

美国城市设计案例

理查德·马歇尔 沙永杰 编著

Edited by Richard Marshall and SHA Yongjie



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Designing the American City

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郑时龄

中国科学院院士, 同济大学教授

当代中国城市化快速而又大规模发展的过程中, 如何将宏观的城市规划和城市理想通过城市建设予以实现, 是城市的领导、管理人员、建筑师和规划师所面临的新的挑战。中国的城市建设形势是世界上任何别的国家都未曾遇见过的问题。一方面, 长期沉睡的城市终于有了文化发展的动因和契机, 但是另一方面, 思想尚未经过清晰的沉思, 在缺乏理论武装的状况下, 就要迅速投入急遽的变革洪流之中。一方面令人为之振奋, 另一方面也令人深思, 甚至担忧。应当作为手段的“变”与“新”成为城市建设的目标、速度和形象优先, 理性和理想退居末位, 在思想尚未现代化的同时, 追求超越精神和物质水平的过度现代化, 追求物化环境的过度现代化成为城市发展的主导方向。在这样的情况下, 境外建筑师和规划师全面介入了中国各城市的城市规划、城市设计和建筑设计, 甚至成为中国城市现代化的主力军。与此同时, 国际设计领域广为流传的“崇尚杂乱无章的”非形式主义和推崇权力至上的形式主义¹也随之全面进入中国。

在这种情况下, 理论研究、甚至头绪的探索也都似乎苍白无力、背无倚时。短平快成为普遍的价值取向, 多快好省又主宰了社会生活的各个领域。然而, 人类社会的发展终究是长期的。城市建设毕竟是一比一的积木拼摆, 需要思想和理论的武装。我们在引入境外建筑师、规划师设计的同时, 必须认识他们, 必须引入并理解他们的设计思想和设计理论, 加以鉴别、弃其然其的, 必要时亦要知其所以然。

也正出于这样的动机, 美国哈佛大学设计学院的理查德·马歇尔教授和同济大学建筑与城市规划学院的沙永杰副教授在波士顿领衔写了这部反映美国城市设计现状的《美国城市设计案例》。这本书的出版适逢上海正在筹备以“城市让生活更美好”为主题的2010年世界博览会, 对上海城市的今后发展有一定的学术和实践意义。两位作者都是青年学者, 多年来从事理论研究和设计实践, 理查德·马歇尔教授是哈佛大学城市设计学院课程主任, 曾经在1999年组织过后工业城市滨水空间国际研讨会, 讨论了中国、上海、加拿大的温哥华、古巴的哈瓦那、意大利的热那亚、西班牙的毕尔巴鄂、美国的旧金山和波士顿、大加那利群岛拉斯帕尔马斯等城市的滨水空间。这次会议的成果《后工业城市的滨水空间》已经于2001年由伦敦和纽约的斯彭出版社结集出版。沙永杰副教授曾在日本筑波工业大学和美国哈佛大学设计学院学习和研修, 参与过许多城市更新与改造的设计实践。对城市更新设计有深入的研究, 因此, 本书的编撰是严肃认真的, 是具有批判性的。正如编者所指出的那样, 城市设计就是塑造城市的未来, 通过提炼城市文化、设计物化环境、创造城市生活方式, 从而提高城市生活的品质。城市设计不只是形态设计, 城市设计不是介于城市规划和城市建筑之间的环节, 城市设计是宏观构想与城市发展的实现, 是对宏观理念的具体推进。

我们常常感叹古希腊和古罗马城市空间的秩序和品质, 那些城市史屡屡引述的中世纪城市也是某种城市设计思想的早期表现。文艺复兴的革命性明晰地体现人类社会城市空间的自觉变化, 这一变化也表现出生活方式的演变。当代信息社会的城市在快速变更时, 城市设计也发挥了核心的作用。有关城市的论断在历史上曾经有过无数次的讨论。政治家、作家、社会学家、建筑师和规划师想过无数种理想的城市模式。而且, 今后也仍然会有成千上万次的讨论, 可以说, 人类社会与城市就是与人们关于城市的理想一起成长的。在各种源源不断出现的新的理想城市的模式中, 都越来越宏观, 由城市的边缘、城市的中心扩展到整个城市、城市群, 甚至全球。城市史就是城市化过程中城市设计的发展史, 从被动设计到积极设计的历史。城市设计已经成为推动当代世界城市进步的学科, 我国人约在20世纪80年代中期引入了城市设计的概念, 那时的城市建设正处于大跃进发展的初期, 城市设计也偏重于城市地区的形态设计, 直至20世纪90年代中才重视政策层面

和综合性的设计, 积累了丰富的案例。今天的城市设计对中国城市文化的认同和城市特色的创造与维护比任何时期都显得更加重要。

城市是人与人、人与自然和谐共生的多元复合体, 城市凝聚了人类的创造力和智慧, 是人类文明和文化的积淀。不同时代、不同地区和不同种族的人们构想并创造了十分丰富的城市文化, 形成了色彩斑斓的理想城市和城市形态, 如意大利文艺复兴时期的理想城市、法国建筑师勒杜的理想城市、英国霍华德的田园城市、西班牙工程师索里亚的线形城市、法国建筑师夏朗德的工业城市、德国建筑师希伯尔塞歇的高层建筑城市、勒·柯布西耶的光辉城市、美国建筑师赖特的“田园城市和生活城市”、日本建筑师丹下健三的海上城市、黑川纪章的螺旋城市、矶崎新的空间城市、法国建筑师约拿·弗劳德曼的巴黎上空的空间城市、英国建筑电讯派的插入式城市 and 行迹城市。历史上还曾有过政治家、经济学家和思想家的“太阳城”、“基督城”、“新大西岛”等理想城市。

