A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF URBAN LAND USE PLANNING SYSTEMS IN SCOTLAND AND CHINA
— With Case Studies in Edinburgh and Xian

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### Abbreviations

**Scotland**

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tr>
<td>CVRPAC</td>
<td>Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EDC</td>
<td>Edinburgh District Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EIP</td>
<td>Examination in Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GDO</td>
<td>General Development Order</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GEAR</td>
<td>Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal</td>
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<tr>
<td>HIDB</td>
<td>Highlands and Islands Development Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPGs</td>
<td>National Planning Guidelines</td>
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<tr>
<td>PAG</td>
<td>Planning Advisory Group</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDA</td>
<td>Scottish Development Agency</td>
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<tr>
<td>SDD</td>
<td>Scottish Development Department</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEC</td>
<td>Scottish Economic Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>SNDC</td>
<td>Scottish National Development Council</td>
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<tr>
<td>SPZs</td>
<td>Simplified Planning Zones</td>
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<td>RTPI</td>
<td>Royal Town Planning Institute</td>
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<td>UCO</td>
<td>Use Class Order</td>
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**China**

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<tr>
<td>CAUPD</td>
<td>China Academy of Urban Planning and Design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCP</td>
<td>Chinese Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPPCC</td>
<td>Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESDP</td>
<td>Economic and Social Development Planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MURCEP</td>
<td>Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NPC</td>
<td>National People's Congress</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRC</td>
<td>People’s Republic of China</td>
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<tr>
<td>SEZs</td>
<td>Special Economic Zones</td>
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<td>SPC</td>
<td>State Planning Commission</td>
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Abstract

This research is an empirical comparison of Scottish and Chinese urban land use planning systems. It tests the proposition put by Cherry (1984) that Planning is an international movement with a common language in concepts and methods. The shared ideas are readily observable: the objective of spatial order, the pursuit of amenity, the search for convenience in city form and structure; and it explores the strengths and weakness of two major arguments of cross-national comparison of planning: a stage/evolutionary explanation proposed by Van den Berg et al (1982) and a stress on particular political structures and the disposition of power within the society.

Major themes such as the historical development of urban planning, the ideological and theoretical concepts of planning, the institutions of governments and other agencies with planning responsibilities, the different statutory basis of the planning systems; and the practice of the two systems are examined and compared. Particular attention is given to the comparison of planning practice in the two case study cities — Edinburgh and Xian. The intention of this research is to seek the possibility to transfer ideas, experiences and policies between them and to improve the practice of the Chinese system.

Although the findings support Cherry's proposition this research concludes that particular attention should be given to the different national cultural, historic, social-economic and political context of different societies. The research recognizes that past transfer of planning skills from the west to China was confined to technical and physical design aspects without relevant institutional changes. Major recommendations are made toward covering this gap — to reform planning institutions, to improve planning legislation and practice.
Part I

INTRODUCTION
Chapter 1

Theoretical Framework and This Research

1.1 Theory of Cross-national Comparative Planning Study

Arguably cross-national comparisons have always been important in advancing the ideas and practice of urban and regional planning. During the Parliamentary debates leading to the passing of the first British Town and Country Planning legislation in 1909, comparisons were drawn with procedures and legislation in Germany (Hague 1984 p.54). In the inter-war years the achievements in urban and regional development planning such as the work of the Tennessee Valley Authority, Scandinavian housing design, even the autobahns of the Third Reich – all became internationally known and commended.

Despite these traditions it is only in the last decade or so that consciously structured cross-national comparative research has been undertaken. A small, but growing literature has developed and lessons have been learned (Hague 1987). Therefore before undertaking cross-national comparative planning research it is necessary to explore approaches which could provide useful methodologies for choosing research objectives.
and designing a research structure.

1.1.1 Objectives of Comparative Planning Research

The study of different systems, policies, and procedures is a natural subject of interest to any planner displaying academic curiosity. Although situations vary from one country to another, it can be argued that certain key problems are common to all urbanizing societies. Exploration of this proposition is a possible objective of comparative research. What are these problems? How are they manifest? In what ways are they a consequence of urbanisation? Of course even if common problems can be identified approaches to the solution of similar problems may differ substantially from one country to another, so that each may have something — even much — to learn from the experience of others. Comparison of planning policy and practice can therefore be another objective of such research. Such is the value of international contact — transnational flows of ideas and knowledge encourage and facilitate better international understanding of urbanisation and urban planning (French and Hamilton 1979).

Williams (1983) has noticed that there is often a degree of public dissatisfaction with the outcome of planning policies, which in turn stimulates planners to seek improvements. At the same time, there is the problem that in cities one cannot run experiments repeatedly, as in the case of a laboratory-based science, in order to test whether the desired effect is achieved by a new policy before applying it to the community at large. At best, planners may have only one or two opportunities to put a new idea into practice. Evaluation of an innovation is frequently based on limited experience before it is either generally adopted or abandoned. Comparison extends the numbers of cases and policies that can be assessed. Cross-national study might take more than one country, even the whole world, as a ‘laboratory’ and not only enlarges the space of research, but also multiplies the time series which allow more experiences to be researched.
It has been suggested over many years that comparative research has two objectives: improvement of planning practice and advancement of planning theory (Williams and Masser 1986). Faludi and Hamnett (1975) have proposed a third objective of cross-national comparative planning research: to bring about a 'unification of the field of planning'. This idea can be said to represent a particularly European, even European Community viewpoint as nations with histories of mutual hostility move towards a process of 'harmonisation'. However beyond that the idea is suspect in two respects. Firstly, it presumes that planning is a unified, or at least unifiable, field, and prejudges questions of theory and practice and the outputs of the comparison. Secondly, it risks inappropriate transfer of ideas, and the imposition of one particular cultural, historical and political view of planning on quite different cultures with different histories and politics. Hence comparison must proceed with some caution.

1.1.2 Laws and Difficulties of Comparative Research

There is general agreement that there is no distinct field of cross-national comparative planning studies and that the subject matter of comparative planning differs from that of planning as a whole only in its cross-national dimension. Masser summarized the subject matter of cross-national comparative planning research: 'the study of planning problems and practice in different countries in relation to the institutional context of the respective countries' (1984, p.139). Nevertheless Sharpe (1975) has proposed two rules for comparative research: maximum similarity; and maximum discreteness of focus. By the first rule Sharpe believes that we must only compare those systems that, in so far as we can tell from existing evidence, are most alike. In this way we can minimise the number of variables to be compared and hence the effect of each variable might be observable. Where the systems are dissimilar in a whole host of respects it will be very difficult to attribute different effects that might be observed through the comparison to any particular variable or even set of variables. By systems we not only mean institutions, processes and policies, but equally important, the traditions and attitudes that go to make up what may be called the political cultures of
the country, and which profoundly influence the whole planning process. So following Sharpe a comparison between England and Scotland might be one of the most obvious to undertake. Their planning systems and practices vary within a single unitary nation state. In contrast comparisons between rich capitalist countries and poor socialist ones are better avoided for fear of failing to identify precisely the basis for comparison. This rule is sound theoretically: however its application is limited by other factors. China, for instance, has sent a number of students and researchers to many countries with the hope of learning something from each of them. My own task is obviously to learn from the Scottish experience which could be best achieved by making comparison, even though the two countries are very different. Similarly, if this rule was strictly applied, there could be no basis for such research as an Anglo-Soviet comparison of town planning carried out in the late 70s by the Centre for Urban and Regional Studies in Birmingham University (White 1978). By tightly limiting comparison we risk narrowing experience, and operating within cultural blinkers. Sharpe's second rule 'maximum discreteness of focus' is simply recommending a very clear, precise area of comparison. In other words focus on a single issue or process – e.g. legislation governing preservation of historic buildings, rather than on all aspects of planning and urban development. In deciding the focus, Sharpe advises choosing those things in which one is most interested. 'What really sustains us in those small dark hours of the night when nothing seems to be going right with the project is some element of personal engagement, something at the heart of the research that touches our passion, or to use the jargon, our values system.' (p.30) This 'rule' is more acceptable - indeed it is an essential part of any research endeavour, not just comparative research.

White (1978) outlines some difficulties of comparative planning study.

- Disparity over the meaning of the term 'planning';
- Apparent incomparability of contrasting cultural-political systems;
- Inapplicability of planning concepts in one country to other countries;
- Lack of comparable data;
- Problems of language.
These all raise particular doubt about Faludi's aim of using comparison for 'unifica-
tion'. However White did not reject the possibility of doing comparative planning
research. Rather he emphasised that, following Sharpe's second law, comparative
study should be carefully and narrowly defined, and an appropriate methodology
should be adopted for an examination of different issues. The comparative method
should attempt to test specific hypotheses about well-defined planning issues. So he
outlined different issues of concern in planning research:

1. Institutional frameworks and government structure, legislation, administrative
   procedures, decision-making process and the nature of political systems.

2. The 'planning process'
   • national 'planning style';
   • preparation of strategic/regional plans;
   • preparation of local and city plans;
   • policy formulation.

3. Methods and techniques, such as evaluation, forecasting, and model-building
techniques.

4. Substantive issues
   • planning problems, such as unemployment, inner city problems, traffic
     congestion and so on;
   • planning policies, such as new towns, housing rehabilitation.

5. The 'Development Process': how development is planned, initiated and imple-
   mented by the private and the public sectors.

Arising from these issues White defined four types of comparative study:

• System-oriented: concern with comparing the institutional, administrative and
  legislative frameworks for carrying out the planning function.
- **Process-oriented:** concern with the planning and/or development process between countries.

- **Problem-oriented:** looking at planning measures designed to eradicate a particular problem.

- **Policy-oriented** concern with comparing the evolution and implementation of a particular policy in different contexts.

### 1.1.3 Research Methods and Process

White also summed up two appropriate research methods for conducting comparative work: **a historical approach** and **a case study approach**. White believes that the historical approach could be adopted in studies which are problem or policy oriented. ‘If the concern is with a particular problem then the aim would be to compare in each country the history of planning measures which have been adopted, to try and solve that problem.’ (1978, p.9) Not only would this approach improve understanding of planning problems, but it would also give insights into the planning process of each country. If the concern is with policy-analysis this approach could give a clear picture of the evolution, success, failure, modification and/or abandonment of the same (or similar) policies in two or more countries. A historical approach could also be beneficial to comparative study between developed and developing societies. Past experiences in an advanced developed country could serve as a lesson for a less developed or developing country.

The case study approach is seen as a most promising research strategy for cross-national comparison, studying cities or regions chosen as 'representative' examples of planning in their respective nations to give a useful focus for problem, policy or process-oriented studies (Yin 1981a, p.98; 1981b, p.59). The essential strengths of case studies lie in their ability to take account of a large amount of local detail at the same time as generally comparable information, and in their essential flexibility in practice. Virtually all cross-national comparative research takes the form of case studies (Masser 1986). This does not mean a case study is automatically the best
strategy. Cropper (1982) argues that the range of case study applications in planning research is too restricted in scope. In his view, this approach has been used principally for deductive case research within generally similar conceptual frameworks. ‘Such an approach is unlikely to lead to major theoretical advantages in the field. For this reason a more broadly based research strategy is required which enables planning processes to be studied from a number of different, yet broadly focused, viewpoints.’ (Masser 1986, p.16)

It is wrong to think that these two approaches are distinct and different strategies. A historical approach is always necessary for any case study. Cases can represent only places and policy issues at one point in time, while a very important element in planning comparison is the evolution and development of planning policies and practice. From this view, the historical approach in comparison might be thought as a secondary strategy associated with the case study approach.

Masser and Williams then both begin to address some of the mechanisms of how comparison is to be done. They take some account of the people who are involved and the problems posed by working abroad or in collaboration with planners and researchers from another country. Masser’s cross-national research process is presented in Figure 1.1. The diagram distinguishes between the separate fieldwork in each country, during which data is collected, and the research design, the monitoring of the fieldwork, and the comparative evaluation which are undertaken jointly. The difficulties facing the researcher can be considerably reduced where only two countries and one investigator are involved. In this case, Masser proposes a foreign culture model (Figure 1.2). It is believed this model could make the task of the comparative evaluation much easier, as the researcher is able to refer back constantly to his or her experience while carrying out the fieldwork in a foreign country. However this advantage is also limited by other elements, such as the researcher’s cultural and knowledge background. Furthermore, an individual researcher might need more time to understand the foreign context and planning system itself. The time consuming fieldwork for a better understanding of the foreign country could isolate the researcher from new changes in the home country, particularly if a reform programme is involved. Another shortcoming of the foreign
Source: Masser (1986)

Figure 1.1: The cross-national research process
Figure 1.2: The foreign culture model

Source: Masser (1986)
culture model with only one investigator is that the result of the research may be greatly limited by the researcher's own attitude on the subject. The acceptance of transfer by others and the government is limited as well by the above shortcomings. From this view, single person initiated research needs to focus on the objective of theory generation rather than directly toward transfer.

Williams (1983) gave another classification of cross-national comparative planning study:

- single-person home-based studies;
- single-person away-based studies;
- collaborative integrated or away based expert symposia; and
- multinational overview.

### 1.2 Objectives of this Research

So far most cross-national comparative planning research has involved comparisons between western capitalist states, such as those within the EEC. For instance, Williams has carried out two separate one-man comparative studies between Germany and Britain. One concentrated on the urban renewal process, and another is a study of motorway planning and approval procedures in Germany and the Netherlands (Williams 1983). The Oxford-Leiden study by Oxford Polytechnic and the Technical University of Delft is another example which compared the control of development and statutory planning practice in these two old university cities. A few studies have been undertaken comparing with the USSR and the Eastern European socialist block (Cherry 1984). These have typically focused on the eastern block countries themselves, rather than involving a systematic and focused comparison in some depth with an equivalent western country. The work of French and Hamilton is good example. While it consciously asked "Is There a Socialist City?", no specific and particular capitalist cities were used as comparator. The Open University (1982) looked at Birmingham,
Vancouver and Cracow, and deliberately compared them in a way that fitted the comparative categories of “System-oriented”, “Process-orientated”, “Problem-orientated” and “Policy-orientated” proposed by White (1978). Thus each of the three cities was discussed in terms of the following topics:

- historical legacy (process-oriented)
- image of the city (process-oriented)
- suburban and ex-urban development (process/problem oriented)
- city centres (process/policy oriented)
- Housing (problem-oriented)
- planning
- mobilisation of people into politics (system-oriented)
- state intervention (system oriented).

Even so the description of each city was handled separately and in the accompanying Reader (Cochrane et al., 1982) relatively short sections attempted to point towards differences and similarities. Furthermore some of the comparisons were more tightly focused than others, reflecting problems of available source material and integration of the work of an international group comprising several people.

A further piece of comparison was undertaken by Hague and Prior, who in 1989/90 began a comparison of planning practice in medium-sized settlements between Scotland and Czechoslovakia. This largely followed Masser’s “cross-national research model” and used a case study method. The work was to be a joint effort between a Scottish team of 3 persons and 3 researchers in VUVA, the Czechoslovakia Architecture and Building Research Institute. Case studies were used to compare practices in Pardubice and Falkirk District, both of which are around the 100,000 population mark, and with a prominent chemicals industry. The researchers were trying to achieve maximum similarity, while also recognizing the need for a discrete focus, within what is
in Williams' terms a "collaborative integrative" approach. So far this has produced some publications (e.g., Hague 1989, Hague 1991, Hague and Prior 1991 and Kuthan 1990) but the aim to move towards a direct and systematic comparison was overtaken by political events in Czechoslovakia.

Capitalist/socialist comparisons of the processes of urban change and planning need special consideration because of the great differences in institutional and political frameworks. Despite the difficulties in conducting such research it has been a focus of some interest in the last decade or so. Reviewing such comparisons Cherry (1984) argued that: "planning is an international movement with a common language in concepts and methods,... The shared ideas are readily observable: the objective of spatial order, the pursuit of amenity and the search for convenience in city form and structure." (p.5)

More probing debates have been conducted amongst urban sociologists. The neo-Marxist Manuel Castells argued that the comparison between capitalism and socialism can be misleading or impossible. Castells denied the need for comparison. He contended that a clear and fundamental distinction can be demonstrated between capitalist and socialist societies in theoretical terms: 'Capitalism is a social system which functions according to specific rules ... if we can understand these rules and show how they generate the contradictions which exist within capitalism, we have an analysis of capitalism which is valid without the need for any comparisons with socialist systems' (Castells 1981, p.186). Problems within socialist societies, such as similar urban inequalities to those under capitalism, are due to the persistence of elements of the capitalist mode of development in the socialist states (Castells 1977, pp.64-72).

Szelenyi, a Hungarian sociologist, saw similarities between urban policies and problems in East and West only as formal correspondences. He rejected Castells' contention that such similarities as do exist are due to the persistence of vestiges of the capitalist mode of production in the East. He argued that capitalism had wholly vanished in the East and that a new state socialist mode was developing there. Hence the
“urban problems” were specifically socialist in origin and character (Szelenyi, 1983).

In opposition to this Ray Pahl has argued that comparisons of urban policy and development in Eastern and Western (socialist and capitalist) industrial societies are needed. For Pahl the common features of East and West which should be stressed are the appropriation of an economic surplus (be it by private capital or by state enterprise) and the role of the State and its bureaucracy in applying a part of this surplus to urban policies which seem, in both systems, to be concerned with stimulating further economic development and with questions of social control. Although he admitted that there are important differences between the two types of society, Pahl contended that there are also important similarities between them, both in terms of the distribution of power and of urban inequalities. Pahl regards the level, rather than the mode of production, as the more important determinant of urban development (Pahl 1977, Szelenyi 1981 and Harloe 1981). This view points clearly to the value of comparative analysis of urban change in capitalist and socialist countries, and is not inconsistent with the views expressed in the quotation from Cherry (1984). However in terms of Sharpe’s criteria, such comparisons should seek maximum similarity in terms of the level of development of the matched capitalist and socialist societies.

This ‘development level’ model was supported by Hawley who suggested that “participation in the world economy has demanded of every society the adoption of a new technological regime, ... Although urbanisation begins in very different cultural contexts, in each instance the land soon begins to reproduce phases and patterns that have occurred in other times and places ...” (1971, pp.xiii-xviii). This opens the way for cross-national comparative research between any countries, regardless of the difference in political ideologies and development stages, because it predicts time lagged similarities. From this point of view, comparative research between rich and poor, capitalist and socialist, and urbanised and rural dominated societies are not only necessary but could be fruitful as well. Particularly the benefit to the poor and less developed society from the experiences of the developed one could be valuable. The fact that more and more people from less developed countries such as China come to the West without much attention being paid to the differences in political
and cultural background may support this argument as well.

Harloe argued for empirical comparative studies as a way of refining, even resolving, some of these theoretical questions. He believed that comparisons between different societies are of importance even if the main objective of most of the current work is to develop or refine a theory of capitalist urbanisation, as attempted by Castells. ‘... there would be some purpose in comparative studies of urban policies and development in East and West in order to discover whether Pahl has exaggerated the similarities or whether he is correct. Such work seems an important first step and is also probably more practicable than theoretical studies...’ (Harloe 1981). He suggested that it is necessary to do East/West comparison to determine whether such comparisons can be fruitful — the question cannot be resolved at a purely theoretical level.

Stretton (1978) has carried out comparative research on urban planning which begins with a guide to planners' ideologies - to urban philosophies of right and left, conflicting beliefs about the growth, containment, and conservation of cities, and conflicting humanist, commercial, and technocratic approaches to their planning. He presented samples of policies at work in a wide range of contemporary cities between different societies: poor capitalist city — Bangkok in Thailand; poor communist countries — Cambodia, Cuba and China; rich capitalist countries — the United States, France and Britain; and rich communist countries — Hungary and the USSR. He found no basis for generalization when reviewing "Urban Planning in Rich and Poor Countries".

So far there is still no comprehensive comparison of planning systems between a western country and China, though Chinese planners show a increasing interest in the practice of western planning systems. Many government delegations, individual planners, professionals and students come to the west to learn. Is this practice theoretically justified? Is the western experience comparable to the Chinese situation? Could Chinese socialist planners learn anything from their capitalist comrades? There is a risk that they will learn the practices and policies without understanding the national context.
This research answers these questions by following Harloe's recommendation to take the step and compare the Chinese planning system with that in a selected western society — Scotland. The decision to choose Scotland rather than the U.K. as a whole is based on the understanding that Scottish planning has distinct characteristics from planning in other parts of the U.K. Excluding these other parts may reduce complexities caused by variations within the U.K system. This goes some way to simplifying the tasks of comparison, and to sharpening the focus. On the other hand China as a whole is studied rather than part of it because in the centrally controlled, and planned economy, the same urban development policies were applied over the whole country for most of the time covered by this research. Although urban development in the 1980s began to show many differences between the open cities on the coast and inland centres, many old ideologies still guide urban changes in the inland areas.

Planning in an economically advanced nation is different from that in a developing country. Planning in a capitalist society is different from that in a socialist society. China, a nation state, is a developing country with a socialist system. Scotland is part of a larger state, a developed and capitalist country. Planning in China is surely very different from planning in Scotland. From this view, this research is at odds with Sharpe's first law which requires maximum similarity. Frankly speaking, at first sight on some of those criteria a Scotland/China comparison might appear a non-starter. There are however some particular reasons to compare these two countries with so many differences. First, during this century, and particularly after the Second World War, not only socialist countries have used planning as part of government's function to guide development. Most western countries also employed some kind of planning for either physical land use or economic and social development. As state intervention extended in many directions it became common place to describe Scotland as a 'Mixed Economy'. Its planning function developed and changed in different periods. To study its successes and failures may give some distinct ideas to Chinese planners which could not be got from a comparison between two socialist countries, for instance with the USSR which the Chinese model was built on. A capitalist/socialist comparison also allows us to explore the similarities and differences in planning in those two systems,
and to attempt some explanation of them.

Secondly, Scotland has a long industrial development history from the industrial revolution to the present. Studying Scotland can illustrate the development of planning in relation to changes in economic development, technology and urbanisation. On the other hand, China is developing from a relatively backward situation. The comparison will therefore allow us to explore whether different ‘stages’ of planning are associated with ‘stages’ of development. Can China adapt and apply lessons and practices from the history of Scottish planning?

Thirdly, recent reforms in China add relevance to this research. Since the mid-1970s the development strategy in China has changed dramatically from that followed in the Cultural Revolution period. The new place for private and cooperative development in the national economy makes it more likely that some planning ideas could be transferred. This does not necessarily mean that China is changing or will change into a capitalist society, but it does mean that China can benefit from the experiences of a planning system such as that in Scotland, which has had to work alongside a private sector in the process of urban and regional development.

Forthly, there is considerable theoretical interest in socialist/capitalist comparisons. Empirical research is needed to test the ideas raised by Szylenyi, Castells and Pahl, and to see if Cherry’s comment — “planning is an international movement ...” — is indeed sustainable.

Last but not least the comparison of Scotland and China makes it possible for the author to draw on the countries with which he is most familiar, and to fulfil the intentions of the decision to send him to study for a period in Scotland.

Thus in line with the commonly recognised objectives of cross-national planning comparative research the objectives of this research are twofold:

1. to identify and analyse differences and similarities (if any) in the two systems. These differences and similarities will be analysed in terms
of historical development and within their special cultural, economic and political context.

2. to seek the possibility to improve planning practice, particularly in China. This includes improvements as results of:

- constructive criticism based on the perspective thus achieved through comparison; and
- transferring ideas, procedures, techniques and practices from Scotland to China, if appropriate.

Any doubt about the comparability of planning between different societies is a matter about the comparability of economic, social and political contexts in which planning is practised. Friedmann (1976) has found that “distinctive styles of national planning are associated with different combinations of system variables, including the level of economic development attained, the form of political organisations, and historical tradition”. This view is consistent with the above arguments. It is inappropriate to compare planning systems directly between two different societies without first exploring their context. To achieve the above objectives this research takes these three most important elements: levels of development, different political system and organisations, and the historical legacy — both of buildings etc. and also of non-material things such as culture and attitudes, as main parameters to examine planning systems in the two countries. These parameters are studied first before examining each planning system. The differences and similarities between these parameters are identified and their influences on planning are considered. Then these similarities and differences are used to examine the planning systems.

Comparison of the planning systems follows the first type of comparative studies in White’s classification. It covers the following major themes in each country:

1. the historical development of planning systems;

2. the ideological and theoretical concepts represented in them;
3. the institutions of governments and other agencies with planning responsibilities;

4. the different statutory basis of the planning systems; and

5. the practice of the systems.

The possible areas for transfer of experiences are the reform of planning institutions, and improvement of planning legislation and practice. Particular attention is paid to questions such as: Are similar planning policies determined by similar economic, political and social conditions? Do similar planning policies produce similar results in the different context?

1.3 Scope of the Research

White (1978) pointed to the way that disparities over the meaning of 'planning' can pose difficulties for cross-national comparative research. Definitions of planning are culturally and historically specific. Planning in Scotland, as in other parts of Great Britain, is mainly concerned with government intervention in the process of physical development and the use of land, though the town and country planning system is only one of the ways in which government influences physical development and the use of land. Generally speaking, the town and country planning system in Britain in terms of statutory provision is essentially and narrowly a land use system (Reade 1982). However the research will not isolate the statutory planning system from other elements associated with that system. For example, in regional planning the boundaries between physical and economic have been blurred; indeed at that scale the two are typically seen as being 'integrated'. In Scotland, particularly in the 1980s, planning departments have often worked closely with the Scottish Development Agency in pursuit of economic and physical regeneration. Nevertheless, to achieve some discreteness of focus, as recommended by Sharpe (1975), this research concentrates on the statutory provisions and the activities of planning departments, in Scotland and China.
In the People's Republic of China, planning covers a much wider area than the Scottish planning system does. Planning authorities are various and various kinds of plans are made. The national Economic and Social Development Planning System (ESDPS) is a very complex one, which covers almost all aspects of government activities and of course includes land use and the development of human settlement such as cities and towns. Again to sharpen its focus, this research is concentrated on, and compares, only the land use aspects of Chinese planning with the Scottish equivalents.

In China there is still no comprehensive land use planning system like that in Scotland. The most relevant land use planning activity is the practice of city planning, which in some sense is a subsystem of the whole national Economic and Social Development Planning programme. Rural land use remains a separate issue from town planning. Again the ESDPS ensures central planning of rural areas, but the dominant concerns have been narrowly agricultural. Only recently has consideration been given to the village plan and housing patterns. There is still no overall rural planning system like that in the cities. Further development in China may improve the land use planning activity — city planning — and eventually extend it to cover the countryside. This research, however, concentrates mainly on the practice of city planning.

1.4 Research Methodology

This research employs both comparative planning research methodologies described by White. A historical approach is used to analyse the development of the planning system in each country. Because these two countries are at different levels of economic development, a historical approach is particularly important for China to draw experiences from the early development of Scotland. Past policies and practice, failures and successes in Scotland can give a perspective on the planning system and policies today and even in the future. This national perspective could be criticised as being too general. It is, however, essential to a comprehensive comparison. Without it any case study selected in isolation could be difficult to comprehend, particularly with these two countries with such political and cultural differences. A case study
is also used to achieve a detailed comparison of planning practice. Case studies are particularly good ways to explore how planning actually operates on a day to day basis, and to show the inter-relation between agencies, structures, aims, decisions and implementation. Taken together then, the historical approach and the case study approach should reveal both the context and parameters of the two systems of urban development and planning, and also the detail of the workings of the two planning systems (Wang and Hague, 1989).

In terms of the categories used by Williams (1983) this research is a single-person away-based study. It represents a combination of Masser's Foreign Culture Model and Cross National Process Model. This is because, as a graduate of a geography school in China the author's "prior knowledge of home country" was limited in respect of planning in that home country. The research therefore required more learning about the home country than is normally implied by the Foreign Culture Model. At the same time doing the research in Scotland physically removed the author from the new development and changes within the Chinese system, particularly during the reform programme. As in the Cross-National Process Model, research design was followed by field work in both countries, then comparative evaluation. The first stage was to study planning theory and practice in Scotland. This was done by reading, visiting and attending lectures etc. during 1986-87. The main methods used have been library research of relevant literature. This has included analysis of the content of source material such as plans and planning reports and legislation in both countries. In the second stage interviews were conducted with practising planners and politicians in both countries. A visit to China, particularly the Xian area, was made to gain further understanding of Chinese planning practice, and especially the new changes associated with the ongoing economic reforms, in the period from August to November 1987. The main investigation of planning practice in Lothian Region and Edinburgh District was undertaken in the summers of 1988-89, and then comparative evaluation followed. These methods were seen as the most appropriate for historical and case study approaches, and as the most realistic given the constraints on data collection in a one-person study conducted at long distance from one of the study areas.
Although some difficulties, such as the author's language problems, were predicted at the early stage of the research design, a great number of constraints were only discovered when the main research started. Firstly, understanding of Scottish society, its political and administrative systems, economic processes and history took much longer than originally hoped. Secondly, understanding of planning is based on understanding of the society as a whole. Although a relatively long time was spent studying the theory of cross-national planning, still some mistakes were made at the early stage. It took some time to choose appropriate comparable areas of planning in the two countries. The original research proposals intended to include the Chinese economic planning system. The impossibility of covering such a wide area was realised later. It again took some time to choose the right cases for planning practice in the two cities. Thirdly, English publications on the Chinese planning system are very limited. Apart from one contribution made by Ma (1985), there are no other planning texts on the case study city - Xian. This means that the only way to get the data required for the comparison is to either go to there or ask friends for help by post. Both ways were used. Time delay is obvious. Finally, although some of the problems of foreign researchers on subjects linked to China were not faced by the author because of Chinese citizenship and the experience of study (1978-81) and teaching in a university (1982-1985) in the city, there were still some difficulties. Data collection and distribution in China are different from that in Scotland. The western style of social science research environment does not exist there. Major research has been conducted by government departments themselves. Most statistical information is classified as confidential. Copies of plans and other documents are not available to the general public. Interview notes with planners and local leaders are the major sources of information on planning in Xian. Throughout the process, friends' help was essential, and without it this research would have been impossible. Therefore thanks and acknowledgements are given through the following chapters.
1.5 Structure of the Research

The thesis is divided into five parts. Part I, containing this chapter, is the introduction which set up the theoretical framework for cross-national comparison of planning studies and the objectives, scope, methodologies, and structure of the research.

Part II contains two chapters, which examine the national background of the planning systems. Chapter 2 focuses on natural and human structures of the two countries with an emphasis on issues like: land area, topography, economic development levels and urbanisation process, and urban—rural contrasts and migration. Chapter 3 compares the political and administrative systems. These concerns are both a basic background to understand each planning system, and also allow exploration of the form and significance of different levels of development and differences between capitalism and socialism.

Part III, the comparison of planning systems, contains two chapters each concerned with one country, on issues such as the origins of planning, the legal bases, government institutions of planning, forms of plan and the development of planning. Attention is paid to the introduction of new policies, and regulations at various periods. The major causes of these changes and their results are key questions to ask and compare. The aim here then is to achieve a systematic and clearly focused comparison. The comparison and evaluation are presented in Chapter 5 with a study of the Chinese planning system.

Part IV, the case study, contains another pair of chapters comparing planning practice in Edinburgh and Xian. In choosing two case study cities this research tries to apply Sharpe's second law — maximum discreteness of focus. As historical capitals and with significance to the modern tourist industry, Edinburgh and Xian share many common characteristics. The recently established twinship between them make this comparison more interesting. Emphasis in these chapters is on processes. Questions, such as who are planners in the city level and what is their relationship with politicians? what kind of plans are made? and how these plans are implemented? are asked in both
Part V, containing the final chapter, forms the conclusion which summarizes the main findings and gives a theoretical explanation for the similarities and differences, and answers the crucial questions — Is the Chinese socialist planning system comparable to the Scottish one? How can China benefit from the Scottish planning experience? The structure of the research is also presented in Figure 1.3.
PART I INTRODUCTION  Chapter 1
Theoretical Framework and this Research

PART II NATIONAL BACKGROUND COMPARISON
Chapter 2
Physical and Social Features and Urbanisation Level
Chapter 3
Political and Administrative Systems

PART III PLANNING SYSTEM COMPARISON
Chapter 4  Chapter 5
Planning System in Scotland  Planning System in China
Pre-industrial town planning  Feudal town planning
Edinburgh New Town  Xian as feudal capitals
How planning developed?  How planning developed?
Idealist ideologies  Western influence by invasion
Public health  Former government's approach
Development plan system  Planning since 1949
Land system and planning  Land system changes
Profession, Institute and Education  Education and Institutions
Planning Authorities  Planning Authorities
Central  Central
Local  Local
Development Plans  City Plans
Structure Plan  Overall City Plan
Local Plan  Detail Plan
Development Control  Planning Management
Summary and Conclusion  Comparative Evaluation

PART VI COMPARISON OF PRACTICE: CASE STUDIES
Chapter 6  Chapter 7
Planning Practice in Edinburgh  Planning Practice in Xian
Planners and their relation  Planners and their relation
with politicians  with politicians
The Plans  The Plans
Development Plan 1957  Overall City Plan 1953
and its 1965 review  
Lothian Regional Structure Plan  Overall City Plan 1980
Local Plans  Detailed Plans
How are plans implemented?  How are plans implemented?
Development control - the  Development control in
case at Craighouse  Yanta District
Public body as Developer -  Public development in
South Gyle Park  Yanta District
Conservation in the Old Town  Conservation in the Old Town
Summary and Conclusion  Comparative Evaluation

PART IV CONCLUSION  Chapter 8
What Can China Learn from the Scottish Experience?

Figure 1.3: Structure of the thesis
Part II

NATIONAL BACKGROUND

COMPARISON
Chapter 2

Physical and Social Features
and Urbanisation Level

*Distinctive styles of national planning are associated with different combinations of system variables, including the level of economic development attained, the form of political organisations, and historical tradition.* (Friedmann 1967)

2.1 Introduction

Any country's planning system reflects, from one aspect, the country's social and economic development. Cross-national comparative planning research raises questions about national culture, language, institutions of government and law, political divisions, and the evolution of the urban structure. These and other issues have to be confronted, and taken into account, in order to undertake comparative evaluation or make any realistic proposal for policy transfer (Masser and Williams 1986).

Hague (1984, pp10-11) believes that to understand town planning, we need to study in three major, inter-linked dimensions. First, the building and growth of cities has an economic dimension. There can be no grounds for suggesting that such pervasive
phenomena as cities, which represent such an enormous scale of investment, are in some way independent of the mode of production. Secondly, there is a political dimension. Town and country planning is part of the administrative system of the modern state. The way the political context shapes the planning system is therefore an important area of theorizing, which needs to take account of the specific historical form of the state in question. Thirdly, there is a social-cultural dimension, which concerns the way that the production and planning of places has been perceived, and the interests that have structured that perception.

Friedmann (1967) particularly emphasised the importance of the institutional context in comparative planning studies. His model of the institutional contexts distinguishes between three main groups of variables associated with national system characteristics, with features of the decision environment and with the predominant style of planning activities. In this case national systems variables include measures of the levels of economic and technological development, and indices relating to the form of political organisation and the main elements of historical tradition. The set of decision environment variables includes indicators of the number and diversity of group interests, prevailing attitudes towards political opposition and the extent to which systems are dependent on private enterprise, while the set of style variables deals with topics such as the distribution of capabilities for planning throughout the system, the extent and form of government involvement in total system planning, and the scope and comprehensiveness of planning activities (Masser 1984).

The purpose of this part of the research is to test and compare the national system characteristics and the decision environments and their possible effect on planning systems in the two countries. Elements included are the social-cultural frameworks, economic positions, and the administrative systems. There are two chapters in this part. Chapter 2 focuses first on the basic elements such as topography, overall land use, general population distribution, and then compares the urbanisation process and the current urban — rural contrast in the two countries. A simple economic development history is represented with the examination of urbanisation as well. Chapter 3 examines the political and administrative systems. They serve as important elements
to form and to understand the planning system. The planning style comparison forms the major issue of the following parts.

The main questions asked in this chapter are: What are the differences and similarities between these two countries on issues of physical and demographic conditions, process of urbanisation, and present pattern of human settlements and government policies on them? What is the relationship between these issues and the economic development? Are these differences significant to the comparison of their planning systems?

2.2 Physical and Demographic Characteristics

Natural Landscape One immediate and fundamental contrast between China and Scotland is the difference of scale. China covers approximately 9.6 million square kilometres, which is about 122 times the area of Scotland (78775 square kilometres) (Table 2.1). Figure 2.1 shows the territory and administrative division of China with Shaanxi Province containing the case study city, Xian, in the centre. Figure 2.2 shows Scottish regions. The difference in scale of these two countries is accompanied by differences of internal physical divisions. Scotland, though very small compared with China, contains striking divisions with great diversity of physical characteristics. Structurally, Scotland can be divided into three major regions (Credland and Murray 1969), which have easily recognizable physical characteristics of their own:

1. The Northern Highlands – nearly two-thirds of the total area, comprising the highest, most barren and least-populated parts of the country;

2. The Central Lowlands – the smallest region with a lower surface than areas to north and south, more varied soils and a more favourable climate, but the most important in terms of economy and population; and

3. The Southern Uplands – a hilly division between the densely populated Central Lowlands and northern England.

Land use differs from areas such as the sheltered Tweed, Forth and Tay lowlands of
Figure 2.1: Administrative divisions and major cities in China
Figure 2.2: Scottish regions
Table 2.1: A Comparison of Area and Population in China and Scotland and in the case study areas

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Land Area (sq km)</th>
<th>Arable Land Area (sq km)</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
<th>Rural Population</th>
<th>Density p/sq km</th>
<th>No. of major cities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>9600000</td>
<td>100000-133333</td>
<td>1024950</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>106.8</td>
<td>352</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi Province</td>
<td>205603</td>
<td>37584.6</td>
<td>29310</td>
<td>83.5</td>
<td>142.6</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xian City</td>
<td>9983</td>
<td>3447</td>
<td>5350</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>535.9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>242494</td>
<td>55089</td>
<td>225.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>77167</td>
<td>60130</td>
<td>5035</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lothian</td>
<td>1755</td>
<td>738</td>
<td>420.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>437</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Edited from several Chinese publications and the Annual Abstract of Statistics 1987 (CSO)

the east coast with the very productive arable land to areas such as the Highlands in which emphasis is on livestock, due largely to the poverty of the soil and harshness of the climate (McIntosh and Marshall 1970).

China is a mountainous country with internal divisions too. Hills, mountains and plateaux cover two-thirds of the country's total land area and are only inhabited by one-third of its population. With its vast mountainous regions, high in the west and low in the east, China has a varied topography and diverse physical features. Plains are mainly in the east, though the southeast is mainly hills. Plateaux and large scale basins join other topographical forms scattered over wide areas or intermingling with each other to provide favourable conditions for developing a diversified economy of agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry and mining. The proportions of plains, hills, mountains, plateaux, and basins in the country's total land area are about 12, 19, 33, 26 and 19 percent respectively. The total cultivated area of about 100 million hectares is only 11 percent of the total land area and amounts to only about 0.12 hectare per capita of the agricultural population, a very low figure by international
Although the difference in scale of the two countries is enormous, the internal changes of landscape from more difficult areas to lower land, and with human activities concentrated in limited naturally favourable areas make them comparable. These internal differences mean that different planning policies are needed to address different problems. This is one very obvious similar situation faced by planners in both countries, though China's landscape change is much more dramatic from very high mountains to very large plateaux which make communication between different regions more difficult. This similarity could be even more obvious at provincial level. In Shaanxi Province, for example, with the world famous Loess Plateau at the north and Qing Lin Mount at the south, most urban centres and industrial activities are concentrated in a limited central lower flat area — the Wei River Valley. Far away from the sea the province relies mainly on road and rail transportation for links to other parts of the country. Foreigners have only been attracted to there by the recently discovered historical interests around the capital city Xian. On the other hand Scotland is a small area with a very long coastline, and has the relative advantage of modern economic development compared with China where large areas and cities are thousands of kilometres from the sea.

Demographic Characteristics

The differences in land scale and internal landscape are accompanied by differences in population scale and distribution. First China, as the world's most populous country, now has a population over 1.1 billion (in April 1989), which is about 215 times that of Scotland (5.12 million at the end of 1986).

Secondly, similar to the changes of landscape, people are not evenly distributed in both countries. The density of population over all Scotland is 66.4 persons per square kilometre. The regional council areas with the highest and lowest density rates were Lothian (422.7 persons per square kilometre) and Fife (263.1 persons per square kilometre) on one hand, and Highland (7.9 persons per square kilometre) and the 3 Island areas (14.0 persons per square metre) on the other hand in 1986 (CSO 1988).
Over 75 percent of Scots live in the narrow Central Belt.

In China, despite the vast land area, population and economic activities are concentrated in the much more limited area of great plains, valleys between mountains and hills and river deltas (Table 2.2 and Figure 2.3). Population density changes from over 450 persons per square kilometre in the eastern provinces (the administrative division is discussed in the next chapter) such as Jiangsu, Shandong and Henan, to less than 2 persons per square kilometre in the remote rural areas in the western part of the country.

The above description shows that these two countries have both similarity and difference in demographic characteristics. Population scale is the main difference while uneven distribution is the main similarity. As with the landscape comparison, the large population in China does not necessarily form the essential condition for a different planning system. There is no a priori reason why the form and practice of planning should be determined by the mere national population total. However the spatial distribution of that population is likely to influence the nature of pressures on the use and development of land, and the problems which a planning system has to address. The fact of uneven distributions of people and activities within both China and Scotland is one important similarity between the two countries. Furthermore, the concentration of the majority of the people in naturally favourable lowland areas makes planners in both countries concentrate their efforts in those areas, particularly on urban settlements. In addition we might anticipate special planning policies for physically more difficult areas.

However it is too simple to conclude from the above analysis that the two countries are in the same situation to employ the same planning systems. For more fruitful comparison, further analysis of demographic and urbanisation processes must be undertaken.
Table 2.2: Population Density in China (person per square kilometre)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>1964</th>
<th>1982</th>
<th>1983</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Whole Country</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>1,745</td>
<td>1,913</td>
<td>1,926</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>553</td>
<td>681</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>549</td>
<td>556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangsu</td>
<td>434</td>
<td>590</td>
<td>598</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shandong</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>486</td>
<td>494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Henan</td>
<td>301</td>
<td>446</td>
<td>455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhejiang</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>382</td>
<td>389</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anhui</td>
<td>224</td>
<td>356</td>
<td>363</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hebei</td>
<td>210</td>
<td>282</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangdong</td>
<td>191</td>
<td>280</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hunan</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>257</td>
<td>262</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hubei</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Liaoning</td>
<td>185</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>249</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fujian</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>213</td>
<td>218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jiangxi</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sichuan</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shanxi</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guizhou</td>
<td>97</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>165</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangxi</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shaanxi</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>141</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jilin</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>121</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yunnan</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heilongjiang</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ningxia</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gansu</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nei Mongol</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xinjiang</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qinghai</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xizang (Tibet)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2.3 Urbanisation Processes and Development Stages

As indicated in the Chapter 1, the development stage model proposed by Hawley (1971) offers one possibility for cross-national comparison between different societies. It stresses technology and communications (railway, car, electronic), though it concedes some scope for government policy to exert influence. It is, however, not clear how influential it can be. This model was carried further by L van den Berg et al (1982). They argued that there is a connection between a country’s urban-development stage and its social-economic development stage. More specifically, every development stage has its own characteristic urbanisation pattern. At any stage of social-economic development, appropriate urban policy can only change urban development as far as physical and technical constraints (among them transport facilities) will allow (p.4):

"The comparison of urban development in Western and Eastern Europe suggests that although ‘innovative’ factors do play an important role, there is a basic logic in the process of urban development, in the sense that the sequence of stages is governed by the internal dynamics of the urban system. Urban growth is followed by urban sprawl, which ends in urban decline. Whether urban decline will be followed by reurbanisation, by a revival of the city, is a question that is very hard to answer. The possibility that the system, either through its internal dynamics or indirectly through corrective government measures, moves in that direction should certainly not be excluded" (p.xx).

"... each stage is characterized by certain specific urban developments, which tend to be found everywhere unless the government or other actors consciously try to steer developments in another direction, one country’s experience probably influencing policy in another. It must be noted that this relationship can vary between countries because the process of accelerated urbanisation started at different points in time." (p.24)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Three Transitions</th>
<th>Three stages</th>
<th>Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From an agrarian to an industrial society</td>
<td>Urbanisation</td>
<td>Rural depopulation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Town expansion, New towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From an industrial economy to a tertiary economy</td>
<td>Suburbanisation</td>
<td>Formation of agglomeration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The growth of the tertiary sector to maturity</td>
<td>Deurbanisation</td>
<td>Decline of old city centres, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>and inter-urban decentralisation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.4: Van den Berg et al’s development stage model

Reviewing the European countries, they defined three distinct, but very broad, social-economic development stages characterised by the structure of the economy and income levels: first, the transition from a largely agrarian to an industrial society; second, the transition from an industrial economy to a tertiary economy; and third, the growth of the tertiary sector to maturity. Correspondingly three urban development stages were identified: urbanisation, suburbanisation, and deurbanisation and inter-urban decentralisation (pp.24-45). Different characteristics of the urban development process could be found in these different stages. They may include:

- depopulation of rural areas;
- expansion of towns and building of new ones;
- formation of agglomeration;
- suburbanisation; and
- decline of old city centres, etc. (p.3)

Van den Berg et al’s model could be summarized in Figure 2.4. Van den Berg et al’s model sees migration flows as almost the defining factor. Wilbur Zelinsky (1971) had set out a synthesis of how mobility patterns change at different stages of economic and
social development. He argued the existence of a mobility transition, that is definite patterns and regularities in the growth of personal mobility through space and time during recent history.

In his model, he proposed five different Phases. Phase I, a pre-industrial era, saw little mobility, but Phase II, closely associated with the early and mid industrial revolution period, began the major outflows of migration together with movement to domestic frontier regions and the massive rural-urban migration so typical of nineteenth century Western Europe. Late in Phase II international migration and frontierward migration became even more important. This period saw the large-scale migration to North America and the westward movement of the American and Canadian populations. For western countries these three forms of migration, international, domestic frontierward and rural-urban, reached their peaks in these early Phases, at the latest by Phase III which coincides roughly with the early and mid twentieth century, and began to decline in Phase IV. However urban to urban (or, inter-urban) and intra-urban movements started to peak in Phase IV — the current time. Zelinsky made some projection for the future migration trend in Phase V. He suggested that this pattern of development is an essential part of the 'modernisation' process of nations defined by rising incomes, industrialisation, urbanisation and eventually the dominance of occupations in higher-order service industries. Apart from Phases I and V, Zelinsky's model coincides roughly with Van den Berg et al's three transition and urban development stages.

Rosemary Mellor (1989) in the article Transition in Urbanisation: Twentieth-century Britain offered another model. She brought the state more explicitly into the equation than do Van den Berg et al. She argued "that there are 'transitions' in the history of urbanisation, periods in which there is decisive change in the state-society relationship. There are periods in which there is an accumulation of social and political pressures for change with core institutions being forced to accommodate to the new social order." She then summarized three transition periods in the British urbanisation process. The first was "conceivably that between 1815 and 1848 in which the British state had to concede political rights to the middle classes, reform the institu-
tions of local government, including the police, and abandon principles of *laissez-faire* in the administration of the towns.” The second was “between 1880 and 1920, in which the unbridled power of the rentier capitalist was curtailed by principles of family welfare. The settlement achieved then between the state establishment and the urban working classes was to provide a moral framework for subsequent development, alternative to that of the market. The most recent transition is that of the present day — a period in which the ‘people-nation’ is presented with radical initiatives pointing to alternative social arrangements.” (1989, pp.573-574)

The combination of these stage models could supply a *framework* for analysing both the urbanisation and social-economic development stages and the relations between them in Scotland and China. The following sections carry out the comparison with particular attention paid to the migration trend in different periods. Questions are posed, such as at what social-economic development stage is each country? What is the corresponding urbanisation processes? And are there time lagged similarities between them?

### 2.3.1 Industrial Development and Urbanisation in Scotland

Because the pattern of industry in Scotland was established at the height of the industrial revolution, it is necessary to study that early development to specify the recent development stage of the country. Scotland was at the forefront of the industrial revolution. In the period from the eighteenth century onward, the Central Lowlands were in a particularly advantageous position. The accessibility of the Clyde, particularly for receiving American cotton and for exporting finished goods, together with available water power along the tributary streams and the high humidity of the western side of the Lowlands, all contributed to the early establishment of the cotton textile industry. Textiles is classically one of the easiest activities to industrialize, and hence

---

1 Such models are *predictive* in respect of developing countries. That is, in fact, one controversial aspect, for it tends to assume that all countries can and will eventually follow the Western capitalist model - because technology will propel them along the path. Issues of under-development and exploitation are obscured in stage models like these.
Table 2.3: Population Development in Scotland

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1801</td>
<td>1,608,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>2,889,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>4,472,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>5,096,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>5,130,735</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


has been at the vanguard of industrialisation in many countries.

The second stage of industrialisation, involving steam and iron, reinforced the Scottish position, as the many coalfields, especially that of Lanarkshire, ensured ample supplies of coal and the iron-ore located in the same area provided an ideal combination of raw materials. From the textile industry grew the demand for engineering and machine building, which became well developed in the Glasgow–Lanark area. By the late 19th century the country had become a major force in iron and steel making, locomotives and other railway equipment, textile machinery, and shipbuilding, with substantial activity in coal mining and textiles also. All this was concentrated in Central Scotland, mostly in the East-West axis from Dundee to Greenock. Glasgow become a major port situated at the centre of productive activities and shipbuilding, and the second largest city in Britain, and its wealth and prestige at this time can still be seen in its buildings.

This industrial development process in Scotland was accompanied by the rapid increase in population (Table 2.3). The first census of Scotland in 1801 revealed that there were some 1.6 million people living in the country. By 1851 it had grown to almost 2.9 million. At the turn of the century, it reached almost 4.5 million. Then the growth slowed down.

Population growth was accompanied by a rapid increase of the number and size of
Table 2.4: Percentage of population resident in different scale cities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1801</th>
<th>1851</th>
<th>1891</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Glasgow</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>19.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other 'great cities'</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities 20,000-100,000</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.8</td>
<td>12.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cities 10,000-20,000</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>7.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 10,000+</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>32.2</td>
<td>49.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Towns 2,000-10,000</td>
<td>19.6</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 2,000+</td>
<td>51.8</td>
<td>95.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ashworth 1965 p.64

towns throughout the nineteenth century. In 1851, only 51.8 percent of people lived in towns with 2000 and over. By 1891 94.5 per cent of the Scottish population lived in such settlements (Table 2.4). Large factory development drew many people from agricultural districts such as the Highlands. Since 1871 the northern part of Scotland has lost 60 per cent of its population by migration to the Central Lowlands, England or overseas. The Irish, who flooded into Glasgow and also English cities after the failure of the potato harvest in 1845-1846, made another contribution to the development of the city.

Ashworth (1965) noticed that population increase in urban areas was not so evident in smaller cities. In 1801 only 5.1 percent of Scottish population lived in Glasgow, by 1851 it increased to 11.5 percent and 19.4 percent in 1891. Cities with over 10,000 people also increased their share. The small towns with populations between 2000-10000 actually declined from 19.6 percent in 1851 to 15 percent in 1891.

Urban based industrial development and population increase in the last century caused expansion of many cities physically. The rural fringe became building land in successive waves as housing spread outward; the loss of countryside and old frequented haunts provided repeated popular complaints (Cherry 1974). In Glasgow, for example, industrial development between 1807 and 1842 had extended and transformed the townscape (Figure 2.5). In the east end of the city, the development of
Figure 2.5: Large industrial units in Glasgow in 1807 and 1842 (from Gibb 1983)
suburban weaving villages at Calton and Bridgeton encouraged the aggregation of a work-force skilled in textile production, and the rapid growth of the cotton industry saw the establishment of a large number of spinning and weaving factories, rising from c.12 in 1807, to c.46 in 1842 (Gibb 1983, p.91). The location of these works on greenfield sites indicates the way in which industry led the outward growth of the built-up area, with the laying-out of streets and erection of workers' dwellings quickly following the establishment of factories. After 1840 the surging growth of the textile industry, which had provided the economic basis for Glasgow's expansion for fifty years, slowed then faltered, in the face of European and American competition, and the disruption of raw cotton supplies caused by the American Civil War. Large scale expansion of production of cheap iron, which acted as a stimulus to coal production, and railway construction, and provided raw material for shipbuilding, engineering, and their allied industries, replaced textiles as the economic basis. From the 1870s, the city entered upon the period of its greatest prosperity and expansion (Checkland 1981). Westward, along both banks of the Clyde, shipbuilding and engineering brought concentrations of working class housing. In the east, foundries, chemical works, potteries and brick-works led a wave-front of rapid urbanisation (Gibb 1983, p.119).

Scottish prosperity in industry was beginning to be eroded by about 1900, though the decline was masked by the economic effects of the war of 1914-18. The economy was over dependent on basic industries, which were subject to increasing competition in Europe and overseas, as long-established markets became self-sufficient, and then competed with Scottish production in the markets of third countries. For example, between 1906 and 1908 the Clyde's output of ships slumped to 50 per cent of its tonnage. In 1910 and 1911 American competition cut the dividends of the North British Locomotive Company to 5 percent instead of an anticipated 10 percent. By 1913 German steel was being imported at under the Scottish cost of production. Such developments were ominous for an economy in which eight staple industries: agriculture, coal-mining, shipbuilding and engineering, textiles, building, steel and fishing — produced about 60 percent of its output (Harvie 1981, p.1). Pressure on profit margins resulting from the intensification of competition worked against
investment in newer and more efficient processes and products. The handicap of the relatively narrow industrial base, dependent on capital goods, left Scotland especially vulnerable to the recession of the 20s and 30s. The basic and heavy industries did not properly recover until the war of 1939-45. So the issue by now is not just having the technology (as the stage thesis implies) but international competitiveness.

The 1920/30s saw also what might be called the Second Industrial Revolution, based on the internal combustion engine and electricity, with their extensive applications in industry and everyday life - consumer goods. The problem of Scotland’s dependence on capital goods was compounded because the country took little part in this new development. Motor vehicles are an example: there were two or three attempts before 1914 to produce private cars but these foundered, and were not revived in the 20s and 30s; in goods vehicles only Albion, in Glasgow, flourished, though on a relatively small scale, eventually becoming part of the British Leyland group. The result of these changes in the UK economy was that the original industrial areas, apart from the West Midlands of England, were set in long-term decline. Other regions overtook them in terms of economic activity and prosperity; for example: motor vehicles, aircraft in the Midlands; consumer goods in London and South East England; aircraft at Bristol. Scotland, spurred by the artificial stimulus of state regional planning, attempted a late post-1945 entry into motor vehicle manufacture, but this failed, and the new ventures at Linwood and Bathgate have closed down. So regional differentiation in development patterns and industrial structure within the country are significant - again a point underplayed by the very generalized perspective of 'stage' models which tend to focus on a national level.

By 1938 the industrial structure was characterized by largely Scots-owned firms and dominated by small- to medium-sized concerns. Large factories (very common in the new industries of the south) were almost wholly confined to the heavy industries (Table 2.5).

The outbreak of the Second World War in September 1939 had profound effects on the Scottish economy. In the course of the war there was actually a swing back to-
Table 2.5: Scottish factories, 1938

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number of employees</th>
<th>1,500+</th>
<th>250-1,500</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Scotland outside Central Lowlands</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Central Lowlands outside Glasgow Area</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>187</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Glasgow Area (Lanark, Renfrew, Dunbarton)</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>143</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Large factories (1,500+ employees) (Scots-owned in brackets)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Industry</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Scottish Owned</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engineering</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Textiles and derivatives</td>
<td>11(10)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metallurgy</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shipbuilding</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>(7)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Co-operative Works</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Towards the traditional heavy industries which in 1939 employed roughly 16 per cent of the employed population but which by 1945 had increased that figure to 25 per cent (Lenman 1977, p.232). The Second World War was also much more fruitful of technological advance and innovation than the First World War. There were many major scientific discoveries in the period 1939-1945, such as radar, jet engines, aerospace developments, nuclear power, electronic computing and control systems, and a host of others. It was a major tragedy that very little production in these fields came to Scotland. Only 32 government factories were built in Scotland during the entire course of the war, so diversification in the older industrial areas was minimal (Lenman 1977, p.233). The stage models would suggest that the relative absence of these new industries would hold back the transitions in migration and urbanisation in Scotland.

Though economic development between 1900 and 1950 showed stagnation, the Scottish urban population was still increasing. The total population in this period increased by 14 percent, but the percentage increase of urban population was exactly double this figure. All three areas of Scotland have shared in the growth of urban population, the most pronounced is in the Central Lowlands, where over 90 per cent of people are town dwellers (Mcintosh and Marshall 1970). The physical expansion of Edinburgh in the period observed by Hague (1984) serves a good example, even though this city was not as industrialised as Glasgow (Figure 2.6 and Figure 2.7).

Figure 2.6: The physical expansion of Edinburgh, 1893–1913


Figure 2.7: The physical expansion of Edinburgh, 1919–1939
Table 2.6: Number of active pits in Scottish coal mining 1958-1967/8

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>National Coal Board mines only</th>
<th>1958</th>
<th>1967/8</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of pits</td>
<td>166</td>
<td>47 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saleable output (ml tons)</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>13.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wage earners (000)</td>
<td>82.9</td>
<td>38.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* refers to 1968

Source: Johnston, Buxton and Mair (1971) p.110

The 1950s saw Scotland still with an economy whose structure had not changed much for 50 years and more - still dependent on capital goods. With the development of technology the world industrial structure had experienced great changes. The traditional industries, such as manufacturing, were declining in most western advanced countries. Since the 1960s industrial structure changes have accelerated. These changes had great impact on the Scottish economy as well. Coal mining — a traditional Scottish industry, as a typical example, has steadily been losing ground. Since the interwar period, coal has been faced with a constantly diminishing market, the result chiefly of the emergence of cheaper and more efficient substitutes. The availability of oil, electricity, gas has steadily eroded coal's previously held monopoly as a source of fuel and power. In the 1960s about 119 pits closed (Table 2.6). The Scottish shipbuilding industry experienced a similar decline. Over the period 1960-69, the tonnage launched by the yards in Scotland fell by approximately 40 per cent. Almost one-third of the labour force was lost to the industry (Johnston, Buxton and Mair 1971, p.116).

Since the 1960s population changes and urbanisation process take different forms. The 1971 census recorded that 5.2 million people lived in Scotland. Since then population has declined. Population in major urban areas such as the Central Clyde Conurbation declined by 189,000 in ten years from 1971 to 1981. The other principal cities of over 175,000 (Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen) declined by 65,000. The Central Belt, depended heavily on manufacturing and mining industries, and had a very

47
high proportion of unskilled workers and a very low proportion of professional and managerial workers. Unemployment was higher than in other areas of Great Britain. Central Scotland also shows more signs than any other areas of nearly every kind of deprivation (Donnison and Soto 1980). On the other hand, small cities of over 5,000, other service centres, industrial districts of over 50,000, accessible rural areas and remote rural areas all show population gaining. Among them accessible rural areas become the most favourable location for moving in. (O.P.C.S. Town Report, 1982)

With this understanding of the processes of industrial development and urbanisation, we can now judge the value of the development stage model by applying it to the Scottish case. The development stage model is based on a progressive development process from lower stage to high stage. The difficulty in the Scottish case is that for a long time since around 1900 modernisation processes here have been slower than not only advanced regions in the world, but also other parts of Britain, such as the South East of England. Economic stagnation and decline of some old industrial sectors, such as ship building in Glasgow and coal mining in other part of the Central Belt, are major characteristics of economic performance. This causes difficulties in applying this model. Nevertheless we have see some fundamental characteristics of different stages: depopulation of rural areas; town expansion; formation of agglomeration (but only in Clydeside); suburbanisation and decline of old city centres. Such empirical evidences give us some idea of when the transitions come in Scotland.

The first stage of urbanisation in Scotland has finished. The ending date of the large scale urbanisation process is around the 1920s or 30s with the introduction of modern technologies such as the motor industry and the improvement of road transportation during that time. The second stage then begun. Suburbanisation and urban structure change were two major characteristics of this stage. At the same time government policies and planning were introduced in the way characterised by Mellor. Since the late 1960s and the early 1970s some of the major features of the third stage, such as declining of population in the large city — the inner area of Glasgow in particular, and growth in small free-standing towns and the rural area, have already appeared (Table 2.7). This period from the late 1960 to now might be referred to as a transition from
Table 2.7: Population change in Edinburgh and surrounding rural districts and towns

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District or town</th>
<th>1961</th>
<th>1971</th>
<th>1981</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh City</td>
<td>483,854</td>
<td>476,531</td>
<td>436,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Lothian</td>
<td>74,829</td>
<td>77,395</td>
<td>80,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlothian</td>
<td>65,265</td>
<td>79,746</td>
<td>82,411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Lothian</td>
<td>86,215</td>
<td>111,951</td>
<td>138,359</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dunfermline</td>
<td>119,429</td>
<td>120,459</td>
<td>122,898</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stirling</td>
<td>70,387</td>
<td>76,443</td>
<td>81,175</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Sensus 1981 Scotland, Scottish Summary Vol. 1 pp.5-6

suburbanisation to the third stage — deurbanisation and inter-urban decentralisation. This division is almost in line with the divisions made by Mellor (1989) (see Section 2.3) (Figure 2.8).

Two important aspects of the Scottish urbanisation processes, migration and land ownership, must be analyzed before looking at the Chinese urbanisation. First, migration within the country, as an essential factor in the process of regional economic development, urbanisation and industrialisation, and an important cause and effect of social and economic change, was not, and is not controlled by any effective government policy in Scotland. Even international migration restrictions were not imposed until the 1960s. People as immigrants moved to large cities in the earlier stage of industrial development during the last century, particularly to Glasgow, and moved out from these kind of cities in this century. Moves were the “free will” of these people, which was affected by the labour market. Population development in cities was under a “natural” process. Only after the Second World War, some moderate government policies (here moderate is used by comparison with the Chinese policy on people’s movement which will be discussed later) were introduced to induce people to move to a particular destination such as the New Towns; or to prevent moves to a particular place, by policies such as Green Belts.

Another characteristic of Scottish population migration is the moving out of the coun-
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Major Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Urbanisation</td>
<td>1800-</td>
<td>Industrial revolution (textile, iron, steel, coal, ship building etc.), town expansion, development of the Clyde Valley; depopulation of the Highlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1920s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Suburbanisation</td>
<td>1920s-</td>
<td>Internal combustion engine, electricity, motor vehicles, daily consumer goods, concentration of the population to the Central Lowlands.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1970s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deurbanisation</td>
<td>1970s-</td>
<td>Declining of the traditional industries, declining of the population in the Central Clyde Conurbation, the expansion of small cities.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2.8: A summary of development stages in Scotland

Try to England and other overseas countries. In the 1960s for instance, the Register-General for Scotland estimated that 29,500 Scots emigrated. This movement had two clear consequences. Firstly, it reduced population pressure on development for demanding physical and social services. Secondly, the migrant population tended to be the young and able group so that the country is acquiring an aged population. Old industrial areas, like Glasgow suffered more than other places. A highly urbanised society, declining importance of agricultural production in the economy, and the relatively small territory all suggest that rural depopulation was a less important issue in the country, which gave the government opportunity to concentrate on more important urban issues, particularly during the early development of industrialisation and urbanisation when rural areas and the countryside were ignored. Rural depopulation was an issue with the Highland clearances (late 18th/early 19th century). Politically thereafter the political power of labour was in the cities, and there was also no ascendant rural bourgeoisie to challenge seriously the old aristocratic management of rural land and development. For example, the Highlands and Islands Development Board was only formed in 1965. Even the 1947 Planning Act was not relevant in the
Highlands (Grieve 1980). This forms an important contrast to the Chinese situation
where the relative emphasis on rural/urban, and on industry/agriculture are always
dilemmas.

Secondly, in the Scottish urbanisation process there were no fundamental changes to
the feudal land system. Private landowners are a dominant class in land use decisions.
Though land distribution was changed from the old individual feudal landlord system
by enlarging the proportion of institutional or government departmental ownership,
and though narrowly feudal obligations were abolished the function of the land mar-
ket was not essentially changed. Since the introduction of town planning, particularly
after World War II, several government efforts were made to adjust this system to
meet the demands of modern society, but these were defeated by other political fac-
tors. Private land ownership and the related free property market forms the base for
free migration. Despite the sharp, class based differences in people’s capacity to move
and the fact that most Scots still rent houses and that local authority letting policies
restricted migration, Scottish people enjoy much greater freedom of movement than
the Chinese. People move to a new place, and there they can buy, or rent their own
living space which in turn makes it possible for them to bring with them their fami-
lies. In the present situation for example, the middle class people moving out of old
inner areas to suburban areas or to the rural fringe bring with them not only mod-
erm electronic furniture, but also an urban life-style. This forms another important
contrast with China where a husband and wife could by separated for decade in the
government controlled migration process (Land problems will be studied in Chapter
4). In summery the growth of personal mobility in Scotland increased in line with
changes in communication technology and rising incomes, as observed in Zelinski’s
phase model. It was not blocked by significant state intervention.

2.3.2 Urban Development in China

China has one of the world’s oldest civilisations with about 4000 years of written
history. After more than 2000 years of slave society, in 221 B.C. Qin Shi Huang, First
Emperor of the Qin Dynasty who organised the building of the Great Wall, established the first centralized, unified feudal state. Since then, dynasty after dynasty, China experienced about 2000 years of the feudal system. Outstanding features of Chinese civilisation are its age and its continuity. Unlike the world of the Middle East, the Mediterranean and Western Europe, China has had no great interruption to the continuity of its history and civilisation over the past 2000 years. Reflecting the historical continuity of its civilisation, China today is remarkably homogeneous in language, culture and tradition. The Han people, the main nationality of China, who have a common written language with several distinct dialects, make up approximately 94 percent of the total population, while 55 other nationalities account for the remaining 6 percent.

China’s economy grew substantially between the fourteenth and twentieth centuries, especially during the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. However, two features distinguish this growth from the modern economic growth in Scotland following the Industrial Revolution. First, since the fourteenth century, the level of technological change was in no way comparable to that of the industrial revolution in Scotland. Economic growth in the five centuries before 1840 was accompanied by few major changes in technology. Thus economic growth was characterized by an increasingly complete exploitation of available land resources without large discontinuous change in technology. Second, economic growth was accompanied by a substantial growth of population, which, although the evidence is inconclusive, probably prevented a long-term rise in per capita income and possibly caused it to fall.

By about 1800, Scotland and other European nations were technologically ahead of China and the gap widened sharply in the following 150 years. The World Bank identified a few possible explanations. China’s huge size and its legacy of political and cultural unity not only have favourable implications for modern economic growth, but also unfavourable ones. A comparison of pre-industrial Europe with China suggests, however, that it may have been the diversity of Europe rather than the homogeneity of China that was conducive to industrialisation and modern economic growth. The pluralistic institutional structure of Europe stimulated dynamic and individualistic
innovation, as well as the introduction and diffusion of new technologies and ideas. Effective control and the preservation of unity seem to require strong restraint on independent centres of initiative in thought and economic action, but economic progress demands the mobilisation of popular enthusiasm, energies and talents. The conflicting needs for centralized control and for local initiative and enthusiasm have proved difficult to balance (World Bank 1984).

Modern economic growth was not initiated on a wide scale in China partly because of the succession of weak and incompetent governments, and those problems were seriously exacerbated by foreign aggressions. Only after 1949 was the Chinese Government able to assume an effective development role. Moreover, China's cultural unity and strength, its long history of technological superiority to all foreigners, and its geography created a resistance to foreign ideas and institutions.

**Historical City Development** There are only about 20 per cent of Chinese people classified as the urban population now, a very low figure compared with Scotland. But due to its large population, territory and long feudal urban history, China possesses a comprehensive urban system from large metropolitan areas such as Shanghai and Beijing with several millions of population to small local market towns of few thousands. This modern Chinese urban system owes much to its feudal origins. There were pre-industrial cities in Scotland as well — notably Edinburgh, Stirling, and St Andrews. Industrialisation changed this feudal system by the creation of many new industrial towns. But due to the comprehensiveness and wide spread cities and towns of the Chinese feudal system, modern industrial development is mainly concentrated in those existing cities, except for towns based on extrative industries.

China's feudal town system was determined by the socio-economic structure of that time. With centralized state power as the main ruling style, and a relatively large territory, a hierarchical system of administrative towns was established as early as the Qin Dynasty (221 B.C. — 207 B.C.). By the Tang Dynasty (618 — 906) feudal centralized power reached its peak. The feudal town system developed into a matured stage with the national capital city — Changan (Xian today), provincial capitals and
other local administrative seats as local administrative, economic and cultural centres. This Tang system still forms the base of the modern Chinese urban system. The following dynasties made further development of those towns and adjustment of the system. In the Ming (1368-1644) and the Qing (1644-1911) dynasties, for instance, beside Beijing as the national capital, cities like, Chengdu, Nanjing, Fuzhou, Xian and Hangzhou were for the most part strongholds of feudal rule in the region. The "fu" (prefecture), "zhou" (sub-prefecture) and "zian" (county) cities were centres of feudal rule at the sub-province level and also centres for local handicrafts and commerce and the trade of local agricultural products (Wu 1986). Despite this comprehensiveness, Skinner (1977) has pointed out that in traditional China a nationally integrated urban system did not take hold. Many cities existed, but the degree and scale of integration were local and regional in structure. In fact, Skinner has argued cogently for the existence of a set of great regional urban systems in the nineteenth century. As he has pointed out, the nature of the long distance transportation system, based as it was on movement along a few major rivers and canal systems, restricted national economic and urban systems. Regional marketing networks were heavily associated with the nature of the then existing localized transportation system.

Restricted by transportation, feudal Chinese cities were compact, usually within a city wall. Early industrial development before 1840 in the west had little effect on Chinese city development. With the coming of westerners from the sea, the urbanisation process was changed in some of the coast cities. Commercial functions then superseded some of the old administrative roles. The traditional feudal control of these cities declined. Shanghai is a typical example. The city was a traditional local administrative and commercial centre for over a thousand years. In 1264 it become a county seat. By 1840, it was a town compacted into a surrounding wall with about 500 thousand people (Compared with Scottish cities, it was a large one, but in China compared with other large cities at that time, it was not). The treaty of Nanjing, signed on August 29, 1842, ended the Opium War and established British rights to trade at Shanghai and to station a consul there (White 1982). By 1845, the number of foreigners had increased considerably. Non-Chinese authority controlled "concessions" were soon established. By 1915 over 46 square kilometres became concessions.
for British, American, French, Japanese and those from other imperial powers.

With the influence of western technology, Chinese quarters developed rapidly as well, with newly established industries, such as ship building. By 1880 Shanghai had developed from a county town to a city with one million people. Only 50 years later, in 1930, its population was over 3 millions. After World War II the city recorded over 6 million people and became the largest city in the far-east. The population development in Shanghai was at an even higher speed than the typical industrializing city — Glasgow in last century — at an equivalent stage of industrial growth. This does not prove that the urbanisation process in China is at a more advanced stage than that in Scotland. Such dramatic urban growth only happened in a small number of places along the coast and big rivers with greater western influence. Indeed, Murphey (1970) and Chang (1976) viewed the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chinese urban system as dichotomous, a system in which coastal and riverine foreign-influenced treaty ports were distinctive from the great indigenous corpus of Chinese cities. The latter were interior in location and were based on local commercial and administrative functions, while the coastal ones composed of commercial and industrial centres associated through external contacts with the world’s modern economic systems. In contrast, Murphey deemphasized the impact of the treaty ports on China’s economic growth, while Chang appeared to credit the foreign influenced centres with significant developmental impulses which assisted China’s early drive toward economic and technological modernisation. This Chinese urban system shows a greater divergence than was true in Scotland, even allowing for the Edinburgh/Glasgow contrasts. This again shows the need for a regional dimension in discussions of stages of urbanisation.

Due to the lack of reliable data, it is very difficult to do detailed research on urbanisation before 1949. But one point is clear that pre-1949 China was different from the industrialisation and urbanisation of Scotland during the Industrial Revolution. A few cities' development was caused mainly by foreign trade and some small scale manufacturing industries. It did not cause fundamental change to the rural-urban relation in the country. The majority of inland cities retained their traditional structure and life style. The lives of the vast majority of farmers in rural areas were not dra-
matically changed. Large scale industrialisation and urbanisation as defined by Van den Berg et al as the first stage of the urbanisation process was not started in China as a whole until after World War II and the establishment of the new Communist government. However that long pre-industrial urbanisation history, with its contradictions between the coast and interior, is extremely significant in any explanation of current settlement patterns, urban change and planning. The general urbanisation process and level in China are determined by the country's economic development stage, but the specific pattern of the urban system owes much to its feudal political tradition.

Van den Berg et al's model does not pay enough attention to the influence of the pre-industrial urban system which is one of its major omissions. Furthermore, the particular dichotomous urban system poses other problems for the simple stage models, which tend to imply a uniform level of development (though not, of course, cities of uniform size) within a country at any stage. Also development level here is related not just to the technology, but to the agency and political form in which the technology is brought - ie in this Chinese case, imperialism. That is what determines the location and internal structure (the concession areas) of these industrial cities. This recognition of agency and political form and the potential for regional discontinuities should be built into stage models as a modification and qualification. More specifically agency and political form go some way towards explaining the contrasts between Scotland and China in the extent of internal diversity, and even in urban/rural relations.

Urbanisation After 1949 The establishment of the new government brought China into a new era, and also brought fuller statistics on both population and urban development. But this does not mean there is now an easy way to do urban research there. During the last four decades Chinese national development policy has undergone many changes. The development of the cities largely responded to industrial development, but also went through many radical transformations. As national development priority shifted several times from industrialisation to agricultural growth, urban development has ebbed and flowed in response to the national policy
changes. Urban development was affected not only by industrial and agricultural development, but also by the specific strategies adopted for industrialisation (Kwok 1982). Large scale political movements such as the Great Leap Forward (1958-1960) and the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976) disrupted many government policies and general socio-economic operation. Accurate data on population and development were difficult to get. Even in less turbulent periods, government policy and changing statistical definition and availability, caused problems as well. Despite these problems, Kirkby (1985) has made a great effort to carry out his work on Urbanisation in China: Town and Country in a Developing Economy 1949-2000AD in which he made detailed analyses of the definition changes on urban population and settlement and the urbanisation process from 1949-1982. This section will only compare the identified urbanisation process with Scotland. The major emphasis will be put on the development of cities and towns to identify time-lagged similarities, and on the government’s policy to control rural-urban migration. The urban policy shifts will be examined in Chapter 5 together with the development of city planning.

First of all, the transition to industrialism in China was rapid and forced, not the 'evolutionary' path implicit in stage models. The large scale industrialisation process started with the implementation of the First Five Year Plan (1953-1957). This plan intended to change the traditional concentration of industry in the eastern coast areas, particularly these treaty port cities. New investment, helped by the Soviet Union with key projects, was mainly directed to the inland cities (Wang and Hague, 1991). Under the centralised planning, the practice of this strategy built the base for the modern economy. These first generation industrial projects were mainly in the traditional manufacturing sectors such as iron and steel, trucks, textiles and so on. 1958 saw a change with the national policy toward decentralisation and a new emphasis on the countryside. This was accompanied by the withdrawal of help from the Soviet Union and a natural disaster in agricultural production. With a brief adjustment during the period from 1963-65 city based industry started to draw strength. But the Cultural Revolution soon disrupted this effort and led to another process of decentralisation. Many second generation industries, such as electronics, were now located in remote areas away from major cities, even in deep mountainous areas for defence reasons.
Since 1978 the government has employed an economic reform policy. Modernisation is the main goal of development which once more favours urban areas much more than the countryside. Though this shows that Chinese industrialisation has gone through difficult times in the past four decades, industrial development has changed the country from an agriculture dominated society to one with important industrial power (Wang and Hague, 1991).

Industrialisation in China is different from that in Scotland in several aspects. Most importantly, industrial development in Scotland involved a long technological evolution process from very simple skills to complicated manufacture and modern technology. Each step took a relatively long time to reach a certain level before major new technology and industries replaced those old ones. For instance, industrialisation of transport (railways) came in the 1840s — some 50-60 years after industrialisation in cotton spinning. In China, though industrial development also experienced several stages in the last forty years, from first generation industry during the 1950s largely related to steel and iron and so on to the modern sector of electronics, each stage never reached a desired level. Materials like iron and steel were major development projects in the early 1950s; today their shortage is still a great limitation to the country’s manufacture and building industries. Poor basic industrial conditions and the use of some relatively modern techniques is a main contradiction which impacts upon ordinary people’s life. Low standard and overcrowded houses, for example, equipped by modern electronic goods such as colour TV sets, washing machines, a few with refrigerators, form a dilemma. All these phenomena compromised the implementation of a development stage model to describe the industrial development in the country.

