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中国设计红星奖委员会  
中央美术学院设计文化与政策研究所  
北京工业设计促进中心 / 编  
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 北京大学出版社  
PEKING UNIVERSITY PRESS

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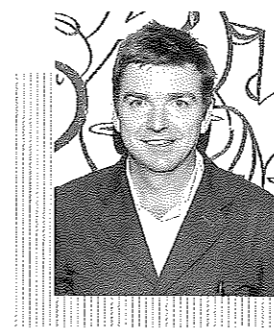
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## 设计文化的再定位和再本土化

盖·朱利叶 (Guy Julier) / 张弛译，原文参见本书 167 页

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### [摘要]

现代社会中，设计通常与城市体验紧密相关。虽然设计与乡村并非完全无关（比如，一些设计师将工作地点设于城外），但在主流的观点和设计论述中，绝大部分设计实践和专业工作都被置于城市中心。值得注意的是，看上去甚至可以说设计是被鼓励聚集于城市的“创意园区”之中。结果，这种集中本身也变成了现代性的标志之一，成为一座城市在全球化过程中的必经之路。一般来说，消费者文化也代表着一种城市的、现代的活动，象征着商品交换过程中可以企及的最高点。购物，尤其是除了食物等生活必需品之外的消费，无可避免地变成了城市生活的乐趣所在，消费本身也变成了经由设计师设计之后的一种城市生活。于是，“设计文化”这一概念也就首先被等同于一个过程，一个体现着设计师的劳动、设计品消费、产品生产和循环之间内在关系的过程。然而，这一发展过程中，与乡村有关的设计思考却被忽视了。由此，乡村与城市在文化构建方面形成了二元对立。而在设计文化的概念中，乡村被理所当然地置于主流之外。在拓展设计文化发生范围的当下，也是时候重新思考这个二元对峙问题了。

本文的第二部分试图寻找一种全新的思路，以重新思考在“获取”和“使用”之外的消费问题。文章将消费视为一张由人和事构建而成的网络，在这个网络中，“没有任何事物是一座孤岛”，推而广之，设计也就成为日常生活的组成部分。由此引申开来，本文将以另一种方式重新思考设计文化发生地这一问题。设计文化可能存在于城市之中，也可能存在于城市之外，甚至可能打破“城市/乡村”这种划分范畴。

### 对峙的城乡

但凡有关城乡关系的讨论，很难不陷入二元论。即使避开城乡不谈，我们还有一系列其他容易落入相类似窠臼的二元对立双方，比如：工业/农业、孤立/联系、现代/传统、快/慢等。不论是在个体选择栖身之所还是在选择生活方式的层面，甚至是在公共政治以及社会实践的层面，这种二元论都能提供“更为简便”的选择，使我们更容易做决定。

毋庸置疑，这种二元对立在历史中和文化上都曾被不断强化。多个世纪以来，在多种文化之中，口口

相传的故事和视觉作品均将杂乱、令人迷惑、艰苦和矫揉造作的城市体验与有规矩、容易理解、舒适自然的自由乡村生活相对立。然而，在工业化和城市化的进程中，乡村为我们带来的不仅仅只是视觉美感，还能够让想象力得以发挥。

自2005年以来，全球已有超过半数的人口为城市居民。这一数据被广泛引用证实了工业化和城市被置于越发重要的位置。然而，假如我们想要挑战城乡划分这一基本概念呢？城乡之间的区别会越来越清晰吗？还是会有一些无法界定的模糊地带？比如说，包括米兰、哈瓦那、圣彼得堡和首尔等在内的全

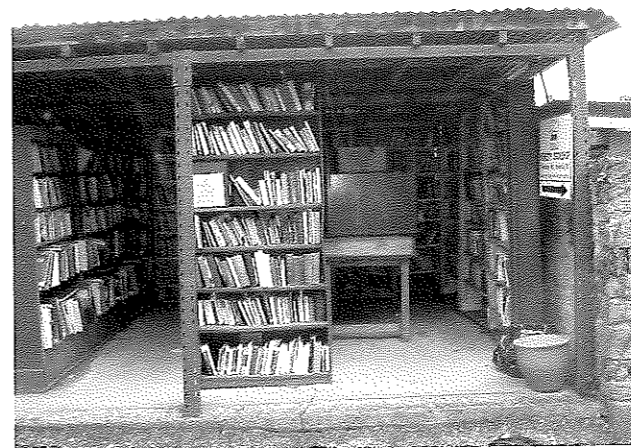
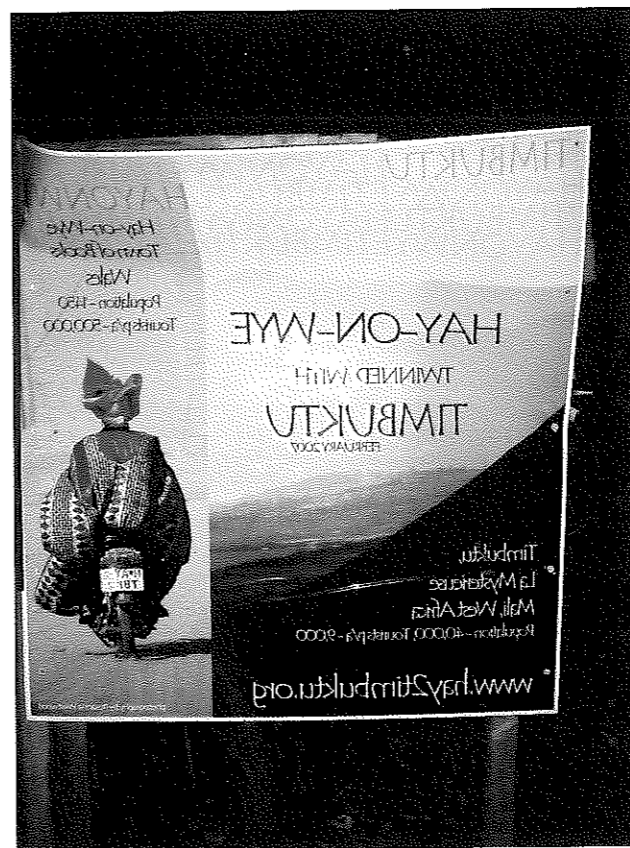
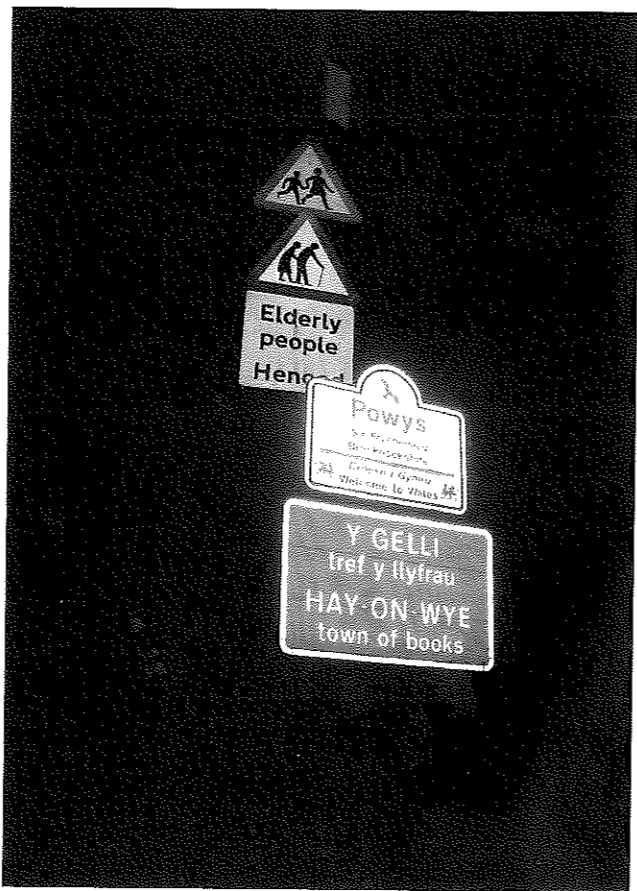
球二十八个主要城市有没有可能在2025年缩小？<sup>[2]</sup>虽然有中国学者认为这些城市缩小的可能性不大，因为它们当中有二十个还同时处于全球膨胀速度最快的三十个城市榜单中。但是，城市缩小问题会引发我们对城市结构、作用和意义的再思考。比如，美国城市底特律走向衰败，导致大量土地被用于耕种和养殖，乡村生活方式入侵城市版图。<sup>[3]</sup>与此相类似的还有被美国封锁在商贸圈之外的哈瓦那，它变成了绿色生态城市。



