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“常温”下的中国城镇化反思

TOWARDS A SLOW-DOWN URBANIZATION IN CHINA

摘要

作为中国高速城市建设进程的见证者，作者指出了中国城镇化进程中的误区和问题，随后以福州南台岛实践项目为例，探讨了新型城镇化转型背景下的城市规划所面临的新的时代问题，并就整个设计行业的发展进行了反思。

关键词

新型城镇化；反思；南台岛；转变

ABSTRACT

As a witness to the high-speed urbanization of China, the author highlights its misunderstandings and problems using the example of the Nantai Island in Fuzhou. The interview explores new issues facing urban planning within this slow-down urbanization, and reflections are made to the entire design profession.

KEY WORDS

New Urbanization; Reflection; Nantai Island; Shift

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作为一名具有丰富经验的城市规划师和中国高速城市建设进程的见证者，您如何审视目前中国城镇化的转型？

黄剑（以下简称黄）：首先，城镇化为中国带来了巨大的契机，它本身还有很大的空间可以发掘。但我们要小心对城镇化理解上的一个误区，就是将城和镇等同起来。无论是在文化方面还是经济方面，中国的城市和乡镇的差异都非常巨大，城和镇的发展也不应该采取相同的模式——我认为城镇同质化是非常危险的方向。

其次，中国的城镇化之所以在最近几年快速进入了所谓的“存量化”阶段，是因为很多城市之前经营得太粗放了，宝贵的土地资源也以一种既不集约也不精明的方式被用掉，遗留下来的发展用地较为有限，因而我们不得不进入“存量化”。但我并不认为之前30多年的城镇化建设就是错误的，发展总要付出一些代价。我们应该从所犯的各种各样的问题中总结教训，从而在未来转向一种更加谨慎、更加精细、更加精明的发展路径。

您可否以新近参与的实践项目为切入点和窗镜，来谈一谈在新型城镇化这一转型背景下，城市规划所面临的新的时代问题？

黄：那我们就从福州南台岛滨江休闲环岛路规划这个项目谈起吧。福州南台岛总面积120hm^2，是闽江上最大的岛屿，与福州老城仅一江之隔。2013~2014年，随着海峡西岸经济区发展战略和福州新一轮总体规划中“南拓东进、沿江向海”空间发展战略的确定，南台岛将成为福州中心城区的重要构成部分，为闽江、福州市，以及南台岛自身的复兴带来历史机遇——之所以说“复兴”，是因为南台岛在严格意义上不算是一个新城，其拥有众多点状开发区域；然而，这一被城市发展所忽略的空间一直没有接受

1. 总平面图

1. Nantai Island master plan



过整体性的规划指导——这种身份“尴尬”的案例在中国并不少见，它们面临的头等问题并不是那些特大城市中常见的突出的人地矛盾，而是应将焦点更多地放在如何通过设计具有综合效益的优质公共系统（在南台岛项目中，我们设计了一条贯通全岛的滨江绿道）来提升城市公共生活质量，改善城乡生态环境。

在这个项目中，我们认为南台岛滨水空间存在可达性弱、公共空间不连续、空间设计不友好三大问题。一般来讲，人是具有强烈的亲水性的。一个城市的滨水空间往往是活跃的城市舞台，而为什么拥有得天独厚滨水资源的南台岛却没有出现这样的景象呢？但在考究其背后的原因时，我们发现这在中国城市中具有相当大的普遍性。首先，很多城市的命运都随着水运而涨落，水运衰败后，一系列的码头和滨水空间也不再是城市重要的活动场所。我们通过研究历史文献来模拟城市的演变过程：福州本身是一个临水而居的城市，并且一直在原址基础上发展。由于长年的沉积，今天的南台岛从一些江中沙洲开始逐步形成完整的岛屿，而福州老城也在这个过程中离开了水边，往内陆延伸，和闽江的联系也因此慢慢弱化。从世界范围内的很多案例中我们可以发现，当城市进入后工业时代时，往往会选择有一定发展基础的滨水空间作为城市复兴的一个重要推手。我们在南台岛项目中也运用了相同的理念。此外，城市复兴中的另一个重要问题是，更新和保护之间的那根线要怎么划？划在哪里？举例来说，当我们谈论到一座历史文化名城的保护时，那根最佳的保护线应该划在清朝的时候、明朝的时候，还是唐朝的时候？我们是否应该为了一味的保护就放弃一些对未来的愿景和发展契机呢？我认为，这需要对城市现状和历史文化价值进行深入的研究和真实的评估，并制定一种综合的、灵活的规划。

