

城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

80

剩余的价值 动态发展下的 剩余空间重塑

THE VALUE OF RESIDUAL:
RESHAPING THE RESIDUAL SPACE IN THE
PROCESS OF DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT

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THE PROJECT OF URBAN CHINA GLOCAL INSIGHTS GETS LAUNCHED



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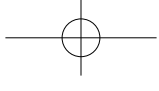
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后现代城市主义视角下的 城市剩余空间更新探讨

INVESTIGATING ON URBAN RESIDUAL SPACE IN THE PERSPECTIVE OF POST-MODERN URBANISM

文 / 匡晓明[城市中国总编]
Text / KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China]



随着中国的工业化和城镇化发展进入生态文明阶段，城市人工生态系统建设、智慧城市建设、城市人文建设、城市产业结构与产业布局的调整优化等方面都将是今后发展的重点。城市建设不仅要拥有健康的自然生态、绿色高效的经济生态、文明的社会生态，还应该拥有健全的制度保障，将更加注重可持续发展。

基于城市多孔性的认识，以往未发挥出最大效能的“被遗忘”的空间，其更新价值逐渐体现。这是一个全社会的系统性问题，需要从政府引导、专家领衔、公众参与、社会赞助入手解决。城市设计也会逐渐关注微型空间，从整体上对微型空间提出具体的设计要求，在提升城市的吸引力中发挥重要作用。

城市更新的第五阶段

THE FIFTH STAGE OF URBAN REGENERATION

城市既是经济发展的载体，也是市民的家園，其核心在于吸引人、留住人。过去的30年，城市发展是增量扩张型的模式，采用“大手笔”、激进式的方法。在此过程中主要是结合经济的发展状况和市民的刚性需求来使用空间，某种程度上不存在剩余。当前中国的经济发展进入新常态，城市建设主线已经进入由增量拓张到存量提升的转型阶段，中国城市发展从以土地为中心转变为以人为核心，进入以有机更新为主的重要时期。对如何使原先没有得到充分利用的空间进行再利用、再复兴，成为存量发展的一个重要议题。

剩余空间活化是城市发展的阶段性问题。实际上，城市更新经历了将存量空间由易到难、由大而小的再开发过程。首先是城市中某些重要地段的更新，比如上海杨浦滨江老工业区。其次是城市重要空间的复兴，比如上海M50、新天地。再者是老城区的更新，历史风貌和文化遗产的保护和利用，比如武康路的更新。第四是老旧住区的更新，比如上海静安区的“美丽家园”社区更新。第五是前四种更新所剩余的一些小微更新，即“剩余空间”，比如高架桥下、小区的边角等。这些原本不受注意的空间，一般是卫生和管理都比较差的地方，现在逐渐进入一些艺术家、建筑师、设计师的改造视野。老城区的一些斑驳墙面，经过立体绿化和美化之后令人赏心悦目，既增加了绿化功能，还带动了社区管理。剩余空间的活化应该是城市有机更新的第五个阶段。关注剩余空间是城市现代化的标志之一，也是后现代城市主义的重要标志。

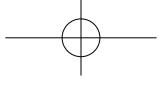
剩余空间的价值基于对城市多孔性的认识

THE VALUE OF RESIDUAL SPACE IS BASED ON THE URBAN POROSITY

工业革命带来现代城市主义，柯布西埃的现代城市理论蔓延全球，中国的城市建设一度追求“高大上”。随着经济发展逐渐进入后工业化，人们的生活从脱贫致富到中产水平，心理需求从“高大上”回归到“小而美”。城市发展开始关注多样性、多元性、历史性以及人文性，强调经济多元、空间复合、人性化设计，进入后现代城市发展阶段。正如1990年代人们喜欢浦东式开发建设，现在反而觉得浦西的老弄堂、小街道更多样化、更富人情味。

剩余空间的价值体现来源于全社会对城市多孔性认识的提高。城市是一个开放的生态系统，其生存状态和生存环境是由各种各样的空隙组成，并非填满。大孔挑起城市功能作用，小孔担当城市多元特色。大小孔并存，包容协作、平等参与、开放共享构成城市的多孔性特征。城市功能基本健全，人们更能为一些角落里富有美感的人文景观所打动。这其实是一种全民生活富裕的表现，也是城市可持续发展和精细化管理的标志。

