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超大城市  
青年人居住:

变化中的  
居住需求与边界

YOUNG PEOPLE  
LIVING IN  
MEGA CITIES

shifting of  
dwelling demands  
and boundaries

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新的挑战和机遇下，城市将如何进化？

社区作为城市的基本单元，要如何承载人们对未来栖居模式的想象？

存量更新背景下，过往城市建设所导致的大量城市病，正激发着人们对人居环境的再思考。同时，移动互联网技术的飞速迭代，亦引发了一场全球范围内关于未来社区的实践与讨论。本书是《城市中国》研究团队对“未来社区”这一话题的长期跟踪研究。我们以详实的案例和洞察，构建起“未来社区”的理论与实践框架。话题从多角度切入，试图传达一种理解：探讨未来社区，不是对未来图景加以限定，而是以更开放的思维探索城市化的未来。

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# 特大城市青年人居住的探讨与空间实践

## DISCUSSION AND SPATIAL PRACTICE OF HOUSING FOR YOUNG PEOPLE IN MEGA CITIES

文 / 匡晓明[城市中国总编]

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特大城市的青年居住以租房为主，廉租房将是解决青年居住问题的主要手段。对于廉租房的空间落实，应该结合城市更新和老城复兴，综合利用工业用地、棕地、商业用地等廉价土地，经过整治修复，充分发挥设计的作用，做小户型以降低房租，同时提升居住品质。超大城市的廉租房要结合轨道交通的开发，将商业、办公、住宅等功能按照圈层布局，将青年居住的小户型布局在第一圈层，提高公共交通的使用效率，更符合低碳发展的逻辑。

### 城市群逻辑下的特大城市 Megacities in Urban Clusters

中国之所以产生了大量的超大城市、特大城市，是因为在高速城镇化之后，又提出了新型城镇化发展战略，“以城市群为主体，构建大中小城市和小城镇协调发展的城镇格局”。城市群成为推进中国新型城镇化的主体形态，以一个或多个超大、特大城市为核心，依托现代交通运输网、信息网，在一定区域范围内形成，能够发挥复合中心功能的城市集合体。这是一种梯度式的空间形态，是城市发展的最高组织形式，空间紧凑、经济关联，具有同城化、一体化、多层次、多核心的特点。目前，京津冀、长三角、粤港澳、长江中游、成渝等五个城市群已经形成了钻石型结构。《2010中国城市群发展报告》中显示长三角城市群已跻身于六大世界级城市群。现在京津冀、长三角和粤港澳大湾区三大城市群肩负着引领地区经济高质量发展、打造世界级城市群的双重任务。因此，特大城市的出现是由城市群主体形态的战略部署决定的。

联合国通常将100万人口以上的城市划定为特大城市。1980年，中国首次参照联合国的标准规定城市人口（中心城区和近郊区非农农业人口）达到100万以上的城市为特大城市（注：50-100万为大城市，20-50

万为中等城市，小于等于20万的为小城市）。2014年国务院印发《关于调整城市规模划分标准的通知》，城市规模划定发生了重大变化：其中城区常住人口500万以上1000万以下的城市为特大城市，1000万以上的为超大城市。根据全国第七次人口普查数据，目前特大城市14座，超大城市7座，包含直辖市、国家中心城市及一些省会城市等。“千万俱乐部”超级大城市是地区的政治、经济、文化、交通等综合系统中心，是地区的核心增长极，引领城市群的发展，意义深远。

从中国的现实情况来看，自“六普”到“七普”的短短十年间，许多城市人口增长了七八百万。比如，成都每年人口增加七八十万；郑州从不足400万的人口增长到将近1300万，几乎每年增加一个大城市。城市人口增多，带来土地利用效率的提高，也势必会导致交通拥挤和住房压力，特别是超大城市、特大城市，青年居住问题尤其突出。这是市场行为和政府行为双重叠加的结果。

### “居者有其屋”的探讨 Affordable Housing Policy Comparison

从全球来看，解决大城市住房问题一般有两套思路：兴建福利公房和降低房租房价。美国从1930年代开始，大量建造公共住房，以低于市场价格的形式向低收入人群出租或者出售。这种方法在欧洲许多国家也曾使用过。到1960年代，学者开始反思公共住房的弊端：低层人口集聚，无法融入社会，导致吸毒、犯罪等社会问题，认为这是一种“新的隔离”，公共住房即新隔离区。1970年代美国启动“保障性计划”，以改变公共住房的社区隔离现状。此计划中，住房券方法值得我们借鉴。持券人可以根据自己职业的特点，自由选择居住地，使用住房券来支付房租。这种补贴方式使受补贴者有选择住房余地的同时，也提高了人口的流动性，分散了保障房，使低收入阶层融入了社会。新加坡也曾提出人人享有一次住房保障的机会，推行的组屋制度覆盖了80%以上的居民，中低收入家庭的首次购屋者可获政府补贴，基本实现了“人人有房可居”，如果有人因为工作变化或失业而交不起组屋贷款，政府还会进行组屋调整。

中国的情况以上海为例，在建设国际经济、金融、贸易、航运、科创“五个中心”的定位之下，每年大概新增青年人口50多万，其中超过40%是租房居住，房租至少占总收入的30%。即便他们获得了购房资格，个人也无力承担高额的房价，一般都是自己出一部分，父母帮助一部分，向银行贷款一部分，通过三方的资金来应对高房价。从这个比例来看，租房将是特大城市青年人居住的主要趋势。目前的问题是，市场能够提供给青年人租住的民间二手房源并不完全适应他们的



需求。因此，上海应该推出一批适合青年租房市场的住房建设。围绕青年特性与生活需求，在满足物质需求的同时，也要考虑他们的精神需求。

反观德国的住房情况，却能够在全世界“独善其身”。一方面将住房市场的投资回报率，长期稳定在4%-5%之间，严厉遏制投机性需求和开发商暴利行为，实行长期稳定的房贷政策。另一方面得益于租赁市场的规范发达，能够满足柏林70%以上的青年人租房居住。另外，德国城市体系多核心且均衡发展，大企业大多都布局在小城市，青年人不一定都要涌到首都才有出路。德国的经验非常值得我们探讨和研究。

### 融合性空间落实方案 Comprehensive Spatial Strategy

城市的发展路径已经发生了重大变化，从产-城-人到城-产，从资本推动到人才驱动。吸引人、留住人成为城市竞争力的核心。城市服务的导向也必须要符合人才的发展需要。青年居住不只是简单的廉租房和廉价房的问题，更重要的是空间落实问题。

国务院办公厅日前印发《关于加快发展保障性租赁住房的意见》，住建部住房保障司回应表示，“十四五”期间，青年人多、房价偏高的大城市，新增保障性租赁住房占新增住房供应总量比例力争达30%以上。租购并举，以租为主。五年内占比要达到30%，如果按照以往的保障性住房的建设方式很难实现。即使实现，很有可能还是落在郊区——也有可能是在市区，但是价格高昂，青年人担负不起。所以当下中国的青年人住房建设需要顶层设计，不能再以传统方式落实。

房价低廉的根本在于地价的低廉。因此，廉价房的建设要综合考虑地方政府的操作性，应该采取融合方案进行空间落实，结合城市更新，充分利用存量土地，向城市中心区导引。广泛地挖掘各类低价土地，不只是住宅用地，工业用地、棕地、商业用地、交通用地等综合整治之后，均可考虑。对于中心城区已经失去活力的商业空间，政府可以回购，将其改造为廉租房，并帮助解决商业电价向生活电价的变更，进行配套服务，引导青年人群向中心城区回流，带动老城复兴。纽约的硅巷、英国的肖迪奇吸引大批青年人创业，带动城市更新和转型。同时结合青年人的需求，推出品质和服务水平相当的小户型住房，以进一步降低房价、房租。

另外，超大城市都有轨道交通，青年人居住问题结合轨道交通的开发建设来解决，更加符合低碳发展的逻辑。小户型住区容纳的人数更多，如果没有便捷的公共交通，势必会增加更多的私家车，加剧交通拥堵。因此，小户型青年居住布局必然是以公共交通为导向，同时

需要满足青年人追求时尚和社交、休闲的要求。所以，TOD第一圈层除了商业、服务、办公、休闲、娱乐等职能以外，应该融合考虑以公交出行为主的青年居住，并采取小户型设计。这一点可以向日本东京学习，在轨道交通建设之初，就以轨道交通系统与土地使用的深度结合为前提，将商业、办公、住宅等功能按照圈层布局，同步整合“人的因素”，结合多种模式，进行轨道交通沿线居住区及商业区的整体规划与开发。

至于如何将廉价房发放到特定人群手上，可以借鉴浙江模式，将廉租房、廉价房与招商引资结合起来，给投资企业一定数量的指标，由企业自行分配给符合条件的青年员工。

### 重塑家园归属感 Regenerating a Home

对于归属感，吴志强院士提出的“家园”一词更贴切。家园是中国人的社区归属，比如现在所提倡的“15分钟生活圈”，包含育儿、养老和日常生活等因素，创业、办公、生活高度混合。在智慧城市、互联网经济赋能的条件下，青年人才可以居家办公，也可以在家门口创业，线上活动与线下场景一体化，有利于促进青年人的交往和家园的共享与治理。

现在的青年人注重精神层面的追求。居住空间不必太大，但要方便、高效、简约。中国特大城市的青年住房建设应该走小型化、精致化、时尚化的路线：学习新加坡，聘请知名设计师设计保障性住房，从设计上改变居住质量，提高空间使用效率，在有限的空间里使得功能合理安排。重点考虑青年人的精神需求，包括归属感、荣誉感、社会属性、实现自我及展现自我。因此，重塑家园，鼓励社区规划师制度，鼓励青年规划师走进社区，参与社区治理、社区规划，带动社区青年在这个平台上交流，发表自己的建议和意见。通过青年人广泛的公众参与，推动建立社会自治共治的组织和机制，实现家园共享，从而提升社区的治理能力，也让他们找到家园的归属感、幸福感。C