在设计方面，设计论述、政府政策、设计教育和专业机构以及那些持续作用导致“设计与城市密切相关”这一观点不断被强化的人与事，反过来也为加深城乡划分添砖加瓦。设计似乎跟乡村无关，乡村是天然形成的，城市才是人造的。

在设计理论研究领域，1970年有两个打破了城乡二元理论的案例出现，分别来自克里斯托佛·亚历山大和比尔·莫里森。亚历山大关注生活结构和系统，他揭示了其中既定的逻辑——我们如何构建家庭环境、办公环境和我们栖息之地的空间分布。<sup>[4]</sup>莫里森则研究生物与人类资产和活动之间的双向依赖，探索以最小的能量投入获得最高效的食物生长的设计。这两个案例都没有涉及城乡概念。<sup>[5]</sup>他们的研究似乎打破了这种对立，也突破了我们对于现代生活的种种想象。尤其是在莫里森的“永恒农业设计”概念中，有一项研究着眼于良性集约化。该研究打破了特定地点和范围的局限，探索物、人、知识以及技能之间的关系。

我将在本文的后半部分继续讨论“关系论”的相关问题。让我们在下文中先以更常见更主流的方式来



讨论因为设计、设计生产、设计消费越来越普遍而引发的一系列问题。

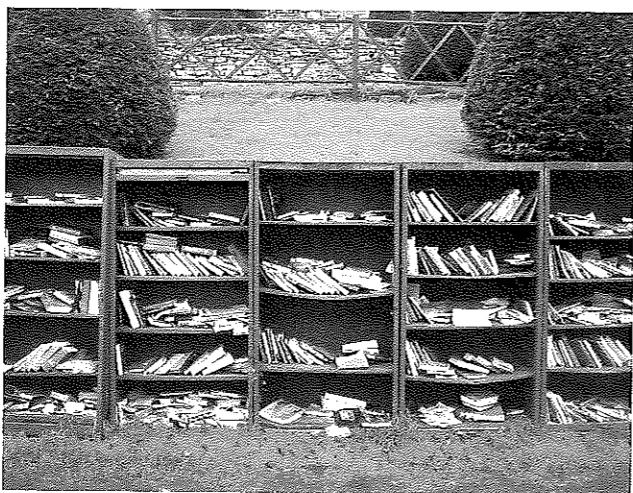
### 设计和生产

设计角色和作用之一是着力于集约化使其扩大。<sup>[6]</sup>设计工作室是一个将大量的工作时间倾注于物品细节、图像细节、空间细节的地方。设计师在这里跟客户讨论、撰写、修正并解读设计需求，分析产品信息或者使用者信息，然后做出大大小小的决策。这里有由电脑、桌子、椅子、墙与墙构成的空间、发布信息的黑板等组成的物质文化。而这一切的最终成果是投入大批量生产的产品。我们可以从以下这条信息中得到确定的数据：一个产品80%的价值和影响力被确定于设计阶段。<sup>[7]</sup>

品牌的崛起为该观点提供了有力证明。品牌各有特点。<sup>[8]</sup>它们被开发出来，为产品生产、销售渠道以及服务都提供了统一计划。这一计划通常被为该品牌服务的设计师编辑、发表，并加以概括，成为品牌指南。品牌特色被提炼并诠释出最终结果。此后，该指南被运用于整个产品系列，并且在相应机构的环境中得以体现。它们是一种元数据<sup>[9]</sup>，或者说是一种法则，被广泛运用于企业标识（Logo）设计、企业书刊设计、产品视觉语言、室内设计、员工制服设计中，甚至被用于与客户互动方面。随后，品牌旗下的产品被一一投入大量生产，衍生出无数件。集约化的品牌设计投入通过品牌的物化得以扩大，并面向广大民众。

与此相似，在城市发展的过程中，一个城市或者城镇的个性化特征应当如何通过该市（或者该镇）的

方方面面得以体现。一个直辖市可以从经济、文化和社会等方面来制定发展重点，将这几方面加以组合也愈发普遍。就此展开思考是为了促使城市（或者城镇）在文化建设方面做出正确决策（比如说，建设博物馆、餐厅、剧院或者运动设施），从而吸引某一类特定职业的从业者和投资者前往。于是，一个新的区域会被再开发，而通过这种方式得益的获益者将不只限于上文中提到的特定人群。在这个过程中，设计和创意变得尤为重要。这不只是因为它能重塑某地，让其大放异彩，还因为重视设计也表示该地正在经历革新。如果现代设计在一个城市中得以集中体现，该地也会被贴上既新潮且具有改革性的标签，比如城市中现代化的公共空间。



这是一个循环。这些改变正在发生，随之而来的是相应的利益和投资：全球资本流入，地产价值提升，产生股票，资本盈余支持变革往前推进。经历这个过程之后，设计和资本逐渐汇集在城市范围内。乡村则被忽视了，似乎一个国家的发展越发具有只以城市作为典型的趋势。

设置创意产业园如今已经成为城市规划与发展中日渐常见的利好举措。有人认为，创意产业内部依赖于互相之间的创意和人群的交流来聚集财富。也有人认为，在这个行业中，工作和休闲之间的界限并不明确。还有观点认为，设计师和其他创意产业的从业者生活的固定模式就是在一天结束之后，离开工作室，走进酒吧和餐厅，继续社交生活。因此，在创意产业园区开的设计酒吧和餐厅有助于该园区的持续发展。<sup>[10]</sup>此外，我们还可以看到城市的一种变迁。城市已经不仅仅只是设计生产的核心地点，还大有被转变成为设



计大熔炉之势，变成一个以设计为潮流，通过不同方式大量消费设计的地方。

某些跨国公司将城市化进程视为战略部署和发展的资源。比如说，制造商明基在为摩托罗拉生产针对中国市场的手机之后，很快就开始生产自有品牌手机。该公司在台北设立了生活方式设计中心，招聘了超过50名设计师。为提升国际影响力，在巴黎和米兰也组建了设计团队。明基在台北的生活方式设计中心不过是众多类似企业的设计中心之一。<sup>[11]</sup>从2000年开始，福特、河间岛（River Island）、索尼和诺基亚纷纷在伦敦设立全球设计中心。这也说明设计中心可以远离产地和市场。事实上，通过这些案例，我们还能看到这些跨国公司的设计和模型中心都设在新产品能够成型并且容易被接纳的地方。其中原因之一是在类似于伦敦这样的都市里，消费者既愿意尝试又能让设计师产生灵感。还有观点认为，一个国际化的城市也应当是国际市场的微缩版。另外两个原因是，第一，伦敦现在大约有386,000人供职于创意产业，能够为这些创意中心源源不断地提供人力资源。<sup>[12]</sup>第二，作为“创意城市”，伦敦也鼓励这些公司在此设立创意中心。