后现代主义将城市看作一个能够自我维护动态平衡的有机体，强调“杂乱而有活力胜过明确统一。”城市中的剩余空间，数量大、内容多，激发活力方式与更新特征各不相同，且此类更新项目规模小、费用低，大型设计院不容易介入。在此条件下产生了多元参与，参与者需要具有一定的社会责任感，愿意为社会和市民奉献自己的爱心，还要有一技之长。首先介入的是艺术家，从涂刷美化开始城市剩余空



间的更新。这是全世界微型空间更新的规律，对于环境整治和改善，当政府参与没有到位时，在不涉及资金和产权的情况下，艺术家最容易介入。建筑师对剩余空间的活化也比较积极，美国的高线公园便是由建筑师发起。景观设计师参与度也较高，如同济大学的刘悦来老师，以种植的方式介入社区边角料空间的更新，打造食物森林、可食地景。城市规划师更多地是参与社区的更新规划，引导居民参与，综合采纳居民建议。比如静安区“美丽家园”社区更新，以营造“安全、整洁、文明、有序”的良好环境为宗旨，以重点解决小区硬件设施老旧缺失、技防安保薄弱、停车难、管理服务滞后等问题的剩余空间再利用。艺术家、建筑师、景观设计师以及规划师都是创意人群，希望通过创意的力量来改变这些微小的、被遗忘的但又距离人的生活尺度很近的空间。他们不仅带动了一批创意人群，更重要的是带动利益主体的参与，主动地改善自己的生活环境，并且自觉维护。这其实是一种正能量的传播。

剩余空间是城市环境治理的系统性问题 URBAN RESIDUAL SPACE IS THE SYSTEMATIC PROBLEM OF URBAN GOVERNANCE

城市环境的卫生、洁净是社会性的、系统性的解决方案，并非头痛医头、脚痛医脚。尽管上海的剩余空间再利用走全国前列，投入到剩余空间复兴的创意人才仍然少数。剩余空间的活化问题是一个庞大系统工程，对剩余空间的认知不应简单地通过艺术美化来表达，更应该从精细化、卫生环保、可利用等方面思考。

对于剩余空间的再利用，最终需要政府强化管理。在流程上，政府首先需要对剩余空间进行梳理，然后制定参与制度，鼓励、带动和引领创意人群参与，更重要的是激发大众的能动性和积极性。因为某些空间仅凭创意人群的自发改造，收效甚微。高架桥下的空间再利用，需要政府首先解决供水、供电问题，然后引导自下而上的公众参与。所以剩余空间再利用的核心问题是要有政府的组织和制度管理。街道空间的艺术活化，也需要政府部门的管理。政府的参与还表现在



街道是城市重要的公共空间，为人们提供交流的场所，是城市更新和城市设计的重点。图为上海新天地街道空间。(图片来源/携程旅游网)
Street is an important public space in the city, offering a place of communication, is the key of urban regeneration and urban design. This picture shows the street space of Xintiandi, Shanghai. (Image/http://vacations.ctrip.com)

集中社会公益思想；引导企业的赞助，规范赞助流程；以及发动居民集资，比如装电梯；建立一套便于社会基金、社会企业、百姓集资多元参与的制度和机制。

解决方案需要从政府引导、专家领衔、公众参与、社会赞助等方面考虑。上海各部门举办的SEA-Hi!论坛、15分钟生活圈活动以及城市更新论坛等，起到了政府推动的作用，引领了一批规划建筑、景观设计师、艺术家参与到了更新实践中。一定程度上，剩余空间的再利用提升了城市的吸引力。

