

从珠江三角洲城中村实践 探索中国城市发展模式

EXPLORING CHINA'S URBAN DEVELOPMENT PATTERN THROUGH PRACTICE OF URBAN VILLAGE IN THE PEARL RIVER DELTA



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作为一个具有国际视野的建筑事务所，URBANUS都市实践建筑设计事务所（以下简称“都市实践”）一直以“为城市问题寻找解决方案”为目标。为什么都市实践长期以城市为出发点？通过您的实践和观察，近20年来全球城市问题的焦点发生了哪些转变？

孟岩（以下简称孟）：都市实践从1999年成立至今已有近20年的时间。20年前正值千禧年来临之际，全世界都洋溢着一种充满希望的喜悦，城市生活也充满活力。与此同时，中国的城镇化正处于加速发展和急剧转型阶段。不管是正在积极筹备申办2008年奥运会的北京，还是身处改革发展最前沿的深圳，都面临着城市建设如何从对“量”的追求转变为对“质”的提升这一挑战。我们当时就意识到，在未来几十年，中国的城市问题可能是一个值得持续关注的议题，因为与之相关的种种问题已经在不断显现，而且越

来越剧烈。所以我们一直持续进行的对城市的介入和研究，与当时整个世界城市的状况，以及中国城市的不断发展变化密切相关。

近20年来，全球城市问题的焦点发生了很大转变。自“9·11事件”后，公共安全的问题备受瞩目，全球经济危机接踵而来，人们对于城市未来的态度逐渐变得悲观。对公共安全的过度关注，以及互联网的飞速发展，也使很多人开始质疑高密度城市这一发展模式。近10年来，城市又经历了一次复兴，包括高新技术产业在内的很多产业又重新向大城市聚集，人们重拾对城市的信心，并对都市文化充满兴趣。我认为高密度城市这一高度集约的城市发展模式更加适合中国国情，它能够有效满足我们对于城市发展的需求。

通过都市实践对深圳城中村长达十几年的研究，您认为深圳城中村的特色和问题有哪些？中国的城中村和世界其他国家的“类城中村”有哪些异同？

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摘要

本次访谈围绕中国的城市发展问题展开。受访者孟岩介绍了URBANUS都市实践建筑设计事务所长期以来对城市的观察和思考，并以深圳城中村为切入点探讨了怎样的城市才是充满活力、具有都市性的健康城市。此外，他希望通过2017深港城市/建筑双城双年展突破观念和边界的桎梏、建立交流机制，并探索未来可能的新的城市发展模式。孟岩认为设计师只有先成为一个观察者、思考者、研究者，才能更好地回应一个地区的独特语境和文化特征。

关键词

城市；城中村；双年展；发展模式；研究；实践

ABSTRACT

This interview centers on the urban development issues faced by most Chinese cities. Yan Meng, Principal Architect and Co-founder of URBANUS Architecture and Design, shares his perspective on cities, and discusses what kinds of cities are dynamic, lively, and healthy by taking urban village in Shenzhen as an example. Besides, as one of the curators, he hopes that the 2017 Shenzhen Bi-city Biennale of Urbanism / Architecture can offer an opportunity to break boundaries, foster communication and exchange, and explore new urban development pattern in the future. Meng also believes that architects' roles as an observer, a thinker, and a researcher could allow them to better respond to the unique context and cultural characteristics of a site as a designer.

