

互联网时代下
城市空间品质提升与特色保护
QUALITY, CHARACTERISTICS,
AND IDENTITY PROTECTION
OF URBAN SPACE IN THE
INTERNET ERA



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摘要

在本次对谈中，三位学者针对当今互联网时代及存量更新背景下中国城市更新中存在的现象和问题进行了深入探讨。首先，三位学者对影响城市空间品质的要素进行了剖析，强调城市更新实践应注重城市空间的社会性、文化性、艺术性、历史性及生态性，并指出了未来城市更新的研究与实践重点，尤其强调了审美启智的重要性。随后，三位学者认为，在“眼球经济”的影响下，时下出现的空间改造“网红化”、城市特色“符号化”等现象可能会引发新一轮的城市同化，以致多元化特色逐渐消失；但城市规划师与设计师也可以对这些网络传播渠道和力量进行正向利用，以实现空间特色保护，甚或引导产生新的城市空间发展范式。此外，他们一致认为，在城市更新过程中民众应享有更大的话语权，这不仅要依靠“共同缔造”的规划模式，更需要设计师承担起深入研究与科普启蒙的重任。最后，三位学者结合具体案例，阐述了城市历史地段改造所面临的诸多挑战，例如城市治理方法落后、城市开发制度存在缺陷、经济发展放缓导致资金受限等，并同时呼吁设计师从中发掘机遇，在满足居民日常生活需求、完善城市治理体系、优化城市更新机制、推动地方经济增长等核心话题层面上持续进行积极探索与创新。

关键词

空间品质；空间质量；城市治理；审美意识；网红化；城市更新；话语权

ABSTRACT

In this interview, three scholars discussed the problems in China's urban renewal practice in the Internet Era and the context of inventory development. They first reviewed the factors that impact the characteristics and identity of urban space, and pointed out that urban renewals should not neglect the social, cultural, artistic, historical, and ecological qualities of space. They then underscored the aesthetic education will be future research and practice interest in the field of urban renewal. They noted that, under the impact of "attention economy" and "online influence," urban spatial construction across Chinese cities would be homogenized, compromising the diversity of spatial characteristics. Nonetheless, urban planners and designers can leverage the online platforms as communication channels and resources for the protection of spatial characteristics and identities, and to foster new urban development paradigms. In addition, the scholars believed that the public should have a greater discourse power in urban renewals, which requires the the promotion of Community Co-building Initiative, and designers' efforts in promoting related research and education programs. In the end, they discussed the challenges faced by the protection of historical sites, including the outdated urban governance methods, flawed urban development institution, and the lack of funds due to the slowdown of economic growth. They also encouraged designers to respond to these challenges with long-term, proactive, and innovative perspectives, truly meeting citizens' daily needs, improving urban governance methods, optimizing urban renewal mechanisms, and impelling the growth of local economy.

KEYWORDS

Space Characteristics and Identity; Space Quality; Urban Governance; Aesthetic Consciousness; Online Influence; Urban Renewal; Discourse Power

1 城市空间品质与城市治理

李昊（以下简称李）：城市空间品质与城市空间质量常常被混为一谈。绝大部分情况下，人们都误将空间质量的提升等同于空间品质的提升，实际上二者的差别非常大。城市空间质量是对空间使用状况的评价，侧重物质环境层面，可以通过提高设施的完善程度和便利程度，以及环境的整洁程度等来改善。但城市空间品质是兼顾空间内外条件的综合评价，还需要关注空间的美学内涵和场所属性。比如，西安很多历史地段经过改造后焕然一新（空间质量提升了），但却失去了原本的氛围和韵味（空间品质并没有得到提升，甚至下降了）（图1）。

当下，中国城市空间品质提升的核心是解决城市空间环境在物质使用和精神审美方面与居民需求不匹配的问题。首先，有品质的城市空间一定要能够支持人的活动，这就需要城市空间满足多元化的、多价值取向的需求。在以往的城市空间建设中，使用者在族群、年龄、性别等特征上的差异并未得到充分考虑，因而人们的需求未能得到很好的满足。其次，有品质的城市空间一定是宜人的、治人的——不仅环境美观舒适，也能够的情感上打动人、在文化上陶冶人。再次，有品质的城市空间是富有内涵和场所特征的，场所特征是指空间环境在实现整体和谐的同时，保有自身的在地属性和文化特色。

周详（以下简称周）：在过去“追求数量”的城市增量开发阶段，中国城市的特色不断消失，城市愈发趋同；在如今“追求品质”的城市存量更新阶段，我们开始反思，城市空间建设的目标究竟是什么。在从重“量”到重“质”的观念转变中，中国的城市治理开始关注城市的细部品质，并展开了社区营造、社区微更新等一系列精细化治理的尝试。需要强调的是，对于城市细部品质的关注不应只停留在空间维度上，还应关注城市空间的社会性、文化性、艺术性、历史性及生态性等。

