

## 中国教训： 重新编织城市肌理

### Lessons from China: Re-Weaving Urban Fabrics

#### 摘要 ……

在过去的30年间，中国城市为设计、实验和创新提供了前所未有的机遇。中国政府和私人开发商的那些超大型且非比寻常的项目充满了诱惑，吸引了国外设计师纷沓而至。中外设计手法在这里相互交融，产生了很多混杂的“国际化成果”，政府、企业或建筑的形象工程构建了城市特征。中国的城市充斥着争奇斗艳的各式标志性建筑物，也使得城市丧失了特色和辨识度。本文所描述的情况并非仅仅发生在中国，对所有的设计师来说，他们面临的下一个挑战即匮乏应对快速发展的战略。

#### 关键词 ……

中国城市；城市设计；特色；辨识度；城市肌理；连通性

#### Abstract ...

Over the past 30 years, Chinese cities provided an unprecedented opportunity — to design, to experiment, and to innovate. The lure of the biggest and most unusual design commissions offered by the Chinese government as well as private developers fostered an influx of foreign designers. A convergence of Chinese and foreign practices in which progress and “international achievement” were confused, and iconic images of governmental, corporate or architectural identity subsumed urban identities. The result has been a cacophony of competing markers and a loss of urban identity and legibility within and among Chinese cities. This narrative is not unique to China, and the dearth of strategies for rapid development is the next challenge for all designers.

#### Key words ...

China's Cities; Urban Design; Identity; Legibility; Urban Fabrics; Continuity

#### 芮妮·周

加州大学伯克利分校建筑与城市设计  
方向副教授、研究生院副院长

#### Renee CHOW

Associate Professor of  
Architecture and Urban  
Design, Associate Dean for  
Undergraduate Programs,  
University of California, Berkeley

#### 翻译 Translated by /

陈立欣 Connie CHEN

校对 Proofread by /

涂先明 Xianming TU

我第一次来到中国是在1973年，就在中美两国恢复外交关系不久的几个月后。在我的记忆中，中国的每个城市都是个性鲜明的：广州的骑楼老街、上海的南京路和淮海路上林立的欧式建筑、北京高墙掩映下的小巷和宽广的大道、苏州河道两岸青瓦白墙的屋舍。1980年，作为麻省理工大学的研究生，我在上海附近的水乡展开了我对中国的第一次调研。在那之后我又开展了多次调研，来记录人们的生活方式与他们周遭的环境形式之间的关系。大约在10年前，我带领加州大学伯克利分校建筑系的学生再次来到此处中国的水乡。此外，我位于伯克利的URBIS工作室，也参与了中国东部的许多建筑和城市设计项目——这构成了一项迄今为止历时30年的研究，它可以成为一个我们能借此来审视发生在中国城市内外的变化与传承的行业窗口。

与之相应的是，在过去30年中，中国经历了历史上城市发展和转型的巅峰时期。自20世纪80年代中期开始，越来越多的摩天大楼拔地而起，办公楼、酒店和住宅区鳞次栉比，高速公路、桥梁、地铁、隧道被不断建造，高尔夫球场和主题公园层出不穷，这种建设的速度超过了其他任何国家。中国现在也为拥有许多“世界之最”而自豪：最大的机场、购物中心、保龄球馆，甚至是滑板公园。相比其他任何处于和平时期的国家，中国能够轻易地抹平城市脉络。仅在上海，20世纪90年代的10年间因重建项目造成的搬迁人口数量就超过了美国城市复兴时期30年内的数量。很多高山被夷为平地，河流也惨遭改道。

我们目睹了每座城市的脉络是如何变得支离破碎。大片土地被清理成一张“白纸”，用于兴建新

I first visited China in 1973, a few months after relations were reopened between countries. My memory of each city is quite distinct: the arcaded streets of Guangzhou, the European building facades along Nanjing and Huaihai Roads in Shanghai, the walled alleys and grand avenues of Beijing, and the tiled roof and white stuccoed homes along the canals of Suzhou. In 1980, when I was a graduate student at MIT, I took my first research trip to document canal villages around Shanghai. It became the first of many trips in which I began documenting how people live and the form of their environments. About ten years ago, I began bringing my University of California Berkeley architecture students to the same Chinese canal villages. In addition, my firm, Studio URBIS in Berkeley has been involved in both architectural and urban design projects throughout eastern China — providing what is now a 30 year research and professional window from which to observe both the changes and the continuities in and around Chinese cities.

In parallel, in the last 30 years, China has undergone the greatest period of urban growth and transformation in history. Since the mid-1980s, China has built more skyscrapers, more office buildings and hotels, more housing estates, more highways, bridges, subways

and tunnels, more golf courses and theme parks than any other nation. China also now brags of the world's biggest: airport, shopping mall, bowling alley and even skateboard park. The country has razed more urban fabric than any nation in peacetime. In Shanghai alone, redevelopment projects in the 1990s displaced more people than 30 years of urban renewal in the United States. Mountains have been razed and water courses rerouted.

