

A Project About A Project

Zhou Jianjia

A Project being Constructed

On an early spring afternoon, my friend and I visited Cui Jie's studio, situated in an artists' complex in Songjiang, Shanghai. Units with red bricks facades in gradient patterns and giant curving roofs fill this area, sitting next to each other. Artists active in Shanghai have gathered here together in this location, making this campus a prominent art landmark. In 2019, when preparing for a solo exhibition in London, Cui Jie received an invitation from Focal Point Gallery to visit some twentieth century urban developments in Essex during her trip, in preparation for a first institutional exhibition in the UK. 'I went to Essex for one visit but was not able to fulfill the planned residency because of the pandemic, and so I had to get information through documentation,' Cui said. 'Even if I could have stayed there, it would still have been tough for me to get the sense of ideology as well as cultural background of this place.' Essex occupies an interesting position in the history of modern British architecture, while Cui Jie's works to date have mainly been based on contemporary Chinese urban and architectural landscapes. This essay explains this collaborative project and why I am interested in Cui Jie's work and her exhibition, 'New Model Village' as an architect and researcher.

The experience of living in Shanghai, studying in Hangzhou, and working in Beijing, mobilised Cui Jie's sensitivity to the constantly changing urbanscape around her. Extracting, interweaving, and mutating these urban fragments has become a continuous theme in her project. What drew her attention in particular are the buildings constructed between the 1980s to 2000s; buildings that were never considered 'beautiful' in a common sense. People of the same generation who witnessed the phase of urban development, such as myself, would give a tacit smile: we know only too well what these years meant to Chinese cities. The architectural theories and forms poured in as China opened its doors to new urban developments, the good and the bad. Various architectural styles were appropriated in the heat of rapid design and construction, overused even misused. On the other hand, with the advancement of urbanisation, these banal buildings converged and constituted the matrix of daily life, which fascinated Cui Jie. (Fig 1) 'I kept asking myself what exactly constructs my visual experience, and this is how I precepted these architectures. 'People of the same generation share this feeling: the repeated construction, demolition, then re-construction that has shaped our ways of seeing and feeling our environment. Cui Jie captured it and made it her project.

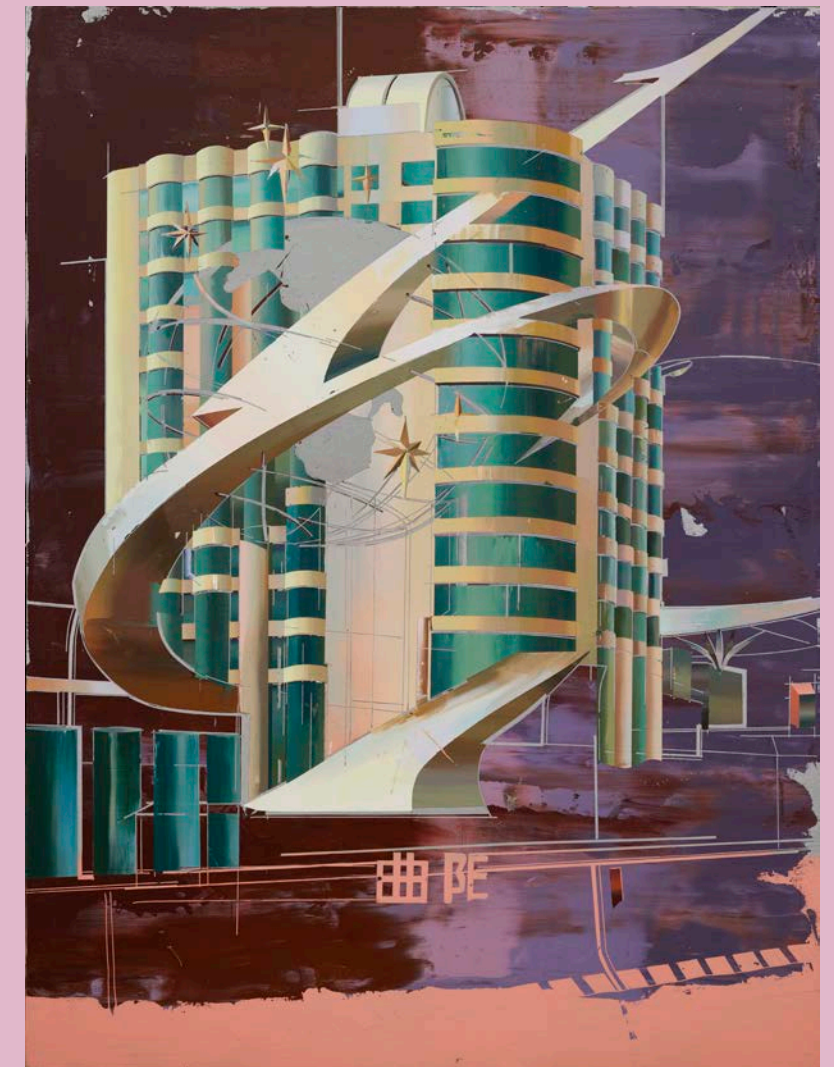


Fig 1. Cui Jie, *Green Glass Apartment Building*, 2018, courtesy Antenna Space

'I could not get any closer to Essex, so the only way is to imagine.' Cui Jie continued, 'Among the research materials from Essex, I was especially interested in Silver End and the Bata Factory and Estate; the modernist architecture that evoked working together, living together. A film clip from the Bata Factory documented the worker's sports meetings. The intimacy between individual and collective shown in the film immediately reminded me of my days living in the workers' new village as a child. It is the counterpart I found for my imagination of Essex, I guess.' Next to the table where we talked stood a whiteboard with small, square photos of architectures from Essex on one end (Fig 2) and on the other end photos depicting life in Caoyang New Village, the other protagonist of 'New Model Village.' They look just like newspaper clips that are no longer available from this era. For the first time in her practice, Cui Jie included the theme of the workers' new village in her project. It is an imaginative journey back to the workers' new village where Cui Jie grew up via a modernist project far away from her, in the sense of both geography and history. Like the clippings pinned on the whiteboard, landscapes from Essex, and life in Caoyang come together, floating in an endless white sea.



Fig 2. Whiteboard pinned with photos of Essex and Caoyang New Village in Cui Jie's studio

A Project that was Modelled

In terms of planning and construction chronology, the area where Caoyang is located, Huxi (West Area of Shanghai), is closely related to Hudong (East Area of Shanghai), where Cui Jie grew up. There were two main industrial bases in Shanghai decades ago. In 1951, the Shanghai Municipal Government established the 'Shanghai Workers' Housing Construction Committee' to solve the housing scarcity faced by three million industrial workers. Caoyang New Village (No. 1 Village,¹) marked 'the beginning of a larger-scale construction of workers' housing in the future.' (Fig 3) Built in 1951, Caoyang New Village occupied 94.63 hectares. It provided an integrated residential area accommodating 167 units and 1002 households, with a living area of four square metres per person. Instead of being in the city's centre, the site of Caoyang was in the northwest of Shanghai, a suburban farmland near the industrial zone, overgrown with ditches and weeds.



