



# 逆棲

Reverse Niche

都市邊緣中的對話與重建  
Dialogue and Rebuilding at the City's Edge



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## 前言

「思考未來讓我們痛苦，而過去則一直從後方拉著我們，這也是為什麼當下總從我們的指間流逝。」

巴爾扎克

這次展覽以「逆棲 都市邊緣中的對話與重建」為題，邀請來自香港、日本大阪與高雄三地的藝術組織。來分享與展示他們如何運用社區 / 對話 / 藝術空間回應各自城市問題。因此討論分別希望處理幾條思考路徑：

### 一、權力地景 / 都市空間生產

香港的地產霸權；大阪臨時勞工聚集地的都市貧民社群的隔離狀態，高齡化社會下勞工逐漸成為露宿街頭的流浪者。以及台灣本身，高雄大林蒲社區歷經台灣十大建設的開發，各大工廠廠址包圍此村落，居民面臨重工業汙染的處境，政府卻遲遲不願處理遷村問題。透過剖析都市空間生產背後的權力操作，探討當代社會居住權的人權議題與處境。

### 二、重建 / 重見－參與 / 對話性藝術行動及公共性

來自三座城市的藝術組織在本展覽中各自代表不同的面相，在策展脈絡下成為一個藝術實踐的過程。從日本大阪コクルーム強調人與人的情感連結，回應日本孤獨死亡的社會問題，至台灣影音展演藝術產業工會進入高雄大林蒲社區，開啟對話的框架，將組織居民抵抗其不公之現象。而香港活化廳則展現透過藝術實踐

將社會議題帶進社區，透過日常生活的長時間碰撞。在連結、抵抗過後，我們如何透過公共領域的言說與行動，討論出對城市未來的想像及實踐。

### 三、當代藝術生產與社會

回應「逆棲」的隱喻，同時指涉此種參與性 / 對話式藝術組織，以長時間 / 非物件化並深居社區的藝術實踐成為主流之外的藝術生產。在當代藝術生態的資源分配不均與不定期等不健全的文化政策，這些組織如何經營以及回應各自的藝術生態。

柯念璞

## *Foreword*

“To think about the future is painful, and the past pulls us back from behind. That is why the present always manages to slip through our fingers.”

Balzac

Focusing on the theme, “reversing the discourse and reconstruction of communities at the edge of cities,” this exhibition welcomes art organizations from Hong Kong, Osaka, and Kaohsiung to share how they shine a light on urban issues through community/dialogue/art space. It is the hope that these discussions will prompt people to think deeper about the following topics:

### **I. An Authoritative Landscape / The Creation of Urban Spaces**

In Hong Kong, there is real estate hegemony. In Osaka, ghettos are populated with temporary laborers and other members of the working class who have become homeless in an aging society. In Taiwan, Kaohsiung’s Dalinpu Community is now surrounded by factories built as part of Taiwan's Ten Major Construction Projects. Though residents are now living in an environment massively polluted by nearby industries, the government remains reluctant to reallocate them. By analyzing the forces that have led to the creation of such urban spaces, this study discusses issues regarding resident and human rights.

### **II. Rebuild/Revisit - Participatory/Dialogic Art Movements and a Public Nature**

The works exhibited by the art organizations from each of these three cities express a different type of physiognomy. The curating process itself is an artistic practice. Osaka’s COCOROOM emphasizes interpersonal connections in response to Japan’s problem of neglected elders. In Taiwan, the Taiwan Studio, Exhibition and Arts Labor Union enters

the Dalinpu Community to create a framework for discussion and organize local residents to fight against injustice. Woofers Ten of Hong Kong raises levels of awareness regarding social issues by introducing art into the daily lives of local residents. After such mobilization and resistance, how should we communicate and take action in the public domain to initiate a discussion about the future of our cities?

### **III. The Creation and Society of Contemporary Art**

The metaphor of a “habitat reversal” also refers to a participatory/dialogic art organization. Artistic practices that have been deeply involved in communities for a long time with a non-object orientation have led to the creation of art that lies outside the mainstream. With the uneven and irregular distribution of resources to a contemporary art environment under unsound cultural policies, how can these organizations operate and respond to their artistic ecology?

Alice Ko

## 致 X 作者的一則公報

促使我寫這篇散文的是一份外洩的文章。我必須坦承在此有其道德上的疑慮，關於竊取了一份屬於某香港「社區藝術」空間的電腦隨身碟檔案。對此我認為此類開放平台的形式及開放程度是可以討論的：它是否足夠開放到我們可以做「任何舉動」、或進行資料和數據的使用和傳遞、是否需要對開放的內容進行討論和標識等等<sup>1</sup>。的確，以如此公開的形式發佈這篇散文會使我承受道德風險及對作者 X 不公，然而我猜想我們只能找到如此時間與形式的溝通方式，以彌補我與此份外洩文件的作者，其缺乏聯繫關係的侷限。我期盼他 / 她可以諒解此公開性質的回應。

原本僅為一個簡單的拷貝任務。為了把一個 5GB 龐大容量的檔案，從我的電腦拷貝到此藝術空間的電腦。而我發現在電腦設備尚有空間的情況下，手上的隨身碟格式無法使這拷貝動作順利完成，但在此幾乎空白的 U 盤里赫然顯示一個大小為 66KB 且題名為「藝術反抗」（“Artresist.doc”）的文檔。於是，如此使人難以反抗地，我一個順手，它就儲存在我電腦的桌面上了。

此文件檔案的作者並不具名，然而經過第一次閱讀之後，作者是誰顯而易見，其語氣同時引發了我自身的畏懼及好奇。在我先前提過的藝術空間駐場的五個月期間，他 / 她跟我很少有直接的互動和接觸。如此好奇與猶豫的情緒，隨著幾次偶然間接的相遇而逐漸累積。包括初次的碰撞，那是我去年尚未抵達香港之前發生的事，當時我正好在為他 / 她的文章做翻譯。由於不熟悉香港風格的中文書寫，這一萬兩千字訴說着當代歷史的政治性藝術的龐大的文章，對

1. 文中引號「社區藝術 community art」的名稱，是參照香港慣用語（尤其是英文！）的用法，作為一種在香港當代藝術圈中蔚為潮流卻尚未正式成立的一種類型，我原先從未聽此類的話題。而另外一提的是，此種藝術常常具有積極與社會大眾互動的開放特性。類似的社區藝術空間，如政府設置的社交中心、青年中心或公共用地。

2. 請注意此處「冗長」是出於感同身受的描述。

3. 2013 年春天，我因申請國際藝術交換駐村而於香港停留，而當時我與合作伙伴試圖嘗試與當地社區的人互動，雖然我們深知箇中限制，X 在「藝術抵抗文件」中提到：「我必須寫道為何我當初不想參與此交換計劃……這跟我對於「藝術」狀態的悲觀看法有關，但不只是如此，我想要做的，是用我的「人生」（而正相反於國際交流，而必須是「當地化」）……國際交流計劃並不是我的優先考量，由於這在我所能承受的能力之外，它會需要並吸取那渺小寶貴的能量，而我寧可把這能量儲存起來用在長期的生存抵抗中。」

我來說是個嚴峻的考驗。翻譯此篇文稿花費了我許多不眠的夜晚，然而由於我對了解當時香港的情況很有興趣，於是我積極的投入了這個香港「藝術／行動者」領域人物及事件的速成班。在翻譯完作者 X 詳細深刻（若非冗長）的文章以後，雖然我從中得到很多，但向我約翻譯稿的粗糙商業畫廊一再拖延稿費的行為讓我非常失衡。這裡不得不提到更為嚴重而又普遍的藝術界人力資源的嚴重問題，我知道我走題了。文章的中心思想應該是我被邀請書寫經營獨立藝術空間的自身經驗。

為了避免過度離題，我之所以如此冗長的形容我和他 / 她的初次遭遇，僅為了與這位不具名的作者點頭示意並向他 / 她致上敬意<sup>2</sup>。更重要的是，比起直接的正面相遇，我希望提出另外一種微妙的關係，它更像是尷尬的錯身，以這種錯身也許我們能分析一種新的合作實踐與集體創作的可能性。

### 「地方的」或代表「地方」

在申請計劃的贊助款項時、在做 PowerPoint 陳述時、在 Facebook 上介紹自己時，我們通常用歡樂聚集的照片、在團結的名義下，建立起「大家同在一起」的形象。這些形象的表達是有必要的，因為它們涉及到了團結本身這個概念，是我們工作的一個過程，或僅僅是一種單純的渴望。然而，在管理及營運獨立計劃的實際操作方面，我們經常每天忙於細微繁瑣的雜事、行政會議，以及處理各種形式的交流／交換事宜。前兩項目的工作通常佔據我們一天中大部份的時間，內容或有趣或枯燥，不過後者比較難評估，因為這裡牽涉了我們如何考量「合作」或「團體」

所蘊含的真正意義。交流可以說是一種思考方式，去思考人與人之間的關係及彼此生命中「共同」的性質。但是所謂的交流掩蓋下的交換與交易使藝術家經營原創及自主的空間的實現更為複雜。由於我們不只是單純地把作品、藝術活動與行為當成產品，主要的嘗試還是圍繞著“產品”進行，在它們實現的前後與它們之間。所謂的“交換／交易”是通過時間（“共同體”存在）與交流（向對方的互相存在）體現的。如果稱此為政治美學實驗是否過於冒昧或天真？亞倫·巴迪歐描述的政治並不只是國家事務而已，同時更是能在理論的基礎上，探索集體的力量究竟可以達成什麼價值。所以，接下來，不論我們以個體、團體或集眾的形式行動，我們必須在可以接受的範圍內對生活和工作做出選擇（如一個領域或一個地區）。我們也可以對其他和我們從事不同領域的人描述我們工作（包括形式、領域或地區），以作為擴展和反映我們實踐的一種方式（如跨領域、跨文化主義）。消費、食品政治及「社區藝術」的時代精神都指向前者的普遍化，不過事實上，兩者並非互斥，且在不同程度上，兩者都直接與間接地發生在各個空間、團體、以及個人藝術工作者身上。

我會提及這一切，是因為作者 X 在這份「藝術抵抗」的外洩文件中，提到他 / 她自身藝術文化交換計劃的經驗，我對 X 的恐懼與好奇就是由於他 / 她對於此類交換形式的批評態度。我的不自信造成我無法在駐場期間與 X 互動，並產生一連串的疑懼心理。「藝術反抗」的文件在很大程度上澄清了 X 的立場，雖然我們兩個都參與到各種文化交流活動之中，但我們都對此表示懷疑，因此我對 X 的觀點感

4. 當這篇文章完成後，我才發現 X 最後不會去中東參加他 / 她所策劃的文化交流計劃，表面上是因為簽證的問題，但思考箇中緣由，很有可能是出自其強烈的意願。

5. 我之前有寫過過關於工作道德特殊形式的文章，稱為「紀錄姿態 documentary gesture」。據此，我們必須知道文件記錄或人種學從來都不是客觀的，而針對主題姿態的各種形式，其中皆隱含了互動、干涉或彼此對話的可能性。這樣說來，紀錄片的製作人本身也是他 / 她自己和符號系統所創造出的解釋意義。

