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#### 《城市中国》海外观察员第六期(2022-2023)开榜

自2016年海外观察员首次发声至今,《城市中国》已携手来自全球32座城市、35所知名高校、总计 53名海外观察员,展开对于城市更新、社区营造、公共空间、智慧城市、建筑设计等多个话题的观察 与讨论。自去年开始,《城市中国》还招募了来自国内各行业的、关注城市发展的城市观察员,聚焦于 中国各个城市,挖掘更深入、更多样的视角。这一次,又有十位青年研究者加入了UC海外观察员和城 市观察员的行列。在接下来的一年里,他们将撰写城市研究文章,在世界各地举办工作坊,继续为我 们带来最真切的城市观察。

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# Migration ... from <sup>塞尔维亚</sup> Rural Areas <sub>牙买加</sub> to Cities 从农村到城市的迁徙 阿富汗 AFGHANISTAN





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#### ISSUE 92



#### 向我们的下一代学习

#### 儿童友好型城市建设呼唤对儿童需求 与城乡发展规律的本质探究

1996年, "儿童友好型城市" 由联合国第二次人 居环境会议提出,旨在全球范围内为儿童营造美 好城市和成长环境。在世界范围, 联合国儿童友 好城市计划(CFCI)目前已深入40余个国家、近 3000个城市。2021年10月,国家发展改革委办公 厅等23部委联合印发《关于推进儿童友好城市建 设的指导意见》,中国正在致力于形成结合顶层 设计引导与地方城市实践的以儿童友好为先导的 全龄友好城市建设。

《城市中国》第92期希望既从海外经验中发现值 得中国学习借鉴的部分, 又能从我国的在地实践 中挖掘值得被放大的经验, 为未来更多的儿童友 好型城市落地提供案例参考。本期针对"儿童友 好型城市"的讨论,从儿童友好的国际视野、城 市规划、儿童游戏、家庭教育、出行教育、社区规 划、儿童参与、儿童与灾害预防等方面展开。通过 对具体案例的梳理,集中呈现了符合"可玩性"与 安全性需求并对监护人友好的理念如何在不同尺 度空间上体现, 在社区功能与服务的提供中如何 做好儿童与家庭的身心健康建设, 特殊条件下如 何应对儿童面临的潜在灾害等议题。

#### 读者评论

二月读书月总结: 不是浅读, 真就是浅翻一下。还是有图的杂志 更吸引人,首推城市中国。

——新浪微博@200毫升的可乐

#好书速览# NO.101 《未来社区: 城市更新的全球理念与六个样

城市中国/崔国著,浙江大学出版社出版。城市的建设者和研究 者们需要重新思考未来的发展方式。社区是城市的基本单元, 对未来社区的理解和试验,是探讨城市未来发展的重要课题。 本书通过实地调研分析国内外多个国家的城市更新案例, 梳理 城乡规划学者、建筑设计师、社区经营者等群体的观点与洞察, 寻找未来社区的中国模式。(吴尚之文,转自"全国政协委员读 书漫谈群")



城市中国真的可

——新浪微博@二狗么么的123

城市中国微信公众号文章《老城厢伟大的小商业 | 手办屋, 事关 爱与梦》评论

希望能多一点像小黄人HOBBY的线下实体。和"懂行"的同龄 老板聊聊玩具的确是一件十分开心的事[呲牙],祝愿曹老板越 开越好[666]!



我最早的几个转轮北斗就是和曹老板面交收得, 当时他还没有 开店, 淘宝应该都没有, 骑着山地车, 反戴棒球帽, 那会我们都 正直年轻, 同想起来, 感到挺美好。

——微信读者@guevara

所以到底是搬走了,一如文庙自身的改造工程,变成了宏大"城 市更新"概念的注脚。

——微信读者@HC.

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# 未来社区的生产、创新和治理

### SPATIAL PRODUCTION, GOVERNANCE, AND INNOVATION OF FUTURE COMMUNITIES

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



未来社区,或者面向未来的社区,从时间上 看有高度的不确定性,但是其中包含的进步 意味确定无疑,即明天比今天更好,与一百 多年前西方城市规划师"明日之城"的思想 是同样的逻辑。未来社区在中国提出的短短 几年间,也经历了语义上的演变,比如未来 公园社区、完整社区。我们在讨论仟何一种 面向未来的社区时,首先要打破"社区=住 区"的思维定势。网络社会的全面降临,社 区天然包含着复杂性、复合性。单纯的居住 无法涵盖生活的全部, 也无法展现出社区资 源蕴含的巨大潜力。无论是生产、创新、创意 还是社会治理,未来社区都应当也必然是最 重要的发生场景。社区的趋势本该如此。

#### 从未来社区到未来公园社区 **FUTURE COMMUNITY, FUTURE PARK COMMUNITY**

浙江省提出的未来社区概念, 其实从专业的角度来讲并不是很恰 当。"未来"这个词的时间确定性很模糊,我们到底在讲哪一年的未 来,是近未来还是远未来?在未来社区之前,还有许多描述理想社区 的概念词,例如健康社区、宜居社区、现代化社区。但这些词汇往往是 专有名词,不够具有宣传性。未来社区虽然时间上有不确定性,但它 包含一种明天比今天更好的进步内涵,即更加面向未来的社区,是一四川两地互相考察学习后,成都启动策划了"未来公园社区"建设,并 个有理想、有目标的表述。

"Community"再到中文的"社区"的转译过程。关于社区的定义目 前已经超过了100种。Community除了社区的意思外,还有地方社 会、社团、共同体、群落等含义。现代汉语中社区通常指代"社会上以 某种特征划分的居住区"。但无论是哪种含义,总体而言,面向未来的 社区肯定不是指未来居住社区。我们在讨论未来社区时, 一定要避免 把社区等同于住区, 尤其不能等同于当下的小区模式。

浙江提出未来社区的同时,成都也提出了"公园城市"。在浙江和 在2022年出台了《未来公园社区建设导则》(下简称《导则》)。在浙 社区是个外来词, 经历了从德文 "Gemeinschaft" 到英文 江省未来社区 "1+3+9" 的架构基础上, 形成了 "5+20+44" 的指标

体系(5个维度、20项核心内容、44个建设指标)。《导则》中还提出 成都将系统提升三类公园社区功能品质: 城镇公园社区、乡村公园社 区外,产业公园社区。其中,产业公园社区以抓好空间载体共享、高品 质服务植入、社企融合共治为重点,产城融合、宜业宜居。

成都市规划院在《导则》初稿的讨论中,明确提出未来公园社 区绝对不能搞成住宅社区,范围一定要更加广泛。成都的产业公园 社区,一定程度上可以认为是对浙江版未来社区偏重住区的一次拓 展, 其核心是以未来公园社区的手段, 达到城市更新、产业升级的 目的。

成都武侯区的"她妆美谷",是成都唯一的"美丽经济"产业功能 区。2021年启动招商后,很快成为成都未来公园社区的重点项目。这 里原先是一个女鞋批发市场,后来倒闭清退,但厂房建筑保留完好。 最初的计划是改为住宅社区, 但经过讨论后决定延续之前的业态类 型,继续作为产业社区,但是内容从原来的传统鞋装批发,升级为以 化妆品为核心的美丽经济产业,发展电商直播、体验消费、研发智造 等,原先的鞋装产业也得到同步升级。产业主导的社区同样是社区, 未来公园社区的实践, 最终目的是宜业又宜居。

#### 创新空间的未来性 THE FUTURE OF INNOVATION SPACE

未来社区的未来性, 应当是三种空间, 即物理空间、社会空间、 创新空间的结合。创新空间是未来社会的一个表征,居住和创新可能 发生在同一个社区。未来社区三种空间的混合,决定了社区具有创新 性。创新行为早已不限于在写字楼办公室里,但在社区空间中发生的 创新还有待想象和发挥。创新空间的基础来自智慧城市的建设、网络 社会的构建。随着城市未来性的出现,社区的未来性是同步发生的过 程。创新的动能以中青年为主。因此,未来社区的支持就不能只是儿 童友好、老年友好,还应当中青年友好。未来社区里给年轻人提供的 不是环境、设施, 而是能不能为创新创业的想法提供资金、平台, 包括 社区创业辅导中心、风险投资的提供。同样,老年人和儿童同样可以 有创新的机会和空间。

型,演化为智力驱动型。从湾区的硅谷到纽约的硅巷,已经显示这种 可能性。伦敦的肖尔迪奇(Shoreditch),原来是老工业区,后来被年 轻人占领,不断涌现出小型的创新创意公司。深圳同样提出城市创新 单元,后来改叫创新社区。未来的社区,物理空间更美好,社会空间更 融洽, 创新空间不断提供社会发展的动能, 社区的趋势本该如此。

#### 规划介入未来社区是一个阶梯式的过程 PROGRESSIVE INTERVENTION OF URBAN PLANNING

人居始终是社区的基本功能,未来社区同样关注人居的重要性。 总体而言, 在中国的语境下, 未来社区就是以人民为中心, 从社区的角 度,把高质量发展、高品质生活、高效率治理结合起来。城市规划在 其中,也分为三个层面阶梯式地介入。首先是物理层面,解决社区面 向未来的、更加美好的环境,交通、安防、房屋修缮,即当下老旧社区 物理空间的四大更新要素。第二是配套层面。增加社区服务设施、健 康设施、活动中心、教育医疗等等。

第三是社会层面。首先是社区治理,激发社区自治的能力。其他 包括就业、绿色低碳、智慧社区。智慧社区看似是个技术问题,实际上 是以线下线上泛在交流的技术手段,来讲行社会治理、管理;绿色低 碳最重要的是低碳生活的意识。社区治理方面,城市规划和社区规划 是一个核心抓手。现在社区的根本问题,或者说住宅商品化带来的一 个负面结果,就是社区原子化。长期以来,我们的社会服务依赖两种 方式: 政府福利, 市场购买。但第三种即民间互助的方式非常微弱。 上海封控期间, 当政府福利、市场购买都难以为继的时候, 人们突然 意识到了民间互助、社区共治的重要性。没有公共参与,巨大的社区 资源就闲置在那里,无法得到发挥。因此,社区治理的目的不是要回 到过去的那种乡里、单位式的熟人社会, 而是通过规划工具的介入, 让各种事件发生,激发社区公众参与的能力,培育社区参与组织,形 成可持续的社区参与体制。

城市社区是城市最重要的生活细胞。公共参与式的社区更新,有 利干形成上下结合的社区多元共治,最后实现社区共同体的根本目 标。城市化虽然仍在推进,但中国人对血缘、家庭观念的重视程度依 然很高,养老不愿意去养老院,更愿意在家养老。老龄化是未来一个 最基本的社会问题,在未来中国的社区治理中,同样也要把原子化的 在家养老,提升为社区养老,这同样需要社区共同体之中融洽的熟人 互联网时代,社区蕴含着一种复合性。创新创业也由资本驱动 关系作为依托。社区里鲜花烂漫,但寸步难行,物理层面的更新仍然 是当务之急,但物理层面终究不是未来。从物到人,从空间美化到社 区治理的过程,就是面向未来的过程。以社区治理为中心的社会层面 的工作,必然是未来社区的主要工作。 ●