Fig 3. Birdview of Caoyang New Village. Image source: Zhu Xiaoming, 'Planning, Design and History of Shanghai Caoyang No.1 Village', *Housing Science*, 2011

The planning of Caoyang New Village was exemplary. (Fig 4) Its chief designer, Wang Dingzeng (1913–2014), published 'The Planning of Caoyang New Village Residential Area in Shanghai' on *Architectural Journal*, the nation's most influential journal in the field, in February 1952. According to Wang, the plan was divided into three hierarchical levels: neighbourhood, cluster, and village. Each cluster had its nurseries, kindergartens, and primary schools, located at independent sites within a 10-minute walking distance. (Fig 5) Community facilities such as co-op shops, post offices and banks were at the centre. At the same time, commercial establishments included markets at the periphery to keep daily life undisturbed. The street system in the village was laid out in a flexible pattern to accommodate the natural environment of the site. Wang's attitude was complex when introducing the neighbourhood unit ('The master plan of the new village cannot be denied to be affected by the idea of neighbourhood units'), mainly because of criticism from the Soviet advisors. Soviet advisors sought to transplant the superbloc scheme (dajiefang) in terms of residential design, which later became prevalent in Chinese cities. With four- to six-story flats arranged around a quadrangle with public facilities in the centre, the superbloc scheme emphasized strong symmetrical axes, grandeur façades, and location in the city centre. 'According to the principles of the Stalin era of construction,' Wang wrote in his article, 'the idea of neighbourhood units in a capitalist country is in complete opposition to superbloc schema, which is the 'organic component of Soviet cities...with all the most economical and superior methods of construction.' (Fig 6)² Another point of criticism was the 'Garden City' tendency shown in Caoyang due to its low rise, low density, and friendly environment, which was also sensitively considered by the British architects who visited the village in 1953, and who later introduced Caoyang as a typical case of Garden City in a British architecture magazine.³

The site of Caoyang New Village was another point that was criticized by Soviet advisors for being far away from the city centre. The choice was intentional and endowed with symbolic meaning. Workers were taken away from the hardship of living in overcrowded streets, then reaccommodated on a 'blank slate' to form a new community. Caoyang



Fig 4. Master Plan of Caoyang New Village. Image source: Wang Dingzeng, 'The Planning of Caoyang New Village Residential Area in Shanghai', *Architectural Journal*, 1956

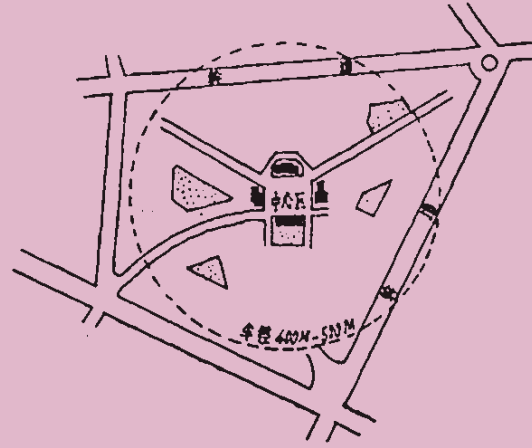


Fig 5. Neighbourhood Unit drafted by Wang Dingzeng.
Image source: Wang Dingzeng, 'The Planning of Caoyang New Village Residential Area in Shanghai', *Architectural Journal*, 1956

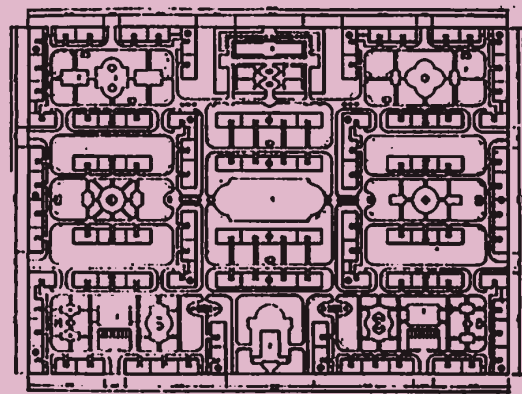


Fig 6. The 1955 award-winning residential design proposal based on the Soviet superblock schema.
Image source: Lu Duanfang, 'Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China', *Planning Perspectives*, 2006

New Village became a benchmark for reshaping the beliefs of the working class, a way of living for the most outstanding workers. Hua Lanhong (1912–2012), one of the most famous first-generation architects in China, commented, 'It is very difficult to imagine what life would be like in a socialist environment, especially at this point of turning'.⁴ Wang Dingzeng and the planning team understood this hope and provided an exemplary real example. A picture of buildings with red tiles, white walls and lattice with traditional Chinese decorative patterns, freshly red-painted flooring (Fig 7), and meandering paths leading to the waterfront. When completed, the 1002 units in Caoyang New Village were allocated to the workers from 217 textile mills and hardware factories from several districts by the government. That meant each factory could only get four or five houses. Priority was given to the best workers, and there was a saying, 'one person who moves into the New Village honors the whole factory'. Those workers moved into Caoyang with great enthusiasm and showed their colleagues a bright future. 'The establishment of Caoyang marks the beginning of building workers' housing. The government will continue the project in Hudong, Huxi, and other places', said Pan Hannian, the vice mayor of Shanghai on the inauguration ceremony of Caoyang New Village.⁵



Fig 7. Workers walking on the lawn of Caoyang New Village

Caoyang New Village soon became well-known in China through the circulating images actively promoted to show the new life. The August 1952 issue of *China Pictorial* published a series of photographs of life in Caoyang Village, taken by a famous former-field photographer, Yu Chuangshuo⁶. These photos show the healthy, smiling young couple and their family of four moving into the unit and the pleasure of collective life. (Fig 8&9) For a country rising from the ruins, the images of a new life were undoubtedly evocative. One photo shows the couple decorating the house by hanging up the family photo, and the other shows a worker installing a clock with the gate of Caoyang as a backdrop. (Fig 10) These images sent a clear message: a new era has begun, and life is in the workers' hands. The subsequent films *How They Live* (1957) and *My Day Off Today* (1959) set in Caoyang, further reinforced the norms of what new life should look like. These were the golden days of Caoyang.

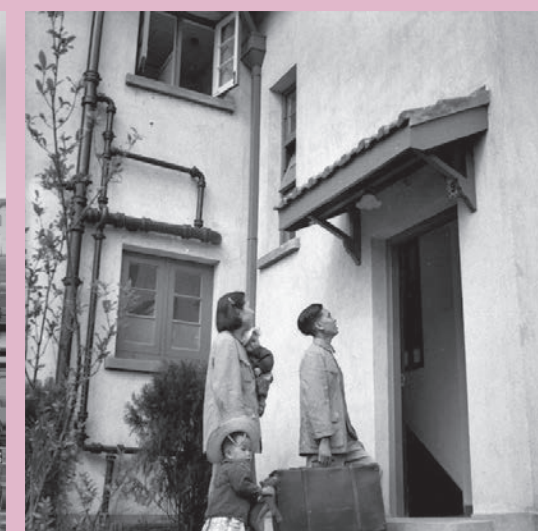


Fig 8,9,10. Photos of Life in Caoyang New Village by Yu Chuangshuo

A Project to be Finished

When laying the planning ideas, overall layout, and buildings of Caoyang New Village alongside those of Silver End and the Bata Estate in Essex, the similarities and differences are equally evident. Wang Dingzeng absorbed the idea of ‘Neighbourhood Unit’ and ‘Garden City,’ while the Czech-born founder of the Bata Factory, Tomáš Bat’a, was influenced both by the ‘Garden City’ concept from England and the standard assemblage line from the US. He had Le Corbusier take part in the international competition of workers’ housing designs⁷ and later exported the whole Bata concept to its branches in Europe, including the Estate in East Tilbury. If Caoyang and Bata in Essex were two parallel lines on different planes, almost crossing at certain angles, Cui Jie’s ‘New Model Village’ provides a moment for them to meet. In her drawings, the buildings, sculptures, and landscapes from Shanghai and Essex intertwine, indistinguishable from each other, until they come together to create a new object. The circumstance of public housing and the related collective life being considered as a cultural field is not an accident. It is the field in which everyday life is constructed, which also contains the inherent contradictions of modernity. They are both the experiment in how to give a form to the future, or to take modernity as a programmatic project.

