生态文明时期的城市竞争力提升
与城市治理探索

EXPLORATION ON STRENGTHENING
CITY COMPETITIVENESS AND
IMPROVING URBAN GOVERNANCE
IN THE AGE OF
ECOLOGICAL CIVILIZATION

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普通设计师对经济学知识往往一知半解，例如，他们常常将一个城市的经济简单地等同于一个城市的财富。您能否为我们厘清一些常见的城市经济学概念？

叶裕民（以下简称叶）：首先，“城市经济学”和“城市经济”是两个不同的概念。“城市经济学”是一门用经济学方法来分析、描述和预测城市现象与城市问题的学科。“城市经济”则是指城市经济发展的过程或水平：这种过程以特定时间点上的城市经济发展水平来表示（例如，2017年中国国内生产总值达1 224亿美元，位列世界第二，仅次于美国^①；但全年人均国内生产总值仅相当于美国20世纪80年代左右的水平）；而城市经济发展水平则由产业效率与产业结构两个层面体现，前者可理解为特定产业的投入

产出比，后者是指城市经济中不同产业的比例。通过了解这两个层面，设计师可以更好地理解城市发展规律，从而更深入地思考城市空间的问题和对策。

一个国家的发展过程一般包括前工业化、工业化和后工业化三个阶段。而整个工业化阶段又分为工业化初期、工业化中期和工业化后期，每个阶段向下一阶段攀升的标志就是产业结构的变迁。城市发展中常提到“产业结构升级”，概言之就是产业效率不断提高，高效率产业逐步取代低效率产业，并成为城市财富创造主体的过程。值得指出的是，工业化中后期以装备制造和高档耐用消费品生产的深加工工业为主，其生产技术又分为工业“1.0”（机械制造阶段）、“2.0”（电气化与自动化阶段）、“3.0”（电子化阶段）、“4.0”（实体—虚拟

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摘要

在本采访中，受访人叶裕民首先对“城市经济学”“城市经济”“产业结构升级”等常见的经济学概念进行了厘清，并指出当前中国城镇化要以人民得到最广泛、最幅度的发展为核心任务，积累人力资本，优化劳动力结构，从而支撑产业结构持续升级，培育新动能。她同时认为，在生态文明时期，城市规划者和设计者的职责是通过创造包容性的城市更新和城市设计，帮助城市提高竞争力。她继而强调，中国的大部制改革符合时代的需求，也是提高国家未来整体竞争力、维护城市公共利益的必然选择。最后，叶裕民阐明了自上而下的管理模式与自下而上的治理模式的适用范畴，认为目前中国政府和社会资本合作项目出现的种种问题，根源都在于合作双方缺乏诚信，而根本的解决途径之一则是建立完善的诚信制度，以明确双方的信用权责。

关键词

经济学；城市；城市规划设计；生态文明；管理与治理；政府－社会资本合作模式

ABSTRACT

In this interview, Ye Yumin, the interviewee, first clarifies basic concepts of Economics such as Urban Economics, a city's economy, and industrial structure upgrading, and points out that, to most Chinese cities, the failure of industrial structure upgrading and new driving force fostering largely is due to their inadequate labor force structure. She argues that today's primary task of China's urbanization is to ensure people's overall well-being, encourage their activity and cultivate talents, accumulating human capital to support the continuous upgrading of industrial structure and developing new driving forces. Ye further argues that, in the age of Ecological Civilization, urban planners and designers play an important role in strengthening cities' competitiveness with inclusive renewal and design concepts, while highlighting that China's new reform of a Super-Ministry System is in line with contemporary needs to improve the overall competitiveness of the country in the future and to safeguard the public interests. Finally, by recognizing the application scopes of the both top-down Management mode and bottom-up Governance mode, Ye articulates that all problems in China's PPP cases are caused by the poor credibility of both public and private parties, and a sound credibility system and mechanism is urgently required, which would define duties of both parties.

