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URBAN RENEWAL IN EUROPE: A SHORT HISTORY
欧洲城市更新——简短的历史

撰文 Jürgen Rosemann 新加坡国立大学设计与环境学院

欧洲是一片由许许多多城市组成的大陆，大约有75%的欧洲人居住在城市中。据2013年的统计显示，欧盟成员国中有455座城市拥有超过10万的城市居民。[1]然而，相较于中国新兴的人口超密型城市，即使是欧洲最大的那些城市人口密度也显得比较低：欧盟第一大城市伦敦以810万人口独占鳌头，排在第二的柏林城市人口为350万，马德里则以320万人口位列第三。欧洲人口规模最大的城市并不属于欧盟成员国，俄罗斯的莫斯科近年来人口达到了1 200万，土耳其的伊斯坦布尔拥有890万居民。欧洲大部分城市人口都居住在规模中等或者更小的城市里。

欧洲的城市化进程主要发生在19世纪和20世纪初的工业革命时期。1801年，仅有17%的欧洲人住在城市里，到1851年时这一百分比已经增长到了35%，之后到1891年，城市人口达到了54%。换言之，欧洲当时经历的城市人口激长也正是当下中国城市所经历的，即历史进程中必经的城市人口快速增长期。

资本主义环境下的城市人口快速增长导致了一系列社会问题的集中迸发。19世纪末，许多欧洲城市都苦于治理拥挤破旧的贫民区，贫民区中存在着环境污染问题、污水排放问题以及由于恶劣的居住环境所导致的居高不下的疾病与传染病发病率。

Europe is a continent of cities. About 75% of the European population is living in cities. The European Union (EU) in 2013 counts 455 cities with more than 100,000 inhabitants.[1] However, compared with the new super-agglomerations in China even the biggest European cities still are relative small: Within the European Union London takes the lead with recently 8.1 million inhabitants, followed by Berlin with 3.5 million and Madrid with 3.2 million. The biggest European cities even do not belong to the EU: Moscow (Russia) recently has 12 million inhabitants and Istanbul (Turkey) has 8.9 million. The majority of the urban population in Europe is living in small and mid-sized cities.

The urbanization in Europe mainly took place during the industrial revolution in the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th century. In 1801 only 17% of the European population lived in cities. By 1851 the percentage increased to 35%, and by 1891, it was 54%. With other words: The European cities experienced in this period, what Chinese cities recently are experiencing: the fastest growth in history.

The fast growth under capitalistic conditions resulted in a concentration of urban problems in the new developed cities. At the end of the 19th century many European cities were struggling with a concentration of poverty in bad and overcrowded housing areas, with environmental pollution, lack of sanitation, accumulation of sewage, and last, but not least with high rates of disease and epidemics due to the unhealthy living conditions.
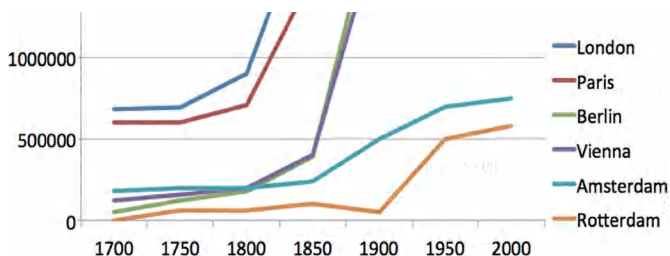

图1

图2

图3

图4

图1 从欧洲城市的城市人口增长幅度变化图（1700~2000年）中我们显然可以识别出不同时期不同国家的工业化程度
图2 阿姆斯特丹的贫民窟，1900
图3 社会公共住房：The Western Garden Cities，阿姆斯特丹
图4 社会公共住房：建于19世纪20年代的"Betondorp"社区，阿姆斯特丹

欧洲城市规划与公共住房的发展

居住环境恶劣的贫民区逐渐成为整座城市的毒瘤，在这种形势下，全欧洲掀起了一股城市改革运动的风潮，人们渴望获得更好的居住环境以及更好的城市基础设施，这就需要相应的法律体系来引导及管控，从而做出合理的城市规划。20世纪初，不少欧洲城市开始制定特殊的法律，用以规范住房与城市规划，并改善了城市下水道排污设施，建立了城市公共交通系统，还扩大了城市绿化面积。

