

Governance Issues in Chinese Rural Planning: Conceptual Analysis, Research Review, and Prospects*

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Abstract: Governance has always been a crucial issue in rural planning research. However, the polysemy of the term "governance" can lead to ambiguity in academic concepts and create barriers to scholarly dialogue. Clarifying the different connotations of governance in both Chinese and English contexts is essential. Based on this, a review of the literature identifies three major governance issues in current Chinese rural planning research: rural planning as a technical tool for improving the rural living environment, as a social process involving multi-stakeholder collaboration, and as a component of the national spatial governance system. These three governance issues represent distinct connotations of governance in the Chinese context, and the shift in research foci reflects the direction of national policies. It is important to distinguish between the research topics and boundaries of different governance connotations while also paying attention to the interactivity of various governance relationships. This includes the governance of social relations behind the material spatial governance, the relationship between bottom-up and top-down social governance, and the relationship between comprehensive and effective territorial spatial governance. Future research should focus on strengthening theoretical interpretations of Chinese-specific governance connotations, advancing in-depth studies of rural planning theory and practice, and examining the social organizational relationships behind rural spatial elements, the practical applications of rural planning guided by social governance, and the operational mechanisms of local planning under the national overall governance framework.

Keywords: governance, rural planning, conceptual connotation, literature reviews

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Governance is a crucial topic in planning research. Since its inception, modern planning has always been a form of management of social public affairs, a governmental behavior aimed at controlling various new developments and constructions. Its essence is spatial governance ^[1]. In 2019, the reform of territorial spatial planning and the establishment of the national spatial governance system led to an explosive increase in the use of the term "governance" in planning research. In the field of rural planning practice, due to the unique social structure, economic institutions, and urban-rural factors specific to rural China, it naturally correlates with rural governance, also producing many rural planning research outcomes related to governance. Existing research is often based on different practical needs and approached from various perspectives, presenting significant differences and divergences in explaining the connotations of governance. The complexity of basic concepts can easily create barriers to academic communication, which is not conducive to the in-depth advancement of theoretical and practical research. Therefore, this paper starts from the connotations of the concept of governance to conduct a systematic review of governance issues in rural planning research, distinguishing research questions related to the different connotations of governance, and providing a foundation for future in-depth discussions on governance in rural planning.

1 Tracing the Origins: Basic Concepts and Connotations of Governance

1.1 The Rise of the Governance Concept in the West

The term "governance" emerged as an academic concept in the Western academic community in the 1980s, reflecting significant economic and social transformations of the time^[1]. Firstly, after the 1970s, the crisis of welfare states in the West made it clear that both statism and neoliberalism were imperfect choices between government and market. A recombination of government, market, and society was inevitable. "Political scientists and management scholars in the West proposed the concept of governance and advocated replacing rule with governance because they observed both market failures and state failures in the allocation of social resources" ^[2]. Secondly, the rapid development of globalization undermined the economic foundations and sovereignty concepts of nation-states, altering the structure and operation of political power in traditional sovereign states. The roles of the state and government had to change to adapt to the globalized environment. The localization trend in the era of globalization highlighted new localism, with multi-centric, decentralized, and citizen participation becoming the primary directions of public management reform ^[3]. Overall, the rise of "governance" in the West aimed to find an alternative to traditional government regulation and rule ^[4]. Since the 1990s, governance research has gradually developed into a mainstream discipline in Western social sciences, although the concept of governance remains broad, vague, and flexible. Representative figures in governance theory, such as Rhodes (R.A.W.) ^[5], have summarized six forms of governance: governance as minimal state, governance as corporate governance, governance as new public management, governance as good governance, governance as a social-control system, and governance as self-organizing networks. Similarly, Hirst (P.) ^[6] proposed five "versions" of governance, and Stoker (G.) ^[7] outlined "five arguments" of governance. Although a consistent definition of governance remains elusive, governance in the Western context exhibits a strong "society-centered" tendency: governance implies that the central position of the state is to some extent replaced by a new combination of state, society, and market. Governance subjects outside the government participate in public affairs,

emphasizing the achievement of consensus through dialogue, negotiation, and interaction, and focusing on the self-organization and self-management processes of society.

1.2 The Connotation of Governance in the Chinese Context

The concept of "governance" in the Chinese context does not entirely align with the Western notion of governance. The term "governance" has been used in Chinese for a long time and primarily carries two layers of meaning ^[8]. Firstly, it refers to the meaning of "rectification" or "repair," often applied to specific physical objects such as mountains, rivers, and other natural features, like "governing the Huai River" or "environmental governance." This interpretation is found in both the mainland's Modern Chinese Dictionary and Taiwan's Revised National Language Dictionary. It is a usage that does not exist in English. In modern environmental science, disaster prevention, engineering, and other fields, this meaning is still used to discuss technical methods and measures for the rectification, restoration, or transformation of specific objects. Secondly, it conveys the sense of "rule" or "management," as seen in phrases from ancient texts such as "I wish the government offices to be well governed; what should I do?" from *The Family Sayings of Confucius: Virtuous Rulers*, and "Clarify roles and responsibilities, organize tasks, utilize talents and skills, and all will be well governed, thereby ensuring public justice prevails over private interests and public righteousness over personal affairs" from *Xunzi: The Way of the Ruler*. The object here is public affairs, and this meaning of governance is frequently used in modern administrative science, political science, and management studies.