同身受，我對他 / 她的支持和理解可能超乎他 / 她的想象。

事實上，我剛從臺北回來，與香港空間其他人參加完另一個叫做「亞洲獨立藝術空間連線」的藝術交流計劃，這計劃的名稱，用中文表達是相當清楚的，但用英文“Asia in Independent Asia”名稱時，卻著實令人費解。這是否是一種強調「當地」的形式（亞洲與亞洲之外的地方相對？），或僅為我們文化交流時所能講出最廣泛卻毫無意義的敘述總稱？下個星期，X 將與另一個代表團到中東<sup>4</sup>。我是從 2005 年才開始接受「藝術家」這個標籤的，這樣我才可以不用解釋我的所作所為（我只用說：“這是藝術。”）而從我自己的經驗及他 / 她的文章出發，我感覺我們兩人都對於外界給我們強加的各種標籤感到不快：「藝術 / 行動主義」、「社區藝術」、「另類藝術空間」，或許最不舒服的是，「藝術」以及「藝術家」。然而 X 依然對語彙的使用倍感沈重，覺得其愧對這些標籤的理想主義，因「承受不起 inaffordability」而覺得無力。另一方面，我認為我之所以長久以來可以保持樂觀的工作態度，某些程度上是源於我對於這些標籤的不信任。所以對我來說，它是不是藝術並不重要；在後現代社會中「另類」這詞也不盡然能揭示什麼。然而特定環境 / 社區藝術工作（context-/site-specific）的意涵即在於無論此社區是否是「我所在的」，皆會傾聽社區所創造及呈現的狀態。這並不是單純為「表現自我」或「期待他人聆聽」，而是傾聽的同時，我們也必須知道，一個人所聽到的內容，將永遠都會被我們傾聽的方式所影響，受我們的環境和預定的模式所限制<sup>5</sup>。

當 x 在文中問道「如何在市場內經營禮物經濟？」他 / 她知道在市場統治下，自主只是個觀念，就好比我們所知道的，政府機構所贊助的藝術空間還是必須仰賴商業模式生存，並非真正獨立，無論它們看起來有多「自發」，或是有多「另類」。我們時常談論禮物經濟，好像我們可以如此地大方，但我們必須承認，免費廉價的藝術勞作，是為了文化資本的取得、目前所謂的自主多是知識份子的自我意淫、在獨立藝術探索中，各種形式的邊緣關係和建立新關係同樣重要。<sup>6</sup> 在大量的邊緣關係和無交集存在的情況下，我們無法決定和控制和所有人構成一個在一定的關係下的共同體。因此我們無法自欺可以實現絕對的自主。或許藝術交換的前提正是將一個人置於尷尬或令人不舒服的處境，來考驗他們的極限，來檢測其感知的程度，進而去了解付出和獲得並不是「承受能力 affordability」的問題，而是需要放開心胸來承受各種不同程度的誤解、錯誤，而最終習得新知。

當然，這都將會發生，無論在當地脈絡下工作，或試著理解他人的時候。而事實上，它們總是互為主屬。所以，或許我與 x 在本質上是相同的，但是我們碰巧在一個排外的脈絡下交會，而這排外的形式不允許我們直接接觸。著實，這一違背規則的行為使我思緒大開。無論我們對於文化交流是否抱持著憤世忌俗的想法，我可以肯定過去幾個月在參加香港藝術交流項目中的經驗和價值，無論 x 如何宣稱他 / 她缺乏足夠資源與大家分享，我依然感激從 x 得到的啟發。<sup>7</sup> 對此感激我已無法回報，所以只能在錯失機會後，用此自白書的形式做出回應。因為我們最終無法選擇聽眾，就算我們試著以他們的語言溝通。

6. 這裡並非強調任何一種關係更有價值，只是我們理想中的禮物經濟不應只重視禮物本身，而是應進一步觀察禮物交換背後的選擇，究竟哪些群體關係是被選上的，而哪些是被撇棄的。由於從禮物經濟現實層面考量，在一個注重版權、資源匱乏，或只是「人們太忙而沒有時間公正地處理每一個人」的社會，那麼送禮將會是最主觀的選擇。當我們將要或想要建立藝術界某些特定人脈關係（文化資本）的時候，我們不太會抱怨給予無薪藝術勞工禮物。這也並非簡單地表示參與特定的「人際圈」，而是嘗試在這個過程中找到我們語言的適當傾聽者。

7. 2009 年我在北京參與的「獨立藝術家策劃計劃」家作坊以「憤世忌俗文化交流」為題，舉辦了第二屆主題系列活動。

我們可以看到一些像是「公社」、「團結」或「集體」這類關於社群潛力的觀念及名稱，這些關鍵詞隱蔽了人類關係中的複雜性，那些邊緣關係和無交集關係也蘊含在社群之中。我總是受惠於我最親密的同事朋友，然而事實上並非親密關係才能探測各種社群形式的極限程度，反倒是陌生人之間的空間——住在同一棟大樓、在抗議時、在危機時——才是真正考驗一個社群的潛力。因為我們總是可以對友情討價還價，或是總可以找到原諒親密對方的理由，只有在我們不認識也不熟悉的情況下，我們才必須要跨出那一大步。而或許就是從這一步開始——在那無法被歸類為工作中，也無法被稱之為友情的空隙中——正是社群及政治源起的地方。

北京家作坊 / 何穎雅 Elaine W. Ho

生於 1977 年，香港 / 美國。作為一名時基藝術、都市實踐以及設計工作者，她的作品多藉由多維度的藝術詞彙，探索人、空間和組織與日常生活的微觀政治之間的纏結關係。她的工作模式通常是與其他 / 她 藝術家共同協作，因而其作品，如聲音 / 影像、記錄性交纏以及介入，聚神於一種基於親密關係之網結生產的能替性。

1999 年畢業於 Rice 大學藝術和藝術歷史系，後於紐約 Parsons 設計學院學習服裝設計系肄業。她曾分別在荷蘭和日本居住和工作過，現居北京。2008 年，她發起「家作坊」項目，將北京一條老舊街中一個臨街店鋪改造，家居工作兩用，並在此與其所在社區與周邊公共空間之間生成互動。通過與其他 / 他參與者協作進行的社交活動、工作坊、研究以及實地錄音等的組織，「家作坊」及其獨立出版的刊物《穿》雜誌傾心於發展出一個開放平台，藉此在過程中探索關係如何能夠既與生產的 其它經濟模式接連卻又能保持其獨立性。何穎雅平日里好飲鴛鴦茶。



## *A-communicate to author X*

This piece of 散文 was finally spurred by a leaked document. I will confess the particular questionability of ethics on my part: the pilfering of a file contained on a USB stick belonging to a 'community art' space in Hong Kong, the form and openness of which we can debate means: we can really do 'whatever we want', is inclusive or not of data, needs to be clearly labeled and communicated, etc.<sup>1</sup> So yes, this form of address in the form of published essay makes my notation a bit risky or unfair, but I guess we can only find the forms of communication that are suited to the time and means which we are given, and given the circumstances of my (lack of) relationship with the author of a leaked document, I hope that he/she will excuse the public nature of these responses.

The detail of the operation was merely the casual transferring of files, the original intent of which was to copy an enormous five gigabyte file from my computer to that of the space. And while we discovered that the formatting of the Universal Serial Bus at hand made the transfer not feasible, even when this particular peripheral was practically empty, I inadvertently spotted a single file of 66 kilobytes in its directory titled "Artresist.doc". Of course, this made it rather irresistible, and in one deft swipe, the file was on my desktop.

The document's author was unknown but became contextually quite clear after the first perusal, and the tone struck a simultaneous fear and fascination to come from a person whom I know, but have had little direct contact with in the five months of my residency at the aforementioned art space. Such curious trepidation is the accumulated result of several sideways encounters, including the first of which occurred last year prior to my arrival in Hong Kong, when I translated a text from the same author. Not being accustomed to Hong Kong style written Chinese, this gargantuan

1. Community art is used in quotations here in reference to its oft usage in Hong Kong (in English!) as a trendy if not already established genre within Hong Kong contemporary art circles, where I had not heard it being used so thematically before. Often noted by degrees of openness to and interaction with the general public, it is a notable aside to consider the comparability of community art spaces with their sociopolitical counterparts, eg. government-organised social centres, youth centres or squats.

2. Please note that 'wordy' and 'verbose' here are sympathetic descriptors.

12,000 character essay relaying a contemporary history of politically engaged art was quite an ordeal costing several nights' rest, but interested to learn more about what was going on in Hong Kong, I was quite enthusiastic to have the opportunity for a crash course on certain figures and events from Hong Kong's 'artist' sphere. What was gained from reading author X's well-informed and thoughtful (if not verbose) text was only unfortunately countered by the long ordeal of delayed payment from the crass, established commercial gallery which contracted me for the work. But that is a tangent, if not even more troubling issue of art world labour veering off from the primary discussion of my experience with independent art spaces about which I was actually invited to write.

So rather than drift too much further, I can only for the moment explain that beginning with such a wordy detailing of this first encounter is a nod to the unnamed author to which I now pay my respects.<sup>2</sup> More importantly, my intention is to point out a form of minor encounter, less a direct engagement than a kind of awkward brush of the shoulders, from which we may perhaps make a different kind of examination of forms of community and collaborative practice.

### **Being 'local' or representing 'local'**

For the sake of a grant proposal, via a PowerPoint introduction or a description on a Facebook page, our images of happy gatherings, talk of solidarity and/or 'being together' are almost necessary, because in fact these statements are very often about concepts, more general processes of working or simply, desire. But in the actual running and organisation of an independent initiative, our days are more often filled with minor or trivial matters, gatherings for administrative purpose and dealing with exchange as intent. The former

two often fill a greater percentage of the day than we would like, ranging from playful to tedious, but the latter is more difficult to gauge as it hits upon the very fabric of what we really mean when we say 'collaboration' or 'collective'. And this is to say that exchange, as a way of thinking about the nature of our relations and interfaces for life 'in common', creates a convolution with how we can manifest the artist-run initiative or autonomous space. Because if we are not simply making products of our artworks or activities or forms of action, and our experimentation lies in the spaces between, around and beyond those products, then said exchange is rather experienced over time (being with one another) and by way of communication (towards one another). Would it be too presumptuous or naive to call this an aesthetic experimentation with politics? Alain Badiou describes politics as not simply a matter of the State, but at its theoretical basis an exploration of what the collective is capable of. So in moving along—as groups or singularities enmeshed in networks or a multitude—we can make very specific commitments to a particular radius of engagement in which we can comfortably live and work (eg., a sphere, addressing a locality), and we can also try to work with the means which we have to describe our practices with others who are not engaged with exactly the same practice (in form, field or locality) as a way of expanding and reflecting upon our own practice (eg., interdisciplinarity, crossculturalism). The zeitgeist in consumption, food politics, and 'community art' all point to a prevalence of the former, but in fact, the two are not mutually exclusive and occur of course at various levels both direct and indirect for every space, collective and individual art worker.

I bring all of this up especially because our author X of said leaked document has written "Artresist.doc" in the context of his own experience with an artistic cultural exchange project, even though my fearful and fascinated

3. My spring 2013 stay in Hong Kong has been the result of being granted such an overseas art exchange residency, and while the project me and my colleague initiated during this period made attempt to engage certain people from the local community, we have been quite aware of the limitations. X writes in "Artresist.doc": 'I should write on why I didn't want to get involved in this exchange project in the very first place ... It has to do with my pessimistic view about the state of our "art", but it is even more, what I want to do (with my limited "affordability"), with my "life" (which contra to an oversea[s] exchange, is bounded to be something very "local" indeed) ... An oversea[s] art exchange is not of my priority, for it is not just not affordable to me, it will demand and draw away the precious tiny resources which I prefer to stock for a longer sustainable resisting survival.'

