (Journal of the American Institute of Planners 1957: 189). Seward Hiltner, a professor with special interest in the comparative study of professionalization, supported Churchill's contention and further pointed out that another dilemma planners were caught in was that planning had been developed as such an amorphous field that there was no consensus about what should constitute its knowledge core, let alone to distinguish itself from other professions (Hiltner 1957: 165).14 Despite the haunting doubts among American planners about whether urban planning constituted a legitimate and distinct profession, the presence of such doubts also demonstrated that the professionalization of urban planning, at least in the American case, represented a rather untypical example, especially with regard to the professional monopoly discussed in the previous section. The point is that, as Donald Krueckeberg explained in detail, American planning, since its inception in the early 20th century, has never followed the path parallel to other established professions; rather, its professional development has been characterized by enduring fragmentation and therefore lack of clear identify (Krueckeberg 1985: 433).

In fact, such fragmented development of American planning profession can be further identified at two levels: First, there had been a fragmented autonomy between

[14] Similar observation was made by Paul Davidoff and Thomas Reiner: "planning education has emphasized understanding of subject mater: cities, regions, facilities, housing, land use, zoning, transportation, and others. In fact, the student has had thrust upon hum a growing list of courses and is perennially in danger of becoming a Jack of all trades and a master of none… Planners frequently assert their status of a profession and so implicitly claim a distinct body of knowledge and procedures. Is this claim premature?" (Davidoff and Reiner 1962: 114).

practicing planners and planning officials, which can be traced back to the late 1920s, when ACPI began to implement membership classification and defined itself as an organization mainly representing private-sector planners (Birch 2001: 408). Since then, planning officials had been gradually excluded from representation and therefore forced to form their own professional association. American Society of Planning Officials (ASPO) was thus formed in 1934, marking the beginning of the 44-year fragmentation between two professional groups. During the long period of time before they finally merged into one unified American Planning Association (APA), American Institute of Planners (AIP, the successor of ACPI) and ASPO not only undertook competing activities in promotion and publications; both of them in the later years even began to duplicate each other's development strategies so as to reflect their increasingly overlapping membership, which was due to the gradual job market shift from private to public sector and therefore the blurred boundary between them. On the one hand, this explained why these two organizations finally decided to merge with each other; on the other, this also explained why the professionalization of urban planning, as Eugenie Birch pointed out, had been much delayed, especially in comparison with other professions (Birch 1980a: 43).

Second, there had been a fragmented jurisdiction of planning profession, which can be observed in the standardization development of its professional knowledge. Specifically, since American planning began to identify itself as a profession in the early 20th century, its major representative organization ACPI (and its successor AIP) had never adopted positions similar to other professions to develop a strong accreditation program, but only played an advisory role by creating a recommend list of course offerings (Ibid.: 27). Until as late as in 1956, AIP finally established a set of recognition criteria for planning

education, allowing degrees in “recognized” schools to be used to reduce work experience requirements for membership (Dalton 2001b: 426). However, because the criteria, mainly based on Harvey Perloff’s idea of planner as a “generalist-with-a-specialty,” was designed to provide the required flexibility for planning schools to pursue engagement with socio-scientific disciplines, it only included a minimum amount of knowledge as the required core, further producing a mixed outcome. On the one hand, urban planning remained an inclusive field and its professional jurisdiction continued to expand with growing input from multiple disciplines. On the other, without drawing exclusive boundaries of knowledge, urban planning had been developed as a weakly defined profession and therefore could not assert a unified jurisdiction, especially in relation to its allied fields.

Due to the two levels of fragmentation discussed above, the development of American planning has never obtained an effective monopoly of its professional field. The point is that, with the professional representation and the actual body of knowledge being in question, it has been difficult to further move to control entry, regulate ethics, and draw exclusive boundaries in relation to other professions. These problems have resulted in a weakly defined profession, behind which lies a constant tension between the fundamental goal of the field and the requirements of professionalization. As Nathan Glazer defined planning as a “minor profession,” planners usually see their profession as a distinctively comprehensive one, but this comprehensive view of planning necessarily contains many contending images of role, each of which not only carries a different set of values and interests but also contains its own understanding of planning (Glazer 1974: 347; Schon 1982: 205). This underlying contention, until today, is still occurring and, more importantly, it continues to affect the way planners identify themselves.

2.3 Refining Research Questions: Explanation through Comparison

Based on this chapter's review, here I would like refine the research questions posed earlier to obtain a comparative perspective between the development of Chinese planning and its counterpart in the U.S. In particular, throughout the professionalization process of American planning, the enduring tension between the comprehensive view of the field and the development of its distinct identity seems to be the key that makes the profession different from others. To examine the case of Chinese planning, it is therefore important to pay attention to how the process of its professionalization has been influenced by the way it defines itself, especially with regard to its changing jurisdiction and autonomy. Thus, questions that need to be addressed include: With the expansion of the profession, how has the professional jurisdiction of Chinese planning been changing over time? Through what process has such change affected its development as an autonomous profession? And, in what aspects is the change related to the recently mounting criticism against the practice of Chinese planners?

In the following two chapters, I will first examine two particularly strong criticisms about Chinese planning: government distortion and unregulated profit-driven practice, explaining how planning profession has been evolving to meet the growing service demand and finding itself confronted with new challenges. Based on the findings of Chapter Three and Four, Chapter Five focuses on one important aspect of professionalization that discussed in the previous sections: standardization of knowledge, based on which the changing jurisdiction of Chinese planning profession will be discussed and further elaborated in the conclusion chapter.

Chapter 3 Towards a Development Tool: Role of Local Government in Planning

As pointed out in Chapter One, since the late 1990s Chinese planning has been confronted with growing criticism. One of the most prominent critical views of planning has been centered on the distortive effects of local government in planning practice. To understand the reason and importance of the critical view, this chapter starts with a historical review of the changing role of local government in urban development, based on which two following sections will further examine the effect of government distortion in planning practice.

3.1 Early Development of Chinese Planning

The modern history of Chinese urban planning can be traced back to the late Qing Dynasty, when the concept of "urban administration" (*shizheng*) was firstly introduced by some well-traveled diplomats and returned oversea students (Yang 2006: 286; Zhao 1999: 131).[15] Largely under the influence of a common model of urban planning in the West and Japan, these young "urban reformers" made significant contributions to the earliest setup of a professional environment for planning practice (Esherick 2002: 7; Stapleton 2007: 53). Some of them began to teach at universities, publish articles and books, and form professional organizations of their own, while some of them found employment in the government, starting to practice based on what they had learned from study abroad (Cody 1996: 339; Wang and Zhao 2007: 90). When it came to the Republican era, their enthusiasm to build a modern city, as many

[15] According to Zhao Ke's collected data, these global travelers include some of the most influential political thinkers in the late Qing dynasty, such as Zeng Jize, Kang Youwei, and Liang Qichao. With their footprints covering almost all major cities throughout the US and Europe, they are not only the earliest explorers of western cities, but, more importantly, their traveling experience turned themselves into the earliest advocates of "urban administration" (Zhao 1999: 132).

historians have provided ample details about their experimental practices, has been further fueled by the militarists' ambitious desire to increase both the prestige and the revenue-gathering effectiveness of their regimes (Liu and Zhang 2006: 624; Stapleton 2007: 65). Before the Sino-Japanese War broke out in 1937, although urban planning has not been further institutionalized at the national level, its development has been practically realized on a city-by-city base and, as a result, gradually grew into a widely recognized reform movement of urban governance (*shizheng gaige*).

With the end of China's Republican era in 1949, what happened to the field of urban planning, as Reginald Yin-Wang Kwok identifies as the "Adaptation Period," was a sharp shift of political momentum from multiple self-governing municipalities at the local level to one unified power command of the socialist state (Kwok 1981: 148). Soviet model of five-year plans was adapted, the development of heavy industry was given the top priority, and, most importantly, urban planning under the guidance of Soviet experts has been then modeled after a rational-comprehensive approach, based on which Chinese planners in the 1950s played an active role in producing blueprints to determine the location of development (Xie and Costa 1993: 103). From 1957 to 1976, however, a series of political movements and mass campaigns caused enormous chaos throughout the society, and all activities related to urban planning, under such tense atmosphere, were either set back or halted since the priority of national development was then shifted to the rural and agricultural sector.[16] Further affected by

[16] Grand urban master plans were made during the Great Leap Forward, which led to rampant growth of cities and an influx of peasants into the large cities. Urban planning was blamed for its promotion of unrealistic vision and, as a result, the National Economic Planning Meeting (G*uanquo Jihua Gongzuo Huiyi*) in 1960 decided to terminate all activities related to urban planning for three years (Yeh and Wu 1999: 177). During that time, planning institutions and organizations were dismissed, while urban planners were also sent to the countryside or forcibly transferred to other jobs (Xie and Costa 1993: 104).

the national development policy of communization in both urban and rural areas, the reduction of the differences between the cities and countryside thus became the major goal of urban planning (Ma 1979: 840; Wertheim 1977: 166). Especially during the decade of Cultural Revolution, there were only some small-scale planning projects funded by rural communes, while in the cities virtually no planning activities were made, except for some minor construction plans for factories and public buildings (Buck 1981: 136). As many Chinese planners recalled that particular period of time as "great leap backward," not only the role of urban planning was severely diminished, but the whole professional field has been subject to a prolonged period of inactivity (Urban Planning Society of China 1999).[17]

Since China's market reform began in 1978, the development of urban planning as a profession has also begun. Through a series of legislation in the early 1980s, the practice of urban planning, as long expected by Chinese planners, was soon restored and further established under the regulation of Urban Planning Act (*Chengshi Guihua Fa*).[18] Indeed, the enactment of the Act in 1989 was a watershed in the history of Chinese planning, marking the creation of China's first national system of urban planning. Nevertheless, this new system still bore the legacy of socialist planning and, therefore, as many scholars have pointed out, could not catch up with the rapid pace of China's ongoing market-oriented reform (Abramson 2006: 198; Leaf and Hou 2006: 545; Ng and Wu 1995: 288; Xie and

[17] Urban Planning Society of China in 1999 published a collection of essays and memoirs about the fifty-year development of urban planning in China. Most of the contributors to the book are experienced practitioners, who have been serving as urban planners for more than thirty years.

[18] Major legislation passed in the 1980s includes the Provisional Regulation for Preparing Urban Plan (*Chengshi Guihua Bianzhi Shenpi Zhanxing Banfa*) and the Provisional Standards of Urban Planning (*Chengshi Guihua Dinge Zhibiao Zhanxing Guiding*) in 1980, the Urban Planning Ordinance (*Chengshi Guihua Tiaoli*) in 1984, and the Urban Planning Act (*Chengshi Guihua Fa*) in 1989. The former two actually formed the major base of the 1984 Ordinance, while the 1989 Act was a further replacement with minor modification.

Costa 1993: 111; Zhang 2002: 75). Specifically, the revived practice of urban planning, as clearly stated in the 1989 Act, has maintained its "rational" approach, while most Chinese planners at that time were still firmly committed to producing blueprint style of development plans (Yeh and Wu 1999: 182).[19] In other words, although the 1980s witnessed a strong revival of demand for Chinese planning, the way it was practiced has not changed much. All Chinese planners were still government officials; their practice remained subject to the administrative command; and functionally, urban planning was still a locational tool to materialize the planned development.

Until well into the 1990s, urban planning as a relatively young profession in China began to develop and organize itself in a more systematic way. Including the qualification standards for professional institutes, the rate regulations for professional service, the accreditation for education providers, and the licensing for qualified practitioners, a series of new institutional arrangements were put in place and, within such a favorable environment, the professionalization of urban planning has made considerable progress at least in the following aspects: First, the practice of urban planning has increasingly become legally regulated, and the formation of such regulation reflects the fact that the process of plan-making is no longer an exclusively governmental activity. Rather, service providers from the private sector are now actively involved and therefore need to be properly regulated. Second, with the deepening of China's urbanization, the demand for well-trained urban planners has been on a steady rise and, accordingly, the 1990s has begun to see a moderate increase in the number of planning schools. Third, the recognition of urban planning as an independent profession has gained increasing attention since the early 1990s.

[19] According to Article 1 of the Urban Planning Act, urban planning is "to define the city size and its development orientation, to realize the goal of economic and social development, to prepare 'rational' city plans and promote urban construction, and to meet the needs of socialist modernization."

On the one hand, urban planning is becoming popular as a career choice; on the other, Chinese urban planners are also organizing themselves more independently from other professional groups – architects in particular.[20]

Through the above historical review, it can be found that urban planning, by nature, is institutionally embedded, reflecting the socio-political environment in which it is practiced. From its earlier practice both as a part of urban reform and as a quest for modernity, to its later adaptation to a blueprint style of urban planning heavily influenced by the centrally-planned Soviet model, and to its ongoing institutionalization in response to the growing service demand for urban planning in the context of China's economic reform, the history of Chinese planning is not simply a story about how the profession has been evolving through different political and economic regimes, but more broadly, it also provides a condensed sketch of the changing role of government in guiding the development of Chinese cities.

3.2 Growing Demand Driven by Urban Development

Although the institutionalization of urban planning in China had begun as early as in the late 1970s, the rapid growth and expansion of the profession, as demonstrated in Figure 1.1 and 1.2, did not start until the mid 1990s. One particularly important reason is the tax sharing reform (*fengshui zhi gaige*) of 1994, since which not only has the role of local government in governing cities changed, but the way urban planning is used as a tool for managing urban land use has been changed as well.

[20] More details about how the development of urban planning as a profession has been influenced by that of architecture will be discussed throughout the following chapters.

The tax sharing reform of 1994 was a fundamental shift in the ways revenues were shared between the central and local governments. Rather than a negotiated percentage of locally collected revenues being remitted to the central government, now a mixed system of tax assignments and tax sharing was brought into existence (Wang 1997: 802). This new system, as well examined by Christine Wong and Richard Bird, not only enabled the central government to "recentralize" its control over the revenue, but more importantly, it left the expenditure assignments largely unchanged (Wong and Bird 2008: 437). With the percentage of local revenue in total revenue dropping for over 30% in 1994, local governments since then have been put under intense pressure to find and exploit all the various revenue possible sources of extra-budgetary and off-budget revenue (see Figure

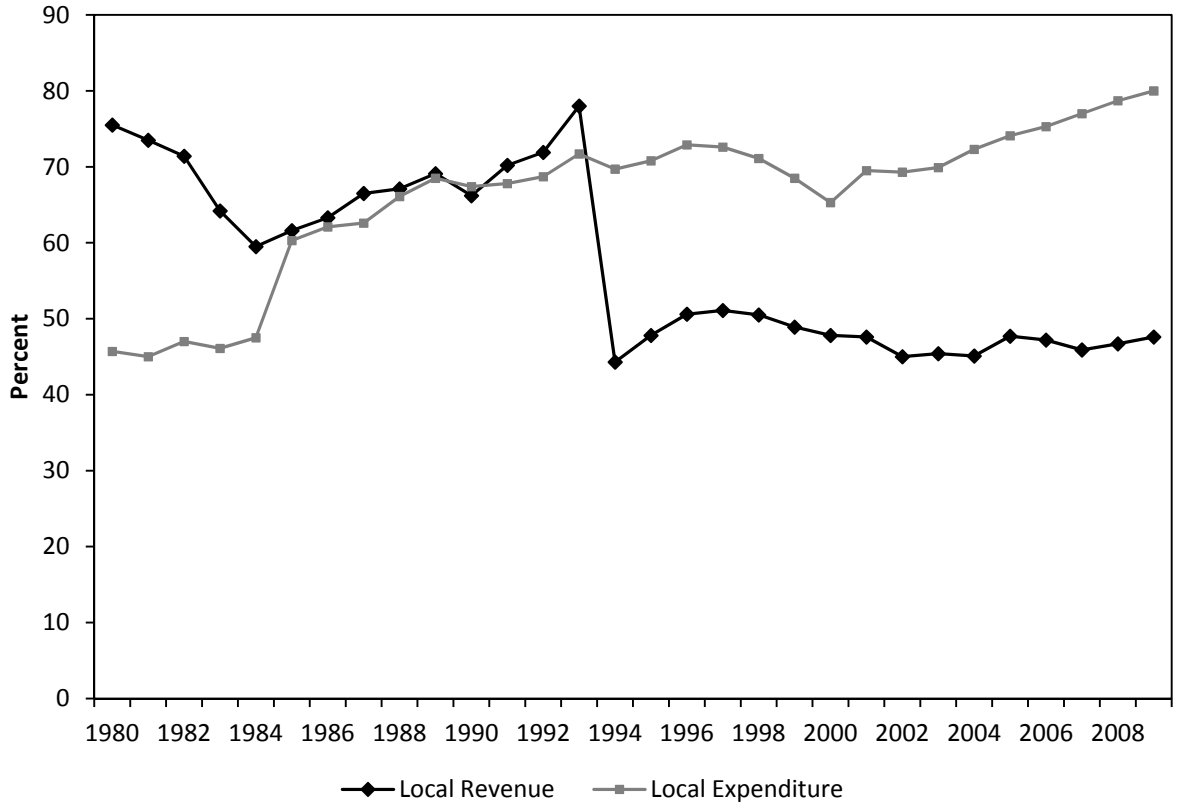

Figure 3.1 Percentages of Local Revenue and Expenditure in Total, 1980-2009

Source: Wong and Bird 2008: 437; China Statistical Yearbook (1981-2010)

3.1).[21] Among sources that are outside the formal budget system, land transfer fee (*tudi churang jin*), which was firstly brought into existence with the enactment of the Land Administration Act (*Tudi Guanli Fa*) in 1986, may well qualify as the most fundamental one. Especially since the tax sharing reform, the local governments no longer had to share land transfer fee with the central government.[22] To generate revenue from the sale of land, accordingly, would become a preferred option for the local government to reduce the rising mismatch of its expenditure and revenue.[23] As a result, not only the local revenue from land transfer, most of which is not under the Ministry of Finance's oversight, has rapidly grown to rival the size of the total budgetary revenue (see Table 3.1), but more importantly, there has been an increasing dependence on land-related revenue among all levels of local governments. And, that resulted in what Chinese economists lately termed "*tudi caizheng* (land-based fiscal regime)," which turned out to be influential in changing the way Chinese cities are financed and governed (Lang 2009; Ye 2009; Zhang 2010; Zhu 2007).

[21] Extra-budgetary revenues are defined as levies and user charges collected and spent by government agencies in performing duties delegated to them by higher levels. In principle, all extra-budgetary funds are public fiscal revenues approved at the central or provincial level, and should be overseen by the Ministry of Finance. By contrast, off-budget sources of revenue are mainly outside the oversight of the Ministry of Finance. Although no comprehensive data exist, this part of local revenue is generally considered as an important supplement to formal budget (Whiting 2007: 10).

[22] Although the land transfer fee originated in 1986 with the enactment of Land Administration Law, it was not until 1988 that it became a regular tax. At first, the collected land transfer fee was shared fifty-fifty between the central and local governments, but in 1989 the central government reduced its share from 40% to 32%. Three years later, the rate was further reduced to 5%, and after the tax sharing reform of 1994, the land transfer fee became 100% local revenue (Ye 2009: 131).

[23] Since all urban land in China is legally owned by the state, here the sale of land refers to the transfer of land use rights from the state to users, which in fact is land leasing. According to the Provisional Regulations on the Transfer of Land Use Rights of State-Owned Urban Land (*Chengzhen Gouyou Tudi Shiyongguan Churang he Zhuanrang Zhanxing Tiaoli*), land use rights can be transferred either through negotiation (*xieyi*), tendering (*zhaobiao*) or public auction (*paimai*). For different purposes of use, the maximum periods of land use rights vary between 40 to 70 years: commercial and recreational for 40 years; industrial, educational and cultural for 50 years; residential for 70 years.

Table 3.1 Comparison of Local Government Revenue from Land Transfer and Total Revenue, 2001-2010 (in 100 million RMB)

Year	Total Revenue of Local Government from Land Transfer[a] (growth rate)	Total Revenue of Local Governments[b] (growth rate)
1990	11	1945
1991	n/a	2211 (13.7%)
1992	n/a	2504 (13.3%)
1993	511	3391 (35.4%)
1994	650 (27.1%)	2312 (-31.8%)
1995	388 (-40.3%)	2986 (29.2%)
1996	349 (-10%)	3747 (25.5%)
1997	n/a	4424 (18.1%)
1998	508	4892 (10.6%)
1999	514 (1.3%)	5595 (14.4%)
2000	596 (15.8%)	6406 (14.5%)
2001	1296 (117.6%)	7803 (21.8%)
2002	2417 (86.5%)	8515 (9.1%)
2003	5385 (122.8%)	9850 (15.7%)
2004	5894 (9.5%)	11893 (20.7%)
2005	5505 (-6.6%)	15101 (27.0%)
2006	7677 (39.5%)	18304 (21.2%)
2007	11948 (55.6%)	23573 (28.8%)
2008	9741 (-18.5%)	28650 (21.5%)
2009	15910 (63.3%)	32581 (13.7%)
2010	29397 (84.8%)	35383 (8.6%)

[a] Data from the Ministry of Land and Resources.
[b] Data from China Statistical Yearbook, including only budgetary source.
Source: Compiled by author using data from Land Yearbook of China (1995-1997), Bulletin of China Land and Resources (2001-2010), Statistical Yearbook of China Land Resources (1999-2001), and China Statistical Yearbook (1990-2010).

What would best illustrate such fundamental change of urban governance may be the slogan "*jingying chengshi*," which has gained increasing popularity in the 1990s and

further grown into a national campaign after the 2001 Third Meeting of China Association of Mayors (*Zhongguo Shizhang Xiehui*).[24] Literally, "*jingying chengshi*" can be translated as "urban management." But in practice, its actual meaning, as usually claimed by Chinese mayors, is to "raise much needed funds for urban construction through effectively mobilizing all forms of state-owned assets" (Ye 2003: 70). Or in Fulong Wu, Jiang Xu, and Anthony Gar-On Yeh's words, the main idea is to take advantage of the fact that all urban land in China is legally defined as state-owned and at the discretion of the municipality; and therefore, "an entrepreneurial approach" has been adopted to use land "as the platform upon which more developments can be launched" (Wu, Xu, and Yeh

Figure 3.2 Newspaper Cartoon Illustrating How Local Government Is Acting Like a Salesman, Yelling to Sell the Land
Notes: The land on sale is presented in the shape of Chinese character "*tian* (田)," meaning farmland, and the man labeled as "Local Government X" is shouting: "On sale! On Sale! All the land here is in good location."
Source: *XinghuaNet* 2010, December 28.

[24] China Association of Mayors was established in 1988 as the only representative body for Chinese mayors and deputy mayors. Since 1991, the Association began to hold a national meeting every five year, and with the gradual expansion of its membership, it also extends its program to provide consulting and training service.

2007: 8). Especially with the widespread adoption of land transfer as a major source of local revenue, there has been an intensifying competition between cities for attracting investments, both domestic and foreign. Either through reducing the land price or deregulating the land use control, the municipal governments are now playing an active role in setting up a favorable environment for investors to "shop" land in their cities (Yeh and Wu 1999: 213). And, necessarily, all this creates a huge demand for the professional service of urban planning. From the creation of strategic plan for future development, to the provision of detailed blueprints for land use and physical layout for proposed construction, although the main function of urban planning has not changed much from its earlier focus on physical representation of economic plans, through the process the profession has greatly expanded its scope of practice and become more involved in the decision-making process of local politics (Leaf and Hou 2006: 567).[25] After all, Chinese cities under increasing financial strains have learned to pursue entrepreneurial strategies on the development of urban spatial economy. The continuing prevalence of land transfer practices is one aspect, while the expanding use of urban planning to facilitate the process is just another.

To compare the development of urban planning profession in the 1990s with that in the 1980s, the major difference lies in the driving force behind the professional practice of urban planning: When the market value of land was still left unrecognized, the goal of urban planning was simply to maintain the "rational" use of urban land, making decisions on facility location, transportation, and so to help ensure the functioning of city. However, with the land increasingly recognized as a marketable asset while the local government

[25] These different types of planning practice and their different relations to the development of Chinese cities are discussed in Chapter 5 From Expansion to Diversification: Changing Practice of Urban Planning.

also motivated to expand its revenue base by the new tax sharing system, the function of urban planning would necessarily shift to serving as a strategic tool for facilitating the process of land development. In other words, urban planning as a specialized form of urban governance has been changing its focus from regulating the development of urban land to promoting it. Even though this may not be taken as a full step towards deregulation, the way urban planning is practiced has significantly changed and, most importantly, this particular change is a crucial factor that explains why there has been a growing criticism against Chinese planning. To further examine the particular factor, the following two sections will focus on two main types of professional practice: statutory and non-statutory, discussing how urban planning is subject to government distortion as a development tool.

3.3 Statutory Planning: Between Access and Control over Land

In general, the professional practice of urban planning falls into two main categories: statutory and non-statutory. The former refers to planning activities that have been clearly defined in national legislation, including urban system plan (*chengzheng tixi guihua*), urban master plan (*zongti guihua*), detailed development control plan (*kongzhixing xiangxi guihua*), and detailed construction plan (*xiujianxing xiangxi guihua*); while the latter, due to the lack of legally enforceable definition and standard, is a rapidly changing field of practice characterized by substantial informality. Common types include strategic development plan (*gainian guihua* or *zhanlue guihua*) and urban design (*chengshi sheji*). Notably, statutory planning, as Figure 3.3 demonstrates, follows China's administrative hierarchy that descends from central through provincial, city, county, to township level, and, necessarily, plans at the lower level should be prepared in conformity with that at higher level. By contrast, the practice of non-statutory planning is usually

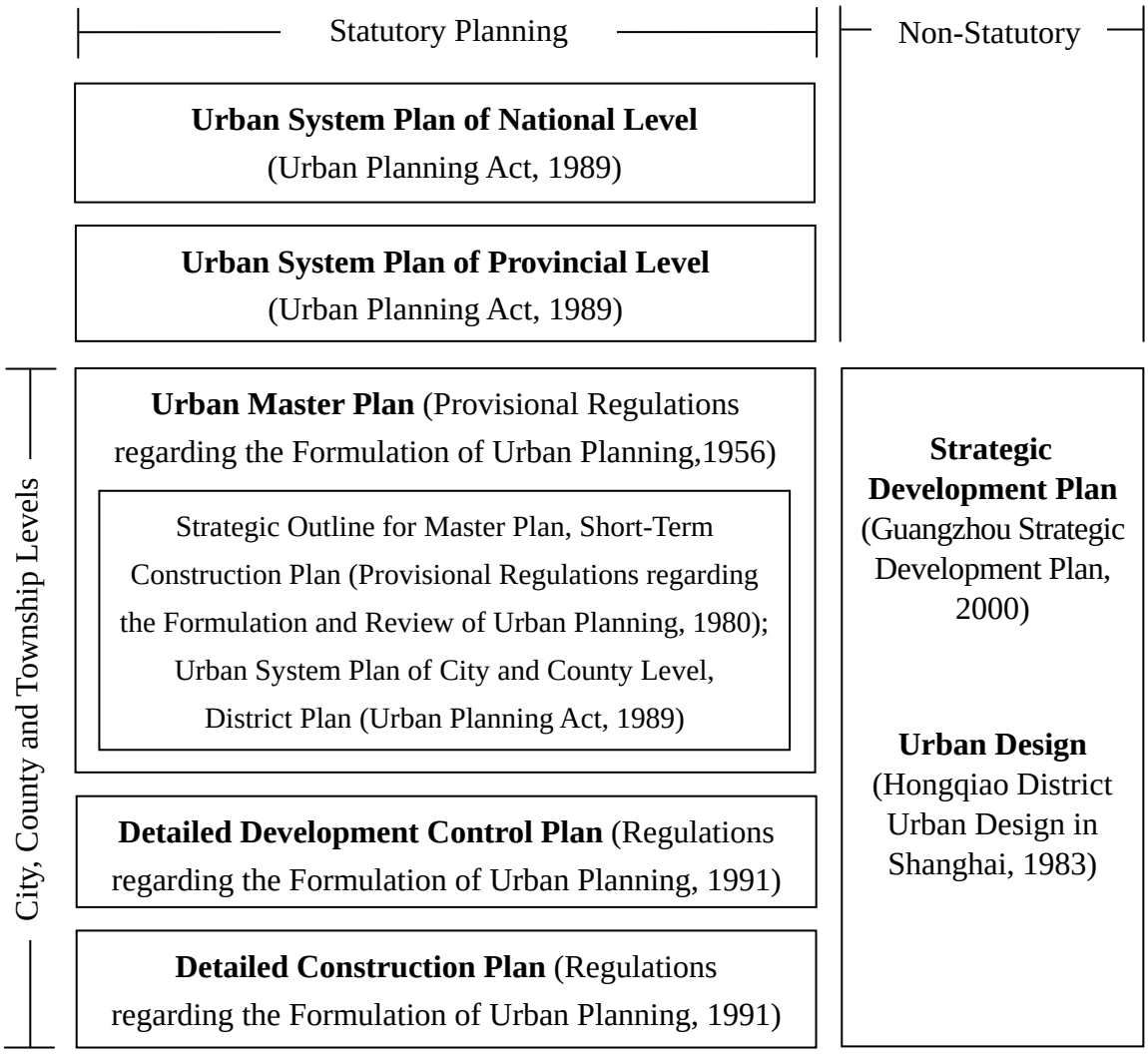

Figure 3.3 Hierarchy of Statutory and Non-Statutory Planning
Note: The information in parentheses indicates the earliest legislation at the national level that defines the particular type of plan or the earliest practice of non-statutory planning.
Source: Compiled by author.

independent and free from the hierarchical control of government administration. Therefore, non-statutory planning not only serves as an important supplement to statutory planning; but, more importantly, its presence and recent expansion also indicates that there is a growing need for urban planning to develop away from its traditional, top-down command system. The rest of this section will start with examining the existing hierarchical system of statutory planning. From urban system plan, master plan, to detailed

development control plan and detailed construction plan, each type of plan will be discussed separately in relation to land development so as to explain in detail through what process urban planning has been employed as a tool for land development and therefore subject to growing criticism.