今天，“看得见山，望得见水，记得住乡愁”已成为了我们共同的愿景，而“乡愁”很多时候是和城市物质空间紧密相关的。轰轰烈烈的城镇化大刀阔斧地对我们的城市进行着改造，我们试图寻觅儿时成长的记忆，却发现早已无处追寻。那些原有物质形态上我们所珍视的片段，很多都被粗暴地放弃掉了。我们在走访福州的过程中经常感慨：中国的现代城市往往千城一面，又灰又硬，但是看看乡间自然，民间文化，无不充满了靓丽色彩——戏剧、服饰、纸伞；漆器、青砖、黄木；碧泉、茶林、榕树……最容易被公众感知，但也最容易在规划中被忽略的就是这些蕴藏在日常生活和当地风土民情中的元素。在南台岛项目中我们确立了



Xi Jin Period — The city is near the river
西晋时期——城市与闽江相邻



Tang Period — The city is near the river
唐代时期——城市与闽江相邻



Song Period — The city is near the river
宋代时期——城市与闽江相邻



Ming Period — The river is occupied by the land
明代时期——闽江因沙洲的逐渐形成而面积缩减



Modern Period — The city center is far from the river
现代时期——城市远离闽江

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2. 南台岛地形历史变迁
3. 项目场地三个主要问题：1）可达性弱。过街天桥、通道和斑马线太少，公交站、停车场、自行车租赁等公共设施严重不足，不同层级的交通系统之间的转换衔接也很不到位；2）公共空间不连续。滨江带公共空间经常被城市道路隔断，未能形成系统，不能充分发挥滨江景观带的公共职能；3）空间设计不友好。景观单调，尺度不宜人，设施不安全，缺少可以遮阴的休闲设施，能够发生社会交往和聚会活动的空间非常缺乏，且舒适性差。

2. Historic topographical changes of Nantai Island
3. Three primary obstacles facing the site: 1) Weak accessibility from the mainland limits access. There are inadequate cross-over points, and a lack of bus stops, parking lots, bike facilities, and other public infrastructures. 2) The existing public space is disconnected from the waterfront by urban roads, and what little waterfront public space there is failed to allow full access. 3) The site is characterized by monotonic landscapes, unfriendly scales, unsafe infrastructure, and a lack of comfortable social spaces.

Weak connectivity to city 与城市联系性弱





Fragmented waterfront access and circulation 滨水空间可达性差，路网不连续





Lack of open space and identity 缺少开放空间与特色





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“五彩之环”的概念（同时也响应了项目本身对于体育运动和赛事的设计要求），从福州的自然和民俗文化中提炼出了5个颜色主题，分别对应了当地的历史、文化、城市环境的特点——漆红、水蓝、木黄、榕绿、瓦黛（后用紫色表示），通过材料、种植、标识、堤岸系统等景观元素的解读和诠释，赋予了各个区段独特的景观体验，同时也呼应了各区段未来的规划方向。

