

**An Examination of the Role Orientation of Planners in Taipei**

by

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Thesis submitted to the Faculty of the  
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of  
Master of Urban Affairs  
in  
Architecture and Urban Studies

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May, 1989

Blacksburg, Virginia

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(ABSTRACT)

This research project explores the professional ideology of planners in a new industrialized setting - Taipei, Taiwan. This study seeks to establish whether urban planners in a newly industrializing country (NIC) exhibit consistent sets of values, attitudes and role orientations that parallel those of Western planners. In addition, in an authoritarian party-state such as Taiwan, planning is a top-down process. Development goals are set at the top of the political bureaucracy; therefore, plans are formulated to meet predesigned objectives, especially in terms of economic development. Since economic growth is seen by some as a legitimation device for the existing authoritarian regime in Taiwan, the role of planning vis a vis the partnership between the state and capitalists is worth examining. The data used in this study are drawn from questionnaire surveys of public-sector urban planners working in Taipei city. The survey was conducted between May and August 1988. The sample size of 128 planners was determined based on estimates provided by each departmental head within Taipei Municipal Government. An overall response rate of 69%, and a valid response rate of 66% was achieved.

A prominent pattern that emerged in examining the results of the survey is the strong rational and apolitical orientation of Taipei's planners. The pervasiveness of rational and apolitical leanings among planners is partly a reflection of an authoritarian state that protects its own legitimacy while promoting economic development. The prevalence of apolitical attitudes among planners in top-down decision making environments exacerbates difficulties in the implementation of plans and programs. Hence, planners working with implementation units, and carrying out plans formulated by planning units are more cognizant of the importance of public participation. In addition, they are more skeptical about planning

activities in Taipei city than their counterparts working in planning units. In conclusion, it is suggested that although most planners believe in the apolitical and rational nature of planning, planners with formal planning educations tend to recognize the inherently political nature of planning to a greater extent than those without planning educations. Since planning education is obviously one of the determinants in shaping the role and value orientations of planners, especially with respect to their recognition of political influences, planning curricula that better focus on those aspects may be emphasized.

## **Acknowledgements**

I wish to express my gratitude to Dr. Paul Knox, Dr. James Bohland, and Dr. John Browder for their help and advise over the course of my graduate studies and research work at Virginia Tech.

A special thanks to my parents for all the advise and encouragement they have patiently given me over the years.

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## 1.0 Introduction

This research project explores the professional ideology of planners in a new industrialized setting - Taipei, Taiwan. The data used in this study are drawn from questionnaire surveys of public-sector urban planners working in Taipei city.<sup>1</sup> This study seeks to establish whether urban planners in a newly industrializing country (NIC) exhibit consistent sets of values, attitudes and role orientations that parallel those of Western planners. There is very limited information on educational trends in urban and regional studies in the semi-peripheral countries of East Asia.<sup>2</sup> In addition, research concerning the values and self-image of planners reflected in their day-to-day practice is lacking. This study attempts to profile the values, attitudes and role orientations of planners to help in better understanding the role of planners with respect to economic development in a newly industrializing country. Furthermore, in an authoritarian party-state such as Taiwan, planning is a top-down process.<sup>3</sup> Development goals are set at the top of the political bureaucracy; therefore, plans are formulated to meet prede-

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<sup>1</sup> Most of the planners in Taiwan still work in the public sector.

<sup>2</sup> Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and Hong Kong are included in this category.

<sup>3</sup> On Taiwan as an authoritarian regime see Hung-Chao Tai, "The Kuomintang and modernization in Taiwan." in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement Moore (eds.) *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Societies: The Dynamics of Established One Party Systems* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp.406-36; and Edwin A. Winckler, "Roles linking state and society." in Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates (eds.) *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Stanford,CA: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp.50-86.

signed objectives, especially in terms of economic development. Since economic growth is seen by some as a legitimization device for the existing authoritarian regime in Taiwan, the role of planning vis a vis the partnership between the state and capitalists is worth examining.

In the West, there are diverse perspectives with regard to the planner's role which suggest various possibilities for professional practice. In general, two paradigms can be distinguished: the neo-Weberian and neo-Marxist approaches. For the neo-Weberians, public bureaucracies treat planners as managers of urban systems. Consequently, they tend to stress the power of the city council and of professional groups within it (Pickvance, 1984: 36). The neo-Marxist tradition views professional planners as puppets - the presence of planners only function to fulfill the imperatives of the structure. Hence, planners are not thought to have any significant autonomy from the capitalist class.

The influence of Weber's political sociology is immediately apparent in Pahl's conceptualization of the state as collectively controlled by social "gatekeepers" and urban managers, and his emphasis on the role of technical experts in modern political administration (Pahl, 1977a; 1977b; 1979). The basic structure of the managerialist framework has been discussed at length elsewhere (Norman, 1975; Williams, 1978; Saunders, 1979; Bassett and Short, 1980; Pickvance, 1984) Urban managers, by their allocation of resources, were seen as playing a significant role in determining the urban landscape. This process of allocation is characterized by conflict between individuals and groups and by substantial inequality in distributional outcomes. According to Williams (1982: 96), Pahl proposed a sociology of the organization of urban resources and facilities in which questions related to who gets what, why, and from whom dominate. In other words, urban managers were seen as "independent variables" who have autonomy in their decision-making with regard to the creation of life chances for people. Like Weber, Pahl stresses the fact that political power can be, and is used to direct, control and influence key economic interests. Such power must ultimately be analyzed as a function of the relationships between individuals and institutions. Therefore, Pahl believes that the analysis of urban policies and activities should begin with the values

and ideologies of those individuals who control access to key resources within the urban system.

A large body of literature, explicitly or implicitly based on Pahl's proposition, tends to survey the attitudes, images and perception of planners that may influence their practice (Baum, 1983a; 1983b; Hoch and Cibulskis, 1987; Vasu, 1979; Howe and Kaufman, 1979; 1980; Kaufman, 1985). For example, Baum (1980; 1983a; 1983b) examined the ways in which planners define and think of planning activity and professionalism. He concluded that the nature of planning work and the organization in which it is conducted attract people with values similar to those within the organization. Similar conclusions were drawn from a study of American planners by Howe and Kaufman (1979; 1981). They found that the role orientation of planners, political or technical, influences their interpretation of substantive issues in planning. Planners' ideas about their role in relation to the organizational context within which they work has also been explored (Healey and Underwood, 1978; Needleman and Needleman, 1974; Godim, 1987). For instance, Needleman and Needleman's (1974) study on United States planners pays attention to the role of organizational factors in planning practice. In the developing countries, a study by Godim (1987) on Brazilian planners also indicated that bureaucratic norms of hierarchical responsibility and division of labor contribute a great deal to the planner's sense of frustration and ineffectiveness. All the researchers mentioned above tend to address bureaucratic power rather than the mode of production as the decisive influence on urban resource allocation, and bureaucratic constraints rather than contradiction inherent in capital accumulation are viewed the source of planner's frustration.

The development of a Marxist analysis of the urban question has subjected urban managerialist studies to a bourgeois conceptualization of society, a device for the legitimization of class domination (Castells, 1977). Saunders (1981:118-136) points out that "...as long as analysis retains the actors as its focus of concern, it is doomed merely to reproduce, but never explain the relation of individuals to the real world." According to the Marxist perspective, power cannot be conceptualized in terms of individual attributes or individual relationships. Urban managers are not autonomous actors, but respond to economic, social and political

priorities which are derived from the capitalist mode of production. In contrast to managerialism, Marxists argue that the allocation of private urban resources is primarily a market phenomenon in which capitalist actors respond to opportunities for profit, and that the allocation of public resources reflects the role of the state in capitalist society which supports capital accumulation and a secure social order. They contend that the urban planning function is merely a particularized, local manifestation of the general role of the state in advanced capitalism. As such, planning is seen as performing a dualistic function of support for the capitalist order. It directly facilitates capitalist accumulation while simultaneously legitimizing the process of concealing its negative effects. In other words, urban managers and planners cannot be thought of as "independent" variables. Instead, they are seen to be entirely foreclosed by the structural imperatives of capitalism (Poulantzas, 1969; Castells, 1977). Therefore, those who accept the Marxist analysis of planning practice face a crucial dilemma in working towards expanding areas of state intervention without co-option with the system (Kaye and Thompson, 1977: 101-107). The ideologies and values of urban managers are linked to the imperatives of the capitalist mode of production, according to the neo-Marxist perspective, as reflected in the absence of neo-Marxist interpretations of the role orientations of planners in the literature.

The dissatisfaction with the neo-Marxist paradigm afflicts both theorists and practitioners (Forbers, 1984; Friedmann, 1987). At the theoretical level, some urban theorists believe that the Marxists have failed to resolve the problem of how to reconcile (at least partially) political autonomy with the core principle of economic determinacy in all Marxist discourse. As Saunders (1981; 1982) pointed out, while the structural Marxists attempt to find a single theoretical perspective to account for all aspects of the state's functions, they fail to explain political struggles over different types of issues, many of which cannot be understood with reference to the struggle between wage labour and capital. Being preoccupied with the significance of holistic theory, Marxists fail to escape the caricature of human action as determined by supra-human force and have taken insufficient account of history and social formations of different cultures. Sayer (1979: 47) blames structural Marxists who "presents a

dehistoricized, desocialized world whose makers are reduced to passive spectators in a mystery not of their making." Amid all these failures, the new critical socialists search for alternatives. One increasingly popular alternative is to reintroduce the human subject into theoretical discourses about society (Giddens, 1982). Some urban researchers have contributed significantly to the development of an urban approach that takes "agency" seriously by highlighting how actors operate in the urban development process in a manner that does not simply follow some structural imperative or system logic (Beauregard, 1984; Sayer, 1979; Giddens, 1979, Glucksmann, 1972; Gregory, 1978; Thrift, 1983; Gottdiener, 1988). These new critical sociologists tend to conceive of human beings as partially knowledgeable agents and not just as "cultural dupes" (Thrift, 1982: 1281). The aim is to render a balanced presentation of the articulation between structure and agent.

At the practical level, many practitioners critique the neo-Marxist deconstruction of the planning paradigm without a reconstruction. Debate among neo-Marxists is conducted at such a high level of abstraction that practitioners find it difficult to link theory to everyday practice. Thus, some planning theorists talk about the wisdom of practice or the value of theory-in-use (Schon, 1983; Friedmann, 1987; DeNeufville, 1983; 1987; Albrecht, 1986; Beauregard, 1986; Breheny, 1983). They attempt to formulate a dialectic analysis between knowledge and action or theory and practice. Other theorists emphasize the importance of the intersubjectivity of understanding (Habermas, 1976; 1979). The communication process involving an "expert" (planners) and a "non-expert" (public or client) is of particular interest within critical theory. Planners should be conscious of their day-to-day practice based on a precondition of open communication in order to render a new role for planning. Forbes maintains that:

...structuralist explanations incorporate strong notions of determination built upon assumptions of the significance of universalist processes in social changes, and all but ignore the creativity of human practice. In contrast, voluntarist-based social theory has a very weak notion of determination, seeing social change as an accumulation of human practices and an expression of human volition (1984: 127).

Nowadays, both urban theorists and planning practitioners are attempting to bring people back into their focus in order to search for a resolution of the discrepancy between theory and practice. However, they differ from native managerialism which views social change only as an accumulation of human practice.

It is important to note that neither the managerialist thesis nor the political economy approach provides an adequate and comprehensive explanation of city's political processes. Goldsmith (1980) suggests that different perspectives of urban politics should be viewed as complementary to one another, rather than as competitors. In other words, to adopt any single perspective is to close ones eyes to the possible virtues and contributions of others. As alluded to above, managerialism has been attacked by neo-Marxists as lacking any accounting of structural constraints. One such complementary approach is the work of Cullen and Knox (1981a; 1981b) who present a dialectical analysis between structure (capitalism) and agency (planners). Although they base their analysis on the managerial framework in investigating the beliefs and value systems of planners, their main focus is in determining whether planners embrace the "ruling idea of the ruling class" which is compatible with the ideology of capitalism. They argue that planners tend to be recruited from the upper-middle classes, and have educational backgrounds which suggest that they will identify themselves closely with bourgeois interests. Furthermore, they tend to be selected from people who are considered to have values lying within an ideologically "safe spectrum" and serve as "internal survival mechanisms" of the capitalist system of production and organization. Following Knox and Cullen, this study attempts an understanding of the normative and subjective values, perceptions and judgements of planners in Taipei city. Although planners have borne the need to fulfill the imperatives of the structure, it is important to understand how planners internalize these imperatives and reflect them in their day-to-day practice as a first step in the process of demystifying planning. It is felt that this process will lead to a better linkage between theory and practice.

In examining the role orientation of planners, Alterman and Page (1973:23) indicated that there are two main sources of values: those acquired by a process of general

background socialization, and those acquired by planners through a process of professional socialization (cited from Howe and Kaufman, 1981:270-71). General background socialization variables such as race, sex, age and father's occupation and education have been identified as important in shaping the professional ideologies of planners even before they enter the planning profession (Knox and Cullen, 1981b; Howe and Kaufman, 1981; Masilela, 1989). Knox and Cullen (1981b: 887-888) emphasize the social background variables. They point out that planners are generally recruited from the middle-class stratum. These planners' parents are generally associated with professional and managerial activities. Another set of variables relate to the socialization process by institutions. For example, the position or level reached by an individual in an agency; the type of agency individuals work in (i.e., public or private, planning or implementation units); the length of time individuals have worked; and the type of education individuals have undergone (i.e., planning or non-planning related education). These variables have been identified in the literature as possessing characteristics that might produce potential attitudinal cleavages within the planning profession (Vasu, 1979; Howe and Kaufman, 1981). Howe and Kaufman (1981) concluded that professional socialization variables are stronger than most of the background socialization variables. However, the found that the years of experience as a planner and planning education have little impact on the role orientation of planners.