#### 设计与消费

毋庸置疑，现代都市生活显然已经被各色标志所占领。过去十年中，全球范围内设计产品崛起速度飞快。2010年，联合国的一份报告证实了这一观点。该报告也说明了将这些产品定义为设计商品是因为推算出其在设计方面的高投入。<sup>[13]</sup>在估算这一数值时，报告还提出从2002年到2008年，在发达国家和发



展中国家,设计品出口额的增长至少翻了一番(从534亿到1224亿,中国为主要增长国)。而在那些处于转型期(转向市场经济的)发展中国家,这种增长更是高达三倍。如今,那些拥有丰富产品和服务的经济体越来越频繁地被提起,而且这二者被公认为是这些经济体取得领先优势的关键。<sup>[14]</sup>这也说明,在全球范围内,设计品销售额在上升,越来越多的消费者愿意在数量不断增加的折扣店里购买设计商品。日常消费领域的设计商品占领了步行街和网络。

在过去的二十年里,与这种增长相伴随的主流学说是将消费视为个体行为,是个人在购买产品或者在消费过程中对环境的体验。消费也被解读为一种浪漫的慰藉,满足那些经历过一周无聊辛苦的工作之后而衍生出的个人欲望。<sup>[15]</sup>它还被视为一种宣称个人权利的方式:品位象征着权利,也是个性的民主化呈现。购物体现了个人的性格特色,是人群的划分方式之一,也是个人成功的象征。<sup>[16]</sup>步行街和购物中心是消费行为的发生地。这个城市空间正是为了让独立个体完成工作、储蓄和消费全过程而存在。在这里,日常生活中的审美泛化得以抵达顶点。<sup>[17]</sup>

城市在设计促进消费的过程中被视为主要推动力。城市设计的发展致力于促进购物中心以及步行街的商业繁荣,甚至就连店铺与店铺之间的休息区也都在为了促进消费而努力。这部分公共空间设有供消费者小憩的长椅。长椅的设计与商场里其他设计所使用的视觉语言别无二致,无时不在提醒消费者们身处何地。这些长椅往往由坚硬的材料制成,并与周围的购物环境相呼应,以便让购物者不间断地接收“信息”并且最终开始购物。



同样,美学化的现代生活图景也始终离不开城市,它需要集中的购物空间。在这里,人们可以对商店和品牌进行比较。它们就是为了逛街购物这一项活动而存在,为览胜般的购物之行提供情境,成千上万的人共享着这个情境,他们的诉求互相类似又各有差异。

### 设计文化

现在,我们已经了解了设计论述何以集中在城市范畴。这些观点包括设计师愿意扎堆工作,设计的集中能够从经济、社会和文化等方面成就城市当权者的雄心,可以提升城市品牌效应。然而,如今,产品涉及的空间是分散的。产品不同部件被置于不同大陆生产,然后在类似于深圳这样的城市组装,再被运到不同销售点。销售方面,网络成为步行街、购物中心之外另一大量销售的渠道。购物中心和网络将常见的消费行为带到城市及城市附近。网络作为新的购物空间,也为消费行为的传播起到重要推动作用。

与设计的崛起相伴随的是人们开始使用新的方式来描述它,反过来,其社会意义也促使人们用新的眼光审视它,也许未来还会出现新的设计实践方式。设计行业内就业岗位的增加和商业活动的日益频繁,设计生产分配的不断增长,以及消费如何将一系列原本毫无干系的行为联系在一起也变得越发重要。如果将这些因素汇聚在一起,考虑它们之间如何相互关联并产生互动,它们也就可以被作为整体纳入设计文化的研究范畴之中。

设计文化独立存在,但是在学术领域中尚属新兴。作为研究对象,它总被认为是一个包括了物质资源、

人力资源、技术、知识和活动的链接,设计在其中均具有重要意义。“设计文化”这个词本身已经变成了一种带有宣传性质的说法。提到一个地方的设计资产时,人们大都会用“设计文化”,而非只提“设计”二字。设计学校和设计组织等机构,则是把设计师和专业人士联系在一起的人脉网络,是可以看到或者体验到设计的地方,也是将设计与文化相结合并形成流行风格和完成设计实践的地方。但是,文化并不是依赖于设计或者是影响设计的唯一元素,“文化”这个词意味着以设计师的方式处理生活各个层面的问题。

作为一个学科,设计文化研究这些过程。<sup>[18]</sup>它坚决关注当下,试图同时阐释其历史形成过程与未来发展动向。它打破了设计研究的既有方向,比如之前相互孤立存在的工业设计或者平面设计,将休闲方式、居民区、网络社区这一类的情境作为研究对象。而这些情境又是由诸如酒店、街道和电脑等各种事物组成的。此外,可能还会包括视觉传达设计,比如引导标识、指导手册或者平面设计的界面。它还会关注构成这些情境的不同设计媒介组合。同时,上述情景也需要人的参与。所以,人在这些情境中的活动也是研究对象——人与这些情境如何相互作用相互影响。

在设计文化中,我们将设计作为一种社会实践。通过这种实践,我们可以研究设计的社会意义,设计如何运转,如何为人所用,又如何受到影响。在这种情况下,设计文化研究通常也会涉及设计之外的消费,并且打破消费是个人化行为的观念,将消费视为一种带有公众参与性质的行为。我们关注的不仅只是设计行业内部的林林总总,还包括产品的生产、加工、分配、推广等,以及对物品、空间及图像的消费。我们

感兴趣的是存在于它们之间的那些信息、知识、理解、情感表达，它们是否流动以及流动方式。事实上，设计文化研究的关注点是“相关”。

另外，设计不仅仅只限于视觉，它还有关乎触觉、味道、质地、声音、重量、温度和其他多种感官功能。这一点也许显而易见，但是如果深入了解，它将会带领我们超越设计，落到视觉文化层面。如果说观看是象征性行为，跟设计物品和环境有关的实践则更加实际具体。学习使用具有实用功能的物品将会涉及一些具体知识，而这些知识是人类共有的财富。通过观察和模仿，人们会在有意无意间完成学习的过程，学习如何做事，如何排队，购物时如何付款，如何使用智能手机。这些活动并不简单，而人们的行为模式也需要高度一致。

更重要的是，观看通常需要观者本体和观看对象之间进行交流。如果涉及设计物品或者环境，常常还需要经过不同的形式和多次反复。设计是系列化再生产，因此，我们能够不同的地方，体验到同一种设计的不同形式。当你骑着一辆特制的自行车时，也有可能看到别人也骑着它，你还可能看到它被陈列在一个商场里，或者被刊登在某杂志的广告上。虽然品牌表现出独一性，但是人们会通过不同的形式了解产品，产品也会以多种方式实现物化。

因此，在设计文化中，我们必须要考虑多样性。设计新闻从业人员和策展人通常会致力于使设计品看起来独一无二。刊登在杂志上或者是陈列在画廊里的知名设计师作品看上去跟仅此一件的艺术品别无二致。但是，设计品和日常生活中的环境是复杂多样的，

