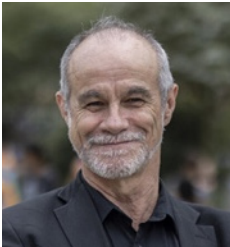


# 在巴黎及其他地区实施“15 分钟城市”

## Implementing the 15-Minute City in Paris and Beyond



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卡洛斯 - 莫雷诺是巴黎索邦大学商学院（IAE）的副教授，也是“创业—领土—创新”ETI 教席的共同创始人和科学主任。他是一位屡获殊荣的哥伦比亚裔法国研究员、科学家和城市学家，因提出“15 分钟城市”理念而闻名。这一理念倡导就近和可持续的城市生活，被巴黎市长安妮 - 伊达尔戈等领导人采纳，并产生了全球性影响。莫雷诺以巴黎为基地，将城市改造为更加宜居、以人为本的空间。他的作品旨在推动生活方式和城市空间的变革，其贡献受到国际社会重视，理念被法国和世界多个城市更新项目和地方治理项目采纳。

Q=Question A=Answer

**Q: In European urban discourse, 15-Minute City is really becoming a popular concept now. How do you link the concept of 15-Minute City with neighborhood regeneration? Do you think it's a concept of regeneration?**

问：在欧洲城市议题的讨论中，“15 分钟城市”正成为一个热门概念。您如何将“15 分钟城市”这一概念与街区更新联系起来？您认为它是一个关乎更新的概念吗？

of the 20th century. There are three points: car-centered cities. Secondly solidified cities, corporate districts, residential areas, cultural points, and administrative points. Third, the long commuting hours. People spend a lot of time every day participating in various activities, which is a consequence of the first two features. Urban regeneration is a process that transforms this legacy. From the car-centered cities solidified with long commutes towards more livable cities for more integrated, more complete neighborhoods, for having more welcome, more local services.

**A:** Yes, the 15-minute city is intertwined with urban regeneration. Why? On the one hand, we have a lot of cities around the world shaped by the paradigm

**答：**没错，“15 分钟城市”与城市更新是相互交织的。为什么呢？一方面，全球有许多城市是受 20 世纪城市发展范式的影响形成的，它们主要有以下三个特点：一是以汽车为中心。二是功能固化。城市被划分为商业、住宅、文化及行政等不同的功能分区。三是通勤时间长。人们每天要花费大量的时间去参加各种活动，这也是前两个特点造成的后果。今天的城市更新是一个改变这种既有状况的过程：从以汽车为中心且通勤时间过长的固化城市，向宜居城市转变。这种城市的融合度更高，拥有功能更完备的街区，并提供更受欢迎、更本地化的服务。

Urban generation is not only to develop a reduced CO2 footprint but also to regenerate our local economy, develop local commerce, shorter circuits, use raw materials, develop a more local economy, have more local interactions, and pedestrianization for fostering people to buy in the local commerce. In this proximity to a 15-minute city, one of the essential keys to transforming our cities is a regenerative circular economy, circular ecology, and social circularity. Proximity and circularity are the two crucial points defined in the call for action by the 12th World Urban Forum in Cairo. 城市更新不仅是为了减少碳足迹，也是为了重振我们的地方经济，发展本地商业，缩短供应链，利用本地资源发展特色经济，增加本地互动并促进步行化，从而鼓励人们在本地消费。在打造“15 分钟城市”的邻近性方面，转变城市的关键点之一就是循环经济、循环生态，以及循环社会的构建。邻近性和循环性也是在开罗举办的第十二届世界城市论坛行动呼吁中明确提出的两个关键词。

**Q: As you know, Asian cities, like Shanghai, tend to have higher density and larger populations than European cities. And how do you implement in the context of metropolises? Can you give an example?**

问：如您所知，亚洲城市如上海，往往比欧洲城市人口密度更高、人口数量更多。您如何看待在大都市环境下“15 分钟城市”理念的实施情况？

**A:** Yes, of course, the case of Shanghai is the case of the big metropolis worldwide. The implementation is totally related to the diagnosis of this kind of city. This is for example, the

