

城市中国 都市微绿 公众需求及参与推动的绿色空间转型 SMALL GREEN SPACES THE TRANSITION OF URBAN GREEN SPACES, LED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC 2018年10月 第84期

城市中国

URBAN WISDOM ADVANCING WITH CHINA

84

都市微绿

公众需求及参与推动的绿色空间转型

SMALL GREEN SPACES

THE TRANSITION OF URBAN GREEN SPACES, LED BY THE GENERAL PUBLIC

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URBAN CHINA OVERSEAS OBSERVER PROGRAM GETS LAUNCHED

《城市中国》海外观察员第三期(2018-2019)开榜

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

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

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读编往来 Reader's Mailbox

ISSUE
83



温州在哪

中等规模城市后发现代性图景

2018是中国改革开放四十周年。从集体出发的发展方式以及思维方式，在中国城市发展中有不可忽视的印记。回顾城市发展和集体自省，在改革开放四十周年的时空节点上显得尤其重要。中等城市往往有自己的特色，曾靠某种区位、资源、产业等优势繁盛一时，但在今天的城市格局中，吸引力远不及“一线、准一线”城市，对现状并不满足，试图突破区域界限，获得更大的辐射力和成长空间。城市空间、产业转型、人才外流、创新潜力等困境限制了他们的追赶步伐。温州的经济发展曾是时代样板，以“温州模式”闻名一时。因为民间产业、资本、意识的相对强大及互为关联，千禧年后中国城市发展最快的十年中，温州却没有经历快速的城市化过程，甚至稍显滞缓。本期以温州为样本，讨论中等规模城市如何寻求突破。

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读音评刊



我发现海报跟办公室很配哦~

—新浪微博@小汤HOME



如果以后我有自己的房子，我要把《城市中国》杂志里的精美海报全部贴墙上去，每次看他们家的杂志都能被满满的专业性和图表的颜值给治愈到。

—新浪微博@HiJaz89

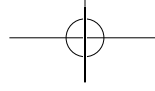
10年前的《城市中国》每一篇拿出来在当下依然是先锋。

—新浪微博@Guoriffin



080~083期

- 080期目录中未注明第30页《建筑师》栏目文章作者，应为李娟+徐光。
- 082期目录中，编按遗漏中英文标题，应为“多元主体参与下的社区微更新 MULTIPLE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY MICRO-RENOVATION”。第198页文章《迷你社交，不过时的公共电话亭》遗漏英文标题，应为“MINI SOCIALIZATION, PUBLIC PHONE BOOTHS WOULD NEVER BE OBSOLETE”。
- 082期第20页，编按的英文标题应为“MULTIPLE PARTICIPATION IN COMMUNITY MICRO-RENOVATION”。
- 083期第26页，第二段第七行，“特点概括”应为“特点概括为”；第27页，小标题《超越“温州模式”》下方第一行，“也在断地演化之中”应为“也在不断地演化之中”。



城市绿色空间激活人与自然生命共同体

THE GREEN SPACE OF CITIES ACTIVATES THE LIFE COMMUNITY OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENT

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



一般而言，现代意义上的城市绿色空间来自于西方提出的“城市开敞空间”概念。1906年英国修编的《开敞空间法》将城市开敞空间定义为“任何围合或不围合用地，其中无建筑物，或少于1/20的用地有建筑物，其余用地用作公园娱乐、堆放废弃物或不被利用”，强调空间开放性和自然性。

作为城市社会—经济—自然复合生态系统的重要组成部分，城市绿色空间是中心城区及其周围区域由园林绿地、城市森林、立体空间绿化、都市农田和水域湿地等构成的绿色网络系统；我国称其为城市绿地，分公园绿地、生产绿地、防护绿地、附属绿地与其他绿地5大类，它可将城市各类生态要素有效组织，控制城市蔓延式发展；为城市生物多样性和自然保护及管理提供多方合作平台，净化空气、调节小气候、修复环境、优化空间布局并提供文化旅游憩，激活高密度城市中人与自然和谐；扮演旧城活化与老旧社区活力提升、邻里沟通与创意迸发的重要角色，是探讨城市宜居性及人地关系矛盾的空间载体，也影响城市未来空间发展与环境的藕合程度。