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# 假以"未来"之名的社区 COMMUNITIES IN THE NAME OF FUTURE

我们正在肆意使用"未来"这一词汇来修饰城市、社区,然而,未来不是均质的,也非必然美好的。在进一步开展未来讨论之前,我们需要认识到几个事实·

#### 未来是一种社会过程

当前对"未来"的探讨,首先要回应的是对技术的态度。从对人类社会形态的影响而言,技术至少包含交通技术和通信技术两大类,然而当我们讨论城市的未来之时,总是轻易地陷入一个思维陷阱,即把"技术"模棱两可地的等同于"信息技术"。另一个思维陷阱是,技术是平等的、中立的,并由此想象出了"科技乌托邦"。然而,技术从来都不是中立的,其本身是一种承诺,这亦无可厚非。然而最令人不解的是,在实践语境中,技术从来都是对未来的一种"美好"的承诺,我们很少看见其负面的、暗淡的未来图景。因此,倘若我们要将"未来"与"美妙、和谐、富足"一类的语意相关联,那么我们必须承认,"未来"首先应当是一种社会过程。人与人之间的关系,以及由此衍生出来的人与其他"物"的关系模式,才是"未来"的内核。它不应仅是空间和技术的物质化试验场,甚至连自然也要屈服于这种优先顺序。令人沮丧的是,现实恰恰反其道行之。每一个时代,新技术在城市中狂肆地应用,实则是将复杂城市问题进行系统性的简化,无差别地假定多数的城市问题都存在一个技术化解决方案。这是对城市生态的刻意扭曲,也是"技术至上主义"最隐秘的陷阱。这种做法,将城市连同其中的居民们原本的真实诉求进行粉饰和掩盖,进而塑造一种"需求的假象",并向世人兜售和展示。其本质,是对"社会过程"的无情否定。

#### 未来是一种资产形式

一种新兴的万物广泛资产化 (Assetization) 过程以及 "资产形式",已经取代商品成为当代资本主义的主要基础。资产可以是一块土地、一种技能、一种体验、一种人格、一种身体功能、一种生命形式,或者传统上的一项专利或知识产权。资产化的结果是将未来的收益进行贴现。资产的价值,也主要根据对未来投资回报的前瞻性预期,并进行折现 (无论这些预期是否会实现)。一个严肃的问题随之而来:谁的未来利益决定当前的政策和制度?实则,"未来"并非一个人人平等的自由之地,相反,"未来"经常被资产化过程、诉求裹挟,进而体现资本的意志,并由此获利。那么,未来城市、未来社区是否真正体现居民的意愿,且足以抵抗资本的意志,抵抗资产化进程,就显得尤为重要。

#### 未来是一种批量化的多样性

必须承认,官方层面用以修饰社区的定语——"未来""完整",抑或其他词汇,必然潜藏了工业化、批量化生产的期待和内涵。早在1845年,中国近代房地产业在上海的租界发轫。建筑师一改以往为特定户主设计与之生活诉求契合的住所的定制化方法,转而追求批量化设计和建造的做法,在设计和修建时全然不需要知道未来的住户情况。从此,在中国,住宅第一次彻底地变成了一种商品,这种标准化的工业流程方法也延续至今,但人们却似乎并不承认这一事实,偏要"为天下不可为之事",妄想未来的城市社区即便在干篇一律的外表和功能构成之下,仍然可以拥有多样的、与众不同的内涵。这似乎是未来城市探索中另一种不切实际的迷思。

#### 未来是一种愉快的守旧

本期杂志并不试图为官方概念提供解读支持, 也无意为今后的"未来城市""未来社区"探索提供范本案例、规

划方法、资金筹措渠道,而是期望提供一种面对未来城市议题的讨论结构、思维方式,以启发更多的来者批判、畅想。因为在《城市中国》看来,如今我们在大肆讨论着"未来",但如若这些讨论全都基于后现代主义思潮"政治正确"的观点,而没有对此展开任何批判,没有对新自由主义、新都市主义的反思,那么所有的讨论、实践,终究不过是一场躲在历史的保护壳内的虚罔、徒劳、假象、骗术。尽管我们承认,历史是以实例施教的哲学,也并不能掩盖思维被局限的事实。实际上,人们对未来未知世界的想象力还极其匮乏和无能,于是不少人就退回到历史中,基于过去两百年的工业化历史,总结城市发展的根本模式(如技术、社会、空间三者之间的互动),并依此推论未来城市。看似无懈可击的真理之下,却是将工业社会的发展逻辑,无缝推演至信息社会。然而这两者间存在显著的区别,典型表现之一是:工业社会以"中心一边缘"的层级化人群结构为基础,与当前人人皆可发声的"群著时代"有着强烈的冲突。于是就出现了一种令人迷惑但又十分普遍的现象:一方面,未来城市的倡导者大呼个体的崛起、原子化社会的到来,未来的无限可能性;另一方面,在落实到具体实践的时候,他们又转而大肆兜售技术至上、大资本主导、中心控制……这些陈腐的方案。乐在其中,不可自拔。因此,本期杂志将以人群模式解体的可能,人对技术的拒绝与沉迷,人与自然对抗的本质这三条主线展开。并指出这三组关系皆被"未来"的空间特质、时间秩序贯穿,且被资本主宰。这一讨论框架的搭建,基于几个缘由:

其一,空间,是"未来"的具体化(Materialization);而时间,绝非一种现象,而是现象的连续变化所形成的秩序。再者,时间也并非一个"无可争辩"的统一现象,更不是一个持续向前的线性标准。它有时是螺旋性的,有时是国家性的,只有极少数才是个体性的。今日被世人习以为常的线性时间,实际上是工业化之后才出现的一种"新"标准。人们在讨论未来城市的时候,也总是将空间要素无限延展,却赤裸地忽略时间的维度。重新认识时间是必要的。

其二,对资本宰制的反思,也并非对其全盘否定,而是"知己知彼"之为,目的是激发人们与资本共处的新模式的可能性。一味地否定资本、拒斥资本,无益于真实世界的生存;但对资本的宰制全然无意识,则又极其容易陷入消费主义的涡流。

其三,本期杂志中将把未来城市与未来社区并置、混用,这首先是基于一种认知,即"未来"只有在城市的尺度上讨论,才有系统性变化的条件,才有讨论的可能。即便要讨论未来社区,也需要意识到未来城市是未来社区的基底;只局限在社区,无异于打造一座未来生活的主题公园。另外,社区一词在西方语境中不但可以指代我国的小区、街道(办),还可以指代一个城区、一座城市,乃至整个国家。因此,尽管本期主题以未来社区的讨论作为起点,实则更倾向于讨论未来城市中的居住功能体系。

其四,任何真实的聚落都表现为"集结",主要形式包含乡村、城市住区(如市镇、都市)。乡村直接与土地产生关联;而都市住所则好像一个自我运行的独立整体,与自然环境的直接关系,不是很微弱,就是几乎丧失了。这道出了城市"对抗"自然的本质特征。正如Vincent Scully所言:城市恰恰是为了把人们,从对自然世界所具有的黑暗神秘力量的惧怕中,及其限制人们活动的自然律法中,解放出来。因此,本期杂志将直面城市与自然的关系,也即人与自然的关系,并将其作为讨论未来城市的基本关系之一。 ◀

建羟加工 淮風

# 未来社区宣言

人们总是把未来想象成线性的、美好的, 把未来社区想象成空间的, 与此相反, 我们相信:

- 1 未来从来不是单一的未来,未来是复数的未来。假如人类不幸滑向一个坏未来,社区将是我们最后学习的领地。而在越来越不安、虚幻和充满紧急状态的当下世界中,社区将(亟需)被重新发现。
- **2** 只要人类一天还存在着实在的肉身,甚至是赛博化的躯壳,就一天不能摆脱 社区的本能,与生俱来的交往理性。
- **3** 未来社区首先是一种社会过程。未来、未来的社区、社区的未来,就是不断赋权的过程,从个体,到人际,再到社区/社会,不断递进发展和增强。个体个别的权利,由此也变成普遍的权力,一个普遍自治的图景。
- 4 资本的宰制是对未来想象力的巨大限制。那些基于现成的资本-行政-技术帝国话语体系的城市规划、设计、更新,最终都是对现存体制的修修补补,成为对现实、栖居、社会、社区、个体进一步操纵、支配、压迫的装置。"我们都成为我们所居住的这个制度和想象世界的傀儡。"
- 5 我们反对将未来社区固守在后现代主义、新自由主义思潮之下,应当将其建立在一系列否定性的都市法则之上。反发展主义、反资本主义、反消费化、反个体化、反私有化、反阶层分化、反人类中心、反科层制、反目的论、反预设、反工具理性、反同质性、反空间专制、反功能主义、反机动性、反技术专制……
- **6** 我们歌颂自然之美、技术之美、人文之美,歌颂集体权利、城市社会,并要摧毁技术专制、工业标准化建筑生产对未来社区目标的偷换。
- 7 社区(Community),还有共同体、共享、共有、界等意涵。没有边界,不成社区。但这绝不是封闭社区且将其建设为中产阶级自留地的论据。我们要摧毁封闭。

# MANIFESTO FOR FUTURE COMMUNITY

#### 我们呼吁:

- **1** 告别传统的公有、私有迷思!未来社区需要共有、共在,人类社区本质的精神。
- 2 建立新的空间、技术原则, 呼唤政治性在建筑、规划设计领域的回归。
- **3** 获得一个理想的社区,要有强大的社会。社会的形成,需要更多元、更密集的横向联系。
- **4** 开放,是未来社区的核心要义和当务之急。但开放与边界并不冲突。边界并不天然产生区隔,边界更是社区开始发生的基础。我们呼唤一种丰富意义的开放,一种柔性的边界。
- 5 未来的社区需要自给自足吗?一定程度上是这样。自给自足不是面对危机与例外状态时的固步自封,而是找回被超工业化分工时代剥夺的社区生产力。 找回我们栖居大地之上的能力!
- 6 区别于城市越来越僵化、板结、保守的现状,通过新的技术手段和众多个体的智慧,社区的姿态变得柔性:从实体到虚拟,从紧密到松散,从十几人到数干人,从血缘、地缘到业缘、趣缘……人们对连结的渴望,诞生无尽的社区形态。

## 联合呼吁人:《城市中国》、城市居民……



未来主义宣言 Futuristic Manifesto 时间: 1909年 发起人: 马里内



基多宣言/《新城市议程》 New Urban Agenda 时间: 2016年 发起人: 第三届联合国住 房与城市可持续发展会议 Case to detection the community of the case of the cas

将技术城市化的宣言 Call to Urbanize Technology 时间: 2021年 发起人:以萨斯基 亚·萨森领衔的一百 多名学者、业界人 士、政府官员