而且它们之间还相互依存。比如说，《自行车保养指南》要成为有用之物就必须要有自行车又有人在车和《指南》之间作为媒介。

### 日常实践

研究多样性的概念和关系能让我们明白设计师的设计行为相互关联，消费也不仅仅只是对单一物件进行交易的个体行为。设计必须与多重网络相互影响相互作用。消费包括套、群和组合，而这些都需要相应事物的参与才能顺利运转。比如说，电饭锅并不是一个完全独立的工具。它需要干净的水、电、放置米的空间和一个煮饭的场所。当然，如果没有米，它就不具有任何存在的价值。此外，它还需要有某种形状和大小餐具，与米饭搭配的其他食品。使用这个电器还需要了解能使它运转的相关知识，适合使用的时间和地点等。作为一种主要的饮食工具，它还代表着某种情感价值，甚至在由食文化构成的社会习俗和意识中，代表了某种文化意义。购买了一个电饭锅，其实是购买了一个“米饭”项目。<sup>[19]</sup>

设计师依赖于同一网络中的所有物品和行为。改变其中任何一个类似“项目”组合里的任意部分都会对整个“项目”产生影响。<sup>[20]</sup>同样，购物和使用的过程也不应该是互相孤立，它们也应当是社会活动的组成部分。电饭锅的存在和品质都与其他材料和服务息息相关，也是同一种共识和行为的组成部分。它们共同构成一项实践活动。此外，包含其中的还有一种“物质符号学”的过程。物品和环境共同构成情境、形成行为、增强意义。习惯性的使用会强调并稳固它们的价值，并会增强对日常生活的理解。在设计商

业世界之外，家庭也自有其设计文化。毕竟，人们正是在家庭中，思考、创造、产生和完成类似于以米饭为主的饮食行为等一系列的其他行为和活动，比如摆放家具或者缝纽扣等。家庭中的品位模式、偏好和习惯与生产和消费相互联系。

### 关联和统一

思考日常生活中的实践也表示我们是在思考不同区域和范围中的组合，正是这些组合导致各式设计文化的发生。在前文中，我已经提到了设计论述偏重于纯粹的城市空间，说明了它如何完成商业实践，实现城市当权者的雄心，促进消费文化繁荣。当然，我们也可以认为设计文化就是在这些地方发挥了作用。毕竟，设计工作室的“配套”设施，比如画廊、独立设计品商店、设计酒吧和餐厅通常都开在创意园区。或者说，“符号化的街区”意味着在一个被清晰定义的空间里，设计产品和设计消费的密集交换。<sup>[21]</sup>然而，在考虑设计的角色时，如果将关注点从城市转移到日常生活，我们也就可以开始考虑设计的其他范围、特点和现实问题。

回到家庭的设计文化这个概念本身，还有一种提法叫做“责任地理”。<sup>[22]</sup>家庭是一个地点，是一个定义清晰的空间，人们在这里为了发展或者完成某些展望，做出决策、进行活动。如何消耗或者保存能量，在诸如吃饭之类的日常生活行为中以何为重，与物质和民俗有关，也跟持有相同关切的外部世界相关。

家庭是相关联的空间，将事件、人和观点集合在一起，并可以扩展至更大的范围。<sup>[23]</sup>我们可以从

家庭内部和外部关系发展过程中扩展出互相关联的范围。从家庭可以推及社区。社区跟家庭一样，也是一个组合，虽然这种组合里不一定只包括了能够说明其特点和运行方式的严厉法规和公告。比如说，作为一个国家，会有诸如法律体系、教育体系和军事系统构成的一系列机构。这些机构相对来说还比较简单。复杂的是让这些机构组合成统一体，让人和事物组合在一起进行各种各样的活动，并且具有完整的逻辑。“统一体”是一个“将事物通过相互间的异同组合在一起的结构”。<sup>[24]</sup>

家庭、社区、村庄、城镇甚至是遥远的边境都是法律实体。它们由某些特定法律所划分，这些法律能够确保它们能够通过不同方式，关注不同重点，作为社会体和经济体正常运转。但是，它们同时也会被一系列常见的日常实践所定义，它们是相互统一的。后者说明它们在运转过程中可以灵活多变，或许还能够突破历史上城市和乡村的划分。

### 乡村 / 城市的再划分

2009年，我跟英国包曼·莱恩斯建筑师事务所共同开始了一项名为“独特城市”的研究。英国东南部一家区域发展公司委托我们研究乡村如何通过专业化实现再发展。<sup>[25]</sup>有几个小地方正是通过专注于某一领域的发展而闻名于世。我们感兴趣的研究对象包括：威尔士的马汉莱斯，该地区得名于绿色能源项目，以及因户外运动中心而扬名的德国埃姆歌。

我们研究过的另外一个案例是位于英格兰和威尔士边境的上威河镇。这个镇上有大约2500个居

民,开着35家二手书店,每年还会举办一次年度书会。人们从世界各地赶来淘书或者参与被国内外媒体广泛报道的书会。这个小镇的身份特征不仅只是带来了遍及全球的名望,同时,与小镇居民的日常生活也密切相关。比如,居民们需要干搬书之类繁重的体力活,而搬书正是书城特征的一个具体构成部分。这个小镇是由各种差异组合而成的统一体。比如说,不同的书店专注于经营不同类型的书籍或者是专为不同类型的客人服务。一家书店可以专门陈列和出售儿童小说,而另外一家则可以专营旅行类书籍和非小说类书籍。咖啡馆和旅店可以为旅行者提供住宿,为年度书会提供支持。有了网络,这里的一些书店还可以为遍及全球的爱书者和书籍收藏者提供图书珍本。小镇不断发展着,拥有并适应着“关联”的差异和无常。它的出现并不是刻意设计的结果,也不由任何一个公司控制,它看起来跟其他小镇别无二致。它的特点体现在小镇居民日复一日的行为习惯和过程中,也体现在具象的书、书店和书架中。虽然欧洲还有几个其他书城,但都是规划的结果而非自然形成。这些书城当然也投入了不少热情,举办了多年的活动。它们出现的意义在于说明乡村地区的发展不一定非要限于城市/乡村划分的图圈。它们并不需要为城市服务,也不一定走“田园牧歌”的风格路线。它们有自己的专业关注,以此定义自己,同时并非遗世独存,它们与外部世界和现实利益保持着联系。

另外有几个其他的案例。不是每个城镇都可以成为书城,或者具有其他的专业发展,但是通过了解自身的传统、现实和相关情况,小镇可以为自己设计,也可以找到设计如何在其他环境中发挥作用。就像设计工作室一样,这里汇聚了知识、技巧、决策、行为和物质资源。它们自有一种审美趣味,不一定要为既

定的商业观点或者定义设计的公众政策所限制。它们的成功与了解它们自身的构成部分息息相关,包括其中的资产、特点、人类活动和未来展望。

因此,在分析和加强某个地方的优势,发掘地方发展潜力时,设计文化模式将会是有力工具。通过了解设计、生产和消费网络的形成方式这三者之间如何互动,我们可以了解到它们之间如何互相依赖,甚至找到有利于促进它们之间关系更加健康稳定发展的方法。不论是城市还是农村,均能从中受益,还能突破只有几十年历史却一直只与城市生活相关的设计文化现状,对其进行重新定位和本土化。