KEY WORDS

City; Urban Village; Biennale; Development Pattern; Research; Practice

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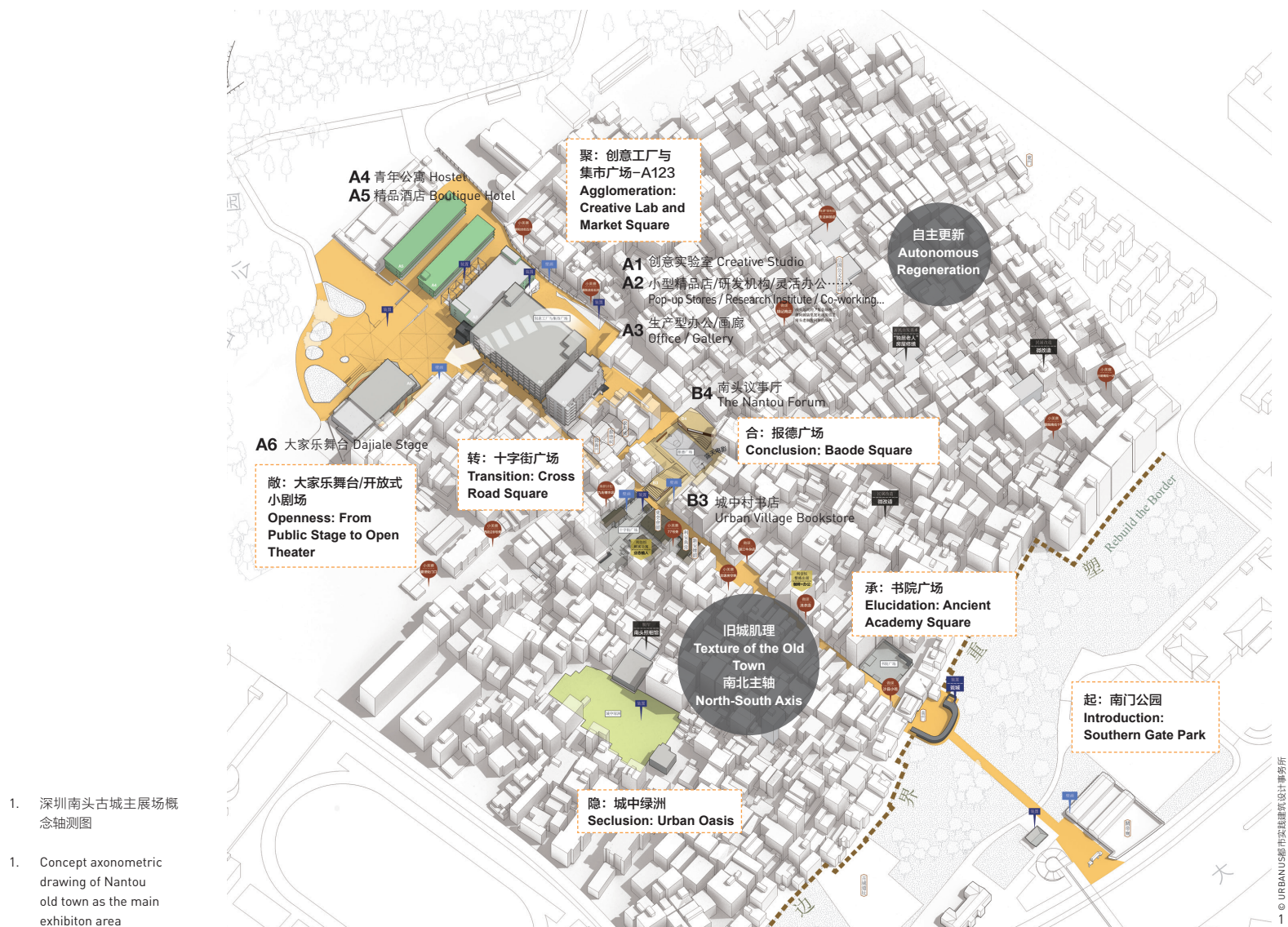
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孟：如果用一个词来形容深圳城中村，我会选择“活色生香”。这里有很多其他城市不具备的都市性和一种充满活力的生活状态。虽然它不是最理想的生活环境，比如在一些地方，脏乱差仍然存在，“握手楼”的现象也很普遍，但它给城市发展提供了另一种可能，使我们能够看到自上而下规划的城市的一面。城中村的活力来自混合杂糅，来自人们日常生活的多样性和复杂性，它是“野生生长”出来的城市聚落。这种混杂的野生状态同我们的生活和文化一样，不能被“打造”，只能通过沉淀和滋养而产生。

在地理上，城中村被城市包围；在权属上，它属于土地集体所有制；在形态上，它是一个完全都市化了的村庄，甚至可以称之为“城中城”。这里的住户很多都是年轻白领，许多著名建筑师都有过在城中村生活的经历。相较而言，世界上很多国家的贫民窟都是完全无序的，所以贫民窟和城中村是两个完全不同的概念。纵观世界历史，每当发生剧烈的城市化，而城市又无法在短时间内满足大量聚集人口的居住需求，就会形成贫民窟。今天拉美国家大量的贫民窟就和当地20世纪中叶剧烈的城市化有关。但是珠江三

