

# 21世纪中国 城市主义

主编 李 磷 薛求理

Chinese  
Urbanism in the 21<sup>st</sup>  
Century

中国建筑工业出版社

# 21 世纪中国城市主义

Chinese Urbanism in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century

*Edited by*

*Li Lin & Xue Qiuli*

主编

李 磷 薛求理

中国建筑工业出版社

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

21世纪中国城市主义 / 李磷, 薛求理主编. —北京:  
中国建筑工业出版社, 2016. 10  
ISBN 978-7-112-19995-2

I. ①21… II. ①李…②薛… III. ①城市规划—  
研究—中国—21世纪 IV. ①TU984. 2

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2016)第247637号

责任编辑: 滕云飞

责任校对: 王宇枢 焦 乐

21世纪中国城市主义

主编 李 磷 薛求理

\*

中国建筑工业出版社出版、发行(北京海淀三里河路9号)

各地新华书店、建筑书店经销

北京京点图文设计有限公司制版

北京中科印刷有限公司印刷

\*

开本: 787×1092 毫米 1/16 印张: 13 字数: 271 千字

2017年7月第一版 2017年7月第一次印刷

定价: 98.00 元

ISBN 978-7-112-19995-2

(29443)

版权所有 翻印必究

如有印装质量问题, 可寄本社退换

(邮政编码 100037)



# 摘要

## Abstract

Similar to what had occurred in the western countries during the course of industrialization and modernization in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> Century, China today is undergoing a striking social change along with the impressive magnitude of economic growth and the overwhelming storm of urbanization. As the fast-paced urbanization has substantially modified China's built environment in which architecture shall be the first subject to be examined. Adopting typological study as a methodology, this book is a research on Chinese contemporary urban architecture and urban design, with a focus on building projects that completed since 2001.

All building types — skyscraper, grand theater, shopping mall, commercial housing, art zone, “urban village” and university town - that discussed here are representations of the current dynamics in Chinese cities. They were either freshly introduced into China by the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century or auto-generated under China's own circumstances. These new types of buildings quickly diffused into all major cities in the new millennium. Some of them are the most popular development in the market and simply phenomenal or somehow controversial in terms of scale, volume and cost of construction. Some may create new prototypes or new life styles for China and even for the world. In addition to outlining a general feature of urban development in the past 15 years, the authors also provide close-up observations and in-depth analyses, criticisms and reflections on Chinese architecture and urbanism in the context of globalization and commercialization.

Through reading China's unique urbanism, readers can get a glimpse of China's immense urban construction in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, with which no other country in the history could be compared. It is a must-read for anyone who wants to understand the contemporary China.

今天，中国正发生一场与 19 世纪西方国家在工业化和现代化进程中经历过相似的社会巨变，其中经济增长的总量和城镇化磅礴的浪潮最为引人注目。

随着城镇化的快速步伐，中国的城乡环境已被彻底改造，建筑活动因此是必然的首要审视对象。本书以类型学为方法论，主要聚焦在 2001 年后竣工的建设项目，重点研究中国当代都市建筑和都市设计。

书中论及的摩天大厦、大剧院、购物中心、商品房、艺术村、城中村、大学城等建筑类型，代表了当前中国城市的活力。这些新鲜的建筑类型，不管是 20 世纪末从国外引进的，还是中国本土原生的，都在 21 世纪之初就迅速扩散至所有的大城市。它们之中，有的是市场上最流行的发展形势；有的在规模、数量和造价方面是轰动一时或引起争议的；有的不仅为中国，而且为世界创造了一种新模型或新型的生活方式。在描画过去 15 年城市发展轮廓的基础上，本书各章作者还对中国建筑和城市主义作出了细微的观察、深入的分析，并联系全球化、商业化等问题进行批评和反思。

读者可透过管窥 21 世纪在中国大地上发生的这种世界上史无前例的、极其庞大的城市建设现象，领略中国特色的城市主义。要了解当代中国，这是一本必读的著作。



# Contents

## Part I: New Urban Images

### Chapter 01 The Sky's the Limit: Skyscrapers, CBDs and City Skylines

*Li Lin*

From horizontal expansion to vertical development, the image of Chinese cities has been changed drastically in the last 15 years. As high-rise office buildings are rapidly and increasingly under construction, the Central Business District (CBD) becomes a new city skyline that dominates in every city. For example, in 1990 the number of buildings over 200 meters in height was only 5, but in 2012 it had ascended to 249. Today the highest skyscraper in China is the 632-meter Shanghai Tower. This chapter reviews the transformation of city skylines in some major cities such as Shanghai, Beijing, Guangzhou and Shenzhen, and discusses the so-called "Manhattan Obsession" which actually reflects the limited vision of "International City" conceived by local city planners, and the speculation heated up by real estate developers. The author argued that such transformation was an indication of social and cultural changes in which Chinese people began to accept, recognize and pursue wealth and capital.