What we have witnessed is the fragmentation of each city's fabric. Swaths of land are cleared for new, autonomous and often anonymous buildings as well as wide roads. Today, it is becoming more difficult to distinguish one city from the next, one district within a city from another, one street from the next. While the pieces of cities are occasionally spectacular, the parts do not add up to contribute to the extended setting. In observing this transformation, I have been grappling with a question: what is the form of Chinese urbanism? By urbanism, I mean how do people live and how is that related to where they live? What are their day to day living patterns? How do they celebrate special events? How do they live in relation to each other — in settlements from the size of villages to cities and their metropolitan surrounds? And, since I am an architect,



1. 中国4座城市——北京（图1-1）、成都（图1-3）、上海（图1-2）、天津（图1-4）——的对比。  
1. Comparison of China's cities — Beijing (1-1), Chengdu (1-2), Shanghai (1-3), and Tianjin (1-4).

的、自主开发且“千人一面”的建筑以及宽阔的马路。如今，城市越来越雷同，同一城市内的地区和街道也变得难以区分。尽管一些城市区块偶尔能让人眼前一亮，但对于其所在的更广泛的环境来说，这种影响仍旧是杯水车薪。在审视这一转变的过程中，我一直试图探究一个问题：中国城市化的形式到底应该如何？这里所言及的城市化，是指人们如何生活，以及他们如何与居住地建立联系？他们的日常生活规律是什么？他们如何集聚欢庆？从村镇到城市以及周边的大都市，在这种不同规模的居住地中，他们如何建立起彼此之间的联系？此外，作为一名建筑师，我的另一个问题是：设计在城市化中起到了怎样的作用？

### 城市设计的败笔

在有关专业和未来方向的关键议题中，一些问题已是众所周知——例如：城市密度变化、海平面上升、气候变化、资源保护，以及社会公平和公共健康等。然而我们不禁要问，当代城市设计称得上成功吗？对此的共识是，也许我们确实可谓“打了几场胜仗”，但是总体而言城市设计还是输掉了这场战斗，并未能提出有力的战略来建立一种相互关联且连续的城市化。反而，那些被雷姆·库哈斯称为“自成一景”<sup>[1]</sup>的事物以一种割裂而独立的形态主宰了我们的城市和城郊。争奇斗艳、形形色色的标志性建筑物充斥在城市中，它们彼此间的缝隙被穿梭的车辆所填满。不论是城市内部还是城市之间，都缺乏自身的特色和辨识度。

城市设计未能为当代尺度的开发提供设计范式。城市设计者所运用的传统方式——总体规划和设计导则——显得过于程式化，无法激发革新、创造和效益。城市设计的新型手段迟迟未能出现，已明显滞后于城市的发展。中国的项目规模庞大，设计师无法仅从规划、景观和建筑设计的单一角度进行考量。一个庞大的项目并不意味着仅仅是对一个小城市或是一个微缩的生态系统进行设计，而是包括与之关联的更庞大的系统。同时，大型项目也不能被视作一栋超大建筑。纵观历史，我们向来缺乏对城市及其组成部分之间的尺度关系进行思考——例如，国际现代建筑协会和Team X间的分歧、罗伯特·摩西和简·雅各布斯间的辩论，以及美国城郊开发商和新城市主义者间的争论。有力的城市设计范式的匮乏严重地影响了当代中国城市的发展，中国的经济和政治力量与国际设计实践中的明星文化



2

携手推动了这种“自成一景”的现象在中国的一些城市中越演越烈。

### 国内外力量的交汇

中国城市化的这种破碎化既不是外国设计师强加给中国城市的，也不是中国城市自有的模式。我们对于资本的异常聚集、可获得的廉价资源的错误判断以及大规模生产的技术这三者交织在一起会产生何种结果并不陌生，只不过这一次发生在中国罢了。

20世纪80年代，中国政府将重心从国内生产转移到国际经济。诸如上海、深圳和北京这样的一线城市展示了中国经济的迅猛发展。境外投资、土地出让和劳动力流动集聚而成的前所未有的资本量，为中国迎来了一个“建设盛世”。而中国干部任用制度下的升迁、任期、年龄和任职地点的限定使得他们需要在自己的任期内拥有一番呈现快速而显著改变的“作为”，这种制度引发且将持续推动城市的增长。其带来的影响使得建筑和城市设计的进程就像驶入快车道。发展过程呈跳跃性推进，批量复制成为了主流，大同小异的作品比比皆是。

2. 上海市外圈的农耕景观  
3-5. 对游客来说，朱家角的城市体验就是沿河道漫步、乘坐游船、逛逛沿街商铺，并在石拱桥上留影。  
2. The agrarian landscape outside Shanghai.  
3-5. For the visitors and tourists, urbanism in Zhujiajiao is experienced as the canals and tour boats, shop lined paths and posing on top of the stone arched bridges.



what is the role of design in supporting urbanism?