### 结论

做一个概括性的论述说明我们如何通过设计构建一个更有持续性、更公平、更合理社会也许并不难,难的是如何将这些论述付诸实践。

在这篇论文中,首先,我试图说明目前的设计实践情况,而非描绘含糊的未来。我希望人们不再仅仅关注设计和消费带来的壮丽景象。设计也许包括让人印象深刻的形式和结构,也包括擅长于视觉思维和采用相应技巧重新打造物品和空间使其变得流行的设计师团体和个人。他们活跃于在有创意感的城市空间中,构建出有魅力的社会环境。同样,消费还包括寻找和挑选生活必需品的这种简单乐趣。但是,设计还存在于一个汇集了多人多事的网络里。我认为,设计正是因为该网络而被嵌入日常生活实践。当观察设计作品和设计构建的网络时,我们也可以更加谦虚和安静。

为了将设计引入更广义的领域,维克多·帕帕奈

克曾经发表过著名的论述——“人人都是设计师。每时每刻,我们所做的一切都是设计,设计对于整个人类群体来说都是基本需要。任何一种朝着想要的、可以预见的目标而行动的计划和设想都组成了设计的过程。任何一种想要把设计孤立开来,把它当做一种自在之物的企图,都与设计作为生命的潜在基质这样一个事实相违背。”<sup>[26]</sup>

现在,我们有了更多的分析工具来了解“生命的基质”是什么,了解设计在其中如何起作用。我们也许更习惯于谈论生命的各种“基质”,而不是一种既定的“规划”。因此,对于生命“基质”的范围和位置、设计当下的作用和未来潜能,我们也可以变得更加具有批判性,更加具有想象力。

(图片说明:本篇图片皆为英国瓦伊河畔海伊小镇,盖·朱利叶提供)

[注释]

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[18] 目前，南丹麦大学、伦敦传播学院和阿姆斯特丹自由大学均开设有设计文化方面的学位课程。英国布莱顿大学开设有《设计未来》的学位课程，该课程带有强烈的设计文化特色。

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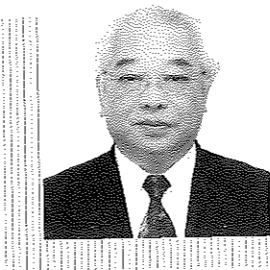
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## 从“全民设计”构思中国的未来都市 在联合国教科文组织“创意城市”北京峰会上的讲演



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### [摘要]

现在世界上为了培养专业设计师须经由高等教育专门机构进行基础培训，而如果根据我所提倡并实施“全民设计教育术”的话，10岁以上的男女老幼经过一个月的训练即可掌握这种设计能力，用这种方法对人民进行设计教育。  
拥有各自专业领域的人，以“发明和想象工学的构思”来设计都市防灾和进行未来设计。事例：黄土地带耐震地下空间、颠倒的方舟(UDA)型海上都市、1/2体积空间都市等。  
用科学技术开发亚洲最大的地表资源“竹”，在进行新的生态都市建设设计中，复活孔子最初所提倡的人伦原理“和”并进行具体的设计提案。

代表着东方悠久历史的文化城市——北京，被认定为联合国教科文组织创意城市(unesco creative cities)。因此，全世界也自然会期待创造出有视觉冲击力的模范城市文明。

本文针对被认为是抽象、宏大的理论——都市计划的课题，从“设计教育”的视点出发，提出令人意想不到的解决方法。具体而言，以以下认识为前提：一是认识现代都市文明的构成、结构装置是以“平面材”为主体；二是把地震、海啸、洪水、大气污染的防灾作为目的，以现代社会这两大要素的同时应用和解决作为未来都市设计的条件。

所谓的“全民设计”，一般来讲，人们认为从小就有绘画特长或手工特长的人具备成为设计师、建筑师的条件，并在高年级或大学里接受专业的教育后才第一次开启通往正式的设计师、建筑师的道路。但是这种金科玉律的观念，真的不会变吗？

严密地讲，判断的标准是自己设计、构想的东西能否用“透视图”正确地表现(表达)出来。能反映这点的在历史上最典型的例子就是列昂纳多·达·芬奇等。但是，达·芬奇构思图中多数其实是画得并不

好的画，即用“平面斜投图”表现出来的东西。透视图表现是先有一个构想之后，然后用其再现出构想。从这个事实可以明确的是，“绘画能力差的人，同样有可能表达出好的想法”。这能够称得上是世纪大逆转。另外，有时候通过对矩形平面材料的单纯的加工，任何人都能制作出让设计师也吃惊不已的东西。

根据以上的认识，我在把这些命名为在“全民设计”的基础上，提出从10岁到15岁左右的人可以掌握一大半以往高度的设计师技法的方案。即，生活在未来文明世界的人们，如果掌握这个“全民设计”能力后，再学习除此以外的专业领域，并从专业人士的角度发挥运用“全民设计”表现能力，提出超越以往建筑师、设计师的构想(idea)，并逐步形象化。这样的话，就会创造出至今为止没有出现过的新型、独特的都市形态。

在那样的时代到来之前的时期里，例如，利用设计师具备的整体跨领域间的灵感，不被通常的概念所限制，以生活体验为基础，追求跟以往不一样的发明想象。所谓“发明想象工学”便是这样一种手法——重视我们在思考日常存在的事物时候“忽然想到的”，把它们计数化，并与别的现象和原理组合起来，

## Re-Locating and Re-localizing Design Culture

Guy Julier

### [ Introduction ]

In its modern period, design has largely been aligned with urban experience. Undoubtedly design happens in rural areas and designers locate themselves outside cities to work. But the dominant idea and discourse of design is that it is professionally and most intensively practised in urban centres. This is to the point that they are seen or even encouraged to cluster together in 'creative quarters' within cities. In turn, this concentration itself becomes a way of symbolizing the modernity and progress of a city in a global marketplace. Classically, consumer culture is also represented as an urban, modern activity, represented at its most heightened instant through the moment of exchange. Shopping is, particularly beyond staple items such as food, is invariably presented as an urban pleasure and consuming itself becomes a validation of designerly, city living. The concept of a 'design culture' is also initially aligned with this process so that it suggests a spectacular interrelationship between the work of designers, the consumption of design and the processes of production and circulation. By contrast, the idea of the rural is represented as untainted and free of these dynamics. It is culturally constructed as a binary opposite to the city and therefore discursively set outside dominant notions of design culture. The time has come to rethink this binary while extending the field of where design culture might happen.

The second part of this essay therefore attempts to re-orientate thinking away from consumption as being about acquiring or using up. Instead, it looks to consumption as involving networks of things and people where 'no object is an island'. Consumption then becomes part of an expanded idea of everyday practice. By extension, we can think of alternative scales, dynamics, materialities, and, therefore, locations for design culture. These might be outside the urban and even disrupt the urban/rural divide.

### The Urban/Rural Binary

When talking about the relationship between the urban and the rural, it is difficult not to fall into binaries. Thus, aside from urban and rural, we have a set of other oppositions that neatly fall into place on opposite sides of the same fence. Industrial/agricultural, alienated/connected, modernity/heritage, fast/slow and so on suggest easy choices and destinies, either at the personal level of where and how we decide to live or in the exercising of public policies.

It goes without saying that these binaries are historically and culturally reinforced. For centuries across many cultures, storytelling or visual representations contrast the chaotic, confusing, hard and mannered experience of the city against the ordered, understandable and comfortably 'natural' freedoms of the countryside.<sup>[1]</sup> With the march of industrialisation and urbanization, the countryside has progressively become a rural other to these: a place of the imagination as much as the gaze.