KEY WORDS

Economics; City; Urban Planning and Design; Ecological Civilization; Management and Governance; Public-Private Partnership

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图 1-1-1 社会发展阶段示意图

① 数据来源：世界银行中国1960~2017年GDP数据。更多信息请访问<https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=CN>。
② “中国制造2025”于2016年提出，是中国政府实施制造强国战略第一个十年的行动纲领。十大重点领域包括新一代信息技术产业、高档数控机床和机器人、航空航天装备、海洋工程装备及高技术船舶、先进轨道交通装备、节能与新能源汽车、电力装备、农机装备、新材料，以及生物医药及高性能医疗器械。

1. 社会发展阶段示意图
1. Societal develop stages

集成或智能制造阶段）等阶段。中国现在的整体水平差不多是“2.5”，只有东莞等个别城市达到了“3.0”或“4.0”。

中国前10~15年的经济增长主要是靠高档耐用消费品制造带动起来的，而装备制造业则未得到充分发展。装备制造业是一个无比巨大的产业，因为一切产品都需要装备。

“中国制造2025”^②提出的十大产业中有8个都涉及装备制造。这需要我们广泛依靠自主创新来大力发展装备制造，并持续扩大规模经济。扩大规模经济的问题主要存在于民营企业中。目前，中国营商环境不够公平，相对于国有企业，民营企业融资环境很差，无论是购置先进技术设备还是实现规模化生产都困难重重。但是，民营企业提供了全社会约80%的就业岗位，他们的产业效率上不去，居民收入也就上不去，整个国家的产业

结构升级就非常艰难。

一个城市不光有产业结构，还有其社会结构。城市的社会结构由城市居民的收入结构、劳动力结构等因素决定。在中国，城市社会结构的发展往往滞后于其产业结构的升级。例如，北京是一座以现代服务业为主的城市，产业结构已经进入了工业化后期；同时，北京居住着大量来自全国各地的流动人口，其中大部分人口由于未得到良好培训，从事高端制造业的能力有限，因此收入也有限。而现代社会收入结构的基本特点是中等收入阶层占60%以上，依此来看，北京的社会结构还停留在工业化中期水平——这也是中国绝大多数城市的现状。劳动力结构不足以支撑产业结构的持续升级，是导致中国城市产业结构升级受阻、新动能培育艰难的关键原因。因此，当前中国城镇化要以人民得

到最广泛、最大幅度的发展为核心任务，进一步优化劳动力结构，从而支撑产业结构持续升级，培育新动能。

从经济学视角来看，生态文明建设中存在着怎样的供需关系？城市规划者和设计者在其中扮演着什么角色？

叶：生态文明是工业文明的更高级阶段。在工业文明时代，人们注重物质生产，追求财富本身和量的增加；在生态文明时代，人们更加注重品质的提升，希望以良好的经济—社会结构、和谐的人与自然的关系去从事生产并推进社会进步，从而实现高品质的经济—社会发展秩序的重构。

生态对于城市的发展之所以越来越重要，是因为高品质生产所依靠的优质企业和

企业家会“以足投票”，他们偏向于流向那些生态环境好、生活水平高、文化较发达的城市。那些不重视生态文明、仍采用粗放发展模式的城市无法吸引优质企业落户。因此，生态文明中的“生态”是广义上的生态，指的是环境、经济、社会、文化和政治五位一体协同发展。这个生态以保护自然生态为前提，因为好的生态环境是一切高品质生活的基本保障。

从经济学的角度来讲，社会进步都是需求拉动供给、供需达到均衡的结果。企业是城市的“顾客”，城市为了吸引好的“顾客”，就必须拥有好的自然生态和人文生态；城市所拥有的提升对企业的吸引力和提高城市居民生活质量的能力之和，反映了该城市的竞争力。这就是对优秀企业的需求拉动了城市生态文明建设的供给。

城市竞争力的提升离不开人力资本积累。这里的“人力资本”是指那些有能力并且可以无后顾之忧地从事高效率产业的人：“有能力”是指有从事高效率产业的知识技能，“无后顾之忧”是指这些劳动者的家庭能得到照顾，子女教育能得到保障，亲情等情感需要能得到满足，使他们更加有动力投身于生产、学习、培训，不断提高自身的劳动技能和创造能力。一个城市中这样的劳动力越多，城市的高端制造业才越有可能真正发展起来。人力资本不仅建立在“智力资本积累”（提高人的劳动能力）的基础上，也建立在“健康资本积累”（提高人的身心健康）之上。城市规划者和设计者的角色就是通过规划设计手段，实现城市劳动力的智力