#### 各地实践的政治概念

#### Community Concepts in State-Led Campaigns

未来社区的概念在国内大规模开展实践和讨论,肇始于浙江省。2019年,浙江省发改委提出 未来社区建设试点工作方案,并在全省推广。2021年中,浙江省更是成为中央发布的首个共同富裕 建设示范区, 其中的诸多要求与未来社区倡导的市民美好生活场景不无关联。2022年初, 浙江省 发布了全域未来社区建设的号召。同时,前期试点创建的项目也陆续进入验收阶段。截至2022年5 月,累计验收未来社区数量已达28个。

当浙江正在如火如荼地开展未来社区建设的同时,这一概念也影响到其他地方的政策走向。 如2021年,《上海市新城规划建设导则》发布,对五大新城的建设要求中就同样提出了未来社区理 念。与浙江的概念不同的是,这一概念重点关注的是社区的便利性;某种程度上,可以被理解为是 先前提出的"15分钟生活圈"概念的发展。在岭南,深圳福田梅彩片区于2021年1月开始研究试点 "未来社区"建设模式,构建"7+3"未来社区公共服务场景及其建设指标体系,其中包括教育、健 康、邻里、安全、建筑、交通、低碳等生活场景,及创新创业、产业互联和虚拟园区生产场景。在西 部,成都于2022年2月正式启动了"未来公园社区"建设。其中显然强化了"公园城市"的特色,提 出要"推动公园形态与社区肌理相融,公园场景与人民生活相适,生态空间与生产生活空间相宜的 新型城市功能单元"。并在同年6月,发布了《成都市未来公园社区建设导则(2022年版)》,提出 要构筑"三大愿景、四大原则、七大特征、九大场景"的未来公园社区框架体系。与浙江版的"一个 中心、三个价值维度、九大未来生活场景"高度相似。但实际上,成都在提出"未来公园社区"概念 之前,在2020年第二届公园城市论坛上,就发布了《成都市公园社区规划导则》。因此,"未来公



我们很难武断地说柬埔寨的水上社区是不具有任何未来性的。否则,我们就是承认了"未来"是建构在技术水平先进与否之上的, 并承认凡是没有被技术武装的社区,都应该在历史的潮流中被舍弃。(摄影/崔国)

#### 浙江省未来社区建设政策及大事件

(资料来源/作者根据公开资料整理)

2018 2019.2 2019.3 2019.6

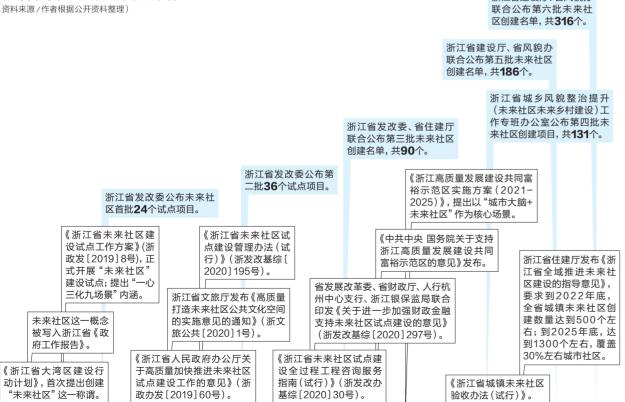
2019.11

2020.3

2020.6 2020.7

浙江省建设厅、省风貌办

2021.7 2021.11 2021.12 2022.3 2022.5 2022.11



2020.8 2020.9 2021.5 2021.6

园社区"也可以被理解为是"公园社区"的发展。

尽管各地的政策制定各有侧重、表述不一,但都能明显发现,"未来社区"这一概念并非一个 学术概念, 而是一个典型的政治概念、官方战略。这也正是为什么德鲁克基金会的著作名为《未来 的社区》, 而非"未来社区"。在这一前提下, 政府官方机构就成为解读这一概念内涵的唯一合法机 构; 其解读的基础, 也显然是管辖城市内, 市民居住面临的紧迫议题。由此就不难理解, 当前的"未 来社区"内涵中,为何对交通拥堵、服务配套、环境绿化等方面如此强调。

#### 上位政策的延续

#### **Articulation of State Policies**

作为一个政府施政纲领,"未来"成为社区的修饰词,不仅是对即将到来的美好城市生活的想 象, 更是对过去30年快速城市化中暴露出来的棘手问题的回应。

经历过去30年快速城市化,房地产业得到了前所未有的发展,人们的住房条件得以大幅改 善;城市居民的收入显著提高,就业机会增长……这些发展的成绩有目共睹。然而,在城市日常的 社区生活中,人们却经常遇到邻里关系疏离、公共服务设施少旧、生活环境质量不高、空间集约利 用不足、交往空间不足、养老医疗服务匮乏、文化氛围缺失、治理手段落后、家园理念日趋淡薄、进 城务工人员无法真正融入城市等诸多痛点问题。"物"的城镇化快于"人"的城镇化的趋势依然非 常严峻。

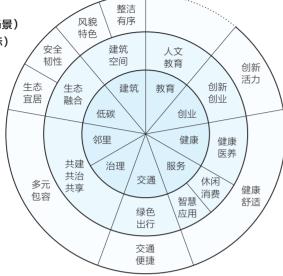
也正因此,中央政府层面对城市社区建设的关注日益加深、频繁。早在2014年,住建部就发布 《智慧社区建设指南》。此后,对城市社区的关注逐步上升,拓展到国家多个部委乃至中央,政令频 出。如2016年,国家多个部门联合发布了《城乡社区服务体系建设规划(2016-2020年)》。翌年, 中共中央、国务院颁布了《关于加强和完善城乡社区治理的意见》。2020年,国务院办公厅又印发

#### 浙江未来社区、成都未来公园社区与国家城市体检的指标对应

内圈: 浙江未来社区(九大场景)

中圈:成都未来公园社区(九大场景)

外圈: 住建部城市体检(八大指标)



《关于全面推进城镇老旧小区改造工作的指导意见》,其中涉及的改造对象范围、改造内容、工作目标等方面,皆与"未来社区"有大量重合。2021年,国务院办公厅又先后发布了《"十四五"城乡社区服务体系建设规划》、《全民健身计划(2021-2025)》,进一步加强了对社区服务体系建设的关注,其中后者明确提出,到2025年要实现社区15分钟健身圈全覆盖。可以发现,无论是城乡融合、旧居改造,还是社区服务、健康健身,诸多中央政策最终都落实到社区这一管理层级和空间层级。

在中央政府以外,各中央部门也细化了社区建设的细则。如,2021年,自然资源部发布了《社区生活圈规划技术指南》;国家发改委发布了《2021年新型城镇化和城乡融合发展重点任务》,强调要推进"三区一村"改造、提升现代社区治理水平等要求。住建部则从2018年起,为具体落实对城市问题的辨析,会同北京市率先进行城市体检,以便了解城市的"健康状况",并以此为依据,制定完善城市以及社区治理的具体措施。"城市体检"行动从2019年起在全国展开试点计划,其中杭州入选试点。入选的城市,每年持续开展城市体检工作,解决城市顽疾。截至2022年,体检试点计划已经扩展到59座城市。

在地方,各省市城市政府亦根据中央精神,结合当地实际情况,提出了自己的社区服务治理策略。有的城市仍然单独执行中央的要求,但正如前文所述,从多个国家部委提出的政策要求,分属不同的政府管理条线,但最终落地承接的空间单位皆是"社区"(实际管理单位多为"街道")。传统上,多条线管理往往使得基层治理机构应接不暇,而浙江省的"未来社区"理念,恰恰就是将中央对城市社区的各个领域(如建筑安全、节能、健康宜居、医疗配套等)的要求,融会贯通之后的一种地方策略,是对中央政策的创造性延续,也是一种地方治理方法的创新;然而,创新就意味着某些东西"被"滞后,例如意识、理论、制度。

#### 时代: 新自由主义城市概念大集合

A Fusion of Prevailing Neoliberal Urban Concepts

国家、省级层面的政策,并非空穴来风,而是从属于更大的时代背景。

总的来说,从20世纪晚期开始,人类社会日益进入深度现代化和科技革命阶段,技术获得大发展,以至于在非正规场合,"第四次科技革命"的提法不断被提及(正式提出是2013年的德国)。全世界范围内的城市也处在新一轮的转型发展期,与城市社区相关的研究和实践领域开始出现了一些以未来为目标的观点及实践:



《未来的社区》 作者: 美国德鲁克基金会著 出版时间: 1998年

简介:人类具有一种"社区本能"。然而到20世纪末,这种"在一起"的需要,随着分化和隔离的加身是残酷的种族战争、武装组织、全球组织、部分。我们面对的特殊战争、武装组织、家。我们运用"社区本能"来彼此隔离、治理、中,而不是创建一个丰富多里,但有效融的世界社会,这条隔离之路不会带领我人类回向。由于保护,而不是重新思考的,是重新思考的,是重新思考的思考和展望。



《城市2030: 危机应对下的筑梦 与跃迁之路》 期数:《城市中国》第69期

期致:《城市中国》第699 出版时间: 2015年3月

其一,是依托于某种先进技术而畅想出来的面向未来的社区的形式,并影响至今,典型如低碳社区、智慧社区、韧性社区等。以低碳社区为例,这一概念主要是基于低碳城市的提出和发展产生的。而低碳城市的理念则最早来源于低碳经济。低碳经济又源自于人们对工业社会造成的全球变暖责任的反思。特别是《寂静的春天》出版后的上世纪末期,人们对地球环境的未来预期陷入普遍的担忧。世界首个智慧社区项目诞生于1996年,由圣地亚哥州立大学与加利福尼亚州政府合作推出。这一类型的理论和实践具有明确的未来专注点指向,但局限于一定的专题性领域,表现出强烈的规划设计"单一视角"。

其二,是以德鲁克(《未来的社区》)、雅各布斯(《美国大城市的死与生》)等为代表的著名学者,从学理层面对未来的社区所展开的研究探讨。尽管这一类型的各个学者的出发点不尽相同,但都不将物理基础、空间形态作为社区的唯一关注点,而是更加关注社区的意识、社会组织、公共性等议题。这也更加接近于社会、人文学科对社区的定义。

其三,是一些国家和地区启动了关于未来城市、社区的实践创新活动。早期的实践如起源于上个世纪末的丹麦,影响至美国、澳大利亚等国的"共享社区"和日本的共享住宅运动。此外,还有受学者启发而发展出的针对城市蔓延症结的"精明增长"(Smart Growth)策略,这一策略也进一步发展成新城市主义思潮。新干年以降,特别是2015年后,联合国陆续发布《2030可持续发展目标(SDGs)》、《新城市议程(New Urban Agenda)》用于指导全球(尤其是城市)的发展。各国纷纷制定了2030发展目标、2050碳中和计划,并且不少城市还将这一国家层面的宏观计划,落实到城市的具体建设与管理目标,如英国雷丁提出的"雷丁2030"计划(Reading 2030)。我国同样提出了碳达峰、碳中和的"双碳"目标,但与西方国家不同的是,我国更加强调从全局、从产业领域上完成这一目标,而并不强调城市建设与愿景层面的落地执行。可以说,21世纪以来关于未来社区的倡导和实践探索更加综合,这一点显著区别于此前专题性、单一性的推进模式。当然,这也得益于政府角色的全面介入。