### Chapter 02 From the "People's" to the "Civic": Plazas, Parks and City Centers

*Li Lin*

Community center is the heart of a city. Recently provisions of new civic cores close to or bigger than Beijing's Tiananmen Square in size have been Eye-opening large-scale constructions that spread into many new urban zones around the country. With reference to the orthodox axial organization and symmetrical composition, they are usually planned and programmed with huge public parks, plazas, art and cultural facilities, shopping malls and CBD office towers. In those centers, natural element such as green landscape becomes a major design consideration for public amusement, in which it redefines the concept of public space in China. Although most of the new cores lack of self-identity especially in the context of local characteristics and history, they are regarded as signals to understand how Chinese cities have transcended political stereotype and made a move from the "people's " to the "civic".

### Chapter 03 The Jewel in the Crown: The Heat of Grand Theaters

*Xue Qiuli, Xiao Yingbo*

In China, for a long time the design of theaters mostly has been no difference from a normal auditorium. By entering the new millennium, many cities began to launch megaprojects of cultural center in order to create a dynamic cityscape and to manifest self-identity. Those new cultural centers are usually planned according to the so-called “4-pieces-anchorage” pattern: the integration of a Grand Theatre, a Library, a Museum, and a Gallery or a Children’s Palace.

Funded by trillions of dollars, the spectacular Grand Theatre—the jewel in the crown—is widely considered as a symbol of high culture by the mass media. This chapter attempts to analyze the architectural characteristics of these Grand Theatres – their design languages and their design solutions in relationship to the urban context. Three Grand Theatres in China’s second-tier cities- Zhengzhou, Taiyuan and Chongqing- are being studied. Since 1998 more than 160 “Grand Theatres” have been constructed together with other cultural facilities. The authors found that the objective to build a

Grand Theatre was to upgrade and showcase the city rather than to promote performing arts. Such phenomenon certainly is an epitome of the Chinese “great-leap-forward” in urban development.

## Part II: New Urban Lifestyle

### Chapter 04 The Utopia of Consumption: Shopping Malls

*Zang Peng*

It was not until 1996 China just opened its first shopping mall –TEEMALL-in Guangzhou, but from 2013 to 2015 there were 300 new shopping malls opening each year. Shopping malls are especially favored by real estate developers, being able to provide a full range of shopping and recreational services under one roof, and today the total number of malls has accumulated to 4,000 nationwide. This chapter analyzes 3 cases of shopping mall design- Taikoo Hui Guangzhou, Raffles City Chengdu and Global Center Chengdu- one values “green” environment, one goes to “superstar” architect for projecting a flagship retail icon, one bets on “big box”. According to the author, the success of a shopping mall is often reflected in the careful treatment of

architectural space outside the shops, turning social values into profits. If shopping mall is a paradise of consumption, then the question of how to create spaces that being able to attract consumers is ultimately about the ontology of architecture- a search of the sense of place.

#### Chapter 05 The Sense of Community: New Housing Estates

*Liu Xin*

The transformation of China's economy and the ensuring privatization of housing stock have led to a dramatic reconstruction over the last 30 years, which has resulted in a substantial reconfiguration of spatial structures and communities. One outcome of the development is the emergence of various types of new communities in China. In this background, the study first explores the conceptual difference between new communities and dwelling districts, and then adopts a most appropriate definition of new communities to conduct a further research. Based on the conceptual analysis, three critical factors are then examined and identified to help gain a better understanding of new communities, which are open, continuity and composite. In order to test how three factors manifested in real-life projects,

a case study of three new residential communities is following up. From the case study we can see, large-scale communities are usually accompanied with a lack of public facilities and services, for example Jianshazhou Affordable Housing Community in Guangzhou. However, most of the times, the emergence of new communities has been playing an important role in reconfiguring urban spaces and also changing urban lifestyle in China, for example Beijing Jianwai Soho and Shanghai Green City International.

