

城市中国

巴黎悖论

重回城市本质

PARIS PARADOX

BACK TO THE ESSENCE OF A CITY

城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

巴黎悖论

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URBAN CHINA OVERSEAS OBSERVER PROGRAM GETS LAUNCHED

《城市中国》海外观察员第三期(2018-2019)开榜

经过两届观察员的摸索与尝试, 海外观察员这一项目已经逐渐完善。从观察员每年的固定节目海外小型沙龙, 到依据个人喜好分享他们在海外生活旅行中的见闻与感受, 数十位海外观察员帮助《城市中国》搭建起了中外城市交流的平台。

这一次, 经过一个多月的人员招募、内部讨论与双向沟通, 我们最终决定聘任七名海外学者相伴新一年的海外观察之旅。

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都市微绿

公众需求及参与推动的绿色空间转型

绿色能带给都市人精神和身体的双重慰藉, 这在心理学和建筑学研究中都能找到答案。城市绿色空间的设计, 自纽约中央公园建设起, 成为经久不衰的热门领域。响应当今的城市建设发展潮流, 城市绿色空间对城市的高密度发展也有所回应。作为一种基础设施, 造得更大还是造得更小, 绿色空间的发展方向值得深入讨论。本期课题的重点是把绿色空间放在特定的历史地理条件当中, 以更贴近市民真实需求的角度, 探讨如何实现多元化的处理方式。从欧美的经验到中国的本土实践, 来自建筑师、规划师、政府官员、地产界人士、学者、社会活动家、艺术家和媒体人的观察和思考将会组成“众观”、“共享”式的经验。

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读者评论

《城市中国》新一期杂志终于出刊了, 话题很应景, 很符合当前的研究需求, 要好好拜读。随刊附赠的《上海大型商品房社区更新》调研资料汇总了我们此次暑期夏令营的部分设计成果, 信息更新很及时。《城市中国》编辑部的同仁们效率果然杠杠的!

——周洋 本刊作者



看到《城市中国》在官方微信、微博发布的“滨江上海”系列专稿, 我想起2012年播出的5集纪录片《黄浦江》。黄浦江的前世今生、新中国时期的浦江情怀以及对上海母亲河的未来发展期许, 都能在这部纪录片里找到答案。

——令狐盛云 微博上海网友
小编提醒: 这部纪录片可在各大视频网站收看



贵刊第四期还写着创刊号, 请问有什么故事没? 我有一本创刊号, 2007年左右买了一批《城市中国》过刊, 品相都很好。

——叶友深0716 微博福州网友
小编回答: 谢谢支持我刊。1-3期是试刊, 所以第四期写了创刊号。这是杂志业普遍的做法, 我们并无特殊情况。本刊很多早期的期数都已脱销, 这位读者坐拥创刊号, 非常资深, 感谢支持!

纠错

084期

1. 084期第140页, 文章作者应为“严娟+孙文文”, 特此向作者致歉。



巴黎城市改造的历史背景与机制探寻

THE BACKGROUND AND MECHANISM OF URBAN RENEWAL OF PARIS

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



巴黎以河流为纽带、街道为轴线、广场为节点、公园为绿肺的公共空间体系，以及具有整体性、延续性和节奏感的街道空间，满足了人们向往的城市公共性和尺度感，成为世界魅力之城。然而研究巴黎，需要超越形式和物质空间，透过表象探究其形成的历史背景和机制制度，分析其对中国解决大城市病、多中心发展，城市多样性和交通联系支撑等的借鉴经验。

奥斯曼时期的巴黎大改建

HAUSSMANN'S URBAN RECONSTRUCTION

中世纪后期，由于战争的毁坏，巴黎就已开始改建和扩建。建设高潮是在拿破仑三世的奥斯曼时期。追溯当时的历史背景，15世纪的文艺复兴带来了科学与艺术革命。16世纪，随着资本原始积累不断深入，法国资产阶级萌芽，形成了一批既有经济实力，又有文化的代表，与教会推行的“君权神授”专制矛盾激烈，却无政治地位。17世纪，英国启蒙思想兴起，1640~1688年，英国资产阶级大革命爆发，为法国新兴资产阶级发展提供了思想基础。近代科学的兴起和英国资产阶级革命的成功，为法国启蒙运动的发展提供了科学依据和理论实践经验。法国新兴资产阶级力量要求摆脱封建专制统治和教会压迫，建立和发展自己的新秩序、新文化。17世纪后期，路易十四专政，连年不断的对外战争和彰显君权的大规模城市改造，使国家财政陷入困境，法国开始由盛转衰。路易十五继任，不断加征新税，发动战争，加速了法国经济的崩溃。18世纪中后期，启蒙运动在法国达到高潮。1789年法国爆发了资产阶级大革命，推翻了君主专制，建立了资产阶级统治，老百姓从此可以自由迁徙。拿破仑为了维护法兰西第一共和国的地位，与欧洲各国展开20余年的战争，对巴黎进行建设，其主要表现在拓宽城市道路，防止巷战，建设重大公共设施，颁布《拿破仑法典》等。1830年，工业革命在法国兴起，全国掀起修建铁路高潮。铁路网的不断扩张，促进了城市工业化和人口的增长，越来越多的农民迁移到城市居住和工作。1848年后，巴黎几乎变得不适合人居住了，狭窄、肮脏、弯曲的旧街道挤满了人群。

