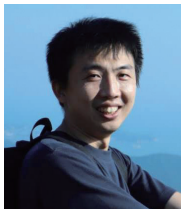


The Practice and Representation of Urban Parks in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in the 1980s



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ABSTRACT

After reform and opening up, Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and its urban construction have an unusual significance for China. However, the prevailing emergence of urban parks built in a super speed in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone is not paid much attention by the academia regarding its historical process of construction. This study examines the history of urban park construction through dual lenses of “nation–state” and “global–local” with a hope to explore the genealogy and reason lying behind the local practice of urban park construction in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone from a transnational global perspective. The authors argue that the construction of urban parks in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in the 1980s was closely related to foreign capital investment. Moreover, the national form adopted in park design during this period coincided with that of the special economic zones as a node of national rejuvenation. Relying on the global flow of ideas, this research attempts to provide interpretative view to comprehend the construction history of urban parks in China at the very beginning of the reform and opening.

KEYWORDS

Shenzhen Special Economic Zone;
Urban Park;
Greening;
Transnational Perspective;
Reform and Opening

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HIGHLIGHTS

- Explores the relationship between urbanization, urban policy, and urban parks in the Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in the 1980s
- Argues that the greening construction in Singapore significantly influenced the construction of urban parks in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone in the 1980s
- Examines the formal representation of the nation–state in the design and conceptual genealogy of urban parks in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone

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1 Introduction

Among discussions on topics regarding Chinese contemporary urban construction and related issues, urban parks are technically accepted as ecological infrastructures or outdoor activity spaces; while research on the philosophy and social context of construction can rarely be found against the large background of urban construction. Regardless of the definitions of a park traced from the perspective of ontology, our ultimate pursuit is to ask how to understand, construct, operate, and use urban parks in our social life^[1]. Thus, an urban park, as a space of cultural form, is the representation of urban social life, just like a street, residential community, and public building; whereas, as a cultural form of nature, an urban park is a symbolic landscape superimposed with a specific meaning, similar to a river, farmland, and traditional garden. Research in the field of Social Sciences reminds historical writing that the production of space and nature is closely related to the order of power and is influenced by social practice in a specific period of time^[2]. Therefore, it is necessary to deeply explore the systems, policies, and concepts in the process of spatial and natural production in the intellectual discussion of urban parks^{[3][4]}.

In the 1970s, the neo-liberal political economy movement in developed countries expedited an international division of labor. Asian countries and regions such as Republic of Korea, Singapore, and China's Taiwan and Hong Kong also started their economic take-off. At a historical turning point in the late 1970s, China ushered in new opportunities and inspirations. The Shenzhen Special Economic Zone^① (SSEZ hereafter), located in the Pacific Rim and the middle of Northeast Asia and Southeast Asia, was established in 1980. With its international pattern and geographical advantage, Shenzhen was selected as the test field for Guangdong Province to go "one step ahead" to carry out reform and opening up across China^[5]. In addition, SSEZ is also considered an epitome of contemporary Chinese cities, because the strategic intention of its establishment is not only to let the world see China's competence and determination to reintegrate into the world, but also to develop a model for the modernization of cities in Chinese mainland^[6].

There were only three parks in Shenzhen before 1979, and the number increased dramatically to more than 1,090 by 2019, with urban parks at various scales^②. Given the fact that the basic models of describing nature and space are substantially-shaped by political, economic, and cultural contexts^{[7][8]}, research on construction process of urban parks will present them as social space and nature, no longer simply revolving about urban parks in terms of urban parks^[9].

2 Perspectives and Methods

Urban parks are neither neutral "urbanized nature," nor "natural" solutions to urban problems independent from urban process; on the contrary, they themselves are part of and help construct the complex political urban process^[10]. Based on this assumption, the research will be carried out with the following two theoretical considerations in perspective and method.

2.1 Nation-State

The origin and concept of "nation-state" are very complicated^{[11][12]}. It is generally acknowledged that it refers to the modern state form driven by a considerable degree of political autonomy based on the utility of national cultural identity after the decline of European feudal city-state countries in the 17th century. The signing of the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 marks the rise of the nation-state system in Western Europe^[13]. Since then, it has gradually expanded and thrived to a global scope, and the meaning of "nation" as in "American nation," "Chinese nation," and "Yamato nation" has transcended its earliest meaning at the human evolution and racial level and is closely related to the meaning of "country"—for instance, the Chinese nation refers to a multi-ethnic country.

The breaking up of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society in modern China was largely due to the construction of "Chinese nation" as a nation-state, which has thereafter profoundly influenced many relationships. Obviously, the whole process of the construction of SSEZ was under the guidance of national policies, even its initial intention was to make achievements in reform and opening up emphasizing the force of market economy, as it is impossible to build a new city under the force of absolute market liberalization where state power was omnipresent. This characterized the political economic practices in Asian cities after the 1960s and 1970s and differed themselves from the western neo-liberalism^[14]. Therefore, it is impossible to carry out a social

① For the sake of clarity, "Shenzhen" in this paper refers to the City of Shenzhen, and "Shenzhen Special Economic Zone (SSEZ)" refers to the special economic zone designated in Shenzhen and covered an area of 327.5 km² before its expansion in 2010.

② The urban parks built before 1979 were Zhongshan park in Nantou, Reservoir Park located at the south of Shenzhen reservoir (the former Donghu Park); and the Public Garden of Workers' Cultural Club (called People's Park at that time). Data source by 2019: official website of Urban Management and Comprehensive Law Enforcement Bureau of Shenzhen City.

and spatial examination on developing countries or cities in East Asia represented by China and its cities without a substantial consideration on the influence of the state might bring^[15].

2.2 Global–Local Relations

Around World War II, the national liberation movements flourishing worldwide made the colonial system centered on the West gradually disintegrated. Profound changes had also taken place in the field of Historiography. The idea of transcending national and regional boundaries and understanding the historical process as a whole has promoted the discourse construction in the view of global history^[16]—the concern about local issues has made the global history different from world history chaptered by histories of many independent countries^[17]—such a discourse advocates not only interaction and connection between different cultures, but also transcending national boundaries in cognition and examining local issues from a global perspective.