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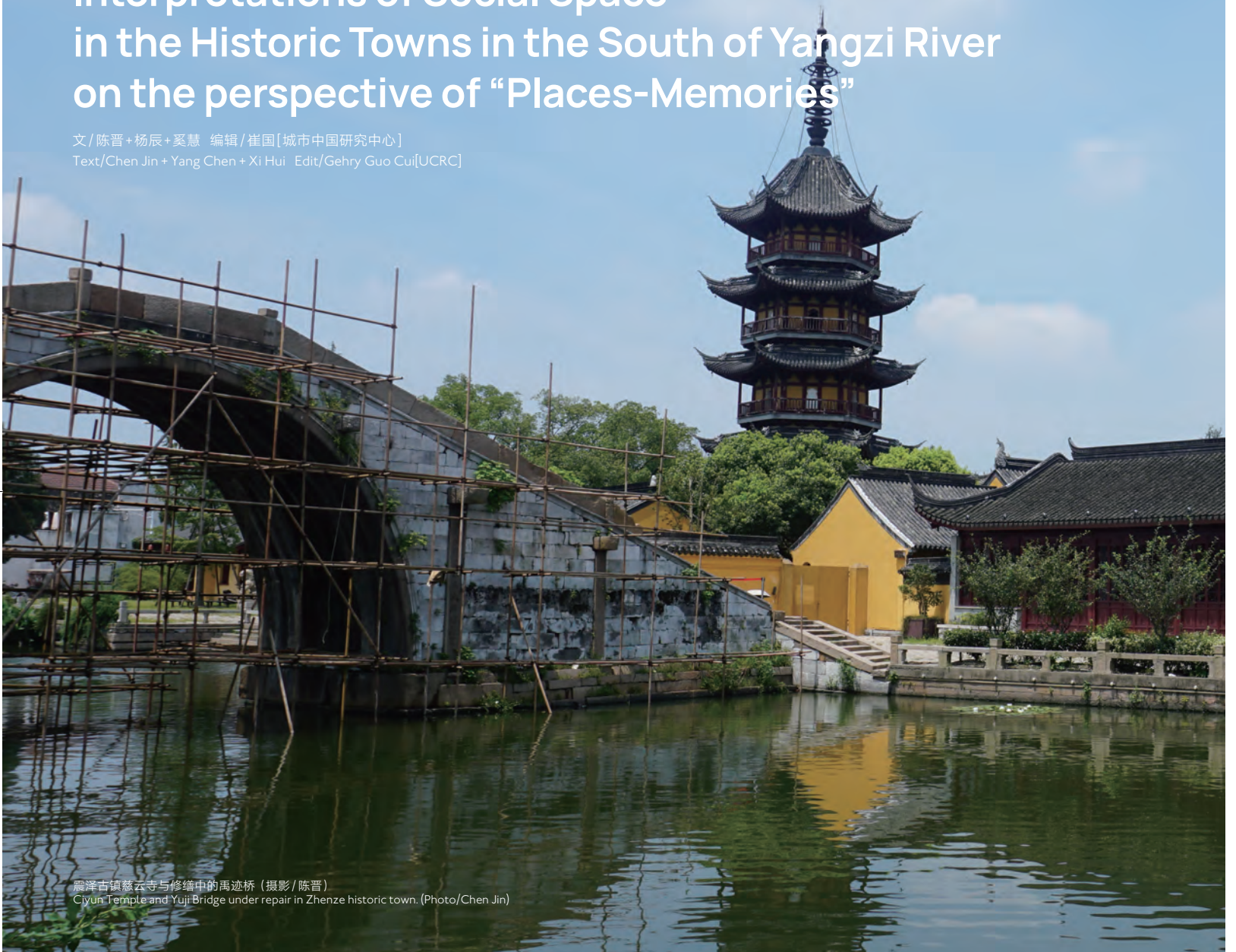
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# 嵌入、脱嵌、再嵌：“场所—记忆”视角下的 江南古镇社会空间

## Embedding, Dis-Embedding and Re-Embedding: Interpretations of Social Space in the Historic Towns in the South of Yangzi River on the perspective of “Places-Memories”

文 / 陈晋 + 杨辰 + 奚慧 编辑 / 崔国[城市中国研究中心]  
Text/Chen Jin + Yang Chen + Xi Hui Edit/Gehry Guo Cui[UCRC]



震泽古镇慈云寺与修缮中的禹迹桥 (摄影 / 陈晋)  
Ciyun Temple and Yuji Bridge under repair in Zhenze historic town. (Photo/Chen Jin)



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自1980年代以来，江南古镇经历了再城市化、商业化和遗产化的进程。古镇从居民的生产和生活空间变成旅游景点和文化遗产，其背后是古镇场所与社会记忆的“脱嵌”和“再嵌”过程：从社会环境中生长出来的文化让位于普遍化、城市化的“现代性”，古镇以景观、表演的形式“再嵌入”文化遗产的语境中。打造典型景点，将古镇内的老建筑改造成民宿、酒吧、咖啡馆等以迎合游客需求，这几乎是“江南水乡”标准叙事。这一模式创造了经济价值，但也破坏了地方原真性，遗产的概念抹除了本地文化和记忆。从“场所-记忆”的视角出发，理解“空间与社会”的互嵌关系，重视本地居民的“在场”，或许可以成为保护和发展江南古镇的一种出路。

| 地区    | 古镇名称 |
|-------|------|
| 山西晋中  | 静升镇  |
| 江苏昆山  | 周庄镇  |
| 江苏苏州  | 同里镇  |
| 江苏苏州  | 甪直镇  |
| 浙江嘉兴  | 西塘镇  |
| 浙江嘉兴  | 乌镇   |
| 福建龙岩  | 古田镇  |
| 重庆合川  | 涪滩镇  |
| 重庆石柱县 | 西沱镇  |
| 重庆潼南区 | 双江镇  |

公布于2003年的“中国首批十大历史文化名镇”名单，其中有一半分布在江苏、浙江地区。(来源/住建部网站)

Half of the towns mentioned in the "China's first batch of famous historical and cultural towns" list (2003) are in Jiangsu and Zhejiang Provinces. (Source/mohurd.gov.cn)

## 被建构的古镇

### Historic Towns Constructed by Socio-economic Power

江南古镇位于富庶的长三角地区，这里也是中国乡镇工业的早发地区。但正是始于80年代中期的快速工业化对古镇风貌造成了严重冲击，保护古镇的问题才逐渐引起学者和政府的关注。1986年《周庄总体规划》的完成标志着古镇保护写进了法定规划文本。这一时期的保护大多集中在工业基础相对薄弱的局部地区（如周庄），由专家和文化人士牵头、政府跟进，方法上以物质空间保护为主。

1990年代中后期，旅游业成为国民经济新的增长点。乡镇的旅游价值被挖掘，以“粉墙黛瓦”“小桥流水”为特色的江南古镇被建构出来，成为旅游业发展的载体。作为景区的江南古镇，常常以遗产保护之名，行旅游开发之实。为吸引游客，不少古镇采取了迁出原住民、改善基础设施、修缮老屋发展商业等手段。古镇的保护开发甚至成为提升全镇乃至整个地区的工业和服务业的手段。

这一模式在为古镇创造经济效益的同时，也带来景区同质化等问题。当前，大多数的江南古镇意识到了“观光旅游”模式的弊端，试图加入更多的文化内涵，并加强古镇保护与地区发展之间的联系。但不可否认，今天的古镇保护与开发在理论和实践层面上仍然面临着三个难题：

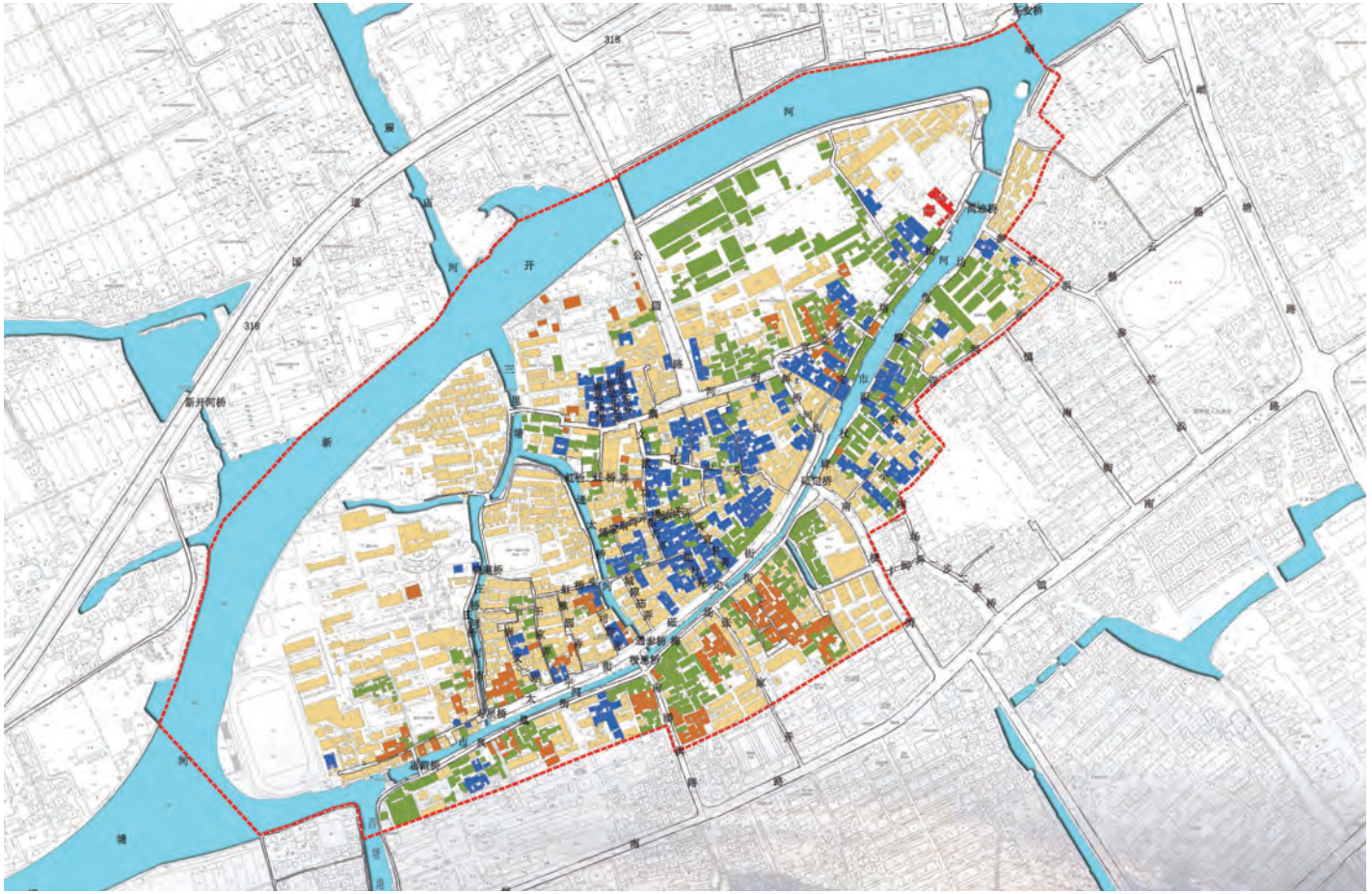
**一是保护理念重经济轻文化。**江南古镇作为一种具有丰富地方文化的生活世界，其主体性并未真正确立。古镇在大多数情况下仍然被视为经济发展的工具，“文化搭台、经济唱戏”的传统思路没有真正改变。借助各种概念打造的“古镇文化”多是景点式的快餐文化和千篇一律的旅游产品，以迎合游客的短期需求为目的。真正承载着地方文化的古镇居民生活、生产方式却难以被游客感知和体验，有些甚至在“保护-开发”过程中消失殆尽。

