

颠簸

小米（文）

TURBULENCE

BY JÉRÉMIE DESCAMPS



北京首都机场(诺曼·福斯特)
Beijing Capital Airport (Norman Foster)

在北京上空飞行

从舷窗眺望, 坚实的大地正迅速远去。下面是由诺曼·福斯特设计的北京首都国际机场。该建筑长达4公里, 在奥林匹克运动会开幕前不久投入使用。飞机转身时, 指向大地的翼尖抚摸着它那如鳞片般闪亮的穹顶。可以想象在机场周围, 机动车组成的长队如扫把般扫过错综复杂的公路、桥梁、快速路组成的交通动脉, 一直延伸到城市的心脏。北京商务区成片的高楼大厦组成一条天际线, 其中浮现出雷姆·库哈斯设计的那座奇异的建筑, 像一个从中被挖空的立方体。不远处在一个地基的空洞上方可以看到几座吊车正在建造一座520米高的大厦“中国尊”。这座打破北京高度记录的大厦由中信集团建设。飞机一个转身向南, 城市边界上那坚实沉默的山峦轮廓被笼罩在一片雾霭中。

远远地可以看到市中心树木茂盛的老城区, 它静默、灰暗, 被二环路划出的线 and 一片如前额般高耸的建筑围绕。在这片城区的中心, 有保罗·安德鲁设计的北京大剧院, 那钛金属外壳像一个闪亮的水泡。火红色屋顶的紫禁城, 有着优雅完美的对称布局, 它以环套空间的模式, 深刻地奠定了这座城市肌理的基础。从飞机上的高度, 很难想象在这座大都市中人们生活的日常细节, 比如在狭窄的胡同中上年纪的磨刀人的吆喝声, 或者时不时传来的QQ信息提示音……这让人想起约翰·皮埃尔·安格米¹, 在1970年代, 他曾乘坐一架闪亮的双引擎飞机飞翔在这片古老都城的上空。他看到的景象和录制的电影描绘着另一个时代, 我们可以看到北京那近乎“完美”²的方块形轮廓, 和它那绝对严谨的标准正交网格线肌理。这时的城市还没有完全开始向原初的轮廓外围扩展。



中央电视台总部大楼(雷姆·库哈斯), 北京
CCTV Headquarters (Rem Koolhaas), Beijing

An air of Beijing

The ground recedes quickly from the window. Our wingtip traces over the shimmering scales of the airport dome just below: a four-kilometre complex designed by Norman Foster for the Chinese capital and opened on the eve of the Olympic Games. We can make out the torrent of vehicles spilling through the tangle of roads, bridges, and freeways that form the major arteries to the city centre. Buildings in Beijing's new business district loom here and there, among them the peculiar punctured cube by Rem Koolhaas. Nearby, cranes are already hard at work over the gaping foundations for the Citic Group's China Zun Tower, which will eventually soar to a record-breaking height of 520 metres. As we slowly bank southward, the mountains bordering the metropolis stand at attention, stalwart and impassive, topped by wispy crown of mist.

We skirt the flat, seemingly inert mass of the historic centre, dark and wooded and completely penned in by the tall urban fence clearly delineated by the second ring road. In the centre of this mass shines the titanium National Theatre like a drop of mercury, an opus by Paul Andreu. Then, the Forbidden City—with its elegant, perfect symmetry and flame-coloured roofs—which establishes the framework for the interlocking urban structures so characteristic of Beijing. From this height, how to imagine the infinite minutiae that make up the life of the megalopolis, right down to the narrowest hutongs still echoing with the sound of the old knife grinders in the street (or QQ instant messaging)...? Our bird's-eye view is overlaid with visions of the films shot by the late Jean-Pierre Angremy¹ in the 1970s, when he flew over the ancient capital in a gleaming twin-prop: images of a nearly “ideal”² civic square employing an impeccably orthodox grid, with urban development just beginning to creep beyond its original boundaries.



国家大剧院(保罗·安德鲁), 北京
National Center for the Performing Arts (Paul Andreu), Beijing

我们飞过南侧环线附近一片长方形地块组成的区域, 其两侧是有着蓝色屋顶的工业仓库。这里有一片名为木樨园纺织品市场的区域, 在这个巨大的“城市村庄”里聚集着来自浙江地区的布料商。它的面积广阔, 从飞机所处的高度上看去, 似乎就在天坛旁边。天坛的围墙画出一个向北延伸的“肚子”, 很容易辨识。再远一些, 看到的是向乡村扩展的条形住宅群。一片黄绿色的高尔夫球场周围环绕着一片西式别墅, 像小插孔一样无尽地重复在一片网格平面上。

就像中国的其它大都市一样, 北京的城市空间在经济改革三十年间均匀不断地向八方扩展, 随后以点油点的方式蚕食依然保持着乡村状态的地区。城市功能被理性化地分布在不同区域中: 郊区的住宅区、高科技产业区、工业区、商业区、大学区等。很多北京本地居民已移居到郊外, 特别是在城市北部和东部。那里有面向富裕居民的豪华住宅, 也有为从城市中心疏散出来的居民建造的安居住房³。

飞机又提高了高度, 可以看到由北京、天津、唐山(京津唐)组成的城市联合体的外形轮廓。自2000年起在这一地区, 出于经济发展战略的需要, 特别是受到城市化进程的推动, 而成为中国海滨三大“龙头”之一。在飞机钻入云端之前, 还可以看到一串渤海湾中的人工岛屿。房地产项目占据了这里的土地, 以规避政府有关保留海滨农田的政策, 因为农田受城市发展压力的影响而呈零落琐碎的状态⁴。



北京东城区
Dongcheng District, Beijing

We fly over rectangular masses flanked by blue-roofed industrial warehouses in the southern outskirts of the city. The footprint of Muxiyuan, the colossal “urban village” of Zhejiang textile dealers, comes to view; on this scale, seen practically cheek by jowl with the Temple of Heaven, whose elegant precincts are clearly visible like a swollen belly to the north. Low-rise apartment buildings encroach the countryside; Western-style villas surround a patched golf course, creating a checkerboard of tiny identical plots that replicate into the distance.

As is the case with other Chinese metropolises, thirty years of economic reform has caused the urban space of the capital to sprawl outward from the centre in every direction. While at first in a homogenous manner, small patches of development are now staining rural areas. A zoning system divides metropolitan functions into neat categories: suburban housing, high-tech and industrial clusters, commercial zones, university districts, etc. Many native Beijing residents have fled to the suburbs, notably to the north and east of the city: the well-heeled to smart apartment buildings, others re-housed in zones created to relieve the density of the old downtown³.

We gain altitude, and the outline of the Beijing-Tianjin-Tangshan (Jing-Jin-Tang) urban basin emerges: one of the three coastal “dragon’s heads” which were created in early 2000 to boost the national economy, primarily through increased urban development in these areas. Before we disappear into a sea of cloud, we catch a quick glimpse of a chain of artificial islands in the Gulf of Bohai, reclaimed from the sea by developers to circumvent government restrictions protecting agricultural coastal reserves that had been shattered by urban growth⁴.



北京中央商务区
Beijing CBD

运动中的城市

在机舱的后侧，一位空中小姐提示乘客飞机有些颠簸。飞机的机身似乎被扭曲、捶打，最后重新快速地飞行起来。乘客们开始昏昏欲睡。这些男女乘客中的大部分是来自中国东部的商务人士，他们往来于各大经济中心城市。从中可以想见中国的人口地理分布：十亿以上的人口都聚集在东部沿海地区，这一数量还在不断增长中，与人口正在逐渐减少的西部大片地区呈鲜明对比（西藏、新疆等）⁵。

2009年，6.21亿城市人口中的60%居住在654个拥有10万人口以上的城市中（其中有十几个城市的人口超过一千万）。40%的人口居住在19322个有1万人口以上的小城市中⁶。2011年，中国城市化率达到50%⁷。1990年有新建城市246个，2020年则将出现400座新城⁸……通过这些统计数字可以隐约想象中国城市发展的复杂情形。一位美国分析家在1999年时讲道：在城市中“不仅增添了新建郊区和商务区，更重要的是整个城市的结构都在改变之中”⁹。

在这一城市不断变化的背景下，作为地方精神的城市身份（或者说文化身份？）被迅速地重新定义。从北到南，中国城市正处于同化过程中。城市规划系统在等级明确的政府部门间组织（城市规划委员会、设计院等），其规划模式非常格式化（通过对区域功能的定义，由一张规划图来规定土地的使用）。从本地角度上讲，这种规划模式，与经济发展问题紧密相连（向房地产企业售卖土地是当地政府的资金来源之一），这就促使此种规划城市与建筑的标准模式被普遍使用。



广州中央商务区
Guangzhou CBD

Motion sickness

"You xie dianbo...": the voice of the air hostess at the back of the cabin comes over the intercom to announce a patch of turbulence. The plane jinks, shudders, and then resumes its headlong course. Around us, passengers are dozing. Most of them are undoubtedly Eastern Chinese businessmen and women travelling between economic centres. The human geography of China translates into more than one billion people concentrated on the coastal strip in the East; there, the population is rising, compared to the main regions in the far west like Tibet and Xinjiang, which are in decline.⁵

In 2009, 60% of China's 621 million recorded urban-dwellers lived in 654 cities of over 100,000 inhabitants (of which a dozen had in excess of 10 million inhabitants); the remaining 40% lived in 19,322 towns of over 10,000 inhabitants⁶. In 2011, urban-dwellers accounted for more than half of the population of the Middle Kingdom⁷. Since 1990, 246 new towns have been built, with 400 more anticipated by 2020⁸. These estimates herald a complete shakeup of Chinese urban areas: cities are "not just adding new suburbs and business districts; the whole structure of the metropolitan area is changing," observed an American analyst as early as 1999⁹.

