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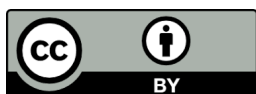
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## Research Article

<https://doi.org/10.70731/tp445n47>

## Reality and Illusion Intertwined, Humanity at the Core: An Analysis of Anti-fiction Techniques in Ma Jia's Novels

真幻相生，人性为核：麦家小说反虚构手法探析

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### Keywords:

Ma Jia;  
Anti-Fiction;  
Reality;  
Humanity

### 关键词:

麦家; 反虚构; 真实; 人性

**Abstract:** Ma Jia claims that "a novel is about presenting the false as the true." The core of his creation lies in employing "anti-fiction" techniques to construct a seemingly solid "realistic runway": real-name narrators, fabricated archives, interview notes, historical markers, and interlocking perspectives. He then deliberately exposes the "fabrication edge" through ghost narratives, self-contradictions, blank maps, and intertwined plots, making readers oscillate between belief and doubt. This study, through close textual reading and cross-referencing of historical materials, systematically analyzes his representative works and argues that Ma Jia's bidirectional narrative strategy of "revealing the false within the true and the true within the false" dismantles the barrier between fiction and reality, shifting the narrative anchor from "event truth" to "human authenticity." From four dimensions—the narrator's identity, internal focalization, the blend of historical fact and fantasy, and the creation of suspenseful gaps—the paper reveals how this "real-and-unreal" aesthetic offers a new paradigm for contemporary espionage fiction.

**摘要:** 麦家宣称“小说就是把假的说成真的”，其创作核心在于用“反虚构”手段先为读者铺设一条看似确凿的“真实跑道”：实名叙述者、伪档案、采访手记、史实地标、多重视角互证等层层加码；随后又在文本缝隙中故意亮出“造假刀口”——鬼魂叙事、自我拆台、地图留白、情节互拆——使读者在信与疑的失重中反复摆荡。本文运用文本细读与史料互证的方法，对其代表作品进行系统分析，指出麦家通过“真中见假、假中见真”的双向叙事策略，拆除虚构与写实的藩篱，最终让“人性真实”而非“事件真相”成为叙事落地的唯一锚点。文章从叙述者身份、内聚焦视角、史实与奇幻拼贴、悬念留白四个维度切入，揭示其“亦真亦幻”叙事美学如何为当代谍战文学提供类型突破的新范式。

## 1. 引言

麦家曾言，每一部小说的根本在于虚构，作家仿佛在戏剧舞台上施展魔术，凭借卓越的技艺和演绎，诱导读

者陷入一种虚幻的真实感。一旦被揭露瑕疵，整个剧情便可能功亏一篑。将虚构编织成现实，是小说家的基本功。麦家运用“反虚构”的手法，营造出一幅逼真的幻象，

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同时在这层看似真实的叙述之下，不经意地流露出故事的虚构本质。而在那些虚构的情节中，他又揭示了人性的真实面貌，赋予了故事无限的可能性。正是通过这种“真假交织”的手法，麦家让故事的意义得以无限扩展，呈现出一幅似真还假的独特艺术境界。

## 2. “反虚构”中的“虚构”

“我的小说常被读者当作真事，甚至把角色与历史人物对号入座，其实我并未掌握什么秘密素材，只是从不过度滥用编造的权利。”<sup>[1]</sup>麦家的这一席话，透露出他在运用“反虚构”技巧时的核心理念。他并未在作品中刻意追求虚构的堆砌，反而致力于塑造一种强烈的真实感。在叙述的微妙之处，他总是巧妙地保留一丝痕迹——在不经意间展露瑕疵，既引导读者辨识小说与现实之间的界限，也防止人们沉迷于虚构的情境之中，忽略了故事深层次的核心价值。

### 2.1. 故事材料的写实与祛真运用

故事材料的真实性，往往是麦家在小说创作过程中极为看重且反复着重强调的核心要点，但与此同时，麦家又时常会在一些容易被忽略的细节之处，不动声色地埋下伏笔，悄然推翻此前耗费心力为故事营造起来的真实感，形成一种“先立后破”的叙事效果。为了最大限度地表现故事的真实性，让读者更易沉浸其中、信以为真，麦家在小说里常常会特意塑造出一个看似就是作者本人的叙述者“我”，这个叙述者“我”不仅与现实中的作家麦家同名，同样称作“麦家”，甚至在个人生活轨迹、人生经历等诸多方面，都与麦家本人有着大量高度重合的地方，进一步拉近了叙述者与读者的距离，也让故事的真实感更具说服力。如《解密》中写道：“我必须强调说：这个故事是历史的，不是想象的。”<sup>[2]</sup>在《暗算》中写道：此书献给钱院长和全体701的工作人员，侧面强调小说中人物的真实性。《风语1》在前言中也说明了黑室是一个真实的机构，并介绍了黑室的一些相关情况，借此强调小说内容的真实性。在《刀尖2》中，“我”说明了小说内容是根据现存的真实材料将故事串连起来的结果，并不是出于自己的创造性的劳动。在小说中，“我”扮演了一位纪实记者的角色，肩负着挖掘故事背后真相的使命，采访那些亲历者或知情者，将搜集到的素材梳理成条理清晰、系统完整的故事。叙述者还常常揭示故事素材的出处，这些出处往往带有传奇色彩或曲折离奇，比如《暗算》中，“我”在飞机上偶遇一位秘密机构的工作人员，由此展开了对该神秘机构及其内部故事的调查。在《解密》中，“我”因父亲与容金珍同住疗养院，得以聆听容金珍的传奇

经历。而在《风语1》中，“我”护理过一位前中国黑室成员，其被“我”的诚挚所打动，透露了黑室内的秘闻。亦有受人之托，将故事整理成书的情形，如《刀尖》中，王亚坤夫妇委托“我”记录林婴婴与金深水的故事，并提供了大量真实资料。这些故事资料来源和创作过程的详细描述，为小说的可信度加分。

“我”在追求真实的道路上历经艰辛，展现出一种对真实的虔诚与谦卑，这也是作者营造“反虚构”幻境的一种叙述策略。麦家还巧妙地在故事中嵌入采访、信件、日记等直接展现故事真实的文本和材料，这些材料不仅使故事逻辑更加连贯，也让读者更贴近人物，并从不同角度证实了故事来源的真实性，仿佛将小说转化为了一部真实的人物传记，模糊了虚构与事实的界限。

然而，在强调小说故事来源真实性的同时，麦家也时常露出“破绽”，打破真实的幻象。有时，在前一部作品中，麦家不遗余力地强调故事的真实性，但在后续作品中却对此前的说法进行解构。例如在《风声》中，麦家直言自己之前的创作大多是虚构，是天马行空的想象嵌入特定时空的产物，无法与现实历史相对应。这意味着，《解密》和《暗算》等作品中的真实叙述都是虚构的，这种说法彻底颠覆了之前营造的真实感，拆解了“反虚构”的幻觉。同样，《风语1》中，虽然前言明确交代了素材来源的真实性，但结尾却提醒读者这只是小说，不应与现实对应，使读者从幻境中清醒，以更加理性的视角审视故事内容。

### 2.2. 内聚焦视角的写实与虚构运用

麦家在创作小说时，频繁运用内聚焦视角来呈现故事的真实面貌，同时也不乏利用这一手法揭示故事的虚构色彩。固定式内聚焦视角能够叙述人物熟悉的事物，有助于缩短与读者的距离，让读者得以近距离地洞察事物的本质。《人生海海》与《人间信》便采用了“我”的第一人称固定式内聚焦视角，通过成长的视角，详尽展现了“我”自幼年至于成年的观察、思考和体验，营造出一种温馨亲近感。《刀尖》则从金深水与林婴婴的视角出发，讲述了地下工作者深入敌营的惊险经历与无奈命运，他们各自的视角相互补充，使得故事更加完整，人物塑造更为丰满，小说中的情报工作细节和人物命运的表现，均大大提升了作品的可信度。固定式内聚焦视角让故事情节连贯流畅，从人物的个人视角观察到的细节贴近其生活，对于揭示人物内心世界至关重要，同时也极大地增强了小说的真实感。