4. It was only after finishing this text that it was discovered that X would finally no longer join the cultural exchange project that he/she curated, ostensibly due to a visa problem, but speculatively, perhaps more so out of a strong will.

non-relation to X stems exactly as a result of his/her critical attitude towards this kind of exchange.<sup>3</sup> Where my insecurities had inflated the lack of ability to engage with X during the residency into a number of sad paranoias, "Artresist.doc" clarified X's position to a greater degree, and being equally implicated in the forms of cultural exchange activity of which we are both suspicious, I actually felt much more aligned to X than he/she will probably ever realise.

In fact, I have just returned from Taipei, having participated with others from the space in Hong Kong in another exchange project which, for all its clarity in Chinese, "亞州獨立藝術空間連線", bears the perplexingly titled "Asia in Independent Asia" moniker in English. Is this a form of accentuating a kind of 'local' (as opposed to Asia outside of Asia?), or simply the most generic statement of cultural exchange that we can make? Next week, X goes to the Middle East with another representative entourage.<sup>4</sup> But throughout my own experience and his/her text, I sense that we have both been uncomfortable with the terms by which we have been called upon: 'art activism', 'community art', 'alternative art space', and maybe most of all, 'art' and 'artist' at all. Whereas I have only since 2005 taken on the title of 'artist' as a pretense not to have to explain my actions ("It's art."), X is still burdened by the terms, feeling impoverished by the 'inaffordability' of living up to whatever idealism he/she may have once had for them. On the other hand, I think my sustained work in this direction has only been able to continue optimistically out of a certain mistrust of words. So for me, it is not important whether it is art or not; neither does 'alternative' reveal very much anymore in a postmodern society. But working context specifically means that the work is attentive to the conditions and the community in which it is created and presented, whether that community is 'my own' or not. This is not about acting

'up for oneself' or 'expecting a someone to listen', but rather about listening and at the same time acknowledging that what one hears is and always will be coloured by our ways of hearing, by the structures in which we situate the terms.<sup>5</sup>

And X, when asking in the text, 'How to run a gift economy from within a market?' knows that autonomy is only a concept, just as we know that art spaces funded by government bodies or that must rely on commercial models to survive are not really independent, no matter how 'dirty' or 'alternative' they appear. We talk often too often about gift economies as if we could be so generous, but the very fact is that we should be honest about the cultural capital gained from underpaid and free artistic labour, about the less than desirable autonomy of intellectual masturbation and the fact that just as important as the forging of new relations are those severed, of which 'we'd rather not', as well as those that awkwardly don't quite ever happen.<sup>6</sup> The overlap or disjuncture of those who choose us in return (or not) provides a different context of which we can never fool ourselves with a self-determined autonomy. This is to say that perhaps the premise of artistic exchange is exactly about testing those boundaries, about placing oneself in an awkward or uncomfortable position in order to experiment with degrees of awareness, to know that the give and the take are not about 'affordability' but about opening oneself up to degrees of mistranslation, error and, in turn, learning something new.

Of course, this will all happen regardless of working only in one's local context or when trying to understand the Other. And in fact, they are always embedded within another. So again, maybe X and I are of the same nature, but we happened to cross paths in an exclusive context that does not allow a prolonged form of direct engagement. And it has indeed been a particular breach of communications protocol that has opened up this space of thought instead. No matter how cynical we both may be towards cultural exchange, I am sure to value these

5. I have previously written about this particular ethics of working as a form of 'documentary gesture', whereby one acknowledges forms of documentation or ethnographic work as never objective, but a form of gesture towards the subject, with the potential to interact, intervene and/or initiate dialogue. In this sense, the documentary maker is also subject to, both his/her subject and the semiotic systems which create interpreted significance.

6. The emphasis here is not that creating relation is more valuable than denying one, but that our idealistic slant on gift economies should look further than the gift itself towards the choices made about what communities are selected, excluded and made possible by the particularities of exchange. Because if we consider the realities a gift economy faces in a society of copyright, of scarce resources or of simply 'being busy and not having time to address everyone equally', then gifting is most always a selective and subjective act. It is not so easy to complain about the gift of unpaid artistic labour when we are bound to or desiring of certain relations within the art sphere (cultural capital). This is not simply to say one wants to be involved with 'the right circles', but about trying to understand the relevance of one's forms of language.

7. In 2009, the 'independent artist-run initiative' HomeShop that I have been engaged with in Beijing organised its second thematic series of activities and interventions under the heading 'Cynical Cultural Exchange'.

last months' experience, and thank X for what I have gained despite that self-proclaimed scantiness of resources.<sup>7</sup> Where I have thus far been unable to give back directly, I can only thus respond in confession-style after an opportunity has passed. Because we ultimately don't choose the ones who will listen to us, even if we've tried to speak in their language.

This barrier tells us something else about the potential of community than we've been able to see by concentrating on ideas and terms like 'commune', 'solidarity' or 'collective'. Because those forms of linkage bely the complexity of human relations and the forms of solidarity we evince when operating collectively, or under cover of organisations and institutions. And while I am indebted to my closest colleagues and friends, it is actually not only the relationships with those whom we are closest to that test forms of community to their greatest degree, but instead, the spaces between strangers—living in the same building, during a protest, in times of crisis—that really examine our potential for community. Because while we can always bargain friendship, or forgivingly reason with what we know intimately about the other, it is when we do not know that we must make the greatest leaps. And it is from here—in those interstices that don't quite qualify as work nor warrant the category of friendship—that maybe community, and politics, begins.

Elaine W. Ho

Elaine W. Ho

Ho Wing-nga was born in 1977 of Hong Kong, American parents (??)As someone involved in foundational art, urban realization and design work, Wing-nga produces works which cover a wide range of styles, exploring people, space and structures in as much as they link to daily life and politics. Normally she works with other artists and so her works, whether vocal or in film, or as documentaries or engaged, come to form intimate relationships with people.

She graduated from the Department of Art and Art History of Rice University in 1999 and then studied for an MA at the Parsons School of design in New York. She has lived and worked in the Netherlands and in Japan and currently lives in Beijing. In 2008 she began a project called "Home as Workshop" converting an old alley in Beijing into a temporary shop which could be used both as a home and as place of work. She used this as a public space to interact with the local community. Together with other participants, she was involved in community activities, workshops, study and recording. Home as Workshop and the journal it produced Chuan (Wearing) worked towards forming an open platform to see how to discuss ways of linking into other economic models whilst maintaining independence. Wing-nga's daily hobby is drinking tea.

## 逆棲－都市邊緣中的對話與重建

「逆」字作為迎向、迎擊之意，具有抵抗及革命意味。「棲」則作為動物安居巢穴之棲居空間，在生物學中常以生態棲位(ecological niche)，代表生物在環境中所佔據之地理空間並賴以維生的基本生命單位；各生物種類依其生活習性，繁殖、衍化與活動，建構出自身生命本質的生存空間。猶如人類為了生存而棲居於城市各個角落，因地置宜，生活就是在此時此地生長出來的。同 Lewis Mumford 所述，一個健全的城市皆由不同的社區( Neighborhood ) 所構成，這些社區按照自身的各種需要，自然而然地發展出它的面貌，當中的生活設施、空間分佈，乃至商業或非商業性質的活動，皆因為當地人的生活習慣，以及人與人之間的聯繫互動所建立起來的社區空間。

在現代化的過程中，都市製造一種去除貧窮、創造資產累積的想像，許多人移居城市尋求晉身中產階級的機會。然而都市發展主義的社會裡，視覺化的想像總是掩蓋住都市長期存在的社會問題，排除、隔離、移民與貧窮人口的棲居之地。近年來則在都市規劃與土地分區劃分的命運下，被公權力強制拆除建造綠地、大樓與商場，或放任讓其自生自滅。這些被景觀(spectacle)所壟斷的都市處境，正隱含了將整體都市文化簡化為中產階級的純粹敘事。

而當藝術與商業攜手合作彼此發揮淋漓盡致，藝術家開始試圖突破藝術與社會疏離內向藝術創作，轉為一組積極實踐，朝向一個與公眾連結的藝術關係與過程。因此以「逆棲」做為雙重意象的隱喻，不僅標誌現代城市發展下被排除的邊緣群體，一

1. Cresswell, Tim, 譯, 徐苔玲、王志弘, 《地方：記憶、想像與認同》，台北：群學，2006

也作為關注這些生命狀態的藝術行動者，強調以基地發展一種長時間對話、參與式創作，來開啟有別於主流藝術生產的實踐。

一、 地方顯然擁有許多記憶，哪些記憶得到宣揚，哪些卻根本不再是記憶的問題，是個政治問題，地方成了爭論召喚哪些記憶的位址。<sup>1</sup> 地方，常被視為集體記憶之所在，透過連結彼此的記憶來製造認同的場址。隨著全球化的深化而發展漸趨激烈的城市競爭，為能在全球城市的位階掙得一席之地，塑造都市地景與文化藝術成為品牌行銷的最佳手段，市場導向與具競爭性的都市發展策略，向外吸引大型私人資本的投資。於是在貨幣流動、商品化的洪流中，揭露地方所隱藏的記憶與認同，似乎是從過去招喚對於未來的希望。

2. Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. The production of space. Oxford, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell. pg144.

但集體記憶往往透過特定地方的生產而得以具體化，這城市權力的控制美學，讓這種地方記憶與認同感往往延續特定社會秩序的元素，地方始終是論述生產競爭的場域，帶有試圖犧牲其他記憶的操作過程。如同列斐伏爾所揭露的過程，都市並非只是資本主義與階級鬥爭的背景，都市空間就是社會的產物，在不同地理情境與歷史背景之下，由特殊制度、階級之間的社會關係所生產與再生產空間，而每個社會都生產其支持的空間。<sup>2</sup> 由新自由主義所驅動的空間顯而易見，是房地產的炒作、公共空間私有化、日常生活的仕紳化。空間成為資本消費的對象，如觀光地景的打造、商品化的都市空間或是國家控制社會與資本在生產的手段，如將貧窮的社會邊緣族群隔離於某個特定區域。但空間也是政治

鬥爭的對象，不同的空間都對應著特定的社會關係，每個空間不僅被社會關係所生產，同時也生產社會關係 (Lefebvre 1991)。

視覺壟斷的支配性地景生產，其都市發展政策搭配提出藝術文化等訴求主張，背後隱含了將整體都市歷史簡化為視覺體驗，此視覺體驗一方面隱含某種都市資產階級純粹、潔淨、無歷史縱深的平面視覺景觀，另一方面，為了迎合此簡化的都市歷史想像，所有曾經留存在都市時空中的線索，則完全被無意義的地景取代。所有在都市空間歷史中的元素，被去脈絡化，也無從判別自身所在的時空經驗。

在今日都市回應了市場的壓力，使用私人開發計畫界定的公共夢想，以及私有化的公共娛樂。因此城市地景自然是反映出文化贊助者、生產者和消費者的重新制度化。而都市空間的轉變正是社會階級體現自己文化的爭奪進程的再現，然而剖析當前的整體都市空間所鑲嵌的社會關係，由不均衡地理學所驅動的新自由主義之部署而成 (Harvey 2005, 2006, 2007) 的都市空間。可看見自 70 年代興起的新自由主義徹底改變了國家政府 (State) 角色，從管理主義轉為企業主義之導向，最後則在全球經濟市場被制定為相輔相成的合作的角色，這樣的轉變對於都市發展的影響。