荷兰是欧洲第一个建立社会公共住房体系的国家。早在1901年，荷兰议会就通过了《住房法》（Housing Act），规定每一位公民都拥有获得住房的权利，且社会有责任满足人们这一权利。《住房法》（Housing Act）不仅建立了国家层面关于公有出租的社会住宅的法律框架，同时还为现代城市规划奠定了基石。[1]从那个时期开始，超过一万人口的城市在做出任何扩建时都必须起草"扩展规划（Expansion Plans）"，以保证所有的施工许可都是基于"扩展规划"而授予的。这项扩展规划的具体实施获得了土地法和建筑规范的支持。

鉴于急待解决的住房问题，特别是第一次世界大战之后，公有的社会住宅体系成为了一项重要的城市治理手段，以提高城市居住环境，并为工人阶级提供了良好且价格实惠的住宅。基于荷兰在这方面的成功举措，欧洲其他许多国家也建立了相应的公有社会住宅体系，很快在欧洲各个国家，公共住房成为了城市发展的最大驱动力，其结果就是越来越多设计精良的住宅区被开发，更多现代的公共设施被建立，19世纪脏乱拥挤的城市面貌因此焕然一新。现代建筑运动的领军人物如Bruno Taut，Adolf Loos，Hans Scharoun，Mart Stam和J.J.P.Oud得以一展鸿图，实现他们为工人阶层设计的住房理念。

当各国都在实施公共住房新政时，城市扩建也在如火如荼地进行，其中特别是德国、荷兰、奥地利和法国成为了城市扩建最快的几个国家，19世纪以来建立的旧城中心和旧城住房并没有获得改建，只有第二次世界大战期间遭到损毁的区域在战后得以重建，但由于当时资金匮乏，重建的范围和数量非常有限。19世纪末到20世纪初建造的这些旧房愈发残破不堪，继而进一步恶化为城市贫民窟。

The Development of Urban Planning and Public Housing in Europe

The bad living conditions in the deteriorated areas of the cities more and more became a threat for the urban society at all. In this situation all over Europe an urban reform movement came into being, demanding better housing conditions in the cities, better infrastructure and a legal framework to guide and control urban development by public planning. In the beginning of the 20th century many European countries developed special laws for housing and urban planning, cities improved their infrastructure for sanitation and sewage, developed public transport systems and improved the urban greenery.

The Netherlands has been the first country in Europe establishing a system of public social housing on national level. As early as 1901, a Housing Act (woningwet) was passed by the Dutch parliament that defined housing as a right for everybody and its provision as a duty of the society. The Housing Act not only formed the legal framework for Social Housing on national level but also at the same time laid the foundations for modern urban planning.[1] From that time on, municipalities with more than10,000 inhabitants have been obliged to draw up 'expansion plans' (uitbreidingsplannen) for any urban expansions and to ensure that any building permits are granted on the basis of these plans. In the case of local development plans, this obligation was supplemented by the provision of various means of intervention through land law and building policies.

In view of the urgent housing problems in particular after World War I the public social housing system became an important instrument to improve the living conditions in the cities and to provide in particular the working class with good and affordable houses. In succession of the Netherlands many other European countries also established comparable systems of public social housing. Very soon in different European countries public housing became the most important engine for urban development, resulting in large extension areas with well-designed housing complexes, modern infrastructure, and good facilities, to compensate the restrictions of the city of the 19th century with its accumulation of dirt and grime. Leading architects of the modern movement like Bruno Taut, Adolf Loos, Hans Scharoun, Mart Stam and J.J.P. Oud were able to realize their ideas about social housing for the working class.

While the new public housing programs in particular in countries like Germany, The Netherlands, Austria and France became dominant in the expansion areas of the cities, the old city centres and the housing stock from the 19th century remained largely untouched. Only the destructions during World War II and the reconstruction after the war produced (sometimes big) destructions, but in most cases the reconstruction after the war was rather limited due to the scarcity of public and private funding in that period. The old housing stock from the 19th and beginning of the 20th century in many cases deteriorated, becoming more and more the living place of the urban poor.

