

场所认同的多元性与时间性： 对当代中国场所认同建构的批判

PLURALISM AND TEMPORALITY IN PLACE IDENTITY REVISITED: A CRITIQUE OF PLACE IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION IN CONTEMPORARY CHINA

1 引言

当前有关场所认同——亦被表述为“场地特征”“场所感”“场所精神”^①——的理论可以溯源至从哲学^{[1]-[3]}、人文地理学^{[4]-[6]}到城市设计^{[7]-[9]}和环境心理学^[10]的广阔学术领域。而这场涌现于20世纪中后期西方学术界的理论思潮，在当今中国正由快速城镇化引发着相关话题的讨论和研究^{[11]-[14]}。

在全球联结与资本浪潮的推动下，当代城镇化正不断将城市推向一种认同困境：是拥抱国际化大都市的标签，还是坚守本土文化的存在根基。在中国，学者、城市管理者和城市规划师，以及大众对于场所认同的关注与日俱增，但其视角与立场各不相同。正如本文试图讨

陈峥能

宾夕法尼亚大学设计学院助理研究员

Zhengneng CHEN

Graduate Research Assistant in School of Design, University of Pennsylvania
54 Old Colony Avenue Third Floor, Boston, MA 02127 USA
albertchen@alumni.upenn.edu

摘要

在当今全球城市化浪潮中——尤其在城镇化如火如荼的中国，场所的加速变迁令当代城市陷入认同危机。在这一背景下，本文探讨了当代中国快速城镇化进程中对场所认同的概念建构。在回顾和审视中西方社会科学和设计专业中有关场所认同的主要理论和研究后，本文提出将场所认同的哲学概念理解为一种多元性和时间性建构。基于这一理念，本文通过三个案例进一步指出了中国场所认同建构实践中存在的问题。这些案例试图从不同维度出发，展现对当今中国场所认同建构的复杂性的全景式解读。整体而言，本文认为在中国的城镇化实践中，场所认同的建构应当将认同诉求的多元性和时间性、多重尺度，以及场所认同随时间的改变全部纳入考量。对中国城镇化进程中的场所认同问题的研究，不仅是对近年来快速城镇化的批判性思考，同时也是对当下千余座正在经历及可能经历城镇化的村镇的前瞻性关照。

关键词

场所认同；多元性；时间性；理论建构；中国；城镇化

ABSTRACT

The trend of global urbanization has put the contemporary cities in identity crises by accelerating place transformations, particularly in the thriving ground of China. This paper explores ways of conceptualizing place identity in relation to rapid urbanization in contemporary China. After a revisit of the main theories and studies on place identity from both the social sciences and design professions (in China and the West), the paper asserts a philosophical concept of place identity as a pluralistic and temporal construct. Drawing on this philosophy, the paper provides further observation and critique upon place identity construction praxis in China through three case studies. These cases together approach a holistic reading of the complexity of place identity construction in China today. Taken as a whole, the paper argues that construction of place identity in China's urbanization should account for its pluralism and temporality in identity claims, multiple scales, and transformation of identity through time. The study of place identity issues in China's urbanization leads to a critical reflection on not only the rapid urbanization of the recent past, but also that taking place now and likely to occur in more than a thousand small towns and villages in the future.

KEY WORDS

Place Identity; Pluralism; Temporality; Theoretical Construct; China; Urbanization

整理 田乐 译 (英译中) 田乐 陈峥能

EDITED BY Tina TIAN TRANSLATED (FROM ENGLISH INTO CHINESE) BY Tina TIAN Zhengneng CHEN

① 需要指出的是,设计学科的相关论文在谈及有关场所认同的概念时,经常混淆这些高度相关的术语;同时,place identity的中文翻译亦未形成统一,常见有“场所认同”“地域性认同”“地方认同”等提法,其中第一种多见于设计学科论文,后两种多见于地理学与环境心理学论文。

① It is suggested that these highly related expressions are often confused in the literature of place identity concept in design professions; meanwhile, there is a limited consensus on the Chinese counterpart of place identity, which is often translated to “chang-suo ren-tong” “di-yu-xing ren-tong” “di-fang ren-tong.” The first translation is widely seen in literature from design professions, and the latter two have been adopted extensively in literature from geography and environmental psychology.

论的那样,对中国场所认同建构的深入剖析指向了个体和文化身份认同这一微妙而复杂的问题,在一定程度上,这些问题无法由西方业已成熟的相关理论体系直接回应。对中国城镇化进程中的场所认同问题的研究,不仅是对近年来快速城镇化的批判性思考,也是对当下千余座正在经历及可能经历城镇化的村镇的前瞻性关照^[15]。

首先,本文在广义层面上就我们应该如何建构当代语境下场所认同的概念提出了疑问;文章继而聚焦于中国,探讨了设计专业人员如何将这些理论建构与思考运用于在地实践并影响实际生活。针对这些问题,笔者首先回顾和梳理了西方与中国场所认同的现有相关理论和研究。本文对场所认同研究在不同学科领域发展历史的回顾显示了不同知识体系对这一概念在术语和定义上鲜少存在共识,同时亦指出了社会科学和设计专业在场所认同理论上的重大差异。

其次,笔者提出了其自身对于场所认同的初步理论:场所认同必然是一种多元性和时间性建构;对特定地点进行的任何场所认同建构都应该涵盖不同的认同诉求和多重空间尺度。此外,还应该将社会学与心理学知识纳入建构框架,并为场所认同随时间的改变预留出空间。通过提出这种强调时间性和多元性的场所认同概念,笔者试图超越对场所认同简化的二元论解读(即一个场所要么拥有强烈的场所感,要么“毫无地方性”)。

再次,为了将理论与实践联系起来,笔者对三个当代中国场所认同营建的实例进行了剖析,包括大同古城复兴工程、建筑师王澍的场所认同建构实践,以及位于黄土高原地区的马岔村乡村重建项目。通

1 Introduction

The breadth of existing theories with place identity, otherwise referred to expressions as character of place, sense of place, or spirit of place (genius loci)^①, can be traced through philosophy^{[11]-[13]}, human geography^{[4]-[6]}, urban design^{[7]-[9]}, and environmental psychology^[10]. Whereas this mid to late 20th century discourse seems to have run its course in the West, in China where rapid urbanization is occurring, it is highly topical^{[11]-[14]}.

Driven by global connectedness and liquidity tides, the contemporary urbanization is constantly putting cities into a dilemma of being identified as cosmopolis, or rooted in their cultural raison d'être. This growing concern with place identity among Chinese scholars, public officials, urban planners, and the public is complex and varied. As this essay attempts to reveal, a deep reading of place identity construction in China leads to subtle and complex questions of both individual and cultural identity that somewhat elude the established western methods of creating place identity. The study of place identity issues in China's urbanization leads to a critical reflection on not only the rapid urbanization of the recent past but also that which is taking place now and likely to occur in more than a thousand small towns and villages in the future^[15].

First, in broad terms this essay asks how we should conceptualize the idea of place identity today. Then, specifically in relation to China, it asks how design professionals can translate such new conceptualizations of place identity into real places, affecting real lives. In response to these questions, the author first reviews a selection of existing place identity theories and research studies in both Western and Chinese scholarship. This historical overview of place identity studies reveals limited consensus on both the terminology and definition of this human-place bonding among different knowledge traditions, and outlines a significant disparity in place identity theory between the social sciences and the design professions.

Secondly, the author outlines his own emergent theory of place identity, one which is necessarily a pluralistic and temporal construct, arguing that any construction of place identity in a certain locus should account for different identity claims and multiple spatial scales. Additionally, it should include sociology and psychology, and open out on to the transformation of identity through time. By developing this temporal and pluralist conception of place identity, the author seeks to transcend the dualistic and simplistic notion that a place either has a clear sense of place, or is alternatively “placeless.”

Thirdly, to link theory to praxis, the author explores three

过这些不同尺度的实践案例所反映的当前中国场所实践的问题和特殊性，本文试图在快速城镇化背景下对当代中国场所认同问题呈现一种全景式解读。

最后，本文总结了当代中国场所认同建构问题的复杂性和特殊性，并重申了笔者对场所认同建构的哲学思考及其在未来场所理论与相关实践中的发展愿景。

2 场所认同相关理论

2.1 场所认同的城市设计理论

在20世纪后期的城市设计语境下，大多数关于场所的理论都基于——也限于——对特定地点的景观和建筑的双重地域特征的讨论。在这一知识体系中，场所认同的概念及相关观点源于凯文·林奇在《城市意象》一书中呈现的关于城市的丰硕研究成果^[7]。戈登·卡伦于1961年出版的《简明城市景观设计》也体现了类似的观点^[8]。这两部著作都强调了视觉感知的重要性，以及城市形式如何深刻影响我们空间认知的方式，通过这些方式我们可以在集体和个体层面上构建统一的场所认同。

林奇在阐释“环境意象”^[7]这一概念时将对场所的认同感归为一个有效意象的必要子集，并强调这一（环境）客体的自身属性使其在身份识别上有别于其他（场所）。通过在波士顿、泽西市和洛杉矶等城市开展的现象学研究，林奇用“意象性”和“易读性”等概念阐述了对城市环境的视觉感知与人们对于特定场所的认同感之间的关联性。这种对于认同的研究模式是如此令人欣喜，且具有高度的开创性，其通过展示城市环境中个体自身与场所之间的心理学联系，证明了场所认同研究与社会科学密切相关。

尽管林奇呈现了大量的访谈和数据，但其研究结果却只反映了与城市相关的场所认同的静态一面。林奇的理论显然忽略了时间——这里并非指个体从一个节点到另一个节点经历的时长，而是指认同形成和转变的过程。由于时间参量的缺失，通过个体记忆及其与集体“意象地图”之间的潜在关联性在反映城市认同的历史意义上将存在局

examples of place identity construction in contemporary China: the Datong Ancient City Revival Project, architect Shu Wang's practice on place identity construction, and the rehabilitation of Macha Village on the Loess Plateau. All at different scales, these case studies present a breadth of issues and particularities that approaches a holistic understanding of place identity issues in contemporary China in relation to rapid urban growth.

Finally, the paper offers a conclusion of the complexity and particularity of issues related to place identity construction in contemporary China. A rephrasing of the asserted philosophy of place identity along with its envisioned approach to the place theory and practice is also summarized.

2 Theories Related to Place Identity

2.1 Urban Design Theories of Place Identity

In late 20th century urban design discourses, most theories of place were constructed through and limited to the twin lenses of the landscape and architectural characteristics of a given location. The concept of place identity and its related ideas stem from Kevin Lynch's substantial urban studies gathered in *The Image of the City*^[7]. This was followed almost immediately by Gordon Cullen's *The Concise Townscape* in 1961^[8]. Both books championed the importance of visual perception and stressed the ways in which urban form impresses itself upon our cognition and from which we can construct coherent narratives of collective and individual identity.