Reading the history of twentieth-century architecture, this commitment to an egalitarian, enthusiastic, and orderly life was conceived and practiced everywhere. The slogan of ‘one person who moves into the New Village honors the whole factory’ in Caoyang New Village, or ‘Work Collectively and Live Individually’ in the Bata Factory, drew a utopian vision of collective life.⁸ The decline of this new model life was also witnessed. Unlike Bata’s fortunes going up and down, the decline of Caoyang New Village came at a slow pace but with no less pain. As the political aura faded over the decades, the people and their younger generations had to face a drastic drop in living conditions. Since the restructuring of the industry since the 1990s, a considerable number of workers were laid off, which was particularly evident in the textile industry. It also means the decline of a stable working class. The glory of the first generation of residents in Caoyang New Village became a thing of the past. Now after thirty years, the memory of its origins is no longer recognizable from the current Caoyang New Village, just as the country villages and farmland on which it was built were erased with ease. Even though Cui Jie grew up in Shanghai, and even though 2021 marked the 70th anniversary of the founding of Caoyang when many houses and landscapes were restored, she has never visited. She believes that Caoyang New Village is a place that ‘could not get any closer’ and ‘only can be imagined.’ I prefer to regard the delicate strokes on two large, black paintings in the ‘New Model Village’ series as a way of weaving. (Fig 11) The horizontal and vertical lines reminded me of the fine warp and weft in textile factories and the stitching in shoemaking. In Cui Jie’s painting, the disparate relationship between the individual and the collective, the past and the present, is interwoven into a large building suspended, ready to escape at any minute.



Fig 11. Detail from *Harlow Town Hall*, 2021

Bata Shoes has seen turmoil in the last few decades; with its factories in Essex and other European cities ceasing to function, so that Europe is no longer the major production centre for the company. With the advent of globalization, the footwear industry has been moving to places including India, Vietnam, and China is among them. In celebrating the 70th anniversary of Caoyang New Village, an elevated linear park was built on a former railway track that is to the east of the New Village, which was also part of the project to connect the industrial bases in Shanghai together. Walking all the way along the park, one can find a large palace-like shopping mall. It is the liveliest place in the West part of Shanghai. What Wang Dingzeng had foreseen in the pre-planning phase – that the city centre in the 1950s would eventually expand into the suburban farmland of the industrial area – is verified here. Caoyang New Village has silently witnessed the rising skyscrapers and commercial centres. On the ground floor of this grandiose shopping, you can find a shop with a sign in flowery font, ‘Bata’.

1. There are nine villages in Caoyang New Village. In most cases, Caoyang New Village refers to the first one, No. 1 Village.
2. Wang Dingzeng, ‘The Planning of Caoyang New Village Residential Area in Shanghai’, *Architectural Journal*, 1956
3. Ibid.2.
4. Zhu Xiaoming, ‘Planning, Design and History of Shanghai Caoyang No. 1 Village’, *Housing Science*, 2011
5. Local History of Putuo, Vol. 26, ‘Caoyang New Village’
6. Yu Chuangshuo (1911–1991) was a famous Chinese photographer. He worked as battlefield photographer during wartime, and documented a lot of historical moments.
7. Jane Pavit, ‘The Bata Project: a Social and Industrial Experiment’, *Twentieth Century Architecture*, 1994
8. Jonna Smith, ‘“Work Collectively and Live Individually”: The Bata Housing Estate at East Tilbury’, *Twentieth Century Architecture*, 2008

Archive

Presented in this section are some of the archival materials and information about the architectural projects that inspired Cui Jie's paintings and works on paper in 'New Model Village'.

With special thanks to Jade Chen, Bata Heritage Centre, BFI National Archive, Essex Record Office, East Anglian Film Archive, Pathé Films, Royal Institute of British Architects, Silver End Heritage Society and The Francis Frith Collection.



Caoyang New Village, 1959, Courtesy Antenna Space and History Museum of Caoyang New Village



Residents from Caoyang New Village, 1960, Courtesy Antenna Space and History Museum of Caoyang New Village

Caoyang New Village

Caoyang New Village was built in 1951. It was the first new workers' village built in China. Its first residents were front-line workers, who were carefully vetted so that the housing went to skilled model workers who were selected for various factories, cotton mills, machinery plants, chemical factories and food manufacturers. The overall planning of Caoyang New Village was designed by the famous architect Wang Dingzeng, who innovatively integrated the concept of 'neighbourhood units' into the planning of the new village. 'New Village' is not only a living mode, but also a utopian experiment of socialist transformation of the 'villagers' in work and life. Wang embraced a layout that embodied a 'community-centric' lifestyle, incorporating a cinema, a shopping mall, hospital, primary school and wet market all within walking distance for residents.



Aerial view of Silver End, 1938, Courtesy Silver End Heritage Society

Silver End

Silver End in Braintree, Essex was conceived as a model village by Francis Henry Crittall who founded the Crittall Windows factory built in 1926. The factory manufactured and supplied components for metal windows. Silver End workers' village was designed and built in the Art Deco style and includes some noteworthy early examples of Modernist architecture with distinctive white, flat-roofed houses, many designed by architect Thomas S. Tait. As a part of the Model Village, this area was planned by C. Murray Hennell in the manner of the Garden City Movement. With the largest village hall in the UK, it boasted to have a first-class dance floor, cinema, library, snooker room and health clinic.



Left to Right: Babs Adams, Mary Gallacher, Elsie Upson, Daisy Bicker and Josie Turkentine on tea break, 1950
Courtesy Silver End Heritage Society



Le Chateau, Silver End, 1928, Courtesy RIBA Collections



View of Crittall workers on factory floor, c.1930

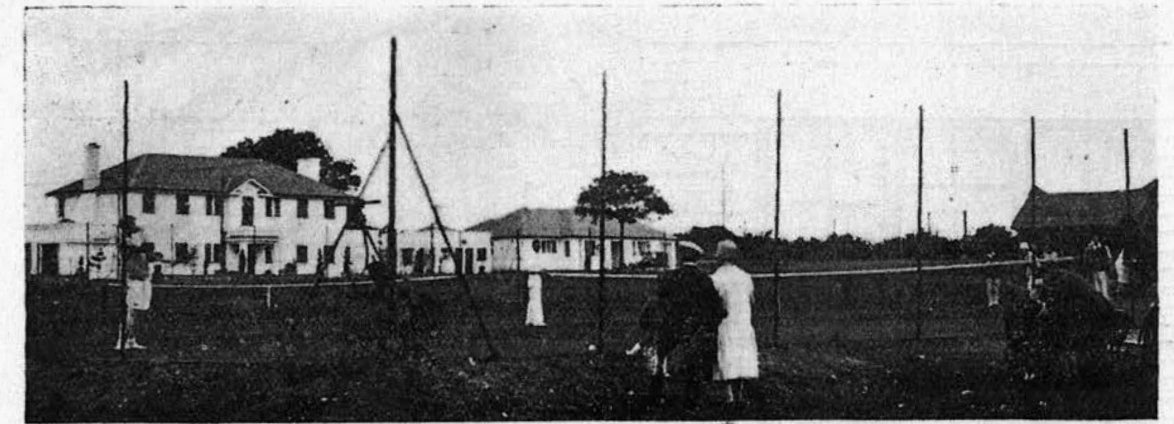
THE CRITTALL MAGAZINE

THREEPENCE

SEPTEMBER

VOLUME 3
NUMBER 9

1927



Opening of the new Hard Tennis Court presented to Silver End residents by Mr. F. H. Crittall

REVELS AT SILVER END

Favoured by genial climatic conditions, the fete held on the occasion of the formal opening of the hard tennis courts at Silver End, kindly presented to the residents of the Garden Village by Mr. F. H. Crittall, proved a great success. A big crowd witnessed the ceremony and the tournament which followed. Subsequently a long programme of sports, games and competitions provided interest for those present, and it may be truly said there was not a dull moment during the afternoon or evening. The children ran races for prizes, a committee of lady judges cajoled handsome men to compete for clocks and other trophies, a committee of gentlemen cast expert eyes on ladies' ankles and there were various guessing competitions for hams, cakes and other comestibles. Side shows included a "spinning jenny," darts, cocoanut-shies, football, golf-putting and other games of skill, whilst the C.M.C. band enlivened the whole proceed-

ing with spirited music, afterwards playing for dancing.