1980年代又出现了后现代城市, 这是一种渗透着各种形象的城市, 是一种令人回味的后工业城市, 一种现实的城市, 一种文化的城市, 一种生产与生活的城市, 是拼贴城市、超级都市、混成都市、迷官城市、密集城市与数字城市的混合体。现代城市是一种理想的“非理想城市”, 充满生活与现实的矛盾。卡尔维诺在他《看不见的城市》中, 提出了一种多角度的城市“……一种可以推行出一切其他城市的模型……那是一座由各种例外、排斥、冲突、矛盾造成的城市, 如果这种城市是最不可能存在的城市, 藉着渐渐剔除各种元素的数目, 我们就增加了城市真正存在的可能性。所以, 只要从我的模型剔除例外, 在我推进的任何方向, 我都会抵达那些总是作为例外而存在的城市, 但是, 我的操作不能排到某个界限以外, 我会得到可能性过高而不存在的城市。”

今天, 全世界对未来城市的发展给以越来越多的关注, 城市是一个极为复杂的范畴, 所涉及的方面相当广泛, 而且所有的这些问题都仍然处于持续不断的进化和演变的过程中, 城市几乎涉及所有的领域和所有的人, 让人们有充分想像、创造和表现的空间。

我们最熟悉的美国城市设计最著名的实例就是费城改建规划由埃德蒙·培根的《城市设计》介绍给中国学术界和建筑界。今天呈现在读者面前的是美国最近的一些实例, 从中可以看出美国城市设计塑造未来的轨迹。

2003年10月27日

注释:

1. 查尔斯·詹克斯, 广义建筑学: 一种后现代主义的建筑流派, 引自吴良镛, 国际建筑《北京专号》——建筑学的人文主义, 北京: 清华大学出版社, 2002, 第29页。

2. Italo Calvino, Invisible Cities translated by William Weaver London: PICADOR, 1979 P.56

Foreword

ZHENG Shiling

Academician, Chinese Academy of Sciences
Professor, Tongji University

During the process of rapid and great development occurring in China nowadays, the macroscopic urban planning and city ideal through urban construction, is a new challenge confronted by city leaders, management, architects and planners. The urban construction in China has never been encountered in any other country in the world. On one hand, the cities, which are lack of development for a long period, have finally a motivation and an opportunity to change and to develop. On the other hand, without clear consideration and adequate theoretical support, the participation has to be committed emergently. At one side, people are excited for the development, but the other side, it brings us something uncertain to be deeply considered, even to be worried about. The differentiation and innovation that should be the methods now become the objectives of city construction, with speed and identity as the first priorities, and rationality and ideal becoming the second. When the ways of thinking haven't been fully modernized, the pursuit for overly modernization of the physical environment that exceeds existing spiritual and material level emerges as the leading orientation of urban development. Under such a situation, foreign architects and planners are involved in urban planning, urban design and architectural design in China, or even become the main force of urban modernization in China. Meanwhile, the Non-Formalism representing disorder and the Formalism representing the power, popular in the international design fields nowadays, are also introduced into China.

Consequently, the theoretical research or even the experimental actions seem weak and dynamic. We find, in the period, quick solution has been a common ways of thinking and processing now, while the idea of "More, faster, and cheaper" dominates all fields in this society. However, the development of human society is a long time process and urban construction is not a game of building by blocks, which demands further equipment of thought and theory. When introducing the design of foreign architects and urban designers, we must study them to understand the design idea and by which to identify them. We should obtain both know-how and know-why.

It is in this regard, Prof. Richard Marshall of Harvard Design School, and Prof. SHA Yongjie of College of Architecture and Urban Planning at Tongji University co-edited this book of *Designing the American City*, to reflect the current status of urban design in the United States. The publication of this book is coincident with the preparation of World Expo 2010 in Shanghai themed as "Better city, better life". Therefore it could have particular academic and practical meaning for future city development in Shanghai. The two young scholars have focused on urban study and design practices for many years. Prof. Richard Marshall was the Director of Urban Design Program at Harvard Design School when he taught there and is a famous expert on urban design. In 1999 he organized an international conference entitled "Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities" at Harvard Design School to explore the challenges faced by 8 selected international port cities, including Amsterdam, Bilbao, Genoa, Havana, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Shanghai, Sydney, and Vancouver. The book of *Waterfronts in Post-Industrial Cities* published by Spon (London and New York) is the outcome of the

conference. Prof. SHA Yongjie has been major designer or coordinator for several key urban conservation and redevelopment projects in Chinese cities and has the experience of study at Shibaura Institute of Technology in Tokyo and at Harvard Design School in Boston. The practice and study experiences make him a promising young scholar in that field. The cooperation of the two professors makes the book a critical and valuable outcome for the field in China. As noted by the editors, urban design models the future of the city, which improves the quality of urban life by refining city culture, designing physical environment and creating lifestyle. Urban design is not only the form design or the intermediate step between urban planning and architectural design, but also the realization of macroscopic conception and city development, as well as the concrete promotion of macroscopic concepts.

We always marvel at the order and quality of in ancient Greece and Rome. The medieval cities often quoted by urban history are also the early presentations of some urban design ideas. The revolution of the Renaissance is clearly exhibited by the conscious changes in urban space of human society, which also represents the evolvement of lifestyle. When the cities of the Information Age are changing rapidly, urban design also plays its core roles. Numerous debates on city have occurred in history, while politicians, writers, sociologists, architects and urban planners have conceived numerous ideal models for cities, which will definitely bring infinite discussion in the future. Generally speaking, humans, society and cities are growing together with city ideal of human beings. The consistent emerging ideal city models are more and more macroscopic, extending from urban scenes, downtowns to the entire city, to the city cluster or even to the whole world. Urban history could be looked as the evolution of urban design in the urbanization process, as a history from passive design to active design. Urban design has already become the method to promote city development in contemporary world. Urban design was introduced into China at around the mid 1980s, when construction was in the preliminary of the following development, and urban design focused more on physical design. It started to emphasize the policy level and issues until 1990s and has accumulated plenty of cases. Today's urban design is more essential to the acknowledgement of Chinese urban culture and the creation and protection of city characteristics than any other period before.