While some researchers stress the importance of the professional socialization variables, others emphasize the background socialization variables as critical determinants of the role orientations of planners. Reflecting these two positions in the literature, this study attempted to use both sets of variables to better understand the role orientation of planners in Taipei city.

## **2.0 Planning Activities and Organizations in Taipei**

This chapter describes the structure of the Taipei City Municipal Government and includes brief profiles of the Bureaus of Public Works, Public Housing and Transportation, and the Research/Development and Investigation Committee, all of which perform specific planning functions. The planning activities of each of these entities is also discussed.

### ***2.1 A Profile of Taipei City***

Taipei is the capital, main economic center, and most populous city in Taiwan. In 1982, Taipei's central city population totaled 2,326,000, ranking 36th among the 105 world cities (Marlin and Collins, 1986: 490). Between 1980 and 1982, Taipei's population grew by an annual rate of 2.3%. In 1982, Taipei had a density of 22,171 persons per square mile. The commerce and service sectors have intensively concentrated in Taipei city. Taipei is the preferred location for financial corporate headquarters of both domestic and foreign multinational companies. According to the 1983 American Banker's statistics, Taipei had five banks with deposit in excess of US\$ 1 billion. Total deposits in Taipei's banks were nearly US\$ 12 billion in 1983.

- a total which ranks 33rd among 69 world financial centers. The ranking in terms of corporate headquarters was 37th among a total of 61 world cities (Martin and Collins, 1986: 549).

## ***2.2 Taipei City Municipal Government***

The Taipei City Municipal Government is headed by a mayor who is appointed by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Premier. The mayor is assisted by a Secretary-General. Under the Mayor's jurisdiction are the Bureaus of Civil Affairs, Finance, Education, Reconstruction, Public Works, Public Housing, Transportation, Social Affairs, Police and Public Health; Departments of the Secretarial, Information, Accounting and Statistics, Personnel, Environment, Sanitation and Land Administration; and committees with special missions such as the Research/Development and Investigation Committee. The City Bus Administration, the Water Supply Works, the City Bank, public pawnshops and municipal hospitals are operated by the city government.

The city planning commission, headed by the mayor, is comprised of twenty members who include scholars, aldermen, civic leaders, military representatives and heads of various bureaus and departments. The mayor is appointed by the president. Since Taipei is the capital city, all plans must be approved by the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the central government. The city commission falls under the jurisdiction of the city's government and does not include representatives of business.<sup>4</sup> In addition, final decisions are made by the mayor rather than by voting majorities in the commission. The various bureaus and departments of the city government are structured in a manner that accommodates a top-down de-

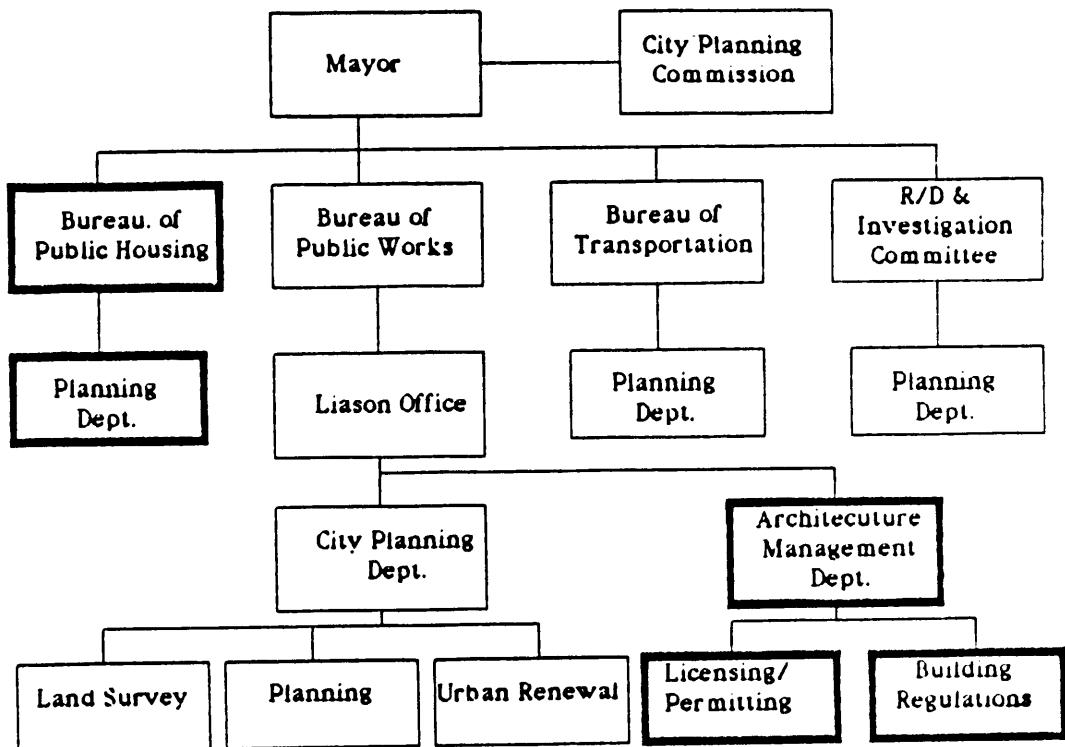
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<sup>4</sup> However, many business interests have informal access to, and connections with commission members.

cision making process. Figure 1 is a schematic representation of planning units related to various bureaus and departments in the city government.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Units identified as planning or implementation units in Figure 1 are officially designated as such. Planning units typically perform evaluations and assessments, besides conducting research and conventional planning.



Planning Unit

Implementation Unit

Figure 1. Planning units in the Taipei City Municipal Government.

## ***2.3 Organizational Planning Activities***

### **2.3.1 Bureau of Public Works**

The Bureau of Public Works, a civil engineering oriented organization of the municipal government oversees the activities of the City Planning and Architecture Management Departments. A liaison office coordinates the activities of these departments with the office of mayor, the City Planning Commission, and the Ministry of Internal Affairs in the central government. It also functions as an information clearinghouse for the media and the general public.

#### ***2.3.1.1 City Planning Department***

The department is comprised of three sections that are involved with land surveys, planning and urban renewal. Activities and functions of these sections include the development of master plans, reviewing public infrastructure plans, coordinating project and program proposals, and presenting city-wide hearings for all master plans and subdivision plans.

#### ***2.3.1.2 Architecture Management Department***

The Architecture Management Department is an implementation unit charged with the licensing and permitting of construction activities, besides enforcing building regulations and zoning ordinances.

### **2.3.2 Bureau of Public Housing**

The Bureau of Public Housing includes a planning department which focuses on the planning and development of low- and middle-income housing projects on public lands. Its guiding objective is the central government's policy of promoting home-ownership. The Bureau also coordinates private-public partnerships in the provision of public housing.

### **2.3.3 Research, Development and Investigation Committee**

The Research, Development and Investigation Committee prioritizes programs and projects for the city government besides conducting research on specific policy issues. The committee performs analyses and evaluation as requested either by the mayor's office or other city organizations.

### **2.3.4 Bureau of Transportation**

The Bureau of Transportation which functioned as a unit under the Bureau of Public Works until 1988 was designated as a Bureau during the formulation of the Mass Transit Plan for metropolitan Taipei. Its planning department conducts surveys of public opinion, and evaluates of socio-economic impacts. It also coordinates with other city organizations, as well as private consulting and construction firms involved with the construction of the Taipei Mass Transit System.

## **3.0 Research Methodology**

This chapter outlines the research methodology utilized in examining the role orientation of Taipei's planners. The development of the sample frame is first outlined, followed by a description of the survey questionnaire and its translation into a Chinese version prior to the implementation of the survey. The survey was conducted between May and August 1988. In-depth interviews conducted during and after the survey pre-testing stage are also described. Finally, statistical methods used in the analysis of information gathered from the survey are discussed.

### **3.1 *The Sample Survey Process***

Many research problems require the systematic collection of data from populations or samples of populations through the use of personal interviews, questionnaires, or other data gathering devices. These studies are usually called surveys. When they deal with a fraction of the total population, they are called sample surveys (Campbell and Katona, 1983:15). Surveys questionnaires are useful in obtaining data about attitudes, opinions, moti-

vations and other characteristics that are not directly observable. In addition, in the case of more factual data such as demographic or behavioral characteristics, survey questionnaires are usually the least cumbersome method (Dijkstra and van der Zouwen, 1982). Survey questionnaires are especially useful in developing structured data matrices of responses that facilitate easier analysis (de Vaus, 1986).

### **3.1.1 The Sample Frame**

The sample population was drawn from five groups within the Taipei Municipal Government. These included professional planners working with the Department of Public Housing, the Bureau of Public Works and Transportation, the Research/Development and Investigation Committee and the City Planning Commission. These five agencies perform specific planning functions at the city level. A sixth group was comprised of 5 professors with planning departments at various universities in Taipei, and 3 researchers working with the central government.

The sample size of 128 planners was determined based on estimates provided by each departmental head at the group level. Job titles do not clearly indicate the activities performed by individuals, and hence, any estimates based on employee listings would have been inappropriate.<sup>6</sup> The departmental heads were in positions that allowed them to evaluate the activities of their officers in determining those among them who could be categorized as planners. While it is obvious that the judgement of the departmental heads might have biased the selected sample populations, the bias that may have resulted from any other sample selection process may have been much greater.

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<sup>6</sup> For example, individuals performing planning functions often have job titles such as "Engineer."

### **3.1.2 Response Rates**

Based on the estimates provided by each departmental head at the group level, questionnaires were given to the departmental heads to be distributed among those within their departments who were identified as performing planning functions. The decision to utilize a self-administered questionnaires distributed to respondents by the departmental heads was based on the following reasons: 1) it would increase the efficiency of the survey implementation process in terms of time and response rates; 2) self-administered questionnaires allow the respondents both the privacy and time required to complete them; and 3) response rates would be higher when questionnaires are distributed by departmental heads compared to the response rates of mailed questionnaires because of the authority departmental heads can provide in "top-down" bureaucracies such as those involved in this survey. Table 1 provides an overview of the sample population as well as the response rate of each of the groups. An overall response rate of 69% (88/128), and a valid response rate of 66% (85/128; 3 questionnaires were returned without any useful information) was achieved.

<b>Groups and Sub-groups</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Number of Valid Responses</b>	<b>Response Rate (%)</b>
City Planning Commission	8	3	38
Bureau of Public Housing Planning Office	6	6	100
Bureau of Public Works Liaison Office	- 16	- 5	- 31
City Planning Department	40	25	63
Architecture Management Dept. (Building Regulation)	15	12	80
Architecture Management Dept. (Licensing/Permitting)	15 -	13 -	87 -
Research/Development and Investigation Committee Planning Office	12	10	83
Bureau of Transportation Planning Office	8	8	100
Other*	8	6	75
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>128</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>66</b>

Table 1. Sample population and response rates.

\* This group was comprised of 5 professors associated with planning departments at various universities in Taipei, and 3 researchers working with the central government.

### 3.1.3 Sample Representativeness

Since an exact enumeration of the planners working in the various departments of the Taipei city government was not available, it was not possible to quantify the representativeness of the sample population or the sampling error. The only measures of representativeness were the assurances of departmental heads regarding the accuracy of the estimates provided by them. The biases in response rates that may have been introduced as a result of utilizing a self-administered questionnaire distributed by departmental heads include the availability of respondents, the ability to enlist cooperation, and the choice of re-

spondents. Finally, it must be noted that the bias resulting from non-response to the survey could not be determined because the characteristics of the sample frame was not known - the non-respondents may have been systematically different from the whole population.

### 3.1.4 Survey Questionnaire

The survey questionnaire was comprised of four sections. **Section I** was designed to elicit socio-economic information as well as job-related/professional experience and activity. **Section II** included 16 attribute variables with regard to professional roles and ethical values, adapted from a similar survey of professional attitudes of Third World planners by Masilela (1989). Questions designed to elicit information regarding activities that occupy most of the respondent's time, aspects of their job that they particularly liked or disliked, or those that they find frustrating followed. In addition, an open-ended question allowed the respondents to identify university courses and subjects that they felt best prepared them for their jobs. **Section III** was designed to determine the relative importance of 13 "priorities" for successful urban development in Taipei city. These priorities included urban renewal, transportation improvement, environment, housing and community development etc.. The relative importance was arrayed on a 6-point Likert scale, where the respondents were asked to choose between several response categories that indicated semantic differentials of importance, ranging from *very important* to *not important* (on a scale of 1 to 6). Respondents were also given a choice to respond *don't know* and *no opinion* to any item. **Section IV** consisted of 52 statements with 6-point Likert scales similar to those used in Section III. The respondents were not asked to describe just whether they agreed or disagreed with an item, but rather to choose between several response categories that indicated semantic differentials of agreement, ranging from *agree* to *disagree* (on a scale of 1 to 6). Respondents were also given a

choice to respond *don't know* and *no opinion* to any item.<sup>7</sup> These statements, adapted from the work by Masilela (1989) reflect issues in the current planning literature. In addition, some statements echo planning issues of importance to contemporary planners in Taipei city.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to these questions, open-ended questions were used in Sections I, II and III to allow respondents to express themselves freely, and to elicit precise information when there were a large number of possible answers and listing all of them in the survey questionnaire would have been unrealistic. Furthermore, since this survey was among the first of its kind in studying the role orientation and ideology of planners in Taipei city, its exploratory nature precluded a comprehensive listing of all possible answers to specific questions. It was felt that this survey would delineate the most salient aspects of particular issues to allow for the development of future surveys. (Appendix A includes the English version of the survey questionnaire.)