Despite these differences there are also similarities between the two. Chinese industrialisation was also accompanied by a rapid increase of total population and expansion of cities and towns. From 1949 to 1987 the total population almost doubled from 541.6 million to over 1 billion. This is at a similar rate with the population development in Scotland in the last century. The number of cities and towns and urban population also increased dramatically (Table 2.8). Urban population increased from 57.6 million to 142.9 million in 1982. The proportion of the total population living
Table 2.8: Development of Cities and Towns in China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Extra Large</th>
<th>Large Size</th>
<th>Medium</th>
<th>Small Size</th>
<th>Total Cities</th>
<th>Towns</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>113</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>5402</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>3148</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>2660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>294+</td>
<td>6211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>347</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>117</td>
<td></td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Ma Xia (1986) p.96
* for classification of cities see next chapter.
+ The total number of city by the end of 1984 is 300.

in cities increased from 10.6 per cent to 14 per cent. The number of municipalities increased from 69 in 1949 to 347 in 1986. These are obvious characteristics of the first stage of urbanisation described by Van den Berg et al.

Another similarity is that Chinese urbanisation in the past four decades shows a clear sign of increasing dominance by large cities, similar with the situation in the last century in Scotland described by Ashworth (1965). In the early 1950s, there were only 5 cities over 1 million with a total population of 10 millions, about 25 per cent of the total urban population. By the end of 1987 there were 23 cities over one million with 29.8 million population in total which increased to 40.3 per cent of the total urban population. These cities are now the major administrative and industrial centres in the country (Table 2.9). Within these 23 cities only 5 are not provincial level government capitals. Among them Dalian, Fushuong, and Anshan are in Liaoning province in the Northeast which were the major industrial areas under the Japanese occupation before 1947. Qingdao was a coastal city in Shandong Province with great influence from foreign invaders, and is now also a major summer resort. Chongqing in Sichuan Province, though in inland areas, is on the Yangzi River and most importantly was the national capital during the Anti-Japanese War from 1937 - 1947.
Table 2.9: Population in Chinese Cities over a Million

(End of 1986)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of the City</th>
<th>Total Population (1000)</th>
<th>Non-Agricultural Population (1000)</th>
<th>Non-Agricultural Population Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai</td>
<td>7,102</td>
<td>6,987</td>
<td>98.4 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>5,968</td>
<td>5,223</td>
<td>87.5 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>5,459</td>
<td>4,244</td>
<td>77.7 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shenyang Liaoning</td>
<td>4,285</td>
<td>3,335</td>
<td>77.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wuhan</td>
<td>3,493</td>
<td>3,024</td>
<td>86.6 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guangzhou</td>
<td>3,359</td>
<td>2,650</td>
<td>78.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Harbin</td>
<td>2,668</td>
<td>2,290</td>
<td>85.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chongqing</td>
<td>2,832</td>
<td>2,128</td>
<td>75.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanjing</td>
<td>2,289</td>
<td>1,918</td>
<td>83.8 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xian</td>
<td>2,387</td>
<td>1,777</td>
<td>74.4 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chengdu</td>
<td>2,642</td>
<td>1,572</td>
<td>59.5 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changchun</td>
<td>1,909</td>
<td>1,512</td>
<td>79.2 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taiyuan</td>
<td>1,929</td>
<td>1,440</td>
<td>74.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dalian</td>
<td>1,682</td>
<td>1,422</td>
<td>84.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jinan</td>
<td>1,466</td>
<td>1,188</td>
<td>81.1 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qingdao</td>
<td>1,273</td>
<td>1,177</td>
<td>92.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fushuang</td>
<td>1,270</td>
<td>1,126</td>
<td>88.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anshan</td>
<td>1,298</td>
<td>1,122</td>
<td>86.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kunming</td>
<td>1,516</td>
<td>1,111</td>
<td>73.3 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lanzhou</td>
<td>1,391</td>
<td>1,097</td>
<td>78.9 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hangzhou</td>
<td>1,271</td>
<td>1,026</td>
<td>80.7 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhengzhou</td>
<td>1,611</td>
<td>1,024</td>
<td>63.6 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Changsha</td>
<td>1,193</td>
<td>1,001</td>
<td>83.9 *</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: # Cities Directly under the Central Government control which are at the provincial level.  
* Cities are provincial capitals

However though the Chinese large cities developed at a higher speed than other medium and small towns, the cause is not exactly the same as the early development of Glasgow in the last century. The industrial development in Glasgow was due to the favourable local natural and human resources and imperial advantages within a capitalist system at that time. The post-49 Chinese growth was not primarily orientated to overseas trade, nor to command of world markets through imperial status. It was largely an attempt to create its own indigenous industrial infrastructure, and to meet demands for home consumption at a time of rapid demographic change and rising expectations. Large city development is due to the intentions of national plans and central and local decision makers' choices. This explains why almost all large cities are local government seats. With limited capital the government plan not surprisingly tried to build new factories near major administrative centres. The poor transportation system is another possible explanation. Skinner's stress on regional development features rather than a national comprehensive system not only provides an explanation to pre-1949 city development, but also to the modern urbanisation process.

Urbanisation in Scotland and development of large cities were mainly represented by a process of rural population moving to these cities and towns. Chinese city population development has drawn contributions both from rural/urban migration and from natural increase. The proportion of migration to cities changed from time to time. During the period from 1952-60 with rapid industrial development the average urban population increase was 7.8 per cent per year. This was considered as too fast by the government which reacted by a massive sending down to the rural area of about 20 million people in the following years. The Cultural Revolution years saw a stagnation of urban population with a slow development of urban based industry. During 1971-1978 urban population increase was controlled at about 2 per cent a year. The government thought this a reasonable rate which could be supported by the agricultural development. Since the economic reform government control on migration has been undermined by the opening up of the food market which facilitates more people moving around the country. Temporary stay in urban areas became possible, allowing farmers to seek part time work in sectors such as building and service indus-
tries. Most separated families are reunited together in cities. Rural youth enrolled into universities and colleges located in cities made another contribution to the rapid development of urban population.

This shows a clear correlation between industrialisation and urbanisation. When industrial development speeded up, urban areas also expanded. This is a similar process to that in Scotland in the last century. However the Chinese urbanisation process has also been affected by other factors. First, with the large territory and population, and with a relatively backward transportation system, the Chinese government continues the traditional attempts to feed its people by its own agricultural products. Urban population development has always been limited by how much surplus grain the countryside could produce. Due to the lower level of mechanization in agricultural production and high density of the rural population with limited good quality farm land, the grain problem is always an important element in government policy makers' decision. Rationed grain supply for the urban population introduced in the 1950s has never been removed. This relates to a second factor — population registration and control of people's movement — which sets the Chinese urbanisation process on a different road from the Scottish one. The system of controls over personal mobility and domicile, though not always entirely watertight, lies at the root of China's peculiar pattern of urban growth, and even the ability to repress or — as in the early 1960s — reverse the urbanisation process. Reviewing China's urban growth restraint system, Kirkby identified two groups of policies to control urbanisation processes — measures to prevent migration into the urban areas, and those designed to decant existing urban populations (1985, pp.24-48).

To decant existing urban population — sending-down policies — down the urban hierarchy and ultimately to the villages is only a periodic campaign to remove urban citizens. Though large numbers of students, government employees, skilled workers, and urban criminal personnel were sent down to rural areas, this kind of control was not the major cause of limited urbanisation in the last four decades. The effect, except during the cultural revolution, was limited in comparison with the population registration system.
The population registration system which was introduced in early 1950 and legally enforced in 1958, divided the entire population between those with urban residence (chengshi hukou) and those having rural residence (nongcun hukou). The purpose was not merely to monitor population movements, but to anchor people to their native places, and—in particular—to prevent unauthorized movement from the countryside to the city. The strong influence on population movement of registration was helped by the rationed supply system. People only can get their major food supply at their registered place. If residence registration is a legal control, then rationed supply is an economic one. People can move without paying attention to the registration office, but they can not carry enough food with them for weeks. This could be the main reason that China does not have the shanty areas surrounding the big cities which can be found in most third world countries. This again is an important deviation from the stage model.

Registration and rationed supply with state monopoly of purchase power aim to protect balanced development. In the past the government believed that balanced development could make all people richer step by step at the same time. They thought it was better to keep farmers in rural areas with their traditional houses and employment, rather than rushing to the city like the Scottish farmers did in the last century. To keep farmers on land is the stone to kill two birds: reducing the pressure in cities and producing the materials and food for industrial production. But this policy is socially unjustified. It gives different groups of people different opportunities, particularly between the rural and urban population. But in China, with the particular development stage, the control was a practicable approach the government chose. To change this control needs not only time but also development of the economy. There are already signs that the reforms of the 1980s are leading in this direction. In February 1989 just after the traditional Chinese New Year the People's Daily reported that about 30 thousands farmers from surrounding rural areas arrived at Guangzhou Railway Station per day for temporary work. The total number was said to be about 300 thousands. They live in the squares, road side, under bridges. This figure could terrify every western city government. This forces the Chinese central and local governments to consider introducing new measures to reduce this unofficial migration.
The effect of registration and the rational supply of basic living materials on the urbanisation process is enforced by another distinct government policy — land reform and nationalization and collectivization of land and state control of the property market. From 1949 to 1953 the government carried out a land reform movement which abolished traditional feudal land ownership and nationalized urban and suburban land, and redistributed land among the people in the rural areas which was later collectivized. Actually these land policies are another aspect of rationalizing of basic living conditions. Only the original piece of land occupied by individuals is legal for them to occupy. Any kind of transfer needs to be approved by the state. This made another contribution to the state control of city development which is very distinct from the Scottish land system.

To apply Van den Berg et al's model to the modern Chinese urban development superficially, one may conclude that China is now in the first stage of urbanisation and is transferring from a largely agrarian to an industrial society with some signs of suburbanisation in some large cities, particularly, since the government introduce economic reform policies in the late 1970s. The above examination suggests that China was in a forced industrialisation process — from cotton textiles to oil refineries in one generation. It was not a steady evolution, and hence the evolutionary premises implicit in Van den Berg et al's model are inappropriate, despite the fact that their basic prognosis (industrialisation = rural to urban migration and urban growth) is broadly consistent with events. The model could not give a clear picture of the changes of policy, strategy and urbanisation processes in the last four decades. More vigorous theories need to be applied, which focus on the process of change as well as the outcomes.

When reviewing different patterns of urbanisation under socialism, Murray and Szelenyi (1984) 'ranked' different patterns of urban development identified in different socialist countries 'according to the intensity of their antiurban bias' into a different stage model. In this model four different patterns were recognised: the deurbanisation stage, the zero urban growth strategy, underurbanisation, and socialist intensive urbanisation. Not all these stages or patterns could be clearly identified in the above
order in China, but they do represent the major urban policy changes in the country.

Generally, the success of a socialist revolution has been immediately followed by a drop in the urban population. In China due to the lack of data at that time it is difficult to confirm such a precise situation in the early 1950s, but this trend surely existed. A large group of old government troops and officials left the cities for Taiwan; many business men moved to Hong Kong and other places outside the Mainland; landlords returned to rural areas; and counter-revolutionaries were executed by the Communists. All made their contribution to the decline of the original urban population. On the other hand Communists moved into the cities and compensated for these loses. This confirms the claim that deurbanisation is ‘a change in the class composition of cities’ (Murray and Szelenyi 1984, p.94).

After the initial stage of deurbanisation, two alternative routes are identified by Murray and Szelenyi (1984) in socialist countries: they could either follow the Soviet strategy of ‘primitive socialist accumulation’/extensive industrialisation, or they could opt for the Chinese (Maoist) strategy which follows more organic growth patterns — the zero urban growth strategy. During the 1950s China was on a trajectory which was similar to the Soviet one. The first decade of the transition to socialism did produce a significant growth of urban industries, and this resulted in a quite significant increase in the urban population. According to Charles Cell (1980) the proportion of the urban population in China grew from 10.6 per cent in 1949 to 14.6 per cent in 1958. After 1958 both the economic growth strategy and the pattern of urbanisation changed. The most important change in the economic policy was the reorientation of industrialisation toward the communes. This strategy required very little population migration toward the urban centres. On the contrary, there were repeated attempts by the communists to move the population out of the cities to the country. As a consequence of this, the growth of urban population between 1958 and 1975 was rather slow (p.96).

The alternative route to zero growth strategy is underurbanisation. This is a phenomena under the ‘primitive socialist accumulation’, which led to an extremely fast
growth of urban industrial employment by the extraction of surplus from agriculture, and extreme savings from infrastructural investments (and, of course, low wage levels). From this point, the Chinese urban development in the Cultural Revolution period seems to exemplify these characteristics. Many new industrial factories were set up in existing urban areas or free-standing remote rural locations. Other urban infrastructure, such as housing, was ignored. Another feature of underurbanisation is that 'a new working class, a peasant working class was created from those who left full-time employment in agriculture and who took up industrial employment, but they remained village-dwellers and as such they maintained certain ties with small-scale, part-time agricultural production' (Murray and Szelenyi 1984, p.98). The underurbanisation strategy means a relatively delayed urban growth. From these points, urban development under the economic reform situation from 1979-1988 in China belongs to this category. The fact that large numbers of farmers left home for seasonal work in the construction industry in many large cities is a very good example. They live in the overcrowd rented houses with limited basic facilities. Some from the nearer suburbs keep commuting daily. This kind of industrial development without sufficient housing supply is the major characteristic of the underurbanisation strategy.

The fourth stage in Murray and Szelenyi's model is socialist intensive urbanisation. In this period urbanisation continues and actually at a faster pace, and infrastructural development also accelerates. At the same time employment in non-urban communities has increased. Agricultural production appears to increase, but this increase is in the industrial side branches of agricultural cooperatives and in rural service industries. “With concessions made by redistributive power to family work organisations, and even to small-scale private business, a new stratum or class appears to be in the making, the class of a new petty bourgeoisie, or possibly the class of a socialist bourgeoisie. Intensive urbanisation seems to emerge as the economy is moving towards a multisectoral system in which the state-owned and state-administered sector is significantly complemented by a petty commodity producing sector” (p.101) Again the Chinese reform in the rural areas to allow village industrial development, reform in urban areas to allow a high speed of urban development, particularly in service industries, and other infrastructural development, may suggest that China now is
transferring into the socialist intensive urbanisation stage. However, this transfer is not a straightforward event and is subject to changes in the country's political climate.

The original purpose of this socialist urban development model is to provide a comprehensive theoretical explanation of the nature of urbanisation under actually existing socialism. But it failed to answer the question what the socialist city will be in the future - will it be fundamentally different from the capitalist city? The authors recognised, on one hand, that as one progresses along the scale of socialist urbanisation the degree of antiurbanism gradually declines. On the other hand, they were 'slightly biased against a restorationist or convergence theory view' (p.103).

After all, during the last 60 years the social experiments with socialist policies have produced such a variety of patterns of urbanisation. Why should socialism not be different from capitalism in its intensive stage of growth when it was different in its earlier stages of development?

The restorationist or convergence theory suggest that what we have known as socialism was possibly only a particular strategy of economic development, industrialisation for countries on the periphery or semiperiphery of the world system. As the economic objectives are achieved and the nation-state becomes correspondingly less peripheral a conversion to the capitalist model is predicted. It is too early to totally reject this view. Most economic reform programmes in existing socialist countries seem to support the convergence theory, though not necessarily to confirm a restoration to capitalism. Political system reform started in Poland, Hungary and recently other Eastern European countries may give people another version of socialism which was unknown before. The 1989 events in China seem different from this trend, but there is another question - can this policy be sustained for long? Economic change towards devolved powers and local initiative brings about political change, while there are some important differences between them, several of the former Soviet satellite states of Eastern Europe are now explicitly seeking to re-establish some form of capitalism.

The argument here does not contradict Murray and Szelenyi's model. In contrast, this
model could be used beneficially in combination with Van den Berg et al's model to study urbanisation in the industrial periphery countries by substages. In the rapidly changing technological and socio-economic situation, Van den Berg et al's model seems too general, too Western in its focus, and each stage spans too long. Substages are necessary for a more realistic study. Murray and Szelenyi's findings could be applied to Van den Berg et al's model.

2.4 Conclusion

Even though China is different in territorial and population scale from Scotland, there are still similar elements which could lead to similar planning policies and support a comparison between them. Various physical conditions and the concentration of a majority of the population in limited lower land in both countries demand different development policies for different areas and concentration by planners on the densely populated urban areas with major physical, economic and social problems.

A comparison of industrialisation and urbanisation processes in the two countries tends, from a very general view, to support the development stage model proposed by Van den Berg and others. Many characteristics of industrialisation and urbanisation in China today are similar to the Scottish experience in the last century. Large manufacturing factories were built in existing cities, new cities appeared around mining industries in rural areas, rapid population development, mass population movement from rural areas to urban areas, overcrowding in cities and so on. Though many modern techniques are now employed by both countries, China still has a long way to reach the development level of basic industries such as material, energy, and transportation that Scotland has. These all mean that China and Scotland are at different stages of economic development. Although it is not easy to represent economic development level by a single statistic, the current GNP per capita and percentage of agricultural labour force may give some indications (Table 2.10).

Scotland with its advanced industrial development is one of the most urbanized coun-
Table 2.10: GNP and agricultural labour force in Britain and China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Britain</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th>China</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>GNP (US $)</td>
<td>1820</td>
<td>3920</td>
<td>8400</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>320</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>80.8</td>
<td>76.3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour Force %</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Data extracted from The Search_WB of Bath University Computing Services (BUCS) through the U.K. Academic Computer Network.

* Only Data for Britain as a whole is available from these World Tables. The Scottish GNP is recommended at about 10% lower than the U.K. figure.

tries in the world today, while in China, with 80 percent of its population still living in rural areas, the urbanisation process falls well behind. Furthermore the people in the two countries hold different attitudes towards urban development and the town and country relation. In Scotland after World War II, or even as early as the turn of the century, the disadvantages of life in urban areas, especially in large urban areas, were well understood. People, particularly rich people, tried to get away from the industrial city and move to rural areas. This middle class anti-urbanism is often recognised as an important element in the town planning movement. In China urban life is welcomed by most people. Migration towards the cities, particularly large cities, continues to pose serious problems for planners.

Planning as a kind of government intervention on urbanisation processes is introduced at different stages. Scottish planning was introduced at the suburbanisation stage when most population already lived in cities and towns; the planners' job was and is mainly to improve the urban living environment. In China planning was introduced almost simultaneously with the large scale first generation industry; the planners' job is mainly to make arrangements not only for people moving to cities from rural areas, but more importantly for new industries and other economic activities (this point will be developed in later chapters).
Though China's cities, particularly large cities, developed at a high speed, mass population movement has been under government control since 1949. This policy with its strengths in the particular historic, political, and administrative system — does make the Chinese urbanisation process different from the Scottish one in many aspects. This suggests that the simple stage model is not the perfect theory and too general to explain two different countries' urbanisation processes. The value of the model lies in the simplicity and generality, as is evident in the long time span for each stage. However such a broad model cannot explain the complex current planning issues and practice. The process in China is not a simple repeat of that in Scotland 100 years earlier. Technological improvement in China is now not like that in Scotland in the last century. Most industrial developments do not depend on new inventions by the local people, they are introduced from other parts of the world very quickly. The industry which developed over decades in Scotland could be built in a relatively short time. Furthermore the process is adjusted to take account of Chinese traditions. These differences all compromise the conventional stage model. Though the analysis in this chapter indicates that in comparison with Scotland China is at a lower stage of urbanisation process, it is hard to say where the country exactly stands now. Some characteristics in the Chinese urbanisation process are not shared by Scotland at all, which are not easily explained by stages. Population movement control and land nationalisation and collectivisation in China, for example, at a lower stage were never employed in Scotland. These two mechanisms, however, create some very distinct characteristics of Chinese urban development. The insights provided by Murray and Szylenyi are valuable in characterising industrialisation in peripheral countries that have followed a socialist path to development. These all mean that individual cultural and political environments are relevant and important. Before looking at the two countries' planning system, it is necessary to make a comparison of their political and administrative systems which is the subject of the next chapter, and then have a look their traditional style of planning which is done in the next part.
Chapter 3

Political and Administrative Systems

Administrative and political responsibility for planning, and the governmental structures established to implement the planning system, have a major influence on the style of planning practice, and they in turn reflect the legal and constitutional framework of the country. Consequently, the principal features of the governmental structure must be understood as a basis for understanding a country's planning system. (Williams 1984)

3.1 Introduction

The last chapter compared levels of economic development and urbanisation processes which are main indicators of national system characteristics. It concluded that China and Scotland are at different stages of economic development and urbanisation and raised the question of the effect of political systems on such processes. Though Chapter 2 argued that there are some time-lagged similarities between the two in terms of economic and technological development, there is still a question of whether progres-
sion along a similar evolutionary path might be prevented by the particular political systems. People may argue that as capitalism and socialism are so different, and the levels of development between China and Scotland are so different, there will be no real similarities at all in terms of political structures and operations. It is the objective of this chapter to test this proposition by making comparison of the two political and administrative systems. The main purpose is to identify similarities and differences between them and emphasize their distinct characteristics which will be reflected in their planning systems. Attention will also be paid to historical factors which shaped the political and administrative systems. The most appropriate research method is again library research, to identify, study and compare relevant publications.

Hambleton has pointed out that any attempts at national government comparisons will involve complexity and, if anything, a comparison focusing on the local government of two countries is even more tricky. This is because there are likely to be substantial differences between different cities within each country under examination (Hambleton 1978, pp.89-90). It is an ambitious task to compare two countries’ administrative systems. But if the research concentrates on several selected key system variables, desired results could still be achieved. For the objectives of understanding the planning systems and practice, this chapter examines the two countries’ political and administrative systems focusing on the following issues: the capitalist and the socialist nature of the societies, party politics and the relationships between officials and politicians, centralised and decentralized decision-making and organisational framework, and roles and responsibilities of central and local government institutions.

3.2 Capitalist Scotland and Socialist China?

Traditional Marxist analysis has outlined some of the general or defining characteristics of capitalism. These include the domination of the economy by a ruling class through the control of capital, the presence of a proletariat, the extraction of surplus value in the process of production and the presence of exchange systems required for production for sale. Edel (1981) outlined some additional elements of the capitalist
mode of production which allow for variation among capitalist societies including land ownership institutions, family and social institutions for the reproduction of labour power, the role of state, and the degree of unification and class consciousness in each of the two contending classes, the bourgeoisie and the proletariat.

Socialist systems are relatively difficult to define. White (1983) has argued that there are two structural features of a socialist system. The first is that the regime has:

broken ... the autonomous power of private capital over politics, production and distribution, abrogated the dominance of the law of value in its capitalist form, and embarked upon a development path which does not rely on the dynamics of private ownership and entrepreneurship.

A second requirement is that some fundamental transformations have been brought about to society and economy:

most notably, the nationalisation of industry, socialisation of agriculture, abolition or limitation of markets, and the establishment of a comprehensive planning structure and a politic-ideological system bent on the transition to an ultimate communist society (p.1).

Forbes and Thrift (1987) argued that an attempt such as this to determine the 'essence' of socialism is often of only limited use in deciding which countries are socialist and which are not, because the rhetoric of socialist regimes in developing countries can often conceal an economic and political situation not so very different from that to be found in developing countries which do not lay claim to instituting socialism (p.3). Another more pragmatic way of defining socialism often used is through a series of indicators of a socialist State including effective one-party rule, socialist goals in the constitution, a high and increasing degree of state ownership of industry and agriculture, the beginnings of a centralized command economy, and the direction of the external relations (Wiles 1982).

As with stage models, simple broad categories are helpful in giving a general picture
and stimulating ideas, but then tend to need refinement and disaggregation when set against the complexity of real situations. Firstly socialist countries are many in number, but, at the same time, they are far from homogeneous. The origins of revolutionary societies are crucial to their specific development. Secondly, even the concept of socialism in one country is changing from time to time. In China the explanation of socialism went through many changes in the past forty years. But two basic and fundamental characteristics have been claimed by Chinese communists and their sociologists: public ownership of the means of production and a planned economy. Class division under the Chinese socialist system is said to be destroyed and all people are the same. They work together for a common good, except “a few” counter-revolutionarists who from time to time do destruction to the society.

From these points the basic contrast between the two countries could be affirmed: capitalist Scotland and socialist China. General features of capitalism do exist in Scotland. Market dominated economic development, mainly private controlled capital and ownership of the means of production, the relative poverty of some working class people, a bourgeois party election system and private dominated landownership institutions are all distinct characteristics of capitalist society. But the traditional Marxist theories have difficulties in explaining all phenomena in the Scottish system. The theoretical class division between the ruling bourgeoisie and the proletariat seems too simple. The class structure has become more complex, the middle classes have not disappeared, a polarisation of classes has not taken place. Modern technology and government policies tend to blur divisions. The rise of a service class and the public sector further complicated the class question. Ownership of companies passed into the hands of institutions, so that managers of firms are not the owners. After the second World War public ownership of many industries gave the state some control over these sectors. The publicly owned coal, steel, shipbuilding, railways and local government itself have all been particularly important sectors of the Scottish economy. Though the present government desperately tries to privatize some state owned industries and services, they take a different form of ownership pattern from the traditional capitalist. Shares owned by ordinary people help to create a “popular capitalism”. Central and local governments from time to time employed policies to intervene in
the performance of the market economic system. Local governments have introduced many services to local people which have a socialist character (e.g., subsidised public transport, or housing) though with the “New Right” Conservatives\(^1\) in power these public services have been squeezed or abandoned. Planning could be seen as a most obvious adjustment to the capitalist mode of production, though its role in economic development is limited.

In China classic Marxism found difficulties to explain the revolution from the very beginning. Marxism is itself a *stage* model, heavily influenced by Darwinism. The socialist system is a higher level society after capitalism. But the Chinese communists gained power before any comprehensive capitalist development stage in the country. A communist government was established from the largely traditional structures of feudalism. The achievements of industrialisation and urbanisation developed in the West under a capitalist system were now to become major goals of the socialist government. Chinese socialism became the alternative to capitalism as a means to transform the feudal system to a modern one.

The establishment of a socialist system in China did not mean an immediate end of the old production mode. The feudal class structure did not dissolve overnight. Firstly, with manufacturing accounting for a relatively small proportion of the national economy and the industrial work-force a minority within the whole population, the country is predominantly occupied by peasants who make up 80% of the population and who are engaged in traditional farming activities. They are neither proletarian, nor capitalists. Their properties, land, and other production tools are not publicly owned by the state — ‘the people as a whole’ — though a test was made with the creation of people’s communes in which they were only collectivized. The recent reform has abandoned those communes. Private ownership is the major characteristic of rural China, except land which is theoretically still owned collectively. Secondly, in the cities, though the capitalist class was destroyed and workers became the masters, not all workers became the managers of their factory. Workers do not directly receive

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\(^{1}\) Conservatives were not so anti-collectivist until the 1980s. There was a long period of substantial consensus from 1945-1979.
basic living materials from the state equally, but wages and other services, such as housing which are often not distributed equally. In addition, the country never successfully destroyed the capitalist exchange mode — the market. Agricultural and industrial products are exchanged at free market or at government fixed prices at state controlled shops. Conflicts of interest over ideology and sectoral struggles persist. The recent economic reform did not only bring back some capitalist production, exchange and management methods to the socialist economy with a hope to speed up the modernisation, but also produced some changes to the socialist theories. Among them the initial stage of socialism theory allows an interesting change of the economic development mode from a planned socialist economy to a Chinese style socialist planned commodity economy\(^2\). Under this theory international cooperation and private foreign direct investment in business or open enterprises become legal. Private sector development is now under the protection of the state Constitution, though the western political ideology and system were strongly resisted by some in high level posts.

Although, as Szylenyi argued, state socialism is distinct from capitalism, both are dynamic - i.e. constantly changing; and the general and simple division frequently adopted can indeed be misleading. The development in the last decade shows that the two systems have actually been converging. Though basic contrasts can be identified between them, the "production mode" is becoming relatively similar to each other. This opens the great possibility for making comparative studies between them and improving one by the experience of the other. Further detailed examination may find more similarities.

\(^2\)After the Event in May and early June 1989 in Beijing Mr. Deng Xiao Ping (1989) talks about planned economy with market regulation which is an old expression of a development model in the 1950s. Whether the re-use of this term means an enlarged planning role and reduced market function it is still hard to say.
3.3 Central Government and Party Systems — Where is Power?

The most striking and obvious difference between the two countries in political and administrative aspects is the party political system. Scotland, not as a nation state but as part of Britain, has a multi-party system, while China has a socialist government controlled by the Communist Party only. From this point one may anticipate great differences between them. However it is still possible to identify similarities. The following analysis is intend to answer the question — Where is the power and what is an individual’s influence on party politics and central government policies? — by looking at the party systems and their relationships with central governments.

3.3.1 Scotland

1688 ended the absolute power of the Monarch in Scotland. 1707 saw the union of the English and Scottish Parliaments. Gradual progression changed the country from feudalism to agrarian, then industrial capitalism, and from quasi-Feudal Parliamentary rule to extended franchise and a plural party system. It is necessary to start with the British government in London to understand central government in Scotland.

In the latter part of the last century the British system of central administration was both unified and simple in structure. The main functions of government were the traditional ones of defence, foreign and colonial affairs, maintaining law and order, raising revenue, and encouraging trade. In the present century this system has been immensely complicated by the vast extension of the activities of government. Many of the new activities differ from the old in that they involve administrators in a much greater measure of positive action on their own initiative. The system as a whole is now untidy and cannot be said to be based on a clear set of principles. But the development of the British administrative system has been smooth and without radical change for over one hundred years (Birch 1980, pp.177-194). In the present
system, beside the ceremonial role of the Crown — the head of the state, three functional parts could be found: Parliament (Lords and Commons), Judiciary (courts and judges) and the Government Departments and the Cabinet.

Strictly the Monarch invites someone to form a government. It does not have to be the leader of the party with most seats, let alone most votes. In practice the party who wins the general election organizes central government — the Cabinet and Departments, while other parties compose the opposition in the Commons. In theory, Parliament governs the country, and controls the government. In practice Cabinet controls Parliament through party and patronage. The real dichotomy in British politics is between the government and the opposition (Birch 1980, p.196). The real power resides in the Cabinet, not in Parliament. The Prime Minister has absolute power on major policy issues during his or her office term or terms, provided his/her MPs remain loyal to the party.

The development of government in Scotland is unique from other parts of Britain. On one hand the rapid industrialisation in the last century with its consequent social problems, proved too great a strain on the resources of the traditional self-sufficiency of the Scottish institutions, such as the church, local government and private philanthropy. It is little wonder that Scots became more and more concerned with government from Whitehall. On the other hand, to ensure that government in Scotland could efficiently perform the ever wider range of functions, it was necessary to administer them in such a way that the special circumstances of Scotland should be taken into account. 1885 saw the creation of the first Secretary for Scotland and the Scottish Office at Dover House in London. From this time to 1939 the office only performed political control and liaison between departments in London while the bulk of administration was carried on in Scotland (mainly in Edinburgh) by other Scottish boards and departments (Kellas 1980).

The Reorganisation of Offices (Scotland) Act, 1939, established a new Scottish Office in St Andrew's House, Edinburgh with four administrative departments whose functions were directly vested in the Secretary of State for Scotland. A small number of
staff retained in London were there to assist the ministers in the parliamentary, legal and liaison work of the office. From 1939 until the present day the main development has been the general increase in the functions performed by the Scottish Office. Now the office has five departments.

The functional division between the Scottish Office and the other departments in the Whitehall has been based on the assumption that some services are essentially Scottish, while others must be organised on a British basis. Thus education, law and order, agriculture, fisheries and local government are agreed to be Scottish, while social security, taxation and customs and excise are by consent United Kingdom functions.

There are two weaknesses of Scottish central administration: administrative and political. In the administrative aspects, there is always the risk of confusion between Scottish departments and other central government departments in London on many policy issues, such as economic development, industry, energy, transport and so on. Also due to the small territorial scale many Scottish ministers are served by the civil servants who have been generalists rather than specialists (Kellas 1980, p.109). This weakness is further developed by the way the Scottish Office is organised by the party system.

The political weakness of Scottish central government is represented by the fact that the Secretary of State for Scotland and the Scottish Office are not directly elected by the Scots. The party which wins the general election in the UK as a whole fills the posts of the Secretary of State for Scotland and other ministers in the office. So while theoretically speaking, Scottish affairs are decentralized to the Scottish Office, in fact most important political decisions are made by the government in London. The present situation serves as a good example. The 1987 general election turned out 72 MPs for Scottish seats with only 10 of them representing the winning Conservative party and an Opposition of 62 MPs (comprising 50 Labour, 7 Liberal, 3 SNP and 2 SDP members). Over and above any political problems the first problem for the Secretary of State was to find a ministerial team and organise central bodies such
as the Scottish Standing Committees and the Scottish Select Committee from such a small number of MPs. The government had fallen below the threshold of around 13 MPs which had previously been considered essential for keeping Scottish business going in the Commons (Dowle 1988).

The generally democratic multi-party electoral system in Britain as a whole conceals the undemocratic nature of the Scottish system. One of the best examples of the government treating Scotland undemocratically is the first introduction of the Community Charge (poll tax) there, though this policy faced wide-spread opposition from the public and was supported by a tiny minority of Scottish MPs - the 10 Conservatives. A possible reason for that decision might be that the government feels there is nothing to lose in Scotland due to its unpopularity there already.

Since the 1960s, the system of Scottish administration has come increasingly under attack, leading to the demands for devolution. Many felt that the whole system of Scottish government should be made responsible to a directly elected Scottish legislative body — the Scottish Assembly. Different parties have different attitudes toward devolution. Under the present government there seems no possibility for the establishment of such a body in the near future. “When Margaret Thatcher undertook her annual visit to Scotland in September 1987, she had already abandoned her earlier intention that she should simply listen to the Scots in an effort to understand why her party failed to secure more than 24 per cent at the polls. Instead, she characteristically launched into a denunciation of devolution, and again proclaimed a greater dose of Thatcherism as the path to success for Scotland.” (Dowle 1988, p.22) This also reveals that even in the British democratic system there is great individual influence on party strategy and government policy, and the accountability of the elected government to its electorate can be very uneven across different parts of the country.

Central political control of Scotland is also represented in the European Parliament. Though the Conservatives had few or even no MEPs (from June 1989) from Scotland, the Conservative government is the only legal representative body for Scotland. This political centralisation is not fundamentally different from the Chinese political system.
at least in the last ten years when the two countries were under one party control. One may argue that a multi-party system is different from the communist control, but the policy shifts and group struggles within the communist party itself might be seen as an alternative form of competitive politics.

3.3.2 China

In China, the well developed feudal government control and the rule of Emperors continued over two thousand years without radical change until the overthrow of the feudal system in 1911. Since then two governments have followed each other. The Republic of China led by Dr. Sun Yen-sen was established in 1911. In the first decade the new government was controlled by warlords then followed by the Guomindang Government. This was replaced by the Communist Government in 1949. Each of those governments was organised by a different group of people and guided by distinct ideologies (feudalism, capitalism and socialism). Each of those changes was a result of a radical revolution. But all these changes happened within the Chinese culture, and were limited by the traditional Chinese ideologies. Every change was based on the old one. For instance, the Qing dynasty system, with the heritage of the Ming Dynasty, became the legacy to the revolutionaries (Figure 3.1). The ideology of Confucianism still plays its role in modern Chinese decision-making. The first two of the three cardinal guides (ruler guides subject, father guides son, and husband guides wife) combined with modern administrative technologies made up the principle of the Chinese administrative system. Centralized government control is the main characteristic of these governments. This centralized control was further influenced by Stalinism and is also represented in the modern Chinese planning system (This can be seen more clearly in the local government structure).

The present Central Government in China was organized in 1949 according to the Central People’s Government Organisation Law which was passed by the First Chinese People’s Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC) on 27th September 1949\(^3\).

\(^3\)CPPCC was organized before the declaration of the establishment of the new government in
Figure 3.1: Administrative system in Qing dynasty
According to this Law Chinese Government is based on the principle of 'centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance' — a people's democratic dictatorship (Central People's Government Organisation Law, article 2, in the Law Book of PRC 1949-1950). The basic structure of the government was proposed by the CPPCC and was written into the first Constitution of PRC passed in September, 1954. This Constitution kept the basic structure of central government and made guidelines for local government organisation.

The central legislative body is the National People's Congress (NPC) — the highest organ of state power. Acting for it between sessions is the NPC Standing Committee. NPC deputies are elected by the people's congresses of provinces, autonomous regions and municipalities directly under the Central Government and by the armed forces for five-year terms. The NPC has permanent committees on Nationalities, Law; Finance and Economics; Education, Science, Culture and Public Health; Foreign Affairs; Overseas Chinese Affairs; Internal Affairs and Justice. These special committees work under the direction of the NPC Standing Committee.

The NPC, in turn, organizes the four major parts of the government machine. The State Council, which replaced the Administration Council in 1954, is the executive body of central government; the People's Revolutionary Military Commission which is now called the Central Military Commission (CMC) of PRC, takes charge of state military affairs; the Supreme People's Court is the top judicial organ; and lastly the Supreme People's Procuratorate. Theoretically speaking, the NPC is the Chinese parliament with supreme power, in practice, the situation is compromised by the ruling power of Chinese Communist Party (CCP). The nature of the socialist state and Communist Party control make these state organs work in a different and compromised style compared to western practice. Often a person's power in the government is not necessarily determined by his or her position in the state organ, the real power comes from his or her position within the CCP Central Committee.

1949. It had representatives from the CCP, eight other communist recognised democratic parties and different social groups, and played a very important role in the establishment of the government. It still exists and usually hold its conference at about the same time as the National People's Congress.
The Chinese Communist Party  

CCP is the only ruling Party. The Central Committee of CCP and its Central Political Bureau, the Standing Political Bureau are the key organisations with real power in the centre. The leaders of the Communist Party were and are powerful in all central and local organisations. Ever since the establishment of the PRC the CCP has held to the theoretical position that the party makes policy but the state implements it (Goodman 1984). There was a time when all government administrative works were under the Party's control and the Party boss automatically become the top leader of the organisation or government. Under the economic reform situation, the Party was trying to divorce itself from other administrative bodies. The new Party Constitution (different from the State Constitution of PRC) wrote:

'The activities of the Party must be in the scope of the national Constitution and under the control of laws. The Party must ensure that national legislative, executive and judicial organs, the economic, cultural organisations and social groups work positively, independently and cooperatively.'

The Party Conference in 1987 enforced this policy and made another move towards separation of the Party and the administration. But there is no sign that the Constitution making body — the NPC — controls the CCP, rather all the evidence shows the NPC is strictly under the control of the Party.4

The Party's strategy is to guide the country's development along a socialist road. For this purpose, all important matters related to national development and personnel changes in central government (including the legislature, judiciary and executive) must be approved by the Party. This does not mean 'every thing must be under the Party's leadership'. The day to day work of the government is carried out by the state organs. This may suggest that under the Communist Party, the Chinese government's role is only like the functions performed by the Scottish Office where political affairs are constantly controlled by the party from London.

The Opposition parties play a very important role in policy-making in Scotland. All

4After June 1989 the power of the Party has been re-emphasised.
parties have their purpose to win an election. The political issues are mainly those between parties. Each tries to find and criticise other's mistakes. Each Party represents a particular interest of certain groups of people. In China because of the dominant role of the CCP, other parties (8 of them) only play consultative roles. They are not oppositions but allies of the CCP. These so called democratic parties make suggestions or criticize government policies through the People's Political Consultative Conference (CPPCC). The other way for them to influence the government is through their representatives to the National and Local People's Congresses. This power is limited by the fact that the NPC itself is not the real supreme decision making organ. These parties' role is affected by the CCP's influence on their own organisation and leadership. During the Cultural Revolution those parties' consultative role was ignored and many parties were disorganized. Since the fall of the Gang of Four, democratic parties have played more and more important roles in the country's political life. But with the assertion of the Four Basic Principles (insisting on Marxism and Mao Tze Tung's thought, the leadership of the Communist Party, the socialist road, and proletarian dictatorship) by Mr Deng Xiao, there is no place for anyone to organise an opposition.

Though the Chinese political system is different from the Scottish one because of single party control, this difference should not be exaggerated. There are facts to prove similarities between them. Firstly, CCP is constantly influenced by individual ideology and special persons such as Chairman Mao and Mr Deng Xiao Ping .... Personal differences in ideologies, particularly those in the centre, could generate policy changes as great as those caused by the change of a ruling party and the government in Scotland. Political and economic development policies during the Cultural Revolution were very different from the policies generated by those taking over after Mao's leadership in the 1980s. This personal influence is also similar to the influence of Mrs. Thatcher in Britain in the last decade, a phenomenon that has been widely commented upon by political columnists. This influence is not necessarily related to the socialist nature of China, but to the particular feudal background. Secondly, personal influence led to another characteristic of the party: group differences with ideologies, policies and also group struggle (class struggle). Though the CCP has been in control since 1949, central government policy shift (from right to left, from
agriculture to industry, from coast to inland, from urban to rural, from nationalisation to privatisation, from centralisation to decentralisation, from market to planning or vice versa) is as often as that resulting from general elections in Scotland. The effects of personnel change on development policy in China are not essentially different from those due to changes of government in Scotland. The only difference is that in China the general public is deeply involved in the political movement yet does not have real political power, such as the power to choose their own leader. But this difference between the two societies should not be overemphasized. It has less to do with the socialist system, than with the remaining feudal characteristics of the society and the low stage of economic development. The large proportion of the rural population with very low levels of education not only represent the backward nature of the economic structure, but also the consciousness of democracy. If the urban and rural population percentage were reversed, the political and administrative system would be very different from that today, because urban industrial society requires more sophisticated knowledge and skills amongst a wider proportion of the population. A democratic system also provides the chance for exchange of ideas and building of organisations.

China has a written Constitution, which could be thought as another difference from the Scottish government system, but it could be changed by the NPC conference every five years. Constitutional revisions have always been an important agenda item for the Conference. The first Constitution written in 1953 on the First NPC Conference had be revised six times by March 1988 (the Seventh NPC Conference). The recent change gives the right to exchange State owned urban land, putting land use right into a market relationship (People’s Daily, Overseas Edition, March 18, 1988). This change may bring other changes to the land use planning system (which we will examine later). To some extent the Chinese Constitution is something similar to a British party’s manifesto.

One might expect that differences in politics in the two countries would be significant to their planning systems. In Scotland economic development is always the main issue for each party. For a successful election the Party makes policies which may benefit those groups who might vote for them. Because the term of office is 4 or 5 years,
policies sometimes are piecemeal rather than comprehensive. Though the government might make policies to prepare the road for winning the next election, once in power its concerns are more about short-term strategies. Economic development relies more on the market nationally and internationally than on planning. Change of office of the government makes a long-term planning strategy very difficult to practice. This also affects decisions on major national land use issues as well.

In China the CCP has its purpose to lead the people to Communism and prevent other non-communist parties from taking power. Proletarian dictatorship determines the communist government's commitment to planning. A free market could not develop into Communism. Theoretically, long-term strategies become possible. The Great Leap Forward in the 1958, though concerned with economic development, was also seen as a means to speed up the transformation to Socialism. The Cultural Revolution had the same purpose though it did not have the same regard to economic development. The recent economic reform has its precondition on a socialist road. However the government did not produce a realistic long-term plan.

Though long-term economic and social development plans were advocated from time to time, the practical plans were those Five Year (which is comparable to the terms of each elected government in Britain) Economic Development Plans. In the past forty years, seven such plans were implemented; only the first one (1953-57), and the most recent two (the sixth and the seventh which cover the ten year economic reform period) are thought to be properly carried out. Even these three were changed during their implementation (those plans will be studied later). The introduction of some market mechanisms is said to have the purpose of reaching the planned goal quickly, and not to replace planning forever. This is the present leadership's hope. The real future lies ahead to be seen.
3.4 Local Government

Planning, particularly land use planning, is an activity at local level. Though central political power and administration can affect planning performance at both national and local levels through legislation, planning practice is determined by the power and ability of local governments. This section examines the two countries' local government systems: their evolution, structures, functions, finance and relation with the central government and party organisations. The two systems will be discussed in terms of their degree of centralisation and decentralisation, arguably an understated dimension in traditional analysis of politics. By this more similarities and differences might be identified.

Some degree of local government characterizes every state in the world; the degree is all-significant. Local government means authority to determine and execute measures within a restricted area, smaller than the whole state. The variant, local self-government, is important for its emphasis upon the freedom of the locality to decide and act. Local government is often, but not necessarily, related to deconcentration which may mean that for the mere convenience of a congested central government some functions have been devolved to administration on the spot, rather than from the centre, but are still administered through officials appointed by and responsible to the centre. On the other hand, local self-government is related to the term decentralisation which represents local government in areas where the authority to decide has been devolved to a council of locally elected persons acting in their own discretion with officials they themselves freely appoint and discipline. (Encyclopedia Britannica, Vol. 14, pp.178-179) The following analysis reveals some of the complexities of modern local governments in Scotland and China.

3.4.1 Scottish Local Government

Evolution and Structure  Traditionally local government in Scotland, as elsewhere in the United Kingdom, was based upon the division between town and country,
represented by the burghs and counties. Counties were first established in early Stuart times, mainly for purposes of law enforcement, while burgh charters, granted by the sovereign, nobility or church, date as far back as the twelfth century. After 1833, it was open to any community of 2000 or more inhabitants to apply for a charter. Within the counties were parishes, reflecting the organisation of the church (Keating and Midwinter 1983, p.95).

The most significant changes occurred in response to the ills of the industrial revolution. As the industrial revolution proceeded and towns developed, there came needs - improved highways, street paving, and lighting, more efficient police, better public health, and, eventually, public education. Early central government practice was to set up a separate authority with powers relating to one function of government in a specific locality. The pattern of authorities became very confusing. Reforms in 1889 and 1929 sought to reflect modern needs by transferring powers to larger units. In 1889 county councils were established, followed shortly after by the raising of the four cities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee and Aberdeen into 'counties of cities', single-tier authorities with all local government powers. Outside the cities, counties shared powers with districts, burghs and parishes. By 1894 elected parish councils had taken over a variety of local affairs. In 1929, a major reform of local government took place. The parishes were abolished and the small burghs lost most of their functions to the counties. After the reform the Scottish local government system consisted of:

| Counties of cities (all-purpose) | 4 |
| County councils               | 33 |
| Large burghs                  | 21 |
| Small burghs                  | 176 |
| District councils             | 196 |

Apart from the four cities the 1929 system could be described as a four-tier system (Monies 1985, pp.2-3).

The Second World War altered the role of local authorities. A number of important functions have been taken away from local government and transferred to various ad
hoc bodies. The central government had strong economic, financial and social powers and the local authorities became agents of central administration. In the 1960s there were moves for a new reform of local government in Scotland. The old system was seen as out-dated, inefficient and ill-fitted to the social and economic patterns of contemporary society. In particular, the division between town and country was seen as hampering much-needed economic and land use planning, industrial and residential development and improved service provision. Planning for economic and population growth was the dominant concern and central government needed a structural framework to encourage and accommodate expansion. There was an emphasis on the capital investment programmes of the local authorities: infrastructure needed to be planned at an extensive spatial scale.

The Royal Commission on Local Government in Scotland was set up in May 1966 under the Chairmanship of Lord Wheatley. The Commission developed the ideas of power, effectiveness, local democracy and local involvement. Keating and Midwinter (1983) note the rethinking of the nature of local government which underpinned the Report of the Royal Commission:

'Local government should be enabled to play a more important, responsible and positive part in the running of the country, to bring the reality of government nearer to the people. Therefore, local government should be equipped to provide services in the most satisfactory manner, particularly from the point of view of the people receiving the services. This necessitated democratic control, and thus power had to be exercised through elected representatives. Local democracy, however, needed a wider interpretation than traditional representative government, and public participation should bring the people into the process of reaching decisions as much as possible, and enable those decisions to be made intelligible to the people.' (p.97)

The studies of the Commission suggested that advantages would derive from the creation of larger units of local government. Most weight of all was given to the planners of the Scottish Development Department (SDD) whose concerns for strategic
planning and the 'city-region' were closely reflected in the Commission's report. The Commission proposed an upper tier of 7 regional authorities controlling all the major services including housing, and a second tier of 37 district authorities based on the 'shire' level. At the local level there should be community councils.

The Wheatley recommendations were inherited by the incoming Conservative government in 1970 and were accepted with minor modifications. The local government was reformed in 1973 (effective from 1975). An additional region was created in the Borders and Fife 'survived' to be a region. Separate all-purpose island authorities were introduced for Orkney, Shetland and the Western Isles. The local government structure in 1991 is as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>British Government</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scottish Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island Authorities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional Councils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>District Councils</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(There are some Community Councils)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The internal structure of Scottish local government is made up by two parts: the elected members who form the Council and the appointed officials who organise the functional departments. The full council elect or choose the head of the council which is usually influenced by the party composition. Though there are arguments that local government should not be organised on party lines, party political conflict has increasingly become the norm in the local government system, particularly since 1975, though there are still some "Independents" mainly in rural areas. This forms a major difference between Scotland and China. A Scottish local authority could be controlled by a different party from the party which controls the central government. Through the 1980s the vast majority were controlled by anti-Conservative parties. All Chinese local governments are ruled by the CCP branches. Although there are changes in personnel from time to time, they are all Communist members. In addition senior officials are also likely to be CCP members. This is again different from the Scottish system, where non-party officers (professionals) advise and elected politicians
decide, at least in theory, though in practice the officers, consciously or otherwise, can use their expertise to at least structure the agenda for politicians. The politicians are elected for fixed terms, while the officers are not changed when the control of the council shifts between or within parties.

The full council organises various committees and sub-committees to assist the council’s decision-making. The composition of committees reflects the balance of political parties on the full council. The majority party will take convenorships. Some committees may include a few ‘co-opted’ members. Local government committees and departmental structures are represented by the example of Edinburgh District (Figure 3.2).

**Functions** Apart from the 3 islands areas, local government functions are divided between the region and district. Most services are supplied by one authority, but some functions are shared by both regional and district authorities (Figure 3.3). Planning responsibility was divided by the 1973 Act between the two tiers of local government. Broadly speaking, regions are responsible for strategic planning by preparing regional reports and structure plans, while districts look after development control and produce local plans. However, in the Highland, Borders and Dumfries and Galloway Regions, where the regional councils are general planning authorities, they discharge all planning functions, including development control. In the late 1970s discussion about overlapping functions led to the setting up of the Stodart Committee of Inquiry into Local Government in Scotland. The planning function was a major issue under investigation, but the Committee endorsed the status quo. (The recommendations on the planning function in the Report will be discussed in Chapter 4.)

**Finance** The performance of local government functions is determined by how much economic power the local authority has. Scottish local government income derives from the following sources nowadays, which could be broken up into capital and revenue income:

1. capital income
   
   - money borrowed from the Public Works Loan Board and various other
Population 439,672

Council: Chairperson

Committees:
- Policy and Resources Committee
- Housing Committee
- General Purposes Committee
- Finance Committee
- Planning and Development Committee
- Recreation Committee
- Environmental Health Committee
- Technical Services Committee
- Personnel Committee
- Appeals Personnel Committee
- Economic Development and Estates Committee
- Woman's Committee
- Decentralisation Committee
- Direct Labour Organisation Committee
- Housing Benefits Review Board

The Departments
- Chief Executive
- Head of Community Services
- Head of Information Processing
- Department of Administration
- Department of Finance
- Department of Technical Services
- Department of Cleansing Services
- Department of Public Relations and Tourism
- Department of Economic Development and Estates
- Department of Physical Planning
- Department of Housing
- Department of Recreation
- Department of Environmental Health
- Department of Personnel and Management Services

Source: Scotland's Regions (1989-90) - Incorporating County and Municipal Year Book for Scotland (58th Edition). Published by Culross Coupar Angus.

Note: Not all Committees directly match the Departments; some Committees and Departments reflect the innovations of the 1980s and Labour control, e.g. Women's Committee and 'Economic Development'.

Figure 3.2: Committees and Departments of Edinburgh District (1989-90)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regional functions</th>
<th>District functions</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Education and career service</td>
<td>Housing</td>
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<tr>
<td>Social Work</td>
<td>Recreation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Roads and public transport</td>
<td>Environmental health</td>
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<tr>
<td>Structure planning</td>
<td>Local planning</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Police</td>
<td>* Development control</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Fire</td>
<td>* Building control</td>
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<tr>
<td>+ Water</td>
<td>* Comprehensive urban development</td>
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<tr>
<td>Severage</td>
<td>* Listed buildings</td>
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<tr>
<td>Lighting</td>
<td>* Conservation areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aerodromes, ferries and Harbours</td>
<td>* Libraries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Flood prevention and coastal protection</td>
<td>* Ancient monuments</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil defence</td>
<td>Museums and art galleries</td>
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<tr>
<td>Consumer protection</td>
<td>Derelict land</td>
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<tr>
<td>Diseases of animals</td>
<td>Food hygiene</td>
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<tr>
<td>Industrial development</td>
<td>Food standards and labelling</td>
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<tr>
<td>Valuation and rating</td>
<td>Public conveniences</td>
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<tr>
<td>Electoral registration</td>
<td>Slaughthouses</td>
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<tr>
<td>Registration of births, marriages and deaths</td>
<td>Burial and cremation</td>
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<td>War memorials</td>
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<td>Health and safety at work</td>
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<td>Employment of young persons</td>
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<td>Shop hours</td>
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<td>Licensing</td>
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<td>Allotments</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Civic restaurants</td>
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<td></td>
<td>District courts</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tourism</td>
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<td>Countryside</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Parks</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Nature conservation</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Caravan sites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Community centres</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes:

+ They are often exercised by joint boards of neighbouring councils.

* Except in Highland, Boarder and Dumfries and Galloway regions where these are regional functions.

Source: Monies G. 1985, Local government in Scotland, Appendix B

Figure 3.3: The division of local government functions in Scotland
institutions including private banks, and other local authorities

- grants from central government and the EEC
- receipts from sales of assets - most notably council housing and land.

2. revenue income

- rates (from the occupiers of property), replaced by the community charge (Poll Tax) from April, 1989
- revenue (rate) support grant (RSG)
- charges from services like transport, housing, recreation, etc..

Local government finance became a very controversial issue in the 1980s as the Conservative Government began to impose controls and penalties on "overspending" by local authorities, while Labour councils in particular sought to "improve services and create jobs". These conflicts impinge directly on the centralisation issue. Central government took powers to impose ceilings on local authority budgets, and in doing so made the whole system much more centralised.

Central-local relations Though the list of local government finance shows many sources, the actual powers of Scottish local government to raise finance are very limited and have become more limited because of legislation passed in recent years. Much economic power is in the hands of central government. A key feature of the 1980s has been diminution of powers of local authorities by central government. Firstly, the capital income has been greatly limited by the central government decisions which no longer allow local authorities to borrow money for their own projects without central permission. Less grant is directly given to local authorities and more through centrally controlled agencies for public assisted projects. All those measures forced local councils to reduce their budgets. Secondly, the Abolition of Domestic Rates (Etc) Scotland Act (1987) was predicted to reduce local authority control over income in Scotland from 44 per cent to less than 20 per cent (Fairley 1988). All these come from the Conservative policy to support the private sector and alter the balance between public control and private development. This led to a centralisation of authority and a commensurate weakening of the local authorities. Planning as a major local
government intervention has been affected. Behind these major conflicts are contrasting ideologies: Conservatives have sought privatisation and consumer rights within a strong central government framework; Labour has emphasised collective services and local democratic accountability.

Thirdly, the changed relationship between central and local governments in Scotland is represented by the growth of central government agencies — Quangos — such as the Health Boards, SDA, Training Commission etc. These Quangos controlled by central government play a very important role in local economic and social development and have taken away much local authority influence. The Scottish Development Agency, for example, was established in 1975 to further economic development, promote industrial efficiency and improve the environment. Its origins can be traced through 30 years of regional planning in Scotland. The Agency’s role in urban renewal was not explicitly foreseen in 1975 but, together with environmental action, its investment in these fields had grown by 1984 to exceed greatly direct spending on industry. This reflected a major shift in regional development strategy, and partial central government displacement of the physical planning role of Scottish local authorities. The strategic influence of the Agency in urban policy had become highly significant in Scotland, and innovative in the United Kingdom (Wannop 1984).

In considering central/local relations it is important to note the role of COSLA, which brings together all Scottish local authorities and represents their collective views to government. This is an evidently ‘corporatist’ body — set up in the 1970s when such modes were very prevalent — government would sit down with representatives of big vested interests — the CBI, TUC etc — and thrash out agreed programmes. In the 1980s COSLA’s influence has been diminished but it is still a significant body and has, of course, been Labour controlled, so has been a voice of opposition to central

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5 This word is an acronym composed of the first letters of the description of such bodies as a “Quasi Autonomous Non-Governmental Organisation.”

6 In a sense SDA occupied a contradictory role under the ‘free market’ Conservative ideology, except to the extent that it was a means for the local excise of central power. SDA and the Training Agency merged in April 1991 to become Enterprise Scotland. HIDB disappeared into Highland Enterprise.
government policies. There are no equivalent 'horizontal' links in the Chinese system which is more of a hierarchy with intermediate tiers receiving instructions from above and passing orders down to lower tiers.

'Going Local' Most politicians of all parties would accept that local authorities tend to be too remote and inflexible, a bureaucracy which provides services to the public which are often less than satisfactory. There are however fundamentally different responses to these problems. The current government policy tends to cut local authority functions and privatize many of their services and provide freedom for consumers to spend their money as they like. Choice is to be expressed as far as possible through the market. Inefficient local authority services should be supplanted by the private sector operating within a free market according to the natural laws of profit. Another school (some traditional Labour councils) argue that local authority services could be improved within the traditional town hall framework. All that is required is increased resources and some careful political management. Recently many people have come to look towards decentralisation, or 'going local' as the answer to the seemingly faceless bureaucracy and inefficiency that so often characterizes local government. The principal vehicle for local socialism in the 1980s was the decentralisation of local authority services and the devolution of power to local groups (Taylor 1989). Though the lead was taken by English authorities, within Scotland, Edinburgh District Council has proposed comprehensive and ambitious plan to decentralise a full range of services locally, along with community decision making. The scheme proposed 30 local offices which would be established throughout the city. The local office is to be the council's link with the community, through which it will provide information and advice, deliver local services, receive applications and encourage community involvement in council affairs. The local offices will do what the present centrally based departments do in serving the community. The difference is, by being locally based, less bureaucratic, and with devolved responsibility, it will do it better, more quickly and more responsibly (Edinburgh District Council, November 1986). The actual implementation of this scheme has taken longer and been more problematic than the original rhetoric anticipated.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Stages</th>
<th>Services Needed</th>
<th>Local Government Structure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial (before 1860)</td>
<td>Law and order enforcement, control on trade etc.</td>
<td>The division between town and country, (the Scottish burgh and county councils), the parished reflected by the church organisation within the counties</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrialisation (1860-1970)</td>
<td>Improved highways, street paving, lighting, efficient police, sanitation and better public health, and education</td>
<td>Town and country division continues but with strong urban councils, weaker rural councils; various separated authorities with confused power distribution.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-Industrial (Since 1970)</td>
<td>Economic development, city-regional planning, special house provision, social work etc.</td>
<td>Rationalised structure — fewer authorities, concentration of major functions in regional tier of government. Search for public involvement.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.4: A stage model of local government in Scotland

The above discussion of the Scottish local government system suggests that there are links between the development of a local government system and the progress of technology. Arguably a *stage* model of local authority development can be identified (Figure 3.4). Along with the process of industrialisation, local government functions have developed from law and order enforcement, physical environmental consideration and related service provision to more comprehensive roles such as city-regional planning and social work. The structure of local authorities also improved to practise these functions. The 1973 reform, for example, seems to be matching the needs of ‘post-industrial’ technology. There is a thesis that ‘Fordism’ created mass production/mass consumption societies which needed an extended welfare state to sustain demand. The 1970s reform was to rationalise and streamline the system that had developed *ad hoc*. It is argued that ‘Fordism’ hit problems — it was too inflexible and diseconomics of scale became evident. Computer technology allows a shift to ‘Post-Fordism’ of ‘flexible specialisation’ which implies flat decision hierarchies,
smaller units, contracting out etc. This argument seems again to fit the recent debate about the future of Scottish local government system.

However, it would be misleading to say that local authority development is a direct response to technological changes, because it is difficult to prove which technologies produced what responses, and why? Furthermore, particular political ideologies (left v right, centralist v decentralist, Labour v Conservative etc) do affect local government development process (Figure 3.5). Changes in party control in central government, for example, could bring very different effects on local government structure and performance in a relatively short period without major technological changes. This is reasserted by the experience of 1980s under the Conservatives with their ‘free market’ lobby. It is also interest to note that the dates when local authorities get involved vary for the different services — eg public health came before education which came before housing. Therefore Mellor’s political explanation based on the government/citizen relation (Section 2.3) offers deeper insight on the development of local government system than a technological based stage model. Technology and the associated urbanisation processes may broadly structure the development pattern of local government and urban management, but that technology does not determine it. As in most matters we can recognise structural factors and contingencies (more random influences like local cultures, histories, geography etc). Different political stances could also be linked to the Fordist/Post Fordist division. The former phase favoured centralised solutions while the later prompts decentralised solutions.

3.4.2 Chinese Local Government

Although the ideological influences on local government are very strong in Scotland, a stage model can still be applied to explain the development of the local government system there. This section discusses the Chinese local government system. Particular attention will be directed to see if such stages exist.
### Figure 3.5: The different ideological attitudes toward local government in Scotland

**Evolution and Structure** Before 1911 self-governing local government in China never got a chance to develop. Governing the country was the business of the feudal ruler — the Emperor. He and his ministers appointed local officials. Local government officials were agents of the Emperor. Local boundaries were well defined and local administrative centres developed in a fine hierarchy: *sheng* (province), *zhou*, *fu* and *zian* (county). In each of these localities a major city or town served as the seat of administration. As an agricultural society, all those cities and towns were small and compact communities except those national capitals. The functions of these local authorities and cities were to control the countryside, to *keep order in the locality and to collect revenues*. This is similar to Scottish pre-industrial local government, and confirms the existence of the first stage. The only difference is that the Chinese local government had a rather longer history of local peace keeping and control, but little experience in supplying services. Local officials selected by the central government had privileges and performed as parents of the common people. Before 1949 many functions identified at the second stage in Scotland, such as housing, education and health, were not local government’s concerns.

The Communist Revolution, as a key ideological influence, brought in a new government system. Modern functions, such as those noted above, were introduced. Local government was given a much wider range of powers. But new administrative bodies
were mainly created on the old framework without careful examination of the needs of modern industrial development. Most local boundaries were kept, and existing local administrative centres were used. Furthermore central control still played a major role in the system which was helped by the socialist planning. Most key figures in local government and its departments were, and are still, selected from above or by the Party rather than elected locally. This is different from the Scottish local democratic election system and is the most damaging element to local economic and social development. This may suggest that the transformation from the first stage to the second stage is not a completed one. The functions were introduced, while the practice was strongly influenced by the traditional structure.

The Chinese local government structure is more complex than the Scottish one. The Constitution (1982) did not define how many tiers of local governments there should be. But it did define the localities which could have local governments. They are provinces, municipalities directly under central government control, cities, urban districts in large cities, counties, rural townships and towns (Constitution of PRC, 1982, Section V, Article 95). The structure and number of local authorities in Shaanxi province is presented in Figure 3.6. The Shaanxi province administrative area, major local authority boundaries, county towns and Xian City administrative area are presented in Figure 3.7.

Province and county are the two major tiers of local government. Between them there is a middle tier of authority, Prefecture, which is in charge of several counties as an agent of the provincial government. The seat for such authority is usually located in a city. In this system, county and city were separated on the same level and both came directly under the control of the provincial government or its agent.

\[7\]The system used to have one middle tier between province and central government which was known as the Large Administration Region. There were 6 of these regions: Northeast, North China, East China, Middle and South, Southwest and the Northwest. Each controlled several provinces or autonomous regions. These regional authorities were abolished in 1964 after the Great Leap Forward during the readjusting period. Since then they have never been restored. Some organisations are now set up to help cooperation across provinces, but they are not parts of the formal administration system.

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Figure 3.6: Local government structure in Shaanxi Province, China
Figure 3.7: Shaanxi Province and the location of Xian City
the prefecture. With the economic reform in the 1980s, the ‘city region’ idea was brought in. Most prefectures were abolished, while the original prefecture seat cities’ role was enlarged to a formal tier of local government between province and county. The surrounding rural counties are now under the city government’s control. This policy is known as ‘the city leads the counties’. By giving the city the power to organise the local economy as a central place, better urban and rural, industrial and agricultural relations are hopefully to be established. In some remote backward areas the prefecture seats are still too small to serve as such central places, so the prefecture still exists in those areas. Though this change was called a reform it is a minor one compared with the local government reorganisation in the 1970s in Scotland. However it shows a major change of urban development policy.

Under the county government, there are rural townships and towns. A rural township is different from a town. Township is a local government which controls about 100 villages. Its administrative seat is not necessarily a town, but a larger village in most cases. A town is a relatively large local community in which a government could be established. This kind of town, even if small in scale, has usually had a long history as a local market place.

Because of the development and the increase of defined cities, municipal government became an important element in the administrative system in the 1980s. There are different levels of city governments: province level city governments directly under the central government control (three of them Beijing, Shanghai and Tianjin), prefecture level city governments (most provincial capital cities and cities with over a million people) and county level city governments. Towns at township level form another level of urban government.

The central government now gives some large cities, like Xian, the power to make separate economic development plans from the provincial plan. These plans are now approved by central government directly rather than forming part of the provincial plan. This policy enlarges the power of the city government and makes it easier for the central government to evaluate development in the city and other parts of the
province separately. More importantly by doing this central government could keep a close eye on those major industrial centres rather than having to go through the middle tier - the provinces.

'Cities' in the Chinese administrative system are not purely urban areas: usually substantial rural areas are within their administrative boundary. The purpose in the past was to keep suburban land under city control for further development and for supplying basic food products such as vegetables. The new idea is to enlarge city government's power to manage economic development at a regional level. In the early 1980s most cities enlarged their administrative areas. However this change was different from the reform in 1975 in Scotland. The very real differences between urban and rural were not abolished. The registration system and population movement control were not changed. To include rural counties within a 'city' does not give those people in the counties the right to go to live in the central city. The only benefit might be for the city to exploit the rural area's resources and materials.

In the urban areas the city governments are not the only tier of local government. Large cities are divided into urban districts. Xian, for example, beside including 6 rural counties, has an urban area which is divided into 7 urban districts, each with a local government. Under the urban district, there are two other tiers of organisations. The subdistrict office, as the agent of the district government, controls an area about a block or several streets. Under this level is the residents' committee — a self organised body to help the subdistrict office on street cleaning, neighbourhood affairs and so on. In smaller cities, there is no district level government, so the subdistrict offices and residents' committee are directly under the city government's control.

An important fact might be found in the two countries' local government structure. The Chinese local government structure, based on the traditional division of administrative areas and the present development of cities, is similar to the Scottish system before the 1973 reorganisation. Large cities, small cities, counties, townships, towns, all makes a very complex structure like the Scottish burgh system. The similarity may be explained by the transition from a feudal, rural, agricultural society to an
urban and industrial one. The differences between socialist and capitalist here seem less significant than the similarities from the dynamic of the industrial urbanisation stage.

The internal structure of Chinese local government is quite similar to the structure of the central government. The Local People’s Representatives Congress is the elected body like the local councils in Scotland. Its work is:

1. to ensure the practice of the Constitution, laws and other central government regulations in the locality.

2. to adopt and issue local regulations and by laws within the limits of Constitution and central government laws.

3. to examine and decide on the plans of economic and social development of the locality.

4. to elect and dismiss the chief executive governors, such as head and vice-heads of a province, mayor and vice-mayors of a city and so on.

5. to elect and dismiss the chief judge of the Court and the chief procurator of the procuratorate (Constitution of PRC, 1982, article 99-101).

The Item No. 4 means the Chairman of the Local People’s Representative Congress does not become the head of the local government. He or she, however, has the power to organise the Congress and elect the executive body, such as the head of the province or the mayor. The chief executive person or persons choose the directors for local departments. The importance of this position of the chief executive also comes from the way that he or she is chosen. It is one of the major jobs of the local Communist Party Committee to make the ‘recommendation’ of the candidates for all key posts for the Local People’s Congress and the executive body.8

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8 The term ‘local government’ is used in China in two ways. In a broad sense, it means the local authority as a whole which includes the local People’s Representatives Congress, the Executive body and the judicial bodies - the court and the Procuratorate. In the narrow sense, local government are used to refer to those executive bodies in government documents.
The responsibilities of the executive bodies, the local government, include:

1. to manage, within the limits of the laws, the affairs of economy, education, science and technology, culture, health, sports, urban and rural construction, finance, civil administration, public security, nationality, justice procuratorate, and family planning.

2. to issue decisions and orders.

3. to chose, dismiss, train, examine, reward and punish administrative workers.

4. to lead its departments and lower level local governments and supervise their performance.

5. to report to the local People's Representatives Congress about their work (Constitution of PRC, 1982, article 107-110).

With this understanding of the structure of Chinese local government, we also need to bear in mind that with such a vast country, different structures may exist in different areas and at different times. In the past several decades the organisation, the functions and the procedure changed many times. In the Cultural Revolution, for example, all the local government bodies were replaced by the Revolutionary Committee. All laws of both central and local governments were discharged. How can such dramatic discontinuities be explained within an evolutionary stage model?

Functions The division of functions between different tiers of local governments in China is different from the Scottish one. All levels of local governments are involved with almost all functions. The division between different level governments is not function-oriented, it is the division of responsibility within each function. To take the hospital service as the first example, the Provincial health department is the functional department of the province government, and is also under the direction of the central health ministry. Its responsibility is to supervise the health departments in the lower level governments in the province such as those in cities and counties. This responsibility is quite similar to the Ministry. Another of its responsibilities is to manage the provincial hospital which includes funding, personnel
and so on. Apart from those hospitals run by central government departments or institutions in the local area, the provincial hospital usually is the best one within the province. Down at the city and county level, there are similar departments as well. Their responsibilities are the same as the provincial one: to supervise the lower level health authorities and run the hospital at its own level. At the bottom level there may not be a hospital and a health authority, but there must be a clinic or such like, and a person or a few persons taking charge of the health function in the area.

Education is another example. In 1980 there were 24 universities and colleges (30 in 1986) in Xian City. Among them 2 belonged to the then State Education Ministry (now the State Education Commission); 15 to other central government ministries and departments; 5 to the provincial High Education Department; only 2 belonged to the Education Department of Xian City Government. There were 33 technical and engineering schools (36 in 1986). 11 were funded by central government departments and ministries other than the State Education Commission. None of them were funded by the provincial Education Department, while 9 were funded by provincial departments other than education; 11 by the city government departments other than education and 2 by two large factories. Even the secondary and primary schools in the city are not controlled by a single education authority. This type of system is more complex than the Scottish one where all Universities are run by central government, colleges by the Scottish Education Department, Further Education Colleges and all schools by the regional education authorities except private schools and colleges.

These examples again show that the Chinese system is very much based on vertical links. Flows of information and instruction are from top to bottom. The result is a fragmentation of provision at the local level, so that there really are not organisations with a wholistic concern for the place. Local government cannot really represent the people of the locality as a whole. In this sense the system can be seen to be destructive of community in the sense of a common association with a place and the other residents. In this system, evaluation of services in different organisations is very difficult. Many services are not equally distributed. People who work in different institutions get different standard services. This not only affects the adults, but their
child as well. To understand the planning system in China, it is necessary to take into account these basic problems.

**Finance** Because there are no legal and fixed functional divisions between central and local, and between different tier local governments, Chinese local government finance is a complicated issue to examine. When the new government was established in 1949, in order to control inflation, powers to control finance was centralised. Income and expenditure of different tier of governments, tax, standards of rationed supply and employment in public institutions were determined by the centre. Local government had no real power over financial matters. During the First Five Year Plan period from 1953 to 1957, some financial powers were decentralized to local government along with decentralisation of some public institutions and enterprises. Local government income and expenditure at that time was as follows:

1. Local government fixed income:
   - charges from local economic, trade, recreation activities
   - property taxes
   - locally controlled state enterprises profits

2. Local government expenditure covered:
   - locally controlled state enterprises capital investment
   - local economic construction expenses
   - local social, cultural and education expenses
   - local administration etc.

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9Not all these incomes are used by local government. Central government takes shares by special arrangement. At all levels income was divided into different parts. For example, province level income has three parts: fixed income, fixed proportion division income and adjusting income. The fixed income belonged to the province. Fixed proportional division income between central and local governments was agricultural tax, industrial and commercial taxes. The proportion of division of this income was fixed. Adjusting income belonged to central government, which was used to balance the differences between provinces.
From 1953 to 1957 (the First Five Year Plan) about 75% of income was controlled by central government. 25% was handled by all local governments together (Zuo ChenTai 1984, p.446). The financial system decided local government’s income according to its expenditure on an annual basis. The local budget of each year had to be approved by central government. This was also the main aspect of the economic planning system.

The major change in the following period was decentralisation and centralisation. The Great Leap Forward was a period of dramatic decentralisation in which local governments were given much more power to manage the local economy and other affairs. Local expenditure was decided according to income on a 5 year basis. Most state controlled enterprises were handed down to local governments. From 1961 on there was another period of centralisation. Generally speaking, the financial system during the 10 years of the Cultural Revolution experienced decentralisation again.

After 1978, with the progress of the country’s economic reform, the financial system was also reformed. This reform brought new policies and measures on the relationship between enterprises and the state. But changes in local and central government financial divisions were less dramatic. In 1980 the framework of financial division in the 1950s was restored. The incomes were divided into three parts; fixed incomes for central and local governments, fixed proportion division incomes between central and local governments and adjusting incomes (industrial and commercial taxes) which were controlled by the central government alone. The better-off provinces might get only fixed income and a certain proportion of the fixed proportion division incomes, but no adjusting income. Poor provinces received more from adjusting incomes. Special support is given to the very poor provinces. All these were decided on the base of 1980. The government originally aimed to sustain this arrangement for the next 5 years. But it did not endure so long. In 1981 and 1982 many provinces' income sources were changed. In 1983 another adjustment happened. From 1984 on the government made a move to change the enterprises profit system to a tax system. The local government finance structure was changed in 1985 as well (Xu and Xiang, 1987 p.68-76). Within the new structure the major part of the old system is still kept. The changes are the sources of the fixed income, and the fixed proportion division
incomes. Most of them came from profits in the old system, in the new one from taxes. The central-local division of finance is now classified by different taxes.

Central government policies always affect the first level local government finance - the provincial level - directly. Financial arrangements below this level are more complex. Central government gives the provincial governments the power to make their own policies and decide the further division of income and expenditure with their lower level local government such as counties and cities.

To compare Chinese local government finance with Scotland, some distinctive differences can be seen. Firstly, Chinese local government’s role is a production one while the major role of Scottish local government is toward consumption. Their power to manage local economic development is much stronger than the Scottish one. In the planned economy, local governments are not only service suppliers, they are, more importantly, owners of some state enterprises, companies, and other businesses. To manage those is the first priority. Secondly, Chinese local government finance is more flexible than the Scottish one. Local governments’ financial powers are legislated in laws in Scotland. In China, with the economic planning system, government financial divisions are determined by state and local plans which involve bargaining between government officials who represent different tiers and regions. This leaves many opportunities for mis-management and corruption, while arguably helping balanced development between regions which still show great differences in production and living standards.

Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities Another distinct feature of the Chinese administrative system is its special arrangement for the Regional Autonomy of Minority Nationalities. It is described here very briefly because the study in the following chapter is mainly related to the Han majority area. China has 53 minority nationalities. Most of them live in the Northeast, Northwest and Southwest parts of the country. They all have their own languages and life styles. After 1949 a special policy of regional autonomy for minority nationalities was issued for those areas. There are five provincial level autonomous regions: Inner Mongolia Autonomous Re-
region, Guangxi Zhang Autonomous Region, Tibet Autonomous Region, Ningxia Hui Autonomous Region and Xinjiang Uygur (Uighur) Autonomous Region. They were further divided into 75 county level autonomous local authorities. In these areas autonomous local governments were set up to safeguard the special customs and habits. This sounds rather like the way that British government treats Scotland. But the gap between Chinese minorities and the Han is much greater than that between the English and the Scots. Economic and social developments in the Chinese minority areas are very different from those in other parts of the country. Land use and urban patterns develop in different styles. This research is concentrated on the majority areas and particularly Shaanxi Province.

