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“慢城市”设计中的体验设计

SLOWING DOWN FAST CITIES WITH DESIGNED EXPERIENCES

无论是在中国、美国还是其他地方，任何一个住在大城市的人都深陷于某种形式的“快生活”之中：日程满满、马不停蹄，被各种责任纠缠而不堪其扰。许多人每天都要花费数小时浏览各种信息终端，囫圇吞枣地消化掉成千上万的图像和文字。所有这些都瓜分人们宝贵的注意力，使他们逐渐疏远了身边的人类同伴，并对真实的生活场所越发漠不关心。

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摘要

为了应对拥挤且快节奏的城市环境中显著的同质化问题，设计师需要营造多种体验来打造“慢城市”。为此，设计师首先需要了解“慢城市体验”的特征和适用范围，其次需要采用基于实证的方法以指导设计实践。本文根据现象学理论，将慢城市体验分为“社交性”和“个体性”两类，并分别展开讨论。前者源于一种能促进人际交流的“情节”体验，而后者则与一种有助于恢复注意力的“存在模式”有关。本文通过列举若干种心理学和神经认知状态，为建筑师、景观设计师和城市规划专家提供了一个科学的现象学视角来定义有益于人类福祉的城市环境，并建议未来的相关研究重点关注不同表面、材质，以及图案构成和层次结构复杂的作品给人带来的体验，并探索何种变化强度的建成环境要素能够唤醒人们日渐麻木的感官。

关键词

慢城市；建成环境；心理学；现象学；神经认知；社交性体验；个体性体验；存在模式

ABSTRACT

To challenge the stupefying homogeneities produced by dense and fast urban environments, designers should offer a range of experiences to create a “slowing city,” which first relies on the understanding of the character and range of “slow experiences,” then requires an empirically-driven approach to attain it. Phenomenologically, slow experiences can be social or solitary; both are discussed. The former comes from “event” experiences that facilitate meaningful interactions among people, while the latter promotes a shift into “being mode” which can help replenish human’s attention. Using findings in psychology and neurocognition, this article suggests that architects, landscape designers, and urbanists adopt a scientifically-grounded phenomenological approach to designing healthy urban environments where people can flourish. More attention is required to investigate people’s experience of surfaces and textures, and of compositions with varying levels of patterned complexity, as well as the changeability of design features and approaches to combat habituation.

KEYWORDS

Slowing City; Built Environment; Psychology; Phenomenology; Neurocognitive; Social Experience; Solitary Experience; Being Mode

翻译 李慧彦 王胤瑜 汪默英

TRANSLATED BY LI Huiyan WANG Yinyu WANG Moying

本文意在探讨何为“慢城市”，其不同于“慢城运动”中的“慢城”，但与之有相通之处。究其根源，最早的“慢城”概念是一种社会与政治层面的批判，其矛头指向经济全球化对地方特征的破坏；随后，其影响力逐渐扩散至经济与社会生产之外的领域，并被用来描述和提倡各种基于现实世界、特定地域与文化，以及当下的日常生活而展开的实践探索、环境营造与艺术推广。如今，一系列与“慢”相关的运动及口号开始提倡超感知、多感官、元认知的难忘体验，例如“慢餐”现在不仅意味着以可持续方式加工的本地新鲜食材，还超越了“通过进食摄取生存所需营养”这一层面，强调用餐过程中的体验与感受。

法国人类学家马克·奥吉曾从理论上对拥挤城市中充斥的快节奏场景进行了痛切批判^[1]：批量式住房开发项目、快餐零售、机场以及购物中心等无不对人们施加着过度刺激，并使得城市环境愈发同质化。在这样的背景下，一座城市应该提供怎样的慢体验？设计师又能为此做些什么？

长期以来，许多设计师奉行以直觉为主导的设计方法，并大力推崇依托直觉创造的“神来之笔”，却并未意识到仅依靠直觉并不能有效应对前文所述的城市问题，更对其引发错误的例子避而不谈。杰出的设计必须基于系统性分析方法，且须首先明确具体的设计目标，即：慢城市体验由哪些部分组成——或者更恰当地说，这种体验的特征和适用范围是什么？某类特定项目希望实现何种体验？在此基础上，设计师还需尽可能详尽地描述与每种目标体验相关的一种或多种心理和神经认知（如果可能的话）状态。藉由这一重要步骤，设计师能够找到环境心理学和/或神经衰弱方面的相关研究，并以此为依据，

Anybody who dwells in a large city, whether it be China, the United States, or elsewhere, lives some version of the “fast life”: on a schedule, in a hurry, distracted by obligations. Many have their noses pressed into one or another monitor for hours each day, consuming literally thousands upon thousands of images and words. All of this diverts people’s precious attentional resources away from their proximate human companions as well as from the places that they physically inhabit.

