

作为“调解人”的景观设计师 ——文化人类学视角的解读

LANDSCAPE ARCHITECT AS “MEDIATOR” — A CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE



河合洋尚
日本国立民族学博物馆全球
现象研究部副教授、博士生
导师，东京都立大学社会人
类学博士

Hironao KAWAI
Associate Professor and
Doctoral Supervisor of the
Department of Globalization
and Humanity, National
Museum of Ethnology, Japan;
Ph.D. of Social Anthropology,
Tokyo Metropolitan University

DOI:10.15302/J-LAF-20170205 | 收稿时间 RECEIVED DATE / 2017-03-31
中图分类号 / C958
文献标识码 / C

摘要

近年来，文化人类学开始关注景观，景观人类学领域由此兴起。本文以作者在广东省的调研经验为基础，介绍了景观人类学的基本视角与调研方法，提出了通过立足当地居民的社会文化背景来把握景观设计的方法，为景观设计师提供了文化人类学角度的探索。

关键词

景观人类学；族群景观；能动体；调解人

ABSTRACT

In recent years, anthropologists have started paying attention to landscape, resulting in the emergence of landscape anthropology. Grounded in the author's investigative experience in Guangdong Province, China, this paper introduces a basic perspective and methodology of landscape anthropology. The author proposes methods to guide landscape design based on the social and cultural conditions of local residents, and provides explorations conducted for landscape architects from the perspective of cultural anthropology.

KEY WORDS

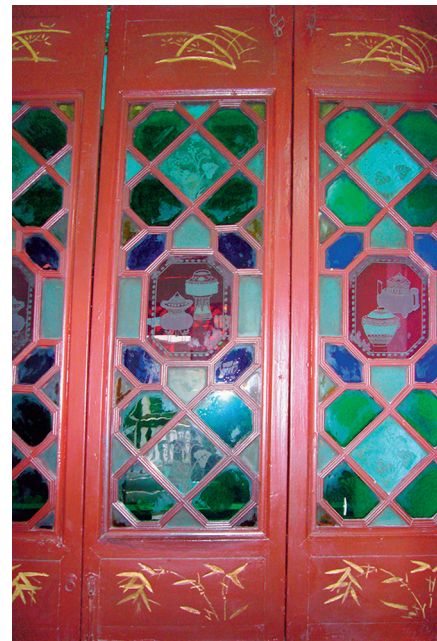
Landscape Anthropology; Ethnic Landscape; Agency; Mediator

整理 王颖

译 蔡金栋 凯瑟琳·德·阿尔梅达

EDITED BY Ying WANG

TRANSLATED BY Jindong CAI Catherine DE ALMEIDA



© 河合洋尚
1-1



© 河合洋尚
1-2

1-1. 广州满洲窗
1-2. 广州趟栊门

1-1. The Manchu window of
Guangzhou City
1-2. The Tanglong door of
Guangzhou City

景观人类学的基本视角

文化人类学是针对国内外“异文化”的研究，其主要方法是由人类学者到国内或海外的不同族群中生活，通过长期参与来观察、理解当地人的行为模式、思考方式及世界观等方面。文化人类学也研究各个民族/族群与周围环境的多样关系。近年来，文化人类学开始关注景观，景观人类学领域由此兴起。在该领域内，景观一般被定义为“被人为赋予文化意义的环境”，景观人类学所探讨的是不同族群在各自的价值观、思维方式、行为和意识形态下，赋予环境以文化意义的过程^[1]。该研究方向本身并不新颖，盛行于20世纪60~80年代的象征人类学和认知人类学也曾涉及相关问题。但受后现代主义理论影响，景观人类学在20世纪90年代以后逐渐兴起，其分析重点更倾向于景观的多样性及其中不同主体之间构成的冲突。

景观人类学的兴起与20世纪末文化人类学家频繁讨论的全球化及文化表象等概念密切相关。人们在全球时代的政治经济条件下创造了多种多样的景观，而景观人类学的着眼点正是在这一过程中多发的景观冲突，例如，在全球空间普遍均质化的状态下，不同地域反而创造了带有显著地方特色的景观。这其中大部分是由地方政府、开发商、旅游公司、学者等“外部人”创造的“外部景观”，主要是为维护殖民地统治或推动地方经济发展。而这类外部景观却与当地居民等“内部人”的记忆和生活实践中的“内部景观”相悖，由此引发了诸多社会问题。由外部景观和内部景观之间的对立、争夺而引发的社会问题在世界范围内日益凸显，激发了景观人类学学科对这些现象的关注。

