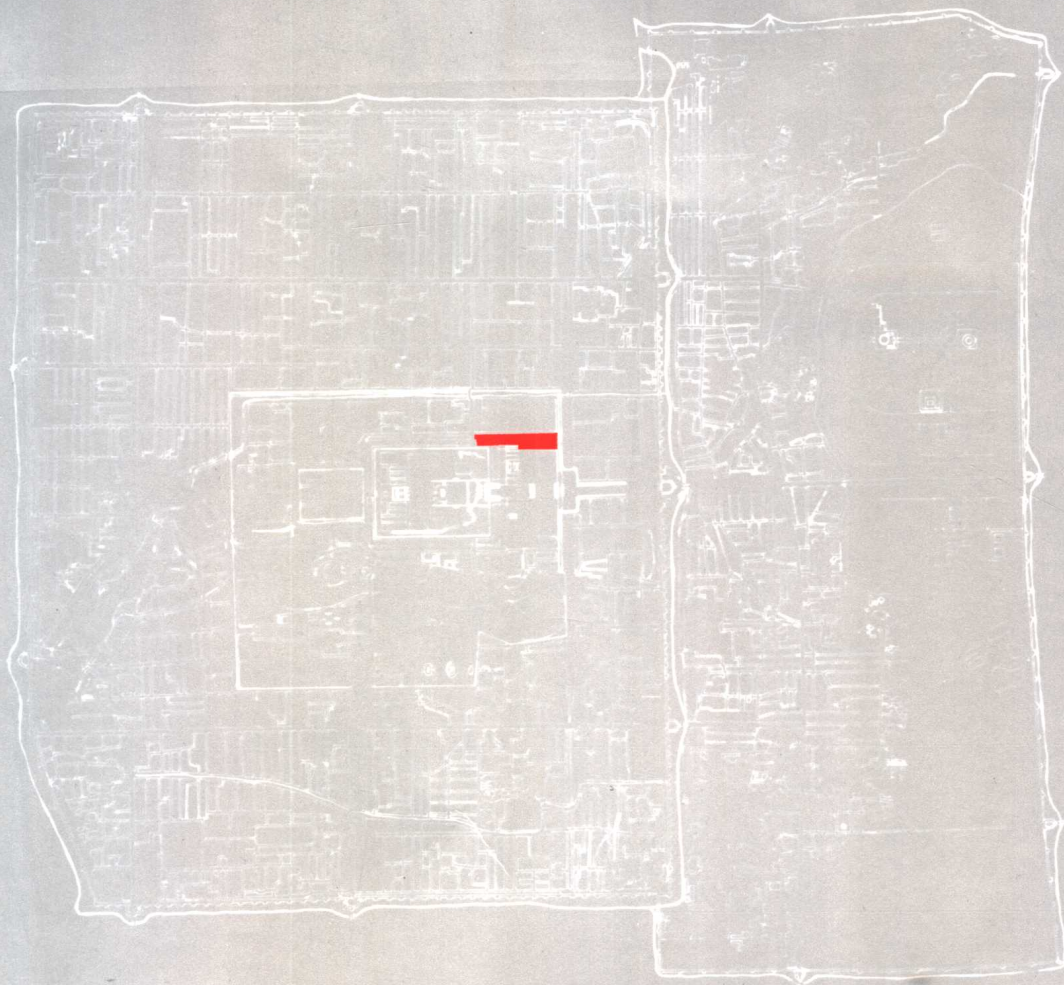


保护城市历史风貌的探索性方案

# 南池子危旧房改造规划

Some Tentative Schemes for  
the Preservation of a Historic Urban Landscape  
**The Nanchizi Renewal Project**

