ON THE ETHICAL AND POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE OF CITY-BASED IDENTITIES
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I.

Introduction
In the Western tradition, political thinking first emerged as a comparison between different cities and sorts of values they express (Athens and democracy; Sparta and oligarchy; Jerusalem and religion).

在西方的传统中，政治思想最初是作为不同城市与它们所显示的不同类型的价值观之间的一种比较而出现的（雅典和民主制；斯巴达和寡头制；耶路撒冷和宗教）。
In the Warring States period, political thinkers roamed between different kinds of cities with different ideas for making the state strong and secure, and the main schools of Chinese political thinking emerged out of the ferment of ideas in Warring States cities.

在战国时代，政治思想家们游历于不同类型的城市之间，而不同的城市有着不同的使国家强大而安全的观念。中国政治思想的主要学派就形成于战国时代城市中的观念动荡。
Does it make sense to think of cities as representing different political values in the modern world? Yes. We (Avner de-Shalit and Daniel A. Bell) argue that some cities do express and prioritize different social and political values: what we call an “ethos” or “spirit” of a city.

在现代世界，认为城市代表着不同的政治价值观是不是有道理呢？是的。我们（Avner de-Shalit和Daniel A. Bell）认为，某些城市确实显示了并按优先次序排列了不同的社会价值观与政治价值观：那些我们称之为一个城市的“气质”或“精神”的东西。
The planning of cities, the design and architecture of buildings, the language of street signs, the presence of women in public streets, the presence of pedestrian and bicycle friendly streets, and even the conversation topics of taxi drivers: all these factors reflect different social and political values.

城市规划、建筑物的设计和构造、街道标志的语言、女性在公共街道上的出现、对步行者和自行车友好的街道的出现、甚至出租车司机谈论的话题：所有这些因素都反映了不同的社会价值观与政治价值观。
These different values also shape the way the inhabitants (and visitors) of cities reflect upon on life and morality: for example, the awe-inspiring cathedrals such as Chartres can reinforce faith in a higher being and large structures such as Beijing’s airport can reinforce faith in the capabilities of a powerful state.

这些不同的价值观也塑造了城市的居民（以及游客）反思生活和道德的方式：例如，类似Chartres的令人敬畏的大教堂可以加强对于更高存在者的信仰，而类似北京机场的庞大的建筑可以加强对于强大国家的能力的信念。
City-based ethoses also impact the way people evaluate cities. We often make comparative judgments about the ways of life of different cities (e.g., people say “I love Beijing, Montreal, New York” and “I hate Shanghai, Toronto, Los Angeles”) almost as though cities are like people with distinctive personalities. Such judgments are often more strongly held than judgments about countries, which tend to be more abstract and imagined entities than cities. Cities are often more open to outsiders’ affection and identification.

基于城市的气质也影响了人们评价城市的方式。关于不同城市的生活方式，我们常常做出比较性的判断（比如，人们说“我爱北京，蒙特利尔，纽约”，以及“我讨厌上海，多伦多，洛杉矶”），大概好像城市们正像人一样具有各自独特的个性。比起对国家，人们往往对于城市会更强烈地持有这样的判断；比起城市，国家倾向于更抽象的和想象中的实体。城市往往对外来者的影响和认同更为开放。
Yet contemporary political theorists never theorize about such city-based judgments. The debates tend to be about whether particular nations or the whole world should be the sites of normative theorizing. But why shouldn’t people living in cities struggle to nourish and promote their particular ways of life in the political process? In political practice, cities are often sites of collective self-determination, but contemporary thinkers often fail to theorize in ways designed to provide informed judgments about city life. In English, there is not even a word that captures the idea of urban pride, the idea that residents of a city are proud of their way of life and struggle to promote its particular identity. We nominate the word CIVICISM to express the sentiment of urban pride.

然而，当代政治理论家们从未将这些基于城市的判断理论化。他们的论辩倾向于关于特定的国家或整个世界是否应当成为进行规范性的理论化的场所。但生活在城市中的人们为何不应努力以政治的程序努力滋养并促进他们特有的生活方式呢？在政治实践中，城市常常是集体性的自我决定的场所，但当代思想家们往往未能以为提供有学识的判断而设计的方式进行关于城市生活的理论化。在英文中，甚至不存在一个能够捕捉到城市自豪这样的观念，捕捉到一个城市的居民们自豪于他们的生活方式并努力促进它的特有认同这样的观念的词。我们提议以CIVICISM（“爱城主义”）这个词表达城市自豪的这样的情感。
II. The Ethical Significance of a City’s Ethos

城市气质的伦理意义
An ethos contributes to the diversity that makes human social life so valuable and interesting (和而不同). Partly, it’s an aesthetic pleasure: different kinds of cities can create a more beautiful human canvass. Partly, it’s a moral case for diversity: different kinds of cities add to our possibilities of forms of social and political life. Also, cities can accomplish political aims such as environmental protection that are often more difficult to achieve at the level of the state.