图5 柏林旧城区居民对拆迁的抗议
图6 柏林Charlottenburg的当地居民组织张贴海报，要求修缮房屋的费用必须在他们的承受范围之内
图7 柏林Block 118的模型

从重建到复兴——西柏林案例

到20世纪60年代，旧城住宅区的遗留问题越来越糟，城市改建刻不容缓。西柏林当时是联邦德国（西德）的政治飞地，又被民主德国（东德）环绕，成为了整个欧洲大陆城市更新的先驱者。基于当时特殊的政治环境，西柏林无法像其他城市那样向四周扩建，所以对旧城区住宅的再开发或者再建是当时唯一行之有效的提升城市居住环境的办法。早在1963年西柏林就开始了其雄心勃勃的城市更新工程，将旧城住宅区域划分出来，作为城市重建区域。[2]

改建项目的基本思路是将19世纪建的破旧住宅拆除，换之以现代的、价格实惠的公共住房。基于这样的改建计划，政府从私人地主手中取得大量旧房屋进行拆除，并且开始再开发/重建这些旧城区域。项目实施中当然也包括旧城区域居民的动迁工作，即将旧城区的居民迁移至已经改建好的区域。然而很快政府主导的这一系列行动便遭到了越来越多旧区居民的反对，他们不愿意旧房被拆或者搬迁到其他居住地，这会导致他们失去原有的邻里朋友，并使上班路途变得遥远。此外，人们还抱怨新建城区生活成本更高，新建的房屋没有灵魂。

在进行拆除工程的旧城区中，居民们希望老房子能够得到修缮，这样他们就能留在原来居住的地方。到了1973年，来自旧城居民的压力越发强大，西柏林的当局政府被迫同意一项试点工程，该工程旨在测试修葺原有旧房的可行性。位于西柏林Charlottenburg区的试点工程被命名为"Block 118"，通过该项目要回答以下两个问题：（1）是否可能在控制成本的前提下将老旧住宅改造，使之达到现代住宅的标准，即：改建旧房的费用是否能够低于拆除加新建房屋的费用？（2）改造工程是否可以使得现居住户无需搬迁？[3]

这个试点项目结束后接受了评估，得到两个问题的答案都是肯定的。试点工程的费用显著低于重建费用。即使改建后的旧房使用寿命会短于新建房屋，但是改建工程的费用仅为拆除和新建住宅费用之和的64%，颇具竞争力。此外，试点项目也实现了无需居民搬迁的目的，即使有搬迁也保证在同一个街区。为了使得改建旧房变得可行，一部分居民不得不在建筑改造期间搬到同一街区已经完成改建的住所

From Reconstruction to Rehabilitation - the case of West-Berlin

However, the problems in the old housing areas eroded in the 1960's, urban renewal became more and more urgent. West-Berlin, in that period a kind of political enclave of West-Germany, surrounded by East-Germany, became a forerunner for urban renewal all over Europe. Due to its position as political and administrative island West-Berlin did not have the opportunity to expand like other cities. Thus the redevelopment or reconstruction of the old housing stock was the only possibility to improve the housing and living conditions in the city. Already in 1963 West-Berlin started an ambitious urban renewal program, defining large parts of the old housing areas as so-called 'Sanierungsgebiete' (urban renewal areas) for special public interventions.[2] Basic idea of this program was to replace the old, unhealthy and deteriorated housing stock from the 19th century by modern and affordable public housing. For that reason the government acquired large parts of the housing stock from private landlords and started to demolish the buildings and to redevelop/reconstruct the areas. This included of course the replacement of the people living in the area, to other, already reconstructed areas. However, very soon the initiative of the government evoked an increasing resistance of the residents against destruction of and replacement from the old areas. The people did not want to move to areas far from home, resulting in the loss of social contacts in the surroundings and sometimes in long ways to their working place. Besides, the people complained about the increasing living costs and about the soulless architecture in the new housing areas.