1852年拿破仑三世颠覆共和恢复帝制，建立法兰西第二帝国。当时的巴黎处在类似今天中国的转型期，陈旧的道路系统和建筑，居住拥挤，下水道管线超负荷，垃圾遍地，污染严重。交通、卫生、治安是三大紧迫问题。拿破仑三世亲自绘制了巴黎的彩色规划图，进行城市改造，并且将巴黎的警察局长奥斯曼伯爵提拔为巴黎市长。

奥斯曼当时被称为“副皇帝”。他首先对城市进行了全面的测绘，依托地形图，首次将一个城市作为整体进行规划设计，保证了巴黎改造的科学性。消除城市街区间的阻隔，追求极致的对称，让城市的功能通过道路系统来实现。他以暴力手段拆毁了大部分历史街区，清除市中心的贫民窟。城市中43%的房屋、近2万座历史建筑被强制拆除，拥挤狭窄的街道被改建为林荫大道，12条大道在凯旋门广场聚集成辐射网，打通了城市干线，将巴黎的东南西北连接起来。遵循18世纪新古典主义原则，奥斯曼新建了一批类型统一的新社区，3万多座奥斯曼式新古典主义建筑，白墙灰顶，不超过7层，每一层都有不同的功能，建筑造型一直沿用至今。规定了大约24米的建筑高度和1:1的城市道路，并在街边安置长椅。1855年，奥斯曼又将煤气广泛用于街灯照明，有效降低了犯罪率。此外，他还修建了600公里长的下水道，建立的新式排水网络，至今是巴黎“城市的良心”。

这一阶段的巴黎改造，第二帝国投入的巨资，相当于法国一年多的财政总支出。最后，仍然遇到了资金问题，奥斯曼将城市作为资产来管理，组建了一支由行政官员和技术人员组成的运作团队，主张通过借贷投资建设推动经济发展，增加财政收入，再偿还债务，还启用了新型金融工具和特许经营机制，填补资金缺口。在房地产开发中，

奥斯曼与开发商联手，通过政府与开发商签订城市开发协议，在城市土地国有化的前提下，政府进行一些基础设施配套，吸引人气，使开发商尽快回本。

短短17年时间，新巴黎能在“历史遗产”的束缚中焕然一新，这与当时的社会背景、体制机制、具体执行密不可分。拿破仑三世执政时期，专制强化明显，基于国立强盛、军事扩展和战略需要，他宁愿缩减财政开支，也要利用专制手段推行巴黎的改造。奥斯曼拥有超强的执行力。此二人共同缔造，使巴黎由中世纪的有机生长的城镇变成了一个脉络清晰、主次相间的轴线放射状的现代大都会，奠定了现存城市的基本格局，提升了城市的土地价值，改善了城市环境，成为法国强盛的象征。1855年、1867年，巴黎还成功举办了万国博览会，一跃成为现代大都市的样板。

从小巴黎到大巴黎的现代城市体系构建

CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN URBAN SYSTEM FROM THE OLD PARIS TO THE GRAND PARIS

奥斯曼时期的建设高潮之后，便是“一战”后的重建。1928~1933年是比较平稳的建设期，1934年的《巴黎地区空间规划》提出放射路和环路相结合的道路结构形态，为抑制城市向郊区无序蔓延，规定了城市建设用地范围。由于德、法消耗战，死亡人数近百万，导致“二战”时期，巴黎老龄化率高达13%以上。

战后十年进入复苏期，法国的人口和经济分布极不平衡，巴黎市区拥挤，开始实施疏散策略。1956年颁布了《巴黎地区国土开发计划》，限制巴黎城市空间扩张，疏散中心城区人口，并进行产业转移，在郊区建设拥有服务设施和就业岗位的独立大型住宅区，以便促进区域均衡发展。

1960年以后，巴黎城市发展进入新的阶段。针对中心疏散、新城建设和权力下放，造成的地方利益争夺和矛盾，政府对国土资源进行了统一管理。1960年制定了新的《巴黎地区国土开发与空间组织总体规划》，建议通过改造和建立新的城市发展集合来重构城市郊区，通过鼓励巴黎地区周边城市的适度发展或在巴黎地区新建卫星城镇提高农村地区的活力。