The lady with the prettiest ankles was adjudged to be Mrs. Frost (London); the handsomest man was Mr. Crozier (Cressing); the cake competition was won by Mrs. W. Pennock, the ham by Mr. Rawsthorn, the bowls by Mr. Thorogood (Braintree), Mr. F. Pennock (Silver End) being second, the lucky number by Mr. H. Kerlogue and "staking the claim" by Mr. Moore. Mr. Purl guessed most correctly the number of peas in a bottle, but the name of the Teddy Bear proved to be too elusive for the entrants and it was eventually sold to the highest bidder in an auction sale.

The committee responsible for the arrangements, all of whom worked hard to make the function the complete success it was, were Mrs. Scott and Messrs. Beswick, Howell, Spurgeon, Morley, Elliott and Cottis.



Winners in the Prettiest Ankle Competition, with their Judges



Winners of "Most Handsome Gent" Competition, with their Judges



Bata Hotel, 1932, Courtesy Bata Heritage Centre

Bata Estate

The Bata Estate was founded in East Tilbury in 1932 by Tomáš Baťa, the Czech shoe manufacturer who built a model town for his workers when he established a new factory in England. A large housing development of 352 houses in a ‘garden village’ setting was built to house the workers around the Bata shoe factory. Amenities, including a theatre, sports facilities, hotel, restaurant, grocery and butcher shops, post office, and its own newspaper was built and provided for the town. The estate predates many of Britain’s modernist gems, building ‘flat-tops’ in a checkerboard pattern. Architects Frantisek Lydie Gahura and Vladimir Karfik allowed space around each property for the comfort of each resident.



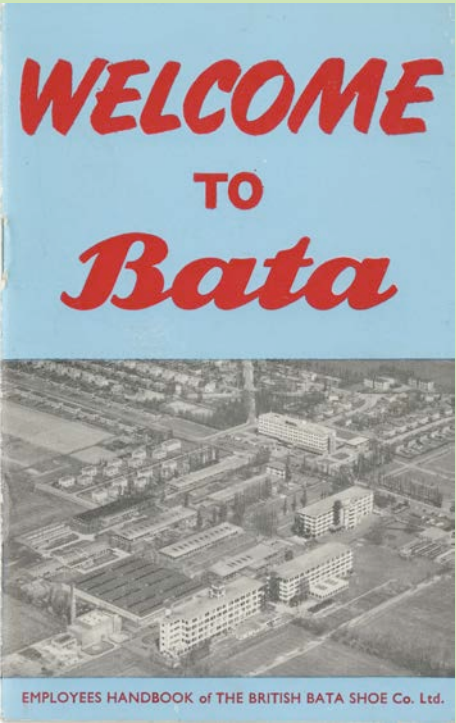
Bata Hotel, 1932, Courtesy Bata Heritage Centre



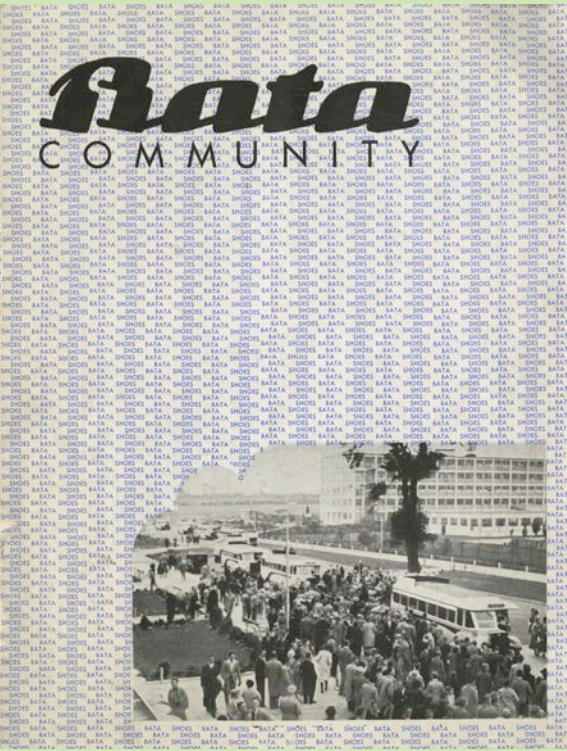
Bata Gate, Photographic Print, 1964



British Bata East Tilbury, Handbook, 1932



Welcome to Bata Employees Handbook of the British Bata Shoe Co. Ltd Index No: 4978, 1930



Bata Community Publication, 1939

Following opening: British Bata East Tilbury, Handbook p. 26, 1932
These images have been reproduced by kind permission of the Bata Heritage Centre

Social Services

British Bata of East Tilbury is a community which sets an example of industrial welfare fostered in the highest standards of democracy. The organisation earnestly feels that it has a duty to see that its members are provided with an environment in which healthy minds, active brains and energetic bodies can flourish.

Two basic needs in life – food and housing – are provided by the Company. Four hundred attractive, modern houses have been built by the Company for its workers, and these testify to the founder's great concern for the provision of social security for its employees. These homes, eagerly sought in a country where housing is a major political issue, are rented nominally, and there is great pride in their appearance and in the charming gardens that surround them. The immense task of provision of meals at subsidised cost for the majority of factory employees each day is a job undertaken by well-organised catering departments. Two restaurants and a running buffet are fully maintained to cater for work-breaks.

A large hotel containing more than 100 bedrooms and several self-contained flats is a mecca for guests from all over the world and provides accommodation for employees. There is a ballroom for dancing and other activities which help to bring the members of the community together to enjoy one another's company. The milk delivered to the employees' doorsteps is collected from the Company's model farm, where a T.T. herd is maintained to provide a full range of dairy products.

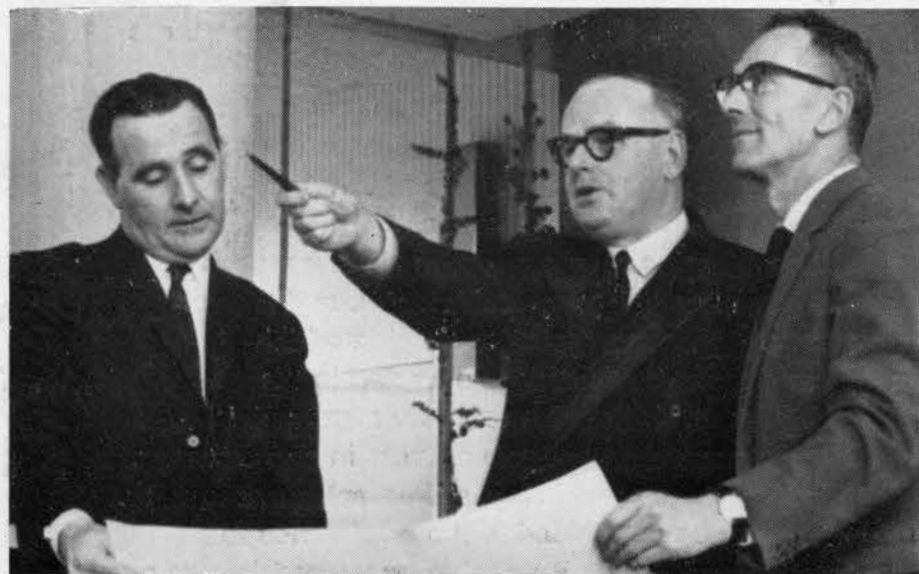
A medical centre, cafeteria, butchers shop, supermarket, post office, hairdressing salon, and a garage are all operated for the convenience of British Bata employees.