Urban System Plan is a statutory type of urban planning that aims to promote effective coordination of urban growth from a macro perspective. As defined in Article 3 of the Regulations regarding the Formulation and Review of Urban System Planning of 1994 (*Chengzhen Tixi Guihua Bianzhi Shenpi Banfa*), its primary missions include:

> to evaluate the development potential of cities and towns; to devise a macro development strategy for the concerned region (whether at national, provincial or city level); to estimate the population growth and the future level of urbanization; to determine the optimal size of cities and towns; to coordinate the timing and location of industrial development; to map out necessary infrastructure and public amenities; to exercise rational control over the urban growth; and to provide guidance for the formulation of urban master plan.

Although none of these missions are directly concerned with land development, many of them touch upon issues related to the control over the pattern and pace of urbanization. Especially through the estimation of population growth and the determination of city size, the practice of urban system planning, idealistically, is to set up a regulatory framework for defining the strategic direction of urban growth on a city-by-city basis and, more importantly, to provide guidance for all the other types of statutory planning. However, since Urban Planning Act officially included urban system plan as a legal component in 1989, it has been practiced only at the city and county levels. Until the very late 1990s, when the Ministry of Construction issued the Notice regarding the Strengthening of Provincial Urban System Planning Practice (*Guanyu Jiaqiang Shengyu Chengzhen Tixi Guihua Shishi Gongzuo de Tongzhi*) and required the completion

of provincial urban system plans by June 30 of 2003, the practice of urban system planning has finally began to spread.

Notably, after all provincial governments have completed their urban system plans, it takes almost another decade for the Ministry of Construction to finalize the first version of national urban system plan. And, when the plan was officially presented to the public in 2010, it means that all provincial urban system plans, most of which were just completed seven years ago, have to undergo revision so as to conform with the new national plan.[26] As a result, since the invention of urban system plan in the 1980s, the desired macro coordination of urban growth has never been realized; while more importantly, the

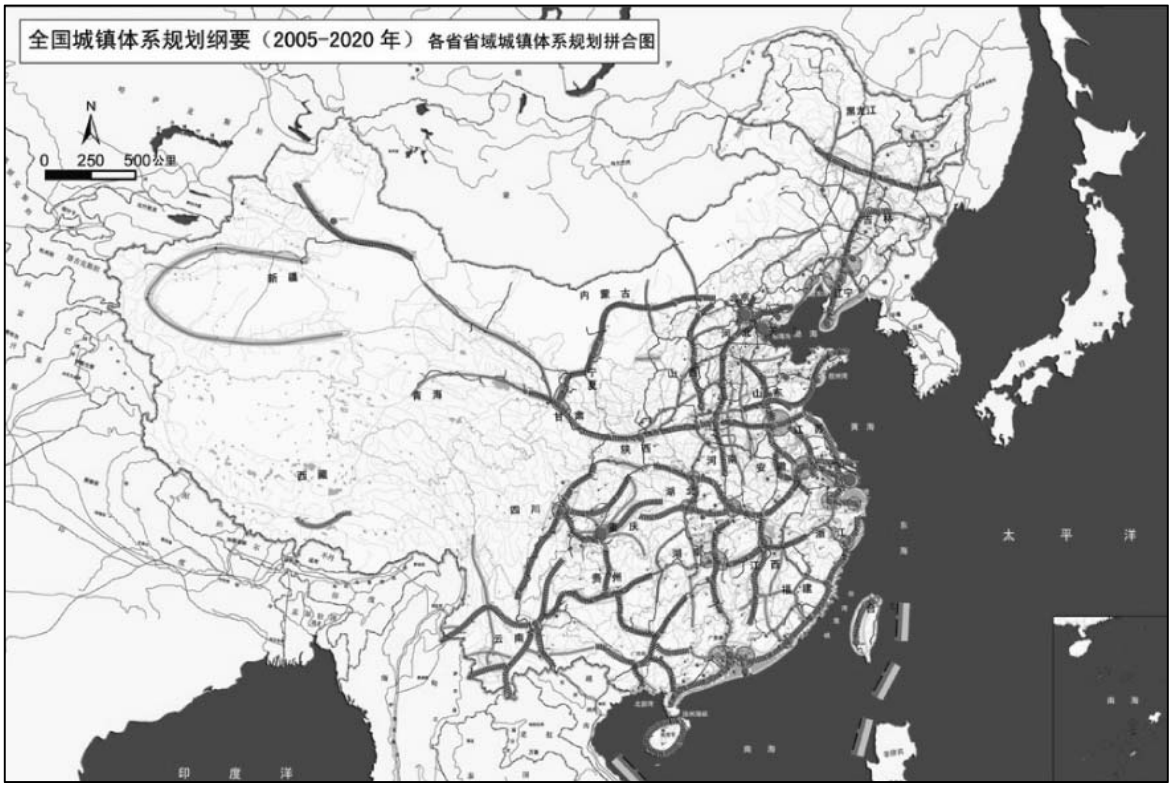

Figure 3.4 Combined Map of All Provincial Urban System Plans
Note: The lines shown in bold indicates the major corridors of planned urban growth.
Source: Ministry of Construction 2007: 18.

[26] As early as in 2001, Ministry of Construction commissioned the project of national urban system plan to China Academy of Urban Planning and Design, but the planning process took seven years to reach completion and two more years to finalize it (Informant 104).

hierarchical planning system, despite beginning to take shape, is still barely functional, at least not in the sense of top-down control. The above Figure 3.4 is an illustration from the Outlines of National Urban System Plan (*Quanquo Chengzhen Tixi Guihua Gangyao*) published by Ministry of Construction in 2007. By combining all the existing provincial urban system plans together, the map clearly demonstrated that, due to the lack of effective coordination, there is an apparent disconnection among the major corridors of urban growth proposed by different provincial governments. For example, the northeast China, as the chief planner of China Academy of Urban Planning and Design Yang Baojun explained, should be developed along the south-north axis so as to connect all three provincial capitals (including Harbin, Changcun, and Shenyang) to the major port city of the whole region, Dalian. Without the guidance of national urban system plan, however, the connection would never be planned, let alone put into action (Wang 2007: 40). In this sense, urban system plan, as the top level of the hierarchical planning system, so far has not quite functioned as originally intended.[27] In the particular context, not only all the lower-level types of urban plans are usually developed without consideration of their potential effects at the macro scale; but, more fundamentally, urban planning has been thus confined to a narrowly defined filed of practice, only serving the interest of the city (Zhang 2005: 21).

With the lack of coordination at the provincial level, the practice of **Urban Master Planning**, since being introduced from the Soviet Union in the 1950s, has been established as the core of China's urban planning system for six decades already. As

[27] As a Peking University professor of planning also commented during interview, "I had pointed out many years ago that the provincial urban system plan would not work out. The point is that the urban growth and economic development can never be confined by the administrative boundaries of cities, let alone provinces (Informant 105)".

defined in Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning, the primary goal of urban master planning is to develop a strategic structure of urban land use for a time span of twenty years. Article 16 of the Regulations further requires all cities and towns to estimate the twenty-year growth of urban population, based on which a corresponding target for future land development is to be determined (Li 2004: 62; Li and Li 2006: 14). In other words, the primary concern of master planning, from the perspective of local government, is to determine the total quota of raw land allowed for development; while at a time when the revenue from land transfer has grown to rival the size of the total local revenue (see Table 3.1), here the estimation actually has a direct effect on the available financial resources at the local level, and therefore, there is a growing tendency among all city and township governments to exaggerate the estimated growth of urban population, sometimes to a ridiculous degree. In the commentary Wang Jun published in 2004, a number of striking examples were described:

> A provincial capital in western China now only has around two million population, but in its recently submitted urban master plan, the population is estimated to reach ten million in 2020… Another western city with only a population around six hundred thousand now also estimated an explosive growth of population to three millions in twenty years (Wang 2004: 8).

In fact, not only the estimated number of future population is often exaggerated, but the urban master plan itself is also subject to frequent revision so as to accommodate the rapidly rising demand for land development. For example, the urban master plan of Beijing since entering the 1980s has been revised for three times already, through which the estimated total population of the city has been dramatically increased from 10 million for 2000 to 12.5 million for 2010, and further to 18 million for 2020 (Wang 2010: 50).[28]

[28] Since the earliest version of Beijing urban master plan was proposed in 1953, it has experienced four

While according to a report published by Liu Shouying and Jiang Xingsan from the Development Research Center of the State Council (*Guowuyuan Fazhan Yanjiu Zhongxin*), some counties and county-level cities in Zhejiang even had their urban master plans revised as many as three times in a short period between 1998 and 2004 (Liu and Jiang 2005: 413). Certainly, the estimated demand for land through the process has also experienced a dramatic increase. In Beijing, the number has risen from 44,000 hectares for

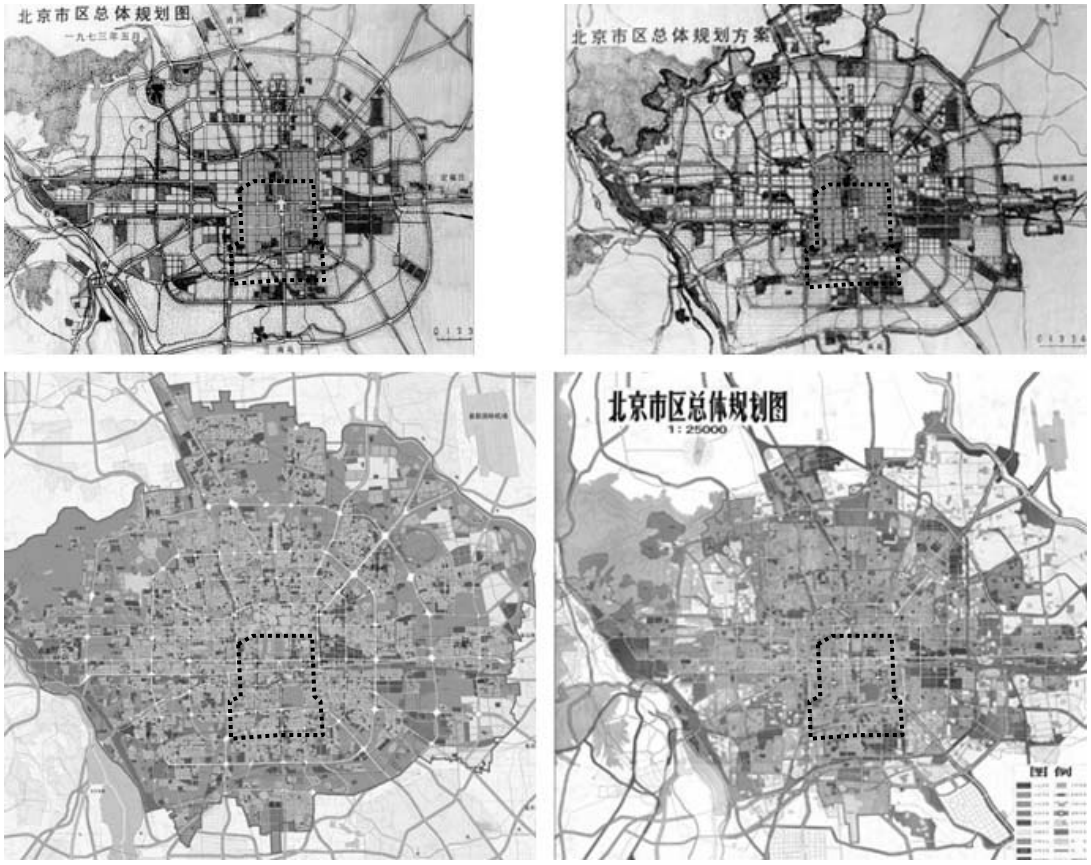

Figure 3.5 Comparison between Different Versions of Beijing Urban Master Plans
Note: (1) Clockwise from top left: 1973, 1983, 1993, and 2004.
(2) Map scales have been adjusted to allow comparison. The dotted line represents the Second Ring Road (Er Huan), an area is roughly equivalent to the old Beijing.
(3) In the original plans, different land uses are rendered in different colors.
Source: Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design.

major revisions. The first time of revision came near the end of Culture Revolution in 1973, and the other three times came in 1983, 1993, and 2004. In a symposium recently held by Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning, another revision has been proposed to begin in 2013.

2000 to 90,000 for 2010, and further to 165,000 for 2020 (Wang 2010: 50; see Figure 3.5); while in the case of Zhejiang a similar expansion of land area planned for development was also observed in all 33 county-and-above level cities, averaging 12,640 hectares increase per year from 2000 to 2004 – 3.4 times the number of the previous five years (Liu and Jiang 2005: 414). As a result, although the practice of urban master planning has become so widespread among all levels of local governments, it has been too often manipulated as a tool for facilitating the expansion of land-based revenue and without sufficient consideration of other issues, such as the loss of farmland, the urban-rural disparity, the compulsory land expropriation and rising social unrest. As pointed out by a Tongji University professor of planning Sun Shiwen, the point at issue is that because Ministry of Construction and the governments of provincial level do not directly intervene the planning process or oversee the implementation of urban master plans at the city and below level, there is no guarantee that the long-term public good, specifically for the twenty-year effective term of urban master plan, receives as much attention as the short-term revenue growth that apparently matches more with the mayors' five-year term of governance (Sun, Lu and Zhang 2007: 1887; Tsui 2011: 691).

Despite the common lack of long-term vision and rigidity in urban master planning, **Detailed Development Control Plan** and **Detailed Construction Plan**, as the bottom level of the hierarchical planning system, are required to base on the defined land use structure and provide a parcel-based guidance for land development process from raw land through final construction. For example, Figure 3.6 is a zoning map from Hongqiao District Detailed Development Control Plan.[29] Through the use of colors and numeric

[29] Hongqiao District Detailed Development Control Plan in Shanghai is the first planning project of this kind. Since its completion in 1982, the practice of detailed development control plan began to spread across the country. But it was not until the enactment of Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning in 1991 that detailed development control plan has been officially included as a statutory type of urban planning.

codes, each parcel of the planned area is not only assigned a land use classification but also a number of regulatory requirements, including floor area ratio, building density, front setback, building heights, main entrance directions, and number of parking spaces. While Figure 3.7 shows an example of detailed construction plan prepared for the development of central business district in Futian district of Shenzhen. As the illustrations demonstrate, the purpose of detailed construction planning is to visualize the planned development and further specify important details regarding the physical design of buildings, roadways, parks and other public amenities. In other words, both the practices of detailed development control planning and detailed construction planning are just to provide details for development plans that have been made already. With most of the efforts focused on very technical details, these two types of urban planning, despite their different

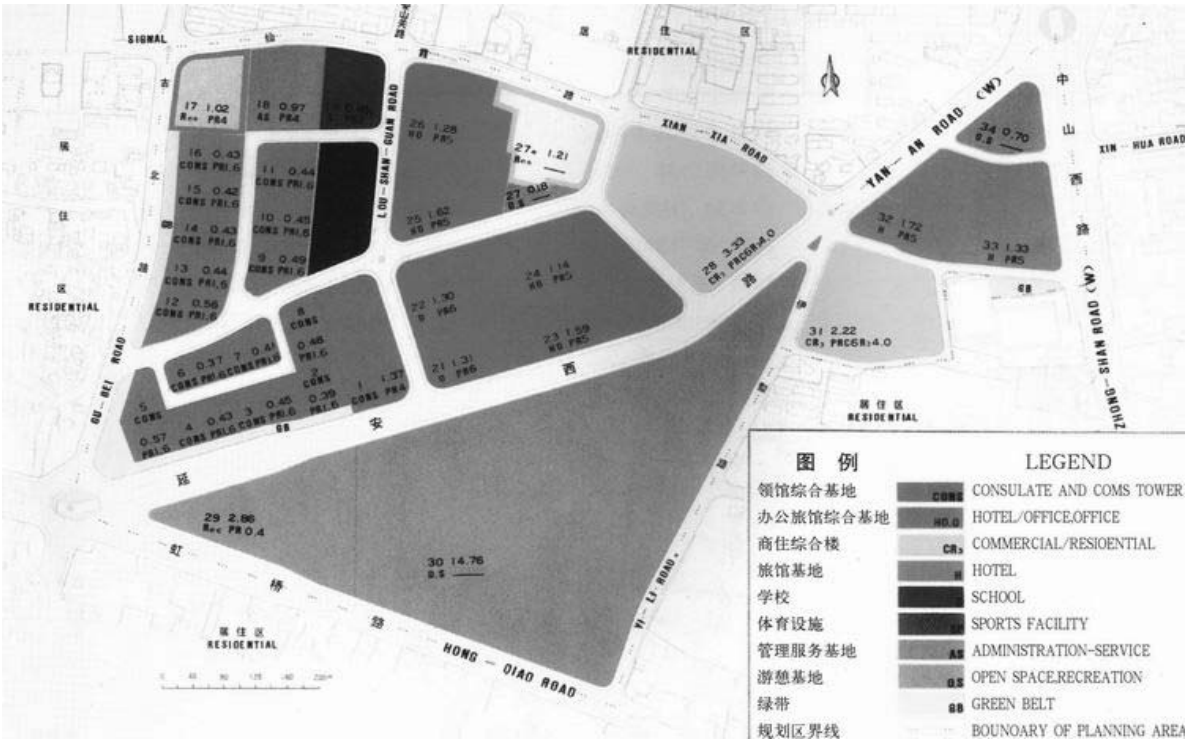

Figure 3.6 Hongqiao District Detailed Development Control Plan in Shanghai, 1982
Note: Different land uses are rendered in different colors in the original zoning map.
Source: Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Research Institute.

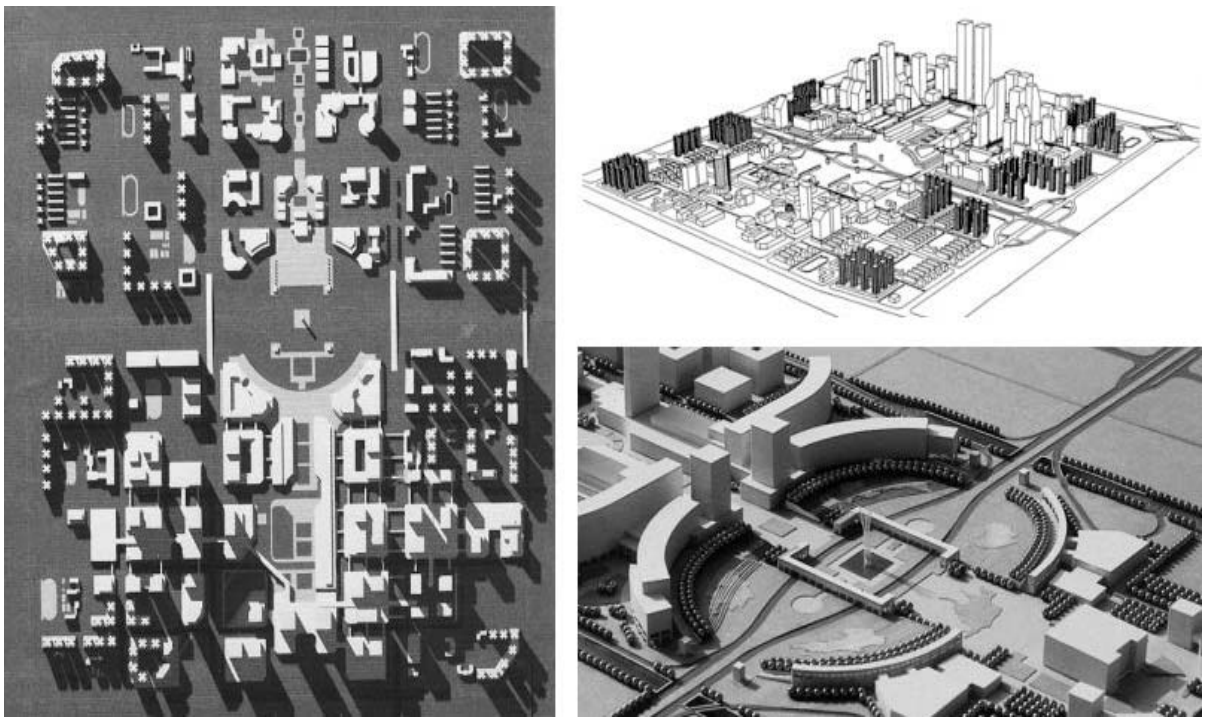

Figure 3.7 Detailed Construction Plan for the Development of Central Business District in Futian District of Shenzhen, 1992
Source: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design.

purposes and functions, are therefore commonly considered as administrative assignments that should be exercised at the discretion of the local government (Du 2008: 79; Tian 2007: 17).

Until well into the 1990s, a series of legislative measures have been adopted to formalize the practice of detailed development control planning from a project-based activity to a permanent system of land control. In 1998, Shenzhen took the lead to introduce the system of land use zoning (*fading tuze*) from Hong Kong and enacted the first local legislation.[30] In 2006, Article 24 of the amended Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning, for the first time, stipulated that detailed development control plan should serve as the basis for granting construction permission. In 2008, Article 38 of Urban-Rural

[30] Most of the local legislations on detailed development control planning started from cities or regions with narrowing supply of land, such as Beijing, Chongqing, Shanghai, Nanjing, etc.

Planning Act further made it clear that all land use actions are prohibited without complying with the regulatory requirements set out in the detailed development control plan.[31] Admittedly, all these legislations were to strengthen the role of urban planning in managing the process of land development. Nevertheless, because the practice of detailed development control planning necessarily involves a parcel-based designation of land use type and intensity in anticipation of demand for land development, the plan itself has not only significantly limited the flexibility of land use management but also become a huge administrative burden, since the planned land use has rarely been applied without repeated revision (Zou and Chen 2003: 66). The point is, as many Chinese planners have pointed out, that there is no widely established method to determine the optimal use of land. Especially because the floor area ratio, as the main index to control the density of development, has a direct influence on the revenue-generating capacity of each land parcel, the determination of the ratio is so often subject to rampant speculation that the idealistic "development control" has never been realized (Du 2008: 79; Du 2009: 3068; Tian 2007: 17; Zhang 2000: 29; Zheng 2010: 40; Zou and Chen 2003: 65). For example, according to a study published by Urban Planning and Design Institute of Shenzhen, 88.7% of all applications for land use revision received by Shenzhen Planning Bureau between 2001 and 2002 applied for a change of land use type and floor area ratio; while among the 86.7% of the applications that finally gained approval, some of them actually have been revised for several times already (Zou and Chen 2003: 62).[32]

[31] As further defined in the Regulations regarding the Formulation of Detailed Development Control Planning of 2011, here the regulatory requirements should include: (1) land use type; (2) floor area ratio, building height and density, green space ratio, and other additional construction control parameters; (3) detailed provisions of infrastructure and other public amenities; and (4) the so-called "*sixian* (four control lines)," including yellow lines for infrastructure, green lines for green space, purple lines for historical conservation, and blue lines for water space.

[32] The statistical analysis conducted by Zou Bing and Chen Hongjun is based on 87 samples taken from Shenzhen Planning Bureau (Zou and Chen 2003: 63).

To sum up what has been discussed in this section, although the hierarchical system of statutory planning, by nature, is to enforce a top-down control over the process of urban growth, the desired control has been proven to be ineffective. From the imposition of macro urban system at the national and provincial levels, to the estimation of population growth and land demand at the city level, and to the parcel-based determination of land use type and intensity, there seems to be a growing tension between access to and control over the limited land resources. On the one hand, the planning system continues to hold faith in the logic that the size of population determines the absolute resource demand and therefore can be controlled through technical measures; on the other, because the actual process of urban growth is usually beyond the technical control defined in the existing legislation, the practice of statutory planning is subject to frequent revision and, certainly, the purpose is to facilitate the local government's access to land. As a popular joke goes among Chinese planners, "urban master plan always comes too late, while detailed development control plan always provides no control (*zonggui shi zongshi guoshi de guihua, er konggui zeshi kongzhi buzhu de guihua*)," the role of statutory planning in relation to land development has been notoriously ineffective.[33]

3.4 Non-Statutory Planning: Uncritical Conformity to Local Government

In contrast with statutory planning, because non-statutory planning is free from subordination to law and the hierarchical control of government administration, this is a rapidly changing field of practice characterized by substantial informality and uncritical conformity to the needs of local governments. More specifically, the primary purpose is to

[33] Urban master plan (*zongti guihua*) is usually abbreviated as "*zonggui*," while detailed development control plan (*kongzhixing xiangxi guihua*) is commonly called "*konggui*" for short. The whole sentence in simplified Chinese is "总规是总是过时的规划，而控规则是控制不住的规划."

supplement the existing control-oriented system of statutory planning by providing more customized planning service that can respond quickly to the development-driven environment. Therefore, the earliest examples of non-statutory planning are all found in cities with higher development pressure such as Shanghai and Guangzhou and usually developed under intense time pressure. This section will focus on two particularly popular types of non-statutory planning: strategic development plan and urban design and examine their respective functions in relation to land development.

Strategic Development Plan, due the lack of legal definition, is a highly customized type of planning service. In a very general sense, it can be defined as a planning action to formulate an overarching strategy for urban development; but, in practice, there is a growing tendency among local governments to employ strategic development plan in place of urban master plan, which has been long condemned for its inability to respond to the rapidly changing urban environment. For example, the reason why Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan, as the first example of this kind, was brought up in 2000 was to resolve an unexpected challenge against the existing Guangzhou Urban Master Plan (1996~2010).[34] In 2000, because two county-level cities Huadu and Panyu were converted into urban districts under the jurisdiction of Guangzhou, not only the city proper was enlarged from 1,444 to 3,719 km^2, but a new development strategy was urgently needed so as to reflect the broaden jurisdiction (Xu and Yeh 2003: 369). However, because the urban master plan was approved by Ministry of Construction just four years ago, while the revision and approval process would usually take years to

[34] Although Shenzhen as early as in 1989 had ever commissioned the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design to conduct a research project called "*Shenzhen Chengshi Fazhan Celue* (Shenzhen Development Strategy), while in 1995 Shanghai had also published a strategic report called "*Mai Xiang 21 Shiji de Shanghai* (Shanghai towards the 21th Century)," not until Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan was made public in 2000 that the practice of strategic planning began to spread across the country.

complete, the city finally decided to undertake a non-statutory planning consultation by inviting five nationally reputed planning institutes to provide advice on the future development of Guangzhou.[35] Less than six months later, the pioneering Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan was officially presented to the public. The plan, as quickly done as it had to be, not only proposed a new spatial strategy to take full advantage of the abundant land resources in the newly formed districts but also devised a new land use

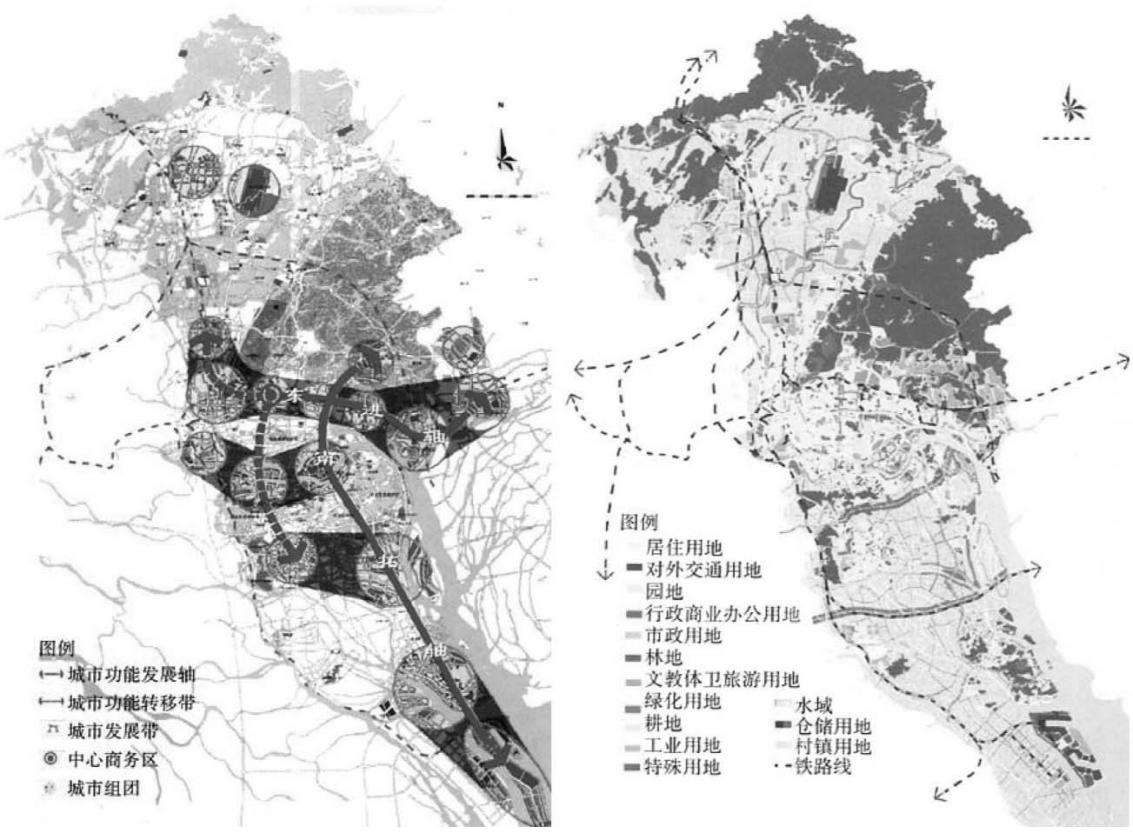

Figure 3.8 Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan, 2000
Note: (1) On the left is the proposed spatial strategy. The arrows indicate the planned corridors of urban growth and the main strategy proposed in the Plan is to extend the development to the newly formed Panyu district in the south.
(2) On the right is the land use plan. In the original map, different land uses are rendered in different colors.
Source: Chen, Yuan and Yi 2006: 14-15.