吕俊华 邵磊 主编  
edited by Lu Junhua and Shao Lei



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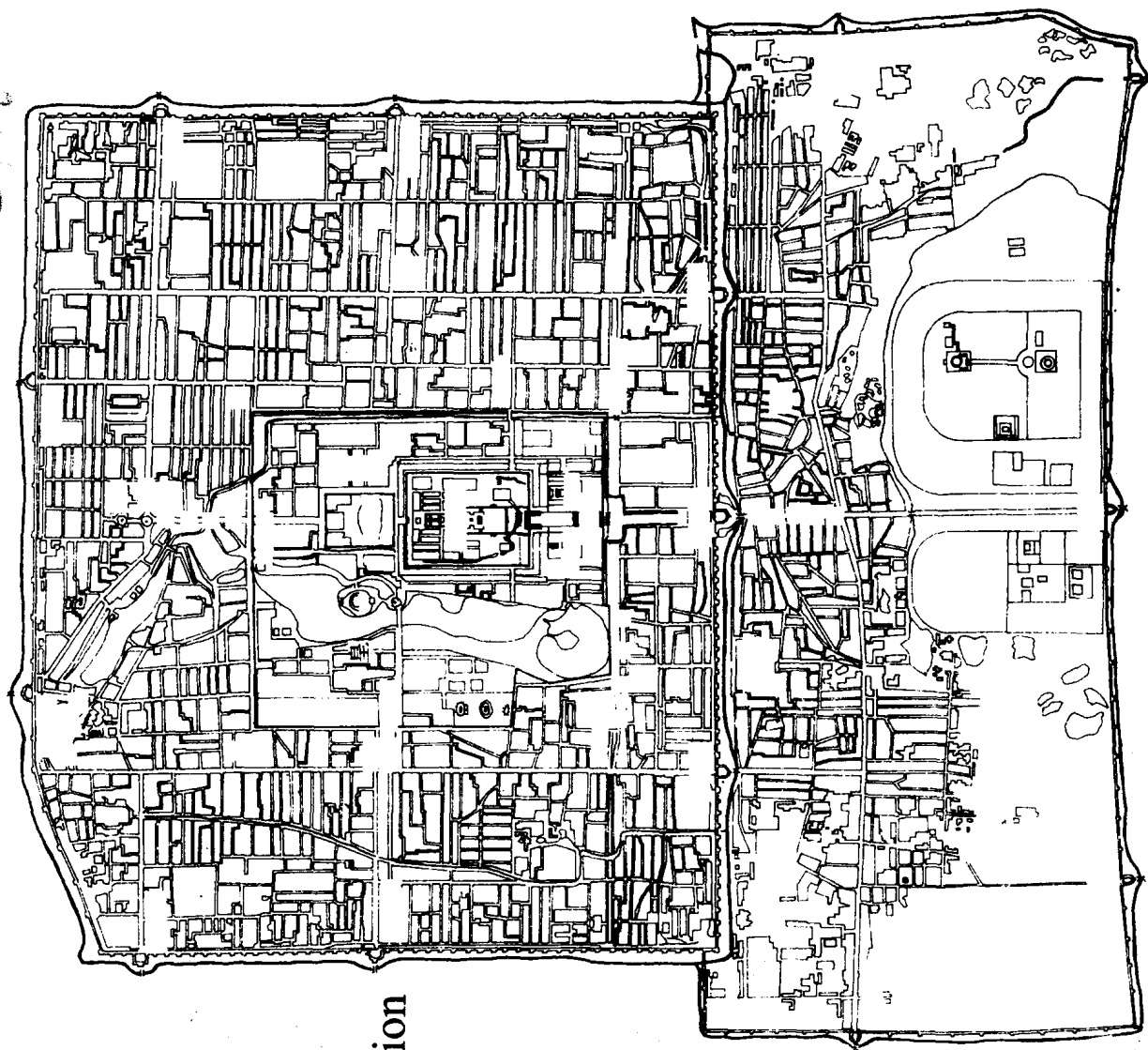
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## 前言

本书是中国清华大学建筑学院和挪威工学院建筑、规划与艺术系,加拿大麦吉尔大学建筑系、法国巴黎维莱明建筑学院和澳大利亚悉尼技术大学建筑系的学生和老师共同合作的成果。学生的工作包括清华大学研究生的调研和分析,以及四校学生的方案设计。专家们的成果包括:吕俊华教授从北京危旧房改造的角度对这项工作的全面介绍;哈罗德·霍依姆教授的文章《南池子地区——房地产开发还是文化价值开发?》;维克拉姆·巴特教授的文章《扭转趋势——改变城市及旧城住宅的更新方式》;迈克·吕杜克教授的文章《关于历史遗产与经济发展的几点思考》;格拉迪斯·弗雷姆的文章《南池子:最后一瞥——南池子交通发展设想评论》;温斯顿·巴奈特教授的文章《南池子改造——城市更新的不同场景》。

南池子危改项目自1992年清华大学研究小组着手规划、各大学的师生相继参与,到本书的编辑出版,历时十年。北京的旧城更新从政策、规划到实践都有了很大变化,但作为一个历史阶段的记载,特别是各学校之间交流的纪念,还是很有价值的。我们感谢北京市东城区华兴房地产开发公司给予我们的这个研究机会,并感谢北京市以及各学院专业人士对我们工作的大力支持。