### Failure of Urban Design

While there are many critical issues for urban design — fluctuating density, sea level rise, climate change, resource conservation and equity, public health, and so on. Within these, we need to ask, is urban design succeeding? While we may be winning battles, urban design is losing the war, failing to put forth compelling strategies for building a connected and continuous urbanism. Instead, discrete, isolated, singular objects that Rem Koolhaas called “auto-monuments”<sup>[1]</sup> dominate our cities and suburbs. Cities are a cacophony of competing markers with interstitial spaces filled by cars. There is a loss of urban identity and legibility within and among cities.

Urban design has failed to put forth design paradigms for contemporary scales of development. Traditional tools of urban designers — master plans and design guidelines — are too formulaic and perceived as too restrictive toward innovation, creativity and profit. New tools of urban design have been slow to emerge and certainly lag behind development. Given the large scales of Chinese projects, designers cannot just borrow from planning, landscape, nor architecture design. A mega project is not a small city nor a miniature ecology: a project is inherently connected to systems larger than its own. The mega project is also not a super large building. The dearth of ways to think about the scale between city

and its components reveals itself in historical cycles — for example, in the battles between CIAM (International Congresses of Modern Architecture) and Team X, between Robert Moses and Jane Jacobs, and between the developers of American suburbs and the New Urbanists. The lack of compelling urban design paradigms most recently and most strikingly affects Chinese cities where the rise of auto-monuments is fueled by Chinese economic and political forces coupled with the superstar culture of international design practice.

### Foreign and National Forces Converge

This fragmenting of Chinese urbanism is neither an imposition by foreign designers on Chinese cities nor an inherent pattern of Chinese settlement. It is a too familiar convergence of anomalous concentrations of capital wealth, a mistaken assumption about the availability of cheap resources, and technologies of mass production — this time centered in China.

In the 1980s, the Chinese government shifted its focus from domestic production to becoming an international economic power. First tier cities such as Shanghai, Shenzhen, and Beijing became vehicles to showcase Chinese economic progress. An unprecedented amount of capital resources fueled a construction boom — a combination of foreign investment, land leasing, and labor mobility. Growth was and continues to be administered through a cadre system in which promotion, term, age and location limits demand rapid

随处可见工地围墙和塔吊。施工现场总是灯火通明，从餐巾纸上的草图到大楼拔地而起也仅需要几个月的时间。

除了令人乍舌的建设速度，中国项目的规模也是空前庞大。中国不但以拥有那些最大、最长和最高的项目为傲，一些普通项目的规模也是巨大的。造成如此规模的内因在于最初的城市规划，例如，北京其中心地带是一个由城墙围合而成的巨大的“合法化的”<sup>[2]</sup>皇城。其他规模的项目就好像这个最大项目衍生出的子项目。这种分化产生了一个由超大区块组成的粗糙网络。速度优先的思想使得这种超大区块成为了规划和开发的基本单位。由于所有的土地都大致在政府的管制之下，地块中出现的任何物质或社会障碍都会被迅速扫除，并很快地被出让、设计和建设起来。由于几乎不受分区或设计的制约，每个超大区块都可被视为一张“白纸”，并以独立于周边区块的方式进行设计。随着居民拥有机动车的数量不断增加，这种粗糙的街道网络出现拥堵现象也不足为奇。打着治理交通的旗号，街道被不断拓宽，城市肌理的空隙被不断加大，这不但未能缓解交通拥堵，反而使城市破碎化的现象愈演愈烈。街道不再是区间的缝隙，而变成了一道道宽阔的裂痕，每个项目场地都各自为阵。正如库哈斯所说，这种城市体验就像在城市的孤岛外游走，而非在城市肌理的网络之中漫步。

在西方，市民空间作为公共领域通常扮演着城市设计中的“粘合剂”作用，以形成一种连贯的城市可辨识度。在中国，城市空间是不同层级的“集体”空间的叠加。这可以借由汉语中的一对反义词来表达：“内”和“外”。从历史的角度来说，内部空间是多层且复合的城市尺度：从城市到坊间，到自家宅院，最后是女性最私密的空间（闺房）。与之相反，外部空间通常以防范为目的：城墙之外的敌人，既包括入侵者也包括各种灾害。中国的城市空间特色可以归结为“叠套的内向空间”。在计划经济时代，单位是城市发展的基本单元。每个单位由围墙围合，且自给自足。工作混合区的开发以及城市基础设施和街道投入的刻意削弱使人们也不愿生活在单位之外。这标志着从叠套的内向空间向一种重内部而轻外部空间的转变。现在，这种对内部空间的偏爱更推崇了封闭式小区和大型购物中心这类内部化的逻辑，而非采用结构化、连续化、可辨识的公共空间发展逻辑。通常，外部空间不受重视，会造成车辆任意停放而带来隐患，或白白浪费