资本积累和健康资本积累，帮助城市提高竞争力。

但是，传统的城市规划存在“见物不见人”的缺点，片面强调物质建设，忽视了对城市居民——尤其是流动人口——的需求和未来生活的考虑。例如，一些城中村改造、旧城更新项目虽然改善了本地人的居住条件，却把原本住在这里的流动人口都赶走了；这些流动人口又在城市其他区域开始新的违法建设，形成了一个恶性循环。这种“排斥性”的规划设计不利于人力资本积累，也与新型城镇化的要求背道而驰。

为了避免这些“眼中无人”的城市规划，我们需要一种包容性的城市更新和城市设计。城市改造和更新的过程就是使流动人口市民化的过程，其核心是使流动人口住下来，并给他们提供全面的公共服务。这一过程可能会遇到土地和空间短缺的问题，这就是城市设计发挥作用的时候。

新一轮政府部门改革（例如自然资源部的成立）将会对中国的公共空间建设和资源管理带来怎样的影响？

叶：中国政府之前采用的是受“新公共管理理论”影响的管理模式。该理论认为，提高效率的方法就是解构政府，以便提供高度专门化的服务。但其缺点是各部门都仅考虑自身利益，彼此之间很难协同，最后导致公共利益受损。以规划为例，中国的城市规划、土地规划、环境规划等分别由不同政府部门负责制定，规划之间往往存在很多

冲突，导致各部门互相牵扯，阻碍城市建设推进。

西方很早就开始批判新公共管理理论，并在20世纪90年代提出了一套新的“整合治理”理论，它是指通过重新建构大部制政府，推进政府部门之间的联合与协作，为了城市发展的公共利益，共同制定一系列政府规章和制度。适逢信息化时代到来，公共信息平台的出现使信息可以更加透明，部门之间的协作和沟通变得更容易，可有效缓解部门之间利益不协调的问题。中国的大部制改革正是在此背景下推进的，这确实符合时代的需求，也是提高国家未来整体竞争力、维护城市公共利益的必然选择。

中国《生态文明体制改革总体方案》明确提出“建构以空间规划为基础，以用途管制为主要手段的国土空间开发保护制度”，这也是自然资源部的重要职责，所以该部门近期正在考虑出台一系列法律法规，为国家自然资源开发利用提供法制保障。

在城市治理中，自上而下的赋权与自下而上的公共参与这两种模式分别发挥着何种作用？目前在我国的实施情况如何？

叶：城市治理有多元主体，从层级上来说，包括市政府、区政府、街道政府、企业、老百姓，以及非政府组织等。自上而下的模式通常称之为“管理”，是一个行政过程；自下而上的模式叫做“自治”；多元主体合作的管理模式叫“治理”，是多元主体协商的社会过程。治理更加扁平化、多中心

化，主体之间更加平等，且更加兼顾多种群体的利益。管理的权威来自权力，治理的权威来自共识。管理的主动力量是政府，通常事倍功半；治理的主动力量是社会各界基于协商与共识的合力，通常事半功倍。

实际上，即便在治理当中，政府仍然起到“元治理”的作用，即充当社会秩序的建构者。规则和底线的制定基于社会公平、公正原则，是与社会各界充分协商达到共识的结果，而不是由政府单方面硬性分配指标；政府会通过协商与意见征集等途径来了解真实的社会需求，而非依靠主观判断。

这两种模式的适用范围取决于我们对于“公众参与”的定义。自下而上的治理模式适用于狭义的公众参与范畴，就是指老百姓参与其中，解决的事务类型符合两个特征：一是处于微观层面，公众易于参与和感知；二是和百姓利益密切相关，他们有参与意愿。例如，居住小区中要不要建花园、花园中种什么花。自上而下的管理模式适用于广义的公众参与范畴，是指由许多政府部门合作制定公共政策、实现利益整合，以及政府部门与社会的合作，解决的事务往往比较宏观，老百姓通常不易明白或不感兴趣，例如对城市发展战略的探讨等，通常需要更多地依赖政府的“元治理”。

目前，中国自下而上的治理成效仍不理想。公众参与的结果未必会被采纳，政府仍主要采取管理而非治理模式进行决策。针对这种问题，有学者提出了一种“合作治理”模式，即决策的不同环节由不同的治理主体来主导。例如，在城市更新中，由政府制定