After the introduction of Western governance theories to China, the socially centered concept of "new governance" has enriched the connotations of "governance" in Chinese. In China, the fields of public administration and sociology often use the term "governance" to emphasize the role of society in the management of public affairs, as well as the multi-stakeholder cooperation, community self-governance, and other aspects. However, unlike Western scholars who emphasize decentralization, polycentricity, and advocate "new governance" as a "third way" beyond government and market, Chinese scholars tend to link "governance" more closely with modern state building and government capacity building ^[9]. The aim is to explore better ways, methods, and approaches to "statecraft" within the existing political system, thus making "governance" in the Chinese context not an antithesis to rule but a ruling technique embedded within the logic of state governance, which some scholars refer to as "the way of governance." Especially after the Third Plenary Session of the 18th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, the term "governance" has been emphasized by official discourse and incorporated into the national governance framework, focusing on advancing the modernization of governance capabilities, particularly enhancing the "capacity for institutional implementation" ^[8]. This represents the Sinicization of governance theory. In summary, the term "governance" in Chinese is widely used across different fields and disciplines, carrying multiple connotations (Figure 1). It can refer to the rectification and transformation of specific objects in environmental and engineering fields, as well as to a method of management and governance in the public administration domain. Influenced by Western governance literature, the term "governance" often carries connotations of pluralism, collaborative interaction, and social self-organization. It is important to note that, in the localized context,

"governance" is not the opposite of government management but rather emphasizes the construction of national governance capabilities and the capacity for government governance.

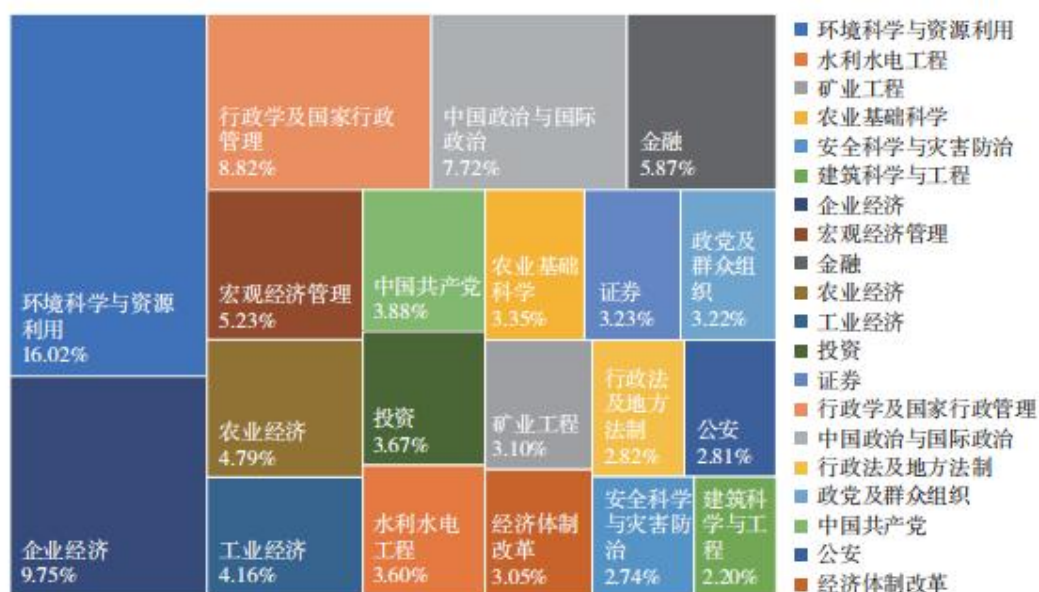


Fig.1 Disciplinary distribution of literatures on "governance" in the CNKI database

2. Research on Rural Planning from the Governance Perspective

2.1 Relationship Between Governance and Planning

Governance is an important issue in planning research. Modern planning originated from the management of private land development and urban construction, and from the very beginning, it has had the characteristic of public administration. The most direct connection between planning and governance is "spatial governance." Planning, in essence, is a complex process of spatial governance. Spatial governance has two meanings: first, elemental governance, which refers to various governance activities aimed at different spatial elements, broken down into specific work for certain fields, departments, or groups; second, integrated governance based on specific spatial regions, which involves coordinating and integrating governance work across various fields and departments, and coordinating relationships between elements and actions. It includes interactions between government, market, and society ^[1], aligning with the core ideas of contemporary governance theory.

China's rural planning and rural governance are deeply interconnected. On one hand, China's long-standing tradition of "village self-governance," the current village self-governance system, and the village socio-economic structure based on collective ownership give Chinese rural governance unique attributes and characteristics distinct from urban areas. As a public intervention for the sustainable development of rural areas, rural planning must study, understand, and adapt to the governance characteristics of Chinese rural society. On the other hand, large-scale planning and construction actions under the rural revitalization initiative have

intensified the diversification and complexity of rural spatial stakeholders, posing new challenges to traditional rural governance. Therefore, the relationship between rural planning and governance has always been a key focus in rural planning research.