变换式内聚焦视角则通过不同人物的视角，叙述他们所见证或耳闻的真相，不同的叙述相互印证，为读者展

现了一个全方位的图景，弥补了叙事的断裂与情节的空白。《人生海海》除了采用“我”的固定式内聚焦外，还借助爷爷、老保长、父亲、上校、林阿姨等人的变换式内聚焦视角，对故事进行了全面的补充，让读者窥见“我”未曾目睹的情节，丰富了上校的形象。在《解密》中，荣先生、严实和局长等人的视角，让读者见证了容金珍不同阶段的经历，使得这一形象更加立体鲜活。这些不同的视角犹如多面镜子，彼此映照、相互衬托，填补了叙述间的空白，极大地增强了故事的可靠性。

然而，麦家并未追求构建在多重视角下看似无懈可击的“事实”，他有时特意在作品中削弱现实感，引入超乎现实的叙述视角。例如，在《暗算》这部作品中，便借助鬼魂的视角，讲述了一个越南青年韦夫的故事，他因病离世后的经历。韦夫的遗体被伪装成越南海军参谋部特情处军官胡海洋的身份，被冲至海滩，为驻地美军所发现。在遗体上，美军找到了一份标注为“绝密”的军事情报，这份情报实际上是一场精心设计的骗局，它误导了美军的行动，为中国军队的胜利铺平了道路。这一故事与二战期间北非战役中同盟国的“肉馅计划”有着异曲同工之妙，尽管故事的时间、地点、背景和人物有所不同，但军事策略的构思却惊人地相似。这种虚构性在小说中得到了强调，而采用鬼魂视角来叙述，更为作品蒙上了一层浓郁的神秘色彩。

### 2.3. 史实素材与虚构情节的融合运用

麦家在创作小说时，常常巧妙地利用真实的地理坐标、人物原型及机构细节编织故事情节，同时又不失时机地将虚构元素与史实交融，透露出作品的艺术虚构特质。博尔赫斯擅长在叙述中嵌入真实的历史事件或素材，塑造出一种逼真的叙事氛围，麦家在营造故事真实性方面亦运用此法，力求达到真假难辨的效果。例如，《风声》的故事背景设定在杭州西湖畔一座幽静大院，时间为1941年，与我国“皖南事变”后的抗日背景相契合。故事围绕日方特务追查隐藏在军机处的中共地下党员“老鬼”展开，各方势力——共产党、国民党、日军、伪军——的较量与智慧角逐成为故事的主线。《刀尖》则叙述了全面抗战爆发后，主人公在汪伪政府76号南京区的潜伏经历，其中“76号”是历史上真实存在的汪伪特工总部，由丁默邨、李士群掌管，实际上受日本特务机关操控。小说揭示了国共两党在抗日背景下的地下斗争及复杂关系。《风语》讲述了抗日战争期间，陈家鹄与日本妻子惠子之间的爱情悲剧，与战争背景及民族仇恨紧密相连。惠子的哥哥相井所在的“梅机关”也是史实中的日本特务机构。《人生海海》中，上校私密处纹字的女汉奸

名字中的“岛”字，让人联想到历史上臭名昭著的川岛芳子。上校的人生跨越了抗日战争、解放战争、“文革”至改革开放等多个历史时期，映射出社会的变迁。小说通过真实的地理、人物、机构及贴切的故事背景，提升了故事的可信度和沉浸感。

然而，麦家在小说创作中也善于将历史事实与虚构情节交织，添加现实中不可能存在的细节，让读者洞察到小说的虚构本质。如701特殊机构的地理位置始终扑朔迷离，宛如世外桃源，增强了故事的神秘感和虚幻色彩。《解密》中，容算盘·黎黎作为机翼设计者与莱特兄弟一同参与飞机制造，尽管莱特兄弟确实发明了飞机，但并无证据显示容算盘参与其设计，这一情节显然是作者的想象。小说中还提到希伊斯曾与著名数学家斯恩罗德对弈，并获得剑桥学习机会，但斯恩罗德这一人物并不真实存在。

## 3. “非真实”中的“真实”

博尔赫斯认为，我们通常以为的虚构之物，从真实的象征意义来说，亦可能触及真实的本质。[3]麦家深受博尔赫斯的熏陶，倾向于在虚构的小说世界里揭示人的本质真实，通过虚构的情节与人物塑造，展现人性的深刻内涵。他曾这样表达：“即便在具体到某个个体、某件事情上，历史中未必能找到确切对应的人和事，但我坚信，这些人所呈现的群体风貌、他们的工作状态，是真实不虚的。”[4]尽管麦家作品中的角色并非现实中的人物，他们的经历亦属虚构，但他们所映射的群体却是历史上真实存在过的。麦家笔下的英雄形象，凝聚了那些愿意为国家和人民奉献一切，甚至不惜生命以换取国家繁荣的英雄们的精神风貌，彰显了他们人性的辉煌。阅读麦家的小说，我们要学会穿越重重迷雾，洞察表象背后的本质，发现隐藏在虚构背后的真实。

### 3.1. 奇幻情节铺陈与人性本质的挖掘运用

麦家在小说创作中，常借神秘现象的描绘为作品抹上奇幻的色彩。在《暗算》中，透过越南青年韦夫的鬼魂视角，讲述其生前与生后的故事，给人以灵异之感。

《黑记》则围绕琳达乳房上的神秘黑记及其引发的怪病展开。《解密》中，容家老奶奶被噩梦困扰，最终在梦中因梦见孙子葬身大海而悲痛离世。黄依依、陈二湖等破译天才也常在梦中获得破解密码的灵感。在《环环相扣》中，桂花与婆婆的诅咒令辜负桂花的男人不久后死亡，仿佛是神秘力量的显现。《人间信》里的阿山道士在鬼子进村时多次化险为夷，当鬼子闯入其家时，道士供奉的张天师像前的烛台突然落地，使得鬼子因恐惧而

放弃洗劫，虽然这可能仅仅是共振效应的结果，却亦如神灵暗中庇护。《刀尖》中，林婴婴的二哥在危机时刻屡次见到已故父亲的形象，似乎父亲始终在旁守护，指引他前行。这些超现实的神秘情节，为人物的经历增添了一抹传奇色彩。

这些独特的经历，为小说笼罩了一层虚幻的面纱，而在这虚幻背后，实际上是对人性真实的深刻揭示。在《暗算》中，鬼魂视角带来的新颖阅读体验之下，是韦夫视角中人与人之间最真挚的情感，是韦夫未能实现的愿望在死后以另一种方式为国家做出的贡献。《解密》中，老奶奶的噩梦反映了对孙子的深深思念，而《环环相扣》中的诅咒则是对负心汉的深仇大恨。《人间信》中，阿山道士的历险虽可用科学解释，但日本侵略者的恐惧心理却暴露了他们内心的罪恶。《刀尖》中，林婴婴的二哥之所以在关键时刻看到父亲，是因为他对父亲的愧疚驱使他走向革命之路，将亲情转化为前进的动力。

### 3.2. 多重视角悬念与人性真实的剖析运用

麦家在作品中巧妙地布设悬念、运用留白技法，为小说披上了一层神秘的迷雾，引导读者陷入幻觉，令他们难以立刻洞察事件的真相。在扑朔迷离的真相背后，隐藏着真实的人性。作者通过多重视角的叙述手法，展现事件的不同面貌，然而这些叙述之间的冲突与分歧，却让真相愈发扑朔迷离，为小说增添了更多悬念。关于事件真相的诸多解读，彼此难以说服，使读者对原本坚信不疑的内容产生怀疑。

如在《风声》中，顾小梦与潘老对裘庄往事的讲述各执一词，形成了两个截然不同的版本。顾小梦对潘老的叙述进行了重构，潘教授又对顾小梦的陈述进行了解构。顾小梦认为，肥原在任务未完成之际，不会冒险放李宁玉尸体出门，而且当晚即将抓人，他无暇顾及此事。她声称是被李宁玉的眼泪打动，才选择协助她，正如“通过哭泣来打动对方，对他施加压力，对方便可能——常情就是这样——被迫要表示公开的同情或冷漠”[5]。潘教授却认为地下工作者们是不信眼泪的，因此顾小梦的说法难以立足。最终揭露的真相——潘教授是顾小梦之子，加之他们之间的恩怨，使得顾小梦的陈述更显得不可信。两人的讲述均存在关键漏洞，严重动摇了叙述的真实性。小说一方面通过当事人的回忆和访谈构建真实性，另一方面又通过知情者之间的争论瓦解了故事的真实性，使真相愈发扑朔迷离。