City is the multifunctional complex of harmony and integration between humans, as well as between humans and nature. City represents the creativity and wisdom of human being and is a collection of human civilization and culture. People of different ages, different geographic locations and different races have conceived and created a colorful culture, and formulated brilliant ideal cities and city models, such as La città ideale in the Renaissance, La ville de Chaux by Claude-Nicolas Ledoux, the Garden City by Ebenezer Howard, Ciudad Lineal by Arturo Soria y Mata, La Città Nuova by Antonio Sant'Elia, Hochhausstadt by Ludwig Hilberseimer, La ville radieuse by Le Corbusier, Broadacre City by Frank Lloyd Wright, City in the Sea by Kenzo Tange, Clusters in the Air by Arata Isozaki, Space City by Yona Friedman, Plug-in-City and Walking City by Achigram. And, there

are also some other models of ideal city proposed by some politician, economist or philosopher.

In 1980s the concept of Post-Modern city has come out with numerous and disorder images combined with multifarious meanings, and it has been called the Post-Industrial city, the Reality city, the Cultural city and the Work-Life city. And it is also could be looked as a mixture of so-called Collage City, Mega-city, Hybrid City, Labyrinth City, Compact City, Cyber City, and so on. The contemporary city should be an ideal environment for daily life and for realities, which is opposite to the so-called ideal city in the history. In the book of Invisible Cities, Italo Calvino narrated a city model with multi-dimension: "...a model city from which I deduce all the others. ... it is a city made only of exceptions, exclusions, incongruities, contradictions. If such a city is the most improbable, by reducing the number of elements, we increase the probability that the city really exists. So I have only to subtract exceptions from my model, and in whatever direction I proceed, I will arrive at one of the cities which, always as an exception, exist. But I cannot force

my operation beyond a certain limit: I would achieve cities too probable to be real."

Today, more and more attention has been paid to the city and to its future development. an extremely complicated category, involving a wide range of issues, which are still evolving and changing. almost concern all disciplines and all people. creating a space for unlimited imagination, innovation and presentation.

The most famous and familiar case of American urban design for Chinese is the renewal planning of Philadelphia, which has been introduced to Chinese architects and urban designers by the book of Design of Cities by Edmund N. Bacon. Hereby this book presents some of the latest cases reflecting the future tendency of urban design in the United States.

October 27, 2003

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Postscript by SHA Yongjie

城市设计：塑造城市的未来

理查德·马歇尔

哈佛大学设计学院 城市设计学位课程主任

中国的城市环境正在以前所未有的惊人速度发生着转变，当今世界没有其他国家一个国家和地区进行着像中国推行社会主义市场经济以来的高速城市化、城市化带来的巨大变革在上海这样的城市中表现得相当明显。在十年前我开始关注上海这座城市的时候，浦东陆家嘴金融区还不存在，黄浦江的一侧是宏伟的外滩，而另一侧是成片的工业设施、工人住宅和田园。在十年后的今天，同样的土地上矗立起一栋栋耀眼的钢和玻璃的高层办公楼，成为中国新时代的标志，站在黄浦江两岸，能体会到两个不同时代的国际大都市：旧上海和新上海，举世闻名的外滩和它恢弘的立面让人回想起这座城市往日的辉煌，隔江相对的一片崭新的高楼则展现了新上海开始走向全球金融中心的步伐。上海陆家嘴处于历史新时期的中国城市展示了一幅象不动版的未来发展蓝图。

上海为城市建设的成果感到骄傲，建设了一个展馆陈列和展示这座城市由工业基地朝向全球金融中心的转变。上海有许多老建筑依然闪烁着往日的繁华，同时这座城市也带着明显的全球化冲击的印记，外国旅游者很容易在上海的街道上看到他们所熟悉的广告。对于初来中国旅行的外国人来说往往很受欢迎，这与他们想像中的社会主义城市有很大的差别。

中国城市整体上处于这种变化之中，这种变化呈现出两种迹象：首先是急速的城市化，似乎出现在一夜之间；其次，伴随着城市化产生出一系列新的城市现象，而这些现象尚有待于命名。作为城市设计人员，中国的状况无疑是最令人兴奋、兴趣高涨和深受鼓舞的。同时也是很感苦闷和忧虑。如此规模和速度的城市变化，在城市设计这一领域尚属首次。中国当前的城市状况从根本上动摇了旧的城市设计理念。面对大规模急速的城市变革，迫切需要发展新的城市设计理念，用新的思路和方法来设计城市的新格局以保障环境、社会和经济持续发展的。这些都促使城市设计进行新思考。

正是这样的思考促使我们编写这本书，希望对探索新的思考方法有所帮助。我们的意图不是为了展示最好的实践项目，也不是提出一些可供模仿的案例。相反，本书的目的，同时也是本文的目的，是为了激发有关城市设计的新思考和新思路——针对中国的城市设计问题。好的城市设计总是针对于它所特定的社会、文化、政治和环境背景，在今天这一原则比历史上任何时期都显得尤为重要。

本书所收录的案例来自美国13家设计机构，我们希望通过数量较多而且普遍地范围较广的案例来展示美国的城市设计，提供这些案例的设计事务所规模不等，包含了大型、中型和小型事务所，他们不在不同的背景和条件下，以各自的设计理念和大小的方式寻求最好的城市设计。通过所有这些案例，会清晰地看到所有设计都极力抓住两种根本的品质：一方面是塑造他们各自所定义的都市性，通过城市文化来表达，因为城市文化正是城市生活的核心；另一方面他们追求在可能条件下的最高品质的城市物化环境。在我看来，这其中包含着值得思考的内容，尤其是在面对和思考中国当今正在急速形成和转型的城市问题之时。在这种急速变化的时期，城市设计尤其要把握这两个根本性的原则：塑造都市性和追求品质。

这些观点绝不是仅仅针对中国的城市问题，城市的运转是由一系列复杂的社会和经济综合因素影响着，人们对城市的认识和经验也受到同样的影响。对这些因素的特征、作用和影响后果的分析正越来越成为许多领域的研究主题，所有的研究都触及到全球化这个大的论题。关于在全球化时代城市是否能发挥积极作用的问题目前还无法得出结论，然而有关全球化的争议非常广泛，主要的争议集中在：我们正在目睹的各个城市是在趋向同一还是在增大差异？我们目睹的是正在形成的“单一世界”现象，或是资本主义体系的完善？全球化将是创造财富的关键，亦或造成更大的空间和社会差异的缘由？但与此同时，有足够的迹象表明，一些强大的力量正在有目的地将城市推