In this climate of transition, urban (if not cultural) identities—hallmarks of local areas—are being hastily redefined. From north to south, Chinese towns are becoming increasingly uniform. The urban planning system, a rigid hierarchical structure in its public stakeholders (urban planning commissions, project institutions) and highly rationalised in its planning methodology (defining land use in terms of functional zones), is closely linked at a local level to economic development (land sales to developers allowing communities to be self-funding). This means that uniform urban planning and architectural standards have been adopted across the country.



宁波中央商务区
Ningbo CBD



798大山子艺术区, 北京
798, Dashanzi Art District, Beijing



南京一处改造后的工业建筑
Former industrial site refurbishment, Nanjing

以城市的尺度看, 这里有: 以美国达拉斯或法国拉德芳斯为原型的CBD商务区; 有开发区; 有在网格平面上分布着住宅区的新城或卫星城; 还有远离市区的大学“岛”等。这些城区都在同期以极短的时间建设起来, 都按照几乎相同的方式组织, 以大得多的尺度重拾西方的规划模式。以城区的尺度看, 中国东部大城市中的流行模式被不断重复: 有步行中心街(如北京的王府井大街和上海的南京路); 有或封闭或敞开形式的新型购物中心(如上海新天地); 有被改造的工业建筑(如798和莫干山)。这些地方都吸引着大量游客、赶时髦的消费者、好奇的当地居民等等。对地名的使用(如武汉天地等)加强了这种似曾相识的印象。

在这样的城市化进程中, 城市的时间维度呈紊乱状态。在历史行进的钢丝绳上, 未来将历史置于更加脆弱的平衡状态。北京老城¹⁰的面积非常接近另一座城市明珠——巴黎。北京这座城市几十年以来如兴奋的心脏, 其革新的速度如快速的脉搏: 排水系统更新、管线埋入地下、古迹修缮、房屋整体修缮、拆除、重建、地铁修建、公园再绿化、水渠疏通、增加停车场数量等。城市周边地区的变化更加翻天覆地, 以至于已经无法辨识出过去的痕迹。另外还有一些新区, 如朝阳中心商务区和海淀中关村的科技中心等, 都各自表现着自豪地面向未来的姿态。居民或好或坏地适应着这些时而令人愉悦、时而令人绝望的变化, 而成为城市变化过程中被动的证人。而在欧洲需要一个人的一生才能经历如此多变的生活处境。

On a municipal level, there are Central Business Districts, generically referred to as CBDs, which are modelled on, say, Dallas, Texas, or La Défense in Paris; economic “development zones” (the so-called Kaifaqu); new satellite towns (Xincheng) with housing based on urban grids; and university “island” campuses located outside city centres. These zones were all built during the same period to very tight timescales, and present a number of important similarities. They reproduce—on a much greater scale!—the urban planning models of the West. On a neighbourhood level, the successful models of the large metropolises of eastern China are replicated: central pedestrian areas, like Wangfujing in Beijing or Nanjing Road in Shanghai; new enclosed or open-air malls such as The Village or Xintiandi; redeveloped brownfield sites like 798 or Moganshan. All attract hordes of tourists, trendy consumers, and curious locals. The Chinese names selected, such as the Wuhan “Tiandi”, reinforce the notion of similarity and déjà-vu.

As part of this same process, urban timescales have also been disrupted. In historical terms, the future is now destabilising a past which was previously in equilibrium. In Beijing, the historic city centre—comparable in size to another gem, Paris¹⁰—is evolving at the pace set by an urban redevelopment programme that began several decades ago. The pulse of the city pounds to a rhythm dictated by enlarged arteries; refurbished drainage systems; new underground networks; restored monuments; refurbished, demolished, or rebuilt houses; new subway stations; re-landscaped parks; new sewers; and extra parking spaces, to name but a few. In the outlying areas, other zones are experiencing radical transformations in which the legacy of the past is completely invisible. In other areas, new zones such as the Chaoyang CBD or the Zhongguancun technology cluster in Haidian, are proudly rising up to greet the future. Residents are passive spectators, adapting as best they can between euphoria and despair, facing changes



上海新天地
Xintiandi, Shanghai



北京三里屯
The Village, Sanlitun, Beijing

王澍(2012年普利兹克建筑奖获得者)是一位关心历史遗产、构思革新性项目的建筑师。在最近的一次会议上他表示: 在全部都被新建的中国, 几乎已经没有任何老东西留存下来¹¹。如今连历史建筑景观也成为新建筑的主题: 很多城市都宣布了“新老城”项目……这一现象使人们开始思考为什么会有对城市改变的需求。

政治领域的浮动强烈影响着城市变化的节拍。城市规划的目标是将规划图尽快实现, 从“视觉上”¹²达到有效。地标性建筑必须在几年内拔地而起, 因为这是地方政府显示政绩, 同时标显发展链心的方式。所有城市变化进程的参与者(规划师、建筑师、房地产商等)汇聚在项目基地上, 每天都要做出新的决策以应付随时出现的复杂问题。这些项目关系到城市发展中的多尺度元素, 无论是有关人的(移民与密度管理、经济适用房、廉租房建设、城市环境改善等), 还是有关技术的(材料、生态、资源管理、计划制定等)。对于他们来说既是限制也是真正的创新机会。另外, 这种快速节奏下的生产活动要带给那里的场所、街区和城市以新的形象, 这并非是设计院可以独立承担的。所谓“独立”建筑师事务所中的那些头脑中充满新想法, 来自中国和世界各地的青年建筑师们, 则面对着一个艰巨的任务: 成为最有销路的、最引人注目的形象供应者, 同时还能提出创新的构思。举一个中国建筑师事务所MAD的例子, 该事务所由50至60名员工组成, 每年参与的招标活动数量达500多个。

that in Europe would take place over an entire lifetime.

The architect Wang Shu—winner of the 2012 Pritzker Prize in Architecture and a designer keen to preserve the traces of the past in projects that are nonetheless highly innovative—recently declared that everything in China was new; that everything old had virtually disappeared¹¹. Even picturesque attractions are the focus of novelty with a number of cities now boasting projects for “new” old towns. This raises the issue of the desire or requirement for change in Chinese cities.

Constant political reshuffling at local level set the pace for urban development. These development programmes must deliver tangible results quickly and be “visually” effective¹². Architectural or metropolitan landmarks (dibiao)—the expression of local power but as much windows on the openness of those in power—must be completed in a mere few years. All municipal players (town planners, architects, real estate developers, etc.) are mobilised in situ to offer new solutions to complex local issues occurring in real time. On every scale of urban development, consequent challenges both human (migration management, density, social housing, welfare issues, etc.) and technological (materials, environment, resource management, scheduling, etc.) offer these players not only constraints, but also genuine creative opportunities. Moreover, this rate of production requires a constant stream of new designs for sites, districts, or cities that government project institutions cannot provide unaided. So-called “independent” architecture practices staffed by young graduates from China and all over the world find themselves tasked with an arduous role: generate as much sales and visual appeal as possible while offering innovative concepts for each site. A Chinese agency such as the Beijing-based MAD, with a staff of fifty to sixty people, might respond to over 500 competitions and invitations to tender per year, for example.



文化管理中心, 鄂尔多斯康巴什
Cultural and political center of Kanbashi, Ordos

在经历了毛泽东时代的贫困与挫折之后, 中国的新市民以某种方式等待着全新的变化。人们是否愿意生活在一个既没有摩天大楼与城际高速公路, 也没有房屋立面上那多彩霓虹灯的城市? 所有人的生活都被城市的活力带动着, 这一活力也直接反映着这个国家被期待的经济动力。

当然, 这些与身份的重新定义、时间的颠覆性和各种新事物的产生紧密相关的问题, 以或多或少的微妙性或合理性体现出来。自然资源极其丰富的内蒙古鄂尔多斯(稀土、天然气、石油、羊绒)无疑是最极端最惊人的城市化现象案例。距离原市中心35公里(东胜区, 8万人口)的新建行政管理中心——康巴什(不到10万人口), 是在从当地农民手中以极高的价格购得的土地上(这些农民随后也成为地产投资者), 在不到十年的时间里建成的。这座新城的新古典式轴线两旁聚集了众多新奇外表的大型建筑, 以精雕细琢的图像体现着全球化精神。那里有一片由湖泊、河岸和公园组成的风景整体, 附近是一个商业区和一个城南住宅区(以似乎随意的方式命名为“A Town”¹²)。其中城南住宅区中那一百多座三十层以上的大厦都建造在一片沙漠的黄沙中。与蒙古文化相关的历史自此跟随上了当今潮流的脚步。那些新近完工的公共广场与设施, 以舞台布景的方式也同时展现着当地的风俗习惯。

在鄂尔多斯的漫游给人以“生活在城市零年代”的怪异印象, 历史被洗去, 在一片沙漠上, 我们看到的是一个正在建造中的巨型工地城市。



新公共空间, 鄂尔多斯康巴什
New public spaces, Kanbashi, Ordos

In reaction to the years of poverty and frustration experienced under Mao, citizens of the New China also expect radical changes to some extent. No longer can they imagine a life without skyscrapers, urban freeways, and building facades emblazoned in multi-coloured neon billboards. Their lives have been swept along by the urban dynamic, an instant and reassuring indicator of the country's economic strength.