故事版本之间的差异缘何而来？后续叙述者的质疑是出自对真相的追求，还是别有用心？尽管读者无法得知事件的真实面貌，但越来越接近人性的真相。通过潘老

与顾小梦的讲述，我们见证了他们之间的爱恨纠葛，个人情感与利益驱动使得他们的叙述失去客观公正，变成“不可靠叙述”，导致故事可信度受损。然而，麦家并非旨在提供一个看似合理的答案，而是引导我们在似真似幻的叙述中探寻人性的奥秘，在叙述的差异中寻找故事意义的增值。

在《暗算》中，安在天与施国光对陈二湖的描述大相径庭。安在天眼中的陈二湖勤奋刻板，对黄依依有偏见，尽管才华横溢，但破译天赋不及黄依依。而施国光则将陈二湖视为破译大师，为国家立下汗马功劳，如神一般的存在。在安在天的视角中，陈二湖仅为黄依依天才的陪衬，其破译工作成了为黄依依扫清障碍的牺牲品。安在天的叙述中透露出他对黄依依的敬佩与爱慕，使得陈二湖这位破译专家在她身边显得黯然失色。施国光对陈二湖的敬仰则体现了他对英雄的崇敬之情。两人视角下的陈二湖差异，源于他们的情感立场，彰显了人际间情感的复杂性。小说亦以留白的手法，留给读者广阔的想象空间。如《解密》中，容金珍笔记中关于他与妻子秘密的内容被抽调，这部分内容永远无法得知，但结合笔记其他部分，可推测出容金珍对妻子的爱意。这部分留白激发了读者的想象，对容金珍与小翟之间的爱情进行合理猜想，展现了英雄柔情的一面。小说中的悬念与空白是否都能找到答案，并非麦家所追求，而是希望读者在迷雾中探寻人性的丰富内涵。

麦家在小说中通过“反虚构”中表现“虚构”，“非真实”中表现“真实”的方式，拆除真实与虚构之间的藩篱，达到了实中有虚、虚中有实的境界，给读者带来一种陌生化的审美效果，成为小说美感的重要来源，在亦真亦幻的叙述中，展现人性的不同侧面。在现实与梦幻之间自由穿梭的文本下，是对人物内心真实的生动表现，也是对人性的复杂内涵的探索。作者通过“反虚构”的艺术手法，表面上是对真相的孜孜追求，实际上写作的重点是这些叙述背后潜藏的人性，而在某些虚构的内容中，又潜藏着作家对于一些深层真实性的理解，表现故事的潜在主题。麦家追求的文学真实并不是故事中的真实，他不追求给读者一个清晰的真相，而是要在这似真似假的幻觉中追求人心的真实，人性的真实，对人的追问和对人性的挖掘才是作者真正执着追寻的。

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## Research Article

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## On the Form and Meaning of “Guichu”

论“鬼畜”：形式与意义

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### Keywords:

Guichui;  
Art;  
Technique;  
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### 关键词:

鬼畜; 艺术; 后现代主义

**Abstract:** Guichu is an avant-garde art form born from popular culture, constituting an edge cultural phenomenon on the ontological level. As a product of postmodern culture, Guichu emerges incidentally amidst semantic confusion. In terms of artistic creation, Guichu’s technical-artistic features challenge established art norms through discomfort and playful subversion. In artistic presentation, Guichu embodies the non-central aesthetics of postmodern art. As a transformed contemporary popular art form, Guichu typifies the ruins-relics characteristic of postmodern art.

**摘要:** 鬼畜是一种源自大众文化的先锋艺术形式，在本体论层面上构成了一种边缘文化现象。作为后现代文化的产物，鬼畜在语义混乱的语境中偶然生成。从艺术创作的角度看，鬼畜的技术与艺术特征通过不适感与戏谑性的颠覆挑战了既有的艺术规范；在艺术呈现上，鬼畜体现了后现代艺术的“非中心”审美。作为一种被转化的当代大众艺术形式，鬼畜呈现出后现代艺术“废墟—遗迹”的典型特征。

## 1. Introduction

The estrangement of art from the masses is deeply rooted in its formal constraints. As a medium of beauty, art consistently presents the allure of “aura” in a different way.<sup>[1]</sup> However, as a combination of media, materials, and visual elements, art remains silent. The aesthetic effect of distance required by the aura and the silence of artistic works contribute to the beauty derived from art’s silence. In its lofty sense, the latter abandons events deviating from established beauty trajectories. In essence, the history of aesthetics murders the phenomenon of beauty on the margins (whether popular or niche), while art history disregards attempts at marginal art—The goddess of beauty and art rejects everything disagreeable into the cultural phenomenon’s waste bin. Thus, in traditional ideas, all artistic attempts based on popular culture are culturological rather than aesthetic.

At the same time, folklore, morality and religion replaced the categories of art and beauty.

However, the lofty self-regard of aesthetics and the silence of art fundamentally diverge. The silence of art necessarily summons the presence of elements unrelated to or contrary to aesthetic significance, whereas aesthetic loftiness merely distances itself from the center of vision. Therefore, in the corner of its eye, art discovered the coerciveness of its silence — it is the imperative of aesthetics that causes art to linger around the halls of aura. Thus, on the fringes of art, fragmented, marginal, wandering, silent works of art accidentally encounters outside mainstream artistic forms. In various tribal, capricious ways, they mock, provoke, and ridicule the aristocrats in their towers. As Benjamin said, “One of the foremost tasks of art has always been the creation of a demand which could be fully satisfied only later. The history of every art form shows critical epochs

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in which a certain art form aspires to effects which could be fully obtained only with a changed technical standard, that is to say, in a new art form. The extravagances and crudities of art which thus appear, particularly in the so-called decadent epochs, actually arise from the nucleus of its richest historical energies.”<sup>[2]</sup> In the present era, the birth of technical tribes not only establishes secret communities in various fields but also prompts each community to pursue its own art. Thus, the “Guichu” technical tribes which originating from popular arts (especially film and television arts), become natives of artistic ruins.<sup>[3]</sup> Dadaism made an exhilarating revolutionary proclamation at the culmination of modern art, and now, the techno-artistic tribe of postmodernity has spoken.

## 2. Birth: Incidental Semantics

As its name implies, the birth of “Guichu” presents semantic astonishment. The term “Gui” (鬼, ghost) refers to the state of a person after death,<sup>[4]</sup> and “Chu” (畜, livestock) refer to animals tamed by human beings for farming. The literal meaning of “Guichu” is life’s rotation between human and livestock. On a more straightforward level, “Gui” possess an image distinct from humans, appearing suddenly in a terrifying, mysterious manner, accompanied by convulsive effects that make them unforgettable. In this sense, “Guichu” appropriately describe a genre which makes people feel uneasy, nauseous, or even fearful. However, in the techno-artistic pragmatics, as a failed semantic transformation, “Guichu” has long lost their original value, transitioning from a derogatory, abusive mimetic term to a technical code. After all, among ACGN enthusiasts, “Guichu” refers to videos (or audio) edited to combine highly repetitive visuals (or sounds) synchronized with high frame rates,<sup>[5]</sup> differs significantly from “Guichu” used to describe antagonists or villainous traits in novels, films, comics, animations, and video games, as the meaning chain between the two is dissolved in the heterogeneity of their common cultural origins. The birth of “Guichu” occurs amidst semantic fragmentation.

In essence, the term “Guichu” (鬼畜) is a composite of “preta” (饿鬼) and “tiryāṇc” (畜生), as articulated in the *Sutra of Distinction Between Good and Evil Retributions*: “Why do some beings have short human lives and others long? Those among them who in past lives cultivated few good deeds and many evil ones, hence in this human life have short lives, and in future lives are reborn in the hells, as hungry ghosts or animals, with long lives.”<sup>[6]</sup> Here, “Guichu” specifically refers to the “pretagati”(饿鬼道) and “tiryagyonigati”(畜生道) within the “ṣaḍgati”(六道).

In Japanese, the term “Guichu”(きちく) originally shared this meaning. Introduced from China to Japan around the 6th century AD during the ancient burial mound period, “Guichu” initially denoted the combined realms of “pretagati” and “tiryagyonigati”. Later, it extended metaphorically to denote individuals who were cruel, inhumane, and bereft of conscience, destined in their next lives to reincarnate as “preta” or “tiryāṇc”.