### 3.1.5 Survey Pretesting

A few respondents were asked to complete the questionnaire in the presence of the researcher in order to obtain both verbal and nonverbal feed back.<sup>9</sup> This method of pretesting proposed by Dillman (1978) was most valuable in identifying problems with the survey questionnaire. The *don't know* and *no opinion* categories were included to prevent those not familiar with specific issues from distorting the overall response by arbitrarily choosing responses on the Likert-scale. A neutral point was not included on the scale because of the tendency discussed in the literature, and one that became obvious during the pre-testing

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<sup>7</sup> The semantic differentials of agreement on the scale were as follows:  
1 = strongly agree; 2 = agree; 3 = slightly agree; 4 = slightly disagree; 5 = disagree; 6 = strongly disagree; 7 = don't know; 8 = no opinion.

<sup>8</sup> These statements were formulated subsequent to face-to-face discussions and interviews during the survey pretest stage

<sup>9</sup> These respondents included two professors, one senior planner and one central government employee.

stage, of respondents consistently selecting a neutral or central point on the scale to avoid wasting time or being too controversial. The survey questionnaire was first formulated in English in March 1988, and subsequently translated into a Chinese version by the author in May 1988. The translation was conducted simultaneously with the survey pre-testing process and in-depth interviews during which some questions were modified to better relate to the setting which planners in Taipei city confront.<sup>10</sup> (*Appendix B* includes the Chinese version of the survey questionnaire.)

### **3.1.6 In-Depth Interviews with Key Informants**

Thirteen in-depth interviews were conducted by the author both during and/or after the survey pre-testing stage. The interviewees included 3 departmental heads, 6 senior planners and 4 professors/researchers. All interviews were conducted in the interviewees' private offices. These interviews were semi-structured not only to elicit information on specific subjects or issues, but also to allow the respondents to freely express themselves. For example, their work experience and experiences working on specific projects allowed the author to better understand subjective perceptions of planning issues. Interviews during the pre-testing stage were useful in refining the survey instrument and aiding in the translation process. Since some of the interviewees were departmental heads, the process helped the researcher in determining the sample size, assessing sample representativeness, and assuring good response rates. Finally, valuable insights were gained regarding planning issues related to Taipei city. During the early stage of sample identification, these interviews provided useful leads and connections with other departments and planners in Taipei City's government organization. It must be noted that recommendations, personal contacts and

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<sup>10</sup> Profs. Ying-Hwa Chen (urban sociologist) and Mao-Kwai Chen (political sociologist) at the Academic Sinica, Institute of Ethnology, Taipei, provided assistance in this regard.

networks that play pivotal roles in Taiwanese bureaucracies, and were instrumental both in developing the overall sample population, as well as in implementing the survey.

The thirteen interviewees were drawn from the overall sample frame, and they completed the self-administered survey questionnaire as well.

## **3.2 Statistical Methods**

The statistical methods utilized in analyzing survey data include descriptive statistical procedures such as analysis of means and standard deviations. The significance of different mean values between different categories of variables such as type of agency, formal planning education and social background were examined for each set of planning issues using the *t*-test.

In addition, regression models were utilized in testing various planning issues. The literature identifies the role orientations of planners with two sets of pertinent independent variables. Alderman and Page (1973:23) indicated that there are two main sources of values: those acquired by everyone through a process of general background socialization and those acquired by planners through a process of professional socialization (cited from Howe and Kaufman, 1981:270-71). While some researchers stress the importance of socio-economic background, others emphasize professional socialization processes as important determinants of the orientation of planners. Reflecting these two positions in the literature, this study uses both sets of variables to better understand the role orientation of planners in Taipei city. Professional socialization variables include years of experience as a planner, type of agency (planning or implementation orientation), and formal planning-related education (Bachelors, Masters or Ph.D. degrees earned in planning). Background socialization variables include sex, age, fathers' education (in years), and fathers' occupation (managerial/professional and others). While the independent variables remained the same, the dependent variables (se-

lected from statements 13 to 64 in Section IV of the survey questionnaire) reflecting specific planning issues were aggregated into an *index*.<sup>11</sup> It must be noted that the selection of specific statements with respect with a particular issue reflect the author's subjectivity. The correlation of statements concerning specific issues which make up an index were in the 0.2 to 0.5 range, in general. Although the correlation between some statements was very low, these statements were included in the index because they reflected the specific issues under consideration.

In order to combine the response of each respondent (on a scale of 1 to 6) to a set of statements (dependent variables) into an index, each individual response (1 to 6) was transformed into a z score. Since the standard deviations of responses to each statement vary, z scores allowed comparisons to be made between responses. A z score shows the number of standard deviations the original score lies above or below the mean of a distribution. Prior to the aggregation of responses to these statements, responses to some statements were recoded to avoid the canceling out of scores. For example, on a scale of 1 to 6, consider a response of 1 to statement 35 ("Planning is a form of rational behavior") and a response of 6 to statement 34 ("Planning is primarily a political activity"). On a scale of 1 to 6, 1 indicates *strong agreement* and 6 indicates *strong disagreement*. This would result in the aggregation of responses into a neutral point on the scale distorting the true response of the individual (which in this case, reflects a rational orientation to planning). However, when these responses are recoded, such distortions can be avoided.

After each individuals response to the individual statements in a given set of statements (reflecting a specific planning issue) are recoded, and transformed into z scores, they are aggregated into an index. This index was framed as a dependent variable and regressed on the independent variables discussed above.

Exploratory data analysis using the procedures of *cluster* and *factor* analysis were also conducted. "Cluster Analysis" is the generic name for a wide variety of procedures that

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<sup>11</sup> Although some background socialization variables (e.g. religion and political party affiliation) may affect the role orientations of planners, the relatively low response rates to some questions about the respondent's social background precluded any useful analysis.

can be used to create a classification. These procedures empirically form "clusters" or groups of highly similar entities. More specifically, a clustering method is a multivariate statistical procedure that starts with a data set containing information about a sample of entities and attempts to reorganize these entities into relatively homogeneous and more manageable groups (Aldenderfer and Blashfield, 1984: 7). The cluster analysis procedure was performed on the 52 statements included in Section IV of the survey questionnaire.

Factor analysis refers to a variety of statistical techniques whose common objective is to represent a set of variables in terms of a smaller number of hypothetical variables. The procedure permits the analysis of interrelationships between variables with respect to their common underlying factors (Kim and Mueller, 1978: 9; Goddard and Kirby, 1976).

The results obtained with these two procedures were statistically insignificant. *Appendix C* includes the results of a factor analysis performed on the 16 attributes of a "good planner" as indicated by responses to question 5 in the survey questionnaire. (See *Appendix A*) Although 67.5% of the variance was explained by the 5 factors, no conclusive observations were possible.

### **3.2.1 Factors Affecting Precision of Regression Models**

In the regression models discussed earlier, seven independent variables including 3 continuous variables and 4 dummy variables are used. The continuous variables include age, years of planning experience and father's education (in years). The dummy variables include: sex (0 = male, 1 = female); father's occupation (0 = professional/managerial, 1 = other); type of agency (0 = planning, 1 = implementation); and educational background (0 = planning related education, 1 = non-planning related education). Unlike continuous variables, dummy variables translate categorical variables into assigned codes (0 or 1) in order to perform regression analysis. A large number of dummy variables in a given regression

model tend to increase its instability.<sup>12</sup> However, the robust nature of regression procedures alleviates this problem to a certain extent.

Another influence on the stability of a regression model is the effect of multicollinearity among independent variables. Problems emanating from the intercorrelation among independent variables are called multicollinearity. High multicollinearity may lead not only to serious distortions in the estimation of magnitudes of regression coefficients, but also to reversals in their signs (counterintuitive results). Therefore, the presence of high multicollinearity poses serious threats to the interpretation of regression coefficients as indices of effects. However, no consensus about what constitutes "high" multicollinearity exists in the literature. While there are a variety of methods for detecting multicollinearity, the method chosen for use in this research effort is to examine the zero-order correlation matrix between independent variables. Table 2 shows a zero-order correlation between the independent variables. *Age* and *Years of Planning Experience* are highly correlated (0.758). It was observed that the exclusion of either of these variables affected the coefficients significantly. To increase the stability of the models, only one of these two variables are included in a model at a given time.

Independent Variables	Sex	Planning Education	Father's Education	Years of Planning Experience	Type of Agency	Age	Father's Occupation
Sex	1.000	0.054	0.181	-0.205	-0.069	-0.281	-0.198
Planning Education	-	1.000	-0.237	-0.049	0.270	0.019	0.238
Father's Education	.	.	1.000	-0.060	-0.096	-0.085	-0.267
Years of Experience	-	-	-	1.000	0.089	0.758	-0.038
Type of Agency	-	-	-	-	1.000	-0.141	0.078
Age	-	-	-	-	-	1.000	-0.016
Father's Occupation	-	-	-	-	-	-	1.000

Table 2. Zero-order correlation matrix of independent variables.

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<sup>12</sup> When dummy codes are used, analysis of covariance is performed instead of multiple regression analysis.

$R^2$  values for the regression models used in this study tend to be below 35%. Several factors may have contributed to these low values. First,  $R^2$  values generally tend to be low when examining the role orientations, values or attitudes of people. Second, some important independent variables may not have been included in the regression models. Another possible explanation for low  $R^2$  values may be that planners are very "homogeneous" as a group, especially with respect to their attitudes and values. Planners attitudes on a variety of issues may not vary significantly as a function of the dependent variables. These and a variety of other factors may have contributed to the low  $R^2$  values observed in this study.

## 4.0 Profile of The Planners

This chapter provides a profile of the planners surveyed with regard to their work experience, education and socio-economic background, in addition to personal data.

The planners surveyed in this study are predominantly male (84%) and in their early middle-age, with 91% in the 25-44 age group (mean = 35.3, SD=6.4). In comparing the age breakdown of planners responding to this survey with data reported by an American Institute of Certified Planners survey (AICP, 1983), it was observed that Taipei's planners are in general, younger than their American counterparts <sup>13</sup> Table 3 shows that there are twice as many U.S. planners as Taipei planners in the 45 - 54 age group. In contrast, there were more planners 35 years or younger in Taipei than in the U.S. Two reasons may be attributed to this difference in average age - the Taiwanese Civil Service Entrance Examination for City Planners was first held in 1969. It was at this time that city planning was formalized as a career track in public administration, and as a specific activity within city and county governments. Secondly, the academic training of planners was begun only in 1962.

In addition, the proportion of female planners in Taipei (16%) is lower than the proportion in the U.S. (26% of the planners are female). This may be attributed to the fact that

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<sup>13</sup> The AICP conducted a mailed questionnaire survey in 1982 of U.S. planners for the purpose of analyzing professional planners and planning activities. Questionnaires were sent to 1,099 selected U.S. planners. A 44% response rate was obtained (AICP, 1983).

5 out of 6 planning programs in Taiwan are in engineering schools. In general, few female high school graduates apply for admission to engineering schools in national college entrance examinations.

Age	1988 Taipei (in %)	1983 U.S. (in %)
< 25	0	3
25 - 34	59	50
35 - 44	32	28
45 - 54	7	14
> 54	2	5
TOTAL	100	100

Table 3. Breakdown of planners by age in Taipei and the U.S.

As shown in Table 4, Taipei's planners have an average of 9 years of experience in planning-related work (mean = 9.1; SD = 0.8). In comparing the data obtained during the present study with data from an AICP survey (1983), it is observed that Taipei has twice as many planners with less than 2 years of planning-related work experience, compared to planners in the U.S. Furthermore, 12% of U.S. planners have 20 or more years of planning-related work experience, compared to 7% of Taipei's planners.

Years of Work Expe- rience	1988 Taipei (in %)	1983 U.S. (in %)
< 2	15	7
2 - 5	20	28
6 - 9	33	27
10 - 19	25	26
> 20	7	12
TOTAL	100	100

Table 4. Breakdown of planners by years of work experience in Taipei and the U.S.

In terms of the planners' employment history, a large proportion were involved in planning-related private practice and teaching/research activities (20% and 24%, respectively), or worked with local governments at the city and county level (14% and 4%, respectively). A smaller proportion worked at the national government level (8%). Similar

employment patterns were observed among those involved in non-planning activities (Table 5). The categorization of respondents employment history as planning related or non-planning related is subjective and is based on the respondents own perception of their experience.

Previous Work Setting	Planning Related (in %)	Non-planning Related (in %)
Private Practice	20	13
Teaching/Research	24	5
Central Government	8	2
Local Government - City	14	6
Local Government - County	4	4
Abroad	1	1

Table 5. Employment history of planners.

With regard to the education of the planners, approximately 75% of them earned their first degrees in Urban and Regional Planning; Landscape Architecture, Architecture or Urban Design; and Engineering or Applied Science. A majority of these degrees were awarded in Taiwanese universities. Approximately 51% of the planners earned second degrees, and 10% of the planners earned third degrees. Sixty-nine (35/51) and sixty (6/10) percent of the respondents earned second and third degrees, respectively, in Urban and Regional Planning.<sup>14</sup> Table 6 provides a detailed profile of the education of the planners surveyed.

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<sup>14</sup> Many of the planners' earning first degrees in Architecture/Urban Design and Engineering/Applied Science move on to higher degrees in Planning as is apparent from the smaller number of planning degrees earned in these fields.

