

城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

提速 全面高铁时代的 城事民生

URBAN TRANSITION AND PUBLIC LIVELIHOOD IN THE HIGH-SPEED

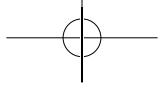
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中国高铁谋划中国城市未来

CRH PROMOTING THE DEVELOPMENT OF CHINESE CITIES

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中国高铁诞生 THE BIRTH OF CRH

1825年,全球第一条铁路在英国启用,全长约27公里,最初速度为4.5km/h,后来达到24km/h,标志着近代铁路运输业的开端。铁路与运河联通,引起了交通运输领域的革命,大大促进了工业革命的发展。工业发达的国家在19世纪末到20世纪20年代铁路发展的黄金期基本形成了铁路网。之后,在汽车、航空和管道运输发展浪潮的冲击下,20世纪50年代铁路发展进入低谷。各国铁路纷纷进行大规模的现代化技术改造。20世纪70年代,世界能源危机的爆发,促进了铁路的全面复兴。1964年日本年建成时速210km/h的东海道新干线,标志着世界第一条高速铁路的出现。1981年,法国高速铁路TGV正式运营,时速380公里创下新记录,后又以515.3公里的时速刷新了世界记录,目前最高时速达574.8公里,形成了以巴黎为中心、辐射法国各城市及周边国家的高速铁路网络。1991年德国高速城际特快ICE拉开了德国高速铁路建设与发展的历史序幕,先后将德国大小130个城市紧密的连接在一起,促进了人员和信息的往来和交流。到上世纪90年代末,高铁已经覆盖了欧洲的大部分城市。

1978年邓小平访日期间乘坐日本新干线时感慨到,“我们正合适坐这样的车”。1990年,中国铁道部完成《京沪高速铁路线路方案构想报告》才开始了高铁构想。1997年,铁道部正式向国家纪委

2008年,京津高速铁路开通,标志着中国进入了高铁时代。高铁落实了城镇化发展以城市群为主体空间形态的捷运需求,缩短了城市之间的时间和经济距离,推动了城市群的“同城化”、“一体化”。然而只有高铁线路两端城市的能级相当、创新能力相当,人员、信息和资源的流动才会动态平衡。因此,高铁营城,取决于城市在区域空间的地位和作用以及城市的能级和多式联运零换乘水平。高铁新城发展应充分依据城市的能量级、客流特点和多式联运水平以及在城市中的功能定位。高铁的关联产业需要和城市的其他功能互动起来,效应才会叠加。故而高铁经济的发展策略在不同级别城市应该有所变化,高铁新城建设应该顺应本地的规划条件,而非照搬大城市模式。中国高铁并非一种简单的交通方式,而是在谋划城市发展的未来。

提出《修建京沪高速铁路建议书》,但在最后的评估中因“高速轮轨”和“磁悬浮”之争而搁浅。21世纪初,铁路运力不济已成为中国经济发展的瓶颈,借鉴日本经验,发展高速铁路已势在必行。20世纪50年代,战后的京滨、中京、阪神地区凭借发达的工商业和流通业成为了带动整个日本经济发展的火车头,连接这些地区的东海道铁路线,以占全国铁路总长的3%的线路承担了全国客运总量的24%和货运总量的23%,运输能力已达到极限,急需改善。东海道新干线快速、方便、准点,恰是破题之举,日本称其高速铁路为经济腾飞的铁脊梁。相比而言,中国幅员辽阔,国民经济发展快速,流动人口规模庞大,这些都为中国发展高铁提供了充分的理由和保障。于是,2004年在全国铁路大提速背景下,国务院通过《中长期铁路网规划》,其中提出“高铁网络将形成四纵四横的格局”,联通珠三角、长三角、京津冀三大经济区,并将东北、中部、西南、关中等地城市群纳入网络,更向西部延伸。对于这样的大格局构想,高铁胜出磁悬浮,标志着中国高速铁路建设进入了大规模实施阶段。2008年8月1日京津城际高速铁路开通,成为中国第一条时速300公里以上的高速铁路客运专线。随后,沿线人口最密集、经济总量最大、运输需求最旺盛的京沪高速铁路开始建设,并于2011年6月30日正式投入运营,从此中国的政治中心与经济中心实现了地面运输的高效连接。目前中国的高铁里程已居世界第一。

