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## 改变目标与建立新规则

### 探索可替代的住宅类型

## Changing Goals and New Rules

### Alternative Housing Types

**概要** 针对上海的住宅问题，并从更广泛的角度定位中国近年来的城市发展，文章提出以下观点：1) 住宅组团的设计与组织对一个城市的都市特性产生了最强烈的影响。2) 上海传统的里弄住宅，周围被不少底层店铺、上层寝居的住宅所环绕。里弄在容纳了相当的人口密度的同时，还提供了高质量的住所，充满活力、和谐融洽的城市组织。3) 除了特殊情况，当前社会和经济的需求客观阻碍了里弄的复兴，或者说直接把里弄作为一种既有的模式。4) 同样的需求导致出现了两种住宅类型：a) 一种是平行布置的板式南北向公房（新中国常见的房型）的维修和持续存在，b) 另一种是近来占主导地位的、建在所谓的绿地中的高层塔楼。5) 这两种类型，皆因被围墙或围栏围合而与城市生活隔离，故而不能创造生动和谐的城市空间。6) 当前的开发实践、政府的规范和根深蒂固的中国传统观念这几个因素结合在一起使改变当前的住宅类型困难重重。文章提出以下观点：现有的建筑规范、传统和开发实践能否适当放松，使提升城市形象的新住宅类型能够被接受？

文章的思考对象主要是近年来上海的城市发展。上海虽被认为是一个特例，但文中的观点也具有较为普遍的应用性。

我的第一个观点虽属老生常谈但却十分重要：住宅组团的设计和组织对一个城市的都市特性构成了最强烈的影响。

上海的传统住宅——里弄住区，既容纳了一定的人口密度，又在局限的弄堂里提供了高质量的住所以及富有弹性和活力的社区生活。典型的里弄住区周围围绕着商店：这种形式保证了里弄住区的私密性，又为城市营造了充满活力、提供街道生活的空间。以下

**关键词** 开发实践；政府规范；住宅类型；里弄；上海；传统；城市空间

**ABSTRACT** Considering housing in Shanghai, but possibly addressing recent Chinese urban development issues more generally, this short essay proposes the following: 1) The design and organization of housing groups provide the single strongest influence on the urban character of a city. 2) The traditional housing of Shanghai is lilong compounds with surrounding, protective shop-houses. When occupied at their intended population density, the lilong provided both high quality dwellings and an active, supportive, and congenial urban organization. 3) Current social and economic demands preclude restoration of lilong, or even the direct use of the lilong as a model, except in special, rare conditions. 4) These same demands have led to two housing types: a) the maintenance and continuation of parallel slab blocks with south orientation (the common type in the

new China); or b) the dominance recently of high-rise towers in ill-defined green space. 5) Both these types, particularly as they are walled or fenced against the activity of the city, do not create active, supportive and congenial urban space. 6) The combination of current development practices, government regulations and engrained views of what Chinese tradition requires combine to make it difficult to move away from the existing types. This essay asks: Can existing rules, traditions and practices be relaxed in order that new types of housing that better support positive city building can be accepted.

**KEY WORDS** Development Practices; Government Regulation; Housing Types; Lilong; Shanghai; Tradition; Urban Space.

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This speculative essay takes as its subject recent urban development in Shanghai. Shanghai is admittedly a special case, yet the thoughts here may have more general applicability.

I begin from a first proposition that is familiar but important: The design and organization of housing groups provide the single strongest influence on the urban character of a city.

The traditional housing of Shanghai, the lilong compounds, when occupied at their intended population density, provided high quality dwellings on

20 世纪 80 年代，中国经济开始蓬勃发展，这时期出现了另一种常见的住宅类型，是平行排列的以垂直步行楼梯作为交通联系的公寓房，它们大都空间宽敞、采光良好，并具有较好的私密性。这种住宅类型起源于战争期间欧洲设计师设计的统一的住宅项目（Zeilenbau）。在中国，此类住宅的宽面朝南。在上海，保留了许多这一类型住宅，并在后期发展出高度更高、增设电梯的类型。