向趋同。例如，我们所看到的声称“世界标准”的房地产开发项目，通常由一些国际不动产投资机构运作，将他们项目的市场定位于为一批国际投资精英提供服务。此外，一些政府或政府部门拥有一种强烈的动机去创造“世界标准”的项目，以此促进国家和城市的经济利益（参见Marcuse, 1997）。这种动机在纽约、上海、东京、巴黎和北京等其他城市都有一致的表现。

一些人认为这是世界发展进程所不可避免的，还有一些人将此视为全球经济控制和文化差异冲突的标志。作为建筑师和城市设计师，我们也越来越多地被要求做“世界标准”和“国际水平”的设计，遍布世界各地的政府和业主将他们看到的纽约、芝加哥、东京、伦敦和巴黎的钢与玻璃的高层建筑视为成功的标志，社会“进步”和“现代”的象征。可以诙谐地说，这些政府试图用象征成功的装饰品来装点他们的城市环境，为此积极去搜寻纪念品包装盒般引人注目注目的建筑形式，而同一批精选的国际建筑师专门提供这种服务（参见Olds K., 2000）。目前的任何一本国际建筑杂志都反映了这种状况。

当代建筑师事务所的业务可以跨越巨大的地理范围。在1990年代早期亚洲建设热潮时期，一些欧洲和美国设计公司参与那里的各种项目，在亚洲的工作可以达到事务所业务的三分之一到一半。1997年建筑杂志World Architecture的一项调查，在1996年，亚洲经济危机前夕，一些西方建筑师事务所将近一半的业务来自亚洲（参见World Architecture, 1996: 17）。该调查还显示，当时亚洲的30家最大的设计事务所中有13家是美国、澳大利亚和英国的事务所。这种情形也许可以说明外国事务所利用为亚洲当时的发展态势和亚洲业主追求国际化审美趣味的心态，结果在亚洲产生了一大批带着“国际化”标签的项目，而且这些项目能够适用于被安置在任意的不同的城市环境中，这不可避免使亚洲城市成为这类建筑的集中展示地。这些展示在东京、上海、新加坡和雅加达等城市又表现得非常相似。

城市趋向同一性是所有城市设计和城市建设领域相关人士所面临的问题。当代城市规划与设计领域最有影响力的思想家之一——库哈斯提出这样的问题：是否当代城市像当代机场一样都是相同的？如果是这样，城市正在走向什么样的终极模式。他在一篇题为《全球化》的文章中提出，在全球化了的国际建筑设计市场，越来越多的大规模建设项目由远离项目所在城市和背景的建筑师来设计，对城市与背景的缺乏了解导致了一种被库哈斯称为“新纯粹主义”的状态（参见Koolhaas 1999: 1248）。这种新纯粹主义是一种西方建筑师新发现的自由，如同在干净的、一块石板上写字，没有任何之前的文字，也就不受任何限制。在欧洲和亚洲，从半个世纪前就开始越来越缺乏这种不受约束的自由。在战后欧洲重建时期，由于迫切需要解决方案，所以建筑师被授权做决定而缺少中间的约束环节。同时期的美国也是如此情况。大规模的城市更新为建筑师提供了机会从事以来从未经历过的对大规模和大范围的设计。这一时期的“自由”直接导致公众参与对建筑设计的约束的增强，而“自由”时期的城市设计和建设产物往往正是那些唯我独尊而与周边环境无法协调、同时缺乏城市性的区域（参见Rowe, 1997: 35）。那种机会并没有促成建筑业的进一步发展，相反这一职业的自由度从此大大减弱。

这种减弱为美国带来了一种危机，是一种对城市设计信心的危机，其根本问题在于：城市设计缺乏一种权威性的模式，或者一个公认的设计程式去遵循。世界变化的速度无疑快于城市设计者追随它的速度，这种状况也使城市设计面临复杂的局面。我们对城市、对城市远行的理解似乎与当前全球化时代中城市的运转并不相同，我们所掌握的“好城市”的模式和先例似乎与目前城市正在前进或期望前进的方向失去了关系。这一点在中国体现得特别清楚，当代城市设计所应用的设计概念几乎都是来源于过去的建设经验，可以说这是危险的，它使城市设计依赖于固守的观念，而这些观念是具有固有的回

归倾向,当代城市发展最需要的是重新校正我们的观念和真正理解今天的现实。为此首先需认识到,城市本身是不断进化的。

作为城市设计者我们必须把握这一点,通过设计我们可以对城市的演变产生积极的影响。尽管可能不是采用以往的方式。城市项目的设计与实施之间经常有着相当的时间差。这种时间差意味着我们的项目是用过去的计划和想法来满足现在的要求。当今世界变化如龙之迅速,往往是一个城市认识到某种趋势,分析其影响,计划新举措,而设计并建设应办项目时,最初的促成这一系列过程的趋势已经发生了改变。我们可以通过阿姆斯特丹洪水区改造开发过程的实例看到城市是如何竭力调整以适应不断变化的房地产市场(参见Marshall, 2001)。还有很多情况,城市规划的本质就是过时的,这种情况在中国也或多或少地存在。

为应对这种情况,在美国城市中存在一种“种艺”的倾向,由重视宏观构想转向注重城市发展策略和用城市设计手段解决问题。同时也普遍存在着一种对总体规划的自信心,认为这种综合性的总体规划足以有限制力控制城市复杂的运行。而且所谓“概念”往往要花上几十年去建设和实施。在美国,综合城市规划的结果显而易见。城市基础设施不足,办公园区没有城市性,商业建筑汇集区缺乏设计(参见Kaltenbruner, 1999: 6)。美国城市设计的特点是强调对设计概念进行不断的严格的探讨,以确定适宜的“城市理念”。而这一理念将影响着具体的城市设计项目。

