Article

Roles and Motivations of Planning Professionals Who Promote Public Participation in Urban Planning Practice: Two Case Studies from Beijing, China

Lin Zhang[1] (iD), Pieter Hooimeijer[1], Yanliu Lin[1], and Stan Geertman[1]

Abstract

Public participation in urban planning is a contested issue in China. In this article, we look at the endogenous mechanism of institutional change, by analyzing the roles and motivations of "third-party" planning professionals in two contrasting cases: a government-led and a citizen-led participatory practice. Findings show that planners were advocates of citizen participation in heritage preservation in both cases and acted as "mediators" in the first and "activists" in the second, yet remained within the mainstream planning structure. Their motivation to serve the rights of the citizens was clear, but subordinate to the drive to conform to the professional norms of authenticity in preservation in both cases. In contrast to both the Global North where more agonistic approaches question inclusive planning and the Global South where insurgent planning finds space to maneuver, Chinese urban planning seems to proceed by taking small steps within narrow margins when it comes to citizen engagement.

[1]Utrecht University, Utrecht, the Netherlands

Corresponding Author:
Lin Zhang, Dagu Road 100, Shanghai, China.
Emails: L.Zhang2@uu.nl; zhanglin20161011@163.com

Introduction

In the Western world, the philosophy of communicative rationality was introduced into planning theory after Habermas proposed the theory of communicative action in the 1980s (Healey 1992). This resulted in a communicative turn in Western urban planning, that is, a paradigm shift from the instrumental-rationality model to the communicative-rationality model (Tayebi 2013). Various new roles of planners in the communicative-rationality model of planning have been defined by scholars. For instance, Davidoff (1965) argued that planners should act as advocates articulating the interests of the public, especially the poor. Webber (1978) defined the new role of planners in the mainstream planning structure as facilitators. Forester (2006) claimed that planners can act as mediators when interests conflict. Moreover, Tayebi (2013) defined the new role of planners outside the mainstream planning structure as planning activists who help the marginalized raise their voices in the decision-making process. Whether these results of Western research are applicable to authoritarian regimes remains to be examined, considering that decisions in local land-use policy are political in nature (Heberlig, Leland, and Read 2014).

Public participation in China's planning policies and practices has emerged in recent years. The top-down, government-led participatory practice has been developed across the country with the implementation of the 2008 Urban and Rural Planning Law, which had formalized public participation in urban planning (Zhang, Geertman, et al. 2019). Meanwhile, an increasing number of Chinese citizens has begun to protest against unwanted planning projects (Sun 2015; Zhang, Hooimeijer, et al. 2019). This bottom-up, citizen-led participatory practice can be divided into three major types: first, local residents protesting against unfair housing compensation and violent relocation (He and Wu 2009); second, local residents protesting against not in my backyard projects (Lang and Xu 2013); and third, preservationists protesting against built-heritage demolition (Zhang, Lin, et al. 2019). Several authors suggest that a communicative turn is inevitable in China's planning and politics (Hu, de Roo, and Lu 2013), not just to avoid social unrest but also due to the increased complexity of governance issues (Zhang, de Roo, and Lu 2012; Zhang, Zhang, and Xu 2013). Whether related planning policies and practices will lead to authentic public participation in China's urban planning will also depend on professionals because professionals play a critical role in the creation, maintenance, and transformation of institutions as an endogenous mechanism of

institutional change (Suddaby and Viale 2011). Current research tends to suggest that it is a serious challenge for Chinese planners to promote public participation in planning. First, the daily work of planners is to implement decisions made by the pro-growth coalition of the local political economy rather than to challenge the coalition, since planners are part of the vested interests (Zhang 2002). Second, unlike in democratic societies, deference to authority is part of the traditional Chinese culture, a legacy of the feudal era that lasted for thousands of years (Zhang 2002). Urban planning in China as public affairs has long been controlled from the top (Wu, Zhang, and Shen 2010), and most planners are subordinated to the bureaucratic machine (Luo and Shen 2008). Third, the lack of community-based nongovernmental organizations makes it difficult for Chinese planners to engage the public in planning practice (Leaf and Hou 2006). However, planning professionals who actively promote the practice of public participation in China's planning have been observed (e.g., Deng et al. 2015; Tan and Altrock 2016).

This article aims to understand the roles and motivations of planning professionals who promote public participation in China's planning practice. Public participation in administrative decisions has been discussed extensively in the urban affairs literature, including the motivations of public servants in the process (Appiah 2014). This article is expected to contribute to the international debates on the management of urban affairs in general and on public participation in urban planning in particular by exploring these in an authoritarian context. The following section establishes a conceptual framework that includes the roles and motivations of planning professionals. The next section introduces the methods whereby two contrasting cases are introduced: a government-led and a citizen-led participatory process in urban redevelopment that involves cultural heritage preservation, which is one of the major issues of contestation in urban affairs. In each case, semi-structured interviews with third-party (i.e., not employed by the local government in charge) planning professionals were used to identify their roles and intrinsic motivations. The empirical findings section reveals their roles and motivations in both cases. The last section summarizes the findings and reflects on their contribution.

Conceptual Framework

Roles of Planning Professionals

Public participation has emerged in the field of urban planning since the 1960s (Huxley 2013). New roles of planning professionals in citizen-engaged planning have been proposed as well (Table 1). Davidoff (1965) argued that

Table 1. Roles of Planning Professionals.

Roles	Indications
Advocates	Proponents of specific viewpoints in adversary proceedings Do educational jobs
Facilitators	Promote debates between different interest groups
Moderators	Encourage citizens to express their own opinions
Mediators	Transform antagonisms into working relationships and practical agreements
Activists	Claim citizens' right to the city

it was not enough for planners to act solely as technicians and that they should also be advocates. This argument was made in the 1960s, which was a time of change and turbulence in American society (Checkoway 1994). The concept of advocacy implies the opposition of at least two contending viewpoints in a proceeding, and the term advocate planners refers to proponents of specific viewpoints in controversial planning practices. Planners should act as advocates of the interests of the government and other groups in future planning practices (Davidoff 1965). An advocate planner also performs educational roles: informing other groups of the viewpoints of the group he or she represents and informing his or her clients of their rights under related laws and the projects likely to affect them. Davidoff (1965) claimed that citizens would be heard, well informed about the values of advocate planners, and responded to by advocate planners in this kind of future planning.

