

The Chinese Planner's Guide to Western Urban Planning Literature

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As China urbanizes at an unprecedented scale and speed, Chinese academic urban planning programs are proliferating and expanding rapidly. With over 65,000 planners and 102 educational planning programs (2004), China may now have more planners than the United States (about 32,000 in 2002) and the twenty-seven member countries of the European Union combined. Today Chinese planners, working together with scholars in geography, economics, sociology, and other social sciences, are developing a unique body of theory and practice appropriate to the enormous challenges Chinese urbanization presents.

While Chinese urban planning theory and practice must respond to China's unique situation, Chinese planners and social scientists can learn from the most important theories that planners in Europe and the United States have developed over the last hundred and fifty years. China has a rich heritage in physical planning over more than two thousand years. Modern planning theory and practice were introduced to Chinese universities and cities by Chinese professors educated in the west and western planners practicing in China at the beginning of the twentieth century. Hence, neither urban planning nor western planning theory and practice are new to many Chinese planners. Chinese planners have direct experience with positive and negative aspects of the western planning model as applied to China. While at least one Chinese scholar has developed a bibliography of western planning theories for Chinese readers (Wu, 2003) there is a need for a comprehensive guide to western planning literature. In addition, there are particular reasons why studying influential western planning literature is worthwhile today.

First, most Chinese planners of the current generation were educated under the planned economy without any knowledge about planning in a market economy, but they are now expected to generate solutions to planning problems in China's increasingly market-oriented economy. They encounter tremendous difficulties not only in handling planning problems, but even in positioning themselves as planners in the market economy (Zhang, 2002). From the western literature, they can learn both to replicate successes and avoid failures of planning efforts in the west where the market economy is a tradition and planners have positive as well as negative experiences planning in this context.

Second, contemporary planning education and practice in China are largely influenced by the physical planning-oriented early western planning model, mixed with residuals of the ex-Soviet central-planning model. Chinese planners urgently need a new model with Chinese characteristics to guide their practice. Contemporary planning theories and practices in the west have successfully localized classic planning theories in particular countries. For example, planning in the US is quite different from that in European countries although they share most planning theories. An innovative Chinese urban planning model can be developed from studying and analyzing the western

experiences and comparing the situation in North America and Europe to the situation in China. Learning from the western literature can benefit the localization of classic and contemporary planning theory for the creation of a distinct Chinese urban planning model.

Third, although the number of Chinese planners familiar with western urban planning literature is growing rapidly, many Chinese scholars and practitioners still face barriers to studying classic and especially contemporary US and European writings in a systematic way. Busy academics and practitioners lack time and easy access to much contemporary western material. While a growing body of western urban planning literature has been translated into Chinese and university students at China's top universities are able to access and read some western planning literature in English, there is no single current writing that summarizes the most important western planning literature and is carefully tailored and edited for Chinese planners.

Finally, the scope of planning in China today is moving beyond design, engineering, and physical planning, which have dominated planning education in the recent past. Chinese universities can benefit from a broader theoretical framework for understanding cities and guiding urban planning efforts that includes social science perspectives. This paper is a first step in addressing that gap. A Chinese-language version of this paper will be published in *Urban Planning Forum* later this year.

This paper builds on an anthology titled *The City Reader* (LeGates and Stout, 2007), eight anthologies on disciplinary and thematic topics related to urban planning and urban studies (Miles, Hall, and Borden, 2003; Graham, 2003; Wheeler and Beatley, 2004; Brenner and Keil, 2004; Lin 2005; Macdonald and Larice, 2004; Strom and Mollenkopf, 2006; Fyfe and Kenny, 2005), an anthology on urban planning scheduled for publication in 2007 (Birch, forthcoming 2007), and reprints of important books and selections from books on urban planning published in the United States and Europe between 1870 and 1950 (LeGates and Stout, 1999).

The paper consists of three parts: an introduction to the planning profession and planning education in North America and Europe, followed by a discussion of the most influential writings in two areas: urban planning and urban studies. The section on urban planning discusses publications related to planning theory, planning practice, and urban design, with an emphasis on the evolution of planning theory and the importance of land use planning. The urban studies section summarizes the western literature in urban sociology, urban economics, urban geography, urban governance and politics, and urban history. Some final comments on how Chinese academics and practitioners might make best use of western planning literature are provided in the conclusion section.

WESTERN URBAN PLANNING EDUCATION AND PRACTICE

Urban planning and urban studies education

In the United States, most professional urban planning education is in two-year graduate programs in city and regional planning accredited by a national accreditation board (the planning accreditation board or PAB). Undergraduate academic programs that teach students to understand urban issues are often titled “urban studies” or “urban affairs” programs. Few US universities offer an undergraduate degree in urban planning, but many offer some planning courses in undergraduate urban studies, geography, or other departments and programs.

Urban planning is usually taught in departments of city and regional planning within colleges that also contain architecture and perhaps other professional disciplines related to the built environment such as landscape architecture, design, or construction management. Teaching about cities at the undergraduate level is usually done in interdisciplinary urban studies or urban affairs programs and urban-oriented courses within social science disciplines. As in China, the way in which academic units that teach urban planning and social science material related to cities vary and major reorganizations occur in which the academic units are restructured and renamed.

In the first half of the twentieth century, most urban planning professors in the west were educated as architects and planning programs were administratively related to architecture. Today, most departments of city planning in the west are still organized in the same college as architecture, but their faculties have become quite interdisciplinary, consisting of professors trained in urban planning, geography, economics, sociology, information science, and other disciplines as well as architecture. While some civil engineers teach in urban planning programs, particularly in transportation planning and infrastructure planning, there are few engineers on the faculty in western urban planning programs.

Most western universities have a school or college of social science (sometimes combined with humanities or other disciplines) typically containing disciplines of geography, economics, sociology, political science, and anthropology. History departments are sometimes located within schools of social science, sometimes within schools of humanities. Colleges of social science may contain other departments and interdisciplinary programs. Urban studies programs are usually located within colleges of social science, where professors interested in cities teach interdisciplinary theoretical courses, urban courses from the point of view of their disciplines, and applied pre-professional courses in topics such as land use, transportation, environmental management, housing, and social policy.

Professional planning organizations

The counterpart of the Urban Planning Society of China (UPSC) in the United States is the American Planning Association (APA). In the United Kingdom an equivalent organization is the Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI). Practicing planners in these organizations meet to discuss their professional interests at annual national conventions and regional meetings, have influential journals, and foster understanding in other ways. The APA publishes Planning Advisory Service (PAS) reports and memos on topics of interest of practicing planners, which Chinese planners may find useful.

In North America, the academic association most similar to the China Society of Urban Sciences (CSUSR) is the Urban Affairs Association (UAA). Most scholars who attend UAA meetings are from social science and public policy disciplines, though some urban planners attend. The European counterpart to CSUSR is the European Urban Research Association (EURA).

In North America, schools with urban planning programs accredited by the Planning Accreditation Board (PAB) are members of the Association of Collegiate Schools of Planning (ACSP). A similar organization in Europe is the Association of European Schools of Planning (AESOP). There are organizations of planning schools for Latin America, Australia and New Zealand, Canada, Brazil and other Portuguese-speaking Latin American countries, and France and other French-speaking countries as well as for Asia. The Global Planning Education Association Network (GPEAN) maintains a website with links to all of the above associations of planning schools. World congresses of planning schools (WCPS) are held every five years. The first world congress occurred at Tongji University in Shanghai in 2001; the second in Mexico City in 2006.

Disciplinary academic organizations like the American Sociological Association (ASA), the American Political Science Association (APSA) and the Association of American Geographers (AAG) and their European counterparts have specialized interest groups dealing with urban concerns to help members of the disciplines. Some sub-disciplines in planning have their annual conference too, such the Transportation Research Board (TRB) annual conference.

Urban planning journals

The journal of the ACSP that publishes academic articles on urban planning is the *Journal of Planning Education and Research*—similar to China's *Urban Forum*. The *American Planning Association Journal* is the journal of the APA and publishes scholarly and applied articles on the practice of urban planning. The *Town Planning Review* in the UK is similar to the APA journal. Other notable western urban planning and urban studies

journals include *The Journal of Urban Affairs*, *Urban Affairs Review*, *Urban Studies*, and *The International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*. Further information about these journals is available online.

