



城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

89

城市中国

浦东依好
三十年浦东转型叙事

HELLO PUDONG THE SECOND PHASE OF DEVELOPMENT AFTER 10 YEARS

浦东 依好

三十年浦东转型叙事

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《城市中国》海外观察员第五期 (2021-2022年) 揭榜!

自2016年海外观察员首次发声至今,《城市中国》已携手来自全球19座城市、23所知名高校、总计47名海外观察员,展开对于城市更新、社区营造、公共空间、智慧城市、建筑设计等多个话题的观察与讨论,向全球城市投以中国目光。自本届开始,《城市中国》还招募了来自国内各行业的、关注城市发展的城市观察员,聚焦于中国各个城市,挖掘更深入、更多样的视角。

这一次,又有九位青年研究者加入了UC海外观察员和城市观察员的行列。在接下来的一年里,他们将撰写城市研究文章,在世界各地举办工作坊,继续为我们带来最真切的城市观察。

URBAN CHINA
OBSERVER
INTERNA
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读编往来

READER'S MAILBOX

ISSUE 88



伦敦

效率与平等性的时空博弈

回顾伦敦的城市发展史,对于当下的中国城市具有借鉴和启迪意义。首先,环城绿带和沿交通绿色空间建设既对城市范围起到一定的限定,也为城市高品质生活提供了生态空间支撑。其次,判断城市蔓延的临界值,明确城市能够扩张的范围到底多大。对于生态要素价值的发挥有在地化的考虑,一方面把生态空间当作一种资源,包含生态属性和资源属性,兼顾效率和效益两个方面;另一方面综合考虑碳汇能力、人的参与率、步行道的使用效率,均衡生态效益、社会效益、经济效益。目前中国比较多见的是生态效益良好,而经济效益和社会效益并没有最大化。中国的城市开发需要从伦敦的历史中汲取经验,并在经验中优化创新。

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读者评论



《庞大秩序中的缝隙》这篇书评写得非常好,深刻且层次分明,算是真正透彻地解读了我的写作……
——新浪微博 @苏丹_TsinghuaUniversity 评论@城市中国 发布的微博

苏丹的《闹城》一书,所叙述的故事发生在上世纪六十至八十年代的太原。此书是一部私人成长史,叙述了将近二十年的焦灼岁月里一个工厂子弟的童年和少年时代。它同时也是一部城市记忆史,工厂、单位大院、电影院、防空洞……透过这些细微的场景,我们可以一窥彼时这座北方重工业城市的面貌。在宏大叙事的边缘处,作者书写下夹杂着喧嚣、冷酷与温情的个人生活。
——选自本刊实习生倪瑜暹书评

不谈开发及转移的更新是对公共利益的剥夺,只有新区老城统筹开发,城市有机更新才可能实现。开发区的高速度和运动式的推进建设,老城区是无缘联姻的,这样的更新就只是理论研究而已。
——网友@王诗煌 评论本刊官方微信文章《伍江 | 城市更新要全面提升城市综合生产能力》(2020年6月27日发布)

中国很多城市的新城开发已经10年有余,实际上已经开始遇到城市空间、功能等不适应今天生活现状的情况,在根本上已经需要更新。更新不止在老城,还在新城。国土空间规划、土地开发与财政收入脱钩等,是让新城不再“运动式”、慢下来的诱发因素。2020年以后只会更慢。
——《城市中国》官方回复

基本上可以这样说,中国人画丝绸之路、孟加拉湾一带的古地图,几乎没有画正确的。恒河三角洲被冲积出来,是非常晚近的事情。达卡出现在地图上要到公元7世纪,而加尔各答在英国人到达的时候还是3个小村子。早期丝绸之路在孟加拉湾最北处,走的都是凸岸潟湖多的羯陵伽(Kalinga),即奥里萨沿海。恒河三角洲一带当时还都是红树林,进都进不去。

——本刊编辑赵彦评论本刊官方微信文章《海上丝绸之路的线路价值 | 文化线路系列》(2020年8月7日发布)



不同意在剑桥小镇上的哈佛/麻省理工不再是象牙塔。不过史密斯中心真的是整个哈佛校园中我最喜欢的地方,因为设计中有太多微妙之处,让人有想住进去24小时读书的冲动。最让我有好心情的是里面的迷你日本花园,还有室内绿色墙,与二楼能透过玻璃看着街道发呆的舒服椅子,可惜文中没有提到。作为公共空间,Harvard Square最可怕的地方,不是它总被疯狂拍照的游客和大小商贩挤满,而是它在四条道路交界地,却是三角形的。道路设计的缺陷,使这个路口在满路积雪的冬天变得很危险。虽然史密斯中心前有自行车架/停靠处,周围大部分街区却都没有正规的自行车道,从哈佛骑车到麻省理工路很短,却总是让人胆战心惊。

——网友@年轮说 评论本刊官方微信文章《“校园-城市”界面——哈佛大学史密斯校园中心改造 | 海外观察员30》(2020年9月26日发布)

纠错

088期

- 第133页下图图注第6行,“敦伦人”应为“伦敦人”。
- 第68页,受访人头衔中,“全球董事”应为“全球设计董事”。

浦东而立： 从速度、高度到温度

PUDONG'S NEW STARTING: FROM CONSTRUCTION SPEED, BUILDING HEIGHT TO BETTER LIFE

文/匡晓明[城市中国总编]
Text / KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of UrbanChina]



浦东的开发开创了一种“企业+政府”有机结合的城市建设方法，以规划先行，采用板块型的运作模式，形成了以陆家嘴为中心，以高桥、金桥、张江、漕河泾、六里为弧形节点的扇面型空间结构。历经30年，浦东开发走过了建设阶段、成熟阶段和提升壮大阶段，实现了“浦东速度”、“浦东高度”的快速发展。未来，浦东规划将转向由“见物”到“见人”的人民城市的规划，重点应该是“浦东温度”。聚焦“金色中环发展带”的金鼎天地、金桥城市副中心、沪东船厂项目等重点区域，从一些重大项目来看，浦东的经济倍增、物质空间建设倍增，需要注意社会文明建设的高质量和高品质的同步发展。

板块型运作模式

PLATE DEVELOPMENT AND OPERATION MODE

板块型的运作模式是浦东开发最大的亮点，企业化与政府意志相结合，以外高桥、金桥、陆家嘴、张江等四大板块功能区为发动机，独辟蹊径地采用了以开发公司为主体，“土地空转、滚动开发”的发展模式，也被称为“浦东模式”。它不是一般意义上的对公共设施的财政投资，而是基于公有土地资产的市场运作收益。“土地空转、滚动开发”可以解释为基于土地的公有制，估算出租土地使用权的收入，作为浦东新区四个开发性公司的国有股，开发公司利用这个“空”的国有股，就可以向银行贷款，吸引外资，“空转启动”，开发以后土地价格上涨，国有股从中取得收益；滚动开发是通过国有股分红的形式，使土地增值收益用于进一步开发，可以灵活地进行多渠道融资，撬动金融资本、社会资本，比政府举债便捷有效，还能相对有效地进行成本控制和提高绩效。虽然开发公司在开发初期也被赋予了部分行政职能，但这种模式不同于传统意义上的“一套班子，两块牌子”，而是通过功能嵌套和机制创新，既确保开发公司按照政府航向进行，不至于偏离航线，也能腾出最大的空间进行市场化运作。

在“土地资源-土地资本-货币资本”独特发展模式，开发公司既是先锋，也是融资主体，还是政府意志的体现者。在浦东二次创业的征程中，开发公司面临的挑战是统筹协调“政府的开发意志”和“企业的市场化运作”两个导向，实现加和最大化。从历史进程来看，基于以开发公司为主导的国资运营模式，某种程度上四大开发公司从无到有、从小变大的成长历程就是浦东30年发展的缩影。企业和政府有机结合、封闭运营的模式决定了浦东开发的成功，开创了一种城市开发建设的方法，意义重大。

规划先行

PLANNING RUNS FIRST

小平同志曾提到“浦东开发晚了，但还来得及”。浦东模式的精髓之处，在于规划先行，从大处着眼。浦东的发展是中国改革开放精彩的一笔，大致经历了三个阶段。

第一阶段是1990年4月18日国务院正式宣布浦东开发开放后的第一个十年。以1.7平方公里的小陆家嘴地区向国际招标、征集规划方案为标志，浦东开发全面启动。当时，人民日报以《太平洋西岸的曙光》为