During the 1970s, the discussion on planning in the United States and in Western Europe began to question both the model of a pluralistic polity and the so-called value-neutral techniques (Healey 1997). Recognizing the diversity of citizens' interests, Webber (1978) claimed that planning should be a persuasive process for pluralist societies to encompass difference. Webber (1978) defined the new role of planners in "persuasive planning" as facilitators of debate rather than as experts and maintained that planning should be made through open arguments. Unlike Webber, Forester (2006) argued that planners could act as mediators rather than as facilitators or moderators when working with contentious publics. Facilitators could promote communication between different interest groups, and moderators could sharpen conflicting arguments and clarify the differences between interest groups, but these roles could not solve antagonisms in contentious planning disputes. In contrast, mediators could transform antagonisms into working relationships and practical agreements by acknowledging different needs and making workable agreements leading to mutual gain (Forester 2006).

The discussion so far on the role of the planner has been restricted to the opportunities within the mainstream system. A more radical role can be defined if one looks beyond these borders. In her papers on planning in the Global South, Miraftab (2009) advocates an "insurgent" planning that is transgressive (of institutional and international borders), counter-hegemonic (against neo-liberal order), and imaginative. The premise of her analyses that this makes sense as urbanization in the Global South is the result of informal practices which in itself breed counter-hegemonic and insurgent movements, mobilizing beyond the state's control and claiming their right to the city. This is less the case in the Global North where infringement of rights is less, but also in China where state's control is almost absolute and informality is suppressed. It is hard to envisage an insurgent civil society in China. For the Global North, Tayebi (2013) proposed a new role for planners outside the main stream as planning activists. Planning activists claim citizens' right to the city, and this new role was proposed based on Habermas's theory of communicative action and Foucault's discussion of power struggle (Tayebi 2013). The Habermasian theory of communicative action encouraged equalizing power in decision making by seeking super-majority agreements and giving participants certain powers (Innes and Booher 1999). Foucault argued that "action is the exercise of power" and proposed to challenge the dominant power based on understanding existing power and related rationality (Flyvbjerg and Richardson 2004). According to Purcell (2008), the right to the city has two components: a right to appropriation, which can be conceived as the right to be physically present in already-existing urban space and the right that fully meets the needs of inhabitants, and a right to participation, which can be conceived as the right to be included meaningfully in decision making about urban space. The right to the city makes it crucial to determine how the city's authenticity is created, interpreted, and used (Zukin 2010). This is also supported by the professional community of historic preservationists. Many will concur with the claim of Martínez (2016) that heritage authenticity not only includes aesthetic or environmental aspects but also includes the exercise and defense of the social, cultural, and economic rights of local residents. As property-led urban redevelopment in China often results in the demolition of many built heritages and the relocation of numerous local residents (Shin 2010), this might be the good place to look for activist potential, yet it is hard to imagine that Chinese planners would use the same "right-based" rhetoric.

The abovementioned new roles of planning professionals have been developed in Western contexts, which are different from the Chinese context. Whether these new roles are applicable to authoritarian regimes remains to be examined.

Motivations of Planning Professionals

This article divides planning professionals' motivations into three typologies: rational-centered, normative-centered, and affective-centered. For one thing, Perry and Wise (1990) divided motivations associated with public service into three types: rational, normative, and affective motivations. Public service motivation (PSM) was proposed by Rainey (1982) to describe the motivations associated with public service; thus, theories of PSM are helpful in identifying the motivations of professionals who participate in planning institutions. Appiah (2015) defined PSM as "the desire and passion for public sector" and found that PSM is the fundamental motivation for American planners to actively engage the public, even though they have to work long hours to organize genuine public participation. For another, Knoke (1988) asserted that the triad of rational choice, normative conformity, and affective bonding jointly affect people's behaviors in collective action. Spatial planning is a field of public policy making that completes collective action by aggregating formal organizations and informal relationships (Healey 1997). Policy making in the Western world has become "a negotiation among many interacting policy systems" rather than a purely top-down process in recent years (Bovaird 2007). Similarly, urban plans in China are important public policies, and plan making has become a collective action rather than a purely top-down process. Therefore, theories of motivations in collective action are helpful in identifying the motivations of professionals who participate beyond the planning institutions. Furthermore, the work of Perry and Wise (1990) and Knoke (1988) is closely connected with Healey's classification of participants' senses in planning. Healey et al. (1988) presented the interactive nature of planning as a form of negotiating among conflicting interests. In the negotiating process, "we draw on all our senses—our material appreciation and technique, our moral concerns and our emotive appreciation" (Healey 1997). The fact that all three motivations occur simultaneously does not preclude that a behavior is more centered on one than on the others. The three typologies are evaluated by a group of items, and the definition of these items is presented in the following paragraphs.

The underlying premise of rational motivations is that individual choice among a set of options is motivated by an assessment of the potential utility of each option (Wise 2000). Perry (1996) claimed that motivations for public service are sometimes grounded in individual utility maximization. Similarly, Knoke (1988) defined motivations of rational choice in collective action as an individual's cost-benefit calculation to maximize the expected utility. In the specific field of urban planning, Innes et al. (1994) suggested that participation in collaborative planning relies on "stakeholders making

an implicit cost-benefit calculation." The utilitarian benefits might include *material benefits, occupational rewards*, and *informational resources* (Knoke 1988). Material benefits include wages and salaries (Clark and Wilson 1961). Olson (1965) indicated that monetary incentives play an important role in collective action. Data services and research are informational rewards (Knoke 1988). Moreover, *relational reward expectations* can also motivate individuals to participate in communicative planning and to volunteer in associations (Olsson 2009). For example, one participant in a planning project in San Diego reported that she attended meetings to make valuable professional contacts (Innes et al. 1994) Empirical work has shown that the main costs of participation are *time, money*, and *energy* (Innes et al. 1994; Wandersman et al. 1987).

Normative-centered motivations are important for many individuals in collaborative planning practices (Healey 1997). Knoke (1988) defined motivations of normative conformity in collective action as conformance with rules of conduct derived from social values. Existing research implies that engaging citizens in urban planning is becoming a new *social norm* in current China (e.g., Cheng 2013; Sun 2015). *Democratic norms* are related to participatory behaviors in planning processes (Buchy and Hoverman 2000). *Democratic norms* usually include

> basic concepts of fairness; the rights of individuals to be informed and consulted and to express their views on governmental decisions; the need to better represent the interests of disadvantaged and powerless groups in governmental decision making; and the contributions of participation to citizenship. (Burby 2003, 35)

For public employees, one identified normative motivation is social justice such as making contributions to enhancing the well-being of marginalized people (Perry 1996). Normative motivations also include "enhancing the public status of profession/organization, educating the general public about profession/organization, stressing the general prestige of the organization" (Knoke 1988). Being true to *professional norms* is necessary for urban planners to successfully help both land developers and neighborhood residents in the planning process (Forester 1987).