了各种内向形态之间的空间。

20世纪八九十年代的中国如同压抑数十年烈火的森林一般，一触即发。由于政府力求树立蜚声国际的进步形象，国际设计师（以及现在的一些国内公司）在他们的支持之下所打造的各种标志性建筑也成为设计师们自身实践中的代表之作。在短短30年内，中国现在已拥有最引人注目和最稀奇古怪的建筑、高速路、桥梁、公园和天际线。打造城市的个性已转变为打造投资者、建筑设计师和内部空间的个性。如今，在这种“自成一景”的设计方面，中国设计师已超过了他们的外国同仁：中国城市的天际线上现在充斥着由各种最尖端技术汇集而成的奇观。

在这些年的快速城市化进程中，未能出现任何有力的策略来指导能够建立一个城市的独特的特征的具有连贯性、共享性及可辨识性的设计。历经数个世纪而形成的城市特色被肆意抹除，但对此的对策我们善乏可陈。虽然保护和再利用的力度在不断提升，但是这还远远不够，这也并非本文论述的重

6. 对于朱家角的居民来说，他们的日常生活沿河道展开。图为笔者及其学生所做的场地调研记录。
7. 对朱家角历史中心连续性的分层解读。图中白色区域代表公共空间，灰色区域代表集体空间，黑色区域代表个人家庭空间。
8. 朱家角历史中心连续性的分层解读——庭院围墙是对农业堤坝的一种延续。
6. For the residents of Zhujiajiao, their daily experience is organized to and from the canal as well as along the canal. Field documentation by author and her students.
7. Unlayering the continuities in the historic center of Zhujiajiao. White is publicly accessible space, grey is collective space, black is individual family space.
8. Unlayering the continuities in the historic center of Zhujiajiao — the garden walls are extensions of the agricultural levees.

and spectacular change. The effects on the architectural and urban design processes go beyond fast-track. Developmental processes are leapfrogged, mass reproduction dominates, and imitations proliferate. Construction fences and cranes are everywhere. Building sites are lit all night; napkin sketches turn into buildings within months.

Like the speed of building, the sheer size of Chinese projects is also unprecedented. While China boasts of the largest, longest, and tallest, even its everyday projects are mega-sized. This size is inherited from the original planning of cities like Beijing in which an extremely large, “legitimizing”<sup>[2]</sup> imperial territory was enclosed by a city wall. Other sizes were introduced as a subdivision of the largest. This parceling resulted in a coarse network with super-sized blocks. With speed as priority, the super-block is the basic unit of

planning and development. Since all land is under some form of government control, blocks can be quickly razed of any physical or social impediments, leased, designed and built. With little zoning or design constraints, each superblock is seen as a tabula rasa, designed independently of the next block. As vehicular ownership has accelerated, it is not surprising that the coarse street networks are now congested. In misguided attempts to improve traffic, streets are continually being widened creating gaps in the urban fabric that exacerbate fragmenting without alleviating congestion. Since streets can no longer serve as seams, each project site is internally focused. The experience of a city is to travel outside urban archipelagos, to again borrow from Koolhaas, rather than within networks of an urban fabric.