In place of demolishing, the residents of the old areas demanded the renovation and improvement of the old housing stock with the ability to stay in the old houses. In 1973 the political pressure of the residents became so strong, that the government of West-Berlin was forced to accept a pilot project with the aim to test the possibilities of housing improvement in urban renewal areas. A pilot project called 'Block 118' in the West-Berlin district Charlottenburg had to give an answer on two questions:

1. Is it possible to renovate the old housing stock and to improve it to modern standards under affordable conditions, means: for lower costs than the costs of demolishment and new building construction?
2. Is it possible to realise these interventions without replacement of the residents?[3]

When the results of the pilot project became evaluated, the answer on both questions was 'yes'. The costs of the pilot project have been profoundly lower than the costs of reconstruction. With 64% of the costs of demolishment and new building construction the project was competitive even under the condition that the remaining period of use would be shorter than the lifespan of new building construction. Besides, the project has been realised with the majority of the residents staying in their houses or at least staying in the same block. To make more heavy interventions within the dwellings possible, part of the

中，另一部分居民则需要临时居住到附近的旅馆酒店，直到改建措施全部实现。当然，施工过程本身必须与上述条件相配合，特别是在核心的几个星期内。[4]

　　"Block 118"试点项目在国际上获得了巨大的关注，并荣获了来自国家甚至世界级别的各种奖项。德国其他城市甚至欧洲许多城市都仔细研究并评估了该项目的可行性。该项目使得整个欧洲的城市更新思路发生了转变，从整体拆除重建转变成以改造为主的旧城复兴，这些转变发生在20世纪70年代至80年代初期。最后，这个试点项目成功改变了西柏林的城市更新政策。

为社区建造——鹿特丹案例

　　1970年前后，城市更新问题开始成为了整个欧洲城市发展中的主要议题，许多城市不得不和日益恶化的老城区做斗争，同时还要面对日益加剧的社会矛盾和种族隔离问题。大部分欧洲城市对此的第一个回答和西柏林多年以前做的相似：拆除恶化的住宅区域然后重新建设。然而，就像在西柏林的居民一样，越来越多的人对旧城区的拆除提出抗议。欧洲各地的租户运动开始出现，他们争取旧城区的复原以及对旧城区生活条件的改善，占据空置的旧屋也成为了一种反对旧城区拆除的武器。

　　在荷兰，这种租户运动逐渐转变成了一种特殊的政治动力。考虑到全国各地反对重建政策的政治抗议活动，以及随之而来的阿姆斯特丹和鹿特丹等城市的骚乱，当时的荷兰政府在1972年被迫下台。随后分别在1972年和1973年进行了全国选举和地区选举，新政府公布了新的城市更新方法，旧城复兴成为优先选项。

residents had to move during the building process from one dwelling to another, already renovated dwelling within the same block. Another part had to be accommodated in hotels etc. in the surroundings, while the main interventions in the dwelling have been realised. Of course the construction process itself had to be adapted to these conditions, in particular concentrating the core interventions within the dwellings on a few weeks.[4]

The pilot project Block 118 gained great international attention and won different awards on national and international level. It was carefully observed and evaluated in many cities in Germany and in other countries all over Europe. In this way it contributed to the shift of the urban renewal policies in different European countries from reconstruction to rehabilitation that took place in the 1970's and the beginning of the 1980's. And finally it also changed the urban renewal policy in West-Berlin.

Building for the Neighbourhood - the case of Rotterdam

Around 1970 the issue of urban renewal became a topic for urban development all over Europe. Many cities had to struggle with the deterioration of the old housing areas, combined with increasing social contradictions and with segregation. The first answer for these problems in most European cities was comparable with the approaches that have been developed several years before in West-Berlin: to demolish the deteriorated housing blocks and to reconstruct the areas. However, like in West-Berlin the residents increasingly protested against the demolishment of the old areas. All over Europe a tenant movement came into being, fighting for the rehabilitation of the old housing areas and for the improvement of the living conditions in these areas. Squatting of empty houses became an important weapon against the destruction.