Affective motivations for public service refer to triggers of behavior that are based on emotional responses to various social contexts (Perry and Wise 1990). Knoke (1988) defined motivations of affective bonding in collective action as *emotional attachments to people and groups*. In the field of collaborative planning, the development of personal relationships and trust can increase participants' incentives to stay (Innes et al. 1994). Furthermore,

affective bonds to places could motivate people to participate in local planning processes (Manzo and Perkins 2006). For instance, empirical work in America has shown that many individuals participate in local planning projects because they care about the places (Innes et al. 1994). In China, preservationists have participated in urban redevelopment projects partly because of their special emotions related to the built-heritage in the project areas (e.g., Tan and Altrock 2016).

Motivations of participants in China's planning have not been studied systematically, but research has provided partial results. For instance, Hu, de Roo, and Lu (2013) found that government officials actively involved local residents because they realized the importance of public participation in the plan's aims. In bottom-up participatory practice, government officials have to respond to other interest groups to maintain social stability (e.g., Cheng 2013; Deng et al. 2015). Professionals actively participate in bottom-up participatory practices to protect the environment or heritage buildings (e.g., Cheng 2013; Deng et al. 2015). Zhai and Ng (2013) showed in their analyses of the redevelopment of the Drum Tower Muslim District in Xi'an that not all residents favored the protection of heritage; many, non-Muslims in particular, were primarily concerned with monetary compensation.

Method

Case Selection

There were three case selection criteria: First, planning professionals should promote the communicative-rationality model of planning rather than maintain the traditional instrumental-rationality model to achieve the research goal. Second, we focused on built-heritage projects. Preserving built-heritage is an important urban affair worldwide (Najd et al. 2015; Nyseth and Sognnæs 2013), and planning professionals usually play a key role in the preservation of built-heritage (e.g., Deng et al. 2015). Third, public participation in China's planning practice can be divided into two types: a government-led, top-down approach and a citizen-led, bottom-up approach. The cases should include the two approaches. Based on these criteria, the following two cases were selected, both from the Dongcheng District of Beijing, China (Figure 1, left).

The top-down project:The Qianguaibang 4 Courtyard Renewal Project. An official of the Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Office initiated the "Landscape Conservation Association of the Shijia Hutong" (LCASH) in 2014. In 2015, a voluntary urban planner proposed the first batch of projects for the LCASH, namely, eight courtyard renewal projects in the Dongsinan historical and
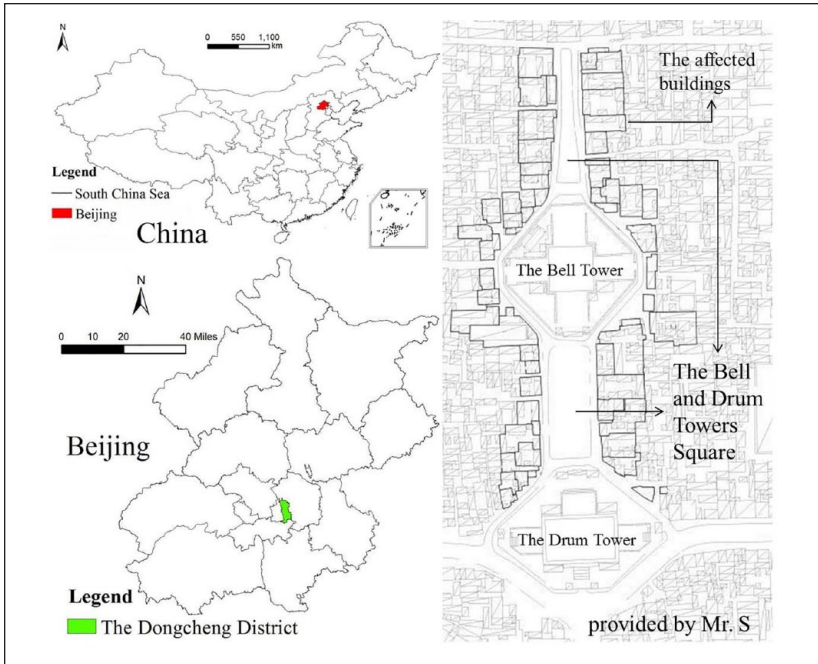
Figure 1. The location of the two projects.

cultural conservation area. Siheyuans[1] in the Old City of Beijing are part of Beijing's architectural heritage. The implementation of the eight projects was started with the Qianguaibang 4 courtyard, which was governed by the Cha-oxi Residential Committee. The Qianguaibang 4 Courtyard Renewal Project was a government-led, top-down participatory practice, since it was initiated and funded by the local government.

The bottom-up project: The Bell and Drum Towers Square Controversy. The Bell and Drum Towers Square refers to the open area around the Bell tower and the Drum tower (Figure 1, right). The Bell and Drum Towers Square Restoration Project was proposed by the Dongcheng district government at the end of 2011. The local government stated that one goal of this project was to restore the landscape of this square as it had appeared during the Ming and Qing dynasties. A total of 136 households were supposed to move away, and their houses were to be demolished to "restore" the square. With eviction notices pasted on the walls of the project area in December 2012, information

about it began to be widely disseminated on the Internet, and then many people began to question the square "restoration" plan. On January 6, 2013, the Dongcheng district government held a press conference to claim that "all the houses slated for demolition were not historical heritage and were of no historical value, so this project would not destroy the ancient landscape of the square." In this situation, the "Bell and Drum Towers Neighborhood Team" (BDTT) was formed and created an account on Weibo on January 27, 2013. The team organized a series of activities online and offline. Facing pressure from the team, the local government banned the local formal media from reporting its activities and prohibited local residents from talking with team members. With the help of several local residents, the team members were active onsite until nearly all of the 136 households moved away. The Bell and Drum Towers Square Controversy was a citizen-led, bottom-up participatory practice, since it was initiated by a civil society organization—BDTT.

Data Collection

The method of semi-structured interviews was adopted to collect the data, since it allows the interviewer to "delve deeply into social and personal matters" (DiCicco-Bloom and Crabtree 2006). Moreover, by focusing on a set of predetermined open-ended questions, this method enables the interviewer to obtain what he or she wants from an interview but allows new information to emerge from the dialogue between the interviewer and the interviewee (Jamshed 2014). The data were collected from October to December 2016 and from secondary sources. Each interview lasted one to three hours. All third-party professionals were contacted on WeChat[2] in advance. Interviewees in the top-down participatory practice were government officials and third-party professionals (volunteers of LCASH). Ms. X, who plays a key role in LCASH, helped us contact the rest of the volunteers and the government official, Mr. Li. Mr. Li helped us contact the rest of the government officials. Interviewees in the bottom-up participatory practice included third-party professionals (seven of the eight members of BDTT) and some residents. Mr. W, the chief organizer of BDTT, helped us contact some of the team members. Only one team member did not accept our interview invitation. BDTT cooperated with the famous heritage protection activist Ms. Zeng who, for health reasons, could not accept our interview invitation.