绿色空间的城市化步伐

URBANIZATION OF GREEN SPACE

1998年，霍华德在《明天：通往真正改革的和平之路》中提出了田园城市思想的基本框架，在现代城市发展过程中则体现为城市公园的建设和城市绿地系统的构建，以及有控制的、多样化的城市发展方式。1960年代西方发达国家爆发环境问题，掀起了环境与生态问题的研究热潮。1971年，联合国人类环境大会和“人与生物圈”计划，重视城市绿色空间，并提出“生态城市”的基本构想，强调社会与生态过程将以尽可能完善的方式得到协调。并有专家从城市规划与建设效果角度进一步强调生态城市就是“生态健康城市”，空间上紧凑有序，能源与资源利用上节约高效，便于人类活动与自然环境相协调。之后的“人与生物圈”计划都持续地强调社会、经济与环境协调统一。1990年代，钱学森先生提出“把中国的山水诗词、中国古典园林建筑和中国的山水画融合在一起，创造山水城市的概念”，吴良镛院士等学者进一步阐释：山水城市提倡人工环境与自然环境相协调发展，其最终目的在于建立“人工环境”与“自然环境”相融合的人类聚居环境。这是中国对城市绿色空间作用的重新认识，强调充分利用绿色空间来改善城市的宜居性。2003年，英国的能源白皮书《我们未来的能源——创建低碳经济》中开启了“低碳经济”概念的讨论，低碳

城市概念应运而生，从缓解温室效应的角度强调以城市绿色空间为载体实施绿色交通和建筑，创新低碳技术及制度。“花园城市”、“田园城市”、“生态城市”、“山水城市”、“园林城市”及“低碳城市”等理念百余年来发展，核心都是强调优化布局绿色空间、充分利用绿色空间以及创新绿色空间的形式，追求人地关系的和谐发展。

城市是人与自然和谐共存的生命有机体，环境的营造和改善都需要从人的需求和能动性出发，动态地协调各子系统协同发挥作用。单方面的强调绿色、低碳或者生态指标，都将不可持续。中国的自然条件与经济社会条件存在巨大的地域差异，各地的城市绿色空间优化布局与创新必须要考虑具体的因素，基于新型城镇化、主体功能区划等概念和背景探讨各区域类型与经济类型山水城共融的城市建设规律，充分发挥其生态价值在生态文明建设中的引领与支撑作用。

绿色基础设施网络整合城市更新

GREEN INFRASTRUCTURE NETWORK INTEGRATING URBAN RENEWAL

随着中国经济进入新常态，城市发展以存量更新为主，为改善城市绿色空间网络、提高城市宜居性提供了机遇。1974年的《费城绿色计划》提出绿色更新的概念，将城市中的闲置用地改造为开放空间和

绿地，以及改善社区的物质和社会环境。1990年代末，绿色基础设施开始盛行，侧重于在传统生态保护的基础上最大限度地进行隐形资源的开发利用，发掘特定空间下绿色资源的经济和社会功能，创造更加高效合理及可持续的土地利用和开发模式。从最初由网络中心和连接廊道组成的自然人工绿色空间构成，发展为更加综合的多重结构，如包含开放空间、低影响交通、水、生物栖息地、新陈代谢等多重系统的复合网络，与居民、社会组织、绿色活动和实践项目组成社会网络。

基于绿色基础设施综合网络的规划能将整座城市视为有机整体，综合考虑城市的闲置或废弃资产、现有居民或失业人员、城市生态环境和景观、商业投资和资产价值等多方因素以及这些因素间的相互关系，从而实现全面更新和可持续发展。绿色基础设施网络的综合效益具有很强的外部性，其利益相关者多涉及居民、社会组织、开发商和政府等，在规划实施过程中非常重视其功能和效益所依托的公众支持和社会资本，并将协调各方利益作为其重要的规划目标和依据。

尽管闲置用地能为绿色基础设施的建设提供机遇，但城市更新并不必然导致绿地增多。密集的市中心往往拥有大量的历史建筑或街区，缺乏绿地，重点在于通过城市设计创新建构绿色空间网络，保护城市外围的自然开放空间。对于城市凝聚力已经缺失的分裂型城市，绿色开放空间作为孤立的建成环境的背景，在城市结构中起着关键性的作用，可以通过再利用闲置的绿色基础设施，整合城市用地、控制城市扩张、提升城市生态环境和激活市场经济。

公园城市设计的天府新区范本

TIANFU NEW DISTRICT, A MODEL FOR PARK CITY DESIGN

“公园城市”是习总书记对成都及天府新区未来发展提出的更新、更高的要求。某种程度上，“公园城市”是田园城市、花园城市、园林城市的“升级版”——“城市在公园中，公园在城市里”，是一种通过绿色空间的功能发挥来缓解城市中的人地矛盾的可持续发展模式。其内涵包括：一是“园”，即建设“公园中的城市”，提升全域生态价值；二是“公”，即践行以人民为中心的发展理念；三是“智”，即人工智能融于城市智慧建设；四是“文”，即发掘文化资源提升城市品质；五是“合”，即公园与城市的有机融合。