Internet resources

Among the many Internet sources of interest to urban planners and social scientists interested in cities, a few stand out. Chinese planners can access a wealth of information about urban planning from these sites, which also contain links to many other information sources.

- **Cyberbia** <http://www.cyberbia.org/>.
This is a well-established portal for information on urban planning with links to many resources and its own forum.
- **The Association of Collegiate Planning (ACSP)** <http://www.acsp.org/>.
This site contains information on US academic urban planning programs. It has links to the homepages of all of the accredited urban planning programs in the United States.
- **The American Planning Association (APA)** <http://www.planning.org/>.
This is the website of the national association of practicing urban planners in North America.
- **The Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI)** <http://www.rtpi.org.uk/>.
This site has information on town and country planning in the United Kingdom.
- **The Global Planning Educators Interest Group (GPEIG)** <http://gpeig.org/>.
This site has information on world gatherings of urban planners and links to the websites of associations of planning educators in Asia, Latin America, Europe, North America, and other regions of the world.
- **The Urban Affairs Association (UAA)** <http://www.udel.edu/uaa/>.
This site has information on the US-based Urban Affairs Association.
- **The European Urban Affairs Association (EURA)** <http://www.eura.org/>.
This site has information on European urban policy programs.

URBAN PLANNING AND URBAN DESIGN LITERATURE

Professional urban planning education in the west teaches a combination of planning theory and practice. The focus is primarily upon city planning, but most programs also have coursework related to regional planning. Urban design is an important emphasis of city and regional planning programs and some specialized urban design degree programs exist.

A planning theory course is a required core course for planning students in PAB-accredited graduate planning programs and consideration of theory permeates the curriculum. Planning programs offer applied coursework in land use, transportation, environmental analysis, infrastructure, housing; methods courses in data analysis and GIS; studio courses in which students engage in planning under faculty supervisions, independent study and thesis courses; and other modes of instruction.

Urban planning theory

Sir Peter Hall's *Cities of Tomorrow* (2002a), contains an excellent overview of how western urban planning theory evolved in the twentieth century. Hall describes how widely different paradigms of what urban planning should be have shaped the way in which planners in Europe and the United States have been educated and how they have approached their work. Initially, Hall notes, at the first universities that taught urban planning—the University of Liverpool in England, and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and Harvard in the United States—urban planning education was based on architecture and design. Planning students prepared city plans similar to architectural drawings on drafting tables. But in decentralized capitalist societies, plans like those were seldom implemented. By the middle of the twentieth century, planning theory had shifted so that many theorists believed students should be educated as generalists who could prepare general plans to guide urban development. In the 1970s, as computers became more widely available, many theorists felt planning should be a scientific discipline using quantitative methods and computerized mathematical models. Liberal and radical planners in the 1960s and 1970s shocked by poverty, racism, and social inequality felt planning education and practice should offer a radical (for the west!) Marxist critique of society. Some agreed with lawyer/planner Paul Davidoff's position, described in *Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning* (1965), that planners should be advocates for people whose needs are poorly addressed in a market economy. Cleveland State University and Cornell University planning professors Norman Krumholz and John Forester argue that a main purpose of urban planning should be to increase social equity in *Making Equity Planning Work: Leadership in the Public Sector* (1990).

John Friedman has written the most widely used US urban planning theory text—*Planning in the Public Domain* (1985). Susan Fainstein’s *New Directions in Planning Theory* (2000), Lloyd Rodwin and Bish Sanyal’s *The Profession of City Planning, Changes, Images and Challenges: 1950-2000* (2000), and University of California, Berkeley planning professor emeritus Michael Teitz’s “Reflections and Research on the US Experience” (2000) all contain good material on US planning theory. In the UK, Nigel Taylor’s *Anglo-American Town Planning Theory Since 1945: Three Significant Developments But No Paradigm Shifts* (1999) extends the discussion of planning theory to include more material from the UK.

Four anthologies collect seminal works in western urban planning theory: *Readings in Planning Theory 2nd revised edition* (Campbell and Fainstein, 2003), *Urban Planning Theory Since 1945* (Taylor, 1998), *Planning Theory* (Allmendinger, 2000), and *Explorations in Planning Theory* (Mazza, Mandelbaum, and Burchell, 1996).

Today graduate urban planning programs in Europe and the US blend a mixture of design, social science, and scientific methods in their planning theory. They teach students to be generalists who can integrate knowledge from the natural and social sciences, prepare professional analyses of problems using computer software, integrate land use, housing, transportation, environmental, and other concerns into general plans that reflect economic and social conditions, design transit, open space, and other components of cities, work collaboratively with government officials and the public to achieve consensus so their plans are implemented, and communicate the results of their analyses in reports, maps, designs, oral briefings, and PowerPoint presentations.

Urban planning practice

The first conference of city planners in the United States took place in 1909 when about fifty architects, lawyers, social workers, health professionals and other practitioners met in Washington, D.C. for the first annual city planning conference. The same year saw England’s first town planning legislation and the establishment of the first urban planning degree program in the world at the University of Liverpool. The American Planning Association (APA) in the US and Royal Town Planning Institute (RTPI) in the UK have grown into large and sophisticated organizations from these humble origins.

Today, the American Institute of Certified Planners (AICP) is the APA’s professional institute. While urban planners do not have to be members of the AICP to practice planning, increasing numbers take an examination to become members of AICP in order to list that as a qualification. The Royal Town Planning Institute is the UK’s equivalent organization. Most APA and RTPI members are practicing city planners

working for cities, other government agencies, nonprofit organizations, or private urban planning firms.

The International City Management Association (ICMA) is a U.S. organization concerned with all aspects of city management, including urban planning. The ICMA has produced successive editions of a leading practitioner's anthology on urban planning practice since the early 1940's popularly referred to as the green book because of its green cover. The most recent ICMA green book—titled *The Practice of Local Government Planning* was published in 2000 (ICMA, 2000). It contains commissioned chapters written by planning professors and practitioners covering different aspects of local government planning such as land use, transportation, and infrastructure planning. A new edition of the ICMA green book is in progress. The ICMA green book is a standard source for understanding current urban planning practice in the United States used in graduate urban planning courses and by practicing planners.

Less known nationally, but widely used in the large urban state of California, is William Fulton and Paul Shigley's *Guide to California Planning 3rd edition* (2005). This may be the best single introductory source to inform Chinese planners about U.S. planning practice. It is extremely clear and well written. The press that publishes this book—Solano Press—specializes in publishing high quality, practical books related to planning law, redevelopment, environmental analysis, and other topics described at their website: <http://www.solano.com/catalog.htm>.

Current anthologies on urban and regional planning in the U.S. used in urban planning courses include *Contemporary Urban Planning 7th edition* (Levy, 2005) and *Redesigning Cities: Principles, Practice and Implementation* (Barnett, 2003). Classic readings in urban planning are collected in *Classic Readings in Urban Planning 2nd edition*, edited by Jay Stein (2004). University of Pennsylvania planning professor Eugenie Birch's *Urban and Regional Planning Reader*—planned for publication in 2007 (Birch, forthcoming 2007) will be an anthology of classic and contemporary writings on urban planning. Alexander Garvin's *The American City: What Works, What Doesn't* (2002) reflects Garvin's experience as a New York City Planning Commissioner and developer. It contains case studies and photographs of developments that succeeded or failed in America's private capitalist economy.

In the U.K., the leading texts on urban planning practice are by planning professors Sir Peter Hall (*Urban and Regional Planning 4th edition*, 2002b), and Barry Cullingworth and Vincent Nadin (*Town and Country Planning in the UK 14th edition*, 2006). These books continue the tradition of earlier urban planning texts published in the U.K. by Raymond Unwin, Thomas Adams, and Patrick Abercrombie.

Urban general plans

As local government officials in China seek to define what local city plans should be like, they may learn from the U.S. experience regarding urban general plans. Urban general plans seek to integrate material on all aspects of physical planning for cities. These are long term plans covering the entire area of the jurisdiction. Just as in China, a twenty-year time horizon is now common. In the middle of the twentieth century it was common for urban general plans (then called “master plans”) to cover a 50-year period. Even though they cover a long time period, urban general plans are updated periodically, in whole or in part, as conditions require.