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter shows that the divide between capitalism and socialism is real, particularly in the production and consumption roles of local government which are the basis of power between private bodies and the state. The election system in a one party state is also significantly different. However, the differences between the two systems should not be exaggerated by the nature of capitalism and socialism. There are many similarities between them on political and administrative aspects. Many differences in the two systems are the result of different cultural and historical influences rather than the nature of capitalism or socialism or modes of production.

At first sight party politics is a clear difference with respect to central government administration. However this difference should not be over-emphasized. Though the CCP has been the ruling party for 40 years this does not mean there was no policy shift within the government. In fact, different groups’ struggle for ideology and power within the Party serves as an alternative to the change of government in Scotland from the point of view of policy shift. Policy differences during the Cultural Revolution and after in China were even greater than policy change caused by government change in Scotland. At the same time both countries’ central government administration are under centralised control with the ruling party dominating government policy in the
last ten years. Personal influence forms another similarity in party politics.

The Chinese Communist's commitment to socialism could be one major difference between the two. But a close examination of the definition of socialism and its practice in China shows that this difference is not so distinct as might be thought. Two characteristics of Chinese socialism are claimed: public ownership of the means of production and the socialist planned economy. But there are concessions on them. Public ownership is only realised in those big and new industrial developments and most public institutions. Collective ownership has always been a very important sector, particularly in rural production. With the economic reform in the 1980s, private and cooperate development is now legalized. Economic planning is mainly practised in the public sector. With the enlarging of private and cooperative sectors the official notion has been changed to "a planned commodity economy". Furthermore these developments follow the same trend as the move-right within the Scottish economy under the Conservative privatisation programme in 1980s.

Local government systems in the two countries present some differences (Figure 3.8). Particularly, the production role of the Chinese local government forms a major contrast to the Scottish consumption role. Public ownership of major industrial and other production factories gives Chinese local government greater power in direct management of the local economy. Under central government control major efforts and investments of local government were made toward production. Consumption functions have been relatively weak. Though many public service functions such as education and health were introduced, they were provided in poor quality and in different styles. Urban industrial workers and government and institutional employees get free health care, while the majority of the population in the rural areas do not. Some functions in Scotland such as social work or recreation are still not on the agenda of Chinese local government. These differences will be represented in the urban land use planning systems.

Secondly, local government organisations show clear evidence of differences. In Scotland there is a clear division between politicians (the councillor) and local government
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Structure</td>
<td>Regions and district (post-industrial stage)</td>
<td>Town and country division (early industrial stage)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nature of local government</td>
<td>Locally elected, relatively independent, multi-party members, clear division of the councillor and the professional officers.</td>
<td>Semi-elected locally, one party control, no clear division between politicians and professionals.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central control</td>
<td>Financial and legal (partly political, depend on the local government composition).</td>
<td>Political, personnel, financial, and legal.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Role in production</td>
<td>Limited, mainly through policy and financial intervention in the market.</td>
<td>Extensive, by central and local planning, material allocation, control of products distribution, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quality of services</td>
<td>More, comprehensive, social welfare related and relatively equal in view of town and country differences.</td>
<td>Comprehensive with varieties for the public sector employees in urban areas, less and poor for the collective and individual sector employees, particularly in the rural farming areas; mainly in physical and political aspects.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 3.8: A comparison of local governments in Scotland and China
officers. Ordinary citizens can influence local government through the election of the councillor and by public participation. Central control comes through legislation, and manipulation of expenditure subsidies. Central influence on local personnel is very weak. In Chinese local government there are no clear divisions between politicians and general bureaucrats. The leaders play a political role through the party organisation, and at the same time, they could be the directors of different departments. Because most of them are not directly elected by the general public but are appointed by higher level government or by party committees, their power rests mainly on support from above. This ensures that local government pays much more attention to production functions and to reaching targets set from above, while local consumption functions were often ignored. This might be a characteristic of the socialist systems for the same features were observed in Hungary by Szelenyi (1983). At the same time it owes much to the particular Chinese administration tradition, in which centralized control plays a major role. This difference does determine the present style of planning policy and practice in the two countries. This is also a major point for the Chinese to learn from the Scottish experience in future economic and political reform. While certain central control powers might be maintained, great efforts should be made to decentralize political power to local level.

This chapter also concludes that one of the fundamental differences between China and Scotland is the relative lack, in the Chinese system, of urban autonomy. Earlier stage of urbanisation and industrialisation and lower economic development level are important reasons. Particular Chinese tradition also has great influence. Chinese feudal cities were different from Scottish industrial cities. Their rulers were the agents of the central feudal ruler — the Emperor. No autonomous urban governments developed to manage local affairs. The new local governments developed under the socialist system continued this traditional style. Central government did not give much autonomous power to those rapidly developing cities.

This relatively underdeveloped urban autonomy explains in part why China did not develop towards a fully fledged capitalist system. Ivan Szelenyi (1984) argued "typically socialist revolutions were successful in countries where the process of urbanisa-
tion has been blocked at some time in the past. It appears that it is easier to enter a socialist trajectory of socioeconomic development when the ‘urban burgerhood’ is insufficiently developed and where urbanisation and urbanism have remained on a lower level.”(p.1) The interesting question then might be whether the formation of industrial urbanism after a revolution will tend towards the fostering of a capitalist system, or at least an urban burgerhood.

From a long term view this may suggest that the major cause of differences in the political and administrative systems in the two countries is the differences in their economic development level and urbanisation stage. Chinese ‘socialism’ is only a particular strategy of economic development and industrialisation for a country with a strong feudal ideological influence. With the development of industrialisation and urbanisation, China could learn from Scottish political and administrative ideas and skills.

Ending Part One I would like to put the proposition that all these elements which represent the different development level, political and administrative systems will be evident in the two planning systems which the next Part will study.
Part III

PLANNING SYSTEM COMPARISON
The most promising avenues lie in the evaluation of policies that have the capacity to stimulate fresh ways of looking at the same problem in the home country. The potential for transfer, then, lies in encouraging innovation rather than in making carbon copies of foreign models. (Masser 1984)

4.1 Introduction

The physical conditions, economic development levels, urbanisation stages and political systems in Scotland and in China have been compared in Part One. Apart from the differences in physical conditions the two countries are also at different economic development and urbanisation levels with different cultural and political systems. With these different system variables two different views were presented concerned with cross-national comparison. Van den Berg et al (1982), from a long term view, supported the proposition that urban systems evolve according to a general pattern. Urban growth is followed by urban sprawl and ends in urban decline. Stretton (1978) on the other hand found that economic growth does not follow one model or regular
sequence of stages with predictable economic structures at each stage. On the contrary, each successful national modernisation alters the world in which the next has to be attempted, and the means by which it can be attempted, and its chances of succeeding. ... Cities grow in diverse spatial and social patterns; development models derived from one nation's experience rarely fit another's, and models derived from one period of growth rarely fit growth at other dates. However Stretton does not totally dismiss the possibility of comparison. He asks for caution for such work.

Although the discussion in Part II shows both these statement are relevant to this research because both similarities and differences could be identified in the two countries' national backgrounds, further effort is necessary to test whether planning systems in the two counties are understandable as stage/evolutionary systems, or as a reflection of their political and economic structures, or as something shaped by land, culture and historical chance in a way that makes them unique. This is the objective of this and the next Parts. Major questions to be asked will include: Can we discern a necessary association with a form/scope of planning with a particular stage/form of urbanisation? Are the institutions and agencies distinctive for cultural or historical accident reasons? What are the defining features of the scope and powers in the planning systems and how can they be explained?

The planning system in different countries means different things and includes different contents. A comparison without first defining the term 'planning system' is very difficult if not impossible. For the above mentioned objectives this research focuses on the land use planning system with a major emphasis on urban areas. It follows White's system oriented model to concentrate on a limited range of issues as indicated in the introduction. They include: the historical development of planning; the ideological and theoretical concepts represented in the system; the institutions of government and other agencies with planning responsibilities; the different statutory basis of the planning system; and the practice of the system. The first four issues are broad policy ones which are examined and compared in this Part. The practice of the two systems will be compared in the next Part with case studies.
This chapter examines the Scottish planning system. The questions asked are: How has the planning system developed — ideologically and legislatively? How are the planning authorities organised and operated? What kind of plans and procedures have been employed? Attention will be paid to the introduction of new policies and regulations at various periods, because major causes of changes and their results are key points to study. Special consideration will be given to issues raised in Parts I and II, such as the significance of the different historical and cultural backgrounds, different economic development stages and different political systems.

The aim of studying the Scottish system is not directly to transfer experiences or methods to China, but rather to establish a perspective for viewing and analyzing the Chinese system. As Cherry (1984) put it: “Cross-national research has the effect of holding up a mirror to our own system and highlight both its strengths and weaknesses”. (p.9) The purpose of this chapter is to establish such a mirror of the Scottish system to view the Chinese one in the next chapter and also to test Cherry’s assertion that planning is pretty much the same everywhere. This Chapter was researched by reading various secondary sources. There is no single adequate text on the history of Scottish planning. ¹ The next chapter will ask the same questions on similar issues of the Chinese system, and make comparisons.

Both countries have a long history of town planning. Ideas nurtured from such experience could have great influence on the development of modern towns and planning ideology. Before examining the modern planning systems it is necessary to have a brief look at their town planning practice before the Industrial Revolution, following the research strategy of a historical approach. This is also an attempt to bridge the shortcoming of Van den Berg et al’s (1982) model, in which pre-industrial urban development was not given sufficient emphasis.

¹There are any number which tell of planning in the UK (most of them written by Gorden Cherry!) but at best they tend to give Scottish planning ‘footnote status’, i.e. only really refer to it when there is some visible, usually legislative difference from England.
4.2 Town Planning in Scotland before 1800

Adams (1978) divided Scottish town development into two major periods: the medieval towns and the industrial towns since the second half of the eighteenth century. This section highlights the most important and relevant features of the town development and planning before 1800.

Clearly identified urbanisation in Scotland began during the Norman settlement and colonization of Scotland with the creation of burghs (Adams 1978; Rodger 1983). Within their defined boundaries Scottish burghs enjoyed trading and certain manufacturing monopolies which, in conjunction with their assured access through specific ports, ensured the distinctive development of the medieval town in Scotland (Rodger 1983). Once founded the burghs quickly adopted a code of Burgh Laws to protect mercantile privileges and the rights associated with their monopoly of trade within a defined area. The agency responsible for monitoring mercantile affairs, the guildry, was active at the very early stages of urban life in Scotland. This burgh administration made its contribution to early town planning. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries most Scottish burghs had concentrated their municipal administration in the hands of the Merchant Guild. The councils were elected by the head court of the guildry, whose terms of reference, though mainly concerned with the protection of burghal privileges in matters of trade, also extended to issues affecting the physical development of the town (Colston 1887 quoted from Rodger 1983). Though medieval burgh developments were governed by natural features, such as the dominant position of the castle, they were planned. When searching for the origins of planning, Rodger has found that within the constraints imposed by natural site factors there is clear evidence of a coherent overview stamped upon the development of medieval Scottish

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2 The definition of a town is so complex that it cannot be accomplished in one definitive sentence. Adams (1978) identified four main aspects which need to be considered in studying the Scottish urban system: "the physical structure and use of space; the legal identity, derived from charters and laws, giving it a separate and often privileged position in society; the economic structure that gives it a function in society; and lastly the relationship with the surrounding countryside or trading zone. An examination of any town over a long period will reveal a continuously changing balance and emphasis of these factors, making it virtually impossible to cover it with a single definition." (p.12)
In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Dean of Guild Courts continued their medieval obligations to monitor private developments, to defend the public interest by issuing guidance on the safety of buildings, access to streets and public highways, fire prevention, the provision of a code of building regulations, a register of land use, and opposition to the encroachment of private landowners upon public land. By the early decades of the eighteenth century Edinburgh, for example, exercised reasonably well-defined building regulations through the Dean of Guild and the Town Council. From the eighteenth century the town council played a more and more important role.

"Although a continuing dialogue in respect of guild and town council power saw an erosion of Dean of Guild jurisdiction by successive steps in 1687, 1729, the 1780s, 1824 and ultimately in the Municipal Corporations (Scotland) Act 1833, the building regulations and town planning functions remained intact..." (Rodger 1983, p.80). After that the Town Council effectively neutered the Dean of Guild Courts as a planning tool. The Town Council's role in planning in the eighteenth century was demonstrated by the development of Edinburgh New Town.

4.2.1 Edinburgh New Town

Although Edinburgh's Old Town represents the capital of a medieval kingdom, much interest in the city now is due to the Georgian New Town, which is one of the most remarkable achievements of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, an amazing development which produced miles of streets and numerous public buildings, squares and terraces without parallel in their period (Lindsay and Walker 1973). At the time of the Union of the Parliaments in 1707, Edinburgh was contained within its ancient Royalty, a small area of 138 acres bounded by walls. This patch of land was grossly overcrowded, as the population was probably at least 25,000 and, in places, buildings towered twelve stories above the streets. The Union was followed by a depression
which brought the city no improvement for another fifty years (Lindsay and Walker 1973 p.11).

A pamphlet entitled ‘Proposals for Carrying on Certain Public Works in the City of Edinburgh’, published in 1752, led to the transformation of the city (Youngson, 1988, p.3). New proposals were put forward. This marked the beginning of a new development period of the city. In 1766 the Town Council launched a competition for a plan for a new town at the north side of the North Loch on land bought from the Heriot’s Trust. James Craig’s entry was chosen. On this plan the principal street, George Street, crowned the ridge, and dignity was added by a noble square at each end. Queen Street was adorned with pleasure gardens, and Princes Street, with plain and rather modest buildings, was to overlook the huddle of the Old Town (Adams 1978, p.76). Though the Town Council initiated this development and planned it, the actual development was not the council’s direct investment. The council kept control of the appearance of the New Town only by a series of building regulations and uniform elevations. The effort to treat a block of houses as a whole was only carried out in Charlotte Square, the western extremity of the town.

With the layout of the ground immediately to the north of Queen Street Gardens in 1802, a second New Town was created. Shortly after 1813, still another New Town was begun beyond the west end of Princes Street. A similar development process was followed in each case - public planning in partnership with private builders.

The New Town remains the most extensive area of Georgian architecture in Europe. It

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3 The first involved the building of an exchange and accommodation for law courts, the town council and an advocates’ library. Work began on the Royal Exchange in 1753. Drainage of the North Loch commenced in 1759, and in 1763 tenders were invited for a bridge across it. However, the first expansion was in the opposite direction, to the south. George Square was commenced in 1766 by James Brown, a speculative builder, as housing for the city’s elite, who in turn were the Scottish ruling class (Hague 1984, p.131-132).

4 Though some persuasion was necessary to induce people to build on so wind-swept and lonely a spot, and matters were not improved by part of the new North Bridge collapsing in 1769, the new site was pretty well covered by the end of the century (Lindsay and Walker 1973, p.13). Craig’s New Town was designed as a residential, self-contained suburb, not as the business centre it now is.
is hailed as a precursor of modern town planning, a counterpoint to the laissez-faire urban environments of the Victorian era. Hague (1984 pp132-136) concluded that such idealizations obscure the relation of the built form to the emergent social-political structure. The Town Council played a key role in facilitating the development, but in a sense they were an obsolete body for they were a council of merchants and traders. The Council’s role was crucial in absorbing the risk and funding the unprofitable aspects of the development.

In other Scottish cities, Georgian developments were carried out on a smaller scale. Glasgow, on the whole, had been contained within the historical outline of the old town until 1780, though elegant residences were built around George Square between 1750 and 1775 by the tobacco barons. In Aberdeen, Georgian developments resulted in a mixture of land uses. The new streets, private and public buildings and harbour works were interspersed with narrow lanes, courts and closes.

Some progress was also made in village planning in the eighteenth century. As early as 1720 the planned village movement had started in the North-East. The end of the Seven Years War in 1763 brought another wave of village foundation. Adams (1978 p.56) has found that these new villages bore witness to comprehensive planning, with a spacious main street often opening out into a square in the centre of the village. When expansion took place a grid pattern was adopted, and the geometry was reinforced by the regular layout of house plots, gardens and lanes. The Government also took the opportunity to settle discharged soldiers and sailors on the annexed estates, hoping to provide a core of loyal subjects in formerly rebellious areas.

From the above description some useful features of Scottish historical town development and planning can be drawn together. They are also the major points to be compared with early Chinese town development in the next chapter.

First, the form and structure of these towns were indeed pre-industrial - no dominance by factories, no industrialisation of transport. Hence the towns were by today’s standards very small in scale.

Second, a centrally controlled comprehensive feudal urban system, like that in China,
was never established in Scotland. Most towns were independent commercial centres rather than imperial strongholds. Commercial activities were the dominant factors of the local economy. Urban institutions were mainly organised and controlled by the growing merchant class and their organisations — the guildry — as feudalism faded. Though the role of the merchant class in the early development of towns was mainly protectionist, they were relatively independent from the central power — the king.

Third, the Scottish merchant class, and later the town councils, made their contribution to the development of their towns by applying building regulations and other controls. This indicates that Scottish town planning from the start was indirect in nature. Although plans, like that for the Edinburgh New Town, were partly designed for the display of wealth and power, this was also due to the influence of the European Enlightenment - the triumph of abstract ideas and technical control over nature. But the New Town came at a time when Edinburgh happened to be in the forefront of that movement - so one can argue that culture/historical chance was important in shaping the pre-industrial planning tradition in Scotland. These points and their effect on the modern planning systems will be further discussed in later sections.

With the understanding of this historical background, the following sections address one of the major questions of this chapter: How did the planning system develop — ideologically and legislatively? Four major issues are examined respectively in different sections. They are:

- the development of planning ideology by individual idealists;
- the development of planning as government intervention and legislation;
- changes in the land system; and
- the development of the planning profession and education.
4.3 The Development of Planning Ideology by Individual Idealists

As indicated in Chapter 2, by the end of the eighteenth century, Scotland entered a period of rapid industrial development which changed the country into an advanced capitalist industrial state. But urban related environmental and social problems caused great concern and substantially influenced the development of planning ideology.

The most obvious problems, particularly in the major cities, were overcrowded housing and related social and environmental problems. Population in Edinburgh Old Town, for example, from 1801 to 1851, had grown from 20,000 to 30,000 by division and subdivision of existing houses. In 1850 Blackfriars Wynd in the old town had a population of 1025 who lived in 142 dwellings which contained only 193 rooms. Nearby was Middle Mealmarket Stair in the Cowgate, which before demolition in the 1860s housed fifty-six families, 248 people, on its five floors, with neither a sink nor a WC between them (Hague 1984, p.142). Glasgow developed an extraordinary concentration of people, especially at the core of the city. There were even by 1914 no less than 700,000 people living in three square miles, thus creating the most heavily populated central area in Europe. In 1917 there were more than four persons per room in 10.9 per cent of Glasgow’s houses, over three persons in 27.9 per cent, and over two in 55.7 percent (Checkland 1981). Overcrowding and congestion, poverty, crime, ill-health and heavy mortality were shown to be conditions commonly found together in the industrial towns like Glasgow. This, in turn, contributed much to social instability (Ashworth, 1965).

Faced with these problems many people tried to find a way to plan or intervene in urban changes in Scotland. Among them Owen and Geddes are internationally recognised for their contribution to the development of planning. Together with Howard, an English man, they greatly influenced modern Scottish planning ideology and practice.

Robert Owen and Nineteenth Century Philanthropists The nineteenth cen-
tury was distinguished by a number of 'utopian socialists', a term coined by Karl Marx to describe a group of social thinkers whose attitude was unscientific and idealistic and who hoped to improve working-class conditions by individual benevolence, philanthropy and enterprise. Among them, Robert Owen (1771-1858) was the most well known. He believed that for the most part environmental conditions determined individual destinies. In order to improve the lots of the individual the reformer had to start with the environment. So he proposed the creation of agricultural villages of between 800 to 1200 persons catering for all social, educational, and employment needs of the community. He put this idea into practice in the mill village at New Lanark. Although it influenced town planning in other countries too, New Lanark was important in the story of Scotland's urbanisation, for it provided a laboratory for social experiment.

New Lanark was first built by a proprietor, David Dale, as a village to house one thousand people which included a barracks capable of housing five hundred orphan children. By 1799 it became the largest cotton mill in Scotland. During the first thirty years of the 19th century, Owen, as partner-manager of the mills, pioneered reforms in improvements in the treatment of his workers: better pay, shorter hours, better housing, cheap but unsubsidized shops, an adult education centre, and so on. In 1816, the unique 'Institution for Formation of Character' was set up, as the name indicated, to educated the workers' children with the hope to bring about an industrial/urban harmony, which Owen felt had been lost when people moved from rural communities (Adams, 1978, p87).

Although Owen's activities at New Lanark showed some limited understanding of the social problems of the industrial town, they contributed to a planning ideology - e.g. the idea of the new planned settlement, or planning comprehensively, not just houses, but houses, work, shops, schools etc, and not just planning land use but a full form of social engineering.5

5To spread his ideas Owen laid his proposals before some great people of his time as well as before the government. But the failure to persuade the policy makers encouraged him to make a personal attempt at putting them into practice. In 1825 he purchased 30,000 acres from a Protestant sect in Indiana in America and settled there in 1826 with his family and a group of about 800 followers
While Owen is usually seen as being a socialist thinker, and emphasises egalitarianism and progress, the new settlement idea was not socialist per se - it was used by some capitalists as a way to restrict labour unrest. For example, in 1853, Sir Titus Salt constructed a model industrial community, Saltaire, by the river Aire near Bradford in England. In 1879, George Cadbury built the more suburban town of Bournville outside Birmingham. Shortly afterwards, in 1888, William Lever, a soap manufacturer, constructed Port Sunlight as a model village for his employees just three miles south of Birkenhead. Bournville and Port Sunlight were very influential in demonstrating the case for planned decentralized new settlements. They also showed improved housing conditions without resort to municipal provision.

In Scotland, however, there was no other similar experiments to Owen's. So Owen's ideas developed in Scotland, infused the general, international movement towards town planning, but were not a compelling factor in the growth of Scottish town planning. By the end of the 19th century a body of ideas was certainly current (synthesised and communicated by Howard) which associated town planning with planned new settlements, lower densities, improved working class housing etc. While Scots would be familiar with these, and while calls for better housing were common, of all ages to bring about immediate universal harmony. The village, renamed New Harmony, had been designed like a chessboard with a central square surrounded by large brick buildings. But the enterprise soon collapsed under the strain of economic difficulties and internal discord. The value of his belief in the possibility of a harmonious organic community in contrast to unrestrained capitalism was not acknowledged until the twentieth century and his visions have yet to be realised. (Indeed it is probably the Japanese who most fully developed his view of company benevolence.)

*Owen's writings inspired Minter Morgan and James Silk Buckingham to develop ideas in social engineering. Morgan believed that man would be the better for living in a village or open part of a large town rather than in the congestion of alley and wynd. Buckingham (1786-1855) in 1849 advocated the ideas of co-operation and association and proposed the development of a specially planned, socially integrated community, called Victoria, which was to be built in open country, a mile square, with a population of 10,000 housed in numerous buildings arranged on a quadrangular basis, larger in the central parts and gradually becoming smaller towards the outskirts, surrounded by 10,000 acres of agricultural land, and owned and managed by a public company with the inhabitants as shareholders. His schemes were never carried out owing to a lack of financial support. Later town planning schemes used some of his ideas, such as his emphasis on low densities, zoning, ample space for gardens, and 'social balance'.

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the lead in applying the ideas came not in Scotland, but in England.

**Ebenezer Howard and His Garden City** Towards the end of the nineteenth century the various philanthropic concepts were drawn together and embodied in one plan by Ebenezer Howard (1850-1928). Though he developed his idea mainly in England, his influence on the development of planning ideology extended not only through the U.K, but all over the world. Howard generalized the ideas from a single company town, the work of one industrialist, into a general planned movement of people and industries away from the crowded nineteenth century city. His book, ‘*Tomorrow: a Peaceful Path to Real Reform*’ in 1898 (now known under the title of the 1902 edition, *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*), has done more than any other single book to guide the modern British town planning movement and fashion its objectives. The most important contribution he made is the idea of the new town as an answer to the problems of the city (see Ratcliffe 1981, p.41). Two garden cities were built, Letchworth in Hertfordshire (1903) and Welwyn in 1920, which still serve as models for his ideas. The postwar program of New Towns in Great Britain was inspired by his works and planned by his followers (Fishman 1977, p.23). He also stimulated the formation of the Garden City Association, the forerunner of the Town and Country Planning Association, which put his theories into practice. The Town and Country Planning Association remains a significant voice within British town and country planning.

Howard’s ideas did not produce such a garden city in Scotland. However, together with the rearmament programme prior to World War I, they brought about a movement for garden suburb development. Raymond Unwin, the designer for the Glasgow Garden Suburb Ltd, observed that in most cases the resources to create garden cities would not be forthcoming, and that more modest suburbs on garden city lines would be a more practical proposition. The Garden Suburb is actually the antithesis of Howard’s idea, because it extends the existing big city.

The most successful Garden City style scheme in Scotland is Rosyth. In the years leading up to the First World War, there was need for the construction of a major
In 1903 the land and foreshore at Rosyth were purchased and, from 1908, access roads laid down. By 1913, 3,500 men were employed in this activity. As the first major test of the Town Planning Act 1909, the government was eager that the town should develop properly. Raymond Unwin was appointed to prepare a detailed plan using the Garden City concept in 1913. Arguably, Rosyth acted as something of a test-bed for his ideas and perhaps also for the planning of Welwyn Garden City in 1919-20 (see Begg (1987) for details of development and planning of Rosyth).

In June 1910 the Scottish Garden Suburb Company was incorporated. Unfortunately the name had little to do with the company’s concern to provide houses as cheaply as possible for Admiralty workers being moved from Woolwich to the new torpedo factory of Gouroch. The whole scheme soon dissolved in bitter litigation between the professional men and the speculators. In the following year the Glasgow Garden Suburb Tenants Company Ltd was registered to build 200-300 dwellings. Unfortunately war interrupted the promoter’s plans and only forty houses stand as a memorial to the first garden suburb started in Scotland. The term ‘garden suburb’ was used widely by speculative builders to give their projects a modern image (Adams, 1978, pp.205-208).

Howard’s Garden City idea was also accepted by other developed and developing countries over the world. The development of satellite towns today in China around large cities, such as Shanghai and Beijing, is certainly inspired by Howard’s theories. More important, the knowledge from these theories has contemporary significance in making alternative new policies for the development of the Chinese countryside with 8 billion people.

Patrick Geddes and His Contribution to Planning Patrick Geddes (1854-1932), a biologist, made great contributions to town planning, particular in Scotland. Geddes taught at the University of Dundee from 1883 to 1919 and soon developed his studies into the area we should now recognize as human ecology: the relationship between man and his environment. In turn he was led to a systematic study of the forces that were shaping growth and change in modern cities. In 1903 he was commissioned by
the Carnegie Trust to prepare a 'civic survey' for the burgh of Dunfermline. This was the first time a municipality was trying to plan on a large scale. The success of Dunfermline gave the Local Government Board for Scotland the confidence to authorize preparation of the first town planning scheme in Scotland (Green, 1970).

Geddes stressed the need for a civic exhibition and a permanent centre for civic studies in every town. In the Outlook Tower in Edinburgh he set up his own exhibition, which formed the basis of his great Cities and Town Planning Exhibition held in Edinburgh in 1910, London, Belfast and Dublin in 1911 and Madras in 1915. His masterpiece 'Cities in Evolution', published in 1915, is a landmark in the history of town planning. Different from Howard's instinct to get out of town and start afresh - to launch a new urban history on clear sites where it would be least influenced by the old kind of urban history, Geddes suggested new ways of understanding and improving the cities themselves. Compared with Howard he was a more interested observer of life and work and settlement in the real world around him. His instinct was to stay in town and look for better uses which the community might make of its existing situation and resources. He recommended a comprehensive kind of planning which should begin not with preconceived ideas of urban form, but with some very general human and social values on the one hand, and some very detailed study of local life and opportunities on the other. What might be done by and for any city's people must depend on them, their local economy, their social needs and capacities, and the particular opportunities offered by the physical and human resources of their region (Stretton 1978 pp.23-24).

In Edinburgh, for example, apart from his alternative practice of rehabilitating some of the existing dwellings in the Old Town, he advocated the adoption of an integrated town planning approach. By the turn of the century Edinburgh's industry was suburbanising, in an attempt to improve production and distribution. The Council had made some effort to attract new industries to the growing south-western sector, but within the city boundary. Patrick Geddes was dismissive of this official approach. He read the suburban trend as an opportunity to plan industrial development, so as to yield returns in energy and efficiency, in health and beauty, and therefore in money too. The task was to make a Newer Edinburgh - an industrial city and a garden city
in one, and this realisable within a reasonable period. The transformation would be achieved through pollution controls and the location of industry on the leeward side of the city, by the Innocents Railway and close to the Midlothian Coalfield. This approach covered not just new industrial location, but the future of existing industries, housing and living conditions and the natural environment (Hague 1984, pp.161-162).

Geddes based planning firmly on the study of reality: the close analysis of settlement patterns and local economic systems in relation to the potentialities and the limitation of the local environment, and stressed the natural region as the basic framework for planning rather than the conventional limits of the town. He established a tradition in planning which has repeatedly come to the fore: that of the synthesis in the age of the specialist, bringing harmony and understanding to a physical, economic and social complex which is the city (Cherry 1974, pp.49-53). He established a tradition in planning which formed a working method and gave planning a logical structure: survey of the region, its characteristics and trends; analysis of the survey; and then plan preparation. He coined the term conurbation to describe the polynuclear concentration of urban development in certain regions. More important, he argued that town planning must subsume town and country, or planning of whole urban regions encompassing a number of towns and their surrounding spheres of influence. To Geddes the conurbation was “a new heptarchy, which has been growing up naturally, yet almost unconsciously to political and administrative network” (Geddes, 1915, p.47). In this vein the Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee, the first regional planning body, composed of the local planning authorities in Lanarkshire, Dunbartonshire and Renfrewshire, was set up in 1927 to prepare a scheme dealing with the particular features of planning within the area.

The Geddes tradition is important, as is his concern with regionalism and decentralisation. It had great influence on many leading Scottish planners, such as Mears and Grieve. It influenced the major regional planning activities and the operation of the post-war system. In responding to the problems of the historical city, Geddes’ tradition in Scotland demonstrated the importance of culture in planning. It would be hard to argue that this idea is an inevitable response pre-determined by some growth
stage. Similarly Geddes' ideas cut across the capitalist/socialist categorisations - we might see him as more a nationalist/regionalist and “Green” in his politics.

In summary, planning ideologies developed by individual thinkers, such as Owen, Howard and Geddes show a gradual enlargement in planning contents and physical scale. Owen’s idea developed around a single mill and tried to bring harmony between the capitalists and their workers as a single community, and between people and their physical environment. At that early stage of industrial development, transportation and communication were difficult. It was hard to think beyond this scale. His idea was also clearly related to the early industrial settlement in the countryside around natural resources such as coal mines. Howard’s garden city idea developed at a time of rapid technological change. New energy and machines had freed people from the natural resources. Large cities sprawled rapidly into surrounding rural areas. Railway development not only made long distance movement of goods and materials possible, it also provided an efficient transportation system for people. Howard addressed the problems posed by this phase of urban growth. His solution — the garden cities — was to plan the decentralisation of the large existing industrial towns. Though Howard’s garden city idea was much more sophisticated and practicable than Owen’s harmony villages, this idealist approach represented Howard’s superficial understanding of the large cities of that time. He gave no future to large cities. There were no answers given to questions such as, Should large cities be replaced by small garden cities? Or should they remain large? If so who will move to the beautiful garden cities and who will remain in the distressed old large ones?

Geddes showed the best understanding of modern industrial cities. He saw the rapid concentration of population helped not only by railways, but also by automobiles. For the first time the long distance separation of work place and housing became possible. Workers could not only live away from their factories, some could even live away from the city. Geddes brought human understanding of the physical environment on a scale transcending Owen’s single community and Howard’s small ideal garden city. He initiated the regional approach and brought large and small cities into a comprehensive framework. This ideological development might be presented in a
stage model. However one may argue that it reflects the selection of these three individuals. Their ideologies developed at different places with different development stages. The fact that Geddes' idea developed in Scotland does not necessarily mean that Scotland was at a higher level of development than other parts of the UK. The ideas of Owen, Howard and Geddes are best understood as responses to the industrial cities. In addition the application of these ideas within Scotland was carried through by professionals such as Unwin, Mears and later Grieve, all of whom have seen themselves as part of a tradition and also contributed ideas and work themselves. It is difficult to summarize all these ideas into a single stage model, which might overlook the significance of individual planners in advancing concepts about the nature and practice of planning.

4.4 The Development of Planning through Government Intervention and Legislation

4.4.1 The Public Health Origins

The first half of the nineteenth century is seen by Mellor (1989) as a transition period in the urbanization process, in which the state had to concede political rights to the middle classes, reform the institutions of local government, including the police, and abandon principles of laissez-faire in the administration of the towns. Local boards of improvement commissioners were set up with powers to perform defined tasks such as paving, lighting and drainage. Until the mid-nineteenth century, they did more to control and improve the urban environment than any other public institutions. The Burgh Reform Acts of 1833 and 1834 introduced new principles and established effective authority in the growing towns. For example, the statute authorized householders paying 10 pounds or more rate in royal or parliamentary burghs to adopt a police system and to choose 'commissioners of police'. The commissioners were to levy rates for the purposes of watching, lighting, paving and cleaning the streets, the improvement of water and gas supplies and the prevention of infectious diseases. Furthermore they were to regulate slaughterhouses, apprehend vagrants and name and
number streets and houses. Legislation extended these powers to all parliamentary burghs in 1847, to places with populations over 1,200 in 1850 and over 700 in 1862 (Adams 1978). However those powers proved not to be a very effective means of action.

The Burgh Police Act of 1862 was the first attempt in Scotland to use slum clearance as a means of sanitary improvement (Hague 1984). This Act enabled communities which chose to adopt it to make the sort of building and sanitary by-laws which were the foundations of Victorian public health. Edinburgh, for example, passed the Improvement Act in 1867 which gave Improvement Commissioners powers to acquire and redevelop slum properties. The Scottish Public Health Act was passed in 1876. The Board of Supervision, which had previously been responsible for the supervision of the relief of the poor, became the central authority for public health matters (Best, 1973, p.393). Within this general framework, local authorities made their own efforts to deal with the sanitary and housing problems.

These early efforts were directed at the creation of adequate sanitary conditions. Under the Burgh Police (Scotland) Acts 1892 and 1903 town councils were given planning powers relating to the widening and improvement of existing streets, the formation of new streets, the fixing of building lines and streets widths, and the control of open space around tenements. New by-laws prescribed building methods, housing densities and building heights, and in addition, controlled certain land uses such as the keeping of pigs in towns (Adams 1978). Limited and defective though these powers proved to be, and though overall control was haphazard and lacked a central philosophy, they represented a marked advance in public control and paved the way for more imaginative measures. By the end of the nineteenth century, the idea of municipal control and public direction of urban and community affairs was widely established.
4.4.2 The Early Planning Legislation and Planning Schemes

The period between 1880 and 1920 is seen as the second transition in British urbanization, (Hall 1984, p.29; Mellor 1989, p.573) in which the unbridled power of the rentier capitalist interest was curtailed by principles of family welfare. In this period the early health and sanitation consideration of development of towns was further developed. In 1909 town planning first reached the British statutory book. Although John Burns, President of the Local Government Board, claimed the Act as securing “The Home Healthy, The House Beautiful, The Town Pleasant, The City Dignified and The Suburb Salubrious”, in truth its scope was firmly limited to the last point for only land with imminent development potential might be included (Miller 1984). Despite its limitations the 1909 Act set several of the main features of land-use control which remain to this day. The main vehicle for establishing permitted land-use and development, the Town Planning Scheme, was an early form of Development Plan. The new powers provided by the Act were for the preparation of these ‘schemes’ by local authorities, with the general object of ‘securing proper sanitary conditions, amenity and convenience in connection with the laying out and use of land...’. But what a planning scheme was remained rather unclear. In fact guidance on interpretation was never provided in Scotland.

It did not include remodelling the existing town, the replanning of badly planned areas, or driving new roads through old parts of a town. The Act only listed nineteen ‘matters to be dealt with by General Provisions prescribed by the Local Government Board’. These matters included: streets, roads and other ways, and stopping up, or diversion of existing highways, buildings, structures and erections, open spaces, the preservation of objects of historical or natural beauty, sewerage, drainage and sewage disposal, lighting, water supply and ancillary works. All of these presented very much an engineering basis.

The local authorities were not given extra powers to develop land themselves, the development process was still firmly rooted in the market. The procedure for under-

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7Early planning legislation development in Scotland was in a unitary system with England.
taking a town planning scheme not only involved a number of separate stages but progress was circumscribed by the need to consult landowners at every step. Permission of the Local Government Board was required before any start could be made. If there was any objection it was necessary to hold an Inquiry. Inquiries were also prescribed for the Preliminary Statement and Draft Scheme stages. Should all these hurdles be overcome then the scheme had to lie on the table of both Houses of Parliament for 30 days during which time the scheme could fall if either House so decided (Gunby 1987). One key concern in the passing of the Act was suburbanisation, which, arguably, was less of a problem in Scotland. Not surprisingly the legislation made little impact. It only set off one scheme in Scotland, that of the Burgh of Dunfermline 1914-1920 (Grieve, 1962, p.12). By 1919 no schemes had been submitted for approval.

Despite the restricted and vague nature of the first legislation, as Ashworth (1965) has pointed out, the gradual development and the accumulated experience of public health and housing measures facilitated a general acceptance of the principle of town planning. Notwithstanding its almost complete lack of effect in changing the form of the built environment the 1909 Act was of considerable significance. It was the embryo from which 20th century planning law was to grow, and it introduced many of the concepts and conflicts that still survive today (Hague and Holt, 1990). It also stimulated the formation of the Town Planning Institute in 1914.

The next planning Act, again a minor addendum to housing legislation, came in 1919, after the First World War. It did little in practice to broaden the basis of town planning. But the town council of every burgh with a population of over 20,000 was obliged to prepare within three years a scheme for any land within their authority which could be used for development. This supposed victory on compulsion, in fact, was never taken seriously and was later abandoned. The time limit (1 January 1926) was first extended (by the Housing Act 1923) and finally abolished (by the Town and Country Planning Act 1932). However, advances were made in procedures. Local authorities were generally able to embark upon town planning schemes simply by passing a resolution in their council. The need to lay schemes before Parliament was removed, though scheme procedure was still lengthy and involved considerable
consultation and discussion with landowners. This again only produced one scheme, the Edinburgh Town Planning (Fountainbridge) Scheme, 1920. The extension of the 1919 Act, the 1919 Housing and Town Planning (Additional Powers) Act, is in a sense the fore-runner of the New Towns Act, 1946, because it gave powers to acquire land for garden cities. It was never used; there was no Scottish Welwyn, as there was no Scottish Letchworth — although Garden Suburbs appeared here and there as diluted versions.

The Town Planning (General Interim Development Order) 1922 was very important, because it established procedures which have been central to all subsequent development control activity, namely the submission of applications for planning permission, the approval or refusal of such applications in writing, the power of impose conditions on planning permissions, and the right of appeal to the relevant minister.

The Town Planning (Scotland) Act 1925 was the first separate planning legislation, though primarily a consolidation Act, some significant innovations were included. The Scottish Board of Health was empowered to authorize a town planning scheme for preserving the character of any property of special architectural, historic or artistic interest. This move marks the early consideration of conservation.

The scheme making process was still very slow in Scotland. By 1928 only two schemes, the Fountainbridge Scheme and the Dunfermline Scheme, had received the approval of the Board of Health in Scotland. Fergus Harris, Councillor and Convener of the Housing and Town Planning Committee of the City Of Edinburgh in 1928, observed that

"In these early days of the town planning movement, considerable discussion went on in Scotland, as elsewhere, in regard to the 'scheme' as distinct from the plan, and many meetings of the larger local authorities were held in order to try to draw up a scheme which would satisfy Scottish conditions. There were no procedure regulations to guide them, and even yet the Scottish Board of Health has not been able to see its way to issue draft Model Clauses for Scotland, though in England these have been
available for many years and recently been issued, revised, and brought up to date. If the Central Authority in Scotland had been more interested in the subject, other schemes in Edinburgh and elsewhere would have been completed long ere this.” (Harris, 1928, p.16)

The Ex-Provost Norval of Dunfermline spoke of similar difficulties faced in making the scheme, at the Tenth Country Meeting of the Town Planning Institute held in Edinburgh in October 1928. He noted the prejudice of the local landed proprietors and problems in complying with the rather meticulous requirements of the Board of Health as to what a town plan should be. Originally, the Board of Health insisted upon a detailed plan, with complete details of the character and general development of every particular unit on the plan. That was found to be impossible, and ultimately, a more elastic plan was submitted and approved and a great deal of detail was wiped out (Norval, 1928, p.19).

In the following years, more schemes were approved by the Secretary of State — four of them being in Glasgow, for the north, south, east and west outer quadrants of the City. It is also interesting to note that one of the Edinburgh schemes was for Charlotte Square and was almost wholly for the preservation of that masterpiece of architecture and layout.

State intervention in housing at this time has been the subject of extensive analysis. With fear of repercussions from the Russian Revolution in 1917 and the advanced working class organization, subsidized public housing development was not only considered desirable for the physical well-being of the people, but also for social stability. Clydeside, for example, formed the centre of industrial and political strife not only in Scotland but in Britain at the peak of wartime production. This was manifested in the frequent anti-war demonstrations, home rule agitation, the shop steward movement, and the Rent Strikes. The strength and seriousness of these movements convinced the government of dangers posed by the spread of socialist ideas and labour agitation, and of the consequent need to improve urban living conditions (Melling, 1983).
The 1919 Act is notable today for its acceptance of the idea of state subsidies for housing, which ushered in an era of nationwide growth of council house estates (Hague and Holt, 1990). The new standard of working class housing had three-bedrooms with kitchen, bath and garden, and were built at a density of not more than twelve houses to the acre (Cherry 1974, p.65). Most such development took place on virgin land on the periphery of towns, and municipal estates grew alongside the private suburbs. Private ownership also increased, greatly assisted by the rapidly expanding building societies. With rapid developments in transportation, suburbanisation was greatly accelerated. In Glasgow, for example, under the 1923 and 1924 Housing Acts spacious layouts, with broad, curving, tree-lined avenues, and semi-detached or four-in-a-block two storey houses set in extensive individual garden plots, were begun at Mosspark in the south-west of the city, and Riddrie in the north-east. They were quickly followed by much more extensive schemes at Knightswood, Scotstoun and Carntyne. Though lacking employment provision these 1920s garden suburb houses were the most valuable and most desirable of the city’s municipal housing stock, commanding high rent and rates levels which made them inaccessible to those sectors of the population most in need of such accommodation when they were built (Gibb 1983). Many of these houses were purchased under the privatisation policy of ‘right to buy’ in the 1980s.

The Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act of 1932 was the main town planning legislation until World War II. This Act extended planning power to almost any type of land, whether built-up or undeveloped. It was the first to mention country planning. In the system based on the 1932 Act, planning powers had been vested in the county councils, the town councils of large burghs and, at their own insistence, the small burghs of St Andrews and Thurso (Table 4.1). The Restriction of Ribbon Development Act 1935 gave local highway authorities powers to control access or development within 220 feet of the middle of a classified road. In practice this tended to be exercised to achieve narrowly focussed traffic engineering objectives.

Up to this stage, Scottish planning legislation had not yet proceeded to deal with the problem of planning from a national standpoint; there was no duty imposed on any authority or government department to view the country as a whole and consider
Table 4.1: Town planning schemes in Scotland as at 31st December 1932

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position of Schemes</th>
<th>No. of L.A.s</th>
<th>No. of Schemes</th>
<th>Acreage Covered by Schemes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Schemes finally approved</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8,722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Schemes submitted to Department but not yet approved</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>79,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Draft Sch. prepared and adopted by L.A.s but not yet submitted</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>796</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Sch. authorized under 1909 Act to be prepared</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Resolutions under Acts of 1919 and 1925 deciding to prepare Sch:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i) Not requiring Department’s approval</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>57,573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii) Requiring Department’s approval and approved</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The problems of industrial, commercial and urban growth in the light of the needs of the entire population. The system was essentially one of local planning based on the initiative and financial resources of local bodies responsible to a local electorate. The local authority naturally considered questions of planning and development largely with a view to the effect they would have on the authority’s own finances. The central authority - the Scottish Board of Health - had no effective powers of initiation and no power to grant financial assistance to local authorities. Indeed, their powers were essentially regulatory and seemed to be designed to cast them in the role of a quasi-judicial body to be chiefly concerned with ensuring that local authorities did not treat property owners unfairly. As Grieve observed: ‘Planning was a superficial activity, doubtfully responsible with Housing for a general mediocrity; it had no depth in the soil of social and economic studies, no height in an architecture of the Scottish people, no breadth in the knowledge of regional interdependence and collaboration.’ (Grieve, 1962, p.13) The system was therefore powerless to address the major problems posed by unequal growth between or within the regions.
4.4.3 The Early Practice of Regional Planning

From the ideas of Geddes and also the development of early planning legislation, we saw that the more perceptive thinkers came to recognize that effective urban planning necessitated planning on a larger than urban scale - the scale of the city and its surrounding rural hinterland, or even several cities forming a conurbation and their common overlapping hinterlands. This idea was the basis for the early practice of regional planning.

The Clyde Valley Regional Planning Advisory Committee (CVRPAC) had been set up in 1927 to prepare a scheme dealing with the particular features of planning within the area. Although only a zoning plan was prepared for roads and open spaces, this practice was a great step forward in one important respect, regional collaboration.

Partly stimulated by the Labour government's encouragement of regional groups for industrial development, the Convention of Royal Burghs set up the Scottish National Development Council (SNDC) in 1930 which produced several reports on economic problems. With the passing of the Special Areas Act in 1934 by the London central government, a Scottish Commissioner was appointed. His 'Special Area' covered the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, Dumbarton, Fife and West Lothian, and parts of Ayr and Stirling. The co-operation of the Scottish Special Area Commissioner and the SNDC brought an important initiative for an authoritative Scots body to explore industrial conditions and introduce planned development (Harvie 1981, p.50). In March 1936 the Scottish Economic Committee (SEC) as a sub-committee of the SNDC was set up. Under the support of the Commissioner and the Secretary of State for Scotland, the SEC produced a series of reports on Scottish economic affairs such as on the Highlands, light industries and so on. With the central government announcement of the Barlow Commission on the Distribution of the Industrial Population in 1937, the SEC gave evidence to Barlow, published as Scotland's Economic Future. It helped promote the Empire Exhibition, Scottish Industrial Estates, Films of Scotland, and the Scottish Special Housing Association. Though this Scottish advocacy of autonomy was suspended and replaced by the policy of centralized allocation of industry by
Whitehall during the war, it had, for a few years, focussed Scottish ‘middle opinion’ on economic and social reconstruction (Harvie 1981). In 1938 the committee (CVRPAC) was revived to re-examine regional road plans in the light of changes since the initial report (Adams 1978). These initiatives, together with the legacy of Geddes, had great influence on later economic and physical planning.

The Barlow Commission reported in 1940. It recommended the redevelopment of congested urban areas, the decentralization or dispersal of industries and industrial population, and the encouragement of a reasonable balance and diversification of industry throughout the regions. It recommended as the means of achieving these aims the development of garden cities, satellite towns and trading estates and the further development of small towns and regional centres.

In the Clyde Valley, there was the enormous burden of siting and building houses in an area of exceptional housing densities; the task of regenerating the declining traditional basic industries and diversifying the industrial structure; and the question of future exploitation of coal reserves and preservation of agricultural land. The old CVRPAC was reconstituted in 1943, with representatives from the main urban areas and the five counties, and was empowered to draw up an outline plan for the region which would form a basis for the statutory planning schemes of individual local authorities. The work of the 1943 committee ended with the publication of the The Clyde Valley Regional Plan 1946, prepared for the committee by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Robert Matthew which was the first practical example of strategic plan making in Scotland (Mackenzie 1989). The major strategy that dominated the Plan was that of decentralisation. The plan proposed the establishment of four new towns at Cumbernauld, East Kilbride, Bishopton and Houston to cater for approximately 250,000 people who would be dispersed mainly from the Glasgow area. Until the early 1970s, the decentralisation philosophy dominated the planning of the region with two persistent areas of concern — “(1) the decaying physical fabric of much of the region’s housing stock, especially within Glasgow, and the attendant heavy-overcrowding and congestion, and (2) the poor condition, measured in terms of high unemployment and low productivity, of the region’s economy.” (Wannop and Smith,
Though this plan was a one-off advisory document the authors were convinced of the need for a regional administration for the Clyde valley and the formation of a regional planning authority to keep the plan continually in touch with reality by modifications and alterations. These two issues - the case for a continuous process of regional/strategic planning and the need for local government reform - were not considered by the government till local government reform in the early 1970s. Even so we can be impressed by the formidable degree to which the Plan was realised. Wannop and Smith have observed that out of seventy-six recommendations and conclusions some fifty can be judged to have been realised. Of the fifteen items subjectively judged as of higher importance, only four might be said to have failed to be implemented. Most items implemented came about over fifteen years after the Plan had been published.

Also in 1943 another Regional Planning Advisory Committee was set up by the local planning authorities in the Central and South East Region. The committee appointed Sir Frank Mears to survey, report and make plans for the development of the region. Rather than substantial satellite New Towns, Mears sought growth spread around a constellation of small settlements. Mears' approach, based on the Geddes tradition, was different from Abercrombie's, based on Howard's ideas. His plan gave more scope for creative expansion in comparison with his counterpart in the west. Though he also proposed four new towns at Woodside, Cardenden and Kennoway in Fife, and in the Dalkeith area in Midlothian, they were much smaller than the four new towns proposed for Clydeside with each targeted for a population of 10,000-15,000.

On a UK national scale several other committees were set up and their reports dealt with some of the key issues raised by Barlow: Scott on rural land; Uthwatt on compensation and betterment; Reith on new towns, Dower and Hobhouse on national parks and access to the countryside (Nuffield Foundation 1986, p.5). The setting up of a more complete town and country planning system at both local and national levels followed quickly on the publication of these reports. Early in 1943 a Ministry of Town and Country Planning was established for England and Wales, while the same duties for Scotland were laid on the Scottish Office in Edinburgh. In 1943 Parliament
passed the Town and Country Planning (Interim Development) (Scotland) Act which, for the first time, brought all land under planning control. Planning procedures were consolidated in the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1947 which became the main guide for urban development in the country.

4.4.4 The 1947 Development Plan System

The 1947 (Scotland) Act, fundamentally the same as the English one, was widely hailed as the most comprehensive piece of planning legislation the western world had known (Hague 1984, p.62). It provides the basis of contemporary planning legislation. The Act was defined as:

"An Act to make fresh provision with respect to Scotland for planning the development and use of land, for the grant of permission to develop land and for other powers of control over use of land; to confer on public authorities additional powers in respect of the acquisition and development of land for planning and other purposes, and to amend the law relating to compensation in respect of the compulsory acquisition of land; to provide for payments out of central funds in respect of depreciation occasioned by planning restrictions; to secure the recovering for the benefit of the community of development charges in respect of certain new development; to provide for the payment of grants out of central funds in respect of expenses of local planning authorities in connection with the matters aforesaid; and for purposes connected with matters aforesaid." (Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1947)

Each planning authority (Counties and large Burghs and two small Burghs) was to prepare a development plan by July 1951. The plans were County Maps (at a

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8 The current Act is in fact little more than a consolidation and strengthening of the 1947 Act relieved of its requirements for the collection of betterment. Insofar as development control is concerned, current provisions are almost identical to those envisaged just after World War II and it is largely the Orders and Regulations made under the Act that have changed.
scale of one inch to the mile) and Town Maps (six inches to the mile) using standard colouring to define land use “zoning”, each accompanied by a brief written statement, all of which should “... indicate the manner in which they propose that land in that district should be used”, whether by the carrying out thereon of development or otherwise, and the stages by which any such development should be carried out. Furthermore, it was required that the development plan should define the sites of proposed roads, public and other buildings and works, airfields, parks, pleasure grounds, natural reserves and other open spaces, or allocate areas of land for use for agricultural, residential, industrial or other purposes (Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1947). Unlike the prewar ‘operative scheme’, the development plan did not of itself imply that permission would be granted for particular developments even if it appeared that they were clearly in harmony with the plan. Development control was achieved by a system of planning permissions. A developer’s specific proposal needed to be considered by the local planning authority. Furthermore, the authority could impose conditions on the permissions. Power was given for the preservation and improvement of amenities by the removal of non-conforming building, the stopping of non-conforming uses, the control of advertisement, and the preservation of trees and buildings of special architectural or historical interest.

The plan was to be programmed in 5-year periods, to look 20 years ahead, and be reviewed every 5 years. For areas of “blitz and blight” comprehensive development areas (CDA) were to be designated, and CDA plans submitted for approval. Central government took the power to assess the general provisions of the plan, to weigh all objections to it, to hold a public local inquiry, to consider the report of the reporter on the inquiry and finally to approve the plan (usually with modification). Local government had the prime responsibility for preparing and implementing planning policies.

Development rights in land and associated development values were nationalised. All owners were thus placed in the position of owning only the existing (1947) use rights and values in their land. Compensation for development rights was to be paid ‘once and for all’ out of a national fund, and developers were to pay a ‘development charge’
amounting to 100 per cent of the increase in the value of land resulting from the development.

By this Act planning practice became firmly established as an activity of government. The vision behind the legislation was that of the good environment, expressed in ideas about balanced development and spatial equality at the regional scale, and the provision of facilities and the quality of design at the local level. Creating the conditions for economic growth or coping with the consequences of demographic growth played a much less important part. The concern with the physical environment reflected the interests and attitudes of professional planners and the current priorities for reconstruction. But the real strength of planning practice came from its having a well understood and clearly defined role as part of a much wider movement for social reform (Davies 1981, p.3). People wanted the country to be physically more efficient and yet more harmonious and aesthetic in its buildings and landscapes. Town and country were to blend environmentally with the better use and conservation of natural resources. There was to be a better balancing by age, sex and social class of towns and cities and better social mixtures (Wibberley 1987). Under this situation the Town and Country Planning Act was only one part of a package which assumed substantially greater state ownership of the means of production, more centralised control of the economy, and a hierarchy of physical planning activity at national, regional and local level (Begg 1988).

By 1962, 47 of the 57 planning authorities in Scotland had submitted 39 full development plans (i.e., for their whole areas), 17 part plans and 93 amendment proposals, making the total of 149, of which 110 had been approved. The Central Belt had been largely covered by approved plans. But the Highlands and the North East, and the Borders areas displayed the greatest gaps in approved development plans. This is understandable because that “the 1947 Act, after all, was designed primarily for urban conditions; that part of the title of the Act referring to country planning was, in practice, meant principally the more negative, though important, aspect of planning control.” (Grieve, 1962, p.15) Although the quality of these plans varied a great deal depending on the quality and numbers of staff involved, Grieve observed that
local authority development plans, particularly in the Central Belt had been greatly influenced by the two Regional Plans mentioned above.

There is a considerable achievement to record about these 1947 style of development plans in Scotland. They demonstrated current problems and their planning proposals. They made it possible to know what provision must be made in land for the various needs of the community; they demonstrated the physical size to which various communities were expected to grow; they made it possible to think intelligently about the relationship of residential and industrial areas to the communication pattern; and very important, they made certain statements about the speed at which development should go, through the medium of their Programme Maps. Another very important contribution made by the practice of the system was in the psychological field; central and local governments began to think in more disciplined terms about the future and with a basis of knowledge of the existing factors not previously possessed (Grieve, 1962).

Despite these great achievements the 1947 system had been challenged from the very beginning. Though local government retained responsibility for planning, much of the responsibility for achieving national planning objectives was placed with specialised agencies. Development corporations for example were established outside the framework of local government to plan, build and manage the new towns. The decision on the situation and boundaries of a new town rested with the government. The government had powers of compulsory purchase on behalf of the town development agency, and each development corporation was responsible directly to the Secretary of State. In 1947 East Kilbride was designated as a planned new town to meet Howard's ideals and rehouse people from Glasgow. Cumbernauld followed in 1955. Glasgow Corporation initially resisted the idea of moving people out of the big city, so East Kilbride's and Cumbernauld's population built up by voluntary migration. The Bruce Plan for Glasgow, prepared by the City Engineer, provided a basis to achieve redevelopment and rehousing within the city boundary (Bruce, 1945). The population of the five neighbourhood units making up a community area proposed by the development plan conveniently totalled 50,000, the proposed size for the two above mentioned new
It is worth noting that whilst the new planning system was seen to be a matter for democratically elected local government to execute, albeit under strong centralised control, the organisations created for the development of the new towns were undemocratic. The new town development corporations were in fact technocratic in conception, and today their successors, the urban development corporations in England, controversially enjoy the same quango status (Hague and Holt, 1990). Nevertheless, Hall (1982) thinks that central control and management of new towns was necessary. “In building the new towns, freedom for managerial enterprise and energy had to be given priority over the principle of democratic accountability; if the new towns had to account for every step to a local authority, they could never have developed with the speed they did.” (pp.100-101)

Responsibility for redistributing and fostering industrial growth was also placed with a central government body by the Distribution of Industry Act, which was largely outside the formal land use planning machinery. Even the 1930s’ valuable semi-autonomy of the SEC was lost. Local authorities were only given their part to play through their redevelopment of existing urban areas, slum clearance and house building. Central government sought to steer new industry into old, run-down urban areas through Development Area incentives and Industrial Development Certificate controls. Any industrial development of more than 5000 sq ft outside the Development Areas assisted under regional policy required a certificate from central government indicating that it was consistent with the proper distribution of industry.

The role of the local planning authorities designated by the Act was to assist public development, redevelopment and relocation of settlements by identifying and setting aside the necessary land and drawing up master plans for physical layout and provision of infrastructure. But during the 1950s and the 1960s the Scottish economy suffered in many ways: geological exhaustion closed the pits, shipyards on the Upper Clyde became derelict, foundry after foundry ceased production, proud locomotive works built their last steam engine, the shale oil industry died, ... All these were reflected
by the modest loads of planning applications and development plan submissions. In
the early 1960s the number of planning applications per annum in Scotland was about
20,000. The number of appeals lodged was about 400 (2% of all applications). In
relation to England and Wales the number of applications was less in proportion to
population, and the number of appeals was a smaller proportion of all applications.
This presumably reflects less pressure on land (PAG Report, 1965). Particularly in
the Highlands and Islands planning faced even more problems than in the rest of the
country. As Grieve recorded, the 1947 Act was largely for arbitrating competition in
land-use while what was needed in those areas was mechanisms to induce competition
in land-use.

Moreover, the local planning authorities had little control over the land use activities
of other public authorities. Development by the Crown, including government depart-
ments, health authorities and industrial estate corporations, did not need planning
permission, while development by statutory undertakers and local authorities which
required the authorization of a government department for loan sanction or grant aid,
for example, were under the relevant legislation 'deemed' to have planning permission
when such consent was given. Developments by local planning authorities which con-
formed with an approved development plan could also be deemed to have planning
permission. These factors contributed to a serious lack of coordination both between
and within the various levels and types of public agency which, to some extent, has
continued to prevail.

The financial provisions of the 1947 Act were repealed after a change of government
in 1951. The Conservative Party's slogan was 'set the people free'. A free market in
land and land values was restored. In order to stop the urban growth the government
encouraged local authorities to make plans for green belts around the major conur-
bations and free standing cities. But this policy was not accompanied by positive
machinery for accommodating the resulting decentralization of people from the cities
and conurbations.
In the latter half of the 1950s, planners in Scotland began to look to "planning" to focus the growing concentration on regional economic development. Those who worked in the old Clyde Valley Plan were aware of, and had noted, the weakness of a lack of economic advice in the plan. By this time, the role of new towns as economic growth points was visible, and the extension of that role through a new kind of regional planning was being proposed. The Toothill Report, commissioned in 1961, recommended that there should be a concentrated programme of public investment in infrastructure — housing, water supplies, energy production and communications — to attract modern industry. By 1962 Scotland was well prepared for planning growth (Adams 1978). In the same year the Scottish Development Department (SDD) had been formed to bring the existing planning and development functions of the Scottish Office into one department. This was the first of its kind in UK government administration. A Scottish Development Group was formed within the Scottish Office as a special inter-departmental team.

The first exercises in this were through collaboration with the Scottish Office and the University of Glasgow economists and the commissioning of a subregional plan for 80 sq miles around the newly-designated Livingston New Town, as an experiment in physical-economic planning. Livingston (1962) and Irvine (1967) new towns were designated to release the pressures from the Central Clydeside conurbation and to attract new modern industry to these growth points. This marked one of the most radical changes in economic policy since the Second World War. With the publication of the White Paper, Central Scotland: A Programme for Development and Growth, areas of growth rather than areas in decline were officially recognized as deserving fields for governmental financial aid.

Using this central machinery, the Scottish Office moved on to the preparation of what was virtually a national plan — the White Paper on the Scottish Economy (1965). This analysed the whole Scottish situation on a 5-year projection, and was arranged by regions. This was the first attempt at comprehensive socio-economic guidelines for subsequently more detailed regional and local planning. This practice created the kind of thinking that led through the Wheatley Commission Report on Local Government
to the statutory reorganisation of local government in 1973 (Grieve, 1980, p.63).

Also in 1965 the HIDB, the regional equivalent of a new town corporation, but with economic development powers of a greater range and flexibility, was set up. The HIDB's experience then led, some years later, to the setting-up the Scottish Development Agency designed, to cover all Scotland but almost necessarily concentrated on the more serious urban-industrial problems.

4.4.5 PAG Report and the New Development Plan System

In 1964 the then Minister of Housing and Local Government in London set up the Planning Advisory Group (PAG), to review the planning system. Though criticizing the old planning system the PAG report — The Future of Development Plans (1965) — found that there was no significant difference of opinion about the underlying purpose of the planning system. It was generally accepted that land was a limited asset, that the community interest in how land was used had to be protected, and that a better environment would be achieved by regulating the way land was developed. There was also, to some degree, an implied presumption that given a better physical environment people would have 'better lives.'

PAG sought to provide the planning system with a set of development plan documents which made principal and long-term policies explicit and which allowed detailed plans for specific action to be prepared as and when they were required:

"a basic change in the structure of the planning system which would distinguish between the policy or strategic decisions on the one hand, and the detailed or tactical decisions on the other. The development plans that are submitted to Ministers for approval, it suggests, should deal only with the broad physical structure of the area and the principal policies and priorities for its future development. Specific allocations and details of implementations would then be the responsibility of the local planning authority" (PAG Report: Future of the Development Plan 1965, p.iii).
Based on the report, in 1967 eight Scottish planning regions were announced by the SDD: Glasgow and West Central; Falkirk/Stirling; Edinburgh and East Central; Tayside; Borders (including part of Northumberland); South West; North East; Highlands and Islands. In each of these divisions special studies were to be, or already had been, undertaken. The studies varied in size, the problems they were considering, their planning goals, and the composition of the planning team. Although they did not provide perfectly interlocking pieces of a regional planning jigsaw, they did provide detailed analysis of the regional sub-divisions of Scotland. In addition they advanced the practice of regional planning and produced a basis for future work in the study regions (Begg, 1990).

The 1969 Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act started the process of legislative change in planning practice, reinforced by new ideas for the organization of local government in the early 1970s. The reorganisation of local government in Scotland was more radical than that in England and Wales. What emerged was a two tier system with the upper tier largely based on city regions and districts. The planning function was split between them except in the rural Borders, Highlands, Dumfries and Galloway regions and the Islands Authorities which became all-purpose planning authorities. Thus while regions became responsible for broad planning strategy (structure planning), districts were responsible for local planning and most matters of planning control. The regions were given responsibility for a range of key functions and were of such a size that they were able to develop a meaningful and coherent strategic approach to development. Moreover, it was considered premature to introduce the new development plan system until such time as the new authorities were in place; the mechanism of regional reports was chosen to meet the urgent need to establish a strategic framework for policy-making.

From 1975 Scotland’s planning authorities started to produce Regional Reports. The key feature of Regional Reports was the degree of flexibility offered in terms of the Regional Planning Authority’s discretion to determine content, enhanced by limited procedural requirements (Henderson, 1989, p.3). The Regional Reports summarized the commitments inherited from the pre-reorganisation authorities, and set an overall
policy context for the new Regional authorities. The reports were based on a wide-ranging survey, and were required to be submitted to the Secretary of State within one year of local government re-organisation, but were not subject to 'formal approval'. Preparation of structure plans in Scotland did not commence until 1976/77 and this allowed Scotland to benefit from experience in England where there had been great confusion over whether structure plans should be physical land-use plans taking into account economic and social matters or all embracing documents covering physical, economic and social interests. Given that regional reports had established the latter policy framework, structure plans emerged with a more tightly defined role than their English counterparts, in accordance with advice in Scottish Development Department Circular 28/1976. (There will be further examination of the structure and local plans in later sections.) So though the development plan systems based on structure and local plans in the UK have a common origin in the Planning Advisory Group's Report of 1965, development planning in Scotland started off on a different basis to that in England and Wales with a distinctive innovation reflecting both a strong tradition in regional planning in Scotland and an awareness of the unsuitability of structure plans, based on experience south of the border. This is still thought as a major merit of the Scottish planning system, eg by Nuffield (1986).

By the late 1970s and the early 1980s the idea that the Scottish planning was different from and better than the English system had gained ground. Firstly, the Scottish Development Department became widely recognized as a more effective national scale planning agency than the DOE. This is particularly due to the National Planning Guidelines (see Section 4.7.1) and the better relationship between the central and the local planning authorities. Secondly the regional-scale elected planning authorities was another reason for the seeming success of Scottish Planning. There is a clear strategic context for Scottish planning, linking the Scottish Office, regions and districts councils. Thirdly, a related part of this success had been the integration of economic and physical planning. The SDA and HIDB were the examples of innovative bodies with physical and economic planning powers (Hague 1990a pp.288-290).
4.4.6 Planning in 1980s

The Conservative government's liberal economic development policy and industrial strategy, relied on the principles of 'supply side', and brought great changes to the society and the planning system in the 1980s.\(^9\) The private sector was accepted as the prime power in the development process.

'too much government intervention in economic activity stifles enterprise, discourages innovation, and removes incentives. Equally, inefficient government imposes costs, delays and uncertainties on business.' (Department of Trade and Industry, Releasing Enterprise (Cmnd 512, Nov. 1988))\(^10\)

The report to the Nuffield Foundation on development planning (1986) concluded that planning system has failed to meet the expectations made of it when it was established forty years ago and the political consensus on which the planning system then rested had largely disappeared. However this report did not suggest the abolition of the planning system, though reform was proposed. Nuffield, in particular, saw the Scottish System as having clear advantages over the English and drew heavily on it in its recommendations.

\(^9\)The basic theory behind the Conservative policy is a neo-classical belief in the virtues of a free market. Lloyd (1989a) identified three principal assertions of this free market lobby. They are: first, a belief that many current problems and conflicts, such as those associated with the inner city, are the result of past government intervention; second, a common and deep mistrust of government intervention and a commitment to market forces as the most efficient mechanism for the resolution of conflict in the land development process; and finally, the advocacy of a more narrowly circumscribed role for government in property development.

\(^10\)The extreme of this political Right ideology was represented by the Omega Report (Local Government Policy) (1984). In a generalized critique of the land use planning system, the report stated that public control over the private use of land had not succeeded in regulating the social costs of development; it suggested that public control itself imposed costs on the community through delays, lack of public involvement and the cost of bureaucracy. It argued for the abolition of public control and a return to the unrestrained market subject to the retention of certain minor controls over, for example, conservation areas and listed buildings. These extreme ideas have not been taken into legislation by the government.
Through the 1980s the borders of planning practice became even harder to define than ever before. Many shifts took place at the “edges” of planning - the traditional limits of concern of town and country planning practice and the means of applying them. Firstly, political conflicts between central and local government, and privatization of municipal services, threw into question the traditional role of local government and stimulated debates about the future direction of local democratic management of urban change. Secondly, major changes occurred in the relationship between the public and private sectors in the development of the built environment. The private sector begun to emerge as a force in the management of urban change, through a number of proposals for improving city centres, developing new communities, and protecting scenic resources. The most notable example of this in Scotland were the emergence of growth coalitions, such as Aberdeen Beyond 2000 (see Lloyd and Newlands 1990) and experiments in Town Centre Management through local business consortia. At the same time, public-private development partnership blurred the distinction between the traditional roles of the two sectors. Thirdly, ideas about how best to involve local communities in the control of their environments began to be shaped by the climate and concerns of the 1980s — reducing local government controls, protecting the property of the individual, tackling crime and vandalism, and generating local community-based initiatives in environmental control and employment creation (Hague 1990b). Fourthly, there was increasing awareness of the EC and concern about the likely impact of the Single European Market on regional and national economies, and for professional boundaries such as town planning (Prior, 1989).

This re-orientation of planning around new agendas was summarised by Brindley et al (1989), who suggested that the 1980s witnessed first the fragmentation and then the remaking of planning. Under the general approach to planning of the need for greater efficiency, greater speed in decision making and quicker production of plans to provide the firm basis for decision making, the government carried out a series of changes to streamline the planning process. These included the introduction of charges for planning applications; Enterprise Zones, changing the General Development Order (GDO); cutting planning schools; privatizing new towns, and employing
new regional policies. With the publication of the White Paper 'Lifting the Burden' (Cmd 9571) in July 1985, the government started to reduce the burdens imposed on businesses by administrative and legislative regulation. The planning system was one area of regulation singled out for attention. The package of proposals included a commitment to introduce Simplified Planning Zones, to enlarge the categories of permitted development and to review the Use Classes Order (UCO) and the advertisement control regulations.  

The enterprise zones were designed to free planning restrictions. Firms in the zones are exempt from rates and from Development Land Tax, and receive 100 per cent capital allowance for corporation and income tax purposes for commercial and industrial buildings (Hague 1984). The SDA has played a crucial role in preparing sites and in promoting the zones. The first such zone was established at Clydebank on August 3, 1981. Two zones were set up late at Invergordon and Dundee. One can then argue that State planning has thus been retained as a development activity for private clients.

Provisions enabling local authorities to prepare Simplified Planning Zones schemes came into force in November 1987, based on the Housing and Planning Act 1986. SPZs are based on the planning regime pioneered in Enterprise Zones and provide local authorities with a new means of facilitating development, particularly in the older urban areas. They enable local planning authorities to give advance planning permission for specific types of development in defined areas. It is hoped that this will provide developers with certainty about the acceptability of projects and remove the need for them to make individual planning applications in the area concerned. Certain types of development (mineral working, waste disposal) are excluded from the scope of SPZs, and SPZs cannot be designated in certain protected areas such

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11Urban Development Corporation have been introduced in England but not in Scotland. The Local Government, Planning and Land Act of 1980 gave the UDCs sweeping powers at the expense of the local authorities. It made them responsible for land, planning, building control, housing, highways and finance in their areas. Arguably UDCs were not introduced to Scotland because of the better central/local relations in the planning field, but also possibly because of likely overlap or competition with the SDA.
as National Parks and Green Belts. By 1991 3 SPZs were proposed in Scotland at Dingwell, Grangemouth and in Monklands District. In each case the SPZ was a tool to stimulate development, rather than a way of streamlining a planning system holding back development pressures.

A further initiative to remove the state's intervention power came from the idea of privatization of the development agencies. The Scottish Development Agency (SDA) and the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB) are now to be commercialized. Their names will be Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise. They are now explicitly directed to encourage entrepreneurship, foster private sector involvement in the development of the area, and reduce their holdings of land, property and equity.

Diversification was an important theme in British Planning in the 1980s. A North/South divide (rather than a Scotland/England divide) was widely commented upon. The deep recession of the early 1980s devastated the industrial heartlands, while creating new development opportunities in those locations favoured by the growing service sector. To oversimplify slightly two broad patterns of planning emerged. In the growth areas planning was about restraining the impact of growth and development. Development control was very important, green belts had to be protected against pressure for housing, offices, high-tech industry, or new retailing developments. Structure plans and local plans could scarcely keep pace with the rate at which major planning applications were lodged, and hence there was a tendency for planning to be conducted

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"Scottish Enterprise and Highlands and Islands Enterprise will provide for the integrated provision of the training services presently discharged by the Training Agency (previously the Manpower Services Commission) with the business development and environmental improvement functions of the Scottish Development Agency and the Highlands and Islands Development Board. More formally, the two new bodies will be charged with the responsibility of stimulating self-sustaining economic development and the growth of the enterprise, securing the improvement of the environment, encouraging the creation of viable jobs, reducing unemployment and improving the skills of the Scottish workforce. In addition, Highlands and Islands Enterprise will be responsible for securing the social development of the area under its jurisdiction." (Lloyd, 1990) Both these two new bodies will comprise a centralised policy-making and monitoring administration and a delivery network of employer-led agencies called Local Enterprise Companies (LECs).
primarily through the appeals system, and for planners to appear essentially negative in their attitudes to new development. In that other older Britain of which most of Scotland was a part, the problem was not competition for land but lack of competition. The task was not to keep developers out, but how to attract them in. Planning applications which would create jobs in areas of dereliction were scarcely likely to be refused on grounds that there would be a loss of amenity. Plans that were obstacles to development needed to be changed quickly. Plans by themselves were not enough to draw investment in, at least they needed to be supplemented by other actions, skills in negotiation and downright opportunism (Hague, 1990).

4.4.7 Summary

From the above examination we can now draw together some conclusions on the question How has the Scottish planning system developed? Firstly, from a superficial point of view, government intervention and the development of planning legislation in Scotland seem to have followed in stages. This can be reflected by the scope of planning legislation in the different periods of industrialisation and urbanisation. In the last century large scale industrial development and urbanisation was accompanied by limited human knowledge and techniques of land use planning. Government intervention was limited to public health and sanitation controls. In this century the government progressively produced a range of legislation to plan land use. After over forty years development, finally in the 1940s a comprehensive town and country planning system was established and has been substantially retained since then (Table 4.2).

But this development stage interpretation is debatable, because this evolutionary progress model overlooks the uneven history, the reverses as well as the steps forward. This development stage model of planning is also different from the model developed by Van den Berg et al. Their model is based on the general trend of urbanisation processes and relevant government policy in the whole of Europe in which industrialisation started later in most countries than in Scotland. Those countries
Table 4.2: The development of planning power in planning legislations

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Major Acts</th>
<th>Undeveloped areas</th>
<th>Built-up areas</th>
<th>Rural hinterland areas</th>
<th>Comprehensive plan</th>
<th>Local authority plan</th>
<th>Compulsory development plan</th>
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<td>1944 Act</td>
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accepted planning ideas at about the same time as Scotland did. Some, like Germany, even had a planning system in operation earlier than Scotland. As the first industrialized country, planning skills in Scotland lagged behind other technological innovations. Railways, motor cars, and other means of communication came first. It was hard for people to look ahead to their effect on city development and land use. When new problems appeared, planners started to search for solutions. When solutions came, the actual situation had already changed. Though the 1947 Act was a most advanced one at that time, it came too late for the already heavily industrialised Scotland and its depopulated rural areas. The system was to solve the problems related to industrialisation and urbanisation. When it was put into practice, urban development had already taken on other courses. If this comprehensive system had developed a century earlier Scotland might have looked different.

Secondly, the actual planning practice in the last 40 years could hardly be explained by a simple evolutionary stage model. McAuslan (1989) has summarized planning practice in the last four decades into two stronger public control periods from 1945 to 1955 and from 1965 to the late 1970s, and two relaxed public control periods from 1955 to 1965 and in the 1980s. Each of the four periods lasted about a decade or so. He suggested that the system had reached another turning point at the start of the 1990s. General concern about the environment, transportation, land prices and housing shortages may cause the government to shift its 1980s planning policies. Lock
(1988) also anticipated a new shift:

... in the new world in which such great importance is paid to the involvement of private sector resources, to consideration of the workings of the market and to the need for speed and informal planning techniques, the need for planning is greater than ever. It is a type of planning which is not so much regulatory as creative. It is a type of planning which must not lose sight of traditional ground rules - such as the balancing of social, environmental and economic considerations - but it is also a type of planning that operates in circumstances without precedent when compared with previous decades.

