

中国历史城市的更新 与社会资本

Social Capital and Urban Regeneration in
Chinese Historic Cities

翟斌庆 著
Zhai Binqing

中国建筑工业出版社

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自 20 世纪 90 年代以来, 中国的快速城市化进程对许多历史城市的发展提出了双重挑战。一方面, 历史城市需要更新改造其破败的旧城区; 另一方面, 当地经济需要进一步发展。在这种情形下, 许多地方往往通过大规模城市再开发的更新政策来达到上述双重目的。不过, 这种更新策略在为当地带来巨额经济收入的同时, 也对历史城市的固有特征造成了许多无法挽回的破坏。

已有文献中关于城市更新的研究表明, 城市更新涉及的主要利益相关者除了包括地方政府和私营部门, 还包括地方社区居民。事实上, 地方社区居民在城市更新过程中, 对保护历史住区原住民的生活内容发挥着重要作用。社会资本使得社区居民以社区为基础紧密团结在一起, 并会为实现历史地段更新和保护的综合目标而积极参与其中。基于上述理论, 本书探讨了社会资本在中国历史城市的更新过程中将发挥怎样的作用。

本书旨在对中国历史城市的更新过程, 作出一种特定历史条件和语境下的分析与解读。同时, 针对当前转型期中国历史城市更新过程中的诸多问题, 探讨了社会资本在城市更新过程中的作用。在当前中国城市更新管治模式中, 地方政府发挥着决定性的作用: 一方面作为城市再开发项目的倡导者与参与

With rapid urbanization since the 1990s, many Chinese historic cities have faced the dual challenges of regenerating dilapidated historic inner urban areas and promoting local economic development. Rampant urban redevelopment-oriented planning and practices have been undertaken in many places. While bringing enormous economic returns, this trend also poses many threats to the character of the historic cities.

Literature on urban regeneration shows that local communities should play an active role in regenerating a place in addition to other key actors such as the government and the private sectors. Local communities also play a critical role in conserving the indigenous lives of historic residential districts. Social capital enables local communities to act together to pursue shared objectives in the community-based regeneration processes. Based on this theoretical premise, the study seeks to examine the role of social capital in the regeneration of Chinese historic cities.

This book aims to provide a historical and contextual understanding of the evolution of urban regeneration in Chinese historic cities. The book also explores the role of social capital in the current controversies surrounding urban regeneration in transitional China. In the current mode of urban regeneration

者；另一方面也作为再开发项目的管理者。私人开发商往往会积极参与到城市更新项目当中；而地方社区居民往往还被排斥于整个更新项目之外。中国历史城区的更新活动通常是通过保护少数文物建筑和保护大规模房地产再开发项目来进行，其目的是达到刺激地方经济发展和改善物质环境。由于城市保护政策侧重于对物质环境的保护，许多原住民的生活并不在保护范畴之内，他们常常在当地实施房地产再开发项目时，需要被重新安置，因此，本书认为缺乏原住民参与的城市更新过程，可能很大程度上会妨碍历史城市更新和保护综合目标的实现。

通过对西安历史文化名城中两个历史地段更新保护实践的案例分析，本书得出如下主要结论：在西安鼓楼回民区的更新保护案例中，传统的回族社区居民生活内容与商业活动是当地经济繁荣的重要基础。基于对当地社区居民间具有较强的社区凝聚性这一事实的考虑，研究认为，该回民区实际上可以保持一种自我更新的过程。在这当中，地方政府可能需要对当地破败的城市基础设施进行适时维修。因而，下一步的问题将是如何建立一套制度化的更新机制来协助完成整个历史街区的更新。与回民区案例形成鲜明对照的是三学街历史街区的更新保护工程。相

governance in China, local governments often play a dominant role as both redevelopment advocates and project managers. Private developers are actively involved while local indigenous residents are often excluded from the regeneration processes. Urban regeneration practices in Chinese historic cities are often conducted through urban conservation-cum-redevelopment strategies to spur local economic growth and improve the physical environment. Since the focus is on the conservation of the physical environment, many local indigenous lives have to be excluded and relocated to give way to local redevelopment projects. The lack of community involvement in local regeneration processes severely undermines the goals of comprehensive urban regeneration and integrated urban conservation plans.