在中国,城市发展亦进入转型期,但与西方不同的是,我国的转型突出表现为与前30年的快速城市化模式的决裂。因此,我国的城市发展转型更多被表述为"新常态"(经济增速由快到缓)、"双循环"(经济循环由出口导向变为国内大循环为主体、国内国际双循环相互促进),以及"去地产化"(房住不炒)、"存量时代"(从增量扩张到存量更新)。这种转型并不能一蹴而就,而是一个持续十数年乃至数十年的大背景,各个领域、地方都须提出包含自己侧重点的发展理念。未来社区,恰恰是浙江转型探索的一种策略,被作为"新浙江现象"中的重要一项,被赋予了为中国改革再探路的使命。

综上不难发现,尽管未来社区不是一个专业学术概念,却受各种既有城市发展观点的浸淫而产生的一种表述。或者可以说,未来社区非但不是一个新的概念,反而是一堆旧概念的集合,它至少通过模糊化的语言,分别从新城市主义、城市更新、……等概念中摘取了一部分观点,以糅合成当前的概念体系。

#### "百家争鸣"的研究现状

"A Hundred Schools of Thoughts" in Current Researches

在未来社区建设的实践之余,理论也试图紧跟其上,并且出现了一种典型的中国特色的情势:实践先于理论,理论解释实践。

实际上,正如文章一开始提到的,"未来社区"并非一个学术概念,于是对其定义、内涵的分析就成为理论研究必须要面对的棘手问题。什么是"未来"?何以"社区"?这些问题从一开始就在不同的学科之间产生了诸多争议,更遑论基础理论背后那些尚未准备好的制度设计、制度理论。例如,未来社区中的开发模式创新,导致土地出让制度与流程需要做出创新回应,这在某种程度上就与现行土地招拍挂制度相冲突;于是,新的土地出让法规及实施细则,就滞后于未来社区建设的快速推进诉求。另外,智慧设备进入社区之后出现对个人隐私的普遍侵蚀,社区开发与个人隐私保护

之间的法律研究也经常处于滞后状态。诸如此类"先行动,后补制度研究"的问题,不一而足。具体来说,当前针对未来社区研究的主体大致包含以下几种取态:

第一,规划执行派。以浙江省内的发改委、设计院、开发商为主,因其接手了未来社区试点项目,需要对省政府颁布的文件进行详细解读、落地,因此对规划设计中碰到的具体问题,开展研究和设计回应。其优势在于,对政府政策的理解较为深刻,且对如何将政策具体落实,做了多种探索。例如,数字化的落地,具体按照什么标准?谁来投资以及如何回收成本?其劣势在于,针对落地策略的研究往往过于具体、琐微,从而缺少了全局性的批判思考。例如,2019年5月,中国城市规划学会会主办的"智慧规划·未来社区"论坛指出,未来社区"是新一代信息技术赋能下城市创新发展的基本单元,也是面向未来各类智慧场景应用的核心单元,是提升人民群众幸福感、获得感的重要场所。"这一定义显然强调将信息技术和智能场景植入日常生活,并将此作为未来社区的一大乃至独尊特征。

第二,案例解读派。在浙江省外,也不乏规划设计院所、建筑及景观设计院所、国内外地产咨询策划机构(如戴德梁行、第一太平戴维斯等)的身影。因为未来社区概念的流行,于是基于自身"见多识广"的优势,前述机构快速搬出国内外案例来分析。其优势在于,能够不局限于"未来社区"的概念本身,拓展性的融汇了立体城市、空中农业、垂直工厂等概念和要素,且倾向于以全局性视角,将社区置于城市的尺度之下,拓展了未来社区的想象思路。但为了获取项目方青睐的意图明显,以至于其研究过程模版化。首先,往往不自行解读和原创有关未来社区的内容,而是寻求总结历史理论、前人经验,经常遵循"定义、内涵一特征、原则一构成元素一支持技术一土地及制度"这样的路径进行分析和总结。其次,尤其喜欢总结"几大要素""几大设施""几大挑战"等贩卖焦虑、危言耸听之词,以在语言上对那些正埋头实操未来社区项目的人以精神施压。但这些说辞,往往是模版式语言,可以把句子中的"未来社区"替换成任何一个其他政策概念,且仍能顺畅阅读。其实质,是他们无力深入研究"未来社区"的具体内涵,便想当然的把社区往"好"的方向试探,套用地产开发、城市运营领域的传统模式,故弄玄虚,以期获得签约项目。

第三,技术至上派。一个不得不承认的事实是,当前人们对"未来"的理解几乎等同于"数字智慧",即技术特别是数字技术是未来,且决定未来。持这一观点的主要代表是腾讯、华为、阿里等一批互联网、城市大脑企业,以及中国联通这样的通信服务企业。后者就曾发布《5G未来社区白皮书》。在此类研究机构眼中,所有的日常说生活都是被简化的对象:远程启动汽车、炒菜机自动炒菜、办公大厦电梯自动分配以避免拥挤、互联网医疗……总之,节约时间,解放工作者,成为技术至上的主要目标。这种提高效率,节约时间的理念,也同样在政府数字化治理的想象图景中占据主流。"一网统管、智慧税务、政务协同平台、智慧党建、工业物联网"等目标和做法,出现在大多数政府数字化建设的纲领中。然而,技术并非我们需要考虑的唯一一件事。技术背后夹带的技术霸权、中心控制、社会进化论等价值取向,值得人们慎思谨行。

第四,理论洗白派。在社区建设实践突飞猛进的同时,学术界亦注意到这种趋势,但囿于"未来社区"这一概念的非专业性,使得学者无法将这一概念直接纳入到既有的学术体系,也无法在国外找到对应的专业词汇,更妄谈国内外学术对话。由此,为了能够从学术领域对未来社区开展研究,并提出基于谨慎研究的针对性意见,就必须将"未来社区"这一个概念进行解构,转译为可开展对比研究的学术概念,找到其在学术体系中的位置。这是学术研究者的优势,然而,部分学者为了使这一概念合理化、专业化,走上了为其"正名"、洗白的道路。一种常见的做法,是移植历史上的某些国外理论,如邻里效应(Neighborhood Effect)、新城市主义(New Urbanism)、社群主义(Communitarian)、城市更新等,作为此概念成立的基础和内涵的外延;甚至煞有介事地使用了一种看似十分条理的方式,把浙江未来社区九大场景排列组合之后,对应到前述四个理论之下。此外,还依据诸多既有理论,推导出"未来社区"的邻里性、社会性、战略性、生态性、自治性、服务性、更新性和人本性等特性。不难发现,这种分析的结果是无所不包,反而令原本的概念更加模糊。







居民的"真实"诉求并不是被设计出来的,也与西方发达国家的标准样板并不相同。例如,浓密的"绿化"或许并不是居民的真正或者唯一诉求,而"种植、劳作、与土地之间的链接"反而有可能是根植在中国城市居民骨子里的诉求。图为2021年深圳龙岗,一中年民民正蹲在地上,从人行道旁的狭小空间中开辟出属于自己的一块"自留地"。(摄影/崔国)

第五, 反思不买账派。与前一种情况针锋相对的是,"未来社区"这一概念的非专业性, 令一些具有批判与反思精神的学者、设计师不齿。他们针对政府发布的文件、标准和项目, 开展了各维度的批判。其优势在于, 深刻的反思性, 使其能够明确意识到"未来社区"内涵的模糊性、标准的不可执行性、视角的局限性, 以及仓促上马导致的政策不匹配、投资重复等问题。其局限性在于, 现有的批判往往是局部的、偶发的, 一种发泄性的批评, 而缺少系统性的批判。

第六,插科打诨派。这一派别的诞生,是因为未来社区的试点建设在流程上需要专家讨论、专家评审,于是地方项目上对专家邀约的需求,促使那些先前在做社区研究、规划设计的教授、设计师,成为插科打诨的主流。这是因为,传统上,并无专门开展"未来社区"研究的学者,最相近的研究领域也只是"智慧社区",故而在做社区更新、社区景观、智慧社区等领域的学者,就成为评审常客。但就像前述几个类别一样,因为缺少或者无意(并非无能力)进一步深化专门针对未来社区的研究,于是此类群起多是局限在自己的领域,把"未来"想当然地理解成往"好"的方向使力即可。于是,这一群体的对未来社区的讨论往往挂着未来社区之名,但行自我传统研究之实。尤其喜欢以微小点切入,以人们并不熟知的数据、事件作为武器,让听者折服于其细小(往往等同于"深刻")的发现。反而对未来社区的真正统揽全局性的健康发展不利,乃至阻碍。

这里需要强调的是,可持续社区领域的专业者,实则是既有研究中与"未来"这一主题最为贴切的领域之一,但却通常很少成为未来社区试点项目的评审专家,也经常未被纳入到大规模未来社区的建设体系中。这也从侧面证明了,未来社区是一个针对既有社区病症的救急性政策,而非一个对未来负责的共同性纲领。

#### 问题: 焦点在于"未来"而非社区

The Key is not "Community" but "Future"

作为一个立体的概念,社区涵括了居住形态、关系形态、组织形态、街区形态、文化形态、生产形态等极其丰富的内涵,成为人类社会最具基础性的社会单元。自19世纪下半叶,滕尼斯撰写《共同体与社会》开辟了学科意义上的社区研究之日起,社区概念便被打上了深深的怀旧烙印。许多社会学家都是在"传统一现代"的框架体系下,对工业化、城市化背景下传统共同体的消解表示慨叹和忧虑。因此,社区研究诞生伊始,便被定格在传统感和秩序感的消解或延续这一基调之上。所以,无论社区被冠以何种前缀,他的画外音都表达了对现状社区的不满,以及或显著或隐性之问题的存在。而所谓新的社区概念的提出,恰恰是为了解决这些"问题"。在某种程度上,如果没有"问题",那么讨论"社区"也就变得没有意义。从这个角度来看,冠之以某某为名的社区,很大程度上是一种畅想的现实版的天堂(或世外桃源),它一定与良好的、积极的、阳光的、繁荣和谐的、具有前景的……等此类印象关联在一起。

如今我们讨论的未来社区,与之前的显著区别在于,一改20世纪末及本世纪初的人文怀旧情绪,以及被动接受社会的变化影响,转而开始根据技术的发展、人的发展,试图主动出击,开展批判性思考和超前规划,去解决那些属于"未来"的问题,从而在将来占据主动。这是当前有关"未来"讨论的优势。然而,我们一直在尝试用各种逻辑思维来将城市的未来理清楚,但在面对各种交织的议题面前,理性思维显得毫无力量。例如,当人们想关注技术对城市空间的影响,却发现背后的资本宰制如影随形。继续讨论技术的未来,只会滑向技术的宰制。这种递进的转化异常顺畅,因为技术总是掌握在一部分人手中,而另一部分人将受制于此。于是,话题会进一步变为人与人之间的社会组织关系在未来将会如何。在讨论其他的角度时,同样面临如上这种错综交织的情境。