文化人类学家帕梅拉·斯图尔特和安德鲁·斯特拉泽曾以巴布亚新几内亚高地的原住民杜纳人为对象进行了探究^[2]。研究结果表明，杜纳人对环境的认知与其生命息息相关。杜纳人认为，去世的人的尸体将变成土地中的“油”，由祖先的生命能量构成的土地能够为子孙带来繁荣。由于这一认知，1999年当开发商在当地安置巨大的石油挖掘

机时，杜纳人立刻紧张起来，生怕这机器将土地中的“油”汲取上来^[2]。通过该案例，斯图尔特和斯特拉泽指出，对开发商而言毫无特别之处的场地，却可能被当地人视作颇具文化意义的神圣之所。因此，人类学家不仅需要探讨当地社会的环境认知，更要保护对当地人来说不可或缺的景观。

这样的观点也使我们联想到凯文·林奇的城市研究^[3]。林奇用“城市意象”的概念阐释了对居民心理和行为进行研究的重要性，深刻影响了城市设计理论的发展。与之不同的是，景观人类学更侧重于探究族群文化的政治学原理及其对居民的影响，同时通过长期的田野调查来了解当地居民的多样性，并讨论不同居民围绕景观而产生认知和行为变化的动态过程。从2004年至今，笔者秉承景观人类学的视角与方法，在中国广东省的广州和梅州进行了城市景观建设方面的田野调查，并以此对景观人类学的调研方法及其对景观设计过程的影响进行了总结。

族群文化与景观设计

广东省位于中国的东南部，98%以上的人口为汉族，他们基本分为三个族群——广府人、客家人和潮汕人。广州是广府人的主要居住地，而梅州是客家人的主要居住地。20世纪90年代以来，为推动地方经济的发展，这两座城市的政府和开发商等分别以当地各自的族群文化为基础，构建城市景观。

其间我所采取的调研方法是：首先选定几个社区（村落），在此居住，访谈并观察当地人对环境的认知及其行为；同时考察当地的亲属关系、社交网络、经济结构、节庆活动、饮食习俗、民间信仰、风水等其他社会文化因素，其与当地居民和环境之间的关系亦紧密相关；此外，当地居民往往无法直接表达出他们与环境的关系，这也决定了人类学家需要通过长期的实地考察来理解景观和其他文化因素。不同于建筑学等其他领域，人类学家重视的并非物质环境本身（所以不一定要要求得出详细的规划图），而是人类赋予环境的文化价值。除此以外，人类学

家还需考虑当地居民在性别、年龄、职业、经历等方面的多样性。因此，人类学调研往往需要花费数月时间。另外，人类学家还需探讨当地政府、学者、媒体是如何用“科学”方法，尤其是文化相对主义的观点，总结出各族群文化的特色的，以及设计师又如何利用这些特色进行景观和建筑设计。通过以上的调研方法，我发现了一些值得深思的现象。

在广州的老城区，青砖、满洲窗、趟栊门（图1）等建筑元素被定义为具有广府文化特色，常被应用于当地的建筑、装饰等设计中；在梅州，圆形土楼因具有客家文化特色而备受青睐，该形式元素常被用于博物馆等公共设施的设计中。但这些外部景观的设计者不一定是深入了解当地生活的本地人，因而这些设计可能会与当地居民所熟知的内部景观相背离。不可否认，当地包含了不同背景的居住集体。比如，在广州的老城区便有老广州人和外来者的区别。前者来自当地不同的村落和社区，后者则包含了分别于改革开放前后移居至此的工人、商人和上班族等。由于背景不同，他们对景观的认知和实践也各有差异。尤其值得注意的是，一方面，一些外来者积极接受外部景观的意象，自费用青砖、满洲窗、趟栊门等建筑元素改造自己的住所或店铺^[4]；但另一方面，部分老广州人将这些外部景观的建设视为“穿衣戴帽”工程。他们常说，青砖、满洲窗、趟栊门属于过去当地的高级文化，并不能代表普通广州人的日常生活。笔者在广州做田野调查时，经常听当地人说这些景观是“假”的。举例而言，传统趟栊门的横木数量一定是奇数，因为奇数才有避邪作用，但近年来设计的不少趟栊门横木数量却是偶数。此外，21世纪以来，在地方政府的主导下，不少城中村建起了牌楼。其中不少牌楼的建立引发了村民的极度不满，主要原因在于牌楼的位置不在村落的边界，且牌楼的颜色是与青砖一样的灰色，这在村民看来是不吉利的。村民期望建立与临近村落同样的黄色牌楼（图2），以强化彼此间的友好关系^[5]。由以上实例看来，当地居民与环境之间的关