城市设计大有可为 THE POWER OF URBAN DESIGN

城市设计从面上解决整体性问题，系统地合理排布建筑景观、规划。以往的城市设计比较粗略，总体城市设计、区段城市设计、片区城市设计、地段城市设计以及专项城市设计，关注的都是比较急迫的大问题，对剩余空间的关注有些不够。这是时代发展的特征，毕竟城市设计在全国刚刚铺开，各地都在忙于总体城市设计，尺度涉及100平方公里、50平方公里、5平方公里，至少也是50公顷，将来这些城市设计都稳定了，可能会逐步关注一些小微空间。随着大规模的“城市设计运动”，面上的设计工作会逐渐稳定，城市设计的重点会转入剩余的小微空间，特别是街道空间。小街巷虽然宽度只有3~5米，但是大有文章，可能从路缘石、树穴、无障碍设施到共享单车的停放，都需要城市设计来排布。

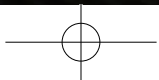
后现代城市主义理念下，城市设计需要将城市剩余空间再利用纳入设计体系当中，给予明确的制度管理和正常程序，在人力、物力和财力方面提供保障渠道，而且要尽快实施，以应对存量更新中诸多的公平与正与问题。还要给出具体的设计要求，如剩余的老堤，破旧不堪的老桥、烟囱、墙体等空间，还应该重视“自下而上”和“自上而下”相结合，以自下而上的原则开展工作，同时也要聚合统筹自上而下的思想，使政府的民生愿望和老百姓的迫切需求紧密结合。同时，需要有正确的价值观，包含绿色、低碳、人文等价值取向。在人员组织上，需要兼顾这三种思想和建筑、规划、景观方面的设计技术。

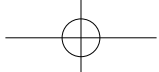
“街道是大家的”，未来城市设计要发挥的重要作用就是将街道设计成城市客厅，将街道空间延伸为城市的公共空间，为人们提供更多的可交往空间、可驻留空间，进一步推动城市管理制度的精细化改革。通过物质环境设计，满足和促进社区居民交往；协调政府管理、企业开发、社区参与三者关系，落实空间正义，实现美丽城市。

城市规划设计的本质是对于空间权益的分配和再分配，目前存量规划的主要难点是利益的再分配。存量型城市设计的基本出发点之一是提升建成区的宜居性，需要探索政府、社区和市场主体共同参与、兼顾各方利益、上下互动协商的“针灸式”规划设计方法，需要以公平、公正、科学的价值观，运用创造性的思维和设计手段，合理引导、协调、平衡各类利益诉求和矛盾，让设计方案尽可能体现大多数利益相关方的共同需求。在强调社区规划的前瞻性、操作性的同时，更要体现空间设计的公共利益属性。剩余空间更新，其本质是更加方便、卫生、舒适、安全和美观，是城市可持续发展的进一步体现，在此呼吁各领域人才和资金积极参与到创造剩余空间活化条件的形成及维护中。●

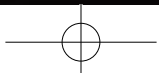


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英文版《城市中国》(部分)
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THE ROLE OF RESIDUAL SPACE IN THE CREATION OF URBAN SPACE VALUE

Text / ZHANG Yuxing Edit / CHEN Chen + Lisbon Translate / FU Chao

Urban planning guides the type and use of the land for a certain period of time. But there still will be residual space when the city is going through some self-transformation, or the urban planning policy for the land does not work temporarily. Residual space is born under very special conditions and can offer alternative opportunities for the development of the city. However, residual space can still generate values if used properly and creatively. Architects and planners should make good use of residual space to increase land value and finally boost the space transformation. Sharing economy is a good mechanism to exploit the value of residual space.

RESILIENT RESIDUAL SPACE

It is quite common that some space in a city is temporarily not in use or in disuse as the city is going through transformation and regeneration. Because city is an organic being. It is constantly changing and growing. Meanwhile the function of most architectures is fixed or limited in a certain period of time. But as people keep changing the way they use the building or the land, the condition of the land or the building will be changed. For example, when an entire town is hit by recession, its function and condition will be changed. It is more of a natural transformation. Another condition

is the deliberate transformation brought by city planners. For example, some area is originally for industrial use. But as the city is further developing, the surrounding environment and condition of the area have changed. If we still keep it for industrial use, we cannot achieve the highest value of the land. So the government will adjust the city planning scheme about that land. No matter it is natural transformation or adjustment in city planning, there will be an “empty” period for the land. It is not in use as it is waiting for its new function to come. This is how we get the residual space, which is a very natural result of urban planning.