**二是保护的技术手段重物轻人。**古镇保护主要采用工程规划的方法，以山水格局、历史文化街区和历史建筑为对象；在技术层面从建筑物的建造年代、质量等方面对古镇进行普查并提出保护要求。这种强调物质空间的保护方法形成了相对完善的技术体系，对于快速城镇化进程中的古镇保护起到了一定的作用。但由于缺少对本地居民和地方生活的深度了解，特别是缺少对于居民日常生活、家族网络、宗教习俗与空间场所之间的互动关系的深入研究，加之规划过程中居民参与环节的缺失，古镇保护规划往往成为无本之木，最终沦为旅游开发的技术工具。

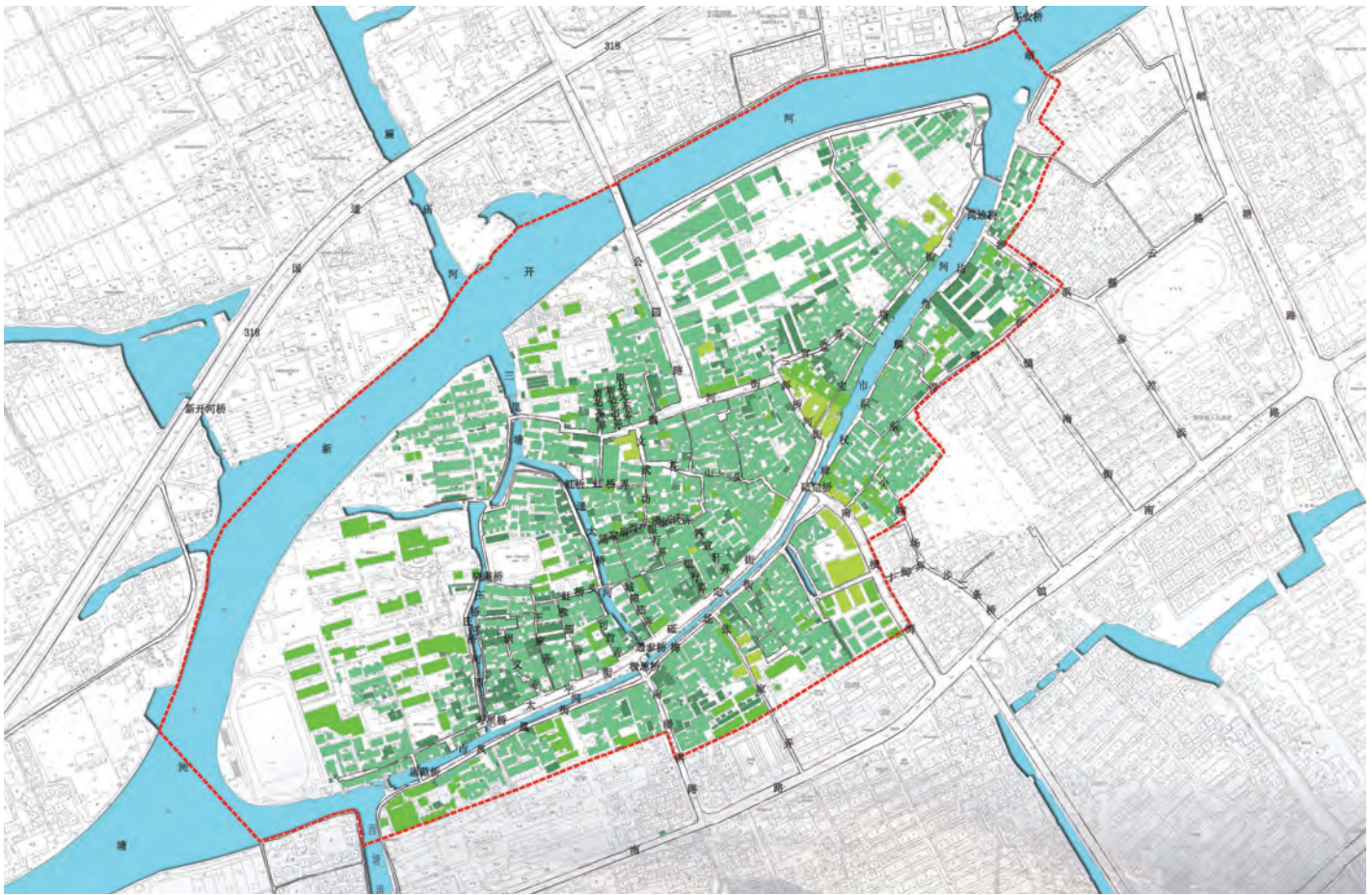
**三是缺乏对“遗产化”反思。**2000年以来，大量的江南古镇由于具有“突出而普遍的价值”，陆续进入各类遗产名录。但古镇被认可的价值主要集中在物质遗产方面（自然景观和建筑物），原住民的记忆、信仰和习俗这些嵌入（Embedding）地方社会的非物质文化却在遗产化过程中逐渐消失。一方面政府通过迁出原住民、改变场所（比如广场、街巷、公共建筑的拆除或功能调整）以及控制信仰活动等方式，将与旅游发展无关的人与地方文化排斥出古镇；另一方面，即使是那些被纳入非遗项目的地方文化，在遗产化的同时也逐渐与地方社会“脱嵌”（Dis-Embedding），成为迎合外地游客观光的旅游产品——以另一种方式“再嵌”（Re-Embedding）到新的社会、经济环境。

这些体现在“理念、技术、政策”层面的问题，实质上是古镇的保护规划始终未能在理论层面深入理解“空间与社会”的互嵌关系——哪些空间，通过怎样的方式，承载了哪些重要的地方生活？以及在现代化进程中，哪些生活方式及空间载体应当被保留或改变？因此，从“场所-记忆”的视角出发对古镇的社会空间进行解读，分析古镇场所与记忆关系中“嵌入”“脱嵌”“再嵌”的过程与机制，从而寻求保护与发展的新思路是古镇发展领域值得关注的重要议题。





震泽历史镇区建筑建造年代 (图片来源/《震泽历史文化名镇保护规划》(2012-2030))  
 Building age in Zhenze historical town.(Image Source/The Conservation Plan of Famous Historical and Cultural Town Zhenze:2012-2030)



震泽历史镇区建筑质量 (图片来源/《震泽历史文化名镇保护规划》(2012-2030))  
 Building quality in Zhenze historical town.(Image Source/The Conservation Plan of Famous Historical and Cultural Town Zhenze:2012-2030)



## 记忆的场所与场所的记忆 Memory of Place and Place of Memory

以江南古镇为对象，我们关心的是“集体”而非“个体”的记忆。“集体记忆”（Mémoire collective）是哈布瓦赫（Halbwachs）在《记忆的社会框架》（Les Cadres sociaux de la mémoire, 1925）中提出的核心概念。他将集体记忆定义为：“一个特定社会群体之成员共享往事的过程和结果”，保证集体记忆传承的条件是“社会交往及群体意识需要提取该记忆的延续性。”

记忆研究在时间向度上促进了对社区变迁和社会历史的理解，而在构建记忆的过程中，当地人对空间的思考和感知又扮演了什么角色？事实上，哈布瓦赫也是这一问题的最早阐释者。在其著作《福音书圣地的传奇地形学》（La Topographie Légendaire des évangiles en Terre sainte）中，哈布瓦赫提出了一个重要思想：“场所”（lieux）在记忆的形成和维系过程中起到了关键性的作用，因为场所为记忆提供了某种“空间框架”——正如耶鲁撒冷经过多次的毁灭和重建，依然驻留在信徒心目中，成为一座“永恒之城”。场所缺失，会对个体或集体回忆造成巨大的困难。另一方面，记忆也对场所有着极其重要的影响，表现为人们对特定场所的朝圣、情感维系以及自发性的纪念行为，而伴随这些行为的往往是场所本身的改变、修复甚至消失。在《论集体记忆》中，哈布瓦赫作了进一步陈述：

“场所在保持实物稳定性方面发挥了一定的作用。正是由于定居在这些地方，将自己圈在这个范围之内，改变自己的态度以适应这些地方，才最可能使宗教信仰的集体思维稳定并持久，这就是记忆的前提。”

场所影响了记忆；反之，记忆也给场所打上了特殊的印记。基督教和伊斯兰信徒定期地朝拜圣地，以及某些重大事件的发生地成为旅游、纪念性场所（如“9·11”后的纽约世界贸易中心），都是这一影响的具体表现。纪念行为的发生往往伴随着仪式。进而，场所有时被神圣化（如纪念碑、教堂），有时被修复（如某些历史建筑），有时则被完全改建（如遭受恐怖主义袭击的地点）。当然，以上过程往往涉及复杂的公共决策、社会运动，甚至公开的社会矛盾激化和冲突。

哈布瓦赫的“记忆—场所”理论极富启发意义。对于承载着几代居民记忆的江南古镇，只有在独特的空间场所中，个体、社会和历史记忆才能找到“嵌入”的框架，人们才得以将时间和空间固定于特定的场景之中；透过记忆，场所超越了物质性，它所蕴含的空间、环境和建筑等因素无不打上了人的烙印。

当然，记忆与场所“互嵌”关系的形成是需要时间的：时间越久，嵌入的程度越深，嵌入的方式也更加多元。这就是米歇尔·德·塞尔特（Michel de Certeau）笔下的“嵌入”（Embedding）、“脱嵌”（Dis-Embedding）与“再嵌”（Re-Embedding）的过程。该过程不涉及绝对时间，而是指向某种“社会时间”。“互嵌”的过程实际上反映了时间的社会性与复合性等特点。