在出版过程中,清华大学建筑学院博士研究生武立完成了初稿的编辑工作,博士研究生焦怡雪重新绘制了部分图纸,全书的翻译是艾丹、谭英、刘阳、曲蕾等博士研究生共同努力的结晶。

## Preface

This publication is the result of a collaboration among students and teachers of the School of Architecture at Tsinghua University, the Norwegian Institute of Science & Technology at the University of Trondheim, McGill University in Canada, the Paris Villemain School of Architecture in France, and Sydney University of Technology in Australia. The students' work includes survey analysis and design schemes. Contributions by experts include: Prof. Li's Junhua general description of the work in the context of Beijing's housing renewal program, *An Exploration into the Resurrection of the Historic City's Character*; Prof. Harald Hoyem's article *Nanchizi Street Area—Real Estate of Cultural Value development*; Prof. Vikram Bhatt's article *Tuning the Tide—Changing the Urban and Inner City Housing Renewal Patterns*; Prof. Michael Le Duc's article *Heritage and Economic Development—Some Elements of Reflection*; Ms. Gladys Frame's article *Nanchizi: A Last Look—A Commentary on the Traffic Aspects of Development Options for Nanchizi*; Prof. Winston Barnett's article *Nanchizi Restructuring—Scenarios in Urban Regeneration*.

The Nanchizi project has lasted 10 years from the beginning of Tsinghua team's planning in 1992 and the successive joining of each university to the editing of this publication, during which Beijing's housing renewal has got great changes in policy, planning and practice. But it is still valuable as a record of this historical phase, especially as the memento of the exchanges among universities. We are grateful to Huaxing Real Estate Development Company of Dongcheng District for providing us with the opportunity to do this research, and also to the experts for supporting our work.

During the course of publication, Ph.D. Wu Li completed the editing of the initial manuscript. Ph.D candidate Jiao Yixue redrew some illustrations and graphs.

The translation of this book is own to the endeavor of Abramsom Dan, Tan Ying, Liu Yang, Qu Lei and other Ph.D candidates.



# 保护城市历史风貌的探索

吕俊华教授

清华大学建筑学院

# An Exploration into the Reservation of the Historic City's Character

Professor Li Junhua

School of Architecture, Tsinghua University

## 1. 北京危旧房改造计划简介

1990年4月30日,北京市人民政府决定加速危旧房改造,并责成北京市规划院制定四个中心城区的改造规划。规划要求危改分四期进行,原则上从最危最破的建筑开始,由易及难(根据基础设施、人口密度以及现状土地使用情况等条件),区位由外向内,从旧城边缘向城市中心推进。

清华大学建筑学院的研究小组从北京危旧房改造计划开始就参加了这项工作。我们做了德胜门外、官园、朝阳门内以及丰盛等区的危改片的规划,每区约为40ha,均位于环绕北京旧城的二环路内外,属于第一及第二期的危改片。最近,我们研究小组还为南池子大街西侧居住区改造,做了调查研究和方案探索。南池子大街西侧居住用地虽不在这四期改造范围之内,用地很小(不足5ha),但处于城市中心位置,对北京旧城保护关系重大,所以得到许多中外学人的关注和参与。

## 2. 南池子规划地段概述

南池子危改区的位置对于老北京的形象确实非常重要。本区为沿南池子

## 1. Brief Description of Beijing's Old and Dilapidated Housing Renewal Program

On April 30, 1990, the People's Municipal Government of Beijing decided to accelerate the rate of renewal and commissioned the Beijing City Planning Institute to draw up a master plan for the four central city districts. The plan called for renewal to be carried out in four phases, in principle beginning with the most dilapidated and dangerous structures, and proceeding incrementally from those parcels most easily developed to those under more difficulties (in terms of infrastructure, population density, existing land uses, etc.), and from those at the edge of the historic city to those at the center.

Our research team has been taking part in the old and dilapidated housing renewal program since its very beginning. We have done the planning for three parcels of about 40 hectares each located along the second ring road surrounding historic Beijing. Most recently, our team has also done tentative schemes for the renewal of the Nanchizi street neighborhood, a much smaller area(less than 5 ha) but one which is at the very center of the city, and is concerned by many experts.