In the 1980s, the construction of SSEZ was driven by forces both in China and abroad. By means of the establishment of an effective relationship between forces at both scales in the view of global history, it is possible to provide a context to local issues of urban park construction in SSEZ in the 1980s, not just explaining the construction within the borders of the country, but going further to carry out a more holistic historical study.

3 Spatial Distribution of Urban Parks

In the early 1980s, the industrial development of SSEZ was not mature enough to undertake business other than labor-intensive industries—mainly including processing and compensation trades^③—supporting the industrial developmental mode of “front store and back factory” with Hong Kong. This cooperation mode highly relied on the convenient freight transportation between Shenzhen and Hong Kong. Therefore, the earliest urban construction of SSEZ was carried out in three areas closest to Hong Kong in terms of transportation, namely Shangbu–Luohu, Shekou–Nantou, and Shatoujiao^[18], where almost all newly-built urban parks at that time gathered (Table 1)^{[19]~[22]}.

Regarding spatial distribution, the construction of urban parks in SSEZ in the 1980s generally kept pace with the city’s urban construction, and the parks were mainly located within the Second Line Pass^④. In terms of site selection, these parks are mostly located on farmlands with little topographic relief, except for East Lake Park built surrounding Shigeng Hill.

In addition to these urban parks imbued with leisure values

for citizens, the earliest tourist resorts in Shenzhen that provided leisure and recreational services were also built in the same period, including Xili Lake Resort (1979), Shiyan Lake Resort (1982), Silver Lake Tourism Center (1982), Xiangmi Lake Resort (1983), and Donghu Park (1984)^[23]. In order to save construction funds, these tourist resorts took advantage of the scenic resources of local reservoirs. Most of the reservoirs were built in the 1950s and

③ “Processing and compensation trades” here refers to processing supplied materials, processing supplied samples, assembling supplied parts, and compensation trade.

④ In November 1981, the Standing Committee of Guangdong Provincial People’s Congress passed the Interim Provisions on the Administration of Shenzhen Special Economic Zone and defined its scope. In June 1982, Shenzhen City began to build the management wire fence of SSEZ, which was later called the “Second Line Pass.” Usually, “inter side of the Second Line Pass” and “outer side of the Second Line Pass” refer to SSEZ in the south and Bao’an County in the north, respectively.

Table 1: Spatial distribution of urban parks built in the 1980s in Shenzhen Special Economic Zone

Name	Area (hm ²)	Opening year	Location
Donghu Park	233.30	1984	Shangbu–luohu
Litchi Park	18.60	1985	
People’s Park	12.95	1986	
Honghu Park	59.15	1987	
Children’s Park	5.95	1987	
Revolutionary Martyrs Cemetery	5.20	1987	Sheko–nantou
Xianhu Botanical Garden	592.00	1988	
Zhongshan Park	53.80	1987	
Sihai Park	16.79	1987	Shatoujiao
Bihai Park	1.40	1984	

NOTE

Data Sources: Refs. [19]–[22]. Specifically, Zhongshan Park was firstly built in 1925, originally covering an area of 1.3 hm²; and Donghu Park was firstly built in 1961, originally covering an area of 33 hm².

1960s, in line with the national agenda of socialist industrialization at that time. After the change of production relations in the 1980s, these reservoirs built by means of remodeling nature took on a new “natural” looking for the starting-up market economy of SSEZ.

4 Urbanized Nature and Its Symbolic Meaning

In the early 1970s, the fact that many capitalist countries fallen into the quagmire of economic crisis provided an opportunity for China to integrate into the global market and to promote its domestic economy. However, the initiative was hampered by China’s serious lack of foreign currency. In August 1979, the State Council issued the Provisions on Several Issues Concerning Vigorously Developing Foreign Trade to Increase Foreign Exchange Income (《关于大力发展对外贸易增加外汇收入若干问题的规定》), which clearly stated that Shenzhen and Zhuhai were the two permitted pilot cities for the construction of special export zones in China^[24]. This was the first appearance of the term “special zone” in China’s official policy documents in the 1970s. Obviously, the original purpose of establishing special economic zones was largely to “increase foreign exchange income.”

The construction of special economic zones began in earnest with no compatible national resources that could be concentrated on and allocated for the creation of new cities since the economic situation in China by then was still depressing. On the contrary, the constructors of special economic zones need to “work on their own and fight their way out”^[25]. In such straitened circumstances, the first batch of urban parks built with public funds by the decision-makers of the construction of SSEZ should, of course, provide leisure, social, and other functions for the general public. However, historical research needs to additionally pay attention to other deeper diameters when the institutional situation varied. The urban construction in the early stage after the establishment of SSEZ was investment-result oriented^[26]. Since the economic success of China’s first commercial housing project, Donghu Liyuan in SSEZ, the decision-makers had realized the high economic value of land^[27]. Therefore, from the standpoint of decision-makers at least, if the construction of an urban park simply serves the citizens while little serving for the original purpose of establishing SSEZ, it was impossible to be recognized by the administrative workflow.

The exploration of the deep-rooted reason that is inextricably bound up with SSEZ’s learning paradigm—Singapore, another Asian country—would reveal the puzzle: one of the key contents of the study at that time was urban construction and greening^[28]. Since the 1970s, many Asian cities have been committed to self-marketing

to the world^[29], so as to improve their global competitiveness and popularity and to attract multinational companies to invest in local labor-intensive manufacturing. Singapore aimed to build itself into a world-class oasis in Southeast Asia to show that Singapore is different from other third-world countries^[30]. This resource-poor city-state had prospered by means of a large amount of investment from developed countries since 1965, and the “garden city” vision was an important approach for Singapore government led by Lee Kuan Yew to obtain foreign investment. During this period, colonial heritages such as Singapore Botanic Gardens were revitalized, in addition to the creation of a 4.8 hm² Toa Payoh Town Park, a 5 hm² Ang Mo Kio Town Garden East, and a 248 hm² Jurong Park^[32].