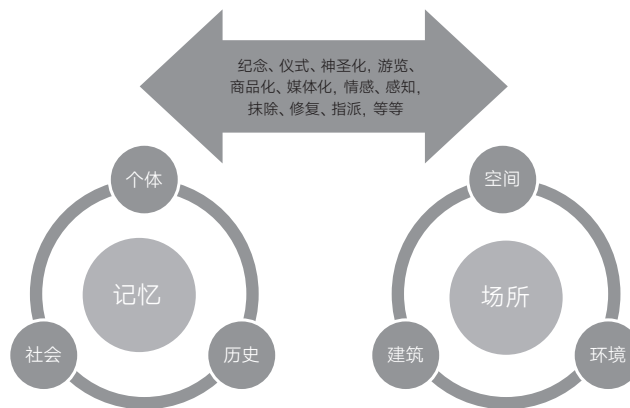
以下，本文从“场所—记忆”关系中“嵌入”、“脱嵌”、“再嵌”现象入手，以震泽和同里为例，解读江南古镇社会空间的构成、发展过程及其背后的社会、经济和文化动力。



《记忆的社会框架》和《福音书圣地的传奇地形学》收录于哈布瓦赫的文集《论集体记忆》（La mémoire collective）。莫里斯·哈布瓦赫（Maurice Halbwachs, 1877-1945）是法国涂尔干学派第二代成员中的重要人物。法语中的“lieu”和英文的“place”在涵义和用法上有一定差别，“lieu”除了表示空间之外，亦可指代“场景”、“次序”等。参见 Le nouveau petit Robert de la langue française, 2007, “lieu”词条。



“9·11”纪念馆坐落于纽约世界贸易中心的双塔遗址之上，为纪念“9·11”袭击事件中的近2977名遇难者和1993年世界贸易中心爆炸案中的6名被害人而建。（摄影/崔国）  
Located on the site of the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, the 9/11 Tribute Museum is dedicated to the nearly 2,977 victims of the 9/11 attacks and the six killed in World Trade Center bombing 1993. (Photo/Gehry)



场所与记忆的关系  
Relationship Between Place & Memory



## 嵌入：记忆中的城镇生产

### Embedding: The Production of Towns in Memory

震泽和同里周围都是农村和沃土。长期以来，丝业在当地经济产出中占据重要地位。传统上，村民种植桑树、养蚕以生产蚕茧，再出售给居住在镇上的商家。在丝厂，工人制造“生丝”，再进行编织、染色。丝绸卖家将其产品输送到苏州和上海的缝纫作坊，以及全国各地。

生产分工促成了古镇空间的基本格局。在吴语方言中，“街上”指位于古镇中心的社区，“乡下”指附近的农村。显然，古镇空间的基本特征反映在“街道”或沿街的商业活动中。此外，城镇中心和边缘地带分别被称为“上面”和“下面”，这并非是指物理距离造成的空间层级（通常从所谓“边缘”步行几分钟即可到达中心），而是指不同的社会群体所占据的区位：中大型贸易商及其家庭沿主要街道居住，小商贩和工匠远离中心，村民在附近乡村。

丝业等经济生产活动以及相关社会关系的建立，主要依赖于当地特定的交通运输模式——船运。村民依靠船只，将农产品从家中运到古镇商业街边的运河上。交易就在船上发生：当船只到达时，城镇居民在河边挑选商品、洽谈价格，进行购买。村民也在运河两侧遍布的商店中挑选自己需要的东西，或者在休息期间去茶室和餐厅。典型例子如震泽的“市河”。这条运河贯穿古镇，实际上是米粮、酒、丝等商品的销售和采购中心。据当地居民回忆，每当大批来自附近农村的船只到达时，河道仿佛变成一个巨大的“流动市场”，场面繁忙。本地产品的频繁流通，也使得构建区域乃至全国的社会关系网络得以可能。借助船运，商家可以去到附近的城镇（例如同样以产丝闻名的盛泽），有时远走到上海或北方。

由此可见记忆与场所在当地经济生产活动中的镶嵌。空间的分割与链接实际上揭示了劳动分工和商品交换过程中社会时间的不同生产模式。

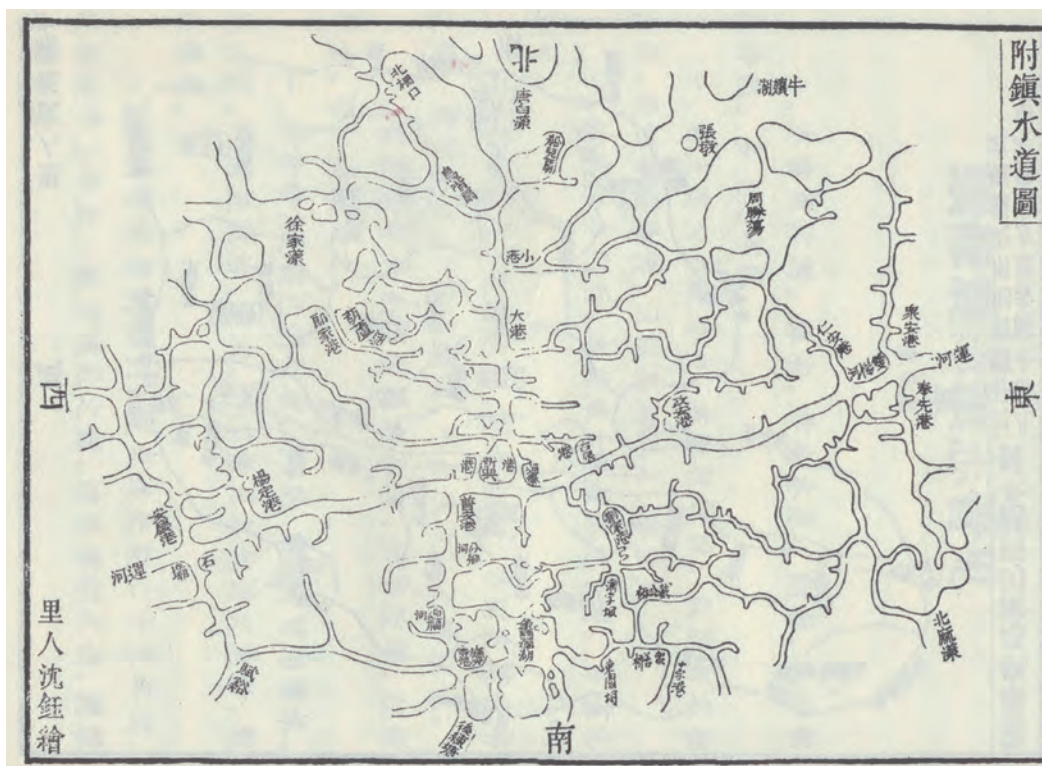
## 嵌入：生活场所

### Embedding: Life Area

在同里和震泽，空间被运河、水渠、河流分隔成若干“岛屿”，当地居民用“埭”来指称，其字面意思是“土坝”。传统上，一个埭上居住着一个家族，埭与埭之间以拱桥连接。该地形特征构成了当地各种社会活动的基础，因为它使得人们的日常生活既相互隔离，也保持互通。埭作为相对独立的居住空间，四周环绕的水流可以有效地防御盗贼和土匪。桥梁作为社会活动的重要中心，既是居民相互拜访的通道，也是见面交流的地点：每天早上或晚上，居民在饭后聚集在拱桥上休息，他们坐在两侧护栏上，聊天，低语，沉思。这类地点的社交性显而易见：空间保持开放，不同的行人轨迹在此交错；同时桥梁的宽度非常有限，从而形成物理上的“亲密感”；护栏亦是不可或缺的，因为居民可以停下来欣赏由天空、水流和河岸组成的风景。



电影《林家铺子》(1959年)中震泽的市河场景  
The scene of Zhenze's city river in movie The Shop of Lin Family(1959)



“埭”的示意图，“埭”是相对独立的居住空间，“埭”与“埭”之间用拱桥相连。(图片来源/震泽镇志续稿)  
A diagram of "Dai", "Dai" is separate living space connected by bridges. (Image Source/Zhenze Town Annals)



## 嵌入：宗教场所 Embedding: Religious Site

在这一观看行为中，居民不仅从高处、以全景方式概览发生在城镇的活动，观看者本身也构成了特定地方景观的一部分。借用社会学家欧文·戈夫曼（Erving Goffman）的表达，人与场所彼此“镶嵌”。

“我们小的时候，这个桥就有农村里的人过来做生意，假如说居民买一点菜啊、农民们卖菜啊，桥就成为了一个交易场所。然后到了晚上呢，大桥就是镇上居民休闲的地方。以前我们小的时候，长辈说大桥是一个评道理的地方。比如说我们两个人吵架了，就到大桥上去，把这个事情说给大家听听。因为这个地方是热闹的，然后就叫大家评理。以前也不知道什么法律法规，就是要大家说好就好，大家说不好就不好。”

(2016年7月20日，震泽石槿社区，男，63岁)

另一个例子是传统仪式“走三桥”——仪式参与者跨越连接不同社区的若干拱桥。该仪式多在婚礼期间举行，也偶在老人生日或婴儿满月生日时举行。仪式激发和维系了当地居民有关古镇集体生活的想象，调动他们有关场所的记忆，并塑造有关记忆的场所。

在同里和震泽，有关社会和日常生活的记忆与场所互嵌，从而体现了社会时间的多种用途——保证居家安全、与他人互动、庆祝生命周期等。

宗教是古镇传统生活的另一个维度。慈云寺位于震泽古镇的东部，建于宋代（1265-1274），重修于明代（1436-1449）。当地及周边地区的信众经常在佛教节日前来烧香。寺庙位于震泽主要街道宝塔街的末端和运河的入口处，禹迹桥将寺庙与古镇其他地区相连，这里是古镇居民外出和镇外人进入的必经之路。各种社会行为也因此在此的宗教中心“交集”。慈云寺也是古镇的视觉中心。虽然寺庙与古镇的其他地方有一定距离，但慈云寺以其44米高的佛塔统领整个古镇空间。

天主教、基督教在古镇居民的宗教生活中也有其地位，但显然弱于佛教。目前，震泽留有一座基督教教堂，同里有一座天主教堂。震泽的教堂建于1915年，由当时的美国传教士捐赠，其中的基督教教会是震泽牧区的核心。与慈云寺相比，震泽教堂位于古镇的另一端（西部），由毗邻的运河连接，距离中心较远。抵达教堂的街道相对狭窄、隐蔽。同里天主教堂的情况与此相似。宗教场所的选址为何出现这种对比？历史学家史国明、宋炳良认为：

“1742至1840年的近百年间，清政府因‘中国礼仪之争’禁止传教，教会称之为‘百年教难’时期。西方传教士利用他们在渔民中的影响，隐藏在渔民之中，改变方式，继续传教。‘这些贫苦的渔民，置有一所所简陋的公所，得以保持他们的信仰’。这些公所，以后都成了教堂。”