2003年成都市率先以解决“三农”问题为突破口探索了对城乡经济、社会、生态的一体化发展模式。2007年，成都被确定为全国统筹城乡综合配套改革试验区，2009年底，成都市明确建设人与自然和谐相融、城乡一体的“世界现代田园城市”定位。一直以来强调人与自然和谐的发展路径为公园城市的建设奠定了基础。

按照习近平总书记视察天府新区时对新“总规”提出的“要突出公园城市特点，把生态价值考虑进去”的重要指示，天府新区的“公园城市”构建了以全域泛公园蓝绿基底、人本共享化功能体系、网络群组式空间格局、地域人文魅力风貌及开放创新型智慧网络五大特征为公园城市的空间体系。

从山水田林湖生态基底的保护出发，构建全域化的泛公园绿色空间体系。规划上坚持“以底定城、以水定人”，划定城镇开发边界、合理确定天府新区的城市建设规模。规划城镇建设用地168.5平方公里，生态用地占总面积的70%，新区的发展融于优良的“公园”式生

态环境之中，形成“一山、两楔、三廊、五河、六湖、多渠”生态景观格局，将传统的点状公园系统与和自然山水、生态田园相互连接，形成网络化、一体化的回归自然的生态空间。“把好山好水好风光融入城市”，把城市建在公园里，把组团嵌在绿地中，达到城绿相融的空间格局形态，使公园成为城市连绵不断的绿色基质，切实提升生态空间的生态价值。

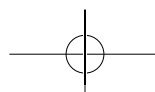
产城融合，建立区域组团功能体系；人性为本，构筑复合活力创新单元；全域统筹，构建全域公共服务体系；均衡布局，共享区域公共服务设施；划分人民家园空间一体，打造15分钟生活圈。构建大中小层次合理、各组团间均衡覆盖，兼顾群体和个体、年长和年幼不同层次群众的需求的城市公园和公共开放空间体系，切实提高城市公园的开放性、公共性、可达性、共享性和公平性，实现城市中处处有公园，公园中处处是生活。

在空间组织和结构布局上，追求公园与城市有机融合，职住平衡的产城组团以及小街区、密路网、窄马路的人性尺度；绿色低碳的建筑建造方式、共享低碳的交通出行方式、清洁低碳的能源使用方式；城乡公共服务均等化、城乡空间融合、城乡产业融合。规划天府新城、成都科学城、旅游文创功能三大组团。城市组团内划分为35个功能复合、职住平衡、绿色交通、配套完善、布局融合中小产城单元。构建低碳融合、绿色开放的综合交通体系。规划轨道线路14条、布局“快—干—支—社区”四级公交体系，依托城市道路、河滨、溪谷、公园等规划总里程1200公里的三级绿道体系，通过“三网融合”构建绿色低碳的出行方式，形成“一谷双脊三廊四河”的绿道结构，打造“公园城市”绿脉。

创新驱动、科技领创、智慧管理。如公共空间和消费场所提供免费无线网络，并在生态廊道植入智能设施，包括智能基础设施、智能健身设施、智能娱乐设施等；构筑创新企业空间培育独角兽经济，智慧化民生服务。

以文兴绿进行文化植入，围绕成都的文化特色，注重园林景观与历史文物保护和利用的有机融合，以植物、雕塑、景墙、小品等形式，叙说历史，启迪后人，增加城市文化内涵。结合规划城镇村三级风貌体系、重点风貌示范片区，把发展理念、文化底蕴和个性特征充分体现现在城市形态、街区形态、建筑形态上，融合国际化和“新中式”，打造国际化现代化标志性建筑和文商旅融合街区、特色小镇，塑造优美天际线，加强城市色彩设计，加快推进景观农业发展、川西林盘保护和复建，开展“大地景观再造工程”，真正实现“推窗见田、开门见绿”，再现“窗含西岭千秋雪”的旷世盛景。同时，构建“三元创新主体+四大支撑功能”的创新体系，注重培育创新产业集群，完善创新支撑体系，提升企业价值链和智慧的城市运营。

以绿色空间激发城市活力，实现“人”、“业”、“境”、“城”的和谐统一，是城市进入生态文明时期，存量更新与新阶段新城建设发展的出发点和落脚点。注重绿色惠民、以人为本、公平共享，将生产、生活、生态有机融合，以人民为中心，提供均衡包容共享的公共产品，这是一种汲取全球发展智慧所提出的人与自然生命共同体的空间落实和范式创新。●