In the Netherlands this tenant movement developed a special political dynamic. In view of powerful political demonstrations all over the country against the reconstruction policy and even riots in cities like Amsterdam and Rotterdam the Dutch government in 1972 was forced to retire. New elections in 1972 on national level and in 1973 on municipality level led to new governments and to new approaches of urban renewal, in which the rehabilitation of the old housing areas in the cities got priority.
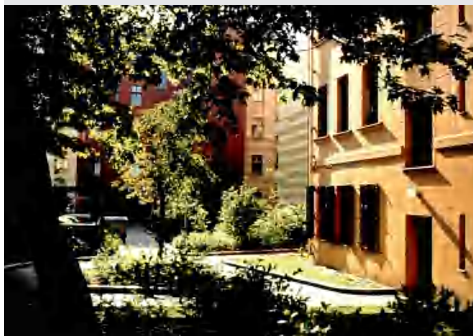

图8 改造中的Block 118：位于后方的建筑仍然昭示着战争的破坏性

图9 Block 118中的翻新建筑

图10 Block 118中改造后的庭院

图11 改造后的Block 118沿街立面，在城市更新过程中原有地块的功能转换为公共社会住房
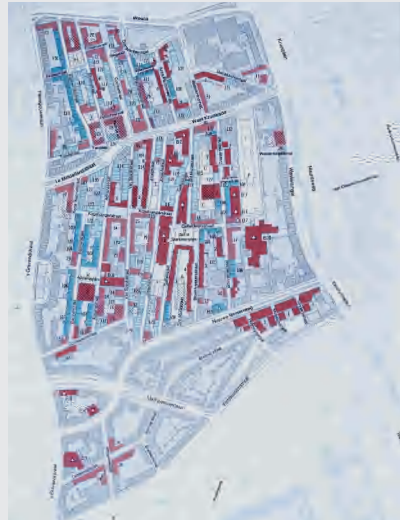
图12 为了反对拆除房屋和增加租金而进行游行的鹿特丹贫民窟居民

图13 鹿特丹市的城市更新区域

图14 "Oude Westen"地区改造前的建筑结构

图15 由当地居民和改造项目组（规划局）共同参与并实行改造计划后的鹿特丹"Oude Westen"地区城市更新风貌，充分显示出了当地居民能"比规划者们看得更远"

图16 "Oude Westen"在进行城市更新前后的公共社会住房分布对比

图17 "Oude Westen"地区改造建筑和新建建筑的对比分布图（深色为改造建筑）

图18 "Oude Westen"地区居民组织发行的报刊上刊登的讽刺漫画：狮子代表的就是居民组织本身

"为社区建造"成为了许多荷兰城市中城市更新的口号，意思是为旧城区的原住居民修缮和升级这片旧城区，这就要求干预政策必须关注这些居民的需求，那种强迫的拆迁必须被避免；建设过程必须有序组织，以保证旧城区居民的生活不受影响；城区升级必须让旧城区的居民生活负担得起，让旧城区的居民能够参与和融入到决策制定的过程中。

"为社区建造"的思路在鹿特丹得到了最大程度的实现。从1974年开始，鹿特丹的新当局政府开始了一个基于以下原则的城市改建运动：[5]

（1）基于区域的差异化方法：和西柏林一样，鹿特丹政府针对大部分老城区，也就是所谓的城市更新区域，颁布了特别干预政策。每一个城市更新区域设定的政策都包括了对房屋情况的修缮以及对居民的社会帮助。并且根据每栋建筑的技术情况制定了不同的政策，包括室内装修也和新房建设一样。

（2）公有化与社会住宅：在城市更新区域内的绝大多数旧房产权都应市政当局要求，从私人产权转变为公有的社会住宅。换句话说，在城市更新完成后，这些区域内改建或新建房屋的产权都归于（政府监管下的）住房协会名下。

'Building for the Neighbourhood' became the slogan for urban renewal in many Dutch cities. Building for the Neighbourhood means the improvement and upgrading of the old housing areas for and with the people living in these areas. It requires that the interventions have to focus on the needs and demands of the people in the area, that forced replacement has to be avoided, that the building process has to be organised in a way that people are able to stay in the area, that the upgrading has to be affordable for the people living in the area, and last but not least that the inhabitants of the old areas become involved and participate in the decision-making process.