Educational facilities for the children of the estate have also been provided through the establishment of a modern, airy school.

A club and cinema provide further outlets for leisure activities, and the finest sports facilities have been developed for the use of adults and children alike. These include a swimming pool, tennis courts, a sports ground containing cricket and two football pitches, a training pitch and running track.



The centre of social life at East Tilbury



The Manager of social services discusses arrangements for a festive occasion in the new ballroom

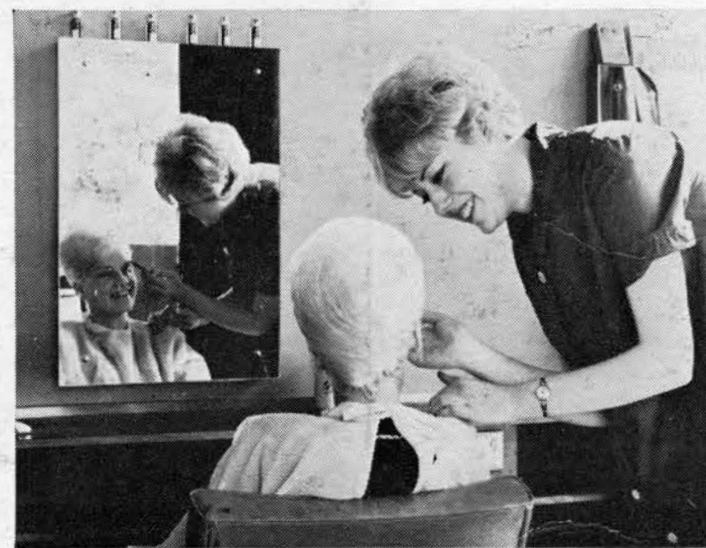
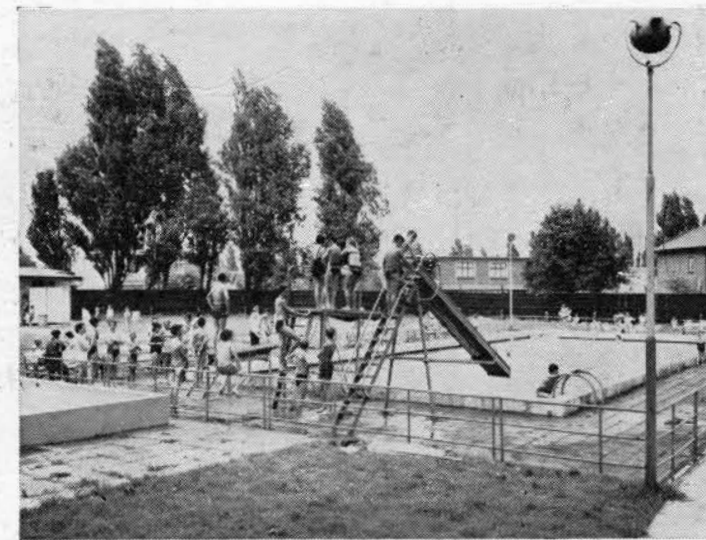


An up-to-date espresso bar caters for the teenagers and serves light meals and snacks



A comfortable recreation club lets employees relax after a day's work

Community Spirit





East Walk, Town Centre, Basildon, 1962,
Courtesy Architectural Press Archive/RIBA Collections

Basildon New Town

In 1946, the New Towns Act was passed by Prime Minister Clement Attlee's post-war Labour government. Basildon was one of eight 'New Towns' created in the South East as an attempt to address the post-war housing crisis in London. The design and building were led by the newly incorporated Basildon Development Corporation, with Sir Basil Spence as consultant. The compulsory purchase orders that followed were met with resistance, as the compensation offered was accused of being ungenerous, and involved breaking up existing plotland settlements. However, building began in 1956, with the town inaugurated in 1962. The New Town comprised of ten neighbourhoods; Pitsea, Laindon, Langdon Hills, Vange, Lee Chapel South and North, Fryerns, Ghyllgrove, Barstable and Kingswood.



Town Square, Basildon, 1962,
Courtesy Architectural Press Archive/RIBA Collections

Previous opening: British Bata East Tilbury,
Handbook p. 27, 1932



Harlow, Market House, 1955, Copyright The Francis Frith Collection

Harlow New Town

The original masterplan for Harlow was conceived by Sir Frederick Gibberd in 1947. The purpose of these New Towns was to house people and commerce, they were intended to be self-contained, balanced communities rather than satellites to London. The site was ideal for a New Town, reasonably close to London, a large undeveloped rural area at the junction of a motorway and with a main line railway. Gibberd was passionate about art and had idealistic notions of the New Town as a place where people who might not normally have access to art could enjoy great sculptures by great artists on every street corner. Inclusion of sculpture, now managed by Harlow Arts Trust was core to the vision. In 1980 Sir Frederick wrote, 'The Plan was concerned with three arts: architecture, road design and landscape architecture. These three arts are fused to become town scenes or townscape, the making of which is the art of Town Design.'



Harlow, Water Gardens, 1965, Copyright The Francis Frith Collection

一个关于计划的计划

文/周渐佳

一个建构的计划

一个早春的下午，我和朋友一起拜访了艺术家崔洁在上海松江的工作室。这座园区内尽数是红色页岩砖构成的渐变立面，曲面大屋顶的独栋建筑一栋接着一栋，是上海重要的艺术家工作室聚集区之一。2019年，当崔洁在伦敦准备个展时，接到了来自埃克塞斯的焦点画廊的邀请。“我去了一次埃克塞斯，后来因为疫情的原因无法完成驻留，只能通过传过来的文献资料获得信息”，崔洁说到，“事实上，即便完成了驻留，无论是意识形态层面还是教育背景层面，都决定了我要真正进入那个地方还是很困难。”埃克塞斯在英国现代建筑史上有着一席之地，崔洁的作品中又多以中国的当代城市与建筑景观为对象，这既是双方合作的缘由，也是我作为建筑师、研究者会关注她的作品与这次展览的原因。

从上海生活、杭州求学再到北京创作，崔洁对城市和建筑的敏感性也在不断的迁徙辗转间被调动起来，对城市片段的摘取、交织、转化成了她创作中延续的主题。崔洁感兴趣的并不是那些可以被认定为“美”的建筑——它们大多建造于80年代到2000年间，经历过这段城市发展时期的同代人，比如我，一定会默契地相视一笑。我们太了解这段时间对于中国城市意味着什么了。彼时国门刚开，各种建筑流派、思潮的涌入带来的新的建筑形式，在热火朝天的设计与建设中，各种建筑手法被挪用、滥用甚至误用，出现在加速生产着的建筑中。另一方面，随着城市化的推进，这些不美的建筑构成了日常生活的基底。这些混杂在城市景观中，需要细细辨认的建筑吸引着崔洁。“我对这些建筑的认知恰恰和建筑学是相反的，从究竟是什么建构了我的视觉方式这个问题开始，再去了解它们来源于哪些流派。”其实不仅是崔洁，共同经历了这个城市发展的群体会有同样的感受：因为反复的建造、拆除、在建造，造就了一代人的视觉方式和思维方式，对这种感受的捕捉构成了崔洁个人的创作计划。