崔国（以下简称崔）：从本质上讲，城市更新即对主体多元、权力关系（包括政府、社区和市场等）极为复杂的空间进行赋权，进而解放既有物质空间的生产潜力。城市空间一方面由政府（即公角色）

1 Quality, Characteristics, and Identity of Urban Space, and Urban Governance

LI Hao (LI hereafter): First of all, I believe that the characteristics and identity of a given urban space mean far from its quality, which, however, are confusing in practice mostly—As a matter of fact, there are striking differences between the both. Urban space quality measures the usage of space, which can be improved by optimizing physical facilities, increasing accessibility and convenience, and keeping the environment clean. In contrast, the characteristics and identity of urban space refer to not only the physical conditions of the settings, but also the aesthetic values and site attributes. For example, the spatial quality of many historical sites in the City of Xi'an was improved through renewal projects, but lose their characteristics or identity (Fig. 1).

In China, the major challenges to the protection of characteristics and identity of urban space is the mismatch between the spatial environment and citizens' needs in physical usage and aesthetics. First of all, the characteristics and identity of a given urban space should be built on satisfying people's diverse needs of activities. In the previous practice of urban space construction, the ethnicity, age, and gender differences of users were not given full consideration, and were insufficient in meeting their needs. Second, a sound urban space needs to be pleasant, empathetic, and nurturing. Third, such space needs to be full of cultural connotations and concordant in environmental design with its surroundings, besides keeping its own characteristics and identity.

ZHOU Xiang (ZHOU hereafter): The uniqueness of Chinese cities is diminishing during the rapid and aggressive urbanization which valued the “amount and size” of urban growth. The new stage of China's urbanization which values the quality and characteristics of urban space has us examined the essence of urban space construction. With ideological shift, professionals are increasingly highlight the refinement of urban spaces, seeing a series of practice efforts such as community building and micro-regeneration. It must be noted that the refinement of urban spaces need to look beyond physical regeneration toward an overall improvement of social, cultural, artistic, historical, and ecological values.

CUI Guo (CUI hereafter): Urban renewal, in essence, empowers urban spaces that are in a complicated relations of power and involve diverse stakeholders (including the government, communities, and markets), aiming to release the



通过空间规划手段进行管理，另一方面又受到由居民或社会人群构成的社会网络关系自由生长的影响。后者是一种去中心化的、社会及空间韧性都极强的社群网络，其内部形成的契约关系会深刻影响空间使用、业态分布，以及社会规则规范的建立。

回顾世界城市发展历史，目前由钢筋混凝土塑造的城市空间发展范式已经延续了近一个世纪。当代互联网、大数据和人工智能等新兴技术很可能正在决定着下一种城市空间发展范式：传统的社区—城市—区域—国家的层级结构正在被互联网和各个数据平台（如阿里巴巴）重新拆解和塑造，城市空间发展也会因此而受到不同程度的规训。这些应当是未来城市更新进程中重要的研究与实践内容。

2 当代审美与城市空间特色保护

崔：目前，追求视觉性与体验性的“网红化”城市空间改造，是中国城市更新进程中出现的全新现象，值得学界和业界重视。学界对“网红化”尚无明确的定义，它反映了网红现象从单个人物主体向城市物质空间蔓延的趋势，是“眼球经济”背景下物质空间视觉化进程不断加深的必然产物^[1]。从城市更新的角度看，空间与功能的“网红化”是城市更新过程中各方沟通隔阂加深、利益共轭模型不稳固的外化表现。

由于网红化的传播视角的不完整性，因而消费内涵出现符号化倾向。自媒体的出现的确为地方性空间特色提供了新兴传播渠道，但现在的城市状态不同以往，因为互联网、大数据和媒体平台对于城市空间产生了一定的规训或导向，新的空间范式可能会就此形成。算法对于人类行为的数据化计算和想象导致所有具有视觉吸引力的、有利于在平台传播的事物会在城市传播中变得更加畅通无阻，进而导致新一轮的城市同化，多元化特色可能会逐渐消失——或者说，传统的空间品

productivity of physical space. Urban space is planned by the government (i.e. the public role), and affected by spontaneous growth of the social network made up of residents or other social groups. Such a network forms a decentralized community with excellent social and spatial resilience. The contractual relations developed within the network have profound impact on the space usage, business patterns, and social rules of communities.