戴维·库夫认为,城市项目规模庞大,仅从其规模而言就需要这些项目具有确定性,系统地实施一个大的城市项目不仅是一个长期而艰巨的规划过程,而且是对“理念”的继续。整个操作过程中必须坚持“巨目的方针”以引导项目的总体发展,尤其是当最初的热情衰退之后(参见Cull, 2000)。人规模的城市设计项目必须锚定一些宏伟的目标,只有这样,项目的发展方向才会历经长期的实施过程而得以维持。从根本上说,所有的城市设计项目都需要包含这种指明方向的因素,因为正是这种方向最终决定了项目的形式和特征,使之与其他项目有所区别。换言之,这要素正是城市设计的核心。尽管对城市设计的具体定义仍然存在很大的争议。

城市设计是城市项目的计划和形式得以确定的过程。这个过程同时贯穿着一种意识:尽最大可能地塑造和提升城市性,即城市文化。城市性综合表达了许许多多由于不同的原因而生活在一个城市中的人们的各不相同的生活体验,包括日常生活中的行走、谈话、停留、姿态、紧张、相反的主张、热情、思考、诱惑、暴力、悲伤、喜悦和自由等行为和感受。城市设计便是为这些复杂多样的城市生活筹划适宜的场所,可以说是一种根本性的设计。但是,我要强调的是,作为文化意义的城市性是不可能通过设计来限定的。相反,限定它的是来自于控制我们社会的政治和经济等方面的力量。这些远远超出它的范围。城市设计作为具体操作环节存在,除了设计本身,城市的存在和运行性以构成当代社会的法律、文化与社会机制、政治现实和经济结构等问题的综合和相互妥协为基础。基于这样的理解,一批对塑造物化环境和设计城市中心感兴趣的专业技术人员从事城市设计,他们的设计将是将复杂多样的城市生活纳入物化环境和城市空间。

是否可以脱离城市性而塑造城市?很不幸,对这个问题回答经常是肯定的。低矮的城市主义将城市建设视为建筑物、街道、公园和人行道等物质因素的建造,而不考虑培育无形的社会因素。城市的发展具有不可预测和难以控制的特征。即使设计一些大规模的城市项目时,展示一幅大范围的具体的图像是至关重要的,往往为了强调这一图像,复杂的相关城市因素往往被排除掉或大大简化。在实施这些城市项目、创造商业空间、商业形象和商业街的过程中,经常无视传统的社区生活和社区文化特征。

这些有意识的回避一定程度上说明及城市文化的问题是不可预测的

常常是非常难以处理的,而它却是永远存在的一个重要城市问题。彼得·霍尔在《城市与文明》一书的结论中指出,世界上伟大的城市从来都不是现实中的完美境界。相反,“……这些城市中的场所往往充满了压抑,甚至苦难。这些场所是城市生命力的源泉,同时也是杂乱的,甚至肮脏的。尽管如此,那里无疑又是非常值得生活于其中……”

相比于建设一个城市项目的议程,有关城市文化的考虑往往不被关心。对城市性的回避说明,在主持和实施城市项目的人心中,城市性和商业上成功的城市项目是互不相干的两回事。让国际水平的城市项目来客市民的日常生活会削弱项目的潜力,也会损害国际化形象的感受力。这些城市项目表现出对城市纯净化的刻意向求,这是全球领域内城市设计领域内一个令人忧虑的问题,应当尽全力去改变这种境况。

当代城市设计的要害问题在于它是否能对应新时代的新挑战。这里有几点需要强调。首先,不断进行的城市项目强化了作为操作手段的城市设计的重要性,因为今天的城市设计项目已缺乏有机性,完全不同于以往的项目历经长时间的发展和演变,经受多种不同作用力而最终形成。相反,今天的城市项目周期短,直接来自一个明确的设计。事先有一个既定的设计好的结局。其次,当前许多国际著名理论家认为城市空间正在退化。此时的城市设计将强化城市场所的重要性,虽然目前对一些大型城市项目的场所意义和主题有争议,但是这些项目所创造的城市空间从全球化角度来看无疑具有相当的重要性。城市设计地位的巩固和城市空间重要性的强化这两个因素将带来大量的城市设计项目,毫无疑问,这些设计项目将继续推进城市设计的发展。

尽管存在着机遇,但今天城市设计发展所面临的不利条件也显而易见。设计的独立性正在减弱。同时也存在着一种倾向——否定或怀疑设计具有控制项目结果的能力。行政决策者往往将行政决策和设计的能力合并,并以此推进其政治目的或议程。设计正在被变为行政决策赋予形式的操作过程,这也需要对城市设计的角色有新的理解。

如何定义城市设计的角色还有待于进一步思考,有一点可以肯定,对城市的研究基于这样一种基本信念:即城市的发展完全可能带来一个在某些方面比现在美好的未来,包括道德和思想意识方面的进步。事实上,城市主义的产生和发展,如前文所言,正是以此作为驱动力。每个社会个体的思想意识是基于他们个人对社会和文化的整体认识,是各不相同的,因此很难定义一套所有人都要遵守的城市准则。但是,由于我们时代的特征和城市设计的全球化态势,又需要一些普遍性的原则来支持那些全球化背景下的城市设计。

鉴于当前的许多原则和信条都只是短存存在,城市设计这一学科必须保持自我调整,不断关注它的发展过程和当前状况,以随时应对变化。作为一个明确的学科领域,城市设计处于建筑和城市规划之间,它暂时地建立这一领域的目的是为了了解决城市规划对城市问题缺乏具体和细节分析的缺陷。今天这一领域还必须考虑和应对一些新的社会因素,这些因素将当代城市推向一种结合了均质化与异质化特征的复杂状态,应对和处理这些因素是当代城市设计领域所面对的挑战。

世界人口激增(大部分的人口增长集中在城市)以及社会对环境承载能力认识的日益提高,要求对城市设计进行深刻反思。城市设计应该探索适应当前时代特征的人与自然居住的新模式,这不可避免地要求我们摆脱以往习惯的城市模式和形式的束缚,并重新调整城市的定义,将城市纳入当代的发展轨迹。

城市设计必须强化推理城市前景的能力,研究多种发展可能性,进而在这些可能性中寻找城市的新思路,这种推理的思考会为建筑和设计带来多种的可能性。从而摆脱目前经常存在的窘境——非现代主义即历史主义,非城

