

## 解读中国城市乱象

### Interpretation of the Urban Chaos in China

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**摘要 /** 在拥有13亿人口的背景之下，中国的城镇化取得今天的成果是非常不易的。但是中国城市面临着非常严重的城市风貌问题。中国从南到北、从东到西几乎千城一面。但这“一面”并不是说只有一种面貌，而是同样的多元混杂、乱象丛生。当代中国城市在相互模仿中不断趋同，城市的同质化已成为现代化的“并发症”。这将是中国城市发展在未来要面对的核心问题。

**关键词 /** 城镇化；城市风貌；乱象；城市特色

**Abstract /** With a population of 1.3 billion, it has not been easy to achieve the level of urbanization that China has today. However, Chinese cities are facing a severe problem — lack of diversity of cityscape. China's cities are almost homogenous across the country. That is not saying they only have one appearance; instead, they have assorted mixes of aggregated chaos. Contemporary Chinese cities tend to mimic each other and look alike. Homogenization of cities has become a negative side effect of urbanization, and this is going to be the core issue to face in the future of the urban development in China.

**Key words /** Urbanization; Cityscape; Urban Chaos; Urban Characteristic

#### 在中国过去30年飞速城镇化的过程中，您认为其中最突出的问题有哪些？

蒋涤非（以下简称蒋）：中国改革开放30年以来，整个城市化的速度在人类城市建设史上是空前的，也将是绝后的。中国这种跳跃式、爆发式的城市增长颠覆了欧洲几百年来积累下的城市发展规律。在拥有13亿人口这样的背景之下，中国的城镇化取得今天的成果是非常不易的。今天中国的城市与欧洲、美国的城市相比，在“硬件”建设上的差距在逐渐缩小，但是中国城市面临着一个很严重的问题，就是城市风貌的问题。中国的城市从南到北、从东到西几乎千城一面。但这“一面”并不是说只有一种面貌，而是同样的多元混杂、乱象丛生。当代中国城市在相互模仿中不断趋同，城市的同质化

已成为现代化的“并发症”。这将是中国城市发展在未来要面对的核心问题。

#### 您认为造成这种混乱现象的主要原因是什么呢？

蒋：造成这种现象的原因有很多。其一，发生在中国的城镇化没有任何历史案例可供参照借鉴。欧洲城市的城镇化过程可以追溯到1 000多年前，古时的城邦逐渐演化形成欧洲今天的城市。而中国的城市是在农业社会的背景下发展起来的，我们的城市管理者和民众，包括学者——大部分学者都来自乡村——相对缺乏城市生活的经验、缺乏对城市品质的判别标准，没有人清楚地知道中国的城市发展之路，路在何方。

第二方面在于我们整个社会对于城市的审美

### What do you think is the biggest problem in the rapid urbanization in China over the past 30 years?

**Difei JIANG (JIANG Hereafter):** During the past 30 years since the beginning of Chinese economic reform, the speed of urbanization in China has been unprecedented, and will never be repeated in the history of urban development. The explosion of urban growth in China overturned the urban development pattern seen over hundreds of years in Europe. With a population of 1.3 billion, it has not been easy to achieve the level of urbanization that China has today. Nowadays, the gap between cities in China and those in Europe and in the U.S. has become smaller and smaller in terms of “hardware” or physical infrastructure. However, Chinese cities are facing a severe problem — lack of diversity of cityscape. China’s cities are almost homogenous across the country. That is not saying they only have one appearance; instead, they have a similar appearance as assorted mixes of aggregated chaos. Contemporary Chinese cities tend to mimic each other and look alike. Homogenization of cities has become a negative side effect of urbanization, and this is going to be the core issue to face in the future of the urban development in China.

### What do you think caused this chaos?

**JIANG:** There are many reasons. First, the urbanization in China can reference neither history nor experiences. Urbanization in European cities has a history of over a thousand years. The cities in Europe today had gradually developed and formed from old polises; in contrast, Chinese cities were developed out of an agrarian society. Our city managers, citizens, and even scholars — the majority of scholars come from rural areas — lack experiences of urban life and standards to evaluate positive and negative qualities of cities. Nobody knows with certainty the direction urban development in China should be heading.

Second, our aesthetics and value system are complex and mixed. We have not yet formed consensus on shared values; and thus cityscape varies.

The third reason comes from our current governmental regime. Every mayor is a manager of city development. With the designated five-year terms, urban development encounters rifts every few years. Meanwhile, a unified implementation and evaluation system is missing from our city planning and urban design.