角洲地区急剧的城镇化过程却保持了经济体系和社会体系平稳和高速运转，究其原因，实际上是城中村默默地支撑了这些城市，它们容纳了巨大的新增人口，也使很多中低收入人群拥有平等地、低成本地生活在城市中心的机会。这在世界范围内都堪称奇迹。

珠江三角洲地区几乎可以说是中国社会、经济变革最迅猛的地区，中国所有的人地矛盾与社会差距都在这里得到了放大。作为2017深港城市/建筑双城双年展的策展人之一，您如何通过此次双年展反映中国的城

市问题？此次展览对中国的城市更新有哪些启发？

孟：中国城市在过去几十年大都按照一种单一模式发展，这导致了从南到北较为同质化的城市面貌。我们一直希望能够在深圳的城市实践中找到具有在地性的基因。在调研过程中，我们发现城中村呈现出一种特别的都市属性。双年展作为一个在全球化背景下反思中国城市发展模式的国际性展览，几乎历届都有对城中村的关注。城中村只是探讨的起点，而最终目的是要引发对城市未来的思考。

一个健康的城市一定会为每一个个体提供发展机遇。如果中低收入人群都住在市郊，就会造成地铁拥挤、道路拥堵，从而加剧城市病。与其这样，不如在城市中心尽可能地为他们提供更好的生存条件，即使只是十几平米的小公寓，也能够让更多的年轻人得到城市资源的滋养。城市中一定要留足这样的空间，以保证一种自由、自发、开放状态下的多元发展。我们曾在北京做过实验性的设计，把一些破旧的四合院改造为“都市新杂院”，通过空间设计分隔出更多小单元，以使更多年轻人以较低的租金生活在城市中心。

本次双年展促使我们思考一个问题：未来中国有没有可能衍生出一种新的城市发展模式？今天的各种新技术有可能使目前大型的城市开发转变为多业主的碎片式开发模式。如果土地开发模式改变了，城市就有可能产生共生的发展，城市空间格局产生差异，才可能容纳不同的社会和文化生态。我们期待通过双年展转变人们的观念，以及对城市的认知。在此过程中，观念和边界的突破以及交流机制的建立非常重要。此外，我

们也号召城市未来的发展能够以均衡的城市思维代替单一的地产思维，更多地关注其社会价值、文化价值，以及城市多元发展的潜在价值。

近期，北京开展了多个专项行动，例如火灾隐患的排查整治以及清理建筑物天际线等，基于这些近期引发热议的城市政策，您认为其在城市发展中扮演着何种角色？

孟：全世界的城市发展都是通过各种不同力量的博弈而最终产生一种平衡状态。一个好的城市绝对不等同于一个“干净”的城市，它允许城市自我生长、自我更新。当然，整治计划一定有它的道理，但它需要专业力量和社会力量的介入，为权力和资本提供不同的参照以及更多的选择。最终的方案一定是各方妥协的结果，而不会是以某一种模式或某一方为主导。好的改造不是“一刀切”，它允许调整的余地和纠错的空间。

面对当今城市建设同质化的问题，您认为建筑师应当如何回应一个地区的独特语境和文化特征？设计师应当肩负怎样的社会使命？

孟：设计师首先应当是一个观察者、思考者、研究者，其次才是一个创造者。城市的同质化表明我们对于地方文化的观察和思考不够。当天往返于“调研”现场，回来马上着手设计，在这样一种状态下，很难做出契合地方语境的作品。我主持的项目大都位于北京和深圳，因为我在这两个城市至少都生活过十几年。对于不熟悉的地方，一定要非常审慎，在深入了解之后再设计，这是我的态度。

不同于为个体提供服务的手工匠人，

建筑师的作品通常会影响到更广泛的人群。所以，建筑师要时刻怀疑自己并具有批判精神——不只批判社会与他人，更应对自己的惯性思维进行批判。建筑师除了要应对权力和资本的需求，还必须满足公共利益的诉求，在各种力量之间寻找微妙的平衡点，并尽己所能去维系这种平衡。