從日本工業城市大阪的釜崎，可以看到現代化如何生產一個臨時勞工聚集之地，吸引勞動力相繼來此尋求生存的希望，而這座城市如何代謝這樣被刻意隔離與汙名化的城市之島。90 年代的泡沫經濟如何讓這些生命狀態成為無家可歸的遊民。而堪稱為亞洲金

融之重鎮的香港，狹小的私人居住空間、鄉郊開發項目與都市重建項目等排山倒海的都市發展政策逼迫人離開居住的家，抑或無法提供一個完整的家的空間，卻積極打造商業地景，以及西九文化區的開發。利東街、深水埗、反高鐵、反東北重建項目等，都是對這種以進步與公共利益包裝下的商業開發之對反。這次展覽以三座城市做為勾勒與對話，自現代化進程、地產的霸權壟斷，最後回到台灣南島高雄，面向台北發展的自我複製，卻無法擺脫工業汙染遺留的環境汙染。不同的背景脈絡卻在此時殊途同歸。

二、當藝術在當代城市成為文化權力地景的部署，面對自身疏離異化與被資本主義體制收編的窘境，一直是許多藝術家急欲突破的問題。晚近諸多藝術理論與實踐的萌發，便是從此桎梏掙脫的嘗試，諸如關係美學、新類型公共藝術、踐履式藝術甚至更激進的藝術行動主義，其共同點便在於從藝術家自溺的中心出走，而朝向一個與公眾連結的藝術關係與過程。社群、對話性、參與式等共同 (collaborate) 創作作為一種藝術實踐方式，它恰恰具有鮮明的複雜關聯與目的取向，在此截然不同的藝術概念與形式中，藝術積極地成為與真實世界碰撞的媒介、過程與結果。

以參與、對話性藝術行動將藝術生產非物件化，強調作品內所形塑的藝術家與觀眾並存的對話框架如何建構認同與連結，而非現代藝術中對真實觀眾的理性喊話。正是針對此種資本積累再生產邏輯的對反，並對城市中產階級文化的公共性提出質疑。

在城市中被排除與孤立的情境下，藝術能扮演何種角色？卡特琳·古特（Catherine Grout）認為藝術是作為公共空間發揮其公民廣場功能的媒介，而藝術家則是對時間與空間兩者的觀察與思考後，並且創造出對話空間的重要角色。在漢娜鄂蘭（Hannah Arendt, 1958）的公共空間的討論中也強調這種個體的實踐權力應是平等與自由的，自由是使個體可以透過展演、表現、言說展現自我，正因這種多元歧異的敘述才能達成公共領域的溝通。

藝術所激起感知的特性，使其能成為溝通交流的媒介，易在空間中形成一種非強制性的互動與分享彼此的關係。透過藝術家自由與創意，在公共空間中促使每個人與彼此間、與社會間互相交流，藉由作品與場域間的連結，使各界引發各種不管是感性的羈絆或是理性的批判、討論的發生（Grout, 2002）<sup>3</sup>。

Grant H. Kester 則更剖析藝術的溝通本質，提出對話型藝術的核心在於藝術家做為一個脈絡的提供者，而非內容的創造者。此類對話性藝術創作作品被視為一個過程：一個論述的交流與協商之所在。藝術則是回應、批評並且挑戰既有社會體制的實踐，透過踐履式（performative）的互動過程所開展出的作品，鼓勵參與者去質疑固定的身分認同、刻板印象。Kester 使用「聯結的認知」（connected knowing）一詞來修正哈伯瑪斯在公共領域理論中對於權力差異的無視與缺失。同理心認同（empathetic identification）是對話所需重要的元素－它提供了一個透過與他人互動而將固定身分認同去中心的方式。

3. 《藝術介入空間》  
Pour de l' art dans  
notre quotidien,  
2002, Catherine  
Grout 著, 姚孟吟譯,  
遠流。

4. Bishop, Claire.,  
“Antagonism  
and Relational  
Aesthetics”, October  
Magazine, Issue  
110; 2004. MIT press,  
pg 51-79.

但未釐清此種非物件式、對話與參與性的藝術生產其背後的意識形態。制式的參與時常只是落入不斷以虛假的普遍性，而遮掩城市中真實不平等。因此 Claire Bishop 提出對於關係性美學單只呈現美好的正面意識形態的批判，易再複製原有的社會階級角色，並運用藝術的方式美化雕琢，暫時性的粉飾既有的社會衝突與階級對立<sup>4</sup>。因此藝術家應強調透過藝術方式對本地文化產生作用，並非創造或設置一種舒適、安於現狀與既有社會角色的關係性創作，而是開啟另一種藝術實踐式挑起某種象徵意義領域的對抗。

這些藝術家以特定的都市發展脈絡下，將藝術作為溝通與連結的媒介，重建這些被排除，貧窮、少數、弱勢的城市文化。同時透過設計對話框架誘引、邀請參與這些社群，透過藝術作為一種開啟的公共領域的橋梁，使主體自由言說與行動。

此類藝術家與參與者之間主體間互動、溝通與對話型的藝術創作時常和社會運動相互結合，藝術在此成為一種誘引的媒介，開啟流動的對話空間，此類型的藝術創作試圖重建與揭露傾頹、邊緣化的都市空間與社會族群。但藝術家拉長時間維度的藝術生產，也因本身的特質往往難以留下痕跡。在西方藝術學者開始注意到這些美術館牆外的藝術行動並為其正名，反觀亞洲的藝術行動如何透過跨領域的合作、溝通進入社會，重新開啟另類的敘事出口仍是懸置的未歸類檔案。

## 香港 / 活化廳

香港自 2005 年反 WTO 運動以來，青年藝術家與社會運動者經過保皇后碼頭、反西九龍文化園區、反高鐵與菜園村運動等累積能量的展現於都市空間。面對香港城市文化逐漸走向企業管理的局勢，活化廳一方面回應藝術生產結構問題，並構築眾多關於反對市區強迫重建的藝術展覽。

隸屬於香港藝發局的上海街視藝中心在 2009 年，更名為活化廳。由一群關心社會、政治與公共議題的藝術家們所組織，重新思考藝術與社會、社群以及公共生活之間關係的如何創造、連結以及激發新類型的社群想像。面臨政治與經濟上交錯的困境。香港城市空間資本化不斷剝奪個人居住權，以及回歸後本土身分認同與政治上非自由的處境，活化廳的藝術家開啟另一種別於鬥爭現場的抵抗，以藝術與展演活動搭建起日常的公共討論平台，作一種長時間與居民對話的文化運動。

## 大阪 / ココルーム

在日本戰後經濟起步後，社會的全盤西化，政府與企業攜手重建了現代化的都城，大批的現代式建築在土地上萌芽。如此龐大規模的建設背後所仰賴的臨時勞工全聚集在「寄せ場」<sup>5</sup>，臨時勞工在此等待「手配師」也就是仲介人員，每日招募港口或工地所需的勞動力如地理上的勞動力市場，這種日雇工形成特殊的地理區域，在日本共有三處，東京的山谷、橫濱的壽町以及大阪的釜崎，而釜崎同時也是其中最大的勞工聚落。

5. 寄せ場為日本現代化過程中所產生的臨時勞工區域。

而在日本最大臨時勞工聚集地大阪釜崎，於 2007 經營非營利藝術空間「COCOROOM」(「こえ」(聲音)、「ことば」(語言)與「こころ」(心))。這展現出藝術家在以貧窮、暴力的隔離之地，開啟對話的企圖。

藝術在此地視為一種溝通的媒介，能連結被外界逐漸剝奪交流與溝通機會的勞工及流浪漢，創造出一個能彼此自由且無拘束地溝通交流的公共空間。運用詩、藝術邀請流浪漢、失業勞工、青少年以及婦女等弱勢族群的參與，在與藝術家敘述地方歷史與生命經驗，也產生一種對話關係，藝術家在對話的過程中建構了地方認知，同時在地的居民也在此過程建立自我認同。透過文學創作、詩詞、藝術活動重新認識這塊被汙名化與閒置隔離的區域背後的文化與生活故事。

## 高雄 / 台灣影音展演藝術產業工會

高雄原為台灣南島港口之都，配合台灣經濟發展在日治時期的工業發展，近年來對於台北城市發展的自我複製，以文化藝術之名，拆遷剷除抑或遮掩工業廠址之汙染。

高雄大林蒲社區三面是臨海工業區的工廠所圍繞，一面是填海造陸的南星計畫，環境汙染程度剝奪居民環境自主權。台灣影音展演藝術產業工會先是從攝影班開始，一方面訓練社區居民使用影音工具，用來監督環境以及訴說自己的故事，另一方面也吸引

年輕影音工作者與媒體，來認識這個地方，生產影片與報導，這些作品很多都直指環境污染問題。活動過程也重新連結了部份在地青年跟原本不相往來社區團體，期待未來的行動能更有集體性。目前海馬小組的組成，包括紀錄片、藝術、劇場、電影等工作人員，以及各種社會議題的行動者與學生。

本展覽以地方作為一種提問，並以三組城市 / 藝術組織 / 社群的相互對話與行動，試圖呈現在特定都市發展脈絡下，這些尚未被歷史歸檔成文件的藝術行動作為溝通與連結的媒介，如何回應各自都市治理的背景，並企圖開展這些被排除，貧窮、少數、弱勢的城市文化？藝術家設計何種對話框架誘引、邀請參與這些社群，並以此作為搭建公共領域的橋樑？以及社會公共議題如何藉由藝術重新彰顯並且得以作為一種追尋進步的政治討論與實踐？

## 結論

固然一部分的藝術創作服膺於既定、統治者的階級意識形態，然另一部分的藝術則是回應、批評並且挑戰既有社會體制的實踐。這是一種辯證的結構，不只是有形式的內容，而是作者跟觀眾之間連續的互動所發展的對話，社會有可能也是藝術的產物（society as a product of Art）。基於此，參與性與對話性創作可視為藝術家積極與社會互動的實踐，試圖對資產階級所造就的公共性激起反思與抵抗，並以藝術作為開啟主體自由聆聽、表達與交流的流動空間。

此次研究側重城市邊緣社區的地方性，但在今日地方性以不同以往的意義，所有事務在國際脈絡下縱橫交織，由地方性的「共享以及對話」出發，然而如何自在地昇華，透過城市 / 空間與行動的連結，在此只是嘗試檔案積累以及歷史書寫的起步。

策展人 / 柯念璞



## *Reverse Niche – Dialogue and Rebuilding at the City's Edge*

To “reverse” something implies engaging it with the intent to resist, and has connotations of revolution. While “niche” refers a space in which an animal can nest and take shelter. In the study of biology, the term “ecological niche” is often used to describe a geographical space and environment that an organism occupies and relies on for its sustenance. Organisms reproduce, diversify, and actively construct a space that is essential to personal survival. Similarly, humans construct their lives in various sections of a city to fulfill the necessities for their ways of life. Specific lifestyles evolve at a specific temporal and spatial nexus. As Lewis Mumford once described, a healthy city is composed of different neighborhoods. The unique appearance of these communities develops organically based on the needs of each community. From recreational facilities and spatial distribution, to commercial and non-commercial activities -- all result from the living habits of its residents, while communal spaces are constructed from the interpersonal connections and interactions present in each community.

In the process of modernization, cities provide a fantasy that rejects poverty and creates material accumulation. People flock to cities in search of opportunities to join the ranks of the middle class. However, in a society governed by doctrines of urban development, this visual fantasy ultimately conceals long-standing urban social problems, as well as excludes and isolates the spaces inhabited by migrant and impoverished populations. In recent years, with their fate decided by urban planning and zoning, these spaces face being forcibly torn down by governments to build parks, high rises or marketplaces, or else are left to fend for their own survival. The urban contexts that have been monopolized by landscaping (spectacle) conceal the pure narrative that reduces the overall urban culture as one of middle class.