The much cited figure that over half the world's population was urban-based from 2005 certainly confirms the increased primacy of industrialisation and the city. However, what if we even challenged the conceptual division between urban and rural? Is this distinction, and all those that follow it, so clear? What do we make, for example, of the 28 of world major cities, that include Milan, Havana, St Petersburg and Seoul, that are set to shrink by 2025?<sup>[2]</sup> Judged from a Chinese perspective this issue of shrinkage might not be particularly noticeable, given that it contains 20 of the 31 world's fastest growing cities. But shrinkage leads to a re-thinking of city structure, uses and meanings. The stunning contraction of Detroit in America has led to much greater enmeshing of rural activities into the urban fabric, as spaces are claimed or re-claimed for food growing and animal husbandry.<sup>[3]</sup> Equally, the American trade blockade of Havana has produced a re-greening of that city.

In terms of design, its discourses, governmental policies and its educational and professional institutions and systems have almost persistently conspired to reinforce its status as an urban one and, in turn, support this conceptual city/country divide. Design just doesn't seem to happen in the countryside, it seems. The country just is. The city is made.

In design theory, two notable exceptions to this viewpoint that emerged in the 1970s would be the work of Christopher Alexander and Bill Mollison. Alexander was interested in the structures and systems of living, revealing the binding logics to how we organize our domestic environments, workplaces and the spatial distribution of our habitats.<sup>[4]</sup> Mollison was concerned with the mutual dependency of biological and human assets and activities, finding ways to design so that food growing could be done with minimal energy inputs. In both their cases, there is, generally, a healthy disregard for any city/country split.<sup>[5]</sup> Their work seems interestingly disruptive of any such distinctions and, indeed, disruptive of many of the assumptions we make about modern life. Particularly in Mollison's notion of permaculture, there is an interest in a benign intensification; it is about giving attention to the relationships between things, people, knowledge and skills that is not restricted to any particular place or scale.

I shall return to this idea of relationality in the second half of this essay. But for now, let us consider the question of design, its production and consumption in a more classical, mainstream way that is framed by their intensification.

### Design and Production

One thing that design does – amongst many of its roles and actions – is that it works in and with intensities that turn into extensities.<sup>[6]</sup> A design studio is a place where hours are spent working on the details of objects, images and spaces. It is where discussions are held with clients, design briefs are written, modified and interpreted. It is where product information or user-profiles are analysed and turned into

big or small decisions. It has its own material culture of computers, desks, chairs, wall-space, post-its and mood boards. But this concentration results, ultimately, in mass-produced things. If we want this confirmed statistically, we only have to turn to the information we have that 80% of a product's costs and impact are determined at the design stage.

The rise of branding has added to this notion. Brands are singularities.<sup>[8]</sup> They are developed so that they provide a unified plan for the production and distribution of goods and services. This plan is most often summarized in the form of brand guidelines that are compiled and published by designers for organizations. The brand's features are distilled and explained through this one outcome. Subsequently, these guidelines are then deployed across the full range of products and environments that make up the organization's parts. It is a kind of metadata<sup>[9]</sup> or coding that is then used to shape graphic elements such as logos and corporate literature, the visual language of products, the colours used in an interior, the design of workers' uniforms and even how they might interact with customers. Thus, the singular object of the brand is then translated into numerous artefacts. The intensity -- that is the brand design -- is converted into extensities through which the brand is then materialized and encountered by the wider public.

Similarly, in urban development terms, we can think of how identities are then rolled out into many aspects of a town or city. A municipality may define its priorities in terms of economic, cultural and social goals. Increasingly these have been organized together. The thinking here might be that by getting the right cultural offer (for example, in a place's museums, restaurants, theatres or sporting facilities), so particular kinds of workers and investors will be attracted to the place. Following on from this, a place might become regenerated so that the benefits of this approach can be spread beyond just this particular group. Design and creativity has become very important in this process, not just because it re-fashions a place to make it attractive, but because design

symbolizes the kinds of change that a place is going through. If there is a visible concentration of modern design in a city -- for example through its modern civic spaces -- so it is perceived as a transformatory and up-to-the-minute place.

This is a circular activity. As these kinds of transformations take place, so further interest in it is produced and inward investment happens:<sup>[10]</sup> global capital flows in, property values rise, equity is created, capital surplus provides funds for further transformations. Through this, design and capital get progressively concentrated on urban areas. Rural locations get by-passed as a nation is increasingly seen to be typified by its cities.

Within the city, it has become a common part of urban planning and development to think of the concentration of its creative industries as a good thing. It is assumed that they are transaction-rich between themselves -- they rely on the interchange of ideas and people between each other. This sector is also seen as being one where the divisions between work and leisure are not so clear. It is thought that designers and other creative workers stereotypically continue their social life beyond the studio into bars and restaurants at the end of day. Thus amidst the concentration of creative businesses, it is assumed that a scattering of designer bars and restaurants provides a kind of infrastructure to sustain this idea of the creative quarter.<sup>[10]</sup> Out of this, we see a shift from the city as not just being the locus of design production, but of a more generalized sense of being the crucible of design -- a place where design is fashioned and consumed in intense and dynamic ways.

Sometimes global corporations view this urban intensity as a resource for themselves and their own strategic positioning and development. For example, the Chinese manufacturer BenQ produced Motorola phones for its domestic market but soon moved to producing their own. It established its own Lifestyle Design Centre in Tapei where over 50 designers were recruited and also created design teams in Paris and

Milan to extend its global reach. The aforementioned BenQ Lifestyle Design Centre in Tapei is just one of many such corporate design centres.<sup>[11]</sup> The location of global design centres for Ford, River Island, Sony and Nokia in London since 2000 evidences a presumption that design studios may be physically distanced from both their productive infrastructure and their consumer bases. In fact, what is happening in these examples is that they are design and prototyping centres where new products can be fashioned and tested. Part of their reasoning is that a cosmopolitan city like London provides both a consumer testbed and stimulus. As a global city, it is assumed, it can model a global marketplace. Two additional reasons exist. One is that with some 386,000 working in the creative sector, London provides a willing and accessible labour resource for such centres.<sup>[12]</sup> Second, and relatedly, it buys these corporations status by locating in such a 'creative city'.

### Design and Consumption

Modern, urban living has undoubtedly become more overtly colonized with signs. The rise of design products throughout much of the world has been astonishing in the past 10 years: a United Nations report of 2010 showed startling rises global exportation figures 'design goods'. The report claimed to define this as products 'with a presumably high design input'.<sup>[13]</sup> In calculating its figures, it showed a global doubling of growth of exports between 2002 and 2008 (from \$53.4 billion to \$122.4 billion, reflecting mainly the growth in China) in developed and developing countries with a threefold growth in 'transition countries' (developed countries moving to a market economy). It has become customary to talk of economies where the sign-rich goods and services constitute their leading edge.<sup>[14]</sup> The implication of this is that worldwide, there are more designer goods to be bought and sold, more consumers willing to pay for them through increasing numbers of outlets. The high street and the internet have been populated with commodities for individual consumption.

Along with this growth over the past two decades has been an orthodoxy in seeing the act of consumption as being an individual one. It is about acquiring goods or experiencing environments as the consummation of a process of looking and selecting. This can be interpreted as a romantic fulfilment of individual desire that is generated as a reward for the boredom and sheer hard labour of the working week.<sup>[15]</sup> It is also seen as a way of asserting the sovereignty of the individual: taste is presented as a right and a democratic expression of personality. The acquisition of goods is positional in that it lays claim to personal status, it is a way of demarcating people from each other and signifying individual success.<sup>[16]</sup> The high street or the shopping mall becomes the scenario on which this consummation takes place. It is where the aestheticization of everyday life reaches its peak<sup>[17]</sup>-- an urban space that is configured for individuals to complete the processes of work, saving and spending.