### **Part III: The Creativity of Heritage Revitalization & Urban Renewal**

#### Chapter 06 Awakening Space & Activating History: Embodied Experience in Guangzhou's Two Museums of the Nanyue Kingdom Ruins

*Ding Guanghui, Jia Min*

The relationship between architecture and its circumstance has long been an intriguing issue that attracts a considerable number of interpretations. This chapter is an examination of the role of the body in experiencing the interplay between buildings and their settings from the point of view of



architectural phenomenology. To interpret this topic, we investigated the Museum of the Nanyue King's Mausoleum and the Museum of the Nanyue Kingdom Palace, inasmuch as the two archaeological projects built in the city of Guangzhou demonstrated a joint effort to articulate the sites and to give them new meanings. These implications that architects endeavored to convey manifested in the way in which the two architectural interventions revealed the world that would have remained latent had they not been discovered. It argues that the two museums created a peculiar space that awakened both the dormant sites and the cultural consciousness of visitors. Within this space, the embodied experience played an intermediary role in linking the gap between the physical circumstances and the individuals' mind.

Chapter 07 Beyond the Romantic Gaze: Art Village, Urban Regeneration and Architectural Ecology after the First Decade of Creative Industry

*Xiao Jing*

This chapter tends to examine the changing relationship between the art industry and architectural design since 1999. Drawing theoretical basis from creative industry, it

suggests that new architectural ecology which takes forms of biennial, exhibition, art village renovation and swarm design should not simply be understood as product of cultural consumption but of interdisciplinary grafting. Architecture of urban redevelopment and conversion confronts with superficial needs of mass consumption and commercialization which deliver untruthful scenes and aultural semantic interpretation. The construction of art villages and cultural parks since the beginning of the new millennium vandalizes the authentic identity of the sites, and instead, camouflages it with a "romantic gaze" through spectacular experience and visual expression. During the new round of creative industry, the emergency between the discourse rights of architects and artists elaborates therefore new urban challenges. It imposes questions on how to resist the elite orthodox and aesthetic standards for contemporary architectural education, as well as how to act against the negative aspects of capitalist globalization by retaining the discourse of architecture from its internal sphere of design product.



## **Part IV: The Urban-Rural Dynamics**

### **Chapter 08 The Evolving Enclave: Urban Villages**

*Zheng Jing*

The term “urban village” is used to denote a special phenomenon during the process of urbanization in China. When the city grows rapidly without careful planning, a direct consequence is that some villages in the countryside or in the suburb area were included into the urban territory. According to the constitution, the property right of urban lands belongs to the state, but settlement lands in the countryside are owned by village farmers collectively. So by definition, an urban village means a particular zone which still owned by former villagers who have the right to build houses on their own lands and not necessary to obtain permissions from the city planning authority. This is an outstanding urban issue that never seen in history neither in other countries of the world. The architectural feature of urban village is ultra-dense while buildings are cheap and low quality. Residents are mostly migrant workers as tenants. The lacking of proper governance makes urban

villages tend to become urban slums which every city would commit to avoid. This chapter investigates 3 cases in south China and discusses different alternatives for those fragmentations of urban-rural superimposition.

### **Chapter 09 The Emerging Exclave: University Towns**

*Chan Kai Tsun*

University town development is considered one of the significant highlights in modern China's urban planning. This specific type of development rises from the national strategies for post-reform China moving the economic structure from industry-based to knowledge-based with the fuel of higher education and the carrier of universities. The origination of modern university towns can be traced back to post WWII in western countries where abundant social resources was put into the construction of high-tech development zones, so as to promote the collaborations between universities and industry for accommodating the needs of social advance. The university towns in the context of China are generally classified into five different models, namely (1) research and development, (2) corporate investment,

(3) local development, (4) integration of education resources, (5) new town development. Among the 87 university towns established in China by 2014, a number of cases have been selected to showcase each of the models. Discussions are given on design and planning of the university towns, and their relations with and contributions to the cities in terms of higher education development, urban space development and economic development.