In the West, the public realm is assumed to be civic



点。现在，中国与很多城市面临着同样进退两难的处境——接下来会发生什么？能够建立起拥有交织的、复杂的、可持续的城市体验的渐进式都市主义究竟为何物？

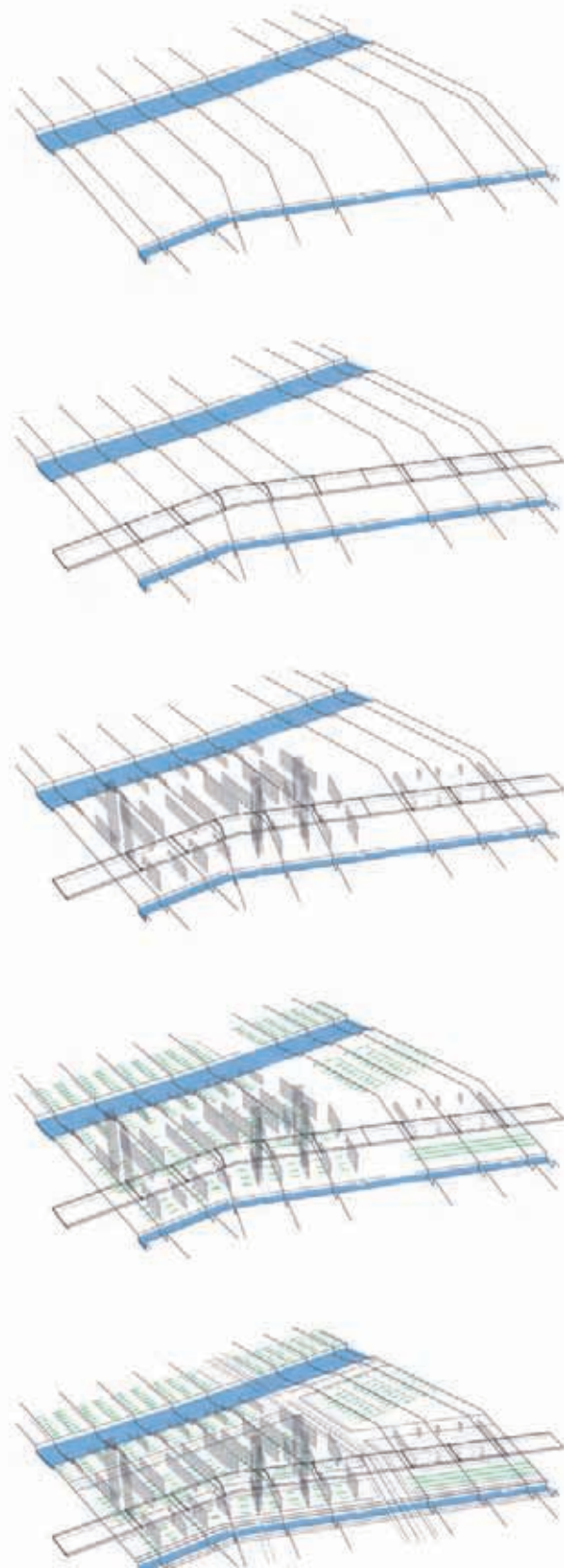
### 培育中国城市

在中国尝试新的城市设计手段的环境已经成熟。而矛盾的是，那些既能拉动经济增长又会令破碎化程度加剧的“内生性”实践，也能够衍生出新的建筑和城市设计范例。由于不涉及小规模土地所有权的复杂问题，新的开发规模创造了看似唾手可得的、可以来强化城市特色所需的水平向连续性的机遇。由于场地上又不存在基础设施老化问题，就有可能在新的尺度上实现资源的有效利用、整合基础设施，并创造出高质量的开放空间。此外，对内部空间价值的衡量并不需要将其外部空间剥离，而需要对其进行外延，如此在整个城市中形成“置身于内”的感受。

为实现这一目标，设计师需要能够对场地进行解读，“环境形式的连通性，其意义和真实性来源于文化、时间和地域”。<sup>13</sup>场地观察应当有所功用，而非仅仅关注那些轶事见闻，或历史资料，或统计数据。对地点的解读应当指导设计师的实践，并引发更深层的解读。传统的建造者由于其对当地工程进度、材料和生活方式的熟稔自然而然就能够做到这一点。对于当今实践来说，这种解读应当成为设计的基本能力——看到它们的形式和组织，以及每种环境中的连续性，将这种连续性与人们曾经和今后的生活方式联系起来进行思考，并判别其重要性——哪些应当保留，哪些应当改变、清除或增加。这要求我们应对环境形式进行培育，而非将其取代或重造。在这一点上，我们可以向植物学家和农学家学习。这些领域的专业人士擅长将基础知识与当地环境相结合。

尤为重要的是，城市设计师应当读懂水平向上的联系与土地的连续性，它们是将城市片段联系在一起，从而使城市具有可辨识性的重要方式。这并不仅仅是一种单一的水平层面，而是包括与土地紧密联系的一个区域或“厚垫”——在某一平面上，以及平面之下和之上的区域。这是一种连续的城市体验。

我可以结合我的工作场所参与的上海青浦区政府的“运河新城”的竞赛项目来进一步阐述这个观点。我们的设计起始于我们对位于竞赛场地之



9. 将新的城市肌理作为一种“厚垫”重新叠加。从上至下分别为：水系主导了场地形式的产生，公共空间沿水系分布；新的基础设施进一步强化了河道，其上可以容纳社区活动，下部为服务区和停车区；界墙加强了雨水处理结构，雨水收集口沿墙体布设；公共空间与建筑空间相互穿插；街道最终融入到新的城市肌理中。

9. Relayering the continuities for a new urban fabric as a thickened mat. From top to bottom: water is the dominate form generator and public access follows the water; a new infrastructure that intensifies the canals has community activities above and services and parking below; party walls intensify the stormwater structure and collective access follows the walls; open space alternates with built space; and the streets find their form in the new urban fabric.

