

# 从所有到所用的共享未来 ——诸大建谈共享经济与共享城市

## FROM POSSESSION TO USE — AN INTERVIEW WITH DAJIAN ZHU ON SHARING ECONOMY AND SHARING CITY



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### 摘要

随着共享经济在中国及世界范围产生越来越深远的影响，其定义、目的和如何构建成为城市公共管理学科讨论的方向之一。此次访谈基于共享经济的概念展开，指出共享经济产生的背景是从拥有导向转向使用导向的消费社会的转型，是消费模式和生活方式的变革，并以提高生活的效用与福祉为最终目的。因此，在中国现阶段从增量规划向存量规划转型的城镇化过程中，顺应共享经济的发展趋势，以最低的“物质拥有”完成最高的“使用效用”是城市发展的关键所在。

### 关键词

共享经济；共享城市；存量规划

### ABSTRACT

With the increasing influence of sharing economy in China and throughout the world, its definition, objectives, and development methods have become one of the topics for the science of urban public management. This interview points out that the sharing economy has emerged under the background of the transition of consumer society from possession-orientation to use-orientation, and the revolution of consumption mode and lifestyle with an ultimate aim of improving the efficiency and well-being. As a result, in China's urbanization process which is now shifting from incremental planning to inventory planning, the key for urban development lies in the promotion of the sharing economy and achieving maximum utility with minimum material possession.

### KEY WORDS

Sharing Economy; Sharing City; Inventory Planning

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**余依爽（以下简称余）：“Sharing”的中文翻译有“分享”和“共享”这两层含义，这两者之间的区别是什么？**

**诸大建（以下简称诸）：**通译，没有什么特别区别，都指社会公共服务的共享。共享经济追根溯源是指雷切尔·波兹曼于2010年提出的从拥有权到使用权的转移<sup>[1]</sup>，即从拥有到使用、从拥有到可达，最终成为“我的就是你的，你的就是我的”的协作消费模式。有些人仅仅以Airbnb、Uber为例讨论共享，认为闲置资源的分享就叫共享经济，把不是闲置的、有增量的共享排除在外，比如共享单车增加了很多新车就不是共享经济，是“伪共享”，我不认同这样狭隘的定义。但要严格划定共享经济界线是比较难的，共享经济与非共享经济之间的界限就像光谱一样，无法严格切割，有很大的灰色混合地带。波兹曼认为我们正处在从拥有到使用的转变当中。从图1的二维矩阵中我们可以看到非常丰富的消费方式。

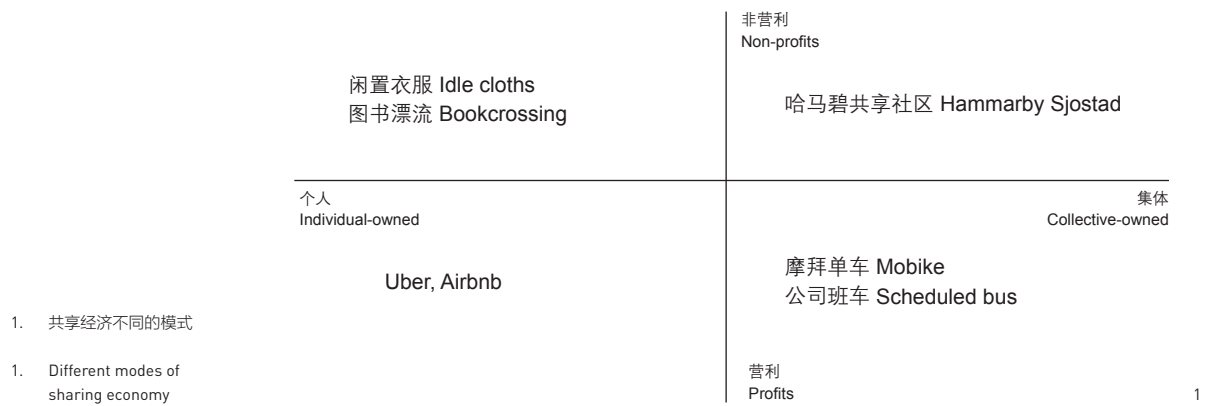
现在共享经济常见的形式有两种：一种是个人的物质产品的闲时共享，即基于互联网平台的C2C或P2P，其代表就是Airbnb和Uber；另一种是B2C产品服务系统——基于欧洲循环经济的产品服务系统（以下简称PSS），是以制造业供应为基础的企业对个人的共享，供应有关产品的服务，这种形式可能更适合中国国情。PSS有别于租赁公司体系之处在于：他们制造产品但不售卖产品，