[35] These five planning institutes were China Academy of Urban Planning and Design, Beijing Tsinghua Urban Planning and Design Institute, Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute, Sun Yat-sen University Urban Planning and Design Institute, and Guangzhou Urban Planning and Design Survey Research Institute.

plan to replace the existing one drawn up in the 1996 Guangzhou Urban Master Plan (see Figure 3.8). Functionally, the practice of strategic development planning has proven to be effective in making timely response to the needs of local governments; and, more importantly, it is explicitly demand-oriented and therefore in sharp contrast to the existing planning system that still heavily relied on top-down administrative control (Chen 2005: 45; Zhang 2002: 68).

Following the pioneering Guangzhou Plan, the practice of strategic development planning soon began to spread across the country. As the following Table 3.2 demonstrates, by 2004 almost all cities at the sub-provincial and above levels have completed their strategic development plans, while more notably, some of them have even started the second round of strategic development planning in recent years. Indeed, because there are no rules or guidelines to follow, not only the planning process is highly flexible, allowing the participating planning institutes to reach creative solutions, but very often the time required to complete is as short as less than three months (Wu 2007: 735). However, it is also because of the lack of supervision and the insufficient time allowed for conducting background research that most of these strategic development plans, as pointed out by both planning academics and practitioners, are often too visionary to put into practice, heavily influenced by the mayor's personal opinions, and lacking adequate consideration of the broader planning context (Leaf and Hou 2006: 569; Li and Yang 2007: 52; Wu 2007: 385; Yin 2003: 28; Zhang 2002: 66; Zhao and Luan 2003: 1).[36] For example, the chief planner of China Academy of Urban Planning and Design Zhang Bing has provided a

[36] As a senior planner described during interview, "although Chinese planners always hope that planning can become more rigid and powerful, in reality the desired rigidity and power can never be realized. In most cases, we are more like the mayor's secretary, following his command and striving to satisfy whatever he wants" (Informant 103).

Table 3.2 Practice of Strategic Development Planning in Sub-Provincial and Above Level Cities (In Chronological Order)

City	Province	Time	Participating Planning Institutes and Schools
Guangzhou	Guangdong	2000.6	China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (CAUPD), Tsinghua Univ., Tongji Univ., Sun Yat-sen Univ., Guangzhou Municipal Planning Institute
		2007.4	CAUPD, Tsinghua Univ., Tongji Univ., Sun Yat-sen Univ., Guangzhou Municipal Planning Institute, Guangdong Provincial Planning Institute
Nanjing	Jiangsu	2000.10	CAUPD
Ningbo	Zhejiang	2001.5	CAUPD
Hangzhou	Zhejiang	2001.7	CAUPD, Nanjing Univ., Shanghai Municipal Planning Institute
Jinan	Shandong	2002.3	CAUPD
Shenzhen	Guangdong	2002.3	CAUPD
Shenyang	Liaoning	2002.4	Tongji Univ., Shenyang Municipal Planning Institute
Xiamen	Fujian	2002.6	CAUPD, Tongji Univ.
Harbin	Heilongjiang	2002.6	CAUPD, Nanjing Univ., Beijing New Metropolitan Integral Design Institute (with JDN Design)
Chengdu	Sichuan	2002.11	CAUPD, Guangzhou Municipal Planning Institute, Chengdu Municipal Planning Institute
Xian	Shaanxi	2002.10	Xian Univ. of Architecture and Technology
Beijing		2002.12	CAUPD, Beijing Municipal Planning Institute, Tsinghua Univ.
Dalian	Liaoning	2003.2	Tongji Univ., Dalian Municipal Planning Institute
Tianjin		2003.8	CAUPD, Tsinghua Univ., Tianjin Municipal Planning Institute
		2008.3	CAUPD, Tianjin Municipal Planning Institute
Qingdao	Shandong	2003	CAUPD, Qingdao Municipal Planning Institute
		2011.3	CAUPD, Qingdao Municipal Planning Institute
Wuhan	Hubei	2004.4	CAUPD, Tongji Univ., Peking Univ., Wuhan Municipal Planning Institute
Changchun	Jinlin	2009	Changchun Municipal Planning Institute

Note: Except for Beijing and Tianjin, all the others are sub-provincial level cities (*fu shengji chengshi*), including 10 provincial capitals and 5 central economic cities (*jihua danlei shi*), which are under jurisdiction of central government and enjoy provincial-level economic authority.
Source: Compiled by author using data collected from planning bureau websites of all cities listed above.

thoughtful reflection on his practice of 2000 Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan:

> In the Guangzhou Plan, we had ever proposed to build a new town in the newly formed *Panyu* district.[37] Despite being accepted by the city, long before the Plan entered the implementation phase, most land has been sold to the developers by the *Panyu* district government, and, therefore, it became extremely difficult to further put our proposal into practice… Indeed, when we were developing the Plan, we did not make sufficient efforts to research and understand the local context. We should not simply presume that the city had the full control over *Panyu* district government (Zhang 2002: 65-66).

In a session at the 2006 Annual Conference of Chinese Urban Planning held to discuss the widespread practice of strategic development planning, many participating planners also pointed to the rough and hurried process of plan-making as a major factor leading to the failure of their proposed development strategies (Li and Yang 2007). Especially because of the common lack of research evidence to support the proposed ideas, the outcomes of strategic development planning are very often manipulated at the will of the mayor. In the case of Guangzhou, although the original strategy proposed by the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design, under the slogan "*beiyi nantuo* (preservation in the north, expansion in the south)," was to preserve the relatively unpolluted northern suburb and focus on the development of the newly expanded southern Guangzhou, in the plan finally unveiled by the city the preservation idea was abandoned by arbitrarily changing the strategy to "*beiyu nantuo* (optimization in the north, expansion in the south)" (Xu 2003: 371; Zhao and Luan 2003: 4). As Zhang Bing further made this seemingly contradictory comment, "despite being closer to the core of decision-making, strategic

[37] According to the 2000 Guangzhou Strategic Development Plan, because the development of Guangzhou was dwarfed by the surrounding mountains and the Pearl River, the original idea proposed by the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design was to make creative use of the vast land resources in the newly formed *Panyu* district in the south and to build a new financial hub similar to *Pudong*.

development plan is inherently limited as a development tool (Li and Yang 2007: 52)." The point here is, as Fulong Wu argues, that since the practice of strategic development planning is completely optional and self-funded by the local government, the outcome necessarily needs to reflect the aspirations of city leaders (Wu 2007: 386). Especially because most participating planning institutes, as seen in Table 3.2, are nonlocal and therefore less aware of the political context in which they are working, it has gradually become a prevailing attitude among Chinese planners to see themselves simply as a provider of planning consulting service.[38] In other words, the whole process is more like a well-structured brainstorming platform. Despite commonly held in high regard among local governments, there is no guarantee that the ideas generated through the process of strategic development planning will be translated into effective actions.[39]

The presence of **urban design** in China can be traced back to the early 1980s, when Shanghai made the first attempt to develop a visualized design for the newly formed Hongqiao District (see Figure 3.9).[40] In terms of purpose and function, urban design is very similar to detailed construction plan discussed in the previous section; but in practice, because there are no statutory procedural rules to govern how it should be performed, while, more importantly, the outcome of urban design, unlike the strategic development plan, can be seen usually in a near future, most local governments are not only willing to make

[38] As Table 5.1 shows, although it is common for local planning institutes to be part of the strategic planning consultation, the dominant presence of China Academy of Urban Planning and Design and Tongji University clearly demonstrates the increasingly active participation of non-local planners.

[39] As a popular saying goes among Chinese mayors, "*chengshi guihua shi chengshi fazhan de longtou, zhanlue guihua shi chengshi guihua de longtou* (the practice of urban planning is to provide guidance for urban development, while the practice of strategic development planning is to provide guidance for urban planning)." The sentence in simplified Chinese is "城市规划是城市发展的龙头, 战略规划是城市规划的龙头."

[40] The Hongqiao District Urban Design project (1983) was a follow-up of the Hongqiao District Detailed Development Control Plan (1982) discussed in the previous section (see Figure 5.4). Both were carried out by Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Research Institute with support from Shanghai Institute of Architectural Design and Research.

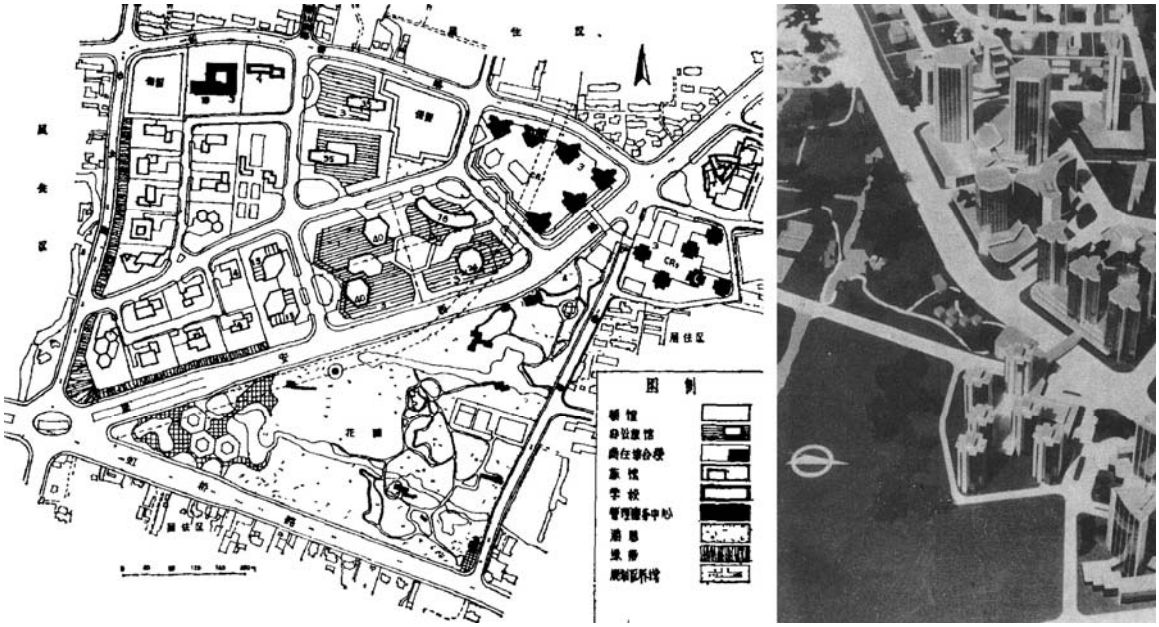

Figure 3.9 Hongqiao District Urban Design in Shanghai, 1983
Source: Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Research Institute 1987: 29; Zhang 1998: 35.

the investment on urban design projects but very receptive to new ideas and innovation. For example, in the project of Hongqiao District Urban Design, planners began to explore a variety of innovative design concepts, such as skyline control and pedestrian separation system (Zhang 1988: 34). Even though not all such attempts were successful, since then urban design has been gradually developed into a highly experimental field of practice, in which the pursuit of novelty is highly encouraged (Wu and Cui 2003b: 19).

However, since Shanghai took another lead to hold the very first international urban design competition in 1992 and invite four groups of globally renowned architects to design the Lujiazui financial district, there has been a sudden burst of interest among all levels of local governments to offer high rewards in exchange for design ideas from foreign sources.[41] As Carlie Q.L. Xue, Hailin Zhai and Brian Mitchenere pointed out, the

[41] As Kris Olds argued, because the city wanted to pick and choose among the submitted designs, rather than commit itself to a single "winning" design, there was no genuine competition between the participants. It was simply a consultation process. These four architects invited were Richard Rogers from the U.K., Dominique

main purpose, from the perspective of competition organizer, is not simply to import the latest design ideas from the West but to attract global attention (Xue, Zhai and Mitchenere 2011: 212). Especially for the purpose of attracting potential investors, both local and foreign, all the aesthetically pleasing images and models produced through the process are often repeatedly used in various forms of media to showcase the openness and aspiration of the local government (Olds 1997: 120). From the revitalization of business district and town square, to the development of new town, and further to the application of experimental design concepts to the whole city, the practice of urban design throughout the past three decades has rapidly expanded in scale and scope, while both foreign and Chinese planners have been therefore motivated to grow and compete with each other not only for innovative design ideas but also for lucrative profits.[42] As many Chinese planners began to reflect on the situation, the increased competition for urban design

Figure 3.10 Richard Roger's Proposal for Lujiazui Urban Design Competition in Shanghai, 1992
Note: Available at http://www.rsh-p.com/work/all_projects/shanghai_masterplan/concept (accessed October, 2011).
Source: Rogers Stirk Harbour + Partners.

Perrault from France, Toyo Ito from Japan and Massimiliano Fuksas from Italy (Olds 1997: 117).
[42] As Wu Zhiqiang and Cui Hongbing pointed out, the prize for the winner of international competition is usually very high, ranging from ten thousands to even millions USD (Wu and Cui 2003a: 34).

commissions has exerted a mixed impact on the development of their profession. On the one hand, because the market demand for urban design is so strong and the average time allowed for design development is usually as short as ten to twelve weeks, there is a growing trend among Chinese planners to pursue the latest fashions of graphic computation and focus on the production of compelling visual presentation, which certainly does not require as much time as background survey or data analysis (Chen and Ji 2006: 10; Wu and Cui 2003b: 19; Zhu 2009: 210; Zuo and Ma 2004: 67). On the other, with urban design widely employed as a powerful tool for promoting the image of local government, there is only limited concern about how to turn the "design on paper" into reality and, as a result, many of the design efforts undertaken by planners are just a waste of time and resources (Lu and He 2006: 12; Wang and Tang 2005: 34; Wu, Xu and Yeh 2007: 183).

In sum, the non-statutory practice of urban planning, as discussed in this section, is a rapidly changing and expanding field of practice characterized by substantial informality. From the formulation of development strategy to the generation of urban design proposals, although the planning process has become increasingly open to participation from non-local planners, the outcomes, due to the insufficient time allowed for plan development, are usually driven too much by the mayor's personal opinion and therefore more likely to take a short-term view of planning. Especially because of the lack of legally enforceable definition and standard, both the practices of strategic development planning and urban design are often subject to manipulation or even total abandonment. As a result, despite the growing trend for a more flexible and responsive approach to planning and accordingly more opportunities for Chinese planners to make an impact in the rapidly

changing urban environment, their role is still limited to a drafting tool serving the purpose of development.

3.5 Conclusion: Distortive Effects of Local Government in Planning Practice

This chapter examines the changing practice of urban planning in contemporary China. Based on the existing types of statutory and non-statutory planning reviewed above, two levels of contradiction can be further identified as follows: First, although the central government through a series of legislative efforts has attempted to strengthen its top-down control over the local practice of urban planning, the control so far has not operated effectively, and therefore, the local governments driven by the desire to generate land-based revenue can always find their way to compromise between the weak enforcement of regulation and the strong market demand for land. Specifically with regard to the estimation of population growth and future land demand, and the parcel-based designation of land use type and floor area ratio, because there are no strict rules or guidelines to follow, the process, as seen in the cases of Beijing, Zhejiang and Shenzhen, is commonly subject to manipulation and frequent revision. In this context, the statutory function of urban planning, despite being expected to provide guidance for future urban growth, has rarely been performed as originally intended.

Second, the widespread practice of non-statutory planning in recent years is certainly a clear indication that there is a growing demand among local governments for more responsive and flexible planning consultation. However, it cannot be therefore assumed that this growing demand has strengthened the role of urban planning in guiding the future urban development. From strategic development plan to urban design, even though

Chinese planners are now exposed to more opportunities to practice their profession and to further offer their consulting service directly to the local leaders, most of these efforts, due to the very limited time allowed, are undertaken without adequate consideration of local context and therefore commonly criticized for their short-term view and uncritical conformity to the needs of local government.

As such, these two levels of contradiction are actually reflective of the changing practicing environment of urban planning discussed in the previous sections. After all, since the tax sharing reform in 1994, the government at the local level has been put under intense pressure to increase its reliance on land transfer revenue and pursue land development. Increasingly, the practice of Chinese planning driven by such pressure has been limited to serving as a tool for facilitating the process. As a result, not only have other non-development related issues been often neglected, but such unbalanced focus, as discussed in Chapter One, has also attracted a growing criticism from both the central government and the new media.

Chapter 4 Towards a Profit-Driven Industry: Marketization of Professional Planning

Following the discussion about government distortion in planning practice, this chapter examines another aspect of the emerging criticism against Chinese planning: unregulated profit-driven practice. In particular, the increasing marketization of professional planning will be focused and discussed in terms of its influence on the changing way urban planning is practiced. To obtain a clearer understanding on the process, the following section will review the institutional arrangements for marketization of professional planning in the 1990s, based on which the case of China Academy of Urban Planning Design will be further examined to explain how urban planning has been developed into a profit-driven profession and therefore subject to criticism.

4.1 Institutional Separation between Planning Production and Administration

Urban planning in China has been long established as an exclusively governmental activity, but in the past three decades the way it is organized as a specialized form of urban governance has undergone a fundamental change. One particularly important aspect of it is the institutional separation between planning production (*guihua bianzhi* or *sheji*) and administration (*guihua guanli*), the beginning of which can be traced back to the enactment of Urban Planning Act in 1989 and a series of subsequent legislation including the Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning (*Chengshi Guihua Bianzhi Banfa*) in 1991 and the Regulations Regarding the Qualification of Planning Practicing Institutes (*Chengshi Guihua Sheji Danwei Zige Guanli Banfa*) in 1992. Specifically, the former indicates that the production of urban planning can be commissioned to “any unit

who meet the necessary qualification requirements;"[43] while the later further states that the service market of urban planning was now emerging and open to all planning institutes with the appropriate level of qualification.[44] In other words, the practice of urban planning was no longer limited to a top-down administrative process. Rather, it has been increasingly developed into a commodity service that can be sold or purchased on the market. As a result, there were a growing number of planning institutes (*guihua yuan*) springing up all over the country. Even though most of them at that time were still a government agency and under the supervision of planning bureau (*guihua ju*), they were becoming more independent both administratively and financially.

In 1992, the Ministry of Construction sent out an administrative notice regarding the adoption of contract responsibility system (*jishu jingji zeren zhi*) for the production of urban planning, since which the practice of Chinese planners had become largely contract-based and, more importantly, its market value had been also increasingly recognized. Details of the newly introduced contract system can be summarized as follows:

1. All planning institutes have to obtain approval from the supervisory authority (planning bureau) and hold a valid license for practicing urban planning.
2. All planning institutes under the contract responsibility system belong to category of "*shiye danwei* (public service unit)" and should be financially independent.[45]

---

[43] See Article 5 of Regulations Regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning.

[44] See Article 11 of Regulations Regarding the Qualification of Planning Practicing Institutes.

[45] According to the definition provided by State Council, *shiye danwei* is "a social service organization established by the state for the purpose of social public benefit;" it is created "by a state organ or other organization with state own assets" and carries out activities in education, science and technology, culture, health or in other areas (State Council 1998b). It is also one of the four categories of public sector institutions in China. The other three are Communist Party or government departments (*dangzheng jiguan*), state owned

3. Service fee for commissioned projects should be charged according to the standards issued by the State Planning Commission (G*uojia Jihua Weiyuanhui*).[46]
4. 15% of revenue should be reallocated to the construction fund for energy and transportation projects, and 10% for the state budget stabilization fund. The remaining should be used in the following three types of funds: no less than 50% for self-development, no less than 20% for employee welfare, and no more than 30% for performance bonus.
5. All planning institutes with qualified capacity and facilities are encouraged to undertake projects in other related fields, such as architecture, construction design, and civil engineering. However, revenue from these non-planning projects should not exceed 40% of the total revenue.

Based on the summary above, although Chinese planning had been on the way to becoming a marketized profession, the emerging planning service market since the late 1980s has also sparked heated debate over how far the process of marketization should be carried forward. Some of them argued that planning bureau should still be responsible for most part of planning production, while some others advocated that the professional field of urban planning would benefit more from opening up to market competition (Chen and Wang 1995: 7). On the surface, the debate was primarily over to what extent the planning production and administration should be separated; but what actually caused concern among Chinese planners was their changing position in relation to the

---

enterprise (including state owned financial institution), and state sponsored social organization (*shetuan*) (Zhang 2005: 85).

[46] The earliest charging standard for professional planning service was issued by the State Planning Commission in 1987, but with the adoption of contract responsibility system, the Ministry of Construction in 1992 released a new version of charging standard. However, the standard was revoked by the State Planning Commission in 200.

government. After all, since their work had become largely contract-based, no longer receiving regular subsidies from the government, the way they practice their profession would inevitably become more time and budget sensitive. And, as pointed out by several senior planners interviewed for this study, the introduction of contract responsibility system did give them much stronger incentives for them to pursue projects that could generate returns more quickly (Informants 53, 62, 70 and 104).[47] The following section will take the organizational reform of China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (*Zhongguo Chengshi Guihua Sheji Yanjiu Yuan*) throughout the 1990s as the case to examine how the production of urban planning has been separated from the administration of urban planning and become an increasingly marketized activity.

4.2 Case Study: China Academy of Urban Planning and Design

Since China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (CAUPD for short) was established in 1954 as a specialized agency under Ministry of Construction (now as Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development), it has been long recognized as the leading practicing institute in the professional field of urban planning. Especially in the 1980s, when the recovery of urban planning as a profession just begun, CAUPD also took the lead in developing itself into a nationwide provider of planning service and later further reforming itself into one of the earliest planning institutes that could operate completely without government subsidies. Specifically, the process can be traced back to its adoption of the contract responsibility system in 1987, since which CAUPD had begun to establish itself as an independently functioning institution and assume sole responsibility for its own profit and loss. As the former deputy president of CAUPD Li

[47] These four informants are all senior planners with at least ten-year working experience. Each of them is affiliated with a different planning institute.

Bingdi explained, "the reason why we decided to enter the emerging planning service market was not simply because we were asked to. Rather, this was an inevitable outcome of the country's ongoing market reform and therefore we made a series of bold attempts to streamline the organization and management of CAUPD" (Chen and Wang 1995: 9).

With CAUPD's increasing financial independence from Ministry of Construction, in the early 1990s it decided to introduce a revenue sharing mechanism between its headquarter in Beijing and branch offices in Shenzhen, Hainan, and Xiamen so as to provide motivation for expanding production.[48] In specific, the Beijing headquarter of CAUPD since then would no longer have the full authority to control the operation of its local branches. Now, the branch offices not only could keep 70% of revenue for themselves; but, more importantly, they were also allowed to appoint their own personnel and to develop their own strategy to compete in the emerging planning service market.[49] Just as the former deputy chief planner of CAUPD Zhao Yanjing examined the development of Xiamen branch, because now there was no top-down control over its fiscal operations, the branch director could motivate the employees by creating a pay-for-performance environment.[50] For example, all employees since 1994 were divided into two groups: permanent and contract-based. The former could share a certain percentage of the branch's total revenue, while the salary of the latter was basically fixed

[48] In the past two decades, CAUPD has further established several more branch offices in Zhuhai, Shantou, Shanghai, and Chongqing. Some of them have sub-branches in Qingdao, Huizhou, Ningbo, etc.

[49] Although the headquarter of CAUPD after the reform no longer had the full authority over the budget and personnel of its local branches, it was still responsible for providing health insurance and retirement funds for all employees.

[50] Zhao Yangjing entered CAUPD in 1984. After ten years of working in Beijing, he was assigned as the director of Xiamen branch in 1994. With his success in improving the profitability of the branch, he was called back to the Beijing headquarter in 1999 and tasked with the mission to revitalize the department of historical preservation planning, which was facing severe financial difficulties at the time. In 2004, he was appointed as the deputy chief planner of CAUPD and since 2007 he has served as the director of Planning Bureau of Xiamen.

but plus performance-based bonus. Since the introduction of the new system, the Xiamen branch of CAUPD has begun to expand its personnel and promote an efficient division of labor. Especially by hiring a large number of low-wage drafters and college interns, senior planners now could effectively focus on implementing project management without having to be troubled with time-consuming and low-level tasks. As a result, it is getting common for a senior planner in Xiamen CAUPD to manage ten to twenty projects in parallel, and just within ten years it had become the second most profitable branch office behind only the Shenzhen branch (Zhao 2004: 63).[51]

In the late 1990s, CAUPD took another important step towards reform: all departments of Beijing headquarter after handing over 40% of gross revenue now could keep the remaining balance and further determine the use of the fund. Both financially and administratively, each department would thus operate just like an independent company and have the full control over its operation. As Zhao explained how he led the reform of one particular department – historical preservation planning (*mingcheng suo*), the department since 1999 had been divided into a number of specialized studios (*gongzuo shi*).[52] Similar to the relationship between the departments and the CAUPD headquarter, all studios of the department were also allowed to retain a certain percentage of profits and operate independently from each other.[53] Thus, the studio

[51] In the early 1990s, the fiscal situation of Xiamen CAUPD was so bad that it faced intense pressure to halt its operation. However, since the reform began, it began to turn things around. Within ten years, Xiamen CAUPD not only had become the second most profitable branch office behind only the Shenzhen branch; its per capita gross value of output had even surpassed all other financially independent institutions under CAUPD, reaching nearly one million in the early 2000s (Zhao 2004: 63).

[52] Since CAUPD began its rapid expansion in the 1980s, it also established a number of specialized departments, such as urban design, international planning, housing, transportation, and historical preservation planning, which was established in 1982 as one of the earliest departments of CAUPD.

[53] The sharing percentage between studio and department is determined through negotiation between studio leaders and department director. And with the expansion of departmental revenue, the negotiated percentage has been changing in favor of the studios so as to provide incentives for increasing productivity (Zhao 2004: 66).

leaders had become the ones who took the primary responsibility for motivating the employees to improve their performance, while the department director, by promoting fair competition between the studios, would also benefit from the increased productivity since his earning was based on a percentage share of the total departmental revenue (Zhao 2004: 66). In this context, although there was a widening revenue gap between studios with higher profitability and those without, the department as a whole had successfully rebounded from its severe fiscal crisis and, more noticeably, in 2001 it even became the first department of CAUPD whose output value exceeded ten million RMB.

Through the brief review on the organizational reform of CAUPD in the 1990s, it is evident that the adoption of contract responsibility system has profoundly changed the way urban planning is practiced.[54] Specifically, CAUPD despite still as an affiliated agency under the Ministry of Construction has no longer relied on government subsidy to maintain its operation and now has to devise innovative strategies so as to compete with other planning institutes in the market. Just as seen in the cases of Xiamen branch and department of historical preservation planning, both of them since Zhao took over as the director have been operating just like a private company, fully devoted to the pursuit of efficiency and profit maximization. And, with the continued improvements in productivity and profitability throughout the 1990s, CAUPD has been further on the way to rapid expansion and, more importantly, withdrawal from its longstanding affiliation with the government. Eventually, in 2003 it moved out from the building complex where the Ministry of Construction is located and settled into a twelve-floor modern looking high-rise (Figure 4.1). Even though CAUPD now still has the obligation to undertake

[54] Other case studies on organizational reform of planning institutes may include: Lian (2005) on Dalian Urban Planning and Design Institute, Zhao, Yin, Li, and You (2009) on Shenyang Urban Planning Design and Research Institute.

planning projects under administrative command, all the commissioned projects are contract-based and therefore have to be done within a realistic budget and time. In this sense, CAUPD not only has taken a huge step towards marketization; its organizational reform also demonstrates that the traditional bureaucratic system of urban planning has been under growing pressure to reform and to adjust to the emerging market environment.

Figure 4.1 A Contrast between the Old and New Office Buildings of CAUPD
Source: Photo by the author.