Obviously, these issues which are closely linked to redefinition of identity, disruption of existing timescales, and novelty are emerging and being tackled with varying degrees of subtlety and success. The prefecture of Ordos in Inner Mongolia is extremely rich in natural resources (rare minerals, natural gas, oil, cashmere wool) and is undoubtedly one of the most astonishing examples of urban development pushed to extremes. The new administrative centre of Kanbashi (with currently fewer than 100,000 inhabitants) was built 35km from the original centre of Dongsheng (800,000 inhabitants) on land bought for a small fortune from local farmers—who themselves became developers—and built in less than a decade. The new city brings together a number of monumental architectural curiosities inspired by global thinking and finely honed syntheses of other designs, all laid out along a neoclassical axis. Vast landscapes of lakes, riverbanks, and parks have been recreated near a business district and residential zone built to the south of the town, appropriately named A Town¹³, with no fewer than one hundred towers of thirty or more storeys sprouting out of the ochre sand. The history of the Mongolian people has been updated on esplanades and newly developed public areas, which display traditional scenes of local traditions and customs frozen in time. Strolling through Ordos, you get the very strange impression of experiencing the “year zero” of a city devoid of history, where the present fluctuates according to the whims of a colossal urban project planted in the middle of the desert.



A 城, 鄂尔多斯康巴什
A Town, Kanbashi, Ordos

下页: 鄂尔多斯
Following pages: Ordos







朱家角水乡, 上海
Water Town of Zhujiajiao, near Shanghai

戏剧城市 城市戏剧

机长通知乘客飞机将在上海降落, 接着是一片“咔嚓咔嚓”解开安全带的声响, 我们的飞机正向虹桥国际机场飞去。我们滑翔在长江三角洲的上空, 看到的是一片海滨城市地带。这里有湖泊、河流和数以千记的水渠与运河。广阔的土地上是一片向外拉伸的多城市联合空间, 那些连接上海到苏州, 无锡到南京, 宁波到杭州的城市“走廊”可向外延伸几百公里。这些城市都是服务业与工业发达、充满活力, 被称为中国经济“龙头”的重要城市, 彼此间由动车交通网连接。

与北京的那种独立于自然条件的城市形态不同, 上海更具有有机性。这里的城市空间被大密度的农田和灌溉水网所分割。城市建设不以单调的网格线为基准, 而是自然而然地沿着原有肌理发展。特别是在城市的中心, 街道的走向明显延续黄浦江清晰划出的南北向线条发展。水乡城市点缀着这片泻湖地区, 但其中有些在空中难以分辨出来。城市那交织的肌理延续水渠的走向发展, 其中有密集的低矮住宅建筑, 大都以庭院或走廊组织。由于1980年至2000年间大量房屋被拆除¹⁴, 这些水乡城市如今已成为市级保护对象, 标志着三角洲文化, 成为当地旅游资源之一。

飞机逐渐接近陆地, 眼前的这座形态鲜活的城市和它均质、多中心的空间组织¹⁵显得更加清晰。在飞机接近跑道时, 我们可以看到浦东被江水的臂弯环抱, 那里有仅在二十年间建成的高楼林立的陆家嘴商务区, 象征着中国城市的现代化进程, 已成为城市的神经中枢。在这个光华四射的城区对面, 以江水为隔,



2012年的外滩, 上海
The Bund in 2012, Shanghai

City of spectacle - The spectacle of the city

The pilot announces our approach into Shanghai. Throughout the cabin, the clicking of seatbelts rings out as we descend towards Hongqiao International Airport. We glide over the Yangtze (Blue River, or Changjiang) Delta, an urban swath bounded by the sea and composed of lakes, rivers, and thousands of canals. It is a giant conurbation stretching out along long metropolitan corridors that can be several hundred kilometres in length, from Shanghai to Suzhou, from Wuxi to Nanjing, and from Ningbo to Hangzhou. Linked by high-speed train networks (gaojie or dongche), these ultra-dynamic tertiary and industrial clusters of the Delta form another "dragon's head" of the Chinese economy.

Compared to the morphology of the urban territory of Beijing—which was not dictated by the natural parameters of its site—Shanghai looks more organic, divided and characterised by dense waterways and agricultural networks. Where the urban infrastructure is not dictated by a monotonous grid, it naturally follows these networks, notably in the city centre where the Huangpu River (flowing from south to north) has clearly defined the direction of the streets. Some "water towns" (shuixiang), invisible from the sky, are also dotted throughout this lagoon region. Their sinuous shapes follow the canals, and low, dense housing is organised around courtyards and passageways that are now protected at municipal level to offset the massive demolition that took place in the period between 1980-2000¹⁴. They are now a major cultural feature and tourist attraction on the Delta.

The ground below, quickly growing nearer, is laid in a defiantly polycentric, homogenous manner¹⁵. In our approach toward the runway, we see the Pudong Peninsula nestling in a bend of the river with the flamboyant towers of the Lujiazui CBD, whose upward thrust epitomises urban Chinese modernity over the last two decades and the focal point of



陆家嘴中央商务区, 上海浦东
Lujiazui Central Business District, Pudong, Shanghai



上海2010世博会
Overview of the 2010 Expo site, Shanghai



上海2010世博会 英国馆
British Pavilion, Expo site, Shanghai

是上海的历史城区浦西区。2008年在巴黎举行的展览“中国城市——一个古老文明的转变”(Dans la ville chinoise. Regards sur les mutations d'un empire)中曾展示过上海¹⁶。这是一座十九世纪产生的城市,以它独具特色的建筑、老银行、外滩、动人的城市形态和高楼大厦,而充满诱人的魅力,给人留下深刻印象。这座城市的高效与决断力使它具备所有作为国际大都市应有的条件。

在航站楼立交桥灰色的身躯下,井然有序的出租车长队流动着,承载着旅客前往城区。首都国际机场以全新的形象在2010年世博会前不久对外开放,成为世界上最重要的交通枢纽:包括城区交通(公共汽车和地铁)、公路交通、铁路与空中交通。这一交通枢纽和周边的行政管理区、商业办公区、住宅区一起,加强了整个上海西部的活力。

在中国,从2000年起因“大事件”的推动,产生了一种独一无二的惊人现象:一方面城市发展的尺度在事件举办地达到了无所匹敌的程度;另一方面也使得当地的总体规划目标被加快实施。2010年上海世博会、2008年北京奥运会、2010年广州亚运会、2008年南京世界城市论坛和2014年南京青年奥运会,以及在其它城市如青岛、济南等地举办的大型活动,都改变了这些城市的历史发展轨道,产生了翻天覆地的变化:建设服务设施(体育、文化、旅游)、发展交通(机场、铁路、地铁、客运交通站)、公共与绿色空间整治、关闭或转移工厂、道路修整、历史遗迹和老城区临街立面修缮,有时还会有将市中心区居民迁往城市周边的举措等。

the whole megalopolis. They dance and shimmer over Puxi, the historic Shanghai waterfront. As seen in the 2008 exhibition in Paris, Dans la ville chinoise¹⁶ [In the Chinese City], Shanghai is a city inherited from the 19th century whose facades, sensual shapes, old banks on the Bund, and prestigious new towers make it an utterly captivating place. Its efficiency and its determination to boast all the assets of a world-class city are equally appealing—and impressive.

Under the grey mass of bridges and flyovers at the terminal, a remarkably well-organised queue of taxis carries a steady stream of passengers off towards the city centre. The international airport was completely rebuilt prior to the start of World Expo 2010 to become the world's first multi-modal transport platform incorporating urban (bus and subway), road, rail, and air networks, plus a hub developing the entire region west of Shanghai with the creation of administrative areas, shops, offices, and housing associated with the airport.

Prestigious major events (dashijian) organised in China in the first decade of the 21st century have had the benefit of boosting the urban development of host cities at a hitherto unprecedented rate and giving them first priority in the local urban development plans. International events in Shanghai (World Expo 2010), Beijing (2008 Olympic Games), Guangzhou (2010 Asian Games), Nanjing (2008 World Urban Forum, 2014 Youth Olympics), and events in many other cities like Qingdao and Jinan have transformed the course of their histories and driven change: construction of new facilities (for sport, culture, and tourism), modernisation of transport (roads, airports, rail and subway lines, buses), development of public and green spaces, closure or relocation of factories, repairs to historic monuments and facades in historical districts, and the relocation of some residents from the city centre to the suburbs.



