

抵抗孤独、隔离和不平等的 恢复性空间规划实践

RESTORATIVE SPATIAL PLANNING PRACTICE IN RESPONSE TO ISOLATION, SEGREGATION, AND INEQUALITY

1 城市空间影响下的个体孤独

1.1 城市发展与社会原子化

巨大而同质的城市弥漫着对人们身心健康不利的环境。19世纪末，社会学家乔治·西美尔发现，工业革命以来，与乡村相比，城市在工业生产、商业文化和公共生活方面经历着更为剧烈的变革^[1]，并依此对现代城市居民的情绪特征进行了诊断，将其总结为“冷漠”“算

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摘要

文章指出趋于同质化的城市及社会原子化现状可能导致相应的孤独、隔离与不平等，并批判性回顾了前者与后者内在过程与发展阶段的一致性，以及个人心理状况与城市问题的内在一致性。此外，文章回顾了社会恢复性城市主义和社会恢复性城市设计模型等诸多思潮，在此基础上总结得出社会恢复性城市设计模型，提出减小组团规模、场所营造、自然恢复、构建步行系统、打造交互型城市5种规划策略，将规划视作赋权的技术与工具，以实现人与人、人与空间、人与自然、人与运动以及人与数据的连接。文章基于这一基础框架，反思了上一轮激烈的城镇化进程中产生的诸多城市问题，梳理评析了中国城镇化迈入“城市双修”阶段后亟需参照、学习的相关案例，强调社会恢复的重要性不亚于物质空间优化与生态修复。

关键词

社会恢复性城市主义；社会恢复性城市设计；城市更新；孤独；隔离；不平等；空间规划

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ABSTRACT

The article points out that the urban homogenization and social atomization status may lead to corresponding social problems including isolation, segregation, and inequality, and critically reviews their intrinsic consistency with urban development stages and the correlation between mental health and urban diseases. Based on the review of ideas such as Socially Restorative Urbanism and Socially Restorative Urban Design Model, the authors summarize a Socially Restorative Urban Design Model with five planning strategies — group size reduction, place-making, nature-based restoration, walkable system construction, and responsive city establishment — to realize human-human, human-space, human-nature, human-mobility, and human-data connections through taking planning as a tool of empowerment. In addition, the article reflects on the urban problems caused by the past urbanization process in China which pursued quick achievements and examines cases that could guide the new stage of Urban Remediation and Ecological Restoration, giving the same weight to social restoration as physical space improvement and ecological restoration.

KEYWORDS

Socially Restorative Urbanism; Socially Restorative Urban Design; Urban Regeneration; Isolation; Segregation; Inequality; Spatial Planning

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计”“腻烦”等^[2]。2013年，民意调查机构ComRes受英国广播公司委托进行的一项调查显示，52%的伦敦成年居民曾感到孤独^[3]。另一项关于发达国家乡村与城市的比较研究指出，城市居民产生心理障碍的可能性相较乡村地区高出39%^[4]。

当下中国城市空间的某些特征不幸印证并强化了百余年前西美尔所预言的城市生活的负面趋势。在中国城镇化进程的上半场，土地开发过于追求高速度、高效率和高周转，以致快速生产出一系列诸如鄂尔多斯康巴什区和天津于家堡金融区般庞大、同质、无趣和丑陋的城市空间。

人们的孤独感之所以会大范围扩散，一方面是因为高密度的城市造成了环境中消极因子的易感性，另一方面也是社会进化论的阶段性生活结果。不论是从礼俗社会（*gemeinschaft*）到法理社会（*gesellschaft*）^[5]，还是从计划经济时期的单位化社会发展为改革开放后的原子化社会^[6]，无不在强化“原子化”的演化动向。

田毅鹏总结得出，目前中国城市逐渐原子化的发展过程会造成人际关系疏离、个人与公共生活脱节以及道德失范等链式反应^[7]。改革开放后的城镇化发展加快了“去单位化”进程，单位体制的消解看似进一步推动了规划行业的市场性与社会性，但新的原子化发展又使得包括城市规划在内的社会工作陷入新的困境。在土地招拍挂制度下，随着城市规划服务群体的原子化，规划作为一种基于空间的技

1 Individual Isolation in Cities

1.1 Urban Development and Social Atomization

People living in cities that are sprawling and losing intelligibility may suffer from both physical and mental health problems. Early in the late 19th century, Georg Simmel, a sociologist, figured out that since the beginning of the Industrial Revolution, cities, in comparison to rural areas, were undergoing more radical changes due to urbanization acceleration, especially regarding industrial production, commercial culture, and public life^[1]. He also diagnosed modern citizens as prone to emotionally being callous and indifferent, stingy and calculating, and bored and impatient in social interactions^[2]. A survey carried out by polling company ComRes in 2013 on behalf of BBC showed that 52% of adults in London felt varying degrees of loneliness^[3]. Another urban-rural comparative study revealed that in developed countries people's prevalence rate of mood disorder was 39% higher in urban areas than that of rural areas^[4].

Unfortunately, these adverse development trends predicted by Simmel over a hundred years ago are now unfolding and even getting worse in Chinese cities. During the existing aggressive ongoing urbanization in China, the pure pursuit to high-speed, efficient, and high-turnover land development has been resulting in sprawling, homogeneous, and tedious urban spaces that lack aesthetic value, such as the Kangbashi District in Erdos and Yujiapu Financial District in Tianjin.

The widely spreading loneliness among citizens was on one hand subject to human susceptibility to negative factors in high-density urban environment, and on the other hand, to a staged result of social Darwinism. Although social development processes vary from country to country — in the west, from *gemeinschaft* (community) to *gesellschaft* (society)^[5]; in China, from the *danwei* (work unit) system in the years of planned economy to an atomized society after the reform and opening up^[6] — they all corroborate the development shift towards social atomization.

Tian Yipeng concluded that the social atomization in Chinese cities may cause chain effect that starts from social alienation, individuals' disjunction from public life, to moral disorders^[7]. The urbanization process after the reform and opening-up sped up the collapse of the *danwei* system and embraced the social atomization, widening the market and sociality of China's planning practices, which, however, has brought new challenges to city management domains, including urban planning. Under the institutional system of land use right transfer in China (land bidding, auction, and listing) where social atomization has been seen as a new characteristic that planners now face with, it is

术赋权^①手段，在针对因社会网络的分离孤立而自组织能力羸弱的弱势群体时，其蓝图式的工具性赋权作用成疑。作为规划对象的社会结构方才从“国家—单位—个人”结构中转型，尚缺乏第三方来填补。氏族与领域、家庭与居所是审视社会原子化的一个有力视角。从社会结构上看，后单位制的原子化家庭现象某种程度上既是社会同质与隔离的原因，也是结果。它的发展伴随着新自由主义的兴起和后福特主义的产生，以及从国有企业等生产性单元向以金融逻辑为导向的城市空间的跨步。城市作为金融工具的施用对象，造成了消费化大生产中附属中间组织的缺失^[8]，土地市场上只有买方和卖方的环境同样强化了城市空间中的消费和被消费关系，相应地在物质层面形成超大停车场与广场、郊区化公路，以及城市更新“飞地”等城市空间。城市仿佛是为宏观尺度的金融操作而生。

1.2 空间隔离影响身心健康

在原子化的社会形态之下，个体的孤独常显现于“居所—公共空间”的二元结构中，由此可见个人领域的禁闭与公共领域的萎缩之间的“根脉冲突”^{②[9]}关系。日本学者东浩纪将20世纪90年代以来的“御宅族”称为“数据库动物”，批评了其原子化的生活状态^[10]，这类个体生存于自我囚禁“管道”的末梢之中而缺少公共生活^[11]。社会底层的原子化在中国城市中也呈现出相似的形态——他们是蜗居地下室的“鼠族”、城中村中的“蚁族”（大学毕业生低收入聚居群体），以及“猪笼城寨”中的住客。