Thirdly, the slow response of government through planning to the rapid industrialisation and urbanisation processes before 1939 and the shifting emphasis in the last four decades could be explained, in part, by the nature of planning technology. Planning skills were not developed to the same extent as those in other fields. In the Scottish case, particularly in the nineteenth century, there were no former examples (apart from the partially planned villages and the Guild controls) to draw on. The understanding of industrial towns took a relatively long time. This contrasts with the situation facing planners in China today, where planners are able to plan railways, highways, factories, shops and houses aware of the experiences from advanced countries. This is also one value of this comparative research. However this is a rather weak explanation. It cannot answer the questions, such as why were Garden Cities not built in Scotland? Also the argument seems to imply that there is some model of a fully technically equipped planning system which we have been moving towards, whereas the skills and methods required are themselves conditioned by the socio-political context.

The slow response and changing ideology of planning could, on the other hand, be better explained by the particular economic and political ideologies of the country and the times. The most important indicator of a country’s political preference in land use planning is the land system. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the Scottish land system for a deeper understanding of the planning system. The land system is
also a very important issue to compare between Scotland and China for it can be presumed to cause major differences between them.

4.5 The Land System and its Effect on Planning

Theoretically speaking the land in Scotland is owned by the Crown - the Royal family. But this is different from the real estate of the Royal family. Though the biggest single landowner is the state through its various agencies and nationalised industries, most land is owned and controlled by private interests. The major land tenure system existing today is based on a feudal system (Bingham 1974). In Edinburgh for example the main land owners in the city centre are churches, banks, institutions, trustees of the big private schools and so on. Government institutions also own some land such as the castle, Holyrood House and hospitals and so on.

Land development traditionally involves raising money to bring together land, labour, materials and expertise so as to produce a building. An initiator or promoter is required to get things moving. The person may or may not be the owner or user of the building, but will invariably have promoted the operation for a return of some kind either in terms of profit, personal utility or prestige (Ambrose 1986). In Scotland in principle the activity has changed very little for a very long time and dominated the land development process in the industrial revolution. From the point of view of the private sector providers, not the users, it is very important to understand land development profit-making. Private developers' interest in residential development of land, for example, is best represented by the criteria for site selection for housing development set by a leading Scottish housing building company - Miller Homes Ltd. There are 16 criteria listed by their Land & Planning Manager, Jim Ross (ranked by relative importance):

1. Market factor (Demand for housing at the location)
2. Likelihood of obtaining planning permission (density, time scale and delay cost)
3. Service provision
4. Social class of neighbourhood
5. Site availability
6. Ground conditions
7. Access to schools
8. Asking price of land
9. Topographic conditions
10. Proximity to local shops/services
11. Proximity to city centre
12. Size of site
13. Quality of local environment
14. Access to employment
15. Grant assistance for ground clearance (in urban renewal areas)
16. Existing ground cover (trees and existing buildings) (Notes from a seminar at Department of Planning and Housing, Edinburgh College of Art, 27/2/91).

Although these criteria are very important for development and ensure a good built environment for the future residents, they are clearly intended to ensure a return from the development. It is this financial benefit which motivates the private land market.

For the state the dynamics of land development — the profit-making process — needs to be analyzed, and politically regulated. Conventional economic theory argues that the land market exhibits certain weaknesses which result in an inefficient allocation of land and property. This is evident from the historical review of the early town planning system. The main market deficiency cited in this respect is that of externalities or spillover effects. These result from the actions of private economic interests, and impose wider costs on the community. This deficiency does not result in the socially optimal use of land and the theory then provides the justification for the government
to intervene and control the private use of land so as to regulate any associated social costs. The extent to which public intervention should be permitted in private land and property markets has been the subject of considerable debate. An argument commonly associated with the political Left suggests that land use planning is not powerful enough to control private development pressures in the community interest, and simply serves the interests of the property sector by reducing uncertainties, protecting land values and facilitating land assembly. A contrary argument, commonly associated with the political Right, suggests that public sector controls are excessive, and, far from simply correcting market weaknesses, serve to distort the operation of the market (e.g. the views expressed in the Omega Report).

The Scottish planning system, all its legislation and all its regulatory mechanisms, are related to the uses to which land is put and not to the mode of value realization that forms the mainspring of the development process. This is reflected by the reluctant action of government intervention in land ownership. The legal system, in respect of the use of land, attempts largely to preserve, in a highly developed economy, a purely individualistic approach to land ownership, though this approach had been increasingly modified during the last century. For example, the rights of ownership were restricted in the interests of public health. Owners had to ensure that their properties were in good sanitary condition, that new buildings conformed to certain building standards, that streets were of a minimum width, and so on. But such measures are far from enough for an effective practice of town planning.

Effective planning necessarily controls, limits, or even completely destroys, the market value of particular pieces of land. Furthermore the public control of land use necessarily involves the shifting of land values from certain pieces of land to other pieces: the value of some sites is decreased, while that of other land is increased. Is the owner to be compensated for this loss in value? If so, how is the compensation to be calculated? And is any ‘balancing’ payment to be extracted from owners whose land appreciates in value as a result of planning measures? (Cullingworth 1988). These questions recur throughout the history of the British planning system.
The 1909 Act gave local authorities the power to control urban land use. But with the particularly strong influence of the landowner class on politics this power proved very weak. Urban land use decisions continued to be dominated by the landowners and private builders.

The Town Planning Act, 1925, empowered local authorities to claim betterment from other owners whose land increased in value owing to the reservation. Only half of the increase in value could be recovered, however, and local authorities were deterred from taking action, so that most reservations were worked out on the basis of voluntary co-operation. This means that the early planning scheme preparation game was also voluntary.

By the early 1940s the land problem was recognized as the major challenge of effective planning. The Uthwatt Committee was set up in 1941 to make an objective analysis of the subject of the payment of compensation and recovery of betterment in respect of public control of the use of land and to report on how to reconcile public planning of land use with the interests of landowners. The committee very soon found that 'It is clear that under a system of well-conceived planning the resolution of competing claims and the allocation of land for the various requirements must proceed on the basis of selecting the most suitable land for the particular purpose, irrespective of existing values which may attach to the individual parcels of land.' (p.27)

The committee concluded that the solution to these problems lay in changing the individualistic system of land ownership. The system itself had inherent 'contradictions provoking a conflict between private and public interest and hindering the proper operation of the planning machinery' (Hague 1984, p.68). The committee recommended the solution of the problem lay in the nationalization of all development rights. It suggested the immediate vesting in the State of the rights of development in all land outside built-up areas on payment of a fair compensation, and a periodic levy on increases in annual site value. Compulsory purchase of the whole of war-damaged or other reconstruction areas and land elsewhere to provide accommodation for persons displaced was recommended. These proposals marked a considerable extension
of planning powers. Despite the national solidarity of war-time the Uthwatt proposals provoked some political division and the Coalition Government was unable to agree on a land policy. The land nationalization alternative had been rejected by the Committee on the grounds that it would arouse political controversy, would involve insuperable financial problems and would necessitate the establishment of a complicated national administrative machinery.

Uthwatt’s proposals underpinned the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act. Development rights and their associated values were nationalized. No development was to take place without permission from the local planning authorities. If permission was refused, no compensation would be paid. If permission were granted, any resulting increase in land value was to be subject to a development charge. Theoretically speaking this is a fair arrangement. But the practice of this policy reveals the conservative nature of the country’s political system. The acceptance of government intervention on land use rights at that time is now thought to have been a result of the extraordinary political context created by war. “In the early summer of 1940, when invasion seemed a near-certainty, owners of land and other real estate were naturally very ready to convert their assets into something more liquid such as money or gold. Such assets could be transported, if feasible, should invasion occur. The more certain did victory become, the more surely did the historic premium attached to real estate begin to reassert itself. ... slowly growing confidence in final victory led not only to the gradual return of landed interests to their established place in the historic pattern of power relationships, it also reduced morale-boosting visions of the new postwar order.” (Ambrose 1986, p.49-50) Thus Ambrose views the post-Uthwatt planning practice as a retreat from a strong state interventionary role in land development, a retreat interrupted by brief advances in 1946-48, 1965-70 and 1974-77. The financial provisions of the 1947 Act were gradually abolished in 1953, 1954 and 1959, which showed the Conservatives’ commitment to a return to free enterprise in land development. The return of a Labour government in 1964 led to further attempts by the state to control land development. The 1967 Land Commission Act introduced a new betterment levy (40 per cent of the gain) and set up a Land Commission whose task would be to ensure the supply of land required for the implementation of na-
tional, regional and local plans was available. This was abolished soon after the Tory government returned to office in 1970.

In 1975 the Labour government made another effort with the Community Land Act which aimed to give planning authorities the right to acquire development land in order to facilitate the implementation of preferred developments. It required the local authorities to consider purchasing virtually all land that came forward for development. When purchases were made, they were to be at 'current use value'. Land would then be sold or leased back to the developer at a price which reflected its intended use value; the local authority would thereby reap the profits realised through the land's development. Thus could increases in development value be returned to the community that brought them about. Due to the relatively short time allowed for the operation of the scheme, there are now different views about its strength. In 1979, with the return of the Conservatives to office, the Community Land Scheme came to an end. However the Development Land Tax survived while reduced from 80 per cent to 60 per cent. The then Conservative Chancellor also promised that there would be no further changes. This firmness, born of an intention to eliminate uncertainty in the property development world, seemed to be indicative of an all-party consensus over the view that some sort of betterment levy was necessary to counter the sort of property speculation that occurred in the early 1960s and early 1970s. More importantly, its survival ensured that the public sector could have at least some say in the private land development process by maintaining control over the profits that are thus realised.

This conclusion was, however, short lived. In 1985, the Chancellor blamed Development Land Tax for keeping large volumes of land out of development and for creating uncertainty and confusion. It was also claimed that the costs of collecting some elements of the tax were in danger of exceeding their yield. The tax was scrapped, and the consensus that it seemed to signify was over. Development Land Tax joined the Community Land Act in the history books as only the latest failed attempt to come to grips with the land nationalization issue.
With dominant Conservative politics and the strong influence of the landowner class in land development, the present land use planners' powers are actually limited. They work just like designers drawing on a sheet of paper made up of many small pieces owned by many individuals. Any line they draw is affected by the owners' interests. The major effort made by them is to negotiate among these individual owners rather than to achieve creative design. The financial problems with land development can be thought of as the rock that broke the comprehensive development plan system. This feature of the planning system can never be explained by any development stage model.

Scotland as part of Great Britain is part of an overall capitalistic economy. The new move towards economic management by market forces has divisive effects. O'Connor drew attention to a basic contradiction in capitalist economies in 'the fact that production is social whereas the means of production are owned privately.' This leads to the premise that:

the capitalist state must try to fulfil two basic and often mutually contradictory functions - accumulation and legitimization ... This means that the state must try to maintain or create the conditions in which profitable capital accumulation is possible. However the state also must try to maintain or create the conditions for social harmony. A capitalist state that openly uses its coercive forces to help one class accumulate capital at the expense of other classes loses its legitimacy and hence undermines the basis of its loyalty and support. But a state that ignores the necessity of assisting the process of capital accumulation risks drying up the source of its own power, the economy's surplus production capacity and the taxes drawn from this surplus (and from other forms of capital). (O'Connor 1973, p.6)

This capitalistic style of the state determines the practice and the future of the planning system. Using this view, the development of town planning was analyzed by Peter Ambrose. The state enacted in 1947 regulatory mechanisms which would have severely inhibited the rate of capital accumulation via land development. The in-
tervention was necessary partly on grounds of legitimization. The political dangers of not intervening were judged to be too great because the crisis coming after the widespread deprivation and unrest of the 1930s, was perhaps the most serious of any since the Civil War. The beginning of the war forced the land owner class to abandon their desire for land. For a brief period the production of capital accumulation function lost out to the legitimization function. But quite rapidly, by the late 1950s, the balance of the two functions had been reversed, or perhaps more accurately had reverted almost to the prewar norm. This could be seen most clearly by the abolition of the development charge on land (Ambrose 1986, pp.22-27).

Allinson (1988) noticed that nationalization of land has formed a central plan of almost every Labour Party election manifesto; on the other hand, virtually the first act of any incoming Conservative government has been to remove such legislation from the statute book. It would be very easy to conclude that the public land ownership issue can be described as absolutely central to the principles of socialism and a complete anathema to conservatism. It should thus be destined to be on and off the statute book with each change of government. However, the Labour governments have, at no stage, achieved actual monopoly public control over land ownership. Planning has always operated with extensive private land ownership, and some form of market in land. Indeed the Community Land Act sought to use that market - buying cheap and selling dear. It need hardly be added that this is a very unsatisfactory state of affairs for developer and planner alike; it creates confusion and uncertainty, not to mention a great deal of abortive effort and wasted work. In these respects Scottish planning is very different from Chinese planning.

Before examining the planning authorities in Scotland it is still necessary to have a brief look at another very important component of the planning system — the planning professions, institute and planning education. It is not only important through its influence on the country’s planning practice and the creation of planners, but also by its relation with planning theory development. The history of the planning profession and its body the Royal Town Planning Institute has successively mirrored, first, society’s hopes in, then its expectations of, and finally uncertainty about town
planning.

4.6 Planning Profession, Education and Institute

Though the Scottish education system is distinctive from the English one there has been little that is distinctively Scottish about the form of Scottish planning education - except possibly a stronger acknowledgement of Geddes. The system has been primarily shaped by the RTPI and funding bodies in England. Due to this reason this section addresses the issue from a standpoint of Britain as a whole though major Scottish characteristics will be emphasized.

In Britain the planning profession is not specifically related either to central planning machinery or to state bureaucracies. It represents an occupational group which has grown up around the state's expanding role in the management of land change and development (Healey 1985). Planning education began with the establishment of a postgraduate course in "Civic Design" at the University of Liverpool in 1910 which coincided with the first "Housing and Town Planning Act". The first moves to the professionalization of 'land use' or 'town' planners came with the setting up of the Town Planning Institute in 1914. The architectural, engineering and surveying professions assisted in bringing these developments about and have been the 'parent professions' of town planning.

Though from 1918 the TPI began to run its own exams, early planning courses were

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13With no state-regulation of their activities in 19th century Britain, practitioners of certain high-level skills felt the urgent need to protect their reputation, and ultimately their interests. They formed associations. Members of these were supposed to have attained a certain level of qualification, adhere to a code of conduct and to a scale of professional fees. This soon led to entrance examinations which initially did not form part of any educational system. Membership of a profession is almost a pre-requisite of practising it. The relationship between profession and education developed by the influence on education from the professional associations or institutes through the so-called recognised schools system. The graduates from certain specified courses offered at institutions of higher education are exempted from all, or parts of, the external examinations of most of the professions. This gives the professions control over course development.
primarily intended for qualified architects, engineers and surveyors who wanted to acquire a second professional qualification. Until the 1950s town planning was regarded as a convenient extension of their professional activities by the members of the 'parent professions' although the range of activities widened somewhat with the introduction of the Town and Country Planning Summer School in 1934. The Department of Town Planning in Edinburgh College of Art, the first to be established in Scotland in 1934, for example, was in the School of Architecture. It only offered post-graduate Diploma course of town planning to “selected students who have successfully completed the course in architecture” (Walkden 1940).

Up until the Second World War few conspicuous changes had taken place. The two principal innovations had been the forging of a link between the TPI and the planning schools through the instrument of exemption from the institute's examinations for graduates of approved courses and, secondly, the introduction of a five-year undergraduate course leading towards a BA Honours Degree in “Town and Country Planning” (Faludi 1978).

The mid-1940s brought the planning profession into high esteem. A leftward shift in politics, a general disposition to regard government rather than private enterprise as the best way forward to achieve worthwhile reconstruction, and a preparedness to accept controls as the price for new homes in attractive surroundings all propelled an unready profession into the limelight (Cherry 1984). In 1949, a “Committee on the Qualifications for Planners” (Schuster Committee) was set up by government to review the situation and to make recommendations. According to Schuster, the best way of ensuring the quality of the intake to planning departments in local and central government was by attracting candidates who had graduated in one of a range of first degree subjects followed by a postgraduate course in planning. Schuster viewed planning as a team activity and laid particular stress on inter-disciplinary and inter-professional links. The Committee saw great advantages in postgraduate courses where students from different first degree backgrounds studied together, and

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14 The first course of this kind was introduced at the Newcastle division of the University of Durham in 1945. Manchester followed a few years later.
quoted the example of an architect and an economics graduate thrown together for the first time on a postgraduate course. Schuster recommended the recognition of contributions from geographers and social scientists, because planning was not just a technical activity - it involved policy and administration. But the TPI had resisted this. Without an intellectual base to feed the construction of these links, planning education remained largely dominated by architectural notions of town design.

Important changes in the composition of the planning profession came through the 1950s and the 1960s as a result of Schuster. The new professional planners increasingly came from social sciences, or from undergraduate planning courses, who challenged many of the ideas of the older planners. They rejected the simple physical determinism which assumed that social and economic objectives could be achieved through planning the use and development of land. The geographers in particular made an important applied contribution to regional planning studies. These new professions brought knowledge of systems theory and technical ability to manipulate ever larger quantities of data in ever more complex models of reality, seeking a greater understanding of social and economic processes underlying changes in land use. They sought greater rationality in the intellectual processes of plan making, drawing on ideas of operational research which laid the basis for an attempt to widen significantly the field of action of planning and to change many of its working methods.

During the sixties there were sharp debates between "specialist" and "generalist" approaches to educating planners: a generalist was somebody qualified in planning by way of an undergraduate planning course or by the institute's own Intermediate and Final Examinations, and a specialist somebody with no matter what first degree and a planning qualification. The Town Planning Institute's model of expertise remained that of the generalist planner. In practice they were given a grounding in the principles of town design and management. The institute also fought for a long time to retain this model against the claims of the two groups advocating a multi-discipline approach, i.e. the established built environment professions and the social scientists. Through its control of the recognition process and its appointees on bodies validating public sector higher education, the institute significantly delayed the introduction of
social scientific thought into the planning curriculum. It was not until 1980 that the Institute finally adopted guidelines for planning education which emphasised social and economic analysis, and political and administrative capabilities, as much as development and management (Healey 1985). Nevertheless, by the early 1970s not only were more planning courses run (at both postgraduate and undergraduate levels),\(^{15}\) courses had included substantial social and economic subjects and contents (TPI, 1970).

In the early 1970s many planners were attracted to procedural planning theory, which presented planning as a technical, neutral process; planning expertise resided in the skills of process rather than the substance of policy. This approach encouraged planners to lay claim to general policy advisory roles in the public sector. During the later 1970s, the emerging body of political economy theory encouraged a critical evaluation of both state intervention in land use change and development and the role of planners in supporting powerful groups under the guise of protecting the 'public interest'. This challenged both the content of planners’ expertise and its mode of delivery (Healey 1985). By the 1980s the controversies of the 1960s between specialist and generalist approaches were buried. Funding cuts for post-graduate courses meant that the undergraduate route dominated. While the procedural theory/political economy division provoked quite bitter arguments, these were essentially within the planning education community. Higher education in Britain was forced to operate in an increasingly harsh economic climate, and by the end of the 1980s most planning schools had turned away from theoretical and ideological debate, and were instead building firmer links with practitioners.

\(^{15}\)In the period from 1960 to 1972, the number of planning students on recognised courses had trebled (Travis 1972). In the early 1980s, there were seven planning schools in Scotland. (Three under the control of UGC were at the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow and Strathclyde. Four under SED finance were Heriot-Watt/Edinburgh College of Art, Duncan Jordanstone College, Robert Gordon's Institute (not RTPI recognised), and Glasgow School of Art). A national manpower planning exercise in 1986 saw a major change to the Scottish planning schools. Edinburgh University's department was lost. The Glasgow schools merged into one centre at Strathclyde and Dundee was retained as the third member of the RTPI-recognised triangle. The rationale for closures was the "oversupply" of planners, but by the end of the 1980s there was actually a shortfall of new planning graduates.
The RTPI is the official body responsible for the town planning profession in Britain with a branch in Scotland. The institute is wholly independent of the government. Its object, in the words of its Royal Charter, is ‘to advance the science and art of town planning in all its aspects, including local, regional and national planning, for the benefit of the people’. It is therefore primarily concerned with the maintenance of high standards of education and training for planners, and of competence and good conduct within the profession, with promoting the role of planning within the country’s social, economic and political structures; and with presenting the profession’s views on current planning issues.

For the purpose of promoting planning research, fostering a dialogue between researchers and the users of research findings, and ensuring that its members have the capacity to undertake research and to interpret and apply research results, the RTPI publishes and revises its Planning Research Guidelines and other policies, such as a Research Agenda for the Inner City. By doing this the Institute wishes “to exert some positive influence to ensure that research best meets the needs of the profession ...” (RTPI, The Planner, 14th December 1990).

The Institute has a membership of about 15000 (about 1500 in Scotland) and its recognised professional qualifications are widely accepted overseas. It offers guidance to its members on matters of professional practice and deals with complaints about breaches of its Code of Professional Conduct. It recognizes some 30 courses in the town planning departments of universities and polytechnics which give exemption from the Institute educational requirements. This is the chief means by which the institute has influenced the standard of town planning. The RTPI publishes its weekly journal The Planner, and a range of publications relating to planning practice, research and education. Beside its annual conference the institute holds the Town and Country Planning Summer School each September.16

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16 The RTPI is governed by its Royal Charter: it is accountable to the Privy Council. It gained the Charter (ie official professional status) in 1959 - partly a result of the deliberations at the Schuster Committee. The Town and Country Planning Summer School is technically a separate entity from the RTPI, but effectively it is sustained by the Institute.
The Scottish Branch, now known as RTPI Scotland, plays a very important part in the planning system. The branch affairs are governed by its executive committee which meets about every six weeks or so. Delegated from this are several standing committees, such as Consultancy, Consultations, Continuing Professional Development, Education and Research, Planning Aid, Public Relations, Sessional Programme and Women and Planning. The branch publishes a regular magazine — The Scottish Planner which reports on changes in the planning system, on new legislation, new government circulars, special reports on planning activity and regular features on these standing committee affairs.

One of the key features of the RTPI is that it has a considerable measure of autonomy. It is not a party-political body and cannot be so. If it were seen to be so it would face problems with the Privy Council and the Charities Commission, but it can, and frequently does, challenge the government on aspects of planning policy. In particular it has been critical of many of the changes introduced to the planning system by the Thatcher governments. This, as we will see in the next Chapter, forms one of the major differences between the Scottish and Chinese planning institutions.

Based on the above understandings of the ideological, political and legal basis of the Scottish planning system, and the development of planning education and the profession it is now the turn for the second major question: How are the planning authorities organised and operated at both central and local levels?

4.7 Planning Authorities

4.7.1 Central Planning Authority

Overall responsibility for the administration of town and country planning in Scotland rests with the Secretary of State for Scotland. He in turn discharges the responsibility for town and country planning through the Scottish Development Department (SDD), renamed as the Scottish Office Environment Depart-
ment in 1991, which has wide ranging powers of positive planning relating to housing, transport, industrial facilities and other developments though it has no independent legal status or statutory duties.

In general terms the Secretary of State holds the following statutory powers in respect of planning. Firstly, he has responsibility for approving the individual structure plans submitted by regional and islands planning authorities. It is in this way that he has secured consistency and continuity (as required by the legislation) of land use throughout the country. As a result of the Secretary of State's consideration of all relevant factors, these plans may be approved as submitted or with modifications or reservations and planning authorities may be asked to prepare alterations.

Secondly, the Secretary of State can use some more flexible and advisory measures to exercise control over local planning authorities. These take the form of memoranda, planning bulletins, circulars, directives and advice notes issued through the SDD. The Scottish Office introduced National Planning Guidelines\(^\text{17}\) to achieve nationally coherent local planning policies. Although the guidelines have no statutory force they represent important material considerations to be taken into account by planning authorities both in preparation of their structure and local plan policies and in their decisions on planning applications and for the Secretary of State in his decisions about 'call in' applications. The advantages of the National Planning Guidelines were recognised by the Nuffield Report:

"The guidelines define the national interest in the way land is used and what should be done to safeguard or promote that interest, indicate zones in which development is to be preferred or resisted, and give advance warning of issues on which the Secretary of State may call in applications. They are accompanied by a series of land use summary sheets derived from

\(^{17}\)The Scottish NPGs were born out of a 1972 Select Committee recommendation (Select Committee on Land Resources Use in Scotland) that the government should draw up a structure plan for the whole country. Further impetus was created at this time with the absence of any coherent policy on the siting of oil platform construction yards and the SDD responded with Coastal Planning Guidelines in 1974.
Table 4.3: Planning Responsibilities of the Scottish Office

| (a) | Structure Plans: Examination in Public, Approval (Part II Town & Country Planning (Scotland) Act, 1972) |
| Regional Reports: Observations (S.173, Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973) |
| (b) | District Plans: Local, Subject, Action Area: Subject to S of S directions: Call in Powers. |
| (c) | Development Control: Appeals to Reporters Unit. Enforcement Appeals. Completion Notices, approval. |
| (d) | Others - e.g. New Towns, Urban Programme, Regional/Economic Development, Countryside, Nature Conservation, Historical Monuments. |

Source: Martin MacEwen (1990) Lecture Notes. pp.11-12

the resource surveys on which the guidelines are based. The guidelines are being incorporated into regional reports and development plans."(Nuffield Foundation, 1986, p.54)

Thirdly, the Secretary of State has the power to “call in” planning applications of outstanding importance that he would prefer to decide upon himself. These are likely to be developments with an impact transcending regional boundaries.

Finally, the Secretary of State has important appellate functions: in particular, an applicant for planning permission who is aggrieved by the decision of a planning authority to refuse permission or to grant permission subject to conditions has a right of appeal to him. In all of this the Secretary of State has a quasi-judicial role - he judges matters partly against a legal code, partly against policy (Table 4.3).

Beside the above responsibilities the Secretary of State has a direct involvement in planning matters, as well as a supervisory role over the activities of the local planning authorities. He is responsible for the creation of special development initiatives. In the past this took the form of the designation of new towns, including the designation
of land for development, the setting up of the New Town Development Corporations and the provision of funds. Since 1979 such powers have been extended to establish Enterprise Zones. While local authorities are able to initiate proposals for such features, power to establish them remains firmly in the hand of the Secretary of State (Kirby and Carrick 1985, p.6).

Another feature of the Scottish central planning authority is its role of direct involvement in local economic and physical development through centrally controlled agencies — the Scottish Development Agency (SDA) and the Highlands and Islands Development Board (HIDB). Though the SDA was set up in 1975 its origin can be traced back 30 years. Like so much else in the subsequent history of Scottish administration and planning it was anticipated in the recommendations of the Clyde Valley Plan, so the skeleton of the agency's role can be seen in the propositions of the plan that physical, economic and social planning should go hand in hand (Wannop 1984). Its purposes were set as: (a) furthering economic development; (b) the provision, maintenance or safeguarding of employment; (c) the promotion of industrial efficiency and international competitiveness; and (d) furthering the improvement of the environment. It was set up by a Labour Government, but survived for a decade under Conservatives ideologically committed to 'rolling back the state'. Though the SDA was seen by some as the instrument for a state-led programme of industrial modernisation, by the early 1980s it was substantially involved in economic and physical regeneration and urban renewal, and involved in area based "casualty" operations (Keating 1989). Thus at 31 March 1983, the Agency was managing an investment of 88m pounds in nine Area Development Projects in comparison with 34m in 725 large and small Scottish businesses (Wannop 1984). The largest project led by it was the Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal (GEAR) in the late 1970s to tackle the physical, social, and economic aspects of urban redevelopment. With the change of political and economic climate, the SDA changed its emphasis from urban renewal to economic growth — a more commercial approach. Despite its significance the SDA’s role was different from a central planning body which produces national development policies and coordinates local planning activities. It has operated through a corporate plan, which was a confidential document. Typically it forged partnership between lo-
cal authorities and the private sector, through effectively being able to provide both with financial support.

Central government can also affect the practice of planning by financial control. Within the statutory abilities of local government, the size of a local authority's budget determines the scope of its operations. Although planning administration takes a very small part of the budget, the subjects of planning such as housing, transport infrastructure, redevelopment proposals, conservation activities etc., may require significant amounts of capital and recurrent expenditure. Expenditure for major capital projects requires loan sanction from central government, which is a means by which central government not only attempts to control the public sector borrowing requirement, but is also a mechanism by which the nature of capital projects can be supervised. The frequency with which the Scottish Office imposed new controls on local government finance in the 1980s made the land use planning function more problematic.

Although the powers available to central government under planning legislation are many and far-reaching, local planning authorities are far from being mere agents of central government. Though the SDD exerts considerable influence over the activities of planning authorities, the initiative for taking planning action is left to a large extent in the hands of those authorities; the Department is concerned not so much with attempting to impose policies upon planning authorities as with ensuring that the policies drawn up by authorities are realistic and do not run counter to national policies. The relationship between SDD and local planning authorities was described as partnership (Young 1978, p.11), and despite central/local conflicts throughout the 1980s in many fields, that remains broadly true still. It is widely recognised that the relationship has been more harmonious than that between the Department of the Environment and the English planning authorities.
Table 4.4: Local planning authorities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structure</th>
<th>Local Planning Authorities</th>
<th>Non-Planning Authorities</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Regional</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>37 Districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General Regional Councils</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16 Districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Island area councils</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

4.7.2 Local Planning Authorities

The distribution of planning functions created by the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 is not uniform over the whole of Scotland. Planning powers and duties are conferred on only 49 of the 65 Scottish local authorities. The 49 authorities with planning responsibilities are of three different types: regional, general and district planning authorities (Table 4.4).

The planning functions are divided between regional and district authorities in the Central, Fife, Grampian, Lothian, Tayside, and Strathclyde regions. In the Borders, Dumfries and Galloway, and Highland regions the planning function is allocated entirely to the regions, and districts in these regions have no planning functions. These regions are known as ‘general planning authorities’. In the three island council areas there are no districts, so they are also known as ‘general planning authorities’.

Regional planning functions include survey and regional reports, structure plans, acquisition, appropriation, disposal and development of land in connection with functions exercised by regional and general planning authorities, reserve powers regarding local plans and powers to ‘call in’ planning applications. Regions are also responsible for roads, water supply, and drainage matters. District planning functions include the carrying out of surveys for local plans and preparation of such plans; the exercise of development control powers and of powers relating to listed buildings, conservation areas, trees and advertisements; enforcement of planning control; and acquisition and appropriation, and disposal and development of land.
A local authority such as a regional or district council, can arrange for the discharge of any of their functions by a committee of the authority, a sub-committee, an officer of the authority or by any other local authority. In the dual system of elected members (the councillors) and paid employees (local government officers), the planning operation depends upon the successful interaction of those two groups within themselves, between each other, and with the general public as electors and as the receivers of the various services that are discharged. This inevitably introduces a social as well as a political dimension into what on the surface might appear to be a very formalized bureaucratic machine. Planning authorities may also hire private firms of planning consultants to do specialist pieces of work for them. These characteristics of a planning authority can been seen more clearly in Edinburgh in Chapter 6.

4.8 Development Plans and Development Control

Since the passing of the first planning legislation in 1909, there have been many different approaches for planning and development of land. First, the planning schemes then the legislation in the 1940s introduced a more comprehensive development plan system along with the centrally controlled planning and development of new towns. Scotland has also developed a regional planning tradition. All these plans have already been mentioned in Section 4.4. This section will concentrate on the present development plan system — the Structure Plan and Local Plan, the legislative requirements, contents, process of making, presentation, and changing nature in the 1980s. Development control will also be given special attention.

4.8.1 Structure Plans

Though the 1947 development plan system was the most comprehensive in the world when it was introduced, such a system could work better under a situation of state control over the development process of land. In Scotland such control only existed in the statute book for a while. With the repeal of the financial provisions of the 1947
Act, the development plans became catalogues of sites and acreages and 'proposed land uses' which might never happen or happened in an unproposed way. By the early 1960s these development plans were inadequate. After the PAG report and later reform of the administrative system the structure and local plan system was introduced. But the confidence and glory of planning in the 1940s was never restored. Since the introduction of the new system, the nature of these plans have already been changed to fit the new political and administrative climate. The following paragraphs reveal those changes.

When the structure and local plans were introduced, there were still no fundamental changes to the 1947 system. Though land was predominantly in the private sector and exchanged through market processes, the state was presumed to play the major role in determining the built environment. Only the process was changed to discharge those cumbersome, unnecessary procedures and speed up development. The structure plan in particular was to serve as an integrated economic and physical planning document. This could be easily recognised by the explanation of a structure plan by the local planning authority and the SDD: A Structure Plan\textsuperscript{18} would be a written statement formulating the authority's policy and general proposals in respect of the development and other use of land in their area. It would have regard to the principal physical and economic characteristics of the area; size, the composition and distribution of the population; the communications, transport system and traffic of the area; and any other relevant matters which affect development within the region (Lothian Regional Council, Department of Physical Planning 1976).

Structure plans would deal with land use planning matters, and the policies and proposals they presented would reflect an integrated strategy for the area as a whole (SDD Circular, 28/76). The main strategic issues were to include matters concerned with population distribution, employment and transportation. Other strategic issues could be of equal importance in particular areas, for example, conservation and town-

\textsuperscript{18}The documents of a structure plan originally required were a report of survey, the consultative draft (including the matters proposed to be included in the plan), a written statement, a key diagram and a publicity and consultation statement (SDD 1981). Structure plans have to be submitted for approval of the Secretary of State.
scape in historical towns or recreation and leisure in remote areas. SDD listed some matters which had long been established as forming useful subjects relevant to physical planning. They included: population, housing, economic activity, employment and incomes, communications, shopping, education, health, social and community services, recreation and leisure, conservation, townscape and landscape, utility services, any other relevant matters (SDD 1976a p.11). However the structure plan system was introduced in Scotland in a very different development climate than that anticipated by the PAG. There was rising unemployment, demographic growth had tailed away, public expenditure was being more tightly restricted. Instead of deliberating among a range of alternative options to accommodate urban growth, the Scottish planners were confronted with the problem of how to manage urban decline.

After 1979 the experience with structure planning in England, and the political sensibilities of the Conservative government led to some sharpening of focus of structure plans in Scotland. The desiderata of the SDD were set out in Planning Advice Note 27, published in 1981. This defined the purpose of structure planning as being "to provide a strategic policy framework at regional or sub-regional level for the development and control of the physical environment in the interests of the community. In helping to achieve this the structure plan should set out:

- policies on major issues of national or regional importance;
- general proposals in accord with these policies;
- strategic development control policies on matters of national or regional importance;
- guidance for the preparation of local plans including the allocation of resources."

(SDD, 1981, p.1)

The structure plans are therefore definitively about strategic issues, which SDD (1981) commented "normally involve the interaction of a number of planning elements". The 19The listing is reasonably compatible with the implementation processes of central and local government, and much existing survey material, statistics and other information sources reflect this kind of division, as do many previous development plans.
structure plan has to define what the key issues are, and demonstrate the need for a strategy, policy and proposals. Policies are intended to give guidance to developers and district planning authorities about what types of development will be acceptable on strategic grounds. They can be divided into "strategic land use policies" and "supporting policies". Proposals are statements of intended actions, and have to be supported by reasoned justifications which show when the proposal may be implemented, by whom and at what cost. Thus in preparing structure plans explicit consideration has to be given to questions of implementation (Prior and Hague, 1990).

Regional Councils were allowed by the 1973 Act a degree of choice in terms of structure plan coverage, with some opting for plans covering only parts of the region. Sixteen structure plans were required for national coverage initially in 1975. In 1986 these reduced to 14. The first round of structure plans had all been approved by the Secretary of State by January 1985, except for the plans for North-east Fife and the Western Isles. Complete structure plan coverage of island and mainland Scotland was achieved with the submission of these two plans in 1988 (SDD 1988a).

These Scottish structure plans do not relate to a fixed end date, because it is believed that it is not possible to look ahead over the same period of time for all aspects of the plan. However, they show how these various aspects are to be interrelated in the future, and how the plan is to be coordinated with those of neighbouring authorities. The planning authority is not required to amend the plan, or bring it up to date very frequently like the development plan in the 1947 system, but they could undertake a partial amendment of a structure plan, alterations being confined either to a particular area or areas or to a particular subject or group of subjects; in such a case local authorities need to show how changes in one part of the plan will affect other relevant policies. The Secretary of State has power to direct an alteration to the structure plan.

Monitoring became of increasing importance in structure planning in the 1980s, after the initial round of plans were completed. In this way the plan can be adaptive to new information, such as changed government priorities, or newly emergent issues,
or the failure or success of existing policies and proposals in the plan. In this sense monitoring becomes the key means for the generation of new plans (Prior and Hague 1990).

The negotiating role of structure planning authorities is represented by the requirement of consultation in the planning process. In the early period of Structure Planning in Scotland great emphasis was placed on the Examination in Public (EIP) of the plan. This was a mechanism through which the plans prepared by the regional authorities could be subjected to extended and relatively open debate. The EIP followed a seminar format, and was chaired by a Reporter appointed by the SDD. Relevant interests and experts were invited to participate in discussions at the EIP which were grouped around particular topics (e.g. housing land, transport policies, office location policies etc). The Reporter produced a set of findings and recommendations for the Secretary of State, who would then decide on the approval or modification of the plan. While individual objectors were rarely invited to attend, and the whole process favoured “insider” corporate interests groups, there was nevertheless scope for public debate, and for campaigning community organisations or environmental groups to challenge officialdom (Prior and Hague, 1990). The finalized plan and report of survey are required to be placed on deposit, sent to all those consultees and advertised in the press, giving the statutory 4 weeks for objections (SDD 1981, pp.6-7). But in practice the whole process of structure planning became much less open during the 1980s. “The existence of a structure plan, the constraints and uncertainties on local government spending, and the ideological commitment of central government to a market-led pattern of urban change have all made the structure plan review process fundamentally incremental in character. For these reasons Scottish structure plans have not used techniques of multi-criteria evaluation to derive optimal plans. The broad parameters of commitments have already been fixed, and updating has largely been about making marginal adjustments. A further consequence is that the discussion of the issues has become increasingly technical in character. and the public dimension has been shrunk - in some cases down to the level of the exchange of correspondence between the Secretary of State and the planning authority. In Strathclyde, for example, the Secretary of State has substantially re-written the cur-
rent structure plan update without any real resource to public involvement in the process.” (Prior and Hague, 1990, pp.3-4) Despite these criticisms Scottish structure plans have broadly succeeded in establishing a strategic planning framework at a genuinely regional scale. They have protected important land resources, provided a basis for discussions with the house building industry about land release and infrastructure provision, and been an important mechanism for providing workable planning policies on topics such as out of town shopping developments. It was notable that when the Department of the Environment proposed abolition of structure planning in England in a 1986 Green Paper it argued for the retention of the structure planning system in Scotland.

4.8.2 Local Plans

Local plans were introduced alongside the structure planning system. They are prepared by district planning authorities, except in the three all purpose regional authorities and in the island authorities. The local plans are expected to conform to the relevant structure plan, and also to reflect national policies, as set out in the NPGs for example. They are presented on an Ordnance Survey base and thus show how policies and proposals relate to existing development in the locality. Unlike the structure plans they are site specific.

Their main function is to set out detailed planning policies and proposals for an area. They provide the basis for development control. In addition, they were intended to be an essential element in the process of identifying development land and of stimulating and initiating development (SDD 1976b, p.1). The most important functions of a local plan are:

- to stimulate and encourage development where appropriate;
- to indicate land where there are opportunities for change;
- to apply national and regional policies;
to give a clear locational reference to policies for the development, change of use or conservation of land, and to proposals for development;

• to show how those who have an interest in the area, e.g. the authority, private owners, residents, commerce, industry, developers and investors could contribute to the implementation of the plan;

• to provide an adequate basis for development control;

• to indicate the intended future pattern of land use and development in the area by showing how existing development and the policies and proposals of the plan fit together (SDD 1984, p.1).

A local plan has no fixed plan period because it is thought that each policy or proposal has its own time scale by which it is expected to contribute to the achievement of the plan's objectives. A local plan consists of a map and a written statement. The map, the land use implications of the policies and proposals in the local plan, is referred to as the proposals map. It is drawn on a base reproduced or prepared from an Ordnance Survey map and is carefully cross-referenced to the written material.

The written statement provides the explanatory background to the proposals map, presenting the policies and proposals and reasoning that lies behind them (SDD 1971, p.20). As there is no statutory requirement for a local plan report of survey, the written statement has a part containing the summary of survey findings. There used to be a local plan publicity and consultation statement - a document to inform people how their representations had been dealt with. This report was dropped as the emphasis went to de-regulation and speeding up planning, and away from the idea of public participation in the 1980s.

There were three different types of local plans proposed by the SDD in 1976: Comprehensive local plans, action area plans, subject plans (SDD 1976b). But in a 1984 PAN, only the comprehensive local plan and subject plan were mentioned (SDD 1984). Comprehensive Local Plans are concerned with the whole range of planning matters for part of the area covered by a structure plan, setting out in detail
the changes the authority intend should take place, and giving guidance on the form of new development, and laying down development control standards for the management of urban and rural environments. These plans were proposed to provide the local plan coverage required by statute (SDD 1976c). Action Area Plans were intended to guide the comprehensive planning of areas in which intensive change was to commence within five years from the date of structure plan submission. They were to be the core of proposals for change in the short-term, and represent a concentration of investment and other resources and the important part of the priorities in the structure plan. Action areas were to be indicated in the structure plan. No action area plans were prepared. Preparation of comprehensive local plans has dominated local plan preparation in Scotland since 1975. Subject Plans are local plans dealing with some particular type of development or use of land, such as mineral extraction. Examples of subject plans are: The Forth and Clyde Canal Plan, The Loch Lomond Subject Plan and The Rural Subject Plan in Clydesdale District. Subject Plans often cross the boundaries between district councils — i.e. they deal with topics that need to be planned in an integrated way.

All local plans are conceived as detailed elaboration of the broad policies incorporated in a structure plan and approved by the Secretary of State. They do not require approval from the Secretary of State. Though he has the power to direct that a local plan 'shall not have effect' unless he approves it, this has never happened in Scotland — rather the concern has been to get the Local Plans produced. For example, SDD were unhappy with West Lothian's reluctance to press ahead with local plan coverage. Even so coverage in Scotland has been notably better that in England.

Recently SDD has stressed the need for local plans to be more “user friendly” in their presentation. In particular they advise that written statements should be kept as clear and simple as possible, for example policies which state the obvious should not be included, nor should there be detailed cost schedules of policies and proposals.

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20 The idea came with PAG really as a more focussed and streamlined version of the old Comprehensive Development Areas. By the time the post-PAG system was operating in Scotland (mid 1970s) the situation had changed - from growth to recession and demographic decline; from comprehensive redevelopment to area improvement and more private sector involvement. Hence no Action Areas.
because these can quickly become outdated. Similarly the proposals map should be on an up to date base, should not be overloaded with policies and proposals, and should preferably be in colour (SDD 1989).

Consistent with the political priorities of central government SDD has called for local plans to become “more positive in emphasis, more compact in form and more relevant to the needs of the developer” (SDD 1988b). Stimulation and encouragement of development and identification of sites where there are opportunities for investment and change are seen as key functions of a local plan. To this end SDD advise that an opportunities brochure should be prepared soon after a local plan has been adopted. Brochures highlighting development opportunities in an area should:

- reflect the policies contained in adopted local plans;
- contain information about the area which a developer would find useful; eg. location plan, population, land prices, property values, etc;
- adopt a consistent approach to the presentation of information on site area, ownership, access, etc for individual opportunity areas;
- include a list of contacts from whom further information can be obtained;
- be compact, clearly dated and easily updated;
- be readily available to prospective developers. (SDD 1988b)

New local plans may be supplemented by other documents such as development or design briefs. These seek to provide more specific guidance to developers and their designers as to what the planning authority is looking for. Development briefs will be specific to a site, and will specify matters such as the mix of land uses, the intensity of the development, local plan policies and proposals, access requirements, retention of buildings or trees etc. Design briefs may be for a site, or provide more general guidance about a planning authority’s aspirations and expectations in relation to the proposed development, the kind of materials favoured, policies about rooftlines etc (Prior and Hague 1990).
Table 4.5: Local plan progress in Scotland by February 1991

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Plan Status</th>
<th>No. of Plans</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>adopted</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PL Inquiry</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finalized</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Consult Draft</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Work Started</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Started</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


A national total of 440 local plans was expected in mid-1978. Most authorities, however, opted for fewer plans covering more extensive areas. Four authorities (Inverclyde, Monklands, Gordon, and Banff and Buchan) prepared one plan for the whole district, though the plans were of necessity somewhat bulky documents. The district-wide proposals maps have caused particular problems, with numerous inset maps and even insets to the insets. There are also some indications that such plans have difficulty in dealing with matters of fine detail and hence tend to become a cross between a local plan and a structure plan. Even so district-wide local plans are now becoming more popular. Eleven districts currently have, or are preparing, district-wide local plans (Mackenzie 1989). Now 298 local plans are required to give all-Scotland coverage. By 1991 about 215 (72%) have been adopted. A further 31 plans (10%) are at finalized stage. (Table 4.5 gives the details of local plan progress.)

59 replacement plans are finalised or drafted which will replace 147 existing local plans. Alterations were also made to 56 local plans (SOED, 1991)

At PAG and reorganisation the expectation was that the priority area for local plans would be inner city renewal areas. In practice the 1980s have been dominated by issues of housing land at Structure Plan level, and hence local plans became key means of identifying specific sites for private house building. So the focus shifted to suburbs and beyond.
One area of concern has been the lack of city-wide plans. The four cities in Scotland are each preparing a mosaic of plans, though there has been some criticism that the regions’ structure plans do not provide an adequate framework for co-ordinating local plans. One solution would be an urban structure plan. But no region has opted to prepare such a plan. The urban district-wide local plan may fill such a gap. Edinburgh has produced a District report and Glasgow have moved towards a city scale plan.

In the rural area, such as West Lothian, the District Council argued through the 1980s that Local Plans were of limited value, especially in no-growth areas. Such plans could mediate conflicts but not trigger development — a similar argument made by Grieve in 1962 on the 1947 Act in relation to the Highlands (see Section 4.4.4). In particular they saw Local Plans as unlikely to benefit deprived groups like the long term unemployed. They practised a form of community-based planning instead in such areas (Hague, 1986). Such informal planning approaches exist alongside the coverage provided by statutory development plans.

4.8.3 Development Control

Development is defined in the 1947 Act as ‘the carrying out of building, engineering, mining or other operations in, on, over or under land, or the making of any material change in the use of any buildings or other land’. This definition includes rebuilding and structural alterations or additions to buildings, but does not include internal modifications which will not have any material affect on the external appearance. Certain exceptional categories of development are declared not to require planning permission. Otherwise planning permission is required for the carrying out of any development of land. Application for permission is made to the planning authority - the district or general planning authority.

Those exceptions for development control are the activities listed in either the Use Classes Order or the General Development Order. The former (UCO) lists changes of use which do not constitute development. These include change of use
from one use to another within the same class. A change between two different classes will be likely to involve development and thus requires planning permission. For example, there are three classes covering residential uses; C1 - Hotels and Hostels; C2 Residential Institutions - hospitals, nursing homes, residential schools and colleges; C3 - dwelling houses occupied by a single person or family or by no more than 6 persons living together as a single household. Thus change from a hotel to a hostel does not need permission; nor does a household need permission if they choose to take in a lodger, but change from a private house with lodgers to a declared boarding house, or private hotel or hostel would require permission. A change of the UCO can affect the power of the planning system. In 1987 the government revised the UCO with the declared intention of streamlining the system and reducing the extent to which planning controls were a burden on businesses. The most controversial aspect of these changes was the introduction of a completely new business use class (B1), which comprised three rather different elements - offices, light industry and high-technology industry. The reasoning was that new high-technology developments typically are a mix of all three elements, but the effect has been to virtually eliminate the power of planning authorities to restrict changes from industrial to office use (Prior and Hague 1990).

The GDO gives the developer a little more freedom by listing classes of permitted development, notably in respect of agricultural buildings or development undertaken by public authorities and nationalised industries or statutory undertakers (which mainly consist of agencies operating waterways, railways, road transport or docks). The General Development Order itself constitutes the permissions.

The planning authority consider a planning application with regard to the provisions of the development plan. The decision can be one of three kinds: unconditional permission, permissions 'subject to such conditions as they think fit', or refusal. Where the development is permitted, the planning authority issues a planning permission to the developer or developers, so then the project can be carried out. There is a right of appeal to the Secretary of State against conditional permissions and refusals. Planning applications which raise issues of major importance are likely
to be 'called in' for decision by the region or the Secretary of State.

By imposing conditions on a planning permission, many undesirable aspects of development can be prevented. More importantly, to prevent the accumulation of unused permissions and to discourage the speculative landlord, the 1969 Planning (Scotland) Act made all planning permissions subject to a condition that development is begun within five years, otherwise the permission lapses. Sometimes a completion notice may be served, which states that the planning permission lapses after the expiration of a specified period. Any work carried out after then becomes unpermitted. This is to prevent some developers who may only begin development in a token way, such as digging a trench and then leaving the site for years without further progress.

The procedure for enforcement in development control is provided by 'enforcement notices' under which an owner who carried out development without permission or in breach of conditions can be compelled to 'undo' the development. A 'stop notice' can also be used in conjunction with an enforcement notice to put a rapid stop to the carrying out of development which is in breach of planning control.

All planning applications are made, in the first instance, to the district (except in all purpose authorities). When considering the application major attention is paid to structure and local plans.

Over the period 1978-1987 the average number of planning applications received per annum in the whole of Scotland was 35,945. In 1987 32,547 (92%) of planning applications were approved, while 2,890 (8%) were refused. The number of planning permission appeals increased by 67 per cent over the decade from 432 in 1978 to 724 in 1987. In 1987 alone 586 planning permission appeals were decided with 363 (62%) dismissed and 223 (38%) sustained (SDD 1988a). Scottish planning authorities decided 44,107 applications in 1988. This was a record level despite the relaxation in control (Henderson, 1989).

Special arrangements are made for the protection of buildings of special architectural or historic interest. Statutory powers to protect historic buildings through
the planning process depend on the existence of lists of such buildings drawn up by the
Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate. Unless consent has been obtained,
it is an offence to demolish a listed building or to alter or extend it in such a way
as to affect its character as a building of architectural or historical interest. **Listed
Building Consent** is required for any works affecting a building's character, even
relatively minor works such as the installation of a different type of window have to
be the subject of an application for consent. Consent is required for internal as well
as external works which affect a building's character.

A list now exists for the whole of Scotland, and responsibility for revision and publi-
cation of it rests with the Historic Buildings and Monuments Directorate of the SDD
(Tucker 1982). MacEwen (1985) summarized some major criteria for listing (there
are about 13,000 listed buildings in Scotland):

- planned streets, villages or burghs;
- works of well-known architects;
- buildings associated with famous people or events;
- good examples of buildings connected with social and industrial history and the
development of communications; and
- landmarks.

The relative importance accorded to a listed building for its architectural or historic
interest is reflected in the designation of buildings as category A, B, or C. The plan-
ing authority may, without reference to the Secretary of State, grant listed building
consent for the alteration of buildings which are listed category B for group value
and the alteration of category C. The planning authority must notify the Secretary
of State of applications for the alteration of category A buildings and buildings listed
category B in their own right. The same is true of all applications for demolition of
a listed building. Notification of such applications enables the Secretary of State to
decide whether or not to 'call in' the application for decision by himself.

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Conservation areas are designated to extend listed building control to the demolition of any building within it. Often authorities extend control to external alterations and extensions to buildings within such an area.

Scottish planning has no control over agricultural land use. Section 19(2)(e) of the Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act 1972 declares that 'the use of any land for the purposes of agriculture or forestry (including afforestation) and the use for any of those purposes of any building occupied together with land so used' does not involve development, and therefore does not require planning permission. A change from one agricultural use to another such use does not involve development, even though a change of this nature may have environmental consequences.

4.9 Summary and Conclusion

This examination of the Scottish planning system has concentrated on four issues: pre-industrial towns and planning; the development of the planning system; the government institutions with planning responsibilities; and the major approaches of planning — the development plans and development control. In the next Chapter the Scottish system will be compared with that in China. Before moving on it is useful to draw together answers for the questions posed at the beginning of this Chapter: Can we discern a necessary association with a form/scope of planning with a particular stage/form of urbanisation? Are the institutions and agencies distinctive for cultural or historical accident reasons?

Firstly, development of planning system in Scotland has demonstrated some elements of the evolutionary model: a) with industrial development and urbanisation, planning ideologies developed by individual thinkers has showed a gradual enlargement of planning contents and physical scale (see Section 4.3); b) government intervention and development of planning legislation seem to have followed in stages, which is reflected by the scope of planning legislation in the different periods (see Section 4.4); and the style and contents of plans had developed from covering simple land
use issues to more comprehensive planning and from small areas to regional planning (see Section 4.8 and Chapter 6). But this only summarised one side of the planning system. The discussion also demonstrated that the cultural and political factors are very important to the system.

Although the development of modern town planning in the early 20th century responded to industrial development and urbanisation, but the practice of planning continued the pre-industrial approach of piecemeal regulation to improve public health and other urban infrastructure engineering rather than comprehensive design and construction. Although world and national economic difficulties and the political and military situation in the 1930s and early 1940s had a profound influence on the development of planning, and the Second World War made its great contribution to the establishment of the famous 1947 planning system, the traditional piecemeal approach continued, most notably in development control where each application is considered on its merits. Local plans in the 1980s have also been dominated by concerns for individual sites. Arguably these features all reflect the market-dominated economic system and the power and influence of land owners.

Furthermore it is very difficult to explain the different moulds of planning in Scotland in the last forty years by the simple evolutionary model. The post-war planning practice in Scotland, like in other parts of Britain, can be divided into three different moulds: the 1947, 1969 and 1980s moulds (Davies 1981, p.2) with four identical periods (McAuslan 1989) — two of strict control and two of relaxation. The first mould - the Master Plan - was marked by the 1947 Act, though the practice and ideology developed several years earlier, and by the time of the Act, some of its sharpest teeth had already be lost. The mould was characterised by a major attempt at creating a single, all embracing system, within which its activities for a while fell into clearly thought out and recognizable patterns. Land use planning authorities were established all over the country. Comprehensive development plans were made not only to guide land use but other social aspects as well.

Though the 1947 style of planning worked until its replacement by the 1969 Act,
planning practice actually experienced two different periods, as McAuslan put it. From 1945 to 1955 the major characteristic of the planning system was its strong public intervention power in land development. From 1955 to 1965 however there was an erosion of the early planning ideologies and relaxation of public control on the private land development process. During these two early periods urban policy was primarily concerned with the reconstruction and redevelopment of the larger towns and cities. This involved slum-clearance schemes, the planned redevelopment of retailing and commercial centres, and the accommodation of overspill populations in new or expanded settlements at lower densities. The policy instruments used were a combination of controls over land development, effected through the town and country planning legislation, and positive measures such as the construction of new towns. A further integral element of the decentralization of population from the centres of larger urban areas was the building of peripheral council-housing estates, some of which were themselves the size of large towns. While central government operated regional policy, the more concentrated economic and social problems of urban areas were effectively neglected.

The second mould was marked by the PAG and its report in the middle of 1960s, and was put into practice by the 1969 Act, though actual practice of this mould came after local government reform in 1975. The discussion about the planning system in the 1960s represented the development of planning theory and knowledge. With new techniques and skills, planners and politicians made another effort to plan the society by science rather than by reliance on the legacy of central planning and community solidarity left over after the war. This was accompanied by some increase in public control on private development by the then Labour government. The new legislation and procedures introduced at this time represented another step forward. For the first time there was a coherent system of planning which took account of national interests, separated strategic planning from detailed local planning, and there was a local government structure capable of managing and operating the system. The introduction of regional authorities and structure planning not only brought urban land use planning into a larger spatial scale, but also made the Scottish planning system distinct from the English one. However this comprehensive system was accompanied
by the change of government urban policy. From the 1960s onwards, the concentration of economic and social problems in the urban areas and particularly the inner areas came to be acknowledged. This posed the question about the suitability of the new system to attack this newly identified problem.

With the problems of recession after 1973 and particularly the coming of the Conservative government in 1979, new approaches were introduced which can be seen as a third mould. Though these changes were primarily triggered by the situation in England they had great influence on the Scottish system as well. With government ideologically committed to free market development, planning experienced many changes. While practices varied widely, planning as a whole became more market-led. More recently, there has been a rediscovery of peripheral housing estates in the New Life for Urban Scotland initiative of the Scottish Office. Improving the housing conditions in those areas became one of government's major urban policies which requires a planning approach different from the previous ones.

Each of these attempts reflects the interplay of economic, social and demographic changes, the alteration of political control and philosophy at national and local level, and the evolution of planning theory and practice. Changes in policy, practice and legislation have tended to follow, and often lag behind, the events which gave rise to them. Is this a particular characteristic of the Scottish planning system or is a universal feature of planning? The examination of the Chinese planning system in the next chapter can give some perspective views.

But before moving on it is necessary to emphasize two most important features of the Scottish planning system. Firstly, the distinctive role played by the Scottish Office, particularly since the mid 1960s when SDD was set up. The SDD has steered the Scottish planning system, and because of SDD it has differed in some important respects from the English equivalent (eg Regional Reports, NPGs, more support for Structure Plans, fuller coverage by statutory Local Plans). However SDD has not substantially altered the broad currents of change which have driven the planning system in the UK as a whole — as characterised by McAuslan for example. Secondly,
the regional tradition is stronger in Scotland than in England. To some extent this would be attributed to basic geography (see Chapter 2) and persistent problems of development and regional decline. To some extent it reflects the fostering of the regional idea by important sections of Scottish opinion and key Scottish institutions — eg Geddes, the Scottish National Development Council, the Wheatley Committee, the SDD, COSLA. Both these points emphasize the significance of institutions and historical traditions in the emergence and development of the form of a planning system. The impact of the SDA (again a distinctive Scottish body with its origins in ideas set out in the Clyde Valley Plan) is a further support for this interpretation.
Chapter 5

The Planning System in China

5.1 Introduction

The Scottish planning system was examined in the last chapter which focused on three major issues: How did the planning system develop — ideologically and legislatively? How are the planning authorities and institutions organised and operated? and What kind of plans and procedures are used in the system? The chapter concluded that though human understanding of the urban process and the development of planning skills improved by stages, planning practice in Scotland was greatly influenced by the changing political and economic climate and by institutions and historical traditions. This chapter examines the Chinese system on similar issues. Chinese feudal town planning practice will be examined first. The development of the Scottish planning system owed much to the country’s industrialisation process. Large scale industrial development came much later in China than in Scotland, and was concentrated only in a few areas along the east coast and along big rivers. However the country practised a form of town planning for a very long time. Though this practice was feudal in nature, like the feudal political and administrative system identified in Chapter 3, it had great influence on the development of modern town planning. Therefore, before discussing industrial urban development and western influence on Chinese town development
and planning, it is necessary to have a look at the history of early city planning practice. This is followed by city development and planning in the period of 1840-1949. The legacies of the Western invasion and their influence on city development, particularly in the so called Treaty Port cities along the eastern coast and big rivers, and the former government’s planning of industrial cities will be examined.

Section 5.4 is a detailed study of the development of planning policies and practice since 1949. Major economic development planning periods and political events and their effect on planning will be evaluated. This is followed by the examination of the country’s urban land system changes, such as the land reform, in Section 5.5 and the structures and roles of planning education and professional institutions in Section 5.6. The central and local planning authorities will be examined in Section 5.7, followed by the study of the major policy vehicle — the City Plans (Overall Plans, Detailed Plans and Urban District Plans).

For a systematic comparison similarities and differences between China and Scotland are identified under each question. The causes of these differences and similarities will be examined in terms of the different contexts, such as different historic and cultural backgrounds, different economic development stages, and different political systems. The objective is to identify the strengths and weaknesses of the Chinese system from an external and comparative perspective.

Chinese economists believed that “the planned economy is a kind of socialist economic system based on public ownership of the means of production. It is different from the partial or sectorial planning employed by some capitalist societies, and can only be practised in socialist society”(Li 1985, p.1). As explained in the Introduction, the Chinese government engages itself with a complex Economic and Social Development Planning programme, which carries the government’s regional and urban development policies. The ESDP programme in theory is made of certain parts. Each part concerns one or more special problems in the specific area or sector, while every part is related to and conditioned by every other. They form an organic unitary system of planning. In such a comprehensive system, city and town planning, like other sectors such as
agriculture, industry, commerce, and central and local government spending, is only one of its subsystems.¹

When talking about planning in Scotland and other western countries we talk about town and country planning. When talking about planning in China, it means different things to different people even among planners engaged in different kinds of planning programme. This research, as indicated in the Introduction, is concerned with town and country or land use planning. In the Chinese case there is still no comprehensive unitary land use planning system. City planning is separated from rural planning. Major government efforts are made to plan cities. Only recently small market town and rural village planning became part of the government’s agenda. To sharpen the focus, this research concentrates on urban land use planning which is also more relevant to the planning system operating in Scotland. The planners concerned here are city planners. However China’s “city planners” do not have the same professional status and public recognition as Scottish planners do, due to their relatively small number and their architectural and geographical professional background.

5.2 The Chinese Feudal Town Planning Practice²

¹In Chinese there are two terms with the general meaning of planning: jihua (計畫) and Guihua (規劃). The Modern Chinese Dictionary (Xiandai Hanyu Cidian) and the New China Dictionary (Xinhua Cidian) both simply explain these two terms as (a) jihua: predetermined concrete contents and procedures for working or action; (b) guihua: a relatively comprehensive and long-term jihua.

Generally speaking, the first one (jihua) is used for economic affairs in the short term or other general planning activities. When referring to a long term, or strategic planning activity such as a city plan, regional development plan, or sectorial strategic plan (agricultural plan) the latter term (guihua) is used. Guihua is also physical layout and design oriented.

²The Modern Chinese word Cheng Shi (成市) means city today. It is different from the ancient concept of Cheng (城) which means walled city or walled town. Cheng was similar to a castle, but it was much larger than a castle. It was also different from a castle in structure and functions. Cheng offered a living place for both the governors and the people. Shi (市) was another concept which means the market or market place in the walled city or town. Cheng and Shi together make a new expression for the modern concept of a city. This evolution of terms may reflect changes in the function of Chinese urban settlements from a pure administrative centre to an economic activity oriented one. In this section city and town are both used to refer to the ancient Chinese walled city.
Chinese urban history can be traced back to much earlier time than that in Scotland. In the slave society of the Xia (夏) (21c-16c B.C) and Shang (商) (16c-11c B.C) dynasties, there were already large scale human settlements which have been found by archaeological studies (City Planning Education and Research Department, Tongji University, 1985). From the Zhou (周) (11c -771 B.C) dynasty a complex town system developed. To give a full review of the whole urban system in such a large territory and through such a long time is very difficult. Research has been published on historical town development and planning in China (see Tongji University (in Chinese) 1985; Wu (in English) 1986). Here to highlight the major characteristics of historical town planning and development in the country, a case study approach is employed. Xian city is taken as an example. Due to its role as national capital for about a thousand years and through 11 feudal states, it is also a good representative of a Chinese historical city. Also it will be used later in the thesis as a case study of modern planning practice, so this discussion now provides some necessary introduction to the city.

5.2.1 The Case of Xian

Xian is located in the Weihe River Valley — one of the major branches of the Huanghe (Yellow) River. Due to the relatively favourable natural conditions, from the Western Zhou Dynasty (11c B.C. to 771 B.C.), the transition period from slave society to feudal society, this area was the centre of Chinese culture (see Figure 5.1).

The Zhou dynasty built two capital cities at each side of the River Fen — a branch of the Weihe River. The detailed design of the cities is not known today, but a general pattern of those cities was recorded in books. Study of Engineering — a book written in the fifth century B.C. — describes the overall layout of the early imperial city plan. The walls of the city in the four directions formed a square with each facing one of the four cardinal points. The walls on each side had three gates and inside each gate there were three main roads parallel to each other, the main roads and streets in
the city thus forming a criss-cross communication network. The plan called for the city to face south. In front of the central point of the city were located the imperial courts, and at the back of the central point were concentrated the market places. To the left of the imperial courts the Imperial Ancestral Temple was located, which was the place where the emperors offered sacrifices to their ancestors. To the right of the imperial courts was situated the Altar of Soil and Grain, a place where the emperors offered sacrifices to the God of Soil and the God of Grain (Hou 1986, pp.7-8). This ideal design had great influence on China's later city planning, especially for major capital cities.

By 221 B.C. the first feudal centralised state, the Qin Dynasty (中國) built its capital city at Xianyang on the Weihe River. At the beginning the Xianyang Palaces were located at the north bank of the Weihe River. When Qin destroyed other states, the Emperor ordered the destruction of their Walled city as well, and built copies of the palaces of defeated states at Xianyang and moved the rich households to live there. By doing this about 120 thousand households were moved to the capital. The north
bank ran out of space for this development, and the city spread to the south bank over the river. The new Emperor's palace — *Afang Palace* was built at the south bank. This palace was known as one of the best palaces in Chinese history. Unfortunately, it only existed for a short while and was destroyed by war. The city structure is hard to know in more detail today. The only remains are the earth base of the main building of *Afang Palace* about 2000 metres long from east to west and 1000 metres wide from south to north (Ma 1978, p.23).

The Han Dynasty (公元前206-221) replaced the Qin in 207 B.C.. The Han abandoned the Qin capital site and built a new capital to the south of Xianyang using some of the old palaces at the south bank of the Weihe River. A new name, *Changan*, was given which means everlasting peace. The building of Han Changan city took about 20 years. Palaces were built first and the city wall later. Figure 5.2 shows these palaces and the city walls, which were not straight lines. This suggests that there was no overall plan before the development started. But the city still resembled some characteristics of the Zhou city pattern. There were three gates at each side. The
main roads were either from south to north or from east to west. There were nine market places in the city all located at the back of palaces to the north.

About 380 years later, the Sui (隋) dynasty united the country and rebuilt their capital in the same area (Bor 1985), but abandoned the Hang Changan site and moved further south. The city was planned by Yu Wenkai, one of grandsons of the Sui Emperor. Building started in June, 582. The city wall and the major gates were built first and then the main street (Figure 5.3). The Sui called it Dazing Cheng (the city of great prosperity). But the Sui did not complete it. It was replaced by the Tang (唐) dynasty in 618. Tang continued this construction as national capital but changed the name back from Daxing Cheng to Changan as the Han dynasty had called it. The building continued for more than half a century to 654.

Apart from the walls, the gates and major streets, Tang Changan city was made of three major functional areas: the palaces, the markets and the wards (neighbourhoods). The major palace areas were separated from the residential wards of the town people. In the palace areas the Emperor’s palaces were separated from the Administration area by the palace wall. There were two other palace areas in the city which were built later in the residential area and used by the Emperor’s relatives.

Two main market places — the West Market and the East Market — were located symmetrically at two sides of the axis from south to north. In each market there were two streets from east to west and two other streets from south to north which divided each market area into nine blocks. The major commercial activities of Tang Changan city were located at these two market places. This location of the markets shows some improvement in city design. The traditional locations for markets were at the back of the Palace area, whereas the Tang markets were located at the front of the palaces near the city centre.

There were 9 main streets from south to north in the city. The central one was the main axis of the city which was 150 metres wide. There were 14 main streets from east to west. These streets crossed each other to form a grid pattern of the road system. There were 108 residential wards in Tang Changan city, 36 at the south of
Figure 5.3: Sui and Tang Changan City
the Administration city which only had two ward gates at the east and the west sides and only one street crossing the ward. The other wards were equally divided at the east and the west parts of the city. Those wards had one gate at each side which made two streets possible crossed at right angles.

The city walls were made of rammed earth. The outside wall was 9721 metres long from east to west and 8651 metres wide from south to north, which enclosed some 84 square kilometres of land. Taking account of the outside palaces and gardens, Tang Changan city used 250 square kilometres of land. The estimated population was nearly 1 million (Tongji University 1985, p.27). This made it the largest city not only in China but in the world. The plan of the city not only had a great influence on later Chinese city development in the feudal society, but also affected city planning in other parts of the world. Several Japanese historical cities followed the pattern.

With the eastward movement of the Chinese civilization centre late Tang rulers moved the capital as well. Changan city was destroyed. The land served as capital for 11 dynasties then ended its central role in Chinese history. The next major construction of Changan city happened in the Ming dynasty (1368–1644). Because the new capitals were in the east, the name of Changan was replaced by Xian (Xi (Xi) in Chinese means the west, an (安) means peace). The Ming Xian city was much smaller than Tang Changan, it only covered the Tang Administrative palaces area and part of the Emperor's palaces. The city was occupied by one of the Princes. Though Xian was smaller in scale than the capital, due to the important location its wall was high and thick, and was built during 1374-1378 (Ma 1978, p.99). In 1568, the rammed earth was covered by bricks. This city wall was well preserved and today draws lots of visitors to the city.

Xian is only one example of city planning in Chinese history. There are many other large and small cities with good plans and layouts, particularly those later national and local capitals such as Kaifeng, Hangzhou, Nanjing and Beijing. At Beijing the national capital under the last two feudal dynasties's rule, city planning and design reached another level (see Hou 1986, Wu 1986), but the main characteristics of Chinese
city planning remained.

5.2.2 Summary and Comparison

Chinese historical town development differs from that in Scotland in several respects:

Firstly, large scale urban development occurred much earlier in China. This fact in itself confounds simplistic or deterministic stage models, for Scotland's urbanisation never went through a truly equivalent phase to that described above.

Secondly, though the development of a rural settlement into an urban centre in China owed much to commercial development, the further development of a town into a large city was determined by its role in the feudal administrative and political system. If one place was chosen to be the administrative centre, then there would be a city or town, usually walled. The wall was used mainly for defence, but it also represented the ruler's power. The scale of the town or city was determined by its status in the feudal power hierarchy; the higher the level the larger the town. The capital city always was the largest one. Once the capital function moved away, the city declined immediately. Nicholas Bouvier once wrote that "In China the arrangement of space has always been governed by laws. Architecture has always been an art guided and controlled by the state, aimed not only at organizing the environment but also at providing a frame for the social system. The size of a building, its internal arrangement and its architectural decoration were already determined by the owner's social position as early as the Zhou dynasty.” (Bouvier 1972, p.11) The tight relationship between city development and political status is still clearly evident in modern Chinese development. One could argue that Edinburgh as the capital of Scotland, also developed into a larger scale than other Scottish towns. But without a centralised feudal administrative system, other towns developed in a similar manner in Scotland. In China there were many important regional centres at provincial level and local centres at county level. The administrative function of these towns was much more important than those Scottish local
centres. This might be explained by the scale of the territory and also the well
developed centralised cultural and political system.

**Thirdly,** city development was dominantly controlled by imperial feudal power and
feudal bureaucrats rather than by a relatively autonomous local merchant class.
Needham (1959) defined feudal China as a non-hereditary elite in a non-competitive
society. The scholar-bureaucrats were the literate and managerial elite of the
nation. There is no space to go into the details of this non-hereditary civil
service which became so supreme in Chinese society. But immediately the funda-
damental fact of its existence is stated, one can see its relevance to the different
urban development process between the country and Scotland. In any case, the
scale of values of the scholarly administrator differed profoundly from that of
the acquisitive merchant class in the West. In the Chinese historical cities the
merchant class's activities were always limited to market places defined by
the feudal ruler. Typical examples were the East and West Markets in Tang
Changan. Most Chinese and western scholars stressed the novel location of these
markets as the advance in city planning in that time, but such commentators
did not realise that such planning represented the ruling class's control over the
merchant class and commercial activities, and was a means of preventing them
from challenging the feudal power. Needham (1959) found that:

> "this control was so successful that it inhibited the rise of the mer-
> chants to power in the state; it walled up their guilds in the restricted
> role of friendly and benefit societies; it nipped capitalist accumula-
> tion in the bud; it was always ready to tax mining enterprises out of
> existence and to crush (as it did in the 15th century after the death
> of Cheng Ho) all mariner's efforts towards sea trade and expansion;
> and finally, most significantly, it creamed off for two thousand years
> the best brains from all levels of society into its own service."

**Fourthly,** Scottish merchants as the urban ruling class enjoyed much more local
freedom than not only Chinese merchants, but also than Chinese feudal city
rulers. In the highly centralised system Chinese feudal city rulers were always
Royal appointed agents, sometimes through an examination system. Local au-
tonomy in urban administration is a major difference between pre-industrial town development in the two countries. The legacy affected modern planning ideology and practice. The combination of commercial activities and political and administrative domination by the merchant class autonomously were a determining factor for capitalist development and industrialisation in Scotland. The lack of such a combination in China, and the persistence of a centralized feudal bureaucrats’ domination of political and administrative power, while urban development needs the growth of local and regional commercial activities, may explain why China fell back in the rapidly developing world economy. The existance of such a contradiction in the country is probably the key obstacle to the development of a market economy. Markets are a stimulus to economic and urban development, but the anti-merchant class and bureaucratic control of markets form a basic contradiction not only in China’s long development history, but also in the modern development debate. From this view we may argue that it is **more relevant to debate about planning or markets in China rather than about socialism or capitalism.** The recent economic reform programme and its painful progress can be seen as the continuation of this tradition. In this reform movement in the last decade the debate on the role of planning and the market in the development process has reached its peak. The result of such debate is the enlarging of market functions at the national scale — the establishment of the coastal area Special Economic Zones and Open Cities. In those areas or cities, business could always be conducted as long as it did not threaten the central political power. Although this approach is different from the East and West Market in Tang Changan and from the Concessions and Treaty Port Cities in the late Qing Dynasty from 1840-1949, the continuity of the Chinese tradition is not difficult to find. The country’s future development will depend on the balance of centralized state power and a more free market oriented enterprise economy.

**Finally,** Van den Berg et al (1982) identified two approaches to physical planning: positive and negative. In a positive approach, the planner himself/herself performs all the operations needed to create the desired order. In the negative approach, the planner uses marginal conditions which could yield the same re-
sults as positive planning though the starting-points are different (pp.149-150). This explains another difference between the Scottish and Chinese pre-industrial town planning. The Scottish merchant class made their contribution to the development of their towns by applying building regulations to protect their own interest and the general public. The Chinese urban bureaucrats represented the imperial power and put much effort into planning and building Palaces, gardens and administrative headquarters and a straight street system by which to display their ruling power. Much of the ordinary people's residential areas were not planned. The difference in planning and development of Chinese feudal capital cities and the development of the Georgian New Town in Edinburgh is a good example. The development of the New Town was initiated by the Town Council but only by assembling the land and providing basic regulations to guide the building works. The buildings themselves were put up by various individuals and organisations as a capitalist venture. The entire process was a public-private partnership. In contrast Chinese pre-industrial town planning was dominated by government direct action. There are obvious parallels to the modern planning systems in the two countries.

In the last chapter the development of town planning in Scotland was first examined through individual contributions. Their ideas addressed the problems of the new industrial towns. In China industrial development came much later than in Scotland. With most people engaged in rural agricultural production, such urban problems were not known by most people. There were no figures like Owen and Geddes. But with the coming of western people in the last century China's urban development also faced new problems. Before studying the large scale industrial town development and planning after 1949, a brief review of western influence and former governments' town planning is presented.
5.3 Town Planning and Development in the Period of 1840-1949

5.3.1 The Western Invasion and the Influence on City Development and Planning 1840-1946

The Treaty of Nanjing ended the First Opium War in 1840, and established British rights to trade at Shanghai and four other Chinese port cities. The first British consul to Shanghai arrived in 1843 and he immediately declared Shanghai open to foreign trade. Then he bought both a house and a piece of land on the Huangpu shore (White 1982, p.21). This was the first lease of land to a foreigner. After that foreign residential areas became concessions in many Chinese cities. Since then city development in China was never simply controlled by the Chinese feudal powers alone. Murphey has viewed the late nineteenth and early twentieth century Chinese urban system as dichotomous, a system in which coastal and river line foreign-influenced treaty ports were distinctive from the great indigenous corpus of inland Chinese cities. The latter were interior in location and were based on local commercial and administrative functions (Murphey 1980). Much town planning happened in those coastal commercial and industrial cities.

Since 1840 cities like Shanghai and Tianjin developed very rapidly under foreign influence. Shanghai was a small town before 1840 with most of its population inside the walled old city. From 1840 to 1880 the population doubled and reached 1 million. By 1914 it doubled again to 2 millions. Another million was added during 1915-1930. In the following 15 years it doubled to 6 millions (1945) (Tongji University 1985, pp.120-127). Urban growth spread out from the foreign concessions. There was no regulation or plan for this development. The Chinese feudal government neither had the power to make any regulation, nor the administrative skill to do so. The Shanghai Municipal Council was founded in 1854 which might be the first local authority independent from feudal control. But it was established by foreigners. No Chinese sat on the Council until 1928. Unified Chinese administrative control only came after the Japanese Surrender in 1945 (White 1982).
Table 5.1: The Development of Some Public Facilities in Some Chinese Cities and Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Tele</th>
<th>Rail</th>
<th>Tram</th>
<th>Bus</th>
<th>Water</th>
<th>Elec.</th>
<th>Gas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shanghai Concessions 1860</td>
<td>1874</td>
<td>1908</td>
<td>1924</td>
<td>1882</td>
<td>1892</td>
<td>1866</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tianjin</td>
<td>1900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1905</td>
<td>1935</td>
<td>1903</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beijing</td>
<td>1900</td>
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<td>1924</td>
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<td>1935</td>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1904</td>
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<tr>
<td>Jinan</td>
<td>1904</td>
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<td>1934</td>
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<td>Xian</td>
<td>1934</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1950</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edinburgh*</td>
<td>1826</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>1919</td>
<td>1621</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>1823</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Various sources for the Chinese cities.