As mutual cooperation between art and commerce fully plays out, artists have begun to attempt inwardly focused artistic creations that are alienated from society; a transformation into a set of proactive and practical artistic relationships and processes of public connectivity. Hence, a “reverse niche” has a dual meaning, not only symbolizing the exclusion and resistance undertaken for survival by groups marginalized and disadvantaged in the process of urban development; but also highlighting the works created by art activists concerned with these living conditions that emphasize the development of a base for long-term dialogue and participatory creativity which will initiate an alternative practice of art production outside of the mainstream.

1. Cresswell, Tim, *Space: a Short Introduction*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2004, p. 89.

1. *Clearly places have many memories and the question of which memories are promoted and which cease to be memories at all is a political question. Places become sites of contestation over which memories to evoke.*<sup>1</sup>

Places are often seen as sites of collective memory, locations whose identities are created by combining shared memories. With the spread of globalization, competition between cities has become more heated. In an effort to rank among the world's top cities, the shaping of urban landscapes, of arts and culture have become effective means of brand marketing. Market trends and competitive urban development strategies attract large-scale investments of private capital. In this deluge of monetary liquidity and commodification, the revelation of hidden memories and identification is a bartering of the past for a hopeful future.

But collective memories often achieve embodiment through production at a specified site. The powers that control urban

aesthetics permit local memory and identification to continue to uphold elements of the established social order. A place is often the field of contestation with an operational process that attempts to sacrifice the memories of others. Lefebvre reveals not only the capitalist class struggle that is played out on the urban stage, but also the recognition of urban spaces as social products that are produced and reproduced through specialized systems and class-relations under various geographical conditions and historical backgrounds, where every society produces the spaces that it supports.<sup>2</sup> Today, spaces driven by neo-liberalist movements are prevalent in real estate speculation, in the privatization of public spaces, and in the gentrification of everyday life. Space has become an object of capitalist consumerism; it is a construct of tourism landscapes, of commoditized urban spaces, or of methods for national control over social and capital production -- for instance, by isolating marginalized populations and the poor in their specified districts.

In a dominant landscape production monopolized by the visual senses, urban developmental policies are accompanied by a set of proposed arts and cultural aspirations behind which the entire history of the city is simplified into a visual experience. On the one hand this visual experience conceals a certain flat visual landscape of a bourgeois purity, cleanliness and ahistoricity; on the other hand, in order to comply with this simplified imagining of urban history, all of the elements that exist in the temporal and spatial history of the city has been decontextualized and are unable to differentiate their own spatial or temporal experience.

In response to market pressures, today's cities plan and zone for the development of public dreams and privatized public

2. Lefebvre, Henri. 1991. *The production of space*. Oxford, Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell.

entertainment. Urban landscapes naturally reflect this new order of cultural sponsors, producers and consumers. The transformation of urban spaces is precisely a reproduction of competition between the social classes to reflect their own culture. An analysis of the overriding social relationship at present is one that is driven by neo-liberalism and informed by geographical inequity (Harvey 2005, 2006, 2007). The 1970s gave rise to this neo-liberalism which thoroughly changed the role of the Nation State from being guided by a philosophy of management to that of industry which ultimately developed into a role complementary to the global market economy.

The Japanese industrial town of Kamagasaki in Osaka is an example of how the march of modernization has created a gathering place for temporary labor as it attracts a continuous flow of workers who come in hopes of seeking livelihood. It demonstrates how a city metabolizes a stigmatized and deliberately isolated district, and how the bubble economy of the 90s has turned these lives into homeless migrants. As for the so-called Asian Financial Centre of Hong Kong with its cramped living spaces, its avalanche of rural development projects and urban renewal projects have forced people to abandon their homes. The city suppresses a need for a home space that it is unable to meet even as it actively constructs business landscapes as well as the development of the West Kowloon Cultural District. Lee Tung Street, Sham Shui Po, resistance to the High Speed Rail and Northeast Development Plan all represent objections to business development packaged as signs of progress and for the public good. This exhibition provides an overview of these three cities in dialog. From the process of modernization, to the hegemonic monopoly of real estate, and finally returning to Kaohsiung in Southern Taiwan which faces a replication of Taipei's development trajectory,

and is unable to escape the legacy of industrial environmental pollution. Different backgrounds and contexts merge here, where space becomes a subject of political contestation. Different spaces correspond to specific social relationships; each space is a product of social relationships, and in turn produces social relationships. (Lefebvre, 1991.)

2. As art is deployed in the cultural power landscape of the contemporary city, many artists confront the dilemma of either self-alienation or else becoming incorporated into the capitalist system, and are anxious to find a breakthrough. The germination of numerous art theories and practices of late represent such attempts to break free from these shackles -- for instance, relational aesthetics, new genres of public art, performative art, or the more radical artistic activism -- their common denominator is that they come from the self-involved core of the artist but move toward an artistic relationship and process of public connection. Community, dialogue, participatory and collaborative creations all become methods for artistic practice. Fittingly, these have a vibrant complexity and purposeful orientation. In these disparate artistic concepts and forms, art actively becomes medium, process and result with real world impact. Participation, dialogue and artistic action de-objectify artistic production. The emphasis on constructing a dialectical framework of equality between artist and audience shapes identity and connectivity, replacing the Modernist chant of reasoned slogans directed toward a real audience. It is an opposition to the reproductive logic of capital accumulation, and questions the public nature of urban middle-class culture.

What role can art play when it is isolated and excluded from the city? Catherine Grout argues that art mediates when a public

space activates its feature as a public square, and artists play the important role of creating a space for dialog after observing and contemplating space and time elements. In her discussion of the Public Sphere (1958), Hannah Arendt also emphasizes that the rights of practice for the individual should be one of equality and freedom. Freedom enables an individual to express the self through exhibition, performance, and speech, and only through these narratives of diversity and difference can communication be achieved in the public domain.

3. Pour de l'art dans  
notre quotidien, 2002,  
Catherine Grout,  
Yuanliu, Taipei.

The sensory qualities aroused by art enable it to become a conduit for communication and exchange, for non-coersive mutual interaction and sharing within a space. Mutual exchange between individuals and their society is created in a public space through the freedom and creativity of the artist. The link between a work of art and its environment brings about various sensory fetters or rational critique, creating discussion. (Grout, 2002)<sup>3</sup>

Grant H. Kester further dissects the essence of communication in art, and points out that the core of dialogue-based art makes the artist a context provider and not a creator of content. This type of dialogue-based art is viewed as a process, and as a site of narrative exchange and negotiation. Art is the practice of responding, critiquing, and challenging existing social systems. A work displayed through a performative exchange encourages participants to question fixed identities or stereotypes. Inspired by feminism, Kester uses the term "connected knowing" to rectify Habermas's disregard and shortcomings in theories about power differentials in the public sphere. Empathetic identification is an important and necessary element to dialogue - it is a method of establishing a fixed identity through interacting with others and through de-centering.

To clarify the ideology of this non-objectifying, dialogue-based, and participatory art production: systematic participation sometimes falls into a false pervasiveness that veils actual inequities in the city. As such, the relational aesthetics suggested by Claire Bishop merely presents a beautiful positive ideological critique, easily replicating existing social class roles, one that uses artistic methods to sculpt and beautify, to temporarily whitewash existing social clashes and class conflicts.<sup>4</sup> Thus, artists should emphasize creating an effect on the local culture through artistic methods. Not by creating or setting up a comfortable, complacent work with a social relational function, but by opening up another artistic action that provokes a certain symbolic field of resistance.

Within the specific context of urban development, these artists use art as a medium of communication and relationship to reconstruct urban cultures that belong to the excluded, the poor, the disadvantaged and the minority. By designing a framework for dialogue, they entice and invite these communities to participate in free speech and action using art as a bridge for entry into the public domain.

The interactive, communicative and dialogue-based artistic works that occur between these artists, participants, and the subjective subconscious often combine with social movements. Art becomes an enticing medium that opens up fluid spaces for dialogue. This type of artistic creativity attempts to reconstruct and to uncover unstable marginalized urban spaces and social groups. However, the very nature of this prolonged artistic production process makes it difficult to preserve. Art scholars in the West have begun noticing and naming these artistic actions which take place outside museum walls. But the ways in which artistic actions in Asia provide an entry into society

4. Bishop, Claire., "Antagonism and Relational Aesthetics", October Magazine, Issue 110;2004. MIT press, pg 51-79.

through interdisciplinary cooperation and communication, and open up alternative narrative outlets -- remain suspended as uncategorized cases.

### **Hong Kong/Woofers Ten**

In 2009, the Shanghai Street Art Center of the Hong Kong Arts Development Council changed its name to Woofers Ten. It was organized by a group of artists concerned with social, political and public issues, in order to rethink the relationship between art and society, community and public life, and to create, connect and catalyze a new community imagination. They were faced with a confluence of political and economic obstacles: the capitalization of urban spaces continue to deprive individual rights to shelter; while the process of reunification had taken away freedom to express local identity and politics. The artists of Woofers Ten opened up another type of resistance that is removed from the site of conflict, and constructed an everyday platform for discussion using art and exhibition activities to provide a longer term cultural movement with the public.

### **Osaka/Cocoroom**

The non-profit art space "Cocoroom" (こえ (sound), ことば (language) and ところ (heart)) was established in 2007 in Kamagasaki, Osaka - the location of the largest community of temporary laborers in Japan. This demonstrated the artists' intention to begin dialogue in a space removed from poverty and violence. Here, art is perceived as a communications medium that connects with laborers and the homeless who have been gradually deprived of opportunities to interact and communicate with the world-at-large. A public space

where they can communicate and interact freely without inhibitions has been created. Disenfranchised groups including the homeless, unemployed laborers, youth, and women, all participate through art and poetry. This process of describing the local history and life experiences with the artists creates a relationship of dialogue. This dialogue enables artists to construct a local identity, while area residents also establish a self-identity in the same process. The cultural and life stories of this stigmatized and alienated region are rediscovered through literary compositions, poetry, and artistic activities.

### **Kaohsiung/ Taiwan Studio, Exhibition and Arts Labor Union**

As the largest city in Southern Taiwan, Kaohsiung has replicated the urban development of Taipei in recent years. Pollution caused by industrial factories have been demolished or covered up in the name of arts and culture. Kaohsiung's Dalinpu District is surrounded on three sides by factories of the coastal industrial zone. On one side is the land-reclamation South Star Plan whose environmental pollution has deprived area residents of their environmental autonomy. The Taiwan Studio, Exhibition and Arts Labor Union began with photography classes which not only trained area residents to use recording tools to monitor the environment and to tell their own stories, but also attracted a number of young video artists and the media to the area to learn, to produce films and to report. Many of these works directly address the environmental pollution issue. In the process of this activity, they have connected previously disparate groups of local youth with community groups. It is hoped that future actions will be even more collective. At the moment the Seahorse Team has been assembled and includes those who work with documentary, art, theatre and film as well as social activists and students.

This project will be exhibited in the specific context of urban development. These acts of artistic activism that have not yet been categorized by history have become a conduit for communications and connections. How do we respond to and rebuild the urban culture of the excluded, the poor, the minority, and disenfranchised? What types of enticing framework for dialogue can artists construct that would invite the participation of these groups and become a bridge to rebuild the public arena? And how can art highlight social public issues in order to move toward a progressive political discussion and practice?