近年来，随着人口密度的提高，发展高层住宅作为基本住宅类型似乎成为国际通行的做法。高层住宅在空间上采光充足，私密性较好。

让我们来看看开发高层住宅的理由：土地价格，不仅是在市中心商业区域，上海整个城市区域的地价都非常高。收回如此高的成本需要高密度的建筑。达到高密度的简便而有效的方法就是修建高层建筑。可喜的是，中国建筑的日照规范使高层建筑的排列间距不可能太近，因此形成了高层塔楼之间的绿色开放空间。

让我们比较一个相近的例子，1971 年，为了获取更多更好的城市公共空间，纽约区域规划做了调整改变，针对的是城市中的商业塔楼，如果高层办公楼的开发商能够在地区街道层保留对城市开放的公共广场，那么他们就可以增加建筑物的高度作为补偿。高度补偿和简洁的建成形式足以让许多开发商利用这个机会。其结果可以在纽约第六大街窥见一斑，这条大街建成为 20 世纪 70 年代。这些更高的、使用强度更大的塔楼，在电梯和大厅设计了比先前更多的空间。然而，能激活城市街道体验的活动（商业的或有活力的社区活动）却被阻碍于建成和未经建造的底层空间之外了。这个由区域规划准则产生的结果并非有意造成的，但却并不让人吃惊。街道更加曲折，室外环境的温度更高，城市体验日益萎缩。塔楼底层既没有富有活力的活动空间，也没有为街道上的人流提供适宜通行或停留的空间。第六大街成为了城市沙漠，完全不像纽约城市发展过程中形成的传统的、充满活力的街道。<sup>[1]</sup>

上海的城市现象与上述纽约的例子是很相似的，如我们上文提到的，高层公寓楼之间未被充分利用的绿地和公寓居民未能享受城市公共空间的便利性与舒适性。

在我有限的上海经历中，我发现，建筑师、规划师和学术届的人士都对高层住宅模式的效用存在怀疑。他们乐意考虑“中层（多层或小高层）高密度住宅”的可能性，这种形式未来可能给居住者提供更加有效的社区发展，而且可以把商业、社区等活动通过车流，人流结合起来。

已有的观点被不断重复：

第一，中国城市面临巨大的人口增速压力；

第二，以人口和其他一些因素使土地价格非常高；

第三，高价的土地对高人口密度提出要求；

第四，高层塔楼在高度上总是寻求突破，既有的

lanes that were constricted but nevertheless proved resilient and supportive of communal life. Lilong compounds are typically surrounded by shop-houses that serve doubly: they secure privacy for the lilong and create an active, supportive street-life for the city. This is particularly true in what is the typical condition: the street is of modest width, with shops or other communal services to both sides, and framed by trees. The lilong was the fundamental unit in building the positive urban space of historic Shanghai.

Yet one concedes that Shanghai had to move beyond the lilong. The existing lilong were built with minimal infrastructure. Decades of overcrowding and limited maintenance resulted in far too great a cost for restoration, and this for a resulting population too low to support that cost or justify this use of precious land in the center of a burgeoning city. As precious as the restoration of lilong would be, this must be a rare and special case.

As the liberalized economy of China began in the 1980s, the other common, existing housing type was the walk-up slab block arrayed in parallel rows, at spacing sufficiently generous for light and privacy. This was a type (Zeilenbau) generated in the rationalized housing programs of European architects in the interwar period. In China the broad fronts faced south. In Shanghai, such housing has been largely maintained, and extended in higher, elevator-serviced examples.

In recent decades, in the interest of still higher population densities, the basic housing type has become the internationally known high-rise tower, spatially deployed with sufficient space for sun and privacy. Let's look at the rationale for such development.

Land prices, not just in central commercial areas, but throughout a city such as Shanghai are very high. Recovery of that high cost in development requires high density. The expedient way to achieve high density is with high-rise buildings. It then seems an obvious good that Chinese sunlight regulations preclude a close packing of high-rise towers, thus yielding open, often green space between the towers.