A fundamental notion behind general plans is that they should be visionary documents not too tied to day-to-day details. They are intended to guide more specific plans and land use regulations. Harvard law professor Charles Haar termed general plans “impermanent constitutions” that he said should sit “atop the pyramid” of other land use regulations “*In Accordance with a Comprehensive Plan*” (1955). University of North Carolina planning professors Edward Kaiser and David Godschalk call general plans “a stalwart tree” which has grown in the U.S. since the 1950s with many recent “branches” into urban design, policy, and many related kinds of plans in “*Twentieth Century Land Use Planning: A Stalwart Family Tree*” (2006).

General plans are implemented by municipal ordinances specifying how raw land is to be developed (subdivision ordinances), what can and cannot be built in different parts of cities (zoning ordinances), housing and building codes regulating construction, and related laws. During the last twenty years many cities in rapidly growing regions of the United States have adopted comprehensive growth management ordinances to regulate the timing and character of growth. Given China’s rapid urban growth, the literature on urban growth management by Douglas Porter (*Managing Growth in America's Communities*, 1997), Jerry Weitz (*Sprawl Busting: State Programs to Guide Growth*, 2000), and others may be particularly helpful.

Edward Bassett, a lawyer who prepared pioneering plans, and New York City’s first zoning ordinance, developed the first comprehensive statement of what a general plan (what he called a “master plan”) should be like in *The Master Plan, With A Discussion of the Theory of Community Land Planning Legislation* (1938). University of California urban planning professor Jack Kent wrote another classic statement of what a general plan should be like in *The Urban General Plan* (1964). While Bassett and Kent do not always agree, and some of their ideas are dated, both authors thought deeply about what city plans should be like and the issues they raise may still be helpful to Chinese planners, even if they devise different solutions.

Urban planning has various subfields and specializations, such as land use planning, transportation planning, economic development planning, community development, and international development planning.

Land use planning

In the U.S. and Europe, land use planning, the core of general planning, is taught in urban planning departments and sometimes in geography departments.

A classic text widely used in graduate urban planning education and by practicing planners was written by three professors at the University of North Carolina: Edward J. Kaiser, David Godschalk, and Phillip Berke (*Urban Land Use Planning*, 2006). The first edition of this book was published fifty years ago by University of North Carolina urban planning professor Stuart Chapin (1957). Chapin had practical experience as a regional planner working for the Tennessee Valley Authority—an important entity responsible for planning one of the largest river basins in the United States, nearly as important to the U.S. as the Huanghe and Changjiang Rivers are to China. The original Chapin book and its successors combine theory and general principles with practical applied information on how to do urban planning.

Since most land in the United States is privately owned, Chinese planners may find the whole approach to land use planning described in *Urban Land Use Planning* and other texts quite different from their own experience in a society where land has been publicly owned. Planners in the United States and Europe manage land use through plans and regulations rather than directly controlling public development. Familiarity with the western experience may be helpful as the Chinese land ownership system takes on more characteristics of western land ownership.

Transportation planning

As its economy expands, China has embarked on vast public infrastructure programs to build airports, ports, highways, streets, subways, and light rail systems. Already the developments in Chinese cities are among the largest and most advanced in the world. Rapid growth in automobile production, ownership, and miles driven present major policy issues for China. There is a large literature on urban transportation and transportation planning in the west that may help inform Chinese transportation theory and practice.

Private automobile ownership is a particularly important planning issue for China. While individuals value the mobility private auto ownership brings and individuals everywhere in the world, including China, aspire to own private automobiles, many western writers looking back on the expansion of highways and the distinct, decentralized urban form that automobile ownership made possible in the west believe that greater

attention to public transportation systems, multi-modal transportation, and regional development of compact, city-centered development would be better than the sprawling suburban development pattern that exists. Chinese planners must develop their own unique approach to managing transportation in cities and regions with population sizes and densities larger than most other parts of the world. Understanding the way in which transportation systems evolved in the west and critiques of problems that low density auto-based development have caused may provide critical guidance.

Most transportation planning courses in the west are taught in departments of civil engineering or urban planning. Transportation planning relies on quantitative methods to forecast future travel demand and to allocate demand between different transportation modes, such as auto, bus, light rail, and bicycle. Transportation planners look at land use patterns and estimate the number of trips a particular development pattern will likely generate and the origins and destinations of the trips. They use mathematical models and computerized tools such as TransCAD to forecast the modal split in future trips. Some Chinese planning programs at the graduate level have also introduced advanced computer modeling such as EMMIII. There is an increasing emphasis on integrating land use and transportation planning and promoting “transit oriented development.”

Transportation planning in the west involves much more than number crunching. It also involves normative and political judgments about what form of transportation should be used and what is feasible and desirable. Important recent transportation planning books such as *The Transit Metropolis* by Robert Cervero (1998) and *Still Stuck in Traffic: Coping With Peak-Hour Traffic Congestion* by Anthony Downs (2004) summarize transportation policy and planning issues. Other books on urban transportation planning that Chinese transportation planners may find helpful include *The New Transit Town: Best Practices in Transit-Oriented Development* by Hank Dittmar and Gloria Ohland (2003), and *Urban Transit Systems and Technology* by Vuchic Vukan (2007).

There is a large literature on the impact of transportation technology on cities in the west—particularly the impact of automobiles. As Chinese planners design massive extensions of highways, subways, and light rail systems, these historical studies may provide insight on the far-reaching consequences of their decisions. Geographer Jay Vance describes the relationship between past transportation technologies and urban space in *Capturing the Horizon: The Historical Geography of Transportation Since the Sixteenth Century* (1986). Historian Sam Bass Warner studied the impact of electric streetcars on U.S. cities in *Streetcar Suburbs* (1962). Charles W. Cheape documented public transit in larger U.S. cities at the turn of the twentieth century in *Moving the Masses: Urban Public Transit in New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, 1880-1912* (1980) and Clifton Hood studied the early history of New York City’s subway system in *722 Miles: The Building of*

The Subways and How They Transformed New York (1993). Kenneth Jackson's *The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburban-ization of the United States* (1985) has important lessons for Chinese planners about the impact of automobiles on cities and suburbs' physical form, social structure, and culture. All of these studies show how changes in transportation systems affected the spatial structure of cities and metropolitan regions and, as a consequence, their economic and social structure.

Environmental planning and sustainable development

Beginning in the late 1960s, a wave of environmental consciousness swept the west. Citizens, governments, and planners became much more concerned with the depletion of natural resources like soil, air, and water; the irresponsible exploitation of the environment by clear-cutting forests, strip mining surface mineral deposits, filling wetlands, and dumping toxic substances; and the loss of habitat and extinction of plant and animal species. As the consequences of current policies—global warming and other potentially disastrous and irreversible impacts on planet Earth—become clearer, the literature on how to analyze the environmental impact of development, manage resources responsibly, and protect threatened and endangered species and their habitat grows.

In a fundamental report on global environmental issues, the United Nations Commission on Environment and Development (commonly referred to as the Brundtland Commission, after the commission's chairperson Gro Harlem Brundtland) faulted all nations—rich and poor; capitalist and communist—for living beyond their means (*Our Common Future*, 1987). The developed west consumes a disproportionate share of the world's resources and produces most of the damage to the world's environment. But the Brundtland commission also faulted many developing countries for using up irreplaceable natural resources and failing to manage their resources sustainably. They argued that most countries in the world are irresponsibly using resources that future generations will need. In response, there is a greater emphasis on sustainable urban development today.

Because China's population is so large and so densely concentrated in eastern and southern China, it is critical to manage national resources for future generations. Before the revolution, European and Japanese imperialists used up China's resources with little benefit to the Chinese and no concern for the future of China's environment. While China's emphasis on development and economic growth in the last thirty years has produced enormous economic growth and better living standards for the Chinese, so much growth, so fast has created problems of air and water pollution, toxic hazards, loss of prime agricultural land, loss of habitat, and extinction or threatened extinction of plant and animal species. As China places greater emphasis on sustainable resource management

and environmental protection, theoretical and applied literature on sustainable urban development, environmental impact assessment, and related topics may be helpful.