In the summer of 1983 when urban park construction in Singapore was largely accomplished, Shenzhen government sent a large-scale official delegation to Singapore for dual purposes: first, to learn experience of urban planning and greening; and second, to learn the investment promotion strategy of Jurong Town Corporation^[33]. These two purposes actually integrated with each other when tracing back to the historical context at that time. As early as the year of 1982, Chen Qingsong, a consultant from Singapore, mentioned in his speech at the meeting of Shenzhen Urban Planning Commission that city images are important policies, among which greening was particularly emphasized^[34]. The learning visit in 1983 had a profound impact on Shenzhen officials’ attitude towards urban greening. The city leaders strongly recognized Singapore’s experience and put forward their target slogan “to create Hong Kong’s working efficiency in Singapore’s urban environment” in subsequent urban planning documents^[35]. Greening has been promoted in Shenzhen to the same important level as city operation efficiency. Although there have further been several official visits to Singapore for similar purposes, the visit in 1983 has profoundly influenced Shenzhen officials’ thoughts on urban greening. During Shenzhen’s vigorous promotion of Singapore’s experience, practices including retreating 30 meters backward from the city’s main roads as green belts, the creation of a 800 m Green Belt from Shanghai Hotel to Huangmugang, and the construction of the first batch of urban parks in SSEZ were all learning outcome of the 1983 visit^{[36][37]}.

In the 1980s, the quality of urban spatial environment affected the confidence and strength of external investors, just like other infrastructure did in emerging cities in Asia such as Shenzhen and Singapore. Luo Changren, the then Vice Mayor in charge of Shenzhen’s urban construction, shared a similar strategy with Lee, who took attracting foreign investors and meeting their investment needs as the priorities of urban construction. Undoubtedly, since

the 19th century, urban parks have acquired the legitimacy of construction by providing leisure, social, and other services for citizens; after the 1960s, the legitimacy has been expanded by ecological and environmental movements. However, in the specific situation of Asia, a more important reason may be ignored in the general discussion. In other words, creating a favorable city image to attract investment from developed countries and regions is of great importance in Asia, at least in Shenzhen and Singapore during the 1970s and 1980s, when urban greening and park construction played an expected political role. As the First Five-Year Plan since the establishment of the city, Shenzhen's Sixth Five-Year Plan clarified that foreign capital inflows were the major funding source of the construction of the whole SSEZ. In Luo's view, urban construction projects which were mainly supplied by and served for foreign businessmen should adopt international standards to meet their needs^[38]. Similarly, one of Lee's strategies was also to encourage businessmen and tourists from developed countries to take Singapore as an absolute destination in Southeast Asia. Lee also believes that greening has the highest cost-benefit performance compared with his other plans^[39].

The urban park system is an organization to realize specific urban ideals instead of a neutral urban installation^[40]. Developed countries and regions were endowed with certain dominant power in the background of international labor distribution, while developing countries and regions are supposed to meet the perceived needs of international investors and managers in environmental and spatial aspects through local practices. The symbolic expression of urban space is the exact means and way. As the forms of urbanized nature, greening, parks, and resorts were all included in the urban process, making "nature" fit with its cultural form—of course, they can provide leisure and social services, but, on a more structural level, their symbolic meanings exceed their

pragmatic functions^[41]. This is caused by the new institutional framework and production relations, which associates the cowboy hat Deng Xiaoping wore when he visited Texas, USA in 1979—symbolic, rather than practical.

5 Nationalized Nature and Its Formal Representation

At the beginning of the 1980s, the experimental design of Square Pagoda Garden in Shanghai was still under criticism for its modernism^[42]. Simultaneously, for the decision-makers of the construction of SSEZ, the style of those landmark architecture must be carefully designed to embrace both "sense of the age" and "national characteristics"^[43]. Abiding by such constructional standards and guidelines, traces of "national characteristics" in form and style were more or less found in the design of the Luohu Port Joint Inspection Building (1985), Shenzhen Library (1986), and even the earlier tourist buildings in Xili Lake (1979) and Xiangmi Lake (1981). Moreover, the major urban parks, Xianhu Botanical Garden (1988), Litchi Park (1985), and Donghu Park (1984), which were attached with great importance by local administration, were also designed in accordance with three traditional Chinese garden styles, Northern Garden, Lingnan Garden, and Jiangnan Garden, respectively (Figs. 1 ~ 3)^[44]. The strictness of adherence to the corresponding styles of these urban parks is not the focus of this article. Instead, the essence lies in how "national characteristics" are represented in urban parks during the early construction of SSEZ.

For instance, the planning and design of Xianhu Botanical Park began with Wutong Mountain, whose ground cover was mostly stones, weeds, and loess in the 1960s^[45]. After two decades of afforestation, it has become a lush mountainous area of appealing wilderness, and was selected as the park site because it conformed



1. Water bodies and architecture in Xianhu Botanical Garden
2. Water bodies and architecture in Litchi Park
3. Water bodies and architecture in Donghu Park

to the requirement of “appropriate-terrain and well-structured site” in traditional Chinese garden construction theory. In terms of the overall zoning, the designers named the scenic zones after the characteristics of vegetation that celebrate traditional Chinese culture. In terms of water system, a pond in the valley was altered and named as “Xianhu Lake” (fairy lake) that is of rich artistic conception of traditional Chinese gardens; besides, many architectural elements in northern China were also adopted by the landscape design. To sum up, the overall planning of Xianhu Botanical Park was based on the principles of magnifying the traditional national characteristics of gardens and serving for people’s modern socialist life^[46], which was officially recognized and widely accepted in the 1950s.

The number of newly-built urban parks in China has declined significantly since the early 1960s compared with that of the 1950s, and it went to its boom in the early 1980s^[47]. During the 20 years, the construction and theoretical exploration of urban parks in China were both sluggish. Viewed in this light, it is not surprising that in SSEZ, the design concept of urban park construction in the 1980s was consistent with that of the 1950s. However, we might be able to advance our analysis considerably if we put the design concept of the 1950s into the global depth of time and space.