1965年制定的《大巴黎规划和整顿指导方案》，成为巴黎地区城市规划的转折点，实现了从“以限制为主”到“以发展为主”的战略转变。改变了原来单一中心的城市格局，在巴黎外围塞纳河两边轴线上规划建设8座新城，总规模相当于母城的2倍，高校、企业向副中心疏散，去中心化。新城建设沿重要交通干线布局，形成城市发展轴，将以往巴黎同心圆结构改变为多中心发展，为城市建设提供了新的发展空间，架构了区域空间格局的雏形。

1976年，大巴黎地区成立，代替了原来的巴黎行政区，建立统一的委员会，统一行政协调。之后《法兰西岛地区国土开发与城市规划指导纲要》、《法兰西岛地区发展指导纲要》、“大巴黎计划”均以多中心发展、轨交支撑、加强联系为核心思路。

从小巴黎到大巴黎螺旋式发展，首先是基于交通支撑的有机疏散；之后经济危机的席卷，导致老城衰败，是从大巴黎到小巴黎的整合；老城振兴之后，再次疏散，辐射到大巴黎，如此循环前进。

巴黎城建史的总结与借鉴

RETROSPECTION OF URBAN CONSTRUCTION IN PARIS

法国大革命之后，法国经历了从第一共和国到第五共和国。以奥斯曼改造的整齐划一、极致对称为基底，巴黎的城市色彩、风貌、空间井然单调，学术界普遍认为缺乏个性。为了增加世界影响力和美誉度，巴黎举办了多次万国博览会。从埃菲尔铁塔，到蓬皮杜文化中心，再到卢浮宫的“金字塔”，都是在改变巴黎单调的空间，增加多元化。这些在当时看来“奇奇怪怪”的建筑能够落成，其中既有民主自由，又有专制的决断。以下几点值得总结：

一是形态的整体特征。城市需要有整体的风貌和形象，反映在整齐统一的色彩、高度，以及屋顶、檐口，街道的贴线率和秩序性，肌理的整体性。

二是背后的体制机制。没有好的机制不可能形成好的结果。奥斯曼改造的公司化运作，类似于现在的城投，同时奥斯曼还获有经营权，类似于中国的温州模式，拓展了融资渠道，保障了改造资金的来源。犹如成都天府新区建设，设有总规划师制度，也是城市建设的一种创新。

三是城市的多样趋势。城市既要有整体性，又要有异素化、多元化，巴黎的理性浪漫主义城市建设中，一些伟大的极不和谐的建筑，反而增加了城市的多样性。

四是分散的多心支撑。总体上巴黎呈现出从拥挤疏散到多中心发展的过程，特别是交通的支撑。“二战”十年之后，巴黎所呈现的规划基本是交通的发展。拿破仑三世时期，法国的轨道交通建设如火如荼，而且是多家铁路公司同时建设。每一段的建设属于不同的投资商，因此巴黎的铁路大部分是尽端式的。现在看来站点多，反而有利于人的出行，有利于城市多中心发展。

五是自然的有机融入。巴黎的城市建设一直强调生态。标志性的事件如太阳王路易十四修建的凡尔赛宫，非常重视生态、廊道，绿化成网，对若干条河流进行梳理，使园林呈几何式布局，注重绿化布置喷泉雕塑、建筑小品和周围建筑的协调性和整体性，成为欧式现代景观的奠基。

六是老城的活力更新。巴黎的老城更新，包括城市空间的更新和人的更新，将企业、高校从老城疏散到副中心，对城市功能进行重新划归，利于老城空间的转型升级。

巴黎的建设离我们并不遥远。现在看到的巴黎，比较集中的的是在1853年到1870年奥斯曼改建后的巴黎，那个时代的“现代建筑”千篇一律，导致巴黎单调划一，类似于现在的“千城一面”问题，后续的更新和建设都在试图改变“千城一面”，谋求多元化发展。研究巴黎对于中国的城市发展具有重要意义，尤其是北京、上海等特大城市。改革开放以来，中国的城市建设遇到的问题、导致的原因、解决的方法，甚至走过的弯路，在巴黎的城市发展史上都曾发生过。比如，北京的疏散非首都职能，上海的郊区新城建设、城市更新，巴黎在这些方面已经积累了丰富的经验，值得我们挖掘与探讨，从它的历史中重新激活新的价值。●



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Return to the Topic ‘Living in Metropolitan’

Text / KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China] + ZHAO Min

This issue starts from a common vision about Paris in China – ‘Petit Paris’ is forever, particularly rationally beautiful in scale and style in urban design, that never out of date. People praise Haussmann’s renovation and trying to study from the width of street, the height of the building and the slope angle of the roof, and applying in current urban design so that the cities can ‘last and be fashion as long as Paris’. However if Paris is a universal urban design model, why there are urban pattern diversity? Why even Paris ‘betrayed’ itself after WWII in reconstruction and expansion? The Grand Paris Plan of 2007 and the step process in 2013~2014 provide us a neutral way to see what’s the REAL problem in Paris’ development from a French vision, and to know what we SHOULD HAVE learnt from Paris since its transformation – not only in Haussmann’s renovation merely.

