

应对中国经济模式转型的城市建设： 适度与留白

Strategies Responding to the Urban Construction in China's Economic Transformations

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摘要 / 本文以经济发展的视角，指出不管是从土地价格模式，还是从城市建设技术的角度看，未来的城镇化或者未来经济模式一定会发生剧烈的变化，并呈现跳动的式发展。而规划师、设计师要前瞻性地为未来的可持续发展留出接口，以便根据时代需求而灵活地做出调整。

关键词 / 经济发展；城镇化；土地价格；规划机制

Abstract / Whether it is determined by land prices or from the perspective of urban construction, future urbanization will experience a number of changes. Planners and designers should have a greater dialogue with history, and have a greater understanding of what should go and what should stay, rather than only meeting current and immediate design needs. We need to leave something to be developed in future!

Key words / Economic Development; Urbanization; Land Price; Planning Mechanisms

您认为当前的经济发展模式会对中国未来城镇化带来怎样的影响？

冯科（以下简称冯）：中国未来的经济模式将会发生深刻的变化，城镇化的模式也必然随之发生剧变。

在30年前的城镇化进程之初，我国第一批商品房的主要购买群体为在华投资的外国人，政府希望借由提高居住用地的地价来弥补他们所占用的工业地块的价格。到1999年左右，商品房才开始陆续出售给国人，但却仍延用了以往的土地价格模式。在过去的城镇化过程中，房价上涨之快与土地价格过高是有密切关系的。例如珠三角、长三角的核心地区，工业用地的地价一直维持在25万人民币/亩，但居住用地的价格已超过1 000万人民币/亩——住宅用地的价格是工业用地的40倍，这是极不合理的。

在未来，中国的城镇化模式首要需要调整的

是土地价格，并通过将部分工业用地改作居住用地的方式来调整居住用地土地价格过高的局面。在诸如纽约、巴黎、伦敦等国际化大都市的用地结构中，居住、交通和绿地用地占城市建设用地比例最高，工业用地更注重绩效而非规模。而在我国，以上海为例，其用地结构是倒过来的，工业用地约占80%。在追求建设生态环境健康、人民生活便利的现代化大都市的过程中，从工业用地中释放出更多的土地转为居住和绿化用地，将是必然的趋势。土地结构转型的前提是产业结构的转型，也就意味着我们的城市要从制造业向服务业转型。北京、上海、深圳这些城市已在逐步转变，例如目前北京的GDP约70%来自于服务业。在这样的产业结构之下，工业用地必然逐步减少，让位给居住用地、商业用地。

另一个转变将是规划模式的重大调整。目前，在由政府主导的规划模式之下，建设了大量“空城”。而未来一定是应该由市场来决定城市的发

What impact do you think the current model of economic development will have on future urbanization?

Ke FENG (FENG hereafter): China’s economic model will undergo profound changes in the future, and urbanization patterns are bound to ensue upheaval.

At the beginning of the state regulated urbanization process 30 years ago the first major purchasers for real estate were foreigners who had investment business in China. The government raised the land price of housing area to compensate the financial loss from the industrial lands that were leased to the foreign developers at a lower price. Around 1999, when the real estate market began to open to the general Chinese population without changing the previous land pricing model. The process of urbanization, where the prices rose quickly, was closely related to high land prices. For example, in the core areas of the Pearl River Delta and the Yangtze River Delta, industrial land prices have been maintained at 250,000 yuan / mu, but the price of residential land has increased to more than 10 million yuan / mu. In such cases the price of residential land is 40 times that of industrial land, which is extremely unreasonable.

Moving forward, it will be essential to adjust the price of land, through the way of partially conversing industrial land into residential land. In megacities such as New York, Paris, or London, housing, transportation, and open space account for the largest proportion of urban land use. Often, performance and quality is seen more important than size in industrial land use. If we look at Shanghai for example, the land structure is inverted where about 80 percent of the viable land is reserved for industry. In pursuing both an ecologically healthy environment and modern metropolis, transferring land from industrial sites to residential and park spaces will become an inevitable trend. However, land transformation will require a transformation in industrial structure at first, that means most chinese cities need to transfer from manufacturing to service

based economies. Beijing, Shanghai, and Shenzhen are all gradually being transformed, and about 70 percent of Beijing’s GDP now comes from the service sector. Within this, industrial land is bound to gradually decrease, opening more land for residential and commercial uses.

Another major change will come from planning mechanisms. Under the current government model there are large swatches of new construction that have resulted in so called “ghost towns”. Future urban development will be driven by the market, and housing construction will be determined by the real needs, and schools, hospitals, and commercial facilities within a neighborhood will be integrated and linked by necessary infrastructures. Future cities must be holistic — it might be a good option to build a “vertical city” where parks, police stations, post offices, schools, libraries, shopping malls, residential, parking, movie theaters, and other urban facilities are concentrated in high-rise buildings.

Whether it is determined by land prices or from the perspective of urban construction, future urbanization will experience a number of changes.

Real estate growth is the driving force behind the urbanization of smaller cities. How do you think the adjusted land prices and models will impact the urbanization patterns of these cities change?