而是售卖服务，是第二产业制造业和第三产业服务业的混合。英文的Produce（生产）与Consumer（消费者）结合起来就是Prosumer（产销者），两者的关系是互动的，消费引导需求，生产满足需求。比如瑞典的洗衣机品牌伊莱克斯提出的“共享洗衣机”，洗衣机安装在用户家中，用户根据洗衣机软件记录的洗衣次数向制造公司支付，按月结算。这样的模式就将企业目标从提高生产效率和交换价值转移到提高服务效率和使用价值上。原来那些私有的、廉价的、不耐用的产品，就会被非私有的、昂贵的、牢固的产品替代。这两种共享经济形式的本质都是不求所有，但求所用。

中国的共享单车也属于产品服务系统型的共享经济产品。共享单车企业（如摩拜单车）拥有单车，靠用户购买骑行服务来营利。通过技术创新提升耐久性和分享率，实现了用较少的物质产品提供更多的服务。相对欧洲而言，中国因为城市面积大、人口密度高、产品周转快，更有条件发展产品服务系统，在这样的环境中成长起来的企业，其产品规模相较于欧洲的产品服务系统来说规模更大，并且拥有世界领先的移动支付技术。只要一直坚持技术创新，将以最少的物质产品提供最多的产品服务作为目标，从增量发展变成存量发展，就可实现跨越式发展，把技术、商业模式和政府管理模式讲成一个具有中国特色的故事。

**余：您在微博中曾评论道：“中国的共享经济是从共享单车开始，而非滴滴打车”，能否为我们详细阐述一下这一观点？**

**诸：**滴滴打车是伪分享，是在共享经济名义下的司机专职经营，其本质是一家出租车公司。滴滴打车运营了两年，北上广深的城市汽车使用量反而增加了，交通拥堵反而加剧了。共享经济的首要目的就是“减分母”，即在不增加汽车数量的前提下，满足增长的出行需求。城市物品拥有量应该减少或是被替代，用一定量的物质供给满足不断增加的需求，这是判定共享经济的关键。共



享经济所倡导的是从“拥有”转向“使用”的消费社会，是消费模式和生活方式的变革——不是只有通过拥有才能过上“富人”的生活，利用共享来实现高水平的生活也是一种方式。提高生活的效用与福祉是共享经济的最终目的，效用与物质实体之间的关联将逐渐被剥离。

**余：共享经济所带来的单车热潮席卷了中国的大小城市，新近建成的厦门空中自行车道（图2）也引发了广泛的社会关注，您如何评价这一设计？**

**诸：**我并不认为这样的形式值得推崇，因为这样的设计将自行车道变成了自行车特权道路。共享单车的出现首先是要解决城市中绝大多数人“最后一公里”的出行问题，再进一步整合少部分人旅游、健身的需求，这样的道路应该是与日常生活相贴近的、所有人都易于进入的混合功能道路。单一功能的空中自行车道和机动车高速路又有什么区别呢？

**余：共享经济和共享城市的概念之间有何联系？**

**诸：**共享经济中B2C产品服务系统概念在城市尺度上对应的系统之一就是共享社区。例如，上海的创智农场就是一个案例，居民在社区里种植瓜果、蔬菜、花卉，大家一起分享产出，这是属于老百姓自下而上的存量经济增长。共享城市是共享经济概念的扩展，哥本哈根、首尔、旧金山等被认为是创建共享城市的领先者。共享城市由共享经济和共享社会组成，共享经济是逐利的，而共享社会是一种非营利模式，比如中国南方部分城市高铁站里设立的闲置衣服流转、图书漂流等设施，国外的庭院旧货出售（图3）等都属于共享社会的一部分。共享城市不是两者的简单相加，而是互相整合、共同构建。

**余：共享城市中如何区别营利和非营利？**

**诸：**所有的物品可以归结为三种类型：一种是国有，完全由社会提供，是完全的、纯粹的公共品；另一种完全由市场提供，是纯粹的市场品；第三种是兼具公共性与市场性的混合品。公共服务可包含非营利性质的，但也需要兼纳营利性质的，这样才能吸引企业加入，从而提高运营效率。