Xi'an, a typical Chinese historic city, has been chosen as the study site. Two solid local case studies have produced the following major findings. In the Drum Tower Muslim District, traditional Muslim lives and businesses have sustained a vibrant local economy. Together with cohesive community relationships, this book argues that the historic Muslim district can actually sustain a self-regeneration process, given proper maintenance of the dilapidated urban infrastructures by local governments. The question is an institutionalized mechanism

比较而言，三学街历史街区居民间的邻里关系比较薄弱，当地社区居民间的社会资本水平也较低。不过，值得注意的是，这里城市更新实践的“效率”则比回民区明显要高。然而，这种高“效率”的更新实践却显示出该城市更新策略的不够综合化，同时当地原住民的邻里生活方式和生活内容也未能得到很好保护。

为使转型期的中国历史城市在更新过程中达到综合化的城市更新目标，本书提出如下观点：(1) 对当地原住民的生活内容和地方社会文化元素的保护，应当在历史城市的更新策略中占据重要位置；(2) 较高的社会资本水平有助于协助社区居民更好地融入城市更新过程中，从而也有助于对当地原住民生活方式和生活内容的保护；(3) 制度化的社区参与式的城市更新管治模式，是保障城市更新的综合目标在中国历史城市的社区层面得以实现的重要途径。

to facilitate this kind of regeneration. The implementation of the government-led regeneration projects within the Sanxuejie Historic District, where community relationships are weak with low level of social capital, was more “efficient”. However, it also means that regeneration efforts were less comprehensive and indigenous lives of the original neighborhoods were not conserved.

To achieve the goals of comprehensive urban regeneration in historic cities, this book maintains the following: (1) the conservation of indigenous lives and local socio-cultural elements is important for local regeneration plans; (2) a strong social capital contributes to the conservation of local indigenous lives by facilitating community involvement in local urban regeneration processes; (3) an institutionalized community participatory mode of urban governance is essential for a comprehensive regeneration plan at the local level.

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第一章 绪论

CHAPTER 1 Introduction

1.1 概述

2008 年联合国人居署发布的报告显示 (UN-HABITAT, 2008: 4), 全球的城市居民总数已超过全球总人口数量的一半。随着城市化的快速进程, 不少挑战也接踵而来, 尤其对城市化速度还较低的发展中国家而言, 挑战将更为严峻。世界银行发布的研究报告表明, 到 2020 年, 城市居民总人口将达到 41 亿人 (约占世界总人口的 55%), 其中增加的城市居民中有将近 94% 的人口来自于发展中国家 (Léautier, 2006: viii)。城市化在为发展中国家带来很多积极变化的同时, 还给这些国家带来不少挑战, 包括能源消耗和气候变化, 同时也会因社会阶层的分离与排斥, 而引发社会不安。

在亚洲, 尤其是一些历史古都城市, 重点关注的往往是在实现经济快速发展的同时, 如何进行城市保护 (Stovel, 2002: 107)。亚洲很多国家, 都是通过资本投资来促进城市改造和旅游业发展, 并使当地城市经济进入了空前的繁盛发展期。不过, 有关发展政策的提出, 不仅导致环境和文化遗产资源的大量消耗, 而且也产生很多社会排斥的问题, 造成“社会—文化资本”存量的惊人损耗 (Engelhardt, 2002: 33)。2003 年在国际学术界,

1.1 Introduction

According to the UN-HABITAT (2008: 4), in 2008, more than half of the world's population lived in cities. This rapid urbanization poses many challenges especially to developing countries, where urbanization speed is usually much faster than in developed countries. A World Bank research reports that by 2020, 4.1 billion people (about 55 percent of the world's population) will live in urban areas and that almost 94 percent of the increase will occur in developing countries (Léautier, 2006: viii). The forces of urbanization promise to reshape the developing world, posing not only challenges such as energy consumption and climate changes but also worrisome trends in terms of social deprivation and exclusion.

In Asia, particularly in some historic cities, the focus is on how to deal with its urban conservation during rapid development (Stovel, 2002: 107). Many Asian countries have experienced unprecedented economic growth through capital investment to promote urban renewal and tourism industry. On the one hand, these development policies result in a heavy cost of the environmental and cultural heritage resources. On the other hand, they give birth to many problems of social exclusion, leading to an "alarming depletion of the common stock of [socio-]'cultural capital'" (Engelhardt, 2002: 33). In 2003, the notions of "living heritage" and "indigenous lives" were introduced into the arena of urban conservation internationally. Since then, the