个体的禁闭会导致一系列临床心理问题，包括临床抑郁症、焦虑症、感官过度兴奋、植物人状态等，甚至可能导致自杀；而长时间的隔离感则会导致情感障碍、思维迟缓、注意力不集中以及自制力失常

still questionable whether urban planning can continue its role as a tool for blueprint envisioning to help technologically realize empowerment^① to the vulnerable communities with weak agency due to their isolation from social networks. Meanwhile, the social systematic assemblage has just finished shifting from the state-danwei-individual structure, looking for new alternatives to support the urban planning practicing as an empowerment tool rather than a financial leverage. We may examine the trend of social atomization by reading the relations between clan and territory, and family and residence. The atomized families arising in this post-danwei age, as a unit of social structure, are both cause and effect of social homogeneity and isolation. Along with this atomization process, when it saw paradigm shifts to Neoliberalism and Post-Fordism in the west, urban spaces were developed with an institutional change from productive work units (such as state-owned enterprises) to financial concerns. Cities, nowadays as a tool to fulfill financial purposes, is leading to an absence of intermediate groups in the consumption-oriented urban development^[8]. This circumstance entrenched by the buyer-and-seller land market has resulted in cities that are shaped by macro-scale financial logics and full of large-scale parking lots and squares, sprawling road networks, and enclaves in forms of urban regeneration.

1.2 The Impact of Spatial Segregation on Human's Physical and Mental Health

One of the dualistic views in social atomization lies between individuals residence (isolation) and public realms (engagement) — Here, individual isolation and shrinking public sphere are reciprocal causation on the root shock^{②[9]} level. Azuma Hiroki, a Japanese scholar, defined the Otaku, young people who are addicted to computer games and popular culture of animation, emerging from the 1990s as Japan's "Database Animals" to criticize their atomized life^[10], which causes detriment of their social skills and confinement to their self-confined "tubes"^[11] that disconnect with the public life. In Chinese cities, the lower class, including migrant workers living in rented basements, low-income graduates living in urban villages, and tenants living in cramped apartments, are coming on more or less the same lifestyle of atomization.

Individuals' spatial segregation may result in clinical physical disorders such as depression, anxiety, sensory overload, vegetative state, and even suicidal behaviors; a longtime isolation from public realms may also lead to affective disorder, retardation of thinking, attention deficit disorder, and lack of self-control^[12]. Fatos Kaba et al. studied over 240 thousand medical records of incarcerations in New York City's prison

① 赋权是旨在提升人们自主权的参与式过程，包含自我赋权与专业支持两个过程，可帮助人们克服无力感与影响力缺失等心理障碍，同时认可并增强其对资源的控制。

② “根脉冲突”是明迪·佛利洛夫拓展自园艺学的概念。在社区层面，根脉冲突包括人际关系和集体关系中社会、文化、政治、情感等“资本”的缺失。

① Empowerment is a participatory process to increase the degree of self-determination in people. It refers both to the process of self-empowerment and to professional support of people, which enables them to overcome their sense of powerlessness and lack of influence, and to recognize and enhance their control of resources.

② The concept of "root shock" was adapted from gardening by Mindy Fullilove. At the community level, root shock is defined by the loss of interpersonal ties and the "capital" — social, cultural, political and emotional — that is vested in the collective connections.

等^[12]。法托斯·卡巴等学者分析了2010~2013年间纽约市监狱系统中24万余人次的医疗记录，发现禁闭环境和精神疾病的同时出现大大增加了发生严重自残的可能性^[13]。此外，个体的禁闭对于身体健康的影响也极大，会增加疾病的易感性——那些独居或缺乏社会关系的人患病或死亡的几率明显增加^[14]。

1.3 城市空间造成的社会隔离与不平等

然而，当个体的被动孤独与经济能力相挂钩，所带来的就不只是单纯的空间问题，还包括社会隔离与不平等——由社会原子化产生的隔离逐渐发展为阶级鸿沟，由此导致的空间隔离实际上缘于资源的分配不均。消费社会与公共性博弈的背后实质上映射的是购买力的差异。

即使如此，空间隔离作为一种本质上与可达性和包容性相关的准入制度，仍然是城市设计者责无旁贷的工作对象。人居环境的隔离是首先需要解决的问题，但以此为目标的行动却屡遭碰壁。居住隔离是城市社会隔离的显著表现，因种族、宗教、职业、生活习惯、文化水平或财富等方面的差异，相似的城市居民集居于某一特定地区，且内部有着趋于一致的价值观念，不相似的集团间则彼此分开，产生隔离作用^[15]。社区的开放性实则探讨的是“有限度的公共空间”的问题，更多关注于社会空间，而非物质空间。居民在是否“打开围墙”上的话语权是公共空间“会员制”的一种体现，它和社群一样具有排他性。这种空间的隔离和不平等更多是基于根脉冲突，它其实是有限度的公共领域僵化发展的结果，可以让单纯的政策和工具性的空间策略双双失效。

更甚的是，如果从社会隔离的角度来看待空间设计的工具性，就会发现许多正向增益在现实中遭到了反向实施。例如，开放封闭式小区的倡议使得居民主体出现紧张症状，相应的基础设施本身在空间分布上也存在对外界的隔离和排斥。我们亟需基于城市发展的阶段性来

systems from 2010 to 2013 and found that serious self-mutilation occurred more easily when prisoners with mental illness were in solitary confinement^[13]. In addition, individual isolation may also affect physical health as a study has found that a lack of social interactions may cause notably morbidity and mortality increases^[14].

1.3 Social Isolation and Inequality Caused by Urban Space

Besides spatial segregation, social segregation, inequality, and other social problems may emerge when we associate individual isolation with their personal economic competence. The class polarization caused by social atomization that further leads to spatial segregation is in fact the result of unequal resource sharing. The conflict between the consumption-oriented society and publicness in the end is defined by gaps in purchasing power.

Despite this fact, urban designers should not decline the responsibility to deal with spatial segregation, as a regulation relevant to accessibility and inclusiveness in essence. Primarily, the urban planning practice that addresses spatial segregation in residential areas is still far from being successful. Studies have found that urban social segregation is manifest in residential communities: citizens who have the same race, religion, occupation, lifestyle, education background, and income / wealth level may see an aggregation in physical environment and easily reach to a consensus on certain points — in another word, groups with varied values would be increasingly segregated from each other^[15]. The openness of a residential community is essentially associated with the exploration on finite public space, socially, rather than physically. Residents' voice to this issue represents their membership to the public space, as exclusive as each social group will be. Generally, the spatial segregation and inequality that stem from the root shock is a result of the stereotyped development within finite public space. It makes onefold policies and spatial planning strategies that act as a blue-printed tool fail to work.