In his analysis of the concept “environmental image,”^[7] Lynch defines the identity of a place as a necessary sub-structure of a workable image, which distinguishes an object in its identification. Through his phenomenological studies in Boston, Jersey City, and Los Angeles, Lynch explicated the correlations between the visual perception of urban environment and people's identification with the place through the concepts of “imageability” and “legibility.” This research model on identity was so exciting and pioneering that it associated with the commitment of social sciences, by illustrating the psychological functions between self and place in urban environment.

However, despite a substantial number of interviews and data, the result could only reflect a single static section of urban-related identity. Time, not the duration of individual experience from nodes to nodes, but the process of the identity formation and transformation, was certainly overlooked in Lynch's theory. Without the parameter of time, there is a limitation on reflecting the historical meaning of urban identity through individual memories and their potential correlations among the collective “mental maps.” Additionally, Lynch's construct of identity

限。此外，林奇对于认同的理论建构过于依赖人们对建成环境独特性的视觉感知与辨识，以致于忽略了城市景观的其他感官维度和认知。

林奇的研究在当时开启了一股风潮，即把基于特定地理场所的设计作为一剂专治现代城市地方性缺失的“万能药”。一些代表性的研究成果包括现象学家及建筑师克里斯蒂安·诺伯-舒尔茨对于“场所精神”^[3]的论点，克里斯托弗·亚历山大在《建筑模式语言》^[9]中的实证性研究及其后来对秩序原则的概括性总结^[16]，以及受这些成果启发的以北欧学者为主导的强调城市共有空间的理论与实践^{[17][18]}。尽管这些研究流派及其所倡导的设计方法与社会科学密切相关，但其显然侧重于关注设计后的空间会对人们产生何种影响，而非人们如何创造空间。无论如何，这些研究在当时都面对着西方现代化带来的冰冷现实，且不论好坏，这些营建“场所认同感”的意图都已成为了发达国家的主流研究方向。

近年来，学界不断反思正统的城市规划与场所认同设计，包括质疑二元论的“梯度”理论^{[19][20]}，以及“场所营造者”方法论（一种在复杂的设计环境中针对场所认同进行信息收集与分析的实证性理论与方法）^[21]。然而，与20世纪后期的理论思潮相比，新千年以来设计行业在场所认同上的理论突破似乎十分有限。

2.2 场所认同的现象学理论

海德格尔通过对德语“筑”“居”“在”^[1]三个词的词源学考证，辨析并探索了人与场所联系的内在哲学含义，这些努力为现象学层面上对场所认同本质的探索奠定了基础^{[4][6][22]-[25]}。通过定性归纳，现象学研究框架为场所认同理论提供了假设性和描述性研究途径。现象学研究的核心目标是在设计师介入干预前，准确地描述某处场所对于居民来说究竟意味着什么^[26]。这一观点也得到了克里夫·海格及其同事的研究和实践成果的支持，他们强调认同叙事对于在实际环境中解读场所认同的重要性，如其所言，这是一个关于“接收（认同叙事的相关信息）、有选择性地重构（认同叙事），继而重新（与当地居民）沟通这一认同叙事，再将空间建构为（传达该认同的）场所”的过程^[27]。

受到段义孚的影响，人文地理学家爱德华·雷夫^[6]强调“意义”是场所认同的核心，其产生于人们对于场所的体验过程和使用意图中。在他的重要著作《地方与非地方性》中，雷夫通过探究场所认同中的意义，提出了一系列二元关系（例如地方性与非地方性、在地性与非

relied too much on people's visual perception in recognizing the distinctiveness of built environment to extend the horizon to other sensibilities and dimensions of urban landscape.

Lynch's work opened a floodgate of interest in place-based design as a cure-all for what was upheld as the modern pathology of placelessness. Some of the leading endeavours include phenomenologist and architect Christian Norberg-Schulz's elaboration of "genius loci" (genius of the place)^[3], Christopher Alexander's empirical efforts in *A Pattern Language*^[9] and his later generalization of principles of order^[16], leading to theories and practices directed by Nordic scholars emphasizing life in public spaces^{[17][18]}. Although these streams of inquiry and the design methods they inculcated grew out of links to the social sciences, they were evidently more concerned with how designed space affects people, than how the people make space. In any case, the intention to create "a sense of place" in the face of relentless modernization that they all held in common has by now served its purpose and for better or worse, become mainstream in the developed world.

In recent years, the constant reflections of orthodox urban planning and design on place identity include the "gradient" theory^{[19][20]} in questioning the dualisms, and "Place Maker," an empirical method of mapping and analysing place identity in the complex design context^[21]. However, in comparison to the literature of late 20th century, it appears to be a paucity in making significant breakthrough among the theories and studies of place identity in design professions since the 21st century.

2.2 Phenomenological Theories of Place Identity

Heidegger's etymological explorations on the intrinsic meanings of human-place bonding through "to build," "to dwell," and "to be"^[1] have underpinned phenomenological quests to find the essential nature of place identity^{[4][6][22]-[25]}. The phenomenological model of place identity performs a hypothetical and descriptive role through the qualitative inductions. It is a central aim of phenomenological research to accurately describe what the place means to the residents before designers' prescription^[26]. This point of view was also supported by the researches and praxes of Cliff Hague and his colleagues, who stressed the importance of narrative in interpreting place identity through physical realities, which is as they described, a process of "receiving, selectively reconstructing and then re-communicating a narrative that constitutes identity and transforms a space into a place"^[27].

Influenced by Yi-Fu Tuan, geographer Edward Relph^[6] emphasized meaning as an essential component of place identity that is created through human experience and intention toward

在地性、原真性与非原真性)。他认为,场所认同可以解读为一种与人们的场所体验相互作用的基本要素^[6],而唯有本土的材料、工艺和传统才能保持其“原真”的意义。雷夫对全球化大背景下后工业时代城市景观的现象学考察引发了进一步的思考:如何在时代变迁中评判正处于全球化进程中的场所的“原真性”?

诺伯-舒尔茨的场所精神^[3]理论同样体现了对于地方性物质文化意义与象征价值的关注。在其对于有关场所认同的概念阐释中,“场所精神”一词中的“精神”被认为客观存在于当地自然地理与人文景观中:既有的地理、水文、风土,连同当地的材料和工艺都被认为是该场地“精神”的体现。这一概念关注于场所的物质文化和具体物质环境,而忽视了居民个体之间在有关“场所精神”的叙事上的不同,且在描述当地居民的诉求和视觉审美时采取了统一的标准,忽略了不同年龄、性别和社会背景的个体之间的差异^[28]。此外,大多数现象学者往往局限于对于“场所精神”的观察或发掘,却忽视了设计师对于(场所)“精神”的个人主观诠释在赋予场所新的“精神”含义中所扮演的角色^[29]。

2.3 场所认同的社会学和心理学理论

在社会科学中,“场所认同”这一表述作为一种自我认同的延伸,最初由环境心理学家哈罗德·M·普罗夏斯基、艾比·K·法比安和罗伯特·坎米诺夫提出^[10]。不同于城市设计相关领域,自20世纪中叶至今,社会科学领域关于人与场所关系的学术成果颇为丰硕。尽管许多研究都聚焦于人与场所产生情感联系的心理基础^{[30][31]},但社会科学领域相关研究对有意设计的环境参与甚少^[32]。

定量工具和定性观察的结合为环境心理学者们提供了纵向研究场所认同的可能性:除了回答“场所认同是什么”,还可以对“场所认同如何发展”“其发展可能受哪些因素影响”等问题进行探索。自格林尼斯·M·布莱克威尔提出“认同过程理论”^{[33][34]}以来,社会科学领域的学者已普遍认可将场所认同视为一种发展的过程^[35]。

借由自我概念理论和城市社会学方法,马可·拉里^[36]认为与城市相关的场所认同概念属于自我认同的其中一个方面,既是“自我与城市环境之间的复杂关联”,也是受“物质空间环境”影响的“社会建构过程的结果”^[36]。其理论强调区分主体认同与场所本身物质环境的认

the place. In his significant book *Place and Placelessness*, Relph created a series of dualisms through his inquiry into meanings in place identity, such as placeness vs. placelessness, insideness vs. outsideness, and authenticity vs. inauthenticity. For Relph, place identity is interpreted as a basic feature that interplays with people's experience of places^[6], and it is only maintained with “authentic” meanings from local materials, crafts, and traditions. Relph's observation on the post-industrial landscape under globalization triggered the further question of “how to determine the ‘authenticity’ of the globalizing places over time?”

Similar foci on the meanings in local material culture and symbolic values were found in Norberg-Schulz's *Genius Loci*^[3]. In his elucidation of genius loci in relation to the conceptualization of place identity, the genius was objectively given by the nature and cultural landscape. The existing geography, hydrology, terroir, and local materials and crafts were all recognized as the narrative of that genius of the place. This concept focused on material culture and concrete substances, and ignored different individual narratives among the residents. In his description, people were treated with equal desires and visual aesthetics without giving distinctions over age, gender, and social background^[28]. Moreover, most phenomenologists tended to be constrained as an observer or discover of genius loci. Nonetheless they overlooked the role of designer played in prescribing the place with his or her own special interpretation of the “genius”^[29].

2.3 Sociological and Psychological Theories of Place Identity

In social sciences, the expression “place identity,” seen as an extension of self-identity, was coined by Harold M. Proshansky, Abbe K. Fabian, and Robert Kaminoff working in the field of environmental psychology^[10]. In contrast to the urban design related disciplines, from the mid-20th century till now, scholarship on human-place relations among social scientists has grown exponentially. Although the psychological foundations of people's emotional ties to place are widely studied^{[30][31]}, the literature in the social sciences indicates limited engagement with intentionally designed environments^[32].

A combination of quantitative instruments and qualitative observation offers longitudinal study possibilities for environmental psychologists to answer questions more than “what place identity is,” but “how place identity develops” and “what might affect this development.” Developed from Glynis M. Breakwell's “identity-process theory,”^{[33][34]} place identity is largely recognized as a developmental process among the scholars in social science^[35].