纽约中央公园有一个溜冰场，政府投了很多资金却未能运营成功，但是特朗普作为商人加入后就把溜冰场运营得特别好；纽约高线公园的运营也很类似，同样是私有企业加入公共领域的服务后带来积极改变的案例。北京、上海、杭州等城市在很早之前就开始尝试公共自行车租赁，但并没有在城市中实现普及。由企业主导的共享单车的出现迅速为公共自行车服务带来了不一样的景象。很多城市的公共服务需要政府和企业共同完成，才能发挥最高效率。

需要注意的是，所有的公共服务都应该由政府主导，因为公园、公共交通等都是公共财产，虽然企业的介入能够更好地解决老百姓的需求痛点，但是也有很多社会问题随之而来，比如共享单车乱停乱放的问题。如果将这些公共服务回归到之前比较低的服务效率，老百姓又不愿意，只有政府和企业通过协商明确权责，用长期持久的营利模式换取良好的企业社会服务，才能解决问题，这也是共享城市营造最大的难点。

在中国的新型城镇化过程中，养老、教育、交通、垃圾处理、园林绿化、公共空间、公共交通等城市服务无法完全依靠政府投资来实现，这些领域都有待社会资本的加入。以前政府更看重社会资本的投资建设规模，而现在更关注项目的运营。所以在未来的公共服务方面，纯粹政府投资或纯粹社会资本的模式会越来越少，两种资本的联手会越来越多。

**余：为什么共享经济对于中国而言有着重要的意义？**

**诸：**共享经济在发达社会产生的土壤是充分的闲置资源，资源闲置的前提是物质产



2. 厦门空中自行车道
3. 美国北卡罗来纳州达勒姆市的一处庭院旧货出售
2. The suspended bicycle track in Xiamen City
3. Yard sale in Durham, North Carolina, USA

品已经非常富足，且利用率不够高。但发展中国的物质需求还未被满足，汽车、住房都没有被闲置。这一点也回应了我上文中的观点——将共享经济划归到广义概念，即闲置资源共享与增量共享都属于共享经济。中国的物质产品需求量还在持续增长，距离城镇化率在2030年达到70%这一目标还有十几年，这就为我们提供了一个在共享单车、汽车分时租赁、住房共享等方面都可以争取跨越式发展的机会，中国可以在低于传统发达国家人均物质水平的情况下实现较高社会福利。比如把私人汽车控制在交通占比的20%以内，通过综合的交通共享方案同时解决快捷出行不便、交通拥堵和环境污染等问题。

中国的城市规划已迈入从增量规划到存量规划转型的阶段。我经常将城市发展比作“打麻将”：城市建设初期就是“摸牌阶段”，需要不停地拿牌，拿的牌越多，城市发展越大；但拿完13张牌之后，就不能再拿了。这个阶段要调整已有牌面的格局，拿一张牌、扔一张牌，低附加值的扔掉，高附加值的加进来。

我国东部沿海城市已经进入“换牌”阶段，城市需要产业升级。将共享经济应用在公共空间、私人空间、产业空间的转型（包括物质产品的转型）中，才能迎来城市的跨越式发展，改变“新城赚钱、老城赔钱”的固化思维。上海市未来要在不征用土地，甚至减少建设用地的情况下，达到人均GDP每年增长7%、十年翻一番的目标，共享经济就是机会。这就是为什么共享经济对中国很重要的原因，而这也是对政府管理能力的真正考验。

#### 余：如何推进共享经济在城市中的发展？

诸：中国现阶段对于共享经济的讨论还仅限于单个产品领域，鲜有在城市尺度上的讨论。在城市层面上讨论共享经济，首先要判断相比传统的“拥有”经济，物质是不是减少了？公共服务是不是增加了？效用是不是提高了？目前共享经济比较主流的行动领域有4类：一是共享移动，而不是共享交通，

因为移动等同“效用”，要达到目标——从A点到B点的出行移动——不管使用什么工具，目的在于完成。交通一词往往是讲工具。二是广义的共享建筑，比如办公空间的共享。三是家电、地毯、家具等耐用品的共享。四是共享食品/农业。