Residual space can actually nurture new possibilities for a city to grow. It acts like a buffer, making the city more resilient. If the city is entirely controlled by the authority in every space and at any time, this certainty is not good for the city and the society. It will lose its vitality. A residual space that is resilient is not produced by planning but a natural product of the city’s progressing ahead. The modern planning and management system over the city space is a typical product of modernity, representing a repressive power or control over the space. Modernity makes the city perform with high efficiency and makes sure the society is running with a steady hand. But it has negative effects, too. All kinds of systems and mechanism

somehow arrest the cultural, political and economic development of a society. Residual space represents the freedom of running away from the restrictive hands of modernity. In some way, it is the silent protest against the authority and systems of capitalism. The “un-official” residual space delivers liberating meaning that transcends the modern society.

RESIDUAL SPACE AS SELF-DEVELOPING SPACE

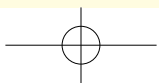
Architects and planners start to see the value of these self-developing residual space. Normally, if we want to transfer the function of the space through regular planning, it has huge financial and administrative expenditure. But the development or transfer of residual space is “self-driven” and part of the dynamic growth of the city space. Intriguingly, it’s the authority that initiates and causes the “un-official” self-development of residual space. The government’s lifting some control over the space is part of a clever strategy to “control” the space in order to generate larger value. It is a very innovative move.

If the government believes that a particular land space has not achieved the maturity and the economic activities taking place in the space are not qualified enough according to the market requirement, then the land will be marked as “temporary residual space”. It is left there to evolve as it is without any planning or regulation. When it has achieved the best situation for market activities, the government will step in and release regulatory plans to control the development of the land. The whole process is a collaboration between the government and the market.

Let’s take an example of the Huaqiangbei in Shenzhen. It has been transformed into a comprehensive hub for innovation from an industrial park with a focus on traditional manufacturing and processing sectors in slightly more than a decade. It is now a complex of both industrial and residential area with high-tech businesses and shopping centers. It is also renowned for its incubation programmes gathering prominent talent around the country. In the development process of the area, the govern-



Aerial view of the underconstruction of subway line in Huaqiangbei (The first electronic street in China)





ment adopts a flexible and loose way to regulate it. Instead of imposing strict and mandatory regulation on the development of the area's industrial and consumption chain, the government acts as an observer and protector. The successful transformation of the Huaqiang North area is generated from the loose regulation (but not zero regulation) from the government and its self-development interacting with the market.

Another example is that of the Oversea Chinese Town (known as "oct-loft" in Shenzhen. It used to be an industrial park of manufacturing. Now it is home to businesses of creative industry and a range of commercial facilities. The land function is still the original industrial one. But the government does not impose any restrictions of industrial land (such as limited use and the added-value costs) on it. The government treated the land as a residual space that is "forgotten" for the time being. The land is free to embrace all kinds of innovative development models. The government viewed the self-development of the land as legal and waited silently until it achieved maturity.

SHARING RESIDUAL SPACE

In modernism, function is what puts the city space into different categories: living, working, playing, commuting and others. It is an effective but also very rigid way of designing the city space. In this way, there must be large amount of residual or empty space, causing large amount of resource waste. Besides, it also makes people living in the space part of the production tool of the space. This



A 79-year-old man and his partner danced in Huaqiangbei.

"totalitarian" method somehow breaks the integrated social structure, reduces the power of community to promote collectiveness, and dampens people's creativity.

The rise of sharing economy and sharing society might change the situation. The essence of the sharing model is to redefine the value and function of a space through the perspective of a user. To some extents, we can say that in sharing economy, all the space are residual and the modernity has left being nothing but wasteland. No matter what function a city space holds, be it a public space, commercial, business or industrial one, it is residual in a certain period of time and can be shared for

a different function. For example, an office building is where people go to work during the daytime. At night, it can be a totally different space. Actually, it is how we "reuse" and "reproduce" the space to maximize the space value. Based on this idea, the sharing model should start with finding residual space and then create the economic, social and cultural context for it. Through sharing, we are creating a new community where people gather together again for the same cause. It is not only reusing the space resources, but also rebuilding the social value. With the sharing model, the residual space is not residual any more, it is a fairland of regeneration.

