

城市规划评价及其方法： 欧洲理论家与中国学者的前沿性研究

周国艳 主编

城市世纪文库



东南大学出版社
SOUTHEAST UNIVERSITY PRESS

城市规划评价及其方法

欧洲理论家与中国学者的前沿性研究

Planning evaluation and its approaches

pioneering research from European and Chinese scholars

主编 周国艳

撰写人员

克里斯·韦伯斯特(Chris Webster)

艾斯特·R. 亚历山大(Ernest R. Alexander)

迈特黑·卡莫纳(Matthew Carmona)

马克·佩宁顿(Mark Pennington)

达莉亚·利奇菲尔德(Dalia Lichfield)

莱尼·西赫(Louie Sieh)

得伯赫·皮尔(Deborah Peel)

格林·劳埃德(Greg Lloyd)

周国艳

于立



东南大学出版社
SOUTHEAST UNIVERSITY PRESS

· 南京 ·

内容提要

本书为欧洲理论家与中国学者关于城市规划评价及其方法的前沿性研究成果的介绍。全书共分三个部分:第一部分为欧洲理论家对城市规划的不同评价性理论及其观点的全面展现;第二部分为西方关于城市规划评价理论和方法的实证研究案例介绍;第三部分为中国学者就城市规划的评价问题以及对中国城市规划评价的启示作出的系统性评价和论述。

本书内容具有前沿性、逻辑性,适合从事城市规划理论研究、城市规划设计研究、城市规划管理和实施的专业人员及其研究院所、高等院校的学生学习参考。

图书在版编目(CIP)数据

城市规划评价及其方法:欧洲理论家与中国学者的
前沿性研究/周国艳主编. —南京:东南大学出版社,2013.1
ISBN 978-7-5641-3557-7

I. ①城… II. ①周… ②韦… III. ①城市规划—研
究 IV. ①TU984

中国版本图书馆CIP数据核字(2012)第113419号



书 名:城市规划评价及其方法——欧洲理论家与中国学者的前沿性研究

主 编:周国艳

策划编辑:徐步政

编辑邮箱:894456253@qq.com

责任编辑:徐步政 莫凌燕

出版发行:东南大学出版社

社 址:南京市四牌楼2号

邮 编:210096

网 址:<http://www.seupress.com>

出 版 人:江建中

印 刷:江苏兴化印刷有限责任公司

排 版:江苏凤凰制版有限公司

开 本:700 mm×1000 mm 1/16 印张:15.25 字数:287 千

版 次:2013年1月第1版 2013年1月第1次印刷

书 号:ISBN 978-7-5641-3557-7

定 价:59.00 元

经 销:全国各地新华书店

发行热线:025-83790519 83791830

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前言

历经三十年的城市建设,毫不奇怪,现在中国规划师们开始询问有关评价的本质问题。随着城市化的发展,人们的关注焦点从原来的土地一级市场的设计、建设开发转向土地和房地产二级市场的更新开发与控制。缘于所有制的分裂,评价也成为更加复杂而棘手的一项任务。如果是单一的所有制形式,那么城市建设的评价多属事前评价:就是在设计阶段评价设计如何达到规划目标。对于中国的建设者来讲,过去三十年的目标很简单。这个可以让我的中国同仁们来说评价的过程是否出自这个目的,设计竞赛、招标就是为此。最近,我和一位来自中国南方城市的高级规划师谈到这些问题,他问我“我怎么知道我的设计是否优化了土地的价值?”我回答他四点:第一,我很高兴听到一个资深的从业人员如此清晰地阐明了规划的目标(在英国也很少见)。第二,令人满意的是在卡迪夫的同事们正设法建立这样的模型(利用一种我们称之为“空间设计经济学”的方法),确实对于优化、评价问题做了回答。第三,令人吃惊的是,既然土地租赁收益在推动中国规划体系上起了十分重要的作用,中国的规划师们并没有经常进行事前评价。第四,令我钦佩的是用“优化”而不是“最大化”的词汇——这表明了一种认识,即土地价值不仅仅是用来衡量从一块土地转化的项目中获得资本收益的大小,也可以衡量一个项目生态特征变化的机会成本。我在本书后面的章节中具体阐述了通过土地的价值来评价规划的观点。就此而言,以任何其他的方式来评价规划都是困难重重。这并不是说不可能或不应该尝试。这些困难包括:(一)评价标准(大多数评估关注几个方面)的选择;(二)如果一个多维度的评价,涉及权重的确定;(三)评价手段和措施的选择;(四)评价的时间范围;(五)空间单元的分析;(六)在评价中需要考虑的利益选择,以及六个评价之间的关系、设计变更和后期施工管理。