Consider this comparison. In 1971, changes in New York zoning were introduced in pursuit of the same evident good — urban open space, in this case particularly in relation to commercial towers. Developers of high-rise office buildings were offered bonuses in the height of their towers if they would preserve open plazas at street level. The height bonus and the ensuing simplicity of the built form were

sufficient to lead many developers to avail themselves of the opportunity. The result can be seen on Sixth Avenue as it was developed in the 1970s. These taller, more intensely used towers needed, more than ever, generous space for elevators and lobbies. Activities that would enliven the street-level experience of the city — commercial or communally-active institutional uses — were fundamentally precluded from the built and unbuilt ground level of the site. This was the unintended, but hardly surprising, result of the zoning rule. The street was windier, temperatures more exaggerated, urban experience withered. Neither was there available room at the ground level of the towers for active spaces, nor, had some space for such activities been found, would there have been adequate proximity of these spaces to the urban pedestrian flow to make them viable. Sixth Avenue became an urban desert, wholly unlike the active streets of traditional New York urban development.<sup>[1]</sup>

The result in Shanghai is very similar, though we are speaking of unused green spaces and a failure of urban amenity for apartment dwellers.

In my admittedly limited experience in Shanghai, I find that architects, planners, and academics are prepared to share in doubts about the efficacy of the high-rise housing model. They are willing to enter into speculation about the possibility of denser mid-rise high-density housing that could potentially provide housing groups with more efficacious communal development as well as an integration of vehicular and pedestrian circulation with commercial, institutional, and communal activities.

Yet, at a certain point, established views reassert themselves:

1) Chinese cities are confronted with intense levels of population growth.

2) This and other factors place a very high value on land.

3) The high value of land requires a very high population density.

4) Towers can always be driven to a height that will exceed the density provided by mid-rise high-density prototypes.

5) Thus, land values are so high that one is driven back to the high-rise tower solution.

6) Chinese regulations and tradition demand a distribution of hours of sunlight to every dwelling unit that is easily achieved in towers but easily compromised in dense mid-rise housing.

7) Chinese regulations and tradition favor a protected enclosure for groups of housing units — an

中层高密度住宅型式受到挑战；

第五，因此，土地价格如此之高，以至于重新回到高层住宅的解决方法；

第六，中国的建筑规范和传统居住习惯要求每个居住单元有一定的日照时间，这对于高层住宅很容易做到，但中层高密度住宅却不易做到；

第七，中国的建筑规范和传统居住习惯倾向于围合的社区单元（居住小区）——城市“飞地”（an enclave），在西方被称为封闭式社区。

如果所有的观点都被视为规则的话，那么很快就回到了现有的类型：6层高、不设电梯的板式公房或是12层高、带电梯的板式住宅，平行排列，形成街区，或是矗立在未被充分利用的绿地之中的高层住宅，以上类型都被围墙或栅栏围合与城市空间隔离。在上海随处可见的现实，实际上是在世界其他城市并不常见的，也不能提供富有活力与和谐的城市空间的系统。

我们是否可以质疑上面列出的被反复确认的观点？最困难的问题，也是我认为得最为始料不及的是下面这个问题：中国城市面临人口增速压力巨大。

上海这一案例确实如此，但这并不完全是一个“自然”现象，不同层面上的政府行为促成了这种增长。

我可否冒险将其与美国的经验进行比较？长久以来，美国人口流动性很大，只要他们愿意，他们可以自由搬家。他们做决定的时候，无疑工作和经济机会是最根本的因素。就拿亚利桑那州凤凰城为例，凤凰城属于沙漠气候，水资源有限，其经济机会主要源于其自身人口增长。波士顿就完全不同，波士顿历史悠久，经济和文化资源丰富，地理位置优越，长久以来人口稳定。由人口增长带来的压力或说由此产生的机会也不大。纽约人口也增长，但并未达到发展中国家中心城市的人口发展速度。纵观美国历史，加利福尼亚一直被认为环境适宜，发展潜力通过人口增长实现。而今天，这一地区也出现显著的人口外流，尤其是迁往城市化程度不高的山区州府。

再次承认经济机会的根本作用的同时，我的观点是，即使面对自由的搬迁机会，人们也会选择不同的地点。搬往何处还取决于文化、气候、环境和其他因素，甚至可能是没有相对的人口中心。没有强有力的中央控制，中国就难以在东部地区以外成功地推进城市化，从而减少像上海这种城市的压力了吗？我知道在中国这种压力广泛存在，政府支持其他城市的快速增长以及建设新城，但其他地区的发展是否可能？

我质疑基本的发展问题，期待有挑战性的回应。不管上述问题如何，我想首先针对上文所述“规则”中第一至第五个观点进行开放性的思索。

如果政府机构在更广泛的角度上建立目标，情况可能完全不同。如果土地使用权出让给住宅开发商不被看作“现金牛”以让开发商追求最大回报，而是作为建设更美好城市的基础步骤，将会怎样呢？目标可能是：密度仍然很高，但可降低一点；更好地结合社区空间和公共活动，更有效一点；商业空间丰富了城

enclave, what in the West is called a gated-community.