Worse, spatial design and planning as a tool to deal with social segregation, to some extent, has run counter to policies with forward gain. For instance, the exploration of open blocks from closed communities in China has resulted in residents feeling anxious, not to mention the community infrastructure in nature was designed to be separated from its surrounding urban spaces and exclusively used by community residents. Issues concerning when and how to open exclusive communities should be addressed with a developing perspective on varied stages of urban development. Unfortunately, the weak implementation of current planning means has kept vulnerable groups increasingly

考虑社区开放问题，现阶段规划工具的对接不力反而将相对弱势的阶层从他们最需要的公共服务设施中逐步推离。

大型公园和地铁站等公共资源首当其冲。随着以公共交通为导向的开发（TOD）模式的发展，地铁站周边的高强度开发吸引了大量资本的涌入，周边居住区与商业办公楼的价格随之升高。具备更强购买力的居民较少使用地铁出行，迫切需要通过地铁出行的居民反而被挤至地铁站的辐射范围之外。中国城市的发展历史见证了规划工具在解决社会隔离问题时的屡屡失效，其根源在于对僵化图则工具性的强调，以及规划工具作为技术手段本身所需赋权职能的滞后：这不仅是空间规划上正义性的缺失，更是动态时间正义的缺失。

此种情况屡见不鲜，同样可见于公园的公共性窘境。以上海世纪公园为例，这座占地140.3hm²的大型城市公园地处浦东新区，极富自然生态特征，它的重要功能之一是为周边居民提供服务。但从世纪公园周边小区的绿地率来看，天安花园、仁恒河滨城等高档居住区都拥有较高的绿地率（图1），此处居民使用世纪公园的需求也便大大降低。而真正需要绿地滋养的居民却居住于距离世纪公园更远的区域^[16]。叶宇等人的研究表明，上海大型公园受到创建各类园林城市的需求影响而被过度提倡，但这种大型公园多分散于人口稀疏的郊区^[17]。相较于大型公园，社区口袋公园的服务范围更广、效率更高，却在以往的规划中未得到充分重视。

中国城市公共设施服务的日趋碎片化即是萨斯基亚·萨森在《驱逐：全球经济中的野蛮性与复杂性》一书中所描述的21世纪全球经济的残酷真相：对穷困百姓的驱逐正预示着城市规划工具的失效^[18]（图2）。社会碎片化与社会剥夺（即社会隔离）等因素直接或间接扮演着

away from the infrastructure and public facilities they most needed.

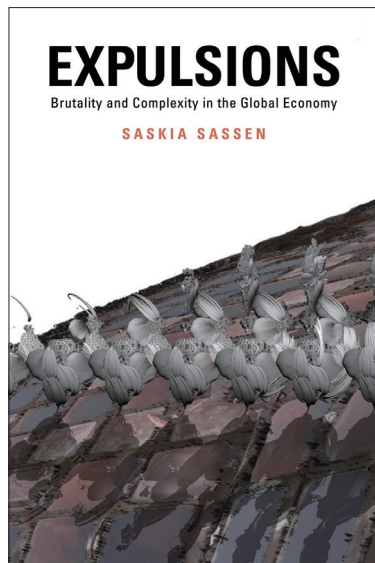
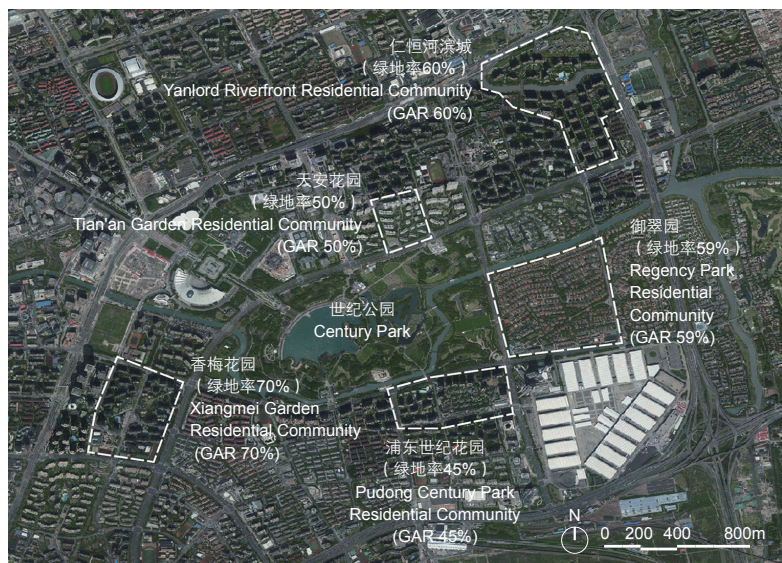
Public resources, such as large-scale parks and subway stations, notably reveal the social segregation. Under a Transit-Oriented Development (TOD), investments in land development of the vicinities of urban subway stations keep growing, resulting in higher price of housing and office buildings. However, citizens with higher demand of metro travel than their wealthier counterparts often live farther away from the subway stations instead. The history of urban development in China reflects the repeated failure of planning in alleviating social segregation due to the stereotype of regarding planning as a blue-printed tool and the lagging of its function to realize technological empowerment. This mirrors the lack of both spatial planning justice and chronopolitical justice.

In Chinese cities, public parks are also confronting the same predicament of publicness deficiency. Taking the Century Park in Shanghai as an example, this large natural park with an area of 140.3 hectares is located in Pudong New Area, aiming at creating green space for the residents in its neighboring communities. However, the high-end residential communities nearby have a comparatively higher green area ratio (Fig. 1) and the residents may be less eager to visit the Century Park. This means the citizens who have a greater daily need to access the park are less served^[16]. Meanwhile, Ye Yu et al. found that large-scale parks in Shanghai tend also to locate in sparsely populated suburbs for policy and construction reasons^[17]. Pocket parks in communities that serve more recreational opportunities in citizens' daily life, however, are still undervalued in urban planning.

In his book *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy*, Saskia Sassen argued that the expulsion to fragile people

1. 在上海市世纪公园周边，天安花园、仁恒河滨城、御翠园、浦东世纪花园和香梅花园等小区均拥有较高的绿地率。
2. 萨斯基亚·萨森著《驱逐：全球经济中的野蛮性与复杂性》一书封面

1. The residential communities nearby the Century Park Shanghai, including Tian'an Garden, Yanlord Riverfront Community, Regency Park, Pudong Century Park, and Xiangmei Garden are with relevantly high green area ratio.
2. Cover of the book *Expulsions: Brutality and Complexity in the Global Economy* written by Saskia Sassen.



③ “嵌入性”概念主要来源于经济社会学，指经济行为深深嵌入于社会关系之中。例如产业集群中的企业、机构不仅仅在地理位置上接近，更重要的是它们之间具有很强的本地联系，涵盖社会、文化、政治、经济等各方面。

③ The concept of Embeddedness originates from Economic Sociology, indicating that economic actions are embedded deeply in social connections. For instance, the industrial clusters not only are adjacent in location, but also connect with each other locally regarding social, cultural, political, and economic issues.

施害者的角色^[19]，并通过空间反馈于人的心理。城市本应发挥社交场所的功能，但与之相悖的是，针对精神疾病的荟萃分析发现，对比乡村与城市的实验数据可知，城镇化水平越高的地区，情绪性障碍和焦虑症发病率越高^[4]，而这显然会首先危及城市分化进程中处于不利地位的城市贫弱社区。

2 恢复性空间规划实践的城市设计模型

如何才能应对孤独与隔离的社会危机？我们亟需一种支撑城市修复规划实践的理论，穿透前述社会空间与物质空间的双重隔离，并突破城市规划作为工具的局限性。这一理论涵盖一系列针对连接网络的空间和社会恢复工作，同时网络中作为工作对象的节点与作为行动途径的向量都应不同于以往，以面对新的战局。

英国学者凯文·思韦茨等人提出“社会恢复性城市主义”（Socially Restorative Urbanism）概念，力求通过场所营造实践，在设计中创造平等的社会空间，形成体验性景观，以应对社会原子化问题^[20]。这一概念具备完整的图绘理论，可用作呼应社会群体网络中嵌入性^③的工具。

社会恢复性城市主义的发展脉络在英国学界最早可追溯至对田园城市、新城运动和城市美化运动的反思，直至近年尼尚·阿旺等人通过总结建筑设计方式提出“空间代理”（Spatial Agency）概念^[21]，笃信空间自组织力量具有极大的影响潜力，同时建筑师和规划师仍然占据设计中中介性的核心地位。思韦茨所总结的设计赋权案例仍以设计师为中心，这与社会城市主义所倡导的“发起者”（initiator）在叙事上大不相同。但二者所代表的将行动者直接作为“中间组织”的行动方法，对目前中国的政治制度、设计市场现状都有实践层面的参考意义。言语等人将这种理论影响下的空间恢复实践总结为一种基于时间的公共性社会网络，以及设计师不断赋权解域并重构其专业差序格局

means the failure of urban planning^[18] (Fig. 2). Unfortunately, the atomization of urban public services in China makes the argument come true. Together with social atomization, social deprivation / isolation exacerbates the expulsion directly or indirectly^[19], having an impact on people's mental health through spatial construction. Cities ought to provide places for social interaction. However, a meta-analysis of mental diseases showed that affective disorder and anxiety disorder are more easily to attack citizens who live in highly urbanized areas^[4]. This makes vulnerable communities less resilient to such social impact during the aggressive urbanization.