## **Part V: Reflections on Urban Development**

### **Chapter 10 Postmodern Icons: Olympic Game Stadiums and World EXPO Pavilions**

*Li Lim*

Contemporary cities are more and more relying on activities of international exchange because nowadays globalization is seemingly inevitable. Distinguished events of world class assemblage could provide the host city a remarkable opportunity to showcase its power and image, to test and experiment new planning ideas and new architectural concepts, and to improve the city's infrastructure and environment at the same time. Four big parties- the 2008 Beijing Olympic Game, the 2010 Shanghai World

EXPO, the 2010 Guangzhou Asian Game and the 2011 Shenzhen Summer Universiade- brought the above cities Post-modern icons such as the "Bird Nest", the "Water Cube", the "Oriental Crown", the "Solar Valley", the "Windsails" and the "Spring Cocoon", with avant-garde designs and unusual forms. Those special and highly symbolic structures are tailor-made for rare events, for some critics they might merely stand as fancy urban sculpture or ornamentation, for the general public the major concern is how to efficiently and fairly manage those government funded projects afterward, because most of them are converted into commercial uses and the issue of under provision of public functions and programs is always sensitive.

### **Chapter 11 The Experimentation of Low-carbon Cities**

*Kevin Yap*

According to the author, from the early Economic Development Zone of labor-intensive industry, to the later Hi-Tech Development Zone, and the recent IT Development Zone, the Chinese government now is promoting eco-industrial parks and environmental friendly developments to save energy, share resources, reduce pollution and

recycle waste. Some scholars in the 1990s had proposed the concept of “landscaped” city for the overpopulated metropolis back to nature. Although theories of green architecture, green city, sustainable city, intelligent city, low-carbon city and coherent city have been talked widely at various levels of decision making, the implementation of full-scale measurement of eco-city model still remains on paper. The incorrect perception of green design as a contradiction to economic interests insisted by many investors and developers is a key problem in pursuing low-carbon city. The author suggests that a system of interrelated policies, regulations, standards and incentives should be worked out and adopted by the local government.

## Chapter 12 Gated Communities: Cancer of Urban Life—Problems and Solutions

*Miao Pu*

Since the 1978 economic reform, more and more residential areas in Chinese cities have walled themselves away from their surroundings to improve security. What do these gated communities look like as compared to their US counterparts? What impact does this new development have, especially on urban life in high-density Chinese cities? How do cities in a developing, socialist country pick up so quickly a capitalist real estate pattern started in the US just a few decades ago? This chapter presents a preliminary investigation of these issues and proposes alternative design solutions to address the problems.



# 前言

李磷、薛求理

研究中国，就像一门前沿学科，特别需要与其他国家作对比，以及甄选一些能够同时适用于中国的城市和其他地方的城市的理论概念。这是一个一切都在变的国家，一名游客，如果离开一年之后再回去，他会对眼前的转变感到意外。中国是史无前例的，她从一个第三世界国家如此快速跃进至世界强国的前列，同时从中央计划过渡到市场社会。<sup>[1]</sup>

——约翰·洛根

1978年开启的改革开放政策，使闭关的中国走上经济发展的快速道路。中国的城市建设热潮，不仅吸引了外资和外国设计师的加入，也引起海内外学术界的广泛持续关注<sup>[2]</sup>。编写当代中国城市建筑，首先面对的问题是从何时谈起？我们经过研究后发现，中国城市大变身与中国实施城镇化政策、加入世界贸易组织和持续创造出经济“奇迹”息息相关，其中以加入世界贸易组织（以下简称“入世”）的影响最为明显。根据有关资料，中国政府经过长达十五年的

谈判，最终于2001年成功入世，从此国家上了一个新平台，全面深化对外开放政策，大力推行市场经济，主动融入国际社会。入世以来，经济增长率保持在年均7%左右，在2013年，中国的国内生产总值（GDP）达到9万亿美元，成为全球第二大经济体。入世给中国带来了翻天覆地的变化，日益畅顺的国际交流，不仅仅影响经济领域，在社会的其他层面都出现了不同程度的改变。其次是国务院于2000年6月颁布了《关于促进小城镇健康发展的若干意见》，指出“加快城镇化进程的时机和条件已经成熟”；同时，国家第十个五年计划（2001–2005）和第十一个五年计划（2006–2010）都把推进城镇化列为国家战略，2001至2010年这10年，中国城镇化平均提高幅度是1.37%，相对1981至2000那20年0.84%的平均率，大幅增长了61%（魏后凯，2014）。因此我们决定在书中主要研究2001年以后的建筑和城市设计案例，并将书名称作《21世纪中国城市主义》。