高铁与城市群相伴发展 COORDINATED DEVELOPMENT BETWEEN CRH AND URBAN AGGLOMERATION

纵观城市产生与发展的历程,无论是人与人之间的语言沟通、交通工具的速度演变,还是“互联网+”和VR技术的创新,核心之一便是提高连接度。高铁的出现对提高人类社会的连接起到了非常大的作用,从物的运输到人的运输,在1000公里范围内,它的可靠性、准点性等更有优势,协同率更高。中国进入高铁时代,顺应了全球快速连接的要求,也落实了城镇化发展以城市群为主体空间形态的捷运需求。城市群的发展促进了高铁的“公交化”,高铁的发展缩短了城市之间的时间和经济距离,推动了城市群的“同城化”。高铁与城市群相伴发展实现了时空的大变化,有利于形成梯级超大城市和类似长三角城市群这样能级和协同发展程度的城市群。

中国的高铁开通后,人员和信息的快速流动也超出了预期。京津城际2009年发送旅客1458万人次,现在年发送旅客近2500万人次。连接武汉城市圈与珠三角城市圈的武广高铁,2009年12月26日开通运营后,第一年发送旅客2036万人次,日均5.57万人次;第二年,发送旅客3424万人次,日均9.38万人次。京沪高铁更是中国高速铁路的标杆,开通一年来共发送旅客5260万人次,日均14.41万人次,最高超过20万人次。沪宁高铁、沪杭高铁数据同样强劲,最高日达30万人次。目前最早盈利的是沪宁、沪杭、京沪、京津、广深等高铁线路,对京津冀、长三角、珠三角三大城市群“同城化”、“一体化”的空间战略起到了积极作用。特别是京沪高铁被寄予带动东地区再次活跃以及把全国经济推上一个新台阶的厚望,它所改变的不仅仅是乘客的时空距离,更重要的是它将打破此前行政区域划分带来的“诸侯割据”局面,将京津冀、长三角两个经济圈融为一体,形成一个巨无霸的区域经济圈——京沪经济圈。

“五位一体”、以城市群为主体形态的空间战略是破解大城市病的一剂良药,既有利于疏解城市拥堵,也有助于产生多中心。高铁的建设也会促进行政区经济向城市群经济转变,更有利于市场优化配置资源要素,也方便企业和个人合理选择发展空间,促进市场化的过程中优胜劣汰,避免恶性竞争,提速区域“同城化”进程,加快显现城市群集聚效应,实现真正意义上的一体化。全国高铁网络未来将加速促进中原、华中、华东、中南和港澳地区核心城市圈的形成,成为高铁沿线区域城镇化进程的引擎,全面提速区域间和区域内部经济协调发展进程。

高铁营城 THE DEVELOPMENT OF ECONOMY ALONG WITH THE CRH

高铁营城,具有一定的需求门槛。高铁是否能够成为城市发展的引擎,一方面取决于所在的城市在区域空间的地位和作用,另一方面取决于城市的能级和高铁站的多式联运零换乘水平。因此,对资源配置能力强、体量大的城市,高铁就会发挥吸铁石作用而成为城市发展的引擎;相反对于资源贫乏、没有特色的城市,那么高铁的开通恰好加速了城市人员向周边更高能级城市的外流。只有高铁线路两端城市的能级相当、创新能力相当,人员、信息和资源的流动才会动态平衡,这也是京沪、沪杭、沪宁、京津高速繁忙且两端城市能够互促发展的原因。不同于以前的火车站经济,高铁经济主要是围绕商务客、游客等人群展开。多式联运水平高,吸引人流的能力就强,就会产生相应的经济

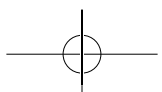
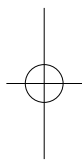
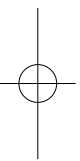
形态,从而塑造新的城市空间,比如浦东的高铁建设围绕游客支持旅游和体检经济的发展,而虹桥则是依托商务客客流,发展商务中心。反之,“快”的效能就会打折,人流小,产生经济的能力就会减弱。