### **Conclusion**

Although an aspect of artist creativity is engrained in the established class ideology of the ruling power, there is another aspect of art that represents the response, criticism and challenge to the practices of existing social institutions. This is a dialectical structure that is not only a form of content, but also a dialogue that develops from the continued interaction between author and audience. Society itself could also be considered a product of Art. Based on this, the work of participation and dialog can be interpreted as the fruition of active artistic efforts to engage with society in an attempt to provoke reflections on, and resistance to, a public nature created by the capitalist class. Art is method of opening up a fluid space for the subjective freedom in order to hear, to express, and to communicate.

This study focuses on the regionalism of urban marginal communities, but regionalism now has a different meaning. All transactions take place in an intertwined international context, where regional "sharing and dialogue" is a starting point. How this flourishes in location by linking these spaces/cities and actions is an attempt to accumulate case studies, and represents starting point for the writing of history.

Alice Ko



# 大阪 / 釜崎

Osaka / Kamagasaki

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自由軒

自由軒

自由軒

御食事  
長年の名店の食

上野1店

COCOROOM

KIRIN  
LAGER  
BEER

東天楼



## 大阪 / 釜崎

文：柯念璞 Alice Ko

屢獲國際各大影展獎項的日本導演大島渚繼《青春残酷物語》後，在 1960 年發表作品《太陽的墳墓》，同樣抱持著對現實社會體制的反叛，以大阪釜崎的貧民街為舞台。電影以夕陽時分一群身穿發黃的汗衫操持著大阪獨特口音的勞工，從建設從工地回到髒亂破舊小屋，為了賺取微薄零錢而賣血的鏡頭揭開序幕。鮮紅的夕陽與旗幟的象徵暗喻當時日本社會的現況與社會運動局勢的起落。大島渚揭露日本資本主義社會包裹的假象，運用鏡頭探討無產階級在現代化與資本社會下所遭遇的苦難與剝削。但自該片發表至今已過 50 年，大阪釜崎仍然是日本四大貧民窟之一，而其規模和社會治安問題仍屬最嚴重的區域。

因這次研究計畫與留在這塊城市之島的詩人上田小姐訪談時，她描述到這塊土地被隔離的狀態，「那一年是 2008 年，在正月的時候開幕，當年的 6 月釜崎發生了第 24 次的暴動，大約持續了一個禮拜左右的暴動，有許多的機動部隊包圍這釜崎，但這麼大的新聞，日本的新聞媒體卻完全沒有任何報導。當時真的有覺得我來到了一個很可怕的地方，這個地方真的完全被無視。」。

1960 年代，日本正經歷二戰後的復興，社會面臨在日常生活、城市規劃與經濟產業等領域的結構性轉型。鋼筋水泥建造的公寓漸漸取代了木構造家屋，這些學習西方國家的城市景觀，似乎象徵著日本掙開守舊的束縛，迎向更自由繁榮的社會。但自由並不屬於居住於釜崎的居民，此地如同都市孤島，隱形的壁壘將貧困、黑道暴力與色情行業留於此地。社會排除 (social exclusion) 與空間隔離 (spatial segregation) 並非出自偶然，而是國家公權力使用

抽象的法規政策訂定都市居住空間的新規則、資本主義生產關係的內部危機，同時將貧窮留在釜崎。

釜崎不用官方的數據來證明此區生命的狀態是如何被隔離與游離。儘管都市研究想解剖如此的地理狀態來自歷史脈絡何處的失措。但這些被視為暴亂、游離孤獨的生命，在另外一面卻是充滿生命力與能量。在此我想拋開學術專文以及數據資料，因為釜崎的城市之島所積累的是記憶、身體的感受等一切身體感知的知覺來體驗的地方。氣味、口說，憤怒與愉快一切都是那麼直接。

早期這裡興建一棟棟提供臨時勞工所居住的單人套房變成為他們的家屋。這些男性可能是興建萬國博覽會的工人、大阪辦公大樓的建築工、臨時日班僱工，甚至是派遣進入福島的核電廠進行清掃的工人。在 90 年代 BBC 曾拍攝過一支紀錄片便是講述核電背後，肉體被迫接受輻射污染的工人，如何一批批因輻射汙染而不斷替換，而其中一部分的勞力來源變來自此處。

## 新世界與舊世界－凝視與反凝視

走出動物園前車站，沿途的乾洗店、以及多的令人驚奇的置物櫃店（據說，勞工們經常露宿街頭，但因必須前往工地現場，因此常把僅有的家當存於置物櫃店，下班後再領回）、經過一棟灰色巨大的建築物，便是愛鄰公共職業安定所。每天的清晨五點，大家就是聚集在此等待前往工地。啤酒屋、公園、愛鄰中心，他們就圍繞這些固定的地點潮起潮落，然而無論你穿梭多隱密的巷弄，你都能在這塊土地上，眺望到象徵現代化與進步的大阪通天閣。

通天閣位於新世界所豎立的高塔，它讓我想起羅蘭巴特曾描述的巴黎鐵塔的一段話，「當我們看它時，它是一件物體；而當我們到鐵塔遊覽時，它就變成了一種景色，而且現在它構造了那個剛才還在望著它的巴黎，此時巴黎成為在它腳下既伸展又在收攏的對象。鐵塔是一件會看的物體，也是一束被看的目光。」。鐵塔成為現代化、進步、集體記憶、城市文化，它是聚集所有觀看目光的象徵物，日日夜夜、年復一年等待被賦予各種意義。

然而在進行田野調查的這段日子，對僅距離十幾公尺的釜崎，「觀看」是一個極度敏感且禁忌的行為。如果走在路上稍不注意將視線停留過久，或是肩上掛著相機，就能聽到「看什麼？」、「不要拍照！」等話語。釜崎是拒絕任何觀看視線的地方。對視線的反感表露釜崎長期被隔離與汙名化的歷史，透過主流媒體的渲染將此地與恐懼、危險化為同義詞。歷史上釜崎多種地名的替換，便是希望能掙脫辨標籤化的方式。對於居住於此的人來說，他們背負著汙名，但令人意外地卻開展一種非常強悍的團結力量，對政府、警察、對外來的攻擊與歧視一股在地化的戰鬥力量。訪談時，上田小姐也談及自己的觀察，「釜崎的自我防衛是，這區域所有的人聚集起來，相互討論並肩作戰，促成了流浪漢自力支援法。是從革命中促成的法律。」。

在田野時，幸運地認識居住於此的村上先生與井上先生，透過他們敘述自己的記憶地圖更真實呈現，60 年代與 70 年代的樣貌。釜崎並非缺少對於臨時勞工的福利措施以及協助的 NGO，但井上先生說：「這些宿舍是近十年才成立，哪像以前，如果你撐不下



去，死在路邊也就是生命的結束了。」。井上先生雖已年邁，但霍達且豪邁的個性，透過藝術與音樂的接觸像是發展出另一個人生一般，現在井上先生號召社區的朋友組成了樂團，將人生故事寫入歌詞，時常在小酒館裡表演。而村上先生則時常參加「即興樂團」的肢體舞蹈組織，透過即興的音樂與肢體工作方，協助聾盲學校的學生開發自己的潛能。

## COCO ROOM

在日文發音裡ココルーム（羅馬拼音 kokoru mu）是日文三個單詞的縮寫「こえ」（聲音）、「ことば」（語言）與「こころ」（心）。這展現出藝術家在此開啟對話的企圖。藝術在此視為一種溝通的媒介，能連結逐漸失去交流與溝通的個人，創造出一個能彼此自由且無拘束地溝通交流的公共空間。運用詩、藝術邀請流浪漢、失業勞工、青少年以及婦女等弱勢族群的參與，在與藝術家敘述地方歷史與生命經驗的同時，產生一種對話關係，藝術家在對話的過程中建構了地方認知，同時在地的居民也在此過程建立自我認同。透過文學創作、詩詞、藝術活動重新認識這塊被汙名化與閒置隔離的區域背後的文化與生活故事。

上田小姐在釜崎的創作標誌了對話性藝術中重要的兩個面向，第一是藝術家做為開啟交流溝通的聆聽者，其次是交流溝通以藝術與口語作為媒介，這兩點是 COCO ROOM 在釜崎開啟與在地居民對話的重要的對話與溝通方式。基於此地的居民成長背景，受訪者的背景時常被排除在所謂公共領域的「理性」對話中，面臨當

代的知識溝通處境，這些人透過藝術的畫作、口語表達、肢體等符碼是提供這些居民得已表達自我的重要工具。

## 故事的聚集場所

COCO ROOM 有別於一般藝術空間的空間設計，以咖啡廳及一個日式客廳的榻榻米做為空間的主要擺設。上田小姐表示，「這個場所包含咖啡店、舞台、辦公室加起來約可容納 100 人左右。如此一來不只是喜歡藝術的人，還是身心障礙的朋友更甚是徬徨於前途年輕人，或是某些弱勢族群，舉辦一些小活動的人也都可以來使用這個場所。於是這個地方就變成了可以思考這個社會真的存在有很多問題的場所。」。當看到這些釜崎勞工與流浪者團結的凝聚力後，上田小姐開始希望能將現在日本青年面臨失業與流離失所的狀況帶入這種在地策略。在全球化的洪流下，失業青年如同這些 60 年代的勞工相同，是不停被替換的勞動力，但卻是散於四處。如同當初的構想，已經經歷 11 年歲月的 COCO ROOM 成為各樣生命故事的聚集地。

COCO ROOM 基本上以傾聽的手法為主，「有很多人前來造訪咖啡廳，而這些人都所說、煩惱甚麼、在意甚麼，聽了這些事情之後，雖然無法幫忙全部的事情，但是如果有什麼契機的時候，就希望將它連結起來。」。像是 2011 年當時許多母親為躲避核災的輻射影響小孩未來的健康，隻身帶孩童逃離來這座城市的非常多。其中一位女性也成為組織的成員，並藉自身經歷辦一個報紙，試圖透過故事將這些婦女聯結起來。

## 傾聽中的重建 / 重見

Coco Room 所策畫的藝術計畫分為主題性展覽的以及長期每月舉行的工作坊活動。主題藝術計畫的部分，聚集對於釜崎並未深入了解的藝術家、表演者與學者等人，透過藝術計畫中與居民密切的對話，得以從居民的角度重構對於在地歷史的印象。在《このころのたねとして藝術計畫》中，藝術家以「記憶」為主題，記憶代表了個人與地方過去經驗的總稱，在這個藝術計畫以釜崎區域居民為對話的對象，邀請七位不同領域的表演者、都市研究學者、人類學者、音樂家以及詩人每位一對一的對談、訪問在釜崎生活的社會族群、修女、勞工者、婦女等，以記憶作為溝通對話的主題，透過口語的交談與紀錄經由藝術家透過各樣的表現手法再現這些生命經驗。這些質性訪談與口述記錄中，主體的經驗是透視城市空間生產歷史途徑，在這些訪談中有從鄉村輾轉來到此地從事軍工廠、建設工作的高齡勞工，這些記憶中，消費物質的變化以及所居住的狹窄空間可清楚呈現不同的城市文本。

而在未來，釜崎藝術大學這個活動，這個活動有別於以往的活動，是一個比較有主體性的活動。有很多專業人士來，然後跟這些老伯伯、其他城市的人、外國人等等的一起學習，很重要的一個企劃。「當然對老師生氣的人也有，但是如果有一天釜崎的老伯伯們也能成為老師、或是像管理經紀人那樣的話就太好了。」而天文學家的老師說：「沒想到這個社會上還有會這麼認真地聽的天文學史的人在，覺得非常開心，反倒覺得自己被救贖了。」其實激勵這些專業人的是釜崎的老伯伯們。這是一個非常有趣的