系，与当地的社交网络、民间信仰、风水等因素密切相关。而设计师若不了解当地的“异文化”，设计结果便可能引发当地居民的不满。

来自日本的文化人类学家兼设计师片桐保昭认为，设计师是“信息处理的核心”，即通过参考多种多样的既有形态，以及科学背景与本地文化，创造新的设计形态的能动体^[6]。如果设计师能够按照这个理念探究了解村民的社会网络和文化背景，设计出的牌楼与村民愿景之间的冲突便可以有所缓和。关于这一点，笔者认为位于梅州的中国客家博物馆是较为成功的案例之一。从“科学”背景来讲，中国客家博物馆的外观类似于圆形土楼。而梅州的传统民居以围龙屋为主，在历史上并未出现过圆形土楼。尽管从表面看来这座博物馆的设计背离了当地居民的生活，但实际上，中国客家博物馆的空间结构与围龙屋是相似的，且博物馆“上厅”部分的设计即借鉴了围龙屋入口的图案（图3）^[7]。

类似的设计上的“小趣味”在某些时候可以缓和景观中出现的问题。从文化人类学的角度来说，除了符合科学背景之外，在设计中适当纳入当地的文化因素也是重要的策略。而设计师则可以成为科学和文化之间的“调解人”。此时，要着重注意的是，在日常生活中居民往往难以明确意识到自身与景观的关系。仅通过圆桌会议或说明会一类的方式，是很难了解当地居民对景观的关注点的。笔者通常是在开始田野调查半年之后才能了解居民对景观的认知和实践。因此，设计师不仅需要概括并应用“典型”的文化特色，更应充分学习文化人类学视角下探究景观的方法与实践，深入了解当地居民的需求。**LAF**

2. 含有楼顶的黄色牌坊
2. The yellow archway with roofs

Basic Perspectives of Landscape Anthropology

Cultural anthropology is the study of the “other culture,” both at home and abroad. One of its major methodologies is to live in different domestic or overseas ethnic areas so anthropologists can, through long-term participation, observe and understand the behavioral patterns, ways of thinking, and world views of local people. The research objective of cultural anthropology also includes diverse relations between each ethnic group and their surrounding environment. In recent years, cultural anthropologists have started focusing on landscape, resulting in the emergence of landscape anthropology. In this context, landscape is usually defined as “the environment artificially given cultural meaning.” Landscape anthropology investigates the process different ethnic groups use to give cultural meaning to their environment in accordance with their respective values, ways of thinking, behaviors, and ideologies^[1]. By itself, this research approach is not novel since it had been popularized by symbolic anthropology



and cognitive anthropology during the 1960s through the 1980s. However, influenced by post-modernist theories, landscape anthropology has gradually emerged since the 1990s, and has focused its analyses on the diversity of landscape and the conflicts of each subject on landscape.

The emergence of landscape anthropology is closely linked to concepts of globalization and cultural representation that had been heatedly discussed by anthropologists in the late 20th century. Humans create various landscapes within the political and economic conditions of our Global Age, and landscape conflicts arising from this process are precisely the key points landscape anthropologists focus on. For example, in the general homogenization process of global space, different regions on the contrary create distinctive landscapes with local characteristics. Most of these are “outer landscapes” created by “outsiders” of local governments, developers, tourist companies, and scholars aiming to maintain colonial rules or promote local economic development. However, these outer landscapes are inconsistent with “inner landscapes” in the memory of the “insiders” of local residents and their living practices, causing frequent social issues. Social problems arising from the conflicts and contests between outer and inner landscapes are increasingly prominent worldwide, attracting close attention by landscape anthropologists.