In the *Sutra on the Buddha’s Names*, it is stated: “Disciples! Today we repent again for the karma of enduring long hunger in the *pretagati*; we repent for not hearing of the name of clear water for hundreds of thousands of aeons in the *pretagati*; we repent for consuming pus, blood, feces, and filth in the *pretagati*; we repent for every limb burning as fire when moving in the *pretagati*; we repent for having a large belly and a narrow throat in the *pretagati*. Today, we sincerely bow our heads and repent.”<sup>[7]</sup> It further states: “Disciples! Today we repent for not recognizing anything in the *pretagati*; we repent for bearing heavy burdens and repaying past debts in the *pretagati*; we repent for being unable to act freely and being butchered and tortured by others in the *pretagati*; we repent for having varying numbers of legs in the *pretagati*; we repent for having our bodies consumed by small creatures among various hairs, feathers, scales, and shells in the *pretagati*. Today, we sincerely repent for enduring immeasurable and boundless suffering in the *pretagati*.”<sup>[8]</sup> Therefore, the term “Guichu” evolved into a moral judgment: the guilty will fall into the “pretagati” and “tiryagyonigati”. During World War II, Japan used the term politically to refer to the Allied Powers (e.g., “Guichu America and England” (鬼畜米英) or “Guichu America”(鬼畜米帝) ), which eventually became a source of satire regarding their own actions.

Through historical semantic shifts, “Guichu” gradually came to denote extreme and inhumane behaviors or those who perpetrate cruel acts, within secular contexts. That is why “demon” was the English translation for “Guichu”. It was not until the 17th and 18th centuries, with the emergence of sadomasochistic culture, that this term came to signify marginal, controversial acts of physical and emotional abuse. Romanticism’s pursuit of aesthetic liberty fostered the typification of “Guichu” in art; alongside Gothic literature and sensational novels, it weaves together eroticism, pathology, and horror into bizarre, grotesque, and captivating works.

In contemporary Japan, “鬼畜系” (きちくけい) has become a subculture associated with works that include antisocial behaviors or depict extreme acts in adult manga, anime, and video games. The term きちくけい was coined by the maverick writer Hyakutaro Murakami during the flourishing period of bad taste in the 1990s. Since then, きちくけい has become synonymous with

grotesque representations of sexual abuse. Terms like SM, rape, and paraphilias related to excretion are labeled as “characters of Guichu” (鬼畜属性), denoting excessive sadism.

According to the explanation from Nico Nico Douga Encyclopedia (ニコニコ大百科), “Guichu” (鬼畜) refers to MAD<sup>[9]</sup> appears to have been accidental: “This term did not exist in China and was imported from Japanese. It was later influenced by the Final Guichu Series(【最終鬼畜系列】), and its meaning seemed to have changed.” The connection between the two was likely coincidental: An early, highly popular MAD video on Niconico, featuring McDonald’s Uncle materials, was translated into “最终鬼畜蓝蓝路 (av106)” upon its spread to China, opening up a new world for Chinese audiences. Because its name included “Guichu” (鬼畜), the term gradually came to refer to such humorous and brainwashing MAD videos. In fact, the “Guichu” (鬼畜) in the Japanese title “最终鬼畜蓝蓝路” originated from the chosen BGM: the arrange version of U. N. Owen, it is about a character from the 东方Project series—Flandre Scarlet. Because the song U. N. Owen and the BGM of the Boss “最终鬼畜兵器蜂” of STG game怒首领蜂 are too similar, so this arrange was named “最終鬼畜妹フランドール・S”. Thus, the meaning of “Guichu” is biased toward a reckless association in a cultural context: as an artistic work, “Guichu” takes shape in a strange, nervous, even mad (MAD) way.

Returning to the etymology of “Guichu”, its departure from existing semantic chains occurred at its root. “Preta” endure hardship, strangeness, and terror; “tiryāñc” embody varied forms and diets as other beings. The visual and auditory surprise of “Preta” and “tiryāñc” imagery in MAD works gives rise to heterogeneity and discomfort; they distinguished the aesthetic sense of art. Exaggerated interpretations, distorted deformations, repetitive destruction, and ironic satire of traditional works and original materials trigger a primitive pleasure akin to sexual abuse. “Guichu” disciplines the original masters of the sound through enforced aesthetic and artistic silence. In summary, the emergence of “Guichu” is an aftermath of linguistic pragmatics in art maladjustment. It fosters postmodern interpretation’s aesthetic implications of fragmented meanings.

### 3. Sensations: Dionysian Rites

Traditional aesthetic theories tend to view artistic creation as a form of creative activity, whether tranquil or frenzied, solar or bacchanal. Artistic creation, as a ritual of aesthetic worship, places beauty itself on an untouchable altar of reverence at the relational level. As Nietzsche asserted, as the artistic forces of Dionysus and his antagonist Apollo, these forces do not require

mediation by human artists; they erupt directly from nature itself. Their artistic impulses first find satisfaction in the natural world in a direct manner: on the one hand, as a world of dreamlike images, the completion of this world is entirely independent of individual intellectual capacity or artistic cultivation; on the other hand, as a drunken reality, this reality similarly disregards personal factors, even intentionally destroying the individual, liberating them with a mysterious sense of unity. Faced with these direct artistic states in nature, every artist becomes an “imitator”, whether of the dream artist of Apollo, the intoxicated artist of Dionysus, or both (as in Greek tragedy). Regarding the latter, one might imagine them alone, apart from the wandering chorus of Dionysus, collapsing drunk by the wayside; then, due to the dreamlike inspiration of Apollo, their own realm, that is, their unity with the innermost foundation of the world, appears to them in a metaphorical dream image.

<sup>[10]</sup>The states of intoxication and dreams detach people from the mundane circumstances of art, and beauty thus occurs in a world of extraordinary perceptions. Intoxication and dreams crush people into the pure form of beauty’s vision; in this sense, the shattering of technique to art is truly anti-art. Therefore, “Guichu” and aesthetics it represents largely relate to appreciation of ugliness. Hugo, Delacroix, Edgar Allan Poe, and Baudelaire intended to highlight the autonomy of beauty through the scrutiny of ugliness; morality and Apollo’s oracles are sacrificed in the creation of beauty. Théophile Gautier believed: “Only useless things are truly beautiful; everything useful is ugly because it represents a need, and human needs are filthy and disgusting, like their weak and pathetic nature—the most practical part of a house is the bathroom.”<sup>[11]</sup> Realism portrays freedom in the gathering of ugliness, and technique’s dominance of art thus becomes an adversary of beauty.

Thus, unlike the creation of art, technique indeed portrays the less beautiful side of reality. “Guichu” as a paradigm of technicalization of art, in the dissection, collage, and repeated use of technique, makes aura no longer comfortable but rather unbearable. As Baudelaire said: “What makes these images precious and sacred is the countless thoughts they generate, which are generally harsh and gloomy. However, if an indiscreet person occasionally attempts to satisfy an unhealthy curiosity by finding an opportunity in Mr. G’s scattered works, I would kindly inform him in advance that he will find nothing there to arouse morbid imagination. He will only encounter inevitable sins, that is to say, the gaze of the devil hidden in the darkness or the shoulder of Mesalina flashing under the gaslight; he will only encounter pure art, that is to say, the special beauty of evil, beauty in ugliness.”<sup>[12]</sup> As elements of reality and freedom, ugliness replaces beauty in blatant disclosure and undisguised manipulation — in the forms of cruelty, terror, nausea, ugliness, and stench, heterogeneity and

discomfort excessively distance the essence of beauty. In contrast to aesthetics, which disconnects aesthetic sensations from nature in a thoughtful manner—tranquility, pleasure, and sublimity, technique not only does not rely on symbolic language of symbolism but also does not place itself in abstract meaning. Therefore, the techno-artistic essence of “Guichu” is a machine, a body without content, treating everything that has been discarded or is about to come as its elements. In this sense, the sensory traits of “Guichu” are discomfort and abjection rather than pain; it creates excessive discomfort, boredom, and lag in the revelry of appearances, sensory repetition, and formal coordination. “Guichu” writes the rules of technique-art in a heterogeneous way.