这本书的贡献在于它提供了关于上述问题和其他相关问题的一个非常全面而具挑战性的评论,而这些论述都出自世界明星级的专家们。多年来,亚历山大一直是关于这些问题的最富有智慧和激进的西方作家之一,也是我能想到的能够回答如下问题的最合适的人选,即回答:什么是成功规划和如何才能衡量?今天,什么是规划评价,又是如何才能实现?卡莫纳是英国学院中的城市设计最前沿的思想家之一,他的章节很好地与亚历山大的论点并列,形成了设计师的整体评价的方法与更侧重科学性的评价方法的鲜明对比。我自己的章节融合了两种方法:既具有整体性又具有科学性。它通过一个还原方式观察这一点:随着城市土地市场的成熟,土地价值往往捕

捉到规划的净效应。来自网络、绿色、社会和商业基础设施的外部性与集聚的外部性和土地使用外部效应往往在土地市场中可以被捕捉到。这可以看作是一种评估许多规划成果的替代市场方法。达莉亚·利奇菲尔德的章节说明了在前4章中所讨论的各种不同的评价方法和观点如何可能变成现实的工具。在这里,我们发现了由极富智慧的纳撒尼尔·利奇菲尔德和他的伙伴们所开创的评价实践是何等宝贵的财富。亚历山大用反思规划的价值观与理性为本书的第一部分画上了句号。

该书的第二部分案例给读者理解规划评价及其如何反映在西方的一些特殊实例中提供了机会。卡莫纳和西赫考察了英国规划部门——英国具有合法的权利从事发起和控制土地开发机构的效能。

皮尔和劳埃德做了两个具体的规划政策评价:一个是城市中心商务管理促进区;另一个是英国移动通信网络的基础设施开发。这些研究给出了一些例子,表明了在实践中评价不可避免地成为一种妥协兼顾的结果,其中夹杂着直觉判断、度量艰难和不同价值之间的平衡。如果能将规划评价归为一种单维度的绩效评估,例如通过评价借助额外增加的个体收入带给社区邻里公共物品的投资来评价贸易促进区的政策,那这种评价还是可行的。评价一个像电信桅杆这样有影响性的基础设施的规划政策涉及国家及经济贸易目标和当地社区的多重目标间的协调。这道出了本书应当给予的结论之一:当严格地限定在某一个绩效方面的评价时,评估是最有作为的。这意味着,如果有几种不同的绩效维度,那么评价就应当分开进行。佩宁顿的章节是一个不同的章节。一方面,他试图通过或多或少的成本或物超所值的单维标准来评估整个英国规划系统。另一方面,也体现了一种关于规划体系的逻辑和哲学层面的评价。这种评估应当先于任何经验评估,但有时可以是关于对自身价值的评价。特别是制度(法律和程序)评价,尤其是那些基础性的制度如英国土地利用规划体制的评价就是这样的例子。因为制度往往会随着时间的推移而变异,逐渐失去他们自身的路径。

英国规划系统之所以如此持久能抵抗根本性改革,正因为它适应各种调整。曾几何时,它对每个人都有帮助。它提供了以下和更多其他方面的法律依据:(一)具体发展控制;(二)次国家层面规模的综合部门规划(跨部门通过物质空间规划协调);(三)基础设施规划;(四)环境资产的保护;(五)私有财产价值的保护;(六)促进地方经济发展;(七)提供资助的市场情报给私人发展产业;(八)国家和地区的住房供应规划;(九)将设计成本内消在建造业内部。它由此逐步发展了几十年,在规模和复杂性方面越来越大。每隔一段时间,都有必要进行关于目的和过程、结果和手段的激进评估;而且,这种系统评价的一个重要组成部分,就是针对一个强有力的理论观点进行彻底的批判。

也许,包括具体的评价措施,中国规划目前需要这样以帮助它从本质上

审视其以设计为导向的职业趋向转变到某种伴随着不断增长的拥有资产的中产阶级的混合市场土地经济的目的相适应。

在本书的最后部分,周国艳十分熟练地就此问题和其他的理念、思想进行了论述,以帮助我们思考,用什么样的评价方式才适合未来中国城市规划这个令人兴奋的发展阶段。在中国所有学规划的学生都应该读这本书,和他们老师以及有实践经验的同事们一起,就规划的目标以及评价这些目标实现的最佳方法,撰写他们自己的“篇章”。