但不幸的是,当前国内多数人对"未来社区"的思考落脚点,依然固守或者说想当然地放在"社区"上,把"未来"仅仅作为修饰词。但从前文的论述便可发现,无论是纠结于眼前棘手问题的解决方案,还是陷入技术、组织、文化等任何一个单一的领域,我们都是将"未来"作为一个美好的修饰词汇来利用,实际上对"未来"的全貌毫无认知,也无法在真正意义上理解"未来"。特别是人们将任何"社区"讨论都拉回到历史美好图景的对比体系中,实则是将"未来"等同于"历史",是一种典型的历史守旧。这种做法根本无法清晰地认识到,城市今日面临的问题,是现代性带来的负外部性;而我们对于"未来"僵化的认知体系,也受制于新自由主义思潮的窠臼。

综上来说,当居民、政府、专家等全部参与主体尚未建立共同愿景的时候,仓促上马的物质空间建设终究不过是一场新的"运动"。后者恰恰是我们一直关注的"社区",是物质视角的延续;而前者,市民的共同理想,才是"未来"的要义,是回归"人"的视角。因为我们要构建的,恰恰是"未来",是一种理想的共同愿景,而不是又一个强加了更多管控、技术、概念的物理空间。因此,我们应以"未来性"的彰显来化解现代性所带来的诸多挑战,以"未来性"来抗拒和化解由现代性带来的种种危机。这其中"技术"显然有很大助益。不过,我们需要警惕,这种话术的背后还隐藏了另外一个前设,即人类面临的问题,总有技术方法可以应对。不过电影《Don't Look Up》中却给我们提供了另外一种可能,即没有技术化解决方法。只不过,人类普遍不能接受这种设定。◀

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# 面向未来的社区: 关于空间、权利、组织的提问

# COMMUNITY TOWARD THE FUTURE: AN INQUIRY INTO SPACE, RIGHT AND ORGANIZATION

编辑/张晶轩+宋代伦[城市中国研究中心] Edit/Zhang Jingxuan+Song Dailun[UCRC]

从老龄使用者的角度来看,未来社区有哪些可能性?当社区直面突如其来的机遇和挑战,如公共卫生危机、气候变化时,当前社区的空间、组织、权利存在着哪些问题?城市作为一个更加宏观的系统如何实现足够的韧性?2022年4月中下旬上海封城期间,《城市中国》依托海外"海外观察员"体系,举办了三场线上沙龙,探讨面向未来的社区。三场沙龙的主题分别为"迈向老龄友好的未来社区""可持续发展视角下的城市社区治理""韧性社区与守望相助"。沙龙共邀请到八位青年学者和从业者,从空间、权利、组织等视角,提出关于未来社区的更多问题与反思。

沙龙一: 迈向老龄友好的未来社区 时间: 2022年4月16日





#### 日常生活的回归 ——新加坡老龄化背景下的未来社区

张威,新加坡国立大学设计与工程学院建筑系,博士候选人。《城市中国》第三期海外观察员。

日常生活就是满足不分年龄、性别、种族的人群的社交、娱乐和实现自我价值的需要,包含公平性、包容性、可达性。新加坡是土地紧缺的岛国,大部分人都生活在高层高密度的社区里。无论从城市建设,还是从老龄友好的政策引导而言,新加坡都可以为中国的城市提供一些参考。

新加坡老龄友好社区的建设,可以概括为六个方面:公共住宅邻里规划与养老设施规划、乐龄友好住宅建设、公共住宅 更新、乐龄友好设计导则、其他乐龄友好设计(乐龄安全区、康疗花园)、社区乐龄服务。

在新加坡,城市规划或设计人员更多思考的是硬件的设施。通过新加坡应对老龄化的举措不难看出城市化、养老政策和老龄化始终是呈三角互动模式,三者需要联动以共同满足老年人日常生活的实现和发展。



#### 爱尔兰的老龄友好社区的营造

王正丰, 爱尔兰都柏林大学艺术史与文化政策学院博士后。《城市中国》第四期海外观察员。

相对于欧洲其他国家,爱尔兰并不是一个年老的国家,但当地政府也有针对老龄社区的一套管理流程。2016年左右爱尔兰推出了老年社区营造指南,有以下五步举措。

- 一改造空间环境,比如废弃空间再利用;
- 一为老年人提供一定的培训,获得参与空间改造的上岗资格,从而更好地为社区服务;
- 一从社区的教会获得土地, 改造成公共空间, 比如公园;
- 一打造代际之间的工作坊, 促进代际间的交流, 比如和当地的小学联合举办一些活动;
- 一在规划阶段就介入, 使得老龄友好的理念贯穿规划全程, 并且添加各年龄段通用的设计。

在爱尔兰,在基础设施相对来说比较完善的情况下,强调的是老年人如何更好地参与社区的建造,为社区建造出一分力。爱尔兰经验告诉我们:探讨养老话题的前提应该是如何更好地去理解老年生活,清楚地认识到老年人的诉求和他们对自己在社会上的定义,然后为他们提供更多的可能性。

#### 沙龙二: 可持续发展视角下的城市社区治理 时间: 2022年4月23日





#### 社区可持续规划的现状和挑战

张起,毕业于香港理工大学建筑与房地产系,武汉市土地利用和城市空间规划研究中心博士后。《城市中国》第三期海外观察员。

可持续发展有不同的层次:可持续的城市、可持续的区域、可持续的社区、可持续的建筑单体。有学者提出了第四个维度:制度可持续,它是对前三者的促进和协同。

基于中央放权和社区赋能、迭代性和适应性的规划模式、社区意识的培育和公众参与和协调决策这四个方面,我们总结了目前社区规划在中国实施的挑战和障碍:

- 一缺乏全国性明确的政策基础和清晰的官方定义;
- 一社区治理中明晰各类责权的发流程立法和条例设置不充分;
- 一社区规划项目的资金和人力资源支持不足;
- 一社区规划项目的实施主体不明确;
- 一公众参与的经验、深度和平台普遍不足;
- 一官僚化的社区居委会;
- 一社区意识较弱;

.....

现在,我们刚好处于2015-2030可持续发展议程的转折点。我们认为,治理的核心是协调而不是控制。如何充分挖掘经济、环境和社会三者之间的联系并且形成工具化的政策去引导更加可持续的发展,是可持续发展面临的首要问题。

#### 香港公共参与途经观察

王婷,香港大学景观学博士候选人,《城市中国》第四期海外观察员。



香港社区的典型特征是边界感不强,居民和城市街道是直接连接起来的。另外一个典型特征是功能混合,不仅居民楼周边土地混合利用,居民楼内部也是混合利用类型,比如一幢楼的高层住人,二、三层是幼托中心或是图书室。

香港在每幢楼的尺度上会有业主立案法团,进行本幢楼事务的管理。除此之外,香港还有区议会制度,每年会让每个区的居民进行投票选举区议员。区议员代表市民来进行社区管理。政府下有一个区管会,是民政事务署下放的管理委员会,与区议会平行,同样对社区进行管理。

除了市民主动联系社区进行公共参与,还有很多社会团体会组织社区参与活动。在疫情影响的当下,大家对社区的食品安全、社区韧性有了更高的关注和要求,这就培养出了屋顶农场租赁的管理体制。城市屋顶农业的社会性和它带来的额外价值可以通过调动市民的参与能动性来带动经济发展并激活城市的闲置空间。由此可见,可持续发展并不一定是一个目标,它可以成为一种公众参与城市改造的过程。

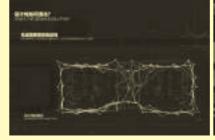
#### 社区空间和建筑尺度的可持续设计

赵璟韫Zoe,毕业于英国巴特莱特建筑学院,目前就职于AECOM(香港)。《城市中国》第五期海外观察员,



从设计师应用角度来看,可持续研究希望对环境、建筑本身进行更加精准和长期的管控。所以我们会考虑不同的因素:除了人为的条件,还有一些环境方面的因素,即场地本身在宏观和微观上的条件。比如遥感生态、场地光照等。

前期会用到数据分析的模型去了解人为的情况在空间中如何体现。比如先设置空间节点,运用模型演化出高效聚集型流线。然后基于重要出入口和功能兴趣点,形成更高密度的体验流线。在这个基础上再去考虑如何更好的引入可持续的内容。在项目前期,设计师很想提供更多更科学的可持续内容,但是很多政府、开发商并没有把可持续作为项目的关注点,这对设计来讲是一个挑战。另外一个挑战是数据的短缺。中东的项目的甲方会联合政府提供大量的公开数据给设计方,这样在计算和模拟时有大量的数据支持,形成的分析也就更加科学。反观国内,公开的数据有限,前期分析就无法做到非常完善和精确。







#### 沙龙三: 韧性社区与守望相助 时间: 2022年4月30日



#### 什么是韧性城市/社区

郑欢, 澳洲国立大学环境研究和社会学学士, 德国弗莱堡大学全球化研究硕士, 就职于国际NGO组织ICLEI(宜可城)。

"韧性"的词源是拉丁语, 意思是复原力和回弹力。城市和社区在遭受灾害冲击时, 能够维持其主要功能, 应对并适应冲突, 从危机或灾难中迅速恢复而且继续运转, 我们就会定义它是一个具有韧性的系统单元。

韧性是一个跨领域的综合概念。除了气候变化、自然灾害的影响,我们要还要应对战争、瘟疫、金融危机,以及其他未知的打击。无论是从社区还是城市的尺度,结合动态的变化,比如社会经济文化的平衡和发展,这些综合的指标叠加起来,可以形成一个社区或城市的可持续发展目标。

要建设一个具有韧性的社区或城市,我们可以做哪些的事情?首先,要提升对韧性和灾害风险的认知,强调韧性发展的重要性和意义;把韧性作为目标和标准,纳入城市可持续发展的战略规划中;重视适应气候变化的规划;促进城市进行潜在灾害和冲击的脆弱性和风险调查评估。因为韧性是跨领域的综合建设,非常需要政府部门做统筹管理和跨地协调,所以会建议设立一个专项的协调团队和办公室。

#### 作为传统惯习和复杂系统的"韧性"

周详,日本东京大学都市工学博士,东南大学建筑学院副教授,至善青年学者、硕导,江苏省双创博士。《城市中国》第一期海外观察员。

从历史维度来看,"韧性"可以说是中华民族最重要的性格特征之一。例如,我们经常会听老人讲"春捂秋冻",这四个字凝聚的便是中国人的生存性智慧,其中透漏着先人对于"韧性"的看法。今天我们为什么又要在此重提"韧性"?主要原因是我们的生活观念与社会交往方式发生了巨变。当我们已经对现代科技形成技术路径依赖的时候,我们可以思考一下,传统的东西里到底有哪些是值得我们去保留的。

在建筑学科的背景下谈"韧性",我们关注的焦点往往是城市的实体物质空间。但是"韧性"其实应该是一个复杂的巨系统,应该把经济、生态、社会、文化,以及环境等诸多层面的"韧性"囊括进来。21世纪以来混沌理论与复杂性科学研究,可能是未来我们去解决"韧性"问题的一把钥匙。混沌理论认为,无法预测的混沌关系才是常态。我们未来的城市研究范式需要发生相应变革,即不是再像过去那样完全依赖技术以及纯粹理性,而是参照混沌理论去应对各种未来的不确定性。

#### 技术不等于装置

宋代伦,城市中国研究中心(UCRC)

有两种技术塑造了现代城市和社区的基本面貌:一个是垂直技术,以电梯、摩天大楼为代表;另一种是水平技术,以汽车为代表,发展出高速公路、城市蔓延等。这两种技术导致了一些共同的问题,比如城市可达性、空间的区隔、社会关系弱化、服务的真空。

技术哲学家斯蒂格勒说,人类唯一恒定不变的因素就是其本质的技术性。技术不等于装置、物件、终端和平台。技术是一种事件、方法、能量、教学等。在今天的社区和城市当中,有多少技术只不过是装置、数码物,可能还不构成真正的技术?它们是增强了个体人的肉身和智能、社会的普遍智能,还是削弱了?是让空间和社会的连接更加顺畅、更便于流动,还是相应?