If all these views are taken as rules, one soon reverts to the existing types: parallel slab blocks of six stories (walk-up) or twelve-story elevator blocks; or towers in ill-used green space – in either case walled or fenced against urban space. One reverts, that is, to known housing systems that are not providing active, congenial urban space as is common in so many cities of the world and, formerly, in Shanghai.

Can one question the constantly reasserted positions just listed? The most difficult of these issues, and the one for which I am admittedly least prepared is this:

Chinese cities are confronted with intense levels of population growth.

Yes, and this is notably so in the case of Shanghai. Yet this is not entirely a “natural” phenomenon. Government actions, at various levels, have encouraged this growth.

May I risk comparison with American experiences? The American people have long been very mobile, and free to move wherever they please. In the choices they make, no doubt jobs and economic opportunity are fundamental factors. Yet in an example such as the rapid growth of Phoenix, Arizona, an area with a demanding desert climate and limited water resources, the economic opportunities created have in large part been a result of population growth itself. Boston is quite different. Though a long-established city with fundamental economic and cultural resources and an agreeable setting, Boston has for decades been stable in its population. There has been little pressure — or opportunity — from population growth. New York has grown, but not at the rate of established centers in the developing world. California, throughout its American history, has been seen as an environmentally favored state whose potential was realized through rapid growth. Yet today there is a recognized outflow, particularly to the mountain states that have had little urbanization.

Again acknowledging the fundamental role of economic opportunities, my point is that even with unconstrained opportunity of movement, people will choose quite different locations – decisions that are also based on culture, climate, environment and other factors, perhaps even the relative absence of population centers. Cannot China, with strong central controls, stimulate successful urbanization beyond the favored eastern areas and thus diminish the pressure on cities such as Shanghai? I am aware that such pressure is wide-spread in China and that the

government has supported the rapid growth of other established cities and created new towns and cities, but is other regional development possible?

I have risked speculations about fundamental development issues and would expect very challenging responses. However that may be, I would ask for an open-minded consideration of the other issues I raised above:

1) Chinese cities are confronted with intense levels of population growth.

2) This and other factors place a very high value on land.

3) The high value of land requires a very high population density.

4) Towers can always be driven to a height that will exceed the density provided by mid-rise high-density prototypes.

5) Thus, land values are so high that one is driven back to the high-rise tower solution.

If the government agents were to establish their goals in a wider perspective, the situation might be quite different. What if the leases on land being given over to residential development were not seen as “cash cows” for maximum return from developers, but rather as a fundamental step in the building of a better city. Objectives might be: still high density, but less so; better integrated communal spaces and activities that then may not need to be provided, less effectively, elsewhere; commercial space that enhances urban space while providing services and a tax base. The government’s return from the lease might be somewhat diminished, but the result is a better housing and urban environment supporting a better urban life. Chinese developers are working on a capitalist basis; they will surely want the development opportunities that are offered and will say what American developers say: “Just tell me the rules and don’t change them (in this project); I’ll make money.”

6) Chinese regulations and tradition demand a distribution of hours of sunlight to every dwelling unit that is easily achieved in towers but easily compromised in dense mid-rise housing.

Is tradition so rigid? Surely the Chinese people have encountered change and sometimes embraced it. The European originators of the Zeilenbau preferred to give their slabs an east-west orientation: all rooms received sunlight and at times of the day when working people were more likely to be home. The increasing provision of heating and cooling, diminishes the priority of southern exposure. Chinese regulations already recognize that non-residential uses, and

市空间，提供服务以及税收基础。政府从出让土地使用权取得的回报可能减少了，但换来的结果是更好的住宅、更好的城市环境，支持更好的城市生活。中国的开发商使用资本主义的工作方法，他们肯定想要得到开发机会，他们也会说美国开发商说的话，“只要告诉我规则，不要改变规则（同一项目），我就会赚钱。”