4.3 A Growing Market Opened to Global Competition

Certainly, the pressure to reform has not been limited to CAUPD but affects all planning institutes that belong to the public sector. Nevertheless, because the administrative notice sent out by Ministry of Construction in 1992 has not been enforced with any provision of direction or regulation, not everyone has the same motivation as

CAUPD to push itself through the process of marketization and face the pressure of competition from other planning institutes. According to Zhao Hui, Yin Jian, Li Xiaoyu, and You Zongxing's 2009 research, although 88% of existing planning institutes have adopted the contract responsibility system, only 10% of them have further transformed into completely financially independent institutions (Zhao, Yin, Li, and You 2009: 60).[55] After all, it is never easy to shift from a position of heavy reliance on government subsidies to one of self-reliance. As pointed out by planners who have been involved in the organizational reform of their affiliated planning institutes, the main reason for the lack for motivation is that most planning institutes enjoy a relative secure source of commissions – mainly through the administrative command. Therefore, they still operate like typical bureaucratic agencies, bear the burden of inefficient production, and, most importantly, have no experience competing in the increasingly open market (Chen 2000: 59; Zhang 2005: 41; Informants 53, 62, 83, and 84). As a result, there is a growing trend for those planning institutes who have not taken initiatives towards marketization to retreat from the expanding market of professional planning, since they are uncompetitive in terms of productivity and profitability.

Especially since China became a member of WTO in 2001, foreign planning consulting firms now are allowed to undertake planning projects without joint-venturing with local planning institutes.[56] The planning service market has therefore become even more competitive, producing a mixed outcome for both local planning institutes and

[55] According to the administrative notice sent out by Ministry of Construction in 1992, all planning institutes under the contract responsibility system should be financially independent, but in practice most planning institutes still heavily rely on monetary subsidies from their affiliated governments.

[56] Before China joined the WTO, although foreign planning consulting firms (including those from Hong Kong, Macau, and Taiwan) were allowed to operate in China, according to the Regulations Regarding the Qualification of Planning Practicing Institutes issued by Ministry of Construction in 1992, joint-venturing with local planning institutes who hold valid practicing licenses was required (see Article 11).

foreign planning consulting firms: For local planning institutes, because most of them are in lack of motivation to turn financially independent, they are generally inactive competitors in the face of growing international competition. For example, the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BMICP), despite possessing the Grade-A qualification and being authorized to undertake planning projects nationwide, has made a clear commitment not to extend its service to cities other than Beijing (Tang and Feng 2004: 41).[57] However, it does not therefore mean that foreign planning consulting firms have been thus ruled out from competing with local planning institutes like BICP. On the contrary, since the late 1990s it has become increasingly common for all levels of local governments to seek planning consultation from out of the country and, as Wu Zhiqiang and Cui Hongbing observe the recent growth of international planning competition (*guoji zhaobiao)* in China, it is the local planning institutes who often find themselves excluded from participating these so-called "international" competition (Wu and Cui 2003b: 19). In this context, although local planning institutes are still the main provider of professional planning service, they have gradually lost their monopoly over the industry, especially at a time when Chinese planning, as discussed in the previous chapter, is about to enter its golden age.

For foreign planning consulting firms, some of them actually came to China as early as in the 1980s and therefore the long-awaited accession to the WTO in 2001 is certainly a huge encouragement for them to further expand their business across the country. Representative examples may include AS&P and OBERMEYER from Germany,

[57] According to the Regulations Regarding the Qualification of Planning Practicing Institutes issued by Ministry of Construction in 1992, all planning institutes are divided into four categories from A to D (simplified to three in 2001). Grade-A is the highest. Planning institutes with Grade-A qualification are allowed to undertake planning projects nationwide without any restriction. Details about the qualification system are discussed in Chapter 5.

RTKL and AECOM from the U.S., Atkins and RPS Group Plc from the U.K., etc. Most of them since the early 1990s have begun to joint venture with local planning institutes and establish branch offices in major cities such as Beijing, Shanghai, and Tianjin.[58] After the Regulations on Foreign-Invested Enterprises in Urban Planning (*Waishang Touzi Chengshi Guihua Fuwu Qiye Quanli Banfa*) is promulgated in 2003, now all the foreign planning consulting firms that comply with the minimum requirements are allowed to register with the Ministry of Construction to operate with full autonomy.[59] Until now, even though there are only 27 foreign firms that have completed the registration, the number is expected to soar in the near future; and, more importantly, the service market of urban planning has been thus officially opened up to global competition.[60]

4.4 Conclusion: Planning as a Lucrative but Competitive Industry

To sum up what has been discussed above, this chapter reviews the process through which planning production and administration have been institutionally separated. Despite some debate over how far the process should be continued, the professional field of urban planning has been constantly pushed towards marketization and therefore there is a growing trend for all planning institutes to withdraw their long-standing affiliation with the government, exercise greater autonomy over their own operation, and extend their

[58] Before China became a member of WTO, there was no statutory regulation for the practice of foreign planning consulting firms, except for Article 11 of the Regulations Regarding the Qualification of Planning Practicing Institutes: "Planning practicing institutes from Hong Kong, Macau, or other countries cannot be issued a license but have to cooperate with those (local planning institutes) possessing a valid license."

[59] The Regulations on Foreign-Invested Enterprises in Urban Planning is promulgated for implementation in 2003 after ratification by both Ministry of Construction and Ministry of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation. As Article 3 clearly defines, the Regulations apply to all joint venture and wholly foreign invested enterprises in urban planning, including those from Taiwan, Hong Kong, and Macau.

[60] The number is based on the list updated by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in September 28th, 2011.

service outside the cities where they are located. Especially since China became a member of the WTO, foreign planning consulting firms have been now officially allowed to compete in the planning service market and to challenge the monopoly long enjoyed by local planning institutes. As pointed out by a senior planner who has been serving in one government-affiliated planning institute for over twenty years, "now we are actually facing two levels of competition. One is from other local planning institutes, while the other is from foreign planning consulting firms" (Informant 104). To adapt to the increasingly competitive environment, it is becoming an urgent priority for all planning institutes to change the way they practice their profession. Some of them, as seen in the case of CAUPD, extend the contract responsibility system to their subordinate branches and departments so as to provide incentives for improving productivity and efficiency, while some others further adopt a shareholding system of management, through which each full-time employee as a shareholder is entitled to receive a share of the total profits of the corporation. [61] Gradually, not only there are a growing number of government-affiliated planning institutes now acting just like private, profit-seeking enterprises, but most of them, because of the rapidly rising demand for planning service since the late 1990s, have also experienced a dramatic expansion in their organizational scale and number of personnel.

However, it is also because now the production of urban planning has been developed into a lucrative industry that the way Chinese planners practice their profession has also become less accountable to the public interest. After all, under the

[61] One of the earliest examples is Nanjing Academy of Urban Planning and Design Co., LTD (NAUPD), which was established in 1984 as a professional planning institute under the jurisdiction of Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau but converted into a shareholding enterprise in 2003. Further details about the conversion can be found in the paper published in 2005 by the president of NAUPD, Zhang Zhengkang.

pressure of market competition, all service providers in urban planning (whether local planning institutes or foreign planning consulting firms) have to customize their service offerings to meet the needs of their clients. Since most of their clients are local governments of different levels, who since the late 1990s have become financially dependent on land-related revenue, their practice would be necessarily in favor of promoting land development and, very often, without placing equal emphasis on other important issues that are also involved in the process. As the chief planner of CAUPD Zhang Bing pointed out, because there is a strong presumption among Chinese mayors that the goal of urban planning is to create conditions favorable for economic development, it is often taken for granted that the primary job of urban planners should be as simple as "to raise the floor area ratio"– that is, to increase the density of land use (Zhang 2005: 22).[62] In this context, Chinese planners, on the one hand, are enjoying the growing market demand for their professional service; on the other, their practice through the process is also confined to a narrow focus – the promotion of land development.

[62] The floor area ratio is the ratio of the total floor area of buildings on a certain location to the size of the land of that location. It is commonly used in zoning to limit the amount of construction in a certain area.

Chapter 5 Standardization of Knowledge and Its Influence on Chinese Planning

As discussed in Chapter Two about the evolutionary process of modern profession, standardization of knowledge has been identified as the most important step of professionalization, through which professions can not only claim professional jurisdiction, but also compete with other professions to gain social recognition and economic rewards (Abbott 1988; Freidson 1970; Larson 1977; Johnson1972). In the case of Chinese planning, the establishment of national standards to define its core knowledge can be traced back to 1996, when the Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education (Chengshi Guihua Zhuanye Zhidao Weiyuanhui, ACUPE for short) was formed to develop an accreditation system for planning education.[63] By studying the development of planning programs in Southeast University and Nanjing University since then, this chapter examines the role of ACUPE in guiding the development of Chinese planning education and discusses how the profession in the past decade has been developed, especially in relation to its originating field – architecture.

5.1 Initiation of Educational Accreditation and Core Curriculum

With the establishment of ACUPE in 1996, a small group of planning academics was brought together to develop a quality control system for planning education. After two years of deliberation and efforts, including multiple visits to Hong Kong, U.S. and U.K., the first accreditation board was formed, consisting of 21 planning professors and experts from around the country (Informant 64).[64] Within half a year, five highly reputed planning

[63] With regard to the translated name of c*hengshi guihua zhuanye zhidao weiyuanhui*, here I do not to follow the English translation provided by the organization itself – China Urban Planning Education Network.

[64] According to the Charter of Accreditation Committee on Urban Planning Education (*Chengshi guihua zhuanye jiaoyu pinggu weiyuanhui zhangcheng*), the accreditation committee should consist of 3 members

schools were officially announced to obtained accreditation, including Tsinghua University, Tongji University, Southeast University, Harbin Institute of Technology, and Chongqing Jianzhu University, not only marking the official beginning of ACUPE accreditation but, more importantly, as a big step forward for the professionalization of Chinese planning.[65]

Indeed, the initiation of ACUPE accreditation was at the right time. As discussed earlier in Chapter One, because since the early 1990s the number of planning schools has begun to increase at a steady pace. In this context, there was a growing concern among Chinese planners that their professional field should be clearly defined in terms of required knowledge and practical skills and, more specifically, this particular concern was centered around how to develop an appropriate curriculum that would assure a solid education for Chinese planners and, in the meanwhile, a more well-defined boundary with other disciplines. Therefore, the ACUPE decided to adopt the system of core curriculum (hexin kecheng), that has prevailed for decades in countries such as the U.S. and U.K. On the one hand, a core set of courses were designated as necessary for the minimum requirement for accreditation (see Table 5.1); on the other, through the process the purpose was also to set up a set of standards for those newly established schools to model after.

Noticeably, the adoption of core curriculum by ACUPE did not resemble its counterparts in the U.S. and U.K. to involve a debate over the distinction between "generalist" and "specialist" planners, and its influence on the development of urban planning as an academic field is therefore very different: First, the American and British version of core curriculum is mainly applied to the postgraduate level of planning

---

from either Ministry of Construction or Ministry of Education, 8 to 9 planning academics, and 8 to 9 senior urban planners.

[65] In 2000, Chongqing Jianzhu University and two other institutions merged into Chongqing University.

Table 5.1 Core Curriculum Required for ACUPE Accreditation, 2004

	Course Name	Required Hours
1	**Planning Studio**	**140-280**
2	**Architectural Design Studio**	**120-240**
3	**Introduction of Urban Planning** (including Urban Transportation)	**90-180**
4	**History of Urban Planning** (both Chinese and Western)	**30-60**
5	**Urban Ecology / Landscape Planning** (select either one)	**30-60**
6	**Urban Economics**	**30-60**
7	**Planning Management and Law**	**30-60**
8	**Urban System and Engineering**	**30-60**

Notes: (1) The core curriculum developed by ACUPE has been slightly modified after four years of practice. In the new version issued in 2004, the number of core courses has been reduced from 10 to 8, though all the reduced courses did not disappear but merged into other ones, such as Urban Transportation, Urban Ecology, and Landscape Planning. (2) The required hours of core curriculum are roughly one third of the total credit hours usually taken by planning students, which are around 3000.
Source: Advisory Committee on Architecture and Civil Engineering Education, and Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education, 2004.

education, and the main purpose, as reviewed in Chapter One, is to establish a common core of knowledge, based on which planning students with diverse academic backgrounds are encouraged to pursue advanced work in specialized areas and become a "generalist with a specialty." However, in the Chinese case the adoption of core curriculum is aimed to establish a quality control system in regulating the rapid expansion of planning education, especially for the undergraduate level. Necessarily, it is more concerned with how to set up a generalized model for those newly established planning schools to follow, rather than to encourage a more diverse development among them. Therefore, ACUPE not only developed a clear list of required core courses but also included it as the primary

requirement for accreditation, marking a major difference from the practice of core curriculum in the U.S. and U.K. As a result, even though ACUPE does specifically state that "the purpose of core curriculum is simply to set up a minimal standard for planning education, and all planning schools are encouraged to strengthen their own distinctive character," the way it is practiced right now may just point to the opposite direction (ACACE and ACUPE 2004: 4).

Second, the core curriculum, as shown in Table 5.1, contains 120 to 240 required hours of architectural design studio. Although this is not the most time-demanding one among all core courses on the list, because it requires a low student-to-instructor ratio and, more importantly, a studio type of workspace that could allow students to spend long hours working side by side at their projects, not many planning schools can really afford to provide, at least not with the quality that ACUPE specifies. For example, ACUPE recommends that the ideal student-to-instructor ratio should be no higher than 8:1, but in reality, the ratio is usually higher than 30:1 (Zhang 2008: 72). For studio workspace, ACUPE also requires that each student should be provided with a personal drafting table and chair, but in most planning schools one working space is shared by three or more students (ACUPE 2009: 4). Especially for planning schools derived from the fields of civil engineering, geography, forestry and agriculture, their teaching still heavily relies on lecture-based format within traditional classroom settings. Not only their faculty members are unfamiliar with the teaching methods commonly used in studio teaching, such as desk critiques and pin-up, but most of them actually have difficulties finding qualified instructors to teach design studio and its prerequisite course in fine art, which is also

required by ACUPE (see Figure 5.1).[66] Increasingly, this particular curriculum requirement has become a key barrier for planning schools from non-architecture field to apply for accreditation.

Third, since the ACUPE was established in 1997, its composition has been dominated by faculty members from a fairly limited number of planning schools, most of which are on the list of so-called *jianzhu laobaxiao* (eight leading schools in architecture).[67] Certainly, it may not be therefore inferred that the strong representation of

Figure 5.1 Different Types of Classroom Space for Planning Education
Note: Clockwise from top left: typical classroom for lecture class, classroom for fine art practice, wall space for pin-up, and workspace for studio courses.
Source: Xia 2008: 85; photo by author.

[66] Fine art practice is not included in core curriculum but listed as a part of the required "*shijian huanjie* (practical training)." Usually, the content includes sketching, watercolor, and pastel painting.
[67] The so-called *jianzhu laobaxiao* (eight leading schools in architecture) includes Tsinghua University, Tongji University, Southeast University, Harbin Institute of Technology, Chongqing Jianzhu University, Tianjin University, Xian University of Architecture and Technology, and Sough China University of Technology. Among the seventeen founding members of ACUPE, eight are from these eight leading architectural schools.

architecture schools in ACUPE can explain why the core curriculum would emphasize the importance of design training, but as the following Table 5.2 shows, because these eight

Table 5.2 Comparison between Planning and Architecture Schools Receiving Accreditation (partial list)

Name of School	Location	Time to Receive Accreditation (Urban Planning)	Time to Receive Accreditation (Architecture)
Tsinghua University	Beijing	1998/6	1992/5
Tongji University	Shanghai	1998/6	1992/5
Southeast University	Jiangsu	1998/6	1992/5
Chongqing University	Chongqing	1998/6	1994/5
Harbin Institute of Technology	Heilongjiang	1998/6	1994/5
Tianjin University	Tianjin	2000/6	1992/5
Xian University of Architecture and Technology	Shaanxi	2000/6	1994/5
Huazhong University of Science and Technology	Zhejiang	2000/6	1999/5
Nanjing University	Jiangsu	2002/6	2007/5
South China University of Technology	Guangdong	2002/6	1994/5
Shandong Jianzhu University	Shandong	2004/6	2000/5
Southwest Jiaotong University	Sichuan	2004/6	1998/5
Zhejiang University	Zhejiang	2004/6	1996/5

Notes: (1) School names highlighted in bold are the so-called *jianzhu laobaxiao* (eight leading schools in architecture).
(2) According to the latest list published by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, there are now 29 planning schools and 47 architectural schools that have received accreditation.
Source: Compiled by author using data collected from website of Ministry of Housing and Urban -Rural Development (http://edu.mohurd.gov.cn/).

leading schools in architecture are the earliest that have been granted with accredited status, the way they educate planning students has also become a model, especially for those newly established planning schools. For example, Suzhou University of Science and Technology since the early 1990s has started to actively recruit Ph.D. graduates and adopt curriculum design from Tongji University, and soon earned itself the nickname of "little Tongji (*xiao tongji*);"[68] while more recently, planning schools from all over the country further begin to send their senior-level students to these "model" schools to audit classes, prepare for graduate school entrance exam, and to collect the most updated course materials for their own use (Informants 65, 67, and 75). Gradually, there are a growing number of architecture schools now beginning to offer planning degree (mostly at undergraduate level); while more importantly, although participation from other academic fields is still growing, the majority of them are far from being qualified to apply for accreditation and therefore under growing intense pressure to change the way they teach urban planning.

In the following sections, the cases of Southeast University and Nanjing University will be presented so as to further examine the strong influence of ACUPE accreditation. By drawing a comparison between their very different paths of development, the conclusion section will discuss how urban planning has been increasingly confined to a narrow technical field, despite its simultaneous growth in the number of schools and enrollment.

[68] Although planning education in Suzhou University of Science and Technology was not formalized as late as 1985, it was developed very quickly and received ACUPE accreditation in 2008.

5.2 Case Study: Southeast University[69]

Starting as early as in the late 1960s, planning education in Southeast University has been long developed under architecture as a specialization area. In 1986, an independent curriculum was firstly established, but urban planning and two other disciplines – architecture and landscape architecture, were still all organized under the major of architecture (*jianzhu xue*) and shared the same enrollment process. Until 1998, when ACUPE was about to initiate educational accreditation, urban planning in Southeast University was officially turned into a full undergraduate program, since which it finally had its own faculty, administration, and facilities separated from architecture.

With the increasing independence of urban planning as a separated program from architecture, planning education in Southeast University since the late 1990s began to build a national reputation, especially through being accredited with a certificate of excellence (*youxiu*) by ACUPE.[70] However, the way planning students are educated in Southeast University has not changed much with this development and remains under the strong influence of the well-established model of architectural education. In particular, based on the core curriculum system suggested by ACUPE a so-called "2+3" system was developed, through which the five-year undergraduate program is divided into a two-year basic course in architecture and a three-year advanced course in urban planning. In other words, all planning students during their first two years of study are basically no different from students whose major is architecture. They are trained basically the same way as

[69] Southeast University (*Dongnan daxue*) is a one of the national key universities administered directly under the Ministry of Education. It is also a member of Project 211 and Project 985, both of which are to financially support the university to achieve the goal of being the top and world-famous university.

[70] Planning schools that have passed ACUPE accreditation are further classified into three levels: conditionally qualified (*tiaojian hege*), qualified (*hege*) with four-year validity and excellence (*youxiu*) with six-year validity. Only a very limited number of planning schools have been granted with the accredited status of excellence (Gao 2003: 5).

architects and, before entering the third year, only have limited access to knowledge about urban planning (Informant 06).

On the surface, the invention of 2+3 system is to supplement the limited resources available for the operation of urban planning as an independent program, including funding, faculty, staff, and facilities; while what should be also noted here is that the system further enforces a belief that urban planners should share its knowledge base with architects. As Figure 5.2 demonstrates, the way planning students are educated in their first two years is more based on individual artistic expression of creativity. And, to be specific, the purpose is to familiarize them with the knowledge and skills about the process

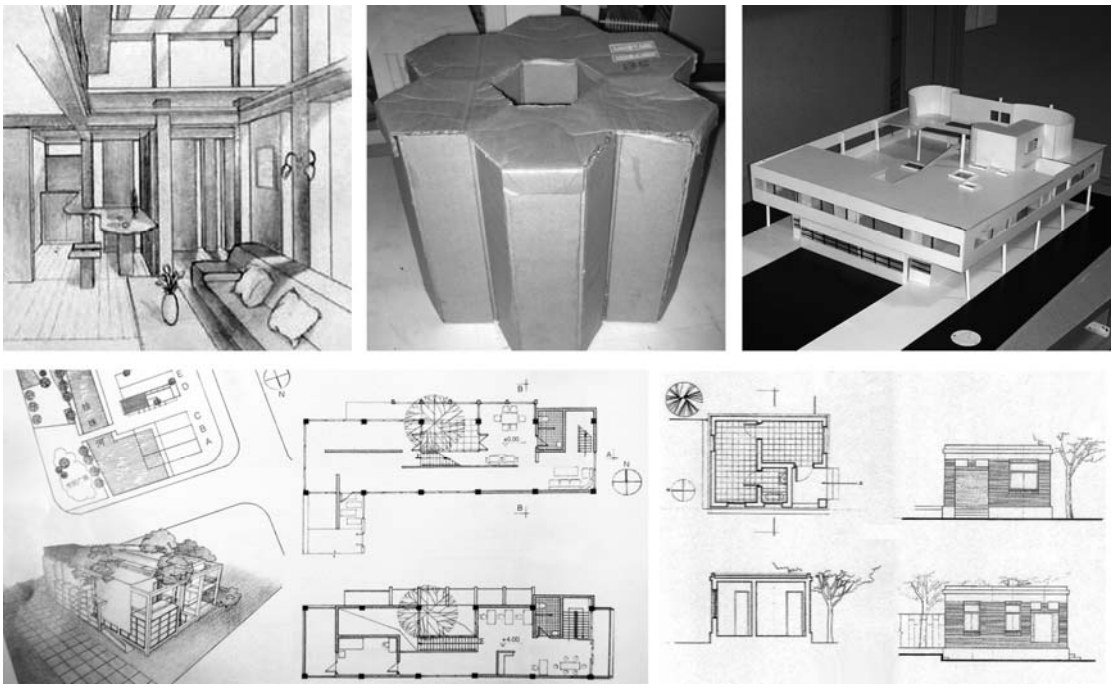

Figure 5.2 Selected Works from Planning Students at the First and Second-Year Level, Southeast University
Note: Clockwise from top left: sketching practice, chair design practice, case study and modeling practice, measurement and drawing practice, architectural design studio.
Source: Compiled by author from data collected during interviews (Informant 67); *Chengshi guihua zhuanye xuesheng youxiu zuoye xuan, 2002-2007* (Selected Excellent Works of Planning Students, 2002-2007).

of architectural design, which is usually undertaken under ideal conditions so as to focus them on the development of creativity. By contrast, selected works from planning students of third-year and above level (as shown in Figure 5.3), because of the vast ranges of space, time and causality involved, are necessarily more concerned with a broader analysis of social, environmental and economic realities. Therefore, this part of training is usually achieved through teamwork and has to employ a variety of research methods. As a result, planning students since the third year all have to undergo a major transition from the field of architecture to urban planning. And, as pointed out by a group of young faculty

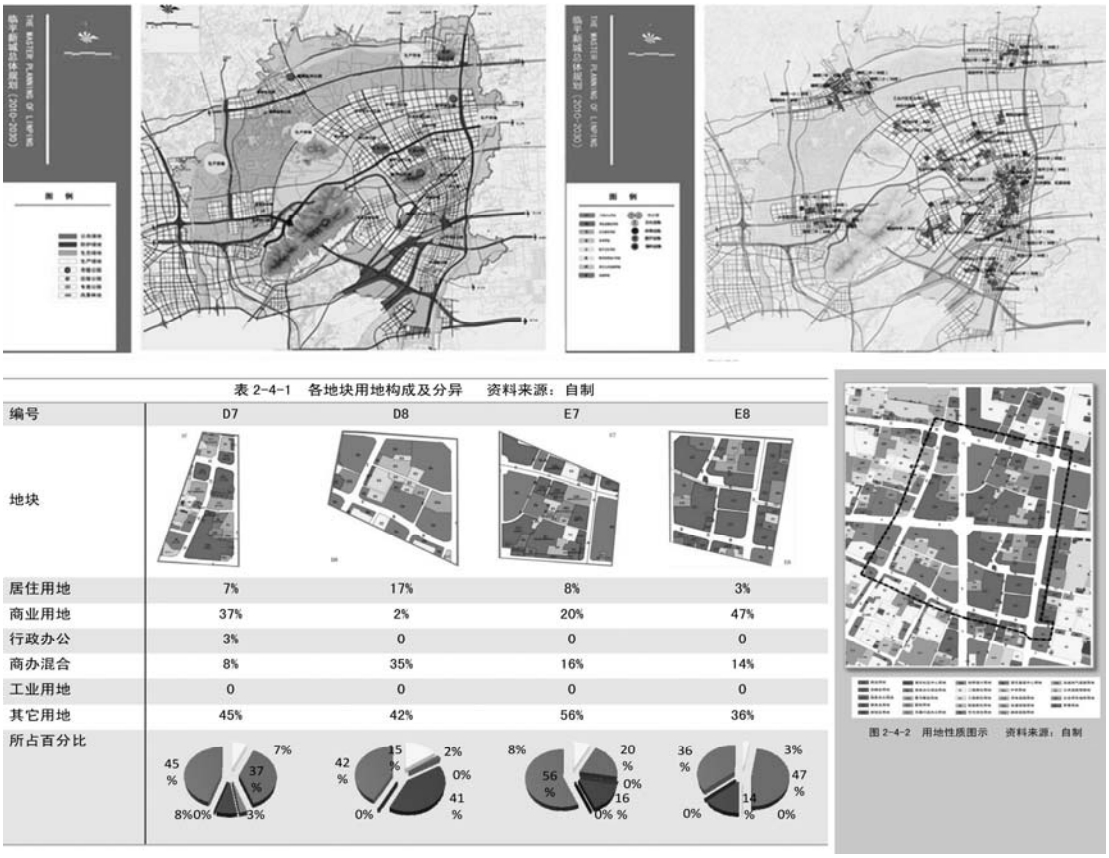

表 2-4-1　各地块用地构成及分异　资料来源：自制

编号	D7	D8	E7	E8
地块				
居住用地	7%	17%	8%	3%
商业用地	37%	2%	20%	47%
行政办公	3%	0	0	0
商办混合	8%	35%	16%	14%
工业用地	0	0	0	0
其它用地	45%	42%	56%	36%
所占百分比	45% 37% 7% 8% 0% 3%	42% 15% 2% 0% 41% 0%	8% 20% 0% 56% 16% 0%	36% 3% 47% 14% 0% 0%

Figure 5.3 Selected Works from Planning Students at the Third-Year and Above Level, Southeast University

Note: Urban planning studio (top), social survey and analysis practice (bottom).

Source: *Chengshi guihua zhuanye xuesheng youxiu zuoye xuan, 2002-2007* (Selected Excellent Works of Planning Students, 2002-2007).

members, because such transition is so difficult that in 2004 they proposed a curriculum reform under the slogan of "to encourage rational thinking and enthusiasm (*peiyu lixing jifa reqing*)," aiming to reduce the students' frustration and help them achieve a successful transition (Wang, Wu, Quan, and Chao 2005: 62).[71] Indeed, the slogan itself does clearly imply that there is a negatively perceived gap between architecture and urban planning, causing the lack of enthusiasm for students to make transition from the former to the latter.[72] By referring to "rational thinking," it is also made clear that the gap is mainly due to the different involved processes of thinking between design and planning activities. As a recently graduated student of Southeast University also spelled out in a straightforward way, "during the first two years, we were taught to think by sketching and building models; since entering the third year, we have been trained to think by writing and conducting surveys" (Informant 30).

Despite the common frustration among planning students at the third-year level, most of them after graduation somehow found these two years of intensive design training are very important at least in the following two respects: First, it is now increasingly common for all planning institutes, consulting firms and graduate schools to hold a "*kuaiti* (speed project)" entrance exam to test the basic skill sets of applicants. This kind of *kuati* exam, originating from the field of architecture, requires each participant to complete an assigned design or planning project within a certain amount of time in the form of hand-drawn

[71] To be specific, the proposed curriculum reform was to focus planning students at the third-year level on an intensive series of residential studio projects. Especially by arranging these projects in a sequence from small to large scale, students are expected to better adapt themselves to the transition from architecture to urban planning.

[72] The lack of enthusiasm among planning students entering the third year of study is also observed in other planning schools similar to Southeast University, which derived from the field of architecture (Shan and Han 2009: 17).

graphics.[73] With the exam time usually taking more than three hours, it truly demands a high level of proficiency in graphic presentation skills and therefore participants with background in architectural design are certainly enjoying a competitive advantage (see Figure 5.4).[74] Second, with two years of solid training in design and graphics, planning students of Southeast University are usually better prepared to practice in a professional environment and therefore, in comparison with students of other schools, most of them start undertaking a significant amount of practical projects as early as in their second or third year (Informants 30, 34, 38, 39, and 53). And, with that experience, graduates from Southeast University, as commented by a vice-director of a Nanjing-based planning institute, "are always a preferred choice of recruitment and in high demand even before they graduate" (Informant 83).