- 4 刊首语 Editorial
城市绿色空间激活人与自然生命共同体
THE GREEN SPACE OF CITIES ACTIVATES THE LIFE COMMUNITY OF HUMAN AND ENVIRONMENT
匡晓明[城市中国总编]
KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China]
- 8 城市热点 City Hotspots
- 38 城市开发 Urban Development
教育营地, 舶来教育品的产业新浪潮
TEENAGERS CAMPGROUND, COMMERCIALIZATION NEW WAVE OF AN EDUCATIONAL IMPORT
王馨[城道顾问]+崔国[城市中国研究中心]
WANG Xin[Chengdao Properties Consultancy]+Gehry TSUI[UCRC]
- 42 编按 Prologue
高密度城市中的微绿空间转型
THE TRANSITION OF URBAN GREEN SPACES
匡晓明[城市中国总编]+崔国[城市中国研究中心]
KUANG Xiaoming[Chief Editor of Urban China]+Gehry TSUI[UCRC]
- 44 高密度城市绿色空间的社会互动属性
GREEN OPEN SPACE IN COMPACT CITIES: FOR SOCIAL INTERACTION
曹琳+姜鹏(北京)
CAO Lin +JIANG Peng (Beijing)
- 50 城市绿色空间体系的中外分异与趋势
DEVELOPMENTAL PATTERN OF THE URBAN GREEN:
A COMPARISON BETWEEN CHINA AND THE WEST
宋雅婷[城市中国研究中心]+崔国[城市中国研究中心]
SONG Yating[UCRC]+Gehry TSUI[UCRC]
- 60 城市景观基础设施策略性绿色空间规划
URBAN LANDSCAPE INFRASTRUCTURE-STRATEGIZING GREEN SPACE FOR URBAN DEVELOPMENT
Steffen Nijhuis (代尔夫特)
Steffen Nijhuis (Delft)
- 68 图片故事 Photo
Doonam Lee (首尔)
Doonam Lee (Seoul)
- 72 从灰色地带到绿色空间: 屋顶上的异托邦
FROM GREY TO GREEN: HETEROPTOPIA ON THE URBAN ROOFTOPS
曾不睿(北京)+刘杰尘(伦敦)
ZENG Burong(Beijing)+LIU Jiechen(London)
- 78 夹缝中的社区菜地: 困境及出路
COMMUNITY GAEDENS IN DILEMMA
潘嘉虹(上海)
PAN Jiahong(Shanghai)

- 84 被忽视的街道微型绿地空间: 休眠还是激活
NEGLECTED SMALL GREEN SPACE IN STREET: DORMANT OR ACTIVE
奚婷霞(上海)
XI Tingxia(Shanghai)
- 91 图解 Infographic
设计师眼中的都市绿色空间导入
王卉[城市中国研究中心]
WANG Hui [UCRC]
- 98 图片故事 Photo
Karen Knorr (伦敦)
Karen Knorr (London)
- 102 南岸都市森林: 多形态街道的绿色角色融入
URBAN FOREST IN LONDON SOUTHBANK:
THE ROLE OF GREEN IN MUTLIFORM STREETS
刘杰尘(伦敦)+Valerie Beirne(伦敦)
LIU Jiechen(London)+Valerie Beirne (London)
- 110 自由参与 市民共创—基于东京与首尔的经验
PROVIDING FREEDOM AND PARTICIPATION, GROWING WITH CITIZEN GROUP
BASED ON THE EXPERIENCE OF TOKYO AND SEOUL
冯婧(上海)
FENG Jing (Shanghai)
- 116 在多元协作, 传统城市公园的治理药方
访武汉市园林和林业局唐闻
MULTI-CORPORATION, SOLUTIONS TO MANAGING THE PUBLIC PARK
INTERVIEW WITH TANG WEN, WUHAN MUNICIPAL GARDEN AND FORESTRY BUREAU
陈晨(城市中国)
CHEN Chen (Urban China)
- 120 徐汇中城绿谷: 企业运营公园的日常打开方式
GREEN MID-TOWN IN XUHUI DISTRICT:
PREDICAMENT OF A PRIVATE-RUN PARK
王卉[城市中国研究中心]+崔国[城市中国研究中心]
WANG Hui[UCRC]+Gehry TSUI[UCRC]
- 126 图片故事 Photo
Aki Lumi (巴黎)
Aki Lumi (Paris)
- 130 逛街学 Street Roaming
误拆106年文物壁炉之后
THE AFTER STORY OF A 106 YEAR OLD FIREPLACE BEING DEMOLISHED
袁菁(城市中国)
YUAN Jin (Urban China)
- 140 海外观察 Workshop
- 146 黄页 Yellow Page

A PUBLIC SPACE ANGLE ON SMALL GREEN SPACES

Text / XI Tingxia Edit / WANG Hui [UCRC]

According to the type of urban green space and its coverage area, green spaces such as street green spaces and sporadic green spaces, which cover within a 100-meter to 300-meter radius of residential areas, can be called small green spaces. Instead of public open spaces such as urban parks, small green spaces are scattered among streets, communities and buildings, which are closer to people's daily life. Furthermore, such small green spaces are essential for the greening of a high-density city, and also act as the base for the formation of urban public space system.