鸟瞰北京2008奥林匹克公园
Overview of 2008 Olympic Games site, Beijing



“鸟巢”,北京
The "Bird Nest", Beijing

这些大事件带来了全新的城市化经验,使似乎永远都在工地中的中国城市从水泥尘埃中解脱,向世界展示它的成功事迹。在这一展现中,城市与建筑无疑扮演了重要角色。以大事件为背景,一些世界著名建筑师间接或直接地,在那些具有强烈象征意义的项目中留下自己的签名,如诺曼·福斯特设计的形象如巨龙的飞机场、赫尔佐格和德梅隆联合艾未未设计的鸟巢体育场、PTW设计的水立方游泳馆、扎哈·哈迪德设计的卵石形广州歌剧院等。

来自国内外的众多设计团队以竞赛的形式为世博会会区提出了充满雄心的城市方案(罗杰和ARUP、同济大学、AS建筑师事务所、中国城市规划设计研究院等)。来自世界各国不计其数的建筑师,构思了数不胜数形式多样的场馆:新颖、媚俗、时尚、雅致、庄严、复杂、生态、微妙、艺术、充满幻想¹⁷。上海世博会传达着充满魅力的想象之城的图景,在这些图景中城市成为充满美好与趣味的王国。在当今媒体-全球化的时代,与十九世纪最初的几届世博会相比,建筑从来没有显示过如此强大的力量。

很明显,上海世界博览会的雄心不仅是要通过有形的事物体现自己的意义。因为会事只持续一段时间,会场中的建筑是临时性的。最终是城市本身和无形的多项挑战成为问题的聚焦点。世博会迎接来自中国各个地区的参观者,仅在六个月时间里就有7千3百万人注册参观!这一以“最大尺度”规模组织的城市事件,通过电视图像向全国播放,向全国人民展示中国城市化的重要意义。这是第一次采用“城市”为主题的世博会,其中有多数展览穿插,如在城市最佳实践区(UBPA),就举办了以城市可持续

As a sort of open-air urban experiment, these events have brushed the cement dust off the image of the Chinese city as a permanent construction site and unveiled some major completed projects to the world. Urban and architectural feats have undoubtedly played a significant role in the publicity process. Major names in international architecture have directly or indirectly put their names to highly symbolic projects—including the dragon-like Terminal 3 by Norman Foster, the "Bird's Nest"-like National Stadium by Herzog & de Meuron and Ai Weiwei, the Water Cube-like aquatic centre by PTW in Beijing; and the pebble-shaped-like Opera House by Zaha Hadid in Guangzhou.

Chinese and international teams (Arup, Tongji University, Architecture Studio, the Chinese Urban Planning Institute) competed in ambitious urban development plans for the World Expo 2010 site. An entire raft of architects of every nationality designed a riot of pavilions—original, artistic, kitsch, chic, graceful, imposing, complex, eco-friendly, subtle, fantastic...¹⁷ In an era of globalised media, never before—from the first international expositions in the 19th century to the present day—had architecture promoted images of sensational dream cities based on the theme of health and entertainment with such energy.

Obviously the aim of World Expo 2010 was to go far beyond purely formal issues. A world fair has a finite existence and architecture is temporary in this type of setting. In Shanghai, the city itself and its many challenges were addressed. Expo 2010 was aimed primarily at Chinese visitors from every province, of whom 73 million were recorded within the space of six months! The event was organised at the highest level in the city and broadcast on screens throughout the country, proselytising the importance of urban development in China to its own population. For the first time, the theme "The City" was chosen and picked up on by a number of



上海徐汇滨江公园
A new park in Shanghai: Shanghai Corniche

发展为主题的展览。

仅从城市空间角度来看，世博会的举办使这个曾经的工业港口城市发生了重大变化。城市空间被重新组织（仅世博会场地就占地5平方公里，黄浦江从中间将场地一分为二），江岸边拥挤在一起的大片仓库、墓地、废旧修船厂都被重新整治。高速度与大规模工程为留存历史上发生在这里的生产活动遗迹带来困难。这个以网格规划的城市空间在世博会闭幕后的归属当然已被预先考虑过。在各会馆被拆除后不久即进行了土地的重新分配和销售。地铁7号与10号线从会场用地中穿过，因此可形成新的城市中心，而在这里建造起的大厦是要永久保留下来的¹⁶。

在长江三角洲上扎针灸

我们乘坐一辆水绿色的大众出租车，穿过一片片水泥丛林，沿著悬于地面五十多米高的公路桥，被和蔼可亲的出租车司机一路乘风地运载到徐汇区，在那里我们将会见一位公共项目开发者。

一张平面图铺展在桌子上，我们眼前是一片8公里长的江岸。这里的规划设计由英国建筑师彼得·维捷负责，他带领的团队于2003年赢得该项目的竞赛。这位英国建筑师的设计原则很简单：建设一个将当地工业遗产融入考虑之中的当代公共空间；保留铁道、仓库、船绳缆柱、吊车等设施。

接待人为我们讲解了该项目的背景细节：“像上海世博会这样的国际展览会事使政府集中针对基础设施、房屋和公共空间的建



上海徐汇滨江公园中保留的铁路
Ancient rails kept for the project Shanghai Corniche

exhibitions, including the Urban Best Practice Area (UBPA) Expo, focusing on sustainable urban development.

From a purely urban point of view, the exposition allowed a whole swath of the city normally reserved for port-related industry to be redeveloped (over 5km² for the fairgrounds alone, spanning both banks of the Huangpu River): riverbanks choked with warehouses, cement works, and obsolete shipyards were renovated, whilst still trying to preserve a few traces of historical activity on the site (albeit with great difficulty given the speed and scale of the operation). The urban grid mapped onto the site was clearly intended so that the plots could be reused after the event, the sales of which began as soon as the pavilions were dismantled. These new central districts, well served by the subway system (lines 7 and 8), were gradually redeveloped around a few anchor buildings that had been designed to be permanent¹⁶.

Spatial acupuncture in the Yangtze Delta

We boarded a pale green Dazhong taxi, where a pleasant driver took us full-bore through a forest of buildings on elevated motorway ramps perched 50m above the ground, for our meeting with a public works contractor in the Xuhui district.

Our reception at the meeting was warm from the start, perhaps from the unusual nature of the interview: Chinese developers who are principal "urban producers"¹⁷ are generally never asked about their work. Shortly before Expo 2010, this developer was placed in charge of managing an urban zone opposite the exposition grounds on the Puxi riverbanks scarred by a century of heavy industry: the Shanghai Corniche Park, a public space covering several hectares that we would visit several times, sprang up in the space of three years and opened just before the start of the Expo.



上海徐汇滨江公园
General view on the Corniche, Shanghai



徐汇滨江景观桥(马达思研), 上海
Xuhui Bridge (MADA s.p.a.m.), Shanghai

设进行投入。”讲解者还解释道, 地方管理者的思想是否开放, 公共项目开发者的能力是否优秀, 这些对项目的成功与否是决定性的, 她说: “我们团队的成员全部都接受过城市规划或建筑专业教育。我们这些年轻人对新想法感兴趣, 希望能将这些想法在中国贯彻并实现。我们领导的思想也比较开放, 比如在徐汇滨江公园项目中, 他选择了一位外国建筑师来设计。如今, 地方政府对有新创意的设计态度很开放。开发者也在构思问题上都受过较好的训练。地方城市发展思想已见成熟和完善。”

这样一个项目的影响是直接的, 地产投资的效益回收速度很快, 接待我们的项目代表表示: “我认为徐汇滨江公园对外开放后的影响是非常积极的。该城区的居民对公共空间有确实的需求。在该项目实现以前, 有些人甚至还不知道黄浦江从徐汇区中穿过。如今, 夏天的时候, 公园每晚吸引一至两万人来这里散步纳凉。公园开放后, 周围一些住宅的价格开始增长, 可达六万元每平米, 而初始房价是一万元每平米。政府的投入使周边的土地价格增长, 政府考虑未来将这些土地售出。”

我们的谈话可以映射到三角洲其它城市的情况。与商品住宅区和商业区的发展呈平行态势的是城市新区的发展。政府和开发商投资建设公用设施、公园、广场、水渠等。有时, 公共空间会在建设周边区域之前已然建好, 如在金华的情况就是一例。金华是艾未未的父亲艾青的出生地。艾未未被邀请为新城设计一座“建筑公园”。不幸的是该公园有被过早废弃的迹象²⁰。这些新建公共空间通过联合城市空间的方式使周边的城市元素重新组合。在当地政府对原创性思想抱有更开放态度的背景下, 这一



金华建筑公园
Jinhua Architectural Park, Jinhua

The call for entries to redevelop this 8km of waterfront had gone out in 2003. The winning design, by a team led by British architect Peter Verity, was now spread out for us on the table. The primary gist of the plan was simple: provide a contemporary public space that takes into account the industrial heritage of the site by preserving rail tracks, depots, mooring bollards, freight handling cranes, and so forth.

The public works contractor explained the context of the project, where the open-mindedness of local authorities and the expertise of public developers were seen as key elements. "International events such as the Shanghai Expo boost government investment in the construction of new facilities, buildings, and public spaces," he said. "Our team was entirely made up of people with training in urban planning and architecture. We are young and interested in new ideas that we would like to apply and carry out elsewhere in China. Our manager is relatively open to ideas and in the case of Shanghai Corniche, he opted for a foreign architect. Today local government is more open to new projects, and teams of developers are better trained in terms of conceptual issues. Ideas relating to local urban development have matured and improved".