第二个问题是何为城市主义？“城市主义”是英文urbanism的直译，它不是一个很贴切的译名，但我们暂时又找不到更好的词。根据外国学者的讨论，每一个城市，每一个时代，每一个运动（movement），甚至每一个建筑师或规划师，都有各自的城市主义，例如有“纽约城市主义”、“现代与后现代城市主义”、“新城市主义”、“绿色城市主义”、“基建的城市主义”、“勒·柯布西耶的城市主义”等。因此，城市主义有两方面的含义，一是指关于城市客观特征的系统研究，而城市特征又包括了城市建筑环境特征和城市空间特征以及城市生活特征（或生活方式）；二是指某运动或某人的主观的城市规划思想，即某运动或某人对“应

[1] John R. Logan, *The new Chinese city*, Blackwell, 2002, p. 21.

[2] 关于中国1980年后建筑的发展，有几本英文著作受到学界广泛注意，如Peter G. Rowe and Seng Kuan, *Architectural encounters with essence and form in modern China*, Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2002; Charlie Q.L. Xue, *Building a revolution: Chinese architecture since 1980*, Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2006; and Jianfei Zhu, *Architecture of modern China*, London and New York: Routledge, 2009. 我国内地的出版物则包括邹德侗著《中国现代建筑史》，天津科技出版社，2001；薛求理著，水润宇、喻蓉霞译《建造革命：1980年来的中国建筑》，清华大学出版社，2009；朱剑飞主编：《中国建筑60年（1949–2009）——历史理论研究》，中国建筑工业出版社，2009。

该建设怎样的城市？”这个问题的看法和见解。本书的“城市主义”，是指第一种含义，我们希望能当代中国的城市建设整理出一些基本特征。但这些特征是什么？用什么方法才能有效地归纳出这些特征？因此便有了以下的问题。

第三个问题是研究方法，该如何入手？回首当代中国的城市发展情况，事实表明，很难说得上是在试验、实践某种类似 CIAM《雅典宪章》那样清晰的城镇规划理想，因为最初各地搞建设大多尚停留在“改善投资环境”的“摸着石头过河”阶段，还未达到考虑应该推行哪种城市模式的高度，所以不宜从理论、见解、理念的层面入手。如果按时间先后顺序作编年史式的纵向研究，相对建设周期较长的城市而言，过去 15 年又似乎显得有点短促，难以沉淀和区分出岁月的年轮。若对各地城市发展进行横向比较，由于“千城一面、万楼一貌”，缺少个性，又无法进行有效的论述。后来，我们经过细心观察和分析，发现各地城市发展普遍存在一个值得深思的现象，那就是自 2001 年开始，一些新型的建筑同时出现在各大城市，这些新建筑类型的兴建不仅速度快，而且数量大，这无疑是区别于 20 世纪城市建设的一个重要信号，于是我们决定以类型学（typological study）作为本书的研究方法。因为 21 世纪又称新世纪，我们便以一个“新”字作为挑选建筑类型的标准。所谓“新都市建筑类型”的定义，是指那些在 20 世纪 90 年代尚属少数、少见、曾零星出现的或甚至从未出现过，但在 21 世纪开始大行其道、浩浩荡荡、随处可见或日益受到重视的建筑类型。我们认为这些新型建筑，就是 21 世纪中国都市建设的客观现象和潮流，也是 21 世

纪中国都市的象征和时代标志，然而这些现象和这股潮流是否合理，大家应该冷静地去思考。

第四个问题是 21 世纪才过了 15 年，还不到 1/6 的时间，现在是否有必要开始讨论？这就必须要明白中国城镇化是人类历史上一个非常特殊的现象。中国的城镇化速度快、规模大，“改革开放以来城镇化率平均每年提高 1.02 个百分点，每年新增城镇人口 1596 万人，这种速度和规模在世界上都是罕见的。到 2013 年，中国城镇化率达到 53.7%……世界城镇化率由 30% 提高到 50% 平均用了 50 多年，而中国仅用了 15 年”（魏后凯等，2014）。根据联合国教科文组织发表的《2014 年世界都市化展望报告》<sup>[1]</sup>，2014 年中国已有 6 个人口超过 1000 万的特大都市，并有 10 个人口介乎 500 万至 1000 万之间的大都市。在西方多数城市面临市中心破败、经济和人口收缩的窘况时<sup>[2]</sup>，中国的城镇却在阔步成长。中国当代迅猛的城镇化步伐，导致规模空前的都市建设活动，面对这种情况连国外媒体也不禁在报道中发出惊叹：“到 2025 年中国将建成的摩天大厦足可以填满 10 个大小等于纽约的城市或 2 个瑞士”、“2010 年中国成为世界上最大的建筑市场”、“中国的珠江三角洲超过东京成为全球第一大超级都市区”、“中国连续 3 年每 5 天落成一座新摩天大厦”、“中国主宰了高层建筑发展”、“中国一年有 100 间新的博物馆开幕”、“2013 年中国主宰了新发展的购物中心，全球 10 个最多新购物中