SPACE INTERACTION-THE TRANSFORMATION LOGIC OF RESIDUAL SPACE

Interview with Yu Hai, Professor of School of Social Development and Public Policy, Fudan University

Interview / CHEN Chen + XIE Liqun Edit / CHEN Chen + Lisbon Translate / FU Chao

Looking through the history of urban development in Shanghai since the Republic of China, the first residual space is probably the territory during the concession period that was administered by no one. After the founding of People's Republic of China, the land in Shanghai once was owned and developed by the State sector. At that time, there was almost no residual space. Later, these land, especially the residential one was released to the private sector and developed by multiple parties. Various new communities were built and not connected to each other. Some of them could not follow the progress of urbanization and city transformation, and became "residual".

The recent riverside renovation project demonstrates that government should take the lead in solving all the land use problems from the past, renovate residual space and make it public space for people. Besides, as people are embracing alternative ideas of urban development and paying more attention to public space, residual space might play a significant role in creating new public space and bringing fundamental changes to the city.

Q=Urban China A=Yu Hai

Q: What do you think of "residual space"? What is the origin of the residual space we have

today?

"Residual space" is more of a concept in architecture. Maybe in the future it will become a new inspiration for space planning. If residual space meant space that is residual, then we have to figure out what makes it residual. If the city progressed to the right direction, there won't be any residual space. All the territory of Shanghai used to be an integrated one space in terms of administration. However, during the concession period, there were three administration sectors (the international concession, the French concession and the Chinese one) taking care of different territories. And there were some administrated by none of the three.



Now we can say that these territories are the residual space. Some residual space have developed into unique landscapes such as the riverside area of Suzhou River and some disused rail tracks. Shanty town that grew along the edge of concessions is also a kind of residual space. The government at that time decided to demolish it because of security issues and its negative impact on the city image. After the founding of the People's Republic of China, the lands were owned by the State. The Shanty town was also legalized. No more territories without owners. At that time, the concession area was a bustling city hub for business and residence. Shops stacked along the street. Factories, schools and warehouse were located inside alleys. I was living in a neighborhood at Madang Road. The small neighborhood has more than 60 institutions, including church, kindergarten, primary school and all kinds of shops. Alleys in that neighborhood are linked with streets. The entire space is highly connected. You cannot find anywhere "residual". New settlements were set up around the outside of the concession area. In the 1950s, the government built a range of residential communities for

