

城市治理研究 (第一卷)

赋权、住宅供给与居住生活保障

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卷首语

在浪漫的五月里，冠有一个严肃名字的《城市治理研究》与大家见面了。

《城市治理研究》的问世，得益于上海交通大学“中国城市治理研究院”成立的天时地利，以及围绕“城市治理”目标，研究院上下所共享的基本观念。我们将其宗旨确定为：学术性原则；推动城市公共性建设的实践目标；“好的城市”的愿景；前沿性要求。这其中，我们将“好的城市”理解为以人为本的城市，作为市民家园的城市，包容的城市……同时我们认为，直面问题与国际视野，是前沿性的两条基本标准。

这些年来，“公共管理”“社会治理”等概念，历经种种争议，已经被吸纳、整合到中国本土的话语体系之中。不过，涉及“城市”，相关的概念仍不乏模糊的可思辨空间。我们愿意相信，人们之所以对城市充满向往，并不仅仅是因为城市里集中了更多的生活机会、更丰富的文化，以及稀缺的资源。又或者如目前中国，城市也意味着某种身份等级及其再分配体制。而是因为，城市的兴起，给人类社会带来了更文明的政治、更符合人性的生活方式。这应该被理解为“城市治理”的标杆。

学术界普遍认为，人类历史上最重要的城市传统源于“City”。城市文明史大家路易斯·芒福德认为，伊丽莎白王朝时代伦敦的观察家 John Stow 给出过“City”最合理的定义：“人们为了追求正直和利益而聚集到城市和联邦，那些来到城市的人很快就会形成团体和协作。首先，这时的人们已经不再使用野蛮的暴力，而是通过谈判达成协议，举止更文明、更人性化，并且更加公正……良好的举止被认为是城市化的象征，因为在城市中，我们比别的地方看到的文明现象更多些，而且个人始终生活在他者的注视下，也因此更易被训练得公正……”芒福德不仅深深地赞同这样的洞察，而且反复地强调，城市就是一座剧场，正是在城市中，人们表演各种活动并获得关注，而社会戏剧的出现需要借助于各种集体活动的汇

集和强化。^①

关于城市是一座剧场的意义阐释以及相关的社会戏剧理论,曾启发了不少城市学者、城市规划师。今天我们不妨也借此来想象一下城市研究者的角色及其表演——城市不仅是考察对象,它也是舞台。在这个舞台上,我们可以扮演什么角色,我们能如何展现自己,当然不能不受到舞台的制约,但是,舞台的精彩与否,同样也取决于角色的呈现。

在城市这个大剧院中,《城市治理研究》既会是一个角色,也会是供学者们展现自身的舞台一角。它的精彩或蹩脚,定然与我们大家的努力程度有关。我们需要共同去努力。

我们精心策划《城市治理研究》,从结构形式到讨论内容,我们诚望读者能从中看到我们对上述宗旨的实践意图。今天的中国仍处于“高速城市化”的历史进程中,存在着社会“转型”“发展”带来的种种问题。与此同时,中国的城市也已经面临全球化背景下世界各国城市普遍遭遇的各种问题。无论是为了探索解决问题的方法,还是为了提升研究的能力,中国学术界都亟需与国际前沿的理论、理念及实践对话,亦为世界其他国家的城市发展提供理论和价值的参照。基于这样的思考,第一辑我们组织了有关城市化、全球化背景下“如何破解城市住房难题”的专题论文,同时也有幸呈现了国内外城市研究领域一批重要学者的最新成果和思考。诚挚感谢作者们无私的支持和贡献!

我们将尽力而为。

陈映芳

2017年2月

① Lewis Mumford, “what is a city”, *The City Reader*, edited by Richard T. LeGates and Frederic Stout, Routledge, 2000.

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Special Papers

- Dealing with Illegal Housing: What New York City Can Learn from Shenzhen, China? Qiao Shitong & Xiao Huina

Abstract: Illegal or informal housing has been a serious problem facing cities all over the world. Through comparative studies of New York City and Shenzhen, a Chinese city with over 15 million population, this paper advocates for an approach of adverse zoning, which keeps government's zoning power intact while granting an option to owners of illegal housing to buy an exemption. The essential idea behind this is that options matter at least as much as the allocation of initial entitlements and should be granted to parties that have the best information to make decisions, which in the case of prevalent zoning violations, are the numerous individual owners rather than the government.