Reviewing the history of world’s urban development, after a century of adopting the current paradigm of urban spatial construction shaped with steel and concrete, we can predict that emerging technologies such as the Internet, big data, and Artificial Intelligence today are likely to redefine the development pattern of our cities: The conventional hierarchy of community—city—region—country is being decomposed and reshaped by the Internet and a number of data platform developers (such as Alibaba), which would restructure human urban spatial development to varied extent. This will be a critical topic to the future urban renewal process, in both research and practice.

2 Contemporary Aesthetics and the Protection of Urban Space Characteristics and Identity

CUI: In China, recently, there is an increasing number of urban renewal projects that look more at stirring broader “online influence” by creating visual attractions. Online influence has not been clearly defined by academia at present, but it indeed reflects the drift of online influence phenomena from the individuals and objects towards the creation of physical spaces. This is inevitable in the age of “attention economy” that goes after strong visual impact^[1]. The online influence of spaces and functions exemplifies the deepening gap in urban renewal and the instability of the conjugative model of interest among stakeholders.

As the online spread cannot display the attributes of a site completely, the visits to such online-influencing sites mirror out the contemporary consumerism. We-Media do provide new promotion channels for celebrating locality; but, nowadays the paradigms of urban space formation are somehow influenced by Internet, big data, and media platforms. The algorithms’ computing and associations on human behaviors facilitate the spread of the things with visual attraction and online popularity. This would lead to another homogenization of urban space construction and the diversity of localities may disappear. In other words, the traditional value recognition system on spatial characteristics and identity might be disintegrated, and the online strength is countercharging the traditional aesthetics^[2]. Citizens and communities, under the online influence, matter the disparity of urban space over the quality.

1. 西安历史地段改造：从朱雀路看西大街
1. Renewed historical blocks of the West Street in Xi'an, viewing from Zhuque Road

① 皮埃尔·布迪厄的“象征资本”指群体或个人的荣誉、声望、权威等文化资源（来源：参考文献[4]）。大卫·哈维在此基础上拓展为“集体象征资本”，用于描述集体所具有的文化上的认同感或荣誉感（来源：参考文献[5]）。

① According to Pierre Bourdieu, Symbolic Capital refers to the cultural resources available to a group or individual on the basis of honor, prestige, or recognition (Source: Ref. [4]). David Harvey further came up with the concept of Collective Symbolic Capital, implying the cultural identity or sense of honor shared by a group (Source: Ref. [5]).

质价值认知体系被瓦解了，网红化对传统审美产生了反噬效应^[2]。在此影响下，居民或社群认为空间不存在好坏，只存在差异。

原广司在《世界聚落的教示100》中强调共同幻想，他直言：“共同幻想创造了所有聚落与都市……不由居民主导的聚落，其共同幻想最为薄弱……若共同幻想强烈，则是怀抱实验精神、不安和梦想，属于创造行为。”^[3]当一个由居民主导的社区具有共同记忆和认知也即共同幻想时，社群就会更加稳定，并具有更为持久的生命力与创造力。而从大卫·哈维的集体象征资本（Collective Symbolic Capital）^①概念而言，当某种空间特色已成为一部分人群的共同记忆或认知时，比起网红化或算法凸显的特色，设计师更应该关注并保护这种共同幻想的特色。

然而，由于自上而下的规划模式中普遍存在一种来自政府管理者、规划者的“上帝视角”来“评判”大众的审美，甚至罔顾居民普遍接受的空间美感，强行植入规划管理者的审美趣味。但这并不能保证城市空间的高品质，甚至经常会出现偏差——从近几年频频被诟病的封墙关店行动、店招改造^[6]等事件，便可窥见这种传统城市治理思路中存在的问题。当前，需要设计一套能够真正让大众发声和参与决策的规划治理体系，即通过程序正义来重视城市空间中的大众审美，从而实现“共同幻想”的存续。

李：首先，在“眼球经济”背景下，城市中的历史空间和生活场所正在成为符号化的消费目的地，一些城市也被贴上了符号化的标签。比如，一提到西安，人们常常会联想到唐，提到开封就联想到宋，提到北京就联想到明清。然而，一个城市的空间特色不应是单一符号化的，而是动态发展的，既应具有历史的层积性和传承性，也应具有旺盛的时代生命力。

其次，审美在很大程度上决定了人们对空间品质的认知。审美分为多个层级，外观的好看与否只是最基本的层级；只有当一个地方让人们产生了认同感、建立起了人与空间环境之间的情感交集，这个地方才具有场所价值。我们不应该用一种简单的、标准化的概念去谈审美，而要因人而异、因地而异、因时而异。在我们警惕网红化可能导致的某些符号化“陷阱”的同时，也必须肯定它的正向价值。例如，近年来，“日常生活”概念及其多样性得到了重视，而网红现象恰恰为大众绚丽多彩的日常审美提供了一个出口，对于地方空间特色也起

In *100 Teachings from the Settlements in the World*, Hiroshi Hara defines that all settlements and cities are created based on the common illusion; The settlements not led by the residents are of the weakest common illusion; If the common illusion is strong, then it carries experimentalism, anxiety, and dream, which are all related to creativity.^[3] When a resident-led community has the shared memory and identity, i.e. common illusion, the community will be more resilient and stable with lasting vigor and creativity. According to the concept of Collective Symbolic Capital^① proposed by David Harvey, when a spatial characteristic become part of the shared memory or identity of a community, this is what designers should focus on and care about, instead of the ones spread by online strength or algorithms.