Historic Housing Problems

Bourgeoisie is originally and generally to describe the people of the city as opposed to those of rural areas. In this sense, the bourgeoisie began to grow in Europe from the 11th~ 12th century with the first developments of rural exodus and urbanization. However, once the term bourgeoisie and proletariat are introduced in China, they are literally translated as ‘having real-estate property’(in city) and ‘no real-estate property’, in parallel with the housing conflict in Paris in the 19th century. Paris used to be the only metropolitan in continental western Europe. ‘If French farmers take against city, the only choice is city’, thus Paris is always the eye of storm of street protests till now. After the Revolution, one most radical land reforming process, certain royal real estate are nationalized or redistributed to the bourgeoisie, but the newly urbanized always could not afford the rent due to a lack of housing in city. In that case, providing enough housing was a main purpose of urban renovation before and after Haussmann’s domain. If we compare Haussmannian Paris with some other cities renovated in the same era it is easy to find

that the interior living space is inadequate, and for the sake of mild climate, many social activities could be but on the street. In 19th century a novelist mentioned the difference between Paris and London is that Parisian would like to enjoy street life but in the gloomy and rainy British winter, most social activities are in the drawing room – Sorry, it is not ‘enjoy’ but ‘had to’, just like Tokyo and metropolitans in China now, there is no room for young people to encounter people inside their apartments. Americans mistake it for ‘Parisian life style’ and Chinese mistake it for ‘how Haussmannian urban pattern is suitable for contemporary urban life’. The Third Republic providing various usurious loan to the colonies caused real-estate financialization and the soaring of land price in Paris. Moreover the construction of transportation network and urban shopping malls (such as Bon Mache) are too compare with what China happened when ‘One Belt One Road’ project starts. We have been facing a similar problem in real estate development and urbanization. Thus this issue starts from a reinvestigation of the Haussmannian renovation, and then the 1960s, and finally the latest Grand Paris Plan, focusing on housing issue and its related urban life changing, to provide a mirror to reflect on our own latest urbanization.

Past Facing to the Future

Petit Paris is always viewed as the expression of former imperial glory, though when there was not an empire but the Third Republic. ‘Back to the imperial glory’ is always a theme to the new projects after the Algerian War. Avant-garde apartment layouts and blocks in Grand Paris, la Defence, new towns like Sarcelle, the radical experience and the spiritual and cultural enclosure of Petit Paris become a paradox. Once urban studies talk about how Haussmannian urban pattern suits for ‘creative class’, we cannot forgive that the researchers themselves belong to ‘creative class’. And for Chinese researchers we

even cannot forgive that they are not ‘users of Paris’. Most of the researches are from a touristic, economic functionalist, single or core family, and ‘creative class’ vision to evaluate how much potential can be investigated as the new growth point of Paris, ignoring the REAL needs of the daily life of old and new Parisians – less (or more ?) segregation, more day care and nursing, less crowded of commuting, cheaper housing rent, more social, cultural and commercial activities in suburban blocks, more living space for children, more working opportunities, more better jobs, more education... In this issue we invited three generations of architects/ urban planners to talk about current developing bottleneck of Paris and their visions on solving them. AUC Atelier raises a methodology similar as Urban Humanity of UCLA once Urban China has featured in the Grand Paris Planning competition of 2009. It shows the outcome of 1960s. 2Portzamparc (formerly AECDP) in 2013 planning competition continues its study of ‘the Opening Block/ filoit ouvert’ with some extension like ‘Tapestry of Cities’ and ‘Linear Centralization’ to encourage more publicity and functional complexity of urban spaces. National Architect, Parisian Dominique Lyon highlights the importance of historic evolution paths and collective benefits and trying to build a higher reality above rational, technical commercial and financial fanaticism.

Urban China has put more focus on historical, text, image and video analysis for individual urban studies since 2018, and the issue of Paris is our second experience after Wenzhou. We try to encourage a transformation of urban planning topics from ‘what we can learn from the developed countries/ the latest theoretical fashion’ and ‘what new developing potential can be investigated’ to ‘how historical evolution and social developing path shaping a certain city’s future’ without nostalgia. It is our standing point to resist on popularization and the crisis of financial flow-supported globalization. ©

Exploring The Inheritance And Development of Paris, With The Legacy of History

Text / Dominique Lyon Edit / ZONG Chenmei + YUAN Jing Translate / ZONG Chenmei + ZHAO Min

Haussmann gave Paris a clear structure since 1852. Through a very dense and poorly irrigated city, he drew a largely dimensioned and connected road network. It has cleared significant public spaces (squares, boulevards, gardens, parks). He also punctuated the city with new public facilities (libraries, theaters, railway stations, municipal buildings, halls ...). Before Haussmann’s intervention, Paris lacked common spaces and traffic between the different neighborhoods was difficult. We lived in a neighborhood rather than in a city. Spaces designed for the crowd or ceremonies were rare and served primarily to enhance the royal or religious buildings. The notion of public space did not exist. Haussmann largely destroyed historical Paris, which was extremely picturesque, and it was much criticized. He had the ambition to create a modern city, that is to say a bourgeois city, where the patrimony of private individuals could be invested in buildings and shops; an efficient city, so uniform; a controllable city too, to exorcise the fear of revolutionary uprisings such as those of 1830 and 1848.