space and is often the glue of urban design to form a continuous urban legibility. In China, space is a layering of hierarchies of collectivity. This can be illustrated with two Chinese terms that are paired: *Nei* and *Wai*. *Nei* is often translated as inner, *Wai* as outer. Historically, associations to inner realms were layered in multiple and overlapping urban scales from the city, to the ward, to the family compound, and to the innermost realm of women. Conversely, the outer realm was cast for others: outside the walled city were enemies, both invaders and natural disasters. Chinese space can be characterized as a nested interiorities. During the planned economy era, the *Dan Wei* became the unit of urban development. The *Dan Wei* were walled, self-sufficient. The development of the work compound was coupled with an intentional disinvestment in urban infrastructure and streets to discourage life outside the compound. This marked a shift from a nested interiority to a bifurcation that favored the inner and ignored the outer. Today, this propensity for the inner realm favors interiorized logics of securing gated communities and retailing in malls over the development of structured, continuous, legible public space. Too often, outer domains are disregarded, haphazardly filled by cars or devolving into wasted spaces between interiorized forms.

China in the 1980s and 1990s was like a forest that had its fires suppressed for decades. The conditions were thick for an explosion. With a government seeking world renown images of progress, international designers (and now domestic firms) were sponsored to create icons as the signature projects of their practices. In a mere 30 years, China is now home to the most dramatic and idiosyncratic buildings, highways, bridges, parks, and skylines. Identity has transferred from the city to the sponsor, the architect, and the interior realm. Today, Chinese designers now surpass their foreign colleagues in the design of the auto-monument: the most technically advanced spectacles now populate Chinese skylines.

In these years of rapid urbanization, there were no compelling strategies for the design of the continuous, shared, legible qualities that build the unique identity of cities. There were few examples to counter the rampant razing of urban legibilities that took centuries to build.



10. 新城市肌理顶视图  
10. A roof plan of the new urban fabric

While preservation and reuse are beginning to emerge, this is neither enough nor the argument of this text. China now faces the same dilemma as many cities, what comes next? What is a progressive urbanism that builds an interwoven, complex and sustainable experience of cities?

### Cultivating Chinese Cities

Chinese conditions are ripe for new approaches to urban design. Paradoxically, the endogenous practices that promote figures and intensify fragmenting could also direct new architectural and urban design paradigms. The size of new developments, unencumbered of the complexity of small lot landownership, provides what would logically appear to be an easy opportunity to reinforce the horizontal continuities needed for urban legibility. Without an already aging infrastructure, there are opportunities for new scales of resource efficiencies, integrated infrastructures, and quality open spaces. And, the valuing of the inner realm need not exclude the outer realm, it needs simply to be extended so that the sense

外的水乡朱家角的农业景观的解读。长江三角洲是一处低海拔平原，大部分地区接近海平面，某些区域甚至低于海平面。为了创造良田，运河、大坝和堤防以及水闸构成的大规模而复杂的系统被用来控制排水并提供灌溉。数个世纪以来，这套低技且靠重力驱动的系统即使在无需高维护的条件下也能使农业和排水在总体上实现良好的功效。基于这种结构，当地形成了一种独特的居住形式，有一些规模较小，有一些则闻名遐迩，例如周庄、同里和朱家角。我们为这片高密度的城市化地区所提出的方案，正是基于这片农业区域特有的空间手法，对历史核心区的场地关系进行分层解读，并将其重新叠加以适应新的服务与生活方式。

如果要使设计创造出地方特色，就需要对连续性进行解读和表述。以不同的地方特质为基础开展工作如同用既定的色调作画。这像拼贴画一样，需要解读每个片段的特点，及其与其他片段间的关系。城市遗产不仅包括一个个单体建筑；城市特征和可辨识度同样也是一种城市遗产。后一种遗产的复杂性在于他们既不是静止不变的，也不是仅封存于历史之中的；城市特征与可辨识度是不断发展和不断被创造的。我们需要面对的问题并非仅仅是如何将过去与未来联系起来，而是应如何增加城市的独特性。

#### 如何使城市设计更为有力

回到城市设计领域，现在是时候挑战某些固有思想了。城市设计是一门交叉学科吗？——即是景观、建筑、规划和土木工程的结合体吗？抑或，城市设计的范围和尺度要求它具有自己的知识和工具来解决设计的问题？在中国，大多数开发项目规模庞大，这里对所有的设计师而言都充满挑战，对城市设计师也不例外：

(1) 设计师如何能够更好地应用指标和大数据？虽然我们需要更多地应用基于实证的指标来支持设计主张，我们也必须使指标更具指导意义。如何使指标——密度、出行特征、空气颗粒物——成为有用的工具来制定城市化的进程，而不仅是在设计过后用于分析？