题，报道了这件“震动上海”“震动中外”的大事带来的“浦东热”“浦东速度”。这一阶段的规划重点是“一嘴两桥、一张江、漕河泾、六里”。笔者作为项目负责人参与了“两桥规划”，并于1994年，与王新哲同志（现任上海同济城市规划设计院有限公司党总支书记）在外高桥“三联发”片区的详细规划中第一次使用CAD绘制规划图，这也是浦东开发第一次使用计算机辅助规划。同年又编制了金桥出口加工区生活园区的详细规划，于1995年获批。当时摆渡过黄浦江去外高桥和金桥做调研的情形，至今记忆犹新。那时，浦东的发展状况与浦西相差悬殊，“宁要浦西一张床不要浦东一间房”是上海市民的口头语。为此，上海积极探索基础设施建设的新模式，通过多渠道筹资建造杨浦大桥，并于1991年5月动工，1993年10月通车运营，加上当时已有的延安东路隧道（1982年9月破土动工，1989年5月1日通车运营）以及南浦大桥（始建于1988年，1991年12月1日通车运营），改善了黄浦江两岸的交通联系，加速了浦东的开发开放，但是15元/次的过江费征收一定程度上阻挡了浦西浦东的人流、车流和物流。1998年，上海六里现代生活区的规划启动，笔者也参与其中，同时漕河泾的规划也在推进。这样，外高桥、金桥、张江、漕河泾、六里连成的弧线围绕陆家嘴，就形成了扇面型的空间结构。此外，1990年代，浦东建成了许多标志性建筑：1995年，东方明珠投入使用，建筑高度468米；1996年，上海国际会议中心开工，汤臣高尔夫别墅开始开发，第一八佰伴开业。1999年金茂大厦开业，高度420米，同年浦东机场通航。浦东开发的第一个十年是建设的十年。

第二阶段，从2000年浦东新区成立以后到“世博会”召开之前，是浦东快速成熟的阶段。2000年5月1日零时起，来往黄浦江上所有桥梁、隧道的收费处停止收费，过江收费的历史终结。同年6月，海地铁2号线正式运营，浦东进入地铁时代，开始新一轮的开发开放。各类要素加速向浦东集聚，海内外各类人才纷纷到浦东寻求发展机会，外来人口大量流入，人们开始想要“浦东的一套房子”。浦东房地产建设大规模启动，并不断“刷新”陆家嘴、浦东乃至上海的高度：492米的环球金融中心（2008年竣工），632米的上海中心（2008年动工，2016年竣工）。从30年前约24米高的东昌消防瞭望塔到现在632米高的上海中心，浦东最高建筑的生长见证了浦东开发的速度。这一阶段，笔者参与并主持了大量的住宅小区规划，并完成了从业以来的第一个小区施工图的规划（浦建路锦绣路交叉口的锦绣花园小区）。

第三阶段，以2010年的世博会大事件为标志，到2020年，是浦东的提升壮大期。围绕大事件，通过老旧小区平改坡、外立面修整等综合改造，以及轨道交通的建设，全面提升了城市公共交通和城市环境、城市风貌。随后临港片区和国际旅游度假区两个功能区的开发建设，使浦东在空间上向纵深展开。

期间，笔者完成了几个比较具有代表性的规划。一是2010年主持编制了杨浦滨江的城市设计，经过十年的建设，杨浦滨江从“工业锈带”变成“城市生活秀带”。2019年习总书记考察杨浦滨江公共空间并提出了“人民城市人民建，人民城市为人民”的理念，深刻回答了建设什么样的城市、怎样建设城市的重大命题。一方面检验了杨浦滨江的城市设计，另一方面给出了浦东开发的新标志。未来的浦东规划将是由“见物到见人”的规划，以人为中心的人民城市的概念。二是2017年主持编制了张江南区的规划。从张江高科技园区调整为张江科技城，再到张江科学城，张江功能区成为上海建设全球科创中心的核心承载区。相应地，其南区规划的重要亮点是史无前例地规划了大量的大科学装置，即“大

国重器”，为科技研发提供支撑和服务，目前其中几个装置已经落地。而在这之前，张江只有“上海光源”（世界级光子科学中心）一个“重器”。三是2020年完成了张江西北片区和东北片区的更新规划。这一规划是浦东新区的功能片区开始城市更新的一个重要标志，同时反映了浦东开发开始向存量要增量，突出“地均”产出，向高品质、精细化、高质量发展。

前30年，规划建设重点是浦东的速度，浦东高度，接下来应该是浦东温度。

宜居、宜业、宜游的短板要素

SHORT BOARD ELEMENTS ABOUT LIVABLE, BUSINESS AND TOURISM

浦东的短板，由若干要素组成，表现在宜居、宜业、宜游三个方面。首先房价太高，特别是服务领域薪酬与房价上涨不成比例，这一问题同样存在于城市规划行业。可行的解决办法是建造定向人才公寓以缓解青年人才的住房压力，使其能够安居乐业，可能需要公寓和住宅的政策同步出台加以保障。然后就是精细化管理有温度的城市空间，提升街道空间的亲切感和活力性。再就是补足休闲文化设施，增强人文气息。宜业方面，重点在于创造的公平公正的竞争环境、开放包容的市场和企业营商环境。宜游方面的抓手是，借助浦江贯通的优势，重点研究垂直于黄浦江的若干河道的城市设计，由一条轴线向纵深展开，发挥水系的的优势，在绿道之后，探索水上蓝道，用水上蓝道把空间织补起来，使浦东的旅游由轴线型向网络型发展。打造吸引全球科技精英的软硬环境，创造一个公平、开放、包容的市场环境，吸引全球的人才前来生活、工作、创业，让浦东变成一片全球青年才俊都向往的有温度的土地。这就是双自（自主创新和自由贸易）联动、双高（高质量发展和高品质生活）发展、双循环（国际国内两个循环）的基础。

人与城市是有机共创的共生体。新时代的社会主要矛盾已经转化为人民日益增长的美好生活需要和不平衡不充分的发展之间的矛盾。城市发展包含着人们的获得感、幸福感、归属感“三感”。未来浦东的发展应该是物质文明、精神文明以及社会发展、经济发展同步的倍增，“三感”的倍增，“美好生活”的倍增，而不是简单的GDP的倍增、空间的倍增以及人口的倍增。倍增不是简单的量化，不能简单用量化作为考评。浦东的未来的发展要警惕倍增计划带来新的不平衡，特别是由于不平衡、不充分造成物质建设超过社会建设和文化建设，造成大量的空置。金桥城市副中心的建筑体量达千万平方米，远远超过陆家嘴的体量。虽然不全是办公写字楼，但是研发、科技空间承载也是楼宇。生态文明思想是以人为中心，尊重城市发展规律，生产、生活、生态，三生融合的发展。从金色中环等一些重大项目来看，未来浦东的GDP的倍增、物质空间建设倍增均不成问题，但需要注意社会文明建设高质量和高品质的同步发展。

浦东的开发，可能还存在一个问题就是开发公司与上市公司同业竞争的情况。如何合理分配协调二者，避免同质化竞争，是未来发展需要理顺的地方。开发公司作为市国资委、区国资委旗下的国有企业，必然要执行诸多非市场化的经济任务。而上市公司是为投资者负责的理念。如何有效协调市场化盈利性与国控非市场化间的矛盾，也是未来浦东的开发要思考的问题。对于市场经济体制下的城市开发建设，上海或许应该向深圳学习，向深圳取经。●

金桥, 以公共活力为导向的 中心区城市设计

COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION-ORIENTED URBAN REGENERATION OF JINQIAO

文/匡晓明[城市中国总编]
Text / KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of UrbanChina]

《上海市城市总体规划(2017-2035年)》提出要建设更具活力的繁荣创新之城,到2035年基本建成卓越的全球城市。聚焦国际经济、金融、贸易、航运、科技创新“五大中心”和文化大都市建设,打造具有活力的世界级城市中心,增强城市综合竞争力。其中浦东新区金桥功能区在此次规划中升级为主城副中心之一。顺应全球城市的核心功能集聚、世界级城市中心内涵迭代等普遍规律,以更具弹性和前瞻性的发展思维,引领时代发展。金桥城市副中心不仅是区域性公共活动中心,也是上海建设全球科创中心重要载体,更是未来城市的示范区。其发展将融入上海公共活动中心体系,实现从产业园区向综合性城区的转变。

有机共生体的设计理念

ORGANIC INHABITANT IN URBAN DESIGN

金桥城市副中心的设计理念概括为“一体”,即城市活力有机共生体。金桥功能区由原来的出口加工区发展为经济技术开发区,到现在的城市副中心,经历了本质上的变化,标志着金桥从最初“出口加工1.0版本”逐步演进为“制造2.0版本”,如今正向“智造3.0版本”冲刺。金桥城市副中心承担了未来城市的新概念,将超越功能性,突破工作的概念,成为区域性的公共活动空间,是生态、人文与科技高度融合的“城市活力有机共生体”。

设计目标概括为“两人”,即以人为本,引人入胜。提倡以人为本,以国际型与创新型年轻人群的需求与向往为导向,打造引人入胜的实体空间与虚拟空间泛在共享的网红打卡地,使得金桥成为独具魅力的高品质城市副中心。

创智+活力、生态+人文、轨交+步行,这“三加”是金桥城市副中心设计的特色。“创智+活力”,通过CAD(中央活力区)与CBD(中央商务区)和CTD(中央科创区)三区叠加,打破生产、生活与生态的界限,功能高度复合,打造最具活力的高质量城市副中心。“生态+人文”,以

金桥中央公园为核心,以文化、健康和商务会议多元功能为特色,生态加人文塑造艺术性、体验型的中央公园商业综合体。倡导绿色出行,构建以“轨交+步行”为骨干的网络放射形公共空间体系。