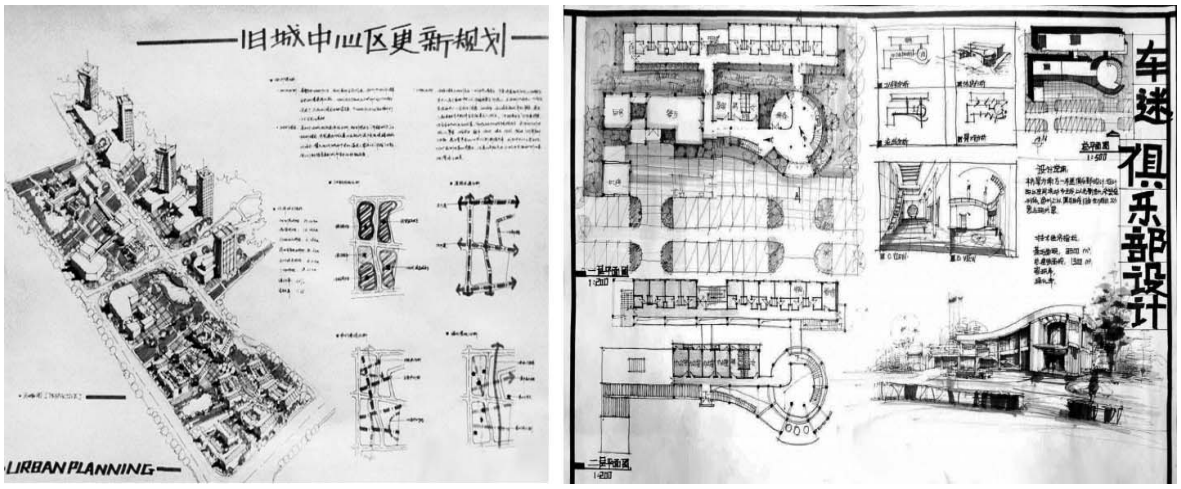

Figure 5.4 Examples of Submitted Work for Speed Project Exam
Note: Project for urban planning (left), project for architecture (right).
Source: www.huisj.com (educational website for hand-drawn presentation skills)

[73] Among the 24 different types of planning professional institutes and planning schools I visited during field study, only 3 of them do not require applicants to take speed project exam. Instead, they usually hold written exams and interviews.
[74] In some cases, the exam requires each participant to complete more than one project and therefore takes much more time, ranging from six to eight hours (Informants 24, 29, and 32).

In this context, the development of planning education in Southeast University now seems to be in a state of contradiction. On the one hand, with the accredited title of "excellence" from ACUPE, the program of urban planning since the late 1990s has not only obtained considerable independence but also become a popular choice among high school graduates and a model for others to follow. On the other, although urban planning in Southeast University has been developed from a specialization area of architecture into an independent program, the available resources for its operation are limited and, most importantly, it still shares a major portion of its faculty and curriculum with architecture. In the meanwhile, because the current job market for urban planning heavily favors graduates with better graphic skills, the two year architectural design training is still considered as essential for planning students and, accordingly, any proposed reform to planning education would have to comply under the existing 2+3 curriculum structure. As explained by an urban planning professor of Tongji University, "since the market demand for our graduates is so strong, it would not make sense to push through a radical change to the current way we teach and define ourselves" (Informant 63). In this sense, despite the increasing recognition of urban planning as an independent academic discipline, in planning schools that originated from the field of architecture, the influence of architectural education remains a strong presence. And, as their names clearly indicate, only very few of them have added "guihua (planning)" to their school names.[75] "Jianzhu (architecture)" remains the sole anchor of their academic identity.

[75] Even among the eight leading architectural schools, only Tongji University and Chongqing University have renamed their school from "*jianzhu* (architecture)" to "*jianzhu yu chengshi guihua* (architecture and urban planning)."

5.3 Case Study: Nanjing University[76]

Planning education in Nanjing University can be traced back to the early 1960s, when Chinese geographers were driven by the slogan of "*renwu dai xueke* (learning by doing)," starting to participate in a substantial amount of "constructive activities" (Zhu, Qiu and Qu 2004: 734).[77] Specifically, they were involved in a variety of projects such as rail route selection, agricultural land use planning, industrial site selection and planning, most of which touched upon issues related to spatial analysis of economic activity and resource allocation, especially at the so-called "quyu (regional)" scale (Samuels 1977: 420).[78] Through the process, a group of economic geographers had gradually realized the necessity of developing an academic program for regional planning and studies. Usually under the name of "*jingji dili yu chengshi quyu guihua* (economic geography and urban-regional planning)," a number of undergraduate programs were thus established in the 1970s and 1980s at some of China's leading geography schools, such as Beijing University, Nanjing University, Sun Yat-Sen University, and Hongzhou University (Yan 1995: 470).[79]

However, because these planning schools were all established under the department of geography, the way they organized and taught planning education was very different from what has been discussed with the case of Southeast University.

[76] As one of China's oldest and prestigious institutions of higher education, Nanjing University is not only a member of Project 211 and Project 985, but also a member of C9 League, which were generally considered as the top nine universities in China.

[77] The slogan "*renwu dai xueke* (learning by doing)" was firstly brought forth by Chinese Academy of Sciences in 1958 to emphasize the practical value of science and, more importantly, to encourage the college students to apply their knowledge to real-world task.

[78] As the founding chair of China's first regional planning academic program *Hou Renzhi* explained during an interview conducted by Marwyn Samuels, here the regional scale refers to the sub-provincial level – that is, the municipal and county level (Samuels 1977: 420).

[79] Hongzhou University since 1998 has been merged with other three educational institutions into Zhejiang University, and the urban-regional planning program was also moved from College of Geography to College of Civil Engineering and Architecture.

First, the degree they offered, before the initiation of ACUPE accreditation, was Bachelor of Science, instead of Bachelor of Engineering, while the normal length of their undergraduate programs was four years, not five years. Second, because their curriculum was developed on the basis of geography, it contains a broad range of geographic core courses, such as geology, cartography, topography, remote sensing, and a four-week long geographic field study, all of which were certainly not commonly seen in other planning schools (see Figure 5.5).[80] Third, in these schools there was virtually no provision of training course either on design basics or graphic presentation.

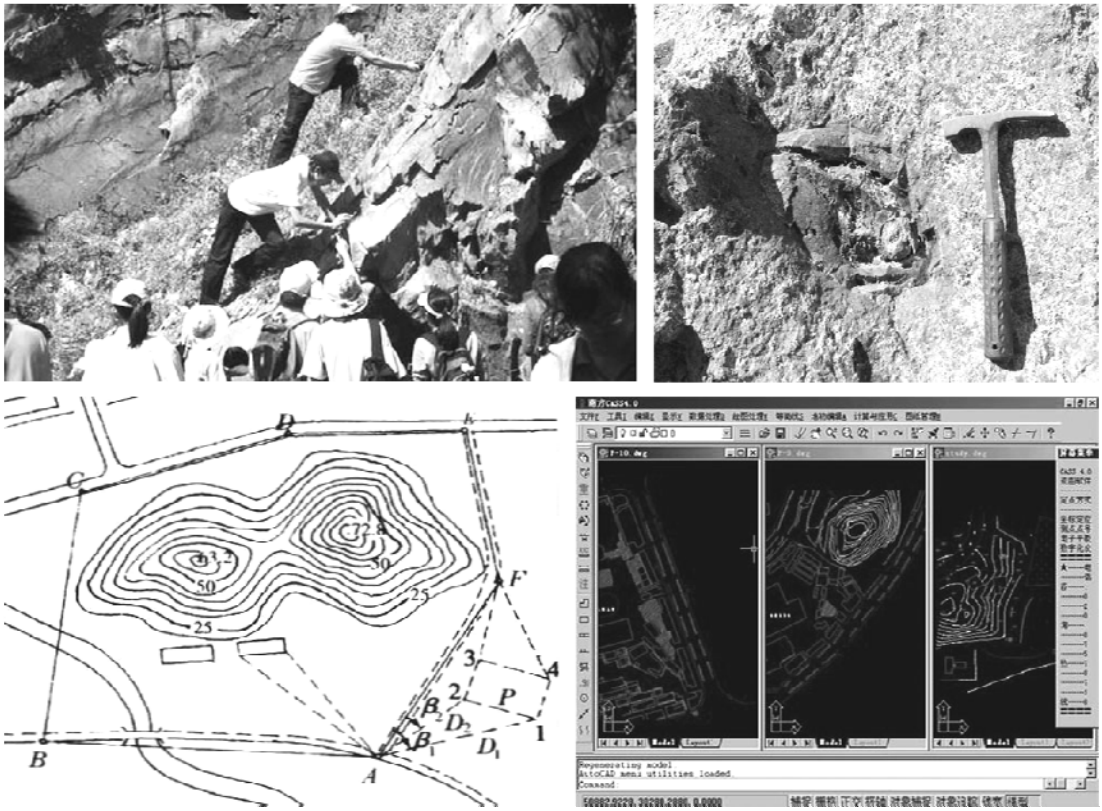

Figure 5.5 Selected Learning Activities in Geography in Nanjing University
Note: Geographic field study in Mount Lu (top), cartographic practice (bottom).
Source: Compiled from data collected during interviews (Informants 50 and 51).

[80] For example, all students at School of Geographic and Oceanographic Sciences, Nanjing University are required to undertake a three-week field study in Mount Lu in Jiangxi Province and to apply the knowledge learned in the classroom to a practical work.

Most of them focus more on general research skills, such as social survey, reading and writing reports, and presenting data. As a result, their graduates were usually good at doing urban analysis especially from a macro spatial perspective but relatively unskilled in doing any kind of design work.

With all these significant differences discussed above, planning schools that originated from the field of geography, on the one hand, represented a very different approach towards urban planning; but, on the other, all of them were basically unqualified from applying for accreditation and therefore under intense pressure to make a fundamental change in accordance with the requirements set forth by ACUPE.[81] Nanjing University, in the context, was the first one who showed its determination to make that change. In 1997, right after the establishment of ACUPE, it decided to extend its original four-year program to a five-year one and, necessarily, new faculty members and new courses were in an immediate need. Thus, a group of young professors from Southeast University and Tongji University were recruited between 1997 and 2006 to complement the existing faculty that was basically dominated by economic geographers.[82] Certainly, the primary mission of these newly recruited faculty members was to add new courses based on the requirements for ACUPE accreditation. As the following Table 5.3 demonstrates, most of the newly offered courses were not only on the list of required courses defined by ACUPE but, in

[81] To provide incentives for planning schools to apply for accreditation, Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development included a special rule in the 1999 Provisional Regulations Regarding the Licensing System of Urban Planner: graduates from accredited planning schools need three years of professional experience to be qualified for taking licensing exam, while graduates from unaccredited planning schools would need four years of professional experience.

[82] Most of these newly recruited faculty members were young graduates who just received their master degree either in architecture or civil engineering. and then came to Nanjing University studying Ph.D. in urban planning.

Table 5.3 Courses Offered by Faculty Recruited Since 1997 in Nanjing University

Name of Required Course	Defined by ACUPE	Offered Hours	Year Offered
Fine Art Practice	Required	102	1
Intro of Architectural Design	Recommended	64	2
Architectural Design Studio I	Required	108	2
Architectural Drawing	Recommended	64	2
Architectural Design Studio II	Required	108	3
Urban Design Studio	Recommended	60	3
Planning Studio (Detailed)	Required	108	3
Urban Transportation	Required	72	3
Landscape Planning	Required	60	4
Architectural History and Theory	Recommended	36	4
Speed Project Practice	None	36	5

Source: Compiled from data collected during interview.

terms of the offered hours, a significant amount of learning activities centered around the studio type of design training, which was generally considered as absent in planning schools like Nanjing University.

Eventually, when the first graduates of the five-year program obtained their Bachelor of Engineering degree in 2002, Nanjing University has also become the first among all planning schools that originated from the "non-architecture" field to pass the ACUPE accreditation (see Table 5.2).[83] Nevertheless, it should be noted that the reform process of planning education in Nanjing University did not occur without tension. Specifically, the tension was palpable around to what extent the existing system of

[83] Until now, there are only two other planning schools originating from the field of geography that have also passed the ACUPE accreditation, including Sun Yat-Sen University in 2009 and Peking University in 2011.

planning education that was developed on the basis of geography should be changed to conform to the ACUPE model that has an apparent bias towards architecture (Informants 12, 28, and 37). Between the proponents of reform and those who feel worried about the loss of their distinctive identity, it seems apparent that the former prevailed over the latter and therefore another bold decision was made in 2010 – to merge with School of Architecture and establish a new school under the name of "jianzhu yu chengshi guihua (architecture and urban planning)." Finally, the thirty-five-year tie between urban planning and geography was broken up and now replaced with a new one with architecture.[84]

From the faculty recruitment, curriculum design, to the merger with architecture school, the development of planning education in Nanjing University clearly demonstrates the strong influence of ACUPE accreditation. However, even though a significant amount of design training and architecture-related courses have been added either as required or selective, the quality of these new courses are still far away from satisfying, especially in comparison with planning schools like Southeast University. As commented by Zhang Guangri, a lecturer recruited from Tongji to Nanjing University in 1997, the reason may include: First, most of the newly recruited faculty members, despite having a strong background in architecture and design, are inexperienced in teaching planning students. Second, the classroom space and other supporting facilities for studio courses and fine art practice are still insufficient and of low quality. Third, because most students are used to a traditional, lecture-based learning environment, they usually feel frustrated with studio type of design training, which usually requires intensive interaction with classmates and presentation skills (Zhang 2008: 71). With the limits summarized above, there is a

[84] Despite the completion of merger in 2010, for now Department of Urban Planning and Design and Department of Architecture only share resources with each other at the level of graduate school. At the undergraduate level, they are still separated as two independent programs.

growing realization among planning students that they do not all have to enter the professional field of urban planning but could just broaden their job search to include more employment opportunities in other areas (Informants 37, 40, 48, 101, and 102). After all, the current job market heavily favors planning graduates with better design and graphic skills. For graduates from planning schools like Nanjing University, it would be certainly much easier to pursue a career where their well-trained skills in spatial analysis and survey are needed – in particular the industry of real estate. Just as explained by a recently graduated planning graduate from Peking University, "only about one-third of my classmates after graduation went directly to the job market, and most of them are now actually employed by the real estate companies as market analysts" (Informant 101).[85] In fact, real estate development and land economics indeed have become a popular career choice in planning schools such as universities of Nanjing, Peking, Sun Yat-Sen and East China Normal. Even without becoming a professional urban planner, most of their graduates are still sucked into the rapidly expanding spatial economy of Chinese cities, and more importantly, in positions that they find their knowledge and skills appreciated (Informants 37, 35, 61, 68, 96, 97,and 100).

5.4 The Dominating Influence of Accreditation on Planning Education

With the cases of Southeast University and Nanjing University studied above, it can be found that the practice of educational accreditation is undoubtedly effective in setting up a model for all planning schools to follow, especially through the introduction of core

[85] In sharp contrast with graduates from planning schools like Southeast University, most of whom find employment in planning institutes or consulting firms, a significant portion of planning graduates from Nanjing University and Peking University find their jobs in real estate companies or decide to take the civil servant exam, seeking a public-sector job.About one-third of graduates from Department of Urban Planning of Peking University go directly into the job market, one-third go study abroad, and another one-third stay in the country and apply for graduate schools (Informant 101).

curriculum as a key requirement: In the former case, although urban planning has been promoted from a specialization area to an independent degree program, the way it is organized has not changed much with the initiation of ACUPE accreditation but remains highly dependent on the department of architecture for providing faculty, curriculum, and other education resources; while in sharp contrast, the latter case roughly in the same time decided to make a radical change, not only starting to hire new faculty members with background in architecture, offer new courses in accordance with the requirements set forth by ACUPE but, more recently, it further broke away from its academic roots in geography and formed a new partnership with architecture. Certainly, these two cases cannot represent all planning schools in China. But through their different paths of development, it seems apparent that planning schools derived from the field of architecture are indeed enjoying an apparent advantage in fitting with the model developed by ACUPE. According to the latest list of accredited planning and architecture schools published by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development in 2011, there are only three universities that are on the list of accredited planning schools but not on the list of accredited architecture schools: Sun Yat-Sen University, Northwest University, and Peking University; while more notably, all the three, despite having established planning education for decades already, did not passed ACUPE accreditation until as late as just two years ago.[86]

In fact, among all existing 218 architecture schools in China, there are as many as 84 who have also established degree-granting programs in urban planning, accounting for

[86] Both Sun Yat-Sen University and Northwest University received accreditation in 2009, while for Peking University, it was until two years later that it was granted with accredited status.

48% of the existing planning schools.[87] As for the other 52%, although the composition is relatively diversified, including 18% from the field of geography, 17% from civil engineering, 16% from forestry and agriculture, and 1% from a variety of other academic fields such as public administration and environmental science, the majority of them are basically unqualified to apply for ACUPE accreditation. As discussed in earlier sections, the key barrier lies in the design training that is given emphasis in the core curriculum but not commonly available in "non-architecture" schools. From fine art practice to architectural design studio, even if all this only constitutes a portion of the accreditation requirements, it does create a very different demand for supporting faculty and facilities.

Table 5.4 Planning Schools from Different Academic Fields (Undergraduate Level), 2009

Academic Field	Number (Percentage)	Number of Accredited	Examples
Architecture	84 (48%)	23	Southeast University Tongji University
Geography	31 (18%)	5	Nanjing University Zhejiang University
Civil Engineering	29 (17%)	0	Sichuan University Guizhou University
Forestry & Agriculture	28 (16%)	0	Beijing Forestry University Nanjing Forestry University
Others	2 (1%)	0	Renmin University of China Fudan University

Note: (1) The percentage is the number of planning schools derived from one particular field divided by the total number of planning schools (undergraduate level only).
(2) The total number of accredited undergraduate planning schools in 2011 is 28.
(3) Before 2011, Tsinghua University only provides graduate-level planning education. Despite being accredited as early as in 1998, here the list does not include it.
Source: Compiled by author using data collected from school websites (See Appendix II).

[87] In the early 1980s, when there are only 7 planning schools in total, 4 of them were in the field of architecture, 2 in geography, and 1 in civil engineering.

For planning schools derived from the fields of geography, civil engineering, forestry and agriculture, the studio training in architectural design is indeed a difficult requirement to fulfill. And, as the accreditation result clearly demonstrates, that particular difficulty until now still keeps a number of prestigious planning schools from applying for accreditation, including some with long history engaged in planning education such as Beijing Forestry University, East China Normal University, and some new but rapidly growing ones such as Fudan University and Renmin University of China.

In response to the accreditation requirements biased towards design training, most planning schools derived from non-architecture fields, as seen in the case of Nanjing University, since the late 1990s have begun to undertake reform in accordance with the requirements set by ACUPE. Some of them decided to model themselves completely after those who have received accreditation, while some others by adding new faculty and courses chose to focus on strengthening their students' design and graphic skills. No matter to what extent the reform has been carried out, all of them step by step are incorporating a core set of knowledge and skills from the field of architecture, necessarily at the sacrifice of what they used to value as core competencies. As the following curriculum sample demonstrates, because most of the architecture-related courses are usually offered in the freshman year, including the 120 to 240 required hours of architecture design studio, it would certainly squeeze out a significant amount of other courses that used to be offered as required basics and therefore result in a fundamental change to the student learning outcomes. Increasingly, it is becoming common for planning students, no matter in what school, to start their five-year study with learning architectural drawing and fine art skills. On the face of it, this is just a change of learning

Year	ACUPE Core Courses	Other Required	Elective	Practical Training
1	Intro to Urban Planning	**Intro to Architecture**	**Architectural Drawing**	**Fine Art Practice**
	Architectural Design Studio	Non-architectural core courses that used to be offered in the first year of the original four-year program	**Architecture History**	
2			**Computer Aided Design Basics**	**Color Design Practice**
		Building Physics	**Visual Design Basics**	**Digital Design Practice**
3	**History of Urban Planning**	Intro to Urban Design	Intro to Landscape Planning	Urban Observation Practice
	Urban Economics	Professional English Used in Planning	**Social Survey and Research**	
	Urban Transportation		Housing and Planning	
	Planning Studio		Historic Conservation Planning	
4		Urban Planning Theory	Urban Sociology	**Professional Planning Practice**
	Urban Ecology / Landscape Planning	Urban Geography	Geographic Information System	**Presentation Skill Practice**
	Planning Management and Law	**Urban Design Basics**	Regional Planning	
	Urban System and Engineering		Real Estate Development	
5		Urban Design Advanced	Research Seminar	**Speed Project Practice**
				Graduation Design Project

Figure 5.6 Curriculum Sample of Accredited Planning Schools

Note: (1) Course names highlighted in bold are mostly added or extended in credit hours since the initiation of ACUPE accreditation in 1998.

(2) Non-architecture core courses vary significantly with the academic origins of planning schools, and most of them are either reduced in credit hours or canceled in recent years.

(3) Elective courses included in the figure constitute only a partial list.

Source: Compiled by author using data collected from selected planning schools.

sequence by adding one year of intensive education in architecture before the original four-year program. What lies behind the change, however, is an assumed belief that the core

competencies of urban planning should be developed on the base of a high proficiency in techniques of graphic and architectural design. In other words, although ACUPE accreditation is undoubtedly effective in guiding the development of Chinese planning education, the way it defines the profession also reinforced a commonly held view that urban planning is simply a specialization area of architecture. Certainly, such reinforcement makes logical sense when urban planning was still defined by the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council (*Guowu Yuan Xuewei Weiyuanhuei*) as a so-called "*erji xueke* (second-level discipline)" under architecture.[88] But since urban planning was promoted to the level of "*yiji xueke* (first-level discipline)" under its new name "*chengxiang guihua* (urban-rural planning)" in 2011, there has been increasing advocacy for redefining the knowledge base of Chinese planning, especially in relation to architecture.

5.5 Conclusion: Institutional Obstacles to Reform

Right after the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council officially announced the promotion of urban planning from a second-level discipline under architecture to a first-level discipline of its own, Urban Planning Society of China organized a meeting in Beijing, inviting planning professors from all over the country to discuss the future development of Chinese planning. The most important point for discussion, as the chairman of the meeting Shi Nan pointed out in his keynote address, is that because now urban planning, as Figure 5.7 demonstrates, is no longer a subfield of architecture, there is an urgent need for Chinese planners to redefine their knowledge base and draw a more broadly

[88] According to the latest Catalog of Academic Disciplines for Degree Granting and Education (*Xuewei shouyu he rencai peiyang xueke mulu*) published by the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council in 2011, there are three levels of classification: categories (*menlei*), first-level discipline (*yiji xueke*), and second-level discipline (*erji xueke*).

1997 Catalog of Academic Discipline Category: 08 Engineering	**2011 Catalog of Academic Discipline Category: 08 Engineering**
First-Level Discipline: 0813 Architecture Second-Level Discipline: 081301 Architecture History and Theory 081302 Architecture Design and Theory **081303 Urban Planning and Design** (including Landscape Architecture) 081304 Architecture Technology and Science	First-Level Discipline: 0813 Architecture **0833 Urban-Rural Planning** Second-Level Discipline: Urban Design Regional Planning Housing and Community Development Historical Conservation Planning Sustainable Infrastructure Planning Planning Administration 0834 Landscape Architecture

Figure 5.7 Comparison between 1997 and 2011 Catalog of Academic Discipline
Note: (1) The code in front of each category/discipline name is the identification number assigned by the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council.
(2) Landscape architecture in 2011 was also promoted as first-level discipline.
(3) Here the list of second-level disciplines of urban-rural planning is recommended by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development.
Source: Compiled by author using data from 1997 and 2011 Catalog of Academic Discipline published by the Academic Degree Committee of the State Council.

defined boundary of their profession (Shi 2011: 9). Specifically, since urban planning, now under its new name – urban-rural planning, is a first-level discipline, it not only has to develop its own second-level disciplines; but, more importantly, because each of the newly established second-level disciplines represents an independent commitment for the future allocation of education resource, such as research funding, facilities and faculty recruitment quota, the promotion of Chinese planning from second-level to first-level discipline also represents a unique opportunity for reflecting the past development of profession, which as discussed throughout this chapter has been greatly influenced by architecture.

However, according to the published shorthand notes of the meeting, there was considerable disagreement over whether or not the newly renamed profession should

evolve away from its long-established physical approach to planning. Some of the meeting participants argued that design skill is still the most needed professional expertise and therefore should continue to form the foundation of planning education, while some others contended that through the development of second-level disciplines the knowledge base of Chinese planning should be substantially broadened and no longer confined to the traditional domain of architecture (Shi 2011). Eventually, although in the meeting there was a broad consensus that some of the still under-developed areas of academic interest in planning should be included as the second-level disciplines of urban-rural planning, such as community development and sustainable infrastructure, no further discussion has been made about changing the accreditation requirements so as to create space for the development of these second-level disciplines (see Figure 5.7). The point is, as one interviewee who participated in the meeting pointed out, that "since the overwhelming majority of the existing planning schools are derived from the field of architecture, not many of them will support to change the current control mechanism over planning education, which has an apparent bias towards them" (Informant 105). In other words, even though with the promotion of Chinese planning's academic status there has been a growing concern about broadening the knowledge base of the profession, there is a common lack of motivation within the field to take supportive action. After all, over 80% of the existing planning schools were established after the initiation of ACUPE accreditation, while according to the 2011 data only 4 of these young planning schools have developed to meet the requirements and obtained accredited status. Just as one former ACUPE member Zhao Min advocated in the meeting, because most planning schools were just established within the past decade without sufficient faculty resources and course

offerings, they are still far away from meeting the basic requirements (set forth by ACUPE), let alone to pursue academic interests in those under-developed areas (Shi 2011: 14).

In sum, the ACUPE accreditation, from the perspective of professionalization, is effective in setting up a standardized system of knowledge; nevertheless, its overemphasis on design expertise has also produced a mixed outcome: On the one hand, with the rapid expansion of planning education under the influence of accreditation, Chinese planning has quickly established a clearly defined professional jurisdiction, through which most of its practitioners are taking advantage of the growing demand of their service and therefore enjoying a much enhanced social recognition and economic rewards. On the other, because the core curriculum requirements adopted by ACUPE have an apparent bias towards design training, the academic field of Chinese planning has been quickly dominated by architecture schools, who have held a relative advantage in obtaining accredited status. Increasingly, not only has the development of the profession been confined to a narrowly defined area, mainly focused on physical design of urban space; but in the meantime, such confinement has also hindered Chinese planners from forming their own independent identity, especially in relation to architects.

Chapter 6 Conclusion: Interpreting the Critical View of Chinese Planning

This chapter discusses the implications of the emerging critical view of Chinese planning for its ongoing professionalization. Section 6.1 focuses on the underdevelopment of Chinese planning as an autonomous profession, examining how the limited autonomy of the profession is related to the growing criticism against its professional practice. Section 6.2, by following the discussion about standardization of knowledge in Chapter Five, further draws comparison to the case of American planning and examines the changing professional jurisdiction of Chinese planning. In the end, Section 6.3 emphasizes that the dominating but inconsistent role of government in guiding the development of Chinese planning is the key factor that has caused the legitimacy crisis of the profession.

6.1 Limited Autonomy in Relation to the Government

The key feature of modern profession, as Elliot Freidson argued, is its autonomy – that is, how a profession is practiced and organized in relation to the government (Freidson 1986). This argument provides a particularly useful theoretical lens through which to understand what has been occurring in the case of Chinese planning, especially with regard to the growing criticism against its loss of legitimate role in improving the urban environment. The point is that Chinese planning, despite being increasingly separated from the government and becoming a marketized activity, has not evolved to establish its own self-governing institution. From registration for practicing institutes, educational accreditation, to professional licensing, urban planning, as Table 1.1 demonstrates, is still mainly administrated by the government. As for China Association of

City Planning and Urban Planning Society of China, both of which are established with open membership to provide representation for Chinese planners, since they do not even have the authority either to define the knowledge need or to control the entry of the profession, they have not played an important role in guiding the professional development of Chinese planning. In other words, urban planning as a rapidly developing profession in China has been only granted with limited autonomy, because of which, even though Chinese planners are allowed to connect with each other through their representative organizations, such representation has no direct relevance to the development of urban planning as an independent profession and, certainly, it is still the government that has the power to define what planning is and how planning should be practiced.

The Self-Discipline Convention for Urban Planning Institutes issued by China Association of City Planning in 2007 is an illustrative case of such limited autonomy. As discussed earlier in Chapter Four, the issue of the Convention was itself a positive response to the emerging critical view of Chinese planning. Its primary purpose, as defined under Article 1 through 4, is to "promote better regulation, strengthen self-discipline, and further the sustainable development of planning profession through a representative and participatory process." However, because the Association does not have the power to revoke the registered status of practicing institutes, the Convention lacks the teeth to fulfill its aim and eventually the desired self-discipline has never been effectively enforced. Another illustrative example is the newly launched accreditation for planning education. Although Urban Planning Society of China since its foundation in the 1980s has been the only national-level representative organization to promote the academic

development of urban planning, it has not been assigned with the duty to govern educational accreditation. Rather, Ministry of Construction decided to establish a new government agency – Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education, to take charge of the development of the whole accreditation system. In this sense, it is clear that the current representation of planning profession in China, either for enhancing its independent status or for promoting self-regulation, is institutionally weak. In Freidson's words, the limited autonomy from the government, on the one hand, has hindered professional organizations like China Association of City Planning and Urban Planning Society of China from shouldering more responsibilities in overseeing and regulating the behaviors of their members; on the other, it also discouraged Chinese planners from participating in the development of their profession, the formation of their own identity, and further improving the accountability for their professional practice (Freidson 1988: 147).