其次，对于第六个观点即有关“日照时间”的规范与传统，我试图这样提问：传统习惯如此严格吗？中国人有时对抗变化，有时拥抱变化。欧洲“排房”（Zeilenbau）的创始者喜欢将板式住宅按东西朝向布局：所有的房间都有日光照射。采暖和制冷条件的改善减少了建筑朝南的重要性。中国的建筑规范已经认识到，非住宅和有些住宅，并不一定需要朝南。

规范可以改变。在我往来上海的这些年，我注意到规范正在通过积极的方式朝好的方向改进，也在考虑高层住宅是否很容易满足规范。人们看到为了满足日照规范，有些高层住宅的平面非常复杂。24个角，你能想象吗？造24个角的住宅，为了满足其他目标，需要付出成本。

中层住宅本身可以非常容易地满足日照规范。上海有许多公房，南向开间很宽，楼间距很宽与建筑物高度相近。但这样的住宅并没有产生理想的城市空间。为什么不在一定程度上，放宽日照规范，以探索更有利于城市及城市生活的潜在优势呢？

最后，对于中国常见的围合社区的倾向，我则持有这样的观点：安全和私密性是每个社区合理的关注点，但那本可以在不同层面、通过不同方式来获得。上海的里弄住宅周围有一圈“底商上住”型住宅，进入里弄的入口数量十分有限。里弄入口的建筑标识特征明显，让人知道正在跨入里弄社区门内。至少今天的里弄，公共入口是开放而不受限制的。居民接纳来访者，同时也无需衡量是否需要采取其他的防卫行动。

在西方，安全通常通过认知街道活动的强弱来实现。另一种措施是“街道的眼睛”——有没有商业或居住的需要使居住者对公共空间的活动感兴趣？

上述观察的目的很简单：上海两种主要的、同时也是比较普遍的住宅类型并没有为建设一个充满活力的、可支持公共活动的、和谐的城市环境做出贡献。城市环境包括公共空间、半公共空间和半私密空间。事实上，以上两种住宅类型正侵蚀着上海早期城市开发留存下来的良好的城市空间。如果想要达到理想的目标，需要能够产生良好城市空间的全新的或更新的目标，需要能够达到以上目的，我们应该对机会持更加开放的态度，即使需要改进规范或迎接改变传统或固有观念的挑战。

近年来，我和麻省理工学院的学生与同济大学建筑城规学院的同事和学生合作研究中层高密度住宅的城市空间的意义——由两大组成部分，既包括对不同城市文化背景下的住宅建筑原型的研究，也包括学生的设计作业。与建筑学院的典型的设计课程相比，此研究的设计项目时间相对较短，更注重教学与研究方法

even some residential uses, need not have southern orientation.

Regulations can change; I have observed them to do so in positive ways in my few years of exposure to Shanghai. Also consider whether the regulations are so easily fulfilled in high-rise towers. One sees that many towers, in order to meet the sunlight regulations, have extraordinarily complex plans. Twenty-four corners, anyone? They are being built, yes; but there is a cost that could have gone for the realization of other goals.

One can easily fulfill the sunlight regulations in mid-rise buildings. Shanghai is full of slab building, with broad south faces, placed at a distance from one another equal to their height. But this has not resulted in desirable urban space. Why not, to some degree, relax the sunlight regulations and explore potential advantages for the city and its life.

7) Chinese regulations and tradition favor a protected enclosure for groups of housing units — an enclave, what in the West is called a gated-community.

Privacy and security are surely legitimate concerns for every community, but these can be sought at various levels and in different ways. A lilong compound in Shanghai is surrounded by a ring of shop-houses with a limited number of entrances. These entrances are marked architecturally such that one is aware of crossing a threshold. Yet, at least as lilong are used today, public access is quite uninhibited. The residents are receptive of the visitor, while no doubt also assessing whether they need to act otherwise.