高铁针对的是城市之间的联动,属于过路式规划,一般都选择在城郊,本身并非处于城市重点发展区,因此高铁对城市的带动作用是全市性的,能够带动城市产业发展和人员流动,但未必能够带动高铁新城的发展。目前中国大多数地级城市的高铁规划,基本都在打造高铁新城,普遍做法是围绕高铁站建设高层办公楼、住宅楼,追求形象,大而不当,相当一部分高铁新城反而成为城市的负担。因此,不是所有的城市都适合建高铁新城。高铁新城发展应充分依据城市的能量级、客流特点和多式联运水平以及在城市中的功能定位。首位度高、能级高的城市或城市群中的中心城市和战略支点城市、次中心城市,本身商务客、旅游客流量大,随之产生相应的高铁经济,高铁新城的发展状况就比较好。然而多式联运水平不足的情况下,即便城市有一定的能级,也很难产生经济作用,比如合肥、徐州等的高铁新城也仅有几幢办公楼,相反无锡,依托多式联运零换乘的优势,高铁新城发展良好。还有一点就是,要考虑城市本身是否需要大的功能区,是否需要围绕高铁建一个新城。能级低的城市,中心区CBD的写字楼都有库存,并不需要再建一个以住宅和商务楼为主的高铁新城。因此,高铁经济的发展策略在二线城市应该有所变化,高铁新城建设应该顺应本地的规划条件,而非照搬大城市模式。至于一些本身没有发展动力的三、四线城市,商务职能低,商务和换乘都要辗转中心城区,在新城停留时间少,高铁站对高铁新城的带动相对微弱,很难产生经济效应(旅游城市除外),则不应规划建设高铁新城。

因此,发展高铁经济主要还是“练好内功”,拥抱不确定性,最根本的就是建立多式联运系统,提高各种交通的可达性,提高垂直零换乘水平,使客流停留集聚,产生商业及餐饮等服务配套,根据客流特点,因势利导,衍生出商务办公等业态。这也是我在郑州航空港规划中将高铁、城际铁、地铁、公交引入的原理,目的就是为了提高多式联运水平,从而产生航空港经济或者高铁经济。

高铁站的区位选择也是高铁新城成功的关键。比如贵阳高铁穿城而过,高铁新城就建在城市中心组团之间,所在地区本来就是城市的发展区域,周边本身就有居住和商业需求,换乘方便,客流集聚产生了经济和产业的发展。还有一些新的高铁规划也比较务实,比如一些旅游城市,注重了零换乘、客流特点和城市能级的考虑,使高铁周边发展成为游客集散中心,带动了酒店、餐饮、娱乐等服务业态的发展。

从根本上来看,高铁站是城市功能的一个重要组成部分,高铁的关联产业需要和城市的其他功能互动起来,效应才会叠加。去库存时代,房地产市场饱和,高铁所在位置偏僻,想用老的新城方式来建设新的高铁新城已难以为继。高铁因其在速度、发车间隔、可靠性和舒适性等方面的优势,慢慢引发了生活方式、消费结构和自身价值观念的巨大变革,诱增了新的出行量,同时对相关交通方式也带来一定的冲击。因此,发展航空港经济还是高铁经济,城市要有所预见和长远规划。高铁规划需遵循创新、协调、绿色、开放、共享等理念,因地制宜、实事求是、因势而异进行选址和发展周围的业态。中国高铁是以找到城市新的经济支撑点,占据未来新能源制高点、政治制高点为目标,在谋划城市发展的未来,而非简单的交通方式使命。C





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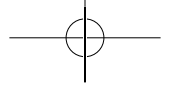
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URBAN CHINA WORKSHOP NO.1: URBAN MIGRANTS IN CHINA

《城市中国》 第一期海外工作坊

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地点: 英国 伦敦

主题: 外来人口如何融入城市

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2016年1月,《城市中国》发布“海外观察员”全球招募令,邀请海外青年城市研究者代表我们,在世界范围内主持开展相关城市话题的探讨。2016年4月,八名海外观察员从海量应征者中脱颖而出,他们分布在欧洲、美国、日本各大城市,或主攻建筑、景观设计,或研究政策经济,或应用大数据于城市分析。他们将致力于搭建交流的桥梁,将中国城市起承转合的发展话题,放到全球语境下展开交流与讨论。