“活态遗产”和“原住民”的概念，被引入城市保护的讨论范畴。自此，在城市发展和城市更新的过程中，人们开始更多地关注对原住民的保护以及当地居民的参与；尤其在发展中国家，由于人们对弱势群体参与城市保护过程尚存较大争议，从而上述议题显得尤为突出 (Filippi, 2005; Imon, 2006; Miura, 2005)。

20 世纪 80 年代，随着“可持续发展”议程的提出 (WCED, 1987)，人们开始关注与城市的综合发展目标相关的研究 (Carley & Kirk, 1998; Filippi, 2005)，提出城市发展不仅要考虑城市空间和物质环境的变化，还应当考虑社会、文化和政策的发展目标。相应地，社会和文化因素也被认为是，历史城市保护整合内容中的一部分 (Cohen, 2001)。从 20 世纪 90 年代开始，人们对城市更新的综合化目标进行了许多研究，并基于西欧国家的实践情况，提出了城市更新的目标 (Kleinhans, Priemus, & Engbersen, 2007: 1070)。很多研究者在研究当中，强调了城市更新过程的整体性特点 (Ginsburg, 1999; May, 1997; Roberts, 2000)，正如梅 (May) 所提到的：

“城市更新的目的是改善城市物业的物质状况，促进地方的经济发展，提高就业率，关注包括医疗保健在内的社会和社区问题，通过构建当地的社区能力来实现可持续发展，并促进社会和经济问题之间的交流与互动 (May, 1997: 12)。”

随着城市更新综合目标的提出，近年来，人们越来越关注城市更新中的社会资本问题。很多城市规划决策者指出，城市更新不仅要改

conservation of indigenous lives and the participation of local residents in local urban development or urban regeneration processes have obtained much attention, particularly in developing countries where the participation of local disadvantaged communities in the practices of urban conservation has been very contentious (Filippi, 2005; Imon, 2006; Miura, 2005).

With the proposal of “sustainable development” in the late 1980s (WCED, 1987), comprehensive urban development objectives have been discussed by many studies (Carley & Kirk, 1998; Filippi, 2005), which generally contend that urban development should consider not only spatial transformation and physical environment but also social, cultural, and political goals. Accordingly, social and cultural aspects are likewise deemed integral in the conservation of historic urban areas (Cohen, 2001). Since the 1990s, many studies have examined the comprehensive aims of urban regeneration, which have been proposed based on the practices in western European countries (Kleinhans, Priemus, & Engbersen, 2007: 1070). The holistic features of urban regeneration processes have been emphasized by many researchers (Ginsburg, 1999; May, 1997; Roberts, 2000). As May put it,

The aims of urban regeneration are to improve the physical condition of estates; to stimulate the local economy; to increase employment; to pay attention to social and community issues, including health care; to provide sustainable development through capacity building at the local level; and to consider the interaction of social and economic issues (May, 1997: 12).

With the proposal of the comprehensive aims of urban regeneration, there have been a growing importance and concern for social capital in the discourse on urban regeneration

善城市居住区的物质环境状况，也要提高城市居民的社会幸福度 (Imrie & Raco, 2003; Kearns, 2003; Kleinhans et al., 2007; Lees, 2003)。在最近的一些研究报告里，学者们开始在城市更新的讨论话题中，引入社会资本问题 (Kleinhans et al., 2007; Middleton, Murie, & Groves, 2005)。密顿 (Middleton) 等人认为，社会资本在城市社区发展过程中，具有如下重要作用：

“社会资本被认为是维护社会稳定和构建社区自助能力的基石。社会资本的缺失被认为是导致社区衰败的关键因素 (Middleton et al., 2005: 1711)。”

结合上述城市更新理论的发展趋势与综合式城市保护的目标，一个常常被人们忽略的重要研究课题是，针对历史城市的更新过程中社会资本所具有的作用的探讨。这些探究不仅将有利于保护当地的非物质文化遗产——即原住民的生活内容，和促进社区居民在城市更新过程中的参与，而且将有利于整个历史城区的可持续发展。同时，多数已有的城市更新方面的研究和探讨，主要以发达国家为研究背景，如英国 (Healey, 1991; Roberts, 2000; Turok, 1992) 和美国 (Gans, 1962, 1967; McKIE, 1974)。而以亚洲的国家城市为背景，以可持续发展和城市更新为研究框架下的探讨尚显较少 (Ng & Tang, 2002a, 2002b)。到目前为止，甚至还没有发现以城市更新、社会资本和整合式的城市保护为理论框架，并以发展中国家的历史城市为研究背景的系统研究工作。

in recent years. Many decision-makers in urban planning point out that urban regeneration should improve not only the physical quality of urban neighborhoods but also their social well-being (Imrie & Raco, 2003; Kearns, 2003; Kleinhans et al., 2007; Lees, 2003). Recently, some studies have begun to integrate the idea of social capital in the discussion on urban regeneration (Kleinhans et al., 2007; Middleton, Murie, & Groves, 2005). Middleton accurately emphasized the substantial contribution of social capital to community development as the following,