2 Urban Design Models for Restorative Spatial Planning Practice

To respond to problems of individual isolation and social segregation, planners urgently need a new theory to support practices for urban restoration, helping break down both social and physical barriers where urban planning acts more than a tool it could be. This theory is expected to help establish a society's connection networks through spatial and social restoration, where both the objects to be restored and the restoration approaches should be updated with an adaptive perspective to address new challenges.

One of such theories is Socially Restorative Urbanism proposed by Kevin Thwaites et al., which adapts to social atomization and encourages place-making practice that creates equal social spaces and experiencing landscape^[20]. This concept comprises an all-sided mapping theory to support the embeddedness^③ in reticulation of social assemblages.

The conceptual framework of Socially Restorative Urbanism stemmed from the reflections on Garden City, New Town Movement, and City Beautiful Movement, and then moved to an exploration to the concept of Spatial Agency proposed by Nishat Awan et al. by examining ways of doing architecture, which recognizes the significance of spatial self-organization and the core intermediary role of architects and planners^[21]. Although designers still occupy a central position in the design empowerment cases concluded by Thwaites, differing a lot in narrative from being “initiators” proposed by social urbanism, both of these two concepts are developed from a standpoint of “exercisers” as intermedia agencies and could provide guidance for China to improve political decisions and the design market climate. Yan Yu et al. summarized the spatial restoration practices influenced by Socially Restorative Urbanism into a public social network with temporal attributes, and a process of network connection through which designers

的网络连接过程，它修复了原子化社会网络的社区性与公共性^[22]。这种设计方式被称为“设计代理”（Design Agency），而设计者的中介地位决定了赋权工作一定会脱离图纸，对接社会网络。

社会恢复性城市主义理论为新的城市设计模型提供了基础连接的向量，而作为工作对象的节点则需继续在跨学科的外延中寻找空间规划专业自主性的蓝海。凯文·本尼特等学者用一连串渐进式的观点来追溯城市心理问题的起源，试图为城市设计找到新的工作对象与框架^[23]。研究团队探索了群体规模、面对面互动、自然特征、移动性和城市响应能力等设计要素，认为这些工作场域重新界定了社会恢复空间实践的目标。基于此，笔者进一步拓展了其提出的社会恢复性城市设计模型，将社会连接和空间修复理论应用于原子化网络的修复中，提出以增进心理健康和社会恢复为目标的城市设计模型（图3）。这一模型是为设计代理及社会恢复性空间规划与设计工作设定目标的导向框架，可应对上述规划工具与战场的转换。笔者将社会连接类型拓展为5个不同层级的系统，并结合相应的规划实践来讨论空间作为赋权工具与对象在这些系统中的社会恢复性理论基础，它们也可作为场所营造与参与式设计等空间行动的基础性理论。此类赋权与空间行动相对于蓝图式规划的确具有“去专业性”特征，但这并不代表缺乏专业性。下文将具体阐述恢复性空间规划模型，及相关营造实践在“行动即知识”倾向以外的补足性思考。

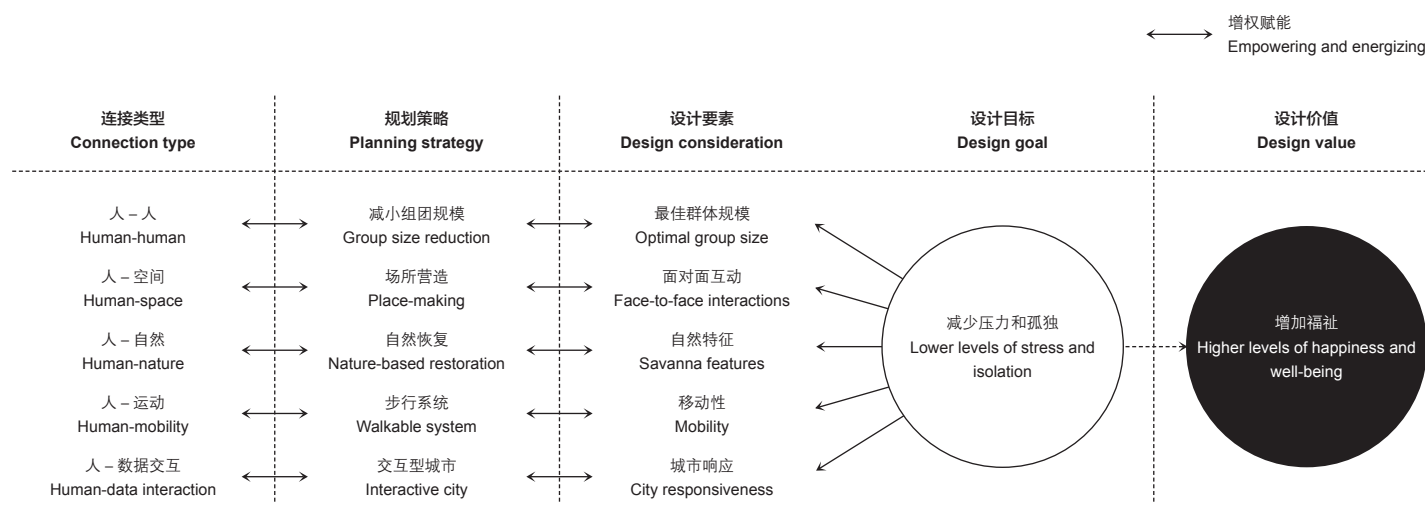
2.1 人与人的连接——确定合理规划规模

人类学家罗宾·邓巴等学者的研究表明，受限于大脑皮层的大小，一个人大约可与150人维持关系，许多社会适应行为只能在小团体内完成^[24]。与之相悖的是，当前中国城市规划实践中超大街区和超大组团大行其道，由此造成的超高社会密度突破了人类的空间—社会关系阈限，这也是促发城市病的重要根源。空间恢复性规划的实质是通过机制创新促进空间恢复。

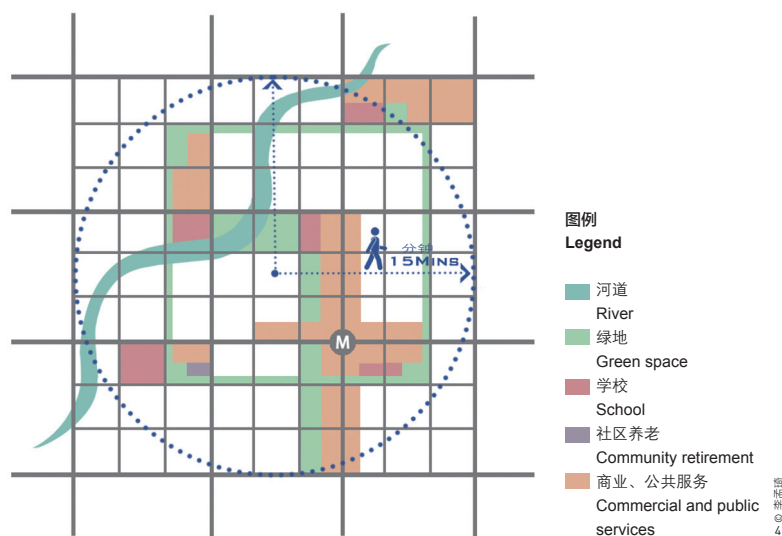
could empower others to help deconstruct and reconstruct the pattern of difference sequence to finally restore the community and publicness for the social network^[22]. Such a Design Agency process allow designers to connect themselves with the society so as to realize design empowerment beyond developing schemes and drawings.