2016年5月11日,第一期海外工作坊在伦敦成功举办。工作坊由《城市中国》海外观察员张永平组织并主持,共有来自伦敦大学学院 (University College London, UCL)、伦敦大学国王学院 (King's College London, KCL) 的四名博士生和伦敦政治经济学院 (London School of Economics and Political Science, LSE) 的一名研究人员参加。第一期海外工作坊的主题是外来人口如何融入城市。

工作坊流程一: 背景介绍

阅读素材:

中国的人口流动The largest migration in history
— The Economist

户口Hukou system created to restrict urban migration
— CCTV News

外来人口子女的教育China's migrant children
— The Guardian

打工者的生活素描 Liu Yong, Migrant Worker
— The New York Times

背景介绍之后,伦敦大学学院14级城市规划专业博士生刘思遥介绍了自己关于北京市城市外来人口融合问题的研究。随后大家针对中国和英国的不同国情下的外来人口问题展开了集体讨论。

自上世纪九十年代,中国的城市化进入了高速发展的阶段。而伴随着城市的快速扩张,城市中庞大的外来人口也成为了广受社会关注的话题。这些外来人员在城市中的生活状况,以及他

们在城市中的归属感问题就成为了无论社会学者还是政策制定者都不可忽视的课题。

不公平的待遇,很多时候会被认为不利于外来人口产生对本地城市的归属感。中国影响深远的户籍制度,长期以来对农村社会的歧视,普遍的地方保护主义以及当前国情下社会福利方面,特别是对外来人口支持方面的不足,使广大无本地户口的外来人员在与本地居民竞争城市资源和发展机会时陷入了相当不公平的境地。

刘思遥和宋阳认为是否能享受到当地政府提供的社会保障及服务成为了高度影响外来人口城市归属感的重要因素。与社会上一些传播甚广的观念相反,不少外来人员的经济融合度在城市中是比较好的。这在北上广深等大城市表现的比较明显,这些城市拥有大量具有高学历、高技能的外来人口,收入水平也相对较高。但是经济收入接近于本地居民并没能显著加强外来人员的城市归属感,相反,能否享受到政府福利对于归属感更加重要。

从微观层面上,外来人口所居住的社区对他们的城市融入程度也有较显著影响。当外来人员居住于外地人口高度集中的

外来人口目前已经成为北上广深等大城市人口的重要组成部分。以北京为例,2015年末全市常住人口为2170.5万人,其中常住外来人口为822.6万人,占常住人口的37.9%。

如何为数量如此庞大的外来人口创造更好地融入城市生活的条件呢?对此,各地都在探索各种不同的解决方案,也不乏政策亮点,但由于城乡二元体制等诸多复杂因素的存在,效果乏善可陈。

张永平认为广州的探索让人看到了新的希望。2016年初,广州通过《广州市来穗人员融合行动计划(2016~2020年)》,计划利用5年时间,通过开展全方位的专业化、个性化、优质化融合项目培训,加快推进广州外来人口在文化、经济、政治、生活等领域全方位融入广州社会。不同于以往的探索,这项计划更全面地规划户籍和非户籍人员的融合融入计划,学者们期待类似这样的探索能为北京等中国超大城市的流动人口服务管理难题的提供切实可行的方案。

除此以外,曾寔提出了其他值得尝试和探索的方法:

- 降低社会公共服务的门槛,让流动人口可以受到更好的待遇
- 帮助有条件的外来人口转户(类似美国给高科技人才办理绿卡)
- 引导本地人口产生正确对待外来人口的意识,努力消除歧视和偏见

来自英国的学者Helly从自己国家的角度分享了相关经验。首先,中英两国在对“外来人口”的定义上有所不同。

在英国,Migrant一词并不常用。人们很少用Migrant来形容在英格兰内部的人口流动,或英格兰与威尔士或苏格兰之间的人口流动,因为这样的流动太常见了。Migrant一词可能会用在某些从欧盟以外来英国的人身上,比如来自巴基斯坦的移民。不过对于英联邦国家(比如澳大利亚),尽管他们可以属于移民,对他们通常也会避免使用Migrant一词。