Urban Design - The Making of a City's Future

Richard Marshall

Director of Urban Design Degree Programs
Harvard University Graduate School of Design

The speed by which urban environments in China are changing is unprecedented and astonishing. There is no other place in the world today that has urbanized as rapidly as China has since its engagement with the socialist market economy. This is certainly evident in the tremendous changes that have occurred in cities such as Shanghai, a city that I have been studying over a ten-year period. Ten years ago the Lujiazui Financial District did not exist. On one side of the Huangpu River sat the majestic Bund and on the other sat an array of industrial facilities, workers' housing and farmland. Today, this same territory hosts a dazzling display of steel and glass high-rise office towers, symbols of the New China. Standing on the banks of the Huangpu River today one can see both the international city of the past reflected in the majestic facades of the famous Bund, recalling former days of glory and on the other side of the river the glistening towers of a new Shanghai beginning to claim its title as a global financial center. Lujiazui presents an uncompromising vision of the future of the Chinese City. Its genesis comes from a new era in Chinese history.

Shanghai is so proud of its city building efforts that it built a museum of planning to commemorate the city's change from industrial engine to financial capital with global ambitions. Much of the older fabric of the city resonates with the glory of days past. It is also a city that shows marked evidence of the impact of globalization. Visitors can easily recognize familiar advertisements along the streets of Shanghai. This often shocks a foreign visitor, who struggles to overcome stereotypes of what a Communist city is presumed to be.

Cities all across China display the same kinds of changes. Here we see evidence both of an instant urbanity, seemingly grown overnight, and of new kinds of urban conditions the likes of which we are only just coming to terms with. As an urban designer, the situation in China is at once exciting, interesting, encouraging, harrowing, troubling and exhilarating. Never before has urban design been forced to confront the scale or speed at which cities are changing. In China's urban situations new ideas about urban design will be needed. Old ideas will either not apply or will have to be radically challenged. New ways of working will have to be developed to cope with the pace of change. New forms of urban situation will have to be imagined to satisfy the enormous demands of environmental, social and economic sustainability. All of this will require new thinking in urban design.

It is in this regard that we offer this book, not as something to be copied, but rather as something that might help to inform new ways of thinking. It is not our intention to show best practice projects, nor necessarily examples that should be emulated. Rather the intention of this book, and indeed this essay, is to stimulate new ways of thinking about urban design within the Chinese situation. At its best urban design is always specific to its social, cultural, political and environmental context. Today this is even more important than it has been at any other point in time.

The work presented in this volume comes from 13 practices in the United States. Our intention is to display a broad array of urban design projects

and geographies. The following projects come from small, medium and large design practices. They engage with specific contextual situations and attempt, in their own ways, to aspire to the best that urban design can be. Perhaps what is most heartening in this kind of presentation is that it is clear that all of these projects attempt to capture two fundamental qualities: they all engage with their own definition of urbanity, i.e. the manifestation of urban culture which lies at the heart of city life and most importantly they all aim for the highest quality of urban situation possible. It seems to me that this bears worthy consideration within a context that is shaping and transforming itself as rapidly as is occurring in China today. For it is in these times of rapid change that urban design must hold to these two fundamental values of the pursuit of urbanity and the pursuit of quality.

These issues are certainly not restricted to China's urban situations. A confluence of complicated social and economic forces are impacting the way cities work, are thought about and operated upon. These are the focus of growing fields of study to understand their nature, production and influence, all of which deal with aspects of an amorphous discourse on globalization. While the discourse on the role of the urban in an age of globalization is energetic, there are as yet no conclusions that can be drawn. Rather there is general disagreement as to whether we are witnessing a convergence of sameness or a reinforcement of difference in cities, as to whether we are witnessing the emergence of a liberating "one world" phenomena or the maturation of an exploitive capitalist system. There is argument as to whether globalization is the key to wealth or the cause of greater spatial and social stratification. Nevertheless, there is ample evidence to suggest that there are powerful forces, which deliberately aim at the propagation of sameness in cities. This can be seen, for example, in efforts to market "world standard" real estate projects. These typically involve a group of international real estate investors and agents who market their products to a group of elite international investors. Further, there exists a powerful motivation on the part of some governments to create "world standard" projects to promote their national and city economic interests (see Marcuse, 1997). These motivations are the same in New York, Shanghai, Tokyo, Paris, Beijing or anywhere else for that matter.

Some see this as an inevitable sign of world progress, others as a sign of global corporate domination and of diminished cultural difference. As architects and urban designers, however, we are increasingly being asked to provide "world standard" designs. Governments and clients from around the world look to the glass and steel towers of New York, Chicago, Tokyo, London and Paris as symbols of success and representations of "progressive" and "modern" societies. In a glib way these governments attempt to accessorize their urban environments with the trappings of success by actively seeking to acquire a trophy case of buildings from the same select group of international architects (see Olds, K., 2000). The results can be seen in any international architectural journal today.

Contemporary architectural practice operates over tremendous geographies. At the height of the building boom in Asia in the early 1990s, European and

American firms were doing anything from one third to half of their work there. The 1997 World Architecture Survey (taken in 1996 immediately before the Asian Economic Crisis) notes that Western European firms looked to Asia for nearly half of their work (World Architecture, 1996:17). Indeed that same survey notes that 13 of the largest 30 firms operating in Asia were based in the United States, Australia or the United Kingdom. Whether this is a case of foreign firms exploiting the Asian situation or Asian clients demanding an international aesthetic, the result is a multitude of "international" projects that could be situated in any number of contexts. This leads inevitably to a collection of architectural projects that are remarkably the same in cities such as Tokyo, Shanghai, Singapore and Jakarta