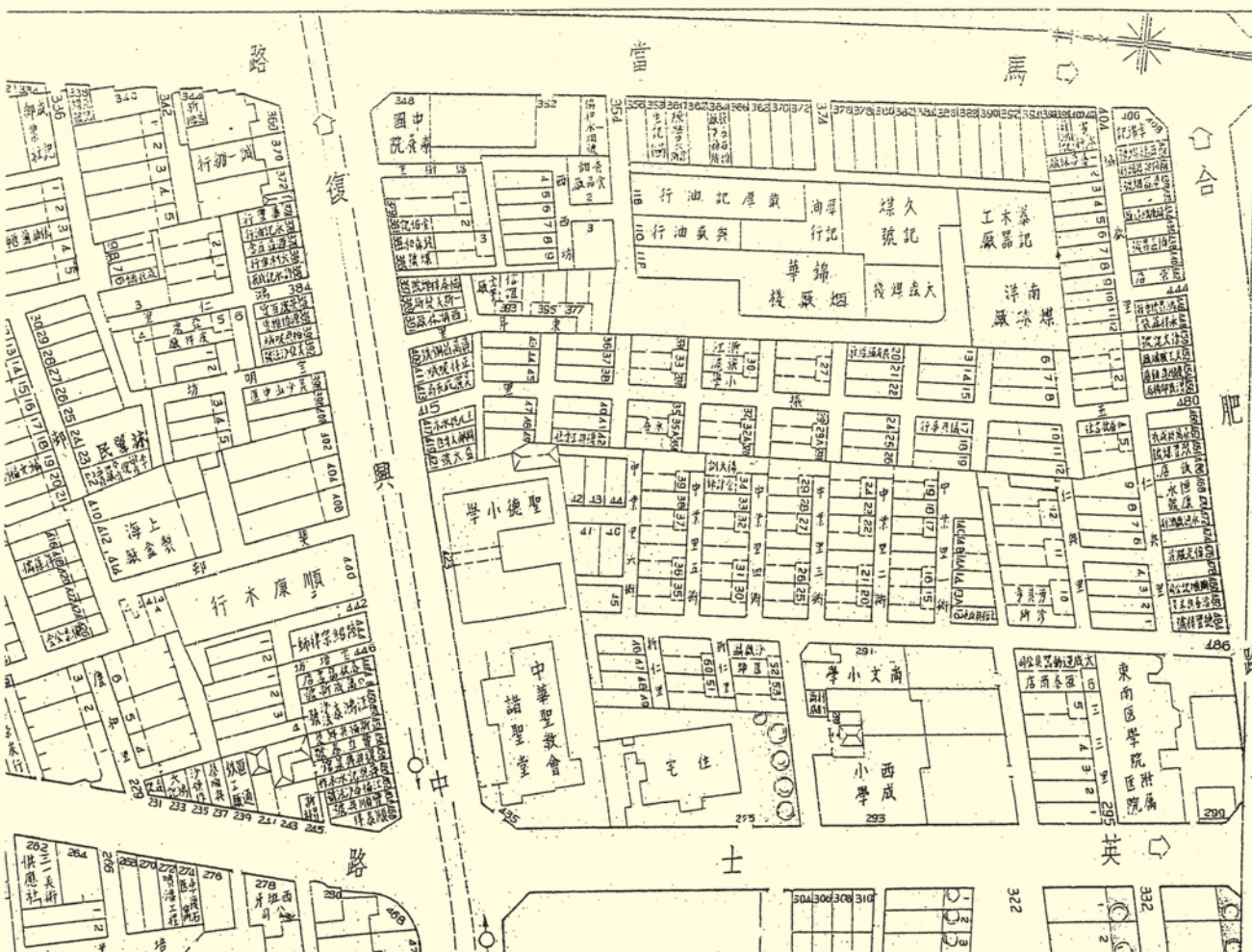
workers working at factories along Zhongshan Road and Suzhou River. Such kind of "workers' communities" were mostly found in the northern and eastern part of the city. Inside each community, there were residential buildings and also other facilities such as school and market. There was no residual space in that community either. When we approached 1990s, there was almost no residual space in the city.

Before 1990s, the government and State-owned sectors were the only developers of the city. There was no private sectors or foreign investors. But after that, we had more parties involved in the development. That is when the residual space emerged again. Take the "Zhongyuan Village" as an example. The entire community was built by several governmental and industrial sectors. Shanghai Textile Industry Bureau took the job of one block. They built residential buildings mainly for the bureau's staff and sold the rest. When other sectors in the society were allowed to join the city development project, they were granted the right through renovation of old plants or renting the land in old districts. Although there are regulations that

marking out different public areas, some areas are just not covered. So residual space. In addition, the very many new city developers --- now they took the charge of the urban development --- built houses anywhere available in the city center. It created a lot of enclosed residential communities and broke the original integrated structure. Alley-based communities were gradually gone after 1990s, so was the public life. It is one of the largest issues in urban development during the past 30 years.

Q: All the troubles started when there were multiple developers in a city. So maybe the way to solve the problem is to let only one party take charge. Who do you think should be the one party?

A: Government. Government should be the coordinator and release regulations to ensure the public good is not harmed. The riverside area along the Huangpu River and Suzhou River is important public resource. Multiple city developers break in, divide the public space and take their own share. In one of my old essay published in 2003, I said



Site Map of Madang Road District



People are composting in Chuangzhi Park.