共享城市除了基于提供者的营利、非营利模式进行分类，从共享的内容上可以包括三大类：一是物品的共享，例如分时租赁汽车和共享单车；二是服务的共享，例如顺风车、Uber和Airbnb；三是知识的共享，例如慕课、知乎等。因此共享城市建设，不是搞单个人的分享经济，而是系统化层面上的社会变革。

在对共享的应用领域和内容层面都有一定认识之后，最重要的是明白共享经济是一种合作治理的经济，只有把政府、企业、消费者三位一体的治理架构搭建起来，形成一个互动的交集，才能得出共同的好结果。首先要制定共享城市的总体规划目标，即以最低的物质拥有达到最高的使用效用。其次要明确主要行动领域、指导思想是什么？指标是多少？有哪些行动领域？第三是制定政府、企业、社会的协作措施，三者分别应当承担什么？愿景目标-行动领域-合作治理这三步走的策略是推动共享城市建设的战略规划和管理方式。

#### 余：您如何看待共享经济的未来？

诸：达成共享城市的生活方式需要一定时间，但是共享是社会发展的趋势，共享经济的比例肯定会越来越高，我完全是信心满满。

余：您认为设计师在引领城市空间发展的过程中扮演着怎样的角色？您对设计师们有怎样的期待和希望？

诸：“设计结合自然”曾是设计师们的信条，未来应该是“设计结合共享经济”或“为共享而设计”，希望这能成为未来一个重要的方向，像北极星一样指引我们城市的发展。LAF

**Yishuang SHE (SHE hereafter):** When translated into Chinese, the English word “sharing” could be “分享” (to have or use something in common with other people) or “共享” (to take equal responsibility for something along with other people). What do you think are the differences in terms of sharing economy and sharing city?

**Dajian ZHU (ZHU hereafter):** In terms of Chinese translations, there are no special differences, both indicating the sharing of social and public services. The concept of the sharing economy was proposed by Rachel Botzman<sup>[1]</sup> in 2010 to describe the shift from ownership to accessibility, or from possession to use, and the result is a cooperative consumption in which “mine is yours and yours is mine.” In discussion of sharing, some people only mention Airbnb and Uber as examples. They believe the sharing economy is only the sharing of idle resources, and thus exclude the non-idle and incremental sharing. They think sharing bicycles is pseudo-sharing because many new bicycles are added. I do not agree with such a narrow definition. However, it would be very difficult to mark out the precise boundaries of the sharing economy. The boundary between the sharing economy and the non-sharing economy is like a spectrum, which has a large area of grey zones and cannot be precisely divided. Botzman believes that we are now shifting from possession to use. As the two-dimensional matrix shown in Figure 1, we will be able to see very diverse consumption patterns.

There are now two common forms of the sharing economy. One is the sharing of personal physical products when they are idle, that is C2C or P2P based on the Internet platform, and the typical services are Airbnb and Uber. The other form is the B2C Product Service System

(PSS), based on the European recycling economy, which incorporates sharing with individuals based on manufacturing supply and offering product-related services. The latter might fit better in Chinese society. Different from leasing companies, PSS manufactures but does not sell products. PSS sells services, and is the mixture of the secondary manufacturing industry and the tertiary service industry. In English, the word “prosumer” is coined from “produce” and “consumer”; in this interactive relationship, consumption guides demand while manufacturing fulfills demand. For example, the Sweden-based Electrolux offers a “sharing washing machine,” which is installed in the houses of its customers, who then pay monthly according to how often the machine is used — they have a special software in the machine to record the usage times. In this way, the goal of the companies is no longer the improvement of production efficiency and exchange value, but rather the improvement of service efficiency and usage value. Privately-owned products that are cheap and short-lived will be replaced by expensive and durable products that are not possessed by individuals. The essence of these two forms of the sharing economy is to seek accessibility instead of ownership.

Sharing bicycles in China are also the PSS product of the sharing economy. Companies, such as Mobike, own the bicycles and profit from the riding services provided to their users. They are able to offer more services with fewer physical products by improving the durability and usage rate of their products through technological innovations. Compared with Europe, China has larger cities with denser populations and faster product turnover, and thus better conditions for a product service system to thrive. Growing from such an environment, these companies operate on larger scales than their European PSS counterparts, with the

world's leading mobile payment service in China being another advantage. If we can stick to technological innovation, aim at providing maximum product services with minimum physical products, and shift from incremental development to inventory development, there will be opportunities for leaping development and making a breakthrough with a specific Chinese mode of technology, business, and governmental management.