2.2 Governance Issues in Rural Planning

Using "Rural Planning & Governance" as the keyword, a literature search was conducted in the Chinese core journals of China National Knowledge Infrastructure (CNKI) from 1980 to 2023. A total of over 920 articles were retrieved, with research articles gradually increasing since 2005, and after 2017, the research output surged significantly, as shown in Figure 2.

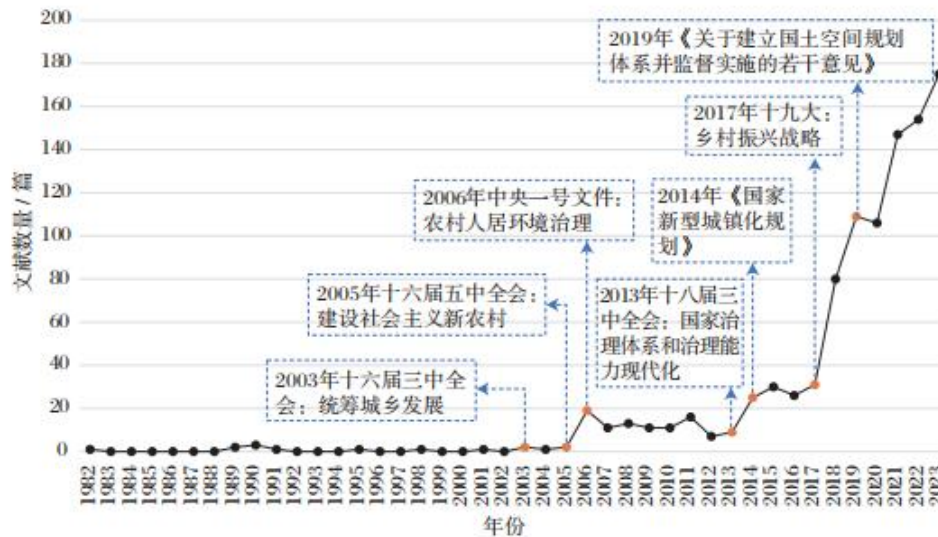


Fig.2 Number of literature works on "governance & rural planning" in the core journals of CNKI database

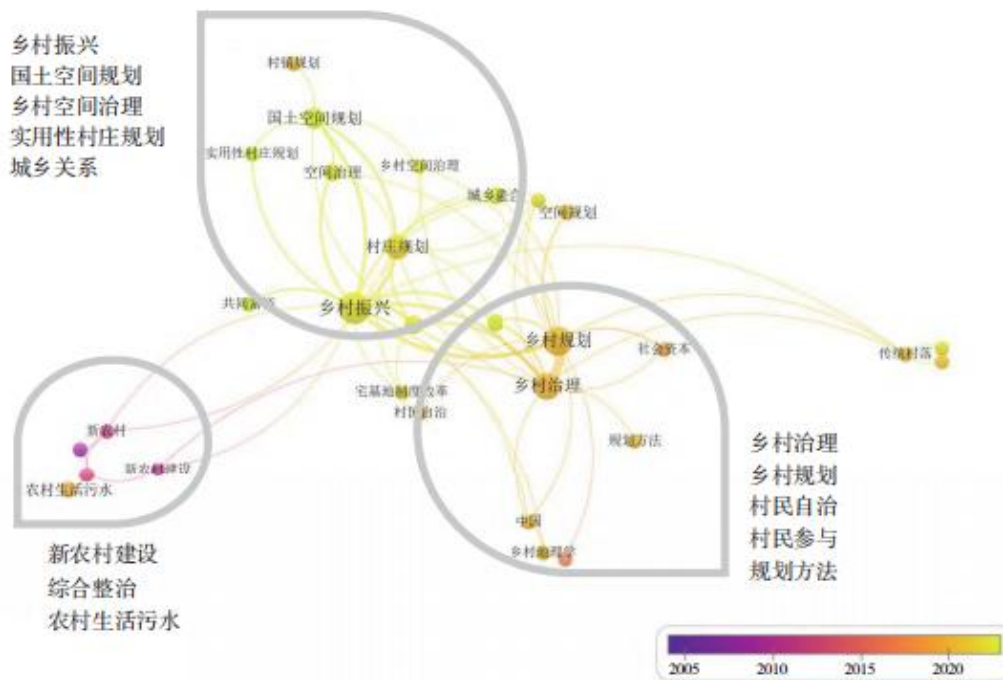


Fig.3 Keyword co-occurrence analysis on "governance & rural planning" in the core journals in CNKI database

From these, 190 core journal articles were selected, and keyword co-occurrence and clustering analysis were conducted using the VOSviewer software. Existing research covers various topics, including new rural construction, new urbanization, rural revitalization, rural governance, village self-governance, rural construction, and territorial spatial planning. Based on the time segments of keyword co-occurrence and the corresponding clustering results, three major governance issues in rural planning research can be summarized, as shown in Figure 3.

First, Rural Planning as a Technical Tool for Rural Habitat Governance. The 16th Central Committee's 5th Plenary Session in 2005 proposed building a socialist new countryside; in 2006, the Central No.1 Document introduced rural habitat governance as a spatial approach to solving the "three rural" issues ^[10], which led to the development of numerous village renovation and construction plans. In rural habitat governance, rural planning research primarily addresses specific issues related to rural material environments, such as hollow villages, environmental pollution, inadequate facilities, and the deterioration of rural housing. It proposes spatial solutions and provides normative technical support for comprehensive village environmental improvement. In this issue, "governance" refers to the management, renovation, and repair of specific physical objects (including space, facilities, environment, etc.), falling under the category of technical governance.