Island Press is a leading U.S. publisher of books on environmental issues and environmental planning. Their books emphasize responsible planning to conserve resources and respect the natural environment. They have published works on sustainable urban development, green urbanism, design with nature, the new regionalism, transit oriented development, and other topics, including: *The Regional City* (Calthorpe and Fulton, 2001); *The Transit Metropolis* (Cervero, 1998); *The Limitless City, A Primer on the Urban Sprawl Debate* (Gillam, 2002); *Planning Metropolitan Regions* (Hack, 2001); and *Ecological Design* (Van der Ryn and Cowan, 2001). Island Press's website is at <http://www.islandpress.org>.

Environmental planning for most large projects in the United States and many other countries requires the preparation of environmental impact analyses before the developments are undertaken. These environmental impact analyses describe the probable impacts a proposed development will have on the natural environment and propose alternatives to minimize and mitigate environmental damage. Chinese planning practitioners may benefit from recent academic books on environmental impact analysis by Alan Gilpin (*Environmental Impact Assessment*, 2006) and Bram Noble (*Introduction to Environmental Impact Assessment: A Guide to Principles and Practice*, 2005), and from applied books on environmental impact analysis by Larry Cantor (*Environmental Impact Assessment*, 1995) and Peter Morris (*Methods of Environmental Impact Assessment*, 2001).

With population growth and urbanization, Chinese planners are confronting issues related to the best use of existing parks and open space and how to develop new park and open space systems. There are a number of books that discuss park and open space planning in the west. A notable study was written by Harvard landscape architect Ann Whiston Spirn (*The Granite Garden: Urban Nature and Human Design*, 1985). Others have prepared helpful guidelines for park and open space planning, including *People Places: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space* by landscape architects Claire Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis (2002); *Urban Open Space: Designing For User Needs* (2003) by Mark Francis; and *Urban Parks and Open Space* by planner Alexander Garvin (Garvin et al, 1997). In *The European City and Green Space: London, Stockholm, Helsinki And St. Petersburg, 1850-2000* (2000), Peter Clarke describes the evolution of parks in Europe.

Theory about how to plan human settlements in harmony with the natural environment was pioneered by eccentric Scottish biologist Patrick Geddes before World War I. Long before current concern with environmental impact analysis and sustainable

urban development, Geddes developed theories of planning regionally and synthesizing natural and human systems (*Cities in Evolution*, 1915). Scottish architect Ian McHarg's *Design with Nature* (1969) builds upon Geddes principles and articulates an approach to designing human settlements that respect the natural environment. Harmonizing nature and the built environment resonates with advocates of sustainable urban development and is a central theme in *The Charter of the New Urbanism* (Congress of the New Urbanism, 2000).

Urban design

How to design attractive city spaces that people will use and enjoy has long intrigued scholars associated with the design professions and, more recently, social scientists. In the west, urban design is taught at the undergraduate and graduate level in architecture, design, planning, and related programs.

Early European urban designers were concerned with both practical matters such as how to create cities that function efficiently and matters of aesthetics—creating attractive cities that people enjoy. Early urban design practice in Europe is well described by architectural historians A.E.G. Morris in *History of Urban Form before the Industrial Revolution 3rd edition* (1996) and Spiro Kostoff in *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History* (1991) and *The City Assembled* (1992). Kostoff's books are magnificently illustrated.

Recently there has been a major resurgence of interest in urban design in the west. Urban design programs in the west today integrate social, economic, and political material with design technique. They utilize computer-assisted design software such as AutoCAD. They teach design as an important vehicle to operationalize specific physical development proposals that reflect the needs and desires of society responsive to the social and economic setting for which they are devised.

Important contributions to understanding urban design come from professionals in many different disciplines, including architect Christopher Alexander (*A Pattern Language: Towns, Buildings, Construction*, 1977); sociologists William Whyte (*City*, 1989) and Ray Oldenburg (*The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffee Shops, Bookstores, Bars, Hair Salons and Other Hangouts at the Heart of a Community*, 1979); geographer Edward Relph (*Place and Placelessness*, 1976); urban planners Allan Jacobs (*Toward an Urban Design Manifesto*, 1987; *Great Streets*, 1995) and Edmund Bacon (*Design of Cities*, 1967); and landscape architects Claire Cooper Marcus and Carolyn Francis (*People Places: Design Guidelines for Urban Open Space*, 1997).

The most important figure in twentieth-century urban design in the west is former Massachusetts Institute of Technology professor Kevin Lynch. His slim little book *The*

Image of the City (1961) has been reprinted more than 20 times and translated into many languages, including two versions of Chinese. While it has not been updated since 1984, Lynch's book *Site Planning 3rd edition*, co-authored with Gary Hack (1984) is still widely used in urban planning, architecture, and design programs. Lynch's rich and insightful "theory of good city form" (*Good City Form*, 1988) remains a fundamental reading in urban design.

John Lang's *Urban Design: The American Experience* (1994) contains a good description of the urban design profession. Essential readings in urban design are collected in Elizabeth Macdonald and Michael Larice's *Urban Design Reader* (2006).

An enduring issue in urban design is to understand how people actually use physical space. Austrian architect Camillo Sitte carefully observed public spaces in European cities and developed an influential aesthetic theory of urban design that emphasize retaining historical elements and designing public spaces with irregular and intimate shapes in *The Art of Building Cities: City Building According to its Artistic Fundamentals* (Sitte, 1889). Urban planner/urban designer Alan Jacobs's insightful little book, *Looking at Cities* (Jacobs, 1985), is an excellent guide to observing cities in Sitte's tradition.

Since most of the land area of modern capitalist cities in the west is privately owned, many western urban designers focus on how to plan for public spaces such as streets, parks, plazas, and public buildings. Urban design may be carried out at the level of an individual building—for example, requiring an individual downtown office building to comply with urban design guidelines intended to assure that it fits into the urban fabric. Urban design can also take place at the neighborhood level, as discussed in *Neighborhood Space* (Hester, 1976), or even at the level of entire planned new cities such as Letchworth, England; Chandigarh, India; and Brasilia, Brazil.

The desire to beautify cities drove much early design theory and practice and remains an important goal of urban designers today. European Monarchs and prelates commissioned architects to produce beautiful palaces, cathedrals, boulevards, and public spaces to please kings and glorify God. Great parks, plazas, and other public spaces in London, Paris, Rome, and other European cities reflect the values of secular and religious elites who had the power to shape city space. In contrast, through the nineteenth century most U.S. cities were utilitarian places—smoky, dirty, congested, and squalid—dominated by business elites who valued economic efficiency over urban aesthetics.

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Chicago architect/planner Daniel Burnham led the City Beautiful movement—a movement to beautify American cities along the lines of monumental European capital cities. Burnham's 1909 *Plan for*

Chicago (Burnham, 1909), recently reprinted by Princeton Architectural Press, beautifully illustrates City Beautiful ideas.

SOCIAL SCIENCE PERSPECTIVES ON CITIES

Social science disciplines—particularly sociology, economics, and geography—help inform urban planners by describing the fundamental social, economic, and spatial relationships and processes that occur in cities. History (which is sometimes considered a social science; sometimes a humanity) can help planners understand how cities have evolved over time and the subfield of urban planning history can inform planners' practice by showing how the theory and practice of urban planning has developed. There are two main interdisciplinary social science anthologies about cities: *The City Reader 4th edition* (LeGates and Stout, 2007); and *The Blackwell City Reader* (Watson and Bridge, 2003).

As Chinese planning education matures, greater incorporation of basic knowledge about cities from social science disciplines can give Chinese planners a richer, more multi-dimensional understanding of cities.

Urban sociology

Cities embody and reflect the society and culture of which they are part. Urban planning should be responsive to the society and sensitive to the culture where it is undertaken. When it is done well, urban planning can enhance social cohesion and increase cultural pride. China's rich historical culture and current cultural dynamism call for a careful consideration of social and cultural factors in urban planning in China.

Among social scientists, sociologists—beginning with pioneering French and German theorists in the late nineteenth century and American sociologists at the University of Chicago in the 1920s and 1930s—have developed a body of theory about urban society. Anthropologists have also contributed to the understanding of urban society through studies of how the movement from rural areas to cities affects people, and urban ethnographies (studies of distinct urban cultures). Professors of cultural studies have developed a body of scholarship about urban culture.