The semi-structured interviews with interviewees comprised four parts. The first part was about how they were engaged in the activities and what they did in the activities. This part collected data on the roles of planning professionals in the activities. After several warm-up questions, interviewees were asked questions such as the following:

How were you engaged in the project? Did you initiate the project or were you invited by others? Can you tell me about the whole process? What did you do in the project? How did you engage the public (local residents and/or other citizens) in the process? Did you face any challenges when communicating with other interest groups? What did you do to address the challenges?

Then, the authors made judgments about the interviewees' roles based on the indications of each kind of a new role in Table 1. Among the five new roles, the indicators of moderators and mediators were roughly similar, but one crucial difference between them was that the former focused on encouraging parties to express their own opinions, while the latter focused on achieving an agreement to address the concerns of all parties. The second part was about why they participated in the activities. This part aimed to understand the motivations of planning professionals. The motivations are divided into three typologies and seven types. The empirical work of Kim et al. (2012) found that the three typologies of motivations are applicable internationally but that the meaning and scaling of motivation measurement items is likely to differ across cultures and languages. In this research, the measurement items for the seven types were selected from related literature (Burby 2003; Cheng 2013; Healey 1997; Innes et al. 1994; Knoke 1988; Manzo and Perkins 2006; Olsson 2009; Perry 1996; Perry and Wise 1990; Sun 2015; Tan and Altrock 2016; Wandersman et al. 1987; Zhai and Ng 2013) and were thereafter tailored to fit the context of public participation in China's planning practice. We explained to each interviewee the meanings of the three typologies of motivations in everyday language and then showed them the detailed items (see the appendix). Meanwhile, the interviewees who did not follow the interview protocol (see the appendix) were encouraged to provide all answers to the question "Why did you participate in this project?" Then, the authors made judgments about the interviewees' motivations based on the appendix. After all motivations were stated, interviewees were asked, "What was the most important motivation for your participation?" The third part was about the challenges they encountered, whether they ever thought about giving up and whether they would be willing to participate in these kinds of activities in the future and why (not). This part aimed to further understand their roles and motivations. The fourth part concerned the professionals' individual characteristics such as their occupations.

Empirical Findings

The Top-Down Project

The roles of third-party planning professionals. The subdistrict government and two residential committees directly participated in the top-down participatory

Table 2. Data on Third-Party Experts of the Top-Down Participatory Planning Project in 2015.

Interviewee	Role in the Project	Occupation
Ms. X	The chief organizer of the project	An urban planner of BICP
Ms. R	One key volunteer of LCASH	An urban planner of BICP
Ms. G	The head of the voluntary architects	The cofounder of an architectural design studio

Note. BICP = Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design; LCASH = Landscape Conservation Association of the Shijia Hutong.

practice. Local governments in urban China are usually (from high to low) as follows: the provincial government, the municipal government, the district government, and the subdistrict government (or the street office). The residential committee is subordinate to the subdistrict government and is in charge of the direct and daily contacts with the residents living in its jurisdiction. Mr. Li, an official of the Chaoyangmen Subdistrict Office, initiated LCASH to protect the historic urban landscape in the Chaoyangmen Subdistrict. He invited the urban planner Ms. X to organize projects when LCASH was formed. Ms. Z, the head of the Shijia Residential Committee, was appointed as the head of LCASH since LCASH was located in Shijia Hutong. Mr. Y, the head of the Chaoxi Residential Committee, helped the third-party professionals communicate with the residents since the Qianguaibang 4 courtyard was in his jurisdiction.

Three planning professionals actively participated in this project. Ms. X and Ms. R (Table 2) were urban planners of the Beijing Municipal Institute of City Planning and Design (BICP). Ms. X was the chief organizer of the project. At Mr. Li's invitation, Ms. X voluntarily served on LCASH and was in charge of proposing the first batch of projects for LCASH. Ms. R joined this project in the implementation stage but was one of the key volunteers at LCASH. Ms. G was a cofounder of an architectural design studio; she joined this project as the head of the voluntary architects. In the plan preparation phase, planning professionals played the roles of facilitators and moderators to gain the opinions of local residents. With the help of the head of a nursing home company, who participated in this project at Mr. Li's invitation, planning professionals held a meeting with residents, planning professionals, and the construction manager to talk about the draft plan. Local residents were informed about the draft plan and were encouraged to give their opinions on the plan in the meeting.

In the plan implementation phase, planning professionals mediated conflicting parties to achieve an agreement with the help of the residential committee. As Mr. Y said,

> One day, one resident suddenly forced the construction team to stop working. At first, no one knew what had happened . . . they (including the planning professionals) could not persuade this resident. However, the residents trusted the residential committee, so he/she told us the real reason when my colleagues tried to talk with him/her several times. The resident said that as the construction team had installed an awning for a house at the request of its owner, he/she should also be entitled to extra benefits . . . There were conflicts between these two residents in the past. In the end, he/she gave up his/her request after our persuading him/her.

Planning professionals also played the role of advocates in the plan implementation phase. For instance, LCASH told Mr. Y to recommend two to three courtyards in the Chaoxi community. One selection criterion was that local residents truly needed and wanted to have the renewal project. In other words, Qianguaibang 4 was selected because all residents (at least the majority) living there wanted to renew it. However, not all residents supported the renewal plan in practice because of personal interests. Therefore, planning professionals had to advocate their own viewpoints. As Ms. G said,

> One resident disagreed with the plan because he did not want to remove his coal shed (Figure 2), which occupied public space and was standing idle. We told him that the self-built shed was illegal and could not be taken into consideration for compensation when this courtyard was slated, but the resident did not agree with us . . . In the end, we kept that shed and painted it gray to make it fit the landscape of the courtyard.

> I gained some experience from the project: there was a balance of interests among the residents, so we'd better maintain it or reach a new balance of interests to avoid conflicts.

In summary, planning professionals played multiple new roles (advocates, facilitators, moderators, and mediators) in the Qianguaibang 4 Courtyard Renewal Project. Planning professionals greatly benefited from cooperating with the subdistrict government and the residential committee when playing these new roles, since the subdistrict government could provide social resources, and it was easier for local residents to trust the residential committee than the strange professionals. Furthermore, planning professionals need

Figure 2. The Qianguaibang 4 courtyard before (provided by Ms. G) and after the renewal project.

the knowledge of facilitating, moderating, and mediating debates to relatively independently engage the public.