The theory of Socially Restorative Urbanism provides reference to fundamental restoration approaches to establish a new urban design model, while restoration objects are still to be explored in the unknown interdisciplinary periphery where the potential of spatial planning could further manifest. Kevin Bennett et al. traced the origin of psychological illness with a series of gradually-developed ideas, trying to seek new objects and frameworks for urban design^[23]. On examining design considerations of group size, face-to-face interaction, Savanna features, mobility, and city responsiveness, they believed that these five factors could redefine the targets of Socially Restorative Urbanism. Inspired by this idea, the authors developed the Socially Restorative Urban Design Model (Fig. 3), focusing on mental health improvement and social restoration by applying theories of social connection and spatial restoration into atomized network restoration. This model provides a flexible framework to guide target setting in practices of design agency and social restorative urban planning. The authors extended the social connections into five different systems to explore the theoretical significance of space within these systems — both as the empowering approach and object — to realize social restoration with planning means. This theoretical basis could also support practices of place-making and participatory design. Seemingly being a way of de-specialization in comparison to traditional planning, such empowerment

3. 社会恢复性城市设计模型（改绘自参考文献[23]）
3. Socially Restorative Urban Design Model (adapted from Ref. [23])



4. 《宁波市15分钟社区生活圈规划导则》内容
5. 2013年夏季巴黎塞纳河畔的“巴黎海滩”活动
4. Content from the Ningbo Planning Guideline of 15-Minute Community-Life Circle.
5. Summer events of Paris Plages along the river Seine, Paris in 2013



营造对象的科学界定需要结合条则与纲要进行，以更好地支持恢复性空间改造。2016年，原上海市规划和国土资源管理局（现上海市规划和自然资源局）首先推出了《上海15分钟社区生活圈规划导则（试行）》^[25]，之后济南、长沙、宁波等城市纷纷启动编制生活圈规划导则或开展相关专题研究（图4）。时下15分钟、10分钟和5分钟生活圈规划如火如荼，但首先应该确定合理的规模（包括公共服务设施和聚集单元的规模），才能通过生活圈这样的城市政策实现社会韧性。以社交为导向的空间恢复性规划始终秉持邓巴理论的核心，其本质仍然是构建为合理社会网络密度服务的差序格局，以及如何通过空间规划达成这一目标。

2.2 人与空间的连接——场所营造

场所营造的实质是促使人们自主创造并参与公共空间，以及为之提供面对面交流的机会，一方面通过行动改善空间使用模式与社会状况，另一方面形成新的共同体对空间进行改造，以提升空间品质并激



and spatial practices see a de-specialization yet supported with professional knowledge. The restorative spatial planning model is elaborated as below, together with further reflections on the overemphasis of action over knowledge.

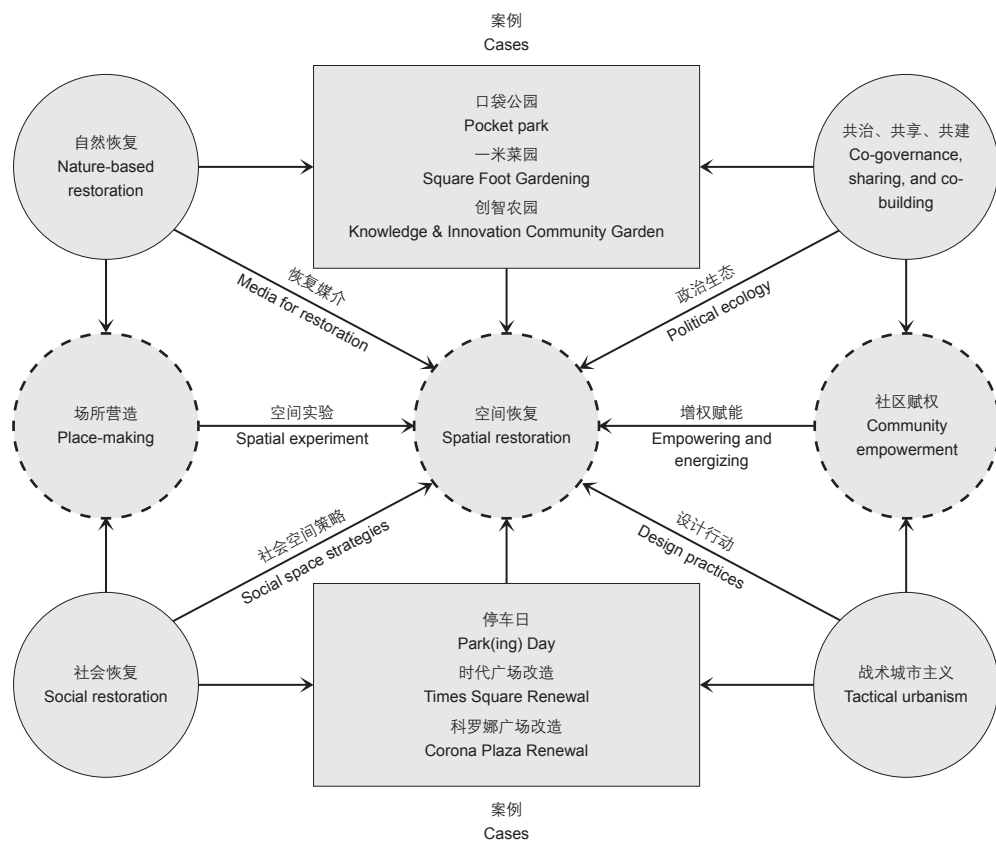
2.1 Human-Human Connection through Proper Planning Scale Setting

Anthropologist Robin Dunbar and his colleagues found out that a human being could maintain his / her coherent relationships with about 150 individuals due to the limit of neocortical size; while some social adaptive behaviors could only happen within small groups^[24]. However, the super blocks and clusters prevalent in Chinese urban planning programs obviously stand opposite to this finding. The resulting super-high social density exceeds the threshold of human spatial-socio relations and are the root causes of urban diseases. Thus, the restorative spatial planning proposed in this article focuses mainly on mechanism innovation.

A scientific identification of the objects for restorative spatial planning should carry out in line with related regulations and guidelines. In 2016, the former Shanghai Urban Planning and Land Resources Administration Bureau (Shanghai Municipal Bureau of Planning and Natural Resources now) pioneered to release Shanghai Planning Guideline of 15-Minute Community-Life Circle (Trail)^[25], followed by cities including Ji'nan, Changsha, and Ningbo to work out similar guidelines and launch special research programs (Fig. 4). However, no matter it is a 15-minute, 10-minute, or 5-minute community-life circle that becomes a hot theme in urban planning, planners' primary task is to identify the practical size of given planning objects, including that of the public facilities and the clusters. Only in this way could planning policies such as the community-life circle work to enhance a city's social resilience. Guided by the principles from the Dunbar theory, social-interaction-oriented restorative planning practice is to establish a pattern of difference sequence that supports a feasible social network density through spatial planning approaches.