In the architectural academia of the 1950s, the integration of the national form and socialist content from Soviet architecture theories with the traditional Chinese architectural form had a nationwide impact. At that time, Mr. Liang Sicheng, who worked in the Beijing Urban Planning Commission, was the pivot of this theoretical and practice movement^[48]. His educational background of classicism architecture from the Paris Academy of Fine Arts at the University of Pennsylvania made him focused on historical style, which, through the pioneers of Chinese architectural historians represented by himself, had a profound influence on the academic system of Chinese architecture till today^[49]. However, when we trace back to the origin of the architectural history discourse of “style,” we can find that historical writing on architectural styles usually discuss about the characteristics of historical stages of individual countries, which consolidates the identity and territorial power of Western European nation-states after the 18th century^[50]. Since the end of the 19th century, the recognition of Western European nation-state system has affected modern Chinese intellectuals such as Liang Qichao (Liang Sicheng’s father) and Luo Zhenyu, who believed that to resist against the western powers, they must create a nation-state by creating its national history first^[51]. Liang Sicheng, who was committed to national rejuvenation^[52], explored the history of Chinese architecture in this background. In short, Chinese

architectural historians at that time represented by Mr. Liang Sicheng attempted to develop the history of Chinese architecture in a national sense by employing a set of discourse frameworks from Western Europe. In the 1950s, such frameworks evolved as the design principle that highlighted “national form and socialist attributes” in the process of learning from the Soviet Union^[53].

The above principle originated from Architecture with its focus on architectural materials, structure, and modeling also had penetrated into the theories of urban park design, as a theory concerning construction. The Huagang Guanyu Park in Hangzhou, built in the 1950s and designed by Sun Xiaoxiang, was such an experimental practice^[54]. In his publication, *Garden Art and Garden Design*, a classic textbook widely used from the 1960s to 1980s in China’s colleges, Sun stressed that the form of gardens should have a distinctive national style and socialist attributes by absorbing the essence of classical national heritages. Specifically, Sun emphasized that the design of landform should be based on the site conditions with traditional Chinese landscaping techniques; planting design needs to create spaces with a rich variety of landscape aesthetics and experience that appears widely in Chinese gardens; and, circulation design should also draw lessons from Chinese gardens that often adopt a pattern centered on the water body with main paths around^[55]. Based on “national form”, these urban park construction principles were accepted and carried forward by the predecessors of landscape architects represented by Sun, Meng Zhaozhen, and Wu Zechun in the early 1980s, guiding the design of urban parks in SSEZ after two decades of sluggish construction (Figs. 4, 5).

Undoubtedly, in the early 1980s, the importance of designers cannot be neglected for the historical emergences of urban parks with “national characteristics” in the construction of special economic zones. However, as an agent to some extent, designers may not be aware of the conceptual genealogy behind their design practice^[56]. What is worth in-depth exploring is to interpret the construction of SSEZ with the nation-state lenses.

In the history of the Chinese nation, SSEZ is an absolute newly-built city area, while its urban development and urban park construction embodies the Chinese people’s ardent pursuit and imagination of modernization, which is a rebound to both the western powers that Chinese people had encountered since the middle of the 19th century and the western modernity that powers represented^[57]. Not only SSEZ but also many developing countries and regions in Asia had longer or shorter colonial history. The foundation of their economic rise around the 1970s resulted from the nationalist project^[58]—the power of the state is mediated in many relationships including economy, culture, and physical



4. Master plan of Litchi Park (November 1983); Landscape architects: Wu Zechun, Chen Shouya, and Ye Guohao; Source: Archives Office of Shenzhen Litchi Park Management Office.
5. Master plan of Litchi Park (October 1984). Original landscape architect: Men Zhaozhen; Revised by: Feng Liangcai; Source: Archives Office of Shenzhen Donghu Park Management Office.

environment. When globalization and nation–state overlap and interact, a frontier along the national territory will emerge, which is not only the border between nation–state and the world, but also an intermingled area of the two in political, economic, and other senses^[59]. For Chinese mainland, SSEZ was the very frontier in the 1980s. The representation of such overlap in urban parks was underlying, complex, and multi-threaded. First, it came from the 18th century Western European nation–state system and its architectural “style” history; second, on this basis, it evolved into the formal nationalism and socialist design principles adopted from the Soviet Union; and, the third, it came from the profound Chinese traditional garden culture and the natural aesthetic tradition. What the three threads confronted in SSEZ is the global-scale division of labor and spatial reconstruction brought about by the Neo-Liberal turn.

In this way, we can understand the relationship between the nation–state system and the construction of SSEZ in the context of the economic boost of Asia (especially East Asia), and more specifically, its relationship with the formal style of the first batch of urban parks in SSEZ in the 1980s. This *prima facie* association dominated by designers and the forms and styles they selected was in fact manipulated by a complex conceptual genealogy and its evolution hidden behind it. “Everyday signifiers of nature” such as

landforms, water systems, and vegetation in SSEZ’s first batch of urban parks were constructed within such a genealogy^[41]. They are cultural form of nature—the nature that people “see” in society and culture.

6 Conclusions

Shenzhen Special Economic Zone was a test field for building socialism with Chinese characteristics in the 1980s when local urban construction spread out in this small border city of South China by the tide of global spatial production. As a spatio-temporal milestone of national rejuvenation, its urban development and urban park construction has been embedded in the urban process structured by the unique political and economic relations. In such context, the abstract “nature” represented in its cultural forms, and this article reveals the complex relationship between urban parks and more through a broader discussion, summarized as the following points.

1) In the early 1980s, the urban parks constructed in the SSEZ kept pace with the spatial expansion of urban construction of the day. Concurrently, the three areas—Shangbu–Luohu, Shekou–Nantou, and Shatoujiao, which were closely connected with Hong Kong in processing and compensation business—accommodated

much large-scale urban construction.

2) The construction of urban parks in SSEZ, a means to attract transnational investors in labor-intensive manufacturing, was prominent by then, which was perceptibly influenced by Singapore—an Asian country under the same context of the Neo-Liberal turn—and was also structurally in line with China’s agenda to build special economic zones.

And 3) the first batch of urban parks in SSEZ, and even the overall urban construction, were greatly influenced by the global division of labor and spatial reconstruction, and more or less displayed the national characteristics. The genealogy behind can be traced back to the Western European nation-state system and the architectural history under its manipulation, the design principles from the Soviet Union that highlighted “national form and socialist attributes,” as well as China’s profound classical garden culture and natural aesthetic tradition.