Drawing on self-concept theories and urban sociology approaches, Marco Lalli^[36] conceptualized urban-related

同特征，而后者是设计行业普遍达成的规范性共识。与林奇的“意象地图”不同的是，拉里更倾向于将场所认同视为一种社会环境（而非物质空间环境）的发展结果。

2.4 上述理论间的本质差异

除了了解术语和理论表述上为数不多的共通之处外，我们也必须意识到社会科学体系与设计学科体系在场所认同的根本认知上存在的差异。社会科学学者们认为场所认同是一个从自我认同延伸而来、与其一脉相承的概念^{[10][25]}；然而，通过以场地的物质文化为研究重心，设计者和部分现象学学者更倾向于将场所认同解读为“场所的（认同）特征”，即特定地点的物理特性和物质总和^{[3][6]}。

我们可以大致将这种认知差异归因于两个知识体系在各自学科使命上的分歧。在社会科学中，环境是既定的，是研究范围内的一项已知因素。在这一既定条件下，社会科学学者着眼于探究人的感知、行为和情感这些因变量因素。这也解释了为什么他们更关注场所的使用情况，而非前期对物质环境的预设。相反，设计行业更关注场地现在和未来的发展潜能。本质上讲，设计师更致力于塑造物质环境；对他们而言，环境毫无疑问是会随设计发生改变的因变量。然而，从设计者的立场来看，人们的愿望诉求、感知和行为的差异和多样性却常常被简化甚至忽视。

如何处理人与场所关系中的两个相互依存的变量因素（即人与场所）这一难题促使部分学者去探究其中普遍存在的内在秩序或自然法则。亚历山大的《建筑模式语言》和《秩序的本质》两部著作是其中的代表性成果^{[9][16]}，但由于缺乏对于时间性的讨论，世界被描绘成一种恒定不变的抽象状态。

此外，这种认知差异还导致社会科学中的实证性方法和研究成果未能在设计实践中得到充分应用。因此，从设计学科的立场来看，我们需要更新对于场所认同的既定哲学预设，这将使场所营造走向一种

identity as an aspect of self-identity, a “complex association between self and urban environment” and as “the result of a social construction process” affected by “physical-spatial circumstances”^[36]. His speculation was built upon a clear differentiation of the subjective identity from the physical identity of the place per se, where the latter is largely recognized as a normative commitment in design profession. In contrast to Lynch’s “mental maps,” Lalli intends to conceptualize place identity as a developmental outcome more of social environment than physical.

2.4 The Epistemic Disparity

Besides the few consensuses on the terminology and expression of the theories, we must be aware of an epistemic disparity on place identity between the social science traditions and design traditions. Social scientists recognize place identity as a coherent concept extended from self-identity^{[10][25]}; however, by centring the site in their interests upon material culture, the designers and some phenomenologists tend to interpret the term as “identity of place,” a distinctive physical property and material totality of the certain locus^{[3][6]}.

We could roughly attribute this cognitive difference to their divergent commitments of the two traditions. In social sciences, environment is given, which is considered a known factor in a study area. Hence the scholars focus on the dependent variable — human perceptions, actions, and emotions. This also explains their foci on post-occupancy and less interests in the prophecy of the physical setting. On the contrary, the design traditions pay more attention on their commitments for the present and future possibilities on the site. Designers are ontologically dedicated to shape the physical settings. For them, environment is certainly the dependent variable to be changed. However, the bias is that, from a designer’s stance, the difference and diversity in human desires, perceptions, behaviours are easily to be simplified or even neglected.

The salient difficulty in tackling the two interdependent variables in human-place relations (human and place) has facilitated some scholars in seeking the inherent orders or natural laws embedded in this conundrum — Alexander’s *A Pattern Language* and *Nature of Order* were the most significant efforts ever made^{[9][16]} — but temporality was not included, leaving the world depicted as a constant abstract.

Moreover, this cognitive disparity also segregates the empirical methodologies and findings in social sciences from a promising application in design practices. Therefore, from the stance of design traditions, we need an update on our philosophical premises of place identity that will lead the place-

探究型过程并提供一个兼容性的框架，让设计师能够通过与社会科学学者的协作，实现场所认同建构。

3 中国的场所认同研究

中国对于场所认同的研究沿袭了西方的学术思想。林奇的城市认同模型对中国的城市设计和规划产生了巨大影响。他提出的城市全景认知图式在中国被予以简化，并转化为诸如“节点”“廊道”“轴线”“地标”等用于指导中国城市设计和规划的有效语汇。自上而下的执行力正导致中国的城市实践走向乌托邦式的认同建构，即场所认同多在总体规划蓝图和鸟瞰效果图上凭空描绘，而不考虑当地居民的真实感受和感知。

此外，政府文件和学术语境中有关场所认同的术语使用错综复杂。英文“character”或“distinctiveness”在中文中的对应翻译为“特色”，该词是政府文件中最常见的有关场所认同建构的语汇。而在设计语境下，则缺乏对于“文化认同”（cultural identity）、“场所认同”（place identity）、“地方性”（locality）、“在地”“本土”（ad locum）这些近似概念的辨析。

不同于其他中国学者对于西方研究模式的滥用，建筑师王澍在其早期的论文^[11]中将传统中国乡村的研究作为对抗传统规划者上帝视角构建城市的一种思路。就此而言，周榕博士也从“地方性”和“身份认同”两个方面针对当代中国的城市实践和现代化提出了重要的批判性观点^{[13][14]}。通过对“境基记忆”和“境基文化”的讨论，周榕提出了“在地建筑”这一反乌托邦的建筑学框架，旨在探索场所记忆与其意义之间的联系^[13]。

总体来说，鲜有文献对中国城镇化进程中的场所认同问题和实践提供系统性批判。由于场所认同的研究语境中缺乏对于引进的西方概念及其理论背景的历史梳理，导致中国学术界对场所认同这一概念存在误读。

3.1 场所认同的多元性和时间性构建

本文的目的并非在于对场所认同做出比现有理论更加独特或更加明确的定义，而是为场所认同的概念建构提供一种新视角，即视之为

based design towards an investigative process and a compatible framework that allow the designers to manage place identity with the collaboration from social scientists.

3 Place Identity Studies in China

Place identity research in China is following Western scholarship. Lynch's urban identity model has had a huge influence on urban design and planning in China. The panoramic schema of urban perception posed by Lynch has been simplified and transformed into an efficient lexicon, which comprises “nodes,” “corridors,” “axes,” “landmarks,” etc. in directing urban design and planning in China. The efficiency of top-down execution is driving the urban practices in China towards a utopian idea of feigning place identity on the masterplan and the aerial rendering, without touching the real feelings and perceptions of the living ground.

Additionally, the complexity of terminology exists among the government documents and academic discourse upon place identity. The term “Te Se,” the Chinese counterpart for “character” or “distinctiveness,” has been the most frequently used in official documents in referring to place identity. In design discourse, there is lack of clarification on the meanings among the terms “cultural identity” (“wen-hua ren-tong”), “place identity” (“chang-suo ren-tong”), “locality” (“di-fang-xing”), “ad locum” (“zai-di”, “ben-tu”), and other highly related concepts.

Reacting against the Chinese propensity for misappropriation of Western models in his earlier writing, the architect Shu Wang^[11] focused on traditional Chinese villages as a way of countering the conventional planner's omniscient view of the city. In this vein, Doctor Rong Zhou has also provided significant critiques on contemporary China's urban practices and modernization in terms of “locality” and “identity”^{[13][14]}. Through a discourse on “environment-based memory” and “environment-based culture,” Zhou conceptualized an anti-utopian framework of “architecture ad locum” in exploring a connection between the place memory and significance^[13].

Overall, there is limited literature providing systematic critiques on place identity issues and practices in China's urbanization. The related discourse in Chinese scholarship lacks historical overview on the imported concepts of place identity and their theoretical contexts, which has resulted in misinterpretations of the concept.

3.1 Place Identity as a Pluralistic and Temporal Construct

The paper is not to give a more distinctive or determinative definition of place identity than the existing theories; it offers a

② 库尔德曾写道：“……我们[人类]是叙事生物，应该被称为‘叙事者’（抑或称为‘编造者’以承认其叙事中存在的误导性），而不是常说的‘智人’。这种叙事模式自然而然地成为了我们组织思想观念的一种方式。”参见参考文献 [37]。

② Gould writes: "... we are storytelling creatures and should have been named Homo narrator (or perhaps Homo mendax to acknowledge the misleading side of tale telling) rather than the often-inappropriate Homo sapiens. The narrative mode comes naturally to us as a style for organizing thoughts and ideas." See Ref. [37].

一种超越了二元论和学科边界的多元性和时间性构建。场所认同作为一个关于人与场所关系的概念，从不是一个封闭的单一建构。场所的概念被广泛认为适用于多种空间尺度^[32]——从家庭尺度，到邻里、地区、城市尺度，再到地域、国家和世界尺度——同样地，场所认同也涵盖不同的空间层次^[36]。我们对于某个场所的认同感知一定是基于该场所的多种尺度的：我们对于居住生活的街区的身份认同和对工作场所的身份认同是不一样的；因此，个体对于同一个场所的身份认同也是多层次的。而且，使一个场所有别于其他场所的认同特征也基于多元化的个体感知、体验与诉求。人类无疑具有叙事本性，是天生的“叙事者”^{②[37]}。尽管每个人的叙事仅代表其个人与场所之间的互动，但我们不能否认在区域地理、当地气候和场所特有文化方面的集体叙事中的认同存在共通之处。我们也应该承认，这种多元性在本质上决定了场所认同是集合多重意义的多样性叙事。举例来说，假设一个城镇被普遍认为是“毫无地方特色的”，但只要这种“毫无特色”能够将之与当地其他城镇区分开来，那么这一论断也可能成为该城镇的多重认同叙事之一。可见，“多元场所认同（场所认同的复数形式）”一词在此更为合适，其强调了一个场所具有的多重甚至相互矛盾的认同叙事。

将场所认同视作一种时间性建构，就是要承认其具有时间跨度，并会随着时间的推移而不断演变。场所认同的时间性也需要从多元性的视角来解读。历史是对过去的叙述，因此一个场所的历史是以该场地之过去为叙事的核心。许多研究显示，场所认同及其感知与场所的历史，以及个体对于场所过去的认同的连续性有关^{[35][36][38]}。然而，场所认同不仅与过去有关，更与由过去、现在和未来组成的连续体有关。

承认场所认同概念中的多元性绝不等同于承认相关认同诉求之间的不可调和性，而是旨在拓展我们对于不断变化的连续统一体中场所认同的理解。布莱克威尔的认同过程理论^[33]阐明了认同的同一性和连续性，及其维持与发展方式。对场所认同时间性的理解将有助于我们关注场所认同的变化，而非那些静态的特征和象征意义。根据布莱克威尔的理论，如果我们将“场所认同”理解为动词形式（而非名词），那么我们就可以通过认同叙事将场所解读为一种动态的变化过程，其

new perspective to conceptualize place identity as a pluralistic and temporal construct that transcends the dualisms and the disciplinary margins. Place identity as a concept referring to human-place bonds is never an exclusive monolithic block. Place is widely acknowledged as a concentric idea that is applicable to multiple scales^[32], from home to neighbourhood, district, city, region, nation, and world. So too to place identity, which relates to different spatial levels^[36]. When identifying a certain place, surely we refer to multiple scales of that place: what we identify with the neighbourhood we live could be inconsistent to the workplace, and therefore, a place can have multifaceted identities to an individual. Furthermore, the identity that distinguishes one place from another is based on plural individual perceptions, experiences, and claims. Humans are certainly natural storytellers, the “Homo narrator”^{②[37]}. Despite the unique narrative that represents individual interactions with the place, we should not deny the existence of common identifications in the collective narratives of regional geography, local climate, and the distinctive culture of that place. Nonetheless we should admit that its pluralistic nature determines the diverse narratives of place identity with collective meanings. For instance, a largely claimed perception of “placelessness” in a town could be regarded as one shade of its identities, if only this “placelessness” distinguishes the town in a region. Apparently, “place identities” is a more appropriate term here, underlining that a place possesses multifaceted and even contradictive identities.