The Haussmannian Paris, a modern city, has adapted to the transformations of the centuries that followed. The urban regulations that are in force today have changed little since the time of Haussmann. Nevertheless, after the fall of the Second Empire, the regime under which Haussmann acted, a new sensibility manifested itself which will give importance to the protection of the built heritage, and Haussmann was reproached for its systematic destruction.

Heritage protection rules appear more and more strict. Only the ‘modern urbanism’ of the 1960s and 1970s has radically freed itself from the Haussmannian system by rejecting the alignment of buildings on the public road, the notion of island and the rules of height. From the 1980s the rules of the Haussmannian city were again imposed. As Paris remained a horizontal city (the height of the buildings is homogeneous) the discussions are alive today as to the opportunity to develop high-

rise buildings (about 100m) outside the central districts and out of the business district of the defense. The image of Paris seems identifiable thanks to some emblematic monuments and its organic character: the city presents a simple form which contains, on a small surface, an infinity of buildings and public spaces of different styles, belonging to all eras since the Middle Ages. Yet the city gives an impression of unity. When you build in Paris you always do it in front of the story. This does not prevent to be radically contemporary. New buildings must be designed with reference to the history of forms, but be careful never to produce pastiche. History is a dynamic, an intelligence. It incorporates novelty; it does not impose copying the old, it allows to form an opinion. The seduction of history and the iconic character of some cities are a threat to the richness and diversity of urban space when tourism becomes massive. To attract visitors in large numbers, the city has a simplified image, a brand, which will have a high commercial value. The shops (shops, hotels, restaurants, cafes ...) are formatted to satisfy the taste of the globalized. Infrastructures adapt to the

needs of tourism, particularly in terms of control and security. Land prices are rising and fragile populations are being hunted. Tourism when it is too intrusive destroys urban life. Cities must learn to reconcile policy in favor of tourism and protection against mass tourism. We must not make Paris an exception. All cities have a history, more or less long, more or less glorious. When designing a building or an urban ensemble in a new neighborhood, history is always present: it interacts with existing buildings, infrastructures, social components or the presence of buildings. nature. It produces history, historical depth. These data can rarely be ignored when designing architectural and urban forms and organizations. If you want to be smart, you have to look at the complexity of things in place. Whatever the situation, it is impossible to escape the history of architecture and urbanism. If one is intelligent, that is to say if one understands the situations in which one intervenes, then the architecture and the urbanism become expressions of the culture of our time and ask simple questions: what new organization allows us to flourish? What image do we want to leave of ourselves for future generations? How






do we deal with the challenges of our time? In any case, if we are concerned with history, culture, and the common good, that is, with what our societies essentially do, it is essential to go beyond technique, rationality and finance.

As such, the 'Europa City' project is a counter-example. It is designed for tourism and mass consumption. The operation is undoubtedly of interest to investors, but it has no urban value: it will not help the development of its visitors, it does not enrich the social practices and the cultural component that is put in place. before is for the sole purpose of serving as an alibi for commercial concentration. The project gives the image of a society damaged by the consumerist fever, it jeopardizes the balance of natural space / built space and it will destabilize the commercial structures and equipment built around. Europa city consumes a lot of space, artificialises the land and ignores the complexity of the existing. Private investment should be directed more towards densification and equipping of the outlying towns and disadvantaged neighborhoods bordering the site. It would be better to keep agricultural activities on the outskirts of the city, even if it means changing part of their area into leisure activities that focus on agriculture and nature management.

The major French cities have to face to the challenges of sustainable development and combat spatial segregation, which forces the less well off to leave the city centers, which have become too expensive, to live in less well-served and less well-equipped outskirts. To deal with these problems requires working at the scale of the metropolis, that is to say, on an urban ensemble that exceeds the different municipalities concerned and covers the urban area as a whole. For this purpose, the 'Métropole du Grand Paris' Project was created in 2014. The Metropolis is a new administrative level which makes it possible to design transport, development and equipment policies throughout the urban agglomeration. The "Metropolis of Greater Paris" includes 123 municipalities and has 7.5 million inhabitants. Size matters when it comes to keeping an influence in the global metropolis competition.