循環。COCO ROOM 也可以說是以這個循環為目標在進行著。並不是這種支援者與被支援者的這種既定關係，而是每個人都會有扮演著支援別人或是被別人支援的身分。幫忙別人或是被別人幫忙的時候也都是有的。所以這種角色流動是相當重要的

《釜ヶ崎暮らしと居場所計畫》針對這些臨時勞工的特殊居住空間為主題，由多位不同領域的藝術家與學者對居民進行訪問，訪問其對於家、生命與居住空間的感受，運用文字與繪畫重塑了這些臨時勞工所居住簡易住所的狹小私人空間，這些住所多半提供單身男性居住，狹小的房子只有一扇窗戶以及單人床大小的空間，這些空間卻是釜崎臨時勞工一生的家。

## 結語

COCOROOM 在釜崎所開啟的藝術實踐中，藝術創作所關注的藝術家如何與社群開始溝通、相互信任理解進而對話的過程。一如 Kester 強調對話性創作一樣，在釜崎的臨時勞工作為對話社群的對象，這些臨時勞工在社會結構排除的過程中，並未有機會受到良好的教育與學習環境，在公共領域溝通或表達自身的語言時常必須運用群體的暴動、抗議來行動，但卻淪為媒體對社群貼上更加負面的標籤。在此藝術家以同理心的觀點幫助在合作過程，讓認同而不是排擠非言詞層面的對話交流得以進行，這些高齡的勞工透過口語的傾吐、繪畫與肢體互動，藉由藝術家做為中介的角色使這些受遮掩的面相能被看見。

## Osaka

*Text: Alice Ko*

The Japanese film director, N Oshima, who won a prize for his film *The Cruel Story of Youth*, in 1960 produced *The Sun's Burial* in which he expressed his opposition to modern society. He took the shanty district of Osaka as the stage for his work. The film opens with a group of workers in yellow shirts, speaking in a heavy Osaka accent as they go leave work in the evening as the sun sets. They leave their building sites to go back to their poor hovels. The film depicts how they sell their lives for a pittance. The setting sun and the Japanese flag point to the reality of Japanese society and work as a starting-point for social movements to begin their struggle. Oshima shows up the hypocrisy of Japanese capitalism and uses his camera to look at the difficulties and abuses suffered by the proletariat under modern capitalism. Though the film was made over 50 years ago, PS still remains one of Japan's four poorest areas, posing a massive problem for public safety.

The poet, Ms Ueda has adopted this island in the city as the focus for her research. She describes the area as cut off: "It was on 1 January 2008 when the scene opens, by June there had already been 24 outbreaks of violence and that time it went on for about a week, with armed troops sent to surround Kamagasaki, but the Japanese media made no mention at all of such an important affair. I felt I had come to a place that was both terrifying and invisible."

In the post-war boom of the 1960s society faced structural changes in daily life, urban planning and economic production. Ferro-concrete replaced wood as the basic building material and western models of urban construction seemed to suggest that Japan had loosened her old bonds and moved to world of freedom and prosperity. But there was no freedom for the

inhabitants of Kamagasaki. This was an island in the city, with hidden walls that concealed its poverty, yakuzi violence and the sex trade. Social exclusion and spatial segregation were not there merely by chance. The state authorities used abstract legal policies to determine the new rules for urban living space and exploited the internal threat to capitalist means of production while leaving Kamagasaki to wallow in poverty.

There is no need for official statistics to verify the exclusion and ostracization of Kamagasaki. Even if urban studies are able to show where the failures of history have led to such a geographical lacuna, yet what seems to be a place of violence, isolation and separation is in fact full of life and power. I decided not to use the normal academic style and statistical data because what has accumulated in Kamagasaki are memories, feelings and a sheer bodily awareness. The atmosphere, accents, anger and joy of the place are all so direct and straightforward.

At first there were lots of individual homes set up as temporary lodgings for the workers but these soon became their homes. The men may have worked for the International Exhibition or built offices in Osaka or been temporary hired day labourers or were even sent to clean up the nuclear plant in Fukushima. In the 1990s the BBC made a documentary about the nuclear power plant showing how workers were forced to be exposed to radiation and how when one group was over-exposed another simply took their place, and some of those workers came from here.

## **The new and the old worlds: Looking at and opposing being looked at**

As you leave the Zoo station and walk past the dry-cleaner's you see a curious shop with storage compartments. (The workers sleep rough at night and leave their possessions in the shop during the day, returning to pick them up in the evening.) You then pass a huge grey building which houses the public neighbourhood office. Every day at 5 am people come here before setting off for work. They surge round the beer house, the park and the neighbourhood office like the tide, yet whatever narrow lane or alley you thread through you can catch a glimpse of the skyscrapers of Osaka, a symbol of modernization and progress.

The soaring height of skyscrapers in the new world of today makes me think of Roland Barthes' description of the Eiffel Tower in Paris: "an object when we look at it, it becomes a lookout in its turn when we visit it, and now constitutes as an object, simultaneously extended and collected beneath it, that Paris which just now was looking at it. The Tower is an object which sees, a glance which is seen." (<http://ahameri.com/cv/Courses/CU/Tourist%20Studio/Eiffel%20Tower.pdf>)

The Eiffel Tower has become the symbol of all the looks we impose on it: modernity, progress, collective memory, urban culture. Day after day and year after year it constantly assumes a new significance.

During those days I was doing my field work, only some 10 metres from Kamagasaki 'looking' becomes a sensitive issue, a taboo. If you let your glance loiter on one place for too long or carry a camera on your shoulder you will hear someone ask "What are you looking at" or say "No photos here." Kamagasaki forbids any kind of looking. Opposition to looking

is a sign of Kamagasaki's long history of isolation and defamation. Vilification by the mainstream media has turned this place into a byword for terror and danger. The frequent name changes for Kamagasaki have all been an attempt to overcome its being labeled. The people who live here also bear the burden of being vilified and yet, surprisingly, it has led to a strong sense of community and become a force for struggle against the government, the police and any other external attacks. During the interview Ms Ueda talks about what she herself has seen: "Kamagasaki's self-defence is that the people of the district get together, discuss and stand shoulder to shoulder in fighting and pushing for a self-help law for the homeless, a law founded in revolution."

During her survey, Ms Ueda was lucky to meet Mr Murakami and Mr Inoue and through their memories get the pieces of the puzzle into a more realistic shape based on what happened in the 60s and 70s. It was not that Kamagasaki lacked aid for temporary workers or help from NGOs but Mr Inoue says, "These dorms were only put up in the last ten years. Before that you could've died by the roadside and was the end of things." Though now elderly, Mr Inoue's forceful personality has led him to show another face to the place by using art and music. He got his friends together to form a band and turns life's stories into songs. They often perform in bars. Mr Murakami takes part in a dance troupe that uses music and dance to help deaf and blind students to unlock their own potential.

## Coco Room

The Japanese word koko-ruumu is composed of three elements: koe (voice), kotoba (word) and kokoro (heart). It indicates the desire of the artists for a place of dialogue. Art is viewed here as a means of communication, as something which can unite people who have lost contact with each other and create a new public space of freedom, without any shackles. Poetry and art are used to invite disadvantaged groups such as street people, the unemployed, youth and women to take part whilst the artists expound the history and experiences of the place creating a relationship of dialogue. Through dialogue the artists construct local knowledge while the local people create their own self-identity. Literary works, poetry and artistic activities serve to recreate the culture and life story of a despised and marginalized place.

Ms Ueda's work in Kamagasaki has shown that there are two important faces of dialogical art. The first is that the artist is a listener who works as a catalyst for communication; the second is that the communication is via art and oral creations. These two are the key means by which Coco Room is able to set up dialogue among the people of Kamagasaki. It so often happens that the background of an interviewee is pushed aside by the demands of public 'rational' discourse, but here, in the face of contemporary intellectual communication, the people who have grown up here use art, the spoken word, and physical expressions as symbols by which they can express themselves.

### A place for gathering stories

Unlike most art places, Coco Room has a café and a Japanese-style tatami room as its main features. Ms Ueda points out, "The

café, stage and office can hold about a hundred people in all. This means that the space can be used not only by those who like art but also by people with disabilities, the youth and disadvantaged groups or groups holding small-scale activities. So this place has become somewhere to reflect on the real problems of society." When she sees the united strength of these workers and street people, Ms Ueda begins to hope that the present state of unemployed young people or that of the homeless can enter into the strategies of the place. Thanks to globalization, the unemployed youth of today are rather like the workers of the 60s, constantly expendable and scattered all over the place. Just as it was in those days, so for the past eleven years, Coco Room has been a focus for life histories.

The main strategy used in Coco Room is listening. "Many people drop into the café and say that they are worried about something, or concerned about something. While you can't resolve everything, just by listening then there may be a chance of relating it to that hope." For example in 2011 many mothers fled the radiation for fear it would injure their small children's health, so the city was flooded with mothers and children. One such mother became a member of the team and ran a newspaper herself and tried to get the women together by telling stories.

### A new start/ a new look from listening

The artistic plan of Coco Room involves exhibitions centred on particular topics and a monthly workshop. The exhibitions aim to get artists, performers and scholars who don't know much about Kamagasaki to enter into dialogue with the residents by means of art and so recreate the image of the place from the point of view of the local people themselves. In the Tales of the Heart Artistic Plan (?), the artists took memory as the theme.

'Memory' stands for the past experience of individuals and places. The plan took the people of Kamagasaki as the partner for dialogue and invited seven performers from different fields, including people engaged in urban studies, anthropologists, musicians and poets and brought them into one to one dialogue to ask the people of Kamagasaki about their life. The people interviewed included people from the general society, religious Sisters, workers and women. Memory was used as the main means of communication. Oral conversation and recorded memories were then interpreted by the artists in many ways. The dialogue and recordings showed how urban space creates a historical path. People, now elderly, had left their villages to come here to work in factories or construction sites. These memories involving changes in patterns of consumption and the confined living space of the people clearly showed the different kinds of urban culture.

We are now preparing a very different, more focused kind of activity called Kamagasaki University. Many experts will come and will get together with these old men, people from other cities, even foreigners, and study together. "Of course some people will get angry with the teachers, but if one day the old men of Kamagasaki can become teachers or managers that will be even better." A teacher of astronomy said, "I never thought that in this society there would be such attentive students of astronomy. I feel really happy. Indeed, I feel as if it is I who have been redeemed." In fact what really strikes the experts are these old men of Kamagasaki. This is a fascinating environment. It could be said that Coco Room aims to make this environment its goal. It is not a matter of a fixed division into helping or being helped. Rather everyone has a role to play in helping

others and in being helped. There are always times to help others and be helped by others so this kind of interchange is very important.

The Kamagasaki Theatre Project (??) focuses on the temporary housing of the people. Various different artists and scholars come to interview the inhabitants, asking them about their feeling for their family, life and home. The artists use writing or painting to reconstruct the confined, tiny space of these simple, temporary workers' residences. For the most part the residences were for single men. They had one window and room for one bed only and yet they were the only home for Kamagasaki's residents.

## Conclusion

Coco Room wants to get artists to begin to enter into contact with the people of Kamagasaki, first by establishing trust and then by dialogue. Grant H. Kester has explained how such dialogue works. The people in Kamagasaki who are involved are temporary workers who have been marginalized by society and have been deprived of a good education and the right environment for learning. In the public sphere their only means of communication is to use violence and protests. Furthermore, they are stigmatized by the media. The artists use empathy to engage with them and allow them to dialogue in non-verbal ways. The elderly workers are able to use speech, painting and drama to express themselves with the artists playing a mediating role so that what has been up to now concealed can be made visible.