In the study of Dionysian rites, it can be found that what lead the celebration to revelry, frenzy to madness, what produce transformation of the body in the rhythm of music and dance are not the regular ritual or primitive emotions and purposes of participation, but the unsatisfied or excessive desires hidden in the hearts of the people, they make the ritual reach its peak in the mockery and heterogeneity of the game. So, Dionysian participants are not beasts who are uncontrollable and sexually vigorous, and the crowd of Apollo’s ceremony is not calm, rational recluses; it is the boredom of the body and the oppression of the spirit that make the discomfort surpass the process of the ritual. This discomfort and transcendence are the essence of the game, and the reversal of technique begins in the mockery and contempt of the ritual. As Nietzsche said, in various regions of the ancient world (not to mention the modern world), from Rome to Babylon, we can point out the existence of Dionysian rites, whose types are most similar to Dionysian rites in Greece, such as long-bearded Sater borrowed names and symbols from the god himself. In almost all places, the core of these festivals is a frenzied sexual indulgence, whose waves break every family and its solemn rules; the fiercest beasts in nature are unleashed straight off the leash, even to the disgust of mixing lust with violence, and I always regard it as the true “aphrodisiac of the witch”.<sup>[13]</sup> The release of sexual desire does not constitute the evolution of the desire to kill, but in the dilemmas of the remnants of desire release and suppression-release, the ritual distortion makes the body cruel. So, once the artist leaves the crowd when the climax of revelry is about to be distorted, Dionysus and Apollo appear in the dim light, but the festival does not end there; in the litter of the left-over and the bodies of the dead, discomfort and games instead of historical morality and values of the life world have risen. Minstrels, singers, children who did not participate in banquets, and graffiti artists met here.

So, the generation of the artistic effects of “Guichu” is fundamentally rooted in the impulse of the game.<sup>[14]</sup> As Schiller said, in all states of humans, it is precisely the game, and only the game that makes him perfect,

suddenly revealing his double nature. Games are closely related to the novelty, fun, and irony of aesthetics, talents are not self-destructive in the unbearable discomfort. “Then, what is a pure game? You call it a limitation of things in your imagination, and I call it an extension according to my evidence of its accuracy. So, I might as well say, a person should only take a serious attitude toward pleasant things, good things, and perfect things; however, beauty is approached with a game.”<sup>[15]</sup> Thus, the relationship between “Guichu” and beauty emerges in the activity against the assertion of aesthetics: beauty does not disappear, be denied, or be ridiculed by aesthetics. On the contrary, beauty emerges in the sensation and aesthetic activities caused by discomfort. In the fleeing and return, a *dissensus* is completely present. Jacques Ranciere described this as: Here, I refer to such a specific domain of experience, which has stopped various dominant forms of control over other domains of experience: that is, in the hierarchy between form and content, understanding and perception, these hierarchical forms have been decisive in the relation of two opposed human natures, and to distinguish the sensory experience of the self-formation. Therefore, the redistribution of the experience domain has become a partial possibility for the problem of reconstruction of places and components in general. As we know, this reconstruction is done in a way that causes *dissensus*: it is not due to accidental reasons, but due to aesthetic exceptions, this exception is repeated in a strange way for the political “exception”.<sup>[16]</sup> Politics and aesthetics transform their own rules within the discourse of games, a conflictual and non-dialogical aesthetic accident presents in the form of technique-art.<sup>[17]</sup> Thus, Adorno’s negative dialectical aesthetic became the prophecy of postmodern art: the sharp conflict between fine art and popular art, the erosion of capital change in the double deconstruction and reconstruction of games and discomfort.<sup>[18]</sup>

#### 4. Presentation: the Art of Nomads

Once the effect of art is highlighted as an independent picture before the audience, the technical aspects of art recede into obscurity. Painting, sculpture, photography, performance, installation, landscape and all other media transform into effects under the enveloping aura of beauty. However, the technique itself is transient, in the ruins of shattered meanings, the beauty’s effect is merely a flickering flame ignited upon remnants, extinguished amidst technique’s departure. As nomadic wanderers, technique never settles upon any single remnant. Thus, as minstrels, “Guichu” gradually approaching the marginalized and ostracized art and aesthetics, especially popular art.

At the level of artistic media, “Guichu” share familial similarities with other techno-artistic tribes. On the one hand, the proliferation of technique manifests intuitively in the extension of artistic media boundaries, with “montage” film editing techniques normalized—techniques like Photoshop, video editing, used in re-creative applications, making replication, imitation, collage, and appropriation the technical norm of popular art. On the other hand, the development of fast-paced art symbolizes, to a certain extent, the rise of the technological spirit, with genres like reggae, electronic music, rap, highly celebrated, largely due to technique pushing art to make formal decisions. Shouting or lyrical, teasing or aura, technique, in its placement posture, makes art manageable. Pure sound, influenced by the spirit of the game, becomes music games, MAD, sound-controlled entertainment, [19] classical and solemn traditional music becoming irrelevant in the age of technique. In the discourse category of technique-art, “Gui” (鬼) means it is quick-witted, and “Chu” (畜) means it is obstructed. “Guichu” become a member of the techno-artistic tribe.

Specifically, as a type of artistic creation or anti-artistic creation, “Guichu” have distinctive non-central characteristics, although it can be divided into three types depend on creation methods: sound MAD(音MAD), human VOCALOID(人力VOCALOID), and “Guichu” training(鬼畜调教). According to the characteristics and intentions of creation, “Guichu” have a rich variety of types. In the most primitive, and thus best describes the anti-artistic characteristics of “Guichu”, the works known as the original works of “Guichu”, “the source of all evil”, 最终鬼畜蓝蓝路, in a formalized, technical manner, in high rhythm changes, repetition, meaningless murmurs and even noise, presents the strangeness, curiosity, discomfort, and even nausea of “Guichu” works. The distortion of popular art towards abstract art is completely revealed in the author’s mockery. Based on this foundation, representative works of meaninglessness or mixed representation include 【新华里】最终鬼畜新华保险踢踏舞+RAP? and 【全明星Rap】黑喂狗! , where random, incidental mixed editing and collage create strange pleasures in the coincidence of bizarre images and sounds. Similarly, based on purely rhythmic creations of sound and image, there are “ 【矢泽妮可】妮可酱, 给我来一发最带感的Niconiconi! and 洛天依, 言和原创<普通DISCO>, the former only using two syllables (nico) to achieve a dynamic rhythm composition, the latter becoming a representative work of electronic rhythm, not only being praised by niche “Guichu” enthusiasts, but also gaining favor in popular music - as the representative work of Ilem, this work has been covered by many singers such as Wang Feng and Li Yuchun. The convergence of “Guichu” towards art directly prompts its emergence as a new art form.

In the respect of artistic reception, “Guichu” works tend to evoke a sense of extravagance in music and visual impact, similar to popular arts, especially comedy films. 【循环向】跟着雷总摇起来! *Are you OK!* and 我的洗发液 create punchlines by joyfully composing music; 【红日】梁逸峰你朗诵这么屌你家里人知道吗? generates a mocking and joyful resonance in the alternative coordination of image and sound; 【小明v老王】大忠若奸 shows the dramatic effects of literal interpretation; 冰雪奇缘X守护者联盟 【误解向】*Frozen Guardian* humorously states that the narratives of Disney and Marvel manufacturers are poor, and people reach the peak of their sense of pleasure through mocking failures and repeatedly presenting ignorant effects. Traditional comedies are deconstructed and recombined to create new rhythmic comedies, work such as 【春晚鬼畜】赵本山: 我就是念诗之王! 【改革春风吹满地】 creates new fun through the fast-paced presentation of humor and the coincidence of meaning. Technique is close to art, everyday speech overlap serious speech, and the “Guichu” technique-art machine operates on endless artistic ruins and causes awe. In 【去违和】周杰伦献唱核爆神曲*aLIEz* 与霍元甲的*Mashup*版本 *aHUOz!*, the chorus, the word, and the languages (German, Japanese, and Chinese) get accidental harmony; Ma Baoguo’s imitation show in foreign language, emoji dubbing and animal dubbing which present vivid and imaginative narratives (parody) such as 千万不要跟声优斗表情包, 否则你将毫无胜算, 我不仅开口说话和你吵架, 还要把你周围的空气吃干净让你窒息..., make the audience speechless in the splendor of language. Animated “Guichu” works such as 危险的黑子(mainly the participation of bullet screen) and the recreation of “Guichu” works such as 桃核x麦麦籽 【改革春风吹满地! 念诗之王x原创编舞x鬼畜第二弹, allow “Guichu” works to be regenerated in their own repetition. As an alternative attempt at art, “Guichu” expanded the boundaries of popular art. In the difference between coordination and strangeness, the difference between signifier and signified is generated in the misheard lyrics and bullet screen, “Guichu” really got rid of the arrogance of art in the acceptance of the audience.