Social capital is seen as the foundation on which social stability and a community's ability to help itself are built; and its absence is thought to be a key factor in neighborhood decline (Middleton et al., 2005: 1711).

Considering this trend of urban regeneration theory with the integrated aims of urban conservation mentioned above, a very significant but often overlooked research area is the exploration into the significant role of social capital in the regeneration practices of historic urban areas. These practices will contribute not only to the conservation of local intangible cultural heritage in terms of indigenous lives and the involvement of local communities in local urban regeneration processes but also to the overall sustainable development of the historic urban areas. Moreover, most of the available studies and discussions on urban regeneration have been carried out mainly in developed countries, for example, the U.K. (Healey, 1991; Roberts, 2000; Turok, 1992) and U.S. (Gans, 1962, 1967; McKIE, 1974). Very few studies on the Asian context are found within the framework of sustainable development and urban regeneration (Ng & Tang, 2002a, 2002b). And no studies are found so far on the context of historic cities of developing countries within the framework of urban regeneration, social capital, and integrated urban conservation.

1.2 研究问题

基于上述讨论, 本书提出对中国历史城市中的社会资本和城市更新问题进行探索。尽管城市更新的概念涵盖了物质环境、经济环境、社会和自然环境在内的许多基础课题 (Roberts, 2000: 3), 但在中国的城市发展实际情况下, 这些内容仍属于棘手问题。虽然在 2001 年提出的第十个“五年计划”中, 中央政策就提出在地方城市发展或更新规划中, 要注重对社会文化因素的改善 (Hu, 2001: 4), 但在中国目前的政策环境下, 这点往往还没引起人们的足够重视。针对中国城市社会文化和经济发展速度不匹配的现象, 赛池 (Saich) 认为, “中国和很多处于转型期的国家一样, 还未能较好地解决社会转型问题, 而社会政策的发展也明显滞后于国家的经济发展水平” (Saich, 2001: xv)。有文献显示, 在诸多因素当中, 社会资本在促进地方弱势群体之间的交往及其在当地城市发展过程中的参与方面发挥着重大作用, 同时也有助于形成多方参与和基于社区的城市更新过程 (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Kearns, 2003; Kleinhans et al., 2007; Middleton et al., 2005)。根据对中国历史城市中的城市更新和社会资本问题的分析, 本书旨在探讨社会资本在中国历史城市更新中发挥的作用。因此, 本书的主要研究问题为:

社会资本在中国历史城市更新中发挥着怎样的作用?

为了解答该问题, 本研究还提出若干如下子问题:

1) 在中国, 城市更新涉及哪些问题? 中

1.2 Research Questions

Based on the discussion above, this book then proposes to explore social capital and urban regeneration in Chinese historic cities. Although the notion of urban regeneration covers many fundamental topics such as the physical, economic, social, and environmental dimensions (Roberts, 2000: 3), it still is a very tricky issue in China. In China's current political context, social improvement in the local development or regeneration plan is often marginalized, although it has already been emphasized in national development agenda since the 10th Five-year plan in 2001 (Hu, 2001: 4). The mismatches between social and economic development in China were examined by Saich who said, "China, like many transitional economies, has not been able to deal well with the social transition and the development of social policy has lagged badly behind economic development" (Saich, 2001: xv). Accordingly, literature shows that social capital, among other various factors, plays a significant role in enabling the connection and involvement of local disadvantaged communities in urban development process, which promotes multi-participatory and community-based regeneration practices (Forrest & Kearns, 2001; Kearns, 2003; Kleinhans et al., 2007; Middleton et al., 2005). Based on the analysis of urban regeneration and social capital in Chinese historic cities, this book aims to investigate the role of social capital in the regeneration of Chinese historic cities. Accordingly, the main research question of the study is:

What is the role of social capital in the regeneration of Chinese historic cities?

To answer the main problem, the following sub-questions should be investigated:

1) What is urban regeneration in China? What are the historic cities in China?