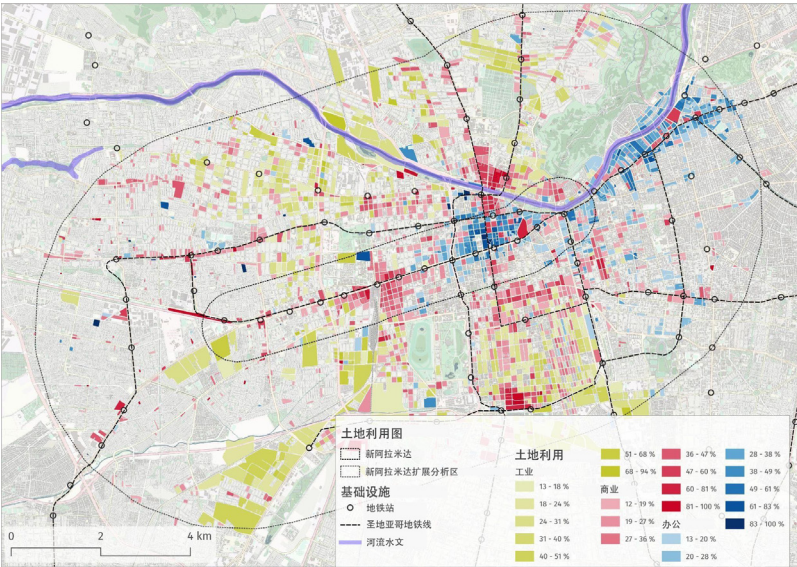
case of a big metropolis, Santiago de Chile. We need to first understand land use in a city, in a metropolis. This is the case in Shanghai.

**答：**是的。上海是典型的全球大都市，这类城市的实施情况与其现状诊断有关。下面我将提到的智利圣地亚哥也是如此。我们首先需要了解一座城市和它的土地利用情况。

We need to understand the use of the transport infrastructures. This is, for example, the density of people that live in the area. This is the density of families. This is the density of the different social statuses. This is, for example, the status of families with a high-level education. This is the elderly people. This is the people without children. This is people with children. We need to understand the development of the use of a city. This is, for example, the mix-use area where people live and the industries are accessible. This is the map of the access to the services economy. 我们需要了解交通基础设施的使用情况，以及地区的人口密度、家庭密度、不同社会阶层人口的密度，以及高学历家庭的情况、老年人的情况、有子女和无子女人群的情况等。此外，我们还需要了解一座城市被使用情况的变化。例如，居住地块和产业地块的混合情况，下图是圣地亚哥市服务型经济的可获取情况。

Land use Commercial Office and Industry  
智利圣地亚哥市土地利用图：  
商业，办公，工业用地分布图

资料来源：  
fuente: Elaboración propia en base a Catastro de Bienes Raíces del Servicio de Impuestos Internos (2023) (Credit Nueva Alameda Team)—— Carlos Moreno 领导参与的一个工作组成员。参 见：https://fau.uchile.cl/noticias/221370/fau-integra-equipos-internacional-que-apoya-plan-maestro-nueva-alameda

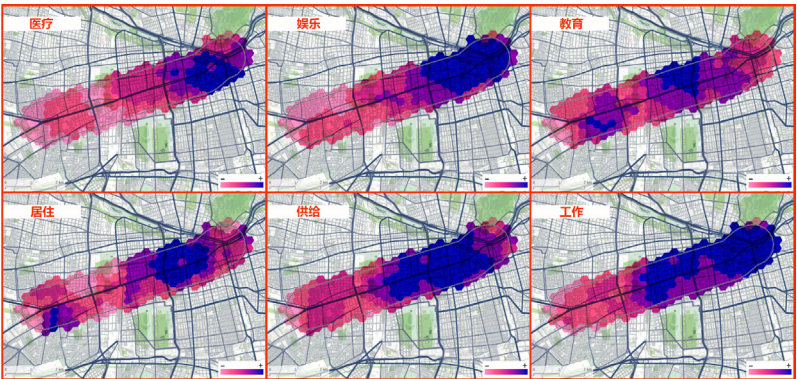


We can gain access to the data of factories and services economy, that are not the same kind of activities in the industry. The factories, for example, are the places without a possibility to implement in services. This is the candidate for developing remote economies. 我们可以获取工厂和服务业的数据，这两种产业属于不同类型的经济活动。一般来说，工厂不太可能植入很多的服务设施，它们是发展远程经济的理想对象。