在这个背景下我们谈韧性,最核心的要素就是流通性。没有流通性,城市就不能称之为城市,社区也不能叫做社区。萨斯基娅·萨森牵头发表的《将技术城市化》宣言中,列了六条原则:情境化、开放、去中心化、互动、具有意义,以及生态。广义来看,这些都可以归为韧性。**⑤** 





# **Manifesto for Future Community**

Instead of imagining the future as linear and wonderful, and future communities as spatial, we believe that:

- The future is never a single possibility, but a complex concept. If
  human beings unfortunately slide into a bad future scenario, the
  community will be the last place where we can make a difference.
  Additionally, the community will be urgently analyzed, reorganized, and discovered importance in the current world, which is
  increasingly restless, illusory, and full of emergencies.
- As long as people still have flesh and bone, , even if a cyberized body, human beings cannot get rid of the instinct of community and the inherent communication rationality.
- 3. The future community represents, in the first place, a social process. The future, the future community, and the future of the community are the process of continuous empowerment. From individuals, to interpersonal relationships, to communities/societies, they continue to develop and strengthen step by step. Individual rights, therefore, become universal power, a prospect of universal autonomy.
- 4. The domination of capital poses a huge restriction on the future imagination. Those urban planning, design and renewal based on the ready-made capital-administration-technology imperial discourse system are ultimately the repair of the existing system and become devices for further manipulation, domination and oppression of reality, living, society, community and individual. "We have all become puppets of the system and imaginary world where we live."
- 5. We are opposed to sticking the future community under the trend of postmodernism and neoliberalism. We should establish it on a series of negative urban laws. Anti-development, anti-capitalism, anti-consumption, deindividuation, anti-privatization, anti-stratification, anti-anthropocentrism, anti-bureaucracy, anti-teleology, anti-presupposition, anti-instrumental rationality, anti-homogeneity, anti-spatial despotism, anti-functionalism, anti-mobility, anti-technological despotism, etc.
- 6. We celebrate the beauty of nature, technology and humanity, the collective rights and urban society, and we should destroy the

- technology autocracy and industrial standardized building production to steal the future community goals.
- 7. Community also means joint development, sharing, common ownership, demarcation, etc. No borders, no community. But this is by no means an argument for constructing gated communities as private lands for the middle class. We will destroy the closure.

#### We call for:

- Break away from the traditional myth of public ownership and private ownership! The community in the future needs the spirit of sharing, co-existence and the essence of human community.
- 2. The establishment of new space, technical principles calls for the return of politics in the field of architecture, planning and design.
- To get an ideal community, there must be a strong society. The formation of society requires more diversified and intensive horizontal connections.
- 4. Opening up is the core and urgent task of the future community. But openness does not conflict with borders. The boundary is not a natural separation, but the basis of community. We call for an opening with rich meaning and a flexible boundary.
- 5. Will future communities need to be self-sufficient? To some extent, yes. Self-sufficiency is not self-complacency in the face of crisis and exception, but to recover the community productivity deprived by the era of super industrial division of labour. Find our ability to live on the earth!
- 6. Different from the increasingly rigid, rigorous and conservative status quo of cities, by new technical means and with the wisdom of many individuals, the attitude of the community has become flexible: from entity to virtual, from close to loose, from a dozen to thousands of people, from blood, geography to industry, interest... people's desire for connection gives birth to endless community forms.

Joint appeals: Urban China, city dwellers,...



FUTURISTIC MANIFESTO
Publication date: in 1909
Initiator: Filippo Marinetti



NEW URBAN AGENDA
Publication date: in 2016
Initiator: the United Nations Conference on Housing and Sustainable
Urban Development (Habitat III)



CALL TO URBANIZE TECHNOLOGY
Publication date: in 2021
Initiator: more than 100 scholars, professionals, and government officials, led by

#### Communities in the Name of "the Future"

ext / Gehry CU

We are using the term "future" arbitrarily to describe cities and communities. But the future is not homogeneous, nor is it necessarily rosy. Before we go any further with discussions about the future, we need to recognize a few facts.

#### The future is a social process.

The first response to the current discussion of "the future" is an attitude toward technology. In terms of its impact on the shape of human society, technology encompasses at least two categories transportation technology and communication technology - yet when we discuss the future of cities, we easily fall into the trap of equating "technology" ambiguously with "information technology". Another trap is to think that technology is equal and neutral, and to imagine a "technological utopia". However, technology is never neutral and is itself a promise; there is nothing wrong with that. What is most puzzling, however, is that in the practical context, technology has always been a promise of a "good" future, and we rarely see a negative. bleak picture through technology. Thus, if we are to associate "the future" with words such as "beauty, harmony, abundance," then we must recognize that "the future" should be, first and foremost, a social process. The relationship between people and other "things" is the core of the future. It should not only be a materialized testing ground for space and technology, but even nature should be subordinated to this order of priority. Frustratingly, the reality is exactly the opposite. In each era, the wild application of new technologies in the city is in fact a systematic simplification of complex urban problems, assuming without distinction that a technological solution exists for most urban problems. This is a deliberate distortion of urban ecology, and the most insidious trap of "technological supremacy". This approach whitewashes and conceals the true demands of the city and its inhabitants, thereby creating an "illusion of need" that is presented and sold to the world. In essence, it is a ruthless denial of the "social process".

#### The future is a form of asset.

An emerging process of widespread assetization of everything and "asset forms" has replaced commodities as the primary basis of contempo-

rary capitalism. An asset can be a piece of land, a skill, an experience, a personality, a bodily function, a form of life, or traditionally, a patent or intellectual property. Assetization results in the discounting of future earnings. The value of an asset, too, is largely based on forward-looking expectations of future investment returns and is discounted (whether or not those expectations will materialize). A serious question then arises: Whose future interests determine current policies and institutions? In fact, the "future" is not a free place where everyone is equal; rather, it is often held hostage to processes of assetization, claims, and the will of capital, and thus profit. It is important, then, that the future city and the future community truly reflect the will of its residents and resist the will of capital and the process of assetization.

#### The future is a kind of mass diversity.

It is important to acknowledge that the definitions used in the official language to describe communities - "future," "complete," or other terms - necessarily conceal the expectations and connotations of industrialized, mass production. As early as 1845, China's modern real estate industry began in the concession area in Shanghai. Instead of the custom-made approach of designing a dwelling for a specific household to fit his or her lifestyle aspirations, architects pursued the practice of mass design and construction, designing and building without any knowledge of the future occupants. Since then, for the first time in China, housing has become a commodity, and this standardized approach to industrial processes continues to this day. Yet people do not seem to acknowledge this fact and rather want to "do the impossible", imagining that the urban communities of the future can still have diverse connotations, even if they have uniform appearances and functions. This seems to be another unrealistic myth in the exploration of future cities.

#### The future is pleasantly old-fashioned.

This issue does not attempt to provide support for the interpretation of official concepts, nor does it intend to provide model cases, planning methods, or funding channels for future explorations of "future cities" and "future communities". Rather, it seeks to provide a structure for

discussion and a way of thinking about future urban issues, in order to inspire more people to critique and think about them. In the view of Urban China, indeed we are now discussing the "future", but if all these discussions are based on the "politically correct" view of postmodernism, without any critiques or any reflection on neo-liberalism and New Urbanism, then all these discussions and practices are just a false, futile illusion and deception hiding in the protective shell of history. Although we admit that history is a philosophy that teaches by example, it does not conceal the fact that thinking is limited. In fact, the imagination of the unknown world of the future is still extremely scarce and incompetent, so that many retreat to history to summarize the fundamental patterns of urban development (e.g. the interaction between technology, society, and space) based on the history of industrialization in the past two hundred years, and deduce the future city accordingly. Underneath the seemingly infallible truth, the development logic of industrial society is seamlessly extrapolated to the information society. However, there are significant differences between the two, typically in that the industrial society is based on a hierarchical "center-periphery" population structure, which is in strong conflict with the current "era of mass-authorship" where everyone has a voice. On the one hand, advocates of the future cities cry out for the rise of the individual, the arrival of the atomized society, and the infinite possibilities of the future; on the other hand, when it comes to concrete practices, they turn to peddle the clichés of technological supremacy, big capital dominance, and central control... They enjoy it and cannot help themselves.

Therefore, this issue will focus on three main lines: the possibility of disintegration of the population model, the rejection and obsession of man with technology, and the confrontation between man and nature. We point out that these three sets of relationships are all penetrated by the spatial qualities and temporal order of the "future", and are dominated by capital. This framework of discussion is based on several reasons.

First, space is the materialization of the "future", while time is not a phenomenon, but an order formed by the successive changes of phenomena. Moreover, time is not an "indisputable" uniform phenomenon, let alone a linear standard that continues to move forward. It is

sometimes spiral, sometimes national, and only rarely individual. The linear time that the world takes for granted today is in fact a "new" standard that has emerged only since industrialization. When people discuss the future city, they always extend the spatial element infinitely, while blatantly ignoring the dimension of time. It is necessary to reconceptualize time.

Secondly, the reflection on capital's domination is not a total rejection of it, but a "know yourself and the enemy" exercise, aiming to stimulate the possibility of a new model of living with capital. To deny and reject capital is not conducive to survival in the real world; but to be totally unaware of capital's domination is to fall into the vortex of consumerism.

Third, the juxtaposition of future cities and future communities in this issue is based on the recognition that the future should only be discussed at the city scale in order to have the conditions for systematic change and the possibility of discussion. Even if we want to discuss the "future community", we need to realize that the future city is the base of the future community; limiting it to the community is tantamount to creating a theme park of future life. Moreover, the word "community" in the western context can refer not only to neighborhoods and jiedao in China, but also to an urban area, a city, or even an entire country. Therefore, although this issue takes the discussion of future communities as a starting point, it actually tends to discuss the system of residential functions in the future city.