To sum up, the research on SSEZ’s urban park construction in this paper has shifted from a simple description of space towards an analysis of the historical context in shaping space. It is self-explanatory that both the study of Singapore and the representation of national characteristics in the planning and design indicated that the park is neither neutral nature nor a beautiful romantic place far away from the mortal world in the city—its emergence and the construction concept and knowledge are internalized in the global interaction of politics, economy, and culture.

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20世纪80年代深圳经济特区城市公园的实践与表现

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摘要

对改革开放之后的中国而言, 深圳经济特区及其城市建设有着不同寻常的意义。城市公园在深圳经济特区的超高速建设历程中大量出现, 然而关于相关建设的历史过程却甚少见诸学术讨论。本研究将城市公园建设历史置于“民族-国家”与“全球-地方”关系的双重视角下进行审视, 并在跨越国界的全球视野下探寻深圳经济特区城市公园建设这一地方性实践的谱系与渊源。通过分析, 研究认为深圳经济特区在20世纪80年代的城市公园建设与吸引外资之间存在密切关联, 且该时期的公园建设所采用的民族形式与经济特区作为民族复兴的时空节点之间也存在相应关联。通过如上视角的解读, 本文希望能依托观念的全球性流动, 为改革开放之初中国的城市公园建设提供解释性看法。

文章亮点

- 探寻深圳经济特区20世纪80年代的城市化、城市政策与城市公园之间的关系
- 新加坡的绿化建设明显影响了深圳经济特区20世纪80年代的城市公园建设
- 在深圳经济特区城市公园的设计与观念谱系中探寻民族-国家的形式表现

关键词

深圳经济特区;
城市公园;
绿化;
跨国视角;
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1 引言

在当代中国如火如荼的城市建设及对相关议题的探讨中, 城市公园通常被视为技术性的生态基础设施或户外活动空间, 而对营造的观念与社会脉络进行的研究性探讨却常被忽略。如果我们并不以本体论的视角追问城市公园的客观定义, 而是追问我们在社会生活中如何理解、建造和使用城市公园^[1], 那么, 城市公园既是空间的文化形式, 也是自然的文化形式。作为空间的文化形式, 城市公园与街道、住区、公共建筑一样, 是城市社会生活的表征; 作为自然的文化形式, 城市公园又与河流、农田、传统园林一样, 是叠加了特定意义的象征景观。社会科学领域的研究提醒, 历史写作需认识到空间与自然的生产都和权力秩序关系

密切, 为特定时期的社会实践所左右^[2]。因此, 对城市公园的知识性探讨就有必要深入探究空间和自然生产过程中的制度、政策和观念等^{[3][4]}。

20世纪70年代, 发达国家在政治经济实践上的新自由主义转向催生了国际化的劳动分工, 韩国、新加坡以及中国台湾、香港等亚洲国家和地区也由此开启了经济腾飞, 这为20世纪70年代末处于历史转折点的中国带来了新的机遇和启示。1980年成立的深圳经济特区^①地处环太平洋经济圈, 又位于东北亚与东南亚的中间地带, 在这样的国际格局和地缘

① 本文为了表述清晰, 以“深圳”指代深圳市域范围, 以“深圳经济特区”指代2010年扩容之前的327.5km²空间范围。

条件下，它成为广东省在全国“先行一步”进行改革开放的试验田^[5]。此外，深圳经济特区也是当代中国城市的缩影，因为建设特区的战略意图，一是让全世界看到中国重新融入世界的能力和决心，二是成为国内城市现代化发展的样板^[6]。

1979年以前，深圳仅有三个城市公园，而到2019年，深圳已有各种规模的城市公园1090多个^②。既然描述自然和空间的基本模型都是由政治、经济与文化语境所塑造^{[7][8]}，那么在该语境中研究城市公园的建设历程，就会将其呈现为社会性的空间与自然，研究也不再单纯地就城市公园论城市公园^[9]。

2 视角与方法

作为“城市化的自然”（urbanized nature），城市公园并非中性的，也不是独立于城市进程之外用以解决城市问题的“自然化”方案；相反，它们自身就参与并建构了复杂且政治性的城市进程^[10]。基于这样的陈述，本文在视角与方法上有以下两点理论性考虑。

2.1 民族—国家

“民族—国家”的概念及其起源非常复杂^{[11][12]}，普遍认为是指17世纪欧洲封建城邦制国家衰落之后兴起的现代国家形式，以民族文化认同为基础实行政治自治。1648年《威斯特伐利亚和约》（Peace of Westphalia）的签订标志着民族—国家体系在西欧率先兴起^[13]。此后逐渐扩展到全球范围，如“美利坚民族”“中华民族”“大和民族”等，这时的“民族”已经超越了最早在人类进化和种族层面的意义，而更接近“国族”^③，比如“中华民族”就是多民族的国族国家。

近代中国是半殖民地半封建社会，这种情形的终结得益于“中华民族”这个民族—国家的概念建构。此后，民族—国家的力量便中介于诸多关系之中。即便经济特区的建设意图源自强调市场经济的改革开放，我们也需要看到，它并非在市场绝对自由化的情形下所新建的城市，它的建设处于明确的国家政策引导之下。这是国家权力的表现，也是亚洲地区城市在20世纪六七十年代之后的政治经济实践与西方意义上的新自由主义所区别之处^[14]。因此，对以中国为代表的东亚发展中国家及其城市所进行的社会与空间分析，都需要看到国家在其中的重要影响^[15]。

2.2 全球—地方关系

第二次世界大战前后，民族解放运动在全球范围内蓬勃发展，以西方为中心的殖民体系逐渐瓦解。深刻的变化同样发生在史学领域，超越国家与地区界线、整体性地理解历史过程的理念推动了全球史观的话语建构^[16]——对地方性问题的关注使得全球史不同于以往合并多国历史的世界史^[17]——这样的话语体系既提倡不同文化间的互动与联系，又提倡

在认知上跨越民族—国家的边界，以全球性的视野来审视地方性问题。

20世纪80年代深圳经济特区的建设，一方面受国内因素所驱动，另一方面也受全球性的外部因素所驱动。那么，借助全球史观在这两个尺度之间建立有效关联，就有可能为审视20世纪80年代深圳经济特区城市公园建设这一地方性问题提供观照，而不仅仅是在国家的边界内对其建设作出解释，进而产生更具整体性的历史研究。