To view place identity as a temporal construct is to accept that it has a longitudinal duration and develops over time. The temporal nature of place identity also requires a pluralistic perspective. History is a narrative of the past, therefore the history of a place is a narrative centered on the past of that locus. Many studies show that place identity and its perceptions are in relation to the past of the place, as well as the continuity of individual's place identification from the past^{[35][36][38]}. However, place identity is not only pertaining to the past, but more of a continuum of the past, the present, and the future.

The acceptance of pluralism in conceptualizing place identity is by no means admitting the irreconcilable identity respects and claims, rather it brings in an extensive understanding of place identity in a changing continuum. Breakwell's identity process theory^[33] has put a light on the sameness and continuity of identity and its maintenance and development. Understanding its temporal nature will allow us to focus on the change of place identity rather than being distracted by the static characteristics and symbolisms. Through Breakwell's construct, if we accept place identity as a verb-form instead of a noun, we could thence

时间性和丰富性将会引导设计专业者跳脱出对于历史与记忆的一元论和成见。迈克尔·索斯沃思和丹尼·鲁杰里^[19]提出了一个场所认同的“梯度”模型，虽然该模型强调多元性以反对二元概念，但却忽视了这些二元论时间性的讨论。事实上，二分法不适用于研究场所认同的内在时间性。例如，其中一个重要的二元论是关于场所的“原真性与非原真性”^[6]，这里如果我们承认场所认同是一种关乎时间性的建构，那么将会出现一个谬论，因为非原真的也可能随着时间的推移而变为原真的（历史事实）。

场所认同存在于人们关于该场所的生活记忆之中；尽管场所认同为我们带来一种稳定感和归属感，但其并不是一种有待发掘或保护的稳固实体，而是一个与我们互动的不断变化的过程。这种回应变化的互动是所有场所营造的实践者和理论学者面对的最大挑战。通过对中国近年来场所认同建构的观察，这一强调多元性和时间性的场所认同思想为后文对于（在迅速变迁的场所中的）认同建构实践的批判和反思提供了理论支撑。

3.2 中国的场所认同问题和相关实践

在中国，由于快速城镇化引发的场所认同问题是如此复杂而独特，以致于其既不能被解读为一种偶然现象，也不能仅从单一尺度或纯粹的西方认识观进行理解。首先，我们不能忽视的一个背景事实是：在中国几十年的城镇化进程中，已有大约3.4亿人经历了城乡身份认同的转变^[39]。城乡土地性质的巨变不仅使农村居民变为城市户籍居民，也使他们根植于上千年农业社会的生活记忆和文化发生了改变。截至2016年，中国城市常住人口占比达到56.76%^④。在中国的城市建设中，由追逐容积率和土地价值所驱动的空间生产正裹挟着不断增长的城市人口，让城市居民无法在这些城市空间中重拾他们儿时所熟悉的场所认同。

其次，场所认同的建构和干预发生在多重空间尺度和社会维度中，这需要我们在案例选择上有较大的跨度。另一方面，中国的城镇化已经改变了城市的物质环境和社会关系网络。我们应该注意的是，很多城市尺度的认同建构问题都源自更小尺度实践上对于认同感管理的忽视或有意简化。事实上，构建场所认同管理体系并尽量减小对现有社会关系网络的负面影响已成为当今中国城市实践面临的最严峻的挑战之一。

再次，中国特有的政治生态赋予了地方政府在城镇化进程中的控制权。无论是农村还是城市地区均存在缺乏双向沟通、强制拆迁行为，使数以百万计的非自愿拆迁居民面临严峻的双重身份认同危机：故土家园被夷为平地，重新安家落户则要面对新的挑战。为了解这

interpret and understand the place en mouvement through its identity narrations, whose temporality and abundance would navigate design professionals to avoid monism and stereotypes in the grounds of history and memory. Michael Southworth and Deni Ruggeri^[19] proposed a “gradient” model for place identity in stressing its pluralism against the dichotomist ideas, but the neglect of temporality in these dualisms was not discussed. Indeed, it is the intrinsic temporal nature of place identity that divorces it from the dichotomy. For instance, one of the significant dualisms, “authentic vs. inauthentic”^[6], would appear fallacious if we admit place identity is a temporally developing construct, for the once inauthentic would become authentic over time.

Place identity exists in the living memories of the place; Despite a sense of stability and belongingness that it offers, place identity is not an entity to be discovered or preserved, but an ever-changing process to interact with. This interaction with change is the biggest challenge for all who are involved in place-based design praxis and theory. Through an observation of place identity construction of China’s recent past, this philosophy of place identity that built upon pluralism and temporality is employed as an anchor to draw the further critiques and reflections on those praxes on the rapidly changing grounds.

3.2 Place Identity Issues and Praxes in China

The place identity issues in relation to China’s rapid urbanization appear by such complexity and particularity that one cannot apprehend from a single event and scale, neither from a sheer western cognisance. First, we cannot ignore a background fact that the decades of urbanization in China have seen the phenomenal rural-urban identification shift, which is involved with about a 340-million population^[39]. The dramatic rural-urban land conversions have facilitated the rural residents to become urban, along with their living memories and cultures rooted in the thousand years of agricultural society. The urban population in China has taken up as 56.76% of the total by 2016^④. The growing urban population is entangled with the spatial production caused by the grip for plot ratio and land value in China’s cities. These spatial productions have alienated the residents’ identities with their once familiar childhood places.

Secondly, the construction and intervention of place identity occur in the praxis of multiple spatial scales as well as different social dimensions, which requires observation upon cases selected from a wide range of scales. On the other hand, urbanization has changed the both physical settings and social networks of China’s cities. We should notice that many issues

③ 从1980年开始的30年间，有3.4亿农村人口迁入城市。数据来源：2011年中国国家统计局。参见参考文献[39]。

④ 数据来源：世界银行世界发展指数（1960-2016）。

③ From 1980 and over the next 30 years, 340 million rural populations have moved to urban regions. Data source: The National Bureau of Statistics in China, 2011. See Ref. [39].

④ Data source: World Development Indicators (data coverage: 1960-2016), The World Bank, 2016

1. 大同中心区被复原的城墙 (图像来源: Google Earth, 2017年卫星图像)。

1. Google Earth Satellite image in 2017, illustrated with the restored city wall in the heart of Datong.

些激进的场所认同建构方式, 我们有必要对政府官方文件中的相关术语和表述进行探究。这也有助于我们重新审视政府在场所认同实践中的宏大叙事, 及其对文化认同与历史认同的概念混淆。

借由下文中场所认同建构的案例, 笔者就场所认同是如何在不同环境与尺度下以不同的思想与方式进行建构的、每个案例面临的问题和产生的新问题, 以及如何通过这些案例反映场所认同概念中的多样性与时间性等问题进行了探索, 并提供了更为广阔的视野与更加细微的解读。

3.2.1 大同古城复兴工程

大同古城复兴工程 (DACRP) 是中国近年来最引人注目的城市认同塑造实践之一——或许也是最受争议的实践项目——并得到了大同市政府的组织运筹与大力扶持。作为自上而下进行场所认同建构的典型案列, DACRP 试图重现大同辉煌的历史形象——1600年前中国北方的都城——并引发了关于城市转型中历史保育议题的广泛讨论。鉴于中国许多历史名城都热衷于打造城市历史文化名片, 本文旨在以 DACRP 为例质疑长期存在于古城保护开发项目和抹灭场所记忆的城市认同建构实践中的历史一元论主导思想。

大同的经济增长长期依赖其煤炭行业。面对当地未来不足30年的煤炭开采储量, 以及中国中央政府对于煤炭行业产能过剩的管控, 大同正在经历的城市经济转型之路不容乐观。

of city-scale identity operations were from the neglect or intentional simplification of identity management in the sub-scales. Indeed, constructing the stewardships of place identity and minimizing the negative impacts upon the existing social networks has become one amongst the greatest challenges in China's urban practices today.

Thirdly, the unique political ecology in China empowers local governments to play a ruling character in the urbanization process. The forced relocation under the executive authorities in both rural and urban areas is never a mild operation, neither a bilateral communication, putting millions of involuntary relocatees in significant identity crises with their bulldozed homesteads and challenges of resettlement. To understand the radical approaches in place identity constructions, an inquiry into the terminologies and narrations from government's official documents is necessary and helpful. This observation also leads to the critiques on the government's grandiose narrative in place identity operations and the confusion with the cultural identity and historical identity.

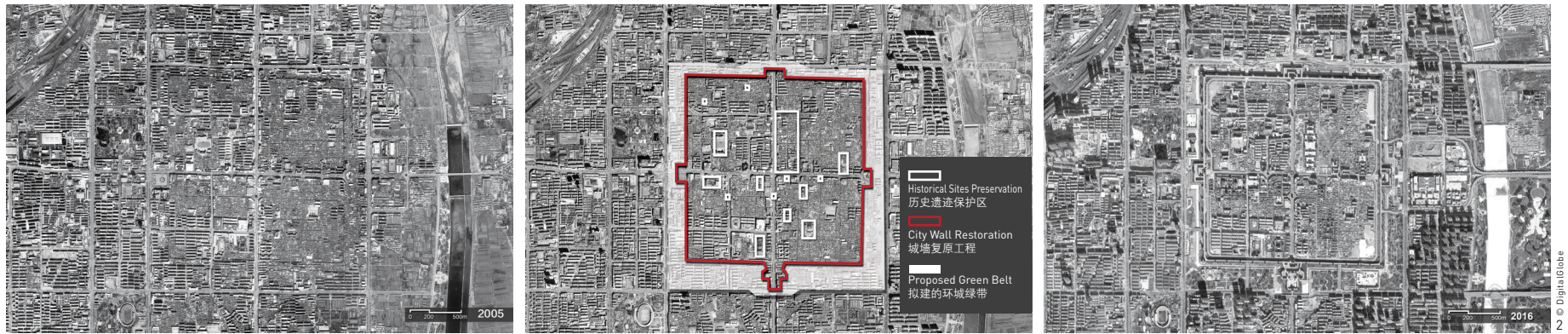
With the following examples of place identity constructions, the paper reveals a breadth of landscape and a more nuanced understanding of how place identity is operated through various philosophies and approaches at different circumstances and scales, and what the related issues that each case targets and generates, as well as how they altogether reflect the pluralistic and temporal philosophy of place identity concept.