社区,比如城中村时,他们对本地城市社会的融入程度就会相对减弱。而当外来人口居住环境中本地居民较多,且双方有较多交流时,更多的接触会加速他们的城市融入。

某些与个体本身有关的变量,如外来人员的技术能力和教育程度,或许也会影响他们的城市融入程度。宋阳认为:一方面,较高的教育程度和技术能力可以代表其所在群体相对优秀的学习能力,也就意味着其接受、学习并模仿本地文化及社会规则的能力。另一方面,在当下的户籍制度规则下,拥有较高的技术水平和教育程度的外来人员相较于低技能,低学历的外来人员能更容易地获得所在地的城市户口。在中国,户口又与一系列的社会福利及本地服务挂钩,势必也会影响外来人口对本地城市社会的归属感以及融入程度。

最后,迁徙时间,也就是说在本地社区居留时间的长短或许也会影响一个人对本地社会的归属感。通常情况下,较长的居留时间意味着更多与来自本地社会的人和组织的交流的机会。而这种交流,或多或少会影响个人在群体归属上的判断,因而也会影响他们融入本地社会的意愿。

关键词:

关键词: 政策 探索 英国

英国内部有类似“户口”的政策吗?Helly提出,由于英国中央政府的权利下放(Devolution),不同地方可以制定不同的政策,这些可能造成与户口类似的效果。举个例子,如果你来自苏格兰,准备去英格兰的一所大学上学,你是不需要交学费的,苏格兰政府会帮忙支付。相反,如果你是从英格兰去到苏格兰上学,则要交学费,因为英格兰政府没有免学费政策。

结语:

城市话题,中国研究,世界眼光,我们相信《城市中国》海外工作坊将会是一次有意义的探索,也期待更多海外学者加入。

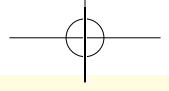


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Yellow Pages

英文版《城市中国》(部分)
English Version of *Urban China* (Partly)

Chang and Renovation under Development of High-Speed Railways

Text / KUANG Xiaoming [Chief Editor of Urban China] + CHE Jieling [UCRC]



The planning of Kaili Nan High-speed Railway Station puts railway and distribution center together, however high-speed rail is for passengers only whereas the lower-speed railway are more and more freight. (Photography/Nie Yuhan)

It's a remarkable fact that China's high-speed railways (HSRs) has been operated on tracks totaling 19,000 kilometers till the end of 2015. The railway network made up with HSR, regional rapid rail, intercity railway and pre-existing rails now covers almost all cities in the country with populations in excess of 500,000. China has become the top country in the world in terms of total mileage of HSR. In 2008, Beijing Tianjin Intercity railway was opened. Within eight years, this network get connected almost all provinces except Tibet, Yunnan and Ningxia, including 671 stations. It is now an era of HSR.

Urban Integration

Increased speed makes it easier to travel in long dis-

tance. In the year 2000, the average speed of trains in China is 60 kilometer per hour. HSR is two times faster than the former. Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou are three core cities, linking up Jing-jin-ji Area, Yangtze River Delta, Central Plains, Middle Yangtze River, Pearl River Delta and other megalopolis by lines including Jing-Hu, Jing-Kun, and Jing-Guang. Thanks to HSR, people living in Northeast, Northern China, Eastern China and Southern China can travel between these regions within one day or even half a day. It's suitable to needs for commercial affairs, tourists and commuters.

More and more people choose HSR rather than intercity buses or flights. Accordingly, it boosts the development of services including tourists, catering and

shopping. Infrastructure is believed to be the catalyst for economic development, boosting investment and offering more job opportunities.

HSR also promotes human resources, capital flows, and information flows between different regions, and overcome logistics obstacles. Manufactures gradually move towards inner cities where labor costs and land prices are lower. Coastal cities are faced with the opportunity of transformation. Scholars regard "Regional Economic Circle" as an ideal type for city development, and now it has come true. Core cities like Beijing, Shanghai and Guangzhou have shown their importance in the regional integration. HSR helps to shape more and more city clusters.

The Next District of Urban Sprawl

From the era of ordinary railway to the new era of HSR, more cities choose to build up a new HSR station. On the one hand the new station can bear a larger passenger flow, on the other however, it expands space for consumption. HSR makes changes to everyone's hometown. HSR station symbolizes the development of a city, and the outcome of urban sprawl. Together with other related infrastructures including the local transfer, it shorten the time travelling from downtown to the new district.