克里斯·韦伯斯特

城市规划与发展 教授
英国卡迪夫大学

Foreword

After 30 years of building cities, it is not surprising that Chinese planners are now asking questions of an evaluative nature. Advancement in urbanisation leads to a shift in emphasis from design-and-build development via the primary land market to redevelopment and control of secondary land and property markets. This inevitably makes evaluation a much more complex and intractable task. The challenges arise from the fragmentation of ownership. With unitary ownership, evaluation of city building is mostly *ex-ante* evaluation; an evaluation at the design stage of how design matches up to goals. Goals have been relatively simple for Chinese city builders over the last three decades. I leave it to Chinese colleagues to say whether the evaluation processes used for this task, such as design competitions and tendering, have been up to the job. I recently spoke to a senior planner of an eco-development in a southern Chinese city who asked me “how do I know if my design optimises land values”. I had four responses to the question. Firstly, delight to hear a senior practitioner articulating a planning objective so clearly (it rarely happens in Britain). Secondly, satisfaction in knowing that colleagues at Cardiff University are working on models (using an approach we are calling “Spatial Design Economics”) that can indeed give an answer to the optimisation/evaluation question. Third, surprise that, given the importance of land lease revenue in driving the Chinese planning system, this kind of *ex-ante* evaluation is not routinely carried out by Chinese planners. Fourthly, admiration that the term *optimisation* rather than *maximisation* was used – indicating an acknowledgment that land values can be used to measure not only capital and revenue returns from an urban land conversion project but also to measure the opportunity costs of a project’s eco-features. I elaborate the idea of evaluating planning through land prices in my chapter later in this book. For now what should be said is that evaluating planning in any other way is fraught with difficulties. That is not to say that it cannot or should not be attempted. The difficulties include (a) the choice of evaluation criteria (most evaluations focus on several dimensions); (b) the choice of weights if a multi-dimensional evaluation is attempted; (c) the choice of measures

and measuring instruments; (d) the time frame for evaluation; (e) the spatial unit of analysis; (f) the choice of interests to consider in the evaluation; and (f) the relationships between evaluation, design modification and post-construction management.

The contributions in this book provide a wonderfully comprehensive and challenging review of these and other issues by a star cast of writers. For many years, Ernest Alexander has been one of the intellectually most stimulating and intelligent writers in the western literature on these matters and is the best person I can think of for addressing the questions: What is successful planning and how can we measure it? And what is planning-evaluation today and how did it get there? Matthew Carmona is one of the foremost thinkers in the British school of urban design and his chapter is nicely juxtaposed with Alexanders' to contrast the designers' holistic approach to evaluation with a more scientific approach. My own chapter mixes the two approaches: holistic and scientific. It does this by a reductionist observation: as urban land markets mature, land values tend to capture the net effect of planning. Positive and negative externalities from network, green, social and commercial infrastructure and from agglomeration and land use spillovers tend to be captured in the land market, which can be thought of as a surrogate market for evaluating many planning outcomes. Dalia Lichfield's chapters indicate how the various approaches and positions discussed in the first four chapters may be developed into practical approaches and tools. Here we find the wealth of intellectually-driven practical evaluation work pioneered by Nathaniel Lichfield and his associates. Alexander rounds off the first part of the book with a reflection on values and rationality in planning.

The second part of the book is a chance for readers to understand and reflect upon particular exercises in evaluating planning in the west. Matthew Carmona and Louie Sieh look at performance measurement in English Planning Authorities—the legal bodies that in British law are endowed with the right to initiate and control development of land.