Motivations of third-party planning professionals. Ms. X and Ms. R participated in this project mainly for the benefits to their work at the BICP. Ms. X stated her motivations as follows:

> I participated in this project mainly to promote the implementation of the "conservation plan for the Dongsinan historical and cultural district," which was compiled by BICP,[3] to mobilize residents to protect historical and cultural districts and to explore a responsibility system for urban planners . . . I had new goals for the practice: I expected to explore a mode of historic neighborhood renewal that involved different parties and could be popularized with ordinary neighborhood renewal . . . BICP was looking for pilot sites, and the Chaoyangmen subdistrict was a good choice.

> I also wanted to enhance the general prestige of BICP. I thought we should involve residents in our work to let them know more about urban planners; I hoped the residents could understand instead of criticizing us.

Ms. R stated a normative-centered motivation for democracy. She said that she always thought the general public had the right to be informed about and consulted on urban planning. Ms. G was the cofounder of an architectural design studio and led a group of architects to make the courtyard renewal plans for two of the eight courtyards. Her initial motivations were a mix of rational and affective aspects:

> As a native of Beijing, I have an emotional attachment to hutongs. I'd like to improve the living conditions of residents in hutongs, so I was interested in this project . . . There were lots of design projects for hutongs; I expected to develop these kinds of design skills. That was why I participated in this project . . .

> The first batch of LCASH's projects involved eight courtyards; two of them were designed by my team . . . I seriously thought about quitting when we designed the other one because a few residents tried to stop our work, although their neighbors longed to renew the courtyard . . . I worked with other professionals to negotiate with local residents. Without their help, I wouldn't have persisted in participating . . . The sense of togetherness was important for me to persist.

In summary, planning professionals participated mainly because it could further their careers. Therefore, their primary motivations were rational. Relational rewards may reduce transaction costs in future collaborations (Olsson 2009). The local governments and third-party professionals formed a good relationship in the Qianguaibang 4 Courtyard Renewal Project. Therefore, the goal of BICP to obtain support from the local government in the future (i.e., reduce the transaction costs of future cooperation) was achieved. In a normative sense, the further development of preservation plans and practices was a clear driver of their cooperation and volunteering occurred due to a lack of opportunities/pilots to achieve their professional desires. One planning professional also took a normative stand on democracy: the general public having the right to be informed about and consulted on urban planning. Affective motivations played a key role in continuing participation in this project. Frustrated planning professionals formed friendships (a kind of affective bonding) with other members in the planning process, which motivated them to sustain their participation. Some planning professionals were Beijingers having an affective attachment to the old city, even if they never lived in the old center. This kind of a feeling made them interested in the project.

The Bottom-Up Project

The roles of third-party planning professionals. The Dongcheng district government initiated this project to improve the image of this area. In February

Table 3. Data on Third-Party Experts of the Bottom-Up Participatory Planning Project in 2013.

Interviewee	Role in the Activity	Occupation
Mr. W	The chief organizer	An urban planner
Ms. J	The organizer who spent the most time onsite	A landscape architect
Mr. S	The organizer who spent the most time on their Weibo account	A master's student in urban planning
Ms. L	The organizer who was responsible for the questionnaire design	A master's student in sociology
Ms. T	The member who popularized the knowledge of laws on their Weibo account	A researcher of cultural heritage protection
Mr. Z	The member who developed a planning support system	A teacher of urban planning
Ms. C	The member who co-designed the questionnaire	A PhD candidate in human geography

2012, Mr. S, a master's student in urban planning, posted a report online to show that this project would demolish some siheyuans that had already existed before 1750. As a result, the landscape of this square shaped during the Qing dynasty would be destroyed, which contradicted the statement of the local government. Later, BDTT was formed to protest against this project. BDTT had seven key members (Table 3): Mr. S, the member who spent the most time on their Weibo account; Mr. W, the chief organizer and an urban planner; Ms. J, the organizer who spent the most time onsite and who was a landscape architect; Ms. L, the organizer responsible for the questionnaire design and who was a master's student in sociology; Ms. T, the member who popularized the knowledge of laws on their Weibo account and who was a researcher of cultural heritage protection; Mr. Z, the member who developed a planning support system and who was a teacher of urban planning; and Ms. C, the member who co-designed the questionnaire and who was a PhD candidate in human geography.

Planning professionals were "activists" in the Bell and Drum Towers Square Controversy. The abovementioned national Regulation on the Preservation of Famous Historic-cultural Cities, Towns, and Villages reads as follows:

> Article 28 . . . building or expanding the necessary infrastructure and public service facilities in the core protection area, the municipal department in charge of urban-rural planning shall consult the municipal department in charge of cultural heritage before issuing a license for project planning.

> Article 29 For examination and approval of the construction activities specified in Article 28 of this Regulation, the examination and approval authority shall . . . announce the matters under examination and approval, and solicit opinions from the public . . .

In practice, the municipal urban planning department did not publish the approval letter about the plan nor did it solicit opinions from the public. As a result, the citizens' right to participation was violated. Therefore, planning professionals petitioned the municipal urban planning department to publish the approved plan. Moreover, planning professionals tried to communicate with the local government, but the local government avoided directly communicating with them. The Demolition and Relocation Office that belonged to the local government even installed street cameras in the project area, forbade local residents to talk with planning professionals, and abetted local residents to rebuke planning professionals (interview with Ms. J, 2016).

Planning professionals were advocates as well. For example, they tried to persuade the local government to keep some courtyards instead of demolishing them. The government claimed that only buildings "without historical value" would be demolished, but planning professionals insisted that this project would demolish some courtyards that had already existed before 1750. Consequently, the cultural heritage and the "authenticity and integrity" of the area would be destroyed. In addition, planning professionals visited local residents individually and told them the value of their house and the policies that could be used to protect their interests when bargaining with the local government for compensation. This was the educational role of advocates.

In summary, the third-party planning professionals played the roles of advocates and activists in the Bell and Drum Towers Square Controversy. Tayebi (2013) assumed that planning activists focused on the marginalized citizens' right to the city but, in this case, the planning activists focused on their own right to the city.

Motivations of third-party planning professionals. The primary motivation of Mr. W came from professional norms, with affective bonding developing along the process. As he said,

> Ideally, I wanted to stop the project, but I knew it was impossible, for it was too late for us to stop it. So, we tried to objectively record this event. By doing so, we wanted to protect the citizens' rights to be objectively informed. We disagreed with the local government about its claim that the siheyuans in the project area were of no historic value. I thought our work would affect governments' decisions on demolishing historical buildings in the future.

> As we knew more about the neighborhood and cooperated with Ms. Zeng, we began to care about the local residents. To help them negotiate with the government, we provided information, such as information on the real value of their houses and relevant laws.