Of course, as a genuine artistic paradigm, “Guichu” are not limited to attempts. The combination with traditional artistic narratives or artistic languages makes “Guichu” also has profound humanistic connotations.

【小明&老王】此物天下绝响 breaks down the words of historical figures in the three kingdoms period and reshapes the historical image of political strategists. Among them, Zhuge Liang’s theory of justice is cast into the micro-political science of Wang Lang’s pity, and the royal discourse is rediscovered in the metaphor of reali-

ty and the archaeology of the political system. In the life narrative of 【北大力南逸峰】我的故事（完整版），the sorrow and helplessness of marginal characters are written in the absurdity of life, with the lyrics of abrupt whimsy, they are completely ruined in self-deprecation. In 【派大星的独白】一个关于正常人的故事，the strong conflict between mental illness, innocence, and secular success, allows the poet “Patrick Star” to emerge on paper. After all, existentialist poets adhere to the attitude of “existence precedes essence”, but ordinary people sneer at it. In this way, “Guichu” have proven their aesthetic qualities through imitation of traditional artistic narratives.

## 5. Conclusion

As an art form, similar to classical art, contemporary art is a spiritual activity rather than a material activity, an emotional activity rather than a rational or volitional activity; and unlike classical art, contemporary art is a contemporary cultural phenomenon rather than a civilization phenomenon, mainly related to the survival status of contemporary people.<sup>[20]</sup> Therefore, at the level of ontology, “Guichu” can only be seen as a form of contemporary art that is present, even a transformation of popular art, in order to be considered as one of the subcultures or marginal cultures.<sup>[21]</sup> Individuals condense into tribes, and postmodern technology art tribes live in a fragmented world of meaning, where marginal discourse achieves marginal life through art.

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## Research Article

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# Street Space Demand and Child-friendly Design Response under the Transition of Fertility Policy

## 生育政策转型下街道空间需求与儿童友好设计响应

Yae Huang<sup>a</sup>, Lin Su<sup>a,\*</sup><sup>a</sup> Jiangxi Normal University, Nanchang 330022, China**Keywords:**

Child-Friendly Design;  
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Intergenerational Synergy

**关键词:**

儿童友好设计;  
街道空间优化;  
政策响应; 代际协同

**Abstract:** Amid the policy shift from the “two-child” to the “three-child” policy, the rising number of multi-child families has increased the demand for safer, more functional, and intergenerationally inclusive urban spaces. Integrating big data analysis, household behavior observation, and multi-source data fusion, this study investigates the optimization of urban street spaces under policy transformation. Results indicate that: **1)** children’s safety needs now span both “physical isolation” and “perceived safety”; **2)** policy support is positively correlated with the coverage of child-friendly facilities; and **3)** dynamic, data-driven design effectively compensates for static planning limitations. Yet, current research lacks attention to children’s subjectivity, real-time responsiveness, and long-term impact assessment. This paper proposes a dynamic “policy–data–design” framework to shift street space from “passive safety control” to “active empowerment.” Through stepwise child participation, interdisciplinary data integration, and multifunctional design, the framework aims to enhance child-friendly urban development and ease family fertility pressure while improving governance efficiency.

**摘要:** 在由“二孩”向“三孩”政策转变的背景下, 多孩家庭比例上升, 对城市空间的安全性、功能复合性及代际共融提出更高要求。本文结合大数据分析、家庭行为观察与多源数据融合方法, 探讨政策变动下城市街道空间的优化路径。结果显示: (1) 儿童安全需求已从“物理隔离”扩展至“感知安全”; (2) 政策支持强度与儿童友好设施覆盖率显著正相关; (3) 动态数据驱动设计可有效弥补静态规划的不足。当前研究在儿童主体性、环境实时响应及长期评估方面仍存在缺陷。为此, 本文提出基于“政策—数据—设计”协同的动态响应框架, 通过分级儿童参与、跨学科数据整合和复合功能设计, 实现街道空间由“被动安全控制”向“主动权赋予”的转变, 为儿童友好型城市建设提供理论与实践参考。

## 1. 引言

自20世纪80, 中国人口发展遭遇严峻挑战, 生育率持续下降势态。2015年, 全面二孩政策的推行仅使生育率短

暂回升, 至2021年, 出生率已降至7.52‰, 中国由此迈入全球低生育率国家之列[1, 2]。这一人口趋势的演变, 不仅导致人口规模的缩减、更引发了劳动力短缺、经济

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增速放缓、养老压力加剧及传统治理结构失效等系统性风险。在此期间，中国生育政策历经三阶段演变。在20世纪70年以前，政策以节育限制为主；改革开放后，政策以控制人口增长以促进经济发展；进入21世纪后，为缓解人口老龄化压力，政策逐步从放开二孩到三孩政策。三孩家庭作为对最新政策调整的响应群体，面临着更高的经济和时间压力[2]，其生存状况不仅成为政策实施效果的关键指标，更通过代际示范作用，直接影响二孩家庭的生育决策，因而成为构建生育友好型社会的关键研究对象。

在此背景下，城市街道空间作为家庭日常活动与儿童成长的核心载体，亟待通过系统性革新回应多子女家庭的复合需求。2024年国务院办公厅印发的《关于加快完善生育支持政策体系推动建设生育友好型社会的若干措施》也明确提出，要强化育幼服务与公共空间优化，进一步凸显了城市治理在生育政策落实中的关键作用。

本文聚焦生育成本压力与政策转型双重驱动下的街道空间步行友好性研究，通过整合家庭行为分析、儿童友好设施评估及多源数据技术，揭示儿童对城市空间的层级化需求，探讨如何通过“安全强化、功能复合、代际协同”的空间设计路径，为缓解家庭生存压力、构建生育友好型社会提供切实可行的城市治理方案。

## 2. 生育政策调整与街道空间需求转变

### 2.1. 政策驱动下的三孩家庭行为模式

基于2015-2023年湖北省的三孩家庭专项调查数据显示，三孩生育比例在政策放开后呈现显著上升。2015-2020年间，该比例由2.55%稳步攀升至4.06%，充分体现生育政策松绑的初期效应。尽管2021年后受多重外部因素影响生育数据出现短期波动，但政策红利的持续释放推动三孩生育比例在2023年回升至4.51%的峰值。值得注意的是，城市家庭三孩占比的显著提升（较2015年增长38%）[3]，城市家庭出行行为模式也因此受到改变。

在三孩政策实施背景下，城市空间需求呈现出三个显著特征；首先，安全需求维度呈现结构性升级。三孩家庭特有的多子女协同出行模式显著提高了出行安全风险系数，这要求街道空间设计进行系统性革新。例如通过拓宽人行道、构建连续隔离的慢行系统等物理干预手段，可有效降低人车冲突概率，同时保障儿童通学及日常活动的独立性；其次，包容性需求凸显多维挑战。随着家庭规模的扩大和儿童活动需求的多样化，传统街道空间在趣味性和服务容量上的局限性日益凸显。当前城

市街道往往以交通效率为主导，缺乏对儿童友好设施的系统规划，例如安全通学路径、游戏场地及亲子互动空间的不足，导致儿童活动空间被挤压至社区边缘或与成人、老年群体需求产生冲突[4, 5]；第三，功能复合需求催生空间重构。实证研究表明，家长在接送儿童过程中普遍存在“通勤+采买+休闲”的多目的出行特征。该现象要求沿街道界面布局社区驿站、共享儿童活动区等复合功能节点，通过空间要素的有机整合实现10分钟生活圈的功能优化，从而满足现代家庭多元化的日常需求。

### 2.2. 街道空间需求的层级化响应

#### 2.2.1. 安全性需求升级

随着城市化进程加快，城市交通环境日益复杂，司机与行人过失、道路环境特性，例如，宽敞路段事故率更高及监护人看护缺失，已成为主要致害因素。根据相关《中国青少年儿童伤害现状回顾报告》及多部门统计数据显示，道路交通伤害已成为我国儿童和青少年最主要的伤害死因，每年因道路交通事故致死、致伤的未成年人高达2.2万，相当于每天约60名儿童和青少年在交通事故中伤亡，其中15岁以下儿童日均死亡人数达7人[6]。对于三孩家庭，这些风险点可能更为突出——多个孩子同时外出时，监护难度呈几何级数增加，不同年龄段的行动特征差异更使得安全措施复杂化。例如低龄儿童易受视野盲区影响，青少年则可能因使用电子设备分心，监护人往往难以兼顾。