In the foreign settlements, foreigners built their own houses, parks, churches, schools, colleges and hospitals. They brought in their missions, sporting and cultural clubs, charitable organizations and societies; and opened their bars, cafes and big hotels. In the different concessions, the roads, water, and electricity supply were separated systems. New western techniques were transferred to China, but the purpose was not to improve the life of Chinese people. Each time a new technology was introduced, the Chinese section was not included until some time later. Table 5.1 compares the development of some public facilities in foreign occupied Concessions in Shanghai and other Chinese cities with their introduction to Edinburgh. It shows a clear sequence — new facilities were provided in Edinburgh first, then in the concessions, then the coastal cities, and finally the interior cities.

To take water supply as an example, the British established a water supply system in 1882 in Shanghai's 'Public Settlement'. The French followed and built their system in their settlement. Water supply systems in the Chinese sections were not built until 20 years later in 1902. In Xian, a water supply system only became available in 1950 after the Communist Liberation. In comparison, Scotland's Public Health legislation was a very advanced and positive initiative in modern town development.
Western governments started slowly to use town planning as a form of public action to guide development after 1900. Unfortunately this skill was not introduced into major Chinese cities, even in their settlement areas. *Laissez-faire* development made cities like Shanghai the *Adventurer's Paradise*, while conditions in its slum areas were unbelievable.

Master plans were produced, but only in some small cities occupied by one imperial power where the plans were to serve their exploitation purpose. In 1900 Germans made a plan for the city Qingdao in Shandong province and Tsarist Russia made a plan for Dalian in Liaoning. These two city plans were the earliest modern town plans in China. Both plans were short lived because the plan-makers were soon replaced by Japanese invaders. The Japanese had a great influence, taking over some Chinese cities and building their concessions and settlements, especially in the northeastern part of China.

The plans of those foreign occupied cities showed a clear colonial nature of aggression. Racial separation was obvious. Density in the Chinese section was higher, house quality was poor, roads were narrow. The architecture in the foreign occupied areas was in the style of their home country. In different cities, with the shift of power from one imperial power to the other, the urban pattern and development styles were identical.

Foreigners settled in China to make money, win their privilege and exploit the resources. Few skills associated with the advanced technologies were passed on to the Chinese. This was the case with modern town planning skills too. Furthermore the Chinese people had lost beautiful ancient landscapes in many of their cities. These early plans made little contribution to modern planning knowledge; their main legacy was western style architecture left by the invaders. The only contribution from the West to modern urban development in China could be the development of some relatively independent local authorities by merchants which broke the centralised control of the imperial power. But foreign control not only irritated the feudal rulers but also the poor masses. Suspicion about merchants and trade, particularly these re-
lated with the West, remains a psychological difficulty of modern Chinese culture. It contributed both to the road to Communist control, and also to the difficulties of the modern economic reforms. This psychological difficulty are constantly used by the rulers to release the tension between themselves and the masses by directing public opinion toward the so-called Western forces.

5.3.2 The Former Government’s Effort on Planning of Industrial Cities 1920s-1949

The earliest town planning projects carried out by a Chinese government started from 1927 by the then Guomindang Government (Republic of China). Town planning was first introduced in the capital city — Nanjing and other large political and economic centres such as Shanghai. The plan of Nanjing in 1929 was a relatively comprehensive development plan, which zoned out different functional areas such as the Central Government District, City Administration District, Industrial Districts, Shopping Districts, Cultural and Educational District and Residential Districts. This zoning experience showed clear influences from both the Chinese tradition and western practice. The Central Government area was separated from the other land use and located away from the old city. The Chinese style of architecture was emphasized, but the whole distribution of land use could not avoid the pattern developed in western countries to meet industrial development. The plan implementation was interrupted by the Japanese invasion in 1937.

City planning in Shanghai started in 1927. The first plan was completed in 1929. The plan was again a combination of ideologies of traditional Chinese and western practice. It planned a new central area away from the concession areas and old Shanghai town.3

3"Founded solidly on decades of intense efforts to create a Chinese municipality that would parallel the achievements of the foreign settlements, the Plan's objectives went beyond mere imitation. For the Plan called for the redevelopment of the port as well as the creation of a new city centre that would be an irrefutable statement of Shanghai's, and therefore China's, determination to challenge and exceed the urban standards and prosperity of the foreign settlements. ... the Plan's political aim was to unite all the areas comprising Shanghai into one unified administrative whole, encompassing
The street pattern in the new central area was the best example to this combination (Figure 5.4). The Chinese traditional axial symmetry and the western radial pattern were combined. This plan was also interrupted by the Japanese invasion. After the war, the plan was revised three times in 1946, 1947 and 1949. Detailed research was carried out in the region. The plan gave a clear indication of the introduction of the neighbourhood unit idea and other land use patterns. Industries, shopping centres, and residential areas were allocated into clearly defined urban districts. The transport system was designed on the base of efficiency. The overall development was based on population growth. Though this plan were interrupted by the Civil War, it showed a great improvement in planning skills. Students came back from western countries with new ideas which became the driving force of modern Chinese planning practice. It had an important influence on the Chinese planning system and helped to spread western planning theory (Figure 5.5).

5.3.3 Summary and Comparison

In comparison to Scottish town planning practice in the same period the Republic Government’s town planning practice had several major characteristics:

Firstly, modern town planning skills developed in the West were used to emphasise the Chinese tradition and to display the power of the state, while its social effect was ignored. This planning was not viewed as a product of industrial development and the urbanisation process. It was not driven by concerns about public health and working class housing, nor was it developed piecemeal from small scale suburban “planning schemes”. In large important national urban centres, city scale master plans were introduced comprehensively, though there was no national scale planning.

Secondly, the early planning practice differs from the Scottish one in that these plans were made as new town developments rather than to guide the development and change of existing industrial cities. In both Shanghai and Nanjing new and eventually absorbing the foreign settlements.” (Macpherson, 1990, p39)
Figure 5.5: Shanghai City Plan (2nd draft) 1947
central areas were planned away from the old built-up areas; other functional areas were planned on the surrounding agricultural land as well. This indicates a superficial understanding of the development process of modern capitalist industrial cities. The nature of this kind of planning practice was actually a Utopian approach under the oriental centralist culture, where no individual could afford such experiments like Robert Owen’s at New Lanark. The state served as an alternative.

Thirdly, modern Scottish town planning, from very early had a legal base. The 1909 Act made provisions for local authorities to make plans. Discussions about planning and planning legislation gave both administrators and the general public a chance to understand what might happen and what planning was about. Planning was legitimized and justified as a government action. In China in contrast, both central and local government could start to plan when they felt there was a need for a plan. There was no political debate, and no opposition. This is the kind of ideology which guided the Chinese feudal ruling class for two thousand years. Even today in the socialist society, it is still an important feature of central and local decision making. In Scotland there were complaints about excessive legal requirements, over complex acts, and comments such as Good planning needs no laws (Visiting Speakers, Edinburgh College of Art, Department of Planning and Housing, Session 1989-90). But the argument here is that what was lacking in the Chinese system from the very beginning was a comprehensive legislative base for urban planning.

Finally, with its origins in housing reform and sanitary improvement, the modern Scottish planning system was associated with improvements of the living conditions of town people, even if the distribution of costs and benefits was unequal. The aim of improving the human environment was always clear. Planning in China, like the historic planning practice, was intended mainly to show the power and the wealth of the state. This might explain why the capital city was always the locus of the first planning endeavour and the major action areas in the whole country. Inside of the capital and major cities the public buildings and administration areas were carefully planned and benefitted from major in-
vestment, while ordinary residents' living environment was a subordinate issue. Sometimes it was ignored, sometimes it was made worse by opening new roads or clearing sites for other use. This is similar to the Georgian development in Scotland. In the modern industrial development period this traditional ideology and the method of planning was far outdated.

5.4 City Planning Since 1949

In the last chapter we have identified that in Scotland during and just after the Second World War people wanted the country to be physically more efficient and more harmonious and aesthetic in its buildings and landscapes. There was to be a better balancing by age, sex and social class of towns and cities and better social mixing. Under this situation town and country planning was only one part of a package which assumed substantially greater state ownership of the means of production, more centralised control of the economy, and a hierarchy of physical planning activity at national, regional and local level. The 1950s and early 1960s were seen as the first retreat from this vision. The later 1960s and early 1970s showed another major effort toward planning, but the approach was different. It was initiated by a different generation of planners with new scientific methods and equipment such as systematic research and computers. This new initiative did not last long. With the changing world economic structure and the resurgence of right-wing political ideology, and especially the return of the Conservative government, planning faced new challenges. The 1980s saw the planning system changed to adapt to the new economic and political situations by shifting its focus from the state and professionals to markets and

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4I would like to thank Mr. Xiaodong Li, Land Bureau of Planning Commission of Shaanxi Province; Ms. Wang, Planning Commission of Xian City; and the staff in the following government departments and institutions for their help in preparation of this and subsequent chapters: Town and Country Construction Commission of Shaanxi Province, Housing Management Bureau of Xian City, Land Management Department of Yanta District Office, City Construction Department of Yanta District Office, Architecture Department of Northwest Architectural Engineering College in Xian, Architecture Department of Xian Yejing College, Town and Country Planning and Design Institute of Shaanxi Province, Town Construction Bureau of Qishan County in Shaanxi Province.
the community. The following sections explore whether the Chinese planning system experienced similar trends in the last forty years.

5.4.1 Economic Rehabilitation Period: 1949-1952

Although the Chinese communist and Scottish capitalist nature made the two countries different, they experienced a similar trend toward greater public involvement in economic and social developments immediately after the war. In China new planning policies were first introduced in the economic sphere rather than land use.5 The new government’s economic development model was similar to the Russian one with urban based industrialization. However during the period 1949-1952 comprehensive city planning did not feature on the new government’s agenda. Urban based existing industries were encouraged to restore production. Very few new industries were developed. Only small scale improvement of the urban fabric was carried out in large poor quality residential areas (slums) in large industrial cities such as in Shanghai, Beijing and Tianjin. Development mainly concentrated on the improvement of the environment rather than building new houses and factories. Parallels could be drawn with the early public health measures in Scotland.

Though physical conditions did not change very much in most cities, the urban population increased dramatically. In 1949 there were only 60 defined cities in the whole country, including 5 large cities with over 1 million population each (Zong 1985, p.50). By the end of 1951, there were already 157 officially defined cities, among them 8 were over 1 million population, 10 between 500 thousands and 1 million, another 10 between 300 and 500 thousands, and 63 between 100 and 300 thousands (Zhao 1984). This rapid urban population increase soon became a major problem. A

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5The first economic planning department was established in the Central Financial and Economic Commission in 1949. Following that, in every central ministry and also their subordinate companies or other lower level units planning departments and sections were formed. In the then administrative regions and provinces planning departments and sections were organised in their local Financial and Economic Commissions. These planning bodies together formed the primary Chinese economic planning system.
more comprehensive approach was necessary.

In September 1952 the first City Construction Discussion Conference was held by the then Central Finance Commission with delegates from 11 major cities. The Meeting represents the start of city planning under the new government. A draft document of Procedures of City Planning and Reconstruction Design was discussed. A central city construction authority - the City Construction Department was established in the then Construction Industry Ministry.

From 1949-1952 the new government also made a series of policies to change the national economy from private into public ownership (from capitalist to socialist). Among these transitional measures land reform was particularly important to the country’s land use planning.

**Land Reform** The Chinese capitalist revolution led by Dr. Sun Yan-sen overthrew the last feudal imperial government — the Qing Dynasty in 1911. But it did not bring fundamental change to the feudal private land ownership system. Most land was under the control of a few landlords. Catastrophes such as drought, flood or war actually allowed them to extend their land holdings as poor peasants had no choice but to release their holdings at low prices. One investigation in 1930 shows that less than 6 per cent of landlords and rich peasants took about 80 per cent of land in one district of Xinguo County, Jiangxi Province (Mao 1930). Some big landlords controlled several counties. One well known landlord in Hunan province had 500 thousands mu of good agricultural land. The percentage of tenants among farmers increased from 28 in 1911 to 35 in 1945 (Wang 1976). Through the long history of land free trading, land was sub-divided into small plots owned by different households. An investigation showed that each household had their land holdings at least in two plots. Some had more than four hundred small pieces of land. This kind of land distribution created many social problems. The Communist Party tried as early as the 1920s to change the feudal land system. From 1927 to 1934, the Party issued a series of land laws which were practised in the areas known as Su Qu - the Soviet Areas. During the Liberation War (1946-1949) in those Communist occupied rural areas land reform
was the most important event to win farmers' support. After the establishment of the new government in 1949 in Beijing, land reform became a national policy in the whole mainland.

In June 1950, A Land Reform Law was issued. The great significance of this reform lies with its redistribution role of land among rural farmers (Hague and Wang 1988). It also brought fundamental changes to urban and suburban land ownership which paved the way for town planning. Along with the Land Reform Law, Land Reform Ordinances in Cities and Suburbs, (November 1950) was issued (Law Year Book of Central Government 1949-1950). Feudal landlords' land in suburbs was confiscated and redistributed to local farmers. But the ownership of the redistributed land was not given to the farmers as in the rural areas, rather it was kept as public ownership by the state. The farmers only had the use right, with no power to sell, or rent it out. The purpose was to give the city government power to acquire land from the users for urban development if necessary. Land reform again reflected the centralised decision process and showed a lack of financial management skills. It also represented particular thinking in Chinese culture — only two extremes were emphasized: either good or bad, either left or right, either socialist or capitalist, either individual ownership without any intervention or totally under government control. A compromise or mixed solution was not a choice. Direct government intervention and distribution and later nationalization were employed; while no effort was made to use financial measures or regulations for a moderate approach. This difference in the land system contributed to many major differences between the Chinese and Scottish planning system. The Land system will be further examined in Section 5.5.

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6 This reform seems a great change. But in the long history it is not a totally new approach. Three historical land systems made their contribution to the ideology: Nine Square System (Jing Tian Zhi) in the Zhou Dynasty; Equal Distribution System (Jun Tian Zhi) in the Northern Wei, Sui (581 - 618) and early Tang; and the land redistribution practice by the peasants rebels — Taiping Heavenly Kingdom (1851 - 1864).
5.4.2 The First Five Year Plan Period: 1953-1957

The abolition of imperialist privileges, confiscation of bureaucrat-capital and completion of land reform in the first three years of the new government ended the semi-colonial economic and political system. In 1952 with the end of the Korean War, large scale economic development started with help from the Soviet Union. The central economic planning organization was improved. A new national planning authority, the State Planning Commission (SPC), was formed, which had responsibility for national economic planning and management. At provincial and county level governments, planning commissions were also set up. By then the whole economic planning system was established all over the country. The introduction of this comprehensive economic planning was regarded as a major victory of the Communists. But it was again consistent with the Chinese administrative tradition. Central planning power enforced central state control of the individual and of local initiative.

As early as 1951 the government was considering its First Five Year Plan. The plan itself was finalised in February 1955 after two years’ implementation. This plan concentrated economic management power in central government and ministries. Industrial development was the major planning issue. More than 10,000 new industrial projects were planned, 921 large and medium ones with national importance. Among them 156 key ones were helped and designed by the USSR. Those industrial projects were mainly heavy industries such as steel and iron, car and truck manufacture, airplanes and machinery (Zhou 1984). The Plan aimed to change the traditional distribution of industry away from the eastern coast areas. The new industries were directed to inland urban centres such as Xian, Baotou, Lanzhou and so on. In the period from 1952 - 1957 the total capital investment share was 41.8 per cent by the old industrial areas in the east and 47.8 by inland areas (Sun 1983).

The national urban development policy was to change the consumer cities into socialist production ones. City construction was coordinated with the development of these key national projects. There were no expert city planners in most cities, city planning was mainly carried out by the central planning bodies — the Institute of
City Design in the Construction Industry Ministry. This arrangement was helped by central control of major investments. Site selection for new industries was one of the most important planning issues. From 1953 - 1954 the State Planning Commission and Construction Industry Ministry worked together and completed over 20 cities’ overall plans.

In May 1955 the State Council separated the City Construction Department from the then Construction Industry Ministry and made it a independent central body, the City Construction Bureau made up by a City Construction Department and a central institute - the City Design Institute. In 1956, this central Bureau was further promoted and given the full title of a Ministry - the City Construction Ministry (Zhao 1984).

By the end of 1956 about 150 cities had some kind of plans. Among them 39 cities were new towns and extensive expansion was planned in 54 others. But some problems of planning had become evident: planning standards were too high to realise; sometimes a city plan was simply a copy of a foreign city pattern, particularly Soviet ones, and out of sympathy with local physical and economic conditions; the practical function and the low economic development stage were ignored, and so on. Some large cities such as Shanghai and Tianjin were already over-developed.

The First Five Year Plan was regarded as a success by both economic and city planners. Many basic industries were set up in the inland areas and most new cities were built according to some kind of plan. Indeed, five of these kind of five year planning programmes were made before 1980, yet only the first one has a published document. The commitment to city planning in the first Five Year Plan period represented the vision of the government and the people at the time, after the long war and the departure of foreign powers. Nationalization and public ownership of the means of production were the bed rock for the system. Although many small industries remained private, their further development was subject to strict state planning. The planning in this period represented highly centralised economic management with a limited number of industries. This did not last for very long. After 1957 both eco-
nomic and city planning were interrupted by many political events such as the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution.

Planning practice in the 1950s has some similarities to the Scottish experience:

Firstly, planning in existing large eastern cities, such as Shanghai, sought to restrain the size of the city and establish new satellite towns to accommodate new industry and housing. This similarity was identified by British planners who visited China, such as Malcolm D. Moor (1981).

Secondly, the development of those inland industrial cities was rather like new town development. There were no locally elected autonomous city governments. The new city local authority was organised by central government in a style similar to the Scottish New Town Corporations, with retired military men in leading roles. Central government had great influence on investment, development and local personnel. But the purpose of development of these inland towns was not the same as East Kilbride or Cumbernauld, which was to release the population pressure of Glasgow. Rather there were similarities with the development of Livingston New Town to serve as a regional industrial centre with new industries to achieve a balanced development. However the mechanisms were different from those in Scotland; industries were those set up by government direct action, with no concept of using new town planning to create a favourable environment to attract private investment.

5.4.3 Planning From the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution

Chinese industrialization after 1949 was always accompanied by political movements and slogans. At first economic development policies showed relative independence from political movements. With the ending of the transition from an individual market economy to a publicly dominated one, political movement tended to combine with economic development. This combination reached a peak in 1958, the first year of the
Second Five Year Plan (1958-1962). The national political economic situation could be summarized by the well known slogan — Three Flags (San Mian Hong Qi): a) Overall Strategy (Go all out, aim high and achieve greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism.); b) Great Leap Forward; and c) People’s Communes. The Overall Strategy and the Great Leap Forward were general policies without concrete contents, though they represented the government’s desire for a rapid economic development in both industrial and agricultural sectors. People’s Communes was a collective initiative for agricultural development, manifesting a significant shift of government attention to the rural sector. While Three Flag made no concrete new urban development policy, implications of the Great Leap Forward policy had important impacts on urban development.

A major cause for the Great Leap Forward was the broken China-USSR relation. Withdrawal of Soviet assistance forced central government to change development policy and abandon plan-making which focused on the key industrial projects during the First Five Year Plan. Well selected regional development centres in the whole country were now replaced by much smaller centres in each province. Central government encouraged local government to build their own industrial system. Planning management powers were also decentralized to provinces and in turn to even lower level local governments. Shortages of capital resulting from the loss of Soviet aid were exacerbated by this strategy of spreading investment more widely. Almost every industrial city tried to establish a comprehensive industrial base. Many small ‘backyard steel factories’ were set up even in rural villages by farmers.

Most first round city plans made during the First Five Year Plan period covered a period of twenty years. The plans were made according to various central government decided standards. In January 1958 the central planning authority: the then State Construction Commission and the City Construction Ministry issued a regulation to change some of these standards (State Construction Commission and City Planning Ministry, 31, January 1958). Only short term (five year) planning was encouraged. Each city tried to revise its plan. Most city plan areas were enlarged due to the local initiative for industrial development, while most standards such as housing,
open spaces, plot ratio, height and material quality of buildings were reduced. There were decentralized powers for development but no formal development control system. Consequently planned functional zones were mixed up by small scale development; urban districts used their new economic powers to create industrial development with pollution in the densely built up residential area; many historical buildings and natural landscape areas were destroyed. Most of those revised plans were too unrealistic to be implemented. In 1960 central government started to correct the mistakes on economic policy and ironically announced “stop city planning for three years”. City plans were officially abandoned. Most planning organizations and educational bodies were closed down. The powers of city planning authorities were removed.

In 1962, the end of the Second Five Year Plan, the government declared a readjustment of the economy. This readjustment took about three years until 1965. The decentralization process in the Great Leap Forward was reversed and central government regained power over economic development and planning. Decentralized industries and enterprises were called back. Lots of inefficient small factories were shut down. In 1963 the Second National Conference on City Work was called by the central government. This again encouraged cities to make short term plans and to revise their overall plan. But with the central government regional policy shift, city planning faced an uncertain situation.

From 1965 on, many factories and national defence projects were located in remote and mountain areas. When the time came to make the Third Five Year Plan in 1966, the Cultural Revolution started. It spanned a decade and covered two Five Year Plans period until 1976.

The Chinese regional policy change from centralization to decentralization was not in the same mould as that which happened in Scotland as a response to industrial structure changes and modern technology. This move was caused firstly by the lack of centrally controlled capital, and the desire for more equally distributed development during the Great Leap Forward, and then by the misunderstanding of the world situation during the Cultural Revolution. A Third World War was expected to come with
Table 5.2: The Ratio of the Investment in the Coast area and Inland in different periods

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Ratio</th>
<th>Average</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1953-1957</td>
<td>1:0.87</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1958-1962</td>
<td>1:0.79</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966-1970</td>
<td>1:0.46</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971-1975</td>
<td>1:0.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>average</strong></td>
<td>1:0.74</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: collected from Sun Jingzi: 1983 Introduction to Chinese Economic Geography, Shangwu Publishing House*

increasing tension at the Sino-Soviet border. For this strategic reason the far side of the country, the Southwest part became the major development area. Major national investments were put in this area for new railway lines and water power stations (Table 5.2). After the peak of the Cultural Revolution in 1970 central government issued a document: The Outline of the Fourth Five Year Plan (draft) which again asked local government to build their own independent industrial system, which meant the reversion to the policies during the Great Leap Forward period. The 1963 adjustment policy was abandoned. Decentralization started all over again (Zhou 1984). With the national development policy emphasizing the countryside, development funds dried up in most large cities. City planners were sent down to those new built, small, remote industrial towns.

Although there was no major effort to plan large cities from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution, the development of small towns attracted much attention of the world, because of their potential as an alternative to the third world urbanization process. Daqing was a great model for China's industry in the 1960s and 1970s, and presented by foreign admirers of the Cultural Revolution as the living proof of China's unique 'agropolitan' development strategy. In reality, as Kirkby put it, the greatest virtue of Daqing was that it provided industrialization on the cheap. The main burden of housing and feeding the oilfield's population was thrust on to the

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1Daqing (the Great Celebration) is a major oil industry town in Northeast China. The oil field was discovered in 1959 — the Great Celebration of the first ten years of the government.
backs of the workers and their families. Not only had they to move to the hostile environment, but once there they were obliged to grow their own food, and provide themselves with rough houses of compacted earth. It is now clear that the Daqing model had not much to offer except the old exhortations to produce more and consume less (Kirkby 1985, p.16).

5.4.4 Planning After 1978

Development of Urban Policies — Large or Small City? From 1976, China has initiated a series of development policy changes. These changes are represented by two major economic reforms which altered the direction of urbanization policy. The Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee in October 1978 was directed at the rural sector, and was generally accepted as having been successfully implemented. It started the process of rural urbanization and was also an impetus to urban growth (Kwok 1987). Partly in response to the transformation of the rural sector, the policy of October 1984 (the Third Plenary Session of the 12th Party Central Committee) provided a parallel policy for the urban sector.

Though post-Cultural Revolution policy designated the city as the economic centre of modernization, it was not until 1978 that this policy was explicitly stated by central government. The State Council’s Third National City Work Conference, held in Beijing on 6-8 March 1978, began a new era in city planning. The main document of this Conference, The Recommendations to Strengthen City Construction Works, was approved by the CCP Central Committee, and issued as a central urban development strategy to local governments. It made a call for city planning:

"Only by making good city plans and seriously implementing them, can

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8The first and second National City Work Conferences were held in 1962 and 1963. Because there was no planning law in the country, central government-organised conferences played a very important role in guiding local practice. This kind of conference was usually attended by representatives from local authorities above a certain level of local government. Central government policies were discussed. This is still the main way to put the central policy into local practice not only in planning but for all government functions.

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the socialist superiority of the planned economy be brought into full play; and can the socialist cities be made really different from the blindly developing capitalist cities. [All city governments], including new towns, must, according to the national economic development plans and local conditions, make or revise their overall city plan, short term plans and detailed plans. Large and medium cities and important small towns should finish plan making within two to three years.” (CCP Central Committee 1978)

After the 1978 Conference, most cities started to make plans or revise their old plans. From this year central government also started to increase capital investments in urban public facility developments. For example, central government allocated 200 million yuan to cities to build houses in 1978 and from 1979 it increased to 400 million. At the same time, central government made provision for 41 large cities of over 500 thousand people and 6 other historical medium size cities to use 5 per cent local total production income for urban maintenance and construction purposes. For the purpose of efficient management and evaluation, urban housing construction and urban public facility construction (water, sewerage, public transportation, gas, road, bridge, flood control and green field provision) were separated from other issues as individual economic planning sectors in the national economic development planning system (CCP Central Committee 1978).

These policies marked the shift of national economic development attention away from agriculture in the rural areas back to the urban industrial sector. At the same time the problems of large cities and poor infrastructure were finally acknowledged. After over a decade without formal land use planning, city development was in chaos. With the end of leftist ideological control, both the people and the government had a new vision about the future of the country. This are similarities to the situation in Scotland after the World War II, and also to the situation in China just after the Communists came to power in 1949. In 1949 the vision was to develop the country into an advanced industrial society, so industrial production was the main objective. In 1978, the vision was to modernize the country. This did not only mean industrial development. The human living environment also came to the agenda. How should
the country’s urban system be built? How should urban land be best used to protect good quality agricultural land and provide urban residents with a livable environment? City planning was now seen as integral to socialist development.

The new emphasis on urban policy was also due to the rediscovery of the role of cities in economic development. In 1980, for example, 220 defined cities, had only about 10 per cent of the population of the whole country, but employed 50 per cent of industrial workers. Industrial and agricultural production accounted for about 70 per cent of total production by value. 80 per cent of state tax incomes came from these cities (Wang 1983, pp.4-7). Lack of urbanization was seen as backwardness. Cities, as advanced economic centres, were seen as means to stimulate the development of surrounding rural areas; to seek unity of the organization of production and circulation; and progressively to establish various types of economic regions based on cities.

In the absence of new planning theory, the reinvigorated city planning practice simply drew on the 1950s experience. The official definition of city planning illustrates this point. The State Council issued a document — The Summary of the National City Planning Conference for Circulation (State Council Document 299, 1980) — in which city planning was defined as “in a period, the city development blueprint; it is the basis for city construction and management”. Wang Fan and Zhao Shiqi, both chief planners in the central government planning authority, in one of their articles, Introduction of City Planning Methods also wrote: “City planning is, in a period, the overall arrangement of various aspects of city construction; it is the base of every engineering design and city management activity.” (Wang and Zhao 1982, p.163) City planning was expected to formulate the city government’s ideal model of what kind of city was going to be built; it would be more than land use zoning, rather a blue print of the future city which would cover much more than the planning authority’s policy and general proposals in respect of the development and other use of land in their area. This comprehensive ideal soon proved unrealistic. With the implementation of the economic reform programme, the development mode

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9 There was no official definition until 1980.
was changed dramatically, thus requiring further changes to the urban development policy.

Urban policy in the immediate post-cultural revolution period sought a switch of development emphasis to cities. This also implied rural to urban migration and therefore raised the further question of what kind of cities should be the new centres for such migration. The answer to this question became clear by 1980. In October of that year, a City Planning Conference was held in Beijing in which the national urban development strategy was proposed: control the size of large cities, develop medium size cities in a rational manner, and rigorously develop small cities (Wang and Hague, 1990). This was approved by the State Council and was said to be the basic national urban development policy. This policy was thought to be the distillation of city construction experiences of China in the past thirty years and also of the world urbanization process (City Planning Review No. 1 1983 pp.2-3). The contents of this policy were explained as:

1. Control the scale of large cities and especially their population growth, while promoting production in those cities through technological improvement and gains in productivity; reduce the number of new projects located to these cities.
   
   (a) Develop the basic urban facilities in the large cities and fill the gap between production and other urban activities; make the life of urban people more convenient.
   
   (b) Control pollution and improve the urban environment.
   
   (c) Renew old areas, but conserve those with historical interest.

2. Develop the regional political, economic and cultural centres of medium-sized cities and improve their basic facilities such as transport, communications and other supplies.

3. Develop a great number of small cities to accommodate the surplus labour of the countryside. This was the core of Chinese style urbanization: along with the transformation of the agricultural structure and specialization. Most farmers would cease crop production and instead become employed in other production,
processing and circulation activities, while still residing in villages which would develop into various forms of small towns. These small towns would become the local economic, cultural, educational and technological centres, thus diffusing modernisation to the surrounding countryside.

This policy was a response to the emergence of excess labour in the countryside. The falling ratios of arable land per capita, the gradual progress made over the years to mechanize agriculture, and, more importantly, the growing rural population had caused enormous surplus population. A recent government projection suggests that by 2000 the agricultural labour force will decline to around 46% from 62% in 1985. However, the non-agricultural labour force will be doubled to over 180 million. By 2020 agricultural labour will further reduce to 200 million (about 25% of the total labour force). By 2050 it will be 120 million (15%) (Land Bureau of the State Planning Commission: National Territorial Planning Outline Draft, 1986). How to accommodate those surplus rural labourers and their families? The agreed solution was urbanization. However what kind of urbanization was still a question open for discussion.

In the early 1980s, the emphasis on small city development seemed a favourable strategy. The reasons for the strategy were as follows. Firstly, urban policy makers understood the fact that in western countries population had experienced a movement from rural areas to cities, especially large cities, in the earlier industrial development stage. They also noticed that after World War II, this movement had reversed in direction. Most large cities experienced a population loss to smaller urban settlements and rural areas. Secondly, this policy was thought to be based on the socialist nature of the society. Chinese planners proudly believed that socialism was superior to capitalism, and that planned socialist urban development could improve people’s living conditions (Li 1983). The third reason was that most Chinese large cities had already experienced many environmental problems, particularly water shortage in the summer season. So a short cut alternative road to urbanization was suggested by directing people from rural areas to nearby small towns which could achieve a reasonable urban system hierarchy and avoid the many shortages of industrial large
This policy to short cut the urban development process depended on the transformation of industrial and social structures. With the spread of modern technology, industrial structure change might be more rapid in China than it was in Scotland, but social change could be much slower for cultural and political reasons. Therefore, this urban development policy might be too ambitious to be realised. There are many cities classified as large cities, located all over the country with different local physical, economic and social conditions. A better alternative to this general centrally determined slogan could be a more detailed study of individual cities, their physical, economic, and social conditions, and then decision-making about which one should be controlled; which one has the potential for further development; and which one should be even dispersed. The practice of centralised decision-making relies on central control of the economy, yet the government's intention was to reduce central control of the economy, and give localities and individuals more freedom. If this goal is reached, general central policy could become meaningless.

Even under the situation of tight state control of the economy, this policy encountered practical limits. Dispersal of industries to rural areas proved unsuccessful. With the national commitment to modernization and economic growth, the most efficient location, in the short term, for industrial development remained in the large cities. Improvement of living conditions and the urban environment made the large cities even more attractive for enterprises and their workers. The economic planners determined financial policy, and this further aided development of the large cities in which the various government decision making bodies and organizations were themselves located.

The control policy relied on the control of rural population migration to cities; control of people in medium-sized cities and small towns from moving to large cities, and control of people in the provincial large cities from moving to the favourable coastal cities and Beijing - the national capital in which the state decision makers resided. If the economic transformation could have been achieved quickly there would have
been less need for such control mechanisms. However the continued differentials in industrial development and communications between the big cities and the rest ensured further growth of the large cities. Therefore the control policy had to rely on the administrative control of population movement, which is unjustified in terms of social justice.

Another important point in relation to the strategy of urbanisation and decentralization is who moved to cities and who is moving out to the countryside? In Scotland it was farm labourers who moved to cities for employment in the industrial sector in the early development of urban based industry. After World War II a decentralization process started with the relatively better off moving out of those large cities to rural area to avoid the polluted urban environment, while the urban poor were trapped inside the less desirable areas. Centralisation and decentralization were largely a reflection of the willingness of people to move. In China, however, most urban people are generally speaking better off than the rural population. Government policy in many aspects favours urban residents. Decentralization therefore is not about encouraging those people who can move, but stopping those who would like to move. These administrative controls prevent rural people from moving to cities, and impact mainly on the relatively less educated and poorer rural populations. With the increase of rural education levels and rising income of rural families, this control will become more difficult to practice, as people's awareness of urban opportunities grows.

A subtle change in emphasis is detected in the Chinese writings on urbanization after 1982. The notion of a 'Chinese road to urbanization' (distinguished from other national experiences principally by its small-town basis) has not been abandoned, but it is now less assuredly stated (Kirkby 1985). Economic arguments in favour of high speed development also advocate the 'universality' and 'inexorability' of the urbanization process, and cast doubt upon the idea of a lower stage of industrial development within an advanced urban system. In other words, control of large city development may cause inefficiency and slow down economic development. This school dominated the development of several major urban policies.
The first such policy, the designating of four Special Economic Zones (SEZs) at Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Shantou in Guangdong and Xiamen in Fujian, was approved by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on July 15, 1979. Special flexibility in economic ties with foreign countries was granted to these SEZs. They were to be testing grounds for opening windows to the world economy. Shenzhen — China’s first and largest SEZ, for example, was established in August 1980. In that year it was only an small isolated border town. Since the designation, its has attracted a lot of foreign investments. From 1980 to October 1985, the city had signed more than 4300 agreements on construction projects with foreign companies; the industrial enterprises had increased in number from just over 200 to 750; the work force had increased from about 8700 to 60000 (Liang, 1986, p.14).

Since the beginning of 1981, this SEZ has reformed its planning and capital construction management systems, its commercial, financial, price and wage systems as well as the cadre and personnel system. These experiences include the replacement of investment with bank loans in the zone’s infrastructural construction; a public bidding system adopted for capital construction projects; a contract system introduced for the employment of workers, and cadres employed through public advertisements or election for a term of office. All these experiences are different from the centrally planned system before. It is believed that the experiences gained from these reforms will serve as examples for the other part of the country. From a political perspective, these zones were also testing grounds and show pieces of the policy of one nation, two systems, under which Hong Kong, Macao, and Taiwan will be reunited.

Following the SEZs policy, the government also designated some key-point cities over the country for major centrally planned investment and construction in 1981. After his inspection tour of the Shenzhen SEZ in January 1984, the country’s then senior leader, Deng Xiaoping, said “The development of Shenzhen and its experience prove that our policy for setting up the special economic zones is correct.” (Beijing Review, 1986, Vol 29, No. 8, p.17) Soon afterwards, the Central Committee of CCP decided to open 14 more coastal cities and Hainan Island and later to open the Zhujiang (Pearl) and Changjiang (Yangtze) River Deltas and the Xiamen-Zhangzhou-
Quanzhou delta areas in southern Fujian as the Open Economic Areas. Central government economic plans and policies have encouraged the governments in these Open Cities “to introduce investment from abroad and establish lateral ties at home. In this way they will systematically expand economic and trade relations with other countries and technological exchanges with them.” (Seventh Five Year Plan 1986-1990, Beijing Review Vol.29, No.17 1986 p.XVII) In these open economic areas, the government hoped to build “an economic structure in which agriculture serves processing industry and processing industry serves trade. In these areas we shall rely on technological transformation and the introduction of advanced technologies to expand exports and earn more foreign exchange.” (Seventh Five Year Plan 1986-1990, Beijing Review Vol.29, No.17 1986 p.XVII)

Economic reform has changed many aspects of the Chinese socialist economic planning system in SEZs, Open Cities and Open Economic Areas (Wang and Chapman, 1991). It has, in turn, changed the practice of urban land use planning. Due to the limitation of time and resources, this research neither include many first hand recent land use planning examples, nor comprehensively looked at the changes in land use planning practice in these areas. But some of the fundamental changes in the land management systems in these cities and areas are examined in Section 5.5.

The Seventh Five Year Plan (1986-1990) took the step even further and divided the entire country into three regions: the east coast, the central and the western regions:

“In developing China’s regional economy, we must establish correct relations among the east coast, central and western regions. During the period of the Seventh Five-Year Plan and in the 1990s, we must speed up development in the east coast region, concentrate on building the energy and raw and semi-finished materials industries in the central region, and make active preparations for further development in the western region. We shall co-ordinate the continued advance of the east coast region with the development of the central and the western regions, so that all three can support each other and promote each other’s progress.” (Beijing Review 1986, Vol. 29, No. 17)
In 1986, a draft of the National Territorial Planning Outline, made by the National Land Bureau in the State Planning Commission, proposed further changes to urban policy. The old city scale classification of extra-large (over one million population), large (500 thousands to one million), medium (200-500 thousands) and small (under 200 thousands) was regarded as outmoded. It proposed that cities over 4 million population should be classed as “extra-large” and subject to strict control; cities between 1 and 4 million population would be “large cities” which should be developed with caution; while other medium and small cities should be developed rigorously. It therefore seems that China by the late 1980s had adopted the universal road of urbanization. However, this is not the end of the ‘Chinese Urbanization Road’. The economic and political problems at the end of 1986, marked by the student demonstrations demanded further considerations for the final publication of the National Territorial Planning Outline, though it had been revised not less than 10 times by late 1987. After the swift change in 1989, it is still not clear what urban policy will guide the country through the 1990s. There could be another effort to revive the small city notion.

The Development Planning Legislation — the City Planning Ordinance of 1984

The early city planning practice was mainly guided by government notice, informal instructions, ministers’ speeches, minutes of national city work conferences and so on. During the 1980s there was some progress in city planning practice and legislation. Firstly after the 1980 Conference two documents were issued: The Provisional Method for City Plan Making and Approval Procedures, and The Provisional Decision on City Planning Indices and Standards. These marked the beginning of city planning legislation after the Cultural Revolution. Since then a City Overall Plan and Detail Plans became legal requirements. The State Council in 1984 issued a document: the City Planning Ordinance, which is the only Act for city planning. This Act only covered cities and local government defined towns and county seats. It left all other human settlement in the rural areas, such as villages and small market-towns, out of the reach of this Act.

The legislation defined the major functions and contents of city planning. City plan-
ning was required to take account of the following factors:

- national city development and construction policies;
- economic and technical development policies;
- long-term national economic and social development plans and regional plans; and
- the local natural, historical and present construction conditions.

The plan must then:

- arrange city and town systems in the area;
- reasonably decide the goals of economic and social development in the planning period;
- define the nature (characteristic), development scale and structure of the city;
- comprehensively plan land use;
- arrange the activities, such as production, culture and other public facilities and so on. (The State Council, 1984)

Like other Chinese legislation the 1984 City Planning Ordinance (about 5 pages in length) only provided a basic framework. Detailed procedures of development control processes, public participation etc. were left to local government. Many cities made local by-laws. Local authorities responded to the legislation very quickly. By 1985, 98 per cent of cities, 85 per cent of county towns or defined towns had Overall City Plans, and 90 per cent of rural market towns had primary structure plans. In comparison with the Scottish Structure Plan and Local Plan progress, this is a surprising speed. However, the contents and the style of these plans are very different from the Scottish plans. These Plans are only simple diagrams, particularly for the small towns (see Section 5.8). The public ownership of urban land and the means of production helped the plan-making process. There were no major political disputes on how should the
land be used. There were also no time consuming negotiations between planners and land owners. Public participation only means some discussion among administrative and professional bodies.

Towards a Regional Approach and Territorial Planning  Regional planning was advocated as early as the late stage of the First Five Year Plan Period. But with the change of national development policy and the Great Leap Forward, it was not put into practice in relation to urban land use. Only agricultural land use, irrigation systems, river control and renovation related projects were carried out in several regions. In the beginning of the 1980s these early initiatives developed further and formulated the idea of territorial planning — a term developed from Territory Renovation (Guotu Zhengzhi, 土地整治).10

In 1981 the Central Secretariat of the CCP formally called on the government to carry out territorial planning. The State Council then gave this responsibility to the then State Capital Construction Commission with cooperation from the State Agriculture Commission. The following three years were spent testing practice in selected areas. Practices were concentrated on three different kinds of land. The first kind was the highly developed areas, such as the Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan area, the middle and the lower reaches of the Changjiang (Yangzi) River and the delta areas (Shanghai). The second kind was those less developed areas with a fragile natural environment. The third kind was those remote rural areas with natural and physical restraints such as the Loess Land, mountain areas, large river flood plains and so on.

In 1984 this responsibility was moved to the State Planning Commission which indicated that it was giving the matter high priority and that a comprehensive approach (combining economic planning and physical land use planning) was to employed. In March, 1985 the National Land Bureau in the State Planning Commission started to

10 "Territory" means the land including water and air space under the dominion of a state. Renovation has a double meaning here: in a narrow sense it may mean technological or engineering operation and improvement of land; in a broad sense it means development, planning, management, protection and conservation and even land-use related legislation. Territorial planning employed this latter broad sense.
prepare the above mentioned National Territorial Planning Outline.

Territorial Planning was a kind of regional comprehensive development plan (Lu 1985). The objectives were to make overall arrangement for development in the region. It was an indirect type of planning emphasizing strategic policy, comprehensive development and the regional economic, social and physical conditions (The Provisional Method of Territorial Plan Making (draft) 1984). It was required to:

1. decide the development scale of natural resources, the direction, distribution and structure of economic development on the base of the regional physical, social and economic environment.

2. arrange important basic facilities such as energy, transportation, communication and water supply in the region.

3. plan regional industrial and agricultural sectors and their relation with human settlements, and indicate the nature, development scale, and regional function of each city and town in the planning area.

4. protect the environment comprehensively and produce renovation and protection plans (The Provisional Method of Territorial Plan-Making (draft) in Document References for Territory Works, Territory Section of Shaanxi Province Planning Commission, 1985, pp.19-20).

It needed to include the contents of:

- Social and economic condition;
- Evolution of physical conditions and land resources;
- Regional advantages and objectives of economic development;
- Territory development scale and utilization direction;
- Economic structure, industrial structure, population and urban systems;
- Distribution of water, energy, transportation and other facilities;
• Environmental protection and conservation;
• Economic efficiency analysis;
• Implementation plan and measures;
• and other issues.

Territorial planning practice was quite similar to the early regional planning practice in the Clyde Valley Plan in Scotland, and for a time seemed to represent one aspect of the future development of the Chinese land use planning system. However this planning power was not given to the existing city planning authorities. Instead advisory territorial planning authorities were established. The major consideration was the use of land and other mineral resources. The government hoped this tier of planning in the national hierarchy would provide guidance to city economic and land use planning. Its actual practice was in an advisory style. In fact most second round city overall plan-making started before the territorial initiative and have already been approved. The relationship between territorial planning and city planning is therefore far from clear.

This regional approach also owes much to the country’s economic reform and the enlargement of market functions in the management of the economy. With the reduction of state direct planning, the government encouraged local and regional integration and cooperation through market mechanisms rather than totally relying on the state plan. This regional approach was believed to help create a better regional and local understanding of the resource base and economic function. From this point, territorial planning was a kind of western style, market oriented regional approach. It was in a different direction to the rigid socialist economic planning, which emphasised regional equality rather than to take the local resource advantages. Thus the practice of territorial planning relied much on the country’s political and economic reform programmes. It is not difficult to understand that the recent economic problems have already caused delay in the publication of the National Territorial Planning Outline. Due to the nature of this research, territorial planning will not be pursued further in detail.
5.4.5 Summary and Comparison

Planned city development in China was successful in the First Five Year Plan period from 1952 to 1957 in a few industrial cities. Though the central initiative and direct organised planning practice was, like the new towns development in Scotland, undemocratic, it made a great contribution to shaping those major industrial cities. At the beginning of the new government, qualified planners were few, capital investment was limited. The centralised effort was necessary and desirable. Unfortunately, this practice was abandoned during the Great Leap Forward. Between 1963-65 central government tried to restore centrally controlled development planning which was interrupted again by the Cultural Revolution. During these political movements the government had no power to make meaningful plans. Since 1978 a more comprehensive approach has been employed to plan cities. All city governments were required to prepare city plans within three years. National development policy emphasised urban areas as economic development centres, a reversal from the previous policy during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution. However urban development policy discussion about large/small cities remains far from settled.

After studying the Scottish urbanization process and the experience of modern planning, I strongly believe that the whole Chinese discussion is misdirected. A most important question should be asked before any other concerns: Whose city? The central government's or the local citizen's? The whole discussion in the country is based on the former. This shows the continuity of the Chinese planning tradition. The central government is the master of cities. It represents both the bureaucrats and the scientific known-how elites. The local natural conditions, the citizen's initiative and welfare are not the major concern. Man-made differences in living conditions and political influences may attract more people to the large cities despite the control policies. The future of urbanization lies with the reform of the political and administrative systems. China needs to give all cities, large or small, relatively similar autonomous and democratic political, financial, and administrative powers. This may cause a sudden growth of the big cities in a short term. In a longer term it may produce an evenly distributed rational urban hierarchy with large, medium and small
It is useful to present and compare planning development in Scotland and China by listing major planning related events in the two countries since the late 1940s in a Table (Table 5.3). In Scotland two distinct kinds of development policies, three different moulds, and four different practice periods of planning were identified since the Second World War. Urban policy until the 1960s, except for the reconstruction and redevelopment of the larger towns and cities in the early post-war period, was primarily concerned with the difficulties experienced by large broadly defined regions. This encouraged development to be located into these declining old industrial regions (sometimes in the New Towns within the declining region). From the 1960s onwards urban policy changed and public funding was used to develop urban infrastructure and improve the environment to attract new industries to those advantageous areas. These included new towns designated in favourable locations such as Livingston, and the inner city areas with great potential for commercial development though with more concentrated economic and social problems.

In China similarly two distinct kinds of development policies, and three different planning moulds with different emphases could be identified in the last forty years. Urban development policy in the period from 1949 to 1957 and from 1978 onwards was concerned primarily with development of industries in cities. From the Great Leap Forward to the end of the Cultural Revolution, development policy sought to eliminate the differences between town and country and between industry and agriculture. Large cities were strictly controlled and new industrial development was located away from the existing cities to remote rural and mountain areas. The three different moulds of planning are: state dominated nationalised project oriented planning and development of cities in 1949-1957; city stagnation without planning from the Great Leap Forward to the Cultural Revolution; and the relatively comprehensive city planning since 1978.

City planning in the 1950s showed some similarities with that in Scotland. The proposed development of satellite towns around large cities had parallels with the
Table 5.3: Comparison of main developments within the Scottish and Chinese planning systems since the Second World War, based on discussion in Chapters 4 and 5

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Clyde Valley Regional Plan</td>
<td>1946</td>
<td>Shanghai City Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Town and Country Planning Act</td>
<td>1947</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Designation of East Kilbride New Town</td>
<td></td>
<td>Establishment of the PRC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glenrothes New Town</td>
<td>1949</td>
<td>Urban housing improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Land reform</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Economic planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conservative Government</td>
<td>1951</td>
<td>National Conference on city</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Set up City Construction Department</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>in Construction Industry Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nationalization of private industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Repeal the financial provision of 1947 Act</td>
<td>1953</td>
<td>First Five Year Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First round city plan:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>suburban development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>inner city redevelopment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>set up satellite towns</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1954</td>
<td>Set up City Design Institute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>First Conference on city construction:</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Drafts of:) &lt;&lt;The Provisional Procedures</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for City Planning Making&gt;&gt;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;&lt;Some Standards for City Construction&gt;&gt;,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>&lt;&lt;Urban Architectural Management Method&gt;&gt;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Set up State City Construction Bureau</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>Control large city, encourage small</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>cities (under 200 thousands population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cumbernaud New Town</td>
<td>1955</td>
<td>City Construction Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Encourage regional planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1956</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Belt policy</td>
<td>1958</td>
<td>Great Leap Forward</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Second Five Year Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Revise city plans, Modernize the cities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>CCM merged into Construction Industry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Economic adjustment: No city planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>for three years</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>City Planning Bureau was</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>kicked around among The State Economic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Commission, State Planning Commission,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>and State Construction Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1961</td>
<td>Reversal of Great Leap policies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Toothill Report: concentration of public funds in urban infrastructure</td>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>to attract modern industry</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

247
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1962</td>
<td>Establishment of SDD, and the Scottish Development Group, Livingston New Town</td>
<td>CCP Central Committee Conference on city and continue reduction of city population Daqing Oil city example</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1963</td>
<td>Labour Government</td>
<td>CCP Central Committee Second Conference on City: revise old city plan, make short term plan Dazhai hailed as rural model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Future of Development Plans</td>
<td>New important Industries were arranged into remote rural and mountain areas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1965</td>
<td>The Highlands and Islands Development Board</td>
<td>Cultural Revolution City Planning as revisionism Urbanizing the countryside</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1967</td>
<td>Land Commission Act</td>
<td>Irvine New Town</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1969</td>
<td>Town and Country Planning Act</td>
<td>Structure and Local Plans Conservative government Abolish Land Commissions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1970</td>
<td>Local Government Act</td>
<td>Regional plans</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1973</td>
<td>Regional and District Councils</td>
<td>Labour Government Scottish Development Agency Production of Regional Reports GEAR projects (Inner area) Stonehouse New Town abandoned Conservative Government free market lobby Local Government, Planning and Land Act, Enterprise Zones change of the GDO</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Third Conference on City: Compulsory city planning</td>
<td>Third Conference on City: Compulsory city planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>List of Historical Cities and initiate old town conservation</td>
<td>List of Historical Cities and initiate old town conservation Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection Economic Reform: city as regional economic centres</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Control large city, reasonably develop medium size cities and encourage small city development</td>
<td>National City Planning Conference Control large city, reasonably develop medium size cities and encourage small city development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>Sixth Five Year Plan</td>
<td>1981 Sixth Five Year Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>White Paper: Lifting the Burden</td>
<td>White Paper: Lifting the Burden</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>simplified planning zones</td>
<td>simplified planning zones</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>Seventh Five Year Plan</td>
<td>Seventh Five Year Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>Introduce Land Use Fee and re-open property market</td>
<td>Introduce Land Use Fee and re-open property market</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
adoption of new town development around Glasgow. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution period in China were so particular there seems no comparability with Scottish experience. However, the desire for an equal distribution of development was evident in British regional policy. From a town planning view this period saw no major development in theory or practice. While experimental examples, such as Daqing as an industrial model and Dazhai as an agricultural model, were put forward by Chairman Mao, and western planners tried to draw experience from them, their influence on the society remained on spiritual and political aspects rather than physical and social-economic aspects. Similarly urban policy in the 1980s was formulated under the particular Chinese situation. The rediscovery of a universal urbanization process itself implied more comparability with the Scottish experience. Although the city based development approach seems different from that in Scotland, a fundamental factor is the same in the two. That is that both governments had abandoned the strategy of seeking balanced regional development, and both favour the relatively advanced areas. In the UK these are in the South East of England, while within Scotland they are small towns, such as Livingston New Town, and urban suburbs on major transport links and with favourable natural environment, such as South Gyle area of west Edinburgh. In China they are those major large cities. These similar policy stances tend to support Cherry’s comment and imply the universality of modern development and planning, while the different locations show the different development stages of the two societies. The policy shifts in the two countries in the last forty years also revealed a basic issue in all planning — do we compensate disadvantaged locations or build on successful ones?

5.5 Urban Land System Change since the Land Reform

Urban land was owned by both local and foreign landowners in China before 1949. There was also public land. Since then urban land tenure has undergone several changes. After the Communist Liberation land belonging to the Nationalist government, foreign owners and large local landowners was confiscated during the Land
Reform. During the period 1954 to 1956 as part of the socialist reform, private industry and commerce (including both land and buildings) were bought out by the government (Tang 1989).

Though urban land nationalization was not officially finalized until the 1982 constitution, private ownership of urban land virtually ceased after 1953. From 1954 to 1984 use of urban land in China was rent-free. The land management in this period was characterised by direct allocation of land by the state to various state owned land uses such as industry, transportation, housing, administration and so on. However this free allocation of land had many problems. Firstly, because it was 'free' urban land lost its location value. Land in the city centre and in the suburban area were treated as the same. City government as the representative of the state owned the land though it could not get any income from it. The hidden benefits of land near what would have been the higher price area were enjoyed by the land users, either collectives or state owned units. City planning was supposed to decide a rational pattern of urban land use. But the conflicts between the relatively long term city plan and the short term economic development plan were always resolved by the city plan giving way to economic considerations. Urban land use was not always under the control of the city planners.

Secondly, the free land allocation caused wasteful use of land in some areas and shortage in others; waste was particularly associated with functions such as industry, while shortage was apparent for other uses, notably housing. Since there was no cost for holding land it was acquired by enterprises long before it was really needed. In Nanjing, for example, one urban industrial district has about 50 factories, they took about 80 square kilometres of land in the 1950's. If reasonably planned, one planner estimated that only 10 square kilometres would have been enough. Without a land market and the associated financial discipline, land use only depended on the administration. Each unit tried to take as much land as possible. Some got land through the government allocation system, while others “bought” land from the neighbouring villages illegally. In the 6 urban districts in Tianjin, there were 1416 mu land used illegally (Ye 1988).
Thirdly, local public units got land from the state - the city government - without charge, while land exchange between these units — enterprises, institutions and rural collectives such as villages in the suburbs — commanded a very high "price" (compensations and allowances) to the original user. In practice, state ownership became community ownership or effectively private ownership. The relatively long term city plan with ambitious land use standards encouraged this wasteful use of land. In some areas, due to the higher compensation to the original users the price of urban housing increased dramatically, while in other areas such as the urban centre, there was no incentive to use the land intensively.

From 1980 the government tried to develop a new urban land management policy. A series of land related laws were published. But these acts still followed the old idea, and relied on administrative methods. New approaches, intending to introduce some kind of market mechanism into the land management system, were tried by local initiatives in several large cities. The main characteristic of these approaches was to ask land users to pay a land use fee to the state. In April 1987 central government approved this practice and raised the issue of the paid transfer of land right (Dan and Ren 1988). This marked the start of commercialized management of urban land.\footnote{In December of the same year the State Council started to prepare an Ordinance of Paid Transfer of State Owned Land Use Right which is still under discussion.}

In March 1988, at the Seventh Conference of the Chinese National People's Congress, the country's Constitution was revised according to the Chinese Communist Party's advice. Important changes were made to allow the legal existence of a private economy sector, and also the paid transfer of the right to use of state owned land (People's Daily, Overseas Edition March 14, 1988 p.1).

Since then many cities have started to change the old style of land allocation process. Many local governments issued local regulations on land use right transfer. At the land management conference held in Xian in May 1988, further new policies were introduced to open up the state monopolised property market. Local authorities can now sell their properties to other users by bidding, auction, or contracts. At the same time, a property market between different land users (state, collective or private) was
Table 5.4: Planning Proposals for Development at Hong-Qiao Site No.26

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site Purpose</th>
<th>Site Area</th>
<th>Plot Back Ratio</th>
<th>Cover Limit</th>
<th>Entrance Height</th>
<th>Parking Space</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>(ha)</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(%)</td>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>(sqm)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* HO: used for hotel, office, apartment or comprehensively

Sources: Shanghai City Planning and Building Construction Administration Bureau, Hong-Qiao New Area, Planned Sites and Planning Standards

also legalized.

Shanghai city played a leading role in this new land development process. A typical example is the planning of the Hong-Qiao Area in the west of the city, 6.5 kilometres from the city centre and 5.5 kilometres from the international airport. The plan designated this area as an economic and technological development area concentrated with foreign affairs activities. Overall infrastructure such as roads, sewerage system, water, gas, electric power and other communication facilities have been constructed by the city (People’s Daily, Overseas Edition, March 18, 1988 p.3). The international bidding announcement was advertised on March 22, 1988 by the Shanghai City Land Management Bureau. The rent period was set at 50 years from the issue of a land use licence to September 30, 2038. The conditions for development are presented in Table 5.4. This kind of planning and land development process is new in China. It could be said to be in an experimental period. But it is very similar to the practice in Scotland, and may owe much to the recent open door policy, and the planners’ knowledge gained from exchanges with the west.

The urban property market changed with the land management process as well. For instance state owned shopping floor space was auctioned — an activity which had vanished for more than forty years in the socialist system. The first such practice was again pioneered by Shanghai City government on March 8, 1988. The two properties were both along major shopping streets. 119 buyers registered, 64 were public or
collective bodies, 55 were individuals. Both properties were bought by enterprises from the city suburban counties. They intended to use the properties as retail places to sell and advertise their products. The prices offered by these buyers showed a demand for land in the city areas. One property was 40 square metres and though the base price was set at 70,000 yuan, the selling price reached 130,000. The other property was 43 square metres, and its base price was 50,000 yuan, but the selling price was 89,000. The people who bought these properties became the owners, though the land itself theoretically still belongs to the state. But it is very difficult to see real differences between the land use right and the ownership. There are still 670,000 square metres of properties under the city government’s control which were originally not built for residential purposes, but were still used for housing. Most of them are in busy streets and the properties could be used as shops. The city government intended to release them for commercial use. This opens great potentialities to establish a property market (People's Daily, Overseas Edition, March 14, 1988 p.3).

Though Chinese planning was characterised by state ownership of urban land, recent development brought more similarities between the Scottish and Chinese systems. With the government’s intention to encourage the development of an urban property market, the state no longer is the single decision-making body. Various land owners’ interests could not be ignored. If the original users’ land is required by the state, though it can be acquired by compulsion, the government need to pay compensation to the users. Developers need to negotiate and bargain with the original land users for release of the land, which always involves a large sum of compensation, theoretically toward the cost of the original building, but in reality it is the price for the land. Nevertheless the policy changes in the 1980s allowed more possibility for planners to draw experience from Scottish practice. Despite these recent changes in China, the land system remains an important difference between the two countries’ planning systems. (Table 5.5)
Table 5.5: Comparison of urban land systems in Scotland and China

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Dominant Ownership:</td>
<td>Private</td>
<td>Public</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Individual Rights on Land:</td>
<td>Ownership</td>
<td>Use right</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) State Rights on Land:</td>
<td>Land use planning</td>
<td>Ownership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development control</td>
<td>Land use planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Some state ownership</td>
<td>Right to Development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Exchange Modes:</td>
<td>Owner to owner</td>
<td>User to state to user</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compulsory Purchase</td>
<td>State take over</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Leasing</td>
<td>Direct allocation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>User to user (new)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) Values:</td>
<td>Market value</td>
<td>Use fee to the State</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Compensate to original users</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Market value (new)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.6 Planning Education and Professional Institutions

5.6.1 Planning Education

City planning education in China started after the establishment of the PRC. The first planning course was introduced in Qinghua University in Beijing, as a City and Town Group in the Architecture Department in 1950. In 1952, Tongji University in Shanghai and several other universities established their city planning speciality within architecture. From 1950 to 1980, there were only about 1000 graduates from these establishments. In the early 1980s, there were 15 city planning courses at university level in the whole country: 10 were related to architecture, and the other 5 were part of regional and economic geography. Only about 440 students (among them about 40 were at postgraduate level) were taken by these 15 schools. There are also some polytechnic level schools training city planners (Zhao 1983). To compare with planning education in Scotland, the Chinese city planning courses are mainly dominated by architectural contents and skills. They are engineering oriented. From Table 5.6 one may very easily find out the different emphasis of these planning courses.
Firstly the undergraduate planning course in Department of Planning and Housing, Edinburgh College of Art, as one example in Scotland, focuses on planning as the means of making and implementing policy and plans for changing cities and regions. It has a stronger urban emphasis than rural, and is more concerned with policy, practice and implementation than with design. The aims of the course are:

1. To develop students' understanding of the processes of urban and regional change;
2. To develop students' awareness of the nature and operation of the statutory town and country planning system;
3. To make students aware of other planning systems and of other approaches to urban and regional planning;
4. To develop skills of analysis, research, prescription and communication which are necessary for effective practice as an urban and regional planner. (Department of Town and Country Planning, ECA 1989)

The city planning course in Tongji University, as one typical example in China, represents the strong architectural influence on planning. Though its emphasis is the same as the Edinburgh course on urban rather than rural land use, its overwhelming concern is with design rather than policy and implementation. The relationship between education and practice is relatively weak. Students are equipped with design skills rather than with flexible knowledge to face urban changes. This course model shows closer links to the courses in Edinburgh about 25 years ago. This seems to suggest a stage model of planning education, though the stages do not fit neatly with

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12 I would like to thank Ms. Zhong Jing Hong (a former student in Tongji) for supplying me with information on the course structure. Though the course structure represented here is only a general guideline which may be subject to changes through time, it is a good representative of such courses in the country, because Tongji is one of the leading institutions on the subject.

13 The Diploma Course in Town and Country Planning in 1964 in Edinburgh College of Art, for example, was "open to Diploma students of a recognised School of Architecture or to those who have passed the Final Examination of the Royal Institute of British Architects or of the Institution of Civil Engineers, or of the Institution of Municipal Engineers, or of the Royal Institution of Chartered..."
Table 5.6: A comparison of BSc. planning course structures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Edinburgh College of Art (1988)</th>
<th>Tongji University, China (early 1980)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>I. Planning Theory and Practice:</strong></td>
<td><strong>I. Architecture:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to planning</td>
<td>Introduction to Architectural design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban and Landscape</td>
<td>Mechanics of engineering</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Design and Engineering</td>
<td>Architectural structure</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning Law</td>
<td>Mechanics of materials</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport Planning</td>
<td>Principle of architectural design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Control</td>
<td>History of Architecture</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>II. Urban and Regional Change:</strong></td>
<td><strong>II. City Planning:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social change and the city and planning</td>
<td>Principle of city planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Politics and public Administration</td>
<td>City road and traffic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural policy and planning</td>
<td>Water supply and sewage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban policy and planning</td>
<td>City and regional road</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction to economics</td>
<td>City environmental protection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics of cities and regions</td>
<td>City plan making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Regional policy and planning</td>
<td>Park and green field</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local government and finance</td>
<td>Urban history</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development finance</td>
<td>Regional planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative planning</td>
<td>Urban system</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban deprivation and social change</td>
<td>Current planning practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>III. Planning Techniques:</strong></td>
<td><strong>III. Other Courses:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data presentation and communication</td>
<td>Survey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Data Analysis and computing</td>
<td>Engineering and hydrological geology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statistics</td>
<td>Geometry of painting and perspective drawing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forecasting</td>
<td>Artistic design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Computerised data processing</td>
<td><strong>IV. Practical Projects:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Research methods</td>
<td>Architectural design</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>City plan project</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>IV. Practical Projects:</strong></td>
<td><strong>V. Options:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Site design project</td>
<td>Contemporary housing policy and practice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Small Settlement plan</td>
<td>Comparative planning study in Ireland or Denmark</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural planning project</td>
<td>Industrial and employment change</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban planning project</td>
<td>Shelter and Settlement planning in less developed countries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development control and public Inquiry project</td>
<td>Implementation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Strategic impact project</td>
<td>Transport planning</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative planning study visit</td>
<td>Planning and equal opportunities</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Self-set and tutored project</td>
<td>Housing option</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>V. Options:</strong></td>
<td>Rural land use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contemporary housing policy and practice</td>
<td>Theory of building conservation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparative planning study in Ireland or Denmark</td>
<td>Building technology</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industrial and employment change</td>
<td><strong>VI. Other Work:</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelter and Settlement planning in less developed countries</td>
<td>Introduction week tour and essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Implementation</td>
<td>Urban deprivation essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport planning</td>
<td>Planning theory essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning and equal opportunities</td>
<td>Rural policy and planning essay</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housing option</td>
<td><strong>VII. Dissertation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural land use</td>
<td><strong>VI. Dissertation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theory of building conservation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building technology</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VI. Other Work:</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Introduction week tour and essay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urban deprivation essay</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Planning theory essay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rural policy and planning essay</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>VII. Dissertation</strong></td>
<td>256</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
the urbanisation stages. The differences could be explained by the political systems and the whole area of choice and political debate.

Secondly, planning students in Scotland learn about the urban development process from political, economic and social aspects. The Chinese courses concentrate on technical and physical development aspects of the cities. Only recently have some new courses such as urban sociology been introduced.

Another difference of planning education in the 1980s is that planning schools in Scotland experienced a series of cuts and faced closure, while planning education in China experienced a large scale expansion. More planning schools than ever are now offering planning courses.

Differences between the two systems also appear in the distribution of planners and planning graduates. With the small number of qualified planning graduates and the great demand for them in China, graduates are assigned a job according to the degree they had. Higher degree holders went to higher hierarchy planning authorities and larger cities; lower degree holders went to the lower hierarchy local authorities and smaller cities; and in many small county towns there were no qualified city planners at all. Statistics from 1982 show that most city planners concentrated in Beijing, Shanghai, Tianjin and 18 other large cities with population over a million (Zhao 1983). Figure 5.6 shows the distribution of planners at different level cities. In such a system most qualified planners are engaged in central and provincial government for urban planning policy making, while the most important job of making and implementing plans is left to the less qualified persons. This is one of the major reasons why theoretical work seems well developed, and planning is practised in large cities. Most medium and small size cities are actually not planned, not to mention the vast rural area. This is another major disadvantage of the centralised control system.

Surveyors, or any graduate of a British University who has an honours degree in Economics or Geography or has a first or second class general degree with Economics or Geography as a main subject.” (Edinburgh College of Art, Prospectus, Session 1964-65 pp.26-27)
Figure 5.6: The relationship between planning education, research and planning authorities
5.6.2 Planning Institutions

The China Urban Planning Society (CUPS) was established in 1985. Its role is to advance planning knowledge and organise conferences. Practicing city planners, researchers and professional staff in educational institutions can apply for membership. In contrast to the RTPI, this Society's influence on planning education is relatively weak. It does not have direct relations with educational establishments and has no control over course structures. Members of the Society do not have any privilege in pursuing planning jobs, because most planning students graduated from university are assigned a job. Moving from place to place is not so common. If that happens it depends much more on personal relations rather than professional qualifications. Membership of the Society offers easy access to planning related conferences, though even this privilege is restricted by the employer institution's financial situation. This Society, different from the RTPI, does not make any code of conduct, set examinations, administer tests of professional competence.

China Academy of Urban Planning and Design (CAUPD) and Similar Local Establishments In August 1982, the China Academy of Urban Planning and Design was established in Beijing. As the name indicates, it is an academic research organization. "The Academy is a national technological and information centre for urban planning as well as a research and design body in the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection (MURCEP)." (CAUPD 1986) This Academy is under the control of the new central planning authority - the Construction Ministry. It carries out research projects to assist the Ministry in formulation of urban and rural development policies, and also undertakes planning commissions and assignments from local authorities and central government for projects of national importance. This establishment has some similarities to the various planning

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14 A Institute of City Design was established in the Ministry of Construction Industry in 1954. Its job was to make plans for important cities in the whole country at a time when there were very few city planners. After the Great Leap Forward, it was transferred together with the central City Planning Department to the State Economic Commission and its name was changed to the Research Institute of City Planning, a body only carrying out investigation and research. It was abolished in the Cultural Revolution.
consultants companies in Scotland, but it belongs to the government ministry. Like CUPS, CAUPD has no direct influence on the planning profession and education, but its relation with central government is relatively strong. The Academy in 1986 had a staff of over three hundred, of which eighty percent were qualified researchers and more than forty were senior planners, architects and engineers. Under the Academy, there are 8 divisions of various disciplines including an Editorial Department which are responsible for publishing *City Planning Review*, a bimonthly journal, *Town Planning in Foreign Countries*, a quarterly journal, and *China City Planning Review*, an English Journal.

Many provinces and municipalities also established their own similar organizations. In 1982, 17 provinces or municipalities set up such institutes. By 1986 there were 40 such local institutions. These bodies help the cities on planning with technical and policy problems. But these institutes themselves are not the legal local government planning authorities.

In many medium-size cities, small towns or county seat towns, there are still no professional planners or city planning department. Those Institutes play a very important role in plan making. Small groups of planners are often invited by a small town to make a Master Plan, and then hand the plan over to the town government for implementation. (It usually involves the higher level planning authority for examination and approval.) Beside the money paid for the service, sometimes a banquet is held and 'gifts' are presented. Once the contract is completed, the planners get a bonus from the income paid by the city government. This is one reason for some planners thinking that the planning department in large cities should be separated from the administrative system and treated as an enterprise. One planner who did some city planning for small cities told me if one can not drink, one would feel stupid at the dining table with these local leaders.

From this one can get some idea about how simple and rough these plans for the small cities are, and how different the practice is between a large city's plan and a small town's plan. Many university or college departments with planning specialization also
play a very important role as planning consultants in making such plans. Different from Scotland, there are still no planning consultant firms in the private sector in China. City planning is purely a public sector activity.

5.7 Planning Authorities

5.7.1 Central City Planning Authority

Since 1952, as Section 5.4 indicated, there has always been a central ministry or department in charge of city planning and construction. But this power shifted from ministry to ministry many times. The 1984 City Planning Ordinance made a statement “The State city planning authority is responsible for the work of managing city planning” (Article, 11). This does not make clear which department had responsibility. From 1981 to 1987 the central city planning management power was allocated to the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection. On the Seventh National People's Congress meeting in March of 1988, this Ministry was abolished, and its responsibility was transferred to the new Construction Ministry. (Table 5.7)

The change of responsibility for planning in the centre reflects the government's view on urban development and shifts in urban policy (see Section 5.4). From 1952 to 1956, city development was emphasised by increasing the importance of the central City Construction Department. This reflected the emphasis of the city based industrial development in the First Five Year Plan period. From 1958 to 1979 (mainly the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution) development emphasis was shifted to rural areas. Central responsibility for city planning and construction became less important. Since 1979, the cities again became the central emphasis of national development. Central responsibility for city construction and planning was restored. At the same time city planning experienced a change from coordinating industrial project construction to being involved in environmental questions by putting central city construction and planning departments under the Ministry with environmental
Table 5.7: Changes of Central Government Body with Responsibility for City Planning

1952 The City Construction Department was established in the Ministry of Construction Industry.

1955 The City Construction Department was separated from the Ministry, and became a independent body under the State Council.

1956 The Department was given the title as a Ministry, the Ministry of City Construction.

1958 The ministry was merged with the Ministry of Construction Industry. Return to the 1952 model.

1960 The City Construction Department was first transferred to the State Economic Commission, later to the State Planning Commission and then the State Construction Commission.

1979 The State City Construction Bureau was restored as a separate central body.

1981 The Department merged with the State Construction Commission and the State Construction Industry Department, and formed the Ministry of Urban and Rural Construction and Environmental Protection.

1988 The Ministry of Construction
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>China</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Approval</td>
<td>Structure plans for regions (cover the whole country)</td>
<td>Overall plans (for provincial capital and cities over one million population)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Advisory</td>
<td>Memoranda, bulletin circulars, directives advise notes, etc.</td>
<td>Similar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Central Plan</td>
<td>National Planning Guidelines</td>
<td>National Territorial Planning Outline (by Economic planning authority)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development control</td>
<td>Call in planning applications of outstanding importance</td>
<td>Planned development by economic planning body.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Resolve problems</td>
<td>Between regions and encourage cooperation</td>
<td>Similar, but not often used because cities are far away from each other.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appellate</td>
<td>Handle appeals from developers.</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5.7: Comparison of central planning authority functions

The functions of the central city planning authority in China are similar to that in Scotland in two ways. Firstly, it has the responsibility for approving the individual overall plans for provincial capital cities and other cities with one million or more population. Secondly, the Chinese central city planning authority also has the power to use flexible and advisory measures to exercise control over local planning authorities. But because of the existence of a complex economic planning system and powerful economic planning commissions, central city planning authority does not have similar powers to “call in” applications and appellate functions. The similarities and differences in central planning functions are summarised in Figure 5.7.
5.7.2 Local City Planning Authorities

Chinese central government does not make detailed provisions on how local planning authorities should be organized. But in the administrative system, vertical departmental supervision is a common practice. This means all level local governments are in a similar structure to the central one. If central government has a city construction department, then provincial, city, and county governments all have a similar body.

The Province, as a regional level government, controls a large territorial area with many cities in it. Different Provinces have different named city planning authorities. In Shaanxi provincial government, the Construction Department is the provincial body with city planning responsibility. As its name indicates, this department does not only have urban planning responsibility. Rural village and market town planning are its other functions. Planning authorities at this level do not make city plans. But they have the responsibility for:

- supervising city governments on city development and planning matters;
- examining and approving city plans which are handed in by these city governments under their control;
- publishing provincial city development policies and planning guidelines for city planning departments;
- choosing good planning examples and disseminating the experience within the province;
- and transferring other provinces' experiences to the cities in the province.

Most of these functions are carried out by publishing Circulars, Instructions, holding local planning conferences and so on. These functions are similar to the roles of SDD in the whole British context. The planning authorities at city level are different from place to place. The detailed structure and functions of local planning authorities will be further examined and compared in the next two chapters with the case studies of Edinburgh and Xian.

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Table 5.8: Comparison of Scottish and Chinese Plans

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scottish System</th>
<th>Chinese System</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Types of Plan:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development Plan</td>
<td>City Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Structure Plan</td>
<td>Overall Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Local Plan</td>
<td>Detail Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Town Dev. Plan</td>
<td>Regional-territory Plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Plan Implementation:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Development control</td>
<td>Public construction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public infrastructure provision</td>
<td>Planning management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Characteristics of planning:</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Planning as a process</td>
<td>Blueprint land use plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Plans as promotional document</td>
<td>Professional consideration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public participation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.8 City Plans

5.8.1 Overall City Planning and the Overall Plan

Chinese city planners divide planning practice into the Overall Plan, the Detail Plan (development plan or urban design) and the Construction Design, three stages (Wu 1983). The first two stages and plans are required by the 1984 Ordinance. These plans are presented in Table 5.8 with a comparison with Scotland.

The Overall Plan, as the main policy vehicle, is a master plan for a city as a whole. It covers issues such as industrial development, conservation and environmental protection, housing, transportation and other civil engineering works. It also contains regional economic development strategies for the city.

A. Objectives and Coverage of Overall Planning

The objectives of an Overall City Plan are very similar to the early 1950s development plans for cities in Scotland:

- to decide the nature, scale and development orientation of the city;
• to allocate land for buildings and other public facilities and environmental features;

• to decide land use standards for different function areas;

• to propose the stages and measures of planning implementation;

• to propose short term construction plans according to the national economic and social development plan.

These objectives are consistent with urban expansion and public sector domination of the development process. Because most new industrial developments are concentrated in suburban areas, the conventional overall plan usually covers the urban built up area and the adjoining suburbs. The 1984 Ordinance, however, requires overall plans to cover a city’s administrative area as a whole. This means a great extension of the coverage of overall plans. Chinese municipalities do not only cover the built-up area, but usually several nearby rural counties which could be many times larger than the core city. The new requirement of the 1984 Ordinance actually changed the scale and nature of city planning, from a purely urban land use oriented blueprint master plan to a regional one. But in practice, the system was not changed very much. First, most planners in city planning departments were trained as architects; they understand city construction design, but do not have the skills and knowledge necessary for regional planning, which needs a much wider range of economic, social and physical knowledge. Secondly, municipal government is not the only tier of local government. There are subdivisions, such as districts and counties. Especially in those municipalities which adjusted their boundaries recently (usually enlargement), new subdivision counties only came under the municipality’s control for a very short time. City planners are not familiar with the local economic, social and physical conditions in these areas. Coordinated relationships between those tiers have still not been established. Thirdly, most municipalities’ Overall Plan was prepared before 1984. Most of them were already approved by central or provincial authorities for a plan period of twenty years. Central government does not require city government to review them. Finally, in the city controlled rural counties, there are a county seat town and several local market towns. They exist as separate urban areas. The only
difference is that they are small. They need their own overall plan to guide land use as well.