The city is therefore configured to promote this process. The shopping mall or the high street are therefore enhanced by flourishes of urban design. These appear in-between shops as a brief respite. These civic spaces provide benches to rest on but they are not so different from the visual language of shopping to make consumers forget where they are. Often, their paving, use of hard materials and their general feel gently echo the retail setting to keep shoppers 'on message' and, ultimately, engaged in shopping.

This vision of aestheticized, modern life is, again, a very urban one. It requires concentrated spaces for consumption. These are places where people can make comparisons between shops or brands. They are configured just for one activity, that of looking and buying. They provide a scenario where the shopping trip is an expedition, shared by thousands of others who are engaged their own similar but distinctive quests.

#### Design Culture

So far we have seen how a discourse of design is focused into

urban settings. This has been in terms of how designers are assumed to want to cluster together and how this can feed into the economic, social and cultural ambitions of city authorities. They work to help brand cities. The actual production of goods these days may be spatially diffuse. Components of products may be created across all several continents, assembled in a city such as Shenzhen, and transported to their point of sale. But it is at that point of sale, the high street, the shopping mall or the internet that another intensification takes place. The latter two bring the classical practice of consumption to the city or near it. Similarly, the internet as a shopping space functions as a virtual reproduction of these.

The rise of design has also been accompanied by new ways of describing it and its social significance that may, in turn, take us into another way of thinking about it and, perhaps, new ways of practising it. The scenario of increased employment and economic activity in the design profession, the growth of its manufacture and distribution and its ascendant importance in how consumption is carried out suggests a series of discreet deeds. However, if we begin to link these together and think about how they interact and relate to one another, we can begin to consider them holistically as constituting a design culture.

Design culture is an object in itself but also an emergent field of academic study. As an object it is invariably identified in order to describe a linked set of material and human resources, skills, knowledge and activities in which a design component is significant. This in itself can become a promotional description. It has become common to describe a place's design assets in terms of its 'design culture' rather than, more simply, its design. Thus the institutions such as design schools and associations, the informal networks that bring designers and associated professionals together, the places where design is encountered and experienced, and the taste patterns and straightforward ways of doing design that are specific to a location are expressed through this coupling of design and culture. Thus the word 'culture' is not a separate

component that bears on and influences design; rather, the term implies a designerly way of going about life in all its aspects.

As an academic discipline, design culture studies these processes.<sup>[18]</sup> It is resolutely focused on the contemporary, attempting both to show how this is historically formed and where its dynamics are taking it. It collapses design disciplines in that it doesn't necessarily study, for example, industrial design or graphic design in isolation from one another. Conversely, then, it takes a scenario such as a form of leisure, a neighbourhood or an online community as a starting point. These are made up of things, like hotels, streets or computers. They might also include communications like signage, instruction manuals or graphical interfaces. Thus it will also look at the conjunction of different design media that constitute that scenario. But these also need people and so we are interested in how human activities take place in these scenarios, are influenced by them and, indeed, shape them.

In design culture we are therefore concerned with design as a social practice. By this we are interested in what design means in society, how it is functioning, how it is used and also being acted upon. Within this, design culture studies often look to a concept of consumption that goes beyond it as a private, individual undertaking; instead it promotes the idea that is also a public, participatory act. We are not just interested in the different things that happen within the design profession, the work that goes on in production, be that manufacture, distribution, promotion and so on, or how objects, spaces or images are consumed. Our interest is in what goes on between these, how information, knowledge, understandings, emotional outlooks, but also things flow, or not, between them. Design culture studies are acutely interested in relationality.

At the same time, it is well to remember that design is more than visual. It involves sight, but also touch, smell, texture, sound, weight, sound, temperature and many other sensory

faculties. This is perhaps an over-obvious point, but when considered further it takes us well beyond design as visual culture. While looking is indeed embodied act, the practice of engaging with design objects and environments becomes even more bodily. The corporeal knowledge required in using objects is a shared facility. We learn how to do things, consciously or unconsciously, by watching and copying, by doing things alongside others: how to stand in a queue; how to hand money to shop assistants; how to browse on smartphones. These activities are complex and highly mannered in their physical actions.

Furthermore, encountering the visual most often requires a transaction between the self and the singular object of the gaze. Meanwhile, engaging with the design object or environment often requires taking it in through several formats and iterations. Design is serially reproduced and so it follows that we experience it in a multiplicity of formats and locations. You might ride a particular make of bicycle, but then you also see others on the same make. You might see it displayed in a shop or advertised in a magazine. While the brand is expressed as a singularity, the object is known through several formats and is therefore multiple in its materialization.

Thus, in design culture, we have to think of multiplicities. Design journalism and curatorship often conspires to singularize the design object. The work of a famous designer is displayed in a magazine or in a gallery almost as if it was the only one, like a piece of fine art. By contrast, the design object or environment in everyday life is manifold and its various manifestations are co-contingent. For instance, the bicycle maintenance instruction book only has a utilitarian role when there is a bicycle and someone or people to mediate between the two.

#### Everyday practices

Working with this concept of multiplicities and relations

moves us away from the idea of discreet actions of designers and, indeed, of consumption as this individual act that merely involves transactions of singular objects. The work of design is bound up in multiple networks that it shapes and is shaped by. Equally, consumption involves suites, clusters and assemblages. These all involve contingent objects for them to function. For example, an electric rice steamer is not just an individual tool. It needs clean water, an electricity supply, a surface to prepare the rice on and place to do this and, of course, rice to actually be of any use. But it also involves dishes and cutlery of a certain shape and size and other foodstuffs to eat it with. The device requires knowledge on how it works, but also a sense of time and location as to when and where it would be appropriate to cook with it. As a staple part of many diets, it also engages a certain emotional value or, even cultural significant in marking out the social rituals and customs that make up eating. Rather than just buying a rice steamer, one is buying into a 'rice project'.<sup>[19]</sup>

Designers are dependent on all these items and actions in a network. Changes to any part of the constellation that makes up a whichever 'project' we are talking about will affect its whole.<sup>[20]</sup> Equally, it is important to view processes of acquisition and use as not just isolated, individual acts but as socially constituted. The basic existence and the formal qualities of the rice steamer are contingent on other material items and services. But they are also part of shared understandings and activities. They make up a practice. Thus there is a kind of 'material semiotic' process underway here. Objects and environments provide scenarios, shape action and reinforce meaning. Habitual use of these, underline and consolidate values and understandings of everyday life. Indeed, beyond commercial world of design, we may even begin to conceive of the home itself as a design culture. It is, after all, a place where things -- like rice-based meals -- are thought about, fashioned and produced. It is, also, where they are consumed. All kinds of other processes of making take place in the home, be it in arranging the furniture or sewing a button. Taste patterns, preferences and habits link production

and consumption in the home.