可见，古镇天主教、基督教的发展极大依赖于当地渔民。这些信众多在船上生活、工作，没有固定的陆上住所。在传教活动被国家禁止的情况下，渔民的特殊身份有利于在当地隐蔽、灵活地传播外来宗教。如果说渔民所属的社会群体在江南古镇中缺乏固定的场所，那么他们利用自身的条件，实现了某种“无处不在”（Omnipresent）的状态，这不能不归功于运河、桥梁、码头、水岸等相互勾连的交通网络。类似的“流动空间”正如水上市场一样，意味着古镇的场所与居民记忆在更深层次上互相嵌入。



同里古镇天主教堂外景。(摄影/陈晋)  
The Catholic Church in Tongli (Photo/CHEN Jin)



同里古镇的“走三桥”仪式。(图片来源：同里古镇官网)  
Folk ceremony “Zou San Qiao” in Tongli historic town. (Image Source/tongli.net)



## 脱嵌：城镇化、旅游开发与遗产化

Dis-Embedding: Urbanization, Tourism Development and Heritagization

1980年代以来，同里、震泽等水乡古镇的地方政府，以“现代化”的名义开展了一系列行动，极大地改变了居民与当地空间的关系。整体上，这些行动涉及社会空间的城市化、旅游业的发展，以及当地文化的“遗产化”(Heritagization)等三个方面。在此过程中，古镇记忆与场所出现反复“脱嵌”“再嵌”。

首先，上世纪八十年代以降，以同里和震泽为代表的古镇经济结构发生了重大变化，制造业、IT产业、生物技术等行业得到蓬勃发展。在同里，古镇西部建立了吴江经济和科技开发区，上千企业入驻。在震泽，建筑、有色金属、汽车零部件等产业发展势头良好。震泽古镇的东南部辟建了新的城市社区，吸引了大量喜欢现代住宅、高速公路和大型购物中心的年轻人。此外，在当地企业和工厂工作的移民也倾向于居住在新城区而非古镇。

其次，古镇内部的空间格局也在经历重大转变。许多拱桥被车道替代。如震泽著名的“大桥”在上世纪80年代因市中心医院投入运营而遭到破坏——为方便救护车通行，大桥这一连接医院和外界的唯一通道被改成车道。河道被填平、缩窄或改道，以协助公路运输和辖区调整。穿城而过的震泽“市河”，被缩窄到原来的一半，目的是留出河岸两侧足够的绿化空间，以符合“城市美化”运动的要求。

“桥啊，拆掉的很多的。有的么就慢慢地变迁了。比方我小时候，有个浜桥，浜桥头有个报恩桥，下来浜桥，有一步两条桥，很多桥了。比方池塘桥，还有一顶桥是很要紧的——虹桥，还在。两条大桥，一条思范桥，一条禹迹桥，我们震泽镇的标志就是这两座……我最伤心难过的就是观音桥、大桥，都拆掉了。我小时候(走得最多的)就是观音桥和大桥。”

(2016年7月20日，震泽邱定社区居民，男，50岁)

当地传统社会中的重要群体——渔民，也在城市化的过程中受到影响。捕鱼活动先是被集体化、国有化，继而在上世纪八十年代转入私营企业。许多渔民现已成为工人或政府部门的雇员，居住在古镇的边缘地带或是郊区。他们独特的“水上生活方式”一去不回，教堂也逐渐式微。

从2000年开始，同里和震泽镇政府陆续启动了一系列拆迁、安置项目，以更新古镇并加速周边农村的城市化进程。村庄和田地因此变为新区，接纳来自古镇的工厂和政府机关，其雇员也随之离开旧城，在郊区定居。城市规模扩大，常住人口成倍增加。但老年人依然生活在旧区的传统住宅中，他们既无能力也无意愿改变生活方式。



2016年改造后的震泽古镇市河。与此前相比河道变窄，河上已无船只和水上市场。(摄影/陈晋)  
City river after reconstruction in Zhenze Town in 2016. Boats and floating market have disappeared on the narrower watercourse.(Photo/CHEN Jin)



“最不满意的还是菜场。原来小菜场就在我们这里，现在搬到几条马路以外，我们去买个菜还要过几条马路。住在这里的都是年纪大的人，你想想看我们怎么去这几条大马路，很危险的！还有就是那个小商品市场，原来在那个码头那边，现在也搬到菜场那边了，你说有多不方便？我是晕车的，我没办法坐车，我都是走去买菜买东西，来回一次就要四十多分钟，像这种大太阳天，你去走走看。讲起来是有免费车子接送，但是我晕车啊，我不行的。”

(2015年7月30日，同里东新社区，女，77岁)

以上是中国快速城市化进程中常见的故事，这恰恰揭示了城市化对当地空间场所与居民记忆产生的“脱嵌”作用。经过改造的空间预示了某种新的、占统治地位的社会时间性，即“过去”被普遍的、城市化的“现代性”所取代。

上世纪90年代后期，同里从普通城镇变为著名旅游景点，古镇的景观也由此改变——许多酒店、酒吧、咖啡馆、餐馆等快速建成。这些新的场所服务于游客而非原住民。进一步地，新的景观也使得原有的古镇场所被“隐形”：由于租金急剧上涨，住在商业街道附近的居民经常将自有住宅租出并搬到那些更隐蔽、安静的地方，他们的日常生活与市场、医院、公园等“次要空间”中发生。

旅游业的迅速发展一度导致了环境危机。例如，居民普遍担心水污染：

“你知道河里的水吗，在电视上看上去是很好的很绿的，但实际上完全是臭的！我小时候就在那里游泳，钓鱼都能钓这么大的鱼啊，现在呢？……一个是政府没治理好，一个是大家的意识都差。把脏东西都扔到河里，政府排水系统也不好，所有的污水都排到河里，这肯定是污染环境的。”

(2015年7月29日，同里东新社区，女，38岁)

叙述者在此回顾了日常生活与传统场所的密切关系。显然，外来者的行为不当与管理的缺失，共同导致了记忆与场所的脱节。

震泽迄今没有大力开发旅游，因为与其他倚重旅游经济的古镇相比，当地以蚕桑、农业、制造业等为基础的经济发展良好。尽管如此，震泽镇从2010年开始正在逐步实施计划，将老城区中的若干街区改造成旅游景点。例如，通往慈云寺的主要商业街现名“宝塔街”，以凸显古镇的标志性建筑；街上的商铺被整修成咖啡店、酒吧、小吃店等，以满足游客的需求。地方政府也开始在媒体平台上投放广告。

震泽和同里在旅游发展方面的策略体现了城市化进程，也体现出当地居民与空间配置之间的关系变迁——记忆和场所在旅游经济的快速发展中一再脱嵌，今天的环境危机更是让本地居民想起过去的美好记忆。



至今仍居住在同里古镇内的老年居民，旅游业的发展在创造利润的同时也影响了他们的日常生活。(摄影/倪瑜遥)  
Some elderly residents still live in today's Tongli Historic Town. The development of tourism not only yields profits but also affects their daily life.(Photo/Ni Yuyao)



## 再嵌：作为展品的“水乡遗产”

### Re-Embedding: “Watertown Heritage” on Display

政府对同里文化遗产的重视可追溯到1982年。彼时，江苏省政府决定将同里古镇整体作为重要文物进行全面保护。2000年，同里的核心景观退思园进入联合国教科文组织的“世界遗产”名录，同里也成为中国第一个进入该名录的江南古镇。2001年，退思园被列为全国重点文物保护单位，同里也被评为全国四星级旅游景区（2010年，提升到五星）。2003年，住房和城乡建设部、国家文物局将其列入“中国十大历史文化名镇”。

同里的案例不过是一场更大范围的运动的缩影，这一运动旨在向全国乃至世界推广“地方文化遗产”。例如，1996年，国家文物局选择六个古镇（周庄、甪直、同里、乌镇、南浔和西塘等），作为“世界遗产的准备清单”；2015年，江浙两省十三个古镇的政府代表在苏州联合，谋求国家级的项目合作，力图进入联合国教科文组织的世界遗产名录。

在地方层面，政府部门致力于对当地各种有形和无形的文化遗产进行分类、研究、展示，希望藉此宣传传统文化和发展经济。例如2016年，震泽镇政府举办了第三届“蚕花节”，主要展现与养蚕传统相关的仪式活动，身着传统服饰的演员展示了丝绸产品的制造过程。政府还组织了临时市场以出售本地产品。此外，当地还排演了名为“爱在震泽”的四幕爱情剧，对民间传说进行重新演绎。

显然，政府、商家、旅游公司等联手推动了当地文化的“遗产化”进程，而这一过程正是通过重塑古镇的“场所—记忆”要素来实现的。手工技术、艺术等无形的遗产经常被视为一种文化符号，古镇开发者将各种历史轶事纳入其中，从而创造新的作品。然而，在这种博物馆式的展览中，地方文化的特色与居民的真实生活被剥离开来，记忆与场所让位于对所谓“文化遗产”的表演。“嵌入”地方社会的文化，通过“脱嵌”，背离其原有的社会环境，被战略性地再嵌入“历史文化名镇”“世界文化遗产”等更大的文化语境中。这正是在今日中国遗产化浪潮中地方文化面临的真正挑战。

遗产化还伴随着“士绅化”现象的出现。在震泽和同里，历史悠久的住宅越来越受到城市中产阶级的青睐。这些新居民代表着重要的经济资本和社会力量：他们在古镇中心居住，成为传统建筑物的所有者；他们的活动也往往带动当地及周边地区的艺术画廊、流行餐厅、咖啡馆等新场所的发展。

遗产化和士绅化标志着同里和震泽等古镇的“场所—记忆”进入新的阶段。对当地文化身份的重建、展示和运用，揭示了传统、现代和后现代的时间性如何混杂、糅合，从而塑造出新时代的“江南水乡”。



同里古镇内原本作为交通要道的河流已经变为一种景观，岸边有供游人消费的茶馆、咖啡馆和精品店。(摄影/倪瑜遥)  
The river in Tongli Historic Town has changed from an artery to a landscape. There are tea houses, cafes and boutiques on the shore for tourists.(Photo/Ni Yuyao)



## 反思与规划响应

### Reflection and Planning Suggestions

“场所—记忆”视角有助于我们理解江南古镇社会空间的基本特征，以及在城市化、旅游开发和遗产化进程中地方生活与空间之间的“嵌入”“脱嵌”“再嵌”过程及其形成机制。

古镇三种社会空间的形成均指向某种“互嵌”关系及其复合时间性。“经济空间”体现了生产交换过程中时间的多元化生产方式；“日常生活空间”揭示了社会时间的不同用途；“宗教空间”则表达了历史进程中时间的丰富表现形式。复合时间性在记忆和场所的互嵌中得以维持。