The effects of a project of this kind in an area can be felt immediately and the return on investment is swift: "I have noticed some very positive results since the opening of the Shanghai Corniche, which have convinced me that the local residents really needed a public space. Before the project was completed, they did not even know that the Huangpu River passed through the Xuhui district. Now in the summer, the Shanghai Corniche attracts between ten and twenty thousand people every evening. Since the park opened, the average price of some accommodation in the area has risen to 60,000 Yuan/m², compared to 10,000 Yuan/m² when it went on sale. The city council's investment has pushed up the price of surrounding



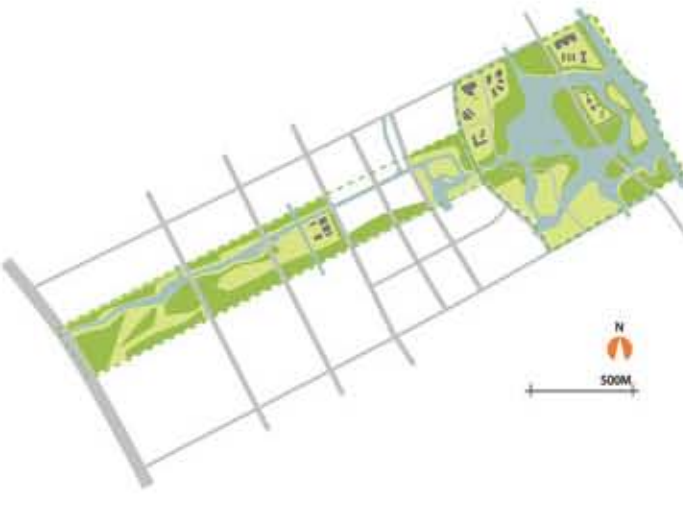
鸟瞰远香湖公园, 上海嘉定新城
Overview of the Yuanxianghu Park, Jiading New Town, Shanghai

趋势为建筑师和景观师提供了前所未有的机会。

现在我们来到上海西侧的新城典范——嘉定。这里等待着新发展的土地为年轻的区长孙继伟又提供了一个一展身手的机会。在青浦时, 他以对建筑设计质量的敏感而受到瞩目。从这片已半城市化土地的上空鸟瞰, 在处于建设阶段中的城区中心, 可以看到两座毗邻的公园: 正在完工阶段的紫气东来公园和远香湖公园。在十几公顷的土地上铺展着湖泊、岛屿和水渠, 这些自然景观的形态在原有基础上被重新整治。很多具有特色趣味的当代小型建筑点缀着这里的风景图画。一位正在公园中工作的园丁对建筑很感兴趣, 他告诉我们哪一栋建筑是哪一位建筑师设计的: 大舍建筑事务所、山水秀事务所、阿科米星事务所等等。荷兰景观设计事务所NITA(远香湖公园)和佐佐木事务所(紫气东来公园)承担公园的整体景观设计。

建筑师们通过对形式、色彩和材料的运用, 将所有元素连接起来, 构筑了这片辽阔的风景。这种以极精致的方式构筑人造自然空间的过程, 让人想起在中国古代皇家园林中那种对自然景观的精心塑造。

继续我们在三角洲城市的行程, 另一座同类型的公园引起了我们的注意。鄞州公园位于宁波新城区的核心位置, 这里有五座由王澐设计的小品建筑, 散布在一片湖泊的周围。就在附近, 有一片大型城市商务中心(由MADA s.p.a.m.事务所设计), 一片如植物茎一般向天空延伸的高档住宅, 还有宁波博物馆那大型的灰色体块和庄严的区政府办公楼。杭州西溪湿地位于城市西



远香湖公园与紫气东来公园平面图, 上海嘉定新城
Plan of Yuanxianghu and Ziqidonglai Parks, Jiading New Town, Shanghai

plots, which it would like to sell in the future".

This conversation illustrates a common situation in other cities in the Delta. In newly developed urban zones, in tandem with developing residential and commercial plots, local authorities are investing heavily in building public facilities and parks, squares, and canals—and developers are also being encouraged to do likewise. Sometimes these public spaces are developed before the surrounding districts have even appeared, as was the case in Jinhua, the birthplace of the poet Ai Qing, whose son Ai Weiwei was asked to create an "architectural park" in the new town (unfortunately, the park now shows signs of advanced deterioration²⁰). These new spaces provide "nodes" for a city to be subsequently built around them. Against a backdrop of greater openness, this trend by local authorities to be receptive to highly original ideas naturally offers designers an exceptional opportunity to engage with buildings and landscapes.

This time, our taxi was hurtling toward Jiading, a new pilot town west of Shanghai. This development zone is the new playground of Mayor Sun Jiwei, who had already demonstrated his architectural sensitivity in Qingpu. As we navigated by sight around vast tracts of semi-developed land, we came across two adjoining estates that are currently being completed: Ziqidonglai and Yuanxianghu, located at the heart of a new district still under construction. A network of lakes, islands, and canals designed according to the natural contours of the site sprawl over dozens of hectares. Relatively subtle modern pavilions punctuate the landscape. A busy gardener clearly curious about architecture points out a few buildings and tells us the name of their designers—Atelier Deshaus, Scenic Architecture Office, Atelier Archmixing, and so on. The Dutch landscaping practices NITA (for Yuanxianghu Park) and Sasaki Architects (for Ziqidonglai) coordinated the landscaping.



鄞州公园, 五散房 (王澐), 宁波
Yinzhou Park, and one of the "Five Scattered Houses" (Wang Shu), Ningbo

例, 这一区域被重新整治, 为周围城区带来生态效益。在这里, 虽然风景与建筑只间接相关, 却都属于项目的核心部份。湿地公园中包括一些引人注目的建筑, 如位于公园北部, 矶崎新设计的生态博物馆, 在南部有齐欣和他的同行们设计的景观别墅。

简而言之, 这一在城市的神经点上“扎针灸”的做法带来了好处, 使城市摆脱难忍的疼痛。商业中心和广场式的城市规划减少了, 城市整治的方式占得上风。以上提到的项目中, 建筑与景观质量的优秀举目可见, 建造者们在最后工序也不放松对细节的追求。

另一个核心问题显现出来——尺度。高质量项目的尺度正在从新建城区中的建筑尺度, 向整个城市的尺度过渡。上海、杭州和宁波在这一新“城市制造”趋势中处于先锋地位。不计其数的项目都反映出这一积极趋势。在城郊地区, 如上海周边, 首当其冲的有新城青浦和嘉定, 随后有宁波的新商务中心, 南京的高科技园区, 还有前文提到的城市公园, 及杭州南部的高密度住宅区。这些项目的设计者, 有相当一部分是中国新一代建筑师(大舍、马清运等)。他们开始被邀请进行整个城区尺度的设计, 而不再只被局限于建筑的尺度。

另一方面在高密度城市, 特别是在那些继承了十九世纪的城市形态, 经历过海外贸易发展和工业化时期的城市, 一些工业遗产的保护与改造项目²¹, 和曾聚集着内河船舶的河岸整治项目, 在过去几年中得以实现。在上海我们可以引用多个案例, 如苏州河南岸一段河渠的改造案例。该项目由具有中澳两国背景的事务所



齐欣作品, 杭州西溪湿地公园
Qi Xin, Xixi Wetland Park, Hangzhou

The interplay of shapes, colours and materials—granite, gravel, manicured lawn, aquatic planting, wooden pontoons, grasses—so arranged and linked to modern buildings recreates a vast unified landscape. This sophisticated project to transform space by creating a tamer version of nature is reminiscent of the way nature was sculpted during the development of the great imperial gardens of ancient China (the Summer Palace in Beijing, the West Lake in Hangzhou...).

As we continue our journey through the Delta towns, our eye is drawn to other urban parks in the same vein. In Yinzhou Park in the centre of the new city of Ningbo, five contemporary pagodas designed by the architect Wang Shu have been "sprinkled" around a lake. Nearby rises the bulwark of the city's new CBD designed by MADA s.p.a.m.; the tall, slender "stems" of high-end residential blocks; the dark shape of the Ningbo History Museum; and the imposing district hall of the town. In Hangzhou, the Xixi National Wetland Park west of the city has completely recreated an ecosystem that has environmental benefits for the surrounding urban zones. Here too, landscape and architecture, however indirectly linked, lie at the heart of this project with a few large-scale projects such as the Ecological Museum by the architect Isozaki, north of the park; or by contrast, the rural villas by the Qi Xin and other architects.

In simple terms, this "acupuncture" at key points in the city provides relief from the ills afflicting it. Urban planning based on the model of the mall and forecourt is in retreat and urban development is gaining ground; quality architecture and landscaping are clearly visible in these projects, as is attention to the finish.