FENG: The reduction of local government’s financial revenue could be compensated through introduction of appropriate fiscal reform approaches. For example, the central government could make levying devolution to local authorities, and the added revenue would facilitate the local governments to become less dependent on land and property taxes, thus eliminating the need to raise the price of land and push up housing prices. Actually, there is currently enough land in Chinese cities to meet new construction needs, but the government maintains the high price of land by

展，由市场需求来决定住房的建设，并整合生活半径内学校、医院、商业等配套设施的建设，然后由合理的基础设施将之连接起来。未来的城市一定是整体化发展的，“立体城市”也许可以成为一种不错的形式。它可以将公园、警察局、邮局、学校、图书馆、商场、住宅、停车场、电影院等城市设施及功能集中在超高层的建筑中，这样不仅能够解决单位土地价格昂贵的问题，也能解决我国钢铁产能过剩的问题。

所以不管是从土地价格模式，还是从城市建设技术的角度看，未来的城镇化或者未来经济模式一定会发生剧烈的变化，并呈现跳动的式发展。

在以房地产开发为城镇化主要驱动力的中小城市，如果土地价格模式得到调整，这些城市的城镇化模式将会有怎样的影响？

冯：模式调整所带来的财政收入影响可以通过推行相应的财政改革措施来加以平衡：例如，中央将更多的税收——所得税、增值税——交给地方政府，使地方政府逐步脱离对土地收益的依赖，从而消除以推高土地价格、拉高房价为手段的经济动机。目前来说，可供城市发展建设的土地存量是足够的，但地方政府出于维持较高土地价格的目的，才减少了土地的供给量。

您认为在以大量的基础设施建设与蓬勃的房地产为主要表象的中国经济发展中，城市规划师、设计师在其中扮演了怎样的角色？

冯：城市规划师和设计师在城镇化发展中发挥着十分重要的作用。首先，规划师要考虑的是经济的合理性，因为最节约成本的方案才是最容易被业主所接受的。其次，是方案的美观性——当然，审美要服从于经济，最好要做到“好看”与“实用”兼顾。除此以外，设计师还承担着社会责任，要前瞻性地为未来的可持续发展留出接口——因为我们难以料想未来的建造技术、社交关系、互联网、物流、服务等会发生怎样的改变。如果设计的建筑或设施是可变、可移动、可拆除的，那么我们便可以

根据时代需求而灵活地做出调整。例如，如果居住区在规划时能够留出一些可变用地，那么现在这些地方也许可以被改造成一个“快递长廊”：居民们可以在这个长廊里收取快递，也就不担心具体的住址、电话等个人信息被泄漏或带来其他安全问题。设计师要懂得在浓墨之下留有一点空白。而现在，大多数的设计师既不与过去对话（将过去统统抹去，将设计铺排在一张“白纸”上），也不与未来对话（设计时仅满足当下的需求，导致许多功能和形式无法与未来的需求对接）。

您是否认为城市设计师在中国目前的城镇化进程中缺乏话语权？

冯：的确，在过去追求经济最大化的城镇化过程中设计师话语权不够重。但是现在许多中国城市已经“不差钱”了，主导回归历史和美学的价值观已经慢慢成为主流，设计师的生存环境越来越好。另一方面，设计师也要有一点骨气、气节，不能一味地向经济最大化“折腰”，要有自己的坚持。

生态基础设施的建设往往被视为一种“低回报”、“慢回报”的投入，而且其具有的诸多价值（例如对于水和空气的改善，视觉的美学享受等）难以量化。您认为应如何对生态基础设施的经济价值进行衡量？

冯：过去，那些破坏生态环境来谋求经济效益的短视做法在中国许多城市中屡见不鲜；但近些年来，随着城市管理者的生态意识与理念的加强，生态基础设施的建设也日益受到重视，我们也已经在这些方面投入了大量的资金。但我认为生态基础设施的建设要量力而行，要做与我们目前所处阶段相匹配的投入。例如，我国西部某市建设了一座半径为600m的公园，然而如此大型的公园却没有得到与之相符的使用率。那么在这个处于干旱地区的城市中建造灌溉等维护成本如此昂贵的公园，这就不是“生态”的基础设施建设，而是一种资源浪费。我们既不能盲目地牺牲环境去换取经济效益，也不可能使生态保护成为城市新的经济负担。LAF

reducing the amount of land available.

How do you think of the role urban planners, as designers for a large number of new infrastructure and real estate projects, play in the process of China's economic development?

FENG: Urban planners obviously play an important role in the urbanization process. First, planners need to consider the economy, because the most cost-effective solutions are more likely to be accepted by clients. Secondly, aesthetics should also be considered. It will be the responsibility of designers to position land for future development. We cannot accurately predict how future construction, technology, social relations, Internet, logistics, and services would be. If the design of a building or facility is variable, then we could be flexible about its uses. For example, if a residential area would reserve some variable space, so now might be utilized as an “Express Corridor”: Residents can collect their parcels there, also do not have to worry about their personal information being leaked and other security issues. Additionally, planners and designers should have a greater dialogue with site’s history, and have a greater understanding of what should go and what should stay, rather than only meeting current and immediate design needs. We need to leave something to be developed in future!

Do you think urban designers lack a voice in discourse of urbanization in China?

FENG: Absolutely. The role of designers has not been emphasized enough in the past. But now the dominant value returning to the historical and aesthetics has slowly become mainstream, offering more opportunities for designers. With the rapid influx of capital for new projects in China, it is critical that designers maintain professional integrity and do not just accept any commission or bow to any economic offer.

In purely economic terms, ecological infrastructure is often considered as a “low-return” or “slow return” investment, but it has a lot of ecological value which is yet difficult to quantify monetarily. How do you think the economic value of ecological infrastructure should be, and can be, measured?

FENG: In the past, shortsighted approaches that lead to economic benefits through destruction of the ecological environment were common in many Chinese cities. In recent years, a combination of strengthened public ecological awareness with stronger construction on ecological infrastructures has given more credence, and therefore more money has invested in. I also think that we should be capable of using ecological infrastructure more appropriately, and particularly, within our strengths. For example, a new city in arid western China might have a lot of open and green space. At first glance this is good for improving the quality of life. But when you consider the need for irrigation and other maintenance costs, the facade of ecology becomes less relevant, even wasteful. There is not one easy answer; we can neither blindly sacrifice the environment for economy, nor can we override economy for greater ecological protection. **LAF**