2.2 Human-Space Connection through Place-Making

Place-making essentially provides opportunities for users to enjoy public life and to interact face-to-face via practicing public space by themselves. Through this process, not only the spatial everyday life patterns and social conditions are improved, but also a new agency to transform the space is established to realize higher-quality and more vital spaces^[26], while allowing social friction and diverse public lifestyles^[27]. Globally significant examples of place-making, such a mainstream to realize urban



④ “停车日”活动即世界范围内将停车位临时改造为公共空间的举措，是“游击城市主义”的典型案例。

④ As a typical example of Guerrilla Urbanism, Park(ing) Day is a worldwide phenomenon of re-claiming parking spots as public spaces temporarily.

6. 空间恢复理论框架。该框架具有较强的跨学科背景，涉及恢复媒介、政治生态、社会空间策略和设计行动等内容。

6. The Framework for the Spatial Restorative Theory, which covers interdisciplinary discussion on media for restoration, political ecology, social space strategies, and design practices.

发空间活力^[26]，同时产生社交摩擦和丰富公共生活^[27]。场所营造是目前全球范围内城市设计在微观空间尺度落地的主流实践模式，著名案例包括纽约时代广场改造、“停车日”^④的全球实践，以及塞纳河畔“巴黎沙滩”（图5）场所营造项目等。当前已涌现了许多与场所营造相关的工具和技术策略，如战术城市主义或游击城市主义等，主要通过充当空间媒介与构建共同体来实现前述价值观，达到人与空间的连接。

但场所营造的过程性与社会恢复性并不是单纯的物质空间的结果。场所营造通过建立人与人的连接，以跨越产权、创造空间使用的新形式，发挥设计的媒介作用^[28]，并通过对公共领域的重新构建，将短期设计行动转化为长远的影响^[29]，在社区赋权的推动下永续发展^[30]。以上几点攻坚目标从易到难，逐渐从城市设计的公共空间环境品质需求，走向学科价值与社会意义的实现，最终与人类学、社会学理论中的公共性进行跨学科交叉，实现行动与社群的互相促进。由徐磊青等人延展的空间恢复理论框架如图6所示^[31]，可用作支撑人与空间连接实践的基础。

通过社会空间途径进行的场所营造成功与否，需从媒介与连接的角度检视。以四叶草堂的社区花园营造项目创智农园为例（图7），位于上海市杨浦区五角场街道的创智坊小区和国定路第一小区“破墙开门”，两侧居民得以共享社区花园^[32]。尽管只是在实际空间中开了一小扇门，但却是睦邻氛围、社区民主进程和社区运维管理上的重大突破。破墙开门不仅大大缩短了小区居民前往地铁站、菜市场、社区花

design at a micro-scale, include Times Square Renewal in New York City, worldwide Park(ing) Day^④ events, and Paris Plages (Paris Beaches) activities along the river Seine (Fig. 5). Tools and technological strategies emerging today for these place-making practices, such as Tactical Urbanism or Guerrilla Urbanism, can perform as spatial media and community builder to help connect human with space.

However, the place-making that is procedural and socially restorative presents beyond a product of physical spaces. It helps realize goals of connecting human with human by innovative approaches to occupy space that break the ownership limitation^[28]; bringing about long-term effects with short-term practices while reestablishing the public domain^[29]; and promoting sustainable development through community empowerment^[30]. These more and more demanding goals require first a high-quality public space by urban design, second the realization of disciplinary and social values, third

7. 自然恢复案例：创智农园
7. A case of the natural restoration practices: Knowledge & Innovation Community Garden

园等基础设施的距离，更通过商讨过程建立起社区居民内部事务的共同体，可持续为社区本身赋权。

通过媒介设计来实现连接的实验性与可逆性，保证了在地空间政治行动的灵活性，将物质空间与社会空间相连，并良性作用于社会空间秩序中，在与人的连接过程中产生场所与活力，这种记忆稳定下来便驯化出新的“地方”与文化。同时，场所营造也避免了过度设计对其协商与社会恢复本质的限制，并可跨越隔离与争议暗流，连接不同的社群。这是一种地方行动网络的构建，也是一种基于连接的社群实现会员制与统一战线的方式。以媒介设计物介入社会运动以达成空间民意的合力多见于场所营造的经典案例中，例如纽约时代广场改造和科罗娜广场改造实践中可移动座椅的使用成为了重要的设计研究依据；“巴黎海滩”项目采用具有防洪功能的漂浮城市家具、可拆卸的临时性装置，实行开放活动网络预订……这些举措使得项目不会因巴黎市议会的规范桎梏与反对团体的质疑而搁浅；而在来自美国的一米菜园与上海创智农园等社区实践中，植物成为了凝聚社区社会空间的媒介。凝聚力的持续培养不仅修补了空间规划的地方脉络，也使得规划在时间政治方面获得了空间层面的修正，以持续为地方谋求福祉。



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7-2 © 四川华蓝

interdisciplinary research on publicness with Anthropology and Sociology, and finally place-making and assemblages to complement with each other. The Framework for the Spatial Restorative Theory (Fig. 6) expanded by Xu Leiqing et al. may support more practices aiming at connecting human with space^[31].

A successful place-making through socio-spatial approaches depends mainly on effective media and connection. The Knowledge & Innovation Community Garden project (Fig. 7) conducted by Clover Nature School is a good example. The project realizes creating a community garden shared by residents living in two adjacent living quarters — Chuangzhifang Community and Guoding Road First Community — located in Wujiaochang Street in Yangpu District, Shanghai by breaking the wall between them with a gate^[32]. This gate, though very small in size, helps neighborhoods practice community life, and community democracy and autonomy. Such a type of strategy not only shortens the distance between these two communities to infrastructures such as subway stations, markets, and the community garden, but also establishes a sustainable mechanism of community empowerment through the negotiation process among residents.

The experimental and adaptable nature of connections achieved by media design ensures the flexibility of local spatial-political actions, which link the physical space with the social one and exert positive impacts on the latter. Once these spaces are connected with humans, a vital place comes into being, giving birth to a new “local identity” and culture. Meanwhile, place-making connects different assemblages and breaks down segregation and dispute as it can prevent excessive design from constraining negotiation and social restoration. These practices are dedicated to establish a local action network and to provide opportunities for assemblages to realize a connection-based membership system and consensus. Consensus can be reached by introducing media design results into social movement, which is obvious in representative examples of place-making — the movable seats employed in the renewal practices of Time Square and Corona Square; floating urban furniture, dismantlable temporary installations, and online booking for events open to the public in Paris Plages, which ensure the project to be free from regulation constraints from the Paris City Council and query from opponents; and plants used as media to link social spaces in Square Foot Gardening projects in the United States and Knowledge & Innovation Community Gardens in Shanghai. The growing cohesive force developed through these practices not only remediates the local identity lost in spatial planning, but also optimizes the planning in terms of chronopolitics, to finally benefits local communities sustainably.