2) Why is there a need for urban regeneration in Chinese historic cities? Who identifies these needs?

国历史城市的内容是什么?

2) 为何要对中国历史城市进行更新? 由谁界定更新的内容?

3) 对于转型期的中国而言, 影响历史城市更新的因素有哪些?

4) 城市更新过程涉及的主要利益相关者, 即地方政府、地方社区和私营部门, 在城市更新过程中扮演着怎样的角色?

5) 社会资本指的是什么? 影响社会资本的因素有哪些?

6) 社会资本是如何影响中国历史城市的更新过程的?

7) 本研究对中国历史城市的更新有何普适意义和建议?

本研究中的许多关键概念, 即城市更新和社会资本, 都是基于西方国家的城市背景下的实践经验发展而来。所以, 本书首先探讨了转型期中国历史城市的更新问题, 并分析了中国历史城市更新的实际需求, 然后对影响城市更新政策、策略和综合式城市更新结果的主要因素展开调查研究。这些因素包括, 转型期中国的城市保护法律法规、城市更新机制和更新管治模式。在研究中国历史城市更新的管制体系时, 我们发现, 社会资本的存在可以让人们更好地理解社区居民在城市更新过程中的参与情况。然而, 本研究也注意到, 中国城市中的社会资本与西方国家背景下的社会资本概念存在较大差异。因此, 本研究会围绕社会资本概念以及影响转型期中国地方社会资本的关键因素展开探讨。通过讨论关键变量和影响因素之间的关系, 最终总结出社会资本在中国历史城市更新过程中发挥的作用及其贡献。

3) What factors affect the urban regeneration policies of historic cities in transitional China?

4) What roles do the various stakeholders, that is, local government, local communities, and private sectors, play in this process?

5) What is social capital? What factors affect the social capital of particular communities?

6) How can social capital affect the regeneration processes in Chinese historic cities?

7) What implications and recommendations can this book provide to conduct better urban regeneration practices in Chinese historic cities?

Many key concepts in the study, that is, urban regeneration and social capital, have been developed mainly based on the practices and experiences in Western context. Therefore, this book initially explores the issue of urban regeneration in the context of historic cities in transitional China. Following this, the actual or genuine need for urban regeneration in Chinese historic cities will be investigated. Various factors affecting urban regeneration policies, strategies, and comprehensive regeneration outcomes will then be examined, including urban conservation laws and regulations, urban regeneration mechanisms, and mode of regeneration governance in transitional China. In examining the system of regeneration governance in Chinese historic cities, social capital facilitates the understanding of community involvement in the urban regeneration process. However, it is observed that the social capital in urban China greatly differs from that in the Western context where this concept originated. Therefore, this book will examine the concept of social capital and analyze some corresponding key factors affecting the generation of local social capital in transitional China. By discussing the relationships among the key variables and influencing factors, this book will finally explore the impact and contribution of social capital on the urban regeneration process of Chinese historic cities.

1.3 研究目的

本研究的主要目的是揭示中国历史城市中城市更新与社会资本两者间的关系。这个目标还可以具体划分为如下几个分目标：

1) 构建一个理论分析框架，以了解中国历史城市中的城市更新和社会资本。

2) 了解几个关键因素（即城市更新和社会资本）的现状及其关系，以及转型期中国历史城市中的其他因素。

3) 了解转型期中国城市更新的真正需求、地方城市更新的政策以及历史城市的实践活动。

4) 了解各种利益相关者在转型城市更新管治模式中所扮演的不同角色。

5) 了解社会资本是如何促进社区发展的，以及社会资本在地方城市更新过程中的作用。

6) 从社会资本的角度出发，来了解社区居民参与对地方城市更新活动所起的作用。

7) 基于对社会资本在中国历史城市综合式更新中的作用的理理解，探讨本研究的启示，并提出相关的政策建议。

1.4 研究意义

自 20 世纪 90 年代以来，中国的快速城市化进程和倾向于经济增长的城市发展政策^[1]，对中国历史城市保护与发展提出了诸多挑战。例如，不少珍贵的历史物质环境的破坏和大量原住民的重新安置，其目的都是优

1.3 Goals and Objectives

With the main goal of providing a better understanding of the relationships between urban regeneration and social capital in Chinese historic cities, this research has the following specific objectives:

1) To build a theoretical framework to understand urban regeneration and social capital in Chinese historic cities.