6.2 Narrowing Jurisdiction in Contradiction to the Broadened Legitimate Claim of Planning

Standardization of knowledge, as Magali Larson, Andrew Abbott and many other sociologists pointed out, is an important step of professionalization, through which professions can not only claim professional jurisdiction, but also compete with other professions to gain social recognition and economic rewards (Abbott 1988; Freidson 1970; Larson 1977; Johnson 1972). By establishing a clearly defined set of curriculum requirements for accreditation, the development of Chinese planning profession seems very determined to take the step. However, as discussed in Chapter Five, because the requirements have an apparent bias towards design expertise, the professional jurisdiction of Chinese planning has been thus increasingly narrowed down to a technical area of

design practice. In this regard, the Chinese case is very different from its counterpart in the U.S., which, as Eugenie Birch stressed, has long insisted on a comprehensive view of planning and therefore maintained itself as a highly inclusive field (Birch 1980: 43). In other words, although the clearly defined jurisdiction of Chinese planning has significantly contributed to the enhancement of its social recognition and economic rewards, the process has also excluded many other alternatives that should be given equal attention. The overwhelming majority of newly established planning programs is housed within architecture school is one example, while the departure of planning program from geography school to architecture school in Nanjing University is just another. Increasingly, the field of urban planning has been dominated by an oversimplified physical approach to planning and, more importantly, with the number of planning schools growing more than five times in the past decade, such domination has been so expanded that there is a widespread lack of motivation within the field to pursue collaboration with other fields.

Notably, the narrowing of Chinese planning's professional jurisdiction discussed above is in striking contradiction to the development of another important factor defining the jurisdictional boundaries of planning profession – legislation, the focus of which in the past three decades has been substantially broadened. From "controlling the scale of cities and facilitating urban construction" defined in the 1989 Urban Planning Act to "promoting social justice and public interest" and "ensuring sustainable development" explicitly stated in the 2006 Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning and the 2007 Urban-Rural Planning Act, although there is a growing legal recognition of the need for urban planning to take a more comprehensive role in guiding the development of Chinese cities, such recognition has not received sufficient attention from ACUPE members and

therefore the standardization of planning knowledge, since its initiation in the late 1990s, has been developed quite in the opposite direction. In this context, there seems to be a widening gap between what planners are taught to do in school and what they are legitimate to do, both of which are important to the professional development of Chinese planning. As a result, not only have Chinese planners become increasingly incapable of fulfilling their legally mandated duties and therefore subject to intensifying criticism; but more importantly, because of such widening gap, their capability to reflect upon their practice has been severely reduced as well.

6.3 Inconsistent Role of Government in Planning

To sum up what have been discussed above, it seems clear that the role of government in guiding the development of Chinese planning is very dominating but also highly inconsistent. In particular, two levels of inconsistency can be identified: First, between the central and local levels of government, there is an inconsistent approach to planning. Although the central government retains most of the power to define the profession and tends to strengthen its rigidity through establishing a more institutionalized environment (either for education or practice), the government at the local level, as examined in Chapter Three and Four, has not taken the same approach but keeps pushing planning to evolve beyond the rigid process of institutionalization. Second, despite the central government holding the power to guide the development of planning profession, there is an observed inconsistent development between the definition of planning provided in the legislation and that contained in the accreditation requirements. As just discussed in the previous section, the former through a series of legislative reform has been significantly broaden, while the latter since ACUPE was established has remained largely unchanged.

Given the two levels of inconsistency pointed out here, it can be argued that the development of Chinese planning, despite the emerging signs of professionalization, has not evolved on a similar path to that of western modern professions discussed in Chapter Two. The key difference lies in the fact that Chinese planning profession is still governed mainly through a top-down bureaucratic system, under which not only are different professional issues under charge of different government agencies, but, in the meantime, because there is no single unified agency/organization representing the profession, the governing of these different professional issues is in a state of inconsistency, further undermining the professional development of Chinese planning. In this context, although in the past three decades there has been a growing service demand supporting the professionalization of Chinese planning, the profession has not been granted sufficient autonomy either to govern itself or to form a clear, consistent identity. As evidenced by the growing criticism against the way planning is practiced, there is an urgent need for Chinese planners to advocate for a unified governing representation, only through which the profession can enforce strict adherence to self-regulation and better harness the increasingly marketized practice.

Appendix I List of Informants

No.	Position	Affiliated Institution	Date
1	Associate Professor	Huaqiao University	07/08
2	Associate Professor	Southeast University	07/08
3	Ph.D. Student	Tongji University	07/08
4	Associate Professor	Nanjing University	07/08
5	Professor	Sun Yat-Sen University	08/08
6	Associate Professor	Southeast University	10/09
7	Associate Professor	Southeast University	10/09
8	Urban Planner	Jiangsu Institute of Urban Planning and Design	10/09
9	Associate Professor	Nanjing University	10/09
10	Professor	Nanjing University	10/09
11	Lecturer	Southeast University	10/09
12	Professor	Nanjing University	10/09
13	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	10/09
14	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	10/09
15	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	10/09
16	Associate Professor	Southeast University	11/09
17	Associate Professor	Southeast University	11/09
18	Lecturer	Southeast University	11/09
19	Lecturer	Southeast University	11/09
20	Lecturer	Southeast University	11/09
21	Lecturer	Southeast University	11/09
22	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
23	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
24	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
25	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
26	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
27	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
28	Professor	Nanjing University	11/09
29	Urban Planner	Jiangsu Institute of Urban Planning and Design	11/09
30	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
31	Ph.D. Student	University Utrecht	11/09
32	Ph.D. Student	The University of Manchester	11/09
33	Associate Professor	Southeast University	11/09
34	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
35	Associate Professor	Southeast University	11/09

(continued)

No.	Position	Affiliated Institution	Date
36	Associate Professor	Southeast University	11/09
37	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	11/09
38	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
39	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
40	Graduate Student	Peking University	11/09
41	Graduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
42	Graduate Student	Northeast Forestry University	11/09
43	Graduate Student	Lanzhou University of Technology	11/09
44	Lecturer	Southeast University	11/09
45	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	11/09
46	Ph.D. Student	Nanjing University	11/09
47	Professor	Nanjing University	11/09
48	Graduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
49	Graduate Student	Peking University	11/09
50	Graduate Student	Southeast University	11/09
51	Graduate Student	Taiyuan University of Technology	11/09
52	Graduate Student	Xian University of Architecture and Technology	11/09
53	Professor	Southeast University	11/09
54	Graduate Student	Nanjing University	11/09
55	Undergraduate Student	Nanjing University	11/09
56	Undergraduate Student	Nanjing University	11/09
57	Associate Professor	Southeast University	12/09
58	Professor	Southeast University	12/09
59	Professor	Southeast University	12/09
60	Lecturer	Southeast University	12/09
61	Professor	Southeast University	12/09
62	Professor	Tongji University	12/09
63	Professor	Tongji University	12/09
64	Professor	Tongji University	01/10
65	Ph.D. Student	Tongji University	01/10
66	Graduate Student	Zhejiang University	01/10
67	Professor	Nanjing University	01/10
68	Lecturer	Southeast University	01/10
69	Ph.D. Student	Tongji University	01/10
70	Urban Planner	Shanghai Tongji Urban Planning and Design Institute	01/10
71	Urban Planner	Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Research Institute	01/10

(continued)

No.	Position	Affiliated Institution	Date
72	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	01/10
73	Urban Planner	Planning and Design Institute of Shanghai Xian Dai Architectural Design Co., Ltd.	01/10
74	Professor	Southeast University	01/10
75	Ph.D. Student	Tongji University	01/10
76	Ph.D. Student	Tongji University	01/10
77	Professor	Nanjing Forestry University	01/10
78	Undergraduate Student	Nanjing Forestry University	01/10
79	Associate Professor	Nanjing Forestry University	01/10
80	Undergraduate Student	Nanjing University	01/10
81	Professor	Southeast University	01/10
82	Planning Official	Nanjing Municipal Government	01/10
83	Urban Planner	Nanjing Academy of Urban Planning and Design Co., Ltd.	01/10
84	Urban Planner	Nanjing Bolai Urban Planning and Design Institute Co., Ltd.	01/10
85	Professor	Southeast University	01/10
86	Urban Planner	Nanjing Academy of Urban Planning and Design Co., Ltd.	01/10
87	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	01/10
88	Undergraduate Student	Southeast University	01/10
89	Associate Professor	Southeast University	01/10
90	Lecturer	Southeast University	01/10
91	Planning Official	Nanjing Urban Planning Bureau	01/10
92	Associate Professor	Southeast University	01/10
93	Lecturer	Southeast University	01/10
94	Urban Planner	AECOM Asia Co. Ltd.	02/10
95	Professor	Tsinghua University	03/10
96	Public Official	Urban Planning Society of China	04/10
97	Journalist	Xinghua News Agency	04/10
98	Urban Planner	Beijing Turenscape Institute of Landscape, Architecture, and Planning	04/10
99	Urban Planner	AECOM Asia Co. Ltd.	04/10
100	Urban Planner	AECOM Asia Co. Ltd.	04/10
101	Urban Planner	Beijing Tsinghua Urban Planning and Design Institute	04/10
102	Urban Planner	Beijing Tsinghua Urban Planning and Design Institute	04/10
103	Urban Planner	5+1 Werkhart International	04/10

(continued)

No.	Position	Affiliated Institution	Date
104	Urban Planner	China Academy of Urban Planning and Design	04/10
105	Professor	Peking University	04/10
106	Lecturer	Tsinghua University	04/10
107	Planning Official	Beijing Municipal Commission of Urban Planning	04/10
108	Undergraduate Student	Tsinghua University	04/10
109	Urban Planner	C.Y. Lee & Partners Architects/Planners	06/10
110	Urban Planner	HOK Asia Pacific Co. Ltd.	01/11
111	Urban Planner	AECOM Asia Co. Ltd.	01/11
112	Urban Planner	Dayuan Architecture Design Consulting Co., Ltd.	06/11

Appendix II List of Planning Schools (Undergraduate Level), 2009

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
1	Architecture	Beijing	Beijing University of Technology	College of Architecture and Urban Planning		
2	Architecture	Beijing	Central Academy of Fine Art	College of Urban Design		2002
3	Architecture	Beijing	North China University of Technology	College of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
4	Architecture	Beijing	Beijing University of Civil Engineering and Architecture	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2011	
5	Architecture	Tianjin	Tianjin University	School of Architecture	2000	1986
6	Architecture	Tianjin	Tianjin Institute of Urban Construction	Department of Architecture		
7	Architecture	Hebei	Hebei University of Technology	School of Architecture and Art Design		2000
8	Architecture	Hebei	Agricultural University of Hebei	Institute of Urban and Rural Construction		
9	Architecture	Hebei	Kexin College of Hebei Engineering University	Department of Architecture Environment and Engineering		
10	Architecture	Hebei	Hebei University of Engineering	School of Architecture		1996
11	Architecture	Hebei	Hebei Institute of Architecture and Civil Engineering	Department of Architecture		2000
12	Architecture	Shanxi	Taiyuan University of Technology	College of Architecture and Civil Engineering		1999
13	Architecture	Neimeng	Inner Mongolia University of Science and Technology	The School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
14	Architecture	Neimeng	Inner Mongolia University of Technology	School of Architecture		2003
15	Architecture	Liaoning	Northeastern University	College of Resources and Civil Engineering		2000
16	Architecture	Liaoning	Luxun Academy of Fine Art	Department of Environmental Art		
17	Architecture	Liaoning	Shenyang Jianzhu University	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2008	1989

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
18	Architecture	Liaoning	Dalian University of Technology	School of Architecture and Fine Arts	2010	2009
19	Architecture	Jilin	Jilin Architecture and Civil Engineering Institute	College of Architecture and Urban Planning		1995
20	Architecture	Jilin	The City College of Jilin Architectural and Civil Engineering Institute	Department of Architecture		2005
21	Architecture	Heilongjiang	Harbin Institute of Technology	School of Architecture	1998	1985
22	Architecture	Heilongjiang	Heilongjiang Institute of Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
23	Architecture	Heilongjiang	Heilongjiang Institute of Science and Technology	School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
24	Architecture	Shanghai	Shanghai University	College of Fine Arts		
25	Architecture	Shanghai	Tongji University	College of Architecture and Urban Planning	1998	1952
26	Architecture	Jiangsu	Southeast University	School of Architecture	1998	1986
27	Architecture	Jiangsu	Nanjing University of Technology	College of Architecture	2009	2001
28	Architecture	Jiangsu	Xian Jiaotong-Liverpool University	Department of Urban Planning		2006
29	Architecture	Jiangsu	Suzhou University of Science and Technology	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2008	1985
30	Architecture	Jiangsu	Nanjing university of technology Pujiang Institute	Department of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
31	Architecture	Zhejiang	Ningbo University	Faculty of Architecture, Civil Engineering College		2000
32	Architecture	Zhejiang	Zhejiang University of Technology	College of Civil Engineering and Architecture	2010	2000
33	Architecture	Zhejiang	China Academy of Art	School of Architecture		2007
34	Architecture	Anhui	Hefei University of Technology	College of Architecture and Art		2001

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
35	Architecture	Anhui	Anhui University of Architecture	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2008	1983
36	Architecture	Anhui	Anhui University of Architecture Urban Construction College	Department of Architecture		
37	Architecture	Fujian	Fuzhou University	School of Architecture		2003
38	Architecture	Fujian	Huaqiao University	School of Architecture		
39	Architecture	Fujian	FuJian Universtiy of Technology	Department of Architecture and Planning		2002
40	Architecture	Fujian	Xiamen University	School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		2007
41	Architecture	Jiangxi	Jiujiang University	College of Civil Engineering and Urban Construction		
42	Architecture	Jiangxi	Jiangxi University of Science and Technology	Institute of Architecture and Surveying		2006
43	Architecture	Shandong	Shandong Jianzhu University	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2004	1979
44	Architecture	Shandong	University of Jinan	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		1999
45	Architecture	Shandong	Shandong University of Science and Technology	Faculty of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
46	Architecture	Shandong	Qingdao Technologicl University	School of Architecture		
47	Architecture	Shandong	Shandong university of technology	School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
48	Architecture	Shandong	Qingdao Technological University Qin Dao College	Department of Architecture		
49	Architecture	Henan	Anyang Institute of Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
50	Architecture	Henan	Henan Institute of Science and Technology	New Academy of Science		
51	Architecture	Henan	Nanyang Institute of Technology	The Department of Architecture		
52	Architecture	Henan	Zhengzhou University	School of Architecture		1996

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
53	Architecture	Henan	Henan Polytechnic University	School of Architectural and Artistic Design		2008
54	Architecture	Henan	Huanghe Science and Technology College	Engineering College		
55	Architecture	Henan	North China University of Water Resources and Electric Power	College of Architecture		
56	Architecture	Henan	Henan University of Urban Construction	Department of Urban Planning and Architecture		
57	Architecture	Hubei	Huazhong University of Science and Technology	Architecture and Urban Planning School	2000	1985
58	Architecture	Hubei	Yangtz University	School of Urban Construction		
59	Architecture	Hubei	Wuhan University of Science and Technology City College	Department of Urban Construction		
60	Architecture	Hubei	Wuhan University	School of Urban Design	2008	2000
61	Architecture	Hunan	Changsha University of Science & Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
62	Architecture	Hunan	Hunan University	Faculty of Architecture	2008	1992
63	Architecture	Hunan	Hunan City University	Architecture and Urban Planning College		1986
64	Architecture	Hunan	Central South University	School of Architecture and Art	2009	1993
65	Architecture	Guangdong	Guangzhou University	College of Architecture and Urban Planning	2011	
66	Architecture	Guangdong	South China University of Technology	School of Architecture	2002	1986
67	Architecture	Guangdong	Shenzhen University	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2009	2006
68	Architecture	Guangdong	Guangdong University of Technology	College of Architecture and Urban Planning		1994
69	Architecture	Guangxi	Guilin University of Technology	Civil Engineering College		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
70	Architecture	Guangxi	Beihai College of Beihang University	Institute of Planning and Ecology		
71	Architecture	Guangxi	Guangxi University	College of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
72	Architecture	Chongqing	Chongqing University	Faculty of Architecture and Urban Planning	1998	1950s
73	Architecture	Sichuan	Southwest Jiaotong University	Faculty of Architecture	2006	
74	Architecture	Sichuan	Southwest University for Nationalities	Architecture and Urban Planning School		
75	Architecture	Sichuan	Xihua University	School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
76	Architecture	Yunnan	Kunming University of Science and Technology	Faculty of Civil Engineering and Architecture	2008	
77	Architecture	Yunnan	Oxbridge College, Kunming University of Science and Technology	Department of Architecture, Art and Engineering		2001
78	Architecture	Tibet	Tibet University	College of Engineering		
79	Architecture	Shaanxi	Xian University of Architecture and Technology	College of Architecture	2000	1986
80	Architecture	Shaanxi	Northwestern Polytechnical University	School of Mechanics, Civil Engineering and Architecture		
81	Architecture	Shaanxi	Chang'an University	College of Architecture		1980
82	Architecture	Shaanxi	Xian University of Science And Technology	School of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
83	Architecture	Gansu	Lanzhou Jiaotong University	School of Architecture and Urban Planning		
84	Architecture	Gansu	Lanzhou University of Technology	School of Design Art		2002
85	Geography	Beijing	Peking University	College of Urban and Environmental Science	2011	1989
86	Geography	Beijing	Beijing Union University	College of Arts and Science		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
87	Geography	Shanxi	Shanxi University of Finance and Economics	Department of Environmental Economics		
88	Geography	Neimeng	Inner Mongolia Normal University	College of Geographical Science		1994
89	Geography	Liaoning	Eastern Liaoning University	College of Urban and Environmental Science		
90	Geography	Jilin	Jilin University	College of Earth Science		
91	Geography	Heilongjiang	Northeast Petroleum University	College of Earth Science		2000
92	Geography	Shanghai	East China Normal University	College of Resources and Environmental Science		
93	Geography	Jiangsu	Nanjing University	School of Architecture and Urban Planning	2002	1975
94	Geography	Jiangsu	Nanjing University Jinling College	College of City and Resources		2005
95	Geography	Jiangsu	Nanjing University of Information Science &Technology	School of Remote Sensing		2006
96	Geography	Zhejiang	Zhejiang Normal University	College of Geography and Environmental Science		
97	Geography	Zhejiang	Zhejiang University	College of Civil Engineering and Architecture	2006	1989
98	Geography	Anhui	Anhui University of Science & Technology	School of Earth and Environment		
99	Geography	Fujian	Quanzhou Normal University	School of Resources & Environmental Science		
100	Geography	Fujian	Fujian Normal University	College of Geographical Science		
101	Geography	Jiangxi	Jiangxi University of Finance and Economics	School of Tourism and Urban Management		
102	Geography	Jiangxi	Jiangxi Normal University	School of Urban Construction		1995
103	Geography	Jiangxi	East China Institute of Technology	College of Earth Science		
104	Geography	Shandong	Qufu Normal University	College of Geography and Tourism		
105	Geography	Shandong	Ludong University	Institute of Geography and Planning		2007
106	Geography	Shandong	Liaocheng University	School of Environment and Planning		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
107	Geography	Henan	Shangqiu Normal University	School of Environment and Planning		2007
108	Geography	Henan	Pingdingshan University	Environment and Geography Department		2005
109	Geography	Hunan	Hunan University of Science and Technology	School of Architecture and Urban Planning		1999
110	Geography	Guangdong	Sun Yat-Sen University	Geography and Planning School	2009	2002
111	Geography	Guangdong	Foshan University	Environment and Construction College		2003
112	Geography	Chongqing	Chong Qing Normal University	College of Geography and Tourism		
113	Geogrphy	Guizhou	Guizhou Normal University	School of Geographic and Environmental Sciences		
114	Geography	Shaanxi	Northwest University	College of Urban and Environmental Science	2009	1992
115	Geography	Gansu	Northwest Normal University	College of Geography and Environment Science		
116	Civil Engineering	Heilongjiang	Northeast Forestry University	School of Civil Engineering		2002
117	Civil Engineering	Jiangsu	Huaiyin institute of technology	Faculty of Architecture and Civil Engineering		
118	Civil Engineering	Zhejiang	Zhejiang University of Science and Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
119	Civil Engineering	Zhejiang	Zhejiang Normal University Xingzhi Collge	School of Engineering		1999
120	Civil Engineering	Jiangxi	Nanchang University	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
121	Civil Engineering	Jiangxi	Nanchang Institute Of Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
123	Civil Engineering	Shandong	University of Jinan Quancheng College			
124	Civil Engineering	Henan	Zhengzhou Institute of Aeronautical Industry Management	School of Civil Engineering		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
125	Civil Engineering	Hebei	Hebei Normal University of Science & Technology	Institute of Urban Construction		
126	Civil Engineering	Hubei	Xiaogan University	School of Urban Construction		2002
127	Civil Engineering	Hubei	Huazhong University of Science and Technology Wenhua College	Department of Urban Construction and Engineering		
128	Civil Engineering	Hubei	China Three Gorges University	College of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
129	Civil Engineering	Hubei	Wuhan Institute of Technology	School of Environment and Civil Engineering		2003
130	Civil Engineering	Hubei	Jianghan University	College of Engineering and Architecture Construction		
131	Civil Engineering	Hunan	Hunan university of arts and science	College of Civil and Architecture Engineering		
132	Civil Engineering	Hunan	Furong College of Hunan University of Arts and Science	College of Engineering and Technology		
133	Civil Engineering	Hunan	Shaoyang University	Urban Construction Department		
134	Civil Engineering	Sichuan	Southwest University of Science and Technology	School of Civil Engineering and Architecture		2004
135	Civil Engineering	Sichuan	Sichuan University	College of Architecture and Environment		
136	Civil Engineering	Guizhou	Guizhou University	College of Civil Engineering and Architecture		
137	Civil Engineering	Yunnan	Yunan Agricultural University	College of Water Conservancy，Hydroelectric Power and Architecture		2001
138	Civil Engineering	Yunnan	Yunnan University	School of Urban Construction and Management		2004
139	Civil Engineering	Shaanxi	Xi'an University of Technology	Institute of Water Resources and Hydro-electric Engineering		
140	Civil Engineering	Shaanxi	Xian Technological University	School of Civil and Architecture Engineering		
141	Civil Engineering	Qinghai	Qinghai University	College of Civil Engineering		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
142	Civil Engineering	Ningxia	NingXia University	School of Civil Engineering and Water Conservancy		
143	Civil Engineering	Xinjiang	Xinjiang University	School of Civil Engineering		
144	Civil Engineering	Xinjiang	Tarim University	College of Water Resources and Architectural Engineering		2008
145	Forestry/Agriculture	Beijing	Beijing Forestry University	School of Landscape Architecture		1999
146	Forestry/Agriculture	Shanxi	Taiyuan Normal University	College of Urbanism and Tourism		
147	Forestry/Agriculture	Shanxi	Shanxi Agricultural University	College of Forestry		2008
148	Forestry/Agriculture	Neimeng	Inner Mongolia Agricultural University	College of Ecology and Environmental Science		
149	Forestry/Agriculture	Jiangsu	Soochow University	Gold Mantis School of Architecture and Urban Environment		
150	Forestry/Agriculture	Jiangsu	Nanjing Forestry University	College Landscape Architecture		1998
151	Forestry/Agriculture	Jiangsu	Nanjing Forestry University Nanfang College	Department of Landscape Architecture		
152	Forestry/Agriculture	Zhejiang	Zhejiang A & F University	School of Landscape Architecture		
153	Forestry/Agriculture	Anhui	Anhui Science and Technology University	College of Urban Construction & Environment Science		
154	Forestry/Agriculture	Anhui	Anhui Agricultural University	School of Forestry and Landscape Architecture		
155	Forestry/Agriculture	Fujian	Fujian Agriculture and Forestry University	Forestry College		
156	Forestry/Agriculture	Fujian	Dongfang College, Fujian Agriculture and Forestry University	Department of Computer Science		
157	Forestry/Agriculture	Jiangxi	Jiangxi Agricultural University	College of Landscape and Art		2002
158	Forestry/Agriculture	Shandong	Shandong Agricultural University	Forestry School		

(continued)

No.	Academic Origins	Location	University	School/College/Department	Accredited	Established
159	Forestry/Agriculture	Henan	Henan Institute of Science and Technology	School of Horticulture and Landscape Architecture		
160	Forestry/Agriculture	Henan	Henan Agricultural University	College of Forestry		1997
161	Forestry/Agriculture	Hubei	Hubei University for Nationalities	Biological Scientific and Technical College		
162	Forestry/Agriculture	Hubei	Huazhong Agricultural University	College of Horticulture & Forestry Sciences		2002
163	Forestry/Agriculture	Hunan	Central South University of Forestry and Technology	College of Landscape Architecture		1999
164	Forestry/Agriculture	Guangdong	Zhongkai University of Agriculture and Engineering	College of Urban Construction		2005
165	Forestry/Agriculture	Guangdong	South China Agricultural University	College of Forestry		
166	Forestry/Agriculture	Chongqing	Southwest University	College of Horticulture and Landscape Architecture		
167	Forestry/Agriculture	Sichuan	Sichuan Agricultural University	Urban and Rural Construction Institute		
168	Forestry/Agriculture	Sichuan	Xichang College	School of Agricultural Science		
169	Forestry/Agriculture	Yunnan	Southwest Forestry University	School of Landscape Architecture		
170	Forestry/Agriculture	Shaanxi	Northwest A & F University	College of Resources and Environment		
171	Forestry/Agriculture	Gansu	Gansu Agricultural University	School of Resources and Environment		
172	Forestry/Agriculture	Xinjiang	Xinjiang Agricultural University	College of Forestry and Landscape Architecture		1995
173	Others	Beijing	Renmin University of China	School of Public Administration and Policy		2006
174	Others	Shanghai	Fudan University	Department of Environmental Science and Engineering		

Source: Compiled by author using data collected from the website of each planning school.

Bibliography

Abbott, Andrew. 1988. *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Advisory Committee on Architecture and Civil Engineering Education, and Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education (ACUPE). 2004. *Quanguo gaodeng xuexiao tujian lei zhuanye benke jiaoyu peiyang mubiao he peiyang fangan ju zhugan kecheng jiaoxue jiben yaoqu: Chengshi guihua zhuanye (Minimum Requirements for Architecture and Civil Engineering Education at Undergraduate Level: Urban Planning Profession)*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.

Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education (ACUPE), and Tongji University College of Architecture and Urban Planning, eds. 2010. *Genghao de guihua jiaoyu, genghao de chengshi shenghuo (Better Planning Education, Better City Life)*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.

Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education (ACUPE), and Shandong University School of Architecture and Urban Planning, eds. 2008. *Chengshi de anquan, guihua de jidian (Secure City, Planning Basis)*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.

Advisory Committee on Urban Planning Education (ACUPE), and Shenyang University School of Architecture and Urban Planning, eds. 2009. *Chengshi de anquan, guihua de jidian (Secure City, Planning Basis)*. Beijing: China Architecture & Building Press.

Abramson, Daniel. 2005. The "Studio Abroad" as a Mode of Transcultural Engagement in Urban Planning Education: A Reflection on Ten Years of Sino-Canadian Collaboration. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 25:89-102.

———. 2006. Urban Planning in China: Continuity and Change. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 72 (2):197-215.

———. 2007a. The Aesthetics of City-Scale Preservation Policy in Beijing. *Planning Perspectives* 22 (2):129-166.

———. 2007b. The Dialectics of Urban Planning in China. In *China's Emerging Cities: The Making of New Urbanism*, edited by F. Wu. London and New York: Routledge.

Adams, Frederick. 1954. *Urban Planning Education in the United States*. Cincinnati: The Alfred Bettman Foundation.

Allen, Davina. 2001. *The Changing Shape of Nursing Practice: The Role of Nurses in the Hospital Division of Labor*. London: Routledge.

Allen, Judith. 1994. *Consensus-Building in Metropolitan Planning: A Case Study of the Greater London Council, 1981 -1986*. Berkeley: Institute of Urban and Regional Development, University of California.

Allmendinger, P, and M Tewdwr-Jones. 2002. The Communicative Turn in Urban Planning: Unravelling Paradigmatic, Imperialistic and Moralistic Dimensions. *Space and Polity* 6 (1):5-24.

Alonso, William. 1986. The Unplanned Paths of Planning Schools. *The Public Interest* 82 (Winter):58-71.

Amirahmadi, H. 1993. Globalization and Planning Education. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 20:537-555.

Amos, Francis J. C. 1987. The Town and Country Planning Act 1947. *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management* 30 (1):12-14.

Bachin, Robin. 2002. City Building as Community Building: Re-Visioning Planning History. *Journal of Planning History* 1:235-239.

Batey, Peter. 1985a. Education for Planning: Retrospect and Prospect. *Town Planning Review* 56:403-406.

———. 1985b. Postgraduate Planning Education in Britain: Its Purpose, Content and Organisation. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):407-420.

Batty, Machael. 1979. On Planning Processes. In *Resources and Planning*, edited by B. Goodall and A. Kirby. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Baum, Howell. 1983. *Planners and Public Expectations*. Cambridge Massachusetts: Schenkman.