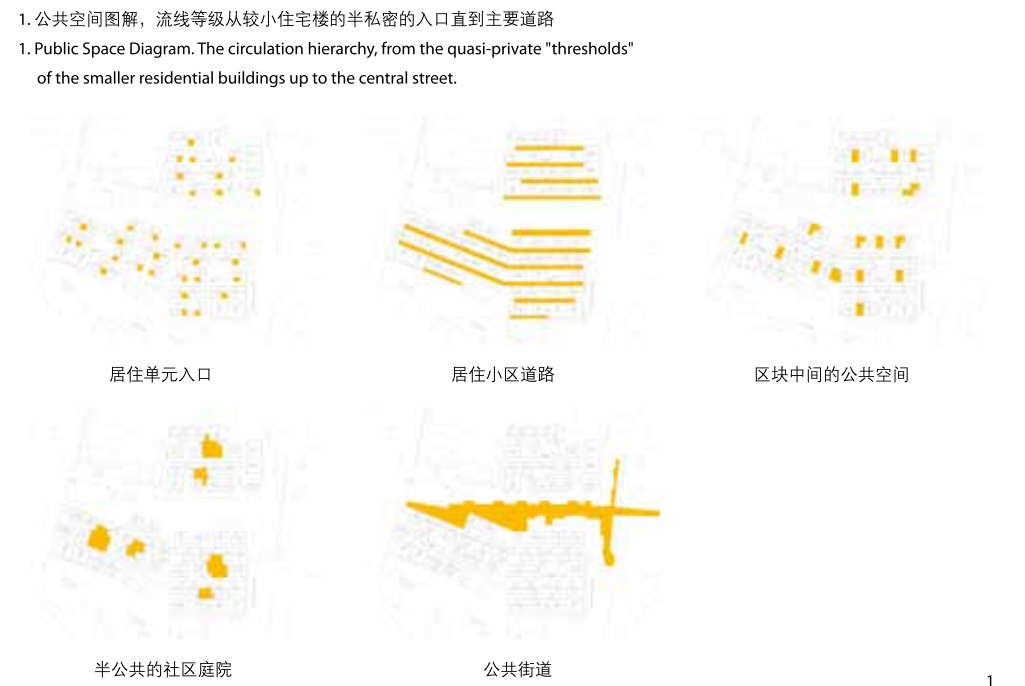
In the West, security is often recognized in the activity of a street — or its absence. Another measure is “eyes on the street” — is there commercial or

residential use where its occupants show concern for events in the public space?

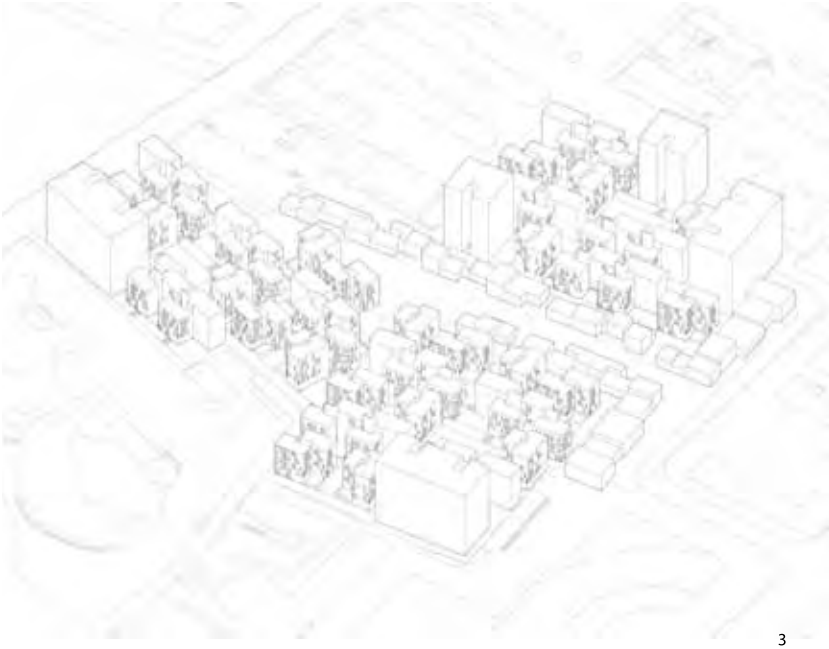
The intent of the above observations is simply this: The two current, almost universal types of housing development in Shanghai are not contributing to the construction of a vibrant, supportive and congenial urban environment that includes public, semi-public, and semi-private space. Indeed, they are eroding such positive urban space as survives from earlier stages of urban development in Shanghai. If such desirable goals are again to be sought, there must be new or renewed housing types that generate positive urban space. To achieve this, we should be open to opportunities even when they require changes in the rules or challenges to received tradition or opinions.