Therefore, city overall plans in most cities still cover the built-up areas and the inner suburbs, but not the whole administrative area. Separate town plans are prepared for those small towns under the city government's supervision. The vast rural areas in the administrative area are left to other departments to manage, such as the land management department or the agricultural department in the city government and local county government. This suggests that Chinese overall plans are different from the Scottish structure plans and also different from the Scottish local plans by their comprehensive coverage of the city area as a whole.

B. The Overall Plan Contents

In 1980 the central government issued a document On the Provisional Method of City Plan Making and Improvement which gave guidelines for the concrete contents of an Overall Plan. They included:

1. define the nature and future development of the city, project the population trend and other economic and technical targets;

2. define and divide the different functional areas for land-use purposes, comprehensively arrange industry, transportation, warehousing, residential areas, green fields and other public facilities;

3. arrange the road and street systems and railway station, port, air-port and other transportation facilities;

4. propose the locations of large scale public constructions;

5. propose the locations for public open spaces such as major squares and main streets;

6. propose the variety of engineering infrastructure plans, such as water, sewage, flood control, electricity, gas, heating and communication, garden and parks and green space planting plans;
7. environmental protection and anti-seismic plan;
8. old town reconstruction plan (inner area renewal);
9. suburban plan: land for agriculture, forestry, roads, residential areas, industrial areas, vegetable and other non-staple food production areas, local building material site and scenery for tourism;
10. short-term construction plan;
11. estimate the short-term construction cost.

The confusing items in this long list can be divided into three groups which concentrate on three major aspects: city comprehensive development planning, land-use and construction structure planning, and special engineering and cost planning.

City Comprehensive Development Planning The city comprehensive development planning is mainly a regional development strategy which decides the city’s future structure by defining the nature, the scale, the land use structure of the city and land use standards. Chinese planners believe city development planning should, firstly, study the development base of the city, which means the economic base and industrial structure, on which the city develops.

This is clearly an adoption of western early regional development theory. However, even in the centrally planned economy, to define a modern large city’s development base is not an easy task, especially in a society where data, information collection and analysis techniques are still relatively backward. To facilitate the work, planners put forward the alternative of defining the nature of the city which replaced the quantitative requirements by qualitative descriptions. The nature of a city is the city’s characteristics and its role or functions in the region or even in the national economy. It may be concerned with political, economic or geographical aspects, or a combination of them. For instance, the national capital, or provincial capitals may be mainly based on political and administrative factors. A city with historical interests or in a beautiful landscape area may take tourism as one key element of its nature.
City comprehensive development planning also plans the scale of the city: the population scale and land use scale. Population scale study in overall planning covers such issues as:

- age group structure;
- sex structure and family dependents ratio;
- labour structure;
- floating population;
- total population.

Present population is used as base for projection of the future. Chinese city government has the power to control the future population development. The population scale in overall plans sets the target of population change. Two major factors affect the city population change: family planning (control the natural increase by the one family one child policy) and the population registration (migration control). As long as family planning policies are employed, natural population changes are easier to project. Migration, different from the Scottish experience, is determined by administrative mechanism rather than land use planning policy. Urban population change was well controlled in the past compared with other third world countries. However, this is not only due to city planners. City planners talk about population development scale and forecasting, but the actual population change depends on other national and local policies. As evidence in Chapter 7 shows, the planned population scale is always what the city government and planners hope to achieve, but the actual situation is always very different.

Another function of city comprehensive development planning is to determine land use standards for the city. Urban land-use standards are set by the central planning authority to protect and save good agricultural land. In the nationalised land system, this approach is the only effective way to avoid land waste. But because natural conditions vary between different areas, those control figures are flexible. They only give local planners some indication for making their own standards. In 1980 the central
Table 5.9: Land Use Standards in Overall Planning as in 1980

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Average land use per person (square meters)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short-term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>24-35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Land</td>
<td>8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public Constructions</td>
<td>6-8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green Space</td>
<td>3-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road, Street and Square</td>
<td>6-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Use</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

planning authority published a document, named On the Provisional Stipulation for City Planning Norms and Standards, with urban land use standards for overall and detail planning. But the document could only be used for new planned cities, industrial towns, satellite towns and new expansion of an existing city.

Though centrally decided land use standards played a positive role in the situation where there was a lack of qualified planners, they produced unitary urban patterns all over the country. When central government changed these standards in response to changing national economic conditions, it often created difficulties for local city plan makers. These problems will be examined in Chapter 7 with the case in Xian city. These standard are still necessary under the public ownership of land. Land is taken freely from the government, and no one cares about land waste, and so through these standards, central government could put some constraints on local communities (Table 5.9).

The city comprehensive development planning is also required to decide the pattern of the central city and satellite town system. As indicated before, the 1984 Ordinance requires the city planning departments to make an Overall City Plan covering all the administrative area, while the emphasis of local planning authorities is still concentrated mainly in central cities. But the city and town system does become
an important issue in the overall planning process.

A small city usually has a central built-up area and a not too big rural suburban zone. There are no city and town system issues in its Overall Plan, although its relationship with other neighbouring cities is considered (Figure 5.8). In large and medium-size cities, from the core toward the periphery the following zones or areas need to be given consideration in the overall plan, which are also indicated in Figure 5.9:

- central built-up area;
- near suburban areas which contain worker's residential towns; and
- far suburban zones which contain satellite towns, and rural county seat towns.15

Land-use and Construction Structure Planning  The second major function of an overall plan is to make arrangement for major land use functions in the city. Generally speaking, city land use planning has three concerns:

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15China's city and town system has developed from a long feudal history. Most of the rural county towns today, even small ones, have existed there for a long time. In an agricultural society these county towns served as local market places and also as the administrative centres in the district. These two functions of those towns still existed in the socialist society. This made them different from the newly built satellite towns and the worker's residential areas in the large city suburbs.
Figure 5.9: Land use pattern in a large city

1. Land allocation for different functional land uses and locations:
   (a) industrial land-use;
   (b) residential land-use;
   (c) warehousing;
   (d) public facilities.

2. Internal and external road system planning:
   (a) external transportation land-use;
   (b) roads and streets.

3. Environmental and landscape design.
   (a) sanitation belt;
   (b) open spaces and squares.

Past planning practice was mainly concentrated on zoning different functional land uses and the design of road and street systems. Environmental and landscape design
along the major road on public land was considered, while most land under the community control was beyond planners' consideration. Recently all sort of land use changes within the community are required to be reported to the city planning authority in some cities. This is not practised as rigorously as development control in Scotland.

Among these different uses industry is the dominant factor. People move to the city only depending on the availability of job opportunities. The state plans factories first, then considers the workers' housing. Early city development was particularly on this model. For a long time, with the slogan “production first, livelihood second”, urban basic facilities were ignored, and housing conditions improved very little. This is different from Scotland where housing is the dominant urban land use issue. Figure 5.10 gives the land use by different functions in 8 cities in Shaanxi Province including Xian City.

Although city land-use and construction structure planning is required to make ar-
rangement for all land uses, in most cities, especially those big or medium-sized cities, the overall plan must pay attention to the existing land use pattern. Large scale planning only happens in the expansion area or suburbs. This is something similar to the 1960s town expansion planning like the development of Wester Hailes in Edinburgh.

**City Engineering Planning** It is the third function of overall planning to make arrangement for various engineering projects, such as sewerage, water, power supply, communication and so on. Only recently, gas supply became an issue as well. This is different from the Scottish system, in which road authorities, and public undertakers are separated from land use planning. However this might give a misleading impression of the coherence of Chinese city planning. In practice many publicly owned big factories or institutions occupied a large area in the plan, planned and built their own water, power, and gas system. This left the city planners with only the public area and the main lines along major roads to connect with these community systems.

**C. Overall Plan Presentation**

Overall City Plans are required to have the following documents and maps:

1) maps:

1. the map of the present situation,
2. the map of land evaluation,
3. the map of environmental quality evaluation,
4. the map of the city overall plan,
5. the maps of engineering plans (infrastructure plans),
6. the map of short-term construction plan,
7. the map of the suburb plan.

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The 1984 City Planning Ordinance does not require a particular scale for Overall Plan Maps. The 1980 document, *On the Provisional Stipulation for City Planning Norms and Standards*, does suggest that Overall Plan Maps should be on a scale between 1:5000 and 1:10000. For detailed plans, the scale should be in the range between 1:500 and 1:2000.
In different cities the contents of the maps might be different. Planners can use a single map to cover the whole planning area, or they can use separate plans for divided areas.

2) document: The only Overall Plan document is the Overall Plan Statement. The Statement contains the major strategic development policies of the city government and basic proposals and the analysis. More detailed technical and economic analysis is often prepared separately as an appendix.

D. Overall Plan Approval

All Overall Plans are subjected to some kind of approval, but different scale of overall plans are approved differently. Not all overall plans need to be approved by central government. The City Planning Ordinance 1984 makes provision for:

1. All city’s Overall Plan, after preparation by the city planning department, must be approved by the city’s own government.

2. Different scale city’s Overall Plan, after being approved by the city government, then, go to different relevant higher level government for approval. This applies to the following four cases:

   (a) Beijing, Tianjin, and Shanghai’s Overall Plan must be approved by the State Council.

   (b) Overall Plans of provincial and Autonomous Regions’ capital cities and other cities with a population of 1 million and over, must be firstly approved by the provincial level local government, and then handed in to the State Council for approval.

   (c) Other city’s Overall Plans must be approved by either provincial government, autonomous Regional government or Municipality government in Beijing, Tianjin or Shanghai.

   (d) The Overall Plans of county towns or market towns within the city administration area must be approved by the city government.

The Ordinance does not make more detailed provisions for the approval procedure.
Usually, the State Council give written instructions or comments on the large cities' plans. Most instructions issued in the last several years are a restatement of the national urban development policies, such as control large city development and control population expansion; they repeat some of the policies in the plan; and then call on the local party, administrative bodies, and the military bodies within the city area to help the city government to carry out the implementation of the Plan. In other words to call those centrally controlled bodies located in the city area not to make any obstacles for the implementation. By the end of 1986, all cities' Overall Plans subject to the State Council's approval had been approved.

5.8.2 Detail City Planning and Detail Plans

The Detail Plan is a specific allocation and arrangement of land for all construction projects in proposed development or redevelopment areas in the near future. The Chinese detail plan is a kind of action area plan. It is the link between the Overall City Plan and the design of individual constructions. Compared with the Overall plan, detail planning is always a weak point. Theoretically speaking, the city planning authority, according to the approved overall plan, makes detail plans for the city. However such plans are only made in those new development areas, and mainly concentrate on infrastructure provision in which the city government itself is the major investor. Detail plans of land use patterns within a community (such as new institutions, factories, cultural establishments) are either designed by those communities themselves or by "planning consultant" style institutions. Sometimes such plans may need approval of the city planning authority. At other times even such approval was unnecessary. The government's several efforts to bring all capital investments for all development under the city government's control did not achieve the desired result. Diversified standards have been used by different communities. There was no set of detailed complete standards and methods (Wu 1983). With the economic reform and the enlargement of cities' financial management power, city governments could now propose more projects such as housing, local industries, and other basic infrastructure, which means more detail plans. However there are no initiatives for a whole detail
plan coverage of the whole overall plan area. Planning management — development control constantly relies on non-statutory policies rather than on detailed plans.

The contents of detail plans include:

- Road distribution and neighbourhood design;
- location of various buildings such as residential, or public activities buildings;
- locations for industrial land use;
- plan for infrastructure facilities;
- major street, square design and layout.

The presentation of detail plans takes the form of:

1) maps:

1. the map of the present situation of the planning area,

2. the plan

3. roads and their sectional drawing

4. the infrastructure allocation map.

The detail plan may have a Statement and other technical and economic analysis. All detail plans only need to be approved by the city government. Central Government did not make any provision for the higher level local government or central government to call in a detail plan.

Central government published land use standards for making detail plans. The standards contains figures such as how many people should have a hospital, a school, a cinema, a post office and so on. The standards of residential area design are presented as an example in Table 5.10 and Table 5.11. These standards are again general control figures, and a local planning authority could fix their own standards according to them.
### Table 5.10: Residential District Land Use Design Standards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposes</th>
<th>Standards</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Average sq m per head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>19.5-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighbourhood unit</td>
<td>14.5-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public facilities at District Level</td>
<td>1.5-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green field</td>
<td>1.0-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road and square</td>
<td>1.5-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
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</table>

Sources: State Capital Construction Commission, 1980

### Table 5.11: Neighbourhood Unit Land Use Standards

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposes</th>
<th>Standards</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>average sq m per head</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14.5-22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential Use (4-6 stories)</td>
<td>8-11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Public facilities at this level</td>
<td>3.5-5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green field</td>
<td>1-2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Road</td>
<td>1-3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other</td>
<td>1.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: State Capital Construction Commission, 1980
5.8.3 City District Planning

District planning in China has only been carried out by some city planning authorities since the late 1970s, and is a middle tier of planning between the Overall Plan and the Detail Plans. It is similar in coverage to a Local Plan in Scottish cities, such as the South West Edinburgh Local Plan. The difference between them is that in Chinese cities there are district level governments and the District Plan covers the same territory as those district government administrative areas, while in Scottish cities the boundaries of a Local Plan may not coincide with any administrative unit. However, the District Plan in China is not prepared by the district government but by the planning authority at city level.

There are three reasons for making such plans: First, from 1978, most cities started their Overall City Planning, and many of them were complete by the early 1980s. Planners have the time and opportunity to make District Plans. Secondly, the urban areas experienced rapid change in terms of economic development and land use since the reform. New developments could affect much larger areas than the traditional detail plan coverage. Thirdly, the Overall Plan in large cities can not offer certainty for such development and land use management.

Because there is no legal requirement for District Planning from the centre, each city does it in a different way with different contents. Some think of it as a more detailed and small scale overall plan, some see it as a larger scale detail plan, and others think of it as a special project or subject plan, concerned with issues such as pipe line systems, or historical building protection at District level.

5.8.4 From Development Plan to Development Control

Past city planning in China was dominated by state initiated construction and building. City planners played the role of advisor to economic planners on land use issues. Development for them meant physical construction of buildings and other projects,
mainly by the public sector. The economic planners in various government bodies initiated and funded new projects. When those new projects fell within the administrative boundary of a city, the city planners then gave advice on where to locate such development in the city.

Today the situation is more complex. Development no longer only means state proposed construction. Land use changes are now proposed by many different groups of people. Non-state owned co-operatives, various collectives and private firms all play their role in the formation of urban structure. The old practice of city planners to make blue print plans for public construction is far from enough to protect the urban living environment in these new conditions.

The power of city planners is increasing, not only for plan making, but also for planning management — the Chinese expression for development control. Most city planning bureaux now have planning management as a key section. In large cities like Xian land use control powers are even decentralized to urban district authorities to check minor changes of land use.

With the national policy to control large city development, changes in the industrial and residential structure in cities needs more detailed consideration. The master plan concentrates on the physical aspects of cities. New development demands greater consideration of social and economic issues. So the future of Chinese cities' planning lies with the development control process. This change also needs a different planning education system. Architect planners need to broaden their understanding by adding knowledge of other professions.

5.9 Comparative Evaluation

The Scottish planning system was discussed in Chapter 4 and the Chinese system in this chapter; this concluding section will concentrate on comparative evaluation of the two. The major findings to the questions asked in both countries will be drawn
together and further questions will be posed, such as: What are the major differences and similarities between these two systems? Can we identify a stage model of planning — from pre-industrial, through industrialisation, to post-industrial?

A theoretical framework is needed for such purposes — that is How to view modern town and country planning and different planning systems? Modern planning could be viewed, for comparative purposes, from two aspects (Figure 5.11). On the one hand, town and country planning developed in the last century as a new technology, new skill or approach for human beings to organise their living environment. It represents an advancement of human knowledge over nature. From this view, planning could be learned by the less developed countries from the relatively advanced one. Because modern town planning is associated with the industrialisation and urbanisation processes, it gives the advanced industrialised countries more planning experience which could be beneficial to less industrialised countries. This is the value of this research.

On the other hand modern town planning develops under different institutional situations. These institutional variables make planning performance different in different societies. This is also the main difficulty for comparative planning research. From this point of view planning skills and knowledge are different from other technologies. With changes in the world industrial structure, many manufacturing technologies and skills are now transferred to less developed countries where similar products can be produced with disorganized labour, at low wages and using cheap resources. Similar planning skills may, however, produce different results under different institutional frameworks.

Bearing this framework in mind it is now possible to draw together the comparative evaluations. Do the two countries’ planning systems support the propositions implied by a stage model of planning? This question needs to be answered from two different approaches; on the one hand, town planning as a technology and set of skills has developed in stages. Firstly, both countries have some experiences in planning pre-industrial settlements, although the Scottish experience was short and small in scale compared with these planned feudal capital cities; both countries also have some
I. Planners, Procedures and Policies

A. Planners
   a. Quantity of planners and planning education
   b. Quality of planners and training programmes

B. Procedures of:
   a. plan making;
   b. implementation
   c. public participation
   d. development control

C. Substantive policy content:
   Urban development policies; New Town;
   Urban renewal programme .......

II. Institutional Variables of Planning

A. Elements difficult to change
   B. Elements easy to change

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Physical Conditions</th>
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<tr>
<td>Geology</td>
<td>Urban system and new town policy</td>
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<tr>
<td>Topography</td>
<td>Historical Elements</td>
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<tr>
<td>Old city or town location</td>
<td>Cultural background</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Historical buildings</td>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>Cultural development</td>
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<td>Historical buildings</td>
<td>Conservation policies</td>
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<td>Agriculture</td>
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<td>Industry</td>
<td>Industrial structure change policy</td>
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<td>Development stage</td>
<td>Social Conditions</td>
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<td>Social organization</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Population</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Attitude toward</td>
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<td></td>
<td>family relation</td>
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<th>Technical Conditions</th>
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<tr>
<td>Social organization</td>
<td>Government commitment to</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population</td>
<td>investment in new</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attitude toward</td>
<td>techniques of</td>
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<td>family relation</td>
<td>construction.</td>
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<table>
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<td>technique</td>
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<td>Tools of communication</td>
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<tr>
<td>Civil engineering etc.</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Energy composition</td>
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</table>

Figure 5.11: Planning Skills and Societies
experience to plan industrial urban development. Secondly, modern town planning ideology developed from simple to complex; from individual approach to government action and to community involvement; from piecemeal to more comprehensive; from the free standing town to a regional approach; from a narrow concern with physical infrastructure to covering economic and social issues; from post war enthusiasm for collectivism to a scientific and system-based approach; from professional wisdom to public participation; from inflexible blueprints to a continuous decision-making process; and from public action to public-private partnership. All those trends could be identified in both systems. From this evidence, town planning could be viewed as a necessary feature of industrial urbanisation (of technological convergence), and at the same time as a function of the level of industrialization and economic development. Although the time lags are not consistent and the progress is not a steady evolution — there are breaks and reversals — Scotland, with its advanced development, shows a much more sophisticated and comprehensive land use planning system and planning educational and institutional system than China.

On the other hand, the development of the planning system could be interpreted as being primarily determined by the political structure of the society. However it is necessary to look beyond just the capitalism and socialism difference. Three different political ideologies were drawn together by George and Wilding (1985) anti-collectivist, reluctant collectivist and fabian socialist. The dominant political systems in different periods in the two countries could be matched with these ideologies.

19th century Scotland was dominated by anti-collectivism with very little town planning. Planning ideology and practice in the first half of this century, particularly in the 1930s, could be explained by the Reluctant Collectivist politics. Important thinkers did exert influence on the government - e.g. 'middle opinion'. Planning was slow to emerge, and built upon private and voluntary initiatives. In contrast, the immediate post war planning practice in Scotland could be viewed from the stance of Fabian Socialist. Since the late 1950s till 1979, planning practice was affected by the shift between the ideology of Fabian Socialist (Labour Control) and the ideology
of Reluctant Collectivist (Conservative Control). Planning practice in the 1980s represents a major shift of the country's political stance. The Conservative government expounded the ideology of Anti-Collectivism. Many planning ideas developed after the war were abandoned, and much emphasis was placed on private initiatives though some planning was still necessary to help markets - e.g. provision of infrastructure. In Scotland, however, the Conservative control brought less destruction to planning than in England. Throughout the 1980s not only have the SDA, New Towns, and Structure Plans survived, local government became more Labour dominated. The various public and private partnerships in development reflect a continuation of Reluctant Collectivist thinking. This change of planning policy and practice is difficult to explain by an evolutionary stage model.

A similar conclusion could be drawn from the planning system in China. Although modern industrial town planning differed from the feudal town planning practice, it does not follow the standardised stage model. However the continuity of the Chinese tradition of centralised decision making is always evident in different periods even across totally different political, economic and social systems, such as the change from capitalism under the Nationalist government from the 1920s to 1949 to the Communism approach from 1949. Although in the last forty years, the planning system shows a gradual development from simple to more sophisticated, planning practice was mainly guided by political ideology shifts. In the period of 1949-1957 similarities in planning practice in China and in Scotland could be identified. The legacy of collectivism from war-time was reflected in both country's planning system and practice. Although the Chinese government was led by the Communists, the political economic system was shaped by the ideology of Fabian Socialism. Major political and economic events were generally intended to move the society to socialism, while market functions and private initiatives were given a fair role to play in the development process. This post war collectivism in both country was represented by Blueprint city plan making which expressed planners' imagination of ideal city patterns. This trend was soon discontinued in both countries. The Conservatives in Scotland abandoned this move towards extended state control. In China the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were two major efforts toward further
public control under the name of Communism. Ironically, in this public ownership dominated period, urban land use planning was reduced to its lowest status and even abandoned. After the Cultural Revolution and in the period of the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, planning practice in China could be regarded as similar to the 1960s approach in Scotland. A scientific approach toward town planning was accompanied by more rationalized government decision making. The economic reform (started in urban areas in 1984), however, has brought back a significant market function into the economic development process which destroyed some of the rational and scientific basis of traditional collectivism. For a while it seemed that the two planning systems were on a converging and similar trend. The recent (post-1989) Chinese political and economic moves make the two systems again divergent.

Why were two more converging periods identified in the two countries both followed by diverging approaches: toward the political right in Scotland and the left in China? The reason lies in the particular historic planning ideology and practice of the two systems. Scottish planning was mainly a regulatory practice of private interests while Chinese planning was mainly a form of direct government action. In Chinese culture, the individual's interests always give way to the collective interests, local interests give way to central interests. Centralised political control forms the back rock of the society; planning as one of the major collective actions was not surprisingly controlled from the centre.

The Chinese land use planning system also differs from the Scottish one by its relationship with the country's economic and social development planning. With public ownership of the major means of production, most development projects are planned and carried out by public economic planning and construction bodies. This leaves land use planners very low key work, to choose and shift the locations for these state initiated projects. To some extent this characteristic is matched by the arrangement of SDD and local economic development authorities at regional or district level in Scotland. The difference is that due to the nature of a market economy the public bodies' role in economic development is marginal in Scotland, while in China most important and large projects are carried out by the government. Related to this,
centrally determined standards and indices control of planning practice and design formed another major characteristic of the Chinese system, which produced a unitary style of urban landscape, while the traditional community and neighbourhood were destroyed. Large state built communities such as factories, government organisations, universities and institutions, not only become major urban spatial units but also social units. New initiatives on commercial housing development (public companies building housing for sale) tend to build large high rise multi-story housing estates, with similarities to the 1960s public housing estate development in Scotland, which was also under state decided standard control. These may suggest that China is lagged behind Scotland in planning theory and practice from a technological view.

Compared with the Scottish town planning system the Chinese land use planning system is still a fragmented one. City planning agencies only plan cities and towns, leaving vast rural areas outside formal land use planning control. This is related to the lower stage of development of the society, particularly the country’s planning education and the patterns of employment of professional planners. In a developing economy, less spending on planning education means not enough qualified planners. Well educated planners tend to stay in large cities and to be involved with general policy making while less qualified persons are engaged with the more important work of plan-making and implementation. Though recently rural planning has become an important issue with the development of territory planning, there are still few qualified planners willing to work away from major national and provincial large capital cities. Although various methods were used to train farmers to plan their village, this training by those city based professionals gives them the skill to plan development which may not come. Rural planning is reduced to the issue of protecting agricultural land from housing development, which now relies on administrative methods rather than rationalized land use plans. Recent regional planning initiatives developed show some improvement in planning theory and practice. But this planning activity is separated from well developed city planning. Its advisory role and temporary organisation determines its practice. It lacks effective implementation powers, only supplying

17 The high rise multi-story housing blocks were also results of the standardisation by the building industry.
information to other bodies in central and local government for economic development policy making. These characteristics of regional planning are comparable to regional planning practice in Scotland from the 1940s to the 1960s.

So there is support both for a stage/evolutionary explanation and for a stress on political structures. Although Cherry's proposition of shared ideas across different countries is right, the discussion demonstrated that particular culture is important to the country's planning system. This is best reflected by the regulative and negotiative style of planning in Scotland and the centralised planning in China. To explore these propositions further we turn to Part IV, Planning Practice Comparison: Case Studies.
Part IV

PLANNING PRACTICE

COMPARISON: CASE STUDIES
Chapter 6

Planning Practice in Edinburgh\textsuperscript{1}

6.1 Introduction

The historical development of the planning system; the ideological and theoretical concepts represented in it; the institutions of government and other agencies with planning responsibilities and the different statutory basis of the planning system in Scotland and China have been compared in Part III. This Part uses case studies for further comparison of how these systems work in practice at city level. This chapter examines the practice of planning in Edinburgh City, and the next in Xian City. Both chapters will concentrate on the same questions: Who are the planners? How do they work in the local administrative framework? What kind of plans are prepared? How are they prepared? How are they implemented? By answering these major questions, various relationships between planners, politicians in local and central governments, developers, landowners and the general public will be studied. Again particular atten-

\textsuperscript{1}I would like to thank Mr. Robert Martin and Mr. Ian Dunn in the Planning Department of Edinburgh District Council and Mr. F Penfold in the Planning Department of Lothian Regional Council for the provision of information for the preparation of this chapter.
tion will be paid to the different historic and cultural backgrounds, different economic development stages and different political and administrative systems.

Though in relation to Xian, Edinburgh is small in terms of population and area, (see Table 6.1) and has different social and economic characteristics, the two cities have several similar features which make them comparable. Firstly, both Edinburgh and Xian are regional political, administrative and economic centres. Edinburgh as the capital of Scotland, contains the Scottish offices of government administration, the headquarters of the Scottish churches and the national courts of law. It is a centre of national and regional significance of the legal profession, banking, insurance and other business interests, with major educational and cultural establishments. As the major city in Eastern Scotland, it is also an important industrial, commercial and shopping centre of a region for which it provides a wide variety of services and is an important transportation centre. Xian City is the capital of Shaanxi Province with many central and local government establishments and major educational and research institutions. As one of the key inland industrial development centres since the 1950s, it is now the most important political, economic and cultural centre in Northwest China.

Secondly, both cities share similar problems and planning policies. The most obvious one is that they are cities with a significant heritage of historical buildings and environments. Related to this, tourism development is a very important sector in the local economy. At the same time the heritage buildings, architecture and landscape need special treatment. Edinburgh developed early as an international tourist centre and so has long experience in conservation. How could this conservation vision be combined with modern industrial development and urbanisation through public planning? Edinburgh’s practice could serve as a good example for Xian.
Table 6.1: A comparison of some basic information of Edinburgh and Xian

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Edinburgh</th>
<th>Xian</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Administrative area (sq km)</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>9983 (1985)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Built-up area (sq km)</td>
<td>133.3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City Population (1000)</td>
<td>2276</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

6.2 The Planning Authorities and the Planners

Although the 1909 Act had given local authorities planning powers, Edinburgh had no formal planning department before 1949. Several planning Committees were set up in different periods to consider planning matters. In 1914, for example, the Town Council set up a Town Council Planning Committee, which was rechristened the Housing and Town Planning Committee in 1918. This Committee was relatively short lived. Through most of the inter-war years the planning function was subsumed within the work of the Burgh Engineer, and the Committee became called the 'Streets and Buildings Committee'. Private firms were commissioned from time to time to draft planning schemes or plans. Thomas Adams's (a prominent early planner) firm was hired to prepare a planning scheme for the Granton-Cramond area in the late 1920s. In the early 1940s, one of the world's most eminent planning consultants, Patrick Abercrombie was hired to make a plan for the city (see section 6.3 on plans). In 1949, after the 1947 Town and Country Planning (Scotland) Act, a Town Planning Department was established for the first time. The assistant for Abercrombie, Derek Plumstead, was appointed the first Town Planning Officer. He had four assistants to prepare the first Development Plan. This Department was responsible for town planning in the city until local government reorganisation.
6.2.1 Edinburgh District Council

As indicated in Chapter 3, as a result of the 1975 local government reorganisation in Scotland the old Corporation — the then city government in Edinburgh — was replaced by a District Council, the lower tier in the new two tier local government system. Some local government functions were transferred from the city to Lothian Regional Council, such as strategic planning, highways (construction and maintenance) and education. (The detailed division of functions between the District and the Region was presented in the Chapter 3.) The District Council is made up of 62 elected members (councillors). The most recent election was held in May 1988 which returned 33 Labour, 23 Conservative, 4 Liberal Democrat and 2 Scottish National Party councillors (One councillor, originally elected as Labour, subsequently switched to the Scottish National Party). These elected members are divided into committees with responsibilities for different local government functions.

The Planning Committee The District Council has two main responsibilities for land use planning:

1. to prepare, implement and keep under review statutory local plans for the whole district;

2. to take decisions on applications for planning permission for the development and other use of land.

To these ends, the Planning Committee, made up of 20 councillors (12 Labour), works through subcommittees with responsibilities for these key functions. The Planning Committee has two Subcommittees: the Planning Policy Subcommittee which meets monthly to decide policy issues such as local plans, and the Planning Development Subcommittee which meets weekly (on Wednesday) to make decisions about development control. The council appoints professional planners and other professionals in the District Planning Department as full-time paid advisors. These professionals have a key role in staff appointments within the Department.
Professional planners prepare reports on overall policies such as conservation, design, and so on. These policies are presented to the District Council Planning Policy Subcommittee for consideration. The final decisions are made by the District Council theoretically, but in most cases the Committee and then the Council itself follow the recommendations of the planning officer. Occasionally, the Council overrule the planning officer's decision.

The City Planning Department, which replaced the Town Planning Department after the local government reorganisation, had a Director, a Deputy Director, 3 Assistant Directors, 5 Chief Planners, 15 Senior Planners, 35 Planners and 20 clerical staff in 1989. With the Director and Deputy Director responsible for the department as a whole, the three Assistant Directors look after three different groups of sections and units:

1. Conservation, etc.
   
   • Listed Buildings
   • Conservation Areas
   • Listed Building Applications
   • Exhibitions

2. Policy and Information
   
   • Research
   • Community Planning
   • Local Plans
   • Special Plans
   • Public Enquiries

3. Development Control
   
   • Planning Applications
   • Advertisements Control
   • Enforcement
The Local Plan Section Among these sections and units, Local Plans and Development Control are two important ones. The function of the Local Plan Section is to draw up local plans. Originally the city was divided into local plan areas roughly by population of 20 thousands. The size has changed over the years (see section 6.3.4). In greenfield areas planners survey the site, set out policies and proposals and draw-up the development plans for the next ten years or so. In most built-up areas local plans state and summarise existing policies, because there are already policies for listed buildings, conservation areas, tree preservation, guest houses, hotels, and pubs and restaurants. All these policies are included as development control guidelines in the local plan.

The Development Control Section is the largest section, looking after all planning applications. The District Council receives around 50 - 60 planning applications each week. The role of planners in this section is to prepare assessments of planning applications on technical grounds and to make recommendations for approval, or refusal of planning permission. These assessments are presented to the Planning Development Control Subcommittee for consideration. McLarty (1990) summarised a general procedure for receiving and processing a planning application in Scottish local planning authorities. The practice in Edinburgh is a very similar procedure. Once a planning application is submitted to a planning authority, it usually takes four stages to reach a final decision:

Stage I Registration: assessing the fee, the adequacy of the plans; checking that the statutory certificates have been properly completed; and deciding if an advertisement is necessary. This stage takes about a week.

Stage II Consultations: Once registered the application will be allocated to a particular planning officer to carry out consultations with statutory or discretionary bodies (eg, trunk roads, National Coal Board, education, water authority etc.). The application will be entered in the weekly list; statutory advertisements will
be placed; and the planning officer will visit the site, and take into account the development plan and any other material consideration.

Stage III Decision: This can happen in a number of ways: a) power can be delegated to a chief officer to deal with a range of applications; b) power can be delegated to a committee of the council to deal with all or a range of applications; and c) some or all applications may require to be dealt with by the full council.

Stage IV Issuing of the appropriate documents notifying applicants of the decision and their rights to appeal.

Among other departments of the District Council, the Housing Department is very important in terms of development and planning. Although this department is not directly responsible for local plans and development control, its policies on both public and private housing are highly relevant to local planning policies. Its Housing Plan is a very important background document for making local plans. Although since the 1970s less and less public houses have been built and there has been a reduction of the Council housing stock, the Department has become more involved with general housing demand and supply in the city. Apart from the major function of managing and improving the remaining public sector houses, it is now actively involved with housing association works in the city by administration of major housing improvement grants. Because most unfit old houses were demolished under the housing legislation during the 1960s and 1970s, the Council came to own much land from such demolition. This made the Housing Department a very important body for negotiation with private house builders for land for new private housing construction in the city.

Another important body in the District Council is The Economic Development and Estates Department, which has grown out of the Office of Estates Surveyor, the official who looked after all shops, houses, and land which the Council owned. It now plays the leading role in a form of economic planning, which has grown up only in the last 15 years or so. The Department's name was changed to emphasise this new role - in contrast to the traditional property management function. Its active
role in development is best represented by the initiative at South Gyle (see Section 6.4.2).

6.2.2 Lothian Regional Council

Lothian Regional Council was established in May 1975. It is responsible for Strategic Planning and some other functions in the Region, such as education, social work, water supply, drainage, highways/transportation, leisure & recreation, industrial development etc. The Council consists of 49 elected members. Current representation following the May 1990 elections is: Labour 34, Conservative 12, Scottish Liberal Democrats 2 and Scottish National Party 1. The Labour majority means that both the City and the Region are under the same party control. Similar to the committee and department structure of Edinburgh District Council, Lothian Regional Council also has a Planning Committee and Department.

The Planning and Development Committee is a major decision making body in the Region. Strategic planning policies produced by the Region's planning department are subject to this Committee's approval. This includes the approval of the Structure Plans and other planning documents, call-in of planning applications from the districts, and the approval of major development programmes and projects. The Development Subcommittee was established to handle minor development issues and planning applications, and is a regular participant in major public inquiries.

The Planning Department implements the Council's decisions. It employed 154 persons in March 1990. The Department has a Director with a Deputy Director and four Assistant Directors as managers for the five major Divisions:

1. Strategic Planning Division

2. Programmes and Projects Division

2At local government reorganisation there were 2 planning departments in LRC — Policy Planning and Physical Planning. They were merged as an economy measure in the 1980s.
3. Environment Division

- Community Workshops
- Natural Resource Unit
- Hillend Ski Centre
- Pentland Regional Park Ranger Centre
- Port Edgar Sailing Centre
- Landscape Development Unit
- Design Teams (1-4)

4. Economic Development Division

- Business Resources Team
- Training and Employment Team

5. Public Transport Unit

- Metro Development Group

The Strategic Planning Division is the key body for Structure Plans and other strategic policies. It has 6 principal planners, 6 senior planning officers and 5 planning officers. Other divisions are not directly linked to planning in Edinburgh City, yet their policies may have profound effects on the development of the city. The Economic Development Division and the Programmes and Projects Division, for example, are funded by the Lothian Regional Council with the power to create and support new business and factories. Apart from their commitment to other parts of the Region, particularly West Lothian, they worked closely with SDA and EDC at several major sites in Edinburgh, such as Craig Park, Constitution Street in Leith and the Granton Area.

Among the other departments in Lothian Regional Council, the most important and influential one on planning is the Department of Highways. This Department is responsible for all major road planning and development in the Region, including
Edinburgh City. Not only must local planning policy take account of the road plans, but also major planning applications must be referred to this Department before decisions are made. The most important documents produced by it are the **Transport Policies and Programmes**, which need to be submitted to the SDD every four years (with intervening annual supplements). It is also a very important document for local plans and for consultation by planners in both public and private sectors. This department's role can be seen more clearly in the three case studies of planning implementation later in this Chapter.

### 6.2.3 Other Bodies with a Planning Function in relation to Edinburgh

The **Cockburn Association**, set up in 1875 and honouring the name of Edinburgh's early 'environmentalist' Lord Cockburn, is "a popular association for preserving and increasing the attractions of the city and its neighbourhood." (Bruce, 1975 p.21) This is the most prominent and prestigious city-wide amenity association. It has a long history as an active and influential environmental watchdog. It is regularly involved with consultations with the Region and District on planning issues and applications.

The **New Town and Old Town Conservation Committees** are small but influential bodies. The New Town Conservation Committee was set up in 1970 and the Old Town Conservation Committee in 1985, largely with Edinburgh District Council and central government funding. Their jobs were originally done by the City Planning Department and the Historic Buildings Council. Each of the Committees was given a life of fifteen years, but the New Town Conservation Committee has kept going. Their work may not necessarily be town planning, but they do affect how the city fabric is preserved. The views of the Committees and their technical groups have been of great assistance to the Planning Committee in its deliberations on various planning applications in these area. The Central Area Local Plan and the future of the Holyrood Brewery are matters in which the Old Town Committee continues to provide valuable guidance to the City’s Planning Committee (Cairns 1987). Central
government and local authority funds were administered by them for conservation projects in the respective areas (See Section 6.4.3 for details). Again these Committees are regularly consulted by the planning authorities. They therefore provide an important local input to plan-making and implementation, though they are not strictly democratic in character, as their members are not elected.

Central government departments and the Secretary of State are also influential bodies on planning and development in Edinburgh. Firstly, central government influences directly through the powers of the Secretary of State in relation to the planning system in general (see Section 4.7.1). In particular in Edinburgh these are relevant in terms of determining planning applications and appeals and approving Structure Plans. Most major development in Edinburgh since 1947 has been decided by central government reporters or the Secretary of State himself. Examples and details will be provided later in the Chapter. Secondly, central government has become directly involved in partnership with Edinburgh District Council and Lothian Regional Council in the "New Life for Urban Scotland" initiative at Wester Hailes. Thirdly, partnership has also been a key theme of SDA, a further arm of central government (see Section 4.7.1). In Edinburgh this was most evident in the Leith Project. From 1981 the local authorities and the SDA signed an agreement to undertake the Leith Project, aiming at overcoming some of the key economic, social and physical problems of Leith, in particular those problems arising from the decline in manufacturing industry, lack of suitable premises and land, and the poor image and environment of the area (The Scottish Planner, Sep. 1984) Finally more indirectly central government exercises important influence through funding and fiscal controls. This is most evident in relation to road building (trunk roads in Lothian as elsewhere are central government concerns) and housing.

6.3 What Kind of Plans are Prepared?

Edinburgh as a historic city has produced and put into practice many plans. Craig's Plan for the New Town in 1766 was one of the best known (see Chapter 4). Since
then various planning schemes were produced at different periods to guide either expansion in the suburban areas or changes of land use in the built-up areas. Hague (1984), Bruce (1975) and Richardson et al.'s (1974) works all give detailed review of and comments on these plans and schemes. Because of the comparative nature of this research, this Chapter will focus on more recent planning practice in the city, particularly since World War II and the Development Plans. This will also set a more comparable time limit with Xian, where modern planning practice only became possible after 1949. For continuity and its impact on subsequent planning, Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Plan for Edinburgh will be looked at briefly before examining the official Development Plans. Abercrombie's was the first comprehensive city-wide plan.

6.3.1 Sir Patrick Abercrombie's Plan, 1949

As indicated in Chapter 4, during and immediately after World War II planning as the regulation of private initiatives in suburban expansion was seemingly transformed into planning for national reconstruction. Central government was urging local authorities to undertake surveys as a way of preparing for post-war reconstruction. Meanwhile central government set up the South East of Scotland Regional Planning Advisory Committee to prepare a regional plan (see Chapter 4). But this regional plan did not attempt to plan the internal structure of Edinburgh. The Corporation had hired one of the world's most eminent planning consultants, Patrick Abercrombie, to prepare a civic survey and plan. This was to be an advisory plan, laying the ground for eventual statutory planning. Abercrombie boldly looked forward 50 years, as he grappled with the key issues confronting post-war Edinburgh — population growth, loss of agricultural land, urban renewal, historic conservation, and growth of traffic.

Abercrombie's plan argued that control of the spread of the city was a means to achieve greater social integration. Thus the plan held the population of Edinburgh at 453,000 permanent residents. The city was divided into seven 'community units', each of around 60,000 people, and these units were sub-divided into neighbourhoods
accommodating about 10,000 each. The size of a community was primarily determined by functional considerations such as the distance between homes and workplaces, the economic provision of a complete range of schools and the population needed to support an attractive and convenient shopping centre. The plan was structured around precincts where a single land use would dominate and which traffic would skirt rather than penetrate. The outcome of the planned redistribution of the population would then be a series of 'socially self-supporting communities' (Abercrombie and Plumstead, 1949 p.35).

Density zoning was the mechanism to achieve population redistribution without over-spill or the coalescence of settlements on the urban fringe. Fixed densities also facilitated the planning of neighbourhood units and guarded against over-development of sites. The control of the plan was fixed in net residential densities. Four zones were specified. The residential areas closest to the centre of town were to be at a net 100 persons per acre. Around these in the north, east and west, was a zone at seventy-five persons per acre. Then to the west, south and east was a zone at fifty persons per acre. Finally a few outer suburbs on the north-west, south-west and south-east would be at thirty persons per acre. The net densities were for the zone as a whole, and thus allowed for flexible interpretation on individual sites, with the provision that no plot should be developed at above 100 persons per acre. For the middle-class inner residential areas below the proposed density the plan recommended redevelopment to a higher density to avoid the mal-distribution of population. Industrial and commercial land uses were also proposed in redevelopment areas. The plan sought to modernize communications by a set of road proposals for a inner-ring road and other roads.

Hague (1984) has described that the Abercrombie Plan was the ideology of comprehensive planning put into practice. Although the plan was derived from extensive civic survey in the Geddesian tradition, it was the result of applying planning principles and standards to the information collected in the civic survey. From the mass of data obtained and illustrated in the form of maps, the Planning Scheme was claimed to emerge as a logical sequel marrying what was best from the old with what was considered best for the future. Rational technical expertise would thus produce social
as well as physical integration and efficient expenditure. The interest of all would be served. However it showed little economic analysis. It was a long term, endstate, master plan based on professional expertise and public investment. From the development stage theory, this is an very important development in planning theory and practice. Along with the Greater London Plan Abercrombie had great influence on planning practice at that time, not only in Britain. The Chinese city planning in the 1950s under the influence of USSR had many similar characteristics to the Abercrombie Plan for Edinburgh (see next Chapter).

The Abercrombie Plan also shows something of the relationship between planners and politicians. Hague (1984) has suggested that improved working-class housing conditions were seen as a necessity to avert a deeper post-war crisis. The rational land use zone standards derived from technical expertise in the plan reflected some working-class interest for greater equality. However Abercrombie’s Plan was not directly adopted by the Corporation. It was criticized by some local politicians as too radical and far reaching, and as pointing towards monotony, uniformity, regularity, and the dead hand of officiodynam. Hague interprets this rejection not solely as the angst of leading local politicians, but also as reflecting a wider and deeper shift in the balance of class politics in the period between the war and the late 1940s. This again demonstrates the importance of political factors in planning and the weakness of apolitical stage model explanations. If Abercrombie was making the same plan for a socialist city, his plan would probably have achieved great success in implementation!

6.3.2 The Development Plan 1957 and its 1965 Review

After the passing of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, Edinburgh Corporation started to produce its first statutory Development Plan in 1948. Abercrombie’s assistant Mr Plumstead was appointed as Town Planning Officer to carry out the work. As the months went by the political system asserted more and more clearly the need for the Development Plan to be much less disruptive to existing activities and property owners than Abercrombie’s blueprint. The Town Planning Officer was advised
by the Lord Provost to make the plan 'cover just the minimum requirements which the [Scottish Health] Department wants' (Hague 1984, p.212). The plan was agreed in 1953 and the Secretary of State approved it in 1957. It was originally thought that the plan would be worked out by 1950, and reviewed and updated every 5 years.

The approved Development Plan covered the whole of the administrative area of the City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh, amounting to 33,183 acres, being the area of the city before extensions were made by the Edinburgh Corporation Order Confirmation Act, 1954. The Development Plan had the aim to contain the growth of the city. The 1951 census had revealed that Edinburgh had a population of 473,684, an increase of 30,642 on the 1931 figure. As Hague has shown councillors were very involved in deciding an optimal target population for the plan. Eventually the Plan proposed the target figure for 1973 at 500,000 which offered both growth and containment at the same time. A green belt around the city proposed by Abercrombie was given statutory effect in the Development Plan despite the Council's reluctance to restrict peripheral expansion; they had been overruled by the government's desire to protect agricultural land. The plan however was characterised by a willingness to pragmatically sift the initiatives of developers in the green belt.

The Plan was submitted with Maps such as the Town Map and Programme Map for the Town Map, and other comprehensive maps for special areas (City and Royal Burgh of Edinburgh 1957). In the Plan the proposed developments in the programme were distinguished between:

- proposals which were likely to be undertaken and substantially completed during Phase One from the first to fifth years from the approval of the Development Plan; and

- proposals which were likely to be undertaken and substantially completed during Phase Two defined as being the sixth to twentieth years from the approval of the Development Plan.

Land was zoned out into use zones and the Town Map indicated areas to be used
primarily for the following purposes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal traffic roads</th>
<th>Cultural, University and public buildings</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Railways</td>
<td>Schools and institutions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residential</td>
<td>Public open space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neighborhood centers</td>
<td>Private open space</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce</td>
<td>Cemeteries and crematories</td>
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<tr>
<td>General business</td>
<td>Agriculture</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Though these use zones were identified where a particular land use would be dominant, other uses might be acceptable within them and applications would be judged on their merits. Due to the belief of the local council at that time that the City's future was as a commercial, administrative and cultural centre, the underlying principles of the plan were above all to preserve the city's existing character, and keep changes in the city to a minimum. There were no proposals, for example, for major industrial development.

This Development Plan drew upon a similar theoretical background as Abercrombie's Plan. It too was a long range master plan for the city as whole with little social and economic analysis. Though this plan retreated from Abercrombie's vision it still reflected the ideas and techniques for land use planning at that time, which included a battery of planning standards such as ratios, densities, criteria etc. and spatial relationships (site planning, neighborhoods etc.). Policies were based on forecasts of future land use requirements and their spatial allocation in response to an analysis of opportunities for, and constraints on, development. But it altered many land use standards from those in the Abercrombie Plan. Proposals for roads and industry were reduced to a less extensive and controversial scale to avoid landowners' opposition, though the Plan also sought to modernize the city. No major redevelopment was now proposed to increase densities in the middle-class residential areas. Conversely working class housing redevelopment was proposed at higher densities over Abercrombie's ceiling figure of 100 persons per acre for most proposed areas, including those where high densities had already proved problematic in the inter war
years. This also reflected the central government policy on housing development. As early as from 1952 the Scottish Office urged local authorities to economize on housing construction. Semi-detached cottages were discouraged, in favour of terraced houses and blocks of flats three or four storeys high. In 1956 the Department of Health for Scotland again reviewed its regulations for public housing, reducing the standards recommended at the end of the war. The Housing and Town Development (Scotland) Act of 1957 encouraged the development of flats in blocks of more than six storeys. However, this high density development was not carried out in the central area as envisaged in Abercrombie’s rational model, but was mainly concentrated on the more peripheral council housing estates. Despite the different political and economic reasons, this policy of post-war reduction in housing standards can find its counterpart in China (see next Chapter).

The main proposals retained from Abercrombie’s plan were those which most directly benefited prominent city institutions and commercial interests. The areas of cheap, old and poor housing were proposed for redevelopment. In contrast to the furore over the Abercrombie Plan, this Development Plan faced no major critiques. Only sixty-three objections were lodged against it, which covered 115 properties. However, by the time the public inquiry started in April 1954 only twelve remained affecting around twenty properties (Hague 1984, p.218). All these characteristics show the difficulties of applying the development stage model to comparative studies of planning in different cultures, and cast some doubt on the notion that the development of planning has been a steady and inevitable progression. The nature of planning practice in Edinburgh reflected the national political climate at that time (see Chapter 4) and was shaped by local political structures and conflicts.

In 1962 the Corporation started to review the Plan. The Review came out in 1965. Following a lengthy public inquiry and subsequent revision taking account of the findings of the Reporter and subsequent modifications to the Plan by the Secretary of State, the latter indicated his general intention of acceptance of the Development Plan Review in 1968. But a full formal approval of the amended plan was not given until 1974. This 1965 Review still serves as the statutory plan for those areas which
Table 6.2: Contents of 1965 Development Plan Review

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do not have a local plan. The contents of this Review (Table 6.2) are similar to the Overall Plan in Xian (See the next Chapter).

The 1965 Review continued the style of the 1957 Development Plan. But the technical rationalities were further eroded. The Review covered comprehensive land use issues. One of the major aspects was to balance the city’s need for labour and the provision of housing, and to balance the housing land market between local and national house building companies, private and public landowners. As a result more land was made available to housing both to private and public development. Housing for the working-class on council estates was built at even higher density than before and further
concentrated on the peripheral sites. New private house building was allowed at much lower density.

Above all though the 1965 Plan was dominated by the roads proposals, and in particular by the Inner Ring Road, which generated massive and articulate public opposition. As Hague (1984) showed, the road proposal provoked turmoil within the Council. The main political parties - the Progressives and Labour, were divided internally by the issue. Councillors elected from wards threatened by the Inner Ring Road responded to the lobbying of their electors, and voted against the Road, and hence against the advice of their professional officers. The Edinburgh Development Plan Review of 1965 was a classic example of the relations between professionals, politicians and the public. It showed the continuing influence of the highway engineers over town planning, the politicisation of technical questions, and public protest influencing councillors who needed votes to be re-elected. Last but not least it showed the moderating, but ultimately decisive role of central government operating through the public enquiry system. None of these things were new in themselves, but the scale of public protest ensured that future planning in Edinburgh would have to pay much more respect to public opinion. From now onwards professional planners would have to communicate their ideas to the public and consult them. They would have to operate in a situation where plans could provoke bitter conflicts, which might or might not match up with party political divisions.

6.3.3 The Lothian Regional Structure Plan

As indicated in Chapter 4, local government and planning systems experienced major reforms in the 1970s. Lothian Regional Council was given the responsibility for strategic planning. A Regional Report was prepared in 1976, which set out policies at the broadest level to provide a framework for all the planning activities of the Council, not just those involving the use of land. It was hoped that within this framework a number of more detailed plans and policies would be prepared - for finance, transport, education, social work, etc. The Structure Plan dealing with the strategic land
use and other physical consequences of the Regional Report policies was one of these plans.

The first Lothian Regional Structure Plan was produced in 1978 and approved by the Secretary of State in 1979. It’s purpose was:

“to prepare a land use strategy which will ensure the maintenance of Lothian’s fine heritage and make the best use of scarce resources. Within this context other departments, agencies and authorities can develop their own plans and proposals which will in turn, contribute towards reducing and eventually eliminating these problems. Above all it is necessary to apply forethought to the conservation and unfolding of all Lothian’s assets with the careful guidance of future investment, both public and private, to safeguard the region’s distinctive quality of life.” (Lothian Regional Council, Department of Physical Planning 1977, p.2)

This reflected a shift in planning practice and the development of planning theories at the time. It marked the end of the master plan approach. It intended to produce planning policies which would be more flexible, but more integrated with much more comprehensive social and economic issues. The whole system was based on a regional approach to coordinate various developments in the area. It separated the site by site consideration in the old system from strategic policies. But like the 1957 Plan, the system was again based on the understanding that the majority of development would be undertaken by various public bodies, rather than private enterprises. This was soon proved mistaken by central government’s attempts to restrain local government spending.

Transport issues remained a contentious element of the Structure Plan, a legacy of the conflicts over the 1965 Development Plan Review. However by this stage earlier ambitious road plans had been overtaken not just by public protest groups, but also by problems of funding. The Housing issue was dominated by the private house builders’ criticisms that the Structure Plan failed to allocate sufficient land with market potential to meet the likely demands for owner occupation in the Region
during the plan period. The Secretary of State largely supported this case and directed the Council to submit an Alteration to the Plan.

In 1981, the Regional Council decided to prepare a full review of the Structure Plan and extend policies to 1996. This Structure Plan was approved by the Regional Council in June 1985. It was then submitted to the Secretary of State. The new Structure Plan, as the Written Statement indicated, “deals mainly with the consideration of issues arising in three areas; the economy, housing and transportation since these have been the subject of greatest change. However, the opportunity is being taken to amend, delete or introduce other policies to deal with new issues which have arisen.” (Lothian Regional Council, Department of Planning 1985, p.1)

The type of policies proposed and the effect of the Structure Plan could be presented by the example of private housing land policy. The Plan, firstly, specifies two kinds of provision to meet private housing needs:

1. infill, on sites within the urban area which may involve redevelopment, conversion, subdivision or the development of undeveloped land,

2. greenfield, on undeveloped land usually in agricultural use located beyond the existing built-up area.

Then the Structure Plan states that the existing supply of land for housing is sufficient to accommodate private housing demand up to 1991 provided it is supplemented by additional infill approvals at a rate of at least 450 dwellings per annum. After 1991 further greenfield land is required to help meet a growing need primarily for family housing. Sites with a capacity for 2,300 houses within Edinburgh District must be identified for development by then. The required land allocations must be made through the local plan process or by approval of suitable development proposals in advance of local plan adoption. Infill sites which have not previously been developed can count towards the greenfield requirement but only if they have a capacity for 50 or more dwellings (EDC, Department of Planning, North West Edinburgh Local Plan Written Statement, 1988, p.7). This kind of policy statement is different from that in
the 1957 Development Plan and is different from the intentions in the first Structure Plan. The general control figures on housing development were not linked to other regional economic and social development issues. Although the Structure Plan only established housing needs and land requirements for the city in broad terms, these policies are very useful to guide planning applications by the private house building companies. This will be demonstrated by the case study on Craighouse in Section 6.4.1.

Monitoring has became a key element in Lothian’s structure plan work. The housing land issue illustrates this very well. The results of planning applications and the actual rates of house starts are regularly checked and fed into the process of assessing the extent and location of future housing land requirements. Similarly the whole process of arriving at housing land figures is now a process of dialogue between the planning authorities and the private housebuilding companies. This may arguably threaten the traditional ‘public interest’ base of Scottish planning. These tendencies also illustrate the more general trends discussed in Sections 4.4.6 and 4.4.7. While the Scottish economy as a whole was relatively depressed in the 1980s. Edinburgh, with its base in the growing financial services sector, was relatively affluent. Hence much of the thrust of structure planning was about regulating growth pressures. However this took a very different form from the debates in the 1957 Development Plan about optimal city size. The main differences were the extent of partnership between the planning authority and the house building industry, and the role and sophistication of the monitoring activities.

The structure plan is less coherent as a plan than the 1957 Plan or Chinese plans. The focus on issues tends to detract from a view of the plan as a whole. In particular transport has not necessarily been well integrated into the plan — in the 1978 Plan, for example, the transport strategy was not really worked through — roadlines were safeguarded pending further study. In part this reflects different departments within Lothian Regional Council (Planning v Highways); in part the politicisation of the transport issue.
6.3.4 Local Plans

Since local government re-organisation in 1975, Edinburgh District Council has been responsible for local plans. Before any detailed local plan was made the District prepared a District Planning Report in 1977, though Local Plan preparation had started in Leith and South Side. The purpose of this Report was:

- "At District Council level to prepare an 'up to date' assessment of major planning issues in Edinburgh District, to render a current background for local planning, and to provide information for the control of major development and planning inquiries.

- For liaison with Lothian Regional Council, to provide a current assessment of major planning issues in Edinburgh District, ... and to put forward the District Council's major planning issues for inclusion and resolution in the Structure Plan." (Edinburgh District Council, Planning Department Research Section 1977 p.2)

The District Report was a non statutory document which provided a comprehensive view of current issues facing Edinburgh, based on an analysis of demographic and economic trends and a subsequent appraisal of needs. In this it resembled the Regional Report, but was more narrowly focussed on physical planning matters. In the absence of a city scale plan, another District Report was prepared in 1985. The authority intended to prepare a third round District Report by late 1990 in the time to provide an input for the next Structure Plan which is due for review by 1991. The District Reports shows the discretion which Scottish planning authorities have. They can produce plans or reports that are not statutory requirements.

The original local plan programme devised in 1975 sought to give the more readily identifiable communities of the inner city and rural area their own local plans. Large sectors of the outer suburbs with less identity were to be covered in single local plans. 31 local plans were then proposed to cover the administrative area by the District
Planning Department in 1978. The number of local plans was reduced to 19 by 1979, (SDD DPB 8) to 16 in 1981, 15 in 1982 and 14 in 1983. To complete coverage of the District as soon as practicable and to allow a more effective response to new issues, the Director of Planning advised the Planning Committee to revise the local plan programme in 1988. The revised programme would only have six local plans:

1. the rural sector, combining the Queensferry, Ratho etc and Currie Balerno local plan areas;

2. South East, South West and North West Edinburgh — 3 local plans all as existing and dealing with the outer, post-1919 suburbs and urban fringe;

3. North East, combining Leith and Portobello local plan areas into one;

4. Central Edinburgh, combining 6 local plan areas which taken together will cover the pre-1914, stone built urban area containing extensive areas of architectural and historic interest in an outstanding landscape setting (EDC, 1988, Report of Director of Planning). (The progress of local plans and this proposals is represented in Table 6.3.)

"A local plan is essentially a reasoned statement of the policies and proposals for the use and development of land which the council would wish to see implemented."

(EDC, Department of Planning, North West Edinburgh Local Plan Written Statement, 1988, p.2) Important purposes of a local plan are:

1. to apply in detail national and regional policies and to relate these to precise areas of land,

2. to identify opportunities for changes and development,

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3These original local plans were: Leith, South Side, Tollcross, Gorgie/Dalry, Craigmillar, Ratho area, Currie/Balerno, South Queensferry, Kirkliston area, Pilton, London Road, Portobello, New Town, Old Town, Sighthill/Wester hailes, Gimerton, Liberton, Comiston, Corstorphine, Craiglockhart, Cramond, Davidsons Mains, Duddingston, Grange, Inverleith, Juniper Green, Longstone, Morningside, Murrayfield, and Swanston (SDD: The Development Plan Bulletin No. 6 December 1978).
### Table 6.3: Local Plan Progress in Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Queensferry</td>
<td>Adopted 1986</td>
<td>To be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Ratho, Newbridge &amp; Kirkliston</td>
<td>Adopted 1985</td>
<td>Combined for review end 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Currie Balerno</td>
<td>Adopted 1988</td>
<td>purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. South West Edinburgh</td>
<td>Finalised 1991</td>
<td>as existing finalized 1989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Leith</td>
<td>Adopted 1980</td>
<td>To be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Portobello &amp; East Edinburgh</td>
<td>Adopted 1984</td>
<td>combined drafted mid 1990</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. South Side</td>
<td>Adopted 1982</td>
<td>To be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Tollcross</td>
<td>Adopted 1983</td>
<td>combined drafted</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. City Centre</td>
<td>Started 1986</td>
<td>in order by end</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Gorgie Dalry</td>
<td>Adopted 1983</td>
<td>to complete of</td>
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</tbody>
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Source: EDC Planning Committee, Report of Director of Planning, December 1988

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3. to provide a basis for development control and
4. to involve the public and interested parties in planning matters.

With these purposes the Planning Department decided to tackle the worst areas first. The areas of blighted and deteriorating older properties such as Leith and the Southside got first attention. Plans for them were published in 1975. The areas without major problems such as the middle class housing districts in Inverleith and Newington do not have local plan yet. In those areas new changes can be managed by amending existing overall planning policies. For example, there is some pressure in south Edinburgh to convert old houses to small flats or to commercial properties. These issues are addressed under the general city wide policies for development control and it is considered to be not so important to have a plan.

Even within a local plan area, major emphasis is given to the areas with immediate development pressures. The North West Edinburgh Local Plan, for example, gives much attention to the land between the built-up area at South Gyle and the city bypass because it represents one of the most important development opportunities in Edinburgh. Its development to meet a variety of needs - industry, shopping and housing - is a central proposal of the plan. Otherwise the opportunities for fresh major development are limited and no major development or change in character is expected. Instead the emphasis of planning policy is on consolidation of the existing built up area, making the best use of urban land and conserving features of architectural, landscape or recreational value (EDC, Department of Planning, North West Edinburgh Local Plan Written Statement, 1988, p.5). (The planning of South Gyle area is further studied in Section 6.4.2)

The first stage of local planning is to publish a Draft Plan. Then the public has six weeks for comments. Negotiation begins with objectors. If everyone is satisfied, the Planning Department modifies the Draft Plan and publishes it again. If there is no more objection, then the Plan is adopted. But in some areas such as the Green Belt private house builders constantly want more land. So they may maintain objections and force a public inquiry, and eventually the Secretary of State has to make the
The local plans prepared consist of two documents: the Written Statement and the Proposals Map. The Written Statement contains a description of the policies and proposals which are the substance of the plan together with their reasoning and other background information. Policy statements are indented in the text in order to give them some emphasis and prefixed by reference codes. The proposals Map (1:10,000 scale) defines the areas in which specific policies and proposals apply.

Local Plans within Edinburgh may have different emphasis depending on the local economic and physical conditions. The North West Edinburgh Local Plan covers Housing and Community Services, Economic Development, Shopping, Transport, and Environment. The depth of the plan and the style of its implementation could be represented by the example of housing land at South Gyle (EDC, Department of Planning, North West Edinburgh Local Plan Written Statement, 1988, p.13-14). The District Council is the owner of this site but has agreed to sell it to Winpey Homes (Holdings) Ltd. A development brief has been prepared by the Council; salient points are summarized by the plan: (Figure 6.1)

"South Gyle (HSG 15)"

1. The site extends to 16.0 hectares but 1.5 hectares must be reserved for the possible construction of a primary school, nursery school and community facilities by Lothian Regional Council should the need arise within 9 years of the date of commencement of building. If not needed for any of these purposes by that time then that site may be developed for housing. The preferred location for the primary school etc. is shown on the indicative plan.

2. The residual 14.5 hectares may be developed for housing: an overall density of 37 dwellings per hectare is anticipated, giving a total of 500 dwellings. Density within the site may vary. A large proportion of dwellings should be suitable for family occupation. Building height should not exceed 4 storeys. The Director of Education advises that the rate of completion should not exceed 60 dwellings per year so as not to exceed the capacity of Gylemuir Primary School.
3. Open space should be provided at the standard rate except that 1 hectare of the normally required recreational open space will be dispensed with if the developer is prepared to construct a pedestrian access under the railway to Gyle Park to the north - the preferred location is indicated. This will effectively increase the amount of land available for development. It is expected that a significant proportion of the necessary amenity open space will be located in the north west corner of the site where ground conditions for building are poor.

4. Landscape features to be provided by the developer will include a 20 meters wide belt of trees along the north boundary (with the railway line), a planted mound on the boundaries with South Gyle Broadway, Gogerburn roundabout and on the west boundary (with the proposed shopping centre site), the last only being required should approval be given for the shopping centre or for some other development which could affect adversely residential amenity.

5. A pedestrian/cycle route network will be constructed as an integral part of the development - this will include a main east-west route within an open space setting linking South Gyle station, the reserved school site and the proposed shopping centre.
6. At South Gyle Station an area of land to be agreed with the Director of Highways will be set aside for the possible future expansion of the station car park."

The identification of this site as HSG 15 shows it is the 15th site in the plan proposed for housing development. This figure was to meet the requirement made in the Structure Plan (see Section 6.3.3). Through local plan proposals like these we see the integration of planning at regional and site levels. The implementation of the anticipated total of 500 dwellings will be monitored and will be an input into the next stage of regional scale planning for housing land.

The extract also shows the results of consultation with other Regional Council departments — Highways and Education. Their requirements are fed into the plan. The Plan is then really a summary of the brief drawn up by the Council as landowner for a private developer to follow. This is slightly exceptional for the Council will not usually be the landowner of sites in a Local Plan. Effectively the plan is making public what could have been a private agreement on conditions of sale. However these same requirements would apply if Wimpey were to sell the land on to another developer. The developer has a fair degree of discretion about the detailed lay-out — the key controls are overall density, building height, and open space standards.

Edinburgh's local plans have to take account not just of National Planning Guidelines and the Structure Plan, but of other "sector plans" produced by the Regional and District Councils. There are:

1. The Transport Policies and Programme (TPP) which is prepared annually by Lothian Regional Council. This develops in detail the transport strategy for Lothian and includes a five year programme of building and highway improvement works.

2. The Housing Plan, prepared annually by the District Council for submission to the Scottish Office and including an assessment of public sector housing needs and a five year costed programme of building and improvement works.
3. The Leisure Plan, a non-statutory document setting out the District Council’s intentions on leisure and recreation provision.

Beside the comprehensive local plans the Planning Department also makes other kinds of plans, such as:

1. Action Area Plans (Subject Area Plans)

   • Silvermills Action Area Plan: This was the first action area plan in Scotland. The area of small workshops and old industries is at the north of the New Town close to the water Leith. Some private housing companies speculated on the land and planned to build private flats. The Planning Department refused those initiatives. Instead a plan was made to promote industrial development. This is an example of a special plan being prepared for a small area as a response to pressure from the market.

   • The Canongate Strategy: A large brewery occupying a key site in the east part of the Old Town closed down. There are extensive plans to build shops, workshops, houses and hotels in a strategically important location in the Old Town. The Planning Department published a Master Plan for that Area to guide the new initiatives. Again the plan is reactive, while aiming to secure a framework to guide private development. It is an informal or non-statutory exercise — the area will be part of the Central area local plan when that Local Plan is completed.

   • West Central Edinburgh Strategy: In the 1985 Lothian Regional Structure Plan, the Secretary of State wanted local authorities to lift the restrictions on new office development. A plan was made for the area around the West End of Princes Street and Lothian Road for this purpose. This represents the major style of large scale development in Scottish cities. The development is supported by the Scottish Development Agency, Edinburgh District Council, Lothian Regional Council and the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce. The District Council will make available its substantial land holdings in the Lothian Road area with the Agency contributing a cash
injection in the form of site preparation works. It is hoped that the combination of these factors will encourage private developers to give maximum impact to the provision of an integrated development of a Conference Centre and complementary office accommodation. A public exhibition of the plans for the proposed 200 million pounds projects were on display to the public at the Waverley Market Shopping Centre, Princes Street, Edinburgh in February 1989 (SDA 1989). Again this shows a non-statutory planning framework being set up in response to a major development opportunity, and ahead of the adoption of a comprehensive local plan.

2. Project Plans (conservation)

• **Portobello Study:** The study looks at the seaside suburb which developed in the 18th and 19th centuries and tries to promote interesting old buildings and provide funds for people to restore them.

• **Queensferry Local Plan (adopted 1983):** Similar to Portobello, Queensferry is another ancient old town at the west side on the River Firth. The Plan for that area is to protect old buildings and keep the characteristics of the old village.

• **Waverley Planning Study (August 1989):** This study was initiated in order to determine strategic factors, and to develop land use and urban design requirements for the area including and around Waverley Station. The sites are of strategic importance in local, regional and national terms. The proposed European high speed rail link to Edinburgh makes redevelopment of Waverley Station a matter of national importance. The sites are also in the Old Town Conservation Area. Detailed design briefs are prepared for various sites. The study proposed a set of principles for required land uses, optional land uses, urban design, pedestrian movement, and traffic.
6.3.5 Summary

Major differences have been identified between the old style of development plan and the structure and local plans. The 1957 Development Plan and its 1965 Review were formal, long term and static one sheet master plans based on land use zones and public investment. Although their calculation of land use at sites was precise, they were awkward to revise. The planning period of 20 years gave a long term perspective, but they were not dynamic to meet the requirement of changes. The new development plans are less formal, short term regulative and process oriented. Greater emphasis is given to monitoring, public involvement and day to day decision making process. The plan period is shorter and Structure Plans are not site specific. The plans are most closely attuned to the role of the private sector in actually carrying out development. They are backed by (indeed often anticipated by) non-statutory plans and strategies often produced as a response to development proposals led by the private sector.

This planning development could be regarded as both an evolution and a reflection of political structure. As an evolution, the system was constantly under review to take into account new ideas. The most important step forward was the introduction of statutory regional planning. The long tradition of Scottish regional consideration was finally built into the development planning system and this was largely because of the more extensive patterns of commuting made possible by modern transport technology. As a result of the political structure, plan making in the city experienced many set-backs. As Hague (1984) showed the Council up until local government reorganisation was mainly dominated by the Progressives, a right of centre grouping that was generally unenthusiastic about extensive public investment led statutory planning activity. In addition the politics of transport assumed a key role in the city from 1965 until the mid 1980s with decisions on road building increasingly taken on a political basis, not on a technical/rational basis. However the politics of transport have not necessarily fitted neatly into party political categories (though in the 1980s Labour has generally been anti-roads and Conservatives pre-roads). Local politics complicate the debates - wards where road development will ease traffic/create new disruption.
Although the change of planning style in the city is a result of the national planning legislation, it also reflects the local social and economic situation. In particular, the slow population change has a very important influence on the style of planning. Since 1947 the city's population has not changed significantly\(^4\) (Table 6.4). In comparison to Chinese cities there has been no large scale expansion in the suburban area around the city, largely because of Green Belt policy. This reduced the need for large scale master plans. Relatively minor changes demand more flexible plans, and much of the work of Edinburgh's planners has been in mediating and adapting growth initiatives from the private sector.

There is a gap in the new development plan system. Lothian Structure Plans now cover a much larger area than the city itself. There is no city scale plan for Edinburgh. Wannop (1982) after reading four Structure Plans which cover the major cities including the Lothian Structure Plan, commented:

"... it is the Regional Authority which builds schools, roads, social service facilities, undergrounds, sewers and water mains, ... The Regions are the overwhelming shareholder in local government capital and revenue investment, yet none of our Structure Plans have yet dealt at any depth with the implications for this of changing internal structure of the cities. They focus primarily on proposals for greenfields and for small settlements outside the cities, and only insofar as road schemes are concerned do they consistently even mention localities in Cities. ... We have achieved a regional view but lost an urban one. (p.9)"

These criticisms remain valid a decade later. 14 Local Plans cover different parts of the city. Apart from the District Report, there is no city scale plan. Since the introduction of the new system in 1975, 15 years have already passed. Only 8 out of 14 Local Plans were adopted. The most important part of the city - the Central Area - has not been guided by a local plan. Policies proposed 25 years ago in the 1965

\(^4\)This makes a distinct contrast to the population development in most large Chinese cities. Xian City for example, in 1949 was only a middle size city with a population of 390 thousands. By the end of 1985 it was well over 1600 thousands.
Table 6.4: Comparison of Planned and Census Population in Edinburgh

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Plan forecasting persons</th>
<th>plan</th>
<th>Census persons</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1931</td>
<td>443,042 *</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>453,000</td>
<td>Abercrombie</td>
<td>466,761 *</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>468,361 -</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1966</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>468,765 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>476,633 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>468,760 @</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>500,000</td>
<td>DP 1957</td>
<td>455,126 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>461,840</td>
<td>LRSP 1978</td>
<td>439,672 $</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1985</td>
<td>491,600</td>
<td>DPR 1965</td>
<td>438,232 #</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>457,250</td>
<td>LRSP 1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>435,700</td>
<td>LRSP 1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1991</td>
<td>452,250</td>
<td>LRSP 1978</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>429,000</td>
<td>LRSP 1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>422,900</td>
<td>LRSP 1985</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

DP: Development Plan  
DPR: Development Plan Review  
LRSP: Lothian Region Structure Plan

Sources:  
* Development Plan 1957  
- Development Plan Review 1965  
$ Registrar General Scotland, Annual Report (yearly)  
# Scottish Office: Abstract of Statistics (yearly)  
© Lothian Region Structure Plan 1978
Development Plan Review were still used in the development control process.

6.4 How are Plans Implemented?

Plan making is only one aspect of planning practice, the other important aspect is implementation. Because implementation itself is a very complex issue, a comparative case study approach is used again. Cases are examined in subsections on three different aspects of plan implementation: development control on private housing development at Craighouse, public initiated development at the South Gyle in the western suburbs, and conservation in the Old Town. These three cases exemplify recent planning problems and policies in the city and are also most beneficial issues for Xian to gain experience.

6.4.1 Development Control and the Case of Housing Development at Craighouse Hospital Playing Fields

**Procedures of Development Control** The basis of the Development Control system in Scotland was discussed in Section 4.8.3. Development control is the most important aspect of planning in Edinburgh. Developers apply for planning permission, planners check the relevant policy and the local plan for the area and then make recommendations on which the council make final decisions (see Section 6.2.2). The actual practice of development control can be very complex. For major applications the process can be protracted and developers may well seek an Outline Planning Permission in the first instance. This gives approval to the principle of the proposed development. It will normally be followed by an application for Detailed Planning Permission, which, if granted, will last for 5 years.

\(^5\) Though the statutory local plan is not the only necessary reference for a planning decision, if the proposed development matches the plan, it is likely to get approval, provided it is reasonable, not too big or too disruptive.
An application for Detailed Planning Consent is likely to have several maps and drawings of elevations to show what it will look like and how it is going to fit into the surrounding environment. Sometimes models are needed. By seeking Outline Permission a developer can “test the water” without being committed to substantial spending on professional fees.

Each week a list of applications is sent out by the Planning Department to more than 200 organizations and individuals. 15 important applications are selected and published in the local newspaper — the *Evening News* every Friday (in the Public Notice section) for public attention; typically these affect major buildings or areas. The list contains the reference number, the address and a brief description of the proposed development. The public have the right to visit the Planning Department and to look at a planning application and make representations (mainly objections). Each week the Planning Department also selects a list of those applications ready for reporting to the Committee for final decision. Simple applications take 2-3 weeks to be decided. Others take 6 - 8 months if they are difficult and controversial. (Figure 6.2 summarizes the general procedure for planning application and development control in Edinburgh.) Those characteristics of development control are further demonstrated by the following case study.

**The Case of Housing Development at Craighouse Hospital Playing Fields**

This example illustrates many aspects of the operation of the planning system. The site and the debates about its future are very representative of the types of changes that have been happening in Edinburgh in recent years, and as such illustrate important facets of the work of the city's planners.

The land within the Craighouse Hospital Playing Fields is owned by Lothian Health Board and occupies an area of 4 ha (9.88 acres) at the foot of Craighouse Hill. With a hill rising to the south this site is in mature wooded grounds of Craighouse Hospital, which is a Listed Building (Figure 6.3). In the mid 1980s Health Boards came under pressure from central government to sell “surplus” land as a way of raising finance needed to provide health services. Lothian identified Craighouse Playing Fields as
Figure 6.2: Planning application procedure in Edinburgh
surplus. The site is in the up-market residential neighbourhood of Morningside and would have a high market value if residential planning permission could be gained.

The land was zoned for institutional use, roads and private open space uses in the 1965 Development Plan Review. This reflected a highways proposal, subsequently abandoned, to construct an Intermediate Circular Road across the site linking Craighouse Road with Lockharton Gardens. In May 1974 an application for outline planning permission to develop a 400 pupil school on the western part of the site was submitted by the Trustees of the Rudolph Steiner School, in the context of the proposed road development. After about a year the application was withdrawn when the road scheme failed to materialize.

By 1983, 8 years after local government reorganisation, there was still no Local Plan for this area, so the statutory plan in force was still the 1965 Development Plan - almost 20 years old and with proposals that had effectively been abandoned. In March 1983 the District Valuer wrote to the Director of Planning asking for information on
the land, so that a current valuation could be calculated. The information requested was:

1. the present zoning of this land
2. the alternative uses considered permissable
3. if residential development might be acceptable,
   - the likely density of the development
   - any conditions which might be attached to any planning permission
4. details of all planning applications and planning permissions granted affecting the area over the past 5 years.