<b>First Degree - Major</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Second Degree - Degree</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Urban/Regional Planning	27	Urban/Regional Planning	35
Landscape Architecture/Architecture/ Urban Design	25	Landscape Architecture/Architecture/ Urban Design	1
Geography	2	Engineering/Applied Science	6
Engineering/Applied Science	27	Management/Administration	4
Management/Administration	4	Psychology	1
Sociology/Social Work	1	Education	4
Political Science	1	Not Applicable	45
Psychology	1	Missing	5
Education	1		
Other	2		
Missing	8		
<b>Where Degree Awarded</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Where Degree Awarded</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Taiwan	93	Taiwan	35
United States	1	United States	13
Missing	6	Other	2
		Not Applicable	45
<b>Third Degree - Major</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Fourth Degree - Major</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Urban/Regional Planning	6	Sociology/Social Work	1
Geography	1	Not Applicable	94
Management/Administration	1	Missing	5
Construction Management	1		
Not Applicable	86		
Missing	5		
<b>Where Degree Awarded</b>	<b>Percentage</b>	<b>Where Degree Awarded</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Taiwan	2	United States	1
United States	6	Not Applicable	94
Other	1	Missing	5
Not Applicable	86		
Missing	5		

**Table 6. Profile of the planners' education.**

Forty-four percent of the planners' fathers worked or work in the public sector, while 40% are with the private sector. Approximately 73% of those in the public sector and 59% of those in the private sector held professional or managerial positions. A smaller proportion of the fathers were involved in clerical or skilled (manual) activities (Table 7). The fathers underwent an average of 11 years of formal education. Table 8 profiles the education levels of the fathers.

Occupation	Public Sector (in %)	Private Sector (in %)
Professional/Managerial	73	59
Clerical	15	0
Skilled (Manual)	12	19
Semi-skilled (Manual/Service)	0	22
Unskilled	0	0
Other	0	0

Table 7. Occupation of fathers.

Years of Formal Educa- tion	(in %)
0 - 6	18
7 - 9	15
10 - 12	19
13 - 16	25
17 -	5
Missing	19
Mean = 10.9; SD = 0.51	

Table 8. Education of fathers.

In response to an open-ended question regarding the factors that motivated the planners in choosing their profession, 25% noted that the influence of their education, professional background and experience was the main factor. Approximately 28% felt that planning was professionally interesting and challenging. For another 22%, concern for public welfare was the major motivating influence. A final 28% took up the profession out of curiosity, or only because it was an available career opening.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>15</sup> A 38% response rate was obtained to this question. Some of the planners gave more than one motivating factor for their choice of planning as a profession. Hence, the totals add up to more than 100%.

Response	(in %) [N = 77]
Yes	73
Don't Know	10
No	12
Not Applicable	4
Other	1
TOTAL	100

**Table 9. Planners attitudes:** Planners responses to whether they exert significant impacts on the outcome of urban development in Taipei.

Seventy-three percent of the planners believe that they exert significant impacts on the outcome of urban development in Taipei city through their jobs. Only 12% felt that they did not exert any influence on urban development in the city (See Table 9).

## **5.0 The Traditional Ideology of Planning**

The traditional ideology of planning as reflected in the rational planning paradigm is analyzed with reference to the orientation of planners in Taipei city. The attitudes and role orientations of surveyed planners in terms of the rational and political aspects and nature of planning are examined. The influence of social and political backgrounds are also identified.

It has been asserted that the influence of the social reform movement on the development of planning standards and ideology has become a major determinant of the contemporary planner's heritage. Social reform is thus a central tradition in planning theory (Friedmann,1987: 88). On the whole, many planners in the social reform tradition believe that a "unitary public interest" can be determined through the instrumentalities and procedures of planning, which is seen as a major rationalizing force in society. Consequently, they lean heavily toward the scientific nature of their calling, while regarding the political process as a major obstacle to the materialization of reason (Friedmann,1987). Furthermore, they tend to believe that the public would subscribe to a rationally determined public interest and that the consensus necessary for democratic planning would automatically emerge. Planners in this tradition also strongly believe in reform from the top. Although the role of public participation is recognized, it is a "bounded" form of public participation because problems are defined, alternatives formulated and final decisions made by experts at the top.

## **5.1 The Rational Paradigm of Planning**

Despite the criticisms leveled against the synoptic model of planning in the past (Simmie, 1974; Davies, 1972; Goodman, 1971; Vasu, 1979; Clark, 1976; Gerecke, 1976; Webber, 1983), planners still hold their faith in the rational-technocratic model. The criticisms have been frequently accompanied by explicit claims as to the intrinsically political character of urban planning. In rational planning, it is assumed that once the ends (goals and objectives) and means (alternatives) are given, specific outcomes (effects) can be predicted and achieved. Based on this logical positivism, the planners' role is to identify and implement in a rational manner, any given project or plan. This fundamental approach to the elucidation of the planning process poses a definite mismatch between the world of current planning theory on the one hand, and the real world of practice on the other.

Planners' have generally abstained from adopting even the most remotely political interpretation of their work. The ruling ideology portrays planners as engaged in a search for rationality and order, as if these were in some way universal. The reason why planners attempt to claim technical expertise that is independent of either bureaucratic organization or political arena is because of their belief that, without this differentiation, experts would have no access to social power, since they do not represent or have the support of any political group. Scientific and objective roles become the source of authority for planners.

Due to the presence of the rational model, planning has removed itself from important social and political processes by presuming that they cannot be "rationally" discussed. In turn, planning has been adopted as an "instrumental" approach to problem-solving centered on physical planning, technocratic or advisory roles, and efficiency (Alberecht, 1986). However, these positivist tenets upheld by planners have been challenged not only by the increasing complexity of the context and purpose of planning, but also by the nature of current planning problems. As Friedmann notes:

There are at least three reasons for this crisis in planning. The first is a crisis of knowing. In knowledge about society, the certainties of positivism have suddenly become undone...The second reason for the crisis in planning is the accelerated pace of historical events. Mainstream planning requires a certain stability in its environment. How can there be forethought without it? How can plans be made, when exogenous events are forever upsetting the conditions that would make them possible, or even appropriate?...The third reason for the crisis in planning is the unprecedented nature of the events we face....These are all first-time problems, and we have only recently become aware of them....And so the experts throw up their hands in despair, even as they offer us another of their ad hoc theories in order to save face....(Friedmann, 1987: 321-313).

Facing the breakdown of the rational-comprehensive paradigm, planners have recognized the political context of planning activities. However, as Vasu's (1979) study showed, planners' still prefer a technical role in which the planner neutrally judges the public interest, makes recommendations on a professional rather than political basis, and avoid lobbying or other political activity, although they recognize political interests when they formulate problems and recommend solutions to them. As Sillince (1986) points out, the planning profession is not only supported by this trust but is also "imprisoned" by it. According to Dalton (1986: 147), the persistence of the rational-comprehensive model results from two sources: the institutional hold of rationality over professional education; and the historical identification of the planning profession with this model. Consequently, she suggests, practitioners cannot incorporate alternative approaches unless they become conscious of how they have come to accept rational assumptions, and are aware and willing to adopt a new role in planning practice.

An important pattern that was observed in examining the responses to the survey questionnaire must be noted prior to a discussion of the results of the survey. The scoring of statements was generally restricted to a much smaller range than that provided in the Likert scales. For example, in examining the responses to a question regarding the attributes of a "good planner" (where respondents were asked to choose between several response categories that indicate various strengths of agreement ranging from *strongly agree* to *strongly disagree* on a scale of 1 to 6), the difference between the mean of the attribute ranked highest to that of the attribute ranked lowest was 1.181. (See Table 10) More importantly, the respondents were markedly conservative in their responses which tended to cluster around the

central point on the scale.<sup>16</sup> Thus, even if respondents tended to disagree with a particular statement, they tended to choose 3 or 4 rather than 5 or 6 on the scale.

In a section of the questionnaire (question 5), respondents were asked to indicate the importance of specific attributes of a "good planner." Table 10 ranks the attributes of a "good planner" as indicated by the respondents on a scale of 1 to 6. Not surprisingly, the higher mean scores for attributes such as technical craftsmanship, objective judgement, problem-solving skills and so on reflect the technocratic leanings of the respondents. In contrast, management ability, political awareness and leadership qualities were less important to the respondents. The low emphasis on political awareness is probably a consequence not only of the influences discussed above, but also results from the greater emphasis on rational and technical planning.

Attribute	Rank	Mean	Standard Deviation
Technical draftsmanship	1	1.482	0.669
Objective judgement	2	1.500	0.631
Problem-solving skills	3	1.583	0.662
Professional integrity	4	1.702	0.673
Sense of vision for the future	5	1.610	0.681
Spatial awareness	6	1.768	0.790
Creativity	7	1.802	0.781
Sense of public mission	8	1.914	0.897
Humanitarian concern	9	2.025	0.821
Sound legal knowledge	10	2.036	0.788
Social awareness	11	2.167	0.848
Ability to follow orders	12	2.169	0.778
Interpersonal relationships	13	2.241	0.958
Management ability	14	2.392	0.841
Political awareness	15	2.475	1.079
Leadership qualities	16	2.663	0.979

Table 10. The perceived attributes of a good planner.

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<sup>16</sup> This problem was highlighted during the pretesting of the survey questionnaire and led to the development of a scale without a neutral point.

In response to an open-ended question asking respondents which aspects of their jobs they found frustrating or disliked (question 9), 89% of the respondents identified political interference, both within planning departments and from outside. Complex rules/regulations, shifting agendas, lack of support and encouragement, conflicting opinions of higher ups and co-workers, bureaucratic red tape and paper work, conflicts between opposing political interests, bureaucratic wranglings, interest group lobbying, and self-promoting and self-interested demands from politicians were some of the responses.<sup>17</sup>

Statement	Agree (in %) [scale=1 or 2]	Disagree (in %) [scale=5 or 6]	Mean	Standard Deviation
13) Planners should be primarily trained to develop technically correct solutions to technical problems.	82	1	1.77	0.91
27) Urbanization is a process, and there is no way you can deal with it on a project-by-project basis.	77	1	1.90	1.04
61) Planners should work closely with the private sector in order to serve the city's best interests.	70	1	2.07	0.84
33) Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information.	74	2	2.07	0.91
32) A planner's effectiveness is based primarily on his/her reputation for objective, accurate and in-depth analysis of problems.	73	3	2.12	0.90

Table 11. Attitudinal statements on which there was strong agreement among planners.

From among the 52 statements in Section IV of the survey questionnaire Table 11 lists statements to which there was strong agreement among the respondents (on a scale of 1 to 6). Eighty-two and seventy-three percent of the planners tend to agree to statements 13 and 32, i.e., that their effectiveness is based on objective and professional analysis of problems, and the development of technically correct solutions to technical problems. Seventy-four percent of the planners believe that they should try to influence decisions primarily by

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<sup>17</sup> Some respondents indicated more than one aspect of their job which they disliked or found frustrating.

disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information (Statement 33). Thus, planners believe that technical skills in the "science" of what we now call systems analysis and system decision-making are a panacea that at once, solves current problems, while leading society on to a better future.

Statements 26, 32, 33, 34, 35, 42, and 55 relate to the rational characteristics and political attitudes and perceptions of the planners. Respondents were asked to indicate how strongly they *agreed* or *disagreed* with each of these statements on a scale of 1 to 6. Table 12 lists these statements along with percentages of respondents agreeing (scale=1 or 2) or disagreeing (scale=5 or 6) with each.<sup>18</sup> Although 61% of the respondents recognize the political nature of planning (Statement 55), a majority (73%), still insist that a planner's effectiveness is based on objective, accurate and in-depth analysis of problems (Statement 32). Furthermore, 61% of the respondents believe that planning is a form of rational behavior (Statement 35), while 39% hold the view that planning is a political activity (Statement 34). An analysis of the difference between means of statements 34 and 35 using the *t*-test was significant at the 0.000 level.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> The points 3 and 4 are close to the neutral point on the scale.

<sup>19</sup> Statement 34 - Planning is primarily a political activity (mean = 3.037; SD = 1.195). Statement 35 - Planning is a form of rational behavior (mean = 2.370; SD = 1.018).

Statement	Agree (in %) [scale=1 or 2]	Disagree (in %) [scale=5 or 6]	Mean	Stand- ard De- viation
26) The insulation of planners from political whims and their claim to professional expertise enables them to better interpret and fulfill public mandates.	37	28	2.98	1.27
32) A planner's effectiveness is based primarily on his/her reputation for objective, accurate and in-depth analysis of problems.	73	3	2.12	0.90
33) Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information.	74	2	2.07	0.91
34) Planning is primarily a political activity.	39	13	3.04	1.20
35) Planning is primarily a form of rational behavior.	61	2	2.37	1.02
42) In the planning process, planners should stake their values in competition with those of others and openly strive to achieve them.	68	1	2.21	0.87
55) Many urban planning problems are political rather than technical.	61	0	2.28	0.95

Table 12. Statements related to rational and political scenarios of planning.

In order to understand the formation and articulation of rational and political attitudes among planners, professional socialization and background socialization variables (independent variables) were used. Professional socialization variables include years of experience as a planner, type of agency (planning or implementation orientation) and formal planning-related education (includes bachelors, masters or Ph.D. degrees earned in planning). Background socialization variables include sex, age, fathers' education (in years), and fathers' occupation (managerial/professional and others). Responses to the statements shown in Table 12 relating to the rational and political scenarios of planning were aggregated into an index. In this index, 1 corresponds to a political orientation, while 6 corresponds to a rational orientation of planners (on a scale of 1 to 6). This index was framed as the dependent variable and regressed on the above mentioned independent variables. (Section 3.2 describes the *in-*

dex in detail.) Since *Age* and *Years of Planning Experience* are highly correlated ( $r^2 = 0.758$ ), dropping either of these variables influences a regression model's stability. Thus, one regression model which excludes *Age*, and another which excludes *Years of Experience* as independent variables were used. Tables 13 and 14 illustrate the results obtained from the regression analyses.