“我没办法更接近艾克塞斯，于是只能靠想象”，崔洁继续说道，“在埃克塞斯的资料中，对银端和巴塔鞋厂特别感兴趣，这种共同工作、共同生活的现代主义建筑是我所关心的。巴塔鞋厂的影片里记录了当时的工人运动会，影片中那种感染力，那种人与人之间、人与集体之间的亲密性是很熟悉的，让我一下子想到了小时候工人新村生活的经历。这也是我为自己的想象找的参照物吧。”在我们谈话的大桌子旁边，立着一块白色的写字板，一端贴着来自埃克塞斯的现代主义建筑照片，小小的，很方正，像是这个时代已经久违了的剪报。写字板的另一端是曹杨新村的生活照片，也是崔洁所说的

“参照物”。这是她第一次将新村纳入创作计划中，也在一定程度上启发她重新看待自己成长的环境。可以说，这是一次经由埃克塞斯和历史中远远漂浮着的现代主义计划，重新抵达工人新村的路程。就像写字板上照片一样，来自埃克塞斯的风景和生活在曹杨新村的人们，共同漂浮在一片白色的背景中。

一个模范的计划

写字板上出现的曹杨新村是“模型新村”的重要主题，它和崔洁从小生活的沪东地区曾经是上海重要的工业基地，在建造时序上密切关联。1951年，上海市政府成立了“上海工人住宅建筑委员会”，决定从当年开始兴建工人住宅，作为“今后更大规模地建造工人住宅的开端”，以解决上海300万产业工人的居住困难。曹杨一村是上海最早的工人新村策源地，共建成167个单元，共1002户，居住面积人均4平方米，它是新中国工人新村的长子，也是当之无愧的模范新村。新村的选址在上海西北部的普陀，“筹建时，由于在市区内缺乏大块空地，就选择了靠近普陀工业区的郊区农地，也就是采取了阻力最小的路线。”¹建村之前，这里是一片河沟纵横、杂草丛生的市郊乡村。规划布局时保留了原有的滨河水面，道路沿河规划。两层的白墙红瓦建筑沿东南布局，顺应河道与道路走向，呈扇形打开。一条曲线型的道路依水而建，串联起周边公园与环浜绿带。

1952年的《建筑学报》上登载了主持规划曹杨新村的汪定曾先生（1913-2014）的《上海曹杨新村住宅区的规划设计》一文，文中写道：“新村的总体规划不能否认是带有邻里单位²思想的，新村总面积为94.63公顷，半径为0.6公里，从边缘步行至中心约在7-8分钟左右，中心设立各项公共建筑，如合作社、邮局、银行和文化馆等，在新村边缘分设小菜场及合作社分销店，便利居民在住宅附近购买日用品，小学和幼儿园不设在街坊内而是平均分布于新村的独立地段内，小孩入学由家中至学校不超过十分钟步行时间，这样不至妨碍街坊的居住安宁，同时学校也能有足够的活动场址。新村的人口是比一般邻里单位的人口为大，实际上，它已是一个小住宅区的规模，这是考虑为了维持一定规模的公共建筑和居民经济情况而拟定的。”³曹杨新村的规划与建设并未得到当时苏联专家的认可，如果读过全文，便能从讲述者的语气中感受到立场的复杂。恐怕也是出于这样的缘由，如此重要的规划说明未能收录在汪定曾纪念文集中。因为按照斯大林城市建设原则，“苏维埃大街坊的思想与资本主义国家所谓‘邻里单元’的反动本质是完全对立的，街坊建设是属于苏维埃城市建设中的有机部分……用最经

济的一切建筑方法，争取城市建设经济性。”曹杨新村因为建筑层数低、密度低、环境好而呈现出的“花园城市”的特质，这种特质也被1953年到访新村参观的英国建筑师敏感地捕捉，并且在英国建筑杂志上发表文章称曹杨新村为“花园城市”类型。这种不甚经济的“花园城市”的特质同样面临质疑。而新村远离城市的选址，未采用轴线对称、空间围合、纪念性强的大街坊布局等也与当时推行的“大街坊”规划原则相悖。

主持规划曹杨新村的汪定曾1930年代赴美求学，先后在伊利诺伊大学建筑系取得建筑工程学士、硕士学位，1940年归国。在抗日战争胜利后，人口的增长、住房的短缺与历经的战乱使得他尤为关注国内战后住宅政策的问题。1947年，汪定曾出任上海市政府工务局营造处处长，同年在第一卷第二期《建造评论》杂志上发表《市区重建与解决房荒》一文讨论住宅建设问题，提出采用“邻里单元”的方式改善住房环境和城市居民的福利。1951年，汪定曾开始在上海人民政府市政建设委员会内任职，接连主持沪西曹杨新村和沪东长白、控江、凤城、鞍山工人新村的规划和住宅建设工作，俗称“两万户”。“汪定曾的主张没有在民国时期得到实施，但（1949年以后）社会主义化的对材料、资金、人力资源社会主义的分配方式为这个想法的实现提供了一个绝佳的环境。”⁴2009年，也是新村建村近60年之际，时年96岁高龄的汪定曾在《寄语今天的建筑师》一文或许更能代表他的初衷：

“中华人民共和国成立后强烈感受到我国的设计界深受苏联设计模式的影响，而刚开始这段留学美国的经历则使我有些无所适从。然而，那时的我还是认为苏联模式并为唯一，或者说并非是适合我国国情的最佳选择。因为那时欧美的学院派和设计界中关于花园城市、新城市主义运动萌芽等的研究、尝试已开始蓬勃发展，而这些新思潮中对于绿化、生态、以步行为向导、非对称自由布局等的关注非常地吸引我。同时，那些在上海旧式里弄中的风铃声、笑语及树影里成长的记忆又深深地刻在我的脑海里。怎么能把两者有机地结合起来呢？我一直试图在设计实践中有机地融合这两种我所接触到的截然不同的文化基因。”⁵

放弃城市中心，而是在城市西北角另辟新区，可以说新村的选址就代表了一种鲜明的姿态。“它从租界霓虹灯网罩着的……里弄群里剥离出来，成为重塑工人阶级信念的标杆，是一个模范工人代表的共同生活的小社会。正如老一辈建筑大师华揽洪早年撰文指出的：‘要想象社会主义环境中的生活是怎样的却是非常困难的，尤其是在这个向共产主义过渡的阶段。’”⁶汪定曾和整个规划团队深刻地理解了这样的用意，并且提供了一个承载真实生活的模范样本。他在同一篇文章中饱含深情地回忆了新村甫一建成的图景，是红瓦白墙，转角的棕色隅石装饰，装饰格纹与红色长窗，住宅内的楼梯楼板上铺着红漆地板，“既有上海新式里弄生活的情趣，也有点欧美花园社区的影子。”⁷竣工后，曹杨一村的1002

户住房由市总工会、市公共房屋管理处等组成房屋调配委员会，统一分配给分布在普陀、闸北、长宁三个区共217个纺织厂和五金厂的工人，这意味着每个工厂只能分到四五户入住，因此有“一人住新村，全厂都光荣”一说。一批劳模先进人物优先分到了住房，他们敲锣打鼓，燃放鞭炮，兴高采烈，搬进新居，向自己身边的工友们展现着生活的光明前景：让我们一起好好生产建设，大家将来都能住上这样的房子。1952年6月29日，市政府在新村內举行庆祝大会，时任副市长潘汉年在会上指出：“曹杨新村工人住宅的建造，只是兴建工人住宅的一个开端，政府将继续在沪东、沪西、南市等地建造更多的工房。通过这一工程，为我们将来兴建更多的工人住宅创造了可贵的经验。”⁸