Second, Rural Planning as a Social Process of Multi-Stakeholder Collaborative Governance. In 2013, the Central Government convened an urbanization work meeting and subsequently issued the "National New-type Urbanization Plan." The proactive adjustment of the urban-rural relationship by the state shifted rural planning and construction from a focus on simple spatial environment improvement to more diverse, integrated development goals. As planning practices deepened, researchers realized that rural planning is not merely a technical tool for spatial improvement but also involves the reproduction of rural social relationships and the restructuring of grassroots order. Attention began to shift toward research topics such as the interaction and cooperation between different stakeholders—government, market, society, and villagers—villager participation, and collective action capabilities in village communities. In this issue, "governance" has an evident social governance attribute.

Third, Rural Planning as Part of the National Spatial Governance System. In 2019, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the State Council issued a document on "Establishing the National Territorial Spatial Planning System and Supervising Its Implementation," which defines the "five-level, three-category" system for territorial spatial planning as a legal framework. The reform of the territorial spatial planning system is an important step in advancing the modernization of the national governance system and governance capabilities. Under the topic of national spatial governance, rural planning research focuses on discussing how to implement national spatial governance requirements and how to achieve the systematic governance of rural spatial elements. In this issue, "governance" reflects the ability to enforce institutional requirements and the overall governance capacity of the country.

The three major governance issues in rural planning outlined above show that research topics have evolved alongside the development of national strategies and policy priorities, reflecting the different connotations of "governance" in the Chinese context, as summarized in Table 1.

3. Topic 1: Rural Planning as a Technical Tool for Rural Habitat Environment Governance

Rural habitat environment governance primarily addresses issues such as rural spatial decline and environmental underdevelopment. It aims to improve rural production and living conditions through measures such as organizing village appearance, renovating farmhouses and public buildings, and improving village infrastructure and public utilities. "Village renovation, planning first," means that the purpose of planning is to provide a spatial coordination platform for various renovation and construction projects, ensuring that the construction projects are carried out scientifically and orderly.

The main research topics around rural habitat environment governance include: optimization of rural space at different levels, technical standards for planning and project construction, and evaluation of planning implementation.

3.1 Rural Space Optimization

In response to the practical needs of rural habitat environment governance, village planning practices have been widely carried out, providing technical support for rural space optimization at various levels. First, optimization research is conducted at the county or township level, using various quantitative and qualitative methods to carry out village classification and grading assessments, vacant village remediation, central village site selection, village consolidation, and other studies, thus providing "technical rationality" support for macro-level spatial optimization such as village removal, merger, and retention ^[11-13]. Second, optimization research is conducted at the village level, focusing on control systems for village construction. This includes guiding space for various renovation projects within villages from aspects like the type and structure of construction land, per-household land-use indicators, public facility standards, and architectural and aesthetic controls, thereby optimizing village space ^[14-15]. Third, at the farmhouse level, research on farmhouse renovation technologies, housing land standards, and house design patterns is conducted to provide technical support for the standardization of farmhouse construction and management.

As planning practices have expanded and diversified, researchers have gradually realized that the governance of rural habitat environments cannot be solved by single-village renovation (construction) planning alone. This has driven innovation and research in more macro-level planning such as county-scale rural settlement systems and county-level rural construction planning ^[16-17].

Tab.1 Classification and evolution of governance issues addressed in rural planning research

Time Period,	Policy Orientation	Governance Issues	Connotation of Governance	Relevant Keywords in Planning Literature
2005-2012	Building a new socialist countryside. Carry out rural living environment governance	Rural living environment governance	The renovation, transformation and repair of specific space objects (including space facilities, environment, etc.)	New rural construction, hollow village, comprehensive improvement, rural domestic sewage
2013-2017	New urbanization	multi-agent	The adjustment	Rural governance, rural

	strategy, strengthen the integration of urban and rural	cooperative governance	of rural social relations, including multiple interactions, villagers ' autonomy, collective action rules and so on.	construction, social capital, social governance, villagers ' autonomy, villagers ' participation, planning methods
2018-	Reform the territorial spatial planning system and promote the modernization of national governance capacity	National space governance system	Capacity building of national governance and system implementation	Territorial spatial planning, planning system, rural spatial governance, practical village planning, village and town planning, rural revitalization

3.2 Technical Standards and Norms

The widespread practice of village planning has promoted research on preparation norms and technical standards, leading to two peaks in the introduction of technical standards. The first round occurred around 2006, when, in response to the large-scale need for village renovation and construction, provinces introduced technical standards for village renovation (construction) planning, including preparation guidelines, technical points, and guidance documents, as well as local regulations such as construction management ordinances. In 2008, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development issued the national standard for village renovation, "Village Renovation Technical Specifications" (GB 50445-2008). The second round occurred between 2010 and 2012, when some regions further improved and enhanced the original technical standards and clarified the types of planning. Additionally, in response to new practical needs such as the construction of beautiful and livable villages, regions continuously developed new standards and norms, such as the "Guidelines for Planning Village and Township Layout" (Hunan Province, 2012), "Beautiful Countryside Construction Specifications" (Zhejiang Province, 2014), and "Technical Guidelines for the Planning of New Rural Communities" (Shaanxi Province, 2013) ^[18]. In these studies, principles such as localized approaches, categorized guidance, differentiated treatment, and multi-mode remediation were proposed ^[19], providing important technical tools for the scientific and rational governance of rural habitat environments.