一种气质促成了某种多样性，而正是这种多样性使得人类的社会生活如此有价值并如此有趣味（和而不同）。在某种程度上，它是一种审美的愉悦：不同类型的城市能够创造出更为美好的人类画卷/背景。在某种程度上，它是针对多样性的一个道德案例：不同种类的城市增加了我们不同形式的社会生活和政治生活的可能性。并且，城市能够完成类似环境保护的政治目标，这些目标在国家层面上往往难以完成。
1. Countering the Homogenizing Tendencies of Globalization

反驳全球化的同质化倾向
In an age of globalization, there is a worry that social units lack the political and economic will to oppose globalization. States are becoming more uniform, but cities can come to the rescue. States often have to comply with international agreements (e.g., free trade agreements) and regulations which diminish the role of their particular cultures and ways of life, transforming a variety of cultures into a single culture of consumerism, the result of which is a feeling of sameness and lessening of pluralism and diversity in cultural ideas and alternatives.
But cities have been rising as the mechanism by which people oppose globalization and its tendency to flatten cultures into sameness. Many cities invest thought, time, and energy in protecting their unique ethos and preserving it through policies of design and architecture and through the way people use cities and interact with them. Not all cities have an ethos, but cities with an ethos often have an international reputation and tend to attract people as visitors and residents who are drawn in large part by that ethos.
2. Maintaining the Openness of Globalization

保持全球化的开放性
Globalization also has a good side. It is often a synonym for the free movement of capital, humans, and goods, and an open-minded attitude to foreigners and the “other”. It contributes to the free flow of information, more familiarity with distant peoples, a feeling of global solidarity, and more economic opportunities for historically marginalized peoples.
Therefore we defend only cities whose ethoses do not oppose openness and global solidarity; we oppose ethoses built around xenophobia, racism, or hatred (e.g., Berlin’s ethos in World War II).

因此，我们仅仅为其气质并不反对开放性和全球团结的城市而辩护；我们反对围绕仇外、种族主义或憎恨而构筑的气质（例如，柏林在二战中的气质）。
3. Combining Particularity and Openness

使特性与开放性相结合
Once cities pass a threshold of minimal human rights – basic material necessities (food, water, shelter) are secure and nobody is being tortured, murdered, enslaved, or systematically discriminated against – then there is a good prima facie case for respect of the prevalent ethos, even if we would normally object to the values that characterize that ethos. “When in Rome, do as the Romans do”. For example, we might have less reason to criticize economic inequality in Hong Kong – a city that takes pride in its capitalist way of life – than in Stockholm, a city that places high value upon economic equality.
We need to remain open to the Singapore government’s argument that it may be necessary to curtail a political right to alleviate poverty. It may be justifiable to force shop-owners in predominantly English speaking parts of Montreal to put up French language signs or for the city of Jerusalem to force shops to close on religious holidays. Arguments against such policies need to be made on the basis of detailed local knowledge showing that they are not necessary to protect and promote the city’s ethos.
III.

Qualifications

限定
1. Cities without an ethos are morally acceptable (but less preferable)

没有气质的城市在道德上是可接受的（但不够优越）
Some people may prefer to live in homogenized communities where they can blend anonymously with the crowds. Others may prefer living in neighborhoods with particular characteristics even if the city as a whole is an incoherent mess. And some people may be attached to "characterless" cities just because they are born and bred there. That's fine. But we will think cities with an ethos are preferable for the reasons discussed in section II.
2. People can be committed to more than one kind of city or ethos

人们可以效忠于一种以上类型的城市或气质
Some people may feel at home in several cities. But there are limits to such attachments: one can’t feel a strong sense of belonging to an infinite number of communities. And some people must do the work necessary to maintain and promote the ethoses of cities: we can’t all be free riders.

有的人可以在许多城市都觉得舒适自在。但对这样的依恋有些限制：一个人不能对无限多的共同体产生强烈的归属感。并且必须有人从事对保持和促进城市气质而言必要的工作：我们不能都在搭便车。
IV.

Identifying the Ethoses of Cities

识别城市气质
1. Social Scientific Methods

社会科学的方法
Value surveys and opinion polls may shed light. So can qualitative interviews with long-term residents. The distribution of resources in city budgets may be relevant (e.g., in Montreal, a high share would go to the protection of language, in Beijing to the protection of political power). Google hits may be one indication (e.g., the number of hits for “Paris” and “romance”). Archival research and accounts of city planners who explain what values motivated what they did may be relevant.