This assorted chaos is happening in all cities throughout the country, from the north to the south. Because we construct buildings with the same materials, the same techniques, and the same operational process; the designers have been designing with the same method in every place, in other words, “one-size-fits-all”. In comparison, some designers in the U. S. make designs in a few cities or even one city only for their entire lives, which gives them deep knowledge and understanding of the areas and the particularities of their sites. Nowadays, the focus of China’s urban development has transformed from extensive growth to quality improvement. With this transition, every city should seize the opportunities to establish its own unique identity.

### What aspects do you think we should look at to build cities’ identities?

**JIANG:** First, a city’s development should emphasize its own unique natural landscape character. The landscape framework is the basis for a city, and it is also what makes it irreplaceable and unique compared to other places.

The second aspect is that our city as a whole should look like a park. City plazas, streets and important nodes should be connected into an integrated system by green corridors. These green corridors can also reflect a city’s local characters — vegetations in different climatic zones and various humidity conditions show diverse appearances. In the past we used to plant southern

观、价值观是多元混杂的，没有形成一种公共的价值取向，所以城市风貌也就呈现出多元形态。

第三个方面源于我们现行的体制。事实上，每一位市长都是城市的经营者。在五年一任的任期制下，城市发展每隔几年就会出现一个“年轮”。而我们的城市规划与设计又缺乏一个一以贯之的执行和评价体系。

这样多元混杂的现象发生在中国大地所有的城市中，因为所有的城市建设都采用了同样的材料、同样的技术、同样的机制，设计师在每一个地方都采用同样的设计方式，可以说是“一招吃天下”。而我了解到在美国有一些设计师一辈子只在少数几个甚至一个城市做设计，这样他能对所设计地区的地域性有很深入的认识。如今，中国已经从过去的规模发展转向了质量增长，在这样的转变之中每个城市要找到自己的地域特色。

### 您认为应该从哪些方面来塑造城市的特色？

蒋：首先，一个城市的发展应该凸显城市自身的山水特质。山水格局是一个城市的基底，也是城市具有唯一性的特质。

第二个建议是我们整个城市应该像一座公园，通过绿色廊道将城市广场、道路、重要的节点串联成一个整体。而这些绿色廊道也能够成为一个城市地域特征的反映，不同气候带与不同温度条件环境下的植被类型是完全不同的。过去将南方的物种移植到北方，可以说这是一种“文化入侵”的行为，应该坚决制止，而尽量去采用本土的植物。

其三，我们一定要尽力将一个城市历史遗存保存下来。并且我们应该用一种新的文化价值观来看待城市的历史，不应仅将目光聚焦在某些精致的历史建筑上，一些粗糙的或是近代的遗迹也饱含着一座城市城镇化进程中的故事，也应该对之加以关注。

第四点，应该对城市建筑有进行总体控制，对城市建筑的高度、色彩、形体进行统一的管理。不能让城市中充满标新立异、争奇斗艳的建筑，这样最终只会构成混乱的景象。一座城市要形成自己的特色，首先要有自己的原则，并且不论轮换了多少



任市长，都要将自己的原则坚持下去。

第五个方面，自然地理环境是城市生存的母体，而社会、经济、文化则是维系城市发展的物质和精神食粮。我认为城市一定要创造出市民生活非常活跃的街区。城市生活将是一座城市的魅力所在。

最后，是关于我们的乡村建设。在过去的30年中，我们的城镇建设是辉煌的，但是乡村建设却是破坏性的，乡村文化基本被解构了，大部分乡村呈现为一种离散的状态。在未来的城镇化过程中乡村如何进行发展是我们需要深入去思考的问题。例如，现在很多地区都在进行“并村”，我们应该如何进行合理的合并，形成新的聚落？这绝不仅仅是简单地让农民集中起来，住在楼房中；我们更应该将农业文明的状态延续。此外，我们对于乡村有很多据性的研究，但非常缺乏有创新性的设计，缺乏对于乡村建设的引导模式。

**您曾担任过设计院的院长，又兼具高校学者和城市建设决策者的身份，您认为中国的城镇化理论与实践之间存在哪些矛盾，或者脱节之处？**

species in the north. We can call this action as “Cultural Replacement”, and we must end this practice, instead using native plants as much as possible.

Third, we should try to maintain a city’s historical heritage. Moreover, we should develop a new cultural perspective on interpreting our histories — instead of focusing on certain delicate historical buildings, some coarse or recent remains also tell stories about the urbanization process, and we should also give attention to these.

Fourth, there should be an overall guideline on the buildings of a city, to control the heights, colors, scales and forms. A city cannot be filled with dazzling buildings. In order for a city to form its own characteristics, a rule is the priority, and the rule needs to be long term carried on, no matter how many mayors come to govern.