Small green spaces are based on the street public area, which includes median strips, the green area in front of buildings, the grey area of the road junction, the green belt under the elevated road, the space between residential areas or buildings. This kind of small green space is distributed along the road. The denser of the road network, the stronger demand for public activities, and the easier it is for the creation of small open spaces. Moreover, with its traffic function, it is easy for such green space to exist as a street node, which is accessible to the public. The effective use of these small green spaces probably helps to blur the boundaries of streets and revive urban public life.

Under the existing urban environment, small green spaces share the following conditions: most of them are covered by simple natural greening, which are not fully identified and utilized; a few

are actively transformed into street squares or pocket parks with high green coverage or passing areas; very few have been abandoned due to location or ownership, leading to a barbaric growth of plants, which unfortunately become unseen corners and even breed wrongdoing.

UNDERSTANDING THE WAYS OF HOW TO ACTIVATE STRATEGIES FROM DESIGN GUIDELINES

In August 2016, Shanghai Planning Guidance of 15-Minute Community-Life Circle was released. It suggested that the public open space for leisure plans to be renovated from large to small in scales. That is, improving the service of small squares and small green spaces within the scope of communities and expanding the coverage of small spaces in terms of accessibility. Also, the public space is expected to develop potential open spaces and transforming existing unused areas. In October of the same year, Shanghai Street Design Guidelines was released, which implied that, including commercial streets, streets that provide living services should improve the impervious land in the green area and coordinate with landscape and activity needs. Thus, by replacing open green spaces to closed and decorative green spaces, the street life is likely to be active.

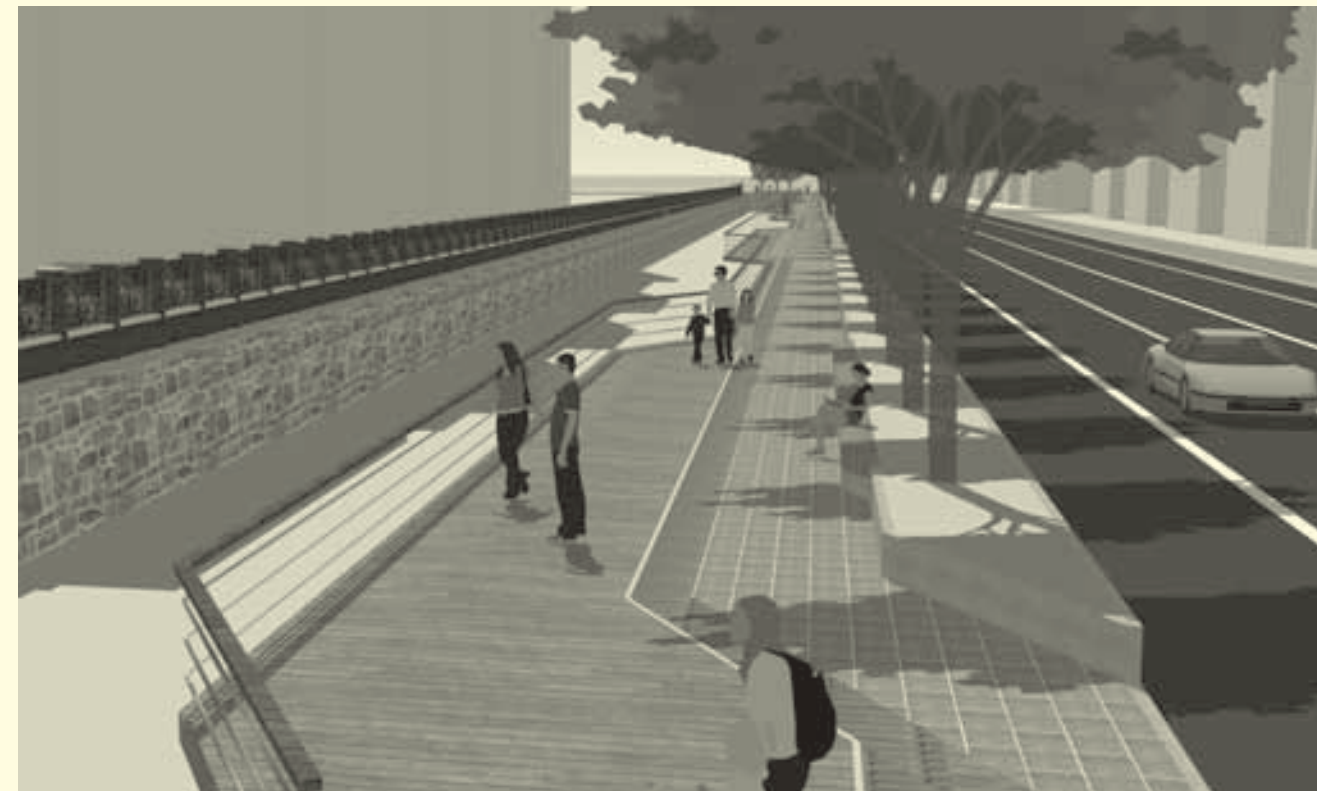
'Developing the potential', 'Removing decoration' and 'Opening border' provide an idea of both