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 9.625	11.614	- 0.829	0.410
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	0.478	1.103	0.434	0.666
Father's Occupation	- 2.431	8.154	- 0.298	0.766
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Years of Planning Experience	1.339	0.663	2.018	0.047*
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	3.681	8.273	0.445	0.658
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	31.475	8.368	3.761	0.000***
Constant	- 33.984			
$R^2 = 0.230 (F = 3.594; P = 0.004^{**}) N = 79$				

Table 13. Multiple Regression Model: Regression analysis of index of planner's rational and political attitudes. (Model does not include Age)

\* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)

\*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)

\*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)

a - 0 = male; 1 = female

b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other

c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation

d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Age	- 0.429	0.662	- 0.648	0.519
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 11.857	12.239	- 0.969	0.336
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	0.406	1.130	0.359	0.721
Father's Occupation	- 3.261	8.369	- 0.390	0.698
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	6.216	8.595	0.723	0.472
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	30.087	8.604	3.497	0.000***
Constant	- 36.234			
$R^2 = 0.192 (F = 2.845; P = 0.015^*) N = 79$				

**Table 14. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of index of planner's rational and political attitudes. (Model does not include Years of Planning Experience)

- \* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)
- a - 0 = male; 1 = female
- b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other
- c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation
- d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

As can be observed from the models illustrated in Tables 13 and 14, *planning education* is positively correlated to the view of planning as a political activity ( $p \leq 0.001$ ). In other words, planners with formal planning education backgrounds tend to recognize the political nature of planning, while tending to disagree that planning is a form of rational behavior. *Years of Planning Experience* has an impact on the perception of planning as a political or rational activity ( $p \leq 0.05$ ). The model which includes *Years of Planning Experience* has a better explanation ability (23% of the variance is explained) and is significant at the 0.01 level. The model which includes *Age* (explains 19% of the variance) and is significant at the 0.05 level.

## 5.2 *The Unitary Public Interest Doctrine*

Another enduring element of the planning mythology is the model of unitary public interest. Like the rational/technocratic complement, it contends that the goals of planning are universally shared and transcend any special, sectional interests. The unitary public interest ideology implicitly adopts a fundamental consensus within which society as a whole can act on a "rational" basis without conflicts. A technocratic and functional model such as this is ideally suited to planners planning in their ivory towers. They selectively ignore the real substance of political power and conflict of interest. Specific planning interventions, whether related to parks, highways, or urban renewal projects, are frequently justified by planners as being "in the public interest," and many actually believe this to be true. All public actions have redistributional effects, such that some persons may be better off and others worse off as a result. However, it actually obscures from both planners and the public, the crucial fact that the benefits and costs of planing interventions tends to fall disproportionately upon different socioeconomic classes and groups. Nevertheless, planners still insist on an even-handed and neutral paradigm of planning.

Statement	Agree [scale = 1 or 2]	Disagree [scale = 5 or 6]	Mean	Standard Deviation
25) In the long run, the benefit of urban planning accrues to a very small elite. The majority of urban dwellers remain unaffected.	11	65	4.59	1.29
41) Planners have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the have notes of the community, particularly the poor.	28	4	3.00	1.05
44) The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of service to various members of the community.	42	0	2.59	0.76
58) All neighborhoods should be treated equally in terms of the kinds of services provided.	66	1	2.29	0.95

**Table 15. Statements related to the notion of a unitary public interest.**

As shown in Table 15, 66% of the planners agreed that all neighborhoods should be treated equally in terms of the kinds of services provided, while only 28% of the planners believe that they have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the poor. The result of a *t*-test for statements 58 and 41 is significant at 0.001. Furthermore, 65% of the planners disagree that the benefits of urban planning accrue to a very small elite, while only 11% agree. Among the 52 statements listed in Section IV of the questionnaire, this statement was among those to which respondents disagreed the most (mean = 4.59; SD = 1.29).

In order to understand the formation and articulation of perceptions regarding the doctrine of a unitary public interest, professional socialization and background socialization variables (independent variables) were used. Professional socialization variables include years of experience as a planner, type of agency (planning or implementation orientation) and formal planning-related education (includes bachelors, masters or Ph.D. degrees earned in planning). Background socialization variables include sex, age, fathers' education (in years), and fathers' occupation (managerial/professional and others). Responses to the statements shown in Table 15 which relate to the notion of a unitary public interest among planners were

aggregated into an index. In this index, 1 corresponds to a lack of belief in the unitary public interest, and 6 corresponds to a belief in the existence of a unitary public interest among planners (on a scale of 1 to 6). This index was then framed as the dependent variable and regressed on the above mentioned independent variables. (Section 3.2 describes the *index* in detail.) Since *Age* and *Years of Planning Experience* are highly correlated ( $r^2 = 0.758$ ), a regression model which excludes *Age*, and one which excludes *Years of Experience*, as independent variables, were used. Tables 16 and 17 illustrate the results obtained from the regression analyses.

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 33.506	18.800	- 1.782	0.079
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	- 1.756	1.785	- 0.984	0.329
Father's Occupation	2.090	13.199	0.158	0.875
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Years of Planning Experience	2.563	1.074	2.387	0.020*
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 9.941	13.392	- 0.742	0.460
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	- 9.192	13.546	- 0.679	0.500
Constant	9.502			
$R^2 = 0.168 (F = 2.429; P = 0.034^*) N = 79$				

**Table 16. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of index of planner's perceptions of the public interest. (Model does not include Age)

- \* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)
- a - 0 = male; 1 = female
- b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other
- c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation
- d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Age	2.211	1.055	2.096	0.040*
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 30.035	19.494	- 1.541	0.128
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	- 1.777	1.800	- 0.987	0.330
Father's Occupation	2.218	13.329	0.166	0.868
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 1.731	13.691	- 0.126	0.900
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	- 13.552	13.704	- 0.989	0.326
Constant	- 46.754			
$R^2 = 0.154 (F = 2.187; P = 0.054) N = 79$				

**Table 17. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of index of planner's perceptions of the public interest. (Model does not includes Years of Planning Experience)

\* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)

\*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)

\*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)

a - 0 = male; 1 = female

b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other

c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation

d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

As shown in Table 16, *Years of Planning Experience* is significant at the 0.05 level. Years of planning experience is positively correlated to the notion of a unitary public interest. Senior planners (in terms of age and years of planning experience) tend to agree more with the notion of a unitary public interest. 16.8% of the variance is explained by this model (significant at 0.05 level). Table 17 shows that *Age* is also positively correlated to the notion of a unitary public interest (significant at 0.05 level). 15.4% of the variance is explained by this model. However, only the model which excludes *Age* is significant at the 0.05 level.

### **5.3 Public Participation**

Concerning the issue of public participation, trends similar to those reported by Howe and Kaufman (1981), i.e., that planners view public participation favorably within certain limits, were observed.

Statement	Agree (in %) [scale=1 or 2]	Disagree (in %) [scale=5 or 6]	Mean	Standard Deviation
15) Planners generally know the needs of a community better than its residents.	13	18	3.59	1.05
45) People have a right to control who lives in their neighborhood.	54	1	2.46	0.96
46) Planners should involve citizens in all phases of the planning process.	43	6	2.84	1.23
48) Citizens should have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals.	20	23	3.63	1.31
57) Each neighborhood should be planned and developed according to the needs of its residents.	27	11	3.24	1.14

**Table 18. Statements related to public participation scenarios.**

Forty-three percent of the planners agreed that planners should involve citizens in every phase of the planning process, and 54% agree that people have a right to control who

lives in their neighborhood. However, only 20% of the planners agree that citizens have veto powers over plans drawn up by professionals, while 23% of the planners disagree (mean = 3.63; SD = 1.31).

In order to understand the formation and articulation of attitudes among planners regarding public participation, professional socialization and background socialization variables (independent variables) were used. Professional socialization variables include years of experience as a planner, type of agency (planning or implementation orientation) and formal planning-related education (includes bachelors, masters or Ph.D. degrees earned in planning). Background socialization variables include sex, age, fathers' education (in years), and fathers' occupation (managerial/professional and others). Responses to the statements shown in Table 18 relating to public participation scenarios of planning were aggregated into an index. In this index, 1 corresponds to a relatively stronger belief in public participation among planners than 6 (on a scale of 1 to 6). This index was then framed as the dependent variable and regressed on the above mentioned independent variables. (Section 3.2 describes the *index* in detail.) Since *Age* and *Years of Planning Experience* are highly correlated ( $r^2 = 0.758$ ), a regression model which excludes *Age*, and one which excludes *Years of Experience*, as independent variables, were used. Tables 19 and 20 illustrate the results obtained from the regression analyses.

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Sex <sup>a</sup>	17.736	13.353	1.328	0.188
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	- 0.586	1.268	- 0.462	0.645
Father's Occupation	- 10.181	9.375	- 1.086	0.281
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Years of Planning Experience	0.423	0.763	0.554	0.581
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 20.116	9.513	- 2.115	0.038*
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	13.690	9.622	1.423	0.159
Constant	- 6.170			
$R^2 = 0.114 (F = 1.550; P = 0.174) N = 79$				

**Table 19. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of index of planner's views on public participation. (Model does not include Age)

\* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)

\*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)

\*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)

a - 0 = male; 1 = female

b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other

c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation

d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Co-efficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Age	0.019	0.7744	0.025	0.980
Sex <sup>a</sup>	16.383	13.759	1.191	0.238
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	- 0.619	1.271	- 0.487	0.628
Father's Occupation	- 10.587	9.408	- 1.125	0.264
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 19.598	9.663	- 2.028	0.046*
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	13.395	9.673	1.385	0.170
Constant	9.813			
$R^2 = 0.111 (F = 1.493; P = 0.193) N = 79$				

**Table 20. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of index of planner's views on public participation. (Model does not include *Professional Planning experience*)

\* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)

\*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)

\*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)

a - 0 = male; 1 = female

b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other

c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation

d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

As shown in Tables 19 and 20, *Type of Agency* is significantly correlated at the 0.05 level. The type of agency (planning or implementation) in which planners work has a significant impact on planners' perceptions on public participation. In general, planners working in implementation units have relatively more favorable views with regard to public participation. This may in part, result from the fact that planners working with implementation units and carrying out plans formulated by the planning units are more cognizant of discrepancies in plans during plan and program implementation. Therefore, they emphasize the importance of public participation in alleviating problems that may emerge during the implementation of plans. The following section explores differences in attitudes among planners working in planning and implementation units in Taipei.

## ***5.4 Orientations of Planners in Planning and Implementation Units***

Ever since Herbert Simon (1957), mainstream planning has been sharply focused on decision making. This phenomena is especially pervasive in developing countries. In general, planners working with planning units give insufficient attention to the administrative context, and to the indigenous socio-cultural and value systems within which plans are made and carried out. In a top-down decision making environment, as long as decisions are made based on efficiency and rationality, it is often assumed that implementation will be flawless.

In examining background data of planners working with planning and implementation units (Table 21), no significant differences were observed with respect to sex, age, father's education, father's occupation or professional planning experience. However, it was observed that a greater percentage of planners working in planning units have formal planning edu-

tion (53%), while a larger (75) percentage of planners working in implementation units have non-planning related education ( $\chi^2 = 5.76; p \leq 0.05$  ).

Characteristics	Planning [N = 51]	Implementation [N = 28]
<b>Sex</b> Male Female	84% 16%	89% 11%
$[\chi^2 = 3.73; (p, n.s.)]$		
<b>Age</b> Median	35.6	33.7
$[t = 1.44; (p, n.s.)]$		
<b>Father's Education</b> Median	- 11.02	- 10.05
$[t = 0.88; (p, n.s.)]$		
<b>Experience</b> Median	- 8.06	- 10.08
$[t = -0.93; (p, n.s.)]$		
<b>Father's Occupation</b> Professional/Managerial Clerical Skilled Unskilled	- 65% 13% 13% 10%	- 67% 0% 22% 11%
$[\chi^2 = 3.03; (p, n.s.)]$		
<b>Planning Education</b> Formal Planning Non-Planning	- 53% 47%	- 25% 75%
$[\chi^2 = 5.76; (p \leq 0.05)]$		

Table 21. Characteristics of Planners Working in Planning and Implementation Units.

Statements 21, 25, 29, 31, 47 and 64 are critical of planners and the planning process in Taipei. As shown in Table 22, planners working in implementation units are more

skeptical of the planning process than those in planning units. For example, 58% of the planners in implementation units believe that planners are ill-equipped to deal with problems in Taipei, while only 8% of the planners in planning units agree. Planners in implementation units (62%) agree that practicing planners working for the government often neglect to take the future into account, while only 18% of planners in planning units agree.

Statement	Planning Unit (in %) [scale = 1 or 2]	Implementation Unit (in %) [scale = 5 or 6]	Mean	Standard Deviation
21) Urban planning has been so engrossed in architecture and beautification, in engineering exercises and in professional isolation that it has paid almost no attention to a social and economic framework for urban planning.	27	56	2.67	0.92
25) In the long run, the benefits of urban planning accrue to a very small elite; the majority of urban dwellers remain unaffected.	6	21	4.59	1.29
29) Taiwan's planners are ill-equipped to deal with problems in Taipei such as transportation, environment etc.	8	58	3.68	1.52
31) Practicing planners working for the government often neglect to take the future into account.	18	62	3.40	1.39
47) Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want.	20	37	3.24	1.20
64) Planning in Taipei city proceeds on a case-by-case basis at the expense of more comprehensive considerations.	38	68	2.69	1.19

Table 22. Statements regarding attitudes of planners on planning activities.