Keywords: illegal housing, adverse zoning, options, New York City, Shenzhen

- Youth Poverty and Housing Problems in Taiwan Huang Liling

Abstract: In Taiwan, young people have increasingly faced situations of low wages and unstable incomes in the past two decades. The skyrocketing housing

price further put heavy burden to the young generations and led to the unprecedentedly low marriage and fertility rates. It proves that the super-high housing price is not a positive factor but a threat for social development in Taiwan. In recent years, central and local governments, under the pressure from the Social Housing Consortium and other Non-profit Organizations, have managed to implement public rental housing to meet the needs of disadvantaged social groups and young people. This paper analyzes the relationship between housing price and wealth accumulation, the enlarging gap between rich and poor, and the issue of injustice between generations. It also introduces the housing programs the government initiated in order to attract young supporters. In conclusion, it indicates that public rental housing policy deserves more social attention because it has high potential to connect public services, redistributions and policy potentials for reshaping urban life.

Keywords: Taiwan, youth, poverty, housing problem, public housing

Marketization and the Politics of Recognition: The Study on Renter Entitlement of Public Rental Housing in Shanghai Sun Zhe

Abstract: As one category of indemnificatory housing without requiring Hukou, the public rental housing in China could be viewed as an urban inclusion mechanism. However, Shanghai is conducting a population control based on Hukou as it is newly listed as one of the “oversized cities”. Between these contradictory realities, this study suggests that the marketization of housing welfare is the key for public rental housing to function in Shanghai. Marketization of housing welfare reduces the financial burden of the municipality as well as filtering out some individuals. Residents accept marketization of housing welfare because of the shortage of renter entitlements while the public rental housing is only accessible to the “recognized renters”. As the national treatment has not yet been equalized in China, the municipality becomes the single authority determining renter entitlement, shaping the politics of

recognition; absorbing the groups which are in line with governmental aims, while those do not fall in the category of government's target groups stay excluded.

Keywords: marketization, public rental housing, renter entitlement, the politic of recognition

The Future of Public Rental Housing in Korea: Policy Issues for New Institutionalization Nam Wonseok

Abstract: The purpose of this study is to envisage the future of public rental housing in Korea and address present policy issues. Under the conditions of continuing budget constraint, declining capacity of LH(Korea Land and Housing Corporation) to supply housing, and intensified competition embedded in house supplies, new housing supplies will decrease and residual nature of public rental housing in the name of efficient utilization of stocks will be strengthened. To tackle these risks, this research proposes that new institutionalization is needed; (1) limiting the role of LH to maintain the existing stocks, (2) restructuring the operation system for public rental housing, (3) using private rental housing as quasi-public housing for low-income households, (4) expanding the role of local governments in supplying public rental housing.

Keywords: public rental housing, residual model, dualistic model, targeted model, private rental housing

Academic Papers

Obtaining Efficiency from the Space: Land Policy for Urban, Regional and National Development Han Libin & Lu Ming

Abstract: For a large country, the optimal strategy of regional development is to balance growth with economic agglomeration. The core of this strategy is equalization of per capita GDP (income) in the process of economic agglomeration.

Among them, allocations of land for construction should be consistent with the direction of population agglomeration. This paper analyzes the process of China's land policy evolution and policy background in last ten years, and provides an explanation for the change of land policy in China from the perspective of "space political economy". This paper points out that China's land resource allocation strategy, which favors the inland regions and restricts the development of large cities, has damaged the advantage of China as a large country and led to the decline of land resource allocation efficiency. It is the key to optimize the spatial allocation efficiency of land resources by gradually canceling the household registration restrictions on population movement and further promoting consistency between land supplies and population movement without restricting the development of large cities.