Deborah Peel and Greg Lloyd write on the evaluation of two specific planning policies: Town Centre Management/Business Improvement Districts on the one hand; and the development of the UK's network of mobile telecom infrastructure on the other. These give examples of how evaluation in practice is inevitably a compromise that mixes up intuitive judgement, hard metrics and a balancing of different values. Where it is possi-

ble to agree on a single dimension of performance, such as evaluating a Business Improvement District policy by the additional private revenue it brings to neighbourhood public goods investment, then relatively unambiguous evaluation can proceed. Evaluating a planning policy for invasive infrastructure like telecommunication masts involves trading off national and commercial economic objectives with the multiple objectives of local communities. This points to one of the conclusions that a book like this should make; evaluation is most helpful when it is rigorously performed on a single performance dimension. This suggests that if there are several important performance dimensions, separate evaluations should be carried out. Mark Pennington's chapter is of a somewhat different kind. On the one hand, his work attempts to evaluate the entire British planning system on a well defined and more or less single dimensional criteria (cost and, by extension, value for money). On the other hand, what he also exemplifies is a logical or philosophical evaluation of the planning system. Such an evaluation should precede any empirical evaluation but can at times, be of major value in its own right. This is especially the case in the evaluation of institutions (laws and procedures)—especially those as embedded as the British land use planning system, since institutions have a habit of mutating over time and losing their way.

The British planning system has been so long-lasting and resistant to fundamental reform precisely because it is so amenable to adaptation. At various times, it has offered something for everyone. It provides a legal basis for all of the following and more; (a) detailed control of development; (b) sub-national scale multi-sector planning (cross-sector coordination via physical plans); (c) infrastructure planning; (d) the protection of environmental assets; (e) the preservation of private property values; (f) the promotion of local economic development; (g) the provision of subsidised market intelligence to the private development industry; (h) national and regional planning of housing supply; and (i) internalising the costs of design within the construction industry. It has thus evolved incrementally over many decades, growing in size and complexity. Every so often a radical appraisal of purpose and process, ends and means is essential; and an important part of this kind of systemic evaluation is a set of thorough critiques from strong theoretical perspectives.

Perhaps, as well as specific evaluation tools, Chinese planning needs this at the present time to help it navigate its way from an essentially de-

sign-oriented profession to something that is fit for purpose in a mixed-market land economy with a growing property-owning middle class.

In the final part of the book, Guoyan Zhou expertly picks up this and other themes in helping us think through what kinds of evaluation are appropriate for this next exciting phase in the development of Chinese city planning. All planning students in China should read this book and join with their teachers, and then their more experienced colleagues when they move into practice, in writing their own “chapters” about the goals of planning and the best way to evaluate the achievement of those goals.

Chris Webster

Professor of Urban Planning and Development, Cardiff University

目录

前言

第一部分 理解城市规划的有效性评价

- 1 演变和现状：规划评价今天走到哪里了，它是怎么到达这里的？ / 3**
 - 1.1 背景 / 3
 - 1.2 公共投资和成本收益分析 / 4
 - 1.3 评价的内容和方法 / 6
 - 1.4 规划过的开发 / 8
 - 1.5 战略性项目 / 9
 - 1.6 评价方法的演变 / 10
- 2 规划评价：什么是成功的规划，我们怎么评价它？ / 16**
 - 2.1 背景 / 16
 - 2.2 成功规划的定义 / 16
 - 2.3 制定规划评价框架 / 18
 - 2.4 讨论和结果 / 23
- 3 规划实施有效性评价：一种全面的评价观点 / 28**
 - 3.1 背景 / 28
 - 3.2 十个概念困境 / 28
 - 3.3 研究方法 / 33
 - 3.4 一个分析框架 / 37
 - 3.5 发现和讨论 / 42
 - 3.6 一种规划成效测评新范式的趋向 / 47
 - 3.7 结论 / 53
 - 3.8 申明 / 55
- 4 规划评价、产权以及城市规划的目的 / 59**
- 5 社区影响分析和评价：Nat Lichfield 的规划观 / 67**
 - 5.1 关于 Nat 教授 / 67

- 5.2 社区影响分析和评价 / 68
- 5.3 评价过程 / 71
- 5.4 适宜的方法 / 72
- 5.5 附言 / 74
- 6 从规划影响评价走向动态规划:一个完整的规划概念及其实践 / 76
 - 6.1 背景 / 76
 - 6.2 规划中的分离与整合 / 78
 - 6.3 总结:一致的前进方向 / 80
 - 6.4 动态规划:概念、方法与实践 / 80
 - 6.5 结论 / 94
 - 附:案例研究 1~3 / 94
- 7 评价和理性:寻求价值观的规划理性 / 99
 - 7.1 背景 / 99
 - 7.2 评价方法及其理性 / 100
 - 7.3 工具理性 / 100
 - 7.4 有限理性 / 102
 - 7.5 实质理性 / 103
 - 7.6 战略理性 / 104
 - 7.7 交流理性 / 105
 - 7.8 重新评价理性 / 106
 - 7.9 启示与结论 / 107
 - 7.10 致谢 / 108