在南台岛这个市政项目中，您是否在与政府的合作中感受到了他们身上的“转型”？

黄：是的，我觉得现在越来越多的地方政府开始主动思考并尝试更加精明的发展策略。他们越来越认同公共设施先行的发展理念，希望通过塑造公共开放空间的景观来改造城市，懂得为未来预留发展空间，而不再像之前那样直接拿建设用地“动刀子”。在南台岛项目中，当地政府力求通过梳通和建设一条优美的滨江景观带，并融合世界级马拉松和自行车赛事等活动，来推动新一轮的城市建设，这是很好的尝试。这个项目拿到美国AIA城市设计大奖的时候，评委的评语当中也提到“在本项目中来自政府的支持至关重要”，积极肯定了当地政府在大型公共项目中的导向作用。

您认为在新型城镇化转型阶段，城市规划行业应在哪些方面进行反思？又面临着哪些挑战？

黄：我觉得中国还是一块非常优良的试验田，这在世界范围内都是绝无仅有的，值得我们好好珍惜，正是这样的环境才使得整个中国于过去的二三十年中在城市规划层面上做出了很多具体的探索。我认为首先需要反思的是，在城市建设进程中规划师和设计师并不是主角，不能只站在设计师的立场上去解决问题。总体上来讲，我认为中国设计师太过看重立体构成，将大量的精力放在研究空间形态上，而比较容易忽略很多软性的部分，包括政策、经济、公众参与、公共卫生、社会民生、自然环境问题等。而在规划



设计行业比较成熟的欧美国家，城市规划专业会更多的关注政策、法律、社会学，甚至人类学等。我相信城镇化是一个非常综合的过程，在这个过程中不能仅仅强调规划师的作用，更需要多学科并行、多种产业结构综合且长期作用。

其次，我想很多的中国城市的规划都是一群专家、学者、设计师和官员一起来制定的，他们直接决定了城市的未来，而这个未来并不见得反映了使用者的诉求。一些决策者以“前瞻性地实践更新、更好的理念”为名来规划城市目标，却忽略了在城市里生活的真正的使用者们，他们作为城市生活的主体，我们应该给予他们更多的关注和尊重。拿我个人经历而言，当年的一些设计也会为了追求审美诉求，而忽略了人真正的体验。举一个简单的例子，我们在设计一个广场时大多都会从平面上去推敲广场的构图。你可能会觉得座椅放多了，构图就不够完美；但在真正使用时你就会觉得，如果再多放几把椅子就更好了，更多的使用者会让空间显得更加生机勃勃。我们在纸上画图，是在拿上帝的视角看事情；但是在置身场地之中作为使用者时，是在拿我们小小的、人的尺度看事情。这两者之间永远都是有差异的。

还应该反思的是城市规划建设中不断涌现的跟风运动。每一个口号式运动的发展往往以牺牲个体特色为代价，追求的是一个一蹴而就的大块面上的成功。历数我们所推进的运动或模式时将会发现，它们往往在前半段缺乏严谨的、细致的可行性研究，而后半段又缺乏持续的投入、维护和不断的完善；而且这种跟风运动带来的后遗症和副作用都会比较突出。之前的城市建设一直处于一个高速增长的模式中，现在速度降了下来，慢慢进入一个所谓的“新常态”。我相信在这种“常温”下的城镇化进程中，我们仍然有很多机遇，需要从业者不断学习、探索和实践。**LAF**



4-6. 滨水绿道断面图。方案将滨水空间划分为步行大道、自行车道、儿童活动场地等空间。绿道沿线增设了相应的一体化公共服务设施，尽量与绿道驿站相整合（例如，每7km左右设置补给站和公厕，每4km左右设医护点），并完善标识系统，以满足日常使用和赛事的需求。

4-6. Section of waterfront greenway. The waterfront design is divided into pedestrian, biking, children playground, and other activity spaces. Public infrastructure is integrated into the greenway in concordance with post houses and comfort stations every seven kilometers, and aid station every four kilometers. A signage system is developed to meet the demand of daily uses and large sporting events.

As an experienced urban designer who witnesses the rapid urban construction in Chinese cities, how do you view the shift towards a new urbanization taking place in China?