价值观调查与民意测验也许会显明一切。对常住居民的定性访谈也可以。城市预算中的资源分配也许相关（例如，在蒙特利尔，很高的份额会定位于保护语言，在北京则是保护政治权力）。Google的命中数也许是某种迹象（例如，同时搜索“巴黎”和“浪漫”的命中数）。城市规划者的档案研究与记述也许相关，他们会解释何种价值观成为他们的所做所为的动机。
2. Subjective Methods

主观的方法
The personal experience of long-term residents may be important: story-telling about how personal identities were shaped by the ethos of cities. Random strolling can lead to the questioning and revising of hypotheses.

常住居民的个人经历可能是重要的：讲述关于个人认同如何被城市气质塑造的故事。随机的漫步可以导致对假定的质疑与修正。
We draw on these methods (though mainly on the subjective methods) to argue that nine cities have distinctive ethoses: Jerusalem and religion(s); Montreal and language(s); Singapore and nation-building; Hong Kong and materialism without hedonism; Beijing and political power; Oxford and learning; Berlin and (in)tolerance; Paris and romance; and New York and ambition.
4. We allow for the possibility that different and perhaps more persuasive accounts can be told of different ethoses of those cities (e.g., Hong Kong and cultural hybridity; Paris and love of quality food). Most important, we admit that our choice of cities is limited by our personal experience and we hope that insightful stories can be told of the ethoses of cities not covered in this book (e.g., Chengdu and enjoyment of life; Bombay and film; Kyoto and tradition; San Jose and faith in technology).
V.

Political Implications: How to Promote an Ethos

政治意味：如何促进某种气质
Once a city has overcome material scarcity, then cities can and should strive to develop and nourish an ethos. What are the factors that increase the likelihood that a city will do so?
There is not a huge gap between rich and poor or between ethnic and racial groups. If different groups lead separate lives and strongly dislike each other, they will find it difficult to partake of a shared ethos.

在富者与贫者之间或在种族与种族之间没有巨大鸿沟。如果不同的群体过着各自分别的生活并强烈地厌恶彼此，他们将会发现很难分享某种共有的气质。
The city has a long-term rivalry with another city, often in the same country (e.g. Beijing vs. Shanghai, Montreal vs. Toronto, Jerusalem vs. Tel Aviv). From a moral point of view, such rivalries are less problematic than rivalries between nations, because cities do not have their own armies (Singapore is an exception) and won’t go to war if competitive feelings get out of hand.

该城市与另一个城市具有长期的竞争关系，这常常发生在一国之内（例如北京与上海，蒙特利尔与多伦多，耶路撒冷与特拉维夫）。从一种道德的观点看，这种竞争关系不像国家间的竞争关系那么成问题，因为它们并不拥有自己的军队。在竞争情绪无法控制的情况下，也就不会走向战争。
The city’s ethos is threatened by outside forces, hence residents have a strong motivation to struggle to keep their identity (e.g., the people of Hong Kong fight to maintain their “capitalist” way of life as opposed to “communist” China, Montrealers struggle to preserve French in a “sea of English”).
The city has substantial authority to enact laws, by-laws, and regulations to protect and nourish its particular identity or ethos. City-states like Singapore are one extreme, and American cities with little authority to deal with common problems are the other. Most cities must deal with overlapping layers of legal authority, but they should have at least some power to implement regulations designed to promote the ethos of the city.

该城市对颁布法律、议事程序以及规章制度拥有实质性的权威，可借此保护并滋养其特有的身份认同与气质。新加坡这样的城邦就是一个极端，而几乎没有任何处理公共问题的权威的美国城市则是另一个极端。大多数城市必须处理法律权威的重叠层面的问题，但它们应当至少拥有某些权力去贯彻为促进城市气质而设计的规章。
City have or had great city planners with the moral, political, and legal authority to enact transformative plans to realize a common public ethos (e.g., Baron Hausmann in Paris, Robert Moses in New York, and Goh Keng Swee in Singapore).

该城市拥有或曾经拥有伟大的城市规划者，这些规划者拥有道德上的、政治上的以及法律上的权威去颁布变革性的计划，以实现共同的公共气质（例如，巴黎的奥斯曼男爵，纽约的罗伯特·莫斯，以及新加坡的吴庆瑞）。
An external agency, such as an advertising campaign or a movie, brands in a city into something. Such efforts are typically successful only if the branding corresponds to something that already exists in people’s minds and the urban landscape (e.g., Paris and romance works because the city itself is so beautiful).

某种外部影响，诸如一场广告活动或一部电影，给一个城市打上某种东西的烙印。这样的努力仅当那个烙印符合于已经存在于人们的脑海中以及该城市的景观中的某种东西时，才会获得典型的成功（例如，“巴黎与浪漫”并置是有效的，因为这个城市自身便是如此美丽）。