This includes, for example, the six essential functions of living, supply, work, care, education, and enjoyment, which are related to their presence or absence in different places. 从“15 分钟城市”的角度看，城市公共空间的质量与“生活、供给、工作、医疗、教育和娱乐”这六项社会功能有关，而这些功能又与不同地点是否存在这类设施有关。

The map of the six essential functions to live, supply, work, care, educate, and enjoy in Santiago de Chile. 智利圣地亚哥生活、供给、工作、医疗、教育和娱乐六项社会功能的分布图

资料来源：  
Elaboración propia en base a metodología de cálculo de HSQL.(Credit Nueva Alameda Team)



Here, we have the rudder with different consciences: to live, to supply, to work, to care, to enjoy, and to educate. There are three indicators: my personal and familiar well-being, my social well-being, including my neighbors and my work colleagues, as well as my ecological well-being. Here, we have different access to infrastructures by capability, local commerce, safety, libraries, cinemas, etc.

我们从不同维度考察城市：生活、供给、工作、医疗、娱乐及教育。有三项指标：个人及家庭的幸福状况、社会幸福状况（包括邻居、同事等方面）及生态幸福状况。居民在获取地方商业、安全保障、图书馆、电影院等方面的服务有着不同的能力。

This is the map of land use in a district. This is the resume of the use of land for living, for industry, for services, for commerce, for infrastructures, the type of population, the surface, and the density. Here, we have the total number of people who live in individual homes and people who live in flats. The ratio the people that live in each one of the homes, the profile of families, the rate of affordable housing, and the rate of hobbies at the socioeconomic level. 圣地亚哥某个区域的土地利用布局图。这是关于生活、工业、服务业、商业、基础设施等方面土地利用情况的概述，还涉及人口类型、占地面积和密度。在这里，我们能看到居住在独栋房屋和公寓中的居民数量，还能了解居住人口的比例、家庭情况、保障性住房的比率，以及居民在社会经济层面的兴趣爱好比例。

And this is the cross with the different profiles. We have different profiles. We observe and analyze the lifestyle of the population based on over 10 different points: inequities, quality of public space, access to equipment, demographic trends, social housing, socioeconomic access, gentrification, technological connectivity, presence of informal commerce, the presence of the skyscrapers of the high buildings, cultural activities, and the ratio of green areas, etc. 我们还针对不同社会属性的居民开展调研分析，我们从十多个方面进行剖析：不平等现象、公共空间质量、设施获取情况、人口趋势、保障性住房、社会经济资源获取、士绅化现象、技术性连接、非正规商业的情况、摩天大楼的分布情况、文化活动及绿地面积占比等，通过这些来观察和分析居民的生活方式。



After that, we will define the essential functions. We have also defined the topics for improving our quality of life. Finally, we will propose new recommendations for creating a local urban plan. This is one methodology used for Paris, Bogota, Buenos Aires, Santiago de Chile, Seoul, Busan, and Shanghai. This is, in fact, the real way to use science, data and a participatory citizen in power mode to generate a roadmap. 根据前面提到的基本功能。我们确定了提升生活质量的相关议题，并为当地的城市规划编制提出新建议。这是一种可应用于巴黎、波哥大、布宜诺斯艾利斯、智利圣地亚哥、首尔、釜山及上海的普遍方法。事实上，这就是运用科学、数据及公众参与的方式来生成规划路线图的工作方法。



**Q: Thank you very much for your inspiring examples. Does the concept of the 15-Minute City increase social segregation by encouraging people to stay within their communities? Or, on the contrary, could it promote social integration?**

问：非常感谢您给出这些很有启发性的例子。“15 分钟城市”的概念是否鼓励人们留在自己的社区内，从而加剧了社会隔离？或者，相反，它能否促进社会融合？

signature in the legacy of the Athens charter, of the Le Corbusier modern urbanism. Our cities around the world in the five continents are in this shape. Essentially, car-centered cities, infrastructure for cars, highways, skylines for working, and buildings for housing in the outskirts. This is the shape of cities around the world.