Ms. J together with Ms. Zeng visited all of the 136 households to popularize the knowledge on related laws and to objectively tell them the values of their houses. Ms. J's initial motivations came from professional ethics and self-interest. As she said,

> I joined the team for four reasons. First, as a landscape architectural designer, it was my professional ethics to conserve historic neighborhoods. Second, I tried to make a difference in the planning outcome through a non-utilitarian third-party organization. Third, I wanted to popularize the knowledge of property rights to residents because they were often misled by local governments on this knowledge. I wanted to educate the general public about the importance of protecting historic neighborhoods. Fourth, I'd like to research the underground ruins of this area, as it might be destroyed by the project.

> I thought of quitting for I faced pressure from the local residential committee and the demolition and relocation office. I persisted in participating for two reasons: the main reason was that the team members were the best ones that I had ever worked with. The secondary reason was that I still wanted to research the underground ruins of this area.

Mr. S's primary motivation was normative: the demolition of hutongs was contrary to his values. His secondary motivations were affective: his grandmother lived nearby the planning area, so he had an affinity with it and wanted to do something for it. The motivations of Ms. L and Ms. T were normative. Ms. L co-designed a questionnaire for local residents. She thought her participation would contribute to citizenship and wanted to show that researchers have a sense of social responsibility. Ms. T explained pertinent laws and regulations on their Weibo account to promote the development of democracy in China and to provide a tool for disadvantaged residents to protect their interests.

The motivations of Mr. Z and Ms. C were more rational. Mr. Z developed a web-based planning support system to involve more people. His main goal was to publicize his software developing techniques. Ms. C, a researcher, joined the team for she wanted to know more about civic activities in Beijing and to compare civic activities in Guangzhou and Beijing.

In summary, in the Bell and Drum Tower project, the primary motivations of most planning professionals were more mixed. For most of them, the primary motive was normative: to conserve historic neighborhoods and to affect

governments' decisions on demolishing historical buildings in the future. A secondary normative motive was to protect the citizens' right to be objectively informed and to provide tools for disadvantaged residents to protect their interests. However, rational motives also showed up: to publicize software and to engage in research. Affective motivations played a key role in continuing participation in this project. Frustrated planning professionals formed friendships (a kind of affective bonding) with other members in the planning process, which motivated them to sustain their participation.

Discussion and Conclusion

Public participation in urban planning is a contested issue in China. Despite the official rhetoric of a harmonious society and the changes in the legal framework that formalize the involvement of citizens in planning processes, many hold that the current practice is highly symbolic and aimed at placating the population rather than at empowering it (e.g., Zhang, de Roo, and Lu 2012; Zhang, Zhang, and Xu 2013). External forcing of the current system by environmental threats, social change, and technological innovation may be more pertinent than the desire to change the system from within. However, this might overlook the role of the professionals. Professionals not only mediate among stakeholders in communicative planning[4] (Fainstein 2000) but potentially also play a critical role in the creation, maintenance, and transformation of institutions as an endogenous mechanism of institutional change (Suddaby and Viale 2011). Public participation in administrative decisions has been extensively discussed in the urban affairs literature, including the motivations of public servants in the process (Appiah 2014). This article is expected to contribute to the international debates on the management of urban affairs in general and on public participation in urban planning in particular by exploring these in an authoritarian context.

This article builds a conceptual framework by drawing on "Western" theories about the roles and motivations of planning professionals. The two contrasting cases happened in the same district in Beijing. In the first, the local government engaged planning professionals to set up a participatory process to preserve a historic neighborhood, and in the second, third-party professionals developed a counter-initiative to prevent a historic neighborhood from being demolished. The results contribute to our understanding in a number of ways.

The first is that the third-party planning professionals served as advocates, and mediators in a government-led participatory process and as advocates and "activists" in a citizen-led participatory process, yet remained within the mainstream planning structure. The practice clearly differs from the assumptions of

Western planning theorists. The first difference was that Tayebi (2013) assumed that planning activists focus on marginalized citizens' right to the city but planning activists in our case had this as a secondary objective. The second difference was that planning professionals in China played the role of advocates within the mainstream planning structure, rather than acting counter-hegemonic. The third difference was that it was not easy for planning professionals in China to independently play the roles of facilitators, moderators, and mediators. We found that residents are more likely to cooperate with residential committees than with third-party professionals, either because residents are more familiar with the committees or because these committees can provide more benefits to them. The results of two empirical studies confirm that Chinese urban planning education still concentrates on physical planning (Zhang 2002). To better perform new roles, planning professionals need knowledge about how to facilitate a participatory process, how to moderate a debate, how to mediate a conflict, how to conduct a meeting, and how to cooperate with local governments and residential committees. In contrast to both the Global North where more agonistic approaches question inclusive planning and the Global South where insurgent planning finds space to maneuver, Chinese urban planning seems to proceed by taking small steps within narrow margins when it comes to citizen engagement.

The second is that interviewees were open in communicating their motivations and indicated a mix of motives, from rational and normative to affective. This essentially Freudian triad was recognized as pertinent in the Chinese context as well. The government approved the outcomes in the first case and was informed about the identity of its opponents in the second. Chinese planning professionals engaged all their senses: material appreciation, normative concern, and emotive appreciation, just like their Western counterparts, but urban planners in China are subordinated to the bureaucratic machine and cannot fully play their professional role (Luo and Shen 2008). The government-led participatory case shows that promoting the plan implementation was one motivation of planning professionals.

The third is that the responsibility for the preservation of cultural heritage was the main driver to volunteer in the process in each case. The choice of our cases, both with heritage as the dominant planning arena, is clearly a part of this, but it is striking that normative-centered motivations were most often mentioned. This kind of motivation is developed by the interviewees' education and experience. On the basis of existing literature, we expected more emphasis on serving the government in the top-down case (e.g., Cheng 2013) and advocacy for citizens in the bottom-up case (e.g., Tayebi 2013), but that turned out to be a matter of emphasis rather than principle. Professional learning was a dominant motive in both cases, which again might not be a surprise as all the interviewees volunteered, but one might expect more

altruistic behavior in the second case. The affective motives of professionals were more linked to the place than to the inhabitants in both cases, although professionals in the second case seemed to develop more of a bond with the residents in the process.

The fourth is that despite the similarities in motives between the two cases, the planning professionals showed a radically different attitude to the profession. Their participation is clearly the result of self-selection, and the actions taken clearly show their underlying morals. The professionals in the first case clearly opted for collaboration with both local government and local residents, trying to find a balance between conflicting interests in an attempt to further develop planning practices aimed at preserving historical heritage. The professionals in the second case used the arena to challenge the agenda of the government, and the empowerment of local residents was at least partially undertaken to build a power base against the existing practices of clearing areas. Whether a collaborative or a more agonistic approach will be more effective in the context of an authoritarian state such as China remains to be seen.