这“一体、两人、三加”就实现了《上海市城市总体规划(2017-2035年)》提出的四级中心体中的第二级(第一级是CAZ,第二是城市副中心,第三是地区中心,第四是社区中心)。第一级中央活动区属片区的概念范畴,金桥城市副中心的作用既是地区的服务中心(张江以北、陆家嘴以东以及外高桥大片),又承担着由经开区到科创中心,从“制造”到“智造”的转变的重任。所以它的商务包含CTD的成分,CTD的核心是以5G、智慧作为主要的产业导向。

多元人文场所、功能交织复合

PUBLIC COMPREHENSIVE PLACE

高复合、多元化是金桥城市副中心建设的重要特征,规划将生产、生活、生态融为整体,确保一定比例的功能混合性,是确保高品质城市生活集聚的关键。要以提高城市活力为导向,促进各项功能融合,创造多样化的城市生活场景,促进以办公为主要功能的项目部分转换为商住混合项目、酒店或其他创新功能,以增加CBD地区功能的复合多元。核心区以绿为心,内圈层为中央文化公园,西部围绕绿地景观布局文化艺术中心,会议展览中心以及文创演艺中心等“文化三筑”,即商务会议中心、体育中心、文化中心三个综合体建筑。整个核心区的底层空间为公共活动空间。住宅空间融入中心区,与办公空间复合,绿化空间和文化体育设施复合。马家浜河两岸导入大量的活力空间,在原有的轨道线路基础上又增加了两条轨道交通,倡导低碳出行,公交节约型出行,并且在规划中实现金科路下穿,避免城市主干道对区域的扰动,并且利用下穿空间扩大的中央公园的尺度,联系了CBD和CTD两大空间。



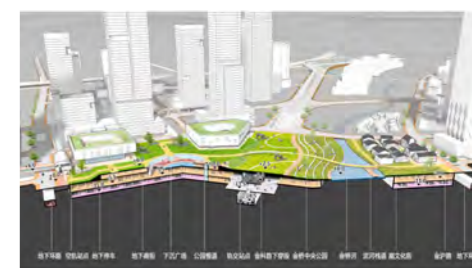
金桥城市更新效果图
Concept of Jinqiao Urban Regeneration



立体复合的慢行交通网
Multi-layer Comprehensive Slow Traffic Network



空中轨道+二层连廊+抬高公园+地下商业+主路下穿+轨道连接
Section of Traffic Network



中心区一体化地下停车系统+便捷联通的人性活力空间
Parking plus Slow Traffic Network

高品质+高密度

HIGH QUALITY + HIGH INTEGRATION

金桥城市副中心的规划是浦东又一个比较重大的城市更新项目,规划重点是将重要的产业功能板块转型为城市副中心,落实上海城市副中心的布局。金桥城市副中心的规划设计采用总规划师制度。其重心是将总规划师的设计方案通过附加图则的方式纳入到法定的控制性详细规划,使城市设计总平面图变成附加图则,纳入土地出让的条件,保证规划的思想能够贯彻实施;并且在后续的建设项目里,总规划师参与规划的评审和方案的审查,对照城市设计保证在原有的控规审批基础上增加城市设计审查。2020年年初,笔者被聘为金桥城市副中心的总规划师,主持金桥城市副中心的城市设计,后期参与控规的编制,制定了城市设计附加图则,运用城市设计方法,通过治理的机制保障了一张蓝图绘到底。现在,金桥城市副中心的一期工程已经开工。

具有活力的城市中心,既要有承担全球城市核心功能的集聚,也需要延续地方文脉。结合公共活力营造的三大目标,功能多样性、交通易达性、规模集约性、形态紧凑性、景观优质性等方面是构成公共活力的关键词,本次规划从空间、功能和交通三方面形成营造公共活力。空间维度上,生态型立体化高复合空间。规划以蓝绿生态空间为基底与复合立体的城市核心空间相结合,形成“高品质+高密度”的城市活力空间载体,通过打造高密度、高品质的核心载体空间,促进各类要素集聚。功能维度上,高复合多元化城市功能。城市活力表现为城市人群活动的丰富性,因此中心区多元化的业态功能和高复合的土地利用,是支撑形成多样化的活动的前提条件。交通维度上,构建高效可达性的交通体系,包含轨交+步行的交通体系,以及由地下环路、二层连廊、步行网络构成的立体高效的交通网络。未来金桥城市副中心规划区将成为金桥功能区内重要的交通换乘节点和交通枢纽发展示范区。

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(特别鸣谢：封面摄影吴建平)

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Text / HAN han



韩晗

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“客”是中国文化当中一个非常有趣的词，时常与“主”对应。比如说，“客随主便”大家都不陌生，“三十六计”里也有一个“反客为主”。此外，辩证法里还有主观客观。这么说来，这有点像西方文论当中“他者”的概念，“客”意味着与“我（主）”相对应的另一个群体。

显然，“客”有陌生化的一面，词坛皇帝李煜讲“梦里不知身是客”，便是将自我陌生成为了自己也不熟悉的他者，这是玄妙的抒情辩证法。当从文化转入跨文化时，“客”因为英文汉译又多了一层含义。比如耳熟能详的“黑客”，其实是英文“er”后缀与清辅音“k”碰撞之后发出的声音，但“黑客”二字，总能让人想到“黑衣侠客”，尽管黑客也不全是互联网里扶危济困的佐罗式人物，亦有鸡鸣狗盗之宵小。此外，还有近年来比较火爆的“创客”。

在跨文化译介当中，“客”在概念的能指上仍保留了“他者”的含义，这是一群陌生的群体，是之前从未有过的“来客”。比如说黑客，以及创客，两者虽然在意义上相去甚远，但以“客”而言，却皆是如此。创客，作为一个有趣的社会阶层，它们并没有学界公认的确切定义，而是接近于“自雇者”的一群靠贩卖智力与创新为生的人，他们虽然需要群体合作，但每个个体都自有其闪光点，既可以是设计师，也可以是文化策划人，或是民间音乐人，甚至是当红网络主播，他们大多数人靠一台笔记本就可以自给自足，当中不少人甚至陡然而富。用一句比较热门的话讲，创客显然属于“新社会阶层”。

毋庸置疑，这是中国社会经济、文化发展到一定程度之后的产物。在漫长的计划经济时代，“创客”是不太可能出现的。当然这也是互联网高速更新换代的结果，因为工作基本上靠在互联网上完成，而且并非满足这个社会基本的物质供给，而是在物质需求之上的精神与物质双重需求。深圳大学副教授温雯博士的《创客文化研究》是中文学界一部研究、思考创客并将其理论化、中国化的佳作。从全书所论述的问题来看，有如下两个值得学界思考并予以启发之处。

一是将“创客”这个舶来概念中国化，并将其与中国社会、城市建

设相结合，体现了作者思考、研究问题的中国立场，这也是今后研究创客提供了一个基本路径。

学界公认，创客经历了一个“先西后中”的城市化进程。之前我们谈“创客文化”，多半围绕欧美、日本等国家“创客文化”进行论说，较少涉及中国创客。《创客文化研究》当中有两个章节涉及到非常具体的中国问题，一是创客与创新型城市的关系，二是创客如何服务于学习型社会的构建。这两个章节立足中国社会主旋律大背景，探索“创客”在当中何为之意义。

关于创新型城市与学习型社会，习近平同志均有重要指示。在全国科技创新大会、两院院士大会、中国科协第九次全国代表大会上的讲话中，习近平同志指出：“要围绕‘一带一路’建设、长江经济带发展、京津冀协同发展等重大规划，尊重科技创新的区域集聚规律，因地制宜探索差异化的创新发展路径，加快打造具有全球影响力的科技创新中心，建设若干具有强大带动力的创新型城市和区域创新中心”，而在致国际教育信息化大会的贺信中，习近平同志也作出重要指示：“建设‘人人皆学、处处能学、时时可学’的学习型社会，培养大批创新人才，是人类共同面临的重大课题。”

因此，无论是创新型城市还是学习型社会，都是目前我国城市、社会发展的重大议题，如何找到研究切入点，受到学界普遍关注。《创客文化研究》即以“创客”为路径，切入相关研究，进行理论论说。并以深圳“四创联动”、中国海洋大学“专创融合”等为案例，探讨创客如何在



创客的“中国化”是在中国城市发展和发展的总体进程之内发生的。(图片来源/福建省教育厅官网)
The "Sinicization" of makers takes place in the overall process of urban development and social development in China. (Photo source / jyt.fujian.gov.cn)



手工创客类课程在越来越多的公共文化场馆、社区、园区和学校出现。(图片来源/008管家)
Handmade maker courses appear in more and more public cultural venues, communities, parks and schools. (Photo source / 008gj.com)



学习、创造，使自我成为社会中大写的人。(图片来自网络)
Learning and creating make self a capital person in society. (Photo source / Internet)