答：我会用统计数据来具体解释这一点。当今城市，尤其是 21 世纪的城市形态是怎样的呢？全球范围内我们的城市本质上有着相同的模式、一样的形态，带有柯布西耶现代城市主义留下的《雅典宪章》的印记。全球五大洲的城市都是这样的形态。从本质上来说，是以汽车为中心的城市，有着为汽车服务的基础设施、高速公路，有用于办公的高楼大厦，还有位于郊区的住宅楼。这就是全世界城市的形态。

This is the digitalization of the city of Vancouver (Figure 7), one of the most occident modern western cities. In this city, we have digitalized access to essential services. Here are one-family dwellings, two-family dwellings, familiar dwellings, local agriculture, industrial areas, historical areas, and commercial activities. The different color blocks on the map represent different areas such as office, historic centre, residential, etc. This is the concrete solidification in the legacy of the Le Corbusier segmentation.

在温哥华，这是一座典型的西方现代城市。我们通过数字化途径获取基本公共服务。这里有独户住宅、双拼住宅、普通住宅、本地农业区、工业区、历史风貌区及商业活动区域。图中不同的色块代表办公区、历史城区、住宅区等不同区域，这是柯布西耶功能分区理念影响下的城市形态。

In Ulaanbaatar, we are experiencing a strong process of social segregation due to the emergency of the corporate district. There are residential middle-class areas, residential high-class areas, residential poor areas, and even slums.

在乌兰巴托，由于商务区的兴起，其正在经历一个强烈的社会区隔过程。这里有中产阶级住宅区、高收入阶层住宅区、贫困住宅区，甚至还有贫民窟。

In the 21st century, cities are gentrified and segregated due to economic inequities. At the same time, there is spatial injustice with the people who live far away. And there is a temporary injustice with people who should spend more than one hour, two, three, or even four hours just commuting to get a salary. This social inequality characterizes our cities in the 21st century.

在 21 世纪, 由于经济不平等, 城市出现士绅化和隔离现象。对于那些居住在偏远地区的人们来说, 存在着空间上的不公平。而且对于那些为了赚取一份薪水, 不得不花费一个多小时、两个、三个甚至四个小时通勤的人们而言, 还存在着时间上的不公平。这种社会不平等是 21 世纪城市的特征。

This is the digitalization of one of the middle cities in France, Toulouse. a lovely city, great city, high quality of life. What is the reality? We have defined six essential functions: to live, to play, to work, to care, to educate, and to enjoy. The different colors represent the degree of mixing of the six functions. What is the situation in this city? In Toulouse, at the center of the city, the color is blue. There's a higher quality of life because we have access for the essential of six services. Twenty kilometers

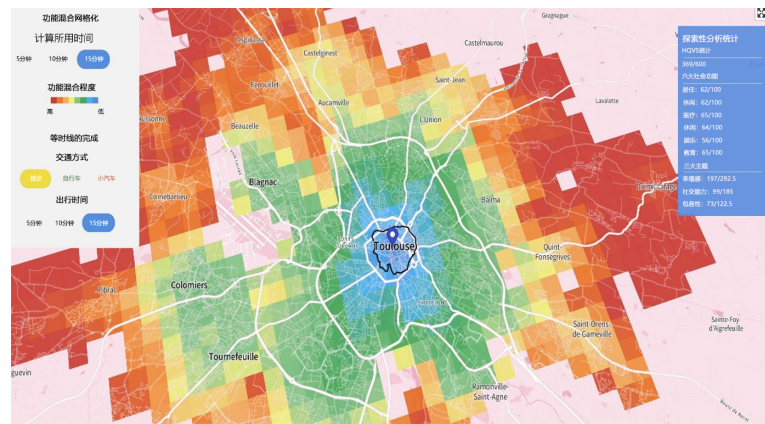
**A:** I will explain that concretely with the statistics. What is the shape of cities today, particularly in the 21st century? Our cities worldwide are essentially identical patterns, the same shape, a