finding and developing open spaces, which is also one of the main schemes for the transformation of small green spaces. 'Develop the potential' can be understood as the need to explore the various possibilities of the transformation by using current resources. It encourages to opening and discovering the availability of existing public space with different tenures. Otherwise, 'remove decoration' and 'open border', to some extent, are supplementary explanations on how to 'develop the potential'. 'Remove decoration' refers to the diverse functions of median strips. Making changes to the space needs fully consideration on the residents a in the neighborhood. 'Open border' indicates that, for transformation and activation, it is important not only to the enclosure space attached to the unit, but also to the front areas of buildings and grey spaces without walls in the street.

EXPLORATION AND PRACTICE: HOW TO ACTIVE SMALL GREEN SPACES

In a high-density city, the transformation of small green space in the street is full of potential. For a community, the small green space will help to enhance the community landscape. For an urban street, it can noticeably improve the street landscape and enrich the street life. For a business and commercial area, the small green space will play an important role in the public leisure scene. To achieve the above goals, designers are expected to identify the small green space before planning and are able to interpret the potential needs of people. Such assessment, on the other hand, is the key of whether or not the transformation is needed. On the basis of this, the particular purpose, with future strategies to implement, could be finally clarified. The transformation plan follows four principles:

Anti-Negative Space: 'negative space' is coined by Japanese contemporary architect Yoshinobu Ashihara. In his book *Exterior Design in Architecture*, it refers to those spaces that occur naturally and lack of orders. Also called 'lost spaces', while they have no fixed boundaries and do not connect the landscape elements in a coherent way, they need to be redesigned according to the current environment and users. The anti negative space strategy, as a minimally invasive, proposes to awake the small



green space that is losing its appeal and causing displeasure. It encourages designers to discover the details that are desirable for a city or a community as a citizen, and to identify and address problems that are difficult to be solved from a general and broad perspective. For example, by collecting the public's ideas about how to transform a 'negative space' via WeChat online platform, it seems more efficiently and accurately to identify the targeted area.

Compounding Function: Different from the multifunction of a comprehensive park and the single separate function of the median strips. The small green space intends to satisfy different users in a limited space. It desires a complex design to integrate varied activities or devising a time planning of space usage for different activities.

User-friendly: The small green space serves high-frequency daily activities, which requires the space to provide facilities that meet the specific needs and preferences of people of all ages.

Socialization Needs: The transformation of small green spaces is based on the high-intensity communication and social needs of the neighbourhood. It requires designers to deeply understand users' expectation and ways of life through observation and investigation before planning.

COLLABORATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT, COMMUNITY AND MARKET

The transformation of small green space in the

street is characterized by the small scale, the short progress and complex land tenures. In addition to relying on government, such as the project 'beautiful city', it is also possible to individually launch project. There are three suggested models: First, the government-led type, whose economic cost is greater than the economic benefit. Second, the residents-oriented type, whose economic cost is basically equal to the economic benefit. The last one is the market-oriented type, whose economic cost is less than or slightly equal to the economic benefit. The purposes and effects of three models are different. For the government-led or residents-oriented type project, their objective is to complete project economically and practically, with less maintenance. Otherwise, the market-oriented transformation tends to be thematic. In order to attract people and ultimately obtain considerable economic benefits, it normally associated with new real estate projects.

Although the transformation of the small green space in 'Beautiful City' or 'Beautiful Home' is led by the government, in practice, because the rights of land use covers multiple individuals or units, the procedures from planning to implementation are more complicated. For instance, the renovation of street flowerbeds needs to be permitted by the municipal greening administration. There has been a case where the green area is reduced due to the shape change of green land, and the design is requested to adjust. Likewise, the transformation of

the complex entrance needs to negotiate with the community, and since the needs vary greatly from resident to resident, such plan is difficult to carry out and evaluation vary either. For those cases ask for 'opening border' from units, receiving supports from local residents is as significant as convincing these institutions to approve. On one hand, problems mentioned before are the result of lacking a broad consensus among government agencies, making the cooperation hard to reach accordingly. On the other hand, owing to wide-range public interests, once the government-led transformation has not conducted a properly comprehensive negotiation with local communities and units for the future maintenance and management, the latter may be inactive to avoid unnecessary troubles. There are full of variations during the transformation of small green spaces, from the dormant to the activation, it needs efforts in many aspects. As a project intending to benefit the public, to create an open and positive urban environment and to enrich the daily life of citizens, the transformation of the small green space needs to be supported by a long-term mechanism, particularly a consensus of opinion and the collaboration between varied government agencies. It is expected, with the aid of user-friendly design technology, problems could be remedied with an exclusively targeted design, and eventually the vitality of city could be inspired.