创新型城市建设与学习型社会当中扮演积极作用。

值得一提的是，在论说创客教育与学习型社会时，作者分析了中国创客教育市场与城市布局的关系，并就创客教育未来发展提出了自己的建议。事实上，创客教育才是创客从无序向有序发展的重要动力，是在“万众创业，大众创新”倡议之下将创新制度化、体系化的具体实践。从这个角度来看，创客运动的意义，无疑比我们所认为的更为深远。

二是将建构了创客与城市之间的逻辑联系，以城市文化为基础论说创客的意义与价值，开拓了城市研究的新视野。

“创客”是城市文化发展的结晶。人类城市的历史渊源有自，早在古希腊城邦时代便有所为的城市(city)，但真正现代工商业意义的城市如伦敦、纽约、里斯本与悉尼，则拜资产阶级革命与工业革命所赐，事实上，在人类城市的早期，就有了类似于今日“创客”的独特社会阶层——如职业撰稿人、服装设计师或模特等等，这在卡尔维诺、卡夫卡以及维多利亚时代英国小说家的作品中都不鲜见。

但在早期左翼作家如小林多喜二、卡夫卡或茅盾的笔下，这些创客先驱们作为受迫害、歧视与压迫的城市“零余者”出场，在近代中国甚至被讽刺为“亭子间文人”——如杭穉英、李伯元、周瘦鹃等等。若立足于中国现代文化产业史的视角来看，这些“零余者”却非城市的“边缘人”，而是真正激发城市活力的特殊群体，历史来看，在近代中国城市化与文化现代化进程当中，他们有着不可忽视的地位。

从经济学的角度看，创客的社会地位、影响与收入，是由城市的发育水平所决定，也与文化产业发展程度相适应。如纽约、悉尼与伦敦，都是创客文化高度发达的区域。《创客文化研究》即从“创客文化基因”、“城市可持续发展”、“创意产业迭新”与“城市工匠精神”几个层面，论述了创客与城市之间的逻辑联系。我们看到个中理论是建构在城市研究基础之上的。实际上，作者也为考量“创客”建构了一整套研究指标，拓宽了城市研究的理论视野。

早在19世纪40年代，马克思就在《德意志意识形态》当中深刻阐述了城市产生的过程，并在《共产党宣言》中进一步指出城市化与现代化之间的关系。从两者关系来看，城市化是现代化的重要反映。那么因城市化而衍生出的“创客”，当然可以理解为人类在技术与意识形态现代化的结晶。在论说“创客文化基因”时，《创客文化图景》就勾勒出了

创客文化的世界图景与中国语境，深入归纳了中国城市化进程与创客基因培育的密切联系。从这个角度来看，温雯是敏锐的，她从中国立场出发，提出了全新且重要的问题，值得学界更为深入的思考。

严格来说，《创客文化研究》在相关问题的论述上仍有看似浮光掠影之处，如在逆全球化思潮甚嚣尘上的今天，研究者不应忽视对全球化视域下创客文化在建构人类命运共同体当中重要性的深入审思。尤其是在互联网时代下，创客在线上联络的积极作用已经日趋重要(如网红博主、直播达人等等)，他们将更深入地介入到传统的文化、经济领域并促进经济全球化与文化多极化的发展，并推动区块链、人工智能等新技术的普及以及各类社交软件的国际化使用。作者若在《创客文化研究》的修订本当中可以对上述问题有更为深入的阐释，必然精彩非凡。

无论如何，从总体上讲，《创客文化研究》是一部非常重要且有较高学术价值的著作，也是中文学界第一部全面论述“创客”的系统专著，我们理应对这样的学术探索充满肯定与期待。因为，在这个充满挑战与转折的大时代，中国真正意义上的创客运动与创客研究的大幕，才刚徐徐拉开，我们需要这样一部有气魄、有思想、有深度的学术力作，以呼唤“创客”时代的主角们登场。



《创客文化研究》

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2018.10



2018.11



2018.12



2019.01



2019.02



2019.03



2019.04



2019.05



2019.06



2019.07



2019.08



2019.09



2019.10



2019.11



2019.12



2020.01

黄页 YELLOW PAGES

Humanity, New Key Word of Pudong

Text / KUANG Xiaoming [Chief Editor of Urban China] + ZHAO Min Translate / SONG Yating[UCRC]



Biyun international community in Jinqiao, 2018. It has transformed from a supportive living community for the industrial companies in Jinqiao into an international community integrated with the whole city. (Photo / MAO Zhengyuan, Image Source / The Eyes of Pudong, Documentary Photography)

In 1990, the State Council of China announced the opening-up of Pudong, with the strategy of "finance goes first, trade revives the city, infrastructure paves the way, and industries interact". This pioneered an organically integrated urban development model where the state

cooperates with enterprises to carry out zone-based development plans under a preceding masterplan, with a focus on the big picture. This model eventually formed Pudong's fan-shaped spatial structure along the Lujiazui river bend. In 2019, Shanghai proposed the "2035 masterplan" and the

"14th Five-Year Plan", according to which, Pudong is ready to transform from a CBD that "looks upon local demands" to an area with development goals that "responds to local needs". Specifically, it will move forward with more open, inclusive and innovative perspectives in terms of

balancing the ecological environment, shaping living and working, and being a national strategic area, while moving in hand with neighboring cities and regions.

From Development-Oriented to Life-Oriented

The most important dimension of Pudong's development is its zone-based development model. The four development zones of Waigaoqiao, Jinqiao, Lujiazui, and Zhangjiang are the engines of Pudong's development, in which development companies operate as the main body under the "land rolling development model".

The development of Pudong could be summarized in four phases. The first decade is the ten years of construction starting with the State Council's official announcement of the opening-up of Pudong on April 18, 1990. In the 1990s, numerous landmark buildings have shot up in Pudong, especially in the Lujiazui area. For example, the Oriental Pearl Tower was put into use in 1995; in 1996, the construction of the Shanghai International Convention Center started, the development of Tomson Golf Villa began, and Shanghai Yaohan Nextage Department Store opened. In 1999, the Jin Mao Tower was open for business, and Pudong International Airport was put into use in the same year. The second phase began when the political authorities of the Pudong New Area were official launched in 2000. This period was marked by a large number of inflow residents into Pudong, which also prompted it to rapidly mature. Taking the residential area in

Jinqiao as a typical example, real estate developments have started extensively surrounding the existing programs. The Expo 2010 marked the beginning of the third phase, when Pudong greatly progressed. Public transportation and the urban image of Pudong have been generally improved with renovation projects and rail transit projects carried out across all four development zones. This was followed by a spatial expansion of Pudong through the development of the Lingang New City and the Shanghai International Tourism and Resorts Zone. This has determined that Pudong has to aim for higher development standards in terms of quality, scale and quantity. It also highlighted the fact that urban development should pay more attention to the improvement of the built space by stressing the concept of GDP per land area.

If speed and height were the key criteria of Pudong's development in the past 30 years, then the next should be amicability. In 2019, when visiting the Yangpu Riverside public space, General Secretary Xi put forward the idea that "the cities are built by the people and are for the people", envisioning the ideologies of Chinese cities and urban development. The planning of Pudong in the future will be more oriented towards the life of people instead of physical construction as in the past.

The topic of this issue is therefore discussed into two parts. The first part investigates the development of the four development zones from the beginning – Lujiazui, Waigaoqiao, Jinqiao and

Zhangjiang. Through interviewing various management committees and urban planners, as well as gaining insights from experts and scholars, and looking into the lives of locals and "new Pudong residents", we hope to illustrate the history and progress of the four development zones, especially how they have evolved from zones to livable urban areas over the past 30 years. Among them, the focus of "development" and the vital role of the financial industry become evident when tracing Lujiazui's development; for Jinqiao, it is "community" in regards to the discourse of community regeneration; in Zhangjiang, the key feature is "future", as it is expanding southward transforming into a science city; for Waigaoqiao, the emphasis would be the history and prospect of "free trade". The second part, on the other hand, aims to rediscover Pudong's potentials in the context of the present world situation. This will be examined through the shaping of the Lingang area and the high-tech heavy industry to be borne in the future, as well as the transformation of the post-Expo Houtan area, and the development of the Shanghai International Tourism and Resorts Zone, all of which will be looked through in the course of the Shanghai Free-Trade Zone. At the same time, rethinking the idea of humanity in the urbanization process towards a mature more stage – the transformation from "development-oriented" to "life-oriented" – could be seen as a parallel section throughout this issue. The goal of becoming the cultural center through ecological planning and

urban projects such as the riverfront public green space, as well as ecological education facing the second generation of Pudong residents have all been thoroughly discussed.

The Second Round of Development

Pudong's weakness is manifold, which could be analyzed in three aspects: livability, business environment, and tourism attractiveness. First and foremost, Pudong has for long been criticized as "lacking urban life": house prices stand high, especially when the growth rate of house prices far exceeds that of the average salary; the walkability and vitality of the streets are to be improved; leisure and cultural facilities are short of demand to give the city a sense of culture. In terms of business environment, the link between various program zones is weak. The focus should be creating a fair, equitable competitive environment for entrepreneurs and businesses, as well as an open and inclusive market. Tourism should take advantages from the city's connected waterways, which should be reconceived as blue ways – just like the riverfront greenway – as an important organizational element of the urban space. This would further contribute to creating an environment well-supported by soft and hard infrastructures to attract global talents in science and technology, as well as strengthening a fair, open and inclusive market environment. This is also the basis for innovation and free trade, high-quality urban development and urban life, and

ultimately, the dual circulation economy. To shift from suburbanization to real urbanization and to strengthen the industry have become two priorities in Pudong's future planning.