The idea of 'Building for the Neighborhood' probably the most have been brought to practice in the city of Rotterdam. From 1974 the new municipality government of Rotterdam started up a program of urban renewal that was based on the following principles:[5]

• Area-based and differentiated approach: Like West-Berlin the government of Rotterdam appointed most of the old housing areas as so-called 'urban renewal areas' for special interventions. For each of these urban renewal areas an intervention program has been developed that included both the improvement of the housing conditions and social support for the residents. The building interventions have been differentiated according to the technical state of the buildings, comprising housing renovation as well as new building construction.

• Municipalisation and the transfer to Public Housing: Within the urban renewal areas the majority of the old housing stock has been acquired by the municipality from private landlords and transformed into public social housing. After the urban renewal interventions the renovated or new built houses have been transferred into the ownership of (publicly controlled) housing corporations.

（3）权力下放和公共参与：由于认为当地居民会有能力"比规划者们看得更远"，因此城市更新的规划行政权力被下放。在每一个城市更新区域都设立了一个市政府的规划机构，负责计划的发展和执行的监督。由政府代表和居民代表共同组成的代表团在特定会议上来做这些城市改建的决定，同时，居民代表在这些会议中拥有投票的多数席位。

在20世纪70~80年代的鹿特丹城市更新中，由于其居民的高度参与使之在整个欧洲都变得非常有名。城市更新不再只是技术上的改造，而是成为了一个政治参与引导的过程。由于当地居民大量参与到决策的过程中，大部分市中心的旧屋被避免拆除重建而被翻新，旧城区的生活条件被大大改善。然而，"为社区建造"以及社区居民的积极参与也存在一个缺点：这个时期的城市更新主要解决单纯的住宅问题，而几乎未关注其他城市功能、经济发展及对旧城区内的（小）企业的影响。在居民的推动下，城市改建犹如"白色飓风"一样席卷而来，除了住宅之外，旧城区内一切传统的混合使用功能被抹除了。针对这一现象，鹿特丹以及其他荷兰城市在20世纪80年代后半期时重新修正了城市更新政策，将其转变为一种更为平衡的方法，对不同的城市功能给予更多关注，同时让更多不同的相关利益群体参与到决策过程中。

废弃工业地块的重新利用——IBA Emscher公园案例

欧洲城市更新的第一阶段大都关注那些老城区的重建或改建，但20世纪80年代以来，由于经济和技术发展而被废弃的老工业地块或过时的基础设施的重新利用也开始日益受到重视。许多港口城市例如汉堡、阿姆斯特丹和鹿特丹就将不适合现代航运要求的老码头区域重新规划发展，其他一些城市例如巴黎、马德里和柏林的老火车站区域及废弃的铁道也成为重新规划城市的一个重要议题。事实上，几乎所有的城市都为了新发展而把老工业地块搬迁，从而让出更多的土地。

大多数腾出的空间都被用于新住宅开发，有时也会用于建造办公楼、购物中心和其他一些高经济价值的城市功能。在很多案例里，这种高价值重建的必要性大都来自这些老旧工业或基础设施用地原有功能所导致的负担，譬如重工业和土地污染就直接导致了重建的成本变得异常昂贵。而另一方面，包括巴黎和巴塞罗那在内的一些城市也成功地将过去的工业地块转变成为公园和城市绿化，并对周围环境产生了重要影响。

• Decentralisation and participation: The planning administration of urban renewal became decentralised. In each of the urban renewal areas a planning bureau of the municipality has been established that was responsible for the development of plans and for the supervision of the execution. The idea was that the residents should be able 'to look over the shoulders of the planners.' Decisions about the plans have been taken in special decision meetings in common by the representatives of the public administration and by the representatives of the residents. Together, the representatives of the residents had the majority of the votes in these meetings.