## 2. General Description of the Nanchizi Project Site

The Nanchizi project site is extremely important in the image of old Beijing. A narrow strip of land along the west side of Nanchizi Street, it is less than five

大街狭长的一片用地，面积不足5ha。但是，它位于城市正中心，就在劳动人民文化宫和紫禁城护城河的旁边。在封建王朝，南池子地区住着为宫廷服务的人员。所以这里富有历史和文化色彩，至今还流传着本区的主要胡同——飞龙桥胡同的种种传说。南池子大街对面的皇家档案馆——皇史宬，也给这个地区带来了某种庄严的气氛。南池子大街本身，是少数几条保存了古典的老北京气息的街道之一：整条街完全笼罩在高大的国槐树荫下，沿街主要是一些为本地居民服务的一层商店。沿着用地的南边是重建的皇城宫墙，在南池子大街的南端则是本区的标志——南池子拱门。宫墙外面便是北京的主干道——长安街，天安门地铁站即建在拱门外侧。本区虽位于城市中心，而小胡同内的环境是安逸而平静的——甚至比一般的胡同显得格外的安静，因为西边就是文化宫的高墙，没有出入口通往这些胡同。本区北面，沿着护城河的住宅可以看到故宫辉煌的景色。这些住宅纷杂的、多样的、简洁的外观与故宫纪念性的宏伟壮观形成了鲜明的对照。

按照北京市总体规划，沿着护城河将修建一条狭窄的绿化地带，有人说：“就像一条碧绿的项链装点着故宫”。这样，从街上就可以看到这些宫殿。但是，对于将这片用地变绿地的意图是有争议的。有人认为将南池子大街敞开看到故宫的景观，就破坏了这条街道原有的亲切的气氛，是很令人遗憾的。又有人认为这种规划能否实现值得怀疑：政府如今没有钱将这些现状建筑统统拆除，将所有的居民外迁，再重新建设一个公园。而如果只是任由这些建筑越来越糟，让居民自己想法搬出去也不是一个办法。区政府所属的某开发公司提出了一个解决这个难题的办法：将这一地区开发成为低密度的、豪华型的居住区，建设1~2层的传统式样的四合院住宅。这样一种开发既能符合6m的高度限制，也能满足北京市其他严格保护的历史地段所

hectares in area. However, it lies in the very heart of the city, alongside the Working People's Cultural Palace Park and the moat of the Forbidden City. Through the feudal dynasties, the Nanchizi area housed those who served the emperor. It is rich in culture and history, and many stories mention the lane that meanders between the houses, Fei Long Qiao Hutong, or "Flying Dragon Bridge Hutong". The presence of the Imperial Archives, Huang Shi Cheng, across Nanchizi street has also given the area a certain dignity. Nanchizi street itself is one of the very few remaining streets with a perfectly preserved atmosphere of classic old Beijing: completely shaded by the branches of mature Chinese scholar trees and lined with mainly one story shops serving local residents. Along the south edge of the site runs the restored wall of the Imperial City which is pierced at the south end of Nanchizi street by a landmark archway. Just outside this wall is Beijing's grand avenue, Chang An Jie, and just outside the archway is an entrance to the Tiananmen subway station. Despite this central location, however, the environment is peaceful and quiet among the side hutongs of the Nanchizi neighborhood. It is even more so than in most of Beijing's old hutongs because there is no access from the west side of the neighborhood, which is bounded by the high wall surrounding the Cultural Palace Park. Further north, the houses which crowd along the moat have a splendid view of the Imperial Palace, against whose formal monumental grandeur their own chaotic, diverse and humble appearance contrasts sharply.

According to Beijing's master plan, the land along the moat is to be a narrow green area, some say, "like an emerald necklace bedecking the Imperial Palace", which itself should be visible from the street. The intention to make this area an open space, however, is controversial. Some people say that it would be a shame to destroy the intimacy of Nanchizi street by opening up to it a view of the Forbidden City. Others doubt that such a plan would be realized; the government presently has no funds to demolish all the existing buildings, relocate all the residents and build a park anew; and it would be undesirable just to wait and allow the existing buildings to deteriorate and the residents to move out on their own. A development company under the local district government has proposed a solution to this dilemma: to redevelop

要求的传统形象。根据开发公司的测算,为了全部拆除和重建这一地区,并外迁安置全部现有居民,需要建造40~50套豪华的四合院,售价10000元/m<sup>2</sup>,才能达到收支平衡。

### 3. 居住区调研

于是,开发公司委托清华小组根据这个想法做出方案。但是,为了进一步研究这一方案的可行性并探索其他的可能方案,研究小组对这个地区的物质环境、居住状况以及居民意愿做了详细的调查。

#### 1) 物质环境调查

物质环境调查的结果可以看出商店全部沿街布置,而且主要为当地居民服务。小区内的主要胡同为飞龙桥胡同。由于用地的西边是不可通行的,所以本区无穿行交通。所有的胡同都很狭窄:飞龙桥胡同最宽处仅5m,其他胡同约3~4m宽,最狭的地方还不到2m。由于胡同很狭窄,本区没有行道树,只有居民在自己院里种植的北京常见树种。建筑物按质量划分为II、III、IV和V类(V类质量最差)。建筑物按权属分别为单位、政府和私人所有,95%都是居住建筑。