Urban development is measured by "three senses" of urban dwellers – sense of achievement, sense of happiness, and sense of belonging. The future development of Pudong should be a simultaneous growth of material assets and spiritual assets, of social capital and economic capital. Therefore, in the first part of the discussion, behind the subject of each development zone, there are also storylines from the dwellers. These storytellers include Wu Jianping who had photographed widely about social life in the early years of Pudong's development, and Mo Yin, a writer that also works as a salesperson in the Yaohan department store. They offer us lens to look at Pudong's development from an immigrant, and from a local Shanghainese living in Puxi. Other stories come from a highly-educated mother living Zhangjiang that speaks for the "new Pudong residents", and also the decent of Fang Xiaoru (politician in the Ming Dynasty). In his old house in Waigaoqiao, he offered us a glimpse into the traditional spatial and social structure in ancient Pudong where villages and towns are dispersed. The issue has also included stories from people outside the four development zones in Pudong, adding richness and depth to the "Pudong Speed" in the past three decades. For example, a middle school student who once wrote inquiry letters to the government about

the location of the Nanpu Bridge has now become a middle school teacher; led by the Secretary You, Youyou New Village has developed its own real estate and hotels, and even provided office space for the then management committee. The autonomy of individuals and communities in Pudong will eventually become the catalysts and drivers for Pudong's development towards a mature urban area.

"Architectures are designed with depth, blocks are comfortable for walking, parks are the best destinations for leisure, citizens are self-disciplined, honest and well-behaved, and the city is always amicable." Humanity is the focus of Pudong's development in the next decade. ●

The Second Round of Pudong's Financial and Trade-Led Development

Text / ZHU Jinhai Translate / SONG Yating[UCRC]

Finance is a major feature of Pudong's development and opening-up, but it has not been the goal of Pudong's development since the very beginning. Each of the four development zones in Pudong has an industry focus. The Jinqiao Export Processing Zone is mainly for high-end export-oriented processing and manufacturing. Both it and the Waigaoqiao Free Trade Zone developed fast in the beginning. Lujiazui started at the same time. Zhangjiang was the latest, with an area of 350 square kilometers expanding to 500 square kilometers. The Development Zone Companies are in charge of each zone's development before the establishment of the Pudong New Area Management Committee. After the establishment, the management pressure has further prompted the setting up of separate management committees of development zones. At first, there were six Development Zone Management Committees, but it didn't work out in the end and became centralized again. Whether Pudong can play the "second game" well depends on the country's opening up, and whether it could clear the "debts" from its previous development through improved financial and public services. The ultimate goal of globalization is to globalize culture and technology basing on the globalized manufacturing industry.

The First Domestic Financial Center

China's opening up began with four major special zones including Shenzhen. The first goal is to solve the overall shortage

in manufacturing, especially of daily goods, so that people can have their necessities. At that time, Shenzhen's opening-up operated at the lower end of the value chain, mainly "PMACT" (i.e. processing with supplied materials, manufacturing with supplied drawings and samples, assembling with supplied parts and compensation trade), with technology and management models introduced from abroad. Finance wasn't an important sector at the time, because Shenzhen's finance relied on Hong Kong. The business risk in Shenzhen was relatively low, and we had no experience. The special economic zone could not have been in Shanghai back then, because of the great manufacturing pressure it bore – its fiscal revenue accounted for 1/6 of the country, and it was the most important source of light industry products. Even Guangzhou cannot bear the pressure of failing and impacting the national economy. Therefore, there were Shenzhen, Zhuhai, Shantou, Xiamen. While Shenzhen is close to Hong Kong, Zhuhai is near Macau. Xiamen and Shantou are linked to Taiwan over the sea. PMACT was the only possible model at that time, and it was impossible to work on something bigger.

But as we move higher on the value chain, finance becomes increasingly important, as export to foreign countries requires the support of financial services. Without finance the development of manufacturing could not progress. Shanghai used to be the financial center of the Far East before the establishment of the PRC. There were 3,600 small-scale

banking institutions along the Yangtze River headquartered in Shanghai. Finance was very open at that time. With its history and experience, it is a natural choice to put the center of the finance industry in Shanghai and open up Pudong for future development. Lujiazui is a suitable site as it faces the Bund across the river. In fact, while it is reasonable to adopt a more dispersed spatial layout over the city, how did it end up centralized? In 1992, a research was published using the Square Mile of London as a case study, and it has thus become an important reference for Pudong. When Lujiazui was developed, 98% of the offices were sold, a higher percentage even than that of the City of London. It is only in recent years that some companies have moved out and the vacancy rate increased. However, the service capacity of Lujiazui is still far behind the City of London and Wall Street in New York, and the financial openness in China is incomparable with others. Their financial institutions can sell treasury bonds from four countries, and one team could deal with 100 billion US dollars, while ours are of much small scales, such as a few million.

Effective Industrial Zones, Inefficient Urbanization

Pudong is pioneering in planning development zones, and the research that led to such an outcome is very visionary. Some of the zone are developed very well. But it is a general opinion that Pudong's urbanization is very poor, and it lacks urban life. There are mostly newly built

residential communities in Pudong, while the old communities in Lujiazui has been largely demolished. The population and culture of the communities in Pudong are similar to those of Puxi. People living in newly built communities hardly have any sense of belonging when surrounded by strangers. People miss the old lifestyle in the Lilong where everyone knows his neighbors. Public space is also insufficient; some of the spaces are even leased for private use. It is hard for private fund to create public spaces, even if there are, people could hardly afford to use them. If public spaces are increased, like-minded people will naturally gather and become closer. It is a public welfare in nature and the government must support it. At the very least, a couple of communities could work together and create a shared space where their residents can gather for activities and events. There can be commercial programs too, but it cannot be business-oriented. If Pudong is to be a global-standard urban area, there should be space for pensioners to exercise and socialize. Young people also have similar demands, as now there are no outdoor workout spaces in Pudong. If you do not live near the riverfront public space, you will need to go to a large gym, which is costly and inconvenient.

Difficulties in the Coming Years

It is hard for Pudong to accelerate. An apparent obstacle is that there are "debts" in the development over the past 30 years to be paid. Firstly, the Lingang area has not developed as well as the Waigaoqiao

Free Trade Zone. It is important to allow ships passing the East China Sea to see the glory of Lingang's development. Since the Yangshan Deepwater Bonded Area is close to the Lingang area, industries related to the deep water port should have clustered in the Lingang area, as in the case of Yokohama. Secondly, the Zhuqiao Airport Industrial Zone is far behind as the Pudong International Airport has not driven the development of the surrounding area. As a matter of fact, conceiving the airport industrial zone in relation to the free trade zone could potentially be powerful. But it has been given little attention. With a large area of tabula rasa, it is difficult to make a city out of it. The last is that the proposition of the Sunqiao Modern Agriculture Park should have come earlier. It is a more significant part that Pudong has reckoned.

In the future, Pudong is unlikely to expand, but it will transform into a mature urban area. First of all, services should be improved on the basis of existing industries. Openness is fundamental, although it is now a hard time for both China and other places. The Belt and Road Initiative (BRI) does not concern Shanghai. While other cities and regions are busy with the new Yiwu-Madrid Railway, the Chongqing-Xinjiang-Europe Railway, and the Chengdu-Europe Express Railway, what can Shanghai do? Shanghai has only established connections with some of the developed cities. Investing in them wouldn't guarantee desirable feedbacks. How will Pudong play its part in BRI in the future? The Shanghai Stock Exchange could carry

out IPO for BRI companies as an important move towards the internationalization of the finance industry. Leaning on national and regional financial highlands, Pudong can also establish a financial assets exchange. Healthcare and education should also be in line with BRI policies, such as the opening-up of healthcare that will introduce international healthcare resources into the free trade zone. Are doctors allowed to work as registered staffs in both China and abroad? Are international certificates recognized? How should imported medical supplies be licensed? These are all to be further discussed. It is the same with education. New York University may offer a good example. In addition, e-commerce will also challenge traditional banking. Banks in Lujiazui will soon face transformation. Manufacturing is not the only focus of opening-up, but rather, the first step, after which much more will become possible. Urban scaled cultural facilities are now planned and grounded in Pudong. Among the five projects of the "13th Five-Year Plan", three are in Pudong: the Pudong Library, the Pudong Art Museum, and the Shanghai Grand Opera House. They will introduce the public by organizing international-standard events with the help of global firms and professionals in the cultural industry. The integration of the Yangtze River Delta region depends on these grounding details, and whether education, finance, and culture can be well-incorporated. ☞

Re-Exploring Pudong after 30 Years

Text / XU Jian Edit / DING Xinyi[UCRC] Translate / SONG Yating[UCRC]

Pudong, although with a relatively weak foundation in the beginning, has seized the opportunity to participate in the contemporary globalization, where it has swiftly developed a solid ground for development and created a healthy environment for innovation. Facing profound changes in globalization, as well as in the competition environment and functional layout of the domestic market, Pudong has its unique advantages with strong organizational structures and balanced development factors. The paradigm of Pudong's development will become more significant in the future.