3.3 Evaluation of Planning Implementation

After large-scale rural planning practices, researchers noticed the problem of insufficient implementation of planning. The causes were identified from various aspects, including planning organization, content and methods, and implementation mechanisms ^[20-22]. (1) Planning Organization: Top-down planning organizations overlook the development needs of the grassroots and the will of the villagers, which affects the enthusiasm of the implementing entities. (2) Planning Content and Methods: The blind adoption of urban planning standards, coupled with

insufficient understanding of rural social organization and land ownership, impacts the rationality of implementation. (3) Implementation Mechanisms: There is a lack of coordination with other departments and policies, and the mechanisms are not suited to the social governance model of rural grassroots, affecting the operability of implementation.

Through evaluation of planning implementation, researchers have gradually recognized that rural planning is not merely a technical tool but a systematic project involving the supply of public goods in rural areas and the governance of community public affairs. It requires more research from the perspective of community public affairs governance^[22], thus expanding the connotation of "governance" in rural planning.

4. Topic 2: Rural Planning as a Social Process of Multi-Subject Collaborative Governance

The large-scale investment in rural construction has brought fundamental changes to rural social structures and governance environments. On the one hand, within rural society, urbanization has led to labor outflow and the "atomization" of village social structures. When faced with the large-scale influx of external resources, villagers' sense of subjectivity is weak, and the rebuilding of village collective organizations and collective economies has become a prominent issue. On the other hand, the active exchange of elements between urban and rural areas has intensified, with external entities such as the government, enterprises, social organizations, and returning elites getting involved. This has led to a more complex interest structure and greater need for coordination among multiple subjects in rural construction^[23].

Many researchers^[24-25] have proposed that the social governance attribute of rural planning might be more important than merely arranging material space. Rural planning should be a broader public governance process that not only solves organizational issues in areas such as rural economic production and public facility provision, but also deals with the coordination of the interests of various subjects (including the government, enterprises, social organizations, village collectives, and villagers).

Research in Rural Social Governance The research on rural planning revolves around understanding the social structure and governance foundations of rural society, exploring the action mechanisms of multi-subject collaborative governance, and investigating planning methods and technologies based on villagers' participation.

4.1 Rural Social Governance Foundations

Any practical and scientific plan should, first and foremost, be in harmony with the corresponding social governance model. One important reason for the lack of implementation in early rural planning was that the plans did not align with the governance structure and organizational mechanisms of rural society. Therefore, many planners began to delve into fields such as rural sociology and rural governance to understand the endogenous order of rural societies and propose a theoretical framework for rural planning based on rural governance characteristics. For example, Wang Xu et al.^[26] believed that the complex social relationship network in Chinese villages determines the village's endogenous order, and village planning should be a "communication-based planning rooted in endogenous order." Qiao Jie et al.^[27] analyzed the shift from traditional rural social relations to the logic of modern social capital and proposed a rural planning framework based on cultivating rural social capital. Li Guangbin et al.^[28] constructed an analysis framework for rural autonomous space governance based on the "endogenous authority" and "land capitalization" in rural areas.

Overall, respecting the endogenous order of rural society, aligning with the village's

economic property rights and social organization relationships, and adhering to the basic spirit of villagers' autonomy, are the preconditions for rural planning as a social governance process.

4.2 Multi-Subject Governance Action Mechanisms

The research on multi-subject collaborative governance in rural planning mainly includes two aspects. First, a summary of the governance structure of rural areas in the new era. Government, enterprises, NGOs, returning elites, village collectives, and villagers constitute the multiple subjects involved in rural construction. The combination of different roles and powers reflects the complexity of the governance structure. Chen Rui et al. ^[29] summarized three types of governance structures in rural construction based on the roles of three types of construction subjects—enterprise capital, NPOs and NGOs, and intellectuals and local elites: 1) the auxiliary top-down type, 2) the middle-bridge type coordinating interests, and 3) the bottom-up type based on kinship connections. Kuai Yanli ^[30] differentiated five types of rural construction governance models based on the dominant roles: administrative-dominated, collective-dominated, social-dominated, market-dominated, and cooperative governance, further subdividing into 11 basic models based on the specific participants.

The second aspect is an in-depth discussion of the roles and action mechanisms of different subjects. First, the role and positioning of the government. Shen Mingrui ^[31] pointed out that the government plays a dominant role in contemporary Chinese rural construction. Government-driven projects lead to widespread participation from the market, society, and farmers, triggering a "chain reaction" in rural governance. Guo Xu ^[32]'s research shows that differences in internal authority and behavior logic within the government can lead to different spatial governance models. Secondly, the actions and positive roles of village collective organizations. Research by Sun Ying et al. ^[33] showed that although the resources and institutional conditions for rural construction come from outside the village, the organizational and action abilities of village collectives can effectively mobilize external resources and integrate internal resources, which is key to ensuring the success and effective governance of rural construction. Furthermore, the involvement of external entities such as market capital and social organizations has also attracted attention. Many scholars ^[34-36] have expressed cautious criticism of "capital going to the countryside," though some argue that enterprise capital does not necessarily erode village interests, with the core issue being the organization and cooperation of farmers. Additionally, the active roles of new rural organizations, returning elites, and new rural sages in village construction and public service provision have also been the focus of research ^[37-38].