[1] UNESCO WUP (World Urbanization Prospects 2014 Revision).

[2] 参见 Philipp Oswalt 编著，胡恒、史永高、诸葛净译《收缩的城市》，同济大学出版社，2012。

心开业的城市，有 9 个在中国”，“2013-2015 年间中国每年有 300 间新购物中心开张”，15 年间，中国各地造了 160 个大剧院，这些大剧院多又包括音乐厅、歌剧院、话剧场，而最形象的比喻莫过于“中国是世界上最大的建筑工地”。由此可见，过去 15 年我们“大跃进”式的城市建设速度太快、规模太大，虽然表面上城市面貌“日新月异”，但实际上普遍存在着规划不当、管理不善、盲目模仿、缺乏创新的失误。针对我国当代城市建设和建筑设计的不足之处，经济学者魏后凯就提出了以下尖锐的批评：

在推进城镇化的过程中，受财力有限、对地方特色和文化认识不足以及急于求成、急功近利等思想的影响，各地城镇建设“千篇一律”，缺乏特色和个性，城镇质量和品位不高。一方面，许多城市大拆大建，对当地特色文化、文物、标志性建筑和特色村镇保护不力。在城镇改造中，片面追求速度和新潮，忽视传统文化的传承创新，拆除了不少具有文化底蕴，历史故事的“老建筑”、老街区；在新农村规划中，往往模仿城市的功能进行建设，造成具有地方特色的古祠堂、古建筑、古园林、古村落遭到不同程度的破坏，甚至消失殆尽。另一方面，建筑、小区设计崇洋媚外，对民族、本土文化不自信，造成新城建设“千城一面”，“万楼一貌”。当前，由于存在浮躁情绪，加上对现代化、国际化的误解，一些城市急于求成，盲目崇拜模仿外来建筑文化，片面追求“新、奇、特”的建筑表现形式，导致一些建筑存在雷同现象，“千面一孔”、缺乏特色。此外，各地在推进城镇化过程中，片面追求经济目标，贪

大求全，大搞形象工程，盲目扩大建设用地规模，规划调控乏力，城镇管理严重滞后。<sup>[1]</sup>

我们认为，以上意见颇中肯，很值得从事规划和建筑工作的专业人士、政府有关部门和开发商认真对待，并作出深刻反思。当然，令城市建设不慎步入误区的原因，是早前地方当局往往机械地、片面地以“吸引（外国）投资、拉动经济、打造国际化城市”作为发展口号，忽略了城市建筑、城市空间以及城市肌理中应有的历史、文化、社区、传统、自然和生态等组织元素，导致很多城市环境过分向商业市场倾斜，失去平衡。所以，目前极有必要对过去 15 年我国的城市和建筑设计进行回顾、分析和梳理，以便展开讨论，探索中国在 21 世纪应该建设什么样的新型城市？

本书虽带着批判的目光审视现状，但并不意味我们否定今天中国城市建筑所取得的成就。相反，我们非常认同和肯定中国城市在 21 世纪初的战略“转型”。1980 年我国的城镇人口率是 19.4%，1996 年尚是 30.48%，2013 年上升至 53.7%（魏后凯等，2014）。这些数字说明，中国的城镇人口已经超过了农村人口。五千年以来，中国是一个传统的农业社会，但进入 21 世纪，中国快速转变为城市社会。2014 年，农林牧渔业只占国内生产总值的 9.5%<sup>[2]</sup>。这种巨变所带来的影响，无远弗届，而在环境方面的反映，城市建筑无疑是最直接的研究对象。本书围绕一个“新”字，透过