Transformation in Counter-Globalization Era

There are several fundamental preconditions in Pudong's development no matter how it is envisioned. First, Pudong is an important growth engine in terms of economic performance and the scale of industry. It is one-eighth thousandth of the country's size, accounting for one-eightieth of the country's GDP. What needs to be considered is the improvement of the allocation of production factors. For example, container throughput at the Port of Shanghai has ranked first in the world for years, but it does not fully possess the ability to formulate a global standard for containerized freight index. Second, Pudong is a window of China's opening-up, where many international resources inflow and be channeled to other regions of the country. Many international companies have set their headquarters in Pudong to

strategize their market layout in China and the Asia-Pacific region. Third, Pudong benchmarks high-quality development in China's new era. Six industries scaled over a hundred billion yuan, including chip-making, medicine, aviation, smart vehicles, smart manufacturing, and data hub, are national-level innovative industries. Being in her 30s, Pudong is ready to set off again, this time with a new starting point and a different global environment. In the upcoming stage of globalization will be major changes. In fact, such changes are already taking place. These changes and the trend of counter-globalization will definitely have their impact on Pudong.

The biggest difference is that, in the past, global value chains were distributed around the world, and negative political factors were relatively few. This had created a relatively free environment where China's advantages coincide with that of the Western world. At present, companies on-shoring or near-shoring their manufacturing will reshape the global value chains. At the same time, the competition environment and the layout of the domestic market are also changing. At the beginning of Pudong's opening-up, although there were also competitors such as special economic zones and other coastal cities that has opened up, Pudong still benefited from preferential policies and special treatments for pilot areas. Now, when China is generally opened up, Pudong's development factors will, to a certain extent, be diverted to other potential regions. Nevertheless, Pudong is still a trump card with unparalleled advantages

compared to other areas. What must be realized however is that the country's strategic layout is evolving.

The function layout of Pudong has been upgraded from "four centers" to "five centers". After the financial crisis of 2008, innovative approaches have been searched and tested out in multiple global cities across the world, with awareness that the driving force of urban development has changed under a new technological revolution. In 2014, General Secretary Xi proposed that Shanghai should race for an international innovative hub for science and technology with a higher pace. Highlighting the role of innovation in urban development is, in fact, a trend among global cities. The industrial age was marked by economic centers and transport centers, while the new technological revolution and the new era require new development factors and new services. With the Shanghai Technology Innovation Center located in Pudong, Pudong's functions have become more comprehensive and their cooperation has also been improved.

Re-Exploring Pudong after 30 Years

In the past three decades, Pudong has developed a solid foundation through its own efforts and under the strategic guidance of the central and municipal governments. Pudong bore the unique mission of shaping Shanghai's "five centers": the economic center, financial center, shipping center, and trade center all located in Pudong, and the core area of the science and technology center

in Zhangjiang. Although the external environments of the city, the country, and the world are all undergoing changes, Pudong's advantages and characteristics are unparalleled. Therefore, Pudong still bears great potentials. Although to a certain extent preferential policies and resources will be channeled to other regions in the future, Pudong has a very solid foundation in comparison. It has a diverse spatial composition with urban areas and villages, and comprehensive development factors. The paradigm of Pudong's development will become more significant in the future.

Development factors are basic components to the economy, and economic development is the process of organizing them. Pudong's advantages in development factors are of great significance to its growth, especially in its industrial upgrading. Pudong is basically industry-driven, other than prominently driven by real estate. At present, the development of the six major industries is very solid to project results beyond expectations. The fertile ground and the innovative atmosphere are Pudong's biggest harvest in the past 30 years.

China has new prospects for Pudong in the next phase of globalization. Being one of the biggest beneficiaries of globalization in the past, China has also suffered from uneven development, with the pain and gain somewhat disproportionate. The goal was to participate even when rights are sacrificed. In the upcoming years, in order to participate in a more active manner, China must take the initiative to shape its own environments. Therefore, a functional highland like Pudong will be necessary. For example, a platform will be needed to allocate resources if the market is to be structured in regards to the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This would further develop the foundation for BRI's role in the global value chain. Pudong has its advantages in these areas. Facing a major turning point in globalization, China will need Pudong in shaping a new globalization pattern that is

heathy to China's development.

There are also city-scale missions for Pudong. In the context of the overall economic downturn, Pudong will continue to play a fundamental role in Shanghai's economy, in which breakthroughs have to be made in regards to the governance of the mega city. For instance, political innovations such as the integration of different government units and the pilot reform of "One Industry, One Certificate" in Pudong are both potential moves to its future development.

In terms of Pudong itself, upon its 30 years of development, the development model will require an update that answers to high-quality development. In recent years, Pudong has been looking as Singapore and Shenzhen and other pioneering regions for case study. Singapore has a land area of more than 700 square kilometers, of which more than 100 square kilometers were reclaimed from the sea. Its population, approximately 5 million, is about the same as Pudong. Singapore is not large in terms of economic scale, but its composition is comprehensive. Another important reference is Hong Kong, which is also 1,200 square kilometers, but less than 30% of its land is developed. With the city being compact and highly functional, green space and the mountainous areas are well-reserved. Under similar geo-conditions, how Pudong could reach the level of Singapore's and Hong Kong's development is still a question to be discussed. At present, Pudong has developed well, but there is always a longer vision and a bigger mission given its role in the country and in this era.

Solving Dualistic Development in Future

Driven by function, the urban development of Pudong is uneven between production and living, and between economy and society. Public services are still insufficient to match with Pudong's economic status. In addition, when aiming for the global standard, breakthroughs

must be sought under the national legal framework, other than limited within local establishments. For example, the free trade zone might require free exchange of data, which may not be authorized by Pudong's administrative, but given a green light by the central government. When talking about Shanghai, people still think of Puxi – the Bund, historical architecture, Lilong and so forth. When talking about Pudong, it is Lujiazui only. There is still a gap between the lifestyle of Pudong and Shanghai the global metropolis.

Especially after the merger of Nanhui and Pudong, the difference between urban and rural areas in the southern area has become evident. There is the dual structure between the urban and the rural in terms of both the image and the industry. At present, Pudong's high-level development is limited to certain industries and service sectors. It is relatively behind in terms of rural development. In this case, institutional innovations are to be explored. In addition, the engine of Pudong's growth, also of Shanghai's growth, still need to be intensified. Shanghai is often compared with Shenzhen, where large companies such as Huawei and Tencent have grown up. Pudong has yet to cultivated such local companies, when most of its companies are international firms. These are all challenges for Pudong to tackle in the next stage.

As an administrative district that bears special significance, Pudong was born and prospered under China's market reform and opening-up. It is a symbol of Shanghai and China, also a role model for urban areas to achieve their own leap-forward while serving a bigger mission. Upon its 30 years of progress, Pudong will, in the future, be the "best hub and gateway" for China's dual circulation economy, as well as a critical "node" in the global city network, and the "peak" of Shanghai's urban functions and services. It is undoubtedly a pilot in China's socialist modernization. 🍀

自然与城市：星球城市化中的湿地？ NATURE AND THE CITY: WHAT IS A WETLAND IN THE PLANETARY URBANIZATION?

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Text / WANG Ting Edit / SONG Dailun[UCRC]

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“自然与城市”系列文章

当前，世界上超过一半的人口居住在只占地球土地面积的不到1%城市里。同时，“人类世”的到来，以及近年来气候危机的加剧，却似乎都表明，人类活动的范围比以往任何时候都大，对地球的影响也更深远。一些学者也将在持续增长的人类影响之下产生的空间发展不均衡和不公平现象称之为“星球城市化”。“自然”也已经成为星球城市化之下不同主体建构出的一种文化现象。湿地资源一直是地球生态系统的重要组成部分之一，也是当今城市生态的热门话题。中国及世界各地涌现了湿地建设的热潮，出现了人工湿地，生态补偿湿地和智慧湿地等。什么是湿地？湿地，只存在与非城市的郊野地带么？什么情况下我们需要把湿地圈进保护地？湿地与城市的关系又是什么呢？湿地的保护与建造，真的能缓解日益紧张的环境问题，促进公共健康么？2020年5月22日，《城市中国》与香港大学园境建筑学部联合举办了海外观察员第八期工作坊。因为新冠疫情，本次讨论转移到线上平台，召集到多位景观设计，生态规划，地理政治和城市方面的专家，与100多位参与者一起，以珠江三角洲后海湾的三个经典湿地为例，重新思考湿地与城市的动态关系，解构“自然”的涵义。

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湿地的意义：香港湿地公园的故事 THE MEANING OF WETLANDS: STORIES FROM THE HK WETLAND PARK



香港湿地公园建造前场地生境 (图片由Mathew Pryor 提供)
Habitat before construction of Hong Kong Wetland Park (Image / Mathew Pryor)

香港湿地公园建造于1998年到2006年。自从建成以来，一直被评价为香港乃至亚洲建成早且较为成功的自然修复项目。61公顷的湿地公园由淡水和咸淡水生境组成，并且有丰富的动植物种类。每年吸引超过46万世界各地的游客。在这次演讲中，Mathew Pryor教授以曾经参与香港湿地公园建造的景观设计师身份，讲述了一些香港湿地公园在规划建设初期鲜为人知的挑战，以此来阐述在生态性减缓概念中普遍存在的一些认知谬误。

香港湿地公园场地位于深圳香港交界的后海湾区域，本来就是一个生态价值高，生境复杂的区域。由于接近海平面，它经常受到潮汐的影响，场地上还有鱼塘和修复的林地。这几年兴起的生态性减缓在当年香港湿地公园建造时还缺乏认知和实践。所以在参与建造香港湿地公园时，Mathew和他的团队经常问自己三个重要的问题，这三个问题也贯穿了他的演讲：

什么是生态性减缓？

WHAT IS ECOLOGICAL MITIGATION?