These enquiries demonstrate the inter-relation of land values and planning permission. The planning authority's policy on this site was presented in the reply letter (17 May 1983):

"In the absence of an adopted Local Plan, the Development Plan 1965 Review remains operative. In this Plan, the site is allocated partly for Private School, partly for Hospital and partly for Principal Traffic Road, all within an Area of Landscape Value. The present use of the site is playing fields.

The only alternative use which I would consider to be acceptable is residential, assuming that the land could no longer be maintained as playing fields. A suitable density of development would be one similar to that by Cala Homes (Lothian) Ltd on the adjoining sites to the north, which is of a density of 20 dwellings per acre. ... I consider that conditions would be attached to a planning permission, relating to landscaping, retention of stone wall and trees, and the height and siting of the buildings. I would also wish to consider the future use of the land to the west. There have been no planning applications or permissions affecting the site in the last five years."
The implied policy change from the 1965 Development Plan zoning, to a willingness to consider future housing, arose as a result of the Secretary of State’s modification of the Lothian Region Structure Plan in August 1982. This required sites for a further 2,000 houses ready for occupation by 1986 and specified three Local Plan areas within which the sites were to be found. One of these was South West Edinburgh.

The Draft Local Plan for South West Edinburgh, published for public comment in January 1984, identified this land as having potential for future housing development. This was consistent with the Secretary of State’s housing land policy. In a letter to Lothian Regional Council, dated 15 February 1984, the Secretary of State indicated that he has “made it clear that previously undeveloped land not covered by the Structure Plan definition of greenfield sites, for instance playing fields and institutional grounds in urban areas, may contribute towards the target allocations specified in the Structure Plan”(author’s emphasis). A petition (154 signatures) and 43 letters were received objecting to the site being used for residential purposes in the Draft Plan. A meeting concerned with the local plan proposals was attended by about 120 people. This was the first sign of conflict between local residents and the planning machine. It is also a typical example of public participation.

In the same month, Cala Homes, an Edinburgh-based national building company, applied for permission to “erect 35 residential dwelling units and 23 detached garages” on 1.9 acres at the eastern end of the Hospital Playing Fields. Edinburgh District Council consulted with the Regional Highways and Regional Planning authorities. Lothian Regional Council’s Planning Department responded without objection to the proposal in principle provided that measures were taken to retain landscape features.

The application was advertised in the Edinburgh Evening News on Friday 10 February 1984. Copies of the application were made available for inspection at the Planning Department for a period of 21 days from the publication of this notice. Fifty letters of objection were received. Two petitions were also submitted which had a total of 149 signatories. These objections were from local residents and organisations, such as the South Morningside Parent Teachers Association, Myreside Court Residents
Association and Lothian Cycle Campaign. The objections were based on the ground of losing open space, (particularly for sports use by South Morningside Primary School), overdevelopment and traffic congestion. It is also clear that local property owners and residents were trying to keep local amenity and protect their own living environment. It is also interesting that there was no direct objection from the education authority, although the Merchant Company Educational Board (owners of the adjacent Myreside Playing Field) supported the residents' case.

After detailed negotiations between the applicants and the Planning and Highways Departments the proposed development was amended. In May, 1984 the applicants handed in the revised drawings due to a boundary change discussion with the owner-Lothian Health Board. These amended drawings were again advertised. After more negotiation between the District planners and the applicants, the Director of Planning reported to the Planning and Development Committee on 29 August 1984. The Report recommended:

"Grant permission as amended and subject to the following conditions.

1. All the trees within the site shall be retained and protected prior to and throughout the construction period by a one metre high chespale fence erected at the canopy spread of the trees and no building materials or machinery whatsoever shall be stored within the protected area; any work proposed on the trees including pruning or felling shall require the written approval of the Director of Planning.

2. Samples of materials and finishes shall be submitted for the approval of the Director of Planning.

The Report also gave a simple description of the proposed development. The proposed density was 18 residential units per acre. It stated that "the main objection is to the loss of ground which is used on occasion for organised games but which is not public recreational open space".

As a political body, the Sub-Committee, under pressure from electors, resolved to
continue the application pending submission of the final Local Plan and investigation of Schools' interest in the site. The vote not to adopt the Director's recommendation was 14:2. By this the politicians effectively forced the application process to a public inquiry. The applicant lodged an appeal against non-determination in September 1984, and at the same time submitted a duplicate planning application to enable possible future Committee determination of the proposal. A public inquiry commenced in June 1985. In September the Reporter reached the decision to dismiss the appeal on the ground that

“... development of the appeal site in the manner proposed would be premature pending (i) further consideration by both the City of Edinburgh District Council and Lothian Regional Council of the suggested new road link and the junctions thereof with existing road systems; (ii) the finalisation and adoption of the South-West Edinburgh Local Plan - expected within the year; (iii) consideration by the City of Edinburgh District Council of the study currently being undertaken to ascertain local public open space requirements which may have some bearing on this site; and (iv) should it be decided to proceed with development of areas 25 and 26 tentatively identified in the draft Local Plan for housing purposes, the preparation of a comprehensive planning brief for these areas by the City of Edinburgh District Council in consultation with the Highways and Education Departments of Lothian Regional Council, and with the Lothian Health Board and Merchant Company, ... (Maycock, 1985, pp.4-5)”

During this process, various other public bodies were also involved. In April 1985 the Director of Education Lothian Regional Council was consulted by the Planning Department in relation to the use by South Morningside Primary School, to see whether or not the Department had any interest in acquiring part or all of this land, and if so, on what time scale. The Education Department indicated they did not have an interest in acquiring the land because they had substantial areas of playing fields nearby at Meggetland. But they would support strongly an argument for retention of some of the land as public open space which would allow continued use by South
Morningside Primary School, who have no playing fields adjacent to their site (30 April 1985). So they would not spend money, but wanted planning to protect the use.

The Department of Economic Development and Estates and the Recreation Department of the City of Edinburgh District Council were also consulted to see whether they were interested in acquiring the land for public open space. The Recreation Department indicated some hope that the land might be purchased but the main problem for them was the cost.

In November 1986 two further applications were submitted, one by Cala and one by Lothian Health Board for part of the remainder of the site. These applications left an area of ground of some 3.5 acres at the western extremity of the site for public open space.

In May 1987 the Craighouse Action Group was formed by local residents to add weight to the individual objections to the planning applications. The Group prepared “Morningside Recreation Space - Study of Existing Facilities” to support their case. On 12 December 1987 their Chairman, Watson Rose, wrote to the Secretary of State (the MP of their Constituency) with this Study, opposing any housing development on this land. The Group also distributed leaflets, such as “Craighouse Playing Field - Fact Sheet”, to the local residents and summarized major points to help them to write to the planning authorities for objection. Some local residents wrote to the Secretary of State to express their opinion on the planning laws. They argued that planning laws are heavily biased towards the applicants and against the objectors. If the planning decision goes against them, objectors are stopped at sub-committee level. Applicants, on the other hand, can appeal all the way up to a Public Inquiry and can defy even the decision of the Secretary of State appointed Reporter by submitting fresh plans to the local council the very next day.

All the local councillors elected from the Morningside area are Conservatives. Both the District Councillor and the Regional Councillor wrote to local residents to express their opposition to the development of the Craighouse site, and urging them to object.
to the Director of Planning. This was despite the fact that the sale for development of surplus Health Board land was entirely consistent with general Conservative Party policy.

In November 1987 two more applications were submitted, again by Cala and Lothian Health Board. Both differed from the previous applications in some degree and sought to satisfy anticipated open space requirements and highway requirements. This was clearly an attempt to move towards a compromise solution. In March 1988 the Director of Planning prepared a Development Brief which described a pattern of development acceptable to the Planning and Development Committee. “The District Council is prepared to support the development of part of the site for housing purposes. It is concerned that the development should be of the highest standards and make a positive contribution to the overall environment by the quality of its design and layout.” This Development Brief was approved by the Planning Policy Subcommittee on 10 March 1988, so the Sub-Committee's position had shifted decisively in favour of development of the land.

In February 1990, councillors approved separate applications from developers C. & R. Robertson Ltd’s plans for 25 detached homes and 49 flats and a fitness centre and Cala’s for six houses and garage, as well as the Health Board’s application for change of use of the site. The developers promised that they would include 3.5 acres of parkland and create an “international-standard” football pitch as well as preserving woodland walks to satisfy the local residents’ demand for open space. The land owner - the Health Board, who was facing a cash crisis, - had already included the money expected from the sale in their budget for the year. A representative of local residents said: “Most places have six acres of recreation space per 1000 population. In Edinburgh, it is about four - but in Morningside, we have less than one acre per 1000 people. If 3.5 acres is all we are going to get, it will just end up as a mud patch because there are so many people who use these fields.” (Evening News, 1/2/90) The Labour Councillor Bob Cairns, Convener of the District Council's Planning Committee, argued “the council had won as much as it could from the developers. The open space to be provided would give the community a valuable asset as right, in-
Instead of the current 'grace and favour' arrangement with the Health Board.”(Evening News, 1/2/90) Although the main planning process seems to have come to an end, the future of the land is still not decided. The developers are continuing negotiation on some other issues such as entrance roads layout and relation with nearby schemes with the planning and highways authorities. A major dispute also exists between the developers and Lothian Health Board. The developers think that unless the price for the land is set around 2.5 million pounds, there is no real development value. The Health Board, however, wants to sell the land for 4.5 million pounds to meet its urgent cash need. Some tough negotiation is obvious between them before development. This indicates one of the most important aspects of Scottish planning practice: the landowner and the developer have the final say.

This case study demonstrated several important aspects of planning practice in the city. Firstly, as a typical example of planning in the 1980s, it reflects the changes of political and economic situation in the country. The central governments' austerity policy and cuts in public sector spending were main reasons for the sale of this land by the Lothian Health Board to private developers. This sale of a public asset, as a part of privatisation policy, was accompanied by the call from the Secretary of State to release institutional land in cities to meet the demands of the private housing industry. Local planning policy for the land was changed as a result of these central policies.

Secondly, the case study shows the complexity of the planning decision making process and the various social and political forces involved. The Secretary of State, Malcolm Rifkind, as the MP for the area concerned, faced a contradiction between his local electors' interest and his government's policy. As Secretary of State he was legally involved through his role in the appeal system, and so he was debarred from taking sides or supporting his constituents during the dispute. This is not a typical situation — there is only one MP who is Secretary of State at any one time. The Labour MP for the adjacent seat of Edinburgh South was active in supporting the objectors. The case does show more general points about the relationship between party politics and planning. Insofar as it involved the sale of public land for private housebuilding...
in a way totally consistent with Conservative government policy, the Conservatives might have been expected to support the application and Labour to oppose it. In the end it was the Labour councillors (such as Councillor Cairns) who were supporting, and the local Conservative councillors who were resisting. Part of the reason is that competitive elections make councillors responsive to their constituents, even in relatively safe seats such as those in the Morningside area. But why did Labour back the development? In practice they had little choice. There was no money available to purchase the land, and in the context of the Secretary of State's rulings on the Structure Plan, refusals of planning permission were unlikely to succeed. Furthermore as Labour had no realistic chance of winning seats in Morningside they were under no real compulsion to be responsive to outraged local residents.

Thirdly, it indicates the limitations, and negotiation role, of the city's planners. It was the planners' decision to change the land for housing development in 1984 in the draft local plan. This reflected their response to the national housing development policy and their professional rationality. However their proposals were subject to political approval. It was the councillors who turned their suggestion around. Planners played an important role in the decision making process; but they were not the key decision maker, particularly when concerned with the final outcome. In this case planners seem to have had to adapt their professional views to the views of the politicians. If the Education Department or Recreation Department could offer to buy the site for school use or public open space, and could pay the price to the Health Board as much as the private housing building firms, the planners might reconsider their policies for the plan. Under the economic situation in the 1980s, this was clearly impossible. The planning and development control process was actually trying to find out all possible interests in the site, and then to negotiate among all parties to search for a compromise plan. At the end every one was promised a bit. Although the proportion of the site for the local residents is relatively small and they are not satisfied, in this case, planning did protect some general public interest from private developers, since the land was originally private owned, although by a public body.
6.4.2 Public Bodies as Developer – South Gyle

Public bodies, such as the District, the Region and the SDA, play an important role as developers in Edinburgh. However, public bodies’ development roles have changed in the 1980s as recession created unemployment. Central government has imposed numerous controls on local government spending. Local authorities’ powers to borrow money for development were curtailed. The thrust of policy was that public money should be used to stimulate private development, to promote growth/jobs and to realise the asset value of land. ‘Leverage’ became a key concept — using a limited amount of public money to attract a more substantial amount of private investment which would not have taken place without public help. This development role of a public body - the Economic Development and Estates Department of the District Council - is represented here by a major proposed development project at South Gyle.

The Site and Planning Policy

The agricultural land of 198.9 acres at South Gyle located on the western edge of Edinburgh, is bounded by the City Bypass to the west, the Edinburgh to Aberdeen and Edinburgh to Glasgow railway lines to the north and south respectively, and by existing housing and industry to the east. The site was planned as a major new industrial estate in the 1965 Development Plan Review. By 1977 only 3 acres were in use, though there were 17.8 acres with industrial buildings under construction, 48.9 acres committed but not yet developed and another 23.3 acres unserviced and capable of development at reasonable cost (EDC, Planning Department, 1977). Within the site, the area to the east of the former Redheughs Road comprises abandoned agricultural land and land of limited agricultural potential. To the west of the former Redheughs Road, the land is classified as prime quality by the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries for Scotland and forms part of Redheughs Farm (LRC, 1987). Because of its relatively good location (near the M8 and M9 motorways and the new city bypass, and only about 1 mile from the Edinburgh Airport), it was one of three sites in West Edinburgh subject to

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*I would like to thank Christine McCubbin - Planner in the Planning Department of Edinburgh District Council for her help and supplying information.*
development pressure in the 1980s. The others were Herronston Gait, Cultins Road and The Craigs, Maybury Road.

The Lothian Regional Structure Plan — 1985 Review contained significant strategic policies and proposals for the development of this area which include:

1. **Industry**: The Review anticipated that in the long term, as the existing industrial land supply at South Gyle developed, there would be a shortage of land in the west of the city. It required the allocation of additional land amounting to 20 hectares in this area. In addition it supported the development of suitable industrial estates with high technology industry provided these were well located and of sufficiently high quality.

2. **Housing**: The Review considered that given the existing land supply and the anticipated rate of future infill development, no greenfield land was required before 1991. Greenfield sites with a capacity for 2,300 houses were, however, required for the period from 1991 to 1996. These sites should be identified in local plans in time to enable their development to start by 1991.

3. **Shopping**: The Review was more tentative concerning shopping needs pending the completion of a major shopping study of the Edinburgh Central Area and the identification, in conjunction with the District Council, of areas of shopping deficiency which would justify the development of new shopping centres. Its intentions generally were that shopping development must continue to take place primarily in established centres.

4. **Agriculture/Green Belt**: The Review attached great importance to the need to protect prime farmland from unnecessary development and to maintain the Green Belt. It required Local Plans to review Green Belt boundaries and to make adjustments to achieve stable and defensible boundaries and meet strategic planning needs.

Studies in the area were conducted by Edinburgh District Council in connection with shopping proposals at this general location in 1984. These showed both a demand and
a need for substantially improved shopping facilities on the west side of Edinburgh. There was also a continued demand for housing on the west side of the city. Having regard to these needs and the Region’s Structure Plan the District Planning and Development Committee proposed the development of the South Gyle area for:

- Science and Technology Park
- General industry
- Housing
- Shopping

This development strategy was included in the North West Edinburgh Local Plan which was approved by the District Council in November 1988.

These strategies were taken up by the Economic Development and Estates Department of the Council as the owner of the land and the major public coordinator of the development of this site, with the cooperation of three leading British companies in retail and building, Asda, Marks & Spencer and Wimpey Homes. A development team, consisting of the three companies in conjunction with Edinburgh District Council, was set up. The planning application for the development of the site as Maybury Park, for a shopping centre, housing and high technology park with a new roundabout on South Gyle Broadway, was submitted to the District Planning Department (Figure 6.4) in 1985.

The proposed development extends to 86 hectares and comprises: 20 hectares for a major shopping centre extending to 400,000 sq ft and with car parking for 4000 cars. The shopping centre would include an Asda superstore, a department store for Marks & Spencer, and 56 smaller units of various sizes to accommodate a full range of services and traders. Restaurant and leisure facilities would be incorporated. A further 16 hectares would be developed as housing (including sheltered housing). The rest of the site, 50 hectares, was made available to, and would be developed by, the District Council as a high technology industrial park (LRC, 1987).
The proposals intended to provide a comprehensive and integrated development whose several parts would inter-relate. The provision of high quality shopping and housing as part of the scheme were hoped to be attractive to suitable industries and their employees. The Park was believed to benefit from excellent communications, and the proximity of the airport. In addition, it could get benefits from the two major universities in the city with large research budgets. High quality design was prescribed to ensure the Park would become a foremost location for business and technological development. The Council intended to use public money to create attractive landscaped surroundings, including a new lake, scenic walkways and cycle paths. If approved the Council estimated, it could create up to more than 6,000 and possibly 20,000 jobs with substantial employment during construction (Scotsman 4,5,88).

The plan and design of the Business Technology Park was the result of a competition run by the council inviting companies to put forward their plans for use of the site (Evening News 11,5,88). A joint venture company was set up as an equal partnership between the public and private sectors to develop the industrial park, with the Council
contributing land and taking shares in the company (Scotsman 4,5,88). This scheme was one of the largest in its kind in Scotland with about 220,000 sq ft. The intention was that part of it would be let, possibly as a main headquarters building, to a single company. 100,000 sq ft for high technology companies was proposed with flexible layout for offices, research and development section and manufacturing space. In addition there would be 60,000 sq ft for light industries (Scotsman 30,4,88).

The planning application was considered by the Planning and Development Committee of Lothian Regional Council in December 1985. The Committee agreed to advise the District Council that:

- "the proposed shopping development raised a new planning issue of general significance to the districts of Lothian, Fife and Central Regions;

- the applications for a major new shopping centre on the west side of Edinburgh could conflict with Regional and Central Government policy concerning Livingston;

- the proposal for an industrial park of 123 acres was in excess of the need anticipated in the 1985 Structure Plan (Policy IP1);

- the applications involved development in the Green Belt and should be considered in terms of the Edinburgh Green Belt Agreement; and

- the Regional Council proposed to call-in the planning applications under Section 179 of the Local Government (Scotland) Act 1973 subject to any views expressed at a meeting of the Joint Planning Liaison Committee." (LRC, 1987)

Having noted that the District Council was not likely to object, the Region decided to call-in the applications in January 1986. In March 1986 the Regional Council requested the developers to prepare shopping and traffic impact studies to assess the effect of their proposals on existing and approved shopping centres, and the road network. In May the same year, an appeal was lodged with the Secretary of State against the deemed refusal of planning permission by the Regional Council. The Secretary of State directed that he would decide the appeal.
At the same time wide ranging consultations had been undertaken together with public exhibitions of the proposals. The majority of comments in favour of the proposals indicated that it would be a good development with new shops, suitable access and providing a large number of jobs. Most of the limited comments against the project were concerned with the impact on existing shops, the increase in traffic, the use of Green Belt land and the need to protect the landscape and wildlife. Particular objections were made by the adjacent local authorities on the proposed shopping centre to protect their own planned or existing retail centres. These included West Lothian District Council, Livingston Development Corporation, Midlothian District Council and Central Regional Council. West Lothian District Council and Livingston Development Corporation, in particular, objected to the retail proposals on the grounds that they would be contrary to approved policies in the Structure Plan, concerning the development of shopping facilities in the west of the region and could inhibit the implementation of these policies.

The Transportation Committee was concerned that the Regional Council’s final decision on the applications might have to await decisions on the route, timing and impact of the proposed M8 Extension from Newbridge to the City Bypass. The SDD, however, was unable to clarify the likely final decision on that extension. In May 1987, the Regional Council approved the recommendations made by the Joint Report by the Planning and Development and Transportation Committees and resolved as follow:

- to refuse all the planning applications called-in by the Regional Council for major shopping and other development on sites in West Edinburgh (including the Maybury Park), subject to the continuation of the proposals for the development of housing, high technology park and a roundabout at South Gyle Broadway; and

- to accordingly oppose the planning applications which were the subject of appeals to the Secretary of State for major shopping and other developments on sites in West Edinburgh.
The decision was mainly based on traffic considerations. Policies of National Planning Guidelines (Location of Major Retail Developments 1986) and the approved Structure Plan were used to justify this decision.

The Secretary of State has approved the shopping element of the scheme. The planning and development process concern about other elements is continuing; and the full development of the Park might take many years. Nevertheless, this case study has revealed several very important characteristics of the planning process in Edinburgh in the 1980s, particularly the relationships between strategic plan and local plan, planning and market, and physical plan and economic plan. Firstly, the strategic land use planning policies in the Structure Plan Review anticipated some industrial and housing development in the area, but not the scale and comprehensiveness as the District proposed. On shopping the Region's intentions were primarily to protect and develop established centres. For the Regional Council Edinburgh is not the only area of concern. Other districts also need special attention, particularly Bathgate in West Lothian, which still has Development Area status. The reasons stated by the Regional Council for calling-in the planning application show the different views on the development from District and Regional Councils. The development process at South Gyle is a public and private cooperative venture, but Edinburgh District Council is the only party from the public sector; no direct financial gains for the region or central government bodies, such as the SDA are expected. Although the District named the proposed retail development a District Shopping Centre, its potential influence on Livingston New Town and West Lothian District are obvious. In the market-led planning practice in the 1980s, even the Region with call-in power could not make the decision straight away on where development should happen. With the three powerful private companies' backing, both the District and the Region are very cautious with their decisions. As the District Council's comments on the Highway authority's policy in the Regional Council Transport Policies and Programmes indicated:

"The District Council has noted the objections to large scale retail development in West Edinburgh prior to completion of the M8 extension but is concerned that the potential development and employment prospects
should not be lost as a result." (LRC, 1989, TPP No.9 1990-95 p.37)

Secondly, the case study revealed important development of the planning and market relationship. Planning was no long seen as an alternative to the market. The public sector was no longer seen as hostile to the private sector. This reflects the economic climate in Britain and other Western countries in the 1980s. The District Council does not only take part in the market process of development by their ownership of the land, it supports the private development in the area by using public money to create a favourable environment. This kind of public development is different from what we will see in Xian in the next Chapter, where public money is not only used to improve the environment, but more importantly to build factories. In the regional and national contents, Edinburgh District Council is competing with other areas, such as West Lothian and Livingston New Town, and even with the rest of the UK and abroad. As District Councillor Richard Kerley, Chairman of the District Council's Economic Development Committee, said: the proposed development, with its mix of office, commercial, and industrial development was not found elsewhere in Scotland. The Council by leasing the land on a 125 year lease rather than an outright sale, was indicating its long term commitment to the area (Scotsman 30,4,88). The District Councils' intentions are very clear: fully taking the locational and ownership advantages of the site to make it a more competitive and attractive area for industry and business, and to earn regular income from the lease as a result. As Ivan Broussine, assistant director of economic development for the District Council, said the development confirmed the status of the South Gyle and Maybury areas as a location of international importance for office and industrial development. "Many companies like Edinburgh as a location because of its environment and association with business and the financial sector and the universities. By using the flexibility we have in public ownership of the land we are able as a local authority to negotiate a package which is as good as that available in other areas which enjoy the benefits of development area status." (Scotsman 30,4,88)

Thirdly, this case study is a typical example of the market-led style of planning to promote economic growth. Land use planning became part of image building as a way
of projecting the area in a favourable light, a way of attracting new investment. The Council recognised that the quality of the physical environment was an important influence in promoting the area and enhancing its competitiveness. In the whole process, the planners’s role was marginalised. The conventional practice for the planning officers was to prepare the plan, then wait for developers. They were less involved with promotion of development and looking for developers. The promotion role was picked up by the Council’s Economic Development and Estates Department. This Department is more concerned with economic gains, such as to realise the value of land owned by the Council to subsidize local services and to create more jobs. The Council also relied on influential private companies to prepare detailed promotional strategies instead of the city’s official planners. This again proves that the most influential parties in the planning and development process in Edinburgh are the private companies and the land owners, while also showing the more active alignment of the Council with the development industry in the late 1980s.

Finally, this case study and the Craighouse site revealed another very important feature of the Scottish planning system in the 1980s. Local authority and planning officers’ power were not only restricted by private developers and landowners, but also by central government. Most major planning decisions were not made by the local planning authorities. They were decided by call-in or appeals by central government and the Secretary of State. Once a planning decision was appealed to the Secretary of State, development plans became only one material consideration. The Scottish Office Reporters’ decision were mainly based on national planning policies.

6.4.3 Conservation in the Old Town

Edinburgh is second only to London in Britain in the number of listed buildings. The majority of these buildings are in the New Town but significant concentrations

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\(^{1}\)I would like to thank Mr D A Beveridge, Chief Planning Assistant in the Department of Planning of Edinburgh District Council, for his kind help and discussion with me about conservation both in Edinburgh and Xian. Mr Beveridge once worked in Xian City Planning Bureau on an exchange programme between the two cities.
also exist in the Old Town, South Side, Leith, and other former village settlements such as Duddingston and Swanston. Since the Civic Amenities Act (1967), which enabled local authorities to designate conservation areas, Edinburgh had declared 27 conservation areas by the early 1980s (Gordon, 1985, p.244). Conserving the city's historical townscape is very important to the District Council, particularly its Planning Department. It represents a very important aspect of the planning practice in the city. The case study in this section focuses on the conservation activities in the Old Town area, both to illustrate this important aspect of planning, and to allow for comparison with Xian's Old Town.

The buildings in the Old Town are remarkable for two reasons. Firstly they illustrate the development of Scottish architecture over a span of a thousand years and secondly their medieval plan makes Edinburgh one of the most fascinating and important historic cities in Europe.

Traditionally the Old Town has been residential and high density due to the topographical limitations on development. The majority of the community have also traditionally been poor. In 1851 the population in the Old Town peaked at over 40,000. Since then, whereas the population of the city as a whole grew steadily (until relatively recently), the Old Town population fell every decade until the early 1980s. The 1981 census showed the population at an all time low of 3,142 with an imbalanced age/sex structure. 30% of the population was of retirement age; 41% were over 55 years old. Only 9% of the population were under 16. Though there was a higher proportion of 20-30 year olds (20%), this group is made up of socially mobile, mostly single adult students. The population structure was further imbalanced through the large number of economically inactive and retired people (Old Town Study, 1984). However, the Housing Study of the Old Town showed that the population increased to 4300 by 1986 (Old Town News August/September 1988).

Blackie (1982) summarized some of the most important problems in the Old Town. These included: overcrowding and substandard conditions, vacancy, dereliction, gap sites, declining economic activities such as shops, insufficient urban facilities, traffic
congestion, and single homeless persons. Despite those problems, the Old Town with the atmosphere and structure of the old medieval city is the heart of Scotland. The recent Tourism Review emphasised the importance of Edinburgh's tourist industry to the local and national economy. The Old Town was identified as the 'Jewel in the Crown' of Edinburgh's tourist attractions. (Figure 6.5)

The 18th century ideal of improvement in the Old Town was typified by such schemes as the Royal Exchange and the construction of the North Bridge so that the areas to the north could be developed. In the 19th century, improvements were mainly concerned with public health. Since then, public concern has alternated between social improvements and concern for the historic centre of Scotland. In 1908 Bruce J. Home made the first serious attempt to categorise the buildings of architectural interest in the Old Town. However these early approaches to the protection of the Old Town were piecemeal. Efforts were made to identify those buildings of greatest historical and architectural importance worthy of preservation. In 1931 F.C. Mears' plan for the city centre offered some comprehensive approach to the problem, but his plan was not adopted. E.J. Macrae's report of 1945 was another attempt to identify buildings "worthy of preservation". It is perhaps unfortunate that the report was used to justify the demolition of much property, although it was also the catalyst for substantial rehabilitation in the Canongate (EDC, Planning Department, 1980). The Abercrombie Plan offered less consideration on conservation. It suggested that major new roads through the centre were needed to cope with predicted traffic levels, and that a large proportion of the central population should be dispersed to the periphery. These two proposals had a profound effect on the Old Town. The changing road proposals of the 1950s, 1960s and early 1970s blighted the areas through which they were to run, but were finally scrapped in the mid-1970s. This process of blighting and neglect, combined with pressures for university development, led to a large area being demolished, and property had been left to deteriorate. Thousands had moved out to modern peripheral estates. Many properties were bought by institutions but not developed; they stand empty, or have been demolished, providing a patchwork of gap sites, some used for parking.
Figure 6.5: Old Town Conservation Area
The growth of the conservation movement, especially over the last two decades, has great relevance to the improvement of the physical and social fabric of the Old Town. The Civic Amenities Act (1967) formalized the area approach for conservation and urban improvement. Local authorities were also empowered to give grants to historic buildings. The emphasis changed from the preservation of buildings to the conservation of areas and from negative control to positive planning for preservation.

In 1977 the Old Town was designated a ‘Conservation Area’ by the District Council, a belated commitment to the conservation of the area as a whole. In October 1979 the Old Town Community Development Project was set up under the Urban Aid Programme, part of a national effort to find ways of meeting the needs of people living in the areas of high social deprivation. In January 1980 a series of conservation policies for the Old Town area, relating to conservation, new buildings, advertisements, traffic and street improvements, were adopted by the Planning and Development Committee. With reference to new buildings, guidance was offered about elevations, roofs, windows and materials. The traffic policies urged the identification of sites for short-stay car parks and a review of traffic management and pedestrianization schemes both of which required liaison with, and implementation by, the Regional Council. The conservation section of the policies stated the development controls, the financial policy and the intention to pursue strict enforcement of the policy for replacement windows. Encouragement was given to coordinated improvement schemes and it was stated that the unoccupied listed buildings owned the District Council should be disposed of to agencies who could guarantee restoration. One policy specifically sought to resolve the problem of gap sites; planning permission would not be granted for the demolition of buildings until contracts for replacement buildings had been accepted (Gordon, 1985).

In July 1981, the Old Town Conservation Advisory Committee was set up by the local authority, planners and interested groups with the purposes of: “exploring the possibilities and coordinating action for conservation of the Old Town. Examining the fabric and form of tenure of properties in detail. Advising on the appropriate types of financial aid and ways of attracting public and private funds. Assessing the scale
and design of any infill developments and considering the potential for pedestrianisation. Reporting regularly on these developments to the Planning and Development Committee over the next two years.” (O.T.C.D.P 1982) An open conference, entitled Save the Old Town, was held in October 1981 which endorsed two main recommendations to set up a community development trust to raise money to renovate buildings in the Old Town for residential and community use; and to investigate employment initiatives and the stimulation of local business (Blackie 1982).

The Old Town Conservation Advisory Committee set up a survey Steering Group to programme a fabric survey of the Old Town. The study started in 1983 with a team of varied disciplines. The group produced a two volume Draft Report — Edinburgh Old Town Study in 1984 which is a very important document for planning decision making in the Old Town.8 Behind the report’s findings however, stood needs more fundamental than structural restoration and redevelopment. As the Old Town became more reliant on a summer tourist trade, it risked “disappearing” socially and economically for the rest of the year. Action had to be taken to revive the Old Town as a living, working, year-round community. In response, the Planning and Development Committee of the City of Edinburgh District Council set up the Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal in May 1985, which consists of representatives of conservation groups (such as the Cockburn Association), government and local authority representatives and community groups. The functions of this committee are to:

- act as a catalyst and coordinator for action to conserve the heritage of the Old Town and promote the revival of its economic and social life.

- award grants for the repair and authentic restoration of buildings within the Old Town Conservation Area.

- record detailed information on buildings, sites and uses in the Old Town to assist appropriate restorations and encourage sympathetic new developments.

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8A project sponsored by the Edinburgh Architectural Association and the District Council assisted by the Manpower Services Commission under the Community Programme, and supported by the Old Town Conservation Advisory Committee with the Cockburn Association, the Edinburgh Old Town Association, The Historic Building Council, the Housing Corporation, the Scottish Civic Trust and the Scottish Tourist Board.
- comment on significant planning applications and on traffic and parking proposals.

- liaise with local bodies and take account of community views and aspirations.

In the broader sense of conservation, the Committee's efforts extend to keeping new developments sympathetic with historic Old Town architecture by advising the Planning Committee on major planning applications in the area. One of the most important parts of the Committee's work is to disburse grants for conservation and high quality restoration of the external features of buildings. Projects eligible for assistance vary in size. Larger scale work includes comprehensive improvements to roofs, stonework and chimneys while a Small Grants Scheme is in operation for individual features such as doors, windows and railings. The grants are funded jointly by the Secretary of State for Scotland through the Historic Buildings Council and by Edinburgh District Council. In late 1980s the Committee received 380,000 pounds per annum for grants. In 1989 alone, there were 17 major conservation projects under the Committee's help (Old Town and Southside News, August 89).

Housing Associations over the past few years have been playing a vital role in not only the rehabilitation of older properties, but also the provision of new housing, especially sheltered housing. Additionally they often provide a community back up service to enable the smooth operation of their schemes. These have grown up through the 1970s largely due to the increased grants under the Housing (Scotland) Act 1974.

The Cockburn Association made its contribution to the Old Town as well. As early as 1977 it raised the idea of setting up the Cockburn Conservation Company; with a revolving fund, "to acquire, restore and sell buildings of architectural importance in Edinburgh which are otherwise unloved." (Cockburn Association, May 1977) By May 1979, the Cockburn Conservation Trust had been confirmed as a charity, and was renovating properties, for example in Candlemaker Row. The rationale of the Cockburn Conservation Trust is not development for profit but conservation whereby substandard historic property is bought, renovated and sold privately, and these funds are used again for the same purpose. It tried to use market forces to achieve planning
aims with respect to conservation.

The Association has concluded that it was not sufficient for the architectural nature of the development to be in sympathy with the character of the Old Town. A judgement had to be made on the appropriate use of the development, and this had to be imposed on 'capitalist enterprise' thus reducing the potential return on investment within the Old Town. A Development Trust with a revolving fund (that still demanded a profit on investment) could rehabilitate residential property and return it to an appropriate use, although the high selling price meant that this restricted purchasers to higher income groups. However, Old Town community groups feel that the argument has not been developed far enough, and that a community development trust should have a broader view of the needs of the community. While restoration of property is desirable, the properties restored by the Cockburn Development Trust are sold to higher income groups. Property should be given to those who formerly lived in the property or those who live or used to live in the Old Town. This cannot be done if the properties are sold to the highest bidder. Investment should also be directed at providing the facilities that are badly needed (Blackie 1982).

Community groups and residents associations increased in number during the 1970s and 1980s, both acting as a social focus and also as a watchdog over developments in the Old Town, producing newsletters, campaigning over local issues such as repairs and maintenance and criticizing lack of action. The Old Town Association, for example, formed to represent the interests of all who live or work in the Canongate, High Street, Lawnmarket and Grassmarket, sees its role as a watchdog on planning applications, organising public meetings on conservation and dereliction, supporting campaigns and giving general comments on proposals for the architecture / environment (Edinburgh Old Town Study 1984). A Housing Study of the Old Town (Old Town News August/September 1988), jointly funded by the Old Town Committee for Conservation and Renewal and the Department of Town and Country Planning at Edinburgh College of Art, was completed at the end of 1987. A local newspaper, the 'Old Town News', has been published since early in 1981 and is distributed free to over 2,500 households in Central Edinburgh.
A more recent move in the Old Town was the Tourism Review, by the SDA appointed development consultants — Land Design/Research Inc (LDR) of Columbia, Maryland as lead consultants on the Old Town Tourism Study. LDR was assisted by a number of specialist consultants of considerable standing in their fields to combine international expertise with local knowledge. The consultants proposed a 100 million pounds package to boost tourism and employment in Edinburgh over the next ten years. (Old Town and South Side News May 1989, p.4)

From the above descriptions several major characteristics of conservation practice in the Old Town could be identified:

- Comprehensive policy approach
- Strict planning control
- Detailed research and investigation and extensive discussion
- Community involvement
- Public-private cooperation
- Combine tourist industry with local need

Firstly the planning authority employed clear and comprehensive policies to conserve the historical town. The most important one is the designation of the Old Town as an outstanding conservation area. Within this area strict planning policies are applied to control demolition and new buildings. These have caused some criticism and reservations about conservation. It has been argued that conservation is opposed to development. There is a fear that potential economic developments may not be attracted to the city, or an area of the city, because of conservation regulations. But as Gordon (1985) observed the substantial increase in Edinburgh and other Scottish cities in conservation projects involving the enhancement of existing offices or conversion to use by offices appears to provide counter-evidence. The preserved historic feature of the Old Town not only attracts tourists, a very important part of the local economy, but also provides publicity and opportunities for other business and industries. Secondly, detailed research and investigation were encouraged by the Council
and central government which serve as an important background in planning and positive development of the Old Town. Local community groups have made their contribution as well.

Thirdly, public-private cooperation is another feature of the conservation process. For historical reasons, most buildings in the Old Town are owned by various private bodies. Conservation with these landlords’ participation is very important. Public grants as a proportion of total investment are available for external improvement. Private investment is also pursued to maintain the historical environment. But this practice is criticised by the advocates of social justice in the city. It is argued that conservation does little for the quality of life of the poor. Therefore, the money spent on conservation should be devoted to improving the lot of the poor. Conservation involves ‘displacement of those unable to conserve, by those with the will and the wealth’ (Pahl, 1970 p.369). In the Old Town the displacement of the local community mainly happened in the period of large scale redevelopment in the 1960s, before the comprehensive conservation policy. Since the late 1970s, conservation groups have paid more attention to retaining the local community. The practice of public-private cooperation in conservation is different from the Chinese practice, where the quality of most private properties is very poor. The government has no interest in preserving all of them in the Old Town. Most of them have already be replaced by modern high rise office and commercial blocks. The only buildings regarded as historical buildings are the city wall and gates, the towers and temples. Most of them have never been private properties. They have been under the city government’s ownership since 1949. Preserving and protecting these buildings was always a purely government affair, even the general public are not involved to the extent as in Edinburgh, though private donations are sometimes encouraged. Edinburgh’s Old Town provides valuable lessons for Xian.
Figure 6.6: Development of planning in Edinburgh from 1940

6.5 Summary and Conclusion

This case study of Edinburgh has complemented the review of the Scottish planning system (Chapter 4), and highlighted the details of planning and implementation. In the next Chapter practice in Edinburgh will be compared directly with that in Xian. Before moving on the Edinburgh experience should be analysed in its own terms in relation to the main theoretical debates that run through the thesis. Can Edinburgh’s planning be interpreted as an evolutionary progression consequent on shifts in general urbanisation processes linked to more basic technological change, the proposition of Van den Berg et al? Or is it a practice fashioned above all by the broader structures of capitalism and the national and local political context?

There is clearly some progression from the Abercrombie Plan to the end of the 1980s. It might be summarised in Figure 6.6. One can therefore trace a steady progression from a long term static master plan at the city scale to an adaptive short term suite of plans (including non-statutory plans) covering scales from region to local area, or
even site. One might broadly equate that shift with the transition from a phase of urbanisation/suburban growth to a stage of counter-urbanisation and the emergence of a looser more extensive urban structure linked to widespread car ownership and telecommunications technology. While this argument has some logic, and can claim an empirical fit at this general, even schematic level, it skates over the conflicts and complications that characterised the development of planning in Edinburgh over those 40 years. It is precisely these latter factors with the counter hypothesis — stressing political structures — can illuminate.

Throughout the history market relations have had a major impact on the use of land in Edinburgh. Plans which were insensitive to market relations and landowning interests (notably Abercrombie's) came to grief. By the 1980s public bodies were effectively acting as development agencies seeking to maximise development and hence returns on their land (eg the Health Board, and the District Council at South Gyle). Even community organisations had to work with the market (eg the Cockburn Association's scheme in the Old Town). The practice of planning in Edinburgh was also fundamentally fashioned by the central government of the day — Abercrombie was brought in because central government was pushing planning, the Secretary of State is frequently the key figure whether on the 1965 Development Planning review, the Structure Plans or the appeals at Craighouse. Local Political structures, down to the level of 'safe seats' also shape the planning process, as the Craighouse saga showed.

Thus there is again support both for a stage/evolutionary explanation (though only at a macro level) and for a stress on political structures and disposition of power within the society. To explore the strengths of these propositions, further, to explore Cherry's propositions that planning internationally shares common concepts, aims, and methods we turn to Xian.
Chapter 7

Planning Practice in Xian\textsuperscript{1}

7.1 Introduction

The planning system in practice in Scotland was examined by the case study in Edinburgh City in the last chapter, which focussed on three major questions: Who are the planners and what is their relationship with local politicians? What kind of plans have been produced for the city? and How are those plans implemented? With emphasis on the process, planning implementation was represented by three different issues and case studies: development control, the public body as developers, and conservation in the Old Town. This chapter is a case study of planning practice in Xian City. A similar structure is adopted and the same questions are asked, so as to achieve a systematic comparison.

Xian, as indicated in Chapter 5, is one of the historic capitals in Chinese civilization. Since the eleventh century B.C. 10 dynasties built their capitals around the site. By the Tang Dynasty, Xian had developed into probably the biggest city in the world. Thereafter the Chinese cultural centre moved eastward. Xian experienced a long

\footnote{I am grateful to Mr. Ziyuan Gui, Director of The City Planning and Management Bureau of Xian, and Mr. Jiyun Wang, Vice Director of The Town and Country Construction Commission of Xian City, for their help during my field work period in the city from August to November in 1987.}
From 1911, the fall of the Qing Dynasty, Xian started to develop modern industries. With competition from coastal areas, this development was very slow and small scale and did not change this old city very much. By 1949, before the Communist take over, it was a city of 397 thousand population. But only a few small factories in textiles and manufacturing sectors. Public facilities were in a very poor condition and there was no piped water supply or modern transport. In the 1950s, Xian was designated as one of the major development areas by the new Communist government. Modern city planning was introduced. Today the city has developed into one of the major modern industrial and commercial centres in the northwest part of China with 2.27 millions population in its urban and suburb districts and the non-agricultural population in its built-up area reached 1.65 million.

The City, as a whole, is an administrative region under the Shaanxi Provincial Government control, which covers 9983 square kilometres with subdivisions of the City (881 square kilometres with 133.3 built-up area in 1985) and six rural counties. The City itself contains three urban districts, three suburb districts and an industrial district away from the major urban area. The urban districts are divided into 39 sub-districts which were further divided into 1205 resident committee areas. The City, like Edinburgh, is a major centre of government and other public institutions. It also contains a substantial number of industrial enterprises owned by central and local governments.

The six rural counties under the city's control contain 29 small free standing towns including county seats and 161 rural townships (the Communes in the pre-reformed collective system) which contain 3120 village people's committees (the natural villages — the production brigades and production teams in the Commune system). This chapter focus on the land use planning activities in the central city and its inner suburbs which are mainly under the city's overall plan coverage, excluding those vast rural areas though some planning policies are applicable to those areas, particularly the major small towns.
7.2 Planning Authority and Planners

7.2.1 Planning Authority at City Level

There is no official division between professionals and politicians in the Chinese local administrative system along the Scottish line. People working in various public bodies, local authority, public institutions, and all other government establishments, are all called personnel of organs of the state or more generally cadres. This does not mean that every one is the same. Differences between the Party leaders and the administrative officers, and leading cadres and general cadres are identical. The Chinese Communist Party’s influence does not stop at city government level. The City’s Party Committee and its branches in various government departments make up the Party system. The Party branches play a very important role as the Party’s policy watchdog by firstly choosing directors and other important personnel for those departments, and secondly controlling their day to day decision making. The city government and its departments make up the administrative system. Directors of Departments are responsible to the city government. The relationship between these two system is always problematic. In periods of emphasis on the Party’s reading role, the Party makes all decisions on all matters. In extreme situations, the Party itself replaces the administration. The Party Secretary in the department could be the director as well. In other periods, the administrative organs have more power over their own business.

The leading cadres are different from the general cadres in a similar fashion to the relationship between the directors and staff in Edinburgh. Leading cadres are those heads of different sections and offices, while the general cadres are those general employees. The relationship between these two depends on the relative position held by the person. A general employee in the higher rank office may have more power than the leading cadres in the lower rank offices.

Directors of departments are not directly responsible to the Party-organised city government, but to an ‘elected’ non-party city government, while this government is
under the supervision of the city Party Committee. In theory the Party represents the people as a whole, with the government responsible to the Party rather than to the people. This puts the city government in a good position to carry out central and Party policies, but its relationship to the local people is relatively weak.

With this general framework, the city planning legislation - the 1984 Ordinance - made a general instruction for organizing a local planning authority:

- the mayor of a city (or the head of a county government or the head of a township) leads the city plan-making and implementation (article 10).
- the city planning department in local government is the responsible body for city planning (article 11).

Planning responsibility in Xian is distributed along this line, which consists of four major bodies and two tiers of responsibility, one at city level, one at urban district level. Their relations with the local government structure are presented as follows: (see Figure 7.1 as well)

Tier 1 The Xian People's Government

- City Governor (The Mayor) and the city government
- Xian City (Town and Country) Construction Commission
- City Planning & Environmental Management Department

Tier 2 The Urban Districts (7) and the Rural Counties (6)

- District City Construction Departments

Tier 3 The Subdistrict Offices and Townships (No planning power)

Tier 4 The Neighbourhood Committees (No planning power)

The city Governor's role is to lead the plan-making and implementation. This means to solve the disputes raised among departments and commissions. The relation between the city government and the planning department is not fundamentally different
Figure 7.1: City planning authorities and management organization in Shaanxi Province and Xian City
from that between the city council and department in Edinburgh. But in Xian not all decisions should be made under the government's name. General planning policies and decisions are made and published by the department itself.

The **Construction Commission** is a non-elected body which controls several departments, including housing, planning, civil engineering, public facilities, environmental protection, historic buildings and so on. It plays a very important role in plan implementation by coordinating those departments with each other and integrating the city land use planning with the economic development plan of the city's Economic Planning Commission. It allocates different urban construction projects and funds to different departments for implementation.

The **City Planning and Environmental Management Bureau** is the department which advises the Commission and makes decisions on land use and environmental management issues. It produces city plans and makes major proposals for urban infrastructure developments. Within a planned economy, its role is mainly advisory. The implementation of plans depends on other public bodies. Under the reform and diversification of the economy, new functions of planning management have been given to the Bureau, which is similar to the development control function in the Edinburgh system. The Bureau has three main sections: Planning Management (development control), Planning and Design (plan making) and Environmental Management. The detailed procedure of development control will be demonstrated by the case studies in Section 7.4.2.

Although Shaanxi Province has a Construction Department, which is the main land use planning authority, its role is different from the Lothian Regional Council. It has no plan-making function. But it plays a very important role in supervising land use planning in other cities and towns in the province. This function is conducted by producing local city planning regulations, transferring experiences between cities and approving city plans, including plans for Xian city. Despite its limited power on land use planning, the provincial government is very important to the development of the city. It is a major public employer with various departments, Party branches and
enterprises, such as provincial research and educational institutions and production factories. All these are important land users in the city. Their decisions on how to use the land allocated to them are very important to plan implementation in the city.

7.2.2 The Planning Authority at Urban District Level

In contrast to Edinburgh, some development control powers in Xian are given to the urban districts. They are mainly in the area of control of small and temporary development. For instance, temporary construction and buildings\(^2\), along non-major streets\(^3\) could be approved by the District (construction) department rather than by the City Planning Bureau. This arrangement makes development control less cumbersome in the central Bureau, and might be explained by the larger size and different administrative system in the city.

This could be relevant to the new Scottish trend of administrative devolution or 'going local' and enlarging the local community’s role in the planning process in large cities. But it is different from the ‘going local’ approach because it does not mean more involvement of local residents in planning. It means another tier of bureaucratic organisation. Because the districts play a very important role in land use decision making in Xian, it is necessary to represented this role by an example - Yanta District - in which the author lived.

Yanta District is one of the six districts, and is in the south suburb. The District City Construction Department is the planning management authority in the area which had a staff of 13 persons when it was visited in October 1987. It is made up of several sections. Those with planning functions are:

1. City Planning and Temporary Construction Control Section (one person)

2. Village Planning Section (in the suburban area)

\(^2\)Buildings under two stories with simple structure and easy to demolish.

\(^3\)Street less than 30 meters in width.
3. Environmental Protection Section: pollution, smoke, noise control and so on

4. Green Field and Tree Section: tree planting

5. Anti-earthquake and Flood Control Section

There are other sections as well in the Department such as The District Construction Company, Architecture Management Section, Urban and Rural Construction and Development Company, and so on. Small scale land use changes should be reported to this department for approval. The detailed procedure of planning and development control functions of this department are presented in Section 7.4.1 with a case study.

7.2.3 Summary and Comparison

Important differences can be identified between the planning authorities in Xian and Edinburgh. Firstly, the lack of distinction between elected politicians and technical staff in Xian’s planning decision making process means unclear responsibilities. Not only are most leading cadres in the commission, departments, or sections Party Members, but professional staffs in these departments and sections could also be Party Members. In such a system, every one plays two roles at the same time: political and technical. Professional planners often try to adapt their skills to political needs, some with the hope of being promoted to leading positions which require them to be involved more in politics and diplomatic relations. Yet the directors who make most decisions in planning are not necessarily professional at all. All this means that implementation of Communist Party policies is ensured in planning, while planning decisions are often made to meet political need rather than in response to the local demands. Although discussion and debate on planning policies are encouraged among official planners and professionals, no questions can be asked about the Communist Party’s policy. There are no local opposition parties inside or outside the government. This is very different from Edinburgh, where the regional or district Council consists of members from different parties. Although the majority party will have most councillors on a specific committee, opposition parties play an important role.
in decision making, particularly on issues affecting their one wards as the Craighouse case showed. They form very important channels for local opinions as do the ruling party (see Chapter 6).

A second difference is the more comprehensive co-ordination of other public works through Xian's Construction Commission. With the much more important role of public bodies in construction and development, the Commission brings together those important services, such as housing, roads and civil engineering, public facilities, urban environment and sanitation, historic buildings and even the publicly owned construction company, which makes planning implementation more practical. This is a major advantage of the Chinese system. In contrast the planning department in Edinburgh city is not directly responsible for some of the very important urban infrastructural developments within the city such as roads, water, sewage, or sanitation which are responsibilities of Lothian Region which also does strategic planning.

Thirdly, the structure of the city planning authority in Xian represents the major characteristics of city planning in the country: land use planning is defined as a very narrow activity which is mainly related to physical construction of buildings and other urban engineering infrastructure. The use of existing buildings are not the responsibility of city planners. City planning has very limited influence on the social and economic development of the city, and does not attract much attention from the public. Public ownership of urban land further reduced general public interest in planning. Though public participation in planning in Edinburgh has attracted great attention, it is still not an important issue in Xian. These points will be further demonstrated in the following sections.

Finally, in Xian, there is no effective upper-tier planning authority, like the Lothian Regional Council. Xian city government and its planning department have a similar planning power for a wider area than the city itself. The overall city plan does offer guidance to the development of the surrounding rural area under the city government administration, particular the distribution and development of small towns. There is no legal requirement for a plan. The Shaanxi Provincial Government does have a
land use planning department, but its role is not to make provincial land use plans. It mainly provides supervision and guidance to the planning of other smaller cities and county towns. In contrast to Edinburgh, where there is no effective level of administration below the District Council — Community Councils don't have real powers, — Xian urban district governments play an important role in planning administration and control, particularly in small scale temporary changes. Although it does not mean more public participation in planning, in the society where communication and transportation are slow, it is necessary to speed up the development process.

In terms of structures the Xian system seems more decentralised than that in Edinburgh. However the central role of the Party runs through all structures, so limiting real devolution of power.

7.3 What Kind of Plans are Prepared?

7.3.1 The First Overall City Plan 1953-1972

Xian is one of three Chinese cities which first started city planning practice (the other two are Beijing and Lanzhou) after the Communists came to power. Though three draft plans were produced from 1949 to 1952, new developments in the city were small scale, and mainly related to military utility production because the new military administrative commission for the southwest was located in the city. Without an approved land use plan industry and housing were mixed up. By 1952 new developments had spread into the suburbs in all directions.

With the establishment of the national economic planning system in 1953, city planning in Xian stepped into a new era. The national urban development policy at that time was to change the consumer city into the socialist production city and the principle urban planning theory was from the USSR: "city planning is the continuity of national economic planning" (Cao 1984). So city planning practice was firstly carried out in the major national investment areas. Central government employed the Russian economic planning model, and 156 Soviet-assisted large scale industrial projects
were the major contents of national economic development planning. Among these industrial projects, 17 were located in Xian\textsuperscript{4} as part of national policy to balance the development in the Coastal and other regions (Yin 1985). Apart from coal mining in the Tongchuan area 150 kilometres north, the city had no other major natural resources for heavy industry in the local area. The new projects were mainly light industries such as textiles and electronic instrument manufacturing,\textsuperscript{5} accompanied by expansion of educational and institutional establishments. These major new development projects, funded mainly by central government, formed the main contents of city planning in the First Five Year Plan period from 1953 to 1957 which also laid down the basic structure of most areas of modern expansion.

The city made its first official Overall Plan in 1953 with central government and Soviet planners' help. That Plan was approved by the then State Construction Commission in 1954. It was for 20 years from 1953-1972 and defined the nature of the city as: light and precise machinery and instruments manufacturing and textile industrial city (Ma 1985).

The major characteristic of this Plan, like any other Chinese city plan, was to calculate the city land use requirements in relation to the expected population. The Plan projected the city population at 1.22 million by 1972, the end of the plan period. The average land use per person planned was 108 square metres according to the national urban land use index. Within the 108, 32 square metres should be used for industrial and transportation and other production purposes, 33 for housing, 15 for green field, 16 for urban road, and 12 for public purposes such as shops, schools, hospitals and administration. Average housing floor space per capita would be 9 square metres. 70 percent of housing would be three storeys, 20 per cent two storeys, 5 per cent single storey, and the other 5 per cent would be separated houses with private gardens. The

\textsuperscript{4}Two reasons for the heavy investment to Xian: firstly, the city was the major urban and economic centre in the inland area, especially the Northwest part of the country. The desire for balanced development helped this decision. Secondly, the city was located in the central area of the country, the decision was based on national defence considerations just after the war.

\textsuperscript{5}The textile location was shaped by the fact that the surrounding rural area is a major cotton production area, and the electronic industry was based on the need for small bulk items to overcome transportation costs.
total land needed would be 131 square kilometres. The Plan then centred on the old walled city and spread mainly toward east, west and south to cover the necessary land.\textsuperscript{6}

Land was zoned into functional areas such as industrial areas, administrative and commercial areas, residential areas and cultural and education areas. The historic city wall was protected from destruction. New developments were directed to the suburbs. Industrial developments were located at the east and west at a distance of 4 km from the city wall. The southeast was preserved for future industrial development. In between the old town and these industrial districts there would be residential areas. Tree belts were proposed between industrial districts and major residential areas. In the south of the old city the land was defined for residential, educational, research and cultural institutions uses. There was no major development proposed for the north suburb, except warehousing and expansion of railway worker's residential areas along the railway immediately outside the city wall so as to protect the site of the Han Capital City. Within each functional areas, district squares were proposed as the local community centre and shopping place. A central square of the city was planned at the Xinhua Cross on the main south to north axis of the city. The street pattern and road system were developed from the Tang Changan model, the straight cross grid pattern, though the southeast and southwest areas were planned as oblique radiation road system (Xian City Government, Xian City Overall Plan 1980-2000, Written Statement, pp.1-2). (Figure 7.2)

In the first stage of the plan period from 1953-1957, land use planning and economic development planning were well coordinated. Both central and local governments, and land use planning and economic planning bodies were brought together to make decisions on industrial location and land use in the city. This allowed a comprehensive arrangement of finance for different types of development: manufacturing industry in

\textsuperscript{6}Information were collected during the interview with the city Chief Planner Mr. Gui Ziyuan in October 1987.

\textsuperscript{7}Although the plan was displayed by a diagram in a city planning Exhibition in Xian in 1987, I failed to see the original copy itself due to the control of information. This figure is not a plan, but the land use in Xian in 1980 matched basically with the plan.
the east suburb, the textile industrial district in the far east suburb between the River Can and River Ba, the electronic instrument industrial area in the west, educational and cultural establishments in the south. The planning and development of the textile industrial district in the east suburb was one of the most successful planning stories in the city and in China as well (Figure 7.3).

Though the overall land use arrangement was considered as successful in the city, plan implementation experienced some problems. As soon as the plan was approved, central government started to change planning standards. The planned land use indices for housing and other urban infrastructure were firstly reduced because they were thought to be too high and wasteful. Investment was concentrated on production. Industrial development were carried out according to the Plan, while the residential land use standard was reduced by 50 per cent. Floor space per person was reduced from 9 square metres to 4.5. The result was that industrial districts were soon developed, while most planned residential areas were left undeveloped. This created very serious problems of housing shortage, overcrowding and long distance travel between home and work. Residential areas were not well designed. Public facilities did not keep pace with production utility development. Local community centers were not established in each district. Few new shops were built. Even the proposed show piece — the centre square — was not developed because it would cause too much relocation.

Urban population on the other hand increased very fast. By 1953 it reached 582.6 thousands from 397 in 1949. After the First Five Year Plan period, by 1957 it was doubled and reached 1014.7 thousands. Figure 7.4 and Figure 7.5 compare population development and age structure in the city with Edinburgh. The population trend in the two cities may be regarded as indicative of different development stages. However, the actual complex processes of population change in Xian were controlled ones rather than a massive automatic increase. There is also no previous example for the later sending-down movement. In Edinburgh control of population growth was realised by indirect means such as the Green Belt policy.

This population increase came mainly from the east part of the country under the
Figure 7.3: Land use pattern in the textile industrial district
Figure 7.4: A comparison of population change in Edinburgh and Xian since 1950

Figure 7.5: A comparison of population structure in Edinburgh and Xian
government organised migration programme, or from surrounding rural areas. Most of them were young and single. Population increase put much pressure on housing needs. This increase in a particular age group made the city government, factories and other organizations build a lot of cheap dormitory style apartments to accommodate these new workers on the originally planned housing land. This mitigated the impact of the reduction of housing land use.

The Great Leap Forward in 1958 caused another major change to the plan. Financial and technical assistance from the USSR came to an end. Without sufficient funds in the centre, national and regional development policies were changed to adapt to this new situation. Local initiatives were encouraged. Each large region and province were required to be developed into independent industrial areas by the intensive use of human power. Provincial and city government’s economic planning powers were enlarged. On the city level this resulted in a review of the Overall Plan to accommodate these local proposed new industries. Two new industrial districts were proposed outside the original plan area. The textile industrial district was enlarged. Some chemical and environmental polluting industries were located into the existing industrial and residential districts. With decentralized economic development power to urban district government, street workshops and small factories were built in any spaces available in the built-up area including the old town. The early planned urban functional areas were mixed up by those new small scale developments. Other urban public facilities including housing were ignored. Small new industrial developments carried out in residential areas made the already crowded urban housing condition even worse.

By 1963, these mistakes of the Great Leap Forward were recognised. The national policy was adjusted. But city planning was blamed by economists and politicians for its high standards, dogmatic use of Russian planning principles and waste of resources. In the same year central government issued the instruction: no city planning for three years (Zhao 1984). The city planning bureau was removed. The review of the Overall Plan was abandoned. The task of adjusting the city’s structure was passed to the economic planners. Many small new factories were shut down and workers
returned to their rural home.

After the three years adjustment from 1963-1965, city planning did not have a chance to recover from the earlier attacks before the Cultural Revolution started in 1966. National development policy switched investment from major cities to remote rural areas and mountains for defence purposes. Without large scale development city planning was somewhat redundant and the new industrial districts planned during the Great Leap Forward were abandoned, while a lot of smaller scale development and changes were not effectively controlled. In the southern part of the city, shut down universities and institutions were replaced by new industries and mixed with the original non-industrial uses. Planned tree belts were used for other purposes such as shops and bus stations and so on. By 1972, the proposed end of the Overall Plan period, there was no central government instruction to review the plan and bring it up to date. There was actually no legal city plan from 1972 to 1980.

To summarize, the first practice of city planning experienced major problems. Firstly, though city planning was coordinated with economic development plans, the relatively short term economic planning made city planning difficult to practice. In theory economic development is planned through long-, medium- and short-term plans. However, there was no concrete and meaningful long-term economic development plan for the city. The only powerful economic plans were the five year plans. Even these were often interrupted by national political movement, yet the Overall City Plan made immediately after the revolution was intended to cover a period for 20 years. Planners found it very difficult to foresee the situation over so many years. The result was that the city land use plan changed with the change of economic policies. Western planners may think that in a planned economy, city planners have the certainty and power to plan. In Xian this was only true in the period of the First Five Year Plan. Though the plan was not formally revised and updated, when national economic development priority changed, the city plan was changed very quickly. City planner's long term considerations became the victim of short term economic policy. City planning as the continuity of economic planning also ignored its relationship with other social aspects. When the first city Overall Plan was made in 1953 no planner predicted that
the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution would come. The only success of the plan was the zoning function in the First Five Year Plan period which guided the large industrial projects' location within the city. After that planners were always on the defensive to keep the plan in practice.

Secondly, implementation of the city plan was affected by the city management system. Public investment in the city were not controlled by a unitary department. Different functional departments made their own decisions separately. The industrial department controlled industrial investment, the educational authority controlled the investment for educational facilities and so on. This left the city planning authority without much choice, and limited powers to shift the location of proposed buildings from sites already approved by other authorities, such as the economic planning commission and the land management department.

Thirdly, economic efficiency was explained narrowly as speed, and the city government under central government pressure always paid more attention to production aspects and treated other urban facilities as unproductive construction, which from time to time experienced serious cuts. Housing was the major area under control. Funds for public facilities such as water, transportation, communication and so on were the other target areas to cut.

Fourthly, public ownership of land was misunderstood. State ownership of urban land was established in the early 1950s (see Section 5.5). But there was no comprehensive policy of land management to benefit from the public ownership. After the change of land ownership from private to public, the land simply lost all its market value. Land nationalization only existed in theory. There was no charge for the use of urban land. The only control was through government direct allocation. Once a piece of land was allocated to a public body such as a factory, a university, or a school, the land became the property of that community. Each such community tried to occupy as much land as they could. In addition all these bodies were under different level governmental control. The city planning authority had little power to control the land they used or the style of use within the community wall. Central government
intended to control land use through a series of indices and norms, specifying land use standards. According to this norm, Xian Jiaotong University was planned for 10 thousand people in the early 1950s, and land allocated to it was calculated according to this figure. However the total population in this community had not reached the target by 1987. Land had been circled by the campus wall from other uses for nearly forty years. This was one of many reasons that made the government think long-term city planning was wasteful of land resources.

Finally, city planning's role was limited by the planners themselves as well. Most of them came from architecture related training, and very few had education in economics, geography and other social sciences. The work in the planning office was mainly making the blue print map of the future of the city. They lacked the ability to predict social and economic changes. Their work was to make a plan not depending on a rational theory but to find a possible way to arrange the land use. Most of these problems had not been solved in the 1980s. They will be further demonstrated in later sections.

7.3.2 The Second Overall Plan 1980-2000

The Second Overall Plan was started in 1980, and was approved by the State Council on 8, November 1983 (Figure 7.6). Like the 1953 plan it had a planning horizon of 20 years from 1980 to 2000, and was a plan for urban growth. It proposed the enlargement of the built-up area from 133.3 to 168 square kilometres. The new plan continues other major characteristics of the 1953 plan and defines the nature of the City as: "a city of advanced sciences, culture and education with textile and machinery manufacturing industries as the main sectors, with the tourist trade based on the protection of the city's historical features." There are evident continuities with the 1953 Plan. Both attempt to specify plan aims in terms of achieving a particular form of economic base for the city. Furthermore both see that base in manufacturing industry. What was new about the 1980 Plan was the emphasis on tourism and protection of historic 'features'.
The plan again calculated total land use requirements from a population target, but unlike the 1953 Plan was disaggregated into a short term goal for 1980-85 and a long term goal for 1986-2000. The population was again derived from the employment structure. The base population in 1980 in the city was 1.49 million: 640,000 (43%) were in basic production employment, 270,000 (10.6%) in service sectors and 570,000 (38.4%) dependents. Taking account of the state's strict family planning policy, 90% of women in the child-bearing age groups were expected to have only one child. This gave a 0.3% rate for annual natural increase. Migration was predicted by the planned expansion of major industries and the supporting service sector. Because substantial numbers of workers' dependents had been prevented from moving to the city in the previous periods, the plan also made provision for increased migration anticipated from these people. Based on all these factors, the plan then projected that the total urban population in the city would reach 1.59 million by 1985, and 1.8 million by 2000. Despite China's strict population and migration controls, the actual population in 1985 was 1.73 million. The average total land use per person was reduced from 108 \( m^2 \) in the 1953 plan to 90 \( m^2 \). Residential floor space per person was kept at 9 \( m^2 \), while the density was increased. The plan required that residential buildings must be at least 3 storeys. The standard distance between buildings was reduced from 2 - 2.5 times of the building height to 1.1 - 1.3, making the building of single storey houses almost impossible.

The plan divided the city into 10 residential districts, the old town, the south, southwest, west, northwest, north, northeast, east, southeast, and the free standing textile district in the east suburb. The districts were divided in the plan by major roads, into subdistricts of 40 - 180 ha. of land with about 20,000 people each. New housing development in the subdistricts was planned into neighbourhoods of 20-40 ha. in which there would be no major through traffic routes. In terms of basic approach and methods then the 1980 plan showed substantial continuities with its predecessor from 1953, despite the substantial changes that had taken place in national economic and urban policy, and which were being pioneered in the coastal cities (see Section 5.4.4).

Under the new national urban distribution policy: "to control the size of large cities,
develop medium cities in a rational manner, and rigorously develop small cities", industrial development in Xian was to be strictly controlled. There was less pressure on land use from industry at the time of making the plan than had been the case in 1953. Indeed the reserved industrial land in the southwest suburban area in the 1953 plan was reallocated for green field uses. However such proposals were not really consistent with the general attempt to open the economy to market processes. In particular during the early 1980s many factories that had been located in remote rural or mountainous areas were being encouraged to move to more economically advantageous locations. Many of these enterprises were second generation industries in the relatively advanced electronic sector which developed in the late 1960s and 1970s. Xian, with an established electronics industry, was attractive to factories seeking to relocate. As a result the 1980 Overall Plan has been adjusted to accommodate incoming firms in a triangular area of the southwestern suburb as an electronic industrial district. By 1986 ten factories and enterprises had moved into the area, which had been zoned in the 1980 Plan for open space. In addition the existence of aircraft manufacturing in the northeast of the city has now been officially reported in the press. This activity had been located there for many years and was an important element of Xian's industrial base, but for reasons of defence it was not recorded as such in the 1980 Plan.

In response to the increased use of motor vehicles, transportation and the road system were also major issues in the plan. New roads were proposed for the expanded areas. Three ring roads were planned, to reduce traffic through the city. The inner ring road is immediately outside the Old City Wall. The outer ring road forms the outer edge of the enlarged built-up area. The intermediate ring road is located between these two. The plan also made detailed arrangements for other basic urban engineering works such as water, power, sewerage, historical building protection and urban open space and parks. The result is a plan for a compact grid of urban development, infilling the gaps in the 4 km zone defined in the 1953 Plan between the walled city and the industrial areas. It is a plan for a rectangular contained city with peripheral industrial belts sharply demarcated from the countryside.
The Table of Contents of Xian City's Overall Plan 1980-2000 is presented in Table 7.1. There are similarities between this list and the Contents of Edinburgh's 1965 Development Plan Review presented in Table 6.2. Firstly, there is substantial similarity in the contents, with coverage of important planning issues such as, population, industry, housing, transport, public open spaces, protection of historic architecture and special landscape and so on. This seems to support Cherry's proposition about similar concerns and the development stage model of planning because China is at an earlier stage of urbanisation. However, fundamental differences also exist in the two plans. Firstly, because of the vast rural area under Xian's administration, the Overall City Plan contains a section of important strategy for the development of the small town system in the suburbs which in Edinburgh is done by the Lothian Regional Structure Plan. Secondly, greater emphasis is given to engineering projects by Xian's Overall Plans. Designs for these engineering projects are also presented in different maps which are very important parts of the Overall Plan documents. Most items under Section XII in Xian's plan statement did not form a major planning issue in Edinburgh's plans (old Development Plans, Structure Plan and Local Plans), although drainage and water supply were often considered because they could influence availability of land for development.

Finally, reading through these two lists and the Statements themselves and also the other supporting documents, one could conclude that the Edinburgh 1957 Development Plan is a detailed area oriented approach with accurate acreages, locations and proposed density, while Xian's Overall Plan contains many general statements. Apart from Section VI — The Overall Land Use Pattern — other sections mainly concern either the distributions of roads, streets, and various other pipelines, or the spot distribution of public buildings, parks, historic sites and so on. The plan made no detailed provision of location and site specific material for the major land use sectors such as housing, offices, commerce and business. The differences in style and depth of planning policies in Xian's Overall Plan and plans in Edinburgh are demonstrated here by the policy provisions made for residential areas.

1. Housing Policy and Plan in the Xian City Overall Plan for 1980-2000:
Table 7.1: The Statement of Xian City's Overall Plan 1980-2000 (Table of Contents)

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Note: The Statement contains a table of estimated cost for the construction project investments from 1980-1985.
The city is divided into 10 residential districts with the old town as the central one, then the south, southwest, the west, the northwest, the north, the northeast, the east, the southeast, and the free standing textile district in the east suburb. Those districts are divided by major roads into subdistricts. Each cover 40 -180 ha — with about 20,000 people. New housing development in subdistricts will be planned into subsubdistricts (neighbourhoods) with 20-40 ha in which there will be no major traffic.

Floor space: 9 square meters per person; Housing land use: 16 square meters per person; Total housing land use 28.8 square km. (This is based on the projected total population of 174,2 thousands and the building control standards: average height of residential buildings: 5 storeys; distance between buildings: 1.3 times of building height; building density: 26%). The plan made no provision of detailed housing land sites and no analysis of housing need and how to meet the need.

2. Housing policies in Edinburgh's Plans:

(a) 1957 Development Plan
- The housing requirements of the city were 55,400 houses.
- The Corporation proposed that these needs were to be met: by the erection of houses on sites which were to become available following the demolition of existing unfit, derelict property and temporary housing (18,400); by the modernisation of substandard houses (12,000); by the erection of houses on new and expanded housing areas (21,000); and by the erection of houses in areas where the density was to be increased (4,000). Then the plan gave detailed site location, area in acres, density (persons per acre) and the phase in which the development was to be undertaken.

(b) Development Plan 1965 Review: Principal new and expanded housing areas allocated extending to approximately 1,220.7 acres, made up as follows:
- Areas for local authority housing development 380.6 acres (Zoning of additional land for 4,100 local authority houses within the city was under consideration and was to be submitted as an amendment to the Development Plan.)
- Areas suitable for private housing development 840.1 acres. The Review, like the 1957 Development Plan, gave detailed sites, location, density and phase to carry out the development.

(c) Lothian Regional Structure Plan 1985
• **HP3** The District Council (Edinburgh) should make provision, either through local plan allocations or by granting planning permissions, for the minimum amounts of 450 private dwellings per annum on infill development in the period to 1996 (excluding sites on previously undeveloped land capable of accommodating 50 dwellings or more).

• **HP4** In addition local plans (in Edinburgh) should allocate land for 2300 private dwellings for development during the period 1991-96. The allocations should be made available no later than 1991 and be on either greenfield land or sites of previously undeveloped land within urban areas capable of accommodating 50 or more dwellings.

• **HP6** In the period to 1991 greenfield sites contributing to the requirements set out in HP4 may be approved in advance of local plan adoption provided:
  (i) The Regional Council is satisfied that the site can be serviced without excessive resource commitment; (ii) Sites are not in the Edinburgh Green Belt (LRC, Department of Planning, 1986, pp.4-5).

(d) North West Edinburgh Local Plan 1988

• "The Council will support the development of the identified sites (HSG 1 - HSG 14) to meet assessed housing needs and will encourage the development for housing of other suitable sites within the urban area provided proposals are in accordance with other local plan considerations including the need to protect amenity and safeguard land of recreational and landscape significance." (p.8)

• "The allocation of land for new housing development to help meet assessed strategic greenfield requirements is proposed at: - South Gyle HSG 15, - Maybury Road HSG 16. Development is to be in accordance with briefs to be prepared by the Council." (p.9)

• All new housing development must make provision for landscaping and open space in conformity with the Council’s standards." (p.9)

• “New development should be sympathetic in scale, character and density with its surroundings. In the Conservation Areas and in the defined ‘areas of interest’ in particular, special care will be required of developers to ensure that local character and amenity is protected.” (p.10)

• “Within areas with a predominantly residential character the establishment or extension of a non-residential use will not be permitted if likely to lead to an unacceptable loss of amenity through increased traffic, unsightliness or noise." (p.10)
Planning policies for both Edinburgh and Xian show concern with calculating land use requirements for housing. But the calculations have different bases. In Edinburgh calculations were always based on local population projection and research of the housing market. Plans in the 1950s and 1960s had set different density standards for private and public sector development. The Structure Plan now only indicates how many houses should be built. How many should be on green field sites, and how many should be on infill sites. A time scale has also been set for the districts to make land available. At the city level, housing policy areas were clearly marked on the proposal map of the Local Plans. Planning briefs were prepared for the major areas. Both Structure Plan and Local Plan policies show a market based approach. Policies are flexible and relatively short term to meet the demand of the housing market. There are no pre-set precise standards for storeys, distance between buildings etc. The Council also takes advantage of its ownership of some of these sites, by disposing of them under certain conditions to private developers. In Xian’s Plan, planned population scale was the major element for the projection of housing land requirement. Average housing land per person is set according to centrally decided indices. Planners, however, have no idea about how many houses should be built, and when should they be built. These were left for short term economic planning. But the planners’ standard of building height and density are important measures, which have a profound effect on the pattern of neighbourhoods and the style of houses.

7.3.3 Summary and Comparison

To compare the city’s two Overall Plans (1953 and 1980) with the Plans for Edinburgh, several points could be noted on both similarities and differences. Firstly, city plans for the two cities in the 1950s showed many similarities. The 1957 Development Plan for Edinburgh and the 1953 Overall Plan for Xian both covered the city...
area as a whole. They were both blue print plans. Land use zoning was the main mechanism used by both cities' planners. Standards, indices, density control were the major mechanisms. A similar technical planning process in the two different cultures and under different political and socio-economic conditions produced different types of urban land use patterns. In Edinburgh, this planning practice met strong opposition from the landowners (private and institutions) and middle class property owners. The effect of the plan on the city was kept to the minimum. By the late 1960s, this type of plan had lost credibility which led to the change of the entire development plan system. In Xian, the introduction of land use planning was accompanied by the change in land ownership from private to public, and by the change of the production mode from a market economy to a planned economy. At the same time the rapid expansion of urban population extended the city area far beyond the original boundary. These made planning practice based on land use zoning and standards not only possible but necessary, particularly in the selection of sites for large scale state planned factories and the provision of basic engineering infrastructure, such as roads, railways, power and water supply and so on. Density standards and land use indices were a practicable approach, particularly in the society where there were no established legal and institutionalized land development procedures. Different from the practice in Edinburgh in the 1950s where land use standards were proposed by local authorities, land use standards in Xian were imposed by central government for protection of the best agricultural land and control of local land waste and abuse of public ownership.

The early planning practice in Xian shows good coordination between economic planning and land use planning. However, economic difficulties during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution led to the total collapse of the land use planning system which was then still not fully established. Despite the shift to Structure and Local Plans there was much more continuity in Edinburgh; indeed the 1965 Development Plan Review remains the legal plan in some parts of the city.

Secondly, planning in Edinburgh shows not only continuity, but also innovation in theory, practice and style of plans, while in Xian, interrupted by national political
movements, planning theory and practice show no dramatic improvement. The 1953 Overall Plan was successfully implemented only in the First Five Year Plan period, and from 1958 land use planning and control were scaled down and almost abandoned entirely in the Cultural Revolution. The post-Cultural Revolution Overall Plan for 1980-2000 simply restored the early arrangement and continues the 1950s practice.