这种想象也通过曹杨新村落成后的一系列照片得到印证。1952年8月的《人民画报》上刊载了由俞创硕拍摄的、以曹杨新村为背景的生活：体态健康、笑容爽朗的男女，一家四口迁入新居时的欣喜，集体生活带来的愉悦，无一不是在展示一种全新的生活。这组照片也将偏于上海西北一隅、曾经环境杂芜的新村向全国传播。对于一个百废待兴的国家而言，这些通过影像传播的新生活无疑是最有号召力的。在这些照片中，新村建筑构成了新生活的背景，无论是一家人进入楼栋、装饰家庭，都寓意着一种对新生活的创造与把握。另一张挂上时钟的照片的寓意则更加直白——新的时间开始了。之后以曹杨新村为背景拍摄的电影《他们怎样过日子》（1957），《今天我休息》（1959）循循善诱地讲述应当如何对待生活、如何对待工作。为了鼓励生产，新村的租金也是象征性的，目的是最大程度地保证居民的福利。以模范工人为代表的新村居民之间，在思想道德、行为准则、执行能力是相互扶持、相互制约，形成了一套有效的“家国同构”的治理方法。日常管理的秩序化、大量的集体活动以及无处不在的集体意识成为培育模范生活的重要土壤。曹杨新村同时承担了重要的外事接待工作。据不完全统计，1950年代至1970年代，共有3741批、44848人次的外宾来到新村，接待他们的是住在新村中的普通工人家庭，他们口中讲出的翻天覆地的变化令所有人印象深刻。1976年西德《世界报》驻京记者鲁格夫连续在曹杨新村访问5天，在《世界报》上连发4篇长达15000字的文章，详细介绍了中国发生的变化。⁹新村同步展开扩建，直至1980年代形成了共有九村组成的整体格局。这就是曹杨新村如金子般灿烂的年代。

一个未竟的计划

如果比较曹杨新村和埃克塞斯的银端、巴塔鞋厂的规划理念、整体布局与建筑单体，其中的一致性与差异性同样明显。曹杨新村的规划师汪定曾在美国求学时，受“邻里单元”和“花园城市”理念的影响颇深，而巴塔鞋厂的创办者既受到了英国“花园城市”的影响，也受到了美国标准化装配线的影响，在厂区竞赛中请到柯布西耶做评委¹⁰，随着产业的扩张将这样一套完整的巴塔形象输出到包括英国东提尔博瑞在内的欧洲各地。曹杨新村与巴塔鞋

厂仿佛是两条处在不同平面的平行线，在某些角度几乎要相遇，崔洁的“模范新村”为两条线索提供了一个交汇的瞬间。在她的草图作品中，来自两地的建筑、雕塑、景观相互缠绕，无分彼此，甚至难以辨认来源，直至共同创造出一个新的形象。与其说这是个偶然，毋宁说是作为集体生活的建筑被作为一种文化场域进行考量，这一场域中构建了日常生活，也展露了现代性的固有矛盾。这既是如何赋予未来以形式的实验，也是把现代性作为纲领性计划的一种侧写。

回望二十世纪的建筑史，这样的实践比比皆是，这种对平等、热烈、秩序化的生活以各种建筑实体承载，无论是曹杨新村成员在日常生活中建立的秩序，还是巴塔通过修建厂区与住宅将各地的英国制鞋者吸引过来，以“集体生活，个人居住”¹¹的方式所创造的集体归属感，都是如此。我们同样目睹了这种模范生活之后的走向。与巴塔经历的种种变故不同，曹杨新村的变化来得更缓慢，也带有更多阵痛。几十年过去，当新村的政治光环褪去之后，新村中的人们不得不面对居住条件的落后，更重要的是以纺织厂为代表的产业调整以及大批职工的下岗待业，这意味着原本均质、稳定的生活阶层的瓦解。第一批住民的荣誉已成往事，生活状态上感受到的落差，个人骤然从集体中脱嵌，又不得不独自面对这个变化的世界。如同曹杨新村在建设时将原本基地上的自然村宅和农田轻轻抹去一样，这场瓦解的过程恐怕也无法再从曹杨新村的现状中辨认。即便同在上海，即便2021年是曹杨新村建村70周年的纪念，并且许多的住宅与公共景观因此重新修缮，崔洁也没有去现在的曹杨新村看看。她依然认为，同远在英国的埃克塞斯一样，曹杨新村同样是一个“只能依靠想象，无法进入”的地方。或者我更愿意认为，她在用自己的方式进入两个想象中的计划。“模范新村”系列中两幅黑色画作都采用了编织般短小的笔触，像细密的经纬线一样，把曹杨新村与纺织厂的关联，把巴塔鞋厂制鞋的工艺再次编织在了画里，让这个未竟的计划复现。如果说以笔触与画面整体，个人与集体之间相互交织又若即若离的关系共同形成了更大的建筑，悬置着，随时准备飘离。

在过去几十年不停变化的局势中，巴塔鞋厂的际遇起起落落，在埃克塞斯的鞋厂早已停用，欧洲也早已不再是鞋厂生产的重镇。随着全球化的到来，制鞋业在向包括印度、越南等地不断转移，中国也在其列。2021年，为庆祝曹杨新村建村70周年，在新村东面、曾经的货运铁路支线上建了一条立体线性公园。当时修建这条支线正是为了加强上海几个工业基地之间的联系。沿着这座公园一直往南走，就进入了普陀区最热闹的地方之一——一座像宫殿一样的大型商业中心。汪定曾在规划前期预见的：上海的城市中心最终会向工业区的郊区农地扩张，在这里得到验证。曹杨新村和这些拔地而起的高楼对视着，默默见证了彼此的变与不变。在这座商业中心的一楼，你能找到一个挂着花体英文招牌的店铺，“Bata”。

注释及参考文献：

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图注信息

图1. 崔洁，绿玻璃住宅楼，2018，天线空间提供

图2. 崔洁工作室内的白板上贴着埃克塞斯和曹杨新村的照片

图3. 曹杨新村鸟瞰. 图片来源：朱晓明，上海曹杨一村规划设计与历史，住宅科技，2011

图4. 曹杨新村总平面. 图片来源：汪定曾，上海曹杨新村居住区的规划设计，建筑学报，1956

图5. 汪定曾手绘的邻里单元示意图. 图片来源同4

图6. 1955年基于苏维埃大解放的住宅区得奖设计. 图片来源：Lu Duanfang, Travelling Urban Form: the Neighbourhood Unit in China, Planning Perspectives, 2006

图7. 工人在曹杨新村的草坪上散步

图8.9.10 俞创硕拍摄的曹杨新村生活

图11. 崔洁《哈罗市政厅》作品局部

文献

在创作《新模范村》个展绘画和纸本作品过程中，崔洁从一系列建筑项目中汲取灵感。本章提供了这些项目的相关文献资料和信息。

特别鸣谢Jade Chen、巴塔遗产中心 (Bata Heritage Centre)、BFI国家档案馆 (BFI National Archive)、埃塞克斯档案馆 (Essex Record Office)、东安格利亚电影档案馆 (East Anglian Film Archive)、百代电影 (Pathé Films)、英国皇家建筑师协会 (Royal Institute of British Architects)、银端镇遗产学会 (Silver End Heritage Society) 和Francis Frith 收藏 (The Francis Frith Collection)。

曹杨新村

曹杨新村始建于1951年，是中国第一个工人新村。曹杨新村最早的居民都是一线工人。经过严格的筛选，最终入住的是各大棉纺厂、机械厂、化工厂和食品加工厂的劳动模范。曹杨新村的整体规划由著名建筑师汪定曾设计，他创造性地在其中融入“邻里单元”概念。“新村”不仅是一种居住模式，更是对“村民”的工作和生活一次乌托邦式的社会主义改造实验。汪定曾所设计的布局体现了一种“以社区为中心”的生活风格，电影院、商场、医院、小学和菜场均步行可达。