Children are cropping in Chuangzhi Park

that the Suzhou River area will finally become a “cement forest” and the enclosure of real estate developers. I suggested that the government should keep the riverside area untouched when leasing out the Suzhou River territory. There used to be different quays in the riverside area of Suzhou River and factories in the Putuo district. But now, new buildings come to the riverside area and break the original landscape. There are even residential buildings there. My students once carried out a project in 2003. They walked or bicycled from Putuo district to Huangpu district along the Suzhou River. During the journey, they had to stop and changed the route because of the new establishments that blocked their way.

If we let different sectors in the society participate in the city development, it might be out of control regarding space design and planning. When we are doing urban planning, we need to consider what is good for the public and how to maintain or create public space, and make sure the public space is extensively accessible. I once asked a retired government official, “When you were setting up borderlines in the Suzhou River development project, why not keep the riverside area?” He said that there weren’t many developers then, the riverside was like a reward or encouragement. So now we have what we have. Some part of the riverside area along the Suzhou River is not accessible because of the residential communities there. And we cannot ask the residents to give the public space back to the public. It is the same with Huangpu River, where factories and business establishments took part of the riverside. If the factories are owned by the State, like before, the government can take the land back easily. But now we need to negotiate with business groups. That’s why I said government should take the responsibility to lead and regulate the city development because it failed to do so in the past few years. The government is too easy with the developers and it shouldn’t give the

riverside area away. If we don’t have a system that regulates and leads the city development, there will definitely be residual space.

Q: Can you talk more about residual space in the city? How is it used?

A: We are currently doing some research on a renovation project in Lujiazui. One part of the project is about public space, in which a community made up of three business buildings is renovated into a public space with unified design and management. People can take a walk or run in the public space. The essence of this project is the transformation of capital-oriented mindset to social good-oriented. The renovation integrates the outdoor space of the three private buildings and make it a public one. It is a very efficient way to make use of the residual space.

Another example is a farmland in Wujiaochang named “Chuangzhi Park”. The original location of the farmland used to hoard waste materials from the neighborhood. After renovation, it is a gathering space for the residents there to hang out and do some planting. Some facilities in the farmland are operated by organizations. Most of the space is open to all.

In *Flesh and Stone*, Richard Sennett said that one of the issues faced by modern city dwellers is that people have lost the sensibility to feel something standing among the city buildings, and the possibility to have direct connection with others. The city we are living in makes us numb inside. We have to listen to our body, sharpen our sensibility and believe in direct connection again. In architecture, people love talking about facades. But how many of us really touch it and sense it with one’s heart? Facades are actually quite distant. There was a time when we could touch the bricks and pillars of a building while walking on the street. Now, buildings are enclosed in a space and far away. We can only look at it. In the past 30 years, we don’t

really have street life. We are living in an enclosed space and living with fragments of feelings. When we think of city regeneration, we know we should improve the facilities and environment, but how to use that space and the feeling of the people using that are also very important.

Q: Do you think that running a city like it’s a business somehow shapes the transformation of a city?

A: Running a city like it’s a business is not the right direction city developers should approach. The city space will be over-developed then. The quality of a space will also be harmed if we treat it like a business. However, there are good things happening. We are valuing the quality of life and the experience a space can bring us. It is fine that a space will not generate any monetary benefits only if it offers some extraordinary experience. To me, a good space must be culturally rich, accessible and relaxing. Natural landscape in a city, like the riverside, is what makes the city as it is. And it can bring people options for a healthy and colorful lifestyle. And in some way, we need expertise to curate these natural space, such as some annual exhibitions.

Another way to curate the natural space is to develop it into something else. It is widely accepted that we can develop a natural landscape to explore its profound value for our life. People start to think that natural landscape is no longer a private thing but a public one, shared by everyone living in the city. But in the past, especially during the period from 1990 to 2000, the natural landscape around the residential buildings was believed to be owned by the property developer. It was part of the value of the property. But now people have changed their ideas. They want to have their public space back. In the recent years, people from different walks of life are calling for more public space and larger accessibility.



城市中国 Urban China

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动态发展下的
剩余空间重塑
THE VALUE OF RESIDUAL:
RESHAPING THE RESIDUAL
SPACE IN THE PROCESS OF
DYNAMIC DEVELOPMENT

总第80期

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