生态性减缓是一个包容性的概念，可以包括生态补偿，修复，复原和易位等。香港湿地公园最初的生态性减缓目标是为香港天水围新镇开发造成的湿地生态资源破坏而进行补偿。然而香港湿地公园的目标随着社会的发展，利益相关者的加入也在逐渐变化。1997年，在咨询公司向香港政府拓展署提出通过建立湿地公园来进行生态补偿和水体进化后，很快政府又提出要加入休闲娱乐和教育功能。随后，渔农自然护理署和香港旅游发展局的加入，也使得香港湿地公园的成为了2000香港政府的世纪项目。越来越多的资金得以介入，使得香港湿地公园能够建立起亚洲最大的湿地游览中心并且有一套专门的湿地管理团队和机制，可以提供专业的管理培训和湿地教育。然而其最初的生态减缓目标也变得越来越复杂化，模糊化。

应该怎么去定义生态性减缓的标准？怎么测量它的成功？

HOW SHOULD STANDARDS OF MITIGATION BE DEFINED? HOW DO WE MEASURE OF SUCCESS?

那么在日益复杂的湿地建设中，Mathew Pryor教授认为，造一个好的湿地需要对3个基本要素（水，泥土，动植物）的互动关系进行深入的了解和尊重。比如湿地里的水从哪里来，去哪里，怎么为不同的生境创造合适的水量。又比如湿地水下的泥土，怎么挖，挖哪里，堤岸塑造成什么角度最适合自然的恢复和生长都是当时他们遇到的难题。往往很多时候画了精确的坡度图纸，到场地上却因为不可控的自然因素无法施工。所



分享嘉宾 SPEAKER

Matthew Pryor

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以很多时候，他们会向周围鱼塘的渔民请教，了解地方知识，比如地方堆填术，鸟类和植物习性。为了能更好的引入本地湿地植物，125种香港湿地公园里的植物，都需要在旁边米铺自然湿地经过2年的实验培育。

设计的缓和形态比如湿地公园真的是生态合理的么？

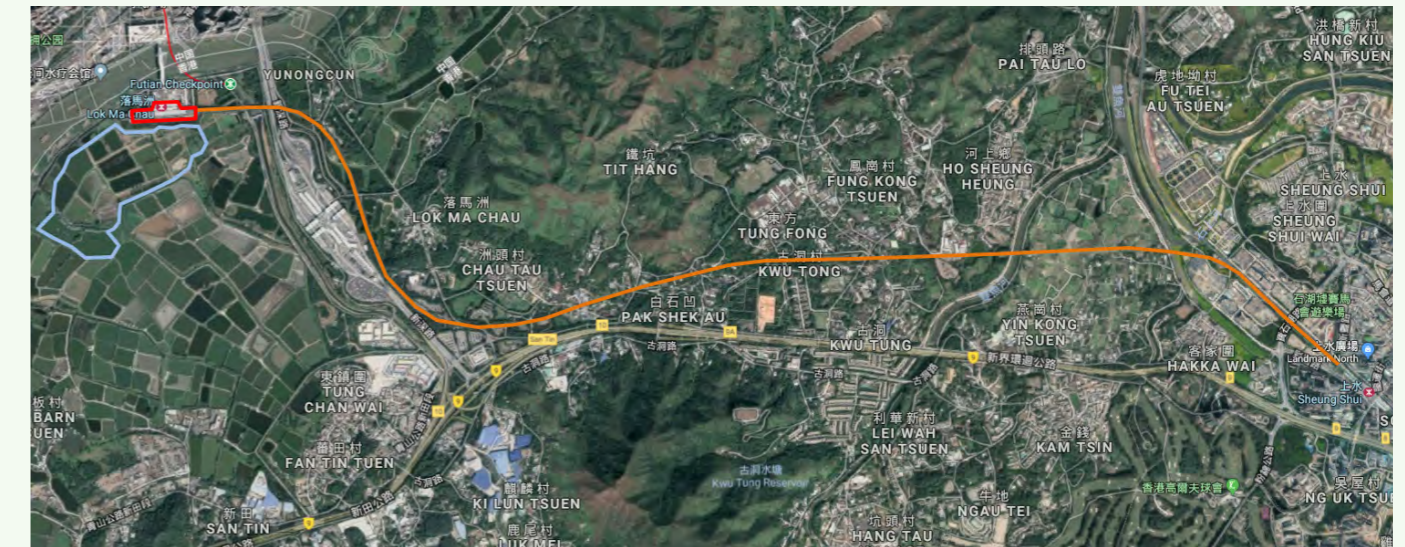
DID THE FORM OF MITIGATION ACTUALLY MAKE ECOLOGICAL SENSE?

湿地公园既然被叫做“公园”，在设计考量上便与自然湿地不同，加入了更多以人为本的考虑。游客体验，尤其是游客中心的设计在整个香港湿地公园的项目中占比很大。不仅采用了屋顶覆土和绿色建筑技术，在内部的展览上也邀请了专业的策展和艺术家团队，旨在为大众讲解一个完整的湿地故事。但是大众对湿地的兴趣是需要多重感官刺激的。据前期调查显示，大部分游客只在游客中心停留30分钟，便离开了湿地公园。于是管理人员通过一系列的手法让游客更亲近自然，比如在公园里设计更多观鸟屋和游览步道，在游客中心外的水塘里放置鳄鱼和一些枯树枝吸引鸟类停留，便于游客观看。然而鸟类天生喜欢在隐蔽且大片的区域停留，枯树枝的作用很有限。鳄鱼是否对湿地公园有生态价值也值得讨论。在别的一些湿地公园，甚至有限了让鸟飞不远吸引游客，而折断鸟的翅膀。虽然香港湿地公园没有采用这些极端的手法，但是这种行为也提醒我们在建造湿地时也要注意湿地道德。

通过香港湿地公园早期建造历史的回顾，Matthew Pryor教授认为未来湿地的建造有很大的空间。现在我们更了解地方的生态系统是如何运作的，也有更先进的生态技术。然而如何平衡休闲娱乐和生态的价值，如何能让游客真正理解湿地和其周围环境的协同关系仍是很大的挑战。

规避影响之外：环境影响评估如何有利于生物多样性的保护 —以香港落马洲湿地性减缓区为例

BEYOND IMPACT AVOIDANCE: HOW CAN THE EIA PROCESS BENEFIT BIODIVERSITY CONSERVATION – A CASE STUDY OF A HONG KONG WETLAND



落马洲支线项目和落马洲湿地补偿区位置 (Google Map)
The location of The Lok Ma Chau Spur Line Project and Lok Ma Chau Wetland Compensation Area (Google Map)

谈起环境影响评估(EIA)，许多人普遍认为它是一种生物多样性保护的过程。实际上，根据香港1998年出台环境影响评估条例，EIA只规定了项目的开发需要规避重要的生物栖息地，规避不了的，便要尽可能减少对场地生物的影响，后期再进行生态弥补。所以大部分项目如果进行了EIA，并且采取了相应的生态性减缓措施，通常只能达到生物多样性中立，也就是“无净损失 (no net loss)”。香港的环境影响评估条例里并没有任何激励措施让开发商进行额外的生态修复和提升。

Michael Leven博士以为建设香港落马洲支线而补偿的湿地为例，具体讲解该项目如何通过专业的环境影响评估和生态性减缓管理，使湿地建造不仅局限于弥补因城市开发而破坏的生态，而能更进一步增加场地的生物多样性。

他将这个项目成功和独特的原因主要分为三个：

1. 湿地生态性补偿时场地选择的重要性。

现在落马洲湿地补偿区的位置并不是随机的或者是开发项目所剩余的用地，而是经过挑选的商业鱼塘，其本来生态基底就很好。相反很多湿地补偿的案例，开发商为了节省项目资金，将补偿区放在了停车场附近或者高架铁路下面，这样的位置会使生态补偿效果大打折扣。