2.3 人与自然的连接——自然恢复

基于自然的解决方案（NBS）旨在通过环境提升来应对气候变化及其他与适应性相关的挑战^[33]。如前所述，植物具有充当社区媒介的独特优势，除此之外，绿色空间还应作为人居环境的良性资源，成为推动实现小尺度空间公正性的核心对象。在欧洲地区，决策者已经将NBS概念结合到最新研究和框架改革中，将提升生物多样性、恢复生态系统服务与创新发展和增加工作机会列为同等重要的工作目标，为向可持续发展路径转变提供了契机。

408研究小组在“上海城市有机更新实践调研”项目中发现，以NBS为主导实现自然恢复的城市微更新和更新实践往往可获得更高的居民评价^[31]。这种连接自然的方式使得植物成为了串连社区与自然资源的首选媒介，直击规划工具的失效区域。当前在上海、北京等地已展开一系列社区微更新与社区营造实践，包括刘悦来主导的四叶草堂实践、408研究小组的塘桥社区空间微更新（图8）、侯晓蕾主持的胡同花园微更新项目等。其中，四叶草堂在上海的社区花园项目已有60余处，它们将自然教育、园艺产业、地产公共空间设计、居民自治和网络提议相结合，已经形成多元的社区赋权机制。由此可见，以NBS或自然恢复为导向的实践在微观尺度上极具社会价值，小、快、灵的特质能够一定程度弥补绿地分布不均的现状，这更是一种针对空间实践的行动主义批判。

2.4 人与运动的连接——步行系统

运动对身心健康具有重要价值。城市规划设计应当尽可能促进人们的身体运动，增进健康和社交。鼓励步行和慢行的城市设计已经成为主流，将高架道路、废弃铁路等市政交通设施改造为城市公共空间的实践在世界范围内有诸多实例，如纽约高线公园、亚特兰大环线公园、韩国首尔高线公园等。在过去10余年里，关于步行友好性的研究已在城市形态学、交通规划和环境行为学等领域占据核心地位；在全



2.3 Human-Nature Connection through Natural Restoration

The concept of Nature-Based Solutions (NBS) is proposed to respond to challenges of climate change and issues relevant to adaptability through environmental improvement^[33]. Other than its superior role of community media as discussed above, green space, an advantaged resource in living settlement including plants, could also perform as the significant variable to enhance spatial justice at a small scale. In Europe, decision makers have introduced NBS into lasted research and framework reforms, in which biodiversity improvement and ecosystem restoration are weighted the same as innovative development and employment, providing opportunities for more socially sustainable development.

The Environment-Design-Research Lab (408 Lab) based in the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University found in its Survey on Urban Organic Regeneration Practices in Shanghai that urban micro-regeneration and regeneration led by NBS-driven natural restoration are better received by residents^[31]. In this natural restorative approach, plants become the optimal media to link communities with nature, covering the sections unrealized through urban planning. Examples of such micro-regeneration and place-making in communities include projects by Clover Nature School founded by Liu Yuelai, Tangqiao Community regeneration by 408 Lab (Fig. 8), and Gardens created in Hutong hosted by Hou Xiaolei. Through over 60 cases of Community Garden in Shanghai by Clover Nature School we may find the mechanism generation of community empowerment which realizes simultaneously nature education, gardening, public space created in real estate, self-organization by residents, and online opinion collection. In conclusion, the NBS- or nature-restoration-driven practices, as an activism critique to traditional spatial planning, are with high social value at the micro-scale and to some extent can deal with the problem of green spaces in maldistribution flexibly and efficiently.

2.4 Human-Mobility Connection through Walkable Systems

An active urban planning should motivate citizens to move as it is good to both physical and mental health. In a global context, a series of urban regeneration practices have emerged to transform transport facilities, such as overpasses and abandoned railways, into public spaces to encourage walk and slow traffic, including the High Line in New York, Atlanta BeltLine, and Seoulllo Skygarden. Over the past decade, research on pedestrian-friendly cities have become hot topics in studies of Urban Morphology, Transportation Planning, and Environment and Behavior. Meanwhile, street design guidelines that give

8. 塘桥社区广场建成初期现场，项目旨在活化社区广场的公共生活。
8. The project of Tangqiao Community Regeneration in early process, which aims at vitalizing the public life in the community square.

9. 杰夫·斯派克所著《步行城市的规则：创造更好场所的101步》封面
10. 《上海城市街道设计导则》中的“推荐街道断面”内容
9. Cover of the *Walkable City Rules: 101 Steps to Making Better Places* written by Jeff Speck.
10. Street design strategies recommended in the *Shanghai Street Design Guidelines*

球各大城市制定的街道设计导则中，以步行为优先的设计也已成为交通规划的典范（图9，10）。

运动与人的连接实质上是城市空间网络所涉及的政治和资本与具身性的角逐，规划实践应致力于改善行动并夺回城市之具身性的可能。制定各类导则的目标是推动行动的建制、落实与更新，因此需要动态地关注与引领导则的研究、实施与调整。

2.5 人与数据的连接——交互型城市

城市规划应具备通过数据快速响应社会隔离的能力，从而动态调整空间设计。换言之，动态的数据可以支持空间规划演变为动态的空间行动，而非反之发展为技术官僚。通过大数据、增强现实、虚拟现实等技术，可对现实空间施以良性影响。

言语等人针对基于数据赋权的空间规划实践案例，总结出了前述模型在中国“城市响应”维度上设计师的介入过程，即媒体发声、数据归档、空间专业化实践、制度实践、形成社群及延续自组织，并用

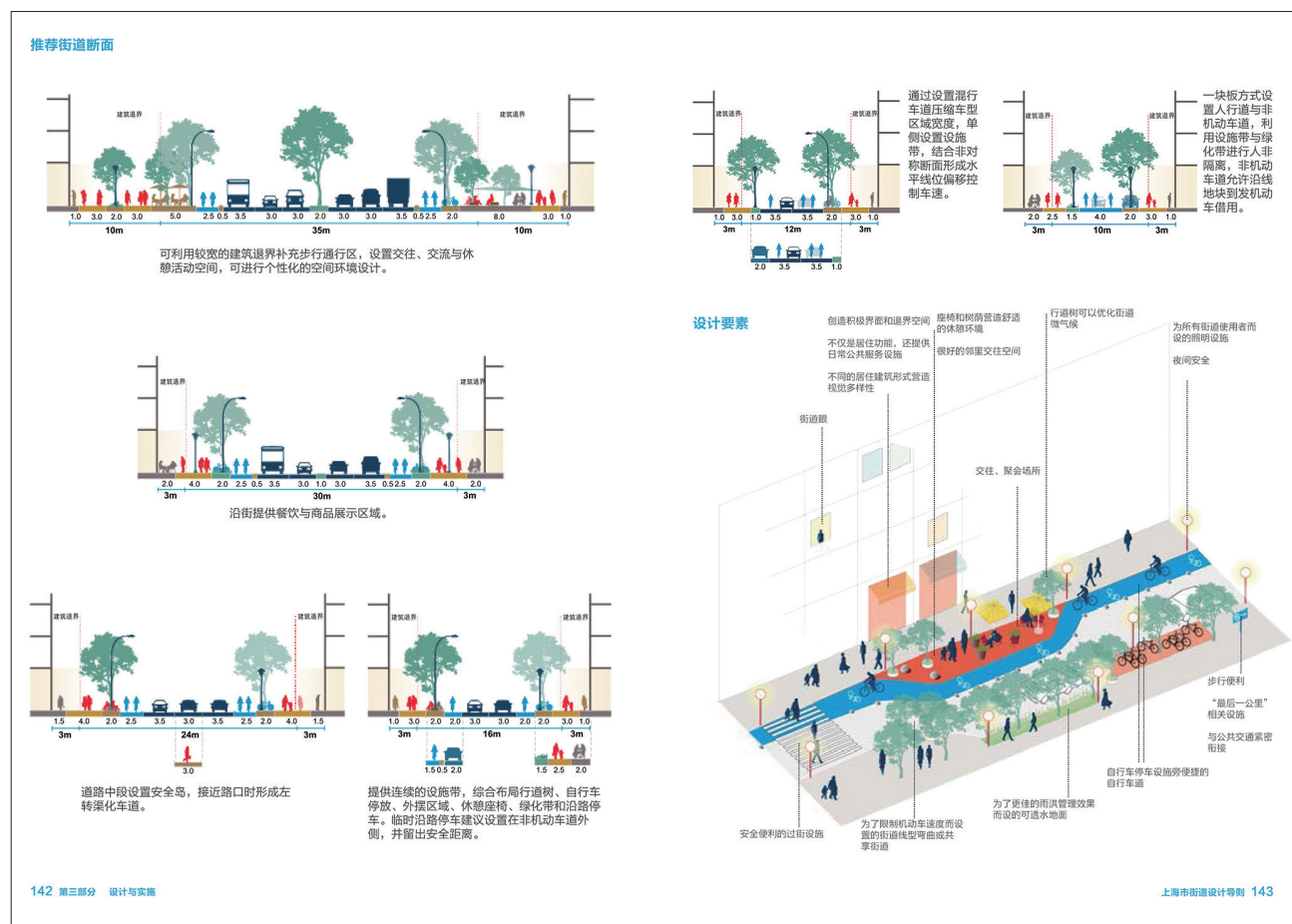
priority to walk are now steering the transportation planning (Fig. 9, 10).