Chinese cities hope that the HSR effect can be fully developed. According to an uncompleted statistic, more than 70 HSR New Towns have been planned and constructed. Cities along Jing-Hu and Wu-Guang HSR lines, almost all cities have one common dream: together with logistics, business, real estates and service, HSR new towns or regions nearby can be developed into an important core in the future city trajectory.

An undeniable fact is that HSR offers new opportunities. Local governments believe that HSR helps to in-

crease land prices and to solve the old town problems. E-business, high-tech research and development centers, conference and exhibition halls and finances are planned in the HSR new towns. Buzz words like HSR New Town and Internet Plus are supposed to bring a new round of urbanization.

From Profit to Winning

It's a sensitive issue about the profit of HSR in the global context. Before Chinese HSR, the only profitable HSR is Tokaido Shinkansen. The original railway was saturated, the passenger flow and the economic base, this line got profit in the third year after opening. In the 7th year, it completed recovery of the money invest. In China, Jing-Hu HSR is the first profitable line. With the increasing passenger flow, many coastal lines including Jing-Jin Intercity Rail, Hu-Ning, Hu-Hang, Hu-Shen, Guang-Shen have got profit. Others however are suffering from huge economic losses. Even within the national planned 'four vertical and four horizontal' lines, only very

few is profitable. Cruelly, trillions of investment are devoted continuously.

Local governments hope HSR to promote local economic development. Cities especially in Central or Western China are competing to have an HSR station. We can see a similar storyline that a small city would be crowded with tourists once it's connected by HSR, some industry zone would get investment more than billion, Shangri-La would open a new hotel in some Country-level City, etc. But we want to question what the real HSR effect is, how HSR brings different effects to big cities and small ones. Confronting such a heated wave of HSR development, we want to emphasize that cooperation among multiple stake-holders are a must to maximize the HSR effect needs. We have been trying to share resources within certain regions, making supportive policies. HSR is more like catalyst that offers new opportunity and challenge for industry upgrading and space development. But still we need to find the anchor in the city itself and its industries.

Historical Analysis of the Economic Substance of High-Speed Rail

Text / Lisbon

The Pursuit of Faster Speed

One key word of the railway industry is "faster", that explains the birth of high-speed railways (HSR). Faster symbolizes the development of technology. It's also rooted in the logic of nowadays lifestyle. We have got used to a faster and faster lifestyle, and may always feel shameful about being slow. The very beginning of Chinese railway development started in the colonial era. In the late Qing Dynasty, many Chinese people were afraid of this giant 'monster', intellectuals saw the potentials of it. Zhan Tianyou, a railway engineer, was one among the first wave of overseas students. In the Westernization Movement, many businessmen invested in the railway development. The movement to protect railway rights led to the 1911 Revolution that ended the imperial rule. Railway workers in Qishuyan, Changzhou went for a strike to support the value of freedom and democracy as shown in the May 30th Movement in Shanghai.

Scholars have been working to bring out a faster train. Till the 21 century, it gave birth to the HSR. A fairy-tale in the laboratory came true, expanding the scope of a city. From inter-city trains to national main lines. The inter-city line from Beijing to Tianjin performs like a subway line within one big city. An earlier trial is the line between Qinhuangdao and Shenyang. Chinese people enjoy such convenience. Now, the national network of HSR is gradually completed. Speed seem to shorten the physical distance.

Shorten the Distance of Traffic

HSR promotes the regional integration. Historically,

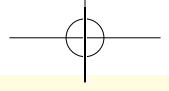
Tianjin is the port and also gate to the capital city of Beijing. In 21 century, Tianjin becomes one center city in the Bohai Sea Ring Area and Jing-Jin-Ji Region. Inter-city railway makes it easy for people to do business travelling among two cities. People can see HSRs help to bring in more human resources, high efficient logistics, and information flows, defining a new time-space relationship for cities. In the Yangtze River Delta, lines like Hu-hang, Hu-Ning and Ning-Hang does not only shorten the time travelling between Shanghai, Nanjing and Hangzhou, but also offer opportunities to a number of middle and small cities. Some cities develop closer business relationship to other cities, some strengthen linkage for regional cooperation, while some may be weakened. Almost all cities are trying to build stations, hoping that HSR can promote local urban renovation or the real estate development in the new HSR towns, and can take a more important role in the Yangtze River Delta.