Birch, Eugenie. 1980a. Advancing the Art and Science of Planning: Planners and Their Organizations, 1909-1980. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46 (1):22-49.

———. 1980b. Radburn and the American Planning Movement The Persistence of an Idea. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 46 (4):424-439.

———. 2001. Practitioners and the Art of Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 20:407-422.

Birch, Eugenie, and Christopher Silver.2009. One Hundred Years of City Planning's Enduring and Evolving Connections. *Journal of American Planning Association* 75 (2):113-122.

Blakely, Edward J., and Sumner M. Sharpe. 1993. Planners, Heal Thyselves—Planning Education, Educators, and Practitioners in the Next Century. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 59 (2):139-140.

Bolan, Richard S. 1967. Emerging Views of Planning. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 33 (4):233-245.

Broadbent, T. A. , and J. A. Key. 1982. *Review of Research in Planning*. London: ESRC.

Brooks, Michael. 1988. Four Critical Junctures in the History of the Urban Planning Profession: An Exercise in Hindsight. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 54:241-248.

Brown, Caroline, Jim Claydon, and Vincent Nadin. 2003. The RTPI's Education Commission: Context and Challenges. *The Town Planning Review* 74 (3):333-345.

Buck, David. 1981. Policies Favoring the Growth of Smaller Urban Places in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979. In *Urban Development in Modern China*, edited by L. J. C. Ma and E. W. Hanten. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

———. 1984. Changes in Chinese Urban Planning since 1976. *Third World Planning Review* 6:5-20.

Campanella, Thomas. 2008. *The Concrete Dragon: China's Urban Revolution and What it Means for the World*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press.

Caplow, Theodore. 1954. *The Sociology of Work*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Carr-Saunders, Alexander M. , and P. A. Wilson. 1933. *The Professions*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chan, Kam Wing , and Ying Hu. 2003. Urbanization in China in the 1990s: New Definition, Different Series, and Revised Trends. *The China Review* 3 (2):49-71.

Chan, Kam Wing. 2010. Fundamentals of China's Urbanization and Policy. *The China Review* 10 (1):63-94.

Chandler, E. W. 1985. The Components of Design Teaching in a Planning Context. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):468-482.

Chen, Bingzhao. 1994. *Zhongguo de chengshi guihua yu chengshi guihua jiaoyu* (China's Urban Planning and Urban Planning Education). *Chengshi guihua huikan (City Planning Forum)* 4:9-12.

———. 1999. *Shiji zhi jiao dui zhongguo chengshi guihua xueke ji guihua jiaoyu de huigu he zhanwang* (Retrospect and Outlook of Chinese Urban Planning and Planning Education in Turning Point of the Century). *Chengshi guihua huikan (City Planning Forum)* 1:1-4.

———. 2003. *Chengshi guihua kexue xing de zai renshi* (Redefining the Scientific Nature of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 27 (2):81.

———. 2004. *Tan chengshi guihua zhuanye jiaoyu peiyang fangan de xiuding* (On the Revision of the Training Plan for Professional Education for Urban Planning). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 20 (4):10-11.

———. 2005a. *Zhongguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu de shuang mian guan* (Two-sided View on Urban Planning Education in China). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 21 (7):5-6.

———. 2005b. *Zhuanbian yu gengxin: dui guihuashi shehui zeren de sikao* (Transformation and Innovation: Social Responsibility of Urban Planners) *Guihuashi (Planners)* 21 (12):50-52.

———. 2009. *Zhongguo chengshi guihua zhuanye jiaoyu huigu yu fazhan* (Review and Education Development of Urban Planning Profession in China). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 25 (1):25-27.

Chen, Feng. 2005. *Fei fading guihua de xianzhuang yu zoushi* (The Present and Future of Non-Statutory Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 29 (11):45-53.

Chen, Jianhua, Yifeng Yuan, and Xiaofeng Yi. 2006. *Zhanlue guihua tuidong xia de xingdong guihua: guanyu Guangzhou chengshi guihua ji qi shijian de sikao* (Action Plan Driven by Strategic Development Plan: A Case Study of Guangzhou). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 2:12-16.

Chen, Tianxi. 2000. *Guihua yuan tixhi gaige zhi wojian* (Personal Perspectives on Institutional Reform of Planning Institutes). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 24 (8):59-62.

Chen, Xiaojian. 1999. *Qianyi chengshi guihua jiaoyu de wuqu* (A Tentative Crituque of Planning Education). *Gaodeng jianzhu jiaoyu (Journal of Architectural Education at Higher Education Level)* 30 (2):11-12.

Chen, Xiong, and Cunde Ji. 2006. *Guanyu woguo chengshi sheji xianzhuang ji cunzai wenti de sikao* (Critical Thinking about the Current Practice of Urban Design). *Shanxi jianzhu (Shanxi Architecture)* 32 (13):10-11.

Chen, Xiaoli, and Yan Wang. 1995. *Chengshi guihua sheji shichang toushi* (Perspectives on Planning Service Market). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* (2):7-12.

Cherry, Gordon E. 1974. *The Evolution of British Town Planning: A History of Town Planning in the United Kingdom during the 20th Century and of the Royal Town Planning Institute, 1914-74.* Leighton Buzzard: Leonard Hill Books.

Chou, Baoxing. 2002. *Cong fazhi de yuanze laikan "chengshi guihua fa" de quexian* (Accessing the Deficiency of "Urban Planning Act" From the Principle of Law). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (4):11-55.

Cody, Jeffrey W. 1996. American Planning in Republican China, 1911-1937. *Planning Perspectives* 11:339-377.

Collins, John. 1985. Education for Practice: A Local Authority. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):458-467.

Ministry of Construction, People's Republic of China. 2007. *Quanguo chengzhen tixi guihua gangyao: 2005-2020* (Outlines of National Urban System Plan: 2005-2020).

Cui, Gonghai. 1996. *Gaige: Zhongguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu pozai meijie de xuanze* (Reform: An Urgent Decision to be Made on Chinese Planning Education). *Guihua Jiaoyu (Planning Education)* 6:6-7.

Dalton, Linda C. 1986. Why the Rational Paradigm Persists—The Resistance of Professional Education and Practice to Alternative Forms of Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 5 (3):147-153.

———. 1989. Emerging Knowledge About Planning Practice. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 9 (1):29-44.

———. 2001a. Thinking about Tomorrow Bringing the Future to the Forefront of Planning. *Journal of American Planning Association* 67 (4):397-401.

———. 2001b. Weaving the Fabric of Planning As Education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 20:243-436.

Dalton, Linda C., and Wes Hankins. 1993. Educating Undergraduates in Planning: Characteristics and Prospects. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 12 (3):213-222.

Davidoff, Paul. 1965. Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31 (4):331-337.

Davies, H.W.E. 1997. Brian McLoughlin and the Systems Approach to Planning. *European Planning Studies* 5 (6):719-729.

———. 1998. Continuity and Change: The Evolution of the British Planning System, 1947-97. *The Town Planning Review* 69 (2):135-152.

Davoudi, Simin. 2000. Sustainability: A New Vision for the British Planning System. *Planning Perspectives* 15:123-137.

Deininger, Klaus , and Songqing Jin. 2005. The Potential of Land Rental Markets in the Process of Economic Development: Evidence from Chin. *Journal of Development Economics* 78:241-270.

Deng, Lan, Qingyun Shen, and Lin Wang. 2009. Housing Policy and Finance in China: A Literature Review: Report Prepared for U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

Department of Urban Planning, Southeast University, ed. 2008. *Chengshi guihua zhuanye xuesheng youxiu zuoye xuan, 2002-2007 (Selected Excellent Works of Planning Students, 2002-2007)*. Nanjing: Southeast University Press.

Diamond, Derek Robin, and John Brian McLoughlin, eds. 1973. *Education for Planning: The Development of Knowledge and Capability for Urban Governance*. Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Ding, Chengri, and Yan Song, eds. 2005. *Emerging Land and Housing Markets in China*. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Ding, Rui. 2005. *Guihuashi 1995-2004 xueshu lunwen fenxi* (Analysis of Academic Thesis of Planners Journal, 1995-2004). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 12 (21):13-17.

Dong, Jianhong, and Shiwen Sun. 1997. *Guanyu chengshi guihua zhuanye de zuoyong yu diwei de yixie sikao* (Some Thoughts on the role and Status of Urban Planning Profession). *Chengshi guihua huikan (City Planning Forum)* 4:32-33.

Doulet, Jean-Francois. 2008. Where are China's Cities Heading? *China Perspectives* 4:4-14.

Duan, Jin. 2004. *Fazhi shidai de daode zilu: Xiandai chengshi guihua shi de zhiye yaoqiu* (Ethics and Self-discipline: Requirements for being a Professional Urban Planner). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 28 (1):28-30.

Duan, Jin, and Zhiming Li. 2005. *Chengshi guihua de zhiye rentong yu xueke fazhan de zhishi lingyu* (Professional Identity and Konwledge Domain of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 6:59-63.

Edwards, Mary, and Lisa Bates. 2011. Planning's Core Curriculum: Knowledge, Practice, and Implementation. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 31 (2):172-183.

Esherick, Joseph W., ed. 2002. *Remaking the Chinese City: Modernity and National Identity, 1900-1950*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Evans, Bob. 1995. *Experts and Environmental Planning*. Aldershot: Avebury.

Evans, Bob, and Yvonne Rydin. 1997. Planning, Professionalism and Sustainability. In *Town Planning into the 21st Century*, edited by A. Blowers and B. Evans. London: Routledge.

Fan, Lingyun, and Cheng Lei. 2010. *Lun woguo xiangcun guihua de hefa shishi celue: Jiyu "chengxiang guihua fa" de tantao* (The Legal Implementation of Rural Planning: Base on Discussion of Urban-Rural Planning Act). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 26 (1).

Feldman, Marshall M. A. 1994. Perloff Revisited: Reassessing Planning Education in Postmodern Times. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 13 (2):89-103.

Fernie, J., and V. Jardine. 1981. Higher Education Policy: Implications for Planning. *The Town Planning Review* 52 (4):403-416.

Fishman, Robert. 2000. The American Metropolis at Century's End: Past and Future Influences. *Housing Policy Debate* 11 (1):199-213.

Flanagan, Richard M. 1997. The Housing Act of 1954: The Sea Change in National Urban Policy. *Urban Affairs Review* 33 (2):265-286.

Florida, Richard, and Andrew Jonas. 1991. U.S. Urban Policy: The Postwar State and Capitalist Regulation. *Antipode* 23 (4):349-384.

Flyvbjerg, Bent. 1998. *Rationality and Power*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Forester, John. 1989. *Planning in the Face of Power*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Frank, Andrea. 2006. Three Decades of Thought on Planning Education. *Journal of Planning Literature* 21 (1):15-67.

Fried, Mark. 1973. *The World of the Urban Working Class*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

Friedmann, John. 1967. A Conceptual Model for the Analysis of Planning Behavior. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 12 (2):225-252.

———. 1972. *Retracking America: A Theory of Transactive Planning*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday/ Anchor.

———. 1987. *Planning in the Public Domain: From Knowledge to Action*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

———. 1996. The Core Curriculum in Planning Revisited. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 15:89-104.

———. 2002. Planning Cultures in Transition. Paper read at The Massachusetts Institute of Technology Comparative Planning Cultures Symposium, at MIT Department of Urban Studies and Planning.

———. 2004. 100 Years of Planning Education in North America. In *Chinese Academy of Planning and Design*. Beijing.

———. 2005. *China's Urban Transition*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Friedmann, J., and C. Kuester. 1994. Comment. Planning Education for the Late 20th Century: An Initial Inquiry. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 15:89-104.

Freidson, Eliot. 1970. *Professional Dominance: The. Social Structure of Medical Care*. New York: Atherton Press.

———. 1986. *Professional Powers: A Study of the Institutionalization of Formal Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

———. 1988. *Profession of Medicine: A Study of the Sociology of Applied Knowledge*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Fu, Dongnan. 2004. *Cong xuexiao dao guihua yuan: Shenghuo zhuanxing zhong dui zhuanye de sikao* (From School to the Planning Institute: Reflection on Speciality at the Stage of Life Transformation). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 20 (4):21-22.

Galloway, Thomas, and Riad Mahayni. 1977. Planning Theory in Retrospect: The Process of Paradigm Change. *Journal of the American Institute of Planning* 43 (1):62-71.

Gans, Herbert. 1962. *The Urban Villagers*. Edited by N. York, *Free Press*.

Gao, Yanwei. 2003. *Wuguo jianshe lei zhuanye jiaoyu pinggu de huigu yu sikao* (Review and Reflection on the Educational Accreditation of Construction-Related Disciplines). *Gaodeng jianzhu jiaoyu (Journal of Architectural Education at Higher Education Level)* 12 (3):4-7.

Gaubatz, Piper. 1995. Urban Transformation in Post-Mao China: Impacts of the Reform Era on China's Urban Form. In *Urban Spaces in Contemporary China, The Potential for Autonomy and Community in Post-Mao China (Woodrow Wilson Center Press Series)*, edited by D. Davis, R. Kraus, B. Naughton and E. Perry. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giddens, Anthony. 1998. *The Third Way: The Renewal of Social Democracy*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc.

Glasmeier, Amy, and Terry Kahn. 1989. Planners in the '80s: Who We Are, Where We Work. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 9 (1):5-17.

Glazer, Nathan 1974. The Schools of the Minor Professions. *Minerva* 12 (3):352.

Goode, William J. 1957. Community within a Community: The Professions. *American Sociological Review* 22 (2):194-200.

Guttenberg, Albert, and Louis Wetmore. 1987. What's in a Name Change? City Planning and Landscape Architecture at the University of Illinois. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 7 (1):29-34.

Guzzetta, Jacqueline D., and Scott A. Bollens. 2003. Urban Planners" Skills and Competencies: Are We Different from Other Professions? Does Context Matter? Do We Evolve? *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 23:96-106.

Habenstein, Robert W. 1963. Critique of "Profession" as a Sociological Category. *Sociological Quarterly* 4:291-300.

Hall, Peter. 1988. *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Harper, T.L. , and S.M. Stein. 1995. Out of the Postmodern Abyss: Preserving the Rationale for Liberal Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14:233-244.

Hartman, Chester W. 1970. Reshaping Planning Education. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 36 (4):218-220.

He, Zizhang. 2005. *Chengshi guihua de zhiye fazhan yu guihua jiaoyu zhuanxing* (Development of Urban Planning as A Profession and Planning Education). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 12 (21):64-65.

Healey, Patsy. 1983. British Planning Education in the 1970s and 1980s. In *British Planning Practice and Planning Education in the 1970s and 1980s*, edited by H. W. E. Davies and P. Healey. Oxford: Department of Town Planning, Oxford Polytechnic.

———. 1985. The Professionalisation of Planning in Britain: Its Form and Consequences. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):492-507.

———. 1991. Researching Planning Practice. *The Town Planning Review* 62 (4):447-459.

———. 1992. Planning through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory. *The Town Planning Review* 63 (2):143-162.

———. 1996. The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory and Its Implications for Spatial Strategy Formations. *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 23 (2):217-234.

———. 1999. Institutionalist Analysis, Communicative Planning and Shaping Places. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 19:111-121.

Healey, Patsy, and Tim Shaw. 1994. Changing Meaning of 'Environment' in the British Planning System. *Transations of Institute of British Geographers, New Series* 19 (4):425-438.

Hemmens, George. 1988. Thirty Years of Planning Education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 7 (2):85-91.

Hemmens, George, Edward Bergman, and Robert Moroney. 1978. The Practitioner's View of Social Planning. *Journal of American Planning Association* 44 (2):181-192.

Hendry, John. 1991. Design in the Town Planning Curriculum. *Design Studies* 12 (2):114-117.

Hiltner, Seward. 1957. Planning as a Profession. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 23 (4):162-167.

Ho, Peter. 2001. Who Owns Chinaís Land? Policies, Property Rights and Deliberate Institutional Ambiguity. *China Quarterly* 166:394-421.

Ho, Samuel P.S., and George C.S. Lin. 2003. Emerging Land Markets in Rural and Urban China: Policies and Practices. *The China Quarterly* 175:681-707.

Hoch, Charles. 1994. *What Planners Do: Power, Politics, and Persuasion*. Chicago: American Planning Association/Planners Press.

Holford, William. 1951. Qualifications for Town and Country Planners: A Review of the Report of the Committee *The Town Planning Review* 21 (4):357-361.

Holston, James. 1989. *The Modernist City: An Anthropological Critique of Brasilia*. Chicago: American Planning Association.

Hu, Chang-tu. 1961. Higher Education in Mainland China. *Comparative Education Review* 4 (3):159-168.

Hughes, Everett. 1971. *The Sociological Eye*. Chicago: Aldine.

Innes, Judith. 1995. Planning Theory's Emerging Paradigm: Communicative Action and Interactive Practice. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 14 (3):183-189.

Shanghai Urban Planning and Design Research Institute. 1987. *Shanghai shi hongqiao xinqu guihua* (Hongqiao District Planning in Shanghai) *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 1:28-29.

Isserman, Andrew M. 1985. Dare to Plan: An Essay on the Role of the Future in Planning Practice and Education. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):483-491.

Jacobs, Jane. 1961. *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. New York: Random House.

Jiang, Yong. 2008. *Guanyu guanche luoshi chengxiang guihua fa de jidian sikao* (Some Thoughts of Implementation of Urban-Rural Planning Act). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 32 (1):23-26.

Jin, Jingyuan. 2005. *Yi ming lao guihua shi de you si* (The Worry of a Old Urban Planner). *Shanghai chengshi guanli zhiye jishu xueyuan xuebao (Journal of Shanghai Polytechnic College of Urban Management)* 14 (4):22-26.

Johnson, Terence J. 1972. *Professions and Power*. London: MacMillan.

Journal of the American Institute of Planners. 1957. Comments on Perloff. *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 23 (1):42.

Khakee, A. 1996. Urban planning in China and Sweden in a Comparative Perspective. *Progress in Planning* 46:91-140.

Khan, Tehmina. 2011. Asian Housing Markets: Bubble Trouble? *An Eye on East. Asia and Pacific* 5:1-8.

Krueckeberg, Donald A., ed. 1983. *The American Planner: Biographies and Recollections*. New York: Methuen.

———. 1984. Planning and the New Depression in the Social Sciences. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 3 (1):78-86.

———. 1985. The Tuition of American Planning: From Dependency toward Self-Reliance. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):421-441.

Kuhn, Sarah. 2001. Learning from the Architecture Studio: Implications for Project- Based Pedagogy. *International Journal of Engineering Education* 17 (4):349-352.

Kunzmann, Klaus R. 1985. Educating Planners in Europe: Trends and Requirements: An International Perspective. *The Town Planning Review* 56 (4):442-457.

Kvan, Thomas, Bingkun Liu, and Yunyan Jia. 2008. The Emergence of a Profession: Development of the Profession of Architecture in China. *Journal of Architectural and Planning Research* 25 (3):203-220.

Kwok, Reginald Yin-Wang. 1981. Trends of Urban Planning and Development in China. In *Urban Development in Modern China*, edited by L. J. C. Ma and E. W. Hanten. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press.

———. 1988. Metropolitan Development in China: A Struggle Between Contradictions. *Habitat International* 12 (4):195-207.

Lall, Somik, and Hyoung Gun Wang. 2011. China Urbanization Review: Balancing Urban Transformation and Spatial Inclusion. *An Eye on East. Asia and Pacific* 6:1-8.

Lang, Jon. 1983. Teaching Planning to City Planning Students. An Argument for the Studio. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 2:122-129.

Lang, Xianping. 2009. *Lang xianping xhuo: Shui zai zengjiu zhongguo jingji (Lang, Xianping Says: Who Would Save China's Economy)*. Beijing: *Dongfang Chuban She*

Larson, Magali S. 1977. *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Leaf, Michael. 1998. Urban Planning and Urban Reality Under Chinese Economic Reforms. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 18 (2):145-153.

———. 2005. Modernity Confronts Tradition: The Professional Planner and Local Corporatism in the Rebuilding of China's Cities. In *Comparative Planning Cultures*, edited by B. Sanyal. New York: Routledge.

Leaf, Michael, and Li Hou. 2006. The 'Third Spring' of Urban Planning in China. *China Information* 20 (3):553-585.

Lee, Chun-Fen, and Jianzhong Tang. 1982. Geography in Higher Education in China. *Journal of Geography in Higher Education* 6 (1):47-55.

Lee, James. 2000. From Welfare Housing to Home Ownership: The Dilemma of China's Housing Reform. *Housing Studies* 15 (1):61-76.

LeGates, Richard, and Frederic Stout, eds. 1998. *Selected Essays*. London: Routledge/Thoemmes Press.

LeGates, Richard, and Frederick Stout. 2000. Modernism and Early Urban Planning, 1870-1940. In *The City Reader*, edited by R. LeGates and F. Stout. London: Routledge.

LeGates, Richard, and Tingwei Zhang. 2007. The Chinese Planner's Guide to Western Urban Planning Literature. In *2nd International Conference on China's Urban Development and Planning*. Beijing.

Lei, Cheng, and Min Zhao. 2009. *"Xiang guihua" tixi jiangou ji yunzuo de ruogan tantao: Ruhe luoshi "chenxiang guihua fa" zhong de xiang guihua* (Establishment and Operation of Town-Ship Planning System). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 2:9-14.

Li, Heping. 2005. *Jiaqiang chengshi guihua zhuanye jiaoyu zhong de zhiye daode jiaoyu* (To Address the Importance of Ethics in Professional Planning Education). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 12 (21):66-67.

Li, Wei. 2004. *Chengshi yongdi guimo yuce de xin silu: cong chanye cengmian de yidian sikao* (New Thinking about the Prediction of Urban Land Demand: A Land Use Perspective). *Guihua fangfa (Planning Methodology)* 28 (3):62-65.

Li, Xiaojiang, and Baojun Yang. 2007. *Zhanlue guihua* (Strategic Development Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 31 (1):44-56.

Li, Yun, and Xun Li. 2006. *Woguo chengshi yongdi guimo de yingxiang yingsu fenxi* (Factor Analysis of Urban Land Demand). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 30 (10):14-18.

Lin, Hongyu, W. Park Yun, and Siqi Zheng. 2002. The Interaction between Housing Investment and Economic Growth in China. *International Real Estate Review* 5 (1):40-60.

Liu, Dongli. 2005. *Guihua sheji shiye danwei tizhi gaige yanjiu* (Research on Institutional Reform of Planning Institutes as Public Service Unit), Dalian University of Technology.

Liu, Shouying, and Xingsan Jiang. 2005. *Tudi rongzi, chengshi kuozhang yu jingrong fengxian: laizi yige fada diqu de gean* (Land Financing, Urban Expansion and Financial Risk: Case Studies from Developed Region). Paper read at *Budongchan kaifa yu touzi he budongchan jinrong: 2005 nain haixia liangan tudi xueshu yantao lunwen ji* (Real Estate Development and Real Estate Finance: 2005 Cross-Strait Symposium on Land), at Wulumuqi, China.

Liu, Xiaohui. 2009. *Mingtong shiyi: liang zhong chengshi guihua zhuanye jiaoyu fenye de biyaoxing* (Two Different Things under One Name: Necessarity to Differentiate Two Different Kinds of Planning Education). *Chengshi guihua jiaoyu (Planning Education)* 5:138-140.

Liu, Yun, and Chong Peng. 2008. Impact Analysis of the Town and Country Planning Act On the Smart Growth of Small-size Towns in China. In *44th ISOCARP Congress*.

Liu, Yishi, and Fuhe Zhang. 2006. *Zhongguo jindai chengshi guihua moshi ji jianzhu yangshi yanjiu* (Model of Modern Urban Planning and Architectural Forms). In *Zhongguo jindai jianzhu yanjiu yu baohu 5 (Research and Protection of Chinese Modern Architecture 5)*, edited by F. Zhang. Beijing: Tsinghua University Press.

Low, Nicholas. 1991. *Planning, Politics and the State: Political Foundations of Planning Thought* London: Unwin Hyman.

Lu, Feng, and Xin He. 2006. *Qianxi dangqian woguo chengshi sheji de juxian xing* (Analysis of the Current Limitations of Urban Design). *Chongqing jianzhu daxue xuebao (Journal of Chongqing Architecture University)* 28 (2):11-14.

Lu, Guoying. 2011. *San guan qi xia zhuli chengshi guihua huigui gonggong shuxing* (Three Recommendations for Urban Planning to Refocus on Public Interest). *Nanfang dushi bao (Southern Metropolis Daily)*, June, 8, A02.

Lyons, Thomas P. 1990. Planning and Interprovincial Co-Ordination in Maoist China. *The China Quarterly* 121:36-60.

Ma, Laurence J. C. 1979. The Chinese Approach to City Planning: Policy, Administration, and Action. *Asian Survey* 19 (9):838-855.

Ma, Laurence J. C., and Fulong Wu, eds. 2005. *Restructuring the Chinese City: Changing Society, Economy and Space*. London: Routledge.

Ma, Wuding. 2003. *Chengshi guihua xuyao kexue de pingjia biaozhun* (The Effectiveness of Urban Planning Needs to Evaluated with Scientific Standards). *Chengshi guihua tongxun (Urban Planning Newsreport)* 2:80-81.

———. 2005. *Chengshi guihua benzhi de huigui* (Reflection on the Essence of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:16-20.

———. 2006. *Zhidu bianqian yu guihua shi de zhiye daode* (Institutional Changes and Professional Ethics of Urban Planners). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:45-48.

Madden, Moss. 1987. The Future for Postgraduate Planning Education: Efforts to Break with the Past. *Journal of Vocational Education & Training* 39 (103):71-77.

Mandelbaum, Seymour. 1991. Telling Stories. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 10 (3):209-214.

———. 1996. The Talk of the Community. In *Explorations in Planning Theory*, edited by S. MANDELBAUM, L. MAZZA and R. BURCHELL. New Brunswick, NJ: Centre for Urban Policy Research.

Mao, Gang. 2005. *Chengshi guihua shinian yitan, guihua shi tan er zixing* (Reflections after Ten Years of Practice, from the Perspective of a Urban Planner). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 12 (21):71-72.

Masser, I. , and R. Williams. 1986. *Learning from Other Countries: The Cross-National Dimension in Urban Policymaking*. Norwich: Geo Books.

McLoughlin, Brian. 1973. The Future of the Planning Profession. In *The Future of Planning*, edited by P. Cowan. London Heinemann.

———. 1982. *Relationships Between Planning Research, Education and Practice*. London: ESRC.

Meck, Stuart, and Rebecca C. Retzlaff. 2009. A Familiar Ring: A Retrospective on the First National Conference on City Planning (1909). *Planning & Environmental Law* 61 (4):3-10.

Meng, Bin, Jingqiu Zhang, and Zhiying Qi. 2009. *Beijing shi putong zhuzhai kongzhiliang diaocha* (Research on Housing Vacancy in Beijing). *Chengshi wenti (Urban Issues)* 4:6-11.

Meyerson, M. , and E. Banfield. 1955. *Politics, Planning, and the Public Interest: The Case of Public Housing in Chicago*. Glencoe: Free Press.

Millerson, Geoffrey. 1964. *The Qualifying Associations: A Study in Professionalization*. London: Routledge.

Ministry of Land and Resources, People's Republic of China. 2005. *Gaodu jingti chengshi guihua pengzhang* (High Alert against the Excessive Land Use in Urban Planning). *Zhongguo guotu ziyuan bao (China Land and Resources News)*, January 18th.

Nadin, Vincent, and Dominic Stead. 2008. European Spatial Planning Systems, Social Models and Learning. *disP* 172 (1):35-47.

Ng, Mee Kam. 1999. Political Economy and Urban Planning: A Comparative Study of Hong Kong, Singapore and Taiwan. *Progress in Planning* 9:1-90.

———. 2002. In the Interest of the Public? The Rethinking of the Professional Planners' Role under the Guidance of the Administration. *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (8):35-45.

———. 2004a. The Role of Planning in the Development of Shenzhen, People's Republic of China: Rhetoric and Realities. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 45 (3):190-211.

———. 2004b. Viewpoint: The Role of Urban Planning in China's Sustainable Development. *The Town Planning Review* 75 (4):1-5.

Ng, Mee Kam, and Fulong Wu. 1995. A Critigue of the 1989 City Planning Act of the People's Republic of China: A Western Perspective. *Third World Planning Review* 17 (3):279-294.

Niebanck, Paul. 1988. Planning Education: Unleashing the Future. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 54 (4):432-442.

Olds, Kris. 1997. Globalizing Shanghai: the "Global Intelligence Corps" and the building of Pudong. *Cities* 14 (2):109-123.

Ozawa, Connie P., and Ethan P. Seltzer. 1999. Taking Our Bearings: Mapping a Relationship Among Planning Practice, Theory, and Education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 18:257-266.

Patton, Carl V. 1989. Recent Trends in Graduate Planning Education. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 8 (3):215-220.

Piven, Frances. 1965. Whom does the Advocacy Planners Serve? In *The Politics of Turmoil*, edited by R. Cloward and F. Piven. New York: Vintage.

Perloff, Harvey. 1956. Education of City Planners: Past, Present and Future. *Journal of the American Planning Association* 22 (4):186-217.

———. 1957. *Education for Planning: City, State, and Regional*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press.

———. 1965. New Directions in Social Planning. *Journal of American Planning Association* 31 (4):297-304.