Jian HUANG (HUANG hereafter): First of all, urbanization has brought a profound range of opportunities to China, and there is plenty of room for further development. However, we need to be careful not to misunderstand the urbanization of the city and urbanization of the country as identical. There is a huge divide — culturally and economically — between city and country in China, and their development goals should not be the same. A homogenization of the two is very problematic.

Secondly, Chinese urbanization is often generalized as shocking, overreaching, and destructive because of its extensive scope and scale that often leaves little land undeveloped. However, I do not think all urbanization for the past thirty years has been wrong or misguided. We should learn from past mistakes in order to bring about more discreet, careful, and wise development.

Based on your recent work, will you speak to some of the problems facing urban design within this "shocking" urbanization?

HUANG: Sure. I immediately think of the planning of waterfront ring road of Nantai Island in Fuzhou. The 120 hm^2 island is the largest on the Minjiang River and just across the river from the old city. The site is part of the Western Coast Economic Zone that provides an extraordinary opportunity to rejuvenate the Minjiang River, the city of Fuzhou, and Nantai Island itself. Designated as a

TYPICAL SIGNAGE 典型标识设计



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key position in the development strategy of "expanding southward and stepping eastward, along the river and to the sea," the site becomes a central component of the Fuzhou central urban area in the near future. The project was classified as a revitalization because the island itself was not considered as a new city. Nantai Island has many development patches yet that had been neglected and never received planning guidance. Such embarrassments are common in China, differing from megacities that are facing outstanding problem of the tension between human development and land resources. Often the pressing issue is improvement of urban public life or urban ecological improvement through a comprehensive master plan. For example, we designed a riverfront greenway that would run through the island.

Public waterfront spaces should actively engage city dwellers' life. But at the start of this project, we identified three major problems to address: weak accessibility, segmented public space, and unfriendly spatial design. Additionally, for an island community there was a wariness of water. We realized that this is common in Chinese cities. With the decline of industry in the cities taking waterborne transportation as their pillar industry, the waterfront is no longer active industrial area. We studied these changes in Fuzhou by examining its history of how it developed from a waterfront village to an industrial city. Overtime the island increased in size as river sediment collected. Over this same period, the city fabric moved inland and its connection to the river was weakened. This is a similar progression to many cities around the world, where we see a proximity to water as a catalyst for urban revitalization. These cities are now rediscovering their waterfronts. Since Nantai Island was already a developed area, an important question for us was distinguishing between areas for preservation and areas for development. For example, in the protection of a culturally historic city, what period in time should we protect? Artifacts from either the Qing, Ming or Tang Dynasties, or from all three? Should we sacrifice vision and opportunity solely for the sake of protection? In-depth study and critical evaluation of historical value is needed, and then a comprehensive and flexible planning strategy that responds to, but is not limited by preservation needs.

Nostalgia for picturesque mountains and rivers has become a common vision, but vigorous urbanization is changing our cities dramatically. We find nothing when