第二部分 评价途径和方法

- 8 规划服务的评价:英国规划当局实施评价的创新 / 113
 - 8.1 背景 / 113
 - 8.2 相关研究 / 119
 - 8.3 研究发现 / 121
 - 8.4 结论 / 135
 - 8.5 致谢 / 138
- 9 城市更新政策评价:以英国城市中心区经营管理和商业更新区为例 / 144
 - 9.1 背景 / 144

- 9.2 网络化评价 / 145
- 9.3 评价的意义与方法 / 149
- 9.4 评价视角 / 155
- 9.5 结论 / 157

10 规划干预的评价:英国苏格兰的移动通信基础设施的案例研究 / 161

- 10.1 背景 / 161
- 10.2 评价的观点 / 162
- 10.3 苏格兰规划改革案例 / 163
- 10.4 苏格兰移动通信管理法规 / 164
- 10.5 移动通信:评估案例研究 / 166
- 10.6 结论 / 173

11 规划体系的评价:自由市场环境保护论与土地利用规划的局限性 / 176

- 11.1 背景 / 176
- 11.2 自由市场环境保护论 / 176
- 11.3 奥地利学派:信息和市场作为一个探索过程 / 177
- 11.4 公共选择理论,政府失灵和土地利用规划 / 182
- 11.5 Coase 自由市场环境保护论和私有土地利用规划 / 185
- 11.6 结语 / 189

第三部分 中国学者关于规划评价的观点

12 理解城市规划实施成效评价及探讨适合中国国情的城市规划评价的实践途径 / 197

- 12.1 背景 / 197
- 12.2 城市规划有效性的界定和讨论 / 197
- 12.3 城市规划实施成效的评价对象、评价标准和评价主体 / 199
- 12.4 城市规划实施有效性的评价方法 / 202

13 不确定性,完美实施,随机性规划方式及规划的评估 / 212

- 13.1 规划的不确定性和不同的规划条件 / 212
- 13.2 政策实施的困难 / 213
- 13.3 管理和规划的随机性规划方法 / 217
- 13.4 结论 / 220

Contents

Foreword

Part One: Understanding Planning Evaluation

- 1 **Evolution and Status: What Is Planning-Evaluation Today and How Did It Get There?** / 3
- 2 **Evaluating Planning: What is successful planning and (how) can we measure it?** / 16
- 3 **Performance Measurement in Planning—Towards a Holistic View** / 28
- 4 **Evaluation, Property Rights and the Purpose of Urban Planning** / 59
- 5 **Community Impact Analysis and Evaluation: Nat Lichfield's View of Planning** / 67
- 6 **From Impact Evaluation to Dynamic Planning: An Integrated Concept and Practice** / 76
- 7 **Evaluation and Rationalities: Reasoning with Values in Planning** / 99

Part Two: Cases of Evaluation Approaches and Methods

- 8 **Evaluation of Planning Service: Performance Measurement Innovation in English Planning Authorities** / 113
- 9 **Evaluation of Project Proposals: Evaluation of Urban Regeneration Initiatives: Town Centre Management and Business Improvement Districts** / 144

10 Evaluation of Planning Interventions: Mobile Telecommunications Infrastructure / 161

11 Evaluation of Planning System: Free Market Environmentalism and the Limits of Land Use Planning / 176

Part Three: Perspectives of Chinese Academics on Planning Evaluation(in Chinese)

12 Understanding of the Evaluation on Planning Performance and Exploration of Approaches to Practices in China / 197

13 Uncertainties, Perfect Implementation, Contingency Planning and Planning Evaluation / 212

Acknowledgements / 224

第一部分 理解城市规划 的有效性评价

- 1 演变和现状:规划评价今天走到哪里了,它是怎么到达这里的?
- 2 规划评价:什么是成功的规划,我们怎么评价它?
- 3 规划实施有效性评价:一种全面的评价观点
- 4 规划评价、产权以及城市规划的目的
- 5 社区影响分析和评价:Nat Lichfield 的规划观
- 6 从规划影响评价走向动态规划:一个完整的规划概念及其实践
- 7 评价和理性:寻求价值观的规划理性