都市实践研究部是在怎样的背景下成立的？其研究模式是怎样的？您如何看待研究与设计之间的关系？

孟：都市实践的项目一直以来都是研究先行。到了2011年，随着研究成果的积累，我们更进一步提出“研究引领设计”的理念，并成立了专门的研究部。之前的研究都由建筑师独立完成，研究部成立之后，除了建筑师之外，我们还聘请了专职研究员，并和一些高校及研究机构进行合作。根据项目类型和特征的不同，我们会临时组建由不同背景的建筑师和研究员组成研究小组，这些小组如同一种组装插件，组织形式非常灵活。

我们所有的研究一定是为了实践。比如在湖贝古村城中村保护的案例中，我们在没有被委托的情况下，主动走出去发现问题，然后将研究成果形成报告提交给政府和一些有远见的开发商。这种主动出击以解决城市问题的方式，也是我们的一次实践探索。我认为研究是一种自我能量更新的方式，一个事务所要有源源不断的创造力以及持续的批判精神，保持这样一种造血机制必不可少。LAF

致谢

感谢都市实践建筑设计事务张云女士对本次采访提供的帮助。

As we know, URBANUS Architecture and Design (URBANUS hereafter) devotes itself to seeking solutions for global urban problems. Why have your interest and practice been centered in the topics related to cities over the past two decades? Based on your own observation, how do you think of the shift of study focus of urban issues in the recent 20 years?

Yan MENG (MENG hereafter): It has been nearly 20 years since URBANUS Architecture and Design was founded in 1999. Twenty years ago, the whole world was highly optimistic with an expectation of the new millennium and a hope of a better urban life. Meanwhile, the cities throughout China, from Beijing, the site for the 2008 Olympic Games, to Shenzhen, the frontier of China's social and economic reform and

development, were all undertaking the process from a rapid, rough, and extensive urban construction to a quality urban growth. The increasingly and intensively accompanied urban problems made us realize that urban problems would be a big issue in the urbanization agenda in China. In other words, our studies and practice on cities are rooted in our interest on the world's city pattern and the ever-changing development of cities in China.

In the recent 20 years, the focus of urban issues has shifted dramatically. After the shocking 911 incident, public security became one of the most pressing global issues, coupled with the following global economic crisis, resulting in that people looked on the gloomy side on cities' future. The over-concern on the public security and the rocketed development of Internet also led the question on the high-

density city development mode. Over the past decade, cities have been revitalized worldwide thanks to the big-city-towards re-gathering of many industries, including high-tech and innovative, and people have re-embraced urban culture and been hopeful again for future city life. In my opinion, high-density city development is a suggested way to China's condition, which could effectively meet the needs of future urban growth.

URBANUS has studied urban village in the city of Shenzhen for more than ten years. What do you think the characteristics and problems of Shenzhen's urban village are? What are the similarities and differences of China's urban villages and other similar settlements of the world?

MENG: To me, the urban villages in Shenzhen are dynamic, lively, and in a sense of urban, which distinguishes themselves from many other cases in China's cities. Although urban village is often with mess, chaos, and narrow living conditions, it reveals an alternative of city development and inspires us to reexamine the top-down urban planning pattern. The vitality of urban village is rooted in its mixture and hybridity of cultures and lifestyles, and diversity and complicity of people's daily life — it is a sort of “wild” settlement in city. This “wild” state is just like our spontaneous lifestyle and culture, which is a result of long-time active engagement and cannot be intentionally created or conjured up.

Technically, urban village is a fully



2. 南头古城夜景
2. Night scene of Nantou old town

urbanized village surrounded by urban fabric, and mostly it is a land of collective ownership. The dwellers include young white-collar workers — some Chinese architects once lived in urban village before they become famous. I would like to stress that China's urban village and slum commonly found in many other countries are two different types of settlement, the latter is generally in a completely non-controlled development and often resulted from drastic urbanization processes because the city could not accommodate so many migrants in a short time. The teeming slums in Latin American countries today are such examples. When it comes to China, the social and economic development in Pearl River Delta metropolitan region experienced a smooth process of high-speed urbanization, which has been greatly supported by those local urban villages by accommodating new migration population and low-income citizens to live in city centers with equal opportunities. It is a miracle of the world.