Keywords: large country development, land policy, population mobility, agglomeration, geography

The Future of Chinese Land Market: Revisiting the 'Fictitious Commodity' Concept of Karl Polanyi

..... Ding Yannan, Chris Kesteloot & Maarten Loopmans

Abstract: This paper rethinks the contemporary urban land development regime through the lens of the concept of 'fictitious commodity', which was coined by Karl Polanyi. On the one hand, since land is not produced for exchange or consumption, Polanyi deems it as a fictitious kind of commodity. On the other hand, Polanyi condemns the utopian view on the self-regulating market. The contemporary urban land development regime in China is characterized by the advanced marketization of both land and money, and consequentially is producing the physical space in which the labor force in China is been reproduced. This regime is a trait of China's great transformation, as well as an outcome of the reform in urban housing and the establishment of the real-estate market. Faced with the challenge of disembedding, partly resulting from the marketization of

land, the Chinese society must explore new social resources that would help the counter-movement against disembedding.

Keywords: Karl Polanyi, fictitious commodity, land market, urbanization, the great transformation, China

From Urbanization to Political Disorder : Text Analysis on an Empirical Topic
..... Xie Yue & Ge Yang

Abstract: Around the empirical topic on “How Urbanization causes political instability?”, this paper combs out three mainstream approaches to explaining, composed of “urban bias”, urbanism, and political exclusion. Meanwhile, three methodologies contained in those approaches have been briefly reviewed. Based on the review and critique, the authors advance to employ the theory of infrastructural power in order to account for China as an exceptional case. And suggested, the prepared explanations should, by means of historicism, emphasize more focuses on the reach and the capacity of state infrastructural power at the micro level as well as the inter-auspice effects from them. This paper will contribute to the understanding on urban governance in China.

Keywords: urbanization, political stability, state infrastructural power

Who Has the Right to a Chinese City?: The Social Geography of Permanent Migration in Shanghai Li Limei

Abstract: One unique feature of migration in China is a two-track migration system consisting of permanent and temporary migration. Permanent migrants refer to those who have changed their registration to the place of residence while temporary migrants move to cities without changing their Hukou registration. Thus there are three subgroups in the Chinese cities: nonmigrant urban natives, permanent migrants and temporary migrants. This study focuses on the permanent migrants, which has been understudied, with special reference to

Shanghai. This study adopts “the right to the city” as the analytical perspective to examine who has the right to the city in the eyes of the Chinese government. This study seeks to understand where the permanent migrants got their Hukou and how they got it. We calculate the Location Quotients of the permanent migrants in 17 urban districts/counties of Shanghai between 2004 and 2014 to analyze the geographies of the permanent migrants and how these patterns have changed over time. Our findings show that the odds of Hukou attainment vary not only across cities but also within a city. Hukou conferment was 1.8-2.9 times more concentrated in the central city than the city average. The concentration rate of Hukou conferment in inner suburb and outer suburb is lower than average. The social geographies of Hukou conferment are closely related to the distribution of key industries in Shanghai. Private sector outnumbers the public sector in terms of Hukou application of the permanent migrants.

Keywords: the right the city, permanent migrants, Hukou, spatial distribution, social geography, Shanghai

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(摄影: Heloïse Le Carrer)

受访人简介: 弗朗索瓦丝·兰德(Françoise Ged)女士是国际著名的中国问题专家, 主要研究领域为中国近现代建筑与城市规划。她在巴黎拉维莱特建筑学院(ENSAPLV)取得法国国家建筑师文凭(DPLG), 在法国高等社会科学院(EHESS)获得历史学博士学位。自1997年开始, 她担任法国文化部遗产司“当代中国建筑观察站”(OACC)主任, 曾主持“中国150名建筑师在法国”项目, 并长期负责中法间的一系列重要合作项目。兰德目前是法国高等社会科学院(EHESS)近现代中国研究中心(CECMC)的研究员, 并在法国国家语言东方文化研究中心(INALCO)和南特企业管理研究所(IEMN-IAE)担任主讲教师。



(摄影: 杨舟山)

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“关于城市和建筑的所有工作,都需要从了解它的历史、地理、社会和文化开始。”

杨辰:兰德女士,非常感谢您能抽时间接受这次采访。我们知道这几十年来,在建筑学、城市规划、景观以及城市研究的其他领域,中国有一大批中青年学者和职业设计师、工程师有机会到法国去学习、进修,或者参与各种形式的学术交流和中法合作项目。我们也都知道,您在这其中起到了非常重要的作用,尤其是您负责的法国“当代中国建筑观察站”。能否请您简单介绍一下,您是如何进入中国研究,并成为中国建筑与城市规划领域的专家?