城市化、旅游开发和遗产化进程打破了“场所—记忆”原有的互嵌关系。保护与开发、传承与创新的口号背后，是两者关系一系列的脱嵌与再嵌过程；而再嵌后形成的新的社会空间，却往往面临着本地文化的缺失。

作为规划响应，“场所—记忆”视角可以为三大问题给出一定的解决方案：从理念上看，文化遗产不但具有经济属性，更具社会属性。江南古镇是几代居民的生活世界、是居民生产—生活方式的总和。只有建立起场所、本地与外来居民、遗产三者的良好关系，古镇的真正价值才能持续地释放。从技术上看，“场所—记忆”可为规划师提供一种认识、分析和评估古镇历史空间的新方法——从不同类型的社会空间入手，采用人类学方法，对古镇的山水格局、街巷肌理和历史建筑、场地等展开

田野调查，找出“互嵌”关系中重要的空间场所，进而有针对性的制定保护和改造策略。从政策上看，“场所—记忆”视角强调本地居民的“在场”。这一方面要求在规划中增加公众参与；另一方面要在政策上给予地方性遗产（包括民俗、信仰、传统工艺等）更多的发展空间，避免用“具有普遍价值”的“大遗产”，稀释甚至替代地方文化与记忆。一个无处安放居民记忆的古镇，无法延续自身文化。❶

注：本文为上海哲学社会科学规划一般课题“社会变迁中的空间记忆与文化遗产：基于多学科视角的考察”（2017BSH003）、国家自然科学基金面上项目“基于社会网络分析(SNA)的城乡社区更新方法与技术应用研究”（51778434）基金项目阶段性成果。

| 空间场所    | 社会记忆       |    |
|---------|------------|----|
| 市河      | 市场交换       | 互嵌 |
| 桥、埭     | 社交、休闲与传统仪式 |    |
| 寺庙、教堂   | 宗教生活       |    |
| 旧城改造    | 再城市化       | 再嵌 |
| 景点及配套设施 | 旅游开发       |    |
| 文化展演    | 遗产化、士绅化    |    |

古镇场所与记忆的互嵌与再嵌（制表/陈晋）  
Embedding and Re-Embedding of place and memory in historic town(Tabulation/CHEN Jin)

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# In Mega Cities Young People Live

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Translate/ DAI Bowei(Intern)

In the first decade of the 21st century, China's population mobility has brought about soaring urbanization with an average annual growth of 3%, and spawned Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen into "megacities". According to the population statistics of the seventh National Census, the number of mainland cities with a population of more than 10 million has reached 15. The total permanent resident population of Beijing, Shanghai, Guangzhou and Shenzhen has exceeded 20 million, while the actual population of Chongqing, Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou, Shenzhen and Chengdu has also exceeded 20 million. The size of population in any of the megacity is equivalent to half of South Korea, or the whole of Australia. These flowing figures represent the vitality of the city and the competitiveness of the city in the traffic-driven era.

Each year, large number of youngsters flow into megacities from different regions. Statistics show that migrant population in Shanghai accounts for 40% of the permanent population. When it comes to the large-scale population movement caused by urbanization, young people living and working in cities are still considered as majority, even though the ratio of older people have slightly increased. Yet only 10% of these young people have purchased their own houses. How to live decently has become the primary consideration for young people when they come to big cities, and an important part of the government's supportive system. The surge in population has brought vitality to cities on the one hand, yet on the other hand, it has also made urban resources scarce. The residential attributes of real estate have been weakened, pushing up urban housing prices, and highlighting the repulsive effect of megacities. When we look back at the development stage of modern cities, cities have currently changed from capital-oriented to talent-oriented, from attracting investment to

attracting talents. How to solve the housing problem of people in megacities so that they can live and work in a livable and productive life has become the key point for cities to attract talents. On the one hand, it is necessary to allow young people in big cities to live a stable life, and to help them find a sense of belonging and self-position through market means; on the other hand, housing is also a problem related to people's livelihood. The government's regulation and control towards real estate, standardized management of the rental market, and the improvement of supportive systems can alleviate the repulsive effect of high housing prices and increase the city's inclusiveness.

The rapid growth of population offers a test of urban governance abilities. To a certain extent, the housing problem in China's big cities is the housing problem of the urban youth. The focus on the housing of young people is not only the issue of people's livelihood, but also the consideration of the comprehensive competitiveness of the city. The social



and spatial problems brought about by "living" have always been the focus of Urban China - rising urban density, excessive living costs and unbearable high housing prices, the gap between ideal living space and reality, the perception conversion between dimensional space and physical space, the impact of traditional thinking and ideas of the new generation, etc. The 90th edition of Urban China will focus on the topic of young people living in megacities, presenting the living conditions of today's young people in big cities truly and objectively, and discussing the characteristics and preferences of young people's living and their mode of social interaction. We will also portray the residence of young people from different dimensions in this edition. By demonstrating the evolution of Chinese residential policies, we can come up with the change in strategy of current megacities from "prospering the town by industry" to "prospering the industry with the town", and logical alteration with regards to the supportive regulations attracting talents. Meanwhile, due to the huge gap between housing prices and income, housing location and living area cannot be satisfied simultaneously in the unstable housing rental market. As a result, we can witness from some fragments of life that the personal living space is squeezed, and the living function overflows to the community and the city, and high-density communication occurs at these overflow points. In this way, the improvement of urban functions has provided functional and spatial replenishment for the residence.

In the survey of young people living in megacities, we have also found that young people nowadays value how to use residential space far more than they value their ownership. At the same time, with the continuous development of young people's living needs, people no longer satisfy the single living space in the apartment and begin to pursue a community-based apartment model. In order to cater to the market demand, the apartments are now equipped with public kitchens, bookstores, gymnasiums, recreation rooms and other public service spaces, and apartment buildings are becoming more complex. But most of the "publicization" that floats on the surface does not give residents a more sense of community. Mobilizing the participation of young people in the community, so that the concept of residence is not limited to one room and one household but extended to the community, will be more conducive to enhancing the inclusiveness of the city.

In addition, young people value the community

environment more than the building itself, which can reflect their social attributes. Today's young people are a group that can quickly build a community with individual "commonness". The study of young people's living is more about the way they live and their communities,

because for a good community, it should be highly mixed in terms of population ratio and functional composition, since the living of young people does not mean only young people live there. From our research, most young people in big cities pay more attention to the rigidly needed functions of residential space, such as daylight, type of household, and commercial and educational facilities in the community. They are very concerned about community activities, but their actual participation is very low. The tightness of the indoor living environment does not push most of the occupants to the city streets as we thought, which may also reflect from another aspect that urban life in China is still dominated by shopping, while cultural and entertainment facilities and participation methods are still scarce and simplistic. We hope that more scholars and those who are interested in community research can realize that the core of the youth housing problem is to truly understand their housing and living needs, and what the government, the market and the society are able to provide and help among those needs.



# Shift of Chinese Housing Policy and Current Living Problem of Young People

Text / CHEN Jie Edit / DING Xinyi[UCRC]  
Translate / DAI Bowei(Intern)

The housing problem lies inside the political and economic structure within the society, and the housing supply and support policy is an integral part of the housing policy. Traditional housing supply and support policy focuses mainly on low-income population, especially those families who have difficulties in income and housing, with little focus on youngsters. The situation of young people in the housing market can be understood from two aspects. They show inferiority when competing in the housing market due to less savings and lowered ability for down payment. What's more, young people are the future of society with high expectations, and are directly linked to parenthood, so the society is looking forward to a better solution towards young people's housing problems. Yet there has always been a gap between government's designed housing policies of young people and their internal housing demand, which shows the characteristics of temporary, high turnover rate and close to workplace, whereas multiple structural dislocation exists compared to the current market supply.

The housing problem reflects the imbalance between regional development and urban spatial development, but it is fundamentally the internal contradiction between capital efficiency priorities and human needs. Due to the special historical background and cultural tradition, the housing problem of contemporary Chinese young people is not universal, but structural and hierarchical. The traditional thinking of urban construction is "prospering the town by industry". However, at least in the construction of new towns in the metropolitan area of megacities, priority should be given to "prospering the industry with the town" to attract popularity with livability, especially the popularity of young people, and then drive the endogenous growth of urban industries.

## Shifting of Housing Policy

The theoretical basis of housing policy is to correct the failure of the housing market, but in fact it is more often to implement the will of the country in the allocation of housing and related additional resources, so it is closely related to a country's specific economic and social development strategy in a specific period. Housing is the foundation of economic and social activities, on which housing is also dependent. If the government intervenes in economic and social activities and participates in resource allocation, there will be corresponding housing policies.

China's housing policy has always existed. The reform of the urban housing system in 1998 could be seen as a node. Previous urban housing model was dominated by public housing as company welfare, mainly designed from the perspective of promoting



production cycles. At that time, the planned economy was oriented towards maximizing production quantity, and the supporting economic operation system was "low wages and high accumulation." Only a small part of the value created by labor workers is paid in the form of wages, and the rest is used for accumulation by the state or companies to expand the scale of reproduction. First of all, in the case of low wages, if we want to promote the recycling and reproduction of labor, and then realize the reproduction of the social economy, we must ensure that the labor force can get rest, rejuvenate and realize reproduction at a low cost of living. Secondly, under the planned economy system, everyone is like a screw. Labor workers can be closely tied to the company by distributing the houses. Thirdly, the centralized residence is also a social management tool supporting the planned economy. These are three internal logics of the welfare public housing system.

Meanwhile, the market economy is guided by the maximization of capital appreciation. The inherent requirement is the full flow of labor elements and the provision of housing through socialization and marketization to expand capital appreciation opportunities. Therefore, the welfare public housing system no longer adapts. In order to stimulate housing consumption and investment, and the development of other industries, while reducing the burden on state-owned enterprises and speeding up the allocation of labor in accordance with the market mechanism, China has carried out market-oriented urban housing system reforms. In the late 1990s, China completed the housing market reform through the privatization of public welfare housing at a very fast speed. This transformation has changed China's economic development from a production-oriented cycle to a cycle of production and consumption.

This wave of privatization of urban public housing helped that generation of city dwellers complete the initial accumulation of wealth to some extent, but it greatly increased the barriers for young people nowadays to enter the housing market. This is an important source of Chinese young people's difficulties in the urban housing market, and it is also a fundamental feature that distinguishes China's youth housing problem from other countries. The assets and financial support of young people from rural China are incomparable with those born in urban families who have the original capital accumulation of "house reforms". There lies a huge gap at the starting point. Young people with urban family backgrounds

also have different starting points. First, different cities have different real estate values; second, whether there are "housing reform houses", and the amount and area of "housing reform houses" directly affect the amount of original capital accumulation. Moreover, Chinese families have very close financial ties between generations. The differences in housing assets and wealth of the previous generations continue to be inherited to the next generations, directly affecting the starting and ending points of young people's entry into the housing market.