In order to understand the source or sources of this discrepancy in the attitudes of planners associated with planning and implementation, a regression model was used to control other background variables. The results of this analysis are shown in Tables 23 and 24. Independent variables included professional socialization variables such as years of experience as a planner, type of agency (planning or implementation orientation) and formal planning-related education (includes bachelors, masters or Ph.D. degrees earned in planning); and background socialization variables such as sex, age, fathers' education (in years), and

fathers' occupation (managerial/professional and others). Responses to the statements shown in Table 22 were aggregated into an index. In this index, 1 corresponds to a relatively skeptical attitude towards planning among planners than 6 (on a scale of 1 to 6). This index was then framed as the dependent variable and regressed on the above mentioned independent variables. (Section 3.2 describes the *index* in detail) Since *Age* and *Years of Planning Experience* are highly correlated ( $r^2 = 0.758$ ), a regression model which excludes *Age*, and one which excludes *Years of Experience*, as independent variables, were used. Tables 23 and 24 illustrate the results obtained from the regression analyses.

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 19.678	17.727	- 1.110	0.271
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	2.844	1.683	1.690	0.095
Father's Occupation	- 10.441	12.446	- 0.839	0.404
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Years of Planning Experience	1.952	0.013	1.927	0.058
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 52.446	12.629	- 4.153	0.000***
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	- 6.698	12.773	- 0.524	0.602
Constant	- 11.900			
$R^2 = 0.302 (F = 5.194; P = 0.000***) N = 79$				

**Table 23. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of planner's views (implementation)  
(Model does not include Age)

- \* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)
- \*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)
- a - 0 = male; 1 = female
- b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other
- c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation
- d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

Independent Variables	Unstandardized Regression Coefficient	Standard Error	t-Value	P-Value
<b>Social Background Variables</b>				
Age	2.009	0.981	2.141	0.034*
Sex <sup>a</sup>	- 14.719	18.124	0.812	0.419
Father's Education <sup>b</sup>	2.863	1.674	1.711	0.091
Father's Occupation	- 9.830	12.393	- 0.793	0.430
<b>Professional Background Variables</b>				
Type of Agency <sup>c</sup>	- 45.191	12.729	- 3.550	0.001***
Planning Education <sup>d</sup>	- 10.525	12.741	- 0.826	0.412
Constant	- 70.27			
$R^2 = 0.310 (F = 5.391; P = 0.000***) N = 79$				

**Table 24. Multiple Regression Model:** Regression analysis of planner's views (implementation).  
(Model does not include Years of Planning Experience)

\* -  $p \leq 0.05$  (one-tailed test)

\*\* -  $p \leq 0.01$  (one-tailed test)

\*\*\* -  $p \leq 0.001$  (one-tailed test)

a - 0 = male; 1 = female

b - 0 = professional/managerial; 1 = other

c - 0 = planning; 1 = implementation

d - 0 = planning related education; 1 = non-planning education

As shown in Tables 23 and 24, the *type of agency* (planning or implementation) in which planners work does influences their attitudes, even after controlling the other independent variables. *Type of agency* is significant at the 0.001 level in both models. Age is also significant at the 0.05 level. In other words, older planners are less skeptical than their younger counterparts about planning. Both models are significant at the 0.000 level.

## 6.0 Planning and The State in Taiwan

The pervasiveness and persistence of apolitical attitudes among planners should also be examined with reference to the political regimes under which planning is pursued. In an authoritarian regime, the rational model fulfills an important function in sustaining the legitimacy of the state. Planners are confined to technical procedures derived from goals articulated by politicians from above. Thus, the technocratic and apolitical paradigm not only legitimizes the role of planners in the political process, but is also strongly supportive of central control and planning.<sup>20</sup> In other words, there is a "selective affinity" between the authoritarian state and the rational planning model (Chang, 1988: 15). The state needs rational planners to serve as depoliticizing tools in solving increasingly politicized urban problems, while avoiding critical disturbances to capital accumulation.<sup>21</sup> The idea of planning has been hitched to the development paradigm that emphasizes the advantages of economic growth.

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<sup>20</sup> In Taiwan, virtually the entire banking system is government owned. The public enterprise sector is bigger than in the Republic of Korea and much bigger than in Japan. Taiwan is in the top quintile of developing countries (in a sample of fifty-one; Short, 1983).

<sup>21</sup> In examining the conceptualization of the state by neo-Marxists, Block (1977) added to our understanding of the major thrust of capitalist rationalization within capitalism. According to Block, state managers depend for their power and security in office upon a health economy. This is why state managers are very reluctant to act against capitalist interests. His theory of the state is powerful in understanding a development-oriented state such as Taiwan. Economic growth is the source of legitimization for the party state. Thus, technocrats are influenced by an economic ideology that adopts the attitude that an expanded economic pie is the best way to solve all problems, including social welfare issues.

Subscribing to the "trickle down" belief, planners believe a growth in GNP can solve social problems. In Taiwan, planners adhere to the ideology of economic development. Conflicts can be solved on paper - i.e., a "rational-comprehensive plan." Public interest can be achieved through objective calculation and evaluation. However, it is natural that in a heterogeneous society, diverse value sets will prevail. It is also natural that those group which attain political power will tend to justify their particular policies and ideology as rational (Hasson and Goldberg, 1987).

In addition, as in other developing countries, international organizations such as the IMF (International Money Fund) and USAID (U.S. Agency for Intentional Development) have systematically promoted the rationalistic mode of analysis and decision-making in Taiwan. During the aid period (the 1960s), the key organization charged with administering American assistance was the CUSA (Council on U.S. Aid). As Gold (1986: 69) pointed out, the Taiwanese members of CUSA have carried the ideology and methods learned from the CUSA experience into their leadership of Taiwan's economy over subsequent decades. In addition, by imposing strict conditions on loans and grants, these international agencies have successfully fostered the current conception of rational and technical proficiency (Wynia, 1972: 85).<sup>22</sup>

The assumption of a unitary public interest is unrealistic under a climate of political authoritarianism as in Taiwan, where individuals suffer a great deal of repression and exploitation. Authoritarian regimes are inclined to make the argument that individuals should yield some of their private wants in favor of some overriding collective good. There is no technically correct solution to determine what this "collective public good" is. Thus, in order to centralize command-and-control in the hands of an elite with power to override pluralistic preferences, public rational planning pretends to discover, and then induce the right solutions to problems, or the right path to development.

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<sup>22</sup> In 1964, UNDP (United Nation Development Program) assigned Mr. and Mrs. Monson to help with urban and housing development projects in Taiwan. In cooperation with the UHDC (Urban and Housing Development Committee), they created a working team to develop several urban development projects such as new town developments under the direction of CUSA.

Unlike welfare states in western capitalist society, planners under an authoritarian regime such as in Taiwan, need not implement policies concerned with the reproduction of the labor force to legitimize their position. Unless the accumulation of capital is hampered, the state does not have to concern itself with the needs of the labor force. The state spends a smaller proportion of its total outlay on education, health, social security and welfare than governments of other semi-peripheral countries in Latin America (see Table 25). This is pervasive phenomenon in many newly industrializing countries of East Asia.

Latin America	% Total Expenditure	Industrial Sector Hourly Wage Rate (in 1980 \$US)
Argentina	46.8% (1980)	n.a.
Brazil	54.5% (1979)	1.73
Mexico	36.3% (1980)	2.76
East Asia	% Total Expenditure	Industrial Sector Hourly Wage Rate (in 1980 \$US)
South Korea	20.8% (1982)	1.10
Taiwan	29.2% (1982)	1.25
Singapore	12.6% (1982)	1.09
Hong Kong	26.3% (1982)	1.51

Table 25. **Government expenditure:** Percentage of total government expenditure devoted to education, health, social security, and welfare of selected countries in Latin America and East Asia and hourly wage rates in the industrial sector (Source: Deyo, 1987: 197-98).

Although industrial wages rates in the East Asian countries have risen at a faster rate than in countries in Latin America, East Asian industrial wages are lower than those in Latin America (See Table 25). The state has not compensated for low wages with public welfare expenditures that might raise the effective social wage of workers. Instead, a massive entry of secondary household earners, especially young women from low-income families, into low-wage jobs as a survival strategy is becoming more and more prevalent (Deyo, 1987: 197; Armstrong and McGee, 1985).

This becomes more obvious when we examine how planners prioritize important projects for urban development. Transportation improvement (98%), environmental protection (94%), pollution control(87%), and environmental preservation (88%) were prioritized by the respondents as important to urban development in Taipei from among a list of 15 projects/policies. In contrast, low-income housing (40%), social welfare (62%), and new town development (30%) were given the least priority.<sup>23</sup> Table 26 illustrates the priorities of planners with respect to urban development in Taipei city.

Project	Important (in %) [scale = 1 or 2]	Not Important (in %) [scale = 5 or 6]	Mean	Standard Deviation
Transportation improvement	98	0	1.190	0.452
Environmental protection	94	0	1.387	0.670
Pollution control	87	1	1.554	0.859
Environmental preservation	88	1	1.646	0.776
Parks and recreation	83	0	1.726	0.797
Flood control	75	0	1.988	0.784
Land value assessment	66	2	2.083	1.132
Land use control	66	1	2.096	1.043
Social welfare	62	2	2.259	0.972
Road construction	59	2	2.325	1.037
Dispersal of vendors	60	1	2.345	1.114
Urban renewal	49	1	2.370	0.941
Community development	50	4	2.519	1.074
Low-income housing	40	5	2.614	0.961
New Town development	30	10	3.012	1.132

Table 26. Priorities for urban development in Taipei city.

Planners favor those projects and policies which serve important functions for capital accumulation, or at least mitigate the problems which result from this process. For example, traffic congestion and environmental degradation are two of the most pressing problems facing Taipei city. The vehicular density in the city is ten times the density of Los Angeles (Tang,1982). This problem, combined with increased levels of industrialization has

<sup>23</sup> The function of new town development mainly serves to relieve congestion in the central city. It helps alleviate the housing problem for median- and low-income households with the development of large scale public housing projects. Ten years ago, the new town of Linkou was developed to accommodate the burgeoning population of Taipei city. However, this project underwent many setbacks because of speculation of land.

led to the degradation of environmental quality in Taipei. Air and water pollution are major problems - air quality in Taipei city is among the worst in the world (Tsi, 1978). Toxic residues are being found in larger quantities in food supplies. It is felt that planners have to directly or indirectly mitigate these pernicious effects of industrialization in order to maintain the viability of capital accumulation.

In general, projects or policies (such as low-income housing and social welfare programs) which directly aid the reproduction of the labor force are less favored by planners. Public housing in Taipei is negligible, totalling merely 31,794 units in 1981 (Tang, 1982). Between 1981 and 1983, only 5.8% of the housing stock in Taiwan was developed by the public sector (Hsu, 1988: 40). Furthermore, in 1975, the total housing stock in Taipei was owned by 5.6% of its inhabitants. Land values in Taipei city have increased by approximately 265% between 1952 and 1976, causing further disincentives to home ownership by the labor class (Tang, 1982). The government has no mechanisms in place to capture the tax revenues from increased land values, and thus provides an impetus to land speculation.<sup>24</sup> Planners in authoritarian states such as Taiwan need not implement policies concerned with the reproduction of the labor force, especially since the labor force is excluded from participating in decision making processes at the national level. Thus, on the one hand, the government facilitates capital accumulation, while on the other hand, it does not directly address imperatives conducive to the reproduction of the labor force.

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<sup>24</sup> The government uses the Vacant Land Tax (VLT) to prevent speculation. However, the VLT is imposed at the minimum rather than at the maximum of the tax scale (200% - 500%). This underassessment of land values and the sharp rise of land prices provides generous opportunities for speculation (Lin, 1984: 337).

## **7.0 Summary and Suggestions for Future**

### **Research**

A prominent pattern that emerged in examining the result of the survey is the strong rational and apolitical orientation of Taipei's planners. The pervasiveness of rational and apolitical leanings among planners is partly a reflection of an authoritarian state that protects its own legitimacy while promoting economic development.<sup>25</sup> The rational paradigm of planning, by its very nature, can better insulate decision-making from external influences, since planners primarily seek the means to optimize predetermined objectives. Planning by technical rationality criteria is based upon an efficient coordination of means-ends relations and is best suited to meet requirements for capital accumulation and the insulation of decision making from popular controls (Offe, 1978). It is suggested that planners recognize the fact that their rational role is slowly eroding, since the "top-down" technocratic planning process has a low capacity for acquiring democratic legitimacy. In addition, owing to the effects of international forces, many plans may no longer be achieved by rational calculation and control.

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<sup>25</sup> On Taiwan as an authoritarian regime see Hung-Chao Tai, "The Kuomintang and modernization in Taiwan," in Samuel P. Huntington and Clement Moore (eds.) *Authoritarian Politics in Modern Societies: The Dynamics of Established One Party Systems* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), pp.406-36; and Edwin A. Winckler, "Roles linking state and society," in Emily Martin Ahern and Hill Gates (eds.) *The Anthropology of Taiwanese Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1981), pp.50-86.

Frameworks for policy-making are no longer confined to territorial boundaries. For example, although contract bidding for the construction of the MRT system for the Taipei metropolitan region was opened to construction firms from Japan, West Germany, the United States and many other countries, pressure from the U.S. government, worried about its balance of trade with Taiwan led to the award of the construction contract to a U.S. firm. Rational calculation by planners is often undone as in the case of the MRT construction project which might have been awarded to a Japanese firm if conventional cost-benefit analysis was the decision making tool. They may therefore attempt to broaden their views by recognizing political interests and influences when analyzing situations, identifying problems and recommending solutions to them.