**SHE: You once commented on Weibo, the Chinese micro-blogging platform, that “the sharing economy in China starts with sharing bicycles instead of DiDi taxi hailing.” Could you please elaborate?**

**ZHU:** DiDi taxi hailing is pseudo-sharing; it is a full-time driving operation in the name of the sharing economy, and essentially it is a taxi company. Two years after DiDi started its service, car usage in China's four largest cities of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou, and Shenzhen has increased instead of decreasing, exaggerating traffic congestion. However, the first objective of the sharing economy is to satisfy increasing travel demand without increasing the number of vehicles. The quantity of urban goods should be decreased or replaced, and the key factor for the sharing economy is to fulfill the constantly increasing demand with a certain amount of materials. What the sharing economy advocates is the shift of consumer society from “possession” to “use”; it is a revolution of both consumption pattern and lifestyle. Possession is not the only way to enjoy a “rich” life; quality life is also possible through sharing. The ultimate goal of the sharing economy is to improve the utility and well-being of life, and the existing link between utility and physical objects will be gradually decoupled.

**SHE: The sharing economy has caused a fervor of bicycles that has swept both large and small cities in China. The suspended cycle track newly built in Xiamen City (illustrated below) has also attracted wide public attention. What do you think of this design?**

**ZHU:** I do not think this kind of design should become a model project since it is built into a privileged road for bicycles. Sharing bicycles are primarily intended to solve the “last-one-kilometer” travel problem of the commute for most urban residents; then the traveling and fitness demands of a small population are further integrated. As a result, these roads should be close to our daily life, multi-functional, and easily accessible for all people. There might be no difference between the mono-functional suspended cycle track and the express way.

**SHE: What are the connections between the concepts of sharing economy and sharing city?**

**ZHU:** On the scale of the city, one of the corresponding systems to the concept of B2C product service system in the sharing economy is cooperative housing. One of the cases is the Chuangzhi Farm designed by Yuelai Liu from Tongji University, in which residents grow fruits, vegetables and flowers inside the housing area and share the produce. This is bottom-up inventory economic growth from the grass-roots. Sharing cities are the expansion of the sharing economy concept, in which Copenhagen, Seoul and San Francisco are considered the front runners. Sharing cities consist of sharing economy and sharing society: the former needs to profit, while the latter is a non-profit model. The circulation of idle clothes and books in high-speed train stations in south China and the yard sale

in other countries are part of the sharing society that requires the integration and co-establishment of both components instead of a simple add-up.

**SHE: How can we tell the profitable from the non-profitable in sharing cities?**

**ZHU:** All objects can be grouped into three categories: 1) objects state-owned and provided completely by society, which are pure public objects; 2) objects completely provided by the market, which are pure market objects; and 3) mixed objects which are both public and market-provided. Public services could be non-profit; however, some should also be allowed to profit so that enterprises would have the opportunity to participate and help improve operational efficiency.

There is a skating rink in the Central Park in New York City, in which the government invested a lot of money, but it eventually failed. Later, Donald Trump joined in as a businessman and now the rink is in sound operation. The High Line Park in New York is a similar story, in which companies participate in public services and bring positive change. In Beijing, Shanghai, and Hangzhou, the local governments have long launched public bicycle rental services, but it has never been popular in these cities. However, sharing bicycles operated by companies swiftly created a very different picture. Therefore, for many urban public services, the municipal government needs to cooperate with companies to achieve the highest efficiency.

It should be noted that all public services should be managed by the government, since parks and public transits are both public properties. Though participation of companies could better address the key demand issues, many public problems could soon

follow, just like the chaotic parking of sharing bicycles. However, the public will no longer allow these public services to go back to operating at their previous low efficiency. Only by clarifying the powers and responsibilities between government and companies, and promoting quality company-provided social services with long-term durable profit models, can the problems be well solved. This is also the biggest challenge facing the development of sharing cities.

In China's new urbanization process, it would be quite impossible to provide all the social services of pension, education, transportation, garbage collection, gardening, public space, and public transit, etc., if solely financed by the government. These areas are waiting for social capital to play its role. Governments are paying more attention to the operation of projects, instead of focusing on the investment and construction scale of social capital. As a result, in terms of public service in the future, projects financed purely by either government or social capital will decrease in frequency, while cooperation between these two will be seen in more and more operation models.