Thirdly, planning responsibilities in Edinburgh are now split into two levels: the regional Structure Plan and the district Local Plans. However there is no city level strategic plan. In Xian, only a city level Overall Plan exists. Inter-city level land use planning was only initiated by the new approach of the Territory Plan which is still under preparation by the provincial government (see Section 5.4.4). The 1980-2000 Overall Plan was made without such regional considerations. How the Provincial Territory Plan will coordinate with the city Overall Plan is still not clear. It is difficult to evaluate its effect on the future development of the city. There was also no arrangements in Xian to make local plans at urban district level. Detailed plans are only made for those areas proposed for major development. Such plans are not legally required, so they are not necessarily made by the city planners in the City Planning Bureau. In the absence of detailed plans in most of the areas, the Overall Plan is much too simple and general to guide and control new developments.

Finally, evidence shows that city scale plan making and approval in Xian takes less time than in Edinburgh (Table 7.2). In Edinburgh, after the passing of the 1947 Town and Country Planning Act, it took 6 years from 1948 to 1953 to prepare the Development Plan. Another 4 years were taken to get it approved by the Secretary of State by 1957. The 1965 Review took 4 years to complete. However the full approval of the Secretary of State came 9 years later in 1974. In Xian, both Overall City Plans took four years to make and the whole approval procedure took only 1 to 2 years. The most important reason for this is the nationalized land system which reduced opposition to planning policies from private and other institutional bodies in Xian. There was also no legal and formal provision for public participation in the plan making process.
Table 7.2: Comparison of plan-making and approval time in Edinburgh and Xian

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<td>Making</td>
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<td>Lothian Region</td>
<td>1 (1978)</td>
<td>1 (1979)</td>
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<td>Structure Plan</td>
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<tr>
<td>District Report</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Local Plans</td>
<td>(Original programme devised in 1975, by the end of 1988, 8 (among 14) local plans were adopted)</td>
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7.4 How Plans are Implemented?

Planning implementation in Edinburgh was examined by three case studies on different issues: development control, public bodies’ role in development, and conservation in the Old Town. Those three issues represent the major work of planning practice in the city, and are also important issues to compare with Xian. For a systematic comparison, this section employs a similar approach on three similar issues: control of private development in one of the urban districts, Yanta District, followed by planners’ coordinating role in public development, then the conservation and protection of the Old Town.

Before doing these, it is necessary to clarify the differences on development and development control between Edinburgh and Xian. Firstly, Chinese central government does not give a clear definition of development. The 1984 City Planning Ordinance made the statement:

“In the city planning area, on state owned land or land taken over from collectives (by the city government), to build, enlarge, rebuild any buildings and structures, or to lay roads or pipelines (by any organization or individuals), application must be made to the city planning
Changes from existing use of a building to a new use are not subject to control by city planners, but rather are the responsibility of other government departments such as the Industrial and Commercial Administrative and Management Department. The same legislation also gave local city government the power to make by-laws for detailed control. On 16th May 1987 Xian city government issued a document: The Method of City Construction Planning and Management of Xian which is such a concrete explanation of the City Planning Ordinance 1984 of the central government. This local planning regulation again only refers to construction of buildings or other physical structures, not changes of use.

There is also no such term as “development control”. The most relevant term could be translated as “planning management”. With public ownership of urban land, city planners might be expected to have the power to allocate land for various uses. But in Xian this is not the case. Land allocation and distribution is neither controlled by the market as in Edinburgh, nor by the planners as western planners might think. There are other authorities which have much wider power over land allocation and distribution. For instance, the city land management department is the body directly responsible for land allocation to users. The economic planning bodies also have more power over land use by their control of investment for projects. City planners cannot plan industries and other economic institutions. Though they have strong powers over urban public utility planning and construction, their projects must be approved and financed by the economic planning body. The city planning department’s role becomes simply building control. Comparing this with the practice in Edinburgh, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the city planning department in Edinburgh has stronger powers over the city’s economic, social and physical development than the city planning department in Xian, though Xian’s economic planning power is much stronger than Edinburgh’s where that function is mainly left to the market.

Secondly, the different nature of developments in Edinburgh and Xian gives development control different meanings. In Edinburgh developments are mainly initiated
by private companies and institutions, and so development control mainly means to control and coordinate private development. Important public sector land users are exempt from the need to seek planning permission. In Xian, with a much larger proportion of public ownership, most large and important developments are proposed and carried out by central or local governments. This may explain why there is no such term as “development control”, but instead “planning management”.

7.4.1 Control of Private and Collective Development in Yanta District

In the public dominated economy, private and collective development is small scale and under strict control financially and administratively. With these differences, it is not easy to find an equivalent example to the Craighouse Hospital site to represent the development control process. It is, however, possible to take a more general area approach to make the comparison. For this purpose, investigations were carried out in Yanta District in October, 1987.

Yanta District mainly covers the south inner suburban area with some existing built-up area in the north. It is also one of the major new development areas in the city which involves land transformation from agriculture to urban uses. Private and collective activities mainly involve development of small enterprises and private housing at the edges of the built-up area and also around existing rural settlements.

Small Enterprise Land Use Control The rural village is the legal land user in urban suburbs for agricultural production. But when agricultural land is to be changed into other uses such as enterprises or housing, permission is required from the District Land Management Department. Only when the development is within the Overall City Plan coverage (the area inside the outer ring road, see Figure 7.6), especially near the major proposed road or other public construction, does it require the approval of the city planning authority. The application process usually involves the following steps:
1. The developer (usually the present land user — the village as a whole or a group of people from the village) applies to the Rural Township in which the land is located;

2. the District Rural Enterprises Bureau give approval (economic consideration by the district);

3. The District Land Management Department give approval (land use and environmental consideration by the district): Not all land use can be finally decided at this level. The district has limited powers to make a decision.

   (a) If the proposed land use is inside the City Overall Plan area, the district has no power to give permission to the developer or developers without consulting the city planning authority. The application must be handed over to the City Planning Bureau for consideration and the City Planning Bureau makes the final decision on the location.

   (b) If the land was originally used for agriculture and is outside the City Overall Plan area, the district authority has the power to approve the development only if the area proposed is less than 5 mu. Any development for a larger area than that must be approved by the City Land Management Bureau.

   (c) If the proposed development is on land other than that originally used for agriculture (such as waste land or residential land) in the City Overall Plan area the district authority has the power to approve the land use under 5 mu, but the location must be approved by the City Planning Bureau; outside the City Overall Plan area the district power could be raised up to 10 mu, but any development requiring more land than that must be approved by the City Land Management Bureau, but there is no need for approval by the City Planning Bureau.

4. The District Industrial and Commercial Administration Management Department give approval (production and products registration);

5. Finally it is the responsibility of the Township to draw the concrete location, and then monitor the development.
There is a major difference between this development control process and the practice in Edinburgh. In Edinburgh, planning applications for large or small development, are administered by a single authority — the District Council and its Planning Department, though the decision on major development involves other bodies such as Lothian Regional Council or the Secretary of State. In Xian, the control process is much more fragmented. Firstly, control powers are divided into three tiers, the township, the district, and the city. This power distribution does not reflect the democratic process of decentralization, rather it reflects the nature of Chinese administration. Government functions are not split between different tiers of local authorities, rather they are duplicated. The scale of land use - the acreage - is the main factor in determining who should be the final decision maker. Secondly, while the district is the key level for small scale development control, the power is divided into different functional departments: physical considerations are the responsibility of the District Land Management Department, and economic considerations of the District Rural Enterprises Bureau and Industrial and Commercial Administration Management Department. The city planning authority’s power is very limited. The physical considerations made by the District Land Management Department are mainly concerned with agricultural land protection. There is no formal procedure to control building design and assess environmental questions.

**Land Use Control over Private Housing** Although most houses are built by public bodies in Xian, there is also a very important private housing sector. In the urban built-up areas, private households occupy the original pre-1949 properties and often redevelop their poor quality house in these areas where there are still no major public proposals for large scale redevelopment. In the peripheral areas, and particularly around the original villages, private housing development is a major land user. With the improvement of the economic situation of the farmers in the suburbs during the 1980s, housing development became a more and more important land use activity. However, this housing development is quite different from the private housing provided in Edinburgh by companies such as Cala Homes. It is a kind of self-help housing, designed and built by the household itself. Most housing development permission is sought and approval granted on an individual basis.
To build or rebuild a house on land already in residential use (within the original courtyard) is not subject to public control. But extensions of land for housing to meet the increase of population is under strict control. Since the collectivization of rural land, the growth of village housing land has been to be approved by the government. The procedure involves the following steps.

Firstly, the household wanting to build a new house on green field land applies to the village committee. The committee first considers the necessity of the development, and then sends its report to the township for consideration. If these two tiers approve the application the reports are handed over to the District Land Management Department for approval. In accordance with the national rural housing land use indices, the district government set standards for average land use per household at about 0.17 - 0.25 mu, varying according to the total land per capital in the village.

Once the application is finally approved by the District, housing development can go ahead according to the ‘Village Plan’. The Village Development Plan is supposed to be made by the village under the guidance of District City Construction Department. Actually many villages have no plan at all, and the prime consideration is to safeguard the village road pattern and road widths. The District requirement is 6 to 7 meters for ordinary roads and 10 metres for main streets to allow for tractors and trucks. Housing land increase each year in a village is allowed to accommodate 5 per cent increase of the total number of households. This household increase is mainly caused by the division of existing families into small units. In the 1980s, with increased housing land demand, the city government required that all new houses in the suburban villages must be two stories to save good agricultural land. Only new housing land use requires permission. Once the land is allocated, there is no need to apply for housing construction permission.

Major differences in public control of private housing development in Xian and Edinburgh can be identified. Firstly, the purpose of private housing production in the two cities is different. In Edinburgh, housing production is commercial, speculative and institutionalized. Developers are usually not the future users. They are capitalist ad-
venturers who invest their capital in order to get a return. This development process usually produces a number of houses or even a new residential district. In Xian, families traditionally built their own houses in rural areas including urban suburbs. This is why traditional Chinese private housing development is small scale. Only recently, housing corporations have been established to develop an urban housing market which is still small scale and closely managed by government authorities. Much of the urban housing and property authorities’s development powers were transferred to various kinds of commercial housing companies in either public or collective ownership (not in private). These companies raised capital and invested in house building, and then sold their products directly to individuals. This policy initiative represents an even more radical break with the past. The companies were explicitly set up as enterprises to accumulate capital (Kwok, 1988, p6). They are financially independent, but their profits are shared through negotiation with the city government. In Xian over 70 such companies existed in 1987. The City Construction and Comprehensive Development Company of Xian, for example, was established in 1979. By 1987 it employed 170 persons. The unsubsidized sale price of its new housing was from 400 yuan to 600 yuan per square metre according to the distance from the city centre (Wang, 1991). Although these new initiatives show more similarities with housing development in Edinburgh, it is still fundamentally different from the development carried out by Cala Homes by its public ownership and its scale. Although the government encourages private home ownership, an absolute majority of households stay in the public institutional housing estates.

Secondly, due to the different scale and nature of private housing development in the two cities, planners possess different powers. Private housing development is subject to planning control of the Council through its the City Planning Department in Edinburgh, though some major ones might be called in by Lothian Regional Council or even the Secretary of State for Scotland. In Xian the City Planning Bureau does not have the same power. Individual house building is mainly decided by local communities such as the villages and townships and approved by the District Land Management Department. Village Plans are not used for making decisions on development applications. They only help the Village Committees to decide the overall
land use pattern. Thirdly, planning and land management authorities in Xian control individual private housing development by setting standards. Different from Edinburgh, house building planning by the city government or public enterprises is not politicized. The general public's major interest is with housing distribution rather than construction.

To finance urban development, central government allows the local authority to collect a land use fee from enterprises and housing developers. By doing this the government hope to reduce the waste of land and to scale down the land use standard of urban and rural institutions, enterprises and also family housing development. However, this only applies to new development, and especially to the conversion of agricultural land in the suburbs. This policy has now been adopted by Xian City. The level of land use fee is not determined by the market but by the city government. In Yanta District the new public and collective developments were asked to pay a fee of 10, 8 or 6 yuan per square metre according to the distance from the city centre in 1987. New development on land previously used to grow vegetables had to pay 50 per cent above the average. The farmers' private housing development in the suburban village on the other hand was only required to pay 50 per cent of the average fee. Half of this income was handed over to central government while the other half was allowed to be used by the city for public facility development.

The land use fee applies to all new development. But in the mixed economy it introduces some of the disciplines of the market to private and collective developments. The capital supplier of these kinds of developments must find money for capital investment as well as for the land use fee. However, the fee has a more limited impact on large state planned projects. The government can always find money to pay this fee. It is only a matter of money circulation inside the same public pocket. The 50 per cent retained by the city government for public facility construction may make the city more attractive than rural villages, and so increase migration pressures.
7.4.2 Public Development and the Case of Yanta District

The style of public development in Xian is different from the practice in Edinburgh. It could be divided into two different types: general public developments carried out by public institutions, central and local government economic development departments and basic urban infrastructure and public utility developments carried out by the city construction authority.

General Public Developments General public developments for the purposes of production and service activities are subject to development control — planning management by the City Planning Bureau. They are different from private development in that they are proposed and planned by the government economic planning body and are large scale. Their approval is subject to the consideration of the City Planning Bureau rather than the urban district. The planning procedures are different from the control of private housing and small collective or private enterprises and business.

Four bodies are usually involved in large public urban land use proposals: the developer or developers, the economic planning commission (the level of commission involved depends on the scale of the project, large scale projects often involve the State Planning Commission, city initiated projects only involve the city planning Commission which is under the Province Planning Commission's supervision), the City Construction Commission and its City Planning Bureau, and the City Land Management Department. Theoretically speaking, it is the economic planners in the Economic Planning Commissions who make proposals for development and the city planners who determine the specific location and land use. But it is not possible to propose a development project without any consideration of location, and so in practice the economic planners have always had a preferred location in their mind. The city planners' work is to shift the proposed development to a position which might keep a good relation with other urban facilities such as roads and so on. Detailed land use within the proposed area is planned by the developer or by its consultant, though the detailed layout needs to be reported to the City Planning
It is the responsibility of the City Land Management Department to check the land use scale and land transfer procedures. The general development application procedure involves the following steps:

1. The developers (public bodies for enlarged or new proposed projects) must get construction permission\(^8\) from the relevant Economic Planning Commission. Central government planned projects must have construction permission from the State Planning Commission, projects proposed by a central ministry must have a permission from the Ministry; Provincial development must have a permission from the provincial Planning Commission. All the proposed developments, however, are not necessarily approved by a unitary planning commission.

2. For large engineering and production projects an Environmental Assessment Report is needed before application is made to the City Planning Bureau. Only those projects without serious environmental side affects can be located in the city. This differs from the practice in Edinburgh where environmental evaluation of a project is done by the city planners in the planning department after an application has been made. Planners' decisions in Xian rely on the third party's report.

3. After having these two documents, the developer applies to the City Planning Bureau for a site. The planners here do not decide whether permission is to be given or not, though some conditions may be imposed on the developer. This is one of the most important differences from the planners' role in Edinburgh. With the involvement of other more powerful departments such as the Economic Planning Commission, the city planners' role is very limited. In the public planned economy, every city bargains with the higher level governments for new investments. To refuse a project would be most unusual.

4. After a location agreement is reached with the City Planning Bureau, the developers then go to the City Land Management Department for approval of the proposed land use, and to make arrangement for compensation to the original

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\(^8\)It is similar to the Industrial Development Certificate, but its function is not only to control the location, it also ensures capital investment from the economic planning authority.
After going through the above procedures at the city level, the developer then needs to go to the relevant District Land Management Department, and through this Department to contact the existing land users, usually a suburban rural village community or a group of original urban residents, so as to get the land. A successful developer should have five basic documents ready for the examination by the District Land Management Department:

1. The application form to the district;
2. The high level leader's approval document (higher than the district);
3. The approvals from the relevant Economic Planning Commission.

Figure 7.7: Public land use application procedure in Xian City
4. The approved location and survey map from the Xian City Planning Bureau.

5. The approved document from the Xian City Land Management Bureau.

With all these documents, the four bodies: the existing user (individual or collective), the local community (township), the District Land Management Department and the developer get together to decide the precise location and to draw the boundary line. Then the developer starts to build, usually the boundary wall first to keep the original users and others out. Inside this wall a totally new urban community, a factory, a university, a government office block, or a public residential district is created. Most employees inside the community are drawn from another part of the city or even from all over the country according to the central and local employment plan. A few people from the village as the original land users may be accepted by the new community for low key jobs as a bargain for the land transfer. This process only happens after reasonable financial compensation has been paid.

Because all the important decisions are made by the high level authorities, land use control at the district level is mainly about location and financial considerations. There is no formal provision for public participation or local residents' involvement in the planning regulations. The process usually involves village leaders and individual residents, particularly for discussion about compensation. However, there is no point in individuals opposing public development, their only realistic option is to bargain for higher compensation and to seek relocation to better housing and better access to job opportunities.

In contrast the Edinburgh system is relatively streamlined, with only one application being necessary to only one authority - the District Council. But in Xian the process is much more complex and it is mainly the developer's responsibility to run among various public bodies for the required documents. Development control powers are dispersed around several public bodies, and compared with the Economic Planning Commission and the City Land Management Bureau, the City Planning Bureau's power is really limited. Inefficiency and confusion are caused by this arrangement. To improve planning performance, it will be necessary to streamline the local planning
authorities.

The Case of Part the South Suburb in Yanta District  

Public ownership of land and the specific management procedures produce a different style of land use pattern in Xian from that in Edinburgh. To compare with the South Gyle area, part of the south suburb in Yanta District is chosen to show the major differences in the style of planning and the land use pattern as a result of such plan. (Figure 7.8). The area concerned was a typical rural suburban agricultural area in the 1950s. The 1953 Overall Plan proposed the development of the entire south suburb as educational and cultural establishment land uses. Since then the area experienced dramatic changes. The original agricultural land was taken over by the state (central and local) and allocated to those public institutions. By the early 1980s the area became an urban district in the city with mixed land uses.

Each large powerful government establishment or institution acquired large pieces of land at the major open space in this suburb and circled it by a wall (approved by various bodies). Although much of this land was not to be developed for many years, other developers have no right to apply for that land, not even the city government itself. The small local developers were directed to fill the irregular small plots between these larger institutions. The city planners’ only role was to safeguard the proposed major roadline in this area.

Figure 7.8 also represents the distinct contrast between the suburban village and public institutional land uses. State planned large projects were set on the agricultural land of villages, but always tried to avoid the villages themselves. Though the land surrounding the farmers’ residential areas was developed for other land uses, the villages themselves retain their traditional style. Some villages are nearer the city centre than some public institutions, though the residents in those villages do not enjoy the same privileges as those employees in government institutions. This is true in respect of housing, employment opportunity, health care, child education, rationalized food supply and so on. In the 1980s, under the reform, the villagers established collective and small private businesses on their land along the major new roads, and
Figure 7.8: Land use pattern in part of the south suburb of Xian
also constructed private housing areas around the existing villages. (The procedures for such development have been described in section 7.4.1, and city planners' power to control such development is very limited.)

The figure also shows three different spheres of influence on land by different communities and the planning authority. The public institutions control the use of land within their walled area; the original villages determine the land use within the village and the surrounding agricultural land; the city planning authority however, only controls public land taken over from the farmers by the city government which mainly consists of existing and proposed roads and other public areas. Land management procedures under planning are confined to controlling the transfer of land between or among these different users, and this is a function of the City Land Management Department. This whole process is significantly different from the development in South Gyle, where the planners had few development powers, but were able to co-ordinate development initiatives to produce a comprehensive economic and social unity in a relatively small area. In contrast, the planning and development in the example from Xian produced separate independent communities behind closed walls, which are in line with the Chinese tradition but unsuitable for modern economic development. This example therefore shows that the cultural influence is very important in the practice of land use planning.

Public services such as housing, education, health care, food supply, public security, various registration requirements, land use design and so on are organised by such communities, both the public institutions and the rural villages. This is also the reason why the city government's role has mainly been to manage production rather than supply services. Central government have made several efforts to give the city government the power to plan and control these public services comprehensively and to bring the various elements of investment together under the city government's control. Not much has been achieved.

This figure indicates one of the most important characteristics of Chinese planning: provision of houses near work in public development areas. Large public establish-
ments not only built work places, but also housing, shops, clinics, (some with bank branches, and post offices) and so on. This sounds similar to the integrated development at South Gyle. However, the responsibility for managing these services rests with the leader of the community, such as the principal of a university, the head master of a school, or the manager of a factory. For example, where a university lecturer lives has nothing to do with the city housing authority. One of the biggest headaches for university principals is dealing with housing allocation on the campus rather than with academic affairs. With many old professors, and other staff approaching retirement age while living in university owned houses on the campus, many new and younger lecturers have no proper houses and stay in overcrowded high rise dormitories. When they come to the age to marry or to have a child, their housing problem becomes acute. Without fundamental reform of this system, the campus will become an old folks’ home (Wang and Hague, 1991).

This section demonstrated a different approach to public development from that in South Gyle. In Edinburgh the public body — the Economic Development and Estate Department — is working in a market economy. It took great advantage of the ownership of land. Through public-private cooperation it tried to attract more private investment into the city and realise its land value. It played a very important role as a negotiator to achieve conditions on building designs and surrounding environmental improvement. Although different from what happened in Xian City, the example is valuable to the future development of the local economy and reform. In many coastal cities, such as Shanghai and Shenzhen, the South Gyle style of development has already become a very popular approach. Due to its inland location, Xian is moving very slowly towards that direction.

Public development in Xian reveals major problems. Advantages of public ownership of land are not fully grasped. Without a land market bureaucratic allocation of land is the major factor in the land development process in which the owner — the city government — is always in a defensive position. Administrative methods and centrally imposed standards are used to control overuse by various publicly owned developments. These community ownership rights in land and services are major
difficulties to those seeking economic and administrative reform and moves towards a market oriented society.

Development of Urban Infrastructure  Because Xian is a rapidly expanding city, public development of urban infrastructure and facilities is a very important planning issue. Roads, water, sewage and other public utilities are planned by the city planning department and carried out by other departments under the City Construction Commission. Infrastructure development investment is controlled by this Commission. In 1987, the sources of infrastructure investment consisted of the following:

1. **Urban Construction Tax**: Central government allows the city government to use 7 per cent of total incomes, industrial and agricultural, in the whole administration area for infrastructure investment in the city.

2. **Additional public facility taxes**: the city is allowed to collect an extra tax for water, electricity, telephone, transportation and so on. For example, a 10 per cent increase of the price for water supply is collected as a tax and used by the Construction Commission to build new supply systems.

3. **New Projects tax**: New proposed developments are required to pay some money to the Commission for supplying other public facilities. This tax is calculated according to the size of land proposed to be used. The average tax is 50 to 80 thousands Chinese yuan per mu of land⁹. (Some unprofitable public projects may be exempted from this payment.)

4. **Central government grants**: For large urban Construction projects, such as rebuilding the railway station or repairing the City Wall, central government may fund up to 30 per cent of the capital costs.

In total the city could get about 120 million yuan for urban construction from these four sources. This does not include funds for housing construction. Public housing

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⁹ mu is a Chinese unit for land which is about 666.7 square metres

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construction under the city government is directly controlled and planned by central government.\textsuperscript{10}

Although the land use planners' powers to initiate and control public development in Xian are relatively weak compared with Edinburgh, they have stronger powers over the planning and development of urban infrastructure. They have overall control of the design and development of basic urban facilities such as roads and streets, transportation, public buildings, water supply and the sewage system and so on, through the control of capital investment by the City Construction Commission. The above financial resource list suggests that the city has more flexibility in spending on those projects than Edinburgh, where public expenditure is strictly controlled by the central government.\textsuperscript{11}

7.4.3 Conservation of the Old Town

The particular historic background of Xian city makes conservation and protection of the old town a very important issue. Due to its long history as the national capital, the city contains important historical assets - Han Changan city site, the Tang Changan sites and most importantly the Ming Xian City Wall. As early as the 1950s, city planning avoided development on the Han Changan site in the north. Most importantly the Ming City Wall was protected. In other cities, especially in

\textsuperscript{10}Information and data were collected during the investigation and talk with the leaders in the City Construction Commission held in the period from August to November, 1987.

\textsuperscript{11}The financial arrangement often decides the practice of central government urban development policies. For instance, government policy is to control large city's development. In practice many financial policies actually encourage the development of large cities. 7\% of total income (including the incomes of suburb county and satellite towns) is allocated for the construction of Xian City, comparing with only 5\% allowed in suburban county towns from their own income. Furthermore Xian City could get 30\% investment for their large scale urban facility development, while small towns could hardly get the attention of central government. With this financial arrangement it is no surprise that Xian City develops quicker than not only surrounding rural areas but also quicker than other cities in Shaanxi Province. In 1985, 58.4% of the urban population in 8 cities lived in Xian, while 65.3\% of urban maintenance funds and 70.9\% of capital construction funds was spent at Xian (Xian City Construction Commission 1986).
the eastern coastal area, such historical walls have long been destroyed particularly since western invasion. From this fact Chinese planners believe that the old town protection in Xian has been relatively successful.

The Ming City Wall was originally built during 1374-1378. Although Xian had lost its national capital status by that time, it was regarded by following dynasties as the most important town in the western part of the country, particularly for defence. The City Wall was higher and thicker than all other regional centres, apart from the national capital. This is one reason why the wall survived. In 1949, Xian city was still mainly confined within this Wall. But inside the wall very few buildings were older than 200 years. Both public buildings and houses were in poor condition. The 1953 city plan proposed to protect the old city from new industrial development. But this protection could not really be described as a conservation approach. Tourism was not recognised as a major growth sector. However this early protection was a response to the general requirement of central policy to protect historic buildings and architecture. Therefore the plan steered industry away from the old town and to the outer suburbs, and the old city wall was planned as a public park. Even so few positive and comprehensive conservation actions were taken. The approach was piecemeal and toward preservation of individual buildings. Within the wall, planned and unplanned redevelopment were carried out both by the city government and individual property owners. Poor houses were destroyed to enable road widening, and the people were relocated. The single story housing of simple structure built from earth and bricks made redevelopment relatively easy. There was no medieval townscape in Xian, such as in the Edinburgh Old Town. Today the repaired Ming City Wall looks very impressive from outside, but the area inside resembles any other modern man-made landscape.

In contrast to early conservation efforts in Edinburgh, historic building protection powers in Xian were not given to the city planners. A separate department was set up: The Historic Building Management Department. A listed building programme was employed by both central and local governments from 1961. Historic buildings are graded into three different levels according to their importance. The city Historic
Building Management Department first list all historic buildings in the city area. Then the equivalent authority at the provincial level selects those important ones and puts them on the provincial list. Central government selects those of national importance and put them on the national list. Xian city wall is on the national list. It is these lists that helped to protect these buildings from being destroyed by the Cultural Revolution, but no positive action was taken to conserve them. By the late 1970s conservation and restoration work had still not started on the city Wall and the four main Gate structures. Most parts of the Wall were in decay, and lots of original bricks were taken away by local residents. The moat around the Wall was being used as a local rubbish dump.

With the discovery of The Emperor' Warriors in the far east suburb in the 1970s, Xian became a tourist centre of international significance. Since then preservation and conservation of the old town has been recognised as a most important aspect of city planning. In 1980 the new city plan added tourism as one of the important sectors of the local economy. The Wall and the moat were planned as a public park, and a Wall Park Authority was established under the city’s Construction Commission. The neglected city wall was repaired. The moat outside the wall was cleared of rubbish.

The new plan included a comprehensive conservation policy. Protection was extended beyond the listed building itself. A similar concept to conservation area was introduced. Three different zones were proposed for each particular listed building, according to their relation and distance to the building: absolute protection zone, impact zone, and environmental coordination zone. The absolute protection zone includes the historic building itself and the open spaces within its original boundary, e.g. a temple and its yard and original wall. The existing landscape and structure are absolutely protected. No new development is permitted except improvement work by the historic building authority itself. The extent of the impact zone is decided by the height of the historic building. The higher the historic building the wider the impact zone. Development in most cases within the impact zone should be lower than 23 metres. Controls are imposed on the height, external appearance, and the use of new development. Development of hospitals, factories, and noisy and dan-
gerous projects are not permitted in this zone. The **environmental coordination zone** enables control of the skyline and landscape of a group of listed buildings. High structures and those which might block views, such as chimneys and water towers, are forbidden (Xian City Government, Xian City Overall Plan 1980-2000: Statement, p.22).

The plan proposed to reduce the population in the old town from 340 thousands to 270 thousands by overspill to the area outside the city wall. It also proposed redevelopment of most old residential areas in the old town where 90 per cent of housing was classified as unfit. Many areas are low, damp and dangerous in the rainy season and lack sanitary and health facilities. The simple structures and poor quality of properties means that redevelopment of housing in the city involves demolition and replacement with new high rise blocks, but there is also a change in the land use as much housing is replaced by public buildings and offices and commercial establishments.

Although conservation is a major planning issue in both Edinburgh and Xian, and the historic interests of the cities are important assets in local economic development, particularly in the development of national and international tourism, conservation activity differs in the two in several aspects. Firstly, the contexts for protection are different. In Edinburgh, with the stone structure and fine design of old buildings, conservation is concerned with the entire Old Town. Protection is not restricted to the major buildings, such as the Castle and Churches, the original houses and streets are under protection as well. It is the conservation of the Old Town as a whole which ensures the retention of its medieval character. Conservation in Xian tends to protect those major historic buildings. Recent development has extended this protection to their immediate surroundings. However the whole environment of the Old Town was destroyed and rebuilt, so that the area is not really distinct from the rest of the city in terms of the buildings and environment.

Secondly, public grants to individual occupiers, housing associations or local groups play a key role in rehabilitation and conservation in Edinburgh. In contrast Xian’s
new Overall Plan still plans to relocate about one third of the Old Town population, a similar process to that in Edinburgh in the 1950s and 1960s. In this sense, Xian’s Old Town is planned to become a new town, but circled by a City Wall over 600 years old. Hence different values of conservation are seen in the two city. In Edinburgh the past is cherished, while in Xian planners prefer the new rather than the old, particularly with respect to old style houses. In part this could be because of housing unfitness. This may present a different perception of conservation by planners at different economic development stages.

Thirdly, the different values in conservation are also represented in protection and rehabilitation of historic buildings. In Edinburgh much attention is paid to preserving the original features of old buildings and streets. New development is under strict control. Regulation of design is so detailed as to control the size, colour, and shape of windows and the use of materials. The approach is to try to protect the entire character and original environment. In Xian, much attention is paid to the historical places rather than to the buildings and their original environment. The approach to protect the old City Wall for example, is based on repair rather than conservation. The Wall itself was repaired with specially made new bricks. Originally there were only four gates in the Wall - one at each side. With the development of traffic, there are 14 openings now. The man-made moat outside the wall was originally an earth ditch. It is now a stone and concrete surfaced channel. In the open spaces in between the wall and the channel, pavilions in the old style and other landscaping projects are planned, which were not there before. Although they form some kind of attraction to tourists, they have entirely changed the original purposes of the Wall. The original character of strong fortifications has been changed into something in style with the soft lingering of sense of a Palace. Some soldiers in traditional army clothes with traditional weapons and horses to guard the Gate and the Wall may give a totally different feeling of a historical Chinese town to the tourists.

Finally, conservation in Edinburgh is a kind of popular movement. Conservation policies of the Council are implemented by control of new developments, a process in which various interest groups such as the Old Town Conservation Committee are
invited to participate. Regulation, negotiation, and promotion by central and local public funds are major actions. In Xian, conservation is a direct action of the city government. Conservation projects are planned and carried out as other civil engineering projects by public authorities. There is no significant public participation. These characteristics once again indicate the strong influence of cultural background and historical tradition.

7.5 Conclusion and Comparison

Xian City has experienced great changes under the Chinese socialist system in the last forty years. It has developed from a small traditional administrative city into one of the most important and comprehensive industrial, commercial, administrative and cultural centres in inland China. As such it has exemplified the achievement of major urban and regional development goals set by the Chinese Communists when they came to power. City planning played a very important role in this development process, despite being marginalised as a result of shifts in national political and economic policy from time to time. The Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution brought great disruption and contradictions in the development of Xian, so much so that for 8 years during the late 1970s there was no city plan at all. Nevertheless the 1953 Overall plan for land use did determine the basic structure for major urban expansion, particularly in newly developed areas. In addition the plans protected the historic City Wall, and co-ordinated the general development of Xian during a period of rapid urban growth. The impact and long term effect of these two plans, particularly the 1953 one, should be recognised. At the same time, planning practice in Xian has exemplified important problems encountered in the planned economy. Only in the very early days was a successful integration of physical and economic planning achieved. Production interests dominated, imposing costs in terms of environmental pollution, overcrowding of housing and limited social provision. There was wasteful allocation of land under a system of long term planning and in the absence of land values, and work-based communities were able to effectively expropriate to themselves some of the benefits associated with the right to use the land behind their enclosing
In comparison with Edinburgh, the characteristics of development of Xian show signs of a low stage of industrialisation and urbanisation. Edinburgh, at a much advanced economic stage, is in a country where urban living has long been the norm. Large scale rural to urban migration has stopped, and some degree of decentralisation is evident. In the last forty years, the total population in the city hardly changed. City plans were largely to consolidate and improve the existing urban structure. Particularly, since the late 1970s large scale development has given way to inner area and peripheral public housing estate renewal. In addition, the historic features have received great consideration for conservation. The planning process was to guide these developments. Xian, on the other hand located in an inland area dominated by agricultural production and rural population, has experienced an intensive industrialisation process. It started as a city smaller than Edinburgh in the late 1940s, and developed into a major regional urban centre. The total population has increased 4 times in the last forty years. City plans were to guide the industrialisation process and expansion. The prime consideration was the new development of factories.

But this superficial stage model explanation is far from enough, because the political and cultural influence was clear as well. Firstly, the organisation of planning authorities in Xian is very different from that in Edinburgh. There is no clear responsibility division between elected politicians and technical staff in Xian's planning process. This system ensures implementation of Communist Party policies in planning with minimum opposition. The planning authority in Xian is also different from that in Edinburgh by the extent of its coordination with other public works, such as housing, roads and civil engineering, public facilities, urban environment and sanitation, historic buildings and even the publicly owned construction company, through the city's Construction Commission. These differences are obviously the result of the two countries' distinctive political and administrative systems.

Secondly, city plans for the two cities since World War II has shown both similarities and differences. The 1957 Development Plan for Edinburgh and the 1953 Overall
Plan for Xian both covered the city area as a whole. Land use zoning was the main mechanism used by both cities' planners, along with standards, indices, and density controls. This might be explained by the process of industrialisation and the spread of planning skills. However similar the planning process produced different urban land use patterns.

Thirdly, although the population development in Xian has been of a similar scale to that in Scottish large cities in their early stage of industrialisation, this increase was not a unchecked one in a free market economy. Population changes in the last forty years had ups and downs. More importantly these fluctuations were caused by government direct intervention, such as birth control, “sending down”, job opportunity allocation and population registration.

The case studies of planning implementation have revealed that fundamental differences in planning practice lie in the different land ownership system and contrasting land development processes. In Edinburgh, where private ownership of land dominates, land development is a form of capitalist production which involves raising money to bring together land, labour, materials and expertise so as to produce a building for a return of some kind, either in terms of profit, personal utility or prestige. The political/technical division of the planning authorities, the development control process, the provision for public participation, the appeal rights of the developers and the call-in power of a higher authority are all designed to fit into this particular land development process. Planners are not the agents of land owners, so do not have the power or the ability to decide how exactly land will be developed. As the agents of the general public empowered to regulate various interests, their role mainly involves negotiation and promotion. The plans made in the city are not blue print documents, but indicate that what kind of development could be accepted for a particular site.

In Xian planners theoretically are the agents of the legal land owners — the state. Their role is to advise on how the land will be developed. However, the situation planners face is much more complex than this. Under the general public ownership
of urban land, land is occupied by various public bodies related to different levels of
government and their departments. These actual land users have much greater power
over how their land should be used. City planners' role is actually quite similar
to that of planners in Edinburgh, they negotiate with and coordinate those various
interests. Even this limited power is split among several authorities and departments.
The city planners' work is most closely related to the proposal and development of
major roads, public engineering works, public buildings, conservation projects and
open spaces. Day to day land use changes are beyond their control. The plans they
produce primarily indicate where the road is going to be built, how wide it will be;
if a developer is going to build something in this area, how much space he or she
should leave for the proposed road. This Chinese approach to planning would appear
to derive from the development priorities of industrialisation and the institutional
structures of communism.
Part V

CONCLUSION
Chapter 8

What can China Learn from the Scottish Experience?

The objectives of this research, as indicated in the Introduction were two fold: a) to identify and analyze differences and similarities in the two systems; and b) to explore the possibility of improving planning practice in China. This Chapter will draw together the major findings and identify the most useful and practical points for transfer of experience. It starts with a summary of similarities and differences; then analyses those similarities and differences from different dimensions, cultural/historical, political and administrative systems, and technological and economic development stage; finally recommendations are made on how the Chinese system should be improved from the Scottish experience, which form the conclusion of the whole research.

8.1 Similarities and Differences between the Two Systems

The general features of the two systems are summarized in Table 8.1. The following sections explore these points.
Table 8.1: Comparison Summary of Scottish and Chinese Planning System

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<th>Chinese System</th>
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<td>1) Dominant Ownership:</td>
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<td>(some public)</td>
<td>Collective (rural)</td>
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<td>‘Informal Plans’</td>
<td>Regional-territory Plan</td>
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<td>2) Plan Implementation:</td>
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<td>Development control</td>
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<td>Promotion, negotiation</td>
<td>Planning management</td>
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<td>3) Characteristics of planning:</td>
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<td>Planning as a process</td>
<td>Blue print master plan</td>
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<td>Public participation</td>
<td>Professional consideration</td>
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8.1.1 Similarities and Differences in Planning History

By analyzing the development of human relationship with nature, Hansen (1990) has identified four different views on nature:

The **Utilitarian View** is only interested in the cultivation and utilization of natural resources.

The **Romantic View** is characterized by an idealization of wild and unspoilt nature and by a strong emotional appeal.

The **Functionalist View** was a continuation of the romantic outlook, wild and unspoilt nature still being the ideal. On the other hand, a change had taken place. Man does not use nature actively anymore, but has assumed the passive role of the spectator. Especially the open spaces around the suburban blocks of flats express the functionalistic view of nature and industrialisation’s sharp distinction between work and leisure.

The **Ecological Understanding View** shows the growing awareness of pollution problems and the threats against nature and is a reaction against the utilitarian and functionalistic perception of nature.

Although these views represent another evolutionary model, they offer some light on the development of planning in the two countries through a relatively long period. The **utilitarian view** of nature was represented by early agricultural and other human development processes. Early town planning before the middle of the last century in the two countries was influenced by the **romantic view**, but with both similarities and differences. In China the private gardens and the Imperial Gardens in the feudal system were comparable to the pleasure gardens and country houses for the bourgeoisie and the urban aristocracy. Town planning in Victorian Britain, such as the plan and development of Edinburgh’s New Town was quite similar to the plan and development of ancient Chinese cities such as Xian. Planning practice at this stage was concerned more with physical layout than with social purposes. Planning was a skill that was applied to build beautiful townscape and to show the power and
wealth of the ruler of the city and the state. The difference is that in China there was a centralized political system, and town planning and development was controlled centrally by the feudal ruling class, while in Scotland the more autonomous urban merchant class played a very important role. The aim of the development of the Edinburgh New Town was also to create wealth; it was a capitalist venture.

The Industrial Revolution, representing a functionalist view of nature, changed the practice of town planning in both countries. In Scotland the industrial revolution changed the traditional pattern of towns and town life. Population growth and the increase of industrial workers brought serious urban housing and health problems. Modern town planning emerged as a response to those problems. The earlier concern of town planning with architectural matters was extended to general land use which also involved social and economic issues. In China, after 1840, the invasions of advanced industrial countries such as Britain discontinued the traditional town planning practice in several areas along the coast, and the invaders created a different townscape in these occupied cities. However, there was not much formal planning practice. At the beginning of this century, almost at the same time as the first town planning legislation in Scotland, some foreign-initiated town planning schemes were made in these treaty port cities. This practice was different from the planning practice in the invaders' home countries. Firstly, the foreign invaders were mainly merchants rather than industrialists. New developments were houses and offices rather than industrial workshops. Secondly, these settlements were in suburban areas where there were no serious housing or social problems. Thirdly, land use competition was not so intensive as in their home cities. The purposes of planning were not to solve the problems in their home industrial cities, but to show the power and wealth of the occupier. In this sense not only the invaders affected the Chinese; the invaders themselves were also influenced by the particular Chinese tradition of town planning - but the powerful and wealthy were now foreigners.

Western people did change Chinese cities by introducing modern construction skills, means of transportation and other civil engineering works. To exploit local resources, both human and natural, there was some planning of industrial areas around 1920s-
1930s. But no Chinese residential areas were regulated in such detail.

From the middle of 1920s to 1949 under the Chinese Nationalist Government town planning practice was piecemeal. Some plans were made for the large cities but without much implementation. Though modern planning concepts, such as central business areas, the neighbourhood unit idea and so on, were introduced by students who studied in western countries, the practice in this period mainly fell back to the Chinese tradition. Town planning was mainly practised in designing the layout for government administrative headquarters. Due to the wars, the government never had the chance to recognise and solve urban problems which were being addressed in Scotland at that time. This indicates a transformation from the romantic view to the functionalist view on nature.

The late 1940s was the landmark of planning for both countries. In Scotland the Town and Country Planning Act 1947 introduced the most comprehensive development planning system in the world which brought all land use changes - development - under planning authorities' control. In China, with the victory of the Communist Party in 1949, a comprehensive planning system was set up for the first time.

Post war planning practice in the two countries was also shaped by political ideologies. Although the planning systems show a gradual development from simple to more sophisticated, both similar and different trends of planning practice are found in the two systems. In the period of 1949-1957 planning practice in China and Scotland was comparable. The war time enthusiastic mood toward collectivism was reflected in both countries. Although the Chinese government was led by the Communists, the political economic system was Fabian Socialist in character. Although some aspects of the romantic view of nature still existed, represented by the planning and building of urban parks and central and local administrative headquarters, functionalist thinking was gradually established. The zoning of functional areas for different purposes became a major practice of city planning. This functionalist thinking was similar to the then guiding ideology of the planning profession in Scotland. Although major political and economic events in China were generally directed by the principle of
moving the society into socialism, market functions and private initiatives were given a fair role to play in the development process. This post war enthusiasm for planning in both countries was represented by blueprint city plan making. This similar trend was, however, discontinued by the late 1950s. The Conservatives in Scotland abandoned this move toward greater state control, while in China the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution were two major efforts toward large scale public control under the name of Communism. After the Cultural Revolution and in the period of the late 1970s and early 1980s, however, planning practice in China could be viewed as similar to the 1960s approach in Scotland. Scientific town plan making was advocated and accompanied by more rationalized government decision making. The economic reform (started in urban areas in 1984) brought back a substantial market function into the economic development process which destroyed some bases of traditional collectivism. For a while it seemed that the two planning systems were going to converge. The recent Chinese political and economic moves make the two systems again diverging.

The Chinese land use planning system differs from the Scottish one by its relationship with the country's economic and social development planning. With public ownership of the major means of production, most development projects are planned and carried out by public economic planning and construction bodies. This leaves the land use planner a very low key role, essentially to choose and shift the locations for these state initiated projects. To some extent this characteristic is matched by the arrangement of SDD and local economic development authorities at regional or district level in Scotland. The difference is that due to the nature of a market economy the public bodies' role in economic development is marginal in Scotland, while in China most important and large projects are carried out by the government. Related to this, centrally determined standards and index control of planning practice and design formed another major characteristic of the Chinese system, which produced a unitary style of urban landscape, while traditional communities and neighbourhoods were destroyed. Large state built communities such as factories, government organisations, universities and institutions, not only became major urban spatial units but also social units. New initiatives on commercial housing development (public companies building
housing for sale) have tended to construct large high rise multi-story housing estates, very similar to the 1960s development style in Scotland, which were also produced under state decided standard controls. These suggest that China is lagged behind Scotland in planning theory and practice from a technological view.

Compared with the Scottish town planning system the Chinese land use planning system is still a fragmented one. City planning only operated in large cities in the past, and extended recently to smaller towns. Rural market towns and villages were left without any planning control until 1981. Since then new measures were introduced to plan those small settlements, but these new initiatives were not coordinated into a well developed town planning practice. Different planning policies were made, different authorities established at central and local government levels to carry out this planning practice. This reflects the lower stage of development of the society, particularly the country's planning education and the way that professional planners are employed and spatially distributed. In a developing economy, less spending on planning education means not enough qualified planners. Well educated planners tend to stay in large cities and be involved with general policy making, while less qualified persons are engaged with the more important work of plan-making and implementation. Though recently rural planning became an important issue with the development of territory planning, there are still few qualified planners willing to work away from major national and provincial large capital cities. Although various methods were used to train farmers to plan their village, this training by those city-based professionals gave them the skill to plan development which may never come. Rural planning is reduced to a concern to protect agricultural land from housing development, which now relies on administrative methods rather than rationalized land use plans. Regional planning initiatives developed recently show some improvement in planning theory and practice. But this planning activity is separated from well developed city planning. Its advisory role, and temporary organisation determines its practice. Such plans lack an implementation function, and only supply information to other bodies in central and local government for economic development policy making.
Despite these differences in the development of the two planning systems in the post war period, planners have all become conscious about the ecological effect (Ecological View) of new development. Environmental assessment, for example, has become a very important element in planning decision-making. In Scotland, at a higher level of development, industrial structure change demands the planning policy to deal with old industrial and housing areas, such as the inner city areas on one hand, to maintain a higher design standard for new development with good relationship between productive and the recreational utilization of nature on the other. In China it is a major planning issue to control pollution caused by large industrial projects. Great demand for consumer goods, such as urban housing, keep the planning and building standards at a relatively lower level.

8.1.2 Similarities and differences in Planning Concepts

In both countries, planning was introduced because of the perceived failures and problems of the free market. People came to believe that in modern industrial society public regulation should guide development of land. The difference is that in each country, planning approaches are used on a different scale. In Scotland, planning from its first introduction has been primarily about the use of land. It sought to regulate rather than to replace or fundamentally change market mechanisms. Planning has been a limited form of state intervention. The question about “why planning?” is a question why land use should be planned. Planners from time to time have advocated more coordinated planning and a more comprehensive planning system which would cover wider issues than the existing system, from central down to the local level, but the government has never moved greatly in such a direction, rather it has sought to keep planning intervention at a minimum scale and limited to the use of land. In the 1980s even this land use control function was called into question.

In China city land use planning is only one part of a comprehensive planning package employed by the government. The major land use planners’ - city planners’ - role is limited in comparison to that of economic planners. The question about “why have
"planning?" is a question about why have economic planning. There has been plenty of discussion on this. The answers were mainly shaped by the Communist belief that Only Socialism Can Save China, while public ownership of the means of production is the basic principle of socialism and the most efficient and socially justified management of the publicly owned economy is through planning. Though the national economic development policy changed from the Socialist Planned Economy with Market Regulation in early 1950s, to a Socialist Planned Economy during the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution periods, the return to the Planned Economy with Market Regulation from 1978 to 1984, and to the recent reform slogan of Chinese Style Planned Commodity Economy, the question is whether the market is necessary. This is a major difference in planning concept between the two systems, and one which fundamentally structures their different approaches to planning practice.

Chinese land use planning is also different from Scottish land use planning in its relation to the national economic and social development planning programme. In Scotland, economic planning in the market economy never worked in a socialist style. Modern town planning appeared before and existed without economic planning. Though economic planning was advocated and practised in some periods with the nationalization movement of some industries, town planning was not coordinated into a comprehensive economic development planning system. In China, land use planning is related to the national economic and social development planning programme. Economic planning was thought to be the base of land use planning. However this did not make land use planning easier. In the last forty years only in some short periods, land use planning was well coordinated with economic planning in some projects in large cities, such as the planning and development of the Textile District in Xian in the 1950s (see Section 7.3.1). The long term considerations of the land use planners were always the victims of the short term economic strategy. Like in Scotland, when development pressure came, land use planning was employed to solve disputes between users; while when the pressure slackened, land use planning was criticised as the ob-

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1 This slogan is disused since June, 1989 and the economic mode returned to planned economy with market regulation.
stacle to development. Then various policies were introduced to reduce the control of land use planning. The abandonment of city planning in China in the 1960s is the best example. More recent changes of planning characters in the two systems again show more similarity than difference. Economic reform, Special Economic Zones, Open Cities and other policies in China all can find their counterpart in Scotland, such as market initiated development, privatization of industries, Enterprise Zones and freeports. These may not necessarily mean to abandon planning, but they do reduce land use planners' power.

The second reason for planning is that in both countries there is a common recognition of land as a unique resource. So no change should be made in the use to which land is put without the prior permission of a public authority. Particular care has to be taken to ensure that land is used both efficiently and effectively and that long term interests are not sacrificed for short term advantage. This is also the most important issue which makes these two systems comparable. But beyond this differences exist. In Scotland neighbourhood effects are emphasized. Firms and households, in building and making land use changes, often impose 'cost' on others, for which they do not have to pay. These 'external costs' or 'neighbourhood effects' can lead to actual losses of money or amenity or may impose some extra burden on those receiving them. It is this recognition that keeps the planning machine in operation, and gives planners a negotiation role.

In China, a society in which the individual is subjected to the collective, people are the subject of the government, and planning for the public and for the next generation is always advocated as the basic law. In Communist society, people are supposed to be in the same class; the capitalist and feudal landlord classes at the beginning were enemies and were destroyed. Those people were educated into becoming ordinary citizens. To build beautiful cities, save good agricultural land, benefit production and protect the living environment for the people as a whole, are the most important goals of land use planning which are advocated from time to time.

Thirdly, conservation forms another reason for planning in both countries. Conser-
vation policies and technological practice in the two systems are different in some degree. But there is no fundamental difference of purpose which is to protect historic heritage.

The recent development of regional planning — territory planning in China — is a step forward to a comprehensive land use planning system. But this step is not a straight forward one. First, its purpose is not only for a reasonable land use plan. Its major purpose is the use of natural resources and economic development. The government did not introduce this planning purely to achieve a land use management system at regional level, rather it hoped to establish some kind of information system to help the making of national and local economic plans and city plans. This can be demonstrated by the fact that no regional planning authorities have been established. Territory plan sections have been set up in central and local government economic planning commissions to coordinate this work. Subject territory issues such as water, mineral resources, road system, and so on are undertaken by various public institutions such as universities or research centres. City and rural land use planners’ contribution is only a minor one. This practice is similar to the Clyde Valley Regional Plan of 1946 by Sir Patrick Abercrombie and Robert Matthew. The territory plan has little value for direct implementation. Some territory plans at regional level may play a role like the Scottish structure plans, though there is no legal provision for the City Plan and the Village Plan to adopt territory plan policies.

8.1.3 Similarities and Differences on Land Systems

A basic differences in the two systems is the system of land ownership. In Scotland, even though the 1947 Act brought all land development under state control, land nationalization was not attempted. Land was mainly owned by individuals and public and private institutions. The main contradiction of Scottish planning is public planning and the individual pursuit of benefits from the land market. It is this essential contradiction that determines the regulative role of planning. In the 1940s and early 1950s it seemed that planning was going to play a more positive role. The
actual practice was a strengthened development control role in most existing urban areas. The conventional Chinese planners, of both economic and land use, thought that western planners could never solve this contradiction. Planning would eventually become the victim of the free market. The past Scottish planning practice seems to confirm this belief. The policies of the Thatcher governments toward market development give further support to the view. But this does not simply prove that these two systems are too different to make comparison. Nor does comparison depend on proving that the socialist view is wrong. Rather comparative analysis raises the question whether Chinese planners have settled this contradiction successfully. The analysis in the thesis suggests that public ownership of land does not automatically solve the contradiction between public planning and individual land user's interests. The nationalized land system and bureaucratic allocation in China caused irrational urban land use and waste. Furthermore, Scottish cities took advantage of their own public ownership of land as an asset to attract private development and negotiate conditions on design and environmental improvement, such as demonstrated by the case study of South Gyle.

In China land ownership changed from the traditional pattern during the 1950s. Private ownership of land was replaced by public ownership in the Land Reform Movement in urban areas. A land market no longer existed. Land transfer could only happen following the way from old user to the state and then from the state to a new user. The law made provision for government to take over land from collectives for state construction or leasing to other developers. Theoretically speaking this arrangement might solve the land speculation problem, keep land development in a planned way and make the state the only body to receive the benefit from development of land. The practice has not simply followed this way. Firstly, without comprehensive legislation to guide the land development process, nationalization made all land lose its market value. It became a free gift from government to land users. Secondly, the state as land owner was not a single body, and did not have sufficient skills and techniques to manage land use. The actual land owners were central and local government departments, state owned factories, institutions and various individuals who traditionally use the land. Though most of them were public bodies, they were
controlled by different tiers of government. Their interests could be different from those of the planning authority.

Furthermore land development decisions were not made by a single planning authority in each city. Planners became the watch dogs of public facilities and the coordinators between different users. They were always in a defensive position struggling to protect land from being illegally taken by local public production and institution units. Land waste has been an important issue in planning. Central government, in seeking to save best agricultural land in local areas, relied on various land use standards and indices to control land use. Local social and economic need and physical conditions were secondary to these central decisions. A further consequence of the central standards has been that the modern urban areas show many similarities from city to city. Despite those problems, public ownership of urban land in Xian did give clear advantages in the comprehensive development of basic urban infrastructure such as roads, and other public facilities. In the period of rapid urban expansion, this was a very important factor in forming the overall structure of the city.

8.1.4 Similarities and Differences of Planning Practice

The comparison of planning practice in Edinburgh and Xian demonstrates many similarities and differences. The basic similarities are: both cities have established city planning authorities; formal city plans have been made; much attention has been paid to plan implementation. While the Xian plans covered more about basic urban infrastructure construction, those basic issues such as population, city centre, district centres, industrial areas, residential areas, shopping, transportation and traffic, and historic building conservation have been the major concerns of both cities’ planners and the main contents of plans. With these similarities a Vice Chairman of the City Construction Commission and the Chief Planner in the City Planning Bureau came to Edinburgh for a one month planning experience exchange in 1986. However, these similarities should not over-emphasised. Planning authorities in China and Scotland are organized on different principles; plans are implemented differently in
procedures; and most importantly planning produces different social, economic and physical patterns in the two cities.

In Edinburgh, where the private sector dominates the economy and land ownership, planning produces loosely defined urban communities. Although there are community centres and identical community areas, they are neither closed formal organizations, nor a tier of local government. In Xian, modern urbanization and planning produce a distinctly different style which is consistent with the traditional organization of the society. Original suburb villages are a kind of community. Industrialization and the development of public institutions through economic planning produce another kind of urban community — factories, universities, hospitals, shops and so on. Though they are different from the traditional organization — the villages — the land use pattern and the work-living relation are similar. In the agricultural society, villages are the settlement and the living areas; the surrounding cultivated land are the workplace. The village and the field form a unity which is the basic organization in the rural areas. In the modern urban areas, the policy produces similar social units. Offices, shops, workshops, the lecture rooms are the workplaces, while the residential areas are the villages associated with such institutions.

Almost all social affairs and services happen inside those communities. The relationship between the general public and the city government is relatively weak. Land use planning decisions within these walled or unwalled communities are made by the communities rather than by the City Planning Bureau. This special community tradition has been very important to the modern urbanization process in China. It is this strong community unity which made planning practice in Xian different from Edinburgh. It is also this community unity which made Chinese urban development different from other third world countries. To compare the Chinese planning system with other countries one must recognise such cultural differences; to improve the performance of Chinese planning by transferring Scottish experiences, one must analyze these differences.

The Planning authority in Xian differs from that in Edinburgh in that there is no clear
division between politicians and professional planners. The politicians are not elected directly by the people in the city. They are mainly the agents of central government and the Party. Both their links with higher level authorities and their relation with the general public are different from the situation in Edinburgh. Professional planners often seek to be promoted to a leading position which is not necessarily dependent on their professional skills. The City Planning Bureau there is not only a professional bureaucratic agency, but also a political organisation itself. It includes its own Party branch. Many professional planners are Communist Party members as well. The non-party member planners are encouraged to join it. Planners' work is influenced by Party policies. In Edinburgh, the formal difference between politicians and planners is much greater, but politics still influences the outputs of the planning system.

All these evidence summarised above have shown that Cherry's proposition is both correct and also misleading: there are similarities in language, concepts, methods and aims which transcend international boundaries. However if we move beyond description, and towards analysis of process and results then generalisations and commonalities become much more problematic. What seem like similar plans derived from similar methodologies in pursuit of broadly common aims can yield different outcomes (eg the 1953 Xian Overall Plan and the 1957 Edinburgh Development Plan). Yet very different systems (eg of landownership) can produce similar outcomes (eg the marginalisation of land use planners on land development issues). International forces (eg the growth of tourism) impact on the two cities, but only because of each one's unique historical assets. By doing comparative research the thesis has been able to show why some authors like Stretton have concluded that each place is unique, and why others like Pahl believe there are important similarities to be observed and explained.

8.2 Cultural, Political and Socio-economic Explanations

All the above evidence indicates that explanation of the development of planning in the two societies is a complex task. A single approach, either from a stage model or a
political-economic system, is over-simplified. The whole discussion through the thesis indicates that for a relatively long period, say over a hundred years, the stage model is helpful to identify some similarities between different societies and in organising various events. Over short periods, however planning practice cannot be fitted into a general stage model. A more complex force, including historic, cultural, political, social-economic and physical factors, is at work. To apply a stage model for a comparison which involves China, the influence of spatial factors become important. The country is not only at a lower stage of development than Scotland. It is also much bigger than Scotland. Different locations inside the county itself could be at different stages. Indeed, the comparison has identified various situations of planning practices in the two countries: similar practice in a same period (rational model in 1950s), similar practice with time-lagged periods (scientific approaches in the late 1960s in Scotland and the late 1970s in China), similar practice in the same period but with locational variations (indicative and market-led approaches in the 1980s in Scotland and the Chinese coastal cities but not inland China), and several diverging periods (toward the market - the right - in Scotland, and towards greater control and planning - the left - in China). Even in the most comparable periods with similar planning practices very different land use patterns were produced in the two countries. This makes a general stage model even more irrelevant. But this does not mean that technological and economic development do not affect the planning process. The discussion has also revealed many similarities in the two societies as a result of industrialisation, most notably urbanisation and the need for land use planning.

For a more realistic analysis the comparison needs to be approached from three different dimensions: cultural and historical, political and administrative, and technological and economic development dimensions. The cultural, historical, political and administrative factors in both countries have shown continuity. This continuity could explain most of the differences between the two planning systems.

The Chinese culture is a collective and centralised culture in which the three cardinal guides of Confucianism have controlled the behaviour of the ruling class and the ordinary people for thousands of years. To explain why modern natural science did
not develop in China Jin (1989) stated some major differences between the Chinese mode of thinking and the western one:

- The traditional Chinese mode of thinking pays more attention to the entirety of objectives or the whole system rather than to individuals or parts of it;
- it pays more attention to the overall function of a system or object rather than to the internal structure and composition.

Jin concluded that these characteristics made an important contribution to the early development of Chinese civilisation from the Qin and Han to the Tang dynasties, but that their effect over the last few hundred years has been to make China fall behind the west in modern science and technology development. This may explain some of the differences between the Chinese and Scottish planning system. For example, the early development of city planning in China, particularly in those capital cities like Xian, was comprehensively designed to meet the centralised power control and represent the wealth of the feudal states rather than to meet individual need. After the Communists established the new government, planning as a modern technology was again not built up from small scale in local areas, rather the state established the comprehensive economic development planning system which sought to bring all public and private activity under the overall state control. With these characteristics of thinking, the modern policy from time to time shows superficiality rather than detailed consideration. Economic and urban development policies always tend to state the overall public needs rather than the different needs of different social groups. The expression of this mode of thinking in the administrative system is the centralised decision making. Important national policy issues are determined by the top leaders in the central Party and Government organisations; matters with important local effects are decided by leaders in local organisations. These leave little opportunity for public participation or even for the kind of informal planning frameworks used by Edinburgh’s planners where statutory plans had ceased to be the best means of steering development pressures.

Wallace (1989) put his view on Chinese culture and history in the twentieth century:
there has been continuity of the indigenous tradition of the centralizing of power on the emperor or whoever was the leader/ruler; traditionally centralised rule was accepted only as long as it worked well enough, though the centralised tradition could lead to the overthrow of one inefficient/unsatisfactory ruler by another. The individual leader would tend to be the crucial factor: first this person, then another, etc. Continuity is therefore a kind of paradox, it exists but is really a succession where each one is succeed by another key figure (Wallace 1989). The strong central control of cities in China, and the relatively local urban autonomous nature in Scotland, formed the most important historical and cultural background for modern planning systems. This is the starting point to make any comparison between the two societies and is the most important issue to bear in mind in looking at the two countries’ planning system.

From these views we can conclude that despite many changes in Chinese society, the basic cultural characteristic remained: the centralized decision making administrative organisation and process. Within this framework the most important political and social relations in the country have been those between different tiers of government and between the government and the institution-based communities. The relationship between the government and individuals has been much less important. When most of the population were engaged in agricultural production the feudal state controlled those communities — the villages. In the modern urban areas, planning based on the particular tradition produced different land use patterns from those in modern western cities. A new kind of cluster of urban "villages" — the units discussed in Chapter 7 — was created. Each unit formed a social and economic community. Major government services are carried out within such communities. The most important link has been the vertical one from each community to the government, while the horizontal links between communities have been relatively weak. The community leaders have been chosen by, and work for, the government. They manage production, housing and other social services, and impose control on members. This structure has ensured the implementation of the Party’s policy, yet the relatively independent nature of those communities also imposed restrictions on the implementation of many government policies. Their control and management of land and property exemplifies this.
City planning in the centralized economic planning system has represented two kinds of relations: the relation between the central and the city government (bargaining for more financial and administrative power for development) and the relation between those "urban villages" and the city government. This explains many characteristics of the planning system: Why has public ownership of land become collective ownership? Why has the city planning authority no absolute power in land use decisions? Why is there no comprehensive planning law like the Scottish one while planning practice is constantly controlled through centrally set standards? Why is there no formal provision for public participation like that in Scotland while planning decisions are made by informal discussions between planners and those community leaders? Why are planning and development always public direct actions rather than negotiation and promotion?

8.3 Recommendations: What can China Learn from the Scottish Experiences?

One may argue that it is silly not to explore the possibilities to transfer planning experience between the two countries after a so detailed and comprehensive comparison. Can China learn from the Scottish experience? The simple answer lies in the main argument of the thesis: whether the planning system and its practice are best explained by a stage model or by political and cultural factors. If the stage model is the best answer, then transfer of experiences is not only possible, but should be encouraged. If the political and cultural differences are the main answer, then transfer would be less fruitful and should be handled with caution. The discussion concluded that both approaches are too simple and one sided. Although the stage model offers less attraction for this kind comparison, technological influences are important. Although cultural and political systems are key explanations for many differences, particularly in a short period, differences in social (population) and economic (personal incomes and industrial technologies and organisations) development stages are obvious. This suggests that there are possibilities for China to benefit from the Scottish experi-
ence, but the transfer can only be limited to some planning ideologies, particular approaches, methods and skills. These can only be gained by constructive criticism based on the perspective thus achieved through comparison. Any attempts to make an entire copy of the Scottish planning system in China is unrealistic, impossible and unnecessary. Indeed, all recommendations below are aimed at improving the Chinese system. They were reached by a better understanding of modern town planning as a whole through comparison. No attempts were made to copy the Scottish system to China.

Because this research has put great emphasis on the historical, political, social-economic systems in relation to town planning, the recommendations are made to cover a wider area than land use planners' concern. Some of them are outside professional land use planners' reach at present. They, nevertheless, are even more important than narrowly defined conventional land use planning skills. The Chinese land use planners have always paid great attention to and done their best to introduce foreign planning theories and ideologies. But there is a lack of deep understanding of the contexts beyond the new techniques. The best example is that the land use zone mechanism introduced in early 1950s has produced distinct land use patterns in China from in western cities. This comprehensive approach is one of the main values of this research.

Reform the administrative system, and make local government structure more suited to modern industrial development

A democratic administrative system is the base of modern planning. The Chinese administrative system, as discussed in Chapter 3, has three features: centralised decision making, multi-tier local government and an urban/rural division. The first two are the heritage of the former feudal system. Within both central and local governments, powers are usually concentrated in a few leading persons. The local government structure was designed to comply with this central control. For a large country it is argued that this kind of organisation is good for stability. A westernized
democratic system may cause confusion and social unrest. It is true. But the disadvantages of this system are also obvious. Power misuse and abuse are only some of the major problems. The system is particularly not good for efficient use of local natural and human resources. Local government lacks the independent power to bring about new initiatives, because they are constantly responsible only to central government for fulfilling various targets.

There were several attempts to reform this system since 1949. But they all tended to add or abolish departments or bureaus with special functions within the structural framework established under feudalism. The recent one was the establishment of Chinese Communist Party's discipline departments at all major central and local government levels to play a semi-judicial role to prevent leadership corruptions in the early 1980s. Although it is unrealistic for this research to suggest a specific new system, a thorough review of the existing system is recommended, which should break the old feudal system restraint. It is out of the question whether a Scottish style two tier system should be established. But the principles set by Lord Wheatley's Commission on Local Government in Scotland could be useful references. The ideas of power, effectiveness, local democracy and local involvement could be fitted into the particular Chinese cultural system (see Chapter 3). It is ironic to note that in 1991 the Scottish Local Government system was threatened with a fundamental restructuring aimed at removing powers and increasing its subervience to central government.

A reform should consider abolishing the provinces. This tier of government, in particular, does not play the role like a Federal state in America, nor a local government body in Britain with direct service functions to the public. The only function played by this tier is to transfer central policies to lower tier local governments. With modern communication technology this function is not necessary. Human and financial resources are wasted at this tier, causing many problems such as superficiality in policies and barriers between the government and the people. The traditional geographic boundaries between them do not represent modern industrial development needs. Some high mountains run through the central of a province, while some bound-
aries were set in areas where important exchange of economic activities are essential. They could be abolished and replaced by a new structure which should reflect modern industrial development and the city region idea. Based on the understanding of the large sector of agriculture population some of the functions at this tier could be transferred to special boards. Under the 1980s reforms, attempts were already made to establish city regions by enlarging major cities' administrative boundaries (see Chapter 3, Section 4.2). This process should be continued. They should eventually become the first tier local government, directly under central control.

Decentralised decision making is necessary for planned use of local human and natural resources; constant reliance on centrally decided standards and norms produces uniform artificial landscapes and an inhuman environment, and ignores local people's needs.

Chinese land use planning is controlled by central government not mainly through planning legislation but through centrally decided standards and indices. The design and materials of new construction are also controlled through the economic planning system. The major purpose of such standards is to control the waste of land, particularly good agricultural land and produce equality in living. In a state planned economy these are necessary to control the use and management of resources, but they produce a uniform living environment. Past experience both in Scotland and in China, shows the attempt to arrange all people in a standardised environment is Utopian and unrealistic.

Recent development also shows that the use of standards in the country are mainly in the big cities. With the economic reform programme in the 1980s, more and more market functions were introduced. Public economic planning bodies are no longer the sole body to organise production and construction. In the eastern coastal cities, particularly the Special Economic Zones, favourable investment policies were applied to attract foreign capital. These economic development policies were not accompanied by special land use planning policies. The property market has become
a major force which influences land use decisions. In the countryside, farmers' real income has increased in most areas, which led to a rural housing boom. Not only were more rural houses built, but they were of a better quality. In the inland cities, like Xian, the centrally determined standards are still the main mechanism for land management. To study the Scottish experiences of large Council estates, the future of the standardised overcrowd concrete multi-storey buildings of small flats makes many people worry.

If the reform programme is to be continued, each city should be given more autonomous power to decide what kind of development would be acceptable according to local resources. Planners need to be more active in property market research and to identify real local demand, rather than to plan the supply according to centrally determined standards. For the purposes of saving land, other means should be explored, such as fiscal and planning methods (green belt). City plans should be more sensitive to the local social, economic and physical environment.

**A clear division of planning functions between professionals and administrators is helpful to planning policy development**

The Chinese planning authority is confused by the mixture of professional planners and other government administrators, even Party leaders. This is less satisfactory than the clearly divided function and responsibilities between planner and elected council in the Scottish system. Policy and implementation are confused. Planners' professionalism is constrained by ambitions to win promotion. While the leader of planning authority is a member of local government, his or her promotion position is not within the planning department. In this system professional planners' responsibilities are always primarily toward the leadership, rather than towards professional planning knowledge and skills. Profession is mixed up with politics. The top position for a planner does not end at the director level, for he or she may become a chairman or chairwoman of commissions in local government or the head of local government such as a mayor, even eventually a minister of central government. Planning students,
for example, who take positions at different tier governments face differing prospects. Those who manage to get a job in the central planning authority have more opportunities to become a more important person in future life than those assigned a job in a lower tier local government planning department. This is the major reason that planning policy developed most in central authorities, while planning practice in local areas always lagged behind. In larger cities planning is well organised and practised while small towns and vast rural areas constantly rely on a city-based planning institute to make a plan for them; posing problems of understanding and implementation.

To identify this problem is very easy. To find a quick solution is complex, if not impossible. The confusion of responsibilities between politician and planners is only one aspects of the problem. It is the same with all other disciplines. This problem does not come from professional specialists. It is caused mainly by the particular characteristics of the country's political system. In Scotland politicians are elected members for central or local governments. They work for a fixed term. Their performance is important to their future. Public opinion influences their behaviour. In the local councils most members only work part time with relatively low pay, while their professional employees have much longer work contracts. This makes the politicians, particular the local ones, a less attractive profession. Nevertheless, Scottish politicians - the councillors - are the official decision makers. The permanent professional staff with better pay and secured jobs advise them. In China there are no such politicians. The so-called politicians are those central and local government leaders, usually selected by their leaders. Their salaries are higher than most professionals. More importantly they have powers and privileges, such as selecting or dismissing lower level officers and access to a range of services (public cars, big house, body guards etc.). Compared with them, professional jobs are less attractive and lower paid. This is particularly damaging since it directs people's attention away from their profession and causes unnecessary power struggles. To solve this problem reform of the whole political system is necessary. At least the same opportunities and income levels should be given to both politicians and professionals. Only this could stop the particular Chinese tradition — becoming a government officer by education.
Combine economic development planning and physical land use planning, and finally transfer to a unitary planning system in which land use planning plays a key role to guide development and protect the environment

Much development planning power is in the economic planners' hand. Various economic planning commissions and departments not only plan the capital investments owned by central and local governments, but also approve other kind of developments by collectives and even large scale private developments. The job left for land use planners is to arrange the use of land required for these approved developments.

Planning power is separated into two different authorities. Planners are separated into two different disciplines in education and two different professions. This separation wastes resources and causes problems of understanding the development process. Economic planners pay much attention to financial aspects of development, while land use planners pay more attention to technical and physical environmental aspects of development. The social and economic welfare of the local community becomes the gap between them. With the economic reform and development of an urban service sector, more and more small land use changes now need to be controlled. The present government approach is to set up new authorities or restore some old ones to manage these changes. Industrial and Trade Management Departments are examples. To change a residential property to a commercial one in a city, the property owner needs to go to the Industrial and Trade Management Authority for permission rather than to the city planning agency. Development control powers are fragmented into many different authorities, all staffed by people from different professional backgrounds. This wastes valuable human power and time and delays development, as well as making monitoring of corruption more difficult.
A comprehensively organised planning system all over the country would be better than having city planning, rural village planning and territory planning systems separately.

Land use planning activities are not covered by a comprehensive system in China. There are three land use planning systems at the moment: city planning, rural village planning and territory planning. Only rural planning in the city suburban areas is under the control of the city planning authority. In other parts these three are practised by different authorities. The new development of territory planning shows a trend toward a more comprehensive planning system but it is not coordinated into the well developed city planning system. It is necessary to bring them together and establish a more comprehensive town and country planning system in which territory planning as a regional approach would fulfill a role like Scottish Structure planning. City planning and rural planning form lower tier plans like Scottish Local Planning. There is a need to establish more sophisticated rural planning authorities and encourage educated planners to work there. This will help the realisation of the national urban development strategy of controlling large cities and developing small cities.

Planning needs to be changed from blue print plan to comprehensive development planning; the physical model making process should be replaced by a continuous decision making process; planning contents should be enlarged to cover more social and economic elements.

The most developed land use planning - city planning practice in China is still a master plan of future physical construction. City planning is mainly concerned with physical constriction - architecture and engineering. This approach was useful in the period of large scale state organised development like 1953 - 1957. From a long term view, economic development is always uncertain, and city planning must be flexible to change to meet the changed economic situations. With the reform and change of economic development policy, public bodies are no longer the only developers.
Initiatives for change could come from many sectors. This necessitates a change in style of planning as well.

**More attention needs to be paid to planning implementation in local areas and to encouraging planners to work in local areas, particularly small cities and towns**

The Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party gave four instructions to Beijing City - the national capital to make urban development policies in 1980 which are known as an important planning policy to guide overall urban development in the country:

1. Beijing should become a model for the whole country on social security, order and habit; it should be the best in the world;
2. ... build Beijing into a modern city with a first class beautiful, clean environment;
3. make our capital a city with the most advanced culture, science and technology, and highest level of education in the country;
4. make the economy prosperous continually, and people’s life stable and convenient (Wang 1980).

These four instruction indicate the restart of the CCP and central government attention to city development and planning after the Cultural Revolution. It was a trigger for urban study and planning and was welcomed by planners all over the country. But this instruction shows very clearly the ideology of the Chinese government on planning. A city’s development should rely on the development of the city’s economy. Beijing’s development should rely on Beijing’s economic development as well. In the centralised economic planning system it is not difficult to build the capital city into a show piece or model for other areas. Central money can go a long way towards achieving this goal. But this ideology is not a fair one. It revives once again Chinese
feudal town planning thought. Edinburgh as the capital city of Scotland does not get special attention and financial support from central government. The strategy for the development of Beijing is not a democratic policy. Here I am not blaming the development of the capital city. The most important consequence of this policy is its effect on local government decision making. Provinces, counties all have their capital cities or towns. Those local authorities will follow central government's road and develop local capitals and make them a local model with better opportunities, environment and facilities than the rest of the area. This policy is definitely contradictory with the national urban development strategy of controlling large cities and encouraging small ones. This exemplifies the reason why central and local capitals are almost all large cities. With better living conditions, favourable environment, and more social and economic opportunities, large cities attract people from small cities and rural areas; Beijing is the national magnet for people in large cities elsewhere. Planners, like any other profession, are only one group in this trend of movement. To achieve balanced development between town and country, and between large city and small city, this policy urgently needs to be changed.

A more sophisticated planning law is needed to guide plan implementation

A very important difference between the two systems over years is that Scotland has developed a comprehensive planning law which is constantly under review. The planning authorities, plan making procedures, and implementation procedures are under legal control. Public interests in planning are legally guaranteed. In China there is still no formal planning law. Planning practice is constantly instructed by central leaders' speeches, informal circulars, conference reports and so on. In 1984 the State Council issued the so called planning law: the City Planning Ordinance, which contains very simple government regulations to guide local city government to make city plans. The Land Management Law (1987) is another piece of legislation related to planning. All those laws are too simple. Local government spends much time preparing local regulations. These regulations tend to protect public authorities'
rights in land development, while planning powers are fragmented to many separate departments. Planning law needs now to be changed, and consideration given to fundamental reform of the local government system. The merging of economic planning and land use planning may provide a more efficient legal planning system.

Public participation

A fundamental weakness of the Chinese land use planning system is the lack of public participation. During the plan making process only professionals are consulted. The general public are not involved. People usually do not know what will happen in their area. This is partly because there is little private property in the urban areas. Nationalization of urban land made the general public tenants not land owners. The planners think they know what the city needs, but they might be seriously wrong in the long view. For example, city planners' modern style of high rise residential building could meet the short term housing shortage but is unlikely to create a popular type of housing for most people in the future.

A system which lacks public participation can work in a centrally planned system, where all development initiatives come from public bodies and the general people do what they are told to do. With economic reform public participation is necessary both in future development and control. Participation rights in the decision making process on neighbour's development proposals need to be protected by planning legislation.

Planning education should be separated from other disciplines and introduce new planning courses to meet the need of the planning profession

A good planning system needs good planners. Good planners come from planning education. The shortcomings of the Chinese planning system are caused partly by the organisational problems of the government, but they are also the result of poor
planning education. Architectural design oriented city planners without much social, economic and political knowledge are far from the need of a modern development process. Fewer educational establishment with planning courses bring further problems. The most important recommendation of this research is to develop planning education. Not only do new planning schools need to be established, more importantly new planning courses should be introduced which teach students how local resources could be better managed rather than what kind of physical model should be built.
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