COMMUNITY GARDENS IN DILEMMA

Text / PAN Jiahong Edit / LIU Yani [UCRC]

Since the renewal of common green space among communities, those areas have been used by local residents for growing vegetables, fruits and flowers in small scales. For years, due to the unclear relationship between authority and responsibility, and negative impact on environmental sanitation, vegetable fields have existed in many communities without leaving a trace. The theme of this article and interviews are mostly derived from the investigation of the phenomenon of community vegetable plots in the suburban neighborhoods and the established urban areas seven years ago when the author was a student. Earlier this year, the author revisited those communities, seeing part of the vegetable fields remained the same appearance, but the situation of planting vegetables and fruits seemed to be still in the grey area of community life. With the rise of pastoral sentiments and new farming methods, the public has gradually shown a tolerant and optimistic attitude towards the phenomenon of vegetation land in communities and is willing to make more positive attempts. In the context of the increasing importance of "community" with the process of urbanization, the localization strategy of considering community vegetable fields as a green open space deserves further discussion.

Gunan, Gudong and Gubei communities are three typical old communities under Gudang Sub-district, which are distributed between the East and West main roads – Tianmushan Road and West Wensan Road in Hangzhou. These three communities spread an area of 28.95 hectares, comprise 80 residential buildings, and were all built between the mid-1980s and the early 1990s. In 2015, the total population of these three communities was about 1,4300, and the degree of community aging was as high as 20%.

ENHANCED SOCIAL ATTRIBUTES OF THE COMMUNITY GARDENS

Growing vegetable fields has become a common sight in these three communities. Vegetable fields are mainly distributed around the houses, along the river and by the fences. Among them, space around the buildings seems to be an easy spot for those who grow vegetables in public space. Such behavior has also becomes one of the methods to transform the "negative space" of green space, which avoids the trouble of trespassing by pedestrians. By contrast, most of the vegetable fields along the river and at the foot of the fence are not easily



accessible, be in the shadow of trees, they are not easily found by pedestrians. Generally speaking, the typical distribution points of the three vegetable plots coincide with the residents' attention to the ownership and privacy of them. In addition, the community vegetable planting sites are mostly filled with small and movable plots, while strip or block vegetable plots are relatively large and rare. The former choice can meet the objective needs of the community vegetable land, such as to minimize the use of space, movability and so on. For this reason, residents show a rich imagination in the choice of containers for carrying vegetables. Apart from flowerpots, almost all containers in life can be used, such as washbasins, cement basins, foam boxes, plastic barrels, and glass boxes and so on.

Through interviews with 38 vegetable growers, we found that nearly 60% of the respondents have been growing vegetables in the community for more than a year. Among all the interviewees, the proportion of the elderly (aged over 60) is more than 50%, and half of them have a monthly income less than 3000 yuan. By considering the situation

of household registration, more than half of the vegetable farmers' hukou status are rural or agricultural to non-agricultural status. More than 70% of those people have experience in farming, and some of them even have farming experience for more than five years.

Although vegetable growers all have different reasons for doing so, seek for a personal lifestyle and realistic aspirations lie at the root of the intentions. First of all, vegetable cultivation can meet the needs of vegetable growers for leisure and entertainment. Most of them have past experience in farming. As a "new citizen", growing vegetables has become an important way for them to recall their life lived in rural area and to satisfy their pastoral sentiments. Secondly, vegetable cultivation can provide food for daily life. The primary reason why some vegetable growers choose to grow vegetables in their community is to ensure food safety by controlling the use of pesticides themselves. On the other hand, some vegetable growers believe that vegetable planting can save money and relieve economic pressure, which corresponds to the condition that people mostly have relatively low

incomes shown in the previous study.

In such an aging community, growing vegetables has more social significance to some extent. For many elderly people, growing vegetables is not only a lifestyle that is close to home, appropriately intense, low-cost, but also could be regarded as a spiritual sustenance. One of the interviewees mentioned that he has spent almost all his life farming in the countryside. Now he moves into the city in order to bring up his grandson. "During the day, I can't stay idle, but there is no other way of entertainment, so I planted two pieces of vegetable plots at my door." Another individual admits that one will feel lonely when he lives alone, so he consciously plants some vegetables in the community. On the one hand he can exercise, and on the other hand it becomes an excuse for him to get out of the house. Whether it is customary or conscious as a way of exercise, growing vegetables has become an important channel for this part of the residents to find a sense of living and participation in social life. Especially in the age of internet, it is difficult for the elderly to get used to the social media, although the physical space sometimes cannot meet all their demands, growing vegetables therefore is the best option they would seek for.