Fifth, the natural environment is the matrix to a city to develop, and its growth is driven by the social, economic, and cultural dynamics. I believe cities should provide lively neighborhoods for civic life. The beauty of a city lies in its civic life.

The final aspect is about rural development:

over the past 30 years, our urban development has achieved encouraging results, but the construction in countryside has been devastating to our cultural and historical heritages, and the rural areas are in a scattered condition. How to develop the rural areas in the future urbanization process is an issue that we need to think thoroughly about. For example, many places are carrying out “village mergers” nowadays, how can we make reasonable mergers and let them form into new clusters? It is definitely not right to simply gather all the peasants and relocate them to live in high-rise buildings. We should maintain the agrarian culture. On top of this, although we have plenty of sound researches on the rural area, innovative design and a guiding model for rural development are in great need.

**You have been dean for the design institute, and are also a scholar and a city decision maker. What do you think is conflicting or missing between theory and practice of China’s urbanization process?**

**JIANG:** I have worked for several decades across

1. 中国西部某城市鸟瞰；城市化进程之下的千城一面的城市风貌。© 涂先明
2. 标新立异的建筑所构成的城市乱象：上海外滩上“奇奇怪怪”的建筑，其中包括被中国网友戏称为“开瓶器”和“注射器”的上海环球金融中心和金茂大厦。© J. Patrick Fischer
1. Aerial view of a city in Western China: homogenization of cities has become a negative effect of urbanization. © 涂先明
2. An assorted mix of aggregated chaos shaped by dazzling buildings: the “funny looking” buildings in the Bund, at where the Shanghai World Financial Center and the Jin Mao Tower, the “bottle opener” and “syringe” called by Chinese netizens, are located. © J. Patrick Fischer



蒋：我从业几十年，可以说横跨企业、学界、政府三界。我的切身感受是这三界并不贯通。其实，有很多政府官员都非常希望能将城市建设好，但是却不知道如何从操作层面来实现。于是只能自己去摸索，或去向已经成功的地区学习。然而，这种“成功其实是建立在地方特定自然环境、社会文化与历史脉络之上的，其形式是不可加以模仿或复制的。于是政府官员也非常渴望获得一些成熟的理论思想来指导其城市建设。而高校教授的研究往往是“高屋建瓴”，无法有效地指导实际操作层面的问题。我们需要批判性的声音来指出我们的问题所在，但更需要解决这些问题的策略与实施方案。我在株洲主持城市建设工作的时候，常常感到非常辛苦，遇到问题时我非常希望一些专家能够给出有效的建议。我们举办一些专家评审会，但往往都是空谈。而现在很少有设计师能够聚焦在一个地区，在对某一个地区的文化、经济进行深入研究的基础上来做设计。

在中国，大手笔的二维城市规划和建筑单体之间往往缺乏联系，无法从中观尺度上对城市的三维空间进行控制，也就成了“城市规划、墙上挂挂”。当前以城市经营带动城市经济发展的过程中，需要有一个能够具体指导建设项目、具有权威性和可操作性的规划来进行调控，解决城市建设项目与国民经济计划的结合、土地投放与城市空间结构的优化等方面的问题。但目前对这些方面的探讨还太少，如果高校能够完成一些体系化的研究，企业界中的设计研究机构能够针对具体的问题进行专项研究，这将为政府决策提供有力的支撑。LAF

industry, academia and government. My personal feeling is that these three fields are disconnected from each other. In fact, a lot of government officials are willing to manage the city well. But they do not know how to realize it in practice, and have to discover by themselves, or learn from successful cities or areas. However, these “successful” experiences are based on considerations on the sites’ specific natural, social, and historical contexts and cannot be borrowed directly. Officials are also longing to see some mature theory or model that can guide them, but scholars often do ivory tower research, and do not carry out research on real practicing issues. We need more than theories and critics; how to make it work is more important to us. When I was in charge of the urban construction in Zhuzhou City, I often felt it very difficult. On some issues I was greatly hoping that some experts can make suggestions. We have held many experts reviews, but most of which became empty talk. Meanwhile only few designers can focus on one region and make designs based on thorough research of the culture and economy of that area.

In China, large-scale, two-dimension city planning often lacks the relationship with individual buildings’ design. The inability to control the city space three-dimensionally at a medium scale has made city planning just wall hangings. Currently in the process of urban construction driven economic development, an authoritative and operable plan is needed — to guide development projects in detail, to regulate and control, to work out how to tie city’s development projects with the national economic plan, and to solve the issue of optimizing the relationship between land availability and the city’s spatial framework. However there are currently too few discussion on these topics. If the academia can accomplish more systematic researches, and some design and research institutes in the industry can conduct research quantitative research on specific issues, government decisions will have much stronger foundations. LAF