This article tries to define what a “slowing city” is. It is different from “Citta Slow.” Before discussing the slowing city, Citta Slow is a topic which cannot be avoided. While the concept of Citta Slow originated in a fundamentally sociopolitical critique of the global economy’s more deleterious effects on local identity, as it gained popularity, proponents expanded beyond the terrain of economic and social production to describe and advocate for any kind of practice, environment, or art that celebrates and promotes non-virtual, place-and-culture specific, in-the-moment episodes in our daily lives. Today, the slow movements advocate for a certain kind of experience: hyper-aware, multisensory, metacognitive, and memorable. Slow food, for example, now connotes not just fresh, locally sourced, sustainably produced ingredients but an experience of eating that transcends food consumption’s bodily role in the efficient ingestion of nutrients for survival.

In dense urban environments, fast scenes proliferate: slapped-up housing developments, fast food retail, airports, shopping malls... all the city’s overstimulating, non-place-specific homogeneities, which have been theorized most poignantly by the French anthropologist, Marc Augé^[1]. In such a context, what kinds of slow experiences should a city offer? And how can design help?

Answering these questions in a way that designers find useful requires a lot more than intuition, which is celebrated as a kind of divine guide, especially when it leads to the appropriate solutions, yet rarely condemned when it leads to the wrong ones. A talented design demands a systematic and analytical approach as well as an identification of concrete objectives: What constitutes a slow urban experience — or better, what is the character and range of such experiences? Of these, which to target in what kind of project? Once that is settled, we need, for each target experience, to specify as precisely as possible the psychological and (if possible) neurocognitive state or states associated with it; this is an essential step that enables designers to seek out relevant research in environmental psychology and / or neurasthenics. That information will steer them toward design strategies that are both appropriate to the situation, built context, and anticipated users and effective in promoting the desired psychological states. If this sounds as though it is based on a deterministic view of the built environment’s impact on people’s experiences, it is not — or rather, it is no more

制定出能够在既定的现实背景与建成环境中有效引发目标使用者预期心理状态的设计策略。如果说建成环境对人类体验的影响是有规律可循的，那么，过去的设计师显然并未意识到这一点；好在如今已有设计师在这方面展开了探索，尽管相关的系统性分析及实证研究积累仍然相当匮乏。

回到第一个问题：慢城市应该提供怎样的体验？现象学理论认为，每个人都拥有独立于他人的躯体与意识，却又无时无刻不生活在人群之中。因此，问题的答案分别对应“独居”与“群居”两种状态。尽管二者不可分离，但为了便于分析和启发读者，下文将分别对其进行讨论，以具体阐释“慢城市”应当提供的多种体验——既有社交性的，也有个体性的。

两个人在公交车站相遇、一小群人在公共广场聚集、成千上万人共同观赏一场演出或体育赛事，以及其他种种规模和类型的互动都能够触发人际交往与联系。心理学将人们被动接受背景噪音的环境称为“场景”，而“慢城市”所提供的社交性体验则旨在将“场景”转化为“事件”或“情节”——其能促进具有一定深度和复杂性的、发生在个体与个体或个体与群体之间的互动，创造一系列有意义的、令人印象深刻的、与特定场所密切相关的瞬间（图1，2）。每一段情节都包含独一无二的角色，以及特定的时间和地点，且具备基本的整体性，这些特征要素可以构成连贯叙事，有助于长期记忆。

社交性慢城市体验会激发两种相互关联的体验状态：情感联系和由认同感驱动的场所依赖。后者与前者同等重要，因为人类最强大的自传式记忆正是通过场所进行神经编码的。目前，已有大量研究对构成多样的场所可以提供的社会交往类型进行了探索，篇幅所限，本文不再赘述，仅给出若干独立的观察案例，来证明实证基础对于设计的重要意义。

第一个案例属于社交空间关系学范畴：扬·盖尔和早期城市理论家在该领域的研究证明了此类实证研究对于设计实践不可或缺^{[2]-[4]}。盖

deterministic that what designers do already, but currently, they are doing this with little systematic analysis and even less evidentiary foundation.

To return to step one. The question — what kinds of experiences should a slowing city offer — contains two parts, for the simple reason that phenomenologically, we all live alone, encased in our bodies and minds, and at the same time we all also always live among other people. These two are not separable, but for heuristic and analytical purposes, distinguishing them can be helpful because it clarifies for designers that a slowing city should offer a range of experiences, some of which will be more social and some more solitary.