The urban renewal approach of Rotterdam in the 1970's and 1980's with its far going people participation became famous all over Europe. Urban renewal no longer was a process only of technical improvement; it became a process of political empowerment and activation. With the strong involvement of the residents in the decision-making process large parts of the inner city housing stock have been renewed without replacement, the living conditions in the old areas improved profoundly. However, 'Building for the Neighbourhood' and the strong participation of the people in the old areas also had a drawback: Urban renewal in that period mainly became a housing issue; the impact of urban renewal on other urban functions, on the economic development and on the position of (small) enterprise in the old areas, barely found attention. Under the influence of the residents urban renewal threatened to become a 'white tornado' that cleaned up the old areas with their traditional functional mix from everything except housing. In view of these results the municipality governments of Rotterdam as well as of other Dutch cities changed their urban renewal policies in the second half of the 1980's to a more balanced approach, giving more attention to different urban functions and integrating different groups of interest into the decision-making process.

The Re-Use of out-dated Industrial Areas-the case of IBA Emscher Park

While the first phase of urban renewal in Europe mainly was focused on the reconstruction or renovation of the old housing areas, from the 1980's increasingly also the re-use of old industrial areas and outdated infrastucture came into picture that lost their function due to economic and technological changes. Many port cities like Hamburg, Amsterdam and Rotterdam redeveloped their old harbour areas that no longer were suitable for modern shipping. In other cities like Paris, Madrid and Berlin old station areas and unnecessary train tracks became an important issue for urban redevelopment. Last but not least in almost all cities old industrial plants have been removed, offering spaces for new developments.

Most of these spaces have been re-used for new housing developments, sometimes also for offices, shopping malls and other urban functions with a high economic value. The necessity for high value redevelopment was caused in the fact that the industrial and infrastructural areas in most cases had a load from their former use, like heavy old constructions and polluted ground that made re-use in particular expensive. On the other hand some cities like Paris and Barcelona successfully also transformed former industrial plants into public

图19　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　图20　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　图21

图19 位于阿姆斯特丹东部的重建老港口区"Javaeiland"

图20 旧仓库的重新利用：鹿特丹的"Entrepoot"地区旧仓库的原有功能被转化成为综合性建筑，集居住、办公及商业功能于一体

图21 位于巴塞罗那的一个旧纺织厂在改造后成为了城市公园

除了地块的整体重建，在很多城市里对老仓库和老厂房的翻新和使用也变得流行起来，还逐渐催生出了一种新的差异化住宅市场。在LOFT中生活和工作已然成为年轻城市人才中的一种时尚，为创业初期的公司、艺术家和其他创造性人才提供老工业区域的空间，也成为很多城市的重要事宜，用以显示他们是"创造性的城市"。[6]

在欧洲最有趣也是最大的工业地区重建工程是德国的IBA Emscher公园重建项目。IBA Emscher公园坐落在鲁尔区的Emscher河流域，那里曾经是德国采矿业和重工业的中心，由于经济转变和煤矿的关闭，这块地区其实很久以前就已经失去了它在欧洲工业地区的领头地位，并逐步转变成了伴随人口萎缩、高失业率、严重环境污染等情况的问题区域。

IBA Emscher公园改造项目就是针对于此的一个干预项目，目标是在10年的时间内，以创建新型的工作和生活区域为目的，通过一个绿色网络的连接，将被污染的工业土地转变成干净的公园景观。该项目始于1989年，并于1999年完成。这个项目还被构建成一个国际建筑展（德语：InternationaleBauaustellung，缩写：IBA），该项目的实施基于联邦政府、地方政府、各市政府以及一些德国主要工业企业之间的公私合作伙伴关系。

IBA Emscher公园占地约800km²，拥有约250万居民和17座中小型城市，在这10年中已有120个项目被施行。

其中重要的干预措施有：（1）对被污染的Emscher河进行清洁和重建生态圈，并结合生态污水处理系统进行开发；（2）对旧工业

parks and urban greenery, with great impacts on the surroundings.

Beside the redevelopment of complete areas also the renovation and re-use of old warehouses and factory buildings became popular in many cities and contributed to a more differentiated housing market. Living (and working) in lofts became a fashion for young urban professionals. Also the re-use of old industrial spaces for start-up companies, artists and other creative professionals became an important issue for many cities to manifest themself as 'creative cities'.[6]

One of the most interesting and surely the largest project of redevelopment of industrial areas in Europe was the IBA Emscher Park in Germany. Emscher Park addresses the valley of the river Emscher, located in the Ruhr Area, the former centre of mining and heavy industry in Germany. Due to economic changes and the end of coal mining the area lost already long ago its function as leading industrial zone in Europe and transformed into a problem area with shrinking population, high unemployment and an highly polluted environment.