3 城市公园的空间分布

20世纪80年代初，深圳经济特区的工业基础非常薄弱，只能承接“三来一补”^④的劳动密集型产业，与香港形成“前店后厂”的产业合作模式。这样的模式高度依赖深—港之间便捷的货运交通，因此深圳经济特区最早的城市建设在交通上最接近香港的三个片区（上埗—罗湖、蛇口—南头、沙头角）开展^[18]。新建的城市公园也基本都位于这三个片区（表1）^{[19]~[22]}。

从空间分布上看，深圳经济特区20世纪80年代的城市公园建设与城市建设基本保持同步，主要位于二线关^⑤内。基址选择上，除东湖公园依托匙羹山而建，其余城市公园的选址多为相对平坦的农田，地形起伏不大。

除了这些可供市民休闲的城市公园之外，深圳最早的一批旅游度假区也于同一时期兴建，包括西丽湖度假村（1979）、石岩湖度假村（1982）、银湖旅游中心（1982）、香蜜湖度假村（1983），以及同样具有度假性质的东湖公园（1984）^[23]。为了节省建设资金，这些旅游度假区全部依托原有水库的风景资源进行建设。这些水库主要建于20世纪五六十年代，修建的初衷是服务建国初期的社会主义工业化。这些经由大力改造自然而建设起来的水库在20世纪80年代生产关系改变之后，又以新的“自然”面貌服务于深圳经济特区逐渐起步的市场经济。

② 建于1979年之前的三个公园分别为南头的中山公园、深圳水库南侧的水库公园（后扩建为今东湖公园），以及工人文化宫游园（该园建于20世纪60年代，当时称为“人民公园”）。2019年数据来源：深圳市城市管理和综合执法局官方网站。

③ 也有学者为了避免与中文语境中“56个民族”所指代的“民族”产生概念混淆，而将“nation”译为“国族”，而非“民族”。本文为方便读者在中文语境中进行理解，仍然将“nation-state”译述为“民族—国家”。

④ “三来一补”指来料加工、来样加工、来件装配和补偿贸易。

⑤ 1981年11月，广东省人民代表大会常务委员会通过《深圳经济特区行政管理暂行规定》，在深圳市域范围内划定深圳经济特区的范围。1982年6月，深圳市开始建设经济特区管理线，后被称作“二线关”，并通常以“二线关内”“二线关外”分别代指特区管理线以南的经济特区和其以北的宝安县（后调整为龙岗区和宝安区）。

4 城市化的自然及其象征意义

20世纪70年代初，资本主义国家的经济危机使得中国有可能融入到世界市场之中，并以此推动国内经济发展。然而，此时中国外汇的缺乏严重掣肘了这种可能。1979年8月，国务院颁发《关于大力发展对外贸易增加外汇收入若干问题的规定》，其中明确提出“要试办出口特区，深圳、珠海两地可以先行试办”^[24]，这是“特区”一词首次出现在70年代中国的官方政策文件中。显然，建立经济特区的初衷与“增加外汇收入”密切相关。

彼时的中国经济状况依旧堪忧，轰轰烈烈的经济特区建设并不意味着将国家的资源集中配置到这个新城市的建设上；相反，经济特区的建设者们需要“自己去搞，杀出一条血路”^[25]。在拮据的经济状况之下，

表 1：20 世纪 80 年代深圳经济特区建成城市公园空间分布及具体信息

名称	建成面积（hm ² ）	建成开放年份	所在片区
东湖公园	233.30	1984	上埗—罗湖
荔枝公园	18.60	1985	
人民公园	12.95	1986	
洪湖公园	59.15	1987	
儿童公园	5.95	1987	
革命烈士陵园	5.20	1987	蛇口—南头
仙湖植物园	592.00	1988	
中山公园	53.80	1987	
四海公园	16.79	1987	沙头角
碧海公园	1.40	1984	

注
数据来源：参考文献 [19]~[22]。其中中山公园最早建于 1925 年，原占地面积 1.3hm²；东湖公园最早建于 1961 年，原占地面积 33hm²。

深圳经济特区建设的决策者用公共资金建设的第一批城市公园，当然应为广大市民提供休闲、社交等功能。然而，历史研究还需要在制度改变的情形之下关注到其他更深层次的原因。深圳经济特区成立初期的城市建设是十分注重投资成果的^[26]，自东湖丽苑这个全国最早的商品房项目获得经济上的成功后，经济特区的决策者就已经意识到土地具备丰厚的经济价值^[27]。因此，至少从决策者的立场看，如果城市公园的建设只是服务市民而没有结合建立深圳经济特区的初衷，显然无法在各行政层面上获得认可。

对这种深层次原因的探寻可以从这一时期深圳经济特区的学习对象——同样位于亚洲的新加坡——寻得解释，因为那时学习的主要内容之一就是城市建设与绿化^[28]。20世纪70年代以来，为了提高世界性的竞争力和知名度，吸引跨国公司对劳动密集型制造业的投资，许多亚洲城市都致力面向世界开展自我营销^[29]。新加坡要将自己“建为东南亚绿洲，达到第一世界水平”“以向世人显示新加坡跟其他第三世界国家不一样”^[30]。这个资源贫瘠的城市国家于1965年起依靠大量来自发达国家的投资启动发展，而“花园城市”政策就是李光耀政府帮助新加坡获取外来投资的重要手段^[31]。这一时期，新加坡整理了殖民时期遗留下来的新加坡国家植物园，还建设了4.8hm²的大巴窑市镇公园、5hm²的宏茂桥镇东花园，以及248hm²的裕廊公园等，这些都是“花园城市”政策的成果^[32]。