It is imperative to reduce spatial segregation, which risks making social relations within the city more violent and devaluing a large part of the population. This objective calls for promoting urban mobility by intensifying the transport network. For reasons of sustainable development and because the level of pollution of metropolises poses significant public health problems it is to promote public

transport and modes of travel not using fossil fuels (bicycles, electric vehicles). The new metro lines of the 'Grand Paris Express' will connect the peripheral cities. They will make it possible to value the lands located around the future stations in order to attract investors. It is therefore a question of financing and building the dense city, on the outskirts, where the land is abundant, to finish with the spread city, consuming of natural space and demanding important road infrastructures. The dense city, properly irrigated by public transport, generates value and attracts investment. It is up to the politicians to require developers to develop innovative building programs capable of producing urban wealth: programs that combine commercial, work and leisure functions with social and private housing. The mix of programs produces the urban and architectural diversity that we appreciate in the historic city. The monofunctional city, isolated within disproportionate infrastructures, serving only the interests of investors or technocrats, belongs to the past. It is necessary to put more intelligence in the making of the city. The dense city, complex, mixed, diverse in programs and populations, this is what we try to produce, as urban architects. In this sense, our projects locally intensify the urban experience and give depth to our time. 

How And Where To Live In Grand Paris

An Interpretation of Grand Paris Planning Concept of Portzamparc Habiter 2013

Interview+Edit/ ZHAO Min

Q : The 2009 edition is divided into two parts, one of which must respond to the Kyoto Protocol, but it deals specifically with the issue of population agglomeration in major cities. Instead, living in the metropolis was the focus in the 2013 edition. What changes and improvements have been made to the 2009 to 2013 planning?

A : Habitat is one of the fundamental data of any urban planning, whether planned or not. The Greater Paris International Workshop dealt with the issue of housing in 2013 for several reasons:

- the question of transport had been largely dealt with before, between 2008 and 2011, and gave birth to the great metro project that is now at the heart of the metropolitan system and it was necessary to explore new metropolitan themes.

-the housing situation was difficult and the government had launched several projects to revive the production of housing throughout France, especially social housing. The housing situation was even more tense in Ile de France with greater inequalities between real estate prices and growing demand.

-Traditional housing was no longer fully in phase with the new ways of life, especially new metropolitan lifestyles and there was a need to explore these new ways of living to be able to meet them.

-The land of Greater Paris had become rarer, so more expensive and more difficult to live and it was necessary to find ways to find land to free the opportunity to build. It is mainly this last theme that we have worked on.

We have thought about why and how to establish new housing while responding to the difficulties arising from the development of the metropolis as hyper center 'world city' and huge periphery 'city left behind'.

Q : How does planning in 2013 explore the agglomeration and stratification of society in Grand Paris, the issue of social vitality and inequality of opportunity?

A : We observed that not all land is equal in the city. There are many enclaves that are areas cut off from the rest of the city by infrastructure, by highways or railroad tracks, and so are not connected to the mesh of streets where life is present. The dwellings that would be built in these enclaves are destined to become the ghettos of tomorrow, which is not acceptable. That is why we propose that the construction of housing is always done in the context of urban planning projects that aim to guarantee the continuity of living spaces. Housing alone is not the right solution, it requires the mix of function and especially the continuity of public spaces. The fabric of living streets and sidewalks found in the heart of the metropolis must extend throughout the agglomeration.

Q : The consideration of the social and public nature of the route mentioned in the 2009 edition of the plan can be considered as a French characteristic and the cultural foundation of Portzamparc's concept of 'open block (Iloit ou-vert) '. How was it planned in the 2013 version of the plan?

A : The study we conducted in 2013 extends and complements the reflections of the 2008-2009 consultation, particularly with regard to the "city with streets", that is to say, the city that can be traveled on foot and where life grows along the streets. This could be called a linear centrality. The archetype of the living street is a continuous, clear and legible public space that combines all the urban functions of travel, services, businesses and addressing.

For research conducted in 2013 we proposed that all new housing built be connected to living streets. For that we proposed to map all the linear centralities and to link them together. We called this cartography the 'tapestry' of Greater Paris.

Q : The 2013 edition of the plan mentions the impact of changes in family structure (such as the increase in the number of lone-parent fam-

ilies and the increase in the lone-parent population) on housing supply, as well as the rise in rents linked to the rise in urban land prices. The high population density in the small Paris region has gone from 'deficiency' to 'modernity', but what is the solution to the problem of life in planning and construction?

A : Life can only take place in a neighborhood if it is connected to the network of life. The idea of this tapestry was to serve as a basic plan for a major metropolitan project, a bit like the Prost plan or what Haussmann could do in Paris, that is to say draw a frame of Lines of life, ie boulevards and living avenues that would cross the ring road and the other cuts. Unfortunately the AIGP could not take this proposal and it is still a simple proposal.

Q: Some architects and fashion leaders began to rediscover the old Haussmann's dwelling typology, and said it is fit to the modern needs - the rooms are linked by corridors instead of centered by living room, thus can be easily divided and to sell/ rent. Or the vertical price division achieved 'mixed living' caused by dwellers has to use the lift and stairs together to create passive public space. How do you view this idea? And now, due to the global competition Paris has to attract more 'creative class', how housing typology changes could fit their demands?