However, in the traditional top-down planning mode, governors and planners who often deny or override the public’s spatial aesthetics with personal preference, which has led to problems in urban construction, rather than improvement. For instance, the controversial actions such as closing-down first-floor stores in residential buildings and the uniform design of store signs^[6] have evidenced the defects of the dominant urban governance mode. Therefore, a new planning and governance system is required to ensure public interests and promote public participation in the decision making, i.e. respecting and protecting popular aesthetics in urban spaces through procedural justice, in order to sustain the continuity of common illusion.

LI: On the one hand, in the context of attention economy, more and more historical spaces and living spaces in cities are transforming into iconic commercial destinations, so do some cities. For example, at the mention of the City of Xi’an, one would think about the Tang Dynasty; Kaifeng, the Song Dynasty; and Beijing, the Ming and Qing Dynasties. However, the spatial characteristics of a city should not be viewed statically, because the city is always in a dynamic development and should be a place with both historical legacy and contemporary vigor.

On the other hand, aesthetics determines people’s recognition on the quality, characteristics, and identity of space. Being appealing is only the primary level of the aesthetics of a given space. Only when people have recognition on the space and get emotionally bonded with it, the place value can be defined—Certainly, there is no standards or metrics on aesthetics, since it varies from person to person, place to place, and time to time. Despite of the possible “traps” of online influence, we cannot afford to neglect its contemporary values. For example, the concept “daily life” and its diversity is magnifying in recent years, where the online influence provides channels for display the variety of people’s daily aesthetics, highlights localities of

到了很好的放大作用，发掘出很多平时被忽略的地方性日常生活特色，打破了许多人们固有的“空间特色”观念，有助于多元化审美的价值传播。

周：韦氏词典将“网红”（influencer）定义为“施加影响者，特指通过社交媒体发布信息就能让别人对某种东西产生兴趣的人”^[7]，该词本身并不指涉褒贬。然而在城市更新领域，“网红化”改造趋势值得我们反思的一点是，如何形成大众审美和精英审美之间的共鸣。比如，受过专业训练的设计师会更容易理解极简主义的美，但是在长期的农业文明影响下，大部分中国民众可能认为“热热闹闹”“花团锦簇”才是美，或是在一些媒体宣传的影响下失去自身的审美判断，审美偏好为消费文化所左右。其实，无论阳春白雪还是下里巴人，都只是艺术品类的区分——纯粹艺术、大众艺术或草根艺术^[8]——并不存在优劣之别。然而，“网红化”容易造成大众对于某一类型审美的“一叶障目”，导致审美偏好的单一化和同质化。为了使艺术与生活、设计师与大众、作品与环境达到一种共生、共建、共享的和谐状态，可以通过艺术季等节事活动或者博物馆、美术馆等公众美育窗口加强彼此之间的沟通，而这需要全社会的长期努力；在这个过程中，设计师不仅需要摒弃“自美其美”式的传统审美方式，还需要具备对话意识与沟通技巧，通过公共媒体渠道或个人网络平台，让更多人产生审美共鸣。

3 城市更新中的话语权与利益代表

崔：从价值层面来讲，当前城市更新过程中出现了一个重要的模式转变，就是公—私—社区及三方（PPCt）合作模式逐渐取代原来的公私合营（PPP）模式。值得注意的是，在PPCt合作模式中，社区成为出资方后将拥有更大的话语权。在英国，PPCt模式的具体执行方式是邻里规划制度，由政府设立社区更新基金，各个社区通过直接雇佣社区规划师、制定社区更新计划来申请基金，因此社区规划师直接对社区负责，也能更加有效地听取社区意见（图2），政府只负责监督管理

space, and sheds spotlight on local lifestyles that are previously considered ordinary. All these are challenging the stereotyped ideas on spatial characteristics and identities, helping foster and promote diverse aesthetics.