Leading U.S. and European urban sociology texts are *Cities and Urban Life 4th edition* (Macionis and Parillo, 2006) and *Urban Sociology, Capitalism and Modernity 2nd edition* (Savage, Warde, and Ward, 2003). Jan Lin and Chris Mele's *Urban Sociology Reader* (2004) contains classic and contemporary writings by urban sociologists.

Recent anthologies containing writings by urban anthropologists are *Urban Life: Readings in the Anthropology of the City 4th edition* (Zenner, Zenner, and Gmelch, 2004) and *Theorizing the City: The New Urban Anthropology* (Low, 1999).

Demography, usually considered a subfield of sociology, deals with human populations. Kingsley Davis, a demographer who taught at the University of California, Berkeley and the University of Southern California, wrote one of the best summaries of the process of urbanization nearly fifty years ago (*The Urbanization of the Human Population*, 1965). Davis notes that urbanization is different from growth in city population size. How urban a society is refers to the percent of the total population that lives in cities as opposed to rural areas and small towns. Davis argues that, over the course of the last thousand years, western societies urbanized at a very slow rate until the industrial revolution. Then, beginning about 1750, the rate of urbanization increased rapidly. In the most urbanized societies the rate of urbanization has tapered off. Thus Davis describes the process of urbanization as an attenuated “S” curve. While early Chinese dynasties produced large cities during the last two millennia, China’s urbanization as a result of industrialization began later than developed countries in the west. China is still ascending the steep side of Davis’s “S” curve.

One question that is particularly relevant for China as people from the countryside move to large cities, and small villages mushroom into large cities, is how “being urban” impacts the human personality. Chicago school sociologist Louis Wirth wrote a classic essay on this issue nearly eighty years ago (“Urbanism as a Way of Life”, 1938). Wirth emphasized the negative impacts moving from the countryside to a city can have on the human personality. Building on the work of earlier European sociologists such as *Community and Society* (Tonnies, 1887) and *The Metropolis and Mental Life* (Simmel, 1903), Wirth perceived a breakdown of long-established, local support systems as people moved from small-scale, localized folk society to a modern society based on legal rules, contracts, and money exchange. Wirth agreed with his European predecessors that urbanites become more isolated, normless, and alienated in urban capitalist society.

Not all western social scientists agree with the nineteenth-century European sociologists, Wirth, and the Chicago school sociologists that urbanization is destructive of social relations and harmful to the human personality. Michael Young and Peter Willmott’s classic study of family and kinship in East London (*Family and Kinship in East London*, 1957) found positive networks in a London slum. Young and Willmott also found far less community in new housing estates built for the relocated slum dwellers. In *The Urban Villagers* (1969), American sociologist Herbert Gans characterized Boston’s West End neighborhood as an “urban village” where migrants from Southern Italy retained many of the kinship relations and supportive folkways of their villages of origin. Social

critic Jane Jacobs argued that positive social relationships in communities like the West End could combat crime and provide a good quality of life in her famous book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961), currently a best seller in China.

Western anthropologists who have studied migrants from rural areas to cities are also split regarding the impact of urbanization on individuals. Anthropologist Robert Redfield concluded from his studies of people moving from small towns in Mexico into large cities that the rural-urban shift produced profound, often negative, consequences for the individuals involved (*Tepoztlan, a Mexican Village: A Study in Folk Life*, 1930; *Folk Cultures of the Yucatan*, 1948; *The Little Community*, 1956). In a noted study of an extended family that had moved from the Mexican countryside into Mexico City, anthropologist Oscar Lewis concluded that family members retained extended kinship ties and many of the support systems and customs of their rural past (*The Culture of Poverty*, 1961).

One implication western urban planners have drawn from the sociological and anthropological literature about the impact of urbanization on the human personality is how important it is to understand the existing culture and networks of urban subcultures in planning cities. Another is the importance of including people who are being planned for in planning solutions to physical problems such as poor quality housing, lack of infrastructure, and crowding, and social problems such as crime and drug dependency. As members of China's diverse ethnic populations move from the countryside into cities, insights from Western studies of rural-to-urban migration may prove helpful. Chinese planners can benefit from new field research by their colleagues in the social sciences. They may find that incorporating suggestions by groups they are planning for—even if they run counter to rational planning principles—produces better planning solutions than more “rational” plans made without consulting the people planned for.

While redeveloping unhealthy and dangerous old neighborhoods is a worthy objective, many studies of urban redevelopment in the west are critical of well-intentioned, top-down, large-scale, redevelopment schemes. Many studies have found that replacing physically deficient, but socially viable, neighborhoods with new, physically superior modernist buildings may unintentionally undermine important informal networks. Jane Jacobs's book, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (1961) is one of the most eloquent arguments in favor of preserving physically messy, but culturally vibrant, neighborhoods.

Another perceptive American writer, John Brinckerhoff Jackson, studied vernacular landscapes. Jackson spent summers driving a motorcycle across America carefully observing the landscape and winters delivering brilliant, quirky lectures to geography and landscape architecture students at Harvard University and the University of California,

Berkeley. Jackson felt that careful study of ordinary parts of the built environment that were built without architects—barns, billboards, sheds, windmills, fences, cafes—revealed fundamental things about the world view of the people who built them. *Landscapes: Selected Writings of J. B. Jackson* (1970); *Discovering the Vernacular Landscape* (1986); *A Sense of Place, A Sense of Time* (1996); and other of his books consist of short, insightful essays on his observations and reflections.

As early as the 1920s, the Chicago School of Sociology encouraged faculty and students to use the city of Chicago as a research laboratory. Researchers studied Black migrants from the Southern United States living in Chicago's racially-segregated "Black Belt" community (Drake and Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City*, 1945), immigrant Polish peasants in ethnic Polish neighborhoods in Chicago (Thomas and Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America*, 1920), Chicago's wealthy "Gold Coast" and nearby slums (Zorbaugh, *The Gold Coast and the Slum*, 1929), and other areas of Chicago.

Urban ethnographies—detailed field research on urban subcultures usually conducted by anthropologists—continue the tradition of urban field study pioneered by the Chicago school sociologists. Anthropologist Elliot Liebow's *Tally's Corner: A Study Of Negro Streetcorner Men* (1967), is a poignant description of the social life and work experience of poor, Black men. *Tell Them Who I Am: The Lives of Homeless Women* (Liebow, 1995) tells the story of women living in a homeless shelter. Oscar Lewis's studies of an extended poor family in Mexico City (*The Children of Sanchez*, 1961) is also exemplary of the tradition of urban ethnographies. Chinese social scientists might draw inspiration from these studies in urban sociology and anthropology to study the complex, fascinating, and rapidly changing urban cultures of Chinese cities today. Planners familiar with western sociological and anthropological literature and new Chinese studies may design developments that better respond to the needs of the diverse people they serve.

"Bowling Alone" (1995), a brilliant essay by Harvard public policy professor Robert Putnam that was later expanded into a book of the same title (*Bowling Alone*, 2000), has rekindled discussion of community today and inspired a new generation of community studies. Putnam believes that "social capital" in the form of voluntary associations is important to any society's health. He studied participation in various civic institutions over time—what percentage of Americans voted, participated in parent/teacher organizations at schools, were members of social clubs, and were otherwise involved in organizations. Putnam found a broad decline in group participation and civic engagement in the United States during the 1980s and 1990s. Finding that fewer Americans were members of bowling leagues and more bowled alone provided a

metaphor for this decline in community. Putnam's work has inspired a movement in the west to engage young people in community service and rebuild social capital.

The academic concern with the loss of community that urbanization may bring has prompted many city planners to design neighborhoods to increase human interaction. Architect/planner Clarence Perry proposed an influential early design for building neighborhood communities organized around schools in *The Neighborhood Unit* (1929). Perry believed that families would work cooperatively to make the best possible life for their children and that school buildings could be the location of many kinds of community group meetings during non-school hours. New Urbanist planners Andrés Duany and Elisabeth Plater-Zyberk (*The Neighborhood, the District and the Corridor*, 2003) and other western architects and planners are designing neo-traditionalist developments like Seaside, Florida that seek to recover small towns' sense of community. Chinese planners can learn more in *Charter of the New Urbanism* (Congress of the New Urbanism, 2000), Peter Katz's book *The New Urbanism: Toward an Architecture of Community* (1993), and other books and articles on New Urbanism.