上述挑战凸显了系统性干预的紧迫性。在此背景下，我国“十四五”规划明确提出建设儿童友好城市，重庆等地已出台专项方案推动安全出行系统优化。相关研究指出，升级儿童街道安全需从“物质环境”与“感知安全”两个维度入手：在硬件层面，通过优化步行空间连续性(如拓宽人行道、消除高差)、增设人车隔离设施、完善过街安全岛与智能预警系统，可有效降低交通风险；在心理层面，提升街道环境的可识别性(如色彩标识、趣味铺装)与可控制性(自然监视、透明界面)，则能增强儿童对空间的安全感。以重庆都市花园片区为例，通过精细化改造(如彩色斑马线、游戏化街道家具)与儿童参与式设计(，不仅使儿童交通事故率下降27%，还意外激活了街道的商业活力——改造后沿街商铺客流量提升40%，该案例生动诠释了安全需求与空间品质的共生关系。这种以儿童视角重构城市空间的尝试，正在推动全龄友好型公共空间建设，使安全目标与代际共享的社会包容性形成良性互动[7]。

### 2.2.2. 包容性设施的整合设计

城市街道空间的包容性需求呈现多维升级趋势，需通过功能复合、服务协同与空间连续性设计，来满足不同年龄段儿童及家庭的差异化需求。杭州桥西儿童友好街区的实践表明，包容性设计需从“一米高度”的儿童视角出发，来构建多元功能复合的公共空间体系。例如，街区通过“自然圈”与“文化圈”的融合设计，串联微缩运河、椅子博物馆等互动装置，结合儿童尺度的导览标识和阶梯式座椅，为多孩家庭提供可同时容纳探索、学习与休憩的复合场景。此外，商户联动的“一米泡泡”计划整合45家商铺资源，提供免费阅读、儿童车停放等10项公益服务，通过社会协作弥补多孩家庭的资源缺口，从而强化服务包容性[8]。

深圳布勒比模型研究进一步指出，包容性设计需依托“住区-社区-城区”公共空间连续体，通过紧凑布局与功能混合提升环境可供性(EA)。研究发现，教育培训设施密度与儿童活动正相关，但需避免单一功能导向。建议在社区内整合学校、商业体与公共空间资源，形成“儿童友好服务圈”。例如，开放学校操场作为共享活动场地，或在口袋公园中嵌入共享长桌、植物科普花园等设施，支持不同年龄段儿童协同使用。此外，公共空间的序列化设计(如架空层、街角空地、社区街道的串联)可打破住区内外空间割裂，引导儿童从家庭走向社区，形成支持自由探索的包容性网络[9]。

### 2.2.3. 功能复合化需求的优化路径

当前，小学通学街道空间存在显著的功能单一性与趣味性缺失问题。从功能维度来看，空间利用局限于通学时段的通行需求，入校空间在非高峰时段长期闲置，街角碎空间未能有效嵌入便民服务或弹性活动设施；街道步行空间以硬质铺装为主，缺乏休息座椅、遮阳棚等多样化设施，节点空间(如公交站旁、商铺门口)功能单一，未结合儿童需求设置绘本借阅点或自然教育角。从趣味性维度看，空间设计以成人视角主导，沿街界面多为单调围墙或商业广告，缺乏符合儿童审美的趣味标识与互动装饰；自然与游戏元素匮乏，通学路径沿线绿化以行道树为主，缺少可触摸植被(如麦冬草、迷你花园)或互动景观(如昆虫旅馆、雨水花园)，节点空间缺乏可移动游乐设施(如拼装攀爬架、涂鸦墙)。

针对上述问题，本研究提出系统性的优化策略。在功能复合化方面，建议建立嵌入式服务节点网络，实施分时段管理模式，并活化街角碎片空间。具体措施包括在通学路径沿线设置嵌入式便民服务点，集成家长休息区、智能储物柜等功能，并分时段管理(高峰保障通行，非高峰开放共享饮水机)；利用街角碎空间活化快闪市集

(如早餐摊位、文具店)或弹性游戏场地(放学后开放攀爬架)。另一方面，通过儿童参与设计(如认知地图提炼卡通标识、色彩铺装)、自然景观植入及游戏设施嵌入(跳格子地贴、声音互动墙)提升趣味性。本土化实践中，台湾通学步道通过统一货架规范流动摊位形成“早餐走廊”，改造围墙为儿童绘画展示墙[10]；成都试点学校(如太平小学、锦城东汇小学)增设可移动游乐设施，结合银杏景观优化街道界面。实施后，便民服务与快闪市集使空间利用率提升35%，趣味性改造使儿童停留意愿显著增强，推动通学街道从单一通行向“安全”、“服务”、“娱乐”、“教育”多元融合转型，为儿童友好城市建设提供实践范本[11]。

## 3. 大数据驱动的需求识别与政策响应

### 3.1. 多源异构数据融合

在生育政策调整的背景下，家庭出行需求日益复杂，迫切要求数据采集与分析更具针对性。大数据技术为街道步行友好性研究提供了多维度、高精度的数据支持。

通过整合手机信令、POI数据、VR模拟、社交媒体等多维度数据，精准识别家庭出行特征与街道设施缺口，从而为儿童友好型街道设计提供科学依据。

#### 3.1.1. 行为模式分析

在儿童友好型街道设计的行为模式研究中，潘婉君提出的“游戏权视角”分析框架创新性地构建了多源数据融合的研究范式。该研究通过手机信令数据解析家长接送行为的时空轨迹，结合POI数据挖掘学校周边街道的潜在消费需求，首次量化揭示了“5分钟可达性”优化对复合功能布局的杠杆效应，需求满足率由此提升了23%)。研究突破传统空间分析维度，通过街道物理环境与社会网络的双重解构，构建起“可游戏空间(载体层)-可游戏形式(行为层)-可游戏氛围(感知层)”的递进式设计目标体系。以上海四平路街道微改造为例，通过在阜新路等路段植入“圈圈王国”模块化游戏装置，成功激发儿童自主探索行为，其空间驻留时长较改造前增加1.8倍[12]。

张雪诺团队研发的“tri.CEB”(儿童-环境-行为)三元分析框架，则开创了虚拟现实技术在街道安全评估中的先例。研究采用VR视景模拟技术精准还原1米儿童视域，通过眼动追踪与生理指标监测发现：鞍山路交叉口增设安全岛配合0.8米绿篱的设计，使家长安全感知指数提升27%。定量分析表明，绿植界面不仅将儿童呼吸带PM2.5浓度降低15%，更通过视域引导将盲区面积缩减至改造前的41%。特别在电箱遮蔽区改造中，采用穿孔

铝板与镜面组合装置，既保持设施功能性，又实现儿童视线通透性提升62%[13]。

### 3.1.2. 空间评估体系构建

徐守珩整合哥本哈根公共空间参数与12项公共空间质量标准，构建“安全-可达-舒适-愉悦”四维评估体系，应用于杭州求是小学通学空间评估。结果显示，该区域综合评分达3.27，但无障碍设施覆盖率不足30%，需通过街景图像语义分割与热力图分析优化空间连续性设计[14]。

### 3.1.3. 路径优化设计

在路径优化方面，张克凡利用地理信息系统(GIS)可见性分析与手机信令数据，提出动态路权分配与立体步行廊道设计。通过实时监测杭州通学路径的高峰时段人流，验证可变车道对步行效率的显著提升(18%)，并指出支路公交站台的社会监视覆盖率需结合摄像头与街道眼设计以增强安全性[15]。

### 3.1.4. 社交媒体数据挖掘

交媒体数据则成为挖掘隐性需求的重要来源，凡来基于小红书哺乳室投诉数据的情感分析与空间聚类，发现北京地铁站周边哺乳室覆盖率不足15%，建议通过用户情绪地图(如“便利性”“隐私性”关键词提取)优化布局，并联动商户资源提供公益服务[16]。