在新加坡的这些城市公园建成之后的1983年夏，深圳派出大规模官方考察团对新加坡进行考察，其目的有二：一是学习城市规划和绿化建设；二是学习裕廊管理局的招商引资策略^[33]。回到当时的历史脉络看，这两个目的其实互为一体。早在1982年深圳城市规划委员会的会议发言中，来自新加坡的顾问陈青松就提到“城市印象是重要的政策”，在这些政策之中，绿化又被他特别予以强调^[34]。1983年的这次考察深刻影响了深圳官方对待绿化建设的态度，深圳市主要领导强烈认可新加坡在城市绿化方面的经验，以至于深圳后续提出了“新加坡的城市环境，香港的城市效率”这样的目标口号^[35]——环境绿化被提升到与城市运转效率同等重要的层面上，而新加坡则成为了学习和追赶的对象。此后，派赴新加坡进行类似目的的官方考察还进行了数次，但1983年的这次考察深刻影响了深圳官方对待绿化建设的态度，自考察团返回之时起，深圳即大力推行新加坡的相关经验，将深圳市主干道后退30m留作绿化带、留出上海宾馆至黄木岗段的800m绿化带、大力建设深圳经济特区一批城市公园等都与此相关^{[36][37]}。

20世纪80年代，对于深圳或新加坡这样的亚洲新兴城市而言，空间环境品质和其他基础设施一样，影响着外部投资者的投资信心和力度。在这一点上，负责城市建设的深圳市时任副市长罗昌仁和李光耀的策略颇有暗合，他们都以吸引外商、满足其投资需求作为城市建设的首要导向。无疑，城市公园确实能为市民提供休闲、社交等功能，从19世纪起城市公

园就以这样的方式获取建设的正当性；20世纪60年代之后，又从生态学和环境运动中获取更多的正当性。然而，当回到亚洲的具体情境中，更重要的原因可能被一般性的论述所忽略。这就是，在七八十年代的亚洲，至少在深圳和新加坡，营造良好的“城市印象”，吸引来自发达国家和地区的投资更切要义，城市绿化和公园建设也正是在其中发挥着相应的政治性作用。作为建市以来的首个“五年计划”，深圳市的“六五计划”已经明确整个深圳经济特区建设的资金来源就是“主要靠引进外资”。在罗昌仁看来，“城市建设上……凡是以外商为主供应、服务对象的……采取国际通用的标准进行建设，以适应他们的需要”^[38]；而李光耀的策略之一也是“……使来自发达国家的商人和旅客，把这里当成是到了本地区进行商业和旅游的基地……”，在他的所有计划中，他认为“绿化计划的成本效益最高”^[39]。

城市公园不是中性的都市装置，而是实现特定都市理想的一种制度^[40]。国际劳动分工赋予发达国家和地区以某种支配性权力，而发展中的国家和地区则可以通过地方性实践来满足国际投资与管理者对环境与空间的感知需求，城市空间的象征性表现正是这样的手段和方式。作为城市化的自然，绿化、公园和度假村等都被纳入相应脉络下的城市进程中，使得“自然”以其文化形式契入当中。它们当然具备休闲、社交等基本功能，但在更具结构性的层面上，其象征性意义超越了实用主义认知^[41]。这是由新的制度框架与生产关系所导致的，其甚至可以关联到邓小平1979年访问美国得克萨斯州所戴的牛仔帽——要旨不在其实用功能，而在于其象征性意义。

5 民族化的自然及其形式表现

20世纪80年代初，上海松江方塔园因尝试现代主义原则仍然受到批评^[42]。此时，对深圳经济特区建设的决策者而言，处理那些标志性建筑的风格问题也须“慎之又慎”，他们希望能设计出兼具“时代感”和“民族特色”的建筑^[43]。在这样的指导原则下，该时期修建的罗湖口岸边检大楼（1985）、深圳图书馆（1986）——甚至于更早的西丽湖（1979）和香蜜湖（1981）两个度假村的旅游建筑——在形式风格上都或多或少受到“民族特色”的影响；当时颇受政府重视的几个大型城市公园——仙湖植物园（1988）、荔枝公园（1985）和东湖公园（1984）也分别按照北方园林、岭南园林和江南园林三种中国传统园林风格进行设计（图1~3）^[44]。这三个城市公园遵循相应风格的严格程度并非本文讨论的重点，本章的题中之义在于“民族特色”如何在深圳经济特区早期的城市公园建设中得到表现。

以仙湖植物园的规划设计为例，其所依托的梧桐山在20世纪60年代大部分被石头、杂草和黄土所覆盖^[45]，经过二十年的林业改造，其已“峰峦竞翠”“野趣横生”，并因契合了中国传统造园理论中“相地合

宜，构园得体”的原则而被选为园址。总体的分区上，设计师依据植物材料的特性确定了富于中国传统意味的景区名称。水系上看，山间的一块低塘地，被设计师改造命名为富于中国传统园林意境的“仙湖”；建筑上看，中国北方建筑的许多元素也被运用到了园林设计当中。总之，仙湖植物园的总体规划以“中国园林传统的民族特色”和“适应社会主义现代生活内容”^[46]为重要原则，这曾是在20世纪50年代获得官方认同并被广泛接受的营造原则。

比之20世纪50年代，全中国城市公园建设规模自60年代初开始明显下降，直到80年代初才开始明显上升^[47]，这二十年间全国的城市公园建设与理论探索都处于较为低迷的状态。这样看来，深圳经济特区在80年代建设城市公园时顺接50年代的设计理念不足为奇。然而，将50年代的设计理念置入全球性的时空纵深中再向前分析，有可能获得更深入的看法。

在20世纪50年代的建筑学界，将源于苏联建筑理论的“民族形式、社会主义内容”与中国传统建筑形式相融合产生了全国性影响。当时在北京都市规划委员会工作的梁思成先生是这场理论与实践活动的中心人物^[48]，他在宾夕法尼亚大学所接受的来自巴黎美院的古典主义建筑教育，就是以历史风格为主要教学任务，而这又通过以他本人为代表的第一代中国建筑史家对中国建筑学术体系产生了至今依然清晰的深刻影响^[49]。然而，当我们追溯“风格”（style）这一建筑史论述的渊源，可以发现，这类以“风格”断代的建筑史写作通常以国别史的方式进行，它巩固的是18世纪之后西欧民族—国家的认同与领土的权力^[50]。19世纪末以来，这种对西欧民族—国家体系的认同影响了梁启超、罗振玉等中国近代知识分子，因此他们认为要抵御列强，必须创造出民族历史，才能创造民族国家^[51]，而志在“复兴国家民族”^[52]的梁思成就是在这样的语境中对中国建筑史进行了论述。简言之，以梁思成先生为代表的中国建筑史家希望借助一套来自西欧的论述框架来建构具有民族意义的中国建筑史。而在20世纪50年代的历史语境中，这套论述框架又在向苏联学习的过程中演变出了“民族形式、社会主义内容”的设计原则^[53]。