In recent years, MIT students and I have collaborated with colleagues and students at the College of Architecture and Urban Planning at Tongji University in studies of the urban space implications of mid-rise, high-density housing — both prototypes from other cities and cultures and design exercises by the students. These have been projects of less duration than the typical studio programs of schools of architecture, and are certainly to be weighed more for their pedagogy than for their resolution of urban problems. Further, it is perhaps unwise to introduce one student project in what is meant to be a general argument. Nevertheless, I would like to introduce a recent project by an MIT student.

Joseph O’Connor participated in a “workshop” that designed propositions for housing within a context of commercial, communal, and institutional space on a site currently slated for development in the southern







2. 总平面图，此基地靠近高架和主要的道路，但并不直接面对它们，基地中有一条通往地铁站的小路，适宜当地的商业活动和行人通行。
3. 方案的轴侧图
4. 连接“小径”的“住宅区块之间的共享空间”
5. 连接住宅楼的“小径”，通往私人住宅的入口在左侧

2. Site Plan. The site is near elevated highways and major streets, but fronts none of these. The site is crossed by a low-intensity street that leads to Metro stations in both directions, appropriate for local commercial and pedestrian activities.
3. Axonometric of the project
4. "Mid-block common space", connecting the "lanes".
5. "A lane" connecting the residential buildings; a "threshold" giving access to the private dwellings is at left.



而不是针对城市问题的具体解决方案。或许介绍一个学生的设计作为总结并不太合适，但我还是要用麻省理工学院一位学生的近期研究与设计来说明我的观点。

约瑟夫·奥康那参加了以上海西南徐家汇地区的一块现已平整并等待开发的基地作为研究对象的联合设计，该设计要求将住宅与商业、社区和公共设施等混合考虑。其重点在于强调城市开放空间的设计。我将通过该设计研究强调一些本文的主要观点。

奥康那的设计（图 1~5）是以 6 层不设电梯的、包含 12 个住户单元的住宅（平均每户 61m<sup>2</sup>，还可以扩大）为基础。基地更高的容积率要求在基地内引入 12 层高的住宅楼。此住宅与基地大多数的道路平行，其中商业和社区功能的区域会进一步发展，将比现在的密度更大。整个基地（包括道路）的容积率计算达到 2.3。

日照和私密性的特征要求怎样呢？总的来说，单元满足了标准的日照要求。正如前文中讨论过的，可以通过不同的方式弥补与要求之间的不足：突破标准要求的住宅类型，公用空间或小办公 / 商业空间，多切面的立面，容许南向之外的其他朝向的日照——改变规则！

流线系统和安全性带来很多好处。住宅位置离开主要的交通道路，但并未与之隔离。进入住宅区，有一系列的开放空间，行人在其间活动。大的庭院，或者定义为“广场”的空间对公众开放，然而仍归属于社区集体拥有（并不只属于广场四周的人们）。然后进入下一个层次的“住宅区块之间的共享空间”（图 4）引入能够进入每个住宅组团的小道（图 5）。最后

part of Shanghai. Emphasis was placed on the design of urban open space. I will emphasize only a few points that relate to the thrust of this essay.

O'Connor's design (figs. 1-5) is based on a six-story walk-up housing block of twelve units (averaging 61 sq.m, but this could be enlarged). The higher FAR required for the site involves the introduction of modest twelve-story towers. As such housing parallels the most public thoroughfare of the site, there is an intermediate zone of commercial and communal uses that might well be more densely developed than shown here. The FAR for the entire site, including the thoroughfare, is calculated to be 2.3.

What then of the characteristic requirements of sun and security? In large part, the units meet standard sun requirements. As argued above, the differential in this requirement might be met in various ways: types of residence that are free of the standard requirement; communal or small office/commercial spaces; facettted facades; tolerance of sun received from other than south orientation — changing the rules!