总体原则，具体某个村庄要不要更新、修什么样式的房子、建哪些公共设施等则由当地村民自行决定，但每个环节都要由所有主体共同参与协商。目前，这种合作治理模式已在深圳等城市的部分城市更新项目中得到运用。

在某种意义上，政府和社会资本合作（PPP）模式也可以被看作是一种城市合作治理。其好处是可以提高建设效率、节约政府资源与资金投入，拉动民间经济增长、促进就业。但是，目前中国PPP项目出现的种种问题——例如，企业对工程品质把关不严、出现问题后推诿责任，或者政府不按期付款导致企业资金链断裂等——根源都在于政府和社会资本合作双方缺乏诚信。在PPP模式推行之初，这个问题并没有得到充分考虑。因此，解决PPP当前困境的根本途径之一是建立完善的诚信制度，明确政府、企业双方合作的信用底线，尤其要对政府的管理行为进行约束。虽然目前实现全面的信用监管较为困难，但政企双方的信誉监督问题一日不解决，PPP模式便无法健康运转。**LAF**

Most urban and landscape designers have smattering understanding of Economics. For example, they often equate a city's economy simply to its wealth. Will you please clarify some basic concepts about Urban Economics for us?

YE Yumin (YE hereafter): First of all, Urban Economics is a discipline that studies, describes, and predicts urban phenomena and issues by means of Economics. A city's economy refers to a certain process or level of its urban economic development in a given period of time (for example, China's GDP amounted to 122.4 billion USD in 2017, ranking only second to the United States in the world^①; but GDP per capita for the year was only comparable with that of the United States in 1980s). In addition, the level of a city's economic development is evaluated with its industrial efficiency and industrial structure; the former reveals the return of investment of an industrial sector, and the latter refers to the composition of different industries of a city. Clarifying such concepts would help urban and landscape designers better understand the laws of urban development and address problems in contemporary urban spatial construction.

Generally, a country's development would go through three stages: pre-industrialization, industrialization, and post-industrialization; the latter

two are hallmarks of a modern society. The whole stage of industrialization is divided further into three phases: early-, mid-, and late-industrialization. The shifting from one phase to the next is always accompanied by upgrades of industrial structure, which means that, in an urban development process, a city is expected to increase its industrial efficiency and to replace lower-efficiency industries with higher ones that would be eventually grown into a new major contributor to the city's wealth creation. Particularly, as pillar industries in mid- and late-industrialization phases, intensive processing in equipment manufacturing and production of high-priced durable goods evolves staged advances of technology from the so-called "Industry 1.0" (machinery manufacture), "Industry 2.0" (electric and automatic manufacture), and "Industry 3.0" (information-based electronic manufacture) to "Industry 4.0" (entity-virtual-integrated / intelligent manufacture). Now China's overall technological level of industrial manufacturing is at a "2.5" stage; only a few cities (i.e. Dongguan) enter into a "3.0" or "4.0."

China's economic growth over the past 10 or 15 years was mainly driven by high-priced durable goods manufacturing, while equipment manufacturing industries not seeing significant development. However,

equipment manufacturing industries take an incredibly huge contribution to China's economy because all manufactures need equipment. Eight of the ten priority sectors highlighted in the "Made in China 2025"^② Initiative relate to equipment manufacturing, which requires extensive independent innovation in equipment manufacturing and continues to expand economy of scale. One of the difficulties in expanding economies of scale is that, at present, China's business climate is not fair enough and most private enterprises are facing more financial hindrance than state-owned ones, which limits their technological equipment upgrading and large-scale manufacturing. At the same time, private enterprises provide about 80% of the total jobs in China. So, the low industrial efficiency of such enterprises would not help increase the income of most Chinese or upgrade the country's industrial structure in an overall sense.

Besides its industrial structure, a city is also expected to develop its social structure, which is defined by citizens' income structure, labor force structure, and other factors. In China, the development of a city's social structure often lags behind its industrial structure. Beijing, for example, is a metropolis with modern service industries as its pillar sector and has entered a late-industrialization phase. Meanwhile,

① Data Source: The World Bank, China's GDP from 1960 to 2017. For more information, please visit <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/NY.GDP.MKTP.CD?locations=CN>.