#### 2) 居民的社会组成、居住状况和居民意愿调查

人口:本片居住有575户,2076人。大部分住户都是“老北京”:70%的住户搬到本片来之前就住在北京旧城。大部分住户也是本片的老住户:70%的住户在这里住了20年以上。大部分居民都是普通市民——工人、服务人员 and 一般干部。最后,这里的老年人比较多,12%的人口超过65岁。

the area as a low density, luxury neighborhood of one and two story traditional style courtyard houses. Such a development would conform to the six-meter height limit and traditional image required in other strictly protected historic areas of the city. According to the developer's estimate, in order to balance the costs of complete demolition and redevelopment of the site, plus relocation of all existing residents, 40~50 luxury courtyard houses would have to be built and sold for 10,000 yuan/m<sup>2</sup>.

### 3. Survey of the Neighborhood

The developer thus initially commissioned the Tsinghua team to draw up a scheme in accordance with this intent. However, in order to study the feasibility of this approach, and to explore possible alternatives, the team first conducted a detailed survey of the area's physical environment and its residents' situation and opinions.

#### 1) Survey of the Physical Environment

Results of the physical environment survey show that all shops are along the main street, and mostly serve local residents. The main lane within the neighborhood is Fei Long Qiao Hutong. Since the west edge of the site is impassable, there is no cross traffic. All the hutongs are generally narrow. Fei Long Qiao is only 5 meters at its widest, all others are 3~4 meters wide, and the narrowest point is less than 2 meters.

Due to the narrowness of the lanes, there are no sidewalk trees. Residents grow common Beijing plants in their own courtyards. Buildings are divided according to their quality into Class II, III, IV or V (Class V being the worst), and according to their belongings, into work units, government, or private owners. 95% of the buildings are residential.

#### 2) Survey of Residents' Social Composition, Housing Conditions and Aspirations

**Population:** There are 575 households of 2,076 people living in the area. Most householders are "Old Beijingers", 70% of them lived in the Old City before moving to this address. Most households are also long-standing residents of this particular

**居住条件:** 本区居住功能占绝对优势; 在全部 25798m<sup>2</sup> 的总建筑面积中, 商业和办公用房仅 1339m<sup>2</sup>。总居住建筑面积中私房占 25.6%, 建筑质量较低; 40% 为 IV 及 V 类房, 58% 为 III 类房, 仅 2% 为 I 或 II 类房。本区无集中供热及现代化的下水系统。四合院内有自来水但几乎没有私家厕所。许多四合院里挤满了居民自己搭建的棚屋, 破坏了原来的布局。但是, 实际上, 南池子区的居住条件并不像北京旧城的平均居住水平那样拥挤; 80% 的住户人均居住面积超过 7m<sup>2</sup>。所以, 是有可能遵照建筑高度限制以适当的密度改造本区, 而不必强制居民外迁的 (当然, 这并未考虑土地价值等经济问题)。

**居民意愿:** 总的来说, 大部分居民表示对他们的现在居住条件感到不满意; 大约 70% 的居民表示不满意和非常不满意。尽管有上述的实际居住水平的统计数据, 有意思的是, 在居民选择最需要解决的问题时, 大部分的居民选择居住面积居第一位、建筑质量居第二位、采暖居第三位, 事实上几乎半数的住户自己装了暖气。关于危改, 90% 以上的住户表示居住区改造以后还回来住。如果让他们自己选择危改方式或是根本不改: 41% 的住户愿意回来住新建的单元房; 29% 的住户愿意自己改善现在的住房; 19% 的住户愿意就现在的居住条件不要变; 只有 7% 的住户愿意搬到三环路以外去住。

#### 4. 探索性方案设计

历史文化名城的保护具有“物质环境”以及“社会—文化”的两个方

面, 70% lived here for more than twenty years. Most of the residents are average citizens—workers, service personnel and low-rank officials. Finally, there are relatively many elderly people, 12% are over the age of 65.