[1] 魏后凯等著《中国城镇化：和谐与繁荣之路》北京，社会科学文献出版社，2014，页 41-42。

[2] 国家统计局关于 2014 年国内生产总值（GDP）初步核实的公告。



分析一些城市建筑新典(类)型,试图突出新世纪中国都市建设的最新情况、趋势和热潮,以及思考处于全球化、城镇化、市场化旗帜下的中国当代建筑发展。

历史上的伟大城市,都是由经济活动发达和生活富裕带动,如13世纪的威尼斯、17世纪的阿姆斯特丹、19世纪的巴黎和伦敦及20世纪的纽约。2010年后,内地城市北京、上海的国民生产总值超越了曾经的“亚洲四小龙”香港,而广州和深圳预计将在2016年超过香港<sup>[1]</sup>。坚实的经济基础和市民生活的提升,呼唤着新的生活方式和新建筑类型的涌现,这样的翻天覆地变化和显著文明进步,曾经在20世纪初的中国沿海城市、通商口岸出现过。在21世纪,中国的都市再次发生巨大的变化,与20世纪相比,可以说已经初步形成了新型的都市。首先,高层或超高层建筑被广泛应用,各地都在建设垂直城市,CBD的摩天商厦成为城市的新标志,城市不再比谁更大,而是比谁更高。其次,公共意识和市民自豪感大幅提升,市民广场、市民中心、市民公园之类的公共空间营造日益普及。另外,打造高端文化艺术场馆的热潮方兴未艾,博物馆、大剧院、图书馆、少年宫等被视为城市的基本设施,连同广场中的水池和喷泉,被舆论批评为“四菜一汤”泛滥。当“打造”城市形象和建设文化硬件(公共建筑)和“经营城市”(拍卖土地)成为各级领导的业绩时,同级、同地区的城市之间产生激烈竞争。为了把本地区、本项目迅速放上地区、全国乃至世界的版图,一项捷径措施是竞相聘请海外

明星建筑师,使苍茫中华大地,出现许多怪诞、昂贵、不实用的所谓“地标建筑”。在图像泛滥的网络时代,这些类似雕塑的“建筑”也许暂时满足了图像传播的虚荣标志心理,其代价却是数倍于常规建筑的造价(纳税人的金钱)和使用上的别扭<sup>[2]</sup>。

在日常生活方面,除了面积被拆得愈来愈小的老城区,房地产商开发的住宅小区已成为大部分市民的家,这种私有的社区,与过去计划经济年代公有的单位宿舍和机关大院,显然不一样。随着街边店铺、菜市场 and 百货大楼等传统商业经营的式微以及消费时代的降临,现在市民似乎更习惯去大型商场(shopping mall)享受购物的乐趣。虽然部分传统街区仍有保留的必要,但可以抵御恶劣天气的大型商场对大部分市民来说,确实有不可抗拒的魅力。

都市更新方面,是否一定要拆除旧屋重建?可以活化某些有特色的废旧建筑物吗?对空置的工业厂房和仓库进行修复、二次创作和再利用,打造成艺术村或创意文化产业区,是一些大城市的后现代主义实验,而聚集在那里的,是中国历史上首次诞生的先锋派艺术家和精英设计师群落,他们的创作理想正面临着商业市场的严峻挑战。至及古迹维护方面,相比过去只注重文物本身保存和展示的单纯思维,现在有城市尝试将遗产转化为公共空间,结合集体记忆和都市旅游(urban tourism)的概念,通过参观交叉重叠在一起的考古遗址和复原环境,把展示设计为体验活动,以唤醒市民的历史意识。许多以往令人望而生畏的工业

[1] 关于内地城市国民生产总值的报道,见香港《大公报》,2016年1月12日,A5。

[2] 参见薛求理《世界建筑在中国》,香港三联书店,上海东方出版中心,2010。

厂区，成了时髦生活的热点。另外，打破常规的城镇化，令原有的城乡概念发生剧烈变化，出现了“城中村”这种新的都市现象。被并入市区的农村，仍然保留着原来的社区格局和房屋，性质属于“市内边缘”（inner-periphery）或城市“飞地”（enclave），如何避免城中村沦为贫民区，是拆，是留，还是改？这个问题考验着城市决策者的智慧。如果城中村是负面的，那在科教兴市口号下诞生的一系列“大学城”，则恰恰相反，是正面的。大学城的选址一般在郊区，但它的规划和设计与微型城市无异，性质是“卫星城”或市郊“领地”（exclave）。目前在全国范围内，大学城已有87个之多，我们期待它们之中能有一、二突围而出，最终成长为中国的康桥（Cambridge，哈佛大学和麻省理工学院的所在城市）或中国的硅谷（Silicon Valley，斯坦福大学和高新科技创业摇篮的所在地）。