3.2.1 Datong Ancient City Revival Project

One recent compelling practice of shaping urban identity in China, perhaps the most controversial concerning its interventions, is the Datong Ancient City Revival Project (DACRP), which was orchestrated and facilitated by Datong city government. As a case demonstrating place identity construction from a top-down administration, the project was premised on the city's glorious past — Datong was the ancient capital in northern China 1,600 years ago — as its dominant identity claim and has sparked wide discussion on historical conservation in urban transformation. Whereas the enthusiasms of place branding among many historical cities in China, this case is to question the ruling history of monism in claiming and operating urban identity over the living place memories.

The economy of the city has relied on the coal for a long history. Facing the fact of less than 30 years of extraction in city's coal reserves and the crackdown on coal overcapacity from China's central government, the city is struggling with economic transition from its unpromising and foundering powerhouse.





DACRP启动于2008年大同新市长的任期伊始。在项目的宏伟蓝图中，大同的城市认同形象将从传统煤炭工业之城转变为一座拥有文化、艺术、旅游特色的城市^[40]。DACRP旨在通过重建遭受战火毁坏的辽代古城墙振兴大同老城区，项目面积约324hm²^[41]（图1）。为了修复城墙及建设环城绿带，大量的居住区被迫拆除^⑤（图2）。由于DACRP的实施，老城区内的商业用地面积减少了42%，办公用地减少了93%，住宅用地减少了61%^{[42]-[44]}。老城区内的建筑物大都被改造为传统的庭院街坊肌理，影响城墙天际线的高层建筑也被勒令拆除，以迎合城市的“古都风貌”（图3）。

在一份关于DACRP的政策宣言中^[40]，这一城市认同的建构计划被称为“具有大同特色的古城保护模式”，希望以DACRP为契机，推动城市的“文化复兴”并“彰显城市特色”。这份宣言是一种对于空间管理的政治叙事，而这场建设运动势必会受到经济诱因、历史情怀和权威领导机制的影响。

在这一案例中，城市决策者对于场所认同的思想谬误在于他们将完全人工构建的历史场景等同于场所历史与生活记忆。但场所认同建构不是对历史认同的再现。这是一个对场所认同概念误读的典型案例：为了追求静态的古城意象而忽视了多样的环境记忆，以片面的城市历史认同抹杀了丰富的城市生活格局。

唯有厘清历史和记忆的差异，才能辨析这种对于场所认同的误读。皮埃尔·诺拉^[46]对记忆和历史有过精辟的论述，他将记忆视为会随着岁月变迁而不断演变的日常生活和鲜活的社会，是“一种当下的现象”。另一方面，诺拉认为历史是对过去的不完全重构和再现。依据诺拉的观点，与生活记忆相比，历史认同更接近一种片面、静态的抽象概念，因此不能简单地将场所认同解读为单一的历史认同。在

DACRP started since the new mayor's administration from 2008, which was dedicated to an ambition to shift the city's identity from coal industry into a city of culture, art, and tourism^[40]. DACRP aimed at reviving the old city by restoring the Liao Dynasty city wall destroyed during wars, covering an area of approximately 324 hectares in the center of the city^[41] (Fig. 1). A substantial number of housing area^⑤ were demolished for the restoration and the construction of perimetric green belt (Fig. 2). Due to DACRP, the land for commercial use has decreased by 42% inside the city wall, along with the land for office building dropping by 93%, and residential land by a reduction of 61%^{[42]-[44]}. Most buildings inside the wall have been renovated into traditional courtyard fabrics and skyscrapers were erased to brighten up the “ancient cityscape” (Fig. 3).

In a manifesto for DACRP^[40], the construction of the identity of the city was stated as an agenda to “develop a special Datong model of ancient city preservation,” to lead the city to “a cultural renaissance” and “extend its identity.” This declaration depicted a political narrative in spatial management, which was driven by economic motive, historical nostalgia, and the authoritarian leadership.

In DACRP, the fallacy in the decision makers' philosophy of place identity is that they replaced the place histories and living memories with an absolute historical artefact. Place identity, however, is not historical identity. In this case, the conception of place identity was misinterpreted as a single crystallization of historical identity for the city's multifaceted living networks, by overriding the diverse environment-based memories with a static image of ancient cityscape.

The difference between history and memory must be clarified to understand this misconception of place identity. Pierre Nora^[46] gave an incisive exposition between memory and history, where

⑤ 大同古城复兴项目将引发约50万居民的重新安置问题，约占全市总人口的30%。在项目启动的第一年中，搬迁了17 230户居民，因城墙复原工程拆迁的建筑区域面积约140hm²。参见参考文献[42]~[45]。

⑤ Due to the DACRP, approximately 500,000 residences have been and will be relocated, accounting for nearly 30% of the city's population. During the first year since the project started, 17,230 households were relocated, about 140 hm² buildings were demolished due to the city wall project. See Ref. [42]-[45].

⑥ 严谨地说，这句话是米歇尔·德塞杜在西方民主社会语境下的论断，笔者此处意在说明即使在中国的政治体制下，缺乏行政透明度的认同建构也会面对来自社会舆论与其他利益各方的阻力。

⑥ This incisive argument from Michel de Certeau, who writes in a context of modern Western society, is cited to argue that even in China's context, the identity construction will have to face the pressure and obstruction from the public and stakeholders in the absence of transparency in administration.

DACRP中，“古”城的“新”身份不能靠抹去当前居民的集体记忆而建立在一个超出这一代集体记忆的历史叙事之上；我们必须考虑场所的社会属性。

其次，场所认同建构并不等同于历史保护或修复；场所认同建构对于维护现存社会关系网络具有外延责任。在DACRP中广泛存在对于场所认同的概念性误解——许多学者仅关注DACRP是否遵循了历史遗迹修复^{[44][48][49]}的原真性原则^[47]。一些学者建议采用林奇的模型来进行大同场所认同的整体性建构，即通过具有不同历史时期特征的轴线、重要庙祠、历史街区、道路和节点来体现城市的历史认同^[44]。所有这些城市认同建构的策略都忽略了现存于城市生活中的社会关系网络。如果缺乏鲜活的城市肌理，历史人工构筑和旅游业也便无法再现往昔的城市认同——繁荣的故都景象。

此外，我们必须意识到将政治因素与排他性的认同叙事相结合所带来的风险。城市认同在本质上是一个多层次的复合建构，而人们的认同诉求常常既一致又矛盾。如若缺乏合理的透明度，行政权力便无法对认同营建进行有效的统一管理^[50]。鉴于中国城镇化背后的政治生态环境，对场所认同的多元性与时间性审视会令我们更加重视日常生活和社会网络中的认同叙事，使认同营建避免陷入历史抽象化和符号形式。

3.2.2 王澍的场所认同实践

通过剖析建筑师王澍及其业余建筑工作室的三个设计实践案例，本文探索了如何通过与中国艺术史和场所集体记忆（建筑师依赖的两种媒介）相关的意象和工艺来营建场所认同^[51]。不同于林奇的“意象性”，王澍对意象的表述与11世纪的中国山水画和其个人早年对中国

he interpreted memory as daily life and living societies that still evolve through time, “a phenomenon of the present”; on the other hand, Nora construed history as incomplete reconstruction and representation of the past. Nora's explication on history and memory indicates that historical identity is more a partial and static abstraction than living memories, and therefore place identity cannot be simplified into a single profile of history. In DACRP, a “new” identity of the “old” was built upon a history that beyond the generation's memory by wiping out the accessible collective memories in the existing communities; the social nature of place should necessarily be considered.

Furthermore, place identity construction is not about historic preservation or restoration; it has extensive responsibilities on taking care of the present social networks. While this conceptual misunderstanding of place identity largely exists in the discourse upon DACRP — many scholars focused on whether DACRP has followed the principles of authenticity^[47] in restoring historic heritages^{[44][48][49]}. Some scholars proposed plans in managing identity of Datong by adopting Lynch's model, illustrating historical identities with axes, landmark temples, historic districts, paths, and knots referring to different historical eras^[44]. All these plans for shaping city identity neglected the contemporary social networks in the urban life. Without the living fabrics, the historical artefacts and tourism alone can no longer buy the same prosperous cityscape that once represented the living identities of the city.

Additionally, we must be aware of the risk of combining one exclusive identity claim with the executive and ruling power. The urban identity is by the very nature of a multi-layered complex, upon which people's claims are often both accordant and conflicting. It is impossible to administer and unify identities by powers without rational transparency^[50]. Concerning on the political ecology behind the urbanization in China, a pluralistic and temporal perspective of place identity could allow us to return to identity in daily life and social networks, avoiding from operating identity solely in historical abstractions and symbolic forms.

3.2.2 Shu Wang's Practice on Place Identity Construction

By dissecting three design cases by architect Shu Wang and his Amateur Architecture Studio, the paper explores how place identity was operated via the image and craft related to Chinese art history and collective place memories, as if the two media the architect relies on^[51]. According to Wang, the image, which is distinguished from Lynch's “imageability,” associates to 11th century's Chinese landscape paintings and the architect's individual perceptions from his experiencing in classical Chinese

2. 大同古城复兴工程：2005年（工程启动前）与2016年对比图（图像来源：Google Earth，2008年及2016年卫星图像）。
3. 2016年8月8日，大同古城附近的一栋90m高的大楼被爆破拆除。
2. Google Earth Satellite image and the illustration of Datong Ancient City Revival Project (comparison between 2005 and 2016).
3. A 90-meter-high building adjacent to the ancient city was demolished in Datong on August 8, 2016.





© 陈永健
4



© 陈永健

gardens and traditional villages during his earlier studies^[52]; on the other hand, the craft refers to the locus, particularly the local architectural materials and tectonic craftsmanship.

One best example of operating place identity with craft and memory is the architect's first magnum opus, Ningbo Museum, where he anchored the collective place memories with the familiar concrete artefacts in the residents' past daily lives. Given the site a large municipal piazza built upon the demolition of vernacular villages, the architect clad part of the concrete facades with recycled terracotta and clay tiles from the villages (Fig. 4). This clay tile cladding technique, a local tectonic used in traditional houses, was advanced with the help of native craftsmen in adaption to the walls in an augmented

4. 在宁波博物馆项目中，场地所在的大型市政广场是在拆除当地村庄的基础上修建的，建筑师用从当地村庄回收而来的赤陶土和泥瓦叠盖了部分混凝土外墙。
5. 建筑师王澍将对于意象的理想形式抽象地转译到博物馆入口的空间体验营造上：穿过一片开阔的水面而后进入隐秘的山林之中。
4. In Ningbo Museum project, given the site a large municipal piazza built upon the demolition of vernacular villages, the architect clad part of the concrete facades with recycled terracotta and clay tiles from the villages.
5. The architect's imaginary ideal is abstracted and turned out at the entrance, where an experience of entering the mysterious mountain was designated through an expanse of water.