2) To understand the state and relationship of the key factors, that is, urban regeneration and social capital, as well as the other related factors in historic cities of transitional China.

3) To understand the genuine need for urban regeneration, local regeneration policies and practices in the historic cities of transitional China.

4) To understand the roles of the various stakeholders in the transitional mode of regeneration governance.

5) To understand the role of social capital to community development and involvement in the local urban regeneration process.

6) To understand the role of community involvement based on the level of social capital to the outcomes of local urban regeneration practices.

7) To develop research implications and policy recommendations on the role of social capital in the comprehensive urban regeneration of Chinese historic cities.

1.4 Significance of the Study

Rapid urbanization and economic growth-biased urban development policies in China since the 1990s^[1] have posed many challenges to urban conservation and the development of Chinese historic cities, for example, the demolition of valuable historic physical environments and the

[1] 2005 年中国城市的城市化率是 43% (DED, 2006: 224)，到 2020 年有望达到 60% (Shan, 2006: 9)。

[1] Urbanization proportion of Chinese cities was 43% in 2005 (DED, 2006: 224), and this figure is expected to reach 60% in 2020 (Shan, 2006: 9).

先考虑了房地产再开发或城市营销进程^[1](Ruan & Sun, 2001: 28)。但是, 重新安置原住民, 不仅可能破坏社区中原住民的邻里关系与交往, 而且不利于城市保护的整体内容, 尤其是不利于保护原住民的生活内容和提高社区的凝聚力。有学者认为, 中国历史城市的更新甚至陷入了一种两难境地, 就是一方面要促进私人发展商主导的再开发活动, 以保持当地经济的大发展; 另一方面要增进社会凝聚力和社区建设 (Shan, 2006: 98)。基于社区的发展规划有助于改善社区关系, 增加对原住民的保护, 完善城市可持续更新的综合目标。然而, 如果对社会资本和城市更新策略认识不足, 也会严重影响这一目标的实现。鉴于此, 本研究致力于探讨转型期中国历史城市中的社会资本和城市更新。希望通过这一研究, 让人们更好地理解历史城市中的社会资本以及城市更新政策和实践问题。同时, 人们也可以更好地理解社会资本、城市更新和其他相关的关键性因素之间的关系。

至于本书在实践层面的贡献, 研究中最重要的是, 如何理解并将原住民的生活内容, 融入西安历史城市的整个城市保护或更新进程中。毫无疑问, 本研究将促进当地历史城市的更新结果, 不仅有利于改善城市的物质环境, 而且有利于保护当地的非物质社会文化环境。此外, 研究通过总结其政策启示和提出策略性建议, 将有助于改善西安历史城市更新规划的决策环节。最后, 作者

resettlement of many indigenous residents to give way to redevelopment-led or city marketing processes^[1] (Ruan & Sun, 2001: 28). The resettlement of original residents not only disrupts the original relationships and connections of neighborhoods but also undermines the quality of urban conservation in terms of indigenous lives and the improvement of social cohesion. Some academic argued, the dilemma in the regeneration of Chinese historic cities lies in the rapid economic growth, caused by the redevelopment activities of private developers, and the improvement of social cohesion and community development (Shan, 2006: 98). A community-based development plan contributes to the improvement of community relationships, the conservation of indigenous lives, and the comprehensive objectives of sustainable urban regeneration. However, the lack of understanding of the relationships between social capital and urban regeneration strategies has remained a major obstacle in achieving this objective. Given this background, this book endeavors to explore social capital and urban regeneration in transitional Chinese historic cities. It is expected that through this study, the issues of social capital and urban regeneration policies and practices in transitional Chinese historic cities will be understood better. Moreover, the relationships among social capital, urban regeneration, and related key factors will be understood better as well.

As regards the practical contributions of this book, the most critical issue in the current regeneration practices of the historic city of Xi'an is how to understand and incorporate local

[1] 2002 年房屋拆迁面积约为 1.2 亿平方米, 占当年商品房面积 3.2 亿平方米的 37.5%。2003 年, 房屋拆拆面积总共是 1.61 亿平方米, 占当年商品房面积 3.9 亿平方米的 41.3% (Shan, 2006: 98)。

[1] Housing removal areas in 2002 were about 120 million square meters, which was 37.5 percent of 320 million square meters, the accomplished commodity housing areas in that year. In 2003, the housing removal areas totally were 161 million square meters, which was 41.3% of 390 million square meters accomplished commodity housing areas in that year (Shan, 2006: 98).