银端镇工人村

银端镇工人村位于埃塞克斯郡布伦特里 (Braintree, Essex)，其设想由1926年成立的克里特尔 (Crittall) 窗户工厂创始人弗朗西斯·亨利·克里托尔 (Francis Henry Crittall) 提出。这家工厂是一家金属窗部件制造商和供应商。银端镇工人村由建筑师托马斯·史密斯·泰特 (Thomas Smith Tait) 设计，呈现装饰艺术风格，独特的白色平顶房屋体现出典型的早期现代主义建筑特点。作为示范村的一部分，这个地区由C·默里·亨内尔 (C·Murray Hennell) 按照“花园城市运动”的模式规划。这里拥有英国最大的村务大厅，配备一流的舞池、电影院、图书馆、桌球室和健康诊所等设施。

巴塔村

巴塔村于1932年在东蒂尔伯里 (East Tilbury) 建造，是捷克鞋履制造商托马斯·巴塔 (Tomas Bata) 为自己英格兰新建工厂的工人所建造的示范城镇。在“花园村落”的布局下，这个大型住房开发项目包含352所房屋，旨在为巴塔鞋厂的工人提供住房。巴塔村的服务设施包括剧院、运动场所、酒店、餐厅、杂货店、肉铺、邮局等，并拥有自己的报纸。巴塔村的建立早于英国许多现代主义典范建筑，“平顶”计构成了一幅棋盘图式。建筑师弗朗齐歇克·利迪·嘉胡拉 (František Lydie Gahura) 和弗拉基米尔·卡菲克 (Vladimir Karfik) 在每处房屋周围都留出空间，以提升居住舒适度。

巴斯尔顿新城

1946年，时任英国首相克莱门特·艾德礼 (Clement Attlee) 的战后工党政府通过《新城法案》(New Towns Act)。巴斯尔顿是英格兰西南地区建立的8个“新城”之一，旨在解决战后伦敦的住房危机。新城的设计和建设由新成立的巴斯尔顿开发公司主导，巴兹尔·斯宾塞爵士 (Sir Basil Spence) 担任顾问。随后发布的强制购买令遭到抵制，因其补偿方案被指过于吝啬，且破坏现有的地块居住情况。不过新城还是于1956 年动工建设，并于1962年落成。新城包括10个居民社区，分别是：Pitsea、Laindon、Langdon Hills、Vange、Lee Chapel South、Lee Chapel North、Fryerns、Ghyllgrove、Barstable和Kingswood。

哈罗新城

1947年，弗雷德里克·吉伯爵士 (Sir Frederick Gibberd) 提出哈罗最初的总体规划。建设新城是为了容纳人和商业，因而这些城镇的定位是设施完备而均衡的社区，并非伦敦的卫星城。哈罗是新城的理想选址，离伦敦比较近，地处一大片位于高速公路交界处的未开发农村地区，拥有一条铁路干线。吉伯爵士是一名艺术爱好者，他对新城抱有理想主义的想法，希望让平时鲜少接触艺术的人们可以在新城的街角巷尾欣赏到伟大艺术家的杰出雕塑作品。将雕塑纳入新城规划是哈罗新城的一大设计核心，目前这些作品由哈罗艺术信托 (Harlow Arts Trust) 管理。1980年，吉伯爵士写道：“新城的规划关注三类艺术:建筑、道路设计和景观建筑。这三类艺术相互融合共同形成城镇景观，这便是城镇设计艺术之体现。”

图注信息

曹杨新村，1959年，致谢天线空间和曹杨新村村史馆

曹杨新村居民，1960年，致谢天线空间和曹杨新村村史馆

银端镇鸟瞰图，1983年，致谢银端镇遗产学会

茶歇，从左至右为：Babs Adams, Mary Gallacher, Elsie Upson, Daisy Bicker和Josie Turkentine，1950年，致谢银端镇遗产学会

银端镇公馆，1928年，致谢英国皇家建筑师协会

克里特尔工厂工人在车间，约1930年

下页：克里特尔杂志，第3卷第9期，封面和第206页，1927年9月

巴塔酒店，1932年，致谢巴塔遗产中心

巴塔大门，影印相片，1964年

英国巴塔鞋厂有限公司的员工手册《欢迎来到巴塔》，索引号No: 4978，1930年

英国巴塔东蒂尔伯里，指南手册，1932年

巴塔社区刊物，1939年

下页：英国巴塔东蒂尔伯里，指南手册第26页，1932年，图片经巴塔遗产中心允许复制

巴斯尔顿市中心东步行街，1962年,致谢英国皇家建筑师协会建筑报道档案

巴斯尔顿城市广场，1962年
致谢英国皇家建筑师协会建筑报道档案

上页：英国巴塔东蒂尔伯里，指南手册第27页，1932年

哈罗商品房，1955年，© Francis Firth收藏

哈罗水景花园，1965年，© Francis Firth收藏

个人介绍

崔洁出生于1983年，现工作和生活于上海。现代化、城市景观的发展和当代建筑统一且乏味的风格一直是崔洁的绘画、纸上作品和雕塑所讨论的核心主题。崔洁毕业于中国美术学院。她的作品曾被Phaidon出版社出版的《维他命P3》收录。她的作品曾参与过许多国际展览，包括香港Para Site (2021)、台北市立美术馆(2020)、巴黎蓬皮杜艺术中心 (2020)、北京X美术馆 (2020)、曼彻斯特华人艺术中心 (个展，2019)、南京四方当代美术馆 (2019) 等。崔洁的作品被纽约现代艺术博物馆、巴黎蓬皮杜艺术中心、芝加哥艺术博物馆、奥斯陆阿斯楚普费恩利 (Astrup Fearnley) 现代艺术博物馆、迈阿密鲁贝尔艺术基金会、耶夫纳克尔Kistefos美术馆等机构收藏。

Katharine Stout自2019年5月起担任滨海绍森德Focal Point Gallery馆长，此前她曾先后担任伦敦当代艺术学院 (ICA) 副总监 (2017年起) 和项目主管 (2013年起)。在加入ICA之前，Stout是泰特不列颠美术馆当代艺术策展人 (1999–2013)，策划的项目包括艺术家个展、委约创作、“Art Now” 系列、特纳奖候选人作品展和藏品展等。2001年，她与Mary Doyle、Kate MacFarlane共同创立“画室” (Drawing Room)。她是艺术家工作室组织Tannery Arts的董事，并担任英格兰东南创意经济网络 (SECEN) 联合主席。她撰写过大量关于当代艺术和艺术家的文章，专著《当代绘画：1960年代至今》于2014年由泰特出版。

Wenny Teo (张温惠) 博士是现代和当代艺术领域的专家，特别着重于跨国和全球背景下的中国和中国侨民。她获得约克大学艺术史和英国文学学士学位，伦敦大学学院艺术史硕士和博士学位 (2011 年)，她还是英国高等教育学院院士 (FHEA)。在2012 年加入考陶德艺术学院担任现当代艺术资深讲师之前，她先后担任上海当代艺术馆的策展人和泰特现代艺术馆的助理策展人，并持续从事各类国际策展项目。

周渐佳，治是建筑工作室创始合伙人及主持建筑师，现同济大学建筑学博士研究生在读。她的博士研究方向为数字建造。周渐佳曾在新村长大、工作，因而她对新村作为一种生活和社会组织方式、及其背后的历史有着浓厚的兴趣。2016年，治是建筑发起了一系列围绕上海新村的研究项目，包括大学新村和工人新村，最终形成图纸和文献。相关成果已在各大国际建筑活动中呈现，包括釜山建筑节和深圳坪山美术馆等。周渐佳关于新村的论文先后在多个国际会议中发表，包括Political Matters (2019)、INUAS (2019)、建筑人文研究协会 (AHRA, 2019) 等。