古典园林和传统村落的研究与经验感知有着深厚渊源^[52]。另一方面，工艺则涉及场地，建筑师尤其强调当地的建筑材料和构造工艺。

最能体现王澍通过建造工艺和场所的集体记忆来营建场所认同的一个案例是其成名作——宁波博物馆，在这个项目中，建筑师将场所的集体记忆建构于当地居民在过去的日常生活中所熟悉的具体事物。项目场地所在的大型市政广场是在拆除当地村庄的基础上修建的，建筑师用从当地村庄回收而来的赤陶土和泥瓦叠盖了部分混凝土外墙（图4）。在当地工匠的帮助下，一种当地传统建构工艺——瓦片墙工艺得到改进，并被运用于叠盖更大尺度的建筑外立面。这种立面叠瓦工艺引发了当地居民的强烈共鸣。与此同时，建筑师通过对建筑形体和空间体验的操作，探索了一种以文化意象塑造场所认同感的方法。建筑的巨大体量是对中国古典山水画中的山体文化意象的一种隐喻，同时也满足了多样化大型展览和博物仓储的需求。这种意象的理想形式也被抽象地转译到博物馆入口的空间体验营造上：穿过一片开阔的水面而后进入隐秘的山林之中（图5）。

就思想和方法论而言，相比于大同市在重塑古都身份认同上的历史一元论和怀旧意识，王澍在宁波博物馆项目中运用了一种开放、多元的方式进行场所认同的营建。通过对村落中拆除的泥瓦和赤陶土砖进行回收利用，将生活记忆以一种富有表现力的形式再现出来，这在一定程度上缓解了由场地的城镇化进程带来的场所认同剧变。公众的反应表明，与复原难以同当地现存记忆产生共鸣的历史认同相比，以触手可及的集体记忆为基础的认同营建具体实施起来似乎更加有效、更加可持续。

在林奇的理论中^[7]，城市认同显然是以规划师的视角建构的，这一视角强调在城市中连续体验的全景式感知。相反，从建筑师的立场出发，王澍则将对场所认同的感知建构在由一段段记忆碎片构成的连续体上，而非全景。基于此前提，王澍旨在从中国古典园林与传统村落的空间与历史经验中提炼原型意象并进行空间形式语言的表达，这在项目的前期草图中展现得淋漓尽致。

王澍的另一个备受瞩目的项目——中国美术学院象山校区设计，是以传统的原型意象作为解读场地的认知图式的场所认同实践。项目所在的农村地区经历了剧烈的城镇化，场地的本土历史印迹被一一抹去。场地中村落肌理的湮灭令建筑师有机会通过引入该地区传统村落的空间和场景来植入一种对传统空间的文化认同。该校园的设计体现

dimension. This surface cladding with clay tiles has won him a “bravo” from the residents in recalling the memories in their old villages. In addition, the architect explored an approach of shaping the place identity with cultural image represented in the forms and experiences. The colossal form of building mass alludes to a cultural image of mountain in classic Chinese landscape paintings, also responding to the demands of multiple large-scale exhibitions and storage spaces. This imaginary ideal is also abstracted and turned out at the entrance, where an experience of entering the mysterious mountain was designated through an expanse of water (Fig. 5).

Speaking of the philosophy and methodology, contrasting to Datong's historical monism and nostalgic consciousness in restoring the ancient identity, Wang employed an open and pluralistic approach in managing place identity in Ningbo Museum. By reusing the tiles and terracotta, the living memories were represented in an expressive form, to some extent mitigating the dramatic place identity transformation due to the urbanization on the site. The reactions from the public have demonstrated that operating identity with concrete embodiment based on accessible collective memories appears more effective and sustainable than by restoring historical identity that too far to reach in local memories.

According to Lynch^[7], urban identity is obviously built from a planner's view, a panoramic perception of the city over a continuous experience. From a stance of architect, however, Wang on the contrary accounts the perception of place identity in a continuity of parts and fragments than a panoramic apprehension. Based upon this premise, Wang aims at formal operation of the prototypical images that extracted from spatial and historical experience in classical Chinese gardens and traditional villages, which is legibly displayed through the architect's conceptual sketches.

Another compelling invention of place identity by employing traditional prototypical images as a cognitive schema of reading the site is China Academy of Art Xiang-shan Campus. Located in a rural area under dramatic urbanization, the site elicited nothing about its vernacular past. The annihilation of the village fabrics on the site allowed the architect to graft to the place with a cultural identity of the space and scene in traditional villages in this region. The campus was designed in a way the narrative of the parts determines the ensemble based on a flaneur's continuous walking experience from buildings to buildings. The twenty-five faculty buildings encompassing the hill centred in the campus plan were placed intentionally to organize the borrowed landscape views and winding paths through the buildings (Fig. 6). Although the intent to create such exciting experiences resulted



6. 25座教学楼通过建筑间的相互借景和蜿蜒曲折的路径组织在一起。
7. 传统工艺和材料在现代主义的表现形式中重获新生。

6. The faculty buildings were placed intentionally to organize the borrowed landscape views and winding paths through the buildings.
7. Traditional crafts and materials were transmitted into modernist and expressive forms.

了一种部分决定整体的叙事方式，注重游人在建筑间穿行的连续步行体验。位于项目中心区域的环山而建的25座教学楼则通过建筑间的相互借景和蜿蜒曲折的路径组织在一起（图6）——尽管这种空间设计在有意为使用者带来兴奋感的同时，也产生了一些空间上冗余的台阶和坡道^[53]，但它成功地营造了一种拥有独特景致和地域特色的漫步体验，与笔直单调的城市街道流线形成了鲜明对比。在建筑尺度上，本土语境下的传统工艺和物质材料在转译后被赋予了当代的表现形式（图7），例如纵向屋檐和遮阳板上本土泥瓦砖的运用、立面上尺度被放大的工字纹透窗、从乡土木桥的结构原型中汲取灵感的木桁架屋面结构，以及墙体上抽象再现江南园林中太湖石透景与漏景的不规则窗洞。

在杭州中山路改造这一城市设计实践中，王澍为历史悠久的步行街改造所预先制定的设计准则体现了建筑师对场所认同在时间性上的考量。在接受项目委托时，他坚持实施了一系列预先措施以限制对现存城市肌理的过度干预，包括在总体设计之前进行为期6个月的调查、将步行街改造的长度限定为一公里范围内，以及规定项目范围内不允许任何形式的拆迁和媚俗仿古重建^[53]。目前当地社区的场所认同在建筑师的精心营建下，杜绝了激进的拆迁和仿古重建现象，设计干预以一种温和的渐进式转型来进行认同感的建构。

with somewhat redundancy of stairs and ramps^[53], it successfully presented a vernacular walk orientated by specific views in contrast to the straight and insipid circulations of urban streets. At the building scale, traditional crafts and materiality were transmitted from their original context into contemporary and expressive forms (Fig. 7), such appear on the longitudinal eaves with vernacular tiles, the facade with enlarged tracery window patterns, the overarching timber trusses roof with its typical structure inspired from vernacular bridge, and the irregularly-shaped apertures on the wall that represent the cracks and gaps of Chinese limestone.

In an urban design practice, Zhong-shan Road Renovation in Hangzhou, Wang's premised principles designated for the historical promenade renovation respected place identity as a temporal construct. When accepting the commission, the architect insisted on a series of pre-conditions to curb the interventions on the existing urban fabrics. These conditions granted a six-month survey prior to the overall design; constrained the length of the promenade renovation within one kilometer; and rejected any relocation and kitsch restoration in relation to the street^[53]. Instead of radical demolition and restoration, the current place identity in the communities were cared by the architect, by which the design intervention was limited to develop the identity in a mild incremental transformation.

通过意象和工艺这两个媒介，王澍建立了一套植根于传统文化认同与本土经验的原型和形式组织的语汇，帮助其在与城镇化剧变的对抗中进行场所认同的营建。然而，通过他的设计思想和实践，我们仍应该看到王澍在当代中国语境下对于理想城市居所的努力探索依托于其将场所认同建构视为文化认同建构的倾向，即王澍对中国艺术和文化历史巅峰的追忆和迷思所投射在理想城市空间上的意象模型。因此，在评论王澍的场所实践时，我们需要把建筑师在营建场所认同时展现出的多元主义立场，同其对于文化认同的片面叙事方式，或是基于非地理空间场所的传统文化的艺术化表现区分开来。

3.2.3 马岔村乡村重建项目

并不是每一个设计都要表达或“凭空创造”场所认同，因为在某些地方，认同感迫切需要“抢救”或巩固。笔者以志愿建筑师的身份参与了一个位于黄土高原地区的村庄的长期重建项目，设计团队帮助村民维护了他们的场所认同并保护了当地生土建筑景观。

马岔村是位于甘肃黄土高原地区的一个国家级贫困县。这个常年干旱的地区已有上千年的生土建造历史（图8）。2008年，受汶川地震影响，震后大部分以传统生土工艺建构的村屋都处于危房失修状态。社会对于生土建筑老旧落后的刻板印象使得当地居民开始使用砖和砂浆重建房屋。自2010年开始，在中国（香港）无止桥慈善基金会的资

Via the approaches of image and craft, Wang engendered a lexicon of prototypes and formal organizations that rooted in traditional cultural identity and vernacular experience, which helped him operating place identity in confrontation with dramatic urbanizations. Through his philosophies and practices, however, we ought to be aware that Wang's effort in seeking an ideal urban habitation in contemporary China is entwined with his inclination of leading the place identity towards a cultural identity, an imaginary ideal that reflects his reminiscence of the culmination in Chinese art history. Therefore, when reviewing Wang's practice, one must distinguish Wang's pluralistic standing in his place identity practice from his singular narration of cultural identity and artistic representation of the non-place-based traditional culture.

3.2.3 The Rehabilitation of Macha Village

Not every design is to articulate or “invent” place identity, as in some place the identity is urgent to be “rescued” and strengthened. As a volunteering architect, the author was involved in a long-term village rehabilitation project on Loess Plateau, where the design team helped the villagers maintain their place identity with the landscape of vernacular earth architecture.

Macha Village in Gansu Province is in a state-level poverty-stricken county on China's Loess Plateau. The locals have built with mud for thousand years in this arid region (Fig. 8). After the earthquake in 2008, most of the village houses built with traditional earth architectonics were in a state of disrepair.