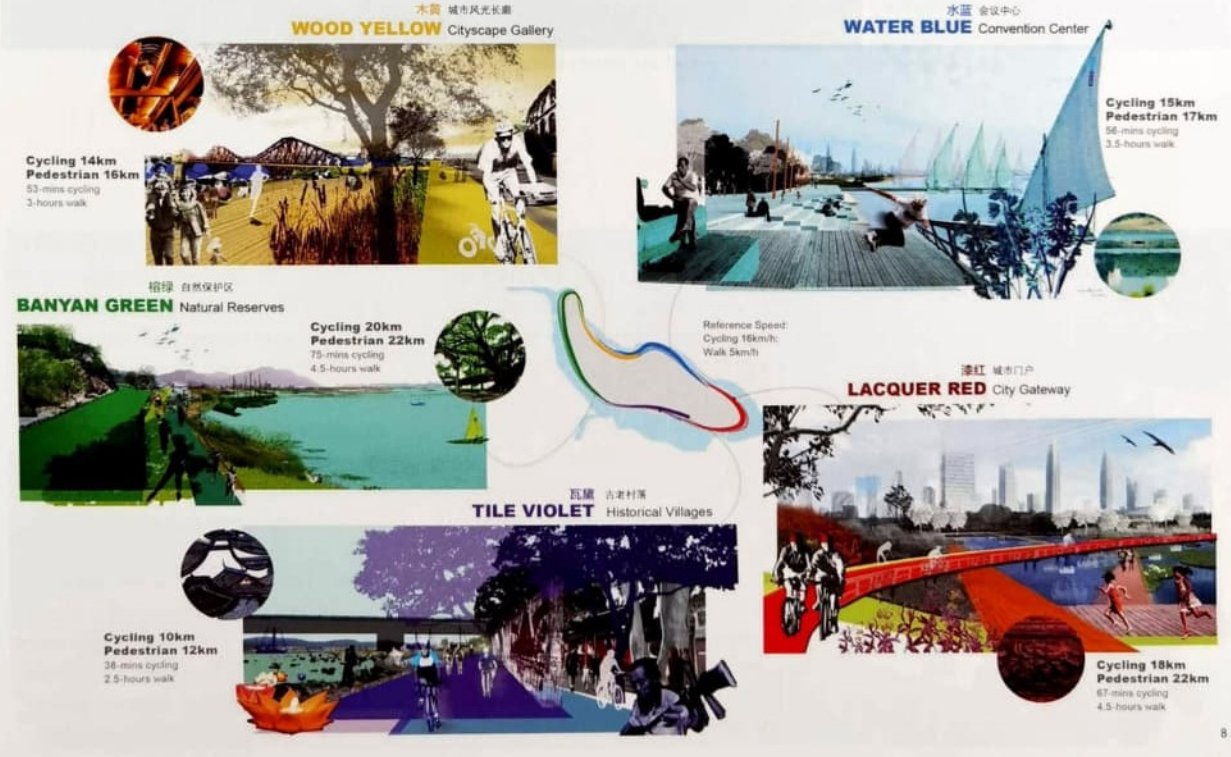
7,8. “五彩之环”概念设计图。我们的项目本来也有体育运动和赛事的设计要求，我们以色彩为线索，借鉴奥运五环，从福州的自然与民俗文化中提炼了5种颜色，对应5个区段的特色与规划定位。

7,8. Conceptual design of “five colord rings.” Following the cue and colors the Olympic rings, we used five colors traditionally found in Fuzhou nature and folklore. The colors inspired the design of the five corresponding spheres, which include public space and areas for sporting events.

we try to seek this childhood nostalgia. The landscapes we valued have been discarded. We feel disappointed when we visit Fuzhou because all modern Chinese cities look alike. The cities are hard and grey, while visions of the countryside are filled with nature and colors: dramas, clothes, and paper umbrellas; lacquer works, grey bricks, and yellow wood; waterfalls, camellia groves, and banyan trees. But these visions of bucolic life are also ignored in our urban planning. For the Nantai Island project, we proposed a concept of “five colored rings” inspired by local Fuzhou history, culture and urban environment. These five colored rings were lacquer red, water blue, wooden yellow, banyan green, and tile black (expressed in violet). Individual segments of each ring contain a unique landscape characteristic that is seen in the design of the materials, plants, signage system, and levees.

During the cooperation with the local government, did you detect any “shift” occurring in the municipal government themselves?