**Housing Conditions:** The neighborhood is overwhelmingly residential, only 1,339m<sup>2</sup> of the total 25,798m<sup>2</sup> built area is commercial or office building. Private housing makes up 25.6% of the total residential area. Building quality is relatively low, with 40% in Class IV or V, 58% in Class III and 2% in Class I or II. The district has no central heating or modern sewerage. There are running water but almost no private toilets in the courtyards. Many of the yards are cluttered with self-built additions which have ruined the original layout. In fact, however, the Nanchizi parcel is not so crowded as the average residential area in Beijing's Old City; 80% of the households have more than 7m<sup>2</sup> living area per person. Therefore, it is possible to rebuild the area according to the applicable density and building height restrictions without forcing residents to relocate, of course without taking the economic land value into consideration.

**Residents' Aspirations:** On the whole, most residents expressed dissatisfaction with their current housing conditions, approximately 70% considered themselves unsatisfied or very unsatisfied. Given the statistics on their actual housing conditions, however, it is interesting to note that, of the problems they felt most in need of solution, living area was often selected first and building quality was selected second. Heating was the third problem, and in fact almost half of the households have installed their own heating system. Regarding renewal, more than 90% of households expressed their wish to return if the neighborhood were to be rebuilt. If given a choice of the types of renewal, or of no renewal at all, 41% would prefer to return to newly built units, 29% would prefer to upgrade their homes themselves, 19% would prefer no changes in their condition, and 7% would be willing to move out beyond the Third Ring Road.

#### 4. Tentative Design Schemes

Preservation of the historic and cultural city has both a physical environmental

面。只有当我们同时注意到这两个方面,才有可能将北京的传统保护和发展做到与其在世界历史文化上的重要地位相匹配。危旧房改造计划是北京整体保护的一个极其重要的部分。当然,我们应当同时考虑其“物质环境”和“社会—文化”的含意。况且,住房与普通老百姓的日常生活关系如此密切,考虑其“社会—文化”方面就显得格外重要。

为了针对开发公司建议的全部拆除和重建该地区并外迁所有居民这一极端措施提出其他可能的方案,清华大学规划小组与其他四校合作提出了许多不同的方案。这些方案的意义都是不仅要保护物质环境还要保护社区,并且更广义地,保护北京的传统居住文化。因为,如果让居民一起外迁,他们在新区虽然住得很近,但是搬迁本身再加上新的物质环境,将会严重地改变他们之间的关系;特别是,当南池子地区现有的混合的居民群体一旦被清一色的有钱的国际化的阶层所替代,那么原来居住区的特色就会突然改变而且一去不复返了。

各国学生方案的中心思想是保护南池子的历史特色(也就是说,作为一个居住区而不是一片公共绿地),并且保护其居住文化(不要全部拆除原来的住房而代之以豪华的新四合院)。他们的方案有重建、改善和最少拆除的等等。不论采用何种开发方式,所有的方案都考虑了全部或部分回迁现有的居民。作为一组方案,它们比开发公司提出的极端措施有所进步。但是,也应看到这仅仅是学生们的初步设想,真正要将这些方案付诸实施,还需要做许多综合研究——从经济、社会、环境和文化各个方面来考察这些设计。

aspect and a socio-cultural aspect. Only when we pay attention to both of the two aspects of the task, can we preserve the heritage of Beijing and develop it in a way compatible with its significance in world history and culture. The old and dilapidated housing renewal program is an extremely important part of the integral preservation of Beijing's Old City. As a matter of course, we should consider both its physical and socio-cultural implications. Furthermore, because housing is so closely related to the daily life of the common people, social and cultural considerations become even more important.

In order to propose alternatives to the drastic approach of demolishing all or most of the site and relocating all the residents, the Tsinghua team, in collaboration with visitors from Norway, Canada, France and Australia produced a variety of schemes. The intent of the schemes was to explore the preservation not only of the physical environment but also of the community and, in a more general sense, Beijing's traditional dwelling culture. If the residents were relocated *en masse*, they may retain physical proximity in the new location, but the move itself, plus perhaps the new physical environment would alter their relations drastically. Moreover, the character of their original neighborhood would be changed suddenly and forever, particularly if this mixed group of residents were replaced by a uniformly wealthy and internationalized class of people.

The central idea of the students' schemes is to preserve the historic character of Nanchizi (that is, as a residential area, not a public green space) and to preserve its dwelling culture (not to demolish the existing housing entirely and replace it with luxury courtyards). Their schemes include redevelopment, modification and minimum demolition. Regardless of the development method, however, all the schemes considered rehousing on site all or part of the existing residential population. As a group, the schemes represent progress over the developer's idea. However, it must be born in mind that they are still primarily the visions of students, and that in order to actually use these approaches in any particular place, one must conduct a much more comprehensive investigation than we have done here—an investigation into the economic, social, environmental and cultural implications of the design.