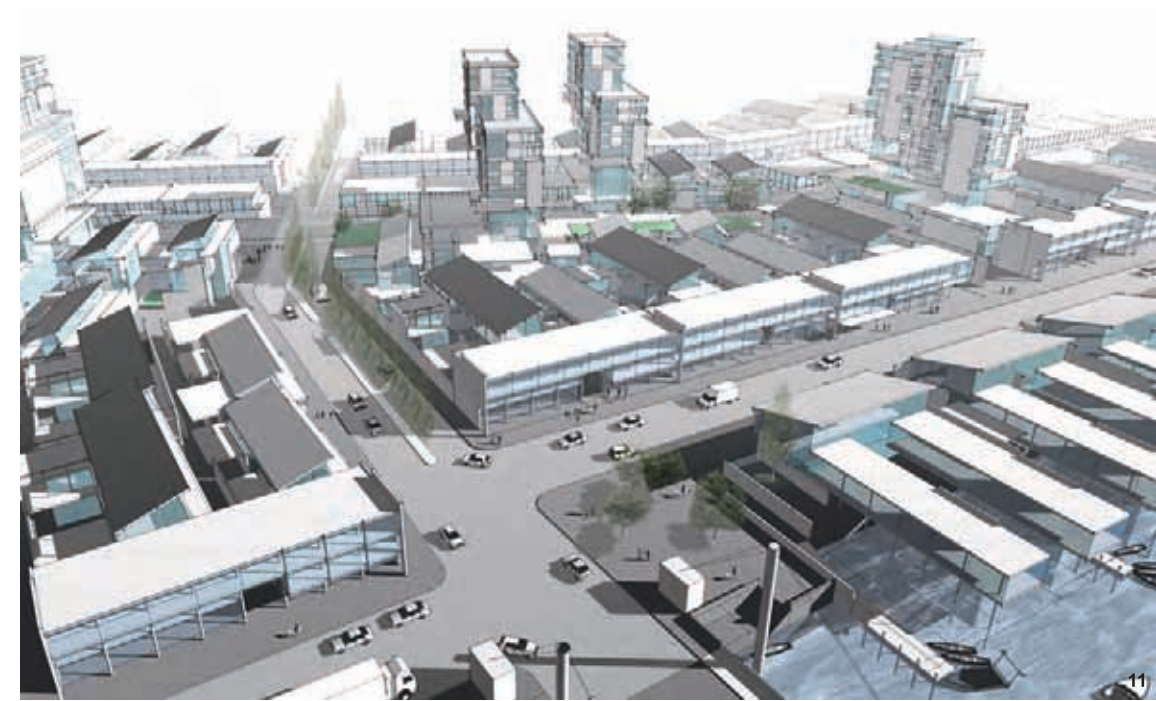
(2) 一种连通的、连续的城市特征该如何得到开发？目前，城市设计严重依赖于将公共领域定义为由基础设施、道路和公园构成的网络系统。对能将城市连接在一起的公共领域的等级制度的过度依赖，加速了那些离散且孤立的设计的产生。城市组

成部分间的连接关系并不能清晰界定，私人、公共和集体间的相互关系亦如此。我们如何能使对（不同水平间及之内）关系的设计也能变得像对物质空间的设计一样清晰有力呢？

(3) 我们如何才能建立更好的设计工具？现在用于可视化和表述的工具十分粗糙，通常是将其一味地简化而非体现其原本的复杂性。同时，值得重申的是，我们过度依赖公共空间，并将其作为城市连续性构建的载体，而忽视了这个问题其实属于文化范畴而非学科范畴。因此，全球范围内对城市设计的讨论都以建成-非建成规划、总体规划、鸟瞰图和街道剖面这些形式为基础。在这种视角下，城市中的建筑是实实在在的物体，其内部与外部、公共与私人的空间都被明确的边界所框定。这是一种看待复杂的时间和和文化关系的静态视角。城市土地连续性的丰富和厚重又如何能更好地被理解，并被勾画出来呢？

(4) 设计师间应当如何更好地合作？随着城市系统的复杂性和相互关联性的增长，我们应当如何把这些知识整合到设计中去？一种模式是让每个人都参与进来——但在城市设计领域中存在诸多学科。一些人认为信息管理将促进城市整合——但这仅是管理，而非设计。最常见的模式则是招募明星设计师，其他人只是为其“打工”而已，在这种模式下创造出了千篇一律的场地。要实现在特征鲜明的城市化中融合多样的形式，我们需要怎样的新型合作模式？

(5) 设计师怎样才能更好地理解场地？国外设计师进驻中国，并非是中国与外国的设计对决，而是国际化实践面临的一个挑战。这不是将在一个地方学到的手法和策略移植到另一个地方，而是说，一个在北京或伯克利受过专业训练的人需要学会将上海、苏州、旧金山以及和所有其他地方均视为独一无二的环境来进行解读。LAF



of being “inside” pervades throughout cities.