Interpersonal engagement and affiliation can transpire between two people, as at a bus stop; among a few people, as in a public square; among ten thousand people, as at a performance or sporting event, and at every scale and interaction-type in between. Conceptualizing slowing city social experiences means identifying the psychological states that might transform the time people spend in such places from what psychologists call a “scene,” which is basically passively received background noise, into an “event,” or an episode — meaningful, even memorable, place-specific moments (Fig. 1, 2). Slow social episodes constitute events rather than scenes by facilitating engaged, person-to-person or person-to-people interactions of depth and some complexity. Each type of episode features a distinctive social character, or characters; each is time- and place-delimited; and each is (at least minimally) unified, which allows for a narrative coherence that facilitates storage in long-term memory.

Slow social experiences promote two linked experiential states: emotional affiliation and identity-driven place attachment. The latter is as critical as the former because our most potent autobiographical memories are neurologically encoded by place. A good deal of existing research sheds light on the kinds of social interactions which differently-composed places afford, more than that can be summarized in a short essay. So offered here are simply some discrete observations to demonstrate the value of seeking out a solid research foundation for design.

One concerns social proxemics: Jan Gehl and earlier urban theorists’ work in this realm exemplifies how indispensable this kind of research can be to practicing designers^{[2]-[4]}. Gehl Architects, a practice that is constantly refining design criteria for walkable, human-scaled streets that generate active street life, advocate for (and, in their own projects, specify) variety in functions and uses of street spaces. They also demonstrate that these functions and uses must be arrayed in carefully designed hierarchies of scale, as people only begin to socially engage one another at a distance of around 16 feet. If two people stand further from one another than that, they cannot quite discern the expression on the other’s face; beyond 25 feet, this capacity virtually disappears, and the other person is perceived as a sentient



1. 在荷兰阿姆斯特丹，咖啡馆是一类能够提供社交性慢体验的典型场所。
 2. 以摩洛哥马拉喀什的麦地那区为例：城市广场上也能发生许多可以提供社交性慢体验的事件。
1. In Amsterdam, the Netherlands, the café can be a typical place for events of the "slow social experiences."
 2. An example of Medina, Marakkeh of Morocco: Urban squares also see events of the slow social experiences.



尔建筑师事务所长期致力于细化适宜步行且与人体尺度相适应的街道设计标准，以营造活跃街道生活，提倡（且在其自有项目中明确要求）街道空间功能和用途的多样化。不仅如此，他们还发现，这些功能和用途必须按照特定的空间尺度层级进行布置，才能发挥预期的效果：当两人之间的距离不超过4.9m时，才有可能进行社交；一旦超过这个距离，他们便难以辨别彼此的面部表情；相距超过7.6m时，则完全无法看清对方的表情，纵然能够感知到对方存在，也未必会认为其可能与自己产生联系。设计师要想促成有意义的人际互动，就需要掌握上述规律。值得一提的是，社交空间关系学有效地解决了如何使体育场和剧院成为有意义的社交场所这一问题：因为大多数体育场几乎无法提供分层级的空间，为人们提供的社交机会有限。在这里，除了全神贯注于精彩的演出或赛事和获取个体观感以外，人们很难拥有其他更多的体验。

另一种社交性慢城市体验与敬畏心理有关。环境心理学家和认知神经科学家们已经证实，人在进入某些空间（例如一座社区教堂，或是MAD建筑事务所设计的哈尔滨大剧院）时产生的敬畏感会促发亲社会情感与行为^[5]。研究表明，体会过敬畏感的人们会对陌生人更加慷慨，在团队项目中更多地与他人合作，并更易产生同理心，因为“敬畏”使人们意识到，自己仅仅是那些更宏大、更美妙的事物的一部分。在一定程度上，这是一种由特殊环境所激发的生理感受。因此，设计师应该深入研究能够激发敬畏感的环境的物质特性，例如其声学特征、体量大小，以及序列性等，以便更有针对性地将其运用到设计中。

相较于社交性慢城市体验，如何改善个体性慢城市体验的问题更为复杂——受社会文化和个人因素的影响，个体对环境的反应更为多

being but not necessarily one who bears any relevance to you. If a designer seeks to promote meaningful interpersonal interaction, then, they need to work with those parameters. Incidentally, social proxemics sheds light on how to make a stadium or theater a meaningful social place: since most stadia offer little to no hierarchy of spaces, opportunities for this kind of social interaction are limited. Often, there is nothing between the mass consumption of spectacle and the individual experience of observation.

A different kind of social slow experience concerns awe-states. Environmental psychologists and cognitive neuroscientists have established that the awe a person might feel upon entering certain spaces — from your neighborhood church to, for example, MAD Architects' Harbin Opera House in Harbin — promotes pro-social feelings and behavior^[5]. Research studies demonstrate that after experiencing awe-states, people behave more generously toward strangers, cooperate more with others on group projects, and exhibit more empathy, because awe — which is partly a bodily and physical feeling that can be prompted by a distinctive environment — primes people to remember that they are a part of something much larger, more beautiful than themselves. So, designers should delve into the research on the physical characteristics of awe-promoting environments, which can be acoustic, scalar, sequential, and so on, to deploy them more deliberately.