In the Pearl River Delta metropolitan region, the greatest vortex in China's social and economic reform, the long-term human-land conflict and social disparities has been intensified. As one of the curators, how do you narrate and present these urban issues on the 2017 Shenzhen Bi-city Biennale of Urbanism / Architecture (Biennale)? What role do you expect this Biennale could play in promoting urban renewal in China?

MENG: Homogenization is one of the outstanding problems faced by most Chinese cities due to the prevailing of mono-pattern urban development in past several decades. We hope to celebrate locality through our urban practice in Shenzhen. Through our pre-exhibition research, urban villages attracted our great attention for its unique nature in the urban context. Although urban village is a widely discussed topic on the previous Biennales, we still hope to offer some inspiring perspectives through this international exhibition to encourage reflection on the existing development patterns of Chinese cities under globalization, and to stimulate consideration on future possibilities.

A healthy city could provide opportunities for everyone living there. Suburban high-density communities for

moderate- and low-income groups may exacerbate urban traffic problems and social disparities. As a solution, creating more residential space in the city center — even if it is only a small apartment — can facilitate low-income citizens' utilization of urban resource, which would largely enhance social equality, motivating urban vitality and providing possibility for diverse future development. URBANUS once did an experimental project in Beijing which transformed a dilapidated quadrangle dwelling into a new urban courtyard and created more small affordable rooms for students and young workers.

This Biennale offers us a new lens to examine the current urban development patterns in China and to explore alternatives. Hopefully, nowadays new



3. 古城展区一瞥
3. A glance at the exhibition area of Nantou old town

techniques may shift this single large-scale urban development into various plot development with multiple ownerships, which would support a diversity of city growth pattern, and then a diversity of social and cultural qualities. In this way, we hope to change people's understanding on cities, and more importantly, to encourage communication among multiple parties. Instead of the real-estate-based urban development, more inclusive development patterns are encouraged to stimulate cities' social and cultural potentials.

Recently, Beijing Municipal Government carried out several specific actions, such as fire hazard removing and building outline cleaning-up. What do you think of the role of such policies play in urban development?

MENG: Cities in the world are all in negotiations among different groups of interest. A good city is not equal to a "cleaned-up" city; a good city should allow for spontaneous growth and self-renewal. City management and regulation measures need professional opinions and public engagement to provide more conductive solutions in policy-making and capital investment. The final decision must be a negotiated result of all interest groups involved, rather than decided in an exclusive way. A good regeneration is not one-size-fits-all, which allows for future adjustment and improvement.

The homogenization of urban construction has become one of common

failings in city development. How should architects respond to local context and vernacular culture? What social responsibilities should designers take in such context?

MENG: Designers are observers, thinkers, researchers, and then creators. The homogenization problem mirrors the inadequacy in local culture studying. Some designers start their work immediately after short, perfunctory site investigations, through which it hardly responds to the on-site problems or reflects the local qualities. My practice is mostly centered in Beijing and Shenzhen, where I have both lived in for more than ten years. When a project site locates in some places I am not familiar with, I would investigate and study it in depth and then design cautiously.

Different from craftsmen who provide individual service, architects' design works often have a larger influence on the public. Therefore, architects should always have a critical thinking towards the community we live in, the opinions we heard, and the conventions we think and practice. Furthermore, besides coping with the requirements of clients, architects must meet public demands, seek for an equilibrium among different stakeholders, and make best effort to maintain this balance.

What was the background of the establishment of URBANUS Program Research Design (UPRD) and how does it research and operate? What do

you consider the relationship between research and design?

MENG: To URBANUS, research always goes ahead of practice. Based on the years' research achievements, we further proposed a concept of "research-driven design" and established the UPRD in 2011. Before that, URBANUS' architects conduct project research by themselves; now, together with full-time researchers and investigators, our designers have collaborated with universities and research institutions. According to specific project conditions or requirements, a temporary research team can be formed by several architects and researchers with diverse knowledge backgrounds, as if a flexible assembling system.

All of our researches are preparing for the design. Take Hubei Village Preservation Project as an example. Instead of being commissioned, URBANUS investigated the site by our own and shared our research findings with the local government and some far-sighted developers in order to address urban problems proactively and effectively. I believe that, to a design firm, research is a way of self-renewal which is the source of creativity and encourages self-reflection spirit and critical thinking. **LAF**

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Thank Ms. Yun Zhang from URBANUS Architecture and Design for her help on this interview.