Appendix

The Interview Protocol for Motivations.

Rational-centered
  Benefits related to utility
    I could get material benefits (e.g., money)
    It could benefit my work/study
    I could get some interesting information
    I could build personal relationships with others
  Costs related to utility
    It would take me lots of time to participate
    It would take me lots of money to participate
    It would take me lots of energy to participate
Normative-centered
  Social norm
    Citizens wanted to participate in planning projects
  Democratic norms
    It was about fairness
    It was citizens' right to be informed and consulted and to express their views on planning
    It could better represent the interests of disadvantaged and powerless groups in planning
    It could contribute to citizenship

Appendix (Continued)

Norms of a profession/organization
   It could enhance the public status of my profession/organization
   It could educate the public about my profession/organization
   It could enhance the general prestige of my organization
Affective-centered
  Affective attachments to people
   I wanted to work with other participants of this activity
   I wanted to do something for local people
  Affective attachments to place
   I wanted to do something for this place

ORCID iD

Lin Zhang ⓘD https://orcid.org/0000-0003-4569-8871

Notes

1. Each siheyuan (or courtyard house) usually accommodates several households.
2. WeChat is a Chinese social media app that provides instant text and voice messaging and commerce and payment services.
3. Not all conservation plans can be implemented in contemporary China.
4. We have noted the difference between communicative planning and public participation in planning but that is not the point here.

References

Appiah, Nana Kusi. 2014. *A Study of Factors Influencing Public Officials and City Planners to Engage Citizens in Governmental Land-Use Decisions*. Dallas: Univ. of Texas.

Appiah, Nana Kusi. 2015. "Public Service Motivation, Citizen Participation and Personnel Management." *American Society for Public Administration*. Accessed August 1, 2018. https://patimes.org/public-service-motivation-citizen-participation-personnel-management-government-organizations/.

Bovaird, Tony. 2007. "Beyond Engagement and Participation: User and Community Coproduction of Public Services." *Public Administration Review* 67 (5): 846–60.

Buchy, Marlene, and S. Hoverman. 2000. "Understanding Public Participation in Forest Planning: A Review." *Forest Policy and Economics* 1 (1): 15–25.

Burby, Raymond J. 2003. "Making Plans That Matter: Citizen Involvement and Government Action." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 69 (1): 33–49.

Checkoway, Barry. 1994. "Paul Davidoff and Advocacy Planning in Retrospect." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 60 (2): 139–43.

Cheng, Yao. 2013. "Collaborative Planning in the Network: Consensus Seeking in Urban Planning Issues on the Internet—The Case of China." *Planning Theory* 12 (4): 351–68.

Clark, Peter B., and James Q. Wilson. 1961. "Incentive Systems: A Theory of Organizations." *Administrative Science Quarterly* 6:129–66.

Davidoff, Paul. 1965. "Advocacy and Pluralism in Planning." *Journal of the American Institute of Planners* 31 (4): 331–38.

Deng, Zhaohua, Yanliu Lin, Miaoxi Zhao, and Shifu Wang. 2015. "Collaborative Planning in the New Media Age: The Dafo Temple Controversy, China." *Cities* 45:41–50.

DiCicco-Bloom, Barbara, and Benjamin F. Crabtree. 2006. "The Qualitative Research Interview." *Medical Education* 40 (4): 314–21.

Fainstein, Susan S. 2000. "New Directions in Planning Theory." *Urban Affairs Review* 35 (4): 451–78.

Flyvbjerg, Bent, and Tim Richardson. 2004. *Planning and Foucault: In Search of the Dark Side of Planning Theory*. Aalborg: Aalborg Universitetsforlag.

Forester, John. 1987. "Planning in the Face of Conflict: Negotiation and Mediation Strategies in Local Land Use Regulation." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 53 (3): 303–14.

Forester, John. 2006. "Making Participation Work When Interests Conflict: Moving from Facilitating Dialogue and Moderating Debate to Mediating Negotiations." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 72 (4): 447–56.

He, Shenjing, and Fulong Wu. 2009. "China's Emerging Neoliberal Urbanism: Perspectives from Urban Redevelopment." *Antipode* 41 (2): 282–304.

Healey, Patsy. 1992. "Planning Through Debate: The Communicative Turn in Planning Theory." *Town Planning Review* 63 (2): 143–62.

Healey, Patsy. 1997. *Collaborative Planning: Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. Melbourne: Macmillan International Higher Education.

Healey, Patsy, Paul McNamara, Martin Elson, and Andrew Doak. 1988. *Land Use Planning and the Mediation of Urban Change: The British Planning System in Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

Heberlig, Eric, Suzanne Leland, and Dustin Read. 2014. "Local Politics, Organized Interests, and Land-Use Policy: A Research Note Analyzing the Perceptions of Urban Planners Working in City Government." *Urban Affairs Review* 50 (6): 890–903.

Hu, Yingjie, Gert de Roo, and Bin Lu. 2013. "'Communicative Turn' in Chinese Spatial Planning? Exploring Possibilities in Chinese Contexts." *Cities* 35:42–50.

Huxley, Margo. 2013. "Historicizing Planning, Problematizing Participation." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37 (5): 1527–41.

Innes, Judith E., and David E. Booher. 1999. "Consensus Building and Complex Adaptive Systems: A Framework for Evaluating Collaborative Planning." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 65 (4): 412–23.

Innes, Judith E., Judith Gruber, Michael Neuman, Robert Thompson, Joshua Langenthal, and Joshua Kirschenbaum. 1994. "Coordinating Growth and Environmental Management Through Consensus Building." *CPS Brief* 6 (4): 1–7.

Jamshed, Shazia. 2014. "Qualitative Research Method-Interviewing and Observation." *Journal of Basic and Clinical Pharmacy* 5 (4): 87–88.

Kim, Sangmook, Wouter Vandenabeele, Bradley E. Wright, Lotte Bøgh Andersen, Francesco Paolo Cerase, Robert K. Christensen, Céline Desmarais, et al. 2012. "Investigating the Structure and Meaning of Public Service Motivation across Populations: Developing an International Instrument and Addressing Issues of Measurement Invariance." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 23 (1): 79–102.

Knoke, David. 1988. "Incentives in Collective Action Organizations." *American Sociological Review* 53:311–29.

Lang, Graeme, and Ying Xu. 2013. "Anti-incinerator Campaigns and the Evolution of Protest Politics in China." *Environmental Politics* 22 (5): 832–48.