② "Made in China 2025" Initiative was put forward in 2016 by the Chinese government to comprehensively upgrade Chinese industry. The initiative highlights 10 priority sectors: 1) New advanced information technology; 2) Automated machine tools & robotics; 3) Aerospace and aeronautical equipment; 4) Maritime equipment and high-tech shipping; 5) Modern rail transport equipment; 6) New-energy vehicles and equipment; 7) Power equipment; 8) Agricultural equipment; 9) New materials; and 10) Biopharma and advanced medical products.

Beijing accommodates a great number of migrating population from all over the country, and most of them work on low-end manufacturing and make a meager living. A modern society is characterized for the population of middle-income class accounting for more than 60% of the total population of a city. In other words, the social structure of Beijing still stays in a mid-industrialization phase, same as the vast majority of cities in China, whose failure in industrial structure upgrading and new driving force fostering largely is due to their inadequate labor force structure. Therefore, today's primary task of China's urbanization is to ensure people's overall well-being, encourage their activity and cultivate talents, improving labor force structure, in order to support the continuous upgrading of industrial structure and developing new driving forces.

From a perspective of Economics, how do you understand the demand-supply relationship in China's construction of Ecological Civilization? What role do urban planners and designers play in this process?

YE: Ecological Civilization is a higher, more sophisticated and advanced stage than Industrial Civilization. In an Industrial Civilization stage, people pay more attention to goods manufacturing

and wealth creation. In the era of Ecological Civilization, people pay more attention to improving goods quality, optimizing economic-social structure, and harmonizing human-nature relationship in production and lifestyle, to promote the reconstruction of high-quality economic and social growth.

The ecological quality of a city is increasingly important for its urban development. High-quality production requires good enterprises and entrepreneurs, who would only locate their business bases to the cities with sound ecological, social, and cultural environment. Cities that attach less importance to ecological construction and adopt an extensive mode for urban and economic growth can hardly attract good enterprises to settle into. Thus, Ecological Civilization should be understood in a broader discourse where a truly ecological society is expected being environmentally, economically, socially, culturally, and politically sound. Good natural ecology provides a basis for Ecological Civilization and people's quality life.

From a perspective of Economics, societal progress is resulted from dynamic demand-supply relationships at various levels and scales. If we see enterprises as "customers," then cities have to supply with good natural and social ecology to attract good "customers." A city's competitiveness

in the age of Ecological Civilization is defined by its capacity of enhancing its attractiveness to enterprises and improving citizens' living standards.

A city's competitiveness largely relies on its accumulation of human capital. Accumulating human capital, here, is to attract those talents who have required knowledge and skills supporting themselves engaging into high-efficiency industries and to make them less distracted by family concerns (for instance, their children have educational opportunities in local schools; they can spend more time on taking care of their parents, etc.), which would facilitate them to improve production skills and creativity. The more such talents a city attracts, the more likely the city's high-end manufacturing would get truly advanced. Human capital accumulation is not only about gathering talents' intellectual resource (labors' capacity), but also established on and guaranteed by a healthy working and living environment (labors' physical and mental health). Urban planners and designers play an important role in strengthening cities' competitiveness to help accumulate intellectual resource.

However, conventional urban planning cases have often emphasized physical construction and less considered social demands and people's future living needs, especially that of migrating population. For example,

some urban village reconstruction and urban renewal projects only focus on improving living conditions for the locals but care less about the existing migrators, who have to relocate and get settled down by building new illegal structures. Such an exclusionary planning means results in a vicious circle that negatively impacts human capital accumulation and new urbanization development.

Inclusive renewal and design concepts are needed in urban planning. The process of urban reconstruction and renewal is also an evolution of making migrating population citizenized by settling them down, helping them engage into the society, and providing them with all sorts of public services. It might confront land shortage, spatial limits, or other difficulties, when urban designers are expected to do their work.

How will China's public spatial construction and resource management be influenced by the new reform of government departments including the establishment of the Ministry of Natural Resources?

YE: The Chinese government previously adopted a so-called New Public Management mode. According to its theory, this mode was developed to improve governmental efficiency

by dividing centralized departments into a number of governmental agencies to provide highly specialized services. However, through this mode, most agencies simply focus on their individual interests and business, seeing less cooperation or coordination among each other and causing a damage to public interests. Taking planning affairs as an example, urban, land, and environmental planning decisions of a city or a region are usually made by different agencies respectively. Lacking an integrated thinking often leads to interest conflicts that would hinder the improvement of urban construction.