© 陈伟能
8-1

助下，由穆钧博士率领的专家和志愿者团队帮助马岔村村民运用改进后的生土建造工艺重建自己的家园。设计团队认为，保护马岔村生土建筑景观的一种更好的方式便是教授当地村民现代生土建造工艺，而非由建筑师直接建造房子。通过一系列培训课程和讲座，设计团队与村民一同见证了通过对本土工艺加以改进，可以建造出美观、坚固、宜居性高的房屋（图9）。随着由本地村民参与建造的房屋和设施越来越多，他们对当地传统生土建构的信心以及通过改良传统建造工艺而形成的对生土建构的认同感也大大提升。

这个案例体现了城镇化对于乡村建筑建构和村民认同愿景的影响，以及在社区尺度干预中建立一种可持续的对场所认同的守护与管理模式的重要性。我们可以从中获得的一个重要经验是，居民对当地场所认同的诉求并不总是清楚明确的，而认同感的变化也受到社会经济因素的强烈影响。唯有适应这些不断变化的影响因素，场所认同才能得以延续。如果没有对生土建构技术进行改良，便不可能重振马岔村村民对本土生土建构工艺的信心，如此叹为观止的以土为居的本土景观也不会在此地延续下去。无论是守护还是改变，更好的场所认同管理有赖于与社区居民建立双向沟通渠道和可持续的管理机制。

4 结语

展望于在未来的城镇化进程中探索一种场所认同建构与管理的跨学科模式，笔者认为有必要对设计行业中的场所认同的概念前设进行更新——在当前的设计学科语境中，场所认同的概念被有意或无意地等同为环境本身的物质特性。这一误读使设计工作者对场所认同的认知和实践偏向于二元化和静态的视觉片段。作为对这一误读的回应，本文提出了将场所认同视作多元性和时间性建构的思想，其强调生活记忆和多重叙事在场所认同中的重要意义。

基于这种场所认同的理论思想，本文通过三个案例，对中国近年来的场所认同建构进行了细致的解读和反思，旨在对中国场所认同问题的复杂性和特殊性进行接近宏观的审视。从多元性和时间性的角度

The social stereotype of building with mud as old-styled and backward also fuelled the residents' motivations to rebuild with brick and mortar. Started from 2010, Doctor Jun Mu led a team of specialists and volunteers sponsored by Bridge to China Charitable Foundation to help the villagers of Macha rebuild their houses with the advanced local craft. The team believed a better way to maintain the identity of earth housing in the village was to educate the local residents with skills of modern rammed-earth architecture than offering the house by our architects. Through a series of training workshops and lectures, the team worked with the villagers to prove the beauty, stability, and higher habitability of houses built from their old craft with advanced techniques (Fig. 9). With more houses and facilities rose with the local team, the villagers' confidences were remarkably boosted, along with their identities with the traditional building craft in a contemporary adaption.

This case reveals how urbanization has influenced the tectonics and envisions of rural lives and the significance of creating a sustainable stewardship of place identity in



© 陈伟能
8-2

⑦ 在希腊语中，“topos”一词用于形容有神明守护的居住地，文中语境下的意思是通过宗祠、庙社以及相关宗族行为准则而管理的居住地。

⑦ Topos is a word, rooted in Greek mythology, referring to the concept of mythological landscape as the dwelling place of gods. This word is adopted here to describe the place with close meanings in oriental counterpart that the dwelling place of clan-based society managed by the stewardship of ancestral temple and patriarchal rules.

来看，相关问题和关注点反映出两组深刻的认同矛盾。一方面，在从农耕社会向工业社会快速转变的几十年间，社会身份认同的矛盾不断激化。对基于容积率的土地价值的追求使地方政府和开发商之间达成了一种默契，这种效率导向的过程正在通过权力和资本对空间生产的控制，将宗族社会转型分解为原子化现代社会。以宗族为基础的农耕社会拥有自下而上的自治体系，通过这种自治，渐进式的、多方商讨式的场所转变延续了一种基于宗族文化处所（topos）^⑦的稳定的认同感和连续的集体记忆。相反，由于缺乏规定开发商责任和居民权利的法律法规，项目周期紧凑的高密度城市开发降低了在社区参与的情况下开展场所认同实践的可能性。此外，中国的城市社区始终缺乏成熟的组织动员和专业人员来表达和保护个体和社区的场所认同诉求。鉴于中国的政治生态，在场所干预中建立包含多重认同诉求的多元化平台的可行举措，将有赖于地方政府在实践中打破单边自上而下的方式而开放为多边参与过程。



9-1 © Wu Zhiqiao (Bridge to China) Charitable Foundation

8. 这个常年干旱的地区已有上千年的生土建造历史。

9-1. 当地村民用改良的工艺修建生土建筑。

9-2. 马岔村新的活动中心

8. Local people have built with mud for thousand years in this arid region.

9-1. Local villagers using advanced craft in rammed-earth housing construction.

9-2. The new village center for Macha



9-2 © 王士强 / Onearth Architecture

community intervention. One important lesson we could learn from this practice is that residents are not always clear and confident about their place identity claims, and one's standing on identity change is also strongly influenced by socio-economic factors. Evolving with multiple factors, place identity stays only when it adapts. Without an advancement on the rammed-earth tectonics, the old craft could not have convinced the villagers and the remarkable landscape of dwelling in earth would not have been maintained in Macha. Whether to maintain or to transform, a better place identity management requires mutual communication with the involved community and a sustainable stewardship among the residents.

4 Conclusions

Prospecting a transdisciplinary filed of place identity construction and management in future urbanization, the author argues for the need to update the philosophical premise of place identity in design professions, where the conception has been intentionally or unintentionally interpreted as the physical properties embodied by the environment itself. This premise misleads our understanding and practicing of place identity with a dualistic and static visual section. In response, the paper argues a philosophy seeing place identity as a pluralistic and temporal construct, highlighting the significance of living memories and multifaceted narrations in identifying with place.

Drawing on this philosophical conception of place identity, the paper provides a subtle reading and critique on China's recent past place identity construction through three case studies, which are envisioned to approach a holistic view of the complexity and particularity of place identity issues in China. From a pluralistic and temporal perspective, the related issues and concerns are concluded with two profound ambivalences of identity. On one hand, a social ambivalence rises from the decades of rapid transition from the agricultural society to industrial. With a tacit privity of FAR-based land value between local government and developers, this efficiency-driven process is profoundly transforming the clan-based social structure to an atomized society through the spatial production of power and capital. A clan-based agricultural society is organized in a bottom-up autonomy, by which the incremental and negotiable place transformation maintains a stable identity and coherent memories on the topos^⑦. By contrast, in an absence of laws curbing the developer's responsibility and resident's rights, the high-density urban development with short project period declines the possibilities in operating place identity with community participation. Additionally, the urban communities in China

另一方面，关于认同问题的文化矛盾亦值得关注，与其说是中西方文化之争，不如说是当代都市主义与传统文化认同之间的矛盾。虽然文化认同与场所认同存在很大的交叉领域，但确属不同范畴的概念。前者是一种复杂的归属感，其主要建立在对文化地理与地域的可感知认同之上。我们拥有根植于千年农耕文明的灿烂文化，历史的辉煌在一定程度上影响了我们对中国当代文化认同的观察与捕捉。而从多元性的角度来看，在本土语境下对文化认同的表征不仅仅是美学上的争论议题，更是一个关于传统文化在当代社会存续与适应的问题。

面对这两个难题，我们应该达成的共识是，场所认同不等同于历史形式和象征符号。失去了社会土壤的滋养和对传统的守护和延续，单凭创造传统文化意象的理想模型和文化认同的抽象提炼，将难以建构场所认同。除了“认同是什么”及“用何种形式语言来表现认同”的问题，设计专业人员还应该回到对“谁是认同主体”和“认同如何随着时间变化”的讨论上来。

最后，笔者想重申的是，本文旨在为设计行业有关场所认同的理论思考提供全新视角。诚然，场所认同在概念建构上并不存在通用范式^{⑧[54]}。随着在全球城市化加速的进程中对于空间正义和环境正义的呼声越来越高，这种场所认同的理论概念旨在以一种跨学科的设想来应对复杂的认同诉求与环境条件，并为应对这一全球性挑战探寻多样的、因地制宜的解决方案。LAF

致谢

作者特别感谢露辛达·桑德斯和理查德·韦勒在本文写作期间所给予的宝贵意见；同时感谢弗雷德里克·斯坦纳和劳瑞·欧林对于本研究 and 论文提出的建设性意见；作者还要感谢约翰·狄克逊·亨特、蓝道尔·梅森、拉法埃拉·费比尼吉安奈托和戴维·莱瑟巴罗，他们在本研究前期进行的讨论和提出的建议给予了作者极大的帮助；作者亦感谢《景观设计学》全体编辑、本文译者，以及评审专家，他们所给予的宝贵意见和协助对本文的成稿意义重大。

lacks mature organizations and faculties in articulating and defending local identities among individuals and communities. Given the political ecology in China, one feasible move to establish a pluralistic platform to include multiple identity claims in the place intervention would rely on the local government to open the unilateral top-down approach into a multilateral participatory process.

On the other hand, a cultural ambivalence of identity issues merits attention, which is not so much a competition between Western and Chinese culture as a contradiction between contemporary urbanism and traditional cultural identity. Cultural identity has a large intersection with place identity, yet a conception from other dimensions. The former is a complex sense of belonging that largely attached to palpable identities of cultural geography and territory. With remarkable cultural crystallizations rooted in the thousand-year agricultural civilization, its glories in the past somewhat distort our observations of contemporary cultural identity of China. Whereas from a pluralistic perspective, the discourse of representing cultural identity in the locality is more than a debate on aesthetics, but a question of the existence and adaption of traditional culture in contemporary society.

Regarding this dilemma, we should agree that place identity cannot be understood by reference to historical forms and symbolisms only. Creating imaginary ideal and abstraction of cultural identity is a cul-de-sac in recalling place identity if there are no longer social soils nurturing and maintaining such traditions. Other than “what are the identities” or “what language to represent the identity,” design professionals should return to “who identifies with” and “how it is identified over time.”

In the end, the author reiterates that this paper calls out an update on the very premises of place identity theory in design profession. It cannot be denied that there is no universal paradigm^{⑧[54]} in operating place identity. However, given the increasing voices calling for spatial and environmental justice in the speeding global urbanization, this philosophical concept of place identity is constructed with a transdisciplinary envision in responding to complex identity claims and circumstances, aiming at diverse local answers to this universal challenge. LAF

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The author is particularly grateful to Lucinda Sanders and Richard Weller who provided the valuable advice and references through the entire research process and generous feedback on an early draft of this manuscript. The author is also indebted to Frederick Steiner and Laurie Olin, who provided constructive comments on an early presentation of this research and on the draft of this manuscript. The author is especially grateful to John Dixon Hunt, Randall Mason, Raffaella Fabiani Giannetto and David Leatherbarrow for insightful references, discussions, and constructive suggestions on the early research. The author would also like to thank the translator and editors of *Landscape Architecture Frontiers* and the reviewers for their valuable feedback and assistance through the manuscript submission.