4.3 Participatory Rural Planning Methods

Based on an understanding of rural social governance order, and to address issues such as the lack of subjectivity among villagers in rural construction, researchers advocate adopting a bottom-up participatory planning approach, problem-oriented or needs-oriented action planning, and other models from the perspective of the actors. In practice, a rich variety of participatory planning explorations have been carried out, including participatory village planning, accompaniment planning, and "co-creation" workshops ^[39-41]. Among these, the role shift of planners is very important, from being "technical elites" to becoming "coordinators" or "liaisons." The focus of their work is to facilitate communication and consensus between villagers and the government ^[42].

The practical exploration of participatory rural planning methods reflects the positive

significance of planning as a social governance process. First, with "participation" as the core, joint actions in the planning process allow groups with different interests to reach a consensus on development goals on the same platform. Through the planning process, an actor network is formed, promoting the implementation of common development goals and "promoting consensus on results through consensus in the process." Second, rural planning under the concepts of "participation" and "action" not only focuses on material space construction but also emphasizes the construction of social relationships. The empowerment, capacity-building, and activation of grassroots social vitality through participation in the planning process strengthen the sense of community belonging, promote the reproduction of rural social relationships, and contribute to the formation of a "new rural community" centered on endogenous power^[43].

5. Rural Planning as Part of the National Spatial Governance System

Spatial planning has become an important tool for national spatial governance. The establishment of the "Five-level, Three-category" territorial spatial planning system has restructured the planning authority between different departments and governments at various levels, becoming a governance tool to regulate local development. Under this territorial spatial planning system, the focus of spatial governance lies in two aspects: First, the implementation of national governance requirements. Spatial planning must incorporate the national rigid requirements for ecological security, environmental protection, food security, and public welfare, as well as strategic national decisions such as sustainable development, regional coordination, and functional zoning, and translate these into spatial management and allocation of territorial resources. Second, it involves system governance that covers the entire region and all elements. Constructing a unified spatial governance system is not about managing a single spatial element, but about organizing various territorial resources and coordinating different spatial usage behaviors to achieve the corresponding spatial order.

In the context of the national spatial governance system, the main topics of rural planning research are: first, how to implement the national will and governance goals through the construction of the planning system; second, how to use spatial control, land use regulations, and other planning tools to achieve the unified organization and usage arrangements for rural spatial elements.

5.1 Spatial Goal Transmission

Within the unified territorial spatial planning system, the transmission of planning has both administrative and technical logics. The research focuses on two aspects: the hierarchical planning authority and the vertical transmission of indicators, exploring how rural planning can implement top-down governance goals and reflect national governance capabilities.

First, from the perspective of intergovernmental planning authority, the hierarchical planning of rural spatial governance goals is proposed. Many studies^[44-47] point out that the content of rural spatial governance should be integrated into the various levels of territorial spatial planning, with each level of planning focusing on different priorities, reflecting the principle of "one government, one authority." At the national level, the planning should deploy major policies such as rural revitalization and agricultural protection; provincial level planning focuses on policy guidance and general requirements, optimizing the functional layout of agriculture and rural areas; city and county-level planning focuses on spatial guidance and the classification and zoning control requirements; and town and village-level planning focuses on the implementation of land use control. Secondly, from a technical logic perspective, the study

examines the vertical transmission mechanism of planning control, i.e., how to achieve a detailed and effective step-by-step implementation of control requirements at the technical level. Researchers suggest a "county—town—village" three-tier transmission mechanism, proposing a transmission mechanism of "structural control—land use control—element control": county-level planning focuses on structural control, including baseline constraints, overall layout, and village classification; town-level planning serves as a link between higher and lower levels, refining the functional zoning of county-level planning and setting baseline constraints for village construction; village-level planning focuses on the implementation of scale indicators, land use classification, and construction control. Furthermore, practical explorations have been carried out on specific technical aspects of indicator transmission, including the alignment of indicators, zoning coordination, and category alignment^[48-50].

5.2 Spatial Element Control

Compared to traditional planning, under the new territorial spatial planning system, the objects and contents of rural planning have changed significantly: from planning and controlling rural settlements to planning and controlling entire rural territories, and from mainly controlling rural construction land to controlling all spatial elements across the entire rural area. How to better organize and arrange rural spatial elements has become a central issue in planning research, focusing on control techniques and collaborative management.

In terms of control techniques, elements such as land classification, use control, indicator control, boundary control, layout guidance, and form guidance, along with the use of control master plans and unit plans, have been widely introduced into rural planning practices. Research^[51-52] suggests adopting corresponding planning and control measures for different spatial levels, such as county-level spatial zoning, town-level land use classification, and village-level plot control. Researchers have also proposed differentiated control measures based on different spatial types (e.g., construction space, ecological space, agricultural space) and for villages at different development stages.