Cultural anthropologists Pamela Stewart and Andrew Strathern once conducted research on the Duna people living in the highlands of Papua New Guinea^[2]. Their study showed a close connection between Duna people’s cognition of environment and their view on life. The Duna people believe deceased human bodies become “oil”

underground, and the land formed by the life energy of ancestors can bring prosperity to their descendants. Because of this cognition, in 1999 when developers started installing huge oil rigs, the Duna people immediately became nervous, fearing these machines would drain out the “oil” underground^[2]. With this case study, Stewart and Strathern pointed out that a place that may appear to be nothing special in the eye of developers might be a sacred environment with rich cultural meaning for local residents. As a result, anthropologists need to not only study the environmental cognition of local societies, but also protect the landscape that is indispensable to local people.

Such a viewpoint reminds us of Kevin Lynch’s urban study^[3]. Using the concept of “the image of the city,” he explains the importance of studying the psychology and behavior of the urban residents, profoundly influencing the development of urban design theories. Alternatively, landscape anthropology pays more attention to studying the principles of political science in ethnic cultures, and their impacts upon the residents. This generates an understanding of the internal diversity of local residents through long-time field investigation, and explores the dynamic process of different residents that experience cognitive and behavioral changes on landscapes. Since 2004, I have been conducting field investigations in Guangzhou and Meizhou in southeast China’s Guangdong Province. As a cultural anthropologist, my investigations focus on urban landscape development from the perspective and methodology of landscape anthropology, and summarize the research methods of landscape anthropology and their impacts upon landscape design.

Ethnic Culture and Landscape Design

More than 98 percent of the population in Guangdong Province, located in southeast China, are of Han nationality, and are divided into three ethnic groups: the Guangfu, the Hakka, and the Chaoshan people. Guangzhou is the major residence of the Guangfus, while the Hakkas reside in Meizhou. Since the 1990s, local governments and developers in both cities started constructing urban landscapes based on the respective ethnic culture in order to promote local economic development.

I conducted my investigation by first selecting communities (villages), to live in order to interview and observe local residents and understand their cognition of the environment as well as their behavior. At the same time, I investigated the local kinships, social networks, economic structures, festive activities, dietary habits, folk religions, fengshui (geomancy), and other socio-cultural factors that are closely linked to the relationship between local residents and their environment. In addition, local people usually fail to directly express their relationship with the environment, necessitating long-term field investigations by anthropologists to understand the landscape and other cultural factors. Different from architecture and other sciences, instead of focusing on the physical environment itself (that is why a detailed planning map is not necessarily required), anthropologists emphasize the cultural values given by humans to the environment. Apart from this, anthropologists also need to consider the diversity of local residents in terms of gender, age, profession, and experience. As a result, it usually takes months to conduct an anthropological

investigation. Anthropologists also need to study how local governments, scholars, and mass media use “scientific” methods — in particular the viewpoints of cultural relativism — to summarize the characteristics of each ethnic culture, and how landscape architects adopt these characteristics to their landscape and architectural designs. With the above-mentioned methodologies, I made the following findings.

In the old districts of Guangzhou, grey-green brick, Manchu windows, and Tanglong doors (Fig. 1) are defined as architectural elements that are widely applied to the design of local architectures and decorations and are characteristics of Guangfu culture. While in Meizhou, the tulou (circular earthen buildings) are representative of Hakka culture, and its form is often used in designing public facilities such as museums. However, designers of these landscapes are rarely local people with a deep understanding of local life. As a result, these designs might be contrary to the internal landscapes familiar to local residents. Undoubtedly, local residents consist of groups with different backgrounds. For example, in the old districts of Guangzhou, the Guangzhou natives are distinguished from outsiders. The former might be from different local villages and communities, while the latter consists of factory workers, businessmen, and office workers who had migrated there before and after China’s introduction of the open-door policy since the late 1970s. Because of these various backgrounds, their cognition and practice of landscape are also differentiated. What needs special attention is that, on one hand, some non-natives actively accept the image of outer landscape and decorate their



3-1. 中国客家博物馆的外观
3-2. 中国客家博物馆内的“上厅”入口

3-1. Exterior of the Hakka Museum of China
3-2. Entrance of the “upper hall” inside the Hakka Museum of China