COMMUNITY GARDENS IN THE GREY ZONE

The vegetable growers are still minority, considering the interviews with 262 residents who do not grow vegetables in communities, 38.2% of them opposed these community gardens. They said that vegetable farmers occupied public green spaces. To them, setting up barriers and fences around planting areas occupied the public resources of other residents, and caused mosquitoes to breed in summer. For those who are not involved in community vegetable activities, they are affected by a series of problems brought by the vegetable garden without obvious benefits. Conflicts occur not only between vegetable growers and non-vegetable growers, but also amongst groups of vegetable growers. Vegetable farmers prefer sunny and concealed corners, which represent scarce and precious resources in the community. They cannot coordinate the allocation of these "shared" resources, and resource competition has become a fuse of contradiction among them.

The emergence of various conflicts relating to community vegetable fields is also directly related to the absence of direct management of vegetable gardens and the lack of relevant laws and regula-

tions. In Gudang community, the street greening working team is responsible for the daily maintenance and management of green space. In order to avoid disputes and ensure a clean community environment to achieve the development goals of "civilized community", they will carry out irregular renovation of vegetable fields. However, due to the lack of effective supervision system for common property rights such as public green space, vegetable plots will disappear for a while during the renovation, and then they will reappear and emerge quietly afterwards. In this regard, most community managers have to turn a blind eye to the community gardens as long as nobody reports. At the same time, in the face of the possibility that vegetable plots will be eradicated by the community managers, the vegetable growers will choose more concealed sites, such as putting vegetables into movable foam boxes or using deserted corners. In the absence of recognition and institutional guarantee, community vegetable plots exist in obscurity without too much attention and affection. It has been seven years since the first time I did research in Gudang communities, however, vegetable plots still a topic in the shadow and informal space in the community. Considering such repeated behaviors that are difficult to prohibit and control, it seems too hasty if using Property Law to explain the illegality of vegetable planting behavior, praises the germination of residents' autonomy value, and exaggerate the value of rural life. Rational and in-depth analysis seems to be more important. Does the existence of community vegetable land have its unique value, and where is their way out?

VEGETABLE FIELDS BECOMING PUBLIC SPACE

In fact, not only the Gudang community involved in this interview, but also some resettlement communities and established communities can find the phenomenon of private vegetable cultivation. The popularization of community vegetable garden shows that the public resources provided by the community cannot meet and adapt to the living needs of some residents. The resettlement community is usually located in a relatively remote location, and the surrounding area lacks the corresponding infrastructure and public space; while the established urban community is at the opposite extreme, due to its good geographic location, large scale commercial development has swallowed up some of the recreational spaces of the community.

Both two types of communities are facing the shortage of public space for recreational use. As a result, the emergence of the vegetable gardens played the role of informal communication space during the urban development process and satisfied the daily needs of residents' leisure and socialization.

Through surveying domestic media reports on community vegetable gardens from 2009 to the present, we can roughly understand the current situation of community vegetable gardens in China and what kind of attitude the public holds towards this issue. From the perspective of social equity, some reports suggest that community gardens should be resisted and eradicate because they are "encroaching on public interests and destroy the community environment". However, some other articles believe that vegetable plots have a positive role in enriching community landscape and promoting residents' intercourse from the perspective of community communication and vitality.

Transforming the inefficient green space and open space into vegetable plots, using design methods to enhance the ornamental of the vegetable garden and form an "edible landscape" is becoming a green trend in dealing with community public space. Transforming the community public space into vegetable plots, on one hand, enriches the landscape environment of the community. On the other hand, education on nature can be promoted through the practice of urban farming. More urban residents involved in this activity could also promote the integration and information exchange of neighborhood communities. At present, a number of living examples show the potential of community vegetable land to become new green carriers for community construction under a reasonable supervisory system. For instance, Shanghai Yangpu Chuangzhi Farm, Yangpu Anshan Sicun Community "Baicao Garden" and Hangzhou Jiubao Bolin Community Garden. These practices attempt to break the barriers of community green space and pay more attention to reutilization and redevelopment of inefficient green space. In order to improve the landscape quality of vegetable land in spatial form, controlling vegetable species and clearing planting details seem to be the appropriate method. Meanwhile, the whole process from the planning and designing to construction and operation, all of them are carried out under the supervision and support of the government meanwhile agreed by the owners' committee.



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SMALL GREEN SPACES
THE TRANSITION OF URBAN
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同大多数中等规模城市一样,温州面临去库存、去产能等城市发展的种种问题。

而与其他城市不同的地方在于,上一轮城市发展依仗近乎极端化驱动力的温州,

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