A: It is true that people have realized it has high population density of housing without having too much height. It is caused by buildings are closed to one another. There are many small courtyards so that each apartment has some natural light – not as expected as in modern housing, but at least, some. It is the traditional way to have high density without having big buildings or big living spaces. While we recognize some qualities to Haussmannian typology, we believe the 'open block' is a better answer to present needs. The open block theory has been developed by Christian de Portzamparc for many years now and we have developed it to make it very performant. The open block takes the



best of Haussman and the best of modern types to have sun and light in the appartments and clear well designed streets.

Thus the streets have taken some responsibilities of social life which are within modern apartments. Taking Huaihai Road of Shanghai as an example, people like to walk on such a street with retails, high and low buildings. There are visional diversity and wide sidewalks with tree lane. We believe that the dimension of the street – width and height, participate citizens' public life. The life of streets doesn't not depended on fashion stores but also the spatial quality of the street itself.

Streets define the urban situation. In modern cities streets are for transportation only and it becomes a separated object isolated to other objects particularly buildings. Hutong of Beijing shows a more medieval prototype of city that the activities are mainly inner courtyards and the streets are too narrow to adapt cars. In pre-modern era, particularly in 19th century, the buildings are close to the streets and next to each other, and more commercial and public events happen on the opening spaces. That is the continuity of space. So it is pleasant to walk on the streets in such kind of cities instead of driving. Meanwhile the urban life is much more dynamic. It is a pity that Beijing tries to build the city like ancient Hutong but with wider streets and high towers inside closed blocks. New York city is an exception that it has towers next to each other but still have moderately narrow streets to bear street life.

The only different of Haussmann's city is the buildings look the same, and the functions and living qualities are divided by floors but not by buildings (decoration and width, in a more medieval way). It creates unification. It is not a necessity to a good urban form and applied in other cities. We think the best quality of Haussmann is the scale of the street, and in fact that everything happened in the street.

The urban study of Haussmann's Paris often focuses on the urban dynamic. In Paris we have the Haussmann's center with a lot of urban life in the streets, and around the core it is the 'Dead Paris', only cars and homogenized communities. One of

the reason we think is there's no real streets as the model was trying to build a suburb Paris which can be found everywhere in China and originated from the American suburb. We'd like to re-invent this model.

Retailing, working and mixing are important. Working places like CBD of many global cities die in the evening and weekend. If you have housing and other facilities, it can have functions all day and all week long. And the district in general can be safer. Even there are flexible retailers like in China – it is not that necessarily critical – but in France, the stores and retails are not very strong and not working very well. We realized that most of the time in France that the retails are one next to another. But if the retails are in one place with another place, then people won't take their car to go to from one to another. So the shopping mall – another prototype of retail like a closed box, occurred by the wide application of cars. Shopping mall is like a bubble to reject everything in the city and what's more, building a utopia of consuming.

Q: Ironically now shopping malls try to be designed more like a vertical commercial street while streets need to be 'clean'...

A: It is true. The modern architects after WWII have radical ideas about the city. It was easy to do for big number of people when city needed labors to reconstruct itself. But after construction the blocks quickly became ghettos. When the streets don't connect each other, not necessarily creating grid but can be triangle and some other types of blocks, there are many dead ends. It is easy to control and to create segregation – you just need to close the main entrance, and nobody can go out. That's what we try to change – we add streets and reconnect the dead ends. This model has been adapted for centuries.

Q: In-street style urban dynamic strongly depends on the mild local climate. If we consider Moscow's winter and Singapore's summer, even British rainy winter which is not far from Paris... what's more, global warming and the frequency of extreme weather also a lethal fac-

tor to the street life. Due to global warming and the development of shopping mall, people now prefer to be hidden in shopping malls as they have air conditioning. It is a negative factor of recalling street life.

A: Yes. It can be considered into two ways. On one way, the street life can be revived by mix-use of buildings. In one building people work and in another building it is a pure apartment. It also creates urban dynamics without following Haussmann's vertical division.

On the other way, trees are important to reduce heat in summer. Also green roofs, gardens... Shanghai is nicer than Paris because there are many gardens effectively reducing heat – while Shanghai's dry summer is hotter, but less tough. Many streets in Paris have no green at all, not all streets in Paris are boulevard. Although Haussmann has designed many, too, they are too small comparing with the population he proposed. This is the limitation of his plan. He didn't balance a good proportion of green and built in city designing. If we have trees providing shadow, and well using the breeze, we can effectively reduce the temperature in a more green way – because air conditioners release heat to the city and severing the outdoor environment.

Q: If everyone in the street and in café is watching their cell phone, how could you recall urban dynamics and street life?