美国学者约翰·洛根（John Logan）认为中国城市面临三大挑战：全球化、外来人口、市场改革。他把全球化列为第一个挑战，是合理的。洛根指出：“正如西方的市场社会，中国的城市发展，有赖这个国家的全球联系”<sup>[1]</sup>。的确，没有什么比2008年北京奥运会和2010年上海世博会，更能说明盛大的国际交流活动给城市发展所带来的机遇和好处。奥运会为北京带来了“鸟巢”和“水立方”，世博会为上海带来了“东方之冠”和“阳光谷”，亚运会为广州带来了“小蛮腰”和“花城广场”，世大运为深圳带来了“春茧”。这些轰动一时的建筑物只是主办城市多种收获的其中之一，综观奥运会、世博会等场馆的

规划和设计，最有意义的试验，是探索绿色、环保、低碳、节能等生态建筑新技术的应用。当前环境危机已经迫在眉睫，地球生态受到严重的破坏，发展低碳环保城市，是人类唯一的选择。未来的城市，将是生态城市；未来的建筑，将是生态建筑。还有，私人开发的围墙封闭式小区，也应该尽可能地贡献于积极的、互动的市民生活。我们应该有这样的远见。

以上是本书各章作者对21世纪中国城市建设挂一漏万的速写，虽然仅仅勾勒出城镇化洪流中都市建筑设计的粗略轮廓，但我们希望立此存照、抛砖引玉，借此引起读者对当代中国城市发展的关心和讨论。在本书主题调查和写作的过程中，中国社会的消费模式正在出现向网购和电商转变的巨大浪潮。北京、上海等地传统的店铺、商业街日益衰落，阿里巴巴在双十一的营业额，连年以双位数的百分比增长。2016年11月11日，阿里巴巴的网上销售额达到人民币1207亿元（相当于150亿美元），而85%的购买是在手机上进行。<sup>[2]</sup>网购、网上通讯或娱乐的方便和兴盛，或将对本书叙述的新建筑类型和生活，产生反向作用。我们拭目以待。

我们在动笔写作前，为了更准确地掌握最新情况，曾经对个别城市进行实地调查，考察活动得到香港城市大学IPDAs教研奖的资助（项目编号6988015）和香港特别行政区研究资助局项目（CityU 11605115）的支持。特此鸣谢。最后，请允许我们借用2010年上海世博会的主题，作为本文的结语和本书的憧憬：城市，让生活更美好。

[1] John R. Logan, *The new Chinese city*, p.9.

[2] 数据源自香港《大公报》，2016年11月12日，A9版。

# 目录

## 前言 / 李磷、薛求理

## 第一部分 都市新形象 / 001

第 01 章 欲与天公试比高：摩天大厦、CBD 与城市天际线 / 李 磷 002

第 02 章 从“人民”到“市民”：广场、公园与市中心 / 李 磷 018

第 03 章 皇冠上的明珠：“大剧院”热 / 薛求理 肖映博 032

## 第二部分 都市新生活 / 053

第 04 章 消费天堂：集中式购物商场 / 臧 鹏 054

第 05 章 社区意识：新型住宅 / 刘 新 064

## 第三部分 古迹保育与老城区改造的创新 / 077

第 06 章 唤醒场地、激活历史：广州南越王墓博物馆和南越王宫博物馆中的身体  
体验 / 丁光辉、贾 敏 078

第 07 章 超越浪漫的注视：艺术园区、城市更新与创意产业十年后的  
建筑生态 / 肖 靖 092

## 第四部分 城乡新概念 / 105

第 08 章 城中村：城乡连续体中的“孤岛” / 郑 静 106

第 09 章 知识型城市的钥匙：大学城 / 陈家骏 116

## 第五部分 都市发展思考 / 137

第 10 章 后现代的符号：奥运会与世博会场馆 / 李 磷 138

第 11 章 对低碳生态城市发展的思考 / 叶国强 150

第 12 章 封闭式小区：城市生活的“癌症”——问题及对策 / 缪 朴 166

## 作者简介 / 188