To do this, designers need to be able to read places, “the connectedness of environmental forms whose meaning and authenticity flow from relationships between a culture, time and locale.”<sup>[3]</sup> Observing needs to be generative, not just anecdotal, historical nor statistical. The reading of a place should inform the way designers practice and those contributions should produce further readings. Traditional builders did this inherently through familiarity with local processes, materials and ways of living. For contemporary practice, reading needs to become a basic competency of design — to see form and organization, the continuities in every environment, to connect those continuities to the ways that people lived and will live, and to make decisions about their significance — what should be maintained and what is to be transformed, eliminated or added. This is a call for cultivating environmental form rather than substituting or inventing. Here we can learn from the botanist and the agriculturalist. Professionals in these fields combine general knowledge with local conditions.

In particular, urban designers need to read horizontal relations and ground continuities since they are

particularly important to bring pieces of a city together in legible ways. This is not the ground plane but a zone or thick mat associated with the ground — at grade, below grade and above grade. This is the continuously shared experience of the city.

As illustration, I use a competition entry from my office for the Shanghai Qingpu District government competition for a “New Canal Town”. For us, design began by “reading” the agrarian landscape of the competition site outside a canal village called Zhujiajiao. The Yangtze River delta is a low-lying plain much of which is around sea level and in some cases even below sea level. To make productive fields, an extensive and intricate system of canals, dikes, levees and sluices control drainage and provide irrigation. Over the centuries, it has proven to be a low-tech, gravity fed system that does not require high maintenance yet enables relatively good overall agricultural and drainage performance. From this structure emerged a distinctive regional form of settlement, some small and some renown, like Zhouzhuang, Tongli and Zhujiajiao. Our proposal for a higher density urbanism rooted in the spatial practices that are special to the agrarian character of the place, unlayers the field relations of the historic

11. 新城市脉络鸟瞰图  
11. An aerial of the new urban fabric

center and relays them to accommodate new services and lifestyles.

To design in ways that contribute to the uniqueness of places requires competences in reading continuity and writing to connect. To work with qualities of places assumes a willingness to work with a given palette. It is like a collage, reading the inherent attributes in each piece and its relations to other pieces. Urban heritage emerges from more than individual buildings; urban identity and legibility are also a heritage. The complexity of the latter kinds of heritage is that they are neither static nor historic; identity and legibility are on-going and continually being made. The question is not so much how to link past to future, but how to contribute to the uniqueness of cities.

### Making Urban Design More Compelling

Returning to urban design, it is time to challenge some assumptions. Is urban design interdisciplinary — a collaboration of landscape, architecture, planning and civil engineering? Or, does the scope and scale of urban design require its own knowledge and tool sets to contribute to the design questions? In China, where most developments are large, here are some challenges for all designers who by necessity are urban designers:

(1) How can designers use metrics and big data better? While we need to increase use of evidence-based metrics to support design propositions, we must also increase the generative uses of metrics. How do metrics — density, trips traveled, air particulates — become useful tools with which to formulate urbanism and not just to analyze after a design is made?

(2) How does a connected, continuous character of place get developed? To date, urban design relies heavily on defining the public realm as a network of infrastructures, streets and parks. This over-reliance on the hierarchy of the public realm to hold cities together accelerates discrete and disconnected designs. Connectedness between city's components is not defined nor the reciprocities between private, public and collective. How can we make the design of relations (between levels and within levels) as compelling as design of objects?

(3) How can we build better design tools? Our current

tools for visualization and description are too crude, typically simplifying rather than engaging complexity. Again, there is an over-reliance on the public domain as the continuity of cities, ignoring that this is a cultural paradigm not a disciplinary one. Thus, urban designs are globally communicated as built-unbuilt plans, master plans, bird's eye perspectives and street sections. This is a view of cities where buildings are solid objects, where inner and outer, public and private are delineated by a solid boundary. These are static views of complex, temporal and cultural relations. How can the rich, thickness of the shared ground continuities of cities be better understood and portrayed?

(4) How can designers collaborate better? As the complexity of urban systems and interrelations grow, how do we integrate this knowledge for design? One model is to bring everyone around a table — but in urban design there are many disciplines. Some feel that information management will foster urban integration — but it is just management, not design. The most common model is to recruit the star designer for whom everyone else works producing a uniformity within project sites. What are new models for collaboration that allow a diversity of forms within an identifiable urbanism to emerge?

(5) How can designers better understand locales? The question of foreign designers' foray into China is not about Chinese versus Foreign design, it is a challenge to the nature of global practice. Rather than transplanting practices and strategies learned in one place into another, someone trained in Beijing or in Berkeley needs to learn to read Shanghai, Suzhou, San Francisco, and all places as unique and special conditions. **LAF**

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