This raises a crucial issue of scale. The scale of quality projects is changing, moving from magnificent but isolated projects in a world still



宁波天一广场 (马达思班事务所)
Tianyi Plaza (MADA s.p.a.m), Ningbo



苏州河沿线景观设计(BAU), 苏州
Suzhou Creek New Park (BAU), Suzhou



书城 (Winking-Froch Architekten BDA), 宁波
Book City (Winking-Froch Architekten BDA), Ningbo



中山路改造 (王澍), 杭州
Zhongshan Street (Wang Shu), Hangzhou



深圳金融管理中心
Administrative and Financial Center, Shenzhen

BAU设计;有外滩南侧的十六铺改造(老码头South Dock),那里是一个有150年历史的通商水运枢纽;还有上海纺织总公司在黄浦江边的仓库改造,由法国夏邦杰事务所设计;在宁波,曾以使馆馆为特色的老外滩则留下了上海MADA s.p.a.m.事务所的印记。在老外滩的对面,一家德国事务所设计了一座‘书城’(宁波书城),形状像个烟囱,书城2011年揭幕。在构思中,这家德国事务所的建筑师提出要保留原有工业建筑,对其进行现代化改造。在杭州,王澍和中国美术学院以另一种风格实现了一处使人震撼的改造项目:中山路步行街改造项目。在该项目中,建筑师同时结合了杭州的乡土传统与现代建筑精神,而在西湖岸边,则有由同济大学以更加传统的方式设计的改造工程。

所有这些项目聚合在一起为城市空间重新赋予意义,为城市的历史划出新的轨迹。

都市主义诱惑

我们旅途的最后一站是位于中国东南部的一座城市,中国的三大“龙头”之一。在等待了两个小时的“通行控制”之后,终于有广播通知道:“CZ3558航班的乘客请到52号门乘机。”于是一条混乱急切的长队涌到登记台前。刷卡机的声响在平淡无味的候机大厅中回响。转眼间飞机已经在跑道上滑翔即将飞往深圳。

这座年轻又难以简单概括的城市²²,是邓小平领导下的经济改革的产物。邓小平南巡中表露的精神(从那时出现的口号“让一部分人先富起来”)给来到这里的人们或以深刻的吸引力,或以极端的厌恶感。根据统计,这座城市拥有一百万人口(拥有本地

under construction, to the city itself. Shanghai, Hangzhou, and Ningbo are in the vanguard of this new urban “factory”. Countless projects in the region demonstrate the signs of this positive shift. It can be seen on the one hand in suburban zones such as the new towns around Shanghai, Qingpu, and Jiading at the forefront; or in the new Ningbo CBD, the high-tech cluster in Nanjing, the urban parks mentioned above, and dense residential zones south of Hangzhou. Contemporary designers, notably new Chinese architects (e.g., Deshaus, Ma Qingyun) are being invited to operate on a neighbourhood scale rather than an individual edifice scale.

On the other hand, in dense city areas—especially centres with a layout inherited from the 19th century and the industrial era connected to the merchant marine and shipbuilding—some interesting conservation and brownfield redevelopment²¹ projects and efforts to reclaim riverbanks formerly devoted to inland shipping have been completed in the last few years. In Shanghai we can cite a section of the southern bank of the Suzhou River, which has been redeveloped by the Sino-Australian team at BAU; south of the Bund, the Shilipu Dock Redevelopment Project (South Dock) is a former merchant marine hub dating back 150 years; and the Shangtex Group warehouses on the Huangpu River have been redeveloped into a fashion centre by the French practice Arte Charpentier. In Ningbo, the Old Bund, with its former concessions, has been revisited by the Shanghai architecture practice MADA s.p.a.m., and opposite it tower the chimneys of the Book City (Ningbo Shucheng), inaugurated in 2011 and designed by a German practice that espouses preserving and modernising existing industrial buildings. In a different register in Hangzhou, Wang Shu and the China Academy of Arts have developed a surprising and incongruous project combining the preservation of the vernacular heritage of the city with contemporary buildings along Zhongshan Avenue,

户口的居民),但实际上仅外来人口已达一千万。他们是受工作和事业机会的吸引,从全国各地来到这里的工人或白领。深圳远离政治中心,这个欣欣向荣的首个经济特区与香港毗邻,居民平均年龄35岁,就是这样一个年轻的南方大都市,充分体现着这个正在变化中的国家的活力。仅以几座新村为基础,这里在30年中就建起了足以构成一座城市的大大小小的细胞²³。深圳代表着(也许悖论式地代表着)中国最开放的城市化实践之一。

英文的“Urbanism”一词所代表的涵义中包括人文与社会科学思想,要求对某一土地领域进行研究与调查。它的涵义实际上与政治领域提出的“城市规划”思想相反。从语义学的角度,汉语中没有与“urbanism”完全相匹配的翻译,有时被翻译为“都市主义”,但是在中国很少有人使用这一说法,而只有作为“urban planning”翻译的“城市规划”一词在中国被广泛使用。也许正是在这样的背景下,从事建筑与城市设计的深圳Urbanus事务所(2000年代初创建)采用了“都市实践”作为自己的中文名字,从中反映出在项目构思中具有或必须的“城市实践”精神。

我们在深圳要完成两个任务。第一个任务是采访都市实践事务所的创建人(王辉、刘晓都、孟岩)并去参观他们的作品。即使他们不是深圳唯一令人感兴趣的事务所(在深圳我们还可以看到欧博设计、斯蒂文·霍尔、和太都会事务所的设计),但他们的作品在当地城市景观中具有重要地位。都市实践一贯坚持的根本原则是“人性化城市”概念(humanistic urbanity),并在深

which has been made pedestrian-only, while the banks of West Lake have been redeveloped in a more traditional style by Tongji University.

This collection of projects restores meaning to these spaces and gives shape to a new urban history.

The temptations of urbanism

Calling all passengers for flight CZ3558 to make their way to Gate 52.... After a three-hour delay due to air traffic “control”, a ragtag, nervous queue forms in front of the desk. The beep of the digital ticket scanner rings out through the antiseptic departure lounge. The last leg of our journey is taking us southeast to the third “dragon’s head” of China. In a few moments, the plane rises from the tarmac and wings its way towards Shenzhen.

This new city is difficult to define²². A pure product of the economic reforms instigated under Deng Xiaoping—whose journey to the south gave rise to the famous phrase, “Enrich yourselves!”—Shenzhen either attracts or repels completely, without any half-measures. There are one million officially registered residents (holders of a local hukou), but in fact the city has 10 million additional economic migrants, either in the form of manual or white-collar labourers from all over China lured by work and business opportunities. Far from the political capital, this foremost booming Special Economic Zone located at the gateway to Hong Kong (and whose population has an average age of 35 years) is a southern megalopolis that bears all the hallmarks of the dynamism of a country in the clutches of change. As a planned city, built quickly over 30 years on the footprint of a few existing municipalities (Xincun)²³, perhaps it is also paradoxically the area where China has carried out the most open-minded urbanism.



华侨城创意文化园改造(都市实践), 深圳
OCT Loft (Urbanus), Shenzhen



华侨城创意文化园改造(都市实践), 深圳
OCT Loft (Urbanus), Shenzhen

圳以他们出色的才华贯彻这一原则,以革新性的方式对城市问题进行细致的研究。通过城市项目与公共空间设计、商业化、为当地政府提供咨询服务等,事务所的建筑师们置身于他们的城市理想中:在关注全球化普遍性问题的同时提出具有创新意义的解决方法,以满足那些极具地方性的特别需求。

都市实践在深圳实现的设计体现出一种对尺度与对使用功能分析的合理性。他们的作品包括一个位于新建公园中,两个楼层的“婚礼中心”;一个位于行政管理中心附近,插入两条主要干道间的竹林公园;一个由工业遗留改造而成,活力四射的艺术中心,名为“OCT”(华侨城,是香港的一家著名房地产开发企业);一个计划长期进行的城中村新村研究项目;罗湖花园广场,在这里即使在文化中心关闭时,来自周围的居民也能在旁边的庭院中跳探戈舞;还有为一个名为前海的海港区域组织的设计竞赛,该竞赛为如上海Archiplein这样的年轻事务所在竞赛中展示自己的构思和实践提供机会。都市实践事务所在具体的实践中体现出对入、市民、城市新居民等这些向深圳大量涌进的人群的关注,并将这一关注置于构思过程的核心。

而二十一世纪的城市规划并不仅限于这些。在深圳,与设计项目相联系的另一个重要领域是信息交流领域。我们的第二个目标是深圳城市建筑双年展(与香港合作举办)。该展览自2004年创办起即以前所未有的广角视野为城市问题的思考做出贡献。中外策展人(中方:张永和、马清运、欧宁,外方:泰伦斯·瑞莱等)多年以来组织过多轮探讨与展览活动,都以建筑与城市为主题,同时涉及与城市相关的艺术、社会、地理、环境、文化等

Using the word "Urbanism" also includes human and social sciences, research, and investigation in a given area—in contrast to the political concept enshrined in the notion of "urban planning". In semantic terms, the Chinese language does not have an equivalent for the term "urbanism", which could be translated as dushi zhuyi—except that this is never used. The expression chengshi guihua, the Chinese transcription of "urban planning" is used in China. Perhaps this is why Urbanus, a dynamic new architecture and urban development firm based in Shenzhen chose the slightly provocative Chinese name Dushi Shijian to introduce the notion or necessity of "engaging with the city" to design projects.

We are going to Shenzhen for two reasons. The first is to speak to the founders of Urbanus—Wang Hui, Liu Xiaodu, Meng Yan—and to visit some of their projects. Urbanus may not be the only interesting players in Shenzhen (we could also cite Aube, Steven Holl, OMA, and so on), but they are a unique part of the local landscape. The firm has established itself as the main initiator and passionate advocate of "humanistic urbanity", which it has applied to Shenzhen with great flair. Combining careful research and innovation relating to the city, urban projects and public spaces, a commercial strategy and a consultancy role with local authorities, the practice is the alter ego of its favourite city: it addresses global issues by inventing very local solutions.