#### Articulations and Unities

This move toward thinking about everyday practices means that we can begin to think of different locations and scales in which the assemblages that make up different design cultures occur. Earlier in this essay I have argued that the discourse of design has privileged a certain rarefied, urban setting. I have shown how this has been through its own commercial practices and the ambitions of city authorities, but also in the way that consumer culture has been consolidated. Of course we can think of these locations in themselves as places where design cultures function. After all, for instance, the 'fit' of design studios with other facilities such as galleries, independent fashion shops and trendy bars and restaurants that is often to be found in creative quarters or, otherwise, 'semiotic neighbourhoods', implies a dense interchange of design production and consumption within a clearly defined spatial ambience.<sup>[21]</sup> But in shifting our emphasis on design to its role in the everyday and function as part of different practices other than the distinctly urban, we can begin to think of alternative scales, dynamics and materialities.

To return to the notion of the home as a design culture in itself, another way of terming this might be as a 'geography of responsibility'.<sup>[22]</sup> The home is a location where, within a clearly defined space, decisions are made and activities are carried out that develop or reinforce certain outlooks. How energy is consumed or conserved or what daily rituals such as eating together are emphasized: these involve both material and ethical choices that also relate to an outside world of shared concerns.

The home is a space of articulation, of bringing together things, people and viewpoints. But it is also co-articulated with wider questions.<sup>[23]</sup> From this, we might then think about other scales on which this process of internal and external relationships takes places. So, from the home we

might move to the neighbourhood as an articulation. The neighbourhood is a coming together. Like the home, it can be a kind of unity that is not necessarily determined by strict laws or proclamations as to what its identity should be or how it should function. Being of a certain nationality, for example, is structured by a range of institutions such as its laws, education system and military organization. These are relatively simple. By contrast, unity is more complex as it is formed by the combination of people and things coming together in a way that accommodates a diversity of activities but with an overarching logic. It is 'a structure in which things are related, as much through their differences as through their similarities'.<sup>[24]</sup>

Homes, neighbourhoods, villages, towns or even rural territories are legal entities. They are demarcated by certain laws that protect their functioning as social and economic spaces in different ways and with different emphases. But they are also described by sets of shared everyday practices—they are unities. This latter definition suggests that they can be flexible and diverse in their operations. They can even disrupt the historical city/countryside divide.

#### Reconstituting the rural/urban divide

In 2009 I undertook -- with the British architectural firm Bauman Lyons -- a study of 'distinctive towns'. We were commissioned by the regional development agency for the North East of England to study how rural locations could be regenerated through specialization.<sup>[25]</sup> Throughout the world there are small settlements that have become known through developing specialities in one thing or another. The kinds of places we were interested in were Machynlleth in Wales, famous for its green energy projects or Emscher Park in Germany that has developed as an outdoor pursuits centre.

Another example that we studied was the town of Hay-on-Wye on the border of England and Wales. It has a population of some 2,500 but supports over 35 second-

hand bookshops and an annual literary festival. People come from all over the world to browse its shelves or attend the festival that is reported on through national and international media. This identity is not just carried through its fame, but materially through its everyday life. Moving books is heavy, physical work so there is an embodied process in this identity. The town is a unity made up of differences. For example, bookshops in themselves can specialize in certain genres or clients so that one shop might display and sell just children's fiction, another may be just concerned with travel fiction and non-fiction. Cafés and guesthouses provide hospitality for visitors and support this very particular aesthetic and activity. With the internet, some of its bookshops work more in dealing rare editions or long-lost publications for global enthusiasts and collectors. Thus the town is constantly evolving. It maintains and accommodates that difference and ephemerality of an articulation. The design dimension of the town may not be in any spectacular or controlled corporate or civic look. Rather, it is something that is practiced through its everyday habits and processes and materialized in its shops, the shelving and the books themselves.

Although several other 'booktowns' exist across Europe, generally speaking these kind of distinctive towns have evolved rather than been planned. They have come about through years of activities and enthusiasms. But their disruption is that they demonstrate that a rural location doesn't need to be subservient to the city/country binary divide. They are not there to serve the city nor necessarily to provide a bucolic alternative. Instead, they are richly focused and defined in themselves while being networked and co-articulated with interests outside themselves.

Nonetheless, these are spectacular examples. Not every town can be a booktown or whatever other specialism. But in the way they are constructed as being very self-aware of their heritage, materiality and knowledge, these might provide clues to an alternative construct of how design may function in other circumstances. Like the design studio, they are

intensities of knowledge, skill, decision making, action and material resources. They have an aesthetic. But these aspects are not necessarily subservient to a fixed commercial idea or civic policy of what design should be. Instead, their success has come about through an understanding of the assets, identity and human processes and outlooks that constitute them.

In this way, a design culture model may be a useful tool in analysing and bringing into consciousness the strengths and potential of a place. By becoming more aware of the ways by which the networks of design, production and consumption fit together and interact, we can identify their interdependencies, or, moreover, scope for improving their relationships to make places more robust and resilient. The issue is not necessarily whether a place enjoys the benefits of being in a rural or urban location. Rather, this is both about re-locating and re-localizing design cultures beyond what has become, even in the space of just a few decades, their traditional association with city-living.

#### Concluding remarks

It is perhaps easy to make broad statements that theorize how we might move forward to a more sustainable, equitable and just society through design. It is harder to put these into reality.

In this essay, I have tried to show, in the first instance, what is already going on in practice rather than declare vague aspirations. In this, I wish to divert attention away from spectacular images of design and consumption. Design may involve impressive forms and structures, individuals and teams who are extraordinarily adept at thinking visually and using that skill to re-fashion objects and spaces. They may themselves be active in the formation of attractive social environments in cities that carry a creative feeling. Likewise, consumption may involve the simple pleasure of searching for and selecting that one, highly-desired item. But design

also exists in networks where multiples of things and people come together -- and this is what I mean by design also being embedded into everyday practice. We can be more humble and quieter in where we look to the work of design and the connections it makes and mediates.

In drawing design into this more generalized field, Victor Papanek famously proclaimed that, 'All men are designers. All that we do, almost all the time, is design, for design is basic to all human activity. The planning and patterning of any act toward a desired, foreseeable end constitutes the design process. Any attempt to separate design, to make it a thing-by-itself, works counter to the fact that design is the primary underlying matrix of life'.<sup>[26]</sup>

These days we have more analytical tools with which to investigate what that 'matrix of life' might entail and how design functions within it. We are probably more used to talking about various matrices of life rather than one binding 'plan' as well. And so it follows that we can also be more critical and imaginative about the scales and locations of these matrices and what design does and can do within them.

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图书在版编目 (CIP) 数据

设计的大地/许平, 陈冬亮主编. —北京: 北京大学出版社, 2014.7

(培文·设计)

ISBN 978-7-301-24403-6

I. ①设… II. ①许… ②陈… III. ①设计学—文集 IV. ①TB21-53

中国版本图书馆 CIP 数据核字 (2014) 第 128640 号

书 名: 设计的大地

著作责任者: 许平 陈冬亮 主编

责任编辑: 张丽婷

标准书号: ISBN 978-7-301-24403-6/J·0596

出版发行: 北京大学出版社

地 址: 北京市海淀区成府路 205 号 100871

网 址: <http://www.pup.cn> 新浪官方微博: @北京大学出版社 @培文图书

电子信箱: [zpup@pup.cn](mailto:zpup@pup.cn)

电 话: 邮购部 62752015 发行部 62750672 编辑部 62750112 出版部 62754962

印 刷 者: 北京市宏泰印刷有限公司

经 销 者: 新华书店

889 毫米 × 1194 毫米 16 开本 12 印张 265 千字

2014 年 7 月第 1 版 2014 年 7 月第 1 次印刷

定 价: 138.00 元

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