ZHOU: Webster’s Dictionary defines “influencer” as “one who exerts influence, specifically a person who is able to generate interest in something (such as a consumer product) by posting about it on social media.”^[7] The word itself does not refer to praise or criticism; however, what the professionals need to reflect about the online influence in urban renewal practice is that how to bridge popular aesthetics and elite aesthetics. Designers who have received professional knowledge can appreciate the beauty in minimalism, while most Chinese people, holding the aesthetics of agricultural civilization for generations, may think that “the more, the better.” Sometimes, their aesthetics would be largely shaped by the consumption culture spread on social media. In my opinion, there is no a disparity of good or bad between elite or highbrow aesthetics and folk aesthetics—there is a difference in category, i.e. pure art, popular art, and grassroots art^[8]—But, I do believe that the public should not blindly compromise their aesthetics for the homogenized ones by the online influence. To reach the co-existence and con-growth between art and life, designers and the public, design works and the settings, public education programs (e.g. art festivals) and public facilities (e.g. museums and galleries) should be increased, which require long-term efforts of the whole society. Particularly, designers should be no longer in the self-satisfaction of aesthetics, but to have a dialog awareness, and to proactively establish dialog channels (be they public press or we-media) and facilitate the exchanges between communities, arousing a greater aesthetic resonance in the society.

3 The Discourse Power and Interest Representation in Urban Renewal

CUI: From the value perspective, there is a remarkable change in urban renewal process, i.e. the Public–Private Partnership (PPP) model is being replaced by the Public–Private–Community and other third sector (PPCt) model. It is noteworthy that, in the PPCt model, the community, as the investor, has the biggest discourse power. In Britain, for example, the PPCt model is implemented under the institution of Neighborhood Planning: the government funds communities’ renewal actions, and the communities can apply for the fund, and are allowed to hire community planners and to formulate renewal plans; the community planners are responsible to the communities and ought to collect public feedback from

工作。而据我的观察，目前中国的城市更新还是由政府主导、出资聘请社区规划师，因此规划师在本质上仅对政府负责，居民的话语权仍然是最弱的。这种执行方式与合作关系模式是目前中国城市更新面临的主要瓶颈之一。

在城市更新实践过程中，设计师会采用社会调研的方法来弥补居民话语权的缺失。但我观察到，很多设计师在描述某类人群对空间的使用需求时，经常基于想象而非真实调查——或者说，其调研结果因为不具代表性导致对于实践的指导意义不强。举例来说，一些设计师采用传统的调查问卷和走访方式了解使用者需求，但信息来源主要是老人、全职妈妈等，中青年男性使用者的意见缺失；加之网络传播在一定程度上造成了“流量即正义”的现象，导致重要的使用者的需求未能有效表达。

另外，语言隔阂也是城市更新实践中遇到的另一个难题。这一难题既体现在项目的运作架构衔接上（不同的权责管理主体之间），也体现在各参与方（不同的利益取向、文化背景和学科立场等）的认知隔阂上。例如，上海静安区在老旧小区改造中引入了社区规划师制度，但因为街道管理人员大都没有空间规划的专业背景，导致规划师与管理人员的对话不畅。即使后来静安区政府指派规划和自然资源局的工作人员作为对接人，但由于工作强度过大，沟通断层依然存在。而在《城市中国》与上海同济城市规划设计研究院有限公司合作的“美丽家园”社区更新项目和研究中，项目团队提议设立“社区治理

community members (Fig. 2); and the government simply plays a role in supervision. In China, most urban renewal projects are led by the government, and planners are paid by and responsible to the government, while residents have the least discourse power. This implementation and cooperation model might be no longer suitable to the current urban renewal practice in China.

In urban renewal practices, designers are expected to collect residents' ideas and opinions through site investigations, as the interest representative of users. But, as far as I can tell, many of them conduct insufficient or void investigations in practice. In other words, the investigation results are not representative or instructive enough for the planning and design. For example, questionnaires and interviews are mostly employed to understand the needs of potential users of urban renewal projects; however, the main user groups who are available to such investigations are the senior and house wives, while few middle-aged males are covered. Plus by the “justice of online influence,” the needs of the main users of urban spaces are often not represented or fully respected.

Language gap is another challenge in urban renewal practices, which lies not only in the coordination among different stakeholders, but also in the recognition and understanding of various participating entities (with different interests, cultural backgrounds, and educational experience). Community planners were introduced in the community renewal projects in Jing'an District of Shanghai. But the community administrators have no planning knowledge, and insufficient or mis-communication occurs between the planners and the administrators. The District Government then appointed officials from the Bureau of Planning and Natural Resources to aid the communication, but the problem still happens because of the excessive workload. In the Beautiful Home community renewal project, another case in Shanghai, co-launched by *Urban China* and Shanghai Tongji



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2-1



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2-1. 伦敦罗马路社区邻里规划遵循PPCt模式，首届公共论坛在社区规划师的主导下召开。
2-2. 伦敦罗马路社区邻里规划遵循PPCt模式，居民针对社区更新计划已召开多达13次的讨论会议。

2-1. The Roman Road Community in London adopts the PPCt mode. The first community forum was led by the community planners.
2-2. The Roman Road Community in London adopts the PPCt mode. 13 meetings were held among the residents to discuss the community renewal plan.