**SHE: Why is the sharing economy so important in China?**

**ZHU:** Sharing economies emerge in developed societies because there are adequate idle resources, and the pre-conditions for idle resources are the abundance of physical products and a low utilization rate. In contrast, the physical demands in developing countries have yet to be fulfilled, where cars and houses are not idle at all. This point echoes my view mentioned before: the sharing economy, in the broad sense, should include both idle resources sharing and inventory sharing. In China demands for physical products are still increasing, and there are a dozen years

to go before its urbanization rate reaches 70% in 2030. So we have an opportunity for a "leap-frog" development of sharing bicycles, periodic lease of cars, house sharing, and so on. Chinese people can enjoy high social welfare even though China's average standard of living is lower than the developed countries. For example, we can limit the number of private cars to 20% of all vehicles on the road while providing integrated transport sharing solutions to address the issues of fast travel demand, traffic congestion, and environmental protection.

Urban planning in China has proceeded from incremental planning to inventory planning. Urban development is like playing mahjong. In its early stage, it is like taking mahjong tiles. You need more tiles to expand urban development. However, you can only take a maximum of 13 tiles. At this stage, you have to adjust the layout of the existing tiles by giving up one tile before you can take in another one — giving up those with low added values and taking in those with high added values.

This is called "tile changing." The coastal areas in east China are now in this stage, and they need to upgrade their industries. If we can apply the sharing economy to the transition of public space, private space, and industrial space (including physical products), development will be greatly accelerated in these cities, and the deep-rooted concept that "new cities make profits and the old ones lose money" will become history. In the future, Shanghai is expected to grow its per capita GDP by 7% annually and double it in a decade, all without new land acquisition or maybe even with less land for construction, and the sharing economy is the opportunity. That is why the sharing economy is so important in China, and this is the real test for the management capability of the government.

### **SHE: How can the sharing economy be promoted in cities?**

**ZHU:** Discussions on the sharing economy in China are now limited to single products and rarely on the scale of city. When discussing the sharing economy on municipal scale, we first need to determine if the amount of physical products, compared to a traditional "ownership" economy, have decreased, if public services have increased, and if efficiency has been improved. There are four popular action fields in terms of the sharing economy: the first is sharing mobility instead of sharing transportation. Mobility equals "utility." The goal of traveling from point A to point B needs to be achieved, no matter what tools are used, while transportation usually talks only of tools. The second is sharing buildings in a broad sense, such as the sharing of office space. The third is the sharing of household appliances, washing machines, carpets, furniture, and other durable products. And the fourth is that of food or agriculture.

Apart from being grouped into profitable and non-profitable from the perspective of service providers, sharing cities could also be categorized into three major types in terms of the shared contents. One is the sharing of objects, such as the periodic lease of cars and sharing bicycles. Another is the sharing of services, such as ride sharing, Uber, and Airbnb. And the third is the sharing of knowledge, such as MOOC and Zhihu (an online Q&A community). As a result, the development of a sharing city is not about a single sharing economy, but a social revolution in the systematic sense.

Once we understand the first layer — the application and contents of sharing — the most important thing to realize is that the sharing economy is

the economy of cooperative governance. The governance triad framework of governments, corporations, and consumers should be established to form an interactive combination for the best utility. The second layer is to determine the key action areas, focusing on determining the guidelines, indicators, and action areas. The third layer is to take measures that combine government, corporations, and society. So what should they do? The three steps of vision and goals, action areas, and cooperative governance should be the strategic planning and management methods for the establishment of sharing cities.

### **SHE: What do you think of the future of the sharing economy?**

**ZHU:** It will take time before we can all enjoy the lifestyle of the sharing city. However, sharing is the future of social development and the market segment of the sharing economy will continue to grow. I am quite confident of this.

### **SHE: What roles do you think designers are playing in leading the development of urban space? What are your expectations for designers?**

**ZHU:** It used to be the belief of designers that they should design with nature, but in the future, they will have to design with the sharing economy or design for sharing. I hope this could be an important direction for the future, just like the Big Dipper. **LAF**

#### REFERENCE

- [1] Botsman, R., & Rogers, R. (2010). *What's Mine Is Yours: The Rise of Collaborative Consumption*. New York: Harper Business.