这一原则虽然发轫于建筑学，所讨论的重点也是建筑的材料、结构与造型等方面，但其作为一种关于营造的理论，也同样渗透到当时城市公园设计的相关理论之中。建设于20世纪50年代的杭州花港观鱼公园，就是孙筱祥先生遵从这一设计原则所进行的设计探索^[54]。在《园林艺术及园林设计》这本20世纪60~80年代被广泛使用的经典教材中，孙先生认为，“园林的形式……要具有鲜明的民族风格……和社会主义内容结合起来……”；“设计公园时，在风格上应该吸收传统的优秀的古典民族遗产，以创造出有社会主义内容又是民族形式的我国自己的公园”。在设计城市公园的具体原则上，地形地貌改造应该“根据所在地的具体条件以及我国传统的造景手法……”；植物造景需要产生“我国常用的柳

暗花明又一村的感觉”；道路设计也应当借鉴“中国园林常常以水面为中心……主干道环绕水面”等等^[55]。基于“民族形式”的城市公园营造原则，在二十年的建设低迷期后，被以孙筱祥先生、孟兆祯先生和吴泽椿先生等为代表的前辈风景园林师顺接到80年代初期经济特区的城市公园设计中（图4，5）。

20世纪80年代初，这种“民族特色”的城市公园在经济特区建设中的历史性显现背后，设计师的作用当然是重要的。然而，作为某种形式的“代理人”（agent），设计师未必会察觉到自己设计实践背后的观念谱系^[56]。值得挖掘的还有更深层的结构，这就需要回应深圳经济特区的建设和民族—国家之间的关联。

在中华民族的历史上，深圳经济特区确实是一座新城市，但它的城市和公园建设却引领着中国人对于现代化热切的追求与想象，这种热切是对19世纪中叶以来中国人所遭遇的坚船利炮及其所表现的西方现代性的反弹^[57]。不仅深圳经济特区，亚洲的许多发展中国家与地区或多或少都有过被殖民者主导的历史，它们在20世纪70年代左右经济崛起的根基就是民族性计划^[58]——国家的力量中介于包括经济、文化与空间在内的诸多关系之中。当全球化与民族—国家产生重叠和相互作用时，它们会在国境内催生出一个前沿地带，其不仅是民族—国家与全球的分界，也是两者在政治、经济等各方面相互作用的领域^[59]。对20世纪80年代的中国大陆而言，深圳经济特区就是全球化与民族—国家的重叠。这种重叠在城市公园上的表现是隐匿的、复杂的、多线程的：第一方面是来自遥远的、18世纪的西欧民族—国家体系及其支配下以“风格”断代的建筑史论述，在此基础上又流变出第二方面来自苏联的、形式化的民族主义与社会主义设计原则，第三方面则是来自本国的、深厚的古典园林文化与自然审美传统。这三方面在深圳经济特区遭遇到的现实情境则是新自由主义转向所带来的全球尺度的劳动分工和空间重构。

这样，我们可在亚洲，尤其是东亚地区经济崛起背景下理解民族—国家体系与深圳经济特区建设之间的关联，以及更具体到它与20世纪80年代深圳经济特区第一批城市公园的形式风格之间的关联。表面上看，这种关联是由设计师及其自主选择的形式风格所主导的，实则背后还隐匿了一个庞杂的观念谱系及其流变。在这样的谱系中，地形、水系和植被等“自然的日常所指”（everyday signifiers of nature）^[41]建构出了经济特区其时第一批城市公园，它们是自然的文化形式——人在社会与文化中“观看”（see）的自然。

6 结语

深圳经济特区是20世纪80年代中国特色社会主义建设的试验田。距今四十多年前，地方性的城市建设伴随全球性的空间生产在这个华南边

陲小城铺展开来。作为一个民族复兴的时空节点，它的城市与城市公园建设被纳入特定的、由政治与经济关系所决定的城市进程中。在这样的脉络下，抽象的“自然”以其文化形式呈现，使得城市公园与更广阔的内容产生了复杂的关联。通过上文的论述，可以总结出以下几点。

1）20世纪80年代初期，深圳经济特区所建设的城市公园与当时城市建设的扩张在空间上基本保持同步，且当时城市建设大规模展开的上埗—罗湖、蛇口—南头，以及沙头角三个片区都与香港保持着密切的“三来一补”产业对接关系。

2）当时深圳经济特区的城市公园建设被当作吸引跨国公司对劳动密集型制造业投资的手段，这一方面与新自由主义转向情境下同处亚洲地区的新加坡关系密切，另一方面又结构性地结合了当时国家建设经济特区的初衷。

3）深圳经济特区第一批城市公园乃至当时整个城市建设虽然基于全球性的劳动分工与空间重构，但它们都或多或少展示出相应的民族特色，这其中的谱系可以追溯至西欧民族—国家体系及其支配下的建筑史论述、来自苏联“民族形式、社会主义内容”的设计原则，以及中国深厚的古典园林文化与自然审美传统。

综上，本文对深圳经济特区城市公园建设的研究，从单纯的空间描述转向为对形塑空间的历史脉络进行分析。从中可见，无论是对新加坡的学习，还是在规划设计中所表现的民族特色，都说明公园既非一种中性的自然，也非城市中远离凡尘的浪漫唯美之地。它们的浮现以及建设它们的观念与知识，都流动于政治、经济与文化的全球交融之中。

图 1. 仙湖植物园中的水体与园林建筑

图 2. 荔枝公园中的水体与园林建筑

图 3. 东湖公园中的水体与园林建筑

图 4. 荔枝公园总平面图（1983 年 11 月）。设计：吴泽椿、陈守亚、叶国豪。图片来源：深圳荔枝公园管理处档案室。

图 5. 东湖公园总平面图（1984 年 10 月）。原设计：孟兆祯；修订设计：冯良才。图片来源：深圳东湖公园管理处档案室。