## 南池子地区

### ——房地产开发还是文化价值开发?

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1993年秋季,挪威工学院的15名斯堪的纳维亚籍学生和两名教师访问了北京,并且和清华大学建筑学院进行了合作。这次研究的实例是位于北京市中心南池子大街的一个住宅和商业区。本文将粗略地论述一些主要观点以及项目设计过程中涉及的问题。

将市场经济体制引入一个社会主义国家,使得从事物质环境规划和设计的专业人员也面临新的问题。在南池子地区,房地产的开发动态也许能从某些途径加以控制,使之以适当的方式为这个特殊区域服务。在此介绍我们所做的工作,旨在证明这种控制的重要性。

#### 1. 环境的主要特征

在中国以及其他国家的许多城市中,都存在着一些相类似的特征,正如我们在南池子街区发现的那样。

首先,这是一个有其自身发展历史的居住区(这个概念来源于学生的调查,和居民的交谈以及对同行专家的咨询等)。这里的居民有他们的生活方式,有他们应付日常需要和实现梦想的方式,人们通过邻居、朋友、亲戚、

## Nanchizi Street Area

### ——Real Estate or Cultural Value Development?

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In the fall of 1993, fifteen Scandinavian students and two teachers from the Norwegian Institute of Technology visited Beijing to cooperate with the School of Architecture at Tsinghua University. The case to be studied was a dwelling and shopping area in Nanchizi street in central Beijing. This article will outline some main discussions and problems which arouse when approaching the project design.

The introduction of market economy in a socialist country confronts professionals of physical planning and design with new problems as well. In the case of the Nanchizi area, the dynamics of real estate development probably has to be controlled in some ways to serve this special area in an appropriate manner. The description of our work will hopefully demonstrate why this control is necessary.

#### 1. Main Characteristics of the Situation

In a series of cities, in China as well as in other countries, the same set of characteristics are present as we find them in the Nanchizi street area.

Firstly, it is a living area with its own biography of development. People have found their way of living there—their way of tackling the daily life needs and dreams. A local, social network of neighbours, friends, relatives, colleagues and persons offering all kinds of services, is established. There is a cultural identity partly due to the life style and the living conditions of the area.

同事和各种服务机构组成了一个当地的社会网络。他们的文化特征在一定程度上取决于他们的生活方式以及本区内的居住环境。

居民们的社会文化背景和家庭经济水平各不相同。他们的家庭情况和工作条件不相同,居住在本区的动机也不相同。一般而言,建筑物、街道和基础设施的物质状况都很差,需要加以改善以给人们提供一种良好的生活环境并适应未来的需要。这是一种混合型的复杂的社区构成。然而,对大多数居民而言,如果居住标准能够得到改善,而且改善之后他们能够承受得起,他们仍希望在本区居住。

其次,我们涉及到一个纪念建筑及其文脉。此处的纪念建筑是紫禁城,它受到法律保护并且被列为联合国教科文组织公布的世界文化遗产之一,因而这个地段也得到国际社会的特别关注。南池子街历史上曾经有几座著名的建筑,如皇室档案馆及朝廷高官的府第等等。这些建筑有一部分还保留着,并或多或少得到了保护。尽管由于时代的进步,这一地区的日常生活和物质结构从整体上来说已经与帝王时代旧的模式截然不同(主要由于20世纪的发展),但是他们仍然构成纪念建筑的文脉,使人们对纪念建筑本身、它的历史以及整个区本身的历史有更深层的理解。

纪念建筑及其文脉之间的关系应当从两个方面加以研究,即注重物质形式本身和注重对物质形式的使用和理解。在形式上,皇宫的纪念性通过它周围显著较小尺度的建筑群及其细部,如材料和色彩的使用等得以强调。同时,街道和胡同内生动的、家庭式的气氛也衬托出皇宫威严的个性。

第三则是这块基地,恰好是在一个国际都市的中心位置,正面临着巨大的经济压力。市政和公共建筑资金因大型公共项目和其他方面的支出而颇为紧张。开发商想购买地产,以服务于被各种目的吸引到市中心来的富有阶层,从中谋利。然而土地归政府所有,这就是说,土地价格的确定是一个政治性决策,或更准确地说,是标定土地使用权的价值。按自由由市场原则出卖土地使用权必然会带来一种后果,即土地使用权的价格在未来会直接或

Tenants have a variety of socio-cultural backgrounds and different levels of family economy. They have different families and job conditions, different motives for living there. The physical state of buildings, streets and infrastructure is poor in general and has to be improved to give the people a decent life and to meet future demands. It is a mixed and complex composite. Common for most tenants, however, is the wish to stay in the area provided that the housing standard be improved and provided that they can afford to live there after the improvements.