The sameness of the urban condition is an issue for all of us involved in thinking about, the design and construction of cities. Rem Koolhaas, one of the most influential thinkers on the contemporary urban condition, asks is the contemporary city, like the contemporary airport "all the same?" If this is true, he wonders, to what ultimate configuration is it aspiring? In his essay entitled *Globalization*, he makes the point that increasingly in the "globalized domain of international architectural practice" large scale projects are being designed by architects remotely connected to the context for which their works are intended - an ignorance that leads to what he describes as a "new purism" (Koolhaas, 1998:1248). This new purism is analogous to the writing of text on a clean slate, unencumbered by the existence of any previous text - a newfound freedom. Such uninhibited "freedom" has been lacking from architectural practice in the United States and Europe for almost half a century. The period of post-war rebuilding in Europe demanded immediate solutions and architects were empowered to make decisions with little mediation. In the United States too, Urban Renewal provided opportunities for architects to operate at unprecedented scale and scope. The rise of community participation and the increased restrictions placed upon architectural liberty are the direct result of this period of "freedom". The results of "freedom" were too often exclusive, corporately or authoritarian dominated precincts with a deficit of urbanity (Rowe, 1997:35). Architecture failed to deliver and as a result the profession's "freedom" was severely reduced

This reduction has created a crisis of confidence in urban design in the United States. The problem is that urban design lacks a definitive model to follow or a conviction for a particular path. This is complicated by the fact that the world is changing faster than we, as designers seem able to keep pace. Our understanding of what a city is and how to make it seem at odds with the way the world works today in an age of globalization. The models and precedents of what we hold to be the "good city" are no longer relevant for what the city has become or what it needs to be. This is nowhere more true than in China. Too often contemporary urban design is about the application of ideas that have their genesis in historically informed constructions. This is dangerous because it ties urban design to the notion that it is inherently a regressive act. What is needed, more than anything else in contemporary urbanism, is a recalibration of our ideas and an embrace of the current reality in which we find ourselves within an understanding of urbanism as a progressive activity.

As designers we must hold on to the idea that through the agency of design we can affect positive change, although perhaps in redefined terms. Too often the time lag required to design and then to construct an urban project means that our projects become a kind of historic catalogue of the past in our attempt to satisfy the needs of the present. The world changes so rapidly that by the time a city recognizes trends, studies impacts, plans for new accommodations, designs a response and builds a project, the trends that instigated the process in the first place have changed. One only need look to the story of the Amsterdam Waterfront Finance Company and its demise to understand how cities struggle to accommodate changing trends in real estate markets (see Marshall, 2001). All too often planning cities today is about the provision of obsolescence. And while this is certainly less true in China, the same conditions necessarily apply.

In response to this there is a general move away from big ideas to strategic and engaged responses to urban design in the United States. There has developed a general distrust in the idea of the comprehensive masterplan, where a singular intellect controls urban outcomes and the "big idea" often takes decades to construct. In the American context the results of comprehensive planning are evident in places with a deficit of infrastructure, office parks with a deficit of urbanity and consumer and commercial agglomerations with a deficit of design (see Kaltenbrunner, 1999: 6). Urban design in America is characterized by a continuous and critical search for an appropriate urban design ideology - for an "idea of the city" which might inform urban design projects.

Dana Cuff describes that the scale alone of "civic constructions" requires them to be deterministic and that the effort required to bring a large project together is not only a long and arduous process it is also a matter of ideology, for there must be a "motivational narrative" to direct development when the initial enthusiasm wanes (see Cuff, 2000). Large-scale urban design projects must be directed towards some set of ambitions or towards some set of goals. In this way the direction of a project can be maintained during the long period of their implementation. Fundamentally all urban design projects must include this element of directedness. It is this after all that defines the form of a project and separates each project from one another. Further, it is this aspect that lies at the very heart of the definition of urban design, although there is certainly tremendous debate as to what that definition might be.

Urban design is the articulation of program and form with the intention of establishing the foundation of, the heightening of and greatest possibility for urbanity - urban culture. Urbanity is the combined result of the multitude of different lived experiences, walks of life, voices, positions, attitudes, claims, counter-claims, passions, intellects, seductions, violences, sorrows, joys and liberties of the diverse people that for a variety of reasons live in the city. Urban design should be thought about as that act that aims to construct and shape the container within which this communal life takes place. It is inherently a design activity. In saying this I should clearly state that urbanity, being the product of culture, cannot be defined by design rather it is defined by forces and situations far beyond design's purview

tied to the political, social and economic structures that shape our societies. Urban design as an operative practice is predicated on an understanding that its agency is based within a synthesis of the design fields, legal issues, cultural and social constructs and conditions, political realities, and economic structures that combine to make contemporary society. In this regard urban design is informed and practiced by everyone with any interest in the physical making and design of city spaces to deliberately embrace plurality and diversity that makes up life in the city.

Can you have 'city making' without urbanity? The answer is unfortunately too often yes. Absent urbanism is the deliberate construction of city form through the articulation of buildings, roadways, streets, parks, and sidewalks without any attempt to foster a social sphere. Cities by their nature are unpredictable and difficult to control. In the making of some large scale projects the presentation of a very particular image is critical to their real and perceived success and in order to control the presentation of this image the messiness of the urban situation is often eliminated or very strictly controlled. In the making of these urban projects the provision of a certain kind of commercial space, of a certain kind of commercial image and a certain kind of commercial return override considerations of the establishment and fostering of communities, neighborhoods, communicative action or social interactions.

This deliberate avoidance recognizes that urbanity is not a predictable thing and at times it can even be messy. This is one aspect of cities that has always been present. In his conclusion to *Cities and Civilization*, Peter Hall writes that the greatest cities have never been "earthly utopias", but rather: "... places of stress and conflict and sometimes actual misery... places where the adrenalin pumps through the bodies of the people and through the streets on which they walk; messy places, sordid places sometimes, but places nevertheless superbly worth living in..." (Hall, 1998 989).

The agendas that lie behind the creation of certain urban projects are more than indifferent to this issue. There is a deliberate avoidance of urbanity, which suggests that in the minds of those that create these projects the idea of urbanity and the idea of 'commercially successful' urban project are mutually exclusive and to include the vitality of life would weaken a project's potential as a piece of global infrastructure and diminish the power of the global image. In these projects we find the deliberate pursuit of a sanitized urban condition. This is a troubling conclusion for urban design in a global sphere. This is a situation that should be avoided at all cost.