Promote Economic Growth

Building an HSR line is never an easy task, hundreds of billions of investment pushes the railway industry among the national supported industries. The first wave of HSR investment began in the context of global financial crisis. In the Four Trillion Plan, building HSR is one main subject among the infrastructure development as a way to stimulate aggregate demand. Since 2006, there have been many critiques about the rationality of huge HSR investment. Some researches show that HSR investment growth rate may have a negative effect to the total output growth

rate in a short period, but may show its continuous and positive effect in a longer period. Its effect on the total economic growth is comparatively weak to other infrastructure investment. Investment should be made according to an appropriate economic scale and financial capacity, and in detailed strategies about the investment, spatial arrangement and HSR production prices. In the longer term, we have to confront the same question whether HSR is worthy.

For the moment, HSR investment helps to promote the related industries and regional economic development. Jing-Hu HSR opened in June 30, 2011 once publicized some statistics, more than one hundred million passengers travel by, its year-on-year growth of 27%, profitting approx. thirty billion by ticket. According to the calculation of business tax, it's expected to achieve 12 hundred million of profit. As its plan, it may take 5 years for construction, and 5 years tfor financial balance, and about 14 years to fully refunds to the investors. By the statistics in 2014, the number of passengers of Jing-Hu covers one eighth of the HSR passengers in nationwide. It's hard to imagine how the rest lines balance its income and expenditure. Nowadays, infrastructure investment is one of the most common techniques for the government to boost the economy. In the steady growth era, the development of HSR may appear steady, China Railway Corporation (CRC) may concern about the daily operation and services. Confronting an economic downturn in macro level, HSR development may appear as a catalyst. The Chinese economic management system and industrial structure are background players in the story of HSR.



The Location of High-Speed Railway Station and the City Trajectory

Text / WANG Jixian Edit / LI Ni



(Above and Next Page) Without high-speed train,the growth of Zhengzhou is new development surrounding the core city. However, high-speed rail changes this situation. The new-growth area are between railway station and the node towns. A new type of urbanization is formed. (Photography/ZHAO Min)

Cooperation between China Railway Corporation and Provinces

When we ask who makes the decision to locate an HSR station, it implies its investment mode that is co-operated between China Railway Corporation (CRC) and different provinces. Each HSR line is divided into different sections. The original Ministry of Railways would sign cooperation contracts with every province the line passes through. A joint venture will be set to deal with the operation and development of HSR. Thus CRC can initiate the HSR development without the permission of National Development and Reform Comission (NDRC) and with less pressure from investment. Each province will sign different contracts with its cities for land leasing. In these joint ventures, CRC is in charge of construction fees, techniques and maintenance of chains and operation. CRC make profits from train manufacture, while may suffer from economic losses in operation. The account settlement of HSR is one-line budget. It's possible that these joint ventures may 'hide' their profits in the account. Those gained from the profitable lines would be used to cover those lost lines. For example, the traditional lines would be used for freight transport. The price of transporting coal for power generation or relief food is relatively low. It's reasonable that HSR profit would be used to make the balance.

In the current administrative system, HSR development is imperative as an achievement of certain government's record. It shortens the time for resettlement, land leasing and railway construction. If there is any obstacles in land leasing, local government have to locate another piece of land. Commonly, local government has to deal with the problems generated from the unideal location. That's another reason that the HSR station is located in the suburban area.

The Risk of HSR New Town

There have been a heated debate that HSR new towns may turn into ghost cities. Actually either HSR station location or its operation can only guarantee a certain region's accessibility. But we don't know whether passengers will stay in the nearby regions. The question is what kind of people an HSR new town can attract, and what services it can provide to them. If residents in the HSR new town is not indigenous inhabitants, urban planners hope that migrants from other cities can help to build up a new town. It cannot be fast. It's uncertain whether the new town can attract industries and bring job opportunities. In such circumstance, the HSR new town may possibly fail. In a different context, building HSR new town is to jump out of the single center urban form, and generate a binuclear city form like a pendulum model. Here is an

assumption that people may transfer between these two cores working in the downtown while living in the new town or otherwise, like Binhai New Town in Tianjin. We may find the similar risk in Shanghai's Lingang New City: who would live and stay in the new area.