3-2

houses and shops with grey-green brick, Manchu windows, Tanglong doors, and other architectural elements^[4], while some Guangzhou natives consider these buildings of outer landscape as “vanity projects.” They often told me that grey-green brick, Manchu windows, and Tanglong doors belong to the local high-level culture of the past, and cannot represent the daily life of ordinary Guangzhou residents. When carrying out field investigations in Guangzhou, I often heard local people say these landscapes are “fake.” For example, traditional Tanglong doors have an odd number of horizontal wooden bars because odd numbers exorcise evil spirits. However, in recent years many designs of such doors have an even number of horizontal bars. In addition, since the beginning of the 21st century, guided by local governments, many villages in the city have erected memorial archways. However, some of these archways have caused strong discontent amongst villagers because they are not situated at the border of the village. Their grey color, similar to the grey-green brick, is

also considered ominous. The villagers expect their archways to be yellow, the same color with those in neighboring villages, in order to enhance a friendly relationship with each other^[5] (Fig. 2). From the above-mentioned cases, we can see that the relation between local residents and their environment is closely linked with local social networks, folk religions, fengshui, and other factors. If landscape architects do not understand the local “other culture,” their designs might arouse discontent among local residents.

Yasuaki Katagiri, a Japanese cultural anthropologist and designer, believes that designers are the “core of computing,” meaning they are the agency to create new designed forms by consulting with various existing forms, scientific backgrounds, and local cultures^[6]. If designers can investigate and understand the social network and cultural background of local residents according to such concepts, the conflicts between the memorial archways they design and the expectation of villagers would be mitigated. Along these line, I believe the Hakka Museum of China in Meizhou is one successful case. In terms of “scientific” background, the shape of this museum resembles the circular tulou building. However, circular tulou has never appeared in the history of Meizhou. Instead of roundness, the traditional house is a tongue-shaped “weilongwu” (literally, houses which enclose the dragon) with a straight front face. On the surface, the design of this museum still deviates from local life, but in fact the spatial structure of this museum is similar to the weilongwu, and the design of the museum’s “upper hall” follows the pattern of a weilongwu entrance^[7] (Fig. 3).

Similar “gadgets” in design can

sometimes mitigate problems in cultural landscapes. From the perspective of cultural anthropology, scientific background of designs should conform to and be inclusive of local cultural elements when being appropriate is also an important strategy. In this sense, landscape architects can serve as the “mediator” between science and culture. Here we need to pay special attention to the fact that it is usually difficult for residents to be explicitly aware of their relationships with landscapes in their daily lives. It would be difficult to understand the concerns of local residents on landscapes simply through roundtable meetings or explanation sessions. Usually, I begin with a half year’s field investigation in order to understand local people’s cognition and practice of landscape. Therefore, landscape architects need to not only summarize and apply “typical” cultural characteristics, but also fully learn the methods and practices for investigating landscapes from the perspective of cultural anthropology, and look into the demands of local residents. **LAF**

REFERENCES

- [1] Kawai, H. (Ed.). (2016). *Landscape Anthropology: Body, Politics and Materiality*. Tokyo: Ji-cho-sha.
- [2] Stewart, P. J., & Strathern, A. (Eds.). (2005). *Cosmology, Resources and Landscape: Agencies of the Dead and the Living in Duna, Papua New Guinea*. *Ethnology*, 44(1), 35-47.
- [3] Lynch, K. (1960). *The Image of the City*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
- [4] Kawai, H. (2010). The Urban Remediation Plan and Residents’ Optimal Engagement. In Konagaya, Y. & Kawaguchi, Y. & Naganuma, S. (Eds.), *China under the Socialist Modernization — Religion, Consumption and Ethic Groups* (pp. 155-184). Tokyo: Bensei Publishing.
- [5] Kawai, H. (2013). Challenges of Landscape Anthropology — Urban Landscape Representation and Revitalization in Guangzhou, China. Tokyo: Fukyosha.
- [6] Katagiri, Y. (2013). Problems in Landscape Anthropology: The Representation and Revitalization of the Urban Environment in Guangzhou, China. Tokyo: Fukyosha Publishing.
- [7] Kawai, H. (2016). The Landscape Multiple: A Study of the Hakka Hometown in Mainland China. *Cultural Anthropology* [The Japanese Society of Cultural Anthropology]. *Anthropology*, 81(1), 26-43.