师”岗位，将拥有规划或社会学专业背景的学生加入到街道管理团队中，承担起“共同语境人”的角色。

周：城市更新中的话语权与利益代表问题涉及政府、开发商、居民，以及第三方组织如何参与城市更新进程。我认为，虽然自下而上的过程很重要，但是对其放任可能会走向民粹，自上而下的规范和专业引导仍然是不可或缺的。因此，“上下齐发”可能是一种更加理想的状态：一方面保证当地居民的发声机会和参与渠道；另一方面设计师不论对谁负责，都应该有自己的价值判断，并有义务推动大众启蒙，尽可能地平衡基层民主与社会资源合理利用之间的关系。此外，社区规划师作为“上下”联结的纽带，既需要与政府建立伙伴关系，从而获得必要的政策支持；又需要与地方保持合作，从而维护独立自主的组织策略。这从日本“地方创生”计划中亦可窥一斑：东京通过官产民学四方利益合作，建立共同出资、人才共培的委员会，构建东京文化资源区^[9]；其他城市也在遗产保护、社区营造及城市更新等方面，由官民共同出力^[10]，形成了各地区自主激发地域活力^[11]的良好共建、共治、共享模式。

李：中国城镇化率达到50%还不足10年^[12]，离都市文明还很远，现在很多问题、冲突都是社会转型期的一种必然：传统价值无法引导当代社会发展，而新的价值体系尚未建构，所以这种情况下，需要设计师做到通过陪伴式观察，深入研究现实问题，既充分尊重百姓诉求，也要开展文化启蒙。

在当下中国城市更新实践的利益相关主体中，政府拥有权力、经济组织拥有财力，而民众的话语权相对很弱。比如正在全国各地热火朝天进行的老旧小区改造，本来是关切民生的大好事，但由于在整个改造过程缺少对居民意见的征询，标准化的改造措施与居民需求和老旧小区的实际问题产生了脱节，无法获得居民认可。城市更新实践应当倡导“陪伴式设计”，倘若设计团队没有与当地居民长期接触，或

Urban Planing and Design Institute Co., Ltd., the planning team proposed to invite college students with planning or sociology backgrounds to work as “community managers,” a member of the administration team, who is expected to facilitate the communication with the planners.

ZHOU: The discourse power and interest representative define the way how the government, developers, residents, and the third parties participate in urban renewal projects. The bottom-up approach is absolutely important, but it would lead to populism if it develops without top-down intervention and professional guidance. It needs to combine both bottom-up and top-down approaches to not only guarantee residents' discourse power and the participation channels, but also ensure designers' independent rights and values, who need to educate the public on planning and balance the grassroots democracy with the allocation of social resources as well. Therefore, community planners should work together with the government to gain policy support, and partner with communities to maintain the independent organizational strategies. The Placemaking project in Japan has demonstrated such feasibility: Tokyo builds the Cultural Heritage Zone through joint funding and talent training by the local committee constituted by the authority, enterprise, populace, and academia^[9]; Other cities also witness collaborative efforts between the government and the locals in heritage protection, community building, and urban regeneration^[10], forming a co-building, co-governance, and sharing mode that vitalizes the local spontaneously^[11].

LI: Although China has reached its urbanization ratio of exceeding 50% in the past decade^[12], it still be far from the realization of urban civilization. Issues and conflicts are inevitable during the societal transformation, when the traditional values no longer lead the social development and the new values are not in place yet. This requires designers to make long-term investigations, study the real issues, respect public needs, and educate the public on how to ensure their right in urban construction.

Among the stakeholders in China's urban renewal practice, the government, as the authority, and the economic entities, as investors, have an extremely high discourse power over spatial construction, while the voice of the public, as the real users, has barely been represented or cared. Community renewal projects, for example, are well-intended actions but are often not well received by the residents for the absence of the residents in the participation of the projects. As a result, the uniform renewal approaches fail to meet people's actual needs. To urban

者对场地缺乏长期研究，就无法真正了解居民的核心诉求。所以我认为，地方的更新改造设计一定要由在地团队来做，因为设计师只有经过长期的陪伴和持续深入的研究、只有真正“懂”这个城市，才有可能做好实践。

另外，设计师在尊重民众的基本诉求和审美偏好的同时，也需要在城市更新过程中开展民众启蒙工作，通过尊重与启蒙并行并重的方式，鼓励居民共同参与空间营造，提升其主人翁意识，并以此促进社群交往与社会团结。2019年，住房和城乡建设部提出“共同缔造”概念，倡导居民、社区代表、政府、设计方和施工方共同商讨面临的问题和诉求，在考虑个体利益的同时也强调公共精神和公共意识，从而保证城市实现良性运转。