Fourth, any real settlement is manifested as an "agglomeration", whose main forms include villages and urban settlements (e.g. towns and cities). The countryside is directly related to the land, while the urban dwelling seems to be a self-running independent whole, with either a weak or almost lost direct relationship with the natural environment. This speaks to the essential character of the city's "confrontation" with nature. As Vincent Scully says, cities are meant to liberate people from the fear of the dark mysterious forces of the natural world and the laws of nature that restrict their activities. This issue therefore confronts the relationship between the city and nature, that is, between man and nature, and presents it as one of the fundamental relationships for discussing the city of the future.

## Scaling-up? Urban Communities and Urban Futures



Timothy J. Dixon is Professor of Sustainable Futures in the Built Environment at the University of Reading. He led the University's input into the 'Reading 2050' vision for a smart and sustainable city. His co-authored book on Urban Futures (Policy Press) recently won the best book award 2022 (Urban Affairs Association).

As we face an increasingly urbanised future and try to mitigate, and adapt to, the effects of climate change, it's more important than ever to take an integrated perspective of the built environment, or the physical buildings, spaces and seen and unseen infrastructure of our towns and cities. In this respect, it is important to join up our thinking on the lessons we have already learned about creating and retrofitting individual buildings to make them truly sustainable, so that we can scale up actions across our communities and neighbourhoods and ultimately across our cities.

After all, some 70% of the buildings we see today in many cities in the global north will still be with us in 2050 and usually only about

1-2% of the building stock of cities comprises 'new build'. That means that bringing communities together in our cities to help tackle retrofitting will become increasingly important. In the UK, however, the term 'community' does not have a formal definition. In a recent UK government rapid evidence review of community initiatives, it was suggested that most definitions suggest that communities are typically bound by common interests and are physically local in nature, and that this shared priority or interest area is also an important enabler for positive outcomes.

Certainly, the term 'community' was at the heart of a number of novel urban design experiments by the great British philanthropists of the past such as David Dale, Titus Salt and Joseph Rowntree: their utopic projects (New Lanark, near Lanark; Saltaire near Bradford; and Bourneville, near Birmingham) in the 18th and 19th centuries provided the opportunity to create new visions of how good, affordable housing and healthy green spaces could be created for workers near Britain's industrial cities. In many ways, their thinking also influenced Patrick Geddes and Ebenezer Howard later in the latter part of the 19th century, and into the early part of the last century, as these visionaries began to rethink how new towns and urban areas could be built at a larger scale.

So, the concept of 'community' is not new in British planning and urban design. It has been at the heart of much of our thinking over the past 150 years. But different interpretations have been placed on the term, community, with much of this guided by political discourse - perhaps in this sense we might say that 'communitarianism' has been at the heart of a large part of the policy debate on British urban regeneration over the past 30 years. In essence, this reflects an emphasis on the connection between the individual and the community and is based upon the belief that a person's social identity and personality are largely shaped by community relationships, with a lesser emphasis placed on individualism. This was an important underpinning to much of the UK Labour Government policy during the 1990s and early 2000s in the UK. More recently under the UK Conservative government the concept of community has been re-translated and remoulded into a new place-based 'localism' agenda designed to transfer power, authority and resources from central government to local government and other local public agencies, who in turn devolve to and empower communities. Indeed, since 2010, urban regeneration policy has been very much on place-based approaches which are designed to create growth projects through such bodies as Local Enterprise Partnerships and Devolution Deals to local authorities.

A specific example of this localism is neighbourhood planning. Neighbourhood planning is a right for communities introduced through the Localism Act 2011 in England (as part of the UK). Communities can shape development in their areas through the production of Neighbourhood Development Plans (often referred to simply as Neighbourhood Plans), Neighbourhood Development Orders and Community Right to Build Orders. Neighbourhood Plans become part of the development plan and the policies contained within them are then used in the determination of planning applications. Neighbourhood Development Orders and Community Right to Build Orders can also allow communities to grant planning permission either in full or in outline for the types of development they want to see in their areas. Yet the results of neighbourhood planning have met with some criticism particularly as to the extent to which all members of the community (who we might call the 'hidden voices') can be represented in the ensuing plan and community vision.

In the UK then, while there has been a strong focus on community in urban planning and design, we now face a new and renewed need to tackle 'wicked problems' (or problems with many interdependent factors making them seem impossible to solve) at scale in our towns and cities. Indeed, the current UK Government's recent focus on 'levelling up' communities across England to tackle inequalities is an attempt to revisit old issues through a different political lens. While community action and focus are important, however, in the sense of 'bottom-up' actions, it's also true that we need a fresh and renewed 'top down' focus on urban futures at city scale. In other words, scaling up actions from a 'community-scale' focus to a 'city-scale' focus. This means imagining what cities and urban areas will be like in the long-term (beyond 20 years), how they will operate, what infrastructure and

governance systems will underpin and co-ordinate them and how they are best shaped and influenced by their primary stakeholders (civil society, governments, businesses and investors, academia, and others). At the heart of this 'urban futures' thinking is the concept of 'city foresight', which is the 'science of thinking about the future of cities' and includes a range of futures-based methods and tools to help build and develop a city vision.

The concept of a city vision isn't new. As we have seen, previous writers such as Geddes and Howard imagined a utopic urban future or an ideal city. The difference with urban futures thinking is that it can help us to bring people and communities in existing cities together to reimagine and co-produce a vision for their future and tackle the wicked problems including climate change, health and inequality, and infrastructure deficiencies. City visions in planning and replanning real cities stem from some of the work conducted in the USA and Europe during the 1980s but more recently in the UK we saw the Government Office of Science's Future of Cities programme (2013-2016) developed to understand the 'science of cities'. For example, 'backcasting' starts with defining a desirable future and then works backwards to identify policies and programmes and pathways that will connect the present with the specified future.

As part of this work, several cities developed city visions, including Newcastle, Milton Keynes and Reading. Reading is a major town located in Berkshire, England about 42 miles west of London. Although Reading is not yet officially a 'city', it forms part of one of the most economically vibrant and connected 'small' urban areas in the UK. Reading, as part of a wider functional urban area (including part of West Berkshire and Wokingham), has a population of 318,000 (2011 figure), and this is set to grow to 362,000 by 2037. Reading's economic success and prosperity is based on its physical as well as its virtual connectivity nationally and internationally, but this also presents natural resource and pollution challenges, as it seeks to maintain and enhance its position in an increasingly globalised and competitive

The Reading 2050 project was established in 2013 to deliver a strategic, long-term vision that will support growth and prosperity, and help ensure that a truly smart and sustainable city can be delivered



Saltaire and Shipley (Image source/ https://commons.wikimedia.org)

by 2050. The project was 'co-created' as a partnership between the University of Reading (School of the Built Environment), a planning and design consultancy Barton Willmore, and Reading UK. The vision was developed through a series of workshops and activities with a wide range of organisations and residents from across Reading and the Thames Valley region and was launched in October 2017. It has been cited in the Government Office of Science Future of Cities Foresight Programme and final report (2014-16) and directly supports Reading Borough Council's statutory Local Plan and Corporate Plan. To develop the Reading UK 2050 vision we combined elements of a smart city with those of a sustainable city. This was because Reading has a long term aim to be 'net zero carbon' by 2030 through its climate emergency strategy (2020-25), but also because it has a strong technology and green technology focus in its existing economy. The project, through social media promotion and 15 local events, has engaged with over 21,000 members of the local community, schools, and colleges as well as 350 local businesses and various local government and NGO representatives. As a result of the visioning work, we distilled emerging themes into three linked scenarios. These are not mutually exclusive, but they help frame the main ideas in the vision, and draw on the strengths and opportunities unique to Reading:

- 'City of Culture and Diversity': Reading as a city with a rich heritage and culture and new civic spaces.
- 'City of Rivers and Parks': Reading focusing on its riverside heritage and green spaces and innovating in, for example, energy and water technologies.
- 'Green Tech City': Reading becomes a centre for green and innovative thinking and low carb on technologies.

The focus on Reading is very much on smart and sustainable thinking, which means using new technologies to make travel and our daily lives easier and thinking about making a greener, healthier city which creates jobs for all. This has also led to a recently completed £4.8m research and development programme called the ADEPT Thames Valley Berkshire Live Lab project. The Live Lab, led by Reading Borough Council, was a large and complex project bringing together the six Berkshire local authorities with five commercial partners, Stantec, O2, Yunex Traffic, Smarter Grid Solutions, Shoothill, and the University of Reading, to deliver a range of interconnected projects across potholes, congestion, air quality, energy, and health.

The Live Lab explored several ways to reduce carbon emissions on the highway network, keeping data collection and sharing, and data analytics at the heart of our project. We recognised that to achieve carbon reduction targets in transportation, we needed to take a proactive and holistic approach. For example, the need to reduce the use of cars was supported by our Innovation Valley rewards app which promotes active travel while the need to provide necessary EV charging infrastructure has been addressed through a Berkshire-wide study of EV growth.

As we emerge from the COVID-19 pandemic, bringing communities together in a shared endeavour will be more important than ever. But this requires top-down and bottom-up thinking. Communities can self-organise of course, and it is likely that a strong communitarian spirit will continue to help solve local problems, but joined up thinking is crucial, and collective action across communities is needed to tackle the problems we see in our cities today. Having a long-term city vision is therefore vital, but this is not about creating a masterplan, or an all-singing-all-dancing single blueprint or strategy, owned by the mayor of a city; the days when single visionaries created total plans for cities are probably long gone. Instead, we must recognise that every city is different, its make-up is different, its culture, and physical assets are all different to other places—representing the 'Eigenart', or uniqueness of a place if you like.

Seeking to shape the future by working with stakeholders and the people of that city, although challenging, provides a real opportunity to create a shared, democratised, and inclusive view of how an individual city could be in the long term. This means our city visions (and community visions) should be co-produced, involving the people who live in cities and communities, perhaps led by the local municipality, or even co-created, where people or communities take the lead in starting the vision for the city. As Shakespeare wrote, 'What is the city but the people?'

#### Dafaranaa

- 1. Rapid evidence review of community initiatives. https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/rapid-evidence-review-of-community-initiatives/rapid-evidence-review-of-community-initiatives#annexa1
- 2. Future of cities. https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/future-of-cities
- 3. https://livingreading.co.uk/reading-2050/
- 4. https://readingcan.org.uk/
- 5. Thames Valley lessons from a Live Lab. https://www.adeptnet.org.uk/news/thames-valley-lessons-live-lab
- 6. Coriolanus, Act 3, Scene 1.

# Complete Communities Respond People's Diverse Needs

ext / Heng Chye Kiang

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In Singapore we usually have a "year" in mind, for instance, in our "30 by 30" initiative to produce thirty percent of its nutritional needs locally by the year 2030. The same can be said of the Singapore Green Plan 2030, a plan that sets targets for year 2030 in order to galvanise a whole-of-government effort to achieve its national agenda on sustainable development.