#### **Rigid Demand and Fluid Capital**

"The Housing Question" by Engels has pointed out that in a capitalist economy, housing is embedded in the capitalist economic mode and serves the logic of capital production. Under the capitalist mode of production, housing will inevitably be commercialized and financialized, because housing is the best outlet for excess capital in the industry. Only when housing is commercialized and financialized, and there has been a crisis of surplus and declining profit rates in the real industry, can we find opportunities to continue to increase in value. However, the commercialization and financialization of housing not only recovers the expenditure of capital invested in housing construction and gains added value, but more importantly, the expenditure of capital for the city's built environment that can be internalized to the value of the house can be recovered and value-added. Therefore, real estate development generally will not be purely residential, but must support various public service facilities, large-scale community businesses, green spaces and even real estate facilities. Housing purchasers not only consume the use value of the housing itself, but also automatically consume the built environment of the city, paying the bill, whether willingly or not, for the capitalization of real estate investment.

Existing house owners are striving to keep house prices growing and the value of house assets constantly rising. Real estate developers need to stimulate new house sales with the high prices of existing houses, and landowners also rely on the high prices of existing houses to maintain high prices for new houses. It is expected that this will stimulate developers to purchase land at high prices, and at the same time allow their stock of land on hand to increase the value of assets for mortgage financing. And all of this means the exploitation of the late-comers. The young urban migrants are "reaped" as a result. This is the natural contradiction between



generations caused by the housing financialization model. Young people, especially those who have no original capital accumulation in their families, have become "the reaped", giving a large part of their long-term or even life-long labor income to the previous generation of homeowners and landlords in the form of house prices or rents. Young people have worked to increase the wealth and assets of the previous generation of homeowners and landlords in the end.

The financialization of housing is not only a product of the capitalist economic model, but also has its own soil under the market economy. The operating goal of the market economy is to achieve the optimal allocation of scarce resources. The so-called resource optimization is based on the maximization of factors in reward. Therefore, there is inherent contradiction between efficiency and fairness. Young people have different starting points, and the pursuit of efficiency will inevitably be polarized. The fairness principle of the market economy is fair opportunity and fair process and does not consider fair results or balanced results. However, to maintain the stability and harmony of a society, there must not only be fairness of opportunity, but also fairness and relative equalization of results. Therefore, the government must maintain a balance in this process, taking both efficiency and fairness into account.

#### **Problem of Affordable Housing System**

Since the reform of China's housing system, the government has designed many supportive housing systems, mainly to provide support for urban low- and middle-income families with housing difficulties. But the problem now is that the wages of local low-income groups meet the application requirements, and their property and housing are often beyond the limit, since almost all locals have their own housing. The housing conditions and income of young migrants are in line, but they are restricted by household registration and cannot apply. Young people are the main force of laborers, but they are relatively disadvantaged in the housing market. The design of housing policies does need to focus on this group.

In 2018, Shanghai conducted pilot projects in Hongkou, Songjiang and Jinshan districts to liberalize the conditions for migrants with no Hukou to apply for shared property housing. However, as far as the author knows, Shanghai has not received very enthusiastic feedback for opening non-residential registration applications for shared property housing. There are probably three reasons for the unpopularity of Shanghai's

shared property housing: Firstly, the entry barriers for income and assets are still very high, and people who can meet the conditions are still under pressure to buy houses. Even if the individual share of the shared property house is discounted at only 60%, the price is not very low. The price paid by the individual is still 15,000 to 20,000 yuan per square meter, and the total expenditure is still more than 1,000,000 yuan. For a family of three with monthly disposable income of less than 18,000 yuan or a family of two with monthly disposable income of less than 14,400 yuan, the pressure on housing purchase expenditure is still great. Secondly, shared property houses are mostly built in the suburbs and require long-distance commuting. Public services are insufficient, and they are not attractive enough for young people. Even if they can afford them, they are unlikely to put those houses into consideration. Thirdly, the value accumulation of shared property houses is slow. Under the background that even one household with registered permanent residence in Shanghai are restricted to buying only two houses, shared property houses not only account for one "house ticket", but there are also many restrictions. Many young migrants would rather save money to buy commercial housing. These three points are also true for local young people. Therefore, it is also not a good choice for local young people in Shanghai to apply for purchasing the shared property houses.

For most young people, especially young migrants throughout China and globally, the first thing to solve is the problem of "settling down". Renting a house close to the place of employment is the best. But from the government's point of view, the cost of building and maintaining public rental housing is high, the funding cycle is too long, and the burden is too heavy. Even if public rental housing is built, the location is often in the suburbs. Shanghai's existing municipal and district-funded public rental houses have limited housing availability and are very short in supply, for which applications must wait in line. Basically, employees of some large state-owned companies, hospitals, universities, scientific research institutes, and government agencies are given priority. On the contrary, housing of ordinary young people cannot be satisfied within the framework of the traditional social housing policy. New migrants and young people tend to be barred when competing in the housing rental market, and they are also unable to enter the traditional system of supportive housing. Once they have become a "sandwich", not only are personal development opportunities limited, but the contribu-

tion potential of this group of productive and creative people to social development is also restricted.

### **Economic Value Defining Talent Apartment Affordability**

Young people who are new to one city from another mainly include newly graduated college students, vocational school students and other young employees. They have relatively more housing difficulties in big cities, and their housing needs are mostly temporary as turnover, and they are also looking for nearby employment. The affordable rental housing is aimed at new residents and young people who have housing difficulties and has a broader sense of supportive housing. Providing more support to new residents and young people who have housing difficulties will not only benefit social harmony and stability, but also improve the sustainability of economic and social development.

Many cities have explored the concerns about the housing of young workers, such as developing a variety of apartments for talents at the government and enterprise levels and encouraging the development of long-term rental apartments by market mechanism. Almost every district in Shanghai has its own talent apartments, and the enthusiasm for building talent apartments stands high. Many large industrial parks and development zones also have talent apartments. However, this type of "talent apartment" is usually aimed at key enterprises, which lacks openness. In these enterprises, only a few young "talents" are eligible to move in, and the housing problem of ordinary young employees is still not solved. In this sense, the government's design of youth housing often focuses more on how to ensure the smooth input of labor force into the economic cycle, and regards young people as productive inputs that can bring economic benefits, only in this way can they be given some help in housing. As for those young people who seem to have less prominent potential in creating economic value in the short term, it is difficult to receive housing support from the government and enterprises. Therefore, most young people can only solve the housing problem through the rental market.

### **Rural Collective Construction Land into Market**

As early as 2009, Shanghai has explored the construction of rental housing by using collective operating construction land in rural areas and conducted pilot projects in some areas. In 2011, the Shanghai

municipal government further explored strategies to solve the housing problems of young employees. First, encourage companies to build their own dormitories; Second, farmers are encouraged to use rural construction land to build their self-owned houses and rent them to those in need. We can see a typical example in the Lianming Yayuan project in Lianming village, Qibao town, Minhang District. Shanghai and Beijing have tried several times using these methods respectively, but the former Ministry of Land and Resources showed signs of opposition, concerning that the rental of rural houses would eventually evolve into sale, and finally derive small property rights houses, or the problem of tenants unwilling to leave after the deal. After several discussions, since 2017, under the organization of the former Ministry of Land and Resources, two batches of formal pilot projects have been carried out in 18 cities (13 in the first batch in 2017 and 5 in the second batch in 2019) to use rural collective construction land to build rental housing.

Although the legal bottleneck for the construction of rental housing no longer exists, and rural collective construction land can be transferred directly, new situations have emerged later. In remote rural areas, it is more difficult to rent out houses built on collective construction land; while in rural areas close to the suburban area or in better locations, collective construction land has been invested in other uses to be more profitable, and farmers generally expand their homesteads by themselves to rent out the house directly to the market, so that the government or enterprises are not allowed to intervene. It is very difficult to integrate land to build rental housing.

For young people's housing problem, on the one hand, market supply needs to be precise; on the other hand, young people's income is limited, and certain supporting policies are needed, such as granting some rent subsidies and increasing financing methods; and more explorations in the future, including freeing up the withdrawal of individual housing provident funds for rent.

### **Founding of Affordable Renting Market**

The different rights for renters and purchasers are an important reason to curb the development of the housing rental market. It not only hinders the realization of the new housing system of "rent and purchase in parallel", but also violates social fairness and justice that public services should be average for everyone. At present, it is the consensus of society



to stabilize housing prices and beware of real estate bubbles. To solve the housing problem in big cities, it is necessary to adjust the structure of the housing market and implement "rent and purchase in parallel". Accelerating the development of the housing leasing market is an integral part of implementing "housing is for living in rather than speculation" and advancing the supply-side structural reform of the real estate market. It is of extremely high urgency and importance for the healthy and sustainable development of the housing market and solving the housing problem in big cities.

Although the housing policy orientation of "rent and purchase in parallel" has been proposed at the national level since the beginning of 2015, in the past two years, the policies for the development of the leasing market at all levels from the state to the local level have only begun as a welcome fillip to be distributed at a high density. Guobanfa [2021] Article No.22 emphasizes the provision of affordable rental housing through stock housing and stock land. Stock housing refers to the transformation of vacant or inefficiently used non-residential houses into rental housing, while stock land includes land used by enterprises and institutions for self-use, and collective construction land. This means that during the 14th Five-Year Plan period, collective construction land will be expedited to build rental houses, and qualified companies will be encouraged to use their own land to build staff dormitories so as to solve the housing problem of young employees during their turnaround period. For example, some large state-owned enterprises have used marginal land to build staff dormitories.

Empowerment for renters also faces the problem of children enrollment in Chinese cities. The policy of most cities appears relatively broad, without detailed policy implementation regulations, that is, it does not indicate how to empower and how to protect the rights of tenants. Most Chinese cities use the residence permit as a basic prerequisite for tenants to apply for their children's admission. However, the difficulty and procedures of obtaining residence permits vary from city to city, which undoubtedly adds hidden barriers to the implementation of empowerment for renters.