The rise of the internet, cell phones, and instant messaging offer new avenues for research on cyber communities, as discussed in Stephen Graham's *The Cybercities Reader* (Graham, 2003).

Race, class and gender are central concerns in urban sociology. Pioneering African American sociologist W.E.B. Dubois's study of the a large Black community in Philadelphia (*The Philadelphia Negro*, 1899) was one of the first, and remains one of the best, historical accounts of urban Black society. St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton's *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (1945) is a massive, scholarly study of Chicago's Black community in the mid-twentieth century. Harvard sociologist William Julius Wilson has written notable contemporary accounts of poor Black communities in Chicago and elsewhere in his books *The Declining Significance of Race* (1978), *The Truly Disadvantaged* (1987), and *When Work Disappears* (1996). While the ethnic and religious groups in China are different, similar studies may be in order.

Social exclusion of ethnic and religious minority groups is an important theme in urban sociology. There are many U.S. studies of discrimination against racial and ethnic minority groups, including Chinese Americans. In Europe, Iranian-born, U.K.-based urban design professor Ali Madanipur and colleagues have studied the emotionally charged issues of discrimination and social exclusion in their book *Social Exclusion in European Cities: Processes, Experiences, and Responses* (1994).

Many western social scientists have studied the nature and causes of urban poverty. In *The Culture of Poverty* (1966), anthropologist Oscar Lewis developed a controversial

theory that a distinct “culture of poverty” exists that so shapes the aspirations of poor children that it is nearly impossible for them to break free. Conservative social theorist Charles Murray argues in *Losing Ground* (1984) that poverty is caused by personal inadequacies. In contrast, William Julius Wilson and others posit structural reasons for urban poverty. Wilson believes that urban poverty in the United States is now primarily caused by changes in the global economy that have eliminated low-skilled jobs, rather than by racial discrimination (*The Truly Disadvantaged*, 1987).

Western urban planners and sociologists are focusing increasing attention on issues of gender and sexual orientation as well as race and class. Yale architectural historian Dolores Hayden has written important books about women and the built environment, including *Redesigning the American Dream: Gender, Housing, and Family Life* (2002), *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (1982), and “What Would a Non-Sexist City Be Like” (1980). *The Urban Sociology Reader* (Lin and Mele, 2004) contains recent studies of inequality, social difference, gender, and sexual orientation in cities.

Each society produces a distinct culture and scholars have studied urban culture. Lewis Mumford pioneered the culture studies approach to studying cities in his influential book *The Culture of Cities* (1938). Historians Arnold Toynbee (*Cities of Destiny*, 1967), historian Gunther Barth (*City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, 1982), geographer/planner Peter Hall (*Cities in Civilization*, 1998), sociologist Sharon Zukin (*The Cultures of Cities*, 1995), geographer Edward Soja (*Postmetropolis*, 2000), and social critic Mike Davis (*City of Quartz: Excavating the Future in Los Angeles*, 1990) have written about urban culture. There are anthologies of urban culture study classics (Sennett, *Classic Essays On The Culture Of Cities*, 1969) and contemporary writing (Miles, Hall, and Borden, *The City Cultures Reader 2nd edition*, 2003).

Urban economics

Most developing countries, including China, see urbanization as fundamental to their economic development. In the west, studies of the economies of cities are primarily the province of economists located within economic departments, and sometimes business schools or urban planning departments.

Urban economists study the clustering of economic activities, urban growth, city size, the economic determinants of urban land use patterns, rent, the economics of housing, the environment, crime and many other topics. Many urban economics courses combine microeconomic theory and economic policy. Economist Wilbur Thompson wrote the classic textbook—*A Preface to Urban Economics* (1965)—that introduced the last

generation of urban economics students to systematic study of urban economics. Economics professor Arthur O'Sullivan's text *Urban Economics 5th edition* (2002) is widely used in urban economics courses today. Thompson, O'Sullivan, and other western urban economists have developed theory about what kinds of expenditures should be within the public and which within the private sector. Many feel that public goods, such as highways that are publicly consumed and cannot be paid for individually, and merit goods, such as education and immunization against disease, should be provided by government, but that other services such as housing, food, clothing, and consumer goods should be provided by the private sector.

Some social scientists blend urban economics and other disciplines. Economic geographers study the production and exchange of goods within and between cities. Urban political scientists study the relationship between economics and politics—often from a critical perspective.

Scholars interested in the economic history of cities have produced notable works. Belgian historian Henri Pirenne wrote about the emergence of capitalism and the rise of European cities (1969), French historian Fernand Braudel has written an important three-volume history of civilization and capitalism in Europe from the fifteenth through the eighteenth centuries that includes a great deal of material on the rise of early modern European cities (*The Structure of Everyday Life*, 1992a; *The Wheels of Commerce*, 1992b; *The Perspective of the World*, 1992c). American sociologist Janet Abu-Lughod's account of the world economic system before European dominance, *Before European Hegemony: The World System A.D. 1250-1350* (1991), contains fascinating information on the complex early trade networks that linked Europe to China and the Middle East in the thirteenth century.

Two interdisciplinary subfields closely related to economics help inform urban studies. Urban public finance is often taught in economics departments; sometimes in business schools. It contributes to an understanding of how local governments raise revenue and what they spend it on. A standard U.S. public finance text by Harvey Rosen is *Public Finance 7th edition* (2004). The subfield of regional science includes economists, geographers, and others who study regions rather than cities (Florax and Plane, *Fifty Years of Regional Science*, 2004). Regional scientists generally employ quantitative methodologies. In the United States, they have their own professional associations and scholarly journal.

Urban Geography

Geographers, generally located within geography departments, have made the most notable contributions to our understanding of urban space. Geographers study many of the

same topics sociologists and economist study, but from a distinctly spatial perspective: for example, urban geographers might show how different income, ethnic, racial, and religious groups within a city or region are distributed in space. U.S. urban geography texts include books by Michael Pacione (*Urban Geography*, 2001), David Kaplan, James Wheeler, and Steven Holloway (*Urban Geography*, 2003), and Paul Knox and Linda McCarthy (*Urbanization: An Introduction to Urban Geography 2nd edition*, 2005). Classic and contemporary writings on urban geography are collected by geographers Nick Fyfe and Elizabeth Kenny in *The Urban Geography Reader* (2005).

University of Chicago sociologist Earnest W. Burgess's seminal essay on the internal structure of the city (*The Growth of a City: An Introduction to a Research Project*, 1925) started a debate on alternative theoretical models that would best describe the internal structure of cities. Burgess believed American cities at that time were best understood as a series of *concentric zones*. Economic activity was concentrated in a central business district at the center, surrounded by a zone of very low income housing and vice, then a workingmen's district, and outer rings where wealthier people lived. Real estate economist Homer Hoyt developed a competing *sector model* of the internal structure of the city (*The Structure and Growth of Residential Neighborhoods in American Cities*, 1939) and later, University of Chicago geographers Chauncey Harris and Edward Ullman developed a model of the internal structure of cities that emphasized multiple nuclei of economic activity (*The Nature of Cities*, 1945). Burgess, Hoyt, and Harris and Ullman's descriptions of their models are reprinted in *The Urban Geography Reader* (Fyfe and Kenny, 2005). Writings about the internal structure of cities have been collected in an anthology edited by University of Toronto geographer Larry Bourne (*The Internal Structure of the City*, 1982).

German geographer Walter Christaller studied how systems of cities related to each other. Based on his study of telephone connections in Southern Germany during the 1930s, Christaller formulated central place theory—a unified explanation of the way in which cities of different sizes are related to each other in a distinct hierarchy of functions (*Central Places in Southern Germany*, 1933). Christaller's work led to many empirical studies of systems of cities. Peter Taylor's study of the world city network (*World City Network: A Global Urban Analysis*, 2004) and Sir Peter Hall and Kathy Pain's study of the polycentric urban network emerging in Northwestern Europe (*The Polycentric Metropolis* Hall and Pain, 2006) are recent studies in this tradition. University of Toronto geographers Larry S. Bourne and J.W. Simmons have collected studies of the internal structure of cities (*The Internal Structure of Cities*, 1981).