How to promote slow individual, as opposed to social, experiences in cities is an even more complex undertaking because, owing to socio-cultural and personal factors, the variability of responses is greater. Even so, provided here is one simple observation

变。即便如此，笔者还是通过一个简单的观察案例来进行说明。对城市居民而言，当代的快节奏生活对应着正念专家乔恩·卡巴—金所说的“行动模式”，而个体性慢城市体验即是从这种模式中抽离出来，进入适于思索、专注当下的“存在模式”——理想的建成环境正有助于促成这种转变。在“存在模式”下，人们对周围的物质和社会环境，以及自身的独特性进行充分感知，并形成现实导向的元认知。根据卡巴—金及其他学者的研究，“存在模式”的出现通常伴随着一系列特定的认知状态，例如一个人因被周围环境吸引而短暂停留^{[6][7]}。根据蕾切尔和斯蒂芬·卡普兰的“注意力恢复理论”，这种被动专注状态还有助于人们恢复被消耗殆尽的注意力^[8]。

目前已有大量研究证明，精心设计且绿化充足的城市公园能够引发这种认知状态；但其他环境（即使相关研究还较少）也可以做到这一点。神经建筑学面临的巨大挑战之一，即是如何在公园以外的环境中找到那些能够触发被动专注状态的设计要素：其中一些要素的影响机制与绿地有相似之处，可根据对后者的研究成果进行推断，而亲自然领域的专家正在运用分形统计学（而非传统的分形几何学）方法展开研究^[9]，但这还远远不够。我们还需要深入了解不同表面、材质，以及拥有复杂图案构成和层次结构的作品给人带来的体验，并探索何种变化强度的建成环境要素能够唤醒人们日渐麻木的感官。

为此，笔者正和加拿大认知神经科学家科林·埃拉德教授、Kohn Pederson Fox建筑事务所总监哈娜·卡西姆，以及美国弗吉尼亚大学的珍妮·罗伊教授合作进行一项名为“建筑设计作为公共健康工具”的研究，旨在通过比较基本建筑设计工具（如形式、色温和表面接合方法）的不同设定，确定它们对于恢复注意力的功效。研究团队计划开展一项横跨五大洲的大型在地实验：在拥挤的城市里设计建造两个不同的亭子，以探究人们对它们的神经生理、生理和心理反应，并检验文化差异对结果的影响。期望这项研究能够在建筑师和城市规划专家之间引发更多讨论，促使他们思考如何通过设计为当代城市居民创造福祉——可以肯定的是，唯有找到机会“慢下来”，人们才有可能享有这种福祉。LAF

to start. In a contemporary urban dweller's ordinarily fast-paced day, one desirable built environment which can provide slow individual experience is the place that nudges a person to shift out of what the mindfulness expert Jon Kabat-Zinn calls the “doing mode” and into a mindful, in-the-present-moment “being mode,” where they can attain a present-oriented meta-awareness of their immediate physical and social surroundings and their singularity. Studies by Kabat-Zinn and others indicate that this “being mode” emerges with a particular constellation of cognitive states, including when a person stops a moment because they become fascinated by their immediate surroundings^{[6][7]}. Further, experiencing such a state of passive fascination helps people to replenish their depleted attentional resources, which has been recognized in the Attention Restoration Theory put forward by Rachel and Stephen Kaplan^[8].

The best-studied environments which evoke such cognitive states are well-designed, greenery-plenty urban parks, but others can do so as well. One of neuroarchitecture's greatest challenges is to identify the concatenation of design features that might promote passive fascination in non-park settings. Some of these features can be extrapolated from what we know about the effects of green spaces, and experts on biophilia are delving into these issues in work on statistical (as opposed to Mandelbrotian) fractals^[9]. But there is so much more to explore. We need to investigate people's experience of different kinds of surfaces and textures; of compositions with varying levels of patterned complexity; of what degree of changeability suffices to combat habituation, and so on.

To that end, the author is working on a study entitled Architectural Design as an Instrument of Public Health, with Professor Colin Ellard, a Canadian cognitive neuroscientist; Hana Kassem, a director at Kohn Pederson Fox Architects; and Professor Jenny Roe at the University of Virginia, to identify the attention-restorative effects of some of basic architectural tools, such as contrasting kinds of formal definition, color temperature, and surface articulation. For a large field study, the team plans to construct two differently designed pavilions on dense urban sites to examine people's neurophysiological, physiological, and psychological responses to them. The study will be carried on in cities on five continents to test the findings cross-culturally. It is expected that the findings will accelerate the discussion among architects and urbanists as to the ways that design contributes to well-being in the contemporary city. Because, if there is one thing we know about human well-being, it is that in order to attain it, people need to have opportunities to... slow down. LAF

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