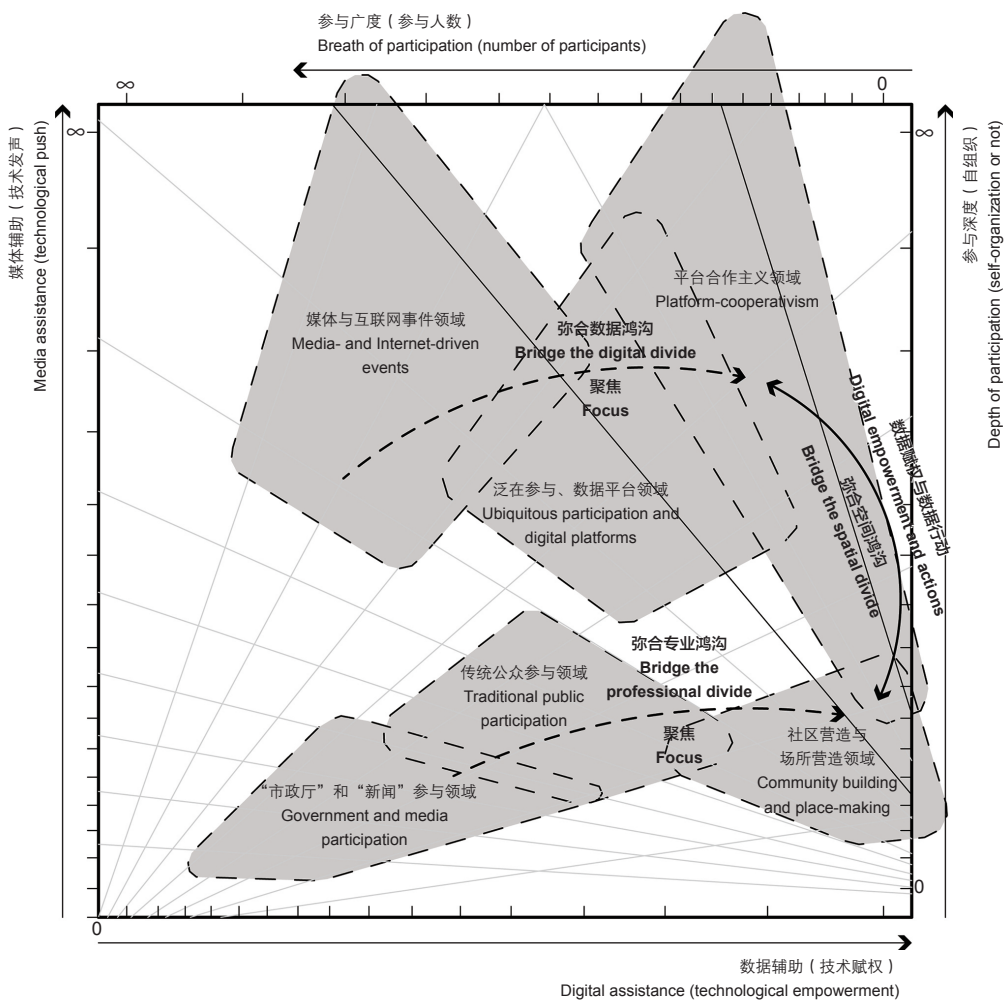
The connection between human and mobility mirrors a contest between capital-based politics and embodiment-based biopolitics in urban spatial networks for which planning practices should concentrate on improving relevant actions and resume the embodiment role of a city. A dynamic perspective to research, implement, and adjust the guidelines matters a lot as each guideline could promote the actions to form, work, and update.

2.5 Human-Data Interaction through Responsive Cities

Urban planning should be responsive to social segregation with data-based solutions to adjust space design proposals dynamically. In other words, dynamic data may catalyze flexible practices for spatial planning. This way of anti-technocracy could help optimize spaces with technologies such as big data, augmented reality, and virtual reality.

On examining several spatial planning cases based on digital empowerment, Yan Yu et al. concluded the processes designers intervening into the Socially Restorative Urban Design Model from





11. 数据赋权矩阵
11. Digital Empowerment Matrix

赋权矩阵的方式概括了空间实践的媒介性汇流^[34]（图11）。将城市规划的数据实践作为激进技术的技术伦理^[35]，以公众参与、数据赋权、数据增强设计等方式构建交互型城市的理念十分令人期待。

3 结语

从城市美化运动到城市针灸、城市更新/再生，再到城市双修；从《雅典宪章》到《基多宣言》；从田园城市到街道设计导则与社区生活圈规划实践，语汇的更迭并未止步于修辞学意义，反而更显化出其本质要求的变化与对行动潜移默化的影响，在社会恢复相关议题中具有进行伦理约束的述行性。巨大而同质的城市既与原子化社会中存在

the dimension of Chinese cities' responsiveness into news media push, data archiving, specialized spatial practices, institutional optimization, assemblage establishment, and continuing activism-based self-organization, which are presented in the Digital Empowerment Matrix^[34] (Fig. 11). We look forward to more exploration based on this inspiring idea which takes data-based practices as the ethical imperative for radical techniques^[35] and employs approaches of public participation, digital empowerment, data-augmented design to build responsive cities.

3 Conclusion

Although the vocabulary of urban development changes over time — from City Beautiful Movement to Urban Renewal / Regeneration, and to Urban Remediation and Ecological; from the *Athens Charter* to *The Quito Papers*; and from Garden City to Street Design Guideline and Community-Life Circle — their essential requirement shift and invisible influence on action transcend the rhetorical meaning, advocating performative ethical imperatives for issues relevant to

的隔离与不平等具有内在一致性，也与城市病及个人精神问题紧密相关。响应社会恢复既是应对社会原子化的“处方”，也是规划途径与技术迭代的行动要求。

本文提出恢复性城市设计模型，并探讨了其中人与人、人与空间、人与自然、人与运动，以及人与数据之间的连接关系，这5类关系应当成为城市更新在恢复性主体选择上的参照与坐标，以使通过赋权手段解决根脉冲突问题的实践更具社会恢复性、韧性、永续性和多样性。当下中国的城市更新呈现了良好的革新趋势，但仍然需明确其本质是基于个体行动与地方社群的社会恢复，以及针对根脉冲突的结构熵增策略。唯有如此才不会继续在工具理性与宏大叙事的过度主导中本末倒置。**LAF**

social restoration practice. The large-scale and homogenous cities correlate significantly with not only the segregation and inequality in the atomized society, but also the urban diseases and individual mental diseases. A response to social restoration to deal with social atomization could meet the iteration demands of both urban planning and technology.

This article proposes a restorative urban design model and discusses five types of connections (human-human, human-space, human-nature, human-mobility, and human-data) that could provide reference for urban regeneration in determining the restoration objects. The empowerment practices on eliminating the root shock guided by these considerations could be more socially restorative, resilient, sustainable, and diverse. The good news is that Chinese urban regeneration practices are trying to innovate. Whereas, the regeneration is in essence the social restoration of individual behaviors and local social groups to finally resolve the root shock with structural entropy-increase strategies, so as to avoid being lost in the rational nature (as a blue-printed tool) and the grand narrative of urban planning. **LAF**

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