Secondly, we are dealing with a monument and its context. The monument here is the Imperial Palace, protected by law, and one of the projects on the World Heritage List of UNESCO, consequently the situation is observed with special interest also by the international public. Nanchizi street area contained through the history several notable buildings, such as the Imperial Archive and mansions for high officials of the court. Some of those buildings still exist, more or less preserved. And even if the present daily life and the physical structure as a whole are quite different from what they used to be through the imperial dynasties (mainly because of the development of the 20th century), they still represent a context for the monument, giving a deeper understanding of the monument itself, of its history and of the history of the area itself.

The relationship between the monument and its context has to be studied in two respects: with regard to the physical form and to the use and the understanding of the physical form. The monumentality of the Imperial Palace is underlined in form by the considerable smaller scale of the surrounding tissue and its detailing, use of materials and colours, etc. The lively, domestic pulse of the streets and the hutongs within the area is also underlining the formal character of the Palace.

Thirdly, the site, thanks to its central location in an international city, is under hard pressure by economic forces. The municipal, public economy is stressed by huge, public works and obligations. Developers want to buy the properties and make profits by serving wealthy clients, who—by many reasons—are attracted to central urban areas. The land is owned by the government, so it is, in fact, a political decision to prize the land, or more correctly, to prize the right to use the land. The

间接地将非富有阶层排除在外——为避免这一后果，下面我将提供一些与这种单向思维逻辑不同的意见。

## 2. 城市改造的主要目标

在上述背景下，我们学生的方案旨在达到下列目标：

### 1) 保留本区内的现有人口

如果要成功，必须满足居民的要求：提高住房面积和质量标准，最低限度地满足国家 2000 年住房标准（人均 8m<sup>2</sup> 居住面积 / 12m<sup>2</sup> 使用面积）。

卫生设施和其他基础设施标准也是住房标准的一部分，同样要得到提高。

由于经济和实用的原因，本区适宜采取渐进式改造。在大城市的中心居住区进行城市改造，一种典型的后果是居住消费出现突然的大幅提高，这对于本区内原有中低收入居民无疑是一种灾难。而渐进式改造方式则有可能与家庭经济承受力和社会经济增长同步，可避免因经济压力而迫使某些家庭不得不违心地离开本区。

渐进式改造也可能使本区内的日常生活和社会网络在建造过程中得以正常进行并保留下来，而这一过程可能会持续很长时间。

中国欲使住房成为自由经济市场上的商品的政策也许应当加以调整，使之成为市场规则与住房政策共同作用的一种实践，就像所有资本主义国家所做的那样。富裕家庭可以支付他们住房的所有费用，但大多数家庭则要由政府对住房支出进行补贴。在南池子地区住房补贴应采取两种形式。

归市政府所有的土地价格应被定得较低——作为一种政策——以避免将来出现投机行为。住房补贴应参照居民的需要并以 2000 年国家住房标准作为最低标准。

对区内那些主要在南池子沿街一带做生意的人来说，他们是否愿意留在

logic of the market liberalism will have as an inevitable conclusion to sell the right to use the land in this area to a price which, directly or indirectly, will exclude others than wealthy people to use the area in the future. To avoid such a conclusion, I will in the following text give some arguments for making exceptions from this rather one dimensional logic.

## 2. Main Objectives of the Renewal

On the background of what is said above, the projects of our students are based on the following objectives:

### 1) To Maintain the Existing Population of the Area

To succeed, the premises set by the tenants have to be met: the housing standard has to be improved. As a minimum target, the National Housing Standard of year 2000 is applied (8 sqm living area per person/12 sqm total area per person).

The sanitation and the infrastructure standard are parts of the housing standard and have to be raised as well.

For economic and pragmatic reasons, a stepwise upgrading is to be preferred. The typical consequence of city renewal in central housing areas of big cities is a sudden and big leap in housing costs, a catastrophe for the original tenants of low and middle income. A stepwise upgrading makes it possible to adapt the pace of the process to the changing economic abilities of the families and to the public economy. It is then possible to avoid financial shocks which probably will push families out of the area against their will.

A step-by-step upgrading makes it also possible to be living in the area, maintaining the daily life and the social network in the area during the construction period, which can last for a long time.

The ambition to let housing be a commodity in a liberal economy market, has probably to be modified towards a practice where market regulation and housing policy regulation work together—in China as has been the case in all capitalist countries. The well-off people can afford to pay all the costs of their homes, but the majority has to be subsidized by the government to manage the housing costs. The