In terms of horizontal collaborative management, this includes mechanisms for inter-departmental cooperation and multi-stakeholder coordination for shared benefits. In the context of unified spatial planning authority, research mainly focuses on spatial coordination platforms and mechanisms, incorporating departmental indicators, control lines, and management requirements into a unified "one map" platform system. At the town and village levels, the focus is on implementing control measures, handling project permits, restructuring the relationship of interests between government, market, and society, and establishing a "city—town—village—enterprise—people" interest-sharing mechanism to promote project implementation. Additionally, to ensure the effective implementation of the plans, strengthening the integration with land comprehensive management and other land policy tools is necessary^[53].

6. Research Review and Prospects

6.1 The Multiplicity of Governance Issues

The richness of the concept of "governance" determines the multiplicity of governance issues in planning research. Clarifying the concept of "governance" is the premise for academic research and discussion. The three major governance issues in rural planning represent different semantic understandings of governance, and the corresponding research objects and contents also have certain boundaries. As a technical tool for governance, rural planning focuses on

diagnosing specific spatial environmental problems, corresponding remediation measures, and solutions; as a process of social governance, it emphasizes the interaction mechanisms of stakeholders, the reconstruction of rural social relations, and grassroots collective action capabilities; as a spatial governance tool, it discusses the transmission, implementation, and local implementation of regulatory orders within the overall context of building national spatial governance capacity.

The multiplicity of governance issues in rural planning reflects the multiple attributes of rural planning: technical attributes, action attributes, and policy attributes. From the perspective of technical governance, practice types such as village construction planning, rural design, and special planning are used to guide the scientific arrangement of construction projects and engineering implementation; from the perspective of social governance, practice types such as rural revitalization action plans and development plans focus on promoting community consensus, realizing development blueprints, and formulating implementation paths; from the perspective of national spatial governance, legal plans at all levels involve rural spatial governance content, especially village planning, with a focus on implementing top-down control requirements and land use regulations (Figure 4). Therefore, rural planning is a system that contains different levels and types of practices, realizing public intervention in rural sustainable development from different dimensions and paths.

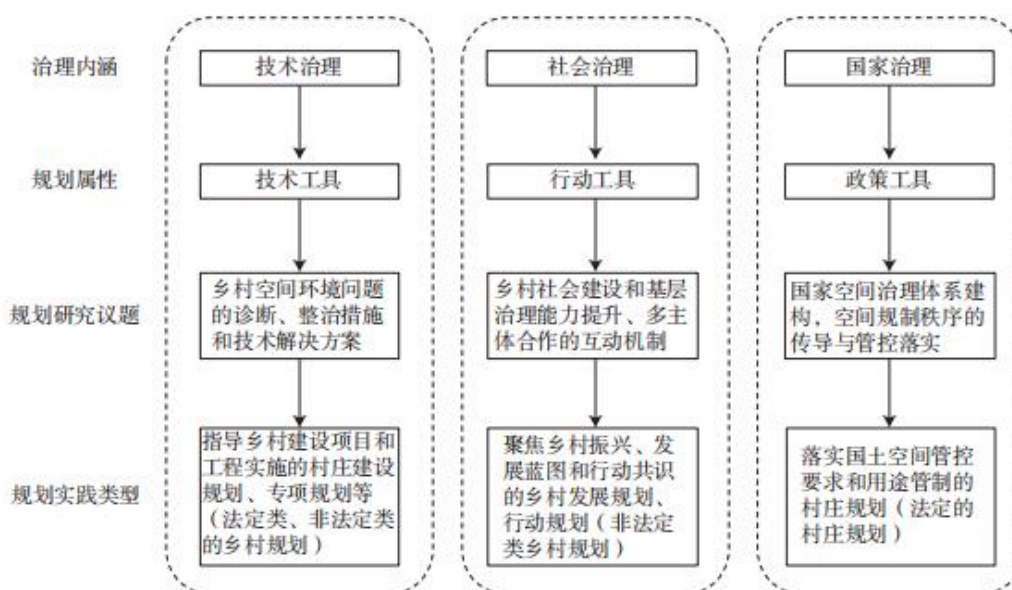


Fig.4 Research issues and practice types in rural planning for different governance contexts

6.2 The Interactivity of Governance Relationships

Although governance issues with different semantic connotations have certain boundaries, planning practices are often integrated. In the unified spatial practice process, special attention must be given to the interactivity of various governance relationships within specific issues.

6.2.1 Technical Governance: Social Relations Governance Behind Material Space

As a technical tool for governing the rural human settlement environment, the research object of rural planning is specific spatial problems. However, from the sociological concept of

space, space is a product of social production, with not only physical but also social and political dimensions. The core of spatial issues lies in deeper social problems. As a rational technical tool, planning inevitably involves various social relationships behind the use of material space, including relations of rights and ownership and organizational relations. These relationships directly affect the operability of planning implementation. One important reason for the lack of implementation in early village planning was that village spatial governance was purely viewed as a technical issue, with little attention given to governance of ownership and organizational relations behind the space. In the future, how to expand from material space governance to include non-physical space governance, such as ownership relationships and organizational models, and how to optimize the social relations of rural spaces through planning to achieve a unified allocation of spatial resources and social interest regulation, is an important task in rural planning research.