The increasingly integrated world economic system and the ever-closer connections among cities around the globe have captured the attention of many scholars. Professors of

international relations, economics, business administration, urban planning, and sociology have written about the impact of globalization on cities. Recent writings on globalization and global cities are collected in Frank Lechner and John Boli's *Globalization Reader* (2003) and Neil Brenner and Roger Keil's *The Global Cities Reader* (2005).

Related to interest in global systems of cities is attention to urbanized *regions*—what Scottish biologist Patrick Geddes termed conurbations (*Cities in Evolution*, 1915), French geographer Jean Gottman named megalopolis (*Megalopolis: The Urbanized Northeastern Seaboard of the United States*, 1964), and the United Nations calls urban agglomerations (*Urban Agglomerations 2004*, 2005). The largest of these areas—with populations in excess of ten million people—are referred to as mega cities, or more precisely mega city regions since they usually encompass more than one city and surrounding suburban areas. Many of the world's existing and emerging mega cities are in China. Notable studies of mega cities in Asia of particular interest to Chinese urban planners are by Fu-chen Lo and Yue-man Yeung (*Emerging World Cities in Pacific Asia*, 1996) and Aprodicio Laquian (*Beyond Metropolis: The Planning and Governance of Asia's Mega-Urban Regions*, 2005). Other notable studies of mega cities include studies by Peter Hall (*The World Cities*, 1977), Alan Gilbert (*The Mega-city in Latin America*, 1996), Janet Abu-Lughod (*New York, Chicago, Los Angeles: America's Global Cities*, 2000), and Saskia Sassen (*The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2001; *Cities in a Global Economy 3rd edition*, 2006).

Geographers have the main claim to a powerful technology—Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software. GIS software allows users to create digital maps connected to underlying data about geographical features and—more importantly—to apply spatial statistics to the study of urban phenomena. There is a large literature on GIS and GIScience well summarized in the leading text by Paul Longley and colleagues (Longley, Goodchild, Maguire, and Rhind, 2005) and a number of books on GIS applications in urban planning: *Think Globally, Act Regionally* (LeGates, 2005), *Mapping Global Cities* (Pamuk, 2005), *Exploring the Urban Community* (Greene and Pick, 2005), *GIS For the Urban Environment* (Maantay and Ziegler, 2006), and *GIS and the Digital City* (Huxhold, Parr, and Fowler, 2004).

Urban governance and politics

Scholars located in political science departments within colleges of social science have made important contributions to the understanding of urban politics. Historians, sociologists, economists, geographers, lawyers, ethnic and women's studies scholars, and others have also contributed to the study of urban politics.

There are three main American urban politics texts: *Urban Politics: Power in Metropolitan America 7th edition* (Ross and Levine, 2005), *City Politics: The Political Economy of Urban America 5th edition* (Judd and Swanstrom, 2005), and *Political Change in the Metropolis, 7th edition* (Harrigan and Vogel, 2002).

Articles on urban politics are collected in two anthologies: *The Urban Politics Reader* (Mollenkopf and Strom, 2006), and *American Urban Politics: The Reader 4th edition* (Judd and Kantor, 2005). City University of New York Political Science Professor John Mollenkopf has summarized the literature on urban politics since World War II in an article and the first chapter of a book (*The Postwar Politics Of Urban Development*, 1975; *A Phoenix in the Ashes: The Rise and Fall of the Koch Coalition in New York City Politics*, 1992).

A number of writers have written about how to involve citizens and other interested parties in collaborative urban planning and policy making. Sherry Arnstein, a U.S. government official working in a federal program to improve cities in the 1960s and 1970s, felt that urban programs would be better designed and more willingly accepted if the people they affected were involved in planning them. Arnstein described degrees of citizen involvement in local decision-making as a ladder, with very weak forms of participation at the lowest rung and partnerships or even citizen control of programs at the highest rung (*A Ladder of Citizen Participation*, 1969). British planner Patsey Healey has written about collaborative planning (*Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies 2nd edition*, 2006). Massachusetts Institute of Technology planning professor Lawrence Susskind teaches lawyers and planners to mediate public disputes—particularly involving environmental and development-related disputes—in classes at M.I.T. and Harvard Law School. Chinese governmental officials and planners involved in controversial developments may benefit from theoretical approaches and practical suggestions in *Breaking the Impasse: Consensual Approaches to Resolving Public Disputes* (Susskind, 1989) and other books by Susskind.

As China's political and social system evolves and Chinese planners struggle to define appropriate roles for urban planners, they may find Cornell University planning professor John Forester's work particularly useful. In the west, planners do not actually carry out development, so they must become skilled in working with many different interest groups to achieve consensus on plans and development projects. In addition to studying planning-related conflicts and conflict resolution, Forester has interviewed hundreds of planners to learn what different roles they perform. His book *Planning in the Face of Power* (1989) and an important article in the *American Planning Association Journal*, "Planning in the Face of Conflict" (1987), provide an excellent discussion of different roles planners in a private market economy can play.

Urban history

Historians help us understand the evolution of cities. Archeologists, geographers, political scientists, economists, architects, and other scholars have also contributed to understanding of how cities have evolved. A specialized subfield—the history of city planning—is particularly relevant to urban planners.

Historians in the west have developed a rich literature about the history of cities in Europe and the United States. They have also produced some good scholarship about the earliest cities in the Middle East, India, Mexico, South America, and China. Most western accounts of urbanization are Eurocentric and badly neglect material on China.

A number of texts and anthologies are commonly used in American urban history courses. These include *The Evolution of American Urban Society 6th edition* (Chudacoff and Smith, 2004) and *The Making of Urban America, 2nd edition* (Mohl, 1997). Columbia university historian Kenneth Jackson has written a leading history of U.S. suburban development (*The Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, 1985) and historians Howard Chudacoff and Peter Baldwin have edited writings about U.S. urban and suburban history (*Major Problems in American Urban and Suburban History*, 2005).

Fundamental questions about the evolution of cities include documenting the population cities have had in the past and what proportion of the population live in cities as opposed to rural areas or villages in different societies at different times in history (how urbanized the societies were).

There are a number of sources discussing the population size of cities in the past. Demographer Kingsley Davis's *The Urbanization of the Human Population* (1965), described above, provides a theoretical framework within which to understand this topic. Adna Ferrin Weber wrote a classic study on nineteenth-century western cities (*The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century*, 1899). Paul M. Hohenberg and Lynn Hollen Lees have written a succinct account of the rise of European cities from the Middle Ages through the middle of the twentieth century (*The Making of Urban Europe 1000 – 1950*, 1985). Demographers Tertius Chandler and Gerald Fox compiled estimates of the population size of world cities from thousands of sources and provide their own estimates of the population of cities worldwide over a three-thousand-year period in *3000 Years of Urban Growth* (Chandler and Fox, 1974). Because definitions used in the various estimates in this book vary widely and the authors interpose their subjective estimates, Chandler and Fox's data should be treated with caution. University of California, Berkeley historian Jan de Vries constructed careful estimates of the population of European cities at fifty-year intervals during from 1500 to 1800 that are more reliable than Fox and

Chandler's estimates and developed a sophisticated approach to analyzing early urbanization in *European Urbanization 1500 – 1800* (de Vries, 1984). De Vries's scholarship and approach provides an excellent approach for historical studies of urbanization that could be applied to China.

The United Nations provides annual estimates of the population size of urban agglomerations with populations of 750,000 or more—525 urban agglomerations as of the most recent report through 2004 (*Urban Agglomerations 2004*, 2005). The World Bank provides annual estimates of what percentage of each country's population is urban (*World Development Indicators 2004*, 2005). Many additional UN and World Bank reports are helpful in understanding the history, current status, and future prospects of world cities.

Beginning in 1790 in the United States and in 1800 in many European countries, national governments began compiling decennial censuses. In the United States, census data has been released as part of the U.S. Census of population and housing every ten years (*Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses from 1790 to 2000*. U.S. Census, 2002). In the future, the United States will rely upon sample surveys rather than attempt to enumerate every person every ten years. In the U.K., the national ordinance survey has provided high quality census information since the early 1800s.