The question at the heart of contemporary urban design practice is its relevancy in light of the challenges of the new age. There are several issues that need to be addressed. The first is that the making of urban projects reinforces the centrality of design as an operative practice. Urban design projects today are not organic in the sense that they evolve through a long period of time and are the result of a series of disparate actions. Rather they are created quickly and directly from a defined physical imagining. In other words they have a designed directedness. Second, urban design

projects reinforce the importance of place in cities at a time when many global theorists suggest its diminution. Certainly there continues to be semantic issues in relation to the meaning and relevancy of place, but the importance of place in the global sphere is beyond repute. The reinforcement of the centrality of design and the importance of place combine to suggest myriad opportunities for urban design in the making of urban projects. Needless to say it remains to be seen if these opportunities will be fully taken up the design professions.

It is evident today that despite the emergence of opportunities there have been a reduction in the autonomy of the design disciplines and a concurrent negation of design's ability to control outcomes. It appears that those that define the ultimate political agenda for the project have absorbed decision-making and design's ability to influence that agenda has receded. Design has become an operation in bringing form to agendas largely outside of its purview. What is needed today in urban design is a new understanding of urban design's role.

How one might define that role is certainly open to speculation. Fundamentally urbanism involves the articulation of a possible future, one based on the promise that this future will in some and varied ways be better than the present. This invariably involves moral and ideological judgments. Indeed the origins of urbanism, remembering Choay, were based in such imperatives¹. Ideological positions are by their nature personal, based within a collection of social and cultural suppositions. It is therefore difficult to determine a set of beliefs that everyone will agree with. However, given the relevancy of our time and the conditions under which urban design operates globally today there should be a general set of principals around which urban design can cluster.

Given the transient nature of many belief systems today urban design must be a reflexive activity, constantly engaged in referencing the present and its origins. As a defined field of activity it locates itself between architecture and planning and indeed in the Sert tradition of the discipline aims to rescue urbanism from the reductive analytical operations of planning². Today it must engage with and react to forces, which lead simultaneously towards a complicated hybrid urbanization, which includes homogenization and heterogenization. The field of urban design currently struggles with its capacity in this engagement.

The tremendous growth in the world's population (most of which will be in cities) combined with an increasing awareness of the limited capacity of the environment, require a radical rethinking of urban design's engagement. Urban design should be nothing less than a search for new forms of settlement appropriate to the conditions of today. This will inevitably require the abandonment of accepted "conventions" of urban form, patterns and morphologies and a recalibration of definitions of the city to bring them in line with the currency of our time.

Urban design must reinforce its capacity for speculative visioning as a

means to explore possibilities that may drive a new way of thinking about cities. Such speculation must open up a multitude of architectural possibilities to escape the current singular positions of modernism versus historicism, or urban versus suburban. This escape will nevertheless be grounded in a set of principles, which will guide the development of future urban projects. The basis for which should be the nurturing of life in the city. Meaning in urban situations is manifest through the social city. Urban design's role should be the articulation of meaning through the provision of a physical structure, which supports this social activity.

It is becoming increasingly evident that our continuing existence on this planet will heavily depend on our ability to manage resources. The intelligent use of resources towards an urban sustainability must be embraced by urban design. This will not merely involve the management of waste from urban projects but should fundamentally influence their creation, the way they are designed, the standards of construction and operation, the types of programs and their arrangement and the way in which the project situates itself into the existing context. This will involve the imagining and testing of new urban propositions.

Urban design should aim at the cultivation of urbanity. This means that it must construct the form, extent and nature of places for collective assembly. The city dweller reaps the benefits of living in the city through the occasion

of chance encounters and the various occupations and distractions, which form part of the everyday urban experience (Lefebvre, 1984:121). The drama of life is extended in urban areas, simply because there are lots of people to interact with. There are definite benefits to density in urban situations for the creation of urban culture within a city through creating possibilities for communicative action (remembering Arendt?)

In an environment where capital is not place bound and is free to roam the globe in search of better investment opportunities, cities will have to attract private investment in order to stay competitive. While this necessarily raises the fact that in doing so some people benefit while others lose, for cities not to play this game creates the possibility that that city would be worse off than if it did. In addition to being competitive globally, cities must also be compassionate and aware of this plus and minus reality. To do this they will have to create environments where people will want to be. Urban design then, will have an essential role to play in creating environments of quality not only for the rich but for the poor as well. Above all else this is what will determine if cities will be competitive. In the very best sense urban design has a role to play in the shaping of these futures. Urban design has the possibility to define specific ideas of the city, developed from a critical urbanism, one that is responsive to place, climate, culture and history, leading to the production of an emerging urbanity.

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Notes:

1. Francois Choy describes how the Industrial Revolution in Europe recast society's relationship with the city. Amongst other things the tremendous speed and scale of urbanization led to a series of critical treatises that set the foundation for urbanism as a critical practice involved in developing future oriented alternative urban possibilities. See Choy, F. (1969) *The Modern City: Planning in the 19th Century*, George Braziller, New York.
2. Josep Lluis Sert, President of Congrès Internationaux d'Architecture Moderne (CIAM) from 1947 to 1956 and Dean of the Graduate School of Design from 1953 to 1969. Amongst other things Sert initiated the first urban design degree program in America at Harvard in 1960.
3. Hannah Arendt was a German-born American political scientist and philosopher. In her work *The Human Condition* (1958) she undertakes a thorough historical-philosophical inquiry that returns to the origins of both democracy and political philosophy in the Ancient Greek world, and brought these original understandings of political life to bear on what Arendt saw as its atrophy and eclipse in the modern era. *The Human Condition* is fundamentally concerned with the problem of reasserting politics as a valuable realm of human action, praxis, and the world of appearance. Arendt argues that the Western philosophical tradition has devalued the world of human action, which attends to appearances (*vita activa*), subordinating it to the life of contemplation, which concerns itself with essences and the eternal (*vita contemplativa*). In *The Human Condition* and subsequent works, the task Arendt set herself is to save action and appearance - and with it the common life of the political and the values of opinion, from the depredations of the philosophers. By systematically elaborating what this *vita activa* might be said to entail, she hopes to reinstate the life of public and political action to the apex of human goals.

城市中心区复兴
Revitalization of City Centers