HUANG: Yes. Chinese governments are actively rethinking and pursuing more astute development strategies that start with infrastructure and public open space. They are increasingly leaving space for future development rather than developing all available land. In the Nantai Island project, the local



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五彩之环串联起若干对南台岛未来城市建设有重要意义的节点。以天后宫节点设计为例，天后宫是省级文物保护单位，保存完好而且仍然是当地民众重要的公共活动场所。但由于现状堤墙影响，天后宫沿江空间完全被3m高的防洪堤遮挡，与江水隔绝。与之相连的传统园林也被淹没在层层叠叠的加建民居之后，难以被发现。而且跨江大桥和传统村落的尺度形成鲜明对比，桥下空间较为消极压抑。

方案保留和修缮了天后宫周边的古树和旁边的传统园林，并将临近建筑改建为附属展厅，使之形成完整的园林院落。利用高架桥下的消极空间设立与古村历史相关的民俗海事博物馆，并在场馆东侧面江处开辟绿地广场，这些公共活动空间将另古村落焕发新的魅力。与此同时，利用现有堤墙开口，做成观景挑台；在村落主街对景处局部打开堤墙，做成码头平台。这一方案鼓励原有生活方式的传承，延续了古村落的生活印记和渔村意象。

The colored loops connect significant landscape nodes to the future urban construction on Nantai Island. Matzu Palace, for example, is a protected historical site at the provincial level, but it is also an important space for public activity. Due to an existing levee riverfront access is blocked by a three-meter flood wall and isolated from the river. The nearby traditional gardens are hidden behind the newly constructed residences. The nearby bridge, concrete and imposing, is seen in sharp contrast to the surrounding traditional, vernacular architecture. The space under the bridge is negatively used.

In response to these site conditions, the design preserves surrounding ancient trees and traditional gardens. The remaining neighboring buildings will be transformed into an exhibition hall, forming an intact garden courtyard. A folklore maritime museum will occupy passive space under the bridge, with a green plaza to its east. These public activity spaces will bring a new charm to the old village. Meanwhile, the existing levee will become viewing platforms and decks. The design seeks to encourage an inheritance of both old and new styles.







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government advocated for new city construction at the riverfront scale that would not only result in beautiful park land, but also be able to host world-class Marathon and biking events. This was a great use of resources. When the project received an AIA urban design award, the committee mentioned that "the support from the government in this project is enlightening." Local government support for large public works is highly valued.

What challenges should urban planning undertake during this period of new urbanization?

HUANG: China is a good place for experimentation. It is rare and should be cherished. The amount of change over the past two or three decades has enabled a high degree of testing and exploration. We should also note that designers do not play a major role in urban planning, problems of planning cannot only be solved by designers. Overall, I think Chinese designers are too focused on vertical form. Too much time is spent studying form, and as a result policy, economy, public participation, public infrastructure, democracy, and ecology are neglected. In western countries where the planning industry is more developed, there has been more of focus on policy, law, sociology, and even anthropology.

9, 10. 五彩之环串联起若干对南台岛未来城市建设有重要意义的节点。

9,10. The colored loops connect significant landscape nodes to the future urban construction on Nantai Island.

Urbanization is a very complex process, its importance should not only be the responsibility of design but all disciplines that are concerned with how people inhabit their environment.

Secondly, I think the planning of many Chinese cities is too greatly controlled by small groups of experts, scholars, designers and officials. These are the people determining the future of our cities, and while they may have some professional expertise, they do not necessarily respond to the needs to local residents. As the true users of the urban environment, residents should be granted more attention and respect. In my own experience, a design has often been pursued because of its aesthetic qualities rather than social qualities. A simple example is the great care we give to the composition of design drawings. In the case of a plaza plan, the addition of chairs might break the composition. But from the perspective of a user, more chairs are better because they will enliven the space. When we draw we should imagine ourselves experiencing the site as a user, not a designer. This will make a huge difference.

A final reflection is on the series big movements in the process of urbanization that has resulted in our urban construction blindly follows pervious work and sacrifices individual and vernacular characteristics. These movements are deficient in scrutiny or critical design thinking, while lacking future investment, maintenance, and improvement. The rapid pace of construction is about to enter a slower period of growth which will be regarded as a new norm in China. I believe, in this new urbanization shifting towards a more critical and smarter urban construction, there are many more opportunities for urban growth, where persistent study, exploration, experiment, and practice are needed. **LAF**



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