兰德:我是建筑师。我很早就对中国文化有浓厚的兴趣,在本科学习建筑的时候,我就在巴黎第七大学选修了中文和中国文化。建筑学院毕业以后,我想继续深造,但那时候的法国建筑学是没有博士学位的,我只能到别的学科里去找。后来我选择了“法国高等社会科学研究学校”(EHESS)的“近代现代中国研究中心”(CECMC),那里有一些精通中国历史、社会、经济方面的专家,我向他们请教关于中国各方面的知识、观点和方法,来帮助我理解中国的建筑和城市发展的逻辑。跨出建筑学虽属无奈之举,但通过博士阶段的学习,我逐渐意识到跨学科的重要性。在此我想特别强调我的个人观点:关于城市和建筑的所有工作,都需要从了解它的历史、地理、社会和文化开始,这是一个整体。跨学科让我们对同一问题获得了不同的视角和观点,为突破专业化知识提供了可能。

90年代我在法国高等社会科学研究学校(EHESS)攻读了博士学位,题目是关于上海,这座深受欧洲影响的中国城市的居住与空间结构。后来得到了特许任教的资格证书,可以在法国带领博士生进行研究,还可以在大学里取得任职。为了支撑我论文的跨学科性,我也参与了一些实际工作,这其中包括早期的中法合作项目——那是在1986—1989年间,我们和中国专家一起处理一个位于上海淮海中路、复兴中路、襄阳路和陕西南路之间的历史街区的修复和改造问题。那正是20世纪初中国快速城市化的初期,问题的复杂性超过我们的想象。从第一个中国的实际项目中,我了解到,改造一个地方必须从了解当地的历史、地理、居民开始,这非常重要。

1997年,法国文化部委派我建立了“当代中国建筑观察站”。在法国,建筑更多的被认为是一种文化活动而不是工程,所以建筑是由文化部来负责。观察站的任务,是帮助中法两国在建筑、城市规划、景观、文化遗产领域建立起教学和科研两方面的合作关系。显然,这项工作具有很强的开放性,我必须在几个学科之间,以及和教师、学者、职业建筑师、规划师、开发商一起工作,这远远超出了单一学科的范畴。我的实际操作经验得益于之前和法国 A3 协会一起工作的经历。A3 协会曾经开展过很多和中方的合作项目,比如组织展览、会议以及小型研讨会等。

杨辰:您自从 1980 年代进入中国,就与中国很多城市和地区的大学、研究所和设计院建立了密切的联系,特别是在上海有非常深入和丰富的合作成果。这样密切、深入的合作能够长期延续下来,您觉得主要是依靠什么样的方式做到的?

兰德:1994、1995 年我们已经和清华大学联合举办了建筑与城市规划国际研讨会,1999 年以后,这种合作进一步加深。观察站向中国建筑和城市规划机构介绍了 100 多位法国知名的当代建筑师,系统地展开中法建筑交流和建筑评论扮演何种角色的讨论。也是从这一时期开始,由于联合国教科文组织(UNESCO)的介入,文化部对观察站的要求开始偏向“文化遗产”的问题。我所领导的观察站形成了两个主要的工作方向:一个是关于联合国教科文组织的世界遗产,一个是关于中欧城市历史城区的调查和保护方法,后者是 1998 年我们在苏州举办研讨会后确立的。

在 1990 年代初与北京专家的交流过程中,我有幸通过中国城市规划设计研究院的王景慧总工程师结识了同济大学的阮仪三教授。从 1998 年开始,我们和同济大学就开展了紧密的合作,直到今天这个合作从来没有间断过。

1998 年,在法国总统雅克·希拉克的倡议下,法国文化部计划邀请一批中国建筑师赴法交流,我再次有幸领导了这个重要的项目。和我们密切合作的部门除了文化部,还有外交部和法国其他的专业机构。这个被命名为“总统项目”的计划原本计划三年在全中国范围内挑选 50 位建筑师。但到 2000 年,我们发现需要交流的不仅是建筑师,还应该纳入城市规划师和景观建筑师,而且需要更长的时间。于是总统项目延到了 2005 年,又增加了 100 个名额。从 1998 到 2005 年,我们总共邀请了 150 位中国杰出的中青年建筑师、规划师、景观师赴法交流(3 个月到 1