In addition, the government clearly mentioned in the policy interpretation of the guidance that "equal rights for housing renters and purchasers" refers to guaranteeing the rights and interests of eligible tenants' children to receive compulsory education in terms of educational public services, instead of guar-

anteeing enrollment in their corresponding school in the "school district". In the detailed rules formulated by each district, school-age children who meet the requirement of "same address registered for Hukou and residence" are accepted by the corresponding school, and only when the number of children exceeds the enrollment quota of the corresponding school will they be arranged in the nearest place accordingly. The priority order is as follows: school-age children whose guardian owns the house completely > school-age children whose guardians own part of the house property > school-age children whose ancestors own the house > school-age children whose guardians are eligible tenants, which shows a difference in the priority order of children's enrollment.

### Regional Balanced Development

The housing problem is a problem of regional development balance. Nowadays, almost all job opportunities in Chinese big cities are concentrated in downtown areas, which is caused by the priority of capital efficiency, hence the impossibility to solve the problem of livability. Behind the regional balance is the balance between efficiency and fairness, considering whether human demand is subject to the capital cycle or vice versa. As for housing, it is also a balance between housing as a living function and as an investment function, so that the production tools of housing serve people's living needs rather than people's demand for accumulating housing capital.

Therefore, there are a series of solutions tackling the housing problem of young people. First, we need the development of long-term rental apartments, diversifying suppliers and encouraging policies from all parties; Second, same right shall be given to housing renters and purchasers, protecting the rights and interests of public services, improving the standardization of the rental market to add to the attraction of house renting effectively, so as to reduce the dependence on purchasing, and implement the development of rent and purchase in parallel; Third, local grassroots innovation shall be respected, encouraging market innovation, and giving local governments and grassroot organizations some flexible space for both policy and product innovation.

# 区域性国际中心城市进行时

## 中国·昆明未来城市发展研讨会

### Regional International Center China · Kunming Future City Development Seminar

文 / 赵恣 + 李娟 [城市中国研究中心]

Text / ZHAO min + LI Juan [UCRC]



“一带一路”和“双循环”背景下昆明的区域节点意义



研讨会现场

我们的城市经历了从工业时代到后工业时代的发展，在如今的5G时代，城市的格局又从原来高效功能分区模式逐渐演变为复合型、组团化、多中心发展模式。城市的管理手段也从原来的资本导向转变为人才导向。未来的城市是一种需求提升之下的体验性的城市。

结合城市自身发展特点，通过合理规划，推动城市空间结构的转型来助推城市功能的提升，让城市空间更为宜居，是目前城市发展的要点。因此我们可以看到，城市需要高质量发展，挖掘盘活存量和低效用地潜力，拓展发展空间，同时生态环境的保护也不容忽视。科技强市、文化强市、教育强市、人才强市与历史文化的保护和乡村振兴也需要并行同步发展。

昆明是一带一路对接东盟的重要支点，作为中国西南的支点和中心，其发展联系着两个国际通道，正在推进区域性国际城市建设；而昆明的十四五规划对城市的发展方向 and 定位也进行了调整，提出有序推动核心区“东进、西拓、南控、北延、中优”的发展策略，东进加快打造航空大都市；西拓提升西片区整体形象，打造城市西向门户；南控适度控制滇池南岸片区开发强度，实现山水城湖和谐共生；北延加快北部山水新城建设；中优则是要促进老城区功能疏解、提升城市风貌和品质。以“中国春城、国际大健康名城、历史文化名城”为昆明的三个城市品牌。官渡区被定为城市新中心、综合枢纽重要承载区和开放发展引领区。

从目前5G时代背景下城市的发展逻辑，结合昆明目前的发展重点和自身特点来看，昆明需要提高区域创新能力、开放程度，提升国际化水平，通过科技、文化、教育和人才的“智慧扩容”，让城市新区实现生态文明现代化、包容性生长、公共服务现代化。市域治理科学化、精细化、智能化也是昆明作为“一带一路”新的门户、节点城市需要考量的重点。

针对昆明的城市研究，从未来城市的发展趋势到宜人、宜居、宜业的未来社区，《城市中国》与云南万科共同策划，在昆明87|ACE演艺工场举办“中国·昆明未来城市发展研讨会”，就“昆明城市解读、未来社区先进发展样本、探索昆明版未来社区、开发企业所应具备的未来社区建设能力”四大议题展开讨论。

“要更好地推进以人为核心的城镇化，使城市更健康、更安全、更宜居，成为人民群众高品质生活的空间。”

“建设一批产城融合、职住平衡、生态宜居、交通便利的郊区新城，推动多中心、郊区化发展，建设数字城市，逐步解决中心城区人口和功能过密问题。”

——习总书记在《求是》杂志2020年21期指示





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## 生态文明视角下的文化传承和发展脉络

### “生态保护和文化遗产需要高度融合”

昆明的生态多样性非常丰富，通过大的山水格局图可以看到群山环抱，一水相依。从历史上看，昆明的城市发展就是诸县围绕滇池生长，自古就是“滇池时代”。环滇池的人地关系表现了传统的“山水营城”、“天人合一”的理念。但古代人们对滇池是既需要也敬畏的状态，围护造田导致水体收缩从汉朝便开始了，直到2000年代开始设想治理滇池污染和建设环湖缓冲带，滇池的生态环境才得到真正的治理。在生态文明视角下，昆明要坚持人与自然和谐共生的新时代发展语境。

昆明的主城区外扩，可以对比上海前滩区域开发来看。前滩贴着中环隔着浦江，与市中心区有一定距离，城市基础相对薄弱。作为新的商务核心，这里配有体育、文化设施，有好的基础教育和高等教育机构，吸引了大量金融企业和跨国企业的进驻。而现在昆明的发展格局主要在空港经济区、呈贡新区和主城区这样分工明确的三角，南控北延。市南地区的开发强度要控制，而公共配套服务则要增强。

### “城市更加精细化的在地管理、疏导手段和策略”

昆明是一带一路对接东盟的重要支点，作为中国西南的支点和中心，其发展联系着两个国际通道。面对复杂和混合的发展需求，昆明更需要精细化的在地管理、疏导手段和策略，配合生态环境持续改善，让城市更高效，更低能耗，且更具有社会公平性。现在长三角地区正在实践的未来社区从细分的角度来讲，需要内生的生态发展系统，如生活圈配套绿地、海绵城市措施、信息技术应用等。未来精细化的建设需要多维度复合利用空间，包括垂直方向上的绿化与多层次生态建设，结合社区共治思路，开拓更多共享的公共生活方式。

昆明发展到今天，需要抓住规划转型的机遇，着重研究绿色低碳的发展方式。通过合理规划与精细化管理，让生态系统更突显文化属性和发展动能，以闻名海外、享誉全国、区域标杆的三重标准，持续在世界打响“中国春城、国际大健康名城，历史文化名城”三张昆明名片。



滇池流域城池分布简图，根据《中国地方志集成·云南府县志辑》绘制



滇池水域收缩史



汤海孺

中国城市规划学会总规专委会、  
控规专委会委员，  
杭州市城市规划设计研究院原总工程师

## “未来的城市发展，从资本导向转向人才导向”

### “因势利导更新城市发展模式”

现在城市的发展模式发生了变化，规划如何促进城市竞争力的提升？在农业文明阶段，城市是生活与工作一体的，我们更关注实体空间的拓展。工业化文明带来了大工业生产，应对大需求，功能的分区导致了职住分离，这时的规划关注的是出行效率、开发强度等问题。在创新文明时期，我们通过对城市生活的定制导致了组团化、多中心化、网络化的空间整合，而关注点也成为了需求提升的体验性，通过数字技术实现供需匹配。实体空间需要与虚拟空间结合，“新地理模式”着重研究产业结构转向以三产为主导的结构时，城市需要从以资本为主导转向以人才为主导，由强调快速城市建设转化为通过管理提升效率的模式。

处于“双循环”时代，昆明的城市发展需要从传统的土地经济转型，需要解决配套管理，从建房到建设区，关注可持续运营，从以开发商为主体向运营商和社区参与转变，让资源合理配置，纳入城市监管体制。而未来的社区将以人为中心，让居民直接受益，解决人才居住问题。

### “宜居，是吸引人才的重要因素”

“未来城市”理念是为城市人口提供更加舒适、宜居的环境，有更优质化的城市公共服务，更好的生活氛围。未来城市发展需通过有序的城市规划设计，良好的共建关系，为城市提供源源不绝的竞争势能。从空间结构上讲这样的郊区新城需要朝向多中心、藤蔓式连接，组团间相互的功能耦合匹配，形成功能网络。

而社区作为城市功能的重要组成单元，必将在未来城市竞争力中显现出越来越高的权重。社区是城市治理的重要载体。营造社区的过程与人的需求直接相关——居住、环境、安全、情感和归属、被人信赖和尊重、最终自我实现，即参与社区建设的需求。

未来社区是有归属感、舒适感、未来感的新型城市功能单元，未来社区是城市中的小单元，但它可以引领未来生活方式变革。小单元可以改善大民生，驱动大投资，带动大产业，促进大转型。



未来城市将在5个方向上从传统发展中转型





付志强

万科集团总规划师/  
集团公会专家

## “围绕人本化的理念，构建可持续发展的新型城镇”

### “以保护和开发并行的方式响应新型城镇化实践”

“未来社区”现在是规划的热点，其中也有万科实践的影子。在世界级文明遗址的土地上，良渚文化村巧妙的实现了文化、生态和社区的有机融合，通过社区的开发让文化和生态更具价值感，因此能得到更好的保护，而文化与生态的存在又能提升社区的宜居、宜业特性，通过双向的良性赋能，响应国家倡导新型城镇化建设。

我们在社区中加入了很多著名建筑师的公共建筑设计，因为居住空间的要求很严格，而公共建筑就可以思考更灵活的使用方式，更加有创造性。这在过去只注重房屋建设，忽视公共空间的中国是第一例。而对于昆明而言，它需要生态和谐、职住平衡，形成产业高地，让各国高科技人才也能在此安居乐业，让所有的居住者都能享受科学化、精细化、智能化的城市治理和公共服务。

### “自下而上，从“社区”到“社群”的创新管理实践”

一个可持续发展的社区，本质上依赖的是更多参与方的共创治理，良渚文化村的实践提供了一套链接更多人群、更多资源方参与社区治理与发展的机制，这样从“社区”到“社群”运营思维的转变，为未来城市的社会管理提供了新的方案。

而未来社区是城市中的小单元，但它可以引领未来生活方式变革。它需要通过运营机制，通过公约形成资源共享，从物业管理走向平台+管家式的管理，让业主有兴趣，有动力参与社区建设，建立社群，鼓励社区生活。



村民公约。良渚文化村是万科的首个文化复兴与诗意栖居的“理想主义试验田”。(图片来源/万科周刊)



# 城市中国

## Urban China

超大城市青年人居住  
变化中的  
居住需求与边界

总第90期

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