far away is red color. This is a low quality. Why? Because these are essentially dormitory areas. The dormitory areas are essentially just for having one roof and four walls, without access to the services. This is the reality of our cities today.

法国一座中等规模城市——图卢兹的数字化情况。它是一座可爱且伟大的城市，生活品质很高。实际情况是怎样的呢？我们确定了六项基本功能：居住、休闲、工作、医疗、教育及娱乐。不同颜色代表了六种功能的混合程度。在图卢兹市中心，颜色是蓝色。那里的生活品质较高，因为人们能够享受到这六项基本服务。而在距离市中心 20 千米的地方，颜色是红色。这里的生活品质较低。为什么呢？因为这些地方基本上都是居住区。这些居住区只是提供一个遮风挡雨的地方，无法给予更多的地方服务。这就是我们如今城市的现实状况。

Figure 8 Digitalization of Toulouse in France  
法国图卢兹的数字化情况

资料来源：  
ETI Chair - Entrepreneurship,  
Territory, Innovation（“创业-  
领土-创新”ETI教席）



Another example is Bogota, a big metropolis in South America with 9 million inhabitants. The distribution of population and employment reveals a spatial imbalance: nearly one-third of the city's population (3 million residents) lives in the overcrowded western region, while jobs are concentrated in the northeast, far from these residential areas.

另一个例子是波哥大，它是南美洲一座拥有 900 万居民的大都市。从人口和就业分布情况看，该市近三分之一的人口居住在西部区域，即 300 万居民住在拥挤不堪的建筑里，所处环境很糟糕；而就业岗位主要集中在东北部，远离这些人口聚居区。

This is the education level in the populated areas of the Southwest. It is essentially primary school. We don't have access to superior education. In contrast, in the Northeast, people have access to the university and education. These populated areas are overcrowded, lacking employment opportunities and access to education. In terms of income levels, the southern part of Bogotá is a low-income area where there is overcrowding, poverty, lack of access to education and lack of jobs, while the higher-income population is found in the other parts of the city. In terms of commuting, access to education and health facilities, and leisure trips, residents of the south spend more than 90 to 120 minutes traveling to their workplaces and accessing education, health care, and leisure activities, which is the true social difference in a city of 9 million inhabitants.

从教育水平看，波哥大西南部人口聚居区的居民大多只有小学文化程度，他们无法获得高等教育。相比之下，在东北部，居民能够接受大学教育及其他各类教育。总的来说，这些人口聚居区十分拥挤，既缺乏就业机会，又难以获得教育资源。从收入水平看，波哥大南部地区是低收入人群聚居区域，那里人口拥挤，居民贫困，没有接受教育的机会，也没有就业岗位；高收入人群主要分布在其他区域。

从通勤、教育医疗设施可达性及休闲出行情况看，南部地区居民前往工作地点和获取教育、医疗及进行休闲活动都需要花费 90 ～ 120 分钟的时间，这就是一座拥有 900 万居民的城市真实的社会分异情况。