⑧ 这里的“范式”一词建立在劳丹关于科学理性与认知价值的三重模型基础之上，包括三个各自独立但又互为限定的要素：认识论、本体论和价值论。参见参考文献[55]。

⑧ Here the term “paradigm” is built on Laudan’s tripartite model of reticulating scientific rationality and cognitive values, basically characterized by three independent but mutually defining commitments: epistemology, ontology and axiology. See Ref. [55].

REFERENCES

- [1] Heidegger, M. (1954). *Bauen wohnen denken. Vorträge und Aufsätze* (pp. 7, 139-156). Pfullingen: Günther Neske.
- [2] Heidegger, M. (1971). *Building dwelling thinking. Poetry, language, thought* (p. 154). New York: Joanna Cotler Books.
- [3] Norberg-Schulz, C. (1979). *Genius loci: Towards a phenomenology of architecture*. New York: Rizzoli.
- [4] Tuan, Y. F. (1974). *Topophilia* (p. 260). Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- [5] Tuan, Y. F. (1977). *Space and place: The perspective of experience*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [6] Relph, E. (1976). *Place and placelessness*. London: Pion.
- [7] Lynch, K. (1960). *The image of the city*. Cambridge: The MIT Press.
- [8] Cullen, G. (2012). *The concise townscape*. London: Routledge.
- [9] Alexander, C., Ishikawa, S., & Silverstein, M. (1977). *A pattern language: towns, buildings, construction* (pp. 311-314). New York: Oxford University Press.
- [10] Proshansky, H. M., Fabian, A. K., & Kaminoff, R. (1983). Place-identity: Physical world socialization of the self. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 3(1), 57-83.
- [11] Lu, S. M. (2013). Study on Place Narrative and Its Application to Urban Culture Characteristics and Identity Shaping: A Case of the Renewal of Waterfront Historic Sites in Shanghai. *Human Geography*, 28(3), 51-57.
- [12] Zhou, R. (2014). *Architecture as Accompaniment: Huang Sheng-yuan, ad Locum and at Ease*. *World Architecture*, (3), 74-81.
- [13] Zhou, R. (2014). Invention with Convention Between Identical and Difference: The Critical Identification and Inclusive Reconstruction of Civilized Tradition Under the Contemporary Context. *Urbanism and Architecture*, (10), 22-24.
- [14] Zhou, R. (2015). Discourse on Environment-based Memory. *Urbanism and Architecture*, (12), 22-25.
- [15] China Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development. (2016). *Advices on the Development of Characteristic Towns Issued by Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development, National Development and Reform Commission and Ministry of Finance*. Retrieved from http://www.mohurd.gov.cn/wjfb/201607/t20160720_228237.html
- [16] Alexander, C. (2006). *The nature of order: the process of creating life*. New York: Center for Environmental Structure.
- [17] Gehl, J. (1987). *Life between Buildings* (J. Koch, Tran.). New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company Inc.
- [18] Hague, C., & Paul, J. (2005). *Planning and Place Identity*. In C. Hague, & P. Jenkins (Eds.), *Place identity, participation and planning*. New York: Routledge.
- [19] Southworth, M., & Ruggeri, D. (2010). *Place, Identity and The Global City*. In T. Banerjee, & A. Loukaitou-Sideris (Eds.), *Urban Design Companion*. London: Routledge.
- [20] Ruggeri, D. (2014). The "My Mission Viejo" Project. Investigating the Potential of Photovoice Methods in Place Identity and Attachment Research. *Journal of Urban Design*, 19(1), 119-139.
- [21] Sepe, M. (2013). *Planning and place in the city: Mapping place identity*. New York: Routledge.
- [22] Canter, D. V. (1977). *The Psychology of Place*. London: Architectural Press.
- [23] Seamon, D. (2015). *A Geography of the Lifeworld* (Routledge Revivals): *Movement, Rest and Encounter*. London: Routledge.
- [24] Harvey, D., & Braun, B. (1996). *Justice, nature and the geography of difference*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- [25] Casey, E. (2001). *Body, self, and landscape. Textures of place: Exploring humanist geographies* (pp. 403-425). Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- [26] Seamon, D., & Sowers, J. (2008). *Place and Placelessness*. Edward Relph [Commentary of Place and placelessness, by E. Relph]. *Key texts in human geography*, 43-51.
- [27] Hague, C., & Jenkins, P. (Eds.) (2005). *Place identity, participation and planning*. London: Routledge.
- [28] Higgins, M. (2005). *Design and Place Identity. Place identity, participation and planning*. London: Routledge.
- [29] Hunt, J. D. (2014). *Historical ground: the role of history in contemporary landscape architecture*. London: Routledge.
- [30] Rowles, G. D. (1990). Place attachment among small town elderly. *Journal of Rural Community Psychology*, 11(1), 103-120.
- [31] Raymond, C. M., Brown, G., & Weber, D. (2010). The measurement of place attachment: Personal, community, and environmental connections. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 30(4), 422-434.
- [32] Lewicka, M. (2011). Place attachment: How far have we come in the last 40 years? *Journal of environmental psychology*, 31(3), 207-230.
- [33] Breakwell, G. M. (1986). *Coping with threatened identities*. New York: Methuen.
- [34] Jaspal, R., & Breakwell, G. M. (Eds.) (2014). *Identity process theory: Identity, social action and social change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- [35] Twigger-Ross, C. L., & Uzzell, D. L. (1996). Place and identity processes. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 16(3), 205-220.
- [36] Lalli, M. (1992). Urban-related identity: Theory, measurement, and empirical findings. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 12(4), 285-303.
- [37] Gould, S. J. (1994). So Near and Yet So Far. [Review of the book *The Neandertals: Changing the Image of Mankind*, by E. Trinkaus & P. Shipman, and *In Search of the Neandertals: Solving the Puzzle of Human Origins*, by C. Stringer & C. Gamble]. *The New York Review of Books*, October 20, 1994 Issue.
- [38] Lewicka, M. (2008). Place attachment, place identity, and place memory: Restoring the forgotten city past. *Journal of Environmental Psychology*, 28(3), 209-231.
- [39] Chan, K. W. (2013). *China: internal migration. The encyclopaedia of global human migration*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- [40] Geng, Y. B. (2011). Exploration and Practice of the Conservation and Rejuvenation of the Famous Ancient Capital: Datong. *Journal of Shanxi Datong University*, (1), 6-9, 28.
- [41] People's Government of Datong City. (2001). *Official Government Report of Datong City*. Retrieved from <https://zh.wikisource.org/wiki/2011%E5%B9%B4%E5%A4%A7%E5%90%8C%E5%B8%82%E4%BA%BA%E6%B0%91%E6%94%BF%E5%BA%9C%E5%B7%A5%E4%BD%9C%E6%8A%A5%E5%91%8A>
- [42] Zhang, Y. Q. (2014, October 26). Leadership shake-ups raise fears of a stall in Shanxi city's drive to remake itself. *Global Times*. Retrieved from <http://www.globaltimes.cn/content/888341.shtml>
- [43] Debra, B. (2014, June 18). The Strange Case of Datong, China's Half-Finished Faux "Ancient" City. *Citylab*. Retrieved from <https://www.citylab.com/design/2014/06/the-strange-case-of-datong-chinas-half-finished-faux-ancient-city/372971/>
- [44] Wang, J. (2016). The Exploration of the Ancient City Revival by "Whole Archaizing Rebuilding" After a Destruction: A case Study of Datong Ancient City. *Urban Development Studies*, (11), 56-65.
- [45] Zhou, H. (Director). (2015). *The Chinese Mayor* [Film]. China: Zhaqi Films.
- [46] Nora, P., & Kritzman, L. D. (1996). *General Introduction: Between Memory and History. Realms of Memory: Conflicts and divisions* (Vol. 1). New York: Columbia University Press.
- [47] United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, and World Heritage Convention. (2005). *Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention*. Retrieved from <http://whc.unesco.org/archive/opguide05-en.pdf>
- [48] Ruan, Y. S. (2013). The Concern of Urban Heritage Conservation Raised by the Event of Retaining Major, (2), 64.
- [49] Xue, H. X. (2016). The Authenticity Analysis to Preservation and Restoration of Datong Ancient City. *Shanxi Normal University Journal: Natural Science Edition*, 30(3), 86-93.
- [50] De Certeau, M. (1984). *The practice of everyday life* (S. Rendall, Tran.). Oakland: University of California Press.
- [51] Li, X. N., & Zhang, X. C. (2012). An Interview with Wang Shu. *Time + Architecture*, (4), 94-99.
- [52] Wang, S. (1984). *The Living Environment of Neighbourhoods in the Old Town Business Street*. *Architect*, (18), 106.
- [53] Frampton, K. (2017, March 23). *Kenneth Frampton on the Work of Wang Shu and Lu Wenyu*. *Archdaily*. Retrieved from <https://www.archdaily.com/867419/kenneth-frampton-on-the-work-of-wang-shu-and-lu-wenyu>
- [54] Laudan, L. (1984). *Science and values* (Vol. 66). Berkeley: University of California Press.
- [55] Adevi, A. A., & Grahn, P. (2012). Preferences for landscapes: A matter of cultural determinants or innate reflexes that point to our evolutionary background. *Landscape Research*, 37(1), 27-49.
- [56] Hay, R. (1998). Sense of place in developmental context. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 18(1), 5-29.
- [57] Hidalgo, M. C., & Hernandez, B. (2001). Place attachment: Conceptual and empirical questions. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 21(3), 273-281.
- [58] Hulshof, M., Roggeveen, D., & Mevius, M. (2011). *How the City Moved to Mr. Sun: China's New Megacities*. Amsterdam: Sun Architecture Publishers.
- [59] Knez, I. (2005). Attachment and identity as related to a place and its perceived climate. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 25(2), 207-218.
- [60] Liu, D. Y. (2013). Notes on City: [no.13] Fatti Urbani: a difference in both architectural text and texture between Aldo Rossi and Wang Shu. *Architect*, (1), 22-33.
- [61] Miller, T. (2012). *China's urban billion: the story behind the biggest migration in human history*. London: Zed Books.
- [62] Patterson, M. E., & Williams, D. R. (2005). Maintaining research traditions on place: Diversity of thought and scientific progress. *Journal of environmental psychology*, 25(4), 361-380.
- [63] Stedman, R. C. (2002). Toward a social psychology of place predicting behavior from place-based cognitions, attitude, and identity. *Environment and behavior*, 34(5), 561-581.
- [64] Stedman, R. C. (2003). Is it really just a social construction?: The contribution of the physical environment to sense of place. *Society and Natural Resources*, 16(8), 671-685.
- [65] Wang, S. (1987). *Analysis of the Inner Structure of Villages in Southern Anhui*. *Architect*, (28), 62.
- [66] Zhou, X. (2016, April 12). Decline and fall: the broken dreams of a Chinese coal-mining city struggling to address industrial overcapacity. *South China Morning Post*.