Leaf, Michael, and Li Hou. 2006. "The 'Third Spring' of Urban Planning in China: The Resurrection of Professional Planning in the Post-Mao Era." *China Information* 20 (3): 553–85.

Luo, Xiaolong, and Jianfa Shen. 2008. "Why City-Region Planning Does Not Work Well in China: The Case of Suzhou–Wuxi–Changzhou." *Cities* 25 (4): 207–17.

Manzo, Lynne C., and Douglas D. Perkins. 2006. "Finding Common Ground: The Importance of Place Attachment to Community Participation and Planning." *Journal of Planning Literature* 20 (4): 335–50.

Martínez, Plácido González. 2016. "Authenticity as a Challenge in the Transformation of Beijing's Urban Heritage: The Commercial Gentrification of the Guozijian Historic Area." *Cities* 59:48–56.

Miraftab, Faranak. 2009. "Insurgent Planning: Situating Radical Planning in the Global South." *Planning Theory* 8 (1): 32–50.

Najd, Meysam Deghati, Nor Atiah Ismail, Suhardi Maulan, Mohd Yazid, Mohd Yunos, and MahsaDabbagh Niya. 2015. "Visual Preference Dimensions of Historic Urban Areas: The Determinants for Urban Heritage Conservation." *Habitat International* 49:115–25.

Nyseth, Torill, and Johanne Sognnæs. 2013. "Preservation of Old Towns in Norway: Heritage Discourses, Community Processes and the New Cultural Economy." *Cities* 31:69–75.

Olson, Mancur. 1965. *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Collective Action*. Cambridge: Harvard Univ. Press.

Olsson, Amy Rader. 2009. "Relational Rewards and Communicative Planning: Understanding Actor Motivation." *Planning Theory* 8 (3): 263–81.

Perry, James L. 1996. "Measuring Public Service Motivation: An Assessment of Construct Reliability and Validity." *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 6 (1): 5–22.

Perry, James L., and Lois Recascino Wise. 1990. "The Motivational Bases of Public Service." *Public Administration Review* 50:367–73.

Purcell, Mark. 2008. *Recapturing Democracy: Neoliberalization and the Struggle for Alternative Urban Futures*. New York: Routledge.

Rainey, Hal G. 1982. "Reward Preferences Among Public and Private Managers: In Search of the Service Ethic." *The American Review of Public Administration* 16 (4): 288–302.

Shin, Hyun Bang. 2010. "Urban Conservation and Revalorisation of Dilapidated Historic Quarters: The Case of Nanluoguxiang in Beijing." *Cities* 27:S43–S54.

Suddaby, Roy, and Thierry Viale. 2011. "Professionals and Field-Level Change: Institutional Work and the Professional Project." *Current Sociology* 59 (4): 423–42.

Sun, Yi. 2015. "Facilitating Generation of Local Knowledge Using a Collaborative Initiator: A NIMBY Case in Guangzhou, China." *Habitat International* 46:130–37.

Tan, Xiaohong, and Uwe Altrock. 2016. "Struggling for an Adaptive Strategy? Discourse Analysis of Urban Regeneration Processes—A Case Study of Enning Road in Guangzhou City." *Habitat International* 56:245–57.

Tayebi, Ali. 2013. "Planning Activism: Using Social Media to Claim Marginalized Citizens' Right to the City." *Cities* 32:88–93.

Wandersman, Abraham, Paul Florin, Robert Friedmann, and Ron Meier. 1987. "Who Participates, Who Does Not, and Why? An Analysis of Voluntary Neighborhood Organizations in the United States and Israel." *Sociological Forum* 2 (3): 534–55.

Webber, Melvin M. 1978. "A Difference Paradigm for Planning." In *Planning Theory in the 1980s: A Search for Future Directions*, edited by Robert W. Burchell, and George Sternlieb, 151–62. New Brunswick, NJ: Center for Urban Policy Research, Rutgers University.

Wise, Lois Recascino. 2000. "The Public Service Culture." In *Public Administration Concepts and Cases*, edited by Richard Stillman, 342–53. Toronto: Nelson Education.

Wu, Yuzhe, Xiaoling Zhang, and Liyin Shen. 2010. "The Impact of Urbanization Policy on Land Use Change: A Scenario Analysis." *Cities* 28 (2): 147–59.

Zhai, Binqing, and Mee Kam Ng. 2013. "Urban Regeneration and Social Capital in China: A Case Study of the Drum Tower Muslim District in Xi'an." *Cities* 35:14–25.

Zhang, Fei, Xiang Zhang, and Jiangang Xu. 2013. "The Whole Process Study of NIMBY Effect for Risk Aversion Based on Multi-agent Inclusion." *Modern Urban Research* 2:5–11. (In Chinese)

Zhang, Lin, Pieter Hooimeijer, Yanliu Lin, and Stan Geertman. 2019. "Strategies of the built-heritage stewardship movement in urban redevelopment in the Internet Age: The case of the Bell-Drum Towers controversy in Beijing, China." *Geoforum* 106:97–104.

Zhang, Lin, Stan Geertman, Pieter Hooimeijer, and Yanliu Lin. 2019. "The Usefulness of a Web-Based Participatory Planning Support System in Wuhan, China." *Computers, Environment and Urban Systems* 74:208–17.

Zhang, Lin, Yanliu Lin, Pieter Hooimeijer, and Stan Geertman. 2019. "Heterogeneity of Public Participation in Urban Redevelopment in Chinese Cities: Beijing Versus Guangzhou." *Urban Studies* 57 (9): 1903–19. doi:10.1177/0042098019862192.

Zhang, Shuhai, Gert de Roo, and Bin Lu. 2012. "China: What About the Urban Revolution? Rapid Transformations in Chinese Planning and Its Links with a Slowly Emerging European Planning Theory." *European Planning Studies* 20 (12): 1997–2011.

Zhang, Tingwei. 2002. "Challenges Facing Chinese Planners in Transitional China." *Journal of Planning Education and Research* 22 (1): 64–76.

Zukin, Sharon. 2010. *Naked City: The Death and Life of Authentic Urban Places*. New York: Oxford Univ. Press.

Author Biographies

Lin Zhang has received her doctoral degree from Utrecht University, the Netherlands. Her current research interests include urban governance, public participation, urban affairs, and urban regeneration.

Pieter Hooimeijer is a professor at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. His current research interests include urban development, household demography, and residential mobility.

Yanliu Lin is an assistant professor at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. She has a long-standing interest in interdisciplinary and innovative research, using governance and social theories and mixed methods to investigate urban complexity.

Stan Geertman is a professor at Utrecht University, the Netherlands. His current research interests include socio-spatial analysis for sustainable urbanization, notably in Chinese and Western contexts.