Business Development in HSR Station and Nearby Area

Who are the landlords of shops within an HSR station? There is a boundary line in the HSR station plan. If a shop is located within this boundary line, its rent would account for the CRC. Therefore we can see some odd phenomenon, like in Xiamen North Station. Local government has no right to plan the area within the boundary, or to decide how to use the space, they build a new shopping center outside the boundary. But who will go shopping there? For passengers, a better option is to transfer to city centers. From the perspective of CRC, this boundary line is a conservative design. Ideally, each HSR station should be designed based on the local context and spatial needs. However, the station design is "manufactured", in other words, copied and pasted. People may copy those so-called "successful" stations. Ironically, we may find "locality" in the decorations in the new stations like local stories, flowers or birds. That's why these stations have similar faces.



Whether the nearby region of HSR station is a good business location? It's linked to another question that how a station relates to the surrounding neighborhoods. Take Beijing South Station as an example. It's designed to be totally separated from the neighborhoods. Thus residents living in the nearby communities would not come to the station for shopping even there are many shops. While a station is designed to be open to the community, perhaps it would become a shopping center for the district.

Kyoto Station is designed as a large block of commercial center. The Shatin Station in Hong Kong is similar. Another departure station Hung Hom in HK tries to design another shopping mall outside the station. More than 50% of the total profit of MTR come from the real estate property development above subway station. We need to take the commercial usage of the space when designing an HSR station. For urban planners, it's a challenge to build an HSR station in downtown area. One and maybe the only successful case is Futian Station of Shenzhen. Shenzhen government shows great initiatives in the whole process. They found the ideal site in the densely populated Futian, authorized a group of professional designers to plan the whole station, and dealt with the investment. For Shenzhen, the value of a single site is fully developed. I believe that many cities will do the

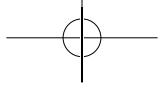
similar trials after Shenzhen.

The renovation of old station in downtown is promising, like Berlin HBF Station. It's a landmark, train station, business center, and also historical and cultural center. The development of Germany is linked to railways. The multiple meanings of a single site shows its value. Berlin station is also a transfer station for multimodal transportation including inner city, intercity railways to HSR. It's common in Europe and also Japan.

The Dilemma of a Super Large HSR Station

A super large HSR station is the product of a super metropolis. In 2015, the total passenger throughput of Shanghai Pudong Airport and Hongqiao Airport exceeds 99,000,000. Imagine if Shanghai has only one airport. In order to undertake nearly one hundred million passenger throughput, the inner space of this airport should be super large. It can no longer be a humanized scale. There would be more shuttle buses. It's hard to walk by foot and takes more time for the longer distance. Arrangements for a super large airport is another challenge, since any small false in the design may be amplified in the operation. HSR is the same. How many HSR stations are needed for a city with more than two thousand residents? Is it possible to solve the above problem by setting more HSR stations? Paris has three HSR stations

that helps to divert the traffic. At the moment, the development of Hongqiao Station is performing well, and we have not yet seen the above problem. But still we confront the similar risk. One solution is to divert some lines to Shanghai Station as the departure station, which relieves the pressure of Hongqiao Station. Similar trials is happening in Guangzhou, some lines will choose Guangzhou Station rather than Guangzhou South Station as the departure station. The renovation of old Guangzhou Station may cost a lot. But I believe it's worthy. Urban planner may design the related infrastructure nearby, a high standard hospital for instance. Many people may take HSR to this hospital. In such cases, people and resources, or other added value may keep to innovate this region constantly. Some scholars and urban planners may concern if the renovation of Guangzhou Station would endanger the value of Guangzhou South Station, or even make the real estate development there stagnation. They wonder if there would be a giant ghost city in the future. I'm not worried. Frankly speaking, the space and land near the old Guangzhou city is more valuable.



城市中国 Urban China

提速
全面高铁时代的城事民生
URBAN TRANSITION AND
PUBLIC LIVELIHOOD
IN THE HIGH-SPEED

总第76期

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THE PROJECT OF URBAN CHINA GLOCAL INSIGHTS GETS LAUNCHED



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