Planners can be aware of the importance of inputs from various interest groups and the general public. All public decisions and actions have redistributive effects such that some people may be made better off, and others worse off. Planners' faith in the unitary public interest doctrine may be questioned, since a fundamental consensus does not exist even for the most basic of problems - society as a whole cannot act on a rational basis without conflicts. Even if a consensus is reached, it is most often by a small elite who have access to the decision making process.

The growth of GNP does not ensure a decrease in regional and sectoral (eg.rural-urban; managerial/professional-wage labor; and farm-nonfarm) disparities or an increase in the life quality of the poor (Ke,1981; Hsia,1988). Given the fact the while the costs of most planning interventions fall disproportionately upon the poor, the benefits of such interventions accrue mainly to the rich, planners should be more aware of the distributional effects and the responsibilities it entails. In other words, planners may examine "ends" more closely, rather than attempting to attain pre-determined goals by optimal means. Kiernan's (1981: 22; 1983: 83) call for a "politics of positive discrimination" advocates a systematic and disproportionate allocation of the benefits of future planning proposals to ensure that both the absolute and the relative position of the disadvantaged is improved. In particular, since Taiwan has ap-

proached a certain level of development, planners may first attempt to alleviate social and economic disparities.

Although most planners believe in the apolitical and rational nature of planning, planners with formal planning educations tend to recognize the inherently political nature of planning to a greater extent than those without planning educations. Since planning education is obviously one of the determinants in shaping the role and value orientations of planners, especially with respect to their recognition of political influences, planning curricula that better focus on those aspects may be emphasized. Planners without planning degrees should also be exposed to the importance of these influences. In addition, the prevalence of apolitical attitudes among planners in top-down decision making environments exacerbates difficulties in the implementation of plans and programs. Hence, planners working with implementation units, and carrying out plans formulated by planning units are more cognizant of the importance of public participation. Furthermore, they are more skeptical about planning activities in Taipei city than their counterparts working in planning units.

This study attempted to examine the role orientation of planners in Taipei city in the context of the complex matrix of antagonistic and synergistic components such as the world system, the role of the state and the planner. While the profile of the role orientation of planners presented in this thesis emerged from a static examination of issues at a given point in time, a historical-structure approach might help in better understanding planning processes and the orientations of planners who are part of this process. For Instance, Foglesong (1986: 25) examined the colonial era in the United States until the 1920s. This work provided an opportunity to compare problems of urban development as they confronted town builders in a largely pre-capitalist era, prior to the emergence of extensive urban land speculation. King (1977: 203-26) characterizes colonial planning as reflecting the export of values and ideologies from metropolitan to colonial society.<sup>26</sup> Furthermore, colonial planning is seen as a key agent in the transform of the spatial structure in order to incorporate the colonies into

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<sup>26</sup> King's case study examines Delhi under British rule.

the capitalist world system. For instance, planning in Taiwan was first influenced by the Japanese who occupied Taiwan for fifty-one years.<sup>27</sup> The experience of the Japanese colonization of Taiwan and its influence both on the planning process and the role orientation of planners is worth examining in terms of a dialectical historical-structural approach.

The importance of case studies juxtaposed with the historical-structural approach may allow an examination of the role orientation planners with respect to specific planning activities or contexts. It is felt that surveys of the sort used in this study do not allow planners to relate to specific contexts. In concluding a case study of the Oak Forest Project, Gottdiener (1983: 326-27) pointed out that "...the pursuit of 'theories of planning' must proceed by carrying out and collecting case studies within a wide variety of community settings....Ignorance about the variability in local government structure is compounded by an inability to grasp fully the wide variety of separate, contending groups that are often involved in planning decisions." The Mass Rapid Transit System for Taipei city which was proposed in 1975 and has been under planning and construction ever since is a good candidate for a case study because of its long history, its international ramifications, forces beyond the reach of planners, the rational-comprehensive approach to planning, its capital-intensive nature, the involvement of all levels of the bureaucracy, the political stakes involved and the projects controversial nature. The possibilities for intensive interviewing of planners associated with the project and archival research present a prime setting for future research.

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<sup>27</sup> During the colonial period, planning activities were primarily street layout and building control.

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## **Appendix A. English Survey Questionnaire**

## SURVEY OF TAIPEI'S URBAN AND REGIONAL PLANNERS

### Section I.

#### 1. Basic Data

(Please provide some personal information.)

a. Age: \_\_\_\_\_

b. Sex: \_\_\_\_\_

c. Religion: \_\_\_\_\_

d. Birth Place: \_\_\_\_\_

e. Political Party Affiliation: \_\_\_\_\_ (optional)

f. What is (or was) your father's occupation?

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1) What is your father's level of education? (Please indicate number of years of formal education by circling the appropriate number.)

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20+

g. Education: (please list all your degrees/diplomas)

Major

University/College

Location

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h. Present Occupation (please indicate rank and employer):

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2. When did you first begin work as a planner? 19\_\_\_\_\_

a. What was it that motivated you to become involved in urban and regional planning?

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3. How would you describe your job, in general terms?

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a. Which of the following most closely describes your work? (check one)

- 1) You are involved in computer/quantitative analysis of economic or technical information or you are involved in physical site design for a local subdivision.
- 2) You are involved in determining/achieving goals objectives and criteria that are required by legislative decree or you are involved in a regulatory capacity (i.e. over-seeing zoning regulations budgetary requests from the concerned governmental authority, etc.)
- 3) You are involved in the preparation of development plans requiring the aggregative use of economic and technical skills while simultaneously considering social, political and environmental implications of a particular planning project.
- 4) If you were faced with planning for the siting of a nuclear power-plant in the vicinity of a populated neighborhood, please describe the most important information you would need to in order make your recommendation:

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4. Excluding your present position, have you ever been employed in any of the following settings?

Planning related   Non-planning related

a. Private practice

b. Teaching

c. Central government

d. Local government (city)

e. Local government (county)

f. Other (please specify):

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## **Section II.**

5. A good planner must have a variety of skills and attributes.

*Please indicate what you feel to be the relative importance of each of the following on a scale of 1 to 6 by checking a box at the appropriate point on the scale.*

1 = very important  
6 = not important  
7 = don't know  
8 = no opinion

6. Which of the following activities occupy most of your time at work?

a. Development planning

b. Development control

c. Preparation of strategic plans

d. Preparation of local plans

e. Urban design

f. Administration

g. Research/Teaching

h. Other (please specify):

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7. From your experience, what kinds of university courses/subjects provide the best kind of preparation for someone in your position?

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8. What are the things that you particularly like about your job?

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9. What are the things that you find frustrating, or which you dislike about your job?

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### **Section III.**

10. What do you feel are the priorities for successful urban development in Taipei?

*Please indicate what you feel to be the relative importance of each of the following on a scale of 1 to 6 by checking a box at the appropriate point on the scale.*

1 = very important  
6 = not important  
7 = don't know  
8 = no opinion

1    2    3    4    5    6    7    8

- a. Urban renewal
- b. Transportation
- c. Environment
- d. Low-Income Housing
- e. Community Development
- f. Park and Recreation
- g. Road Construction
- h. Social Welfare
- i. Land-Use Control
- j. Pollution Control
- k. Waste Disposal Management
- l. Flood Control
- m. Rent Control
- n. Other (please specify): \_\_\_\_\_

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11. Do you feel that you are able to exert a significant impact through your job on the outcome of urban development in Taipei City?

a. Yes (Please answer question - 12b.)

b. Don't Know

c. No

d. Not applicable

12. Please give examples of those aspects of urban development that you feel you are able to influence, even in a small way:

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**Section IV.** Here are some statements that have been made recently about planning and planners in developing countries.

Please indicate how strongly you agree or disagree with each of them by checking a box the appropriate point on the scale.

- 1 = strongly agree
- 2 = moderately agree
- 3 = slightly agree
- 4 = slightly disagree
- 5 = moderately disagree
- 6 = strongly disagree
- 7 = don't know
- 8 = no opinion

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8

13. Planners should be primarily trained to develop technically correct solutions to technical problems.

14. Private developers tend to have little or no concern for the good of the community as a whole.

15. Planners generally know the needs of the community better than its residents.

16. The failure of planning often results from the lack of regulation to facilitate the success of these specific planning cases.

17. The answer to the urban dilemma of Taiwan and other developing countries lies in indigenous theory, indigenous design and indigenous planning.

18. The existing approach to planning in Taiwan is not only static and technocratic but also unrelated to overall national development plans, objectives and constraints.

19. The standards set for housing, environment, etc., in developing countries (including Taiwan) are so high that a great majority of people can never attain them.

20. The MRT system can not only solve the problem of traffic congestion Taipei city but can also facilitate the development of Taipei city.
- 
21. Urban planning has been so engrossed in architecture and beautification, in engineering exercises and in professional isolation that it has paid almost no attention to a social and economic framework for urban planning.
- 
22. Housing that meets regulated standards better meet human needs than unregulated housing.
- 
23. We must take advantage of our backwardness by learning from the urban experiences of technologically advanced countries.
- 
24. Planners do not have the methodology at their disposal to handle the peculiar problems developing countries like Taiwan are facing, since most of them were trained in western universities and institutions.
- 
25. In the long run, the benefits of urban planning accrue to a very small elite; the majority of urban dwellers remain unaffected.
- 
26. The insulation of planners from political whims and their claim to professional expertise enables them to better interpret and fulfill public mandates.
- 
27. Urbanization is a process, and there is no way you can deal with it on a project-by-project basis.
- 
28. The prime responsibility of the planner is to safeguard people from inappropriate development.
- 
29. Taiwan's planners are ill-equipped to deal with problems in Taipei city such as transportation, environment etc.
-

30. The main thrust of the planning process in Taipei city is management and control rather than the facilitation of development.
31. Practicing planners working for the government often neglect to take the future into account.
32. A planner's effectiveness is based primarily on his/her reputation for objective, accurate and in-depth analysis of problems.
33. Planners should try to influence decisions primarily by disseminating and facilitating the use of technical planning information.
34. Planning is primarily a political activity.
35. Planning is primarily a form of rational behavior.
36. The price being paid for environmental preservation in terms of administration costs and man power are too high.
37. The price being paid for historical conservation in terms of administration costs and man power are too high.
38. Planners should accept and work within the rules of their agencies, even if they do not always agree with them.
39. The standards set for housing, environment, etc. in developing countries like Taiwan are too low.
40. An important part of the planner's job is to understand the point of view of the administration he or she serves, and assist it in achieving its objectives.
41. Planners have a special responsibility to ensure that resources are distributed to the have-nots of the community, particularly the poor.

42. In the planning process, planners should stake their values in competition with those of others and openly strive to achieve them.
43. Planning in Taiwan is in a sense, a strategy for economic development.
44. The training of planners prepares them to respond instinctively to issues concerning equity and equality in the delivery of services to various members of the community.
45. People have a right to control who lives in their neighborhood.
46. Planners should involve citizens in every phase of the planning process.
47. Planners should recognize that private developers generally give people what they want.
48. Citizens should have veto power over planning policies drawn up by professionals.
49. Planners in academia do not take into account factors such as governmental legislation and their implications for planning.
50. The professional knowledge of planners is not given adequate respect.
51. Lack of coordination between planning authorities and other government agencies responsible for the provision of urban services and infrastructure is one of the major problems impeding planning efforts in Taipei.
52. It generally benefits people when a public authority adopts land use controls.
53. Planning in Taiwan is just a device to legitimize development projects without changing outcomes or increasing local control over the process

54. Economic growth is more important than social welfare at this stage of Taiwan's development.
55. Many urban planning problems are political rather than technical.
56. The Public sector is always, inevitably, less efficient than private developers.
57. Each neighborhood should be planned and developed according to needs of its residents.
58. All neighborhoods should be treated equally in terms of the kinds of services provided.
59. Solving Taipei's traffic congestion problem is more important than providing parks and playgrounds at this stage of Taiwan's development.
60. Planning in Taiwan is in a sense, a strategy for protecting environmental quality.
61. Planners should work closely with the private sector in order to serve the city's best interests.
62. The failure of planning often results from the difficulty faced by planners in acquiring appropriate land for specific projects.
63. Providing low-income housing is more important than road construction at this stage of Taiwan's development.
64. Planning in Taipei city proceeds on a case-by-case basis at the expense of more comprehensive considerations.