## 3.2. 政策响应与空间设计优化

### 3.2.1 政策框架与多尺度协同

国家层面出台的《关于推进儿童友好城市建设的指导意见》明确提出“社会政策友好”与“成长空间友好”双重目标，要求将儿童友好理念融入城市规划建设全流程。通过自然语言处理技术(如LDA主题模型)对政策文本关键词(如：“适儿化改造”、“通学路径安全”)的语义网络分析发现，政策导向与城市生育率特征呈现显著关联。具体而言，高政策强度城市(如杭州、深圳)通过顶层制度设计推动设施覆盖率系统性提升，例如杭州市将“15分钟生活圈”与托育机构嵌入社区商业综合体，形成“一站式”服务节点，无障碍设施覆盖率较政策实施前提升27%；低生育率城市(如上海、北京)则聚焦存量空间微更新，例如上海徐汇区通过哺乳室加密(500米服务半径覆盖率达89%)和共享街道设计(可变车道+全天候休憩区)，促使儿童独立出行意愿提升33%；而高生育率城市(如合肥、郑州)强调网络化布局，如郑州构建“L型风雨连廊”系统，结合防滑铺装与立体步行廊道连接学校与社区，步行密度提升42%。

### 3.2.1. 国际经验与本土化实践

儿童友好型街道空间的构建成为平衡城市发展与儿童需求的重要议题。国际经验表明，儿童友好街道设计需以儿童权利为核心，通过安全、趣味与参与的多维策略回应儿童需求。例如，伦敦通过《一般权力法案》优化步行空间与标准化摊位设计，降低机动交通风险[17]。东京“宁静街道项目”以限速与人车分流保障儿童独立活动安；而荷兰鹿特丹的“儿童议会”制度则将儿童意见纳入街道更新决策，体现参与权的制度化实践[18]。这些案例共同指向一个核心原则：儿童友好街道不仅是物理空间的改造，更是儿童权利在城市治理中的具象化。新加坡的“空中花园”系统通过立体化空间分离人流与车流，提升儿童出行安全性，同时德国冒险游戏场利用废弃材料激发儿童创造力[19]，进一步印证了自然互动与自由探索对儿童发展的重要性。

中国本土实践则在高密度城市环境中探索政策驱动与空间创新的结合。例如，成都昭觉社区基于Kano-AHP模型构建四径评价体系，以道路整洁度与教育益智设施优先提升儿童满意度[20]；广州“15分钟儿童友好生活圈”通过街道微更新整合口袋公园与慢行系统，缓解空间碎片化问题。这些实践凸显了政策目标与地方条件的适应性结合，但与国际先进案例相比，儿童参与机制的系统性仍待加强。例如南京老门东历史街区采用“影像发声法”收集儿童对街巷安全的感知数据[20]，虽体现了本土化创新，但其制度化程度尚不及国际经验中的儿童影响评估工具。

## 4. 目前国内研究现状与不足

### 4.1. 儿童参与规划的机制缺失与代际脱节

当前国内儿童友好型街道空间研究普遍存在“代际代理”倾向，儿童的主体性被弱化为被动观察对象。尽管部分研究通过家长问卷或行为观察间接获取儿童需求(如张瑶对成都通学街道的家长问卷分析)，但系统性参与机制的缺失导致设计策略与儿童真实诉求脱节[21]。例如，苏州古城街道的“跳房子地绘”虽延长了儿童停留时长，但其图案设计和布局未通过儿童直接参与验证，方格间距过大与低龄儿童运动能力不匹配，形成“成人设计，儿童适应”的错位现象。此类问题在首都核心区调研中尤为突出，家长问卷主导的需求分析未覆盖儿童对街道趣味性、游戏化设施的直接偏好，反映出规划流程中儿童话语权的结构性缺失[22]。深层原因在于制度与文化惯性：传统城市规划决策中，儿童常被视为“被保护对象”

而非“权利主体”，《关于推进儿童友好城市建设的指导意见》虽提出参与原则，但未明确法定程序与执行标准。

北京“新三代家庭”研究进一步指出，双职工家庭与祖辈育儿族的需求差异未通过分龄响应机制协调，儿童意见在家庭协作中被间接化[23]。优化路径需构建“阶梯式参与机制”，如深圳福田区通过儿童议事组织将意见嵌入设计方案，并借鉴美国“参与阶梯理论”，推动儿童从“被观察对象”向“决策协作者”转变。

## 4.2. 动态环境监测与实时数据应用不足

当前儿童友好型街道研究在环境动态监测领域面临三重系统性挑战。首先，多源数据整合存在结构性缺陷，表现为跨学科数据孤岛现象。既有研究普遍采用单维度数据采集模式，未能建立交通流线、微气候环境与儿童行为轨迹的耦合分析框架。例如，《北京市儿童热健康风险评估及规划响应》虽整合了遥感地表温度、人口密度及植被指数等多源数据，但未纳入儿童活动轨迹的动态追踪数据[24]；而合肥市回迁社区研究虽通过GIS与行为注记法分析儿童体力活动，却未结合实时气象或交通噪声数据[25]。这种数据割裂状态导致研究难以捕捉儿童-环境交互的时空分异规律，制约了精准化空间干预方案的制定。

其次，动态建模能力存在显著短板。现有研究多依赖静态历史数据分析，对极端天气、季节变化等动态变量的系统性建模能力薄弱。例如，杭州临安人民广场研究虽揭示了季节对儿童热舒适的影响，但未构建实时热环境预警模型[26]；此类静态分析难以支撑儿童友好街道的适应性设计，尤其在应对突发性高温事件时缺乏科学依据。更深层次的障碍在于学科协同的制度性壁垒。城市规划、环境科学、公共卫生等领域的数据与工具互通困难，并且有些数据涉及到保护与伦理问题。潘婉君基于文献计量分析指出，国内外儿童友好街道研究中跨学科协同研究占比不足10%，且国内研究多局限于单一学科视角[27]。

## 4.3. 研究方法的局限性与长效评估机制缺失

当前研究范式存在显著的方法单一性问题。例如，参与式设计、实验性干预研究(如A/B测试不同街道设计方案的效果)尚未普及，导致研究结论的实践转化效率较低。同时，现有成果多聚焦短期改造效果(如空间利用率提升、停留时长增加)，但对儿童行为习惯、心理健康及社区归属感的长期影响缺乏跟踪评估。例如，杭州桥西儿童友好街区的“一米泡泡”计划虽短期内提升了服务包容

性，但未持续监测多孩家庭使用频率的衰减趋势及设施维护成本，难以验证其可持续性。

## 4.4. 社会认知范式与文化惯性的制约效应

传统观念中，儿童常被视为需要“被管理”的群体，而非公共空间的主动使用者。这种认知导致设计实践中过度强调安全管控，忽视儿童对探索、游戏与社会交往的需求。例如，部分城市为避免安全风险，严格限制街道游戏设施的类型(如禁止攀爬架)，反而削弱了空间的吸引力。此外，多代际家庭中长辈对儿童独立活动的担忧(如“过度保护”心理)间接影响街道设计导向，导致空间创新趋于保守。

## 5. 结论与展望

本研究系统揭示了人口结构转型背景下儿童友好街道建设的核心矛盾与创新路径。研究表明，随着三孩家庭比例呈现显著增长，儿童安全、通学效率及多功能需求成为街道设计的核心参数，需通过拓宽人行道、优化学校周边路网、整合复合功能节点等措施提升安全性与包容性。大数据技术(如手机信令、POI数据与社交媒体分析)为精准识别家庭出行特征和设施缺口提供了科学依据，而政策与空间设计的协同优化(如《儿童友好城市建设指导意见》的落实)则通过微更新、网络化布局等策略推动了步行友好性升级。然而，当前研究在儿童参与机制、动态环境监测及长期评估等方面仍存在不足，需进一步探索数据驱动的精细化设计路径。

未来研究亟需构建“政策-数据-设计”联动的动态响应机制，强化儿童在规划中的主体地位，通过阶梯式参与机制将儿童需求嵌入城市治理。同时，应推动多源数据融合与实时监测，支撑街道空间的适应性设计，并借鉴国际经验(如荷兰模块化政策工具包、日本灾后韧性重构)探索本土化实践。长期评估需关注儿童心理健康与社区归属感变化，通过实验性干预验证设计可持续性，最终实现街道空间从效率导向到全龄友好、安全包容的转型，从而为儿童友好型城市建设提供系统化的理论支撑和实践路径。

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