IBA Emscher Park was a program of interventions, limited on a period of 10 years, with the aim to generate a new perspective for working and living in the area and to transform the polluted industrial landscape into a cleaned park landscape with a network of green connections. The program started in 1989 and was finished in 1999. It was organised as an International Building Exhibition (Internationale Bauaustellung - IBA), based on a public private partnership between the federal and regional governments, municipalities and a number of leading industrial companies in Germany.

Emscher Park covers an area of about 800km² with about 2.5 million inhabitants and 17 small and midsized cities. Within 10 years 120 projects have been realised. Important interventions have been[2]:

• Cleaning and re-naturalisation of the polluted river Emscher, combined with the development of an ecological sewage system;

• Re-use of old industrial buildings and mining installations, partly for cultural and tourist purposes, partly for new enterprise;

图22

图24

图26

图23

图25

图27

图22 德国的IBA Emscher公园总平面

图23 Emscher河畔的工业景观

图24 老工业厂房形成新的景观

图25 老煤矿改造后，形成新的空间

图26 Emscher公园中的景观节点

图27 Emscher公园中的新住宅项目

图28 关于采矿工人原有住宅改造项目的图片展览
图29 Emscher公园新技术中心
图30 1999年IBA Emscher公园项目的宣传海报

建筑和采矿设备重新利用，一部分用于文化和旅游业，一部分用于新的企业；（3）17个技术中心的基础建立旨在刺激这个区域新的经济增长点；（4）300km²的区域交通系统，连接展览区、行人通道和自行车道网络；（5）3 000套前采矿工人的旧居改造；（6）以社会住宅为主的3 000套新住宅的建设。[2]

预期的经济改善只是部分得以实现，这个IBA Emscher公园项目的重点更在于对这片区域文化上的转变以及形象的提升。也许这个项目中最重要的发现是对老工业设施的重新审视，它们的重建不仅仅是作为文化遗产的一部分，也起着对新的文化环境的支持。2010年，包括IBA Emscher公园在内的鲁尔区被提名为欧洲的文化首都，并因此得以与其他欧洲国家的文化首都们并驾齐驱。

结论

这段欧洲城市更新的历史展示了城市更新过程中的不同层面和方法，没有一个方法是可以通用于任何时间和地点的，城市更新总是需要对具体问题仔细分析并发展相应的策略。城市更新需要整合矛盾的目标，在经济需求、社会目标和环境需求之间找到平衡，所以城市更新势必将是一个永恒的学习过程，我们需要对先前方法的结果和影响进行反思，同时又必须去面对全新而意想不到的挑战。（译/严佳钰，校/惠晓曦）

• The foundation of 17 technology centres to stimulate new economic developments in the area;
• The development of 300 km² park connectors with exhibitions, pedestrian and bicycle networks;
• The renovation of 3000 former mine workers dwellings;
• The construction of 3000 new housing units, mainly in the framework of social housing.

Although the intended economic upturn only partly could be realised, the project IBA Emscher Park was crucial for a cultural turn in the area and for the upgrading of the image. Maybe the most important discovery of the project was the recognition of the old industrial installations as part of the cultural heritage and their re-use in a new cultural environment. In 2010 the Ruhr Area with the Emscher Park was nominated as cultural capital of Europe and in this way was placed in a range of cultural capitals in different European countries

Conclusion

The history of urban renewal in Europe shows many different approaches and covers many different aspects of urban development. There is no generic approach that can be applied every time and everywhere. Urban renewal always needs a careful analysis of the concrete problems and the development of specific strategies. Urban renewal always has to integrate contradictory aims, has to find a balance between economic demands, social aims and environmental requirements. In this way urban renewal is a permanent learning process, in which we have to reflect the results and impacts of prior approaches, in the same time always have to face new and unexpected challenges. AT

注释

1 维基百科：List of cities in the European Union with more than 100，000 inhabitants.
2 www.iba.nrw.de.

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