A: One thing that de Portzamparc working on many years is 'surprise'. If people are surprised, they will look up. So in designing of a city, one different building is effective. When you look up and wondering what it is, it forms a contrast. And for people they will remember how their location is related to that building, and then you don't need GPS to remember your route but by your mental map – your own map of the city in your brain. That's one way to provoke conversation with people, 'how do you feel that', 'oh it's ugly', and a communication starts.

If only one building is 'strange' it is landmark, but if all buildings are 'strange' it is Las Vegas. When we design a street it is difficult to find rules for ar-

chitects, but at least we have 'god' of uniformity to protect the street not to be disturbed by too many noises.

People now are more and more inner-centered. But we think human are still animals driven by natures, such as comfort. What urban designers and architects can do is to build or integrate spaces for this demand. Sunshine, shadow, wind, green, enough density but not too much so that you can see the sky, it is a question of skill.

Maybe now instagram is a window to see the streets, but fashion will change. The city has longer life than we can see. That's what we keep on doing for physical environment of nice building, nice city for the people, it will stay for longer years than fashion. I know things go fast in China and it is difficult for people to realize it.

Q : The tourism industry in Petit Paris area has always been an important support for urban development: how to reduce the contradictions between tourists and residents? And how to extend the benefits of tourism to Greater Paris and the entire Le-de-France region, in particular to offer similar job opportunities to 'sleeping town'?

A : A first decentralization must be able to take place inside the metropolis itself, by building new public facilities in the disadvantaged sectors. For example museums or universities, as is the case in Vitry Aubervilliers with the Condorcet campus. These buildings would become future landmarks of the city, interconnected by the lines of life. De facto tourism would gradually come out of the historic center to open up to the rest of the metropolis. With each large equipment and along the lines that connect them, offices and new hotel resources would be established.

Q: But only big cities, global cities and regional centers are able to attract 'creative class' or providing related opportunities.

A: Exactly. In reflection there was a question that the environment of durability. And we realized it is strongly related to density. Compare with suburb and city center in many regions, density is not

only for urban dynamics but also a way to against global warming (by less fuel and collective air conditioning, sewage etc.), because you condense most activities in a small area.

Q: What kind of work do you think is suitable for the suburban big blocks? It seems not to be a good idea to add factories there.

A: Office building, such as internet-related works. It is not necessary to be big firms, but start-ups. We can imagine a building having start-ups in 1~4 floors, and housing on the upper floors, if following Haussmann's tradition. They can even work in the basement. (Common in Nordic Europe because box foundation is more adaptable in seasonally freezing stratum) individuals or small groups can be architects, illustrators, stylists... organizations can be like bank branches. This idea is particularly suitable for the offices having only 3~5 people with a cleaner or other service. This type of work can be everywhere in the city. We consider more about size than what they do, as there are many jobs fit to this demand.

Q: How do you think about street violence and demonstration when the street is viewed as 'linear public space'? How can the reviving of publicity of streets reduce some kind of violence such as the employed young people wandering around and doing something bad, and severer as protesting and demonstration?

A: The grid of the city is the good solution to begin with. Because there's no dead end or dark corner in front of you, you can see far away. That's the reason why Haussmann designed big wide straight streets. And also, retail can reduce criminal. Healthy street life can be contributed by the retail owners staying and watching on the street as they don't welcome robbers. They want their place to be nice and welcomed, so they must keep the street social environment.

As demonstration, as what is happening in Paris, that's a difficult question. In France there's only one 'real' big city, and it is Paris. So everybody is against Paris. But I don't think it is bad. When people are in the street in Paris, people are in the

street all over France. People in the protest say different things, with different points of view but without a clear theme. Something about taxes, something about housing, and something about else. People also confused that a country as France, a developed country without economic decay as in Greece and some other European countries, and good enough comparing with many other countries in the world. Factually several years ago when the gay marriage law is passed, there were more people on the streets. Both support and against, there were more events happening than right now. We can say that some people living in modern life with strong pressure, and they want simpler life. It is hard to say how an urban designer can participate in social reorganizing.

If you calculate the number of nodes and transactions in a city, Paris has more nodes because the blocks are often triangle instead of square. And such as Place Charles de Gaulle, 10 avenues coming together, it is easy for people to come in and go away. But like in Manhattan, you have only two streets coming together. People cannot go away easily. So maybe square block is better for the governors~

Q : What is the planning work for Greater Paris after 2013? Is this a plan that has been deconstructed into several key areas, with each company then assigned to work in a specific area?

A : Unfortunately to date there is no follow-up to the AIGP. There was a new consultation to renew the teams but there was no follow-up. However, following the presidential election there have been several studies and reflections, rather on the political organization of the city, but which have not yet been concluded. The last major study was commissioned by President Macron to Roland Castro who made a series of proposals and who asked us to contribute with a text on the boulevards of the metropolis. 📄



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BACK TO THE
ESSENCE OF A CITY
总第85期

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