Western countries began to reflect and criticize the New Public Management Theory from early on, and put forward the Integrated Governance Theory in the 1990s, through which governmental structure would be re-organized by establishing a super-ministry system and formulating a series of regulations and mechanism to enhance coordination among government departments and reach greater public interests in urban development. In the age of information, the emergence of public information platform has facilitated inter-departmental collaboration and communication and effectively reduced interest conflicts. China's reform of adopting such a super-ministry system is in line with contemporary needs to

improve the overall competitiveness of the country in the future and to safeguard the public interests.

In China's Integrated Reform Plan for Promoting Ecological Progress, it is clearly stated that "a system will be built on the basis of spatial planning for the development and protection of territorial space, drawing on land use regulation as the main approach," which is one of the key duties of the Ministry of Natural Resources. Recently, the Ministry is preparing to introduce a series of laws and regulations to guarantee the development and utilization of national natural resources.

How do you consider the roles of top-down empowerment and bottom-up public engagement play in urban governance? What is the current situation of these two modes in China?

YE: Urban governance involves multiple agents at various hierarchical levels, including municipal governments, district governments, neighborhood offices, enterprises, ordinary people, and NGOs or NPOs. The top-down mode, often regarded as Management, is an administrative process; the bottom-up mode is often seen as Autonomy; and Governance is considered as a flat management mode and a social process of poly-agent cooperation and negotiation, through which the

individual interests and demands of all agents or stakeholders are taken into account. The authority of management comes from power, and the authority of governance comes from consensus. The driving force of Management lies in governments that often faces various pressure and results in little avail; the driving force of Governance lies in joint efforts and consensus among all societal groups, which often easily gets promoted and yields delightful results.

In fact, even in the Governance mode, government still functions as a meta-governance agent, the builder of societal orders. All rules and bottom-lines are developed for promoting social equity and justice and based on consensus among all societal sectors and groups, instead of rigid designation of duties. By means of conferring and collecting public opinions, governments would be aware of people's real needs, rather than making authoritative decisions.

The application scopes of both the Management and Governance modes depend on how do we define the concept of "public engagement." The bottom-up Governance mode is applicable in a narrow sense of public engagement, that is, ordinary people participate and engage into societal affairs that are at small or micro scales (people can easily participate and perceive) and closely

related with public interests (people are willing to get engaged), such as whether or not to build a garden in neighborhood, or what flowers they want to grow? Relying more on governments' meta-governance, the top-down Management mode is applied in a broader sense of public engagement, including coordination and cooperation among government departments in formulating public policies and integrating common interests, to deal with larger issues that cannot be easily understood by or less related with ordinary people, making decisions on urban development strategies, for example.

At present, China's bottom-up Governance is still expected to be promoted. The results of public engagement are not always adopted or fully implemented, and decision-making is still dominated through management rather than governance. As a response, a new mode, called "Cooperative Governance," is put forward, through which a decision-making process can be led by different agents in different phases. For instance, in an urban renewal project, a government would generate general principles and local villagers are allowed to decide which villages to renew and which ones not, or what architectural style they want to adopt, or what public facilities to build....

Every decision-making process requires all agents' participation. Now this new mode has been applied in some urban renewal cases in a few cities like Shenzhen.

In a sense, PPP (public-private partnership) mode can also be seen as a Cooperative Governance. It shows a great advantage in improving construction efficiency, saving government resources and capital investment, helping the growth of private economies, and increasing employment. However, at present, China's PPP projects have many problems. For example, private parties do not build projects up to standards or pass the buck when something goes wrong; governments do not pay on time, which often put enterprises at a risk of financial rupture. All these problems are caused by poor credibility of both public and private parties. At the beginning when the PPP mode was introduced, such detrimental factors have not been fully considered. To solve the predicaments in PPP projects, a sound credibility system is required, which would articulate duties of both parties, especially defining constraints for government management. It crucially matters the operation of PPP cases, though it would need enormous and continuous efforts to establish such a credibility regulation system in China. **LAF**