Where, when, and why the first cities arose are enduring questions in urban studies. Since the earliest cities in different regions of the world arose largely independently of other cultures and at widely different times, these questions are best framed as where, when, and why did the first cities in different regions of the world arise? Archaeologists have made the greatest contribution to our understanding of the origin of cities—often by digging up the remains of the most ancient cities. Most of the pioneering archaeological digs of ancient cities were undertaken by British archaeologists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Today, archaeologists in China, India, Iraq, Pakistan, Mexico, Guatemala, Peru, Zimbabwe, and elsewhere where early cities arose, as well as visiting archeologists from the west, continue to shed new light on the origin of the earliest cities.

Based on excavations of the ancient Mesopotamian city of Ur in present day Iraq, Australian/British Archaeologist V. Gordon Childe described the emergence of the earliest cities in *The Most Ancient Near East* (1928). Childe argued that an “urban revolution” occurred in Mesopotamia during which large cities arose quite quickly in *What Happened in History* (1951) and other books. Using a Marxist approach, Childe argued that the rich soil and ideal agricultural conditions of the “fertile crescent” between the Tigris and Euphrates rivers in Iraq made it possible for a priestly/warrior class to extract surplus labor value from the populace. The Mesopotamian elite organized irrigation systems and used the economic surplus to build cities as early as 3500 BCE. Additional information on

Mesopotamian cities is available from the man who actually dug up Ur—Leonard Wooley—in *The Sumerians* (1928) and *Ur Of The Chaldees: A Record of Seven Years Of Excavation* (1930).

Another British archaeologist, James Mellaart, excavated the ancient settlement of Çatal Hüyük in Turkey (*Çatal Hüyük: a Neolithic Town in Anatolia*, 1967). Mellaart concluded that trade in the hard, sharp obsidian rock found at Çatal Hüyük—not fertile soil—accounted for Çatal Hüyük’s emergence. Mellaart believed that the residents of Çatal Hüyük raised crops from seeds they obtained in exchange for obsidian, learned by experience which seeds were most productive, and then diffused the most productive seeds to surrounding areas. That idea turns Childe’s theory on its head. If Mellaart is right in the case of Çatal Hüyük it was the rise of a city that led to an agricultural surplus rather than the other way around. Mellaart’s idea that a very early proto-urban settlement led to innovation in agriculture appealed to Jane Jacobs, who popularized Mellaart’s theory in *The Economy of Cities* (1970).

The subfield of urban planning history has been developed by urban planners such as John Reps (*The Making Of Urban America: A History of City Planning In The United States*, 1965), Mellior Scott (*American City Planning Since 1890*, 1985), Christine Boyer (*Dreaming the Rational City: The Myth of American City Planning*, 1986), and Donald Krueckeberg (*The American Planner 2nd edition*, 1994) in the United States, and Sir Peter Hall in England (*Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century 3rd edition*, 2002a). Architectural historians A.E.G. Morris and Spiro Kostoff have written excellent accounts of the history of urban form and design (*History of Urban Form Before the Industrial Revolution 3rd edition*, 1996; *The City Shaped: Urban Patterns and Meanings Through History*, 1991; *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History*, 1992).

Because America’s population immigrated from other countries (with the exception of the indigenous American Indian population) there are many studies of immigration. Often the new migrants settled in cities. Notable studies of the impact of immigration and ethnicity on cities include Harvard historian Oscar Handlin’s studies of European immigration to New York, Boston, and cities on the east (Atlantic) coast of America (*The Uprooted*, 1951) and University of California, Berkeley ethnic studies professor Ron Takaki’s studies of Chinese and other Asian immigrants’ experiences coming to cities on the west coast of the United States (*Strangers from a Different Shore: A History of Asian Americans*, 1989). As tens of millions of Chinese of widely different ethnicities migrate into Chinese cities, these studies may be of interest.

Urban planning history is a subfield of particular interest to Chinese planners. British geographer/planner Sir Peter Hall has written the most widely used history of

urban planning in the west (*Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century* 3rd edition, 2002a) and a masterful account of the impact of cities on civilization (*Cities in Civilization*, 1998). Robert Fishman, a historian who now teaches urban planning history at the University of Michigan, has written an excellent account of the great European twentieth-century planning visionaries Ebenezer Howard, LeCorbusier, and Frank Lloyd Wright (*Urban Utopias in the Twentieth Century*, 1982).

The Future of the City

A final strand in the study of cities is reflection on probable, possible, and desirable urban futures. The urbanization of the human population that Kingsley Davis describes in *The Urbanization of the Human Population* (1965) is continuing. Virtually all demographers anticipate massive population growth and continuing urbanization — particularly in the third world. The twenty-first century will surely see more congestion, sprawl, pollution, exhaustion of natural resources, extinction of species, and proliferation of megacities and vast urban conurbations, even if governments intervene to plan and regulate city development far more than they have ever done in the past. While some people speculate that information technology may make clustering economic activities in cities unnecessary, empirical research by University of Chicago sociologist Saskia Sassen (*The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo*, 2001a) and other scholars has found no evidence that the largest cities with the most intense information flows—New York, London, and Tokyo—are declining as the information revolution proceeds.

In addition to prediction, urban futurists have formulated different normative visions for alternative urban futures. Visionary twentieth-century European and American planners Ebenezer Howard, Raymond Unwin, Patrick Geddes, and Lewis Mumford opposed the unfettered growth of large cities and proposed regional systems of human-scale cities. Ebenezer Howard's important book *Tomorrow: The Peaceful Path to Real Reform* (1898), reprinted as *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*, is perhaps the most important visionary planning book. It ignited a garden cities movement in England which spread worldwide. Howard's ideas that social cities of manageable size should be separated by greenbelts has had an enormous impact. Frank Lloyd Wright (*Broadacre City: A New Community Plan*, 1935) went further and saw the automobile making it possible for a very low density future. Wright advocated Broadacre city—a future in which each family would live on one acre (about half a hectare) of land. Today most western theorists condemn low density suburban sprawl. Modernists like Le Corbusier took the opposite view and proposed building huge, self-contained mega-structures. (*The City of Tomorrow and its Planning*, 1929; *The Radiant City*, 1967). Large office buildings in Shanghai, Beijing, and other Chinese cities resemble Corbusier's modernist vision.

Technology, particularly information technology, has a profound effect on cities and systems of cities. Manuel Castells, Saskia Sassen, Stephen Graham and other western scholars have written about the impact of information and other technologies on cities: (Castells, *European Cities, the Informational Society, and the Global Economy*, 1993; Castells, *The Rise of the Network Society*, 1996; Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* Sassen, 2001a; and Sassen “*The Impact of New Information Technologies and Globalization on Cities*” Sassen, 2001b, *Cities in a Global Economy 3rd edition* (Sassen, 2006, Mitchell, 2001). Stephen Graham’s *The Cybercities Reader* (2003) is an anthology of writings about cities and information technology.

CONCLUSION

The paper describes western urban planning books and articles over the last 150 years that we believe are particularly valuable to Chinese planners today. The selection covers works related directly to urban planning education and practice. It covers planning theory and various subfields of urban planning that practicing planners may find helpful as well as readings in urban sociology, urban economics, urban geography, urban history, and other social sciences. While this paper covers only a small part of the vast western literature on cities and city planning, we believe that this introduction will be helpful to Chinese scholars involved in theoretical research and graduate students who can translate interdisciplinary understanding of cities into a unique Chinese planning model and better planning practice.

The research topics of the selected readings cover a wide range of urban issues, from urban poverty to design quality. The fact that urban research covers all urban issues is itself an important lesson to some Chinese planners who limit their perspective to physical planning and pay little attention to the social and environmental consequences of urban development. A well-developed planning theory should build on a solid foundation of all fields in urban sciences—not just applied engineering, design, and physical planning skills.

Because China is so populous, is urbanizing so rapidly, and is expanding and improving its higher education system so quickly, understanding the literature by western planning scholars and social scientists may help planners avoid mistakes and learn from success in the west. Of course, for China’s urban development, a unique planning theory with Chinese characteristics must be developed by Chinese planners. It is probable that Chinese cities will grow more rapidly, change more profoundly, and will grow larger than cities elsewhere in the world. The theory and practice Chinese planners evolve will be of enormous importance—not only for the sixth of the world’s population that lives in China, but as a contribution to planning theory and practice everywhere in the world.

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