4 历史地段改造：机遇与挑战

李：近年国家经济发展放缓，开始大力强调文化复兴，在这方面历史城市有非常明显的优势。然而，诸如西安等历史悠久的城市一方面享有文化复兴带来的城市发展机遇，另一方面又受限于根深蒂固的自上而下城市管理体系，被商业开发裹挟的历史地段逐渐成为打造城市名片的重要手段，沦为资本的工具、符号化的文化秀场。伴随主体隔离、生活衰退、空间侵占，城市在地记忆与文化情感逐渐消失，很多历史地段生活性街道失去了原有的文化价值和在地记忆，成为“夹缝生存”的城市地段。“短平快”“一刀切”的做法忽略了历史文化的多元性和差异性，以“文化复兴”之名行“文化破坏”之事，这与“共同缔造”“自下而上”背道而驰。

一般的文物使用价值不再，可以放在博物馆里面仅供观瞻；但历史建筑和历史地段是文化遗产，与人的生活密切相关。所以我强调，千万不能把历史当成标本，保护也不能是静态的。在城市更新过程中，维持人们的生活性是保持历史地段物质环境与行为活动真实性、多样性的基础。

崔：造成当前历史地段保护瓶颈的一大原因是城市开发制度的缺陷。首先，中国当前的城市规划与建设领域的审批制度及相关法规是依照增量开发的流程设计的，并不适应如今存量更新项目中面临的新问题。其次，必须要承认，世界各地的城市更新项目都面临非常复杂的制度合理化过程，如产权的明确、用地性质与规划指标的调整、审

renewals, a design team which does not conduct long-term site investigations would not understand the users' core demands. This is why I hold that urban renewal projects should be led by the local design teams who would better understand citizens' desires.

In addition to respecting the public's needs and aesthetics, designers should educate the public on planning, encourage them to get engaged in space creation, and foster their ownership, all facilitating social interactions and cohesion. In 2019, the Ministry of Housing and Urban-Rural Development launched the Community Co-building Initiative, which promotes the communication among the residents, community representatives, designers, and builders on all kinds of issues together, emphasizes the collective awareness while protecting individual interests, so as to ensure the smooth operation of the city.

4 Historical Site Renewal: Opportunities and Challenges

LI: As the economic growth slows down, China begins to emphasize the agenda of cultural rejuvenation, which brings the history-honored cities like Xi'an with desirable opportunities for future development. However, historic cities are heavily restricted by the deep-rooted top-down urban administration institution. Besides, for commercial development purposes, historic sites are often transformed into city “cultural landmarks” in the hope of enhance the city image and attract investment. Being occupied with business and commercial development, cut from its historical layers, and separated from the local residents, such sites are becoming distorted places that deteriorate the cultural identity, people's collective memory, and the city's cultural heritages. Such aggressive “one-size-fits-all” approaches on urban governance would harm cultural diversity and betray the initiatives related to “co-building” and “bottom-up.”

Unlike most cultural relics that can be displayed in museums when they lose the values in use, historical buildings and sites are closely related to people's life. We cannot take them as specimen or protect them with static approaches. To urban renewals, sustaining the way people live is the very basis to the physical preservation of historical sites, and to protect and maintain the diversity of people's activities.

CUI: The current urban development institution also constrains the protection of historical sites in cities. On the one hand, China's consent system on urban planning and construction, as well as related laws and regulations, is designed for the incremental growth of cities, which fails to address the issues faced by the today's inventory development. On the other

批过程的合法化，以及资金来源等，因此多数城市更新项目都需要经年累月的推进，并且存在极高的不确定性。以上海市老工业区改造为例，上海杨浦滨江虽然现在看起来是个优质的滨水空间，但背后的改造过程中各方都付出了巨大努力，几座具有历史工业遗产价值的老厂房在专家提议和社会呼吁的共同推动下才得以从大规模拆除中幸存。然而，更多的社群最终只能选择回避或放弃在制度、机制等核心话题层面上的探索和创新。

2020年全国两会期间，城市更新和城市治理的相关内容被写进政府工作报告。我认为这是一个很好的机遇，意味着城市更新进程将在全国范围内推行；但这也是一个极大的挑战：如仍将城市更新视为短期权宜之计或行政任务，而没有认识到它对未来城市构型转换的奠基价值，最终只会导致更多的悲剧。