Rodríguez-Bachiller, Agustín. 1988. *Town Planning Education: An International Survey* Hants: Avebury, Aldershot.

———. 1991. British Town Planning Education: A Comparative Perspective. *The Town Planning Review* 62 (4):431-445.

Rodwin, Floyd. 1953. The Achilles Heel of British Town Planning. *The Town Planning Review* 24 (1):22-34.

Ruan, Rufang. 2001. *Cong "chengshi guihua huikan" chuban neirong kan zhongguo dalu chengshi guihua de fazhan qushi* (Examining the Development of Urban Planning through the Content of Urban Planning Forum Journal). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 2.

Runte, Robert. 1995. Is Teaching a Profession? In *Thinking About Teaching: An Introduction*, edited by G. Taylor and R. Runte. Toronto: Harcourt Brace.

Samuels, Marwyn. 1977. Geography in China: Trends in Research and Training. *Pacific Affairs* 50 (3):406-425.

Sandercock, Leonie. 2003. *Cosmopolis II: Mongrel Cities of the 21Century*. London: Continuum.

Sandercock, Leonie, and Giovanni Attili. 2005. How Far Can/Should Planners Go? A Planning Imagination for the 21st Century. In *Planning Institute of British Columbia Conference*. Vancouver, Canada.

Sanyal, Bishwapriya. 1989. Poor Countries' Students in Rich Countries' Universities: Possibilities of Planning Education for the Twenty-first Century. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 8 (3):139-155.

———. 2005. Hybrid Planning Cultures: the Search for the Global Cultural Commons. In *Comparing Planning Cultures*, edited by B. Sanyal. New York, London: Routledge.

Sarbib, Jean-Louis. 1983. The University of Chicago Program in Planning: A Retrospective Look. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 2 (2):77-81.

Sawicki, David. 1988. Planning Education and Planning Practice: Can We Plan for the Next Decade? *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 7 (2):115-120.

Schön, Donald A. 1982. Some of What a Planner Knows A Case Study of Knowing-in-Practice. *Journal of American Planning Association* 48 (3):351-364.

———. 1983. *The Reflective Practitioner: How Professionals Think in Action*. New York: Basic Books.

Schön, Donald A., Nancy Sheldon Cremer, Paul Osterman, and Charles Perry. 1976. Planners in Transition: Report on a Survey of Alumni of M.I.T.'s Department of Urban Studies, 1960-71'. *Journal of American Planning Association* 42 (2):193-202.

Schön, Donald A., and Thomas E. Nutt. 1974. Endemic Turbulence: The Future of Planning Education. In *Planning in America: Learning from Turbulence*, edited by D. R. Godschalk. Washington, DC: American Institute of Planners.

Scott, Mel. 1969. *American City Planning Since 1890*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Shan, Saimai, and Liyun Han. 2009. *Jianshe re shidai beijing xia chengshi guihua jiaoyu de lixing sikao* (Rational Thoughts about Planning Education in the Context of Construction Boom). *Xin kencheng yanjiu (New Curriculum Research)* 6:17-19.

Shen, Qingji. 2005. *"Chengshi guihua hui kan" ban kan huigu yu zhanwang* (Looking Back and Expectation on Urban Planning Forum). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1.

Shen, Qingji, and Feiqiong Wu. 2006. *1996-2005 Nianjian "Chengshi guihua xue kan" de tongji ji fenxi* (Statistic and Analysis on Urban Planning Forum From 1996-2005). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 2:38-48.

Shi, Nan. 2008. *Lun chengxiang guihua guanli xingzheng quanli de zeren kongjian fanchou- xei zai "chengxiang guihua fa" banbu shishi zhi ji* (On the Reponsibility Space of Urban and Rural Planning Administration). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 2:9-26.

Silver, Christopher. 1984. American Planning and Planners: A Review of Two Books in Planning History. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 3 (2):129-130.

Smith, Betty. 1988. California Development Agreements and British Planning Agreements: The Struggle of the Public Land Use Planner. *The Town Planning Review* 59 (3):277-287.

Solinger, Dorothy J. 2006. Interviewing Chinese People: From High-Level Officials to the Unemployed. In *Doing Fieldwork in China*, edited by M. Heimer and S. Thøgersen. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press.

Song, Yan, Gerrit Knapp, and Chengri Ding. 2005. Housing Policy in the People's Republic of China: A Historical Review. In *Emerging Land and Housing Markets in China*, edited by C. Ding and Y. Song. Cambridge, Mass.: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy Press.

Southern Metropolis Daily Editorial. 2011. *Chengshi guihua yao cong liyi jiuchan chongxin huigui gonggong shuxing* (The Concern of Urban Planning Should Return to Public Interest). *Nanfang dushi bao (Southern Metropolis Daily)*, June 7, A02.

———. 2012. *Tsinghua daxue jianzhu xueyuan fuyuanzhang paohong xiaozhang* (Vice-President of Architecture School Condemned Tsinghua President), January 4, A14.

Southern Weekly. 2012. *Yang gongsi weilie zhongguo lishi jiequ* (Historical District in China under Control by Foreign Companies), January 12, 16.

Stapleton, Kristin. 2007. Warfare and Modern Urban Administration in Chinese Cities. In *Cities in Motion: Interior, Coast, and Diaspora in Transnational China*, edited by D. Strand, S. Cochran and W.-h. Yeh. Berkeley: University of California, Institute of East Asian Studies.

State Council People's Republic of China. 1996. *Guowuyuan guanyu jiaqiang chengshi guihua gongzuo de tongzhi* (A Notification from the State Council on Strengthening the Practice of Urban Planning). Document No. 18.

———. 1998a. *Guowuyuan guanyu jinyibu shenhua zhufang zhidu gaige jiakuai zhufang jianshe de tongzhi* (A Notification from the State Council on Further Deepening the Urban Housing Reform and Accelerating Housing Construction). Document No.23.

———. 1998b. *Shiye danwei dengji guanli zhanxing tiaoli* (Provisional Regulations regarding the Registration and Administration of Public Service Unit).

Stephenson, Gordon 1951. The Planning Schools: 7. The University of Liverpool. *The Town Planning Review* 22 (1):84-87.

Stiftel, Bruce. 2009. Planning the Paths of Planning Schools. *Australian Planner* 46 (1):38-47.

Sun, Shiwen. 2006. *Chengshi guihua buneng chengshou zhi zhong: Chengshi guihua de jiazhiguan zhi bian* (The Unbearable Burden of Urban Planning in China: The Impairment of the Pursuit of Efficiency on Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:11-17.

———. 2008. *"Chengxiang guihua fa" yu yifa xingzheng* (Urban-Rural Planning Act and Rule of Law). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 32 (1):57-61.

Sun, Shiwen, Xiaopei Lu, and Jian Zhang. 2007. *Jianli chengxiang guihua ducha yuan zhidu de tansuo yu yanjiu* (Exploration and Research on the Establishment of Supervisory System of Urban-Rural Planning). Paper read at *Hexie chengshi guihua: 2007 Zhongguo chengshi guihua nianhui* (Urban Planning in Harmony: 2007 Annual Conference of Chinese Urban Planning), at Harbin.

Susskind, Lawrence E. , and Jeffrey L. Cruikshank. 1987. *Breaking the Impasse : Consensual Approaches to Resolving Public Disputes*. New York: Basic Books.

Tang, Bo-Sin, and Changchun Feng. 2004. *Zhongguo neidi zhuanye guihua fuwu shichang*

yanjiu - yanjiu baogaoshu (Market Research Study for Professional Planning Services in Mainland China - Final Report). Hong Kong: The Hong Kong Polytechnic University.

Tang, Chunyuan, and Conghua Lin. 2005. *Wu nian zhi bushi chengshi guihua zhuanye benke jiaoyu de wei yi xuan xiang* (School System for Five Years is not the Only Choice of Undergraduate Course Education for Urban Planning). *Gaodeng jianzhu jiaoyu (Journal of Architectural Education in Institutions of Higher Learning)* 14 (3):6-9.

Tang, Wing-Shing. 2000. Chinese Urban Planning at Fifty: An Assessment of the Planning Theory Literature. *Journal of Planning Literature* 14 (3):347-366.

Tang, Wing-Shing, and Him Chung. 2002. Rural-urban Transition in China: Illegal Land Use and Construction. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint* 43 (1):43-62.

Teitz, M. B. 1984. Planning Education and the Planning Profession. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 3 (2):75-77.

Teitz, Michael B. 1988. Planning Education As a Vocation. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 7 (2):79-83.

Tewdwr-Jones, Mark. 1996. Reflective Planning Theorising and Professional Protectionism. *Town Planning Review* 67:235-247.

Thomas, A. H. 1979. An Analysis of Changes in Planning Education 1965-1975, University College London.

Thompson, Robin. 1975. City Planning in China. *World Development* 3 (7):595-605.

Tian, Li. 2007. *Woguo kongzhixing xiangxi guihua de kunhuo yu chulu: Yige xin zhidu jingjixue de chanquan fenxi shijiao* (Confusion and Solution in Detailed Development Control Plan: A Institutional Economics Perspective on Property Rights). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 1:16-20.

Tsui, Kai Yuen. 2011. China's Infrastructure Investment Boom and Local Debt Crisis. *Eurasian Geography and Economics* 52 (5):686-711.

Umenoto, Karen. 2001. Walking in another's Shoes: Epistemological Callenges in Participatory Planning. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 21:17-31.

UN-Habitat. 2009. *Planning Sustainable Cities: Global Report on Human Settlements*. London: Earthscan.

Urban Planning Society of China, ed. 1999. *Wushi nian huimou: Xin Zounghuo de chengshi guihua (Reflections at Fifty: Urban Planning Since the Founding of PRC)*. Beijing: *Shangwu yinshu guan* (The Commercial Press).

Von Hoffman, Alexander. 2000. A Study in Contradictions: The Origins and Legacy of The Housing Act of 1949. *Housing Policy Debate* 11:299-326.

Waddington, Ivan. 2003. Professions. In *The Social Science Encyclopedia*, edited by A. Kuper and J. Kuper. New York: Routledge.

Wang, Chenghui, Xiao Wu, Yaling Quan, and Yaoming Chao. 2005. Dongnan daxue chengshi guihua zhuanye san nianji sheji jiaoxue gaige shijian (Reform on Planning Studio at the Third-Year Level of Planning Education at Southeast University). *Guihua jiaoyu (Planning Education)* 4:62-64.

Wang, Fuhai. 2004. *Chengshi guihua luoshi kexue fazhan quan de qi ge gaige caixiang* (Seven Predictions regarding the Scientific Development of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 4.

Wang, Hongyang. 2005. *Lun zhongguo guihuashi de zhiye daode jianshe* (Professional Ethics of Chinese Urban Planners). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 12 (21):58-61.

Wang, Jishen. 2005. Dui woguo daxue jiaoyu pinggu de lixing sikao (Rational Reflections on China's Education Accreditation of Higher Education). *Zhongguo Jiaoyu Pinggu (China Education Accrediation)* 3:3-8.

Wang, Jun. 2004. *Chengshi guihua xiubian de quandi xuanji* (The Secret of Land Enclosure behind the Revision of Urban Planning). *Liaowang zhoukan (Outlook Weekly)* 51:8-10.

———. 2007. *Chengzhen hua quanguo lantu fuxian* (Emerging National Bluprint of Urbanization). *Liaowang zhoukan (Outlook Weekly)* 10:40-42.

———. 2008. *Caifang ben shang de chengshi (Interpreting the City based on Interview Notes)*. Beijing: SDX Joint Publishing Company.

———. 2010. *Beijing de renkou shikong* (Population of Beijing Getting Out of Control). *Liaowang zhoukan (Outlook Weekly)* 33:50-52.

———. 2011. *Beijing youyao xiu guihua* (Another Revision of Beijing Urban Master Plan). *Liaowang zhoukan (Outlook Weekly)* 23:10-12.

Wang, Shaoguang. 1997. China's 1994 Fiscal Reform: An Initial Assessment. *Asian Survey* 37 (9):801-817.

Wang, Shifu, and Liming Tang. 2005. *Dui woguo chengshi sheji xianzhuang de renshi* (Understanding the Present Development of Urban Design in China). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 21 (1):34-36.

Wang, Weishan. 2005. *Guihuashi de mubiao zhuiqiu ji qi fuzaxing* (Goal Seeking and Its Complexity of Urban Planners). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 21 (12):53-55.

Wang, Xuefeng. 2003. *Tansuo shengyu chengshi tixi guihua shishi de youxiao tujing: yi Jiangsu sheng weili* (Effective Implementation of Provincial Urban System Planning: In the Case of Jiangsu Province). *Guihua guanli (Planning Management)* 5 (19):64-67.

Wang, Xuehai. 2005. *Chengshi guihua sheji yuan de zeren yu shiming* (Responsibility and Mission of Urban Planning Institute). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 5 (21):34-35.

Wang, Ying. 2010. Land Boom May Boost Prices. *China Daily*, 12 December. Retrieved May 11, 2011, from http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/bizchina/2010-12/28/content_11764199.htm.

Wang, Yanan, and Yongge Zhao. 2007. *Jindai xifang shizheng jianshe sixiang de yinru he dui Beijing fazhan fangxiang de taolun* (The Introduction of Modern Urban Governance from the West and Its Influence on the Development of Beijing). *Beijing shehui kexue (Social Science of Beijing)* 2:90-95.

Wang, Ya Ping. 2001. Urban Housing Reform and Finance in China: A Case Study of Beijing. *Urban Affairs Review* 36 (5):620-645.

Wang, Ya Ping, Yanglin Wang, and Glen Bramley. 2005. Chinese Housing Reform in State-owned Enterprises and Its Impacts on Different Social Groups. *Urban Studies* 42 (10):1859-1878.

Wei, Lihua, Zhigang Li, and Yanguo Cong. 2005. *Zhongguo chengshi guihua lilun ji xiangguan qikan shuping* (Comment on the Theory of Urban Planning in China and Related Periodicals). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 21 (12):35-37.

Wertheim, W. F. 1977. The Integration of Town and Countryside in China. *Progress in Planning* 8:163-170.

Whiting, Susan H. 2007. Central-local Fiscal Relations in China: A Report Based on the Proceedings of the International Conference on Intergovernmental Fiscal Relations in China, at Beijing.

Wong, Christine, and Richard Bird. 2008. China's Fiscal System: A Work in Progress. In *China's Great Transformation: Origins, Mechanisms, and Consequences of the Post-Reform Economic Boom*, edited by L. Brandt and T. Rawski. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wu, Fulong. 1996. Changes in the Structure of Public Housing Provision in Urban China. *Urban Studies* 33 (9):1601-27.

———. 2007. Re-orientation of the City Plan: Strategic Planning and Design Competition in China. *Geoforum* 38:379-392.

Wu, Fulong, Jiang Xu, and Anthony G. O. Yeh. 2007. *Urban Development in Post-Reform China: State, Market, and Space*. London, New York: : Routledge.

Wu, Fulong, and Jingxing Zhang. 2007. Planning the Competitive City-Region: The Emergence of Strategic Development Plan in China. *Urban Affairs Review* 42:714-740.

Wu, Jun. 2009. *Dangdai Chengshi Guihua Bianzhi Banfa de Xuexi yu Sikao* (Learning and Thanking about "Regulations regarding the Formulation of Urban Planning"). *Zhongguo Xinjishu Xinchanpin (China New Technologies and Products)* 7:219-220.

Wu, Liangyong. 2002. *Miandui chengshi guihua di san ge chuntian de lengjing sikao* (Reflections on the Third Spring of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (2):9-14.

Wu, Xiaoqin. 2003. *Jianli chengshi guihua zixun shichang de jidian sikao* (Perspectives on the Establishment of Urban Planning Consultation Market). *Guihua guanli (Planning Management)* 11 (27):44-45.

Wu, Zhiqiang, and Hongbing Cui. 2003a. *Jingwai guihua sheji shiwusuo jinnian zai zhongguo dalu fazhan de jilu yu sikao* (Records and Reviews: Recent Development of Foreign Planning Consulting Firms in Mainland China). *Shidai jianzhu (Time + Architecture)* 3:29-34.

———. 2003b. *Jinnian lai woguo chengshi guihua fangan guoji zhengji huodong touxi* (Perspectives on Recently Held International Competition in Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 6:16-22.

Xia, Bing. 2008. *Jiaoxue de kongjian, kongjian de jiaoxue: Dongnan daxue jianzhu xueyuan qiangong yuan gaizao sheji* (A Space for Teaching and Learning: Remodeling Qiangong Building, School of Architecture, Southeast University). *Sheji Yanjiu (Design Research)* 2:84-87.

Xiao, Shengting. 2010. Is There A Bubble in China's Housing Market?, Department of Real Estate and Construction Management, KTH Royal Institute of Technology, Stockholm.

Xie, Yichun, and Frank J. Costa. 1993. Urban Planning in Socialist China: Theory and Practice. *Cities* 10 (2):103-114.

XinhuaNet. 2010, December 7. *Shekeyuan 2011 nian jingji lanpishu: 85% jiating wu nengli gou fang* (2001 Economic Blue Book from the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences: 85% of households cannot afford housing). *Xinhua Xinwen (Xinhua News)*, Retrieved May 6, 2011, from http://news.xinhuanet.com/fortune/2010-12/07/c_12856248.htm.

———. 2010, December 28. *Guodu yilai chumai tudi huanqu duanzan zhengji biduan duo* (Problems regarding the Over-reliance on Land Sale in Exchange for Short-term Performance). *Xinhua Shizheng (Xinhua Politics)*, No. 458. Retrieved May 6, 2011, from http://news.xinhuanet.com/politics/2010-12/28/c_12922932.htm

Xu, Juzhou. 1999. *Zhongguo dangdai chengshi guihua jinru le yige dazhuanzhe shiqi* (Chinese Urban Planning Entering a Turning Point). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 23 (10):5-6.

Xu, Jianfeng, Ling Huang, and Wenyong Tan. 2009. *Chengshi guihua de kongjian xing yu zhengce xing xietong tantao* (Space and Policy Coordination of Urban Planning). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 25 (12):73-79.

Xu, Jiang, and Anthony G.O. Yeh. 2003. City Profile: Guangzhou. *Cities* 20 (5):361-374.

Xue, Charlie Q. L., Hailin Zhai, and Brian Mitchenere. 2011. Shaping Lujiazui: The Formation and Building of the CBD in Pudong, Shanghai. *Journal of Urban Design* 16 (2):209-232.

Yan, Xiaopei. 1995. Chinese Urban Geography Since the Late 1970s. *Urban Geography* 16 (6):469-492.

Yang, Baojun. 2011. *Guihua langfei shui zhi guo* (Who Should be Responsible for the Waste Resources on Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 35 (1):60-67.

Yang, Hua. 2006. *Xifang shizheng xue dui zhongguo jindai shizheng fazhan de yingxiang* (Influence of Western Urban Governance on the Development of Chinese Cities). *Journal of Liaoning Technical University (Social Science Edition)* 8 (3):285-287.

Yang, Yingxu, and Zhiqiang Wu. 2006. *Woguo guihua hangye renli ziben fenbu tezheng yu guihua yuan xiao zhi lishi shiming* (Human Capital Distribution of Urban Planning Profession and Historical Mission of Urban Planning School). Paper read at *Guihua 50 nain: 2006 Zhongguo chengshi guihua nianhui* (Planning at Fifty: 2006 Annual Conference of Chinese Urban Planning), at Guangzhou.

Ye, Chunhe. 2003. *Jingying chengshi gainian de yulai, neihan he xianshi yiyi* (Origins, Meaning and Practical Significance of the Concept of Urban Entrepreneurialism). *Lilun xuexi (Theoretical Learning)* 8:70-71.

Ye, Tan. 2009. *Na shenme zhengjiu zhongguo jingji? (How Can We Save the China's Economy)*. Beijing: Citic Press Corporation.

Yeh, Anthony G. O. 2005. The Dual Land Market and Urban Development in China. In *Emerging Land and Housing Markets in China*, edited by C. Ding and Y. Song. Cambridge, MA: The Lincoln Institute of Land Policy.

Yeh, Anthony G. O., and Fulong Wu. 1999. The Transformation of the Urban Planning System in China from a Centrally-Planned to Transitional Economy. *Progress in Planning* 51 (3):167-252.

Yeh, Anthony G. O., Xueqiang Xu, and Xiaopei Yan, eds. 1997. *Urban Planning and Planning Education Under Economic Reform in China*. Hong Kong: University of Hong Kong.

Yin, Zhi. 2003. *Dui chengshi guihua zhanlue yanjiu de lijie yu kanfa* (Views and Understanding of Strategic Development Plan). *Zhanlue guihua (Focus Report)* 27 (1):28-29.

Yuan, Fangcheng. 2010. A Study on Characteristics of China's Government Reform in Different Stages since the Reform and Opening-Up and Its Prospects. *Journal of Politics and Law* 3 (1):85-90.

Zeng, Guanglei. 2011. *Dui "san guan qi xia zhuli chengshi guihua huigui gonggong shuxing" kexing xing de zhiyi* (Questioning "Three Recommendations for Urban Planning to Refocus on Public Interest") *Nanfang dushi bao (Southern Metropolis Daily)*, June, 9, A02.

Zhang, Bing. 1997. *Chengshi guihua zhiye hua de gainian yu wenti* (The Concept and Problem of Urban Planning Professionalization). *Chengshi guihua huikan (City Planning Forum)* 4:1-39.

———. 2002. *Ganwen lu zai hefang? zhanlue guihua de chansheng, fazhan yu weilai* (Where to Go? Origin, Development and Future of Strategic Development Plan). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (6):63-68.

———. 2005. *Chengshi guihua lilun fazhan de guifanhua wenti* (Questions regarding the Theoretical Development of Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 2:21-24.

Zhang, Chunlin. 2005. *China: Deepening Public Service Unit Reform to Improve Service Delivery*. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

Zhang, Guangri. 2008. *Zonghe xin yuanxiao changshi guihua zhuanye sheji lei kecheng jiaoxue gaige de ruogan silu* (Some Thoughts about the Design Curriculum Reform for Planning Schools at Comprehensive University). *Gaodeng jianzhu jiaoyu (Journal of Architectural Education at Higher Education Level)* 17 (5):69-74.

Zhang, Jiezheng. 1988. *Shanghai hongqiao xinqu chengshi sheji chuxi* (A Preliminary Analysis of Hongqiao District Urban Design in Shanghai). *Jianzhu xuebao (Architectural Journal)* 10:34-37.

Zhang, Liyan. 2010. *Zhongguo zhengfu tudi shouyi zhidu yanjiu (Study of China Government Land Profit System)*. Beijing: China Financial & Economic Publishing House.

Zhang, Min. 2005. *Jianzhu xue yu chengshi guihua zhuanye bixu zhongshi gongcheng jishu jiaoyu* (Engineering Education Deserves Emphasis in Architectural and Planning Education). *Gaodeng jianzhu jiaoyu (Journal of Architectural Education at Higher Education Level)* 14 (2):1-3.

Zhang, Tingwei. 1998. *Guanyu zhongguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu shezhi de yidian taolun* (Discussion About the Set up of China Urban Planning Education). *Chengshi guihua*

huikan (City Planning Forum) 2.

———. 2002. Challenges Facing Chinese Planners in Trasitional China. *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 22:64-76.

Zhang, Zhengkang. 2005. *Chengshi guihua sheji yanjiu yuan gaizhi yougan wenti tanxi* (Questions regarding the Institutional Reform of Planning Institutes). *Gaige yu kaifang (Reform and Openning)* 1:41-42.

Zhao, Hui, Jian Yin, Xiaoyu Li, and Zongxing You. 2009. *Youyou sanshi zai, manman guihua lu - yi shishu guihuayuan shijiao huimou shenshi woguo chengshi guihua hangye bianqian* (Thirty-Year Career as a Urban Planner: Evolution of Urban Planning Profession from the Perspective of Municipal Planning Institute). *Xiandai Chengshi Yanju (Modern City Research)* 3:54-60.

Zhao, Ke. 1999. *Wanqing zishi fenzi chengshi guannian de mengdong yu zouxiang* (Development of Urban Concept among the Late Qing Intellectuals). *Zhongzhou xuekan (Academic Journal of Zhongzhou)* 1:131-135.

Zhao, Min. 2009. *"Gonggong zhengce" daoxiang xia "chengshi guihua jiaoyu" de ruogan sikao* (Reflections on Planning Education in Relation to Public Policy). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 25 (1):17-18.

Zhao, Min, and Xuan Li. 2002. *Guanyu chengshi guihua fa zhong sheding xingshi falu zeren de tantao* (Regarding the Criminal Charge under the Urban Planning Act). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:34-36.

Zhao, Min, and Hua Lin. 2001. *Woguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu de fazhan ji qi zhidu hua huanjing jianshe* (The Development of Urban Planning Education and Its Institutional Context in China). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 6:48-51.

Zhao, Min, and Feng Luan. 2003. *Chengshi zongti fazhan gainian guihua yanjiu chulun* (Discussion regarding Strategic Development and Concept Planning). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:1-6.

Zhao, Min, and Wei Zhao. 2009. *Tuijin chengshi guihua xueke fazhan jiaqiang chengshi guihua zhuanye jianshe* (Promoting the Development of Urban Planning as An Academic Discipline and Profession). *Guoji chengshi guihua (International Urban Planning)* 24 (1):25-29.

Zhao, Min, and Sheng Zhong. 1995. *Zhongguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu xianzhuang he fazhan* (The Status and Development of China's Urban Planning Education). *Chengshi guihua huikan (City Planning Forum)* 5:1-8.

Zhao, Wanmin, Min Zhao, and Qizhi Mao. 2010. *Guanyu "chengxiang guihua xue" zuowei yiji xueke jianshe de xueshu sikao* (Academic Reviews of Upgrading the "Study of Urban and Rural Planning" to a First Level Discipline). *Chengshi guihua (City*

Planning Review) 34 (6):46-54.

Zhao, Yanjing. 2002. *Cong chengshi guanli zouxiang chengshi jingying* (From Urban Administration Towards Urban Management). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (11):7-15.

———. 2004. *Zhuisuo shengyu quan: lun guihua yuan tizhi gaige* (Exploring the Residual Right: Administrative Reform of Planning Institutes). *Guihuashi (Planners)* 10 (20):59-70.

Zhou, Ganzhi. 2002. *Yingjie chengshi guihua de disan ge chuntian* (Welcome the Third Spring of China's Urban Planning). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 26 (1):9-10.

Zhou, Jionping, and Shaojun Qiu. 2008. *Jinnian lai woguo chengshi guihua jiaoyu de fa zhan he buzun* (The Development and Deficiency of Urban Planning Education in China in Recent Years). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 4:112-118.

Zhou, Lan. 2001. *Guanyu shichang jingji xia guihua shi de zhize* (The Resiponsibility of Urban Planners Under Market Economy). *Guowai chengshi guihua (Urban Planning Overseas)* 5:33-37.

Zhou, Tianyong. 2010. *2010-2011 nian fangdichan xingshi yu tiaokong ji qi gaige de zhengce jianyi* (Development Analysis of Real Estate Market in 2011). In *Jingji lanpishu: 2011 nian zhongguo jingji xingshi fenxi yu yuce (Bluebook of Economy: Analysis and Prediction of China's Economic Development 2011)*, edited by J. Chen, Y. Li, S. Liu and T. Wang. Beijing: Social Science Academic Press.

Zhu, Fugeng, Fangdao Qiu, and Aixue Qu. 2004. Shilun woguo jingju dili xue dui fazhan guan yanbian de xiangying (The Evolution of Economic Geography in Relation to the Changing Paradigm of National Development). *Jingji dili (Economic Geography)* 24 (6):733-737.

Zhu, Jieming. 1999a. Local Growth Coalition: The Context and Implications of China's Gradualist Urban Land Reforms. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 23 (3):534-548.

———. 1999b. *The Transition of China's Urban Development : From Plan-Controlled to Market-Led*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.

———. 2000. The Changing Mode of Housing Provision in Transitional China. *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (4):502-519.

———. 2004. From Land Use Right to Land Development Right: Institutional Change in China's Urban Development. *Urban Studies* 41 (7):1249-1267.

Zhu, Qiuxia. 2007. *Zhongguo tudi caizheng zhidu gaige yanjiu (Study of China Land Finance System Reform)*. Shanghai: LiXin Accounting Publishing House

Zhu, Zixuan. 2009. *Dui woguo dangqian chengshi sheji de jidian sikao* (Some Thoughts about the Current Practice of Urban Design). *Guoji chengshi guihua (Urban Planning International)* 24 (s1):210-212.

Zou, Bing. 2005. *Guanyu chengshi guihua xueke xingzhi de renshi ji qi fazhan fangxiang de sikao* (Recognition of the Nature of Urban Planning Study and Consideration of the Development of Urban Planning Study). *Chengshi guihua xuekan (Urban Planning Forum)* 1:28-30.

Zou, Deci. 2005. *Shenme shi chengshi guihua?* (What is Urban Planning?). *Chengshi guihua (City Planning Review)* 29 (11):23-34.

Zuo, Fuqiang, and Wuding Ma. 2004. *Guonei chengshi guihua sheji guoji jingsai de kunjing* (Difficulties Facing International Competition of Urban Planning and Design). *Chengshi guihua huikan (Urban Planning Forum)* 6:67-69.