6.2.2 Social Governance: Bottom-Up and Top-Down Governance Relationships

As a social process of multi-party collaborative governance, rural planning often has a "social-centered" tendency, focusing on the endogenous, local, and self-organizing nature of grassroots rural governance, emphasizing the positive role of "bottom-up" social forces in rural development. However, it should be noted that, unlike the "social forces" emphasized by Western "new governance," the autonomy of rural villagers in China is also part of the national governance system. From the early government-led rural environmental remediation to the current territorial spatial governance, it reflects the continuous entry of state power, which is a practical demand and inevitable trend of rural modernization. Rural governance is the integration of grassroots social governance and national governance fields. The resource allocation and institutional supply conditions in the national governance field shape the action logic of grassroots governance. Therefore, when planning research involves issues such as villagers' participation, multi-party collaboration, and self-organization of village communities, it cannot be separated from the overall framework of the national institutional environment. It is necessary to explore how to transform national governance resources into a mobilization and incentive mechanism, stimulating grassroots governance vitality and enthusiasm. This involves respecting the endogenous organizational strength of villages and communities, while also exploring institutional innovation and development empowerment, making rural planning an important tool for negotiating spatial governance and achieving social consensus.

6.2.3 National Spatial Governance: The Relationship Between Holistic Governance and Effective Governance

As part of the national spatial governance system, existing rural planning research is often a positive response to the "holistic governance" of the state. Whether researching the top-down transmission mechanism of governance objectives or the technical discussion of comprehensive control of spatial elements, these reflect the logic of "holistic governance" under China's unified system, which is also an inevitable requirement for national construction. However, as a guide for spatial development in rural areas, rural planning not only needs to achieve unified governance requirements but also address many "localized" governance needs, such as integrated development of production, living, and ecological systems, as well as guiding specific construction actions. The diversity of rural regional types, the diversification of rural rights relations, and the dynamic complexity of rural construction implementation all require active exploration of localized, practical, and effective spatial governance solutions. Therefore, planning

needs to pay more attention to how to achieve effective governance at the local level under the national holistic governance goals. How to balance the relationship between village planning as a legal basis for land use control and respecting villagers' intentions, as well as how to coordinate the certainty of legal planning with the flexibility of rural spatial control, are also important research topics within the national spatial governance system.

6.3 Prospects for Planning Research

Governance topics are constantly evolving and innovating in response to specific circumstances. However, the ambiguity and polysemy of the term "governance" can lead to the generalization of research topics, hindering the in-depth advancement of research. Future research should clarify concepts, distinguish between different governance issues, and also consider the interactivity of various governance relationships to promote deeper exploration of related topics.

First, clarify the conceptual connotations and strengthen the theoretical interpretation of the Chinese characteristics of governance. Governance in the Chinese context is not entirely equivalent to governance in the Western academic discourse. From the existing academic use, it at least involves the three connotations of technical governance, social governance, and national governance, all of which are reflected in rural planning research. Research on the "Chinese characteristics" of governance, whether it involves solving rural spatial problems, organizing rural social relations, or transmitting and implementing spatial systems, must always be thought of and explored within the overall framework of national governance system construction. National power plays a leading role, which is completely different from the governance context in the West.

Second, strengthen research on the social organizational relations behind rural spatial elements. Compared to urban areas, the ownership relations of rural spatial elements are more complex. There are still complicated constraints on land use and supply. The rights relations, ownership, and organizational relationships behind land spatial elements directly affect the implementation of rural planning. Therefore, planning research needs to focus particularly on embedding various relational rules, organizational structures, and ownership interests within rural society, strengthening the operability of planning formulation.

Third, strengthen practice-oriented research on social governance in rural planning. The improvement of grassroots rural governance requires not only bottom-up mobilization but also top-down institutional incentives. Rural planning is a bridge that connects the two mechanisms of legitimization and social mobilization in governance. By seizing the opportunity of national rural construction actions, deeply integrating into the process of rural social reconstruction, and promoting the formation of a rural governance pattern of co-construction, co-governance, and shared benefits, rural planning plays an important role under the background of rural revitalization. How to coordinate external intervention mechanisms with the self-organizing features of rural societies and help build broad social networks and urban-rural connections needs continuous exploration and innovation in planning practice.

Fourth, strengthen research on the operation of local planning under national holistic governance. The effective implementation of national governance goals requires the construction of a planning operation system oriented towards implementation. Special attention should be given to "localized" planning implementation and management methods. From the perspective of planning formulation, how to achieve coordination between different levels of government

and departments; from the perspective of policies and regulations, how to combine planning permission systems and local rules such as village regulations to achieve effective control; from the management and operational perspective, how to guide local forces and promote planning actions to ensure effective implementation—all of these require continuous practice and exploration in terms of institutional and methodological innovation.

Note: ① To ensure comprehensive coverage of the literature, the search formula adopted is ("governance" + "spatial governance" + "rural governance") * ("rural planning" + "village planning" + "village area planning" + "town-village planning" + "township-village planning" + "agricultural planning" + "rural construction planning"). The search was conducted on December 5, 2023.

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