Projects in Shenzhen carried out by Urbanus are perfectly pitched in terms of scale and impressive in terms of analysis: a split-level "marriage centre" in a new park; a bamboo grove inserted between two arterial routes close to the administrative centre; an industrial brownfield site redeveloped into a vibrant arts centre called OCT (Overseas Chinese Town, the name of a well-known Hong Kong developer); urban villages (perhaps the city's only heritage site) enhanced after long-term research; a square and cultural



深圳大芬美术馆(都市实践)
Dafen Art Museum (Urbanus), Shenzhen

方面的内容。城市管理中心和文化中心(OCT)每两年一次举办此类向大众开放的信息交流活动。深圳是一座不仅在物质形态上,而且也是在情感、民主和可持续性发展的方式上,以独一无二的高速度变化的城市。

在深圳最令人瞩目的是它的这种与新思想相连的紧密性,以及在地域上具体实践的积极城市精神。这与当地的城市建造参与者所起的关键作用不可分割。这种精神使深圳在中国东部城市中占据领先地位,比上海先进一度,比北京先进两度……还有一小时,我们的飞机即将着陆,空中小姐在广播中提醒乘客“飞机有些颠簸”。飞机的机身似乎被扭曲、捶打,最后重新快速地飞行起来……



深圳大芬美术馆(都市实践)屋顶
Roofs of Dafen Art Museum (Urbanus), Shenzhen

centre in Luohu, with a terrace open to tango dancers from neighbouring buildings even when the centre is closed; and a competition in Qianhai Harbour District to promote work and ideas from talented young practices such as Archiplein from Shanghai. The architecture and urban planning practice is carrying out practical experiments here where man, city dweller, and new arrivals to the city who flock to Shenzhen in hordes are all the central focus of the project process.

However, this is not the only aspect of 21st century city planning. The second reason for our visit is the Shenzhen and Hong Kong Bi-city Biennale of Urbanism/Architecture, which began in 2004 and offers a uniquely broad vista of ideas about the City. Every two years, the municipality of Shenzhen and the OCT cultural centre are involved in this information and thought-provoking dialogue campaign, open to the general public. The Chinese curators (Yung Ho Chang, Ma Qingyun, Ou Ning) and the international curator (Terence Riley) have over the years presented a series of discussions and exhibitions combining architecture, urban planning, and development with themes relating to art, sociology, geography, the environment, and culture—all of which also shape cities. Thus, the city's high-speed growth is matched by intellectual, democratic, and sustainable growth as well.

It is quite clear that this thinking on urban planning issues in Shenzhen, associated with the concrete implementation of new ideas on the ground with the involvement of key local stakeholders, is a pioneering approach in Eastern China, which is one step ahead of Shanghai, and two steps ahead of Beijing. An hour prior to landing, "...You xie dianbo": the air hostess announces another patch of turbulence. The plane jinks, shudders, and resumes its headlong course...



北京一处改造后的四合院 (Archiplein, 习那城邦)
Sihayuan refurbishment in the Hutong, (Archiplein with Sinapolis), Beijing

¹ 法兰西院士、汉学家 (1937-2010)

² 这种理想城市平面曾首先出现在长安城，如今的西安市，这种组织城市的方式影响了很多中国主要城市，比如北京。

³ 2004年总体规划 (计划减少一百万人口)

⁴ 见 "Courrier International" 2011年10月20日发表的相关文章，作者: Zhu Yishi, la folie des îles artificielles, 《新世界周刊》

⁵ 第六次人口普查显示数据，2011年，《人民日报》

⁶ 世界银行关于中国中小城市的报告 China Small and Medium Towns Overview, 目前“乡镇化”的用词取代了“城市化”，由于乡镇与人口在10万以上城市间的差距过于巨大，中国政府开始发展小城市。

⁷ 2011年官方统计数字为51.27% (1978年为19%)，但一些中国专家对这些统计数字显示出的“数字化繁荣”表示担忧，因为统计中不包括无户口的城市居民，这种统计方式从社会角度考虑不可行 (只有持城市户口的居民享有社会保障，如子女入学、社会医疗、就业等)，参考文献:《财经》杂志，《社论: 辨别城镇化数字繁荣》，2012年1月29日。

⁸ Connexions, The China Review, 2010

⁹ R. McLemore, 1999

¹⁰ 更准确的数字为: 北京62平方公里，巴黎78平方公里。

¹¹ 多位著名建筑师参加的一次会议，该会议的内容2012年5月发表在微博网站上 (王澍获得普利兹克建筑奖期间)，《北京建筑论坛——获奖者们讲建筑》，2012年5月24日, ikuku.cn

¹² 张传文, 张松教授访谈 (同济大学), China Urban Disease (I&II), Southern Metropolis, 2010年5月9日, Chinadialogue.net. “日本与中国不同在于，中国人更关注视觉效果，在中国改革开放以后，中国变化的道路拓宽了，城市也要如此。”“存在一种误解，就是认为更大的城市就是更好的城市。”

¹³ 蒙古语的音译为“阿城”。

¹⁴ 阮仪三教授是中国建筑遗产专家，他在1970年统计有150座历史村庄；如今只有十几座村庄留存 (同里、朱家角等)。

¹⁵ 在上海周边，九座新城的建立是中心城区发展的逻辑性反应，是一些已经处于城市化进程中的市郊及乡村地区，法国地理学家铁瑞·萨君在最近的一片文章中指出“这些新城就像上海的城市现代化与国际化展示橱窗”，大部分由“遗留下的老城肌理、新城区和住宅区组成，每个城市都以一种外国建筑风格作为自己的形象特色。”

¹⁶ 策展人弗里德里克·艾德曼、弗朗索瓦兹·兰德，合作单位: 法国建筑与遗产之城，巴塞罗那当代文化中心。

¹⁷ 《上海2010世博会: 场馆竞标精解与都市考察》，浙江大学出版社

¹⁸ 文化中心、中国馆、世博轴、UBPA等

¹⁹ 小米，对规划师Qi Qun 女士的访谈，2012年4月，上海

²⁰ 该公园包括17处建筑小品，由来自国内外的建筑师共同设计，其中有王澍、刘家琨、艾未未、赫尔佐格和德梅隆等。

²¹ 上海拥有超过1.4千万平方米的工业闲置用地。

²² 请参考摄影师余海波的影集《生活在改革开放的中国深圳》，中国摄影出版社。在这本优秀的影集中，读者可以感受到深圳的城市变化过程。王鲁湘在前言中讲道: “不要小看这座城市和来到这里寻梦的人们。”

²³ 都市实践事务所进行的一系列调查研究，请参考出版物 Village/City (Ed. cepp)

¹ Writer, member of the Académie française, and sinologist (1937-2010)

² The ideal planning model was first used to plan Chang'an (now Xi'an), prior to influencing the urban development of several major Chinese cities such as Beijing

³ Measures imposed by the 2004 Urban Development Programme (to meet a target of fewer than 1 million people).

⁴ cf. "Zhu Yishi: la folie des îles artificielles, Xin Shiji Zhoukan", in Courrier International, October 20, 2011.

⁵ Results of the 6th national census, People's Daily, 2011.

⁶ Report by the World Bank on urban planning for small and medium Chinese towns: "China Small and Medium Towns Overview". The word "townization" is used in China rather than "urbanization", as the Chinese government is now focusing on developing small towns as the disparity between the number of inhabitants in these small towns (zhen), and towns with over 100,000 habitants (shi) is too great.

⁷ Official figures for 2011 show a figure of 51.27% of urban dwellers (compared to just 19% in 1978), but some China specialists are concerned by these "soaring statistics" as they believe that the actual number of urban dwellers takes into account permanent residents who do not hold urban registration (hukou) and is thus not socially viable. Only holders of urban hukou are entitled to welfare benefits such as access to education for their children, healthcare and employment. See the excellent article in the journal Caijing: "Putting an end to soaring statistics", January 29, 2012.

⁸ Connexions, The China Review, 2010.

⁹ R. McLemore, 1999.

¹⁰ 62 km² and 78 km², respectively.

¹¹ Lecture by several renowned architects streamed on Weibo in May 2012 (when the Pritzker Architecture Prize was awarded to Wang Shu). "Beijing Architecture Forum – Prize-winners Discuss Architecture", May 24, 2012, ikuku.cn

¹² Zhang Chuanwen, interview with Professor Zhang Song (Tongji University), China Urban Disease (I & II), Southern Metropolis, May 9, 2010, Chinadialogue.net. "The difference between Japan and China is that the Chinese consider things visually—since reform and opening up, China's metaphorical path has widened, and so roads in cities have to be wider, too." And, "There is a misconception that bigger cities are better cities."

¹³ Phonetic transcription of the Sino-Mongolian name "阿城"

¹⁴ Professor Ruan Yisan, a renowned Chinese heritage expert, recorded 150 in the 1970s; there are approximately a dozen left currently (including Tongli and Zhujiajiao).