Now, this is the case of the city of Paris. Paris is a beautiful city, but we have a legacy of inequities. In Paris, there is a vertical line from the north to the south in the middle. The west of Paris is a wealthy area. Wealthy people live in this area. In the east of Paris, more middle-class and working-class people live there. We can compare the social housing in the West of Paris. Wealthy people, for example, in this district, 7th District, 2.2% of social housing. In the 16th District, 7.2% of social housing. Now, in the east of Paris, 20th District, 36.4% of social housing. 19th District, 42.5% of social housing. This is the social inequalities. Today, the worst people live here without social mixite. 2.2% of social housing versus 42% of social housing in the northeast. This is totally unacceptable. 现在，我来说说巴黎这座城市的情况。巴黎是一座美丽的城市，但面临着历史遗留下来的社会不平等问题。在巴黎中部有一条从北至南的竖线将其划分开来：城市西部是富人区，有钱人都住在这个区域；而在城市东部，则居住着更多的中产阶级和工人阶级。我们可以对比一下巴黎西部的社会福利住房情况，比如，在第七区，社会福利住房占比仅为 2.2%；在第十六区，这一比例为 7.2%。而在巴黎东部的第二十区，社会福利住房占比达到 36.4%；在第十九区，占比更是高达 42.5%。这是让人难以接受的，这就是社会不平等现象。如今，最贫困的人群就生活在社会住房比例很高的地区，这里缺乏足够的社会融合。

With the 15-minute city, we have developed a program for rebalance, for developing a social mixite. In the West of Paris, buildings are transformed into offices for the corporate headquarters of luxury offices. We have, with the 15 Minute City, developed this program to change the commercial single-use offices into socially mixed city housing with mixed users. We have created new centralities. 借助“15 分钟城市”理念，我们制订了一个旨在保障平衡、促进社会融合的方案。在巴黎西部，一些建筑被改造成为企业总部办公室或豪华写字楼。通过“15 分钟城市”理念，我们把单一功能的商业写字楼改造成具有不同使用者、具备社会融合性质的城市住宅，从而创造出新的中心性。

In the west of Paris, we have created 50% of social housing, 25% of middle-class housing, and 25% of high-income housing. We also have mixed housing, offices, businesses, public facilities, and a public park. This is a reality. If you come to Paris, I will be your guide for visiting this area. 在巴黎西部，我们新增了 50% 的社会福利住房、25% 的中产阶级住房，以及 25% 的高收入群体住房。这里还有混合型住房、写字楼、商业场所、公共设施及一座公园。这是真实的情况，如果你来巴黎，我可以作为向导带你参观这个区域。

This street, Rue Saint Dominique, in the 7th District, is one of the most selected streets in Paris, with 2.2% of social housing. The city of Paris has bought these two blocks, the former headquarters of the Ministry of Defense. We have transformed these blocks in this new 15-minute city area for hosting 50% of social housing, 25% of middle class, and 25% of high-income housing. 25% of owners with green areas, export activities, public libraries, public schools, sports activities, and local shops. We have installed people with low-income revenues to live here in these places because we have social housing. What was the first obstacle to this installation? Some residents of Rue Saint-Dominique opposed housing low-income individuals, arguing that socioeconomic mixing would lower the neighborhood's perceived quality. Of course, the mayor of Paris has been installed in this district today. This place exists today. Not only does this place exist, but this program was awarded the best French architecture and design award. This is the concrete answer to the question of gentrification.

The key is social housing, social mixing, and affordable housing for mixing people. In other words, 15-minute cities reduce—rather than worsen—social segregation.

位于巴黎第七区的圣多米尼克街，是巴黎最受青睐的街道之一，这里的社会福利住房占比仅为 2.2%。巴黎市政府买下这两个街区，也就是原国防部总部所在的地方。我们已将这些街区改造成全新的“15 分钟城市”示范区，用于提供 50% 的社会福利住房、25% 的中产阶级住房和 25% 的高收入住房。其中，25% 供业主居住的住房还配备了绿地、公共图书馆、公立学校、体育活动设施及当地商店。我们安排了低收入人群在此居住，但遭到圣多米尼克街的部分居民反对，他们认为与低收入人群混居会降低街区的品质。巴黎市市长也住在这个街区，最终，通过巧妙的建筑设计我们不仅成功实施了这一项目，还荣获了法国最佳建筑与设计奖。应对社会隔离的关键是社会住房，具体说就是居住混合，让不同人群在一定程度上混居。换句话说，“15 分钟城市”应该缓解而不是加剧了社会隔离。

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