## **Appendix B. Chinese Survey Questionnaire**

這份問卷是為多國比較研究而設計，由維吉尼亞理工大學都市事務及計劃研究所（Virginia Polytech Institute and State University）的Professor Paul L. Knox先生所擬定，已經施測於英國、美國、印度及加勒比海多個國家。將台灣這個新興工業國家擬進這個計劃中去比較，會十分有意義。我們相信在台灣的都市發展過程中，規劃師必定扮演一個重要的角色，希望透過您的意見及答案，使我們對台灣的都市規劃師能夠有進一步的了解。由於問卷中有多題開放式問題，請您儘量詳細回答，如有需要，可以寫在另外的紙張，謝謝您的合作！！

維吉尼亞理工大學都市事務及計劃系研究生  
中央研究院民族學研究所訪問學員

黃 順 宏

## 台北市規劃師訪談問卷

### I. 基本狀況

1. 請回答下列問題

- a. 請問您什麼時候出生？民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年 \_\_\_\_\_ 月
- b. 性別： (1)男  (2)女
- c. 您的宗教信仰怎麼稱呼？ (1)佛教  (2)道教  (3)民間信仰  (4)天主教  
 (5)基督教--宗派：\_\_\_\_\_  (6)回教  (7)其它：\_\_\_\_\_  
 (8)無宗教信仰
- c-1. 您平常到廟裏或教堂的頻率為何？ (1)每次都去  (2)常去  (3)偶而去  
 (4)從來不去
- d. 請問您的籍貫是那裏？ (1)本省閩南人  (2)本省客家人  (3)外省人  
 (4)山地人  (5)其它：\_\_\_\_\_
- e. 請問您是否有加入黨派？ (1)有(請說明) \_\_\_\_\_  
 (2)沒有
- f. 請問您父親現在或退休之前的職業為何？  
職業 \_\_\_\_\_；職位 \_\_\_\_\_
- f-1. 請問您父親的教育程度：(請圈選實際接受正式教育的年齡)  
0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20
- g. 請列出您大學(專)以上的學位的主修，校名及其所在地(請詳細說明)：
- | 學校    | 主修    | 校名    | 地點    |
|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
| ----- | ----- | ----- | ----- |
- h. 請說明您目前的職業及職位？  
(1)機構或單位的名稱：-----  
(2)職位：-----  
(3)職等：-----

i. 請問您除了上述的職業之外，是否有兼任其它的職業或職位？

(1)有（請您續答 i-1.）  (2)沒有

i-1. 請問您兼任何種職業及職位？（請您列舉主要的三個兼任的副業）

(1) 機構及單位的名稱：-----

職位：-----

(2) 機構及單位的名稱：-----

職位：-----

(3) 機構及單位的名稱：-----

職位：-----

2. 請問您從民國幾年開始從事有關規劃的工作？民國 \_\_\_\_\_ 年 \_\_\_\_\_ 月

2a. 什麼動機使您選擇從事都市或區域規劃相關的工作（請您詳細回答）

-----  
-----  
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3. 請您用幾句簡單的話來描述您的工作性質：

-----  
-----

3a. 下列何者最能妥切描述您的工作性質。（請您選擇一個描述最接近您的工作性質）

(1) 使用電腦或量化的技術來解決或協助有關設計及規劃的工作

(2) 依據法令規章來訂定或審查計劃案件的目標及準則，或是涉及調整裁量的事宜

(3) 除了使用一些經濟計量及模型的方法之外，同時亦綜合考量政治及社會層面之相關事宜，來研提實質建議或計劃

(4) 其它（請您詳細說明）-----

3b. 假如您受委託或指派在台北附近設置核能電廠，為了提出建議您認為所需要最重要的資料是什麼？

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-----

4. 除了目前的職業，您是否曾受僱於其它的機構？

與規劃有關的工作

- (1) 私人公司
- (2) 研究教學
- (3) 中央政府
- (4) 省(市)政府
- (5) 縣(市)政府
- (6) 其它：-----   
-----   
-----

與規劃無關的工作

- 

5. 優良的規劃師必須俱備許多能力。請在下列各項目，依您所認為的最重要程度加以勾選

	1. 非常 重要	2. 相當 重要	3. 還算 重要	4. 有點 不重要	5. 相當 不重要	6. 非常 不重要	7. 不知 道	8. 無 意 見
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- a. 管理能力
- b. 專業技術(能)
- c. 按法規辦事
- d. 足夠的法律常識
- e. 人道精神與關懷
- f. 解決問題的能力
- g. 客觀判斷的能力
- h. 政治警覺性 (Political Awareness)
- i. 綜合各種專業的能力 (Professional Integrity)
- j. 社會警覺性 (Social Awareness)
- k. 領導能力
- l. 人際關係的處理能力
- m. 空間的概念 (Spatial Awareness)

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
	非常重要	相當重要	還算重要	有點不重要	相當不重要	非常不重要	不知道	無意見
n. 使命感 (Sense of Public Mission)	<input type="checkbox"/>							
o. 創造力	<input type="checkbox"/>							
p. 洞識未來的能力	<input type="checkbox"/>							
q. 其它 : _____	<input type="checkbox"/>							
	<input type="checkbox"/>							
	<input type="checkbox"/>							

6. 您平常花最多時間在什麼工作？（請詳細回答）

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7. 您在大學(專)或研究所的那一些課程對您目前作規劃的工作最有幫助(請詳細列出各科目)？

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8. 您的工作中有那些事情是您覺得最得意及有回饋的：

-----

-----

9. 您的工作中那些事情是您最感到挫折或是最厭煩的：

-----

-----

10. 就台北市而言，您認為下列那些事項必須優先推行：

	1. 非常 重要	2. 相當 重要	3. 還算 重要	4. 有點 不重要	5. 相當 不重要	6. 非常 不重要	7. 不知道	8. 無意見
a. 都市更新	<input type="checkbox"/>							
b. 改善交通	<input type="checkbox"/>							
c. 道路建設	<input type="checkbox"/>							
d. 自然保育	<input type="checkbox"/>							
e. 公害防治(水、空氣、噪音)	<input type="checkbox"/>							
f. 低收入戶住宅	<input type="checkbox"/>							
g. 社區發展(Community Development)	<input type="checkbox"/>							
h. 新社區開發(New Town Development)	<input type="checkbox"/>							
i. 社會福利	<input type="checkbox"/>							
j. 嚴格執行土地使用分區管制	<input type="checkbox"/>							
k. 垃圾及廢棄物處理	<input type="checkbox"/>							
l. 公園綠地	<input type="checkbox"/>							
m. 嚴格取締攤販	<input type="checkbox"/>							
n. 防洪措施	<input type="checkbox"/>							
o. 公正的地價評議	<input type="checkbox"/>							
p. 其它：----- ----- -----	<input type="checkbox"/>							

11. 西方有許多都市的公共設施是民間經營或由政府及民間合營或合資，依您的意見，在台北市是否是一種可行的方案。

- a. 服務措施(加油站，停車場，市場等) 應由誰來 投資 (可多選)： (1) 私人開發者  
 (2) 政府  (3) 公私合營  (4) 其它：\_\_\_\_\_
- 原因為何？ \_\_\_\_\_

b. 服務措施(加油站,停車場,市場等)應由誰來經營(可多選)

(1) 私人開發者  (2) 政府  (3) 公私合營  (4) 其它: \_\_\_\_\_

因為為何? \_\_\_\_\_

c. 基本設施(道路,水,電)應由誰來投資?(可多選):

(1) 私人開發者  (2) 政府  (3) 公私合營  (4) 其它: \_\_\_\_\_

因為為何? \_\_\_\_\_

d. 基本設施(道路,水,電)應由誰來經營?(可多選):

(1) 私人開發者  (2) 政府  (3) 公私合營  (4) 其它: \_\_\_\_\_

12. 您覺得您的工作對台北市都市發展是否能夠有所影響?

(1) 是(請續答 12a)  (2) 不知道  (3) 沒有  (4) 不適用  (5) 其它: \_\_\_\_\_

12a. 請舉出實際例子說明您工作如何影響台北市都市發展(請詳細回答)

第二部份:下面有些關於開發中國家或台灣的規劃及規劃師的說法,請您依您的經驗及看法  
對這些說法加以評估。

	1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
	非常贊成	相當贊成	還算贊成	有點不贊成	相當不贊成	非常不贊成	不知道	無意見

13. "訓練規劃師最重要的一點是使他們能有正確解決問題的專業技術(能)"

14. "民間的開發者及建設商通常不太關心整個社區的公眾利益"

15. "一般而言,規劃師比當地社區民眾更能了解社區的需要"

16. "規劃案的失敗常常是由於相關的法令及條規不能配合"

17. "台灣的都市問題是缺少本土規劃及設計的理論來解決問題"

18. "台灣目前的都市規劃只停留在靜態及技術的層面,未能以國家整體發展互動的關係及目標互相配合"

	1. 非常贊成	2. 相當贊成	3. 還算贊成	4. 有點不贊成	5. 相當不贊成	6. 非常不贊成	7. 不知道	8. 無意見
19."台灣目前有關住宅、環境及公共設施的標準不切實際，因為他們太高"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
20."地下捷運系統不但可以解決交通擁擠的問題，而且可以利用其促進附近場站的發展"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
21."都市計劃太專注於實質的功能面，而忽視了都市計劃的社會經濟面"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
22."合乎法規的房子通常比違規建造的房子來得適合人們的需求"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
23."因為台灣的發展時間較晚，所以我們可以利用已開發國家的都市發展的技術及經驗"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
24."台灣很多受西方訓練的規劃師，他們沒有適切的技術及知識來處理台灣都市發展的問題"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
25."就長期而言，都市計劃終究只對少數資本家及地主有利，而對一般民眾是毫無影響"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
26."複雜的政治過程及考慮只會干擾規劃師達成或解決公眾的需求"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
27."都市化是一個連續的過程，必需有一個通盤考慮而不能以個案來考慮"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
28."開發行為如果沒有規劃師的監督一定會傷害公眾的利益"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
29."台灣的都市規劃師沒有充分的技術及知識來處理有關交通及環境的問題"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
30."台北市目前的都市規劃主要的工作目標是在如何管理及控制而不是在如何促進發展及開發"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
31."台灣在政府機關做規劃的人，常常缺乏長遠的眼光及作法"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
32."規劃師的效能 (effectiveness) 是建立在能專業化的對問題客觀，精確而深入的分析"	<input type="checkbox"/>							

	1. 非常贊成	2. 相當贊成	3. 還算贊成	4. 有點不贊成	5. 相當不贊成	6. 非常不贊成	7. 不知道	8. 無意見
33.“規劃師主要是能利用規劃技術並且傳達有關的資訊來影響決策”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
34.“規劃是一種政治活動”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
35.“規劃是一種理性的行為”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
36.“台灣目前花在生態保育方面的行政費用及人力太多了”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
37.“台灣目前花在古蹟保存方面的行政費用及人力太多了”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
38.“規劃師應該配合委託單位或所在機構的規定，即使規劃師本身並不同意”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
39.“目前台灣有關住宅、環境及公共設施的標準不切實際，因為他們的標準太低”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
40.“規劃師應該考慮他們工作機構的立場，並且協助他們達成他們的目標”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
41.“規劃師有特別照顧社區裏低收入戶的責任”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
42.“在規劃的過程中，規劃師應有自己的看法並且必須據理以爭”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
43.“台灣的規劃是一種促進經濟發展的手段及策略”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
44.“規劃師的訓練使得規劃師對牽涉到社區資源與服務分配是否公平與公正的問題有一種直覺的反應”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
45.“人們有權決定及控制他們自己社區的生活方式”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
46.“規劃過程中有一個步驟都需要有民眾的參與”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
47.“一般而言，私人的開發者較能迎合一般民眾的需求”	<input type="checkbox"/>							
48.“市民或民意代表對於專家及規劃師所作的規劃案應有否決權”	<input type="checkbox"/>							

	1. 非常贊成	2. 相當贊成	3. 還算贊成	4. 有點不贊成	5. 相當不贊成	6. 非常不贊成	7. 不知道	8. 無意見
49."台灣的學術單位在作規劃時，常常沒有考慮法令及條文的限制"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
50."規劃師的專業知識在台灣並沒有受到尊重"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
51."阻礙台北市規劃的主要問題之一是都市規劃與執行相關單位缺乏合作及協調"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
52."土地使用分區管制一定能夠嘉惠一般民眾"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
53."台灣的規劃師並沒有辦法改變一些當局既定的目標及決定，他們頂多只能改變一些枝微末節的事情"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
54."台灣現階段的發展，經濟的成長比社會福利的推行來得重要"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
55."許多都市規劃的問題是政治層面而不是技術性的問題"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
56."政府一定比私人開發者沒有效率"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
57."所有規劃必須依照該地居民的需求而規劃"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
58."所有的服務及建設必須能夠公平的提供給各社區的民眾"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
59."對現階段台北市發展而言，解決交通擁擠的問題比提供公園綠地來得迫切"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
60."台灣的規劃是一種提昇環境品質的手段及策略"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
61."政府應與私人企業及開發者密切合作，才能嘉惠一般大眾"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
62."規劃案的失敗常常是由於土地取得困難所導致的結果"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
63."對現階段台北市發展而言，提供中低戶住宅比道路建設來得重要"	<input type="checkbox"/>							
64."台北市的都市規劃大都是個案的解決，缺乏通盤的考慮"	<input type="checkbox"/>							

II. 請您對本份問卷提供一些您寶貴的意見，以作日後修改之參考。

1. 根據填寫經驗，您覺得問卷中應該刪除或修改的問題，並且提出您的意見。

2. 是不是有些對台灣的都市規劃非常關鍵的問題，在本問卷中無法含蓋？請詳細說明您的看法。

## **Appendix C. Results of Factor Analysis**

**Factor analysis of attributes of a good planner**

Attribute	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV	Factor V
Social Awareness	0.678	-	-	-0.552	-
Problem Solving Skills	0.670	-	-	-	-
Sense of Public Mission	0.658	-	-	-	-
Interpersonal Relationships	0.635	0.309	-	-	-
Sense of Vision	0.631	-0.414	-	-	-
Creativity	0.599	-0.391	-	-	-0.320
Leadership Qualities	0.577	0.519	-	0.450	-
Humanitarian Concerns	0.571	-	-	-	-
Political Awareness	0.533	0.319	-	-0.308	-
Technical Craftsmanship	0.528	-	-	-	-
Objective Judgement	0.499	-0.329	-	-	-
Spatial Awareness	0.478	-	-	-	0.363
Professional Integrity	0.373	-	-	-	0.353
Ability to Follow Orders	0.359	-	-	-	-
Management Ability	0.504	0.638	-	-	-0.314
Sound Legal Knowledge	0.397	-	0.826	-	-
<b>% of Variance Explained</b>	<b>33.2</b>	<b>12.0</b>	<b>7.9</b>	<b>7.7</b>	<b>6.7</b>
<b>Eigen Value</b>	<b>5.3</b>	<b>1.9</b>	<b>1.3</b>	<b>1.2</b>	<b>1.1</b>

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