¹⁵ The nine new towns which have been developed around Shanghai are part of a plan to ease the concentration in the town centre in favour of suburban and rural areas which are undergoing urban development. In a recent article, French geographer Thierry Sanjuan presented these new towns as "showcases for the urban and cosmopolitan modernisation of Shanghai. They largely combine an old legacy urban fabric [...] with a new town with urban residential blocks, with each town being promoted on the image of a model of foreign architecture [...]"

¹⁶ Curators Frédéric Edelmann, Françoise Ged. Co-production Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine/ Centre de Culture Contemporaine de Barcelona.

¹⁷ cf. "Future Architecture, Shanghai Expo 2010", published by the Zhejiang Press.

¹⁸ Cultural Centre, Chinese Pavilion, Central Axis, UBPA, etc.

¹⁹ Jérémie Descamps, interview with urban planner Qi Qun, April 2012, Shanghai

²⁰ The park is made up of 17 architectural modules designed by international and Chinese architects including Wang Shu, Liu Jiakun, Ai Weiwei, and Herzog & de Meuron.

²¹ The city of Shanghai would have no fewer than 14 million m² of vacant industrial lots.

²² On this topic, a remarkable book of photographs, Living in China's Shenzhen – a city under reform and opening-up (China Photographic Publishing House) by Yu Haibo, retraces the epic history of urban and social change in Shenzhen. The title of the preface by Wang Luxiang challenges us to "take this city seriously and those seeking dreams here as well!"

²³ On this topic, see the research carried by Urbanus, summarised in Village/City (Ed. CEPP).

颠簸

Turbulence

颠簸

颠簸

词汇

CBD

是"Central Business District"（商务中心区）的字头缩写，是商务活动的集中区域。地方政府在此类区域中大量投资，为中心区建设举办国际招标活动，为项目整体或项目中具有标志意义的重要部份做出决策。商务中心区中汇集了金融、商业、信息等领域的活动，配有办公、酒店与住宅等设施。

城市联合体

包括市区与郊区在内，面积广阔的城市化区域整体，这些区域的边界因城市面积扩张而最终彼此相连。

大事件

指极具国际影响力的大型活动，如奥林匹克运动会、世界博览会、亚运会等。

高铁、动车

指中国的城际铁路快速列车运输网。列车往来于地区与各省间。相当于法国的TGV高速火车。动车指时速小于300公里的列车，高铁则可达时速300公里以上。与其它大陆国家不同，中国在过去十年中快速发展高速铁路运输。

城市网格

城市网格的历史可以追溯到很古老的历史时期，如早期的罗马城市与中国皇城。而这种城市发展模式是在十八和十九世纪才被广泛应用的，特别是在美国。这种平行正交的道路网格使住宅与商业建筑以“块状”形式发展。中国当今正产生一种“巨型块”现象：一个块体的面积可达400×400米，使可使用空间大大增加。虽然网格有可能优化城市的发展速度，但这种方式也与依原始地形而形成的肌理相矛盾。

户口

指居民出生时获得的居住证明。这一制度在1950年代末由毛泽东创立。这一管制人口的系统可显示每个中国人的社会出身，特别是显示出他属于农村出身还是城市出身。长久以来，人口流动因户口的存在而很受限制。市场经济的发展促使政府部份地放松控制，但并没有取消这一制度。如今，很多媒体和专家都在批评户口制度，因为这使城市本地居民与外来居民间的差距加大，而后者通常来自农村。农村户口居民不能与城市户口居民享有同等社会权力（如教育、医疗、就业等）。

胡同

该词源于蒙古语，是“井”的意思，代表一种“小街”。中国的很多北部城市在过去是按照一种网格形式规划的，如北京的历史中心城区就是一个完美的例子。街道以平行正交的方式相连取向南北和东西，按照主干道宽度大，次要街道宽度小的规则

GLOSSARY

CBD

Acronym for Central Business District. These are business districts outside the city centre in which local councils are investing on a massive scale, launching international invitations to tender, and making decisions about projects as a whole and about some of the key projects established in the zone. A CBD brings together finance, commercial and information centres, as well as offices, hotels and housing, etc.

Conurbation

A huge metropolitan area comprising towns and suburbs that have merged.

Dashijian

Literally, "major events". A reference to prestigious events on an international scale such as the Olympic Games, the World Expo, and the Asian Games.

Gaotie & Dongche

Chinese intercity express train services (with regional and provincial coverage) equivalent to the French TGV high-speed train. Dongche refers to trains which travel at less than 300 km/h, Gaotie refers to those which can reach speeds in excess of 300 km/h. Unlike other nation-continents, China has invested heavily in rail transport in the last ten years.

Hukou

A form of registration record issued at birth. Introduced by Mao in the late 1950s, this system of population control records the social origin of every Chinese person, and in particular whether they are from a rural or urban area. For many years, hukou impinged on the mobility of citizens. However, the market economy has forced the authorities to make the system slightly more flexible, without actually abolishing it. Today, many in the media and Chinese specialists denounce hukou, as it increases the rift between urban residents and newcomers to the city from rural areas. Holders of rural hukou do not have the same social welfare entitlement as urban hukou holders, such as access to education, healthcare, employment, etc.

Hutong

A word of Mongolian origin, meaning "well" and describing an alley. Towns in the North of China were organised according to an elaborate urban grid plan, of which the historic centre of Beijing offers a perfect example. The streets are arranged orthogonally from north to south and from east to west following a dense mesh of large, regular arterial routes and narrower alleys (hutong) between 3 and 9 metres wide, serving houses with square courtyards (siheyuan). In Beijing, from 4,000 hutongs recorded in the 1980, only 1,500 survive today (source: Pékin, métamorphose d'une ville impériale, Ed. Torres). The demolitions peaked in the late 1990s and early twenty-first century. In Beijing, they are technically protected by a plan that aims to exploit their tourist potential.

Kaifa qu

Literally, "development zone". This term designates zones under construction on the outskirts of Chinese cities that bring together high-tech clusters and overseas companies, etc.

组织。这种叫做胡同的小街（宽度在3至9米之间）连结方形院落住宅（四合院）。在北京，1980年代统计有4000条胡同，如今仅存1500条（信息来源: **Pékin, métamorphose d'une ville impériale**, Ed. Torres）。对四合院破坏性的拆除活动在1990年末及此后的几年中达到极致。北京四合院理论上通过保护计划被保护起来，而同时也因此吸引了大批游客。

开发区

指中国城市周边的建设区域，集中了高科技产业和外国企业等。

QQ

仿照MSN (Hotmail) 的即时聊天软件，是中国网民最常用的聊天软件。

总体规划

是确定一个城市总体发展方向的计划，是一种法定可操作的规划工具，由各级政府以15至20年为周期制定。

水乡

“江南水乡城市因水运发达，文化与商业交流频繁，很早就相当繁荣。其中最重要的城市有苏州、杭州、宁波等。几百个这种类型的城市和乡镇以此种模式建立起来。[……] 我们确认出一定数量的城市作为优先保护对象[：]甬直、同里、周庄、西塘、南浔、乌镇。[……] 在这些水乡城市中，彼此相连的房屋沿着水路延伸，而每个城市中的房屋都带有自己的特色。”（参考文献: 阮仪三，《中国的城市遗产价值》会议发言，转载于《中国城市与遗产》，法国建筑与遗产之城出版，2012）

微博

网络社会交流平台，是中国版的Twitter。“微博”是“microblog”的中文叫法。中国最流行的微博网站是新浪微博，注册人数超过3亿，其中30%的用户每天至少登录一次。（参考来源: www.them.pro）

QQ

An instant messaging service based on MSN (Hotmail)-like technology, which is extremely popular with Chinese Internet users.

City Master Plan

In China, the master plan of a city (zongti guihua) defines the major themes of the urban development in a town. It is a legal and operational planning tool established by the local council and local authorities over a timescale of between 15 and 20 years.

Urban Grid

The origins of the grid plan go back to ancient times ranging from ancient Roman towns to imperial Chinese towns, but it was during the 18th and 19th centuries that this type of urban development experienced a boom, especially in the United States. The standardised division of the street system created regular blocks of houses and shops. China is now experiencing the mega-block phenomenon: a block can easily cover an area of 400 metres by 400 metres, which significantly increases land use. Although the grid facilitates rapid urban development, it is often at odds with the natural flow through areas.

"Water Towns"/ Shuixiang

"The Jiangnan 'water towns' (on the lower reaches of the Yangtze river), of which the largest are Suzhou, Hangzhou, and Ningbo, developed very early due to a network of canals which facilitated cultural and trade links. Several hundred towns and villages are built on this model. [...] We have identified a certain number of towns which must be protected as a priority [:] Luzhi, Tongli, Zhouzhuang, Xitang, Nanxun, Wuzhen [...] In the 'water towns' there are rows of terraced houses along the watercourses and each town has its own special features." (Source: Professor Ruan Yisan, "La mise en valeur du patrimoine urbain en Chine", lecture transcribed in Ville et patrimoines en Chine, Ed. Cité de l'architecture et du patrimoine, 2012).

Weibo

A social network, the Chinese equivalent of Twitter. Weibo means "microblog" in Chinese. The most popular microblogging site in China is Sina Weibo. The number of microbloggers has allegedly reached 300 million users, 30% of whom log on at least once a day.

(source: www.them.pro).