The circulation system and security seem advantageous. The housing is located off the main thoroughfare, but not separated from it. Moving into the residential area, there is a hierarchy of open spaces through which the pedestrian moves. Large “courtyards,” or what one might term “piazzas,” are

open to the public, yet are the possession of this community collectively (not exclusively to those who about the piazza). Then a next level of “mid-block common spaces” (fig. 4) leads to the lanes (fig. 5) that access individual housing groups. Finally, and importantly, a semi-private, walled open space serves as a kind of lobby to each of the six-story housing units (at the left in fig. 5). The taller blocks would have more conventional elevator lobbies. Overall, there is a balance of the publicness of urban space and adequate security for the dweller. Overall, there is some similarity to the lilong prototype, but with more open and varied circulation and habitation.

This student project is an initial result of a short design program; it is promising for further development. I don't want to place undue weight on an exploratory design, yet I think it does serve to invite open-minded search — search for alternative housing forms that may generate supportive and congenial urban spaces for both the general public and local dwellers.

( Project by Joseph O'Connor in the Spring 2010 “Shanghai Workshop” taught at the Department of Architecture, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts, by Professor Stanford Anderson in collaboration with Professor Wang Yi of the College of Architecture and Urban Planning, Tongji University, Shanghai. The site is Plot 143, near Shanghai Stadium and not far from the commercial hub of Xujiahui. )

是重要的半私密空间，有围墙的公共空间，作为联接 6 层住宅各个住户单元的厅（图 5）。高度大些的体块有更加常规的电梯间。总之，在城市空间的公共性和居住者足够的安全之间达到一个平衡。总体而言，与里弄原型有点相似，但有更开放和更富于变化的流线和居住形式。

此学生设计是一个短期设计课程的初步成果，对于未来的开发有启发。我不想就一个探索性的设计做出过多的评价，但我想通过它抛砖引玉引发更开放的探索，来寻找可以为大众和当地居民提供支持公共活动、产生和谐的城市空间的其他住宅类型。

( 说明：约瑟夫·奥康那参加的设计项目是 2010 年春季上海联合设计，由麻省理工学院建筑系斯坦·福安德森教授和同济大学建筑与城市规划学院王一副教授合作执教。基地为 143 号地块，靠近上海体育场，离徐家汇商业中心不远。)

#### 注释和参考文献：

- [1] 限高补偿的运用产生的负面结果可参见托马斯·舒马赫，“建筑物和街道：构造和作用的笔记”，也可见斯坦福·安德森编辑，街道（剑桥，麻省：麻省理工出版社，1978）：138 – 139 页。更详细的讨论，详见罗伯特·A·M·斯特恩，托马斯·美林斯和大卫·费雪舍，纽约 1960 年；第二次世界大战到 2000 年的建筑和城市主义（纽约：摩那切利出版社，1995）：410 – 416 页。

#### Notes:

- [1] The negative result of this particular use of incentive zoning is recognized in Thomas Schumacher, “Buildings and Streets: Notes on Configuration and Use,” in Stanford Anderson, ed., On Streets (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1978), 138-139. For more extensive discussion, see Robert A. M. Stern, Thomas Mellins, and David Fishman, New York 1960: Architecture and Urbanism between the Second World War and the Bicentennial (New York: Monacelli Press, 1995): 410-416.

#### 作者简介

斯坦福·安德森，美国建筑师协会会员，注册建筑师美国麻省理工学院建筑系历史和建筑教授。他自 1974 年至 1991 年始并负责麻省理工学院建筑系的历史、理论和评论的博士课程，研究领域涉及艺术、建筑以及城市形式等诸多方面。他从 1991 年至 2005 年担任建筑系主任。安德森在 2004 年获得美国建筑教育的最高奖——美国建筑师协会和美国建筑学院联合会共同颁发的杰出成就奖。安德森的研究和写作主要关注建筑理论、欧洲和亚洲的现代建筑、国际城市主义、认识论和史学等领域的问题。

Stanford Anderson, AIA, is a registered architect and Professor of History and Architecture in the Department of Architecture at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, Massachusetts. He co-founded and directed MIT's pioneering PhD program in History, Theory and Criticism of Art, Architecture, and Urban Form from 1974 to 1991. He served as Head of the Department of Architecture from 1991 to 2005. Anderson was the 2004 AIA/ACSA Topaz Laureate, the highest American award in architectural education. Anderson's research and writing concern architectural theory, modern architecture in Europe and America, urbanism internationally, epistemology and historiography.

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