周：当前，各种历史地段的保护研究与更新实践大多着眼于大城市，小城市的历史保护工作鲜被关注，但互联网的普及却为这样的保护工作带来了机遇。在河南省安阳古城的历史地段保护案例中，政府选择仓巷街这个古宅集中的街区进行更新，本意是打造安阳版的“南锣鼓巷”，希望通过“网红效应”盘活当地经济。然而，受开发成本所限，安阳古城的更新机制由“大拆大建”转变为“征询协商”。结果，这种精细化操作方式反而为这条街留下了部分原住民，既保护了传统建筑肌理，也利用腾退后的宅院建设了一系列民俗博物馆，并迅速走红网络，拉动了当地旅游业的增长。也正因此，安阳本地人才发现古城里独具文化特色的历史宅院，安阳古城的历史文化也渐渐为更多人所知。安阳古城的案例说明，“网红街区”有助于激发年轻人对于遗产的兴趣和想象，更好地拉近他们与历史文化的距离。同时，由于这一案例得到大量网络用户的肯定与宣传，目前基于征询协商机制的保护模式已经拓展到安阳整个历史地段的保护工作当中（图3）。由此可见，互联网作为一种公众参与和大众宣传的渠道，正在显现其在遗产保护工作中的巨大价值。

hand, most urban renewal projects in the world are undergoing the complicated institutionalization on property ownership, adjustment of land use and planning indicators, legalization of consent process, sources of funds, etc., under which urban regeneration projects often span years from planning to implementation, and with high uncertainty. For instance, the industrial campus regeneration project for the Yangpu Waterfront in Shanghai is a success, but it took great joint efforts of experts and the locals during the entire design and implementation process to make it a reality, particularly in the preservation of several historic plants survived from the massive destruction. However, to other more cases across the country, design teams and residents often have to give up fighting for the protection of historical sites, or lose momentum for institutional reform and innovation.

During the National People's Congress and the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference 2020, urban renewal and urban governance was highlighted in the government work report. This signs that the urban renewal now become a national agenda and will be promoted throughout the country. However, if urban renewal is still taken as a short-term expedient or an administrative task, with its fundamental role to the future transformation of urban construction being neglected, the agenda will be renege anyway.

ZHOU: Most existing studies and renewal practices on historical site protection focus on large cities, while the Internet and social media have brought opportunities for the protection of historical sites in smaller cities. In the case of the ancient town protection project in Anyang, Henan Province, the government intended to turn the Cangxiang Street, where the ancient residences cluster, into a cultural destination, like the South Luogu Lane in Beijing, with an ambition to revitalize the local economy by leveraging the online influence. Limited by the budget, this project had to give up its rebuilding-by-demolishing regeneration approach, and conducted broad negotiation with the locals. Such a refined urban governance method not only prevents part of the local residents from being relocated, but also well preserves the traditional architectural fabric. The vacated residences were turned into a series of folklore museums which go viral online, boosting the local tourism in an unexpected way. The unique historic residences and the stories about the ancient town are now widely spread, especially among the younger generations. Today, this negotiation-based protection model has been extensively used to protect all historical neighborhoods across Anyang (Fig. 3), affirming the great value of the Internet in heritage protection as a channel of public participation and publicity.

3. 在城市更新中被保留下来的安阳古城风貌
3. Landscapes of the ancient town of Anyang after the urban renewal project



批注
3

这其实是一个很有趣的案例，因为吴良镛先生一直强调“有机更新”，业内对于古城保护也一再倡导循序渐进。安阳古城“歪打正着”，走出一条“遵循民意、体现上意”的上下联结之路。安阳作为一座四线小城，并不具备一线城市的经济体量与媒体流量，但在互联网时代，通过网络平台的公共参与，实现了古城的有机更新，这确实为当前中国历史文化遗产的保护实践提供了一个独特的地方样本。存量更新的大背景是中国经济发展形势的放缓，我认为这反而促使政府或开发机构有时间来改变审视历史文化遗产的视角：这种契机可以帮助他们意识到除了区位价值，历史地段的文化价值和历史价值也可以成为推动地方经济发展的新动力。尤其是在互联网放大效应和“网红效应”的双重影响下，这种推动作用会更加明显。**LAF**

This is a meaningful case. Mr. Wu Liangyong has been promoting Organic Renewal, and other professionals have also been emphasizing the use of staged revitalization toward ancient town protection. The Anyang government scores a lucky hit by respecting public opinions and staying attuned to the national policy. The case provides a unique example of China’s historical and cultural heritage protection: Anyang, as a small city that is not well capitalized or being famous, realizes its organic renewal of historic neighborhoods by seizing the opportunity of online influence. Furthermore, the current inventory development of Chinese cities reflects the slowdown of China’s economic growth, while allowing the government or developers to re-examine the historical and cultural heritages in cities. They would find that, apart from the location value, the cultural and historical influence of such sites can be leveraged as new momentum to local economic growth, remarkably in the Internet Era. **LAF**

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