2. 有坚定的支持者和专业的专家团队长期合作。

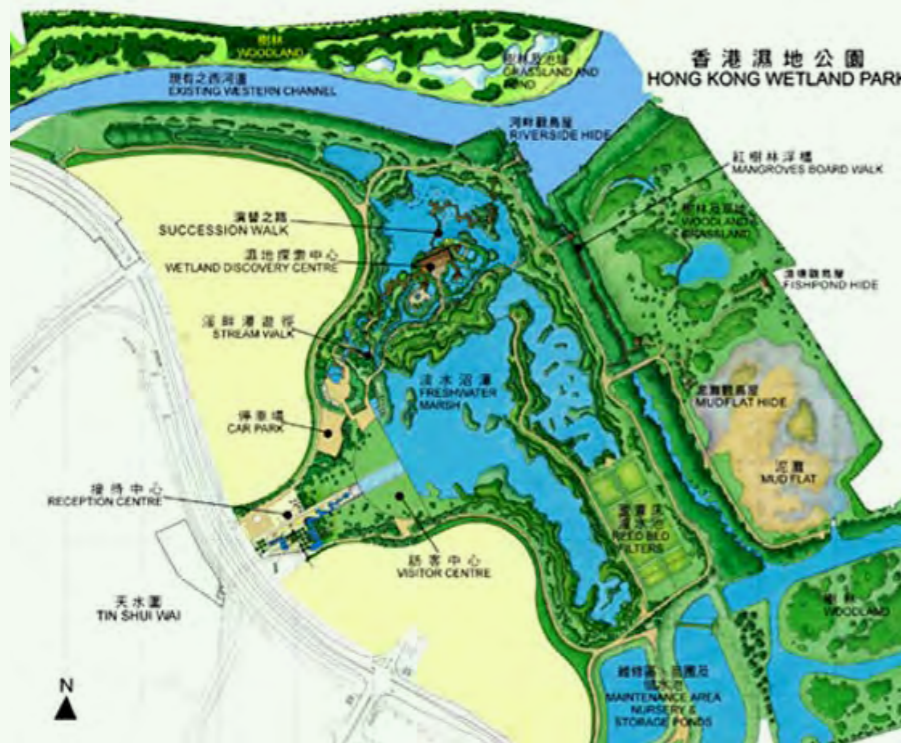
作为这个项目的甲方，港铁公司一直非常支持和关心这个项目。邀请了专业的咨询团队和承包商从始至终的跟进项目。在项目初期，咨询团队就为场地建立了明确的目标物种清单，然后根据物种的独特需求，建立多样化的湿地生境。目标鸟类的选择上也经过仔细的研究，对比国际国内稀有动物清单，吸引了如黑脸琵鹭，东方帝鹰和红尾水雉等该区域稀有水鸟。



分享嘉宾 SPEAKER

Michael Leven

AEC生态咨询公司董事兼生态学家
Director and Ecologist in Asia
Ecological Consultants Ltd



香港湿地公园现状平面图 (图片由Mathew Pryor 提供)
Hong Kong Wetland Park Current Layout Plan (Image / Mathew Pryor)



香港湿地公园内部管理的潮汐泥滩 (图片由Mathew Pryor 提供)
Tidal mud beach managed by the Hong Kong Wetland Park (Image / Mathew Pryor)



游客中心外特意放置的树枝来吸引鸟类停留 (图片由Mathew Pryor 提供)
Branches specially placed outside the visitor center to attract birds to stay (Image / Mathew Pryor)

3. 公开透明的监督机制。

该项目是香港首例，把5年评审机制加入生态性减缓项目管理的必须条件的。顾问会与项目方一起，每五年回顾一下湿地管理的成就和不足之处，方便实时进行调整，并且上报给香港渔农自然署和环保署。同时，不同于早期香港公园建设缺乏公众参与，落马洲湿地补偿项目有一个独立的环保建议委员会。委员会由国际环保组织，科研院校，地方绿色社团等组成，为生态修复提供专业建议和监督，并且及时向社会通报湿地最新数据。

最后，Michael Leven博士总结道，近年来，随着大家对湿地认知的加深，环境影响评估的方法也在不断科学化和系统化。应对未来不可预测的城市发展，或许是时候重新认识环境影响评估和生态性减缓的目标，重视多方参与和社会资本，以期真正提高人工湿地的生物多样性。

Year	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
World population (% which at LMC) *	2,725 (5%)	2,726 (6%)	3,272 (7%)	3,356 (5%)	3,941 (8%)
Deep Bay (% of which at LMC) *	351 (40%)	252 (63%)	411 (53%)	371 (49%)	375 (81%)
Peak count in LMC	140	160	219	180	305

国际黑脸琵鹭数量与后海湾和落马洲湿地生态补偿区的统计对比 (图片由Michael Leven 提供)
Statistical comparison between the number of black-faced spoonbills in the world and the ecological compensation area of Deep Bay and Lok Ma Chau Wetland (Image Courtesy of Michael Leven)



落马洲湿地生态补偿区中的睡莲塘，远处是落马洲地铁站 (图片由Michael Leven 提供)
The water lily pond in the Lok Ma Chau Wetland Ecological Compensation Area, with the Lok Ma Chau MRT Station in the distance (Image / Michael Leven)

自然的社会建构——城市边缘地带的湿地保育 THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF NATURE - WETLAND CONSERVATION IN AN URBAN BORDERLAND

我们身边的景观，看似天然，其实大部分是由自然和特定的文化共同组成的。Werner Breitung博士用后海湾的两个跨界湿地（深圳红树林自然保护区和香港米埔自然保护区），从政治地理学的视角，分析了不同社会，政治和文化价值是如何影响景观的形成和保育的。

Werner Breitung博士首先介绍了概念：自然的社会建构。其起源于社会科学和地理学。它打破了我们传统的“自然与人类文化”二元对立的认识。对自然的社会构建的理解主要有两个方面：

1 自然的本身是被社会构建的。我们对自然的认识是基于特定的历史和文化的。比如不同民族有对个人与自然关系有不同理解。历史上，我们对自然的认识也从一开始的害怕自然，到基于浪漫主义情怀的欣赏自然，再到天人合一的平衡甚至认为人类可以改变自然。2 自然在物质上也是被历代的人类行为所影响构建的。比如在21世界气候变化的恐惧下，我们种树，建造湿地，提高城市的生物多样性在某种程度上也是在塑造着物质形态的自然。这两个概念相互交织，组成了自然的社会建构话语。

后海湾湿地，在历史上是一个由附近河流泥沙沉淀的沿海景观，有着天然的红树林资源。在20世纪初期，该区域开始经历不同程度的土地开垦，从水稻，潮汐虾塘到如今大量存在的淡水鱼塘。1970年代后，城市景观开始占据主导后海湾，以深港两地不同的发展策略尤为明显。在“一种景观，两个政治系统”的背景下，现在两个湿地公园产生了不同的景观形态和管理措施。香港米埔自然保护区从1983年起，主要由世界自然基金会，香港渔农署和NGO等共同管理。在1995年取得Ramsar国际重要湿地认证后，主要目标是湿地保育和教育功能。定期对学校学生和社会大众进行网上预约开放。保育区里有丰富的湿地生境，但是主要以开敞的景观为主。Werner博士认为其开敞景观的形成主要在于红树岭的生长和观鸟的活动的冲突。因为受殖民时期英国文化和后期国际湿地保育措施的影响，米埔自然保护区把对鸟类的观测与研究放在了首位，开敞的景观空间更利于观鸟。所以米埔定期会派人清除湿地里的杂草和修建红树林的高度。

相对的，一岸之隔的福田红树林自然保护区的景观则以茂密的红树林为主。福田红树林自然保护区唯一深圳湾北岸，由林业局牵头在1984年成立。是中国目前面积最小，并且唯一在城市腹地的自然保护区。其湿地生境与米埔相比相对单一，主要是由红树林组成。而这种单一景观形成的原因可能与其保护区建立之初的定位是保护红树林和推动深圳绿色城市宣传有关。虽然现在该保护区也逐步分区域对外开放，但是在成立之初，保护区严格限制人员参观，只能用于红树林研究。两个湿地自然保护区管理模式和开放程度的差异，也与两个湿地的区位分不开。福田红树林自然保护区位于深圳城市中心，其噪音和人口压力给保护区开放造成挑战。而米埔位于香港郊区的边界控制区，加之周围有专门用于公众教育的香港湿地公园，可以有效的分散人流压力。最后基于深港边界两个独特湿地的对比观察，Werner博士指出湿地保育不仅需要关注物理上的生态价值，还需要注重对湿地建造背后的社会，政治和文化的理解。



分享嘉宾 SPEAKER

Werner Breitung

香港浸会大学林思齐东西学术交流所教授
Professor in David Lam Institute for East West Studies, Hong Kong Baptist University



米埔自然保护区内的开敞景观 (左) 与福田红树林自然保护区景观对比 (右) (图片由 Werner Breitung提供)
The open landscape in Mai Po Nature Reserve (left), Futian Mangrove Nature Reserve (right) (Image / Werner Breitung)



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