In terms of public-private-community partnerships, public-private partnership has been a longstanding feature of Singapore's development. While the public sector formulates the master plan, much of the development critical to realising the plan is being carried out by the private sector in accordance with development controls set out by the public sector. In certain cases, a facility may be developed by the government but operated by the private sector via competitive tender as in the case of the Kwong Wai Shiu Hospital@Potong Pasir. Community involvement is also becoming more common with residents and stakeholders being consulted or even involved directly in the co-creation of solutions and the making of their built environment.

About 80% of Singapore's population lives in new towns that are made up of five to six neighbourhoods that are planned as communities. These new towns are integrated and self-sufficient to a certain extent in that they can satisfy the daily needs of residents as well as provide a certain number of job opportunities.

Singapore is a multi-racial, multi-lingual country and addressing universal human values is always on our minds. For example, the Ethnic Integration Policy (EIP), introduced in 1989, was implemented on the basis of promoting a representative mix of Singapore's ethnic communities at the housing block level to engender social mingling among different ethnic groups. Social mix is achieved by mixing different types of flats, such as smaller 1 and 2-room flats with larger 3, 4 and 5-room flats, in the housing block or housing precinct.

For Singapore, the concept of "complete communities" is probably a good answer. A complete community is where residents can live, work, play and learn within the community and where residents can walk, cycle or take public transport to reach all the key destinations rather than driving. It is able to meet the basic needs of all residents in a community, regardless of ethnicity, culture, income, age, and physical functions. It can also address social isolation via integrated land use planning, transportation planning, and community design. There are several fundamental principles and aspired characters. First, it provides easy access to important destinations and services within a five-minute walk. Second, it has complete streets that are safe and comfortable for all users, and encourage active mobility. Third, it provides a mix of housing types to achieve social equity. Fourth, it has a diverse land use to provide commercial amenities, educational facilities, recreational sites, and working opportunities easily accessed by the residents. Fifth, it promotes self-sufficiency in food, energy, and water. Sixth, it provides an adequate number of jobs and a comprehensive range of industries and facilities to ensure innovation and productive ageing.

In a relatively wealthy nation with comparatively well-planned environments, residents also have increasingly demanding expectations. While planners may have specialised domain knowledge and expertise, urban and community planning in Singapore in the future will be a lot more consultative and increasingly, carried out in collaboration with local communities and engagement with stakeholders. Is the public sufficiently informed to engage in the planning of their immediate environments? How can various stakeholders be empowered to have more say in shaping their immediate environments, deciding what is needed, and contributing to co-creating their neighbourhoods and their communities? What policy framework is needed to ensure more meaningful stewardship of heritage, forests, parks, waterbodies and public open spaces? How should agencies incorporate and acknowledge the contributions of the public to the major decisions and programmes regarding these collective commons?

The challenges posed by climate change, resource depletion, changing demographics and ageing population, urban sustainability, resilience, and emerging technologies call for urban planning, development, and policies to be supported by interdisciplinary evidence-based research. The participation of tertiary institutions on the one hand and the engagement of community participation in planning and leveraging on local knowledge, on the other, change the initiation and co-management of urban common spaces. What more can be done, and how else can the collective wisdom of the entire nation be harnessed to help ensure a more robust future in view of the severe challenges ahead?

## Top-down Planning Against Housing Financialisation

Text / Paul Dobraszczyk

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In England, there are very clear differences between planning practices in the countryside and in cities and towns. Very little if any development is permitted in most rural areas, particularly if they have some level of additional protection on them (the UK's National Parks or Areas of Outstanding Beauty). This means that most development happens in urban areas, whether redevelopment or expansion on the edges of towns and cities. Thus, there is a very clear division between urban and rural communities in England that is often reflected in their political views.

But, for the most part, there is broad consensus on the need to move towards less environmentally-destructive building practices, even as this still only rarely happens in actuality. The central problem in England, and much of the rest of the 'developed' world, is the way in which speculative building completely dominates the construction industry, with central governments having withdrawn public money since the 1970s. The situation varies across European cities, but in England, and London in particular, it is particularly extreme. In London, the dominance of speculative construction has grossly

inflated property values - and it's a system that constantly feeds back into itself, continuing to prioritise financial value over any other. Of course, property owners buy into this as they will benefit the most from inflated financial value, but it leaves so many others without the means to buy and thus at the mercy of landlords. The fact that governments have played little role in regulating the property market means that it's very difficult to mount an effective challenge to this extreme financialisation of building.

Things are a bit more promising outside of London, particularly in smaller urban areas that haven't seen the kind concentration of investment by property speculators in London, Manchester and some other larger UK cities. So, the Transition Network, which began in the small English town of Totnes in 2005, facilities local communities across the world to combat the effects of climate change through grass-roots activities that are rooted in mutual aid and passive and sustainable methods of living. Although these community projects are mostly small-scale, they're very much organised in opposition to the top-down practices that dominate speculative building, allowing local people to really have some agency in determining how their communities develop in the future. I do think that there's a problem in working out how small projects can be scaled up without the need for topdown control, or a dilution of their central values, but I'm convinced that this is the most appropriate way of bringing into reality the kinds of cities we want to see being developed in the future.

I think it's critical that communities of future cities have much more agency in terms of decision-making about how the built environment is planned and managed. This will mean added responsibility for many, but I believe that this will be offset by the sense of empowerment that comes from working closely with others on shared projects. The creation of the built environment is far too often left in the hands of an expert elite, even though the decisions they make affect a large

number of people.

Urban sites that I find inspiring are ones where this strict hierarchy breaks down. Allotments (generally called urban farms elsewhere) are plots of land set aside for communities to grow their own food. Many are on marginal sites in cities, but some are on prime land in terms of its potential value to property speculators. Although a good deal of this land has been lost to development, much of it still persists and is hard-fought over by both local authorities (who generally own the land) and allotment holders themselves. You can't build anything permanent on an allotment in the UK - any kind of dwelling - but you can decide for yourself how to manage a plot and construct bespoke or makeshift structures for horticulture. For many people living in cities, allotments are vital places to find fulfilment; they're also entirely community-run and involve bottom-up management and decision-making about a whole host of issues.

In a completely different vein, I also think it's important for property investors themselves to change the way they work - to try and see the creation of value as a much broader activity than simply maximising their profits. In effect, property developers are community-builders and they should take this responsibility very seriously (and, if they do not, should be forced to do so by the local authorities). A really inspiring example of this is the work of Antepavilion in east London - an arts-based charity that has, for many years, funded an annual competition for provocative hands-on building projects that challenge the rigidity of planning laws and the lack of imagination of most property developers. Although this is a rare example of property investment resulting in the creation of a whole range of values - social, cultural and aesthetic; it nevertheless shows that a much richer kind of development is possible if those with resources think differently about what they are doing.

Two major issues dominate community planning and design in Lon-

don at the moment: the first is the spiralling cost of housing, a result of the extreme financialisation of property; the second is the fragmentation of communities that results from this financialisation, with poorer members of many communities often forced out to outlying areas of the city, where housing is more affordable. The widening gap between rich and poor is particularly acute in London and successive governments have completely failed to address it. I think it's an urgent task to impose some control on property development to make housing more affordable and more equitable. There's no reason why local authorities can't impose their own demands on property developers, but they are often reluctant to do so if that means losing the investment - they're also hamstrung by the central government having the capacity to override their decisions on bigger projects.

London also faces acute environmental problems, most importantly deteriorating air quality and likely future increase in incidence of flooding due to climate change and rising sea levels. I don't think the current emphasis on flood prevention (mostly through the Thames Barrier) is likely to be workable as sea levels continue to rise in the future. We need local communities to put pressure on local and central governing bodies to plan more imaginatively for these future scenarios and also to involve as many people as they can in this process.

Finally, I would say that, in relation to design, architects need to rethink their role. In London-based practices like Assemble, muf, and Architype, participation is key to realising community-based projects. Here, architects work more like facilitators than designers, galvanising local communities to imagine design solutions for themselves and working with them to implement these. This is more akin to architecture as activism and I see it as an important tool in addressing the challenges in community planning and design, not just in London but in cities across the UK and further afield.



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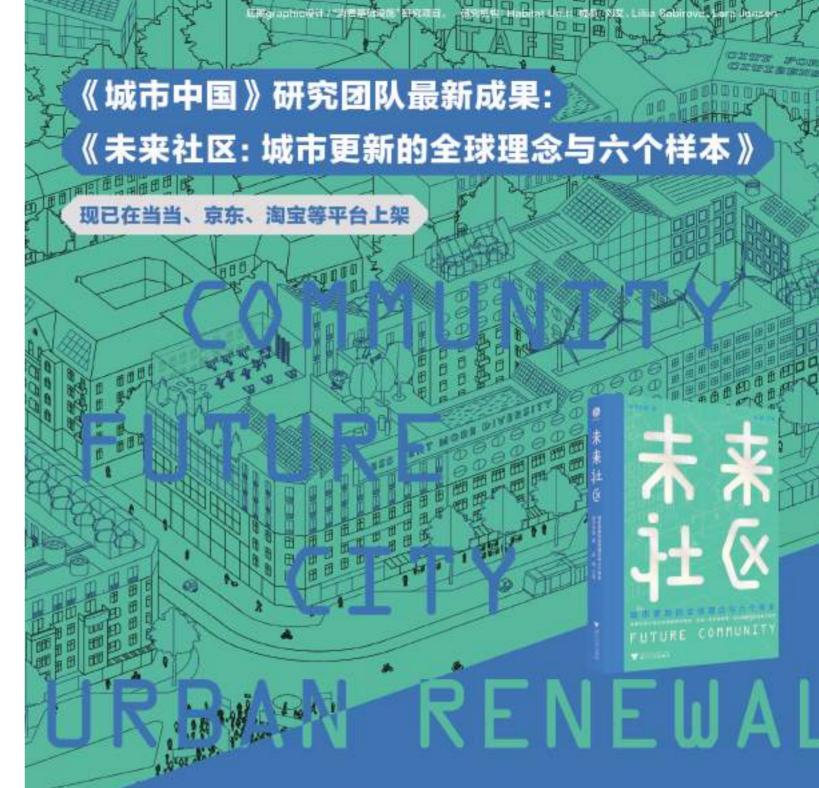
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新的挑战和机遇下,城市将如何进化?

社区作为城市的基本单元,要如何承载人们对未来栖居模式的想象?

存量更新背景下,过往城市建设所导致的大量城市病,正激发着人们对人居环境的再思考。同时,移动互联网技术的飞速迭代,亦引发了一场全球范围内关于未来社区的实践与讨论。本书是《城市中国》研究团队对"未来社区"这一话题的长期跟踪研究。我们以详实的案例和洞察,构建起"未来社区"的理论与实践框架。话题从多角度切入,试图传达一种理解:探讨未来社区,不是对未来图景加以限定,而是以更开放的思维探索城市化的未来。

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