釜ヶ山  
百又まつり  
書道公日記

真心  
真実

歌うたう  
声のひびきに  
みながよち

元気  
夏  
まなこ



心の中心  
挿し物

野平  
平和

国語



元気

一期は夢  
ただ狂へ  
高田民彦

草焼  
草花

あたにかい  
にふるたつ  
一條の光  
山内忍

熱心

結び

谷田

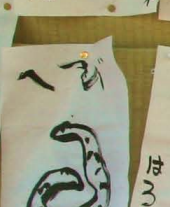
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道

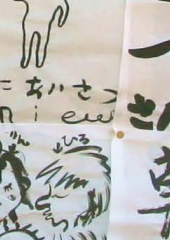
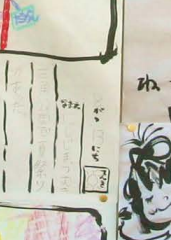


平和

平和



風



朝



川

林示煙



平和

風

風



龍

龍

龍

龍

野球









## COCO ROOM

文：上田假奈代

Cocoroom 今日仍一如往常，彎低著腰，柔韌地，在臨時工匯聚之「釜之崎」，構築著人與人的橋樑。

### 前言 何謂藝術的公共性？

於 2002 年，大阪 Festival Gate 首次展開了新嘗試。這棟擁有奇特外觀的建築物，是一棟擁有地上 8 層、店鋪面積 5 萬 7 千平方公尺、並有雲霄飛車縱橫貫穿大樓內部。透過新世界 Arts Park 事業，政府與民間協力互動，在此地催生了此獨具特色的藝術中心。

但位於大阪市南端之新世界都會型娛樂設施「Festival Gate」形同廢墟，即使此建築物竣工尚未滿十年，但裡頭的商店都已人去樓空。大阪市政府為活用空下的店鋪空間，推出現代藝術據點形成事業計畫，招攬三個 NPO(非營利組織)--亦即，現代音樂、現代舞蹈、媒體--並在經半年後，又招攬第四個 NPO(現代文學)。作為現代文學 NPO 而展開活動之 cocoroom，當時並無事業模範可依循，但基於在所有藝術的泉源中都可發現詩作 (poesy) 的身影，因此我們決定不拘泥於藝術範疇，發展為跨界之藝術 NPO。此一事業之經費結構特殊，房租和水電費雖由政府負擔，但事業營運費、人事費、管理費等都得由各 NPO 團體自行籌措。活動內容可任由各團體自行裁量，自主程度高，為政府與民間之協力互動豎立了新模範。

2003 年 4 月，一邊清掃將作為 cocoroom 場地之滿佈油漬的中國菜餐館，一邊想到，今後我將扮演代收消費稅的角色 (譯註：商家代政府向消費者收取 5% 的消費稅)，而感到煩惱。針對該如何確保活動的公共性，經過一番思考，下了「將這個場地設計成各

種人都可使用」的決定，非僅藝術家、對藝術有興趣的人、及一般大眾都歡迎使用。具體作法是開設一家「CAF」，藉其來探索藝術之與社會脈動連結的應有樣態。

在此，順便簡單作自我介紹。在日本，想靠詩來維持生計非常困難。我在邁入青年期前，就曾參與現代藝術、戲劇、音樂、舞蹈等「反傳統文化」之藝術活動的幕後工作，從 22 歲起，以詩人身份，開始策劃詩之朗誦會、詩詞工作坊等。遵守家母教誨，不將詩人當作本業，而另從事他業。然而，在 2000 年時，有位大學生向我表明「想將詩的工作當成終身志業」，經此一問，我陷入極大煩惱之中。遲遲未能作出回覆，詎料，二個月後接到他的自殺的惡耗，而該青年結束生命是在向我提問後一星期的事。我至今仍因未能回覆，而感到懊悔，一直在思量「到底詩的工作是什麼」。

### 多方交集薈萃，激發創造力

#### 多様な出 いがクリエイティビティを生む

在場域結構上，從咖啡廳裡可清楚看見舞台，生活遭遇困難的人們可瞄一眼舞台的表演；身障者在此相互打氣，合奏音樂；也可在此碰見來探察演出場地的藝術界人士。有位在家「宅」了 20 年的年輕人，聽到旅日外籍青年的歌聲，在離去前說了一聲「這大大激勵了我！」。也有遊民朋友看完表演，產生興趣，主動幫忙在巷內民宅張貼傳單。此外，也有民眾騎單車來看現場演出或舞蹈，或參加講習會，拓寬了其視野，而和居無定所者有了交集。

就像這樣，平常原本無碰面機會的各種人匯聚於此，在不知不覺中產生交集。如此一來，有機會接觸各式各樣的生活型

態。人各有其煩惱，但和各種人產生交集就會得到鼓舞。此種情境下，cocoroom 所提供的場域尤其會讓人倍感興味盎然。和各種人產生交集，相互表現自我，以更積極態度面對人生，這就是藝術 NPO 的工作，也是筆者身為詩人想做的事。

## 和政府機關協力互動不易，以柔韌姿態突破障礙

經過兩年時光，大阪市政府擬將形同包袱的「新世界 Festival Gate」建築物公開標售。聽說大阪市政府有意推動十年之現代藝術據點形成事業，我們努力多時，卻發現該計畫尚未在大阪市政府中具體成型。

其後，被告知：「政府當局當然不可能提供十年的保證」。作為事業基盤之「2002 年大阪市文化藝術行動計畫」於 2004 年被重新改寫，因而「新世界 Arts Park 事業」失去有效性，雖經過多次與大阪市政府的反覆磋商，雙方意見皆無交集，迄今已過 3 個年頭。在此期間，進行大阪市之文化政策、公共性方面的探討，深入市之各區域，試圖在事業的實施上有所進展。卻發現，努力的結果只是把時程拖延三年而已。最遺憾的是，未能獲得輿論的支持，然而，從此一苦果中，我們卻學到了不少經驗。

和各式各樣的人在此產生交集，cocoroom 以此為訴求，讓許多生活遭遇困難的人匯聚於此。雖然，要和這些人建立良好關係並不容易，但我們想實踐的是：雙方不僅止步於援助或被援助的關係，而是以自律的態度生活，創造適合自己生活的社會，亦即，邁向

人生自治自理之路。當然，我們知道這並不容易，欲使之實現可能要花上幾百年。但即使要幾百年，但現在不跨出第一步，則不會有幾百年後的實現。經這麼一想，似乎每日都在進行寶貴的實驗，在感覺上就變得輕鬆許多。即使資金不足、工作辛苦，但都和為生活而打拼的民眾站在一起，與政府打交道的五年間，我們學到如何以誠摯且柔韌的姿態來採取行動。

## 將據點搬遷至被透明圍牆所包圍的「釜之崎」地區 透明な塀に囲まれたまち・釜ヶ崎へ拠点を移す

擺脫大阪市政府之事業框架，於 2008 年 1 月進行搬遷。所選的地點是鄰區的「釜之崎」。事實上，在地圖上根本沒有「釜之崎」這個地名。1960 年代行政機關所訂定之愛鄰地區的面積僅有 0.62km<sup>2</sup>，此地卻以經常聚集打零工之勞工而聞名。作為經濟起飛時期之勞力的調節閥，在此地形成「勞力集散場」，由於工作環境惡劣、差別待遇等因素，而導致暴動事件層出不窮，在許多人心中視為「那地方很可怕，千萬不能去」，其存在遭到漠視，無人會投與關愛的眼神，1990 年代泡沫經濟崩壞，許多工人無工可做，淪落為居無定所，這裡被視為「遊民之鄉」。據稱，當時死於之街頭巷尾之遊民有 400 人。2000 年時，接受生活救濟的民眾迅速增多，當時曾多達 200 間之「臨時之家」（簡易宿舍），今日尚存 80 間，其中大部份成為生活救濟用途之公寓，一部份則改建為背包客的廉價旅館。尖峰時期之工人人數有 3 萬人，目前約減少至 5 千人。即便如此，首次造訪此地的日本年輕人也不禁感慨：「沒想到日本居然還有這樣的貧民窟，真令人難以置信」。

在 2003 年當時，在離釜之崎僅 20 米之遙的「新世界 Festival Gate」，此一區域的資訊完全付諸闕如。因為不曾有事情要辦，所以我從未踏入該地一步。釜之崎就在 JR 環狀線高架道路的另一邊，但它就如同被透明圍牆所包圍般，和這邊處於完全隔絕狀態。夜間，一旦跨出「Festival Gate」一步，就會有後座載著裝滿空鋁罐之大袋子的單車，從面前經過，無家可歸的人帶著所有值錢之物，唧唧唧地在搜尋當晚的棲身之處。

我了解，自己再怎麼思考「藝術之公共性」之類的問題，或為了創出工作機會，無論怎麼埋頭苦幹，在提供他們的溫飽上不會有任何助益。然而，是否我就乾脆辭去（藝文）表現方面的工作，改投入援助遊民的行列？我卻不這麼想，而想透過現行的工作來關懷釜之崎所遭遇的問題。因為，我直覺地認為，遊民並非個人的問題，而是社會整體的問題。然而，迄今藝術業界並無援助遊民的範例可以依循。因而決定展開釜之崎問題的調查。幸運的是，在釜之崎活動的許多民眾將 CAFÉ 當成聚會的據點，我們有機會直接得知其經歷；在端上咖啡時，可順便請教他們有關釜之崎的歷史和現況。

我了解，今日日本的富裕與便利，是因他們在社會底層勤奮工作所支撐起來的。而該時期剛好和我懵懵懂懂的人生成長期重疊。接著，2011 年發生了東日本大地震。曾被原子彈轟炸過的日本，再度因福島核電廠事故而再蒙難一次。此事件難道不是，在經濟起飛之過程中，刻意迴避核心議題，只一味追求現代化、全球化所導致？。從二戰結束起到今日，在這段過程中，釜之崎始終被

棄置在支撐經濟起飛的最底層，被看不見的圍牆所包圍，被刻意忽視。如此說來，它不就和廣島、長崎沒有兩樣嗎？

2004 年，得知「Big Issue Japan」雜誌創刊，我為該刊策劃了創刊告知活動。接觸到原本為詩人、鋼琴家的遊民，為他們籌辦了演出事宜。不管是遊民與否，只要一上了舞台，藝文表現者就是一個完整的自我。在身份的平等上，不管是遊民或藝術家，都完全相同。然而，在遊民處理上所涉及之範圍寬廣，涵蓋許多層面—從金錢、食宿之匱乏、依存問題、到建構扁平之信賴關係等。而我也從他們身上受益匪淺，學到不從外表、立場判斷人，相信時間會顯現真情，每人皆為獨一無二的存在。

透過上述方式，和釜之崎的遊民、活動人士、研究者、地方民間組織等接觸熟識，再加上釜之崎並無藝術 NPO，於是決定將場址搬遷到位於釜之崎邊陲地帶、動物園前商店街約 12 坪的房子（原本是小酒館）。然而，經過一番搬家的波折後，所有職員都離職了。

## 在釜之崎建立人與人的橋樑，編織不同文化之溝通網

2008 年 1 月，cocoroom 以「InfoShop CAFÉ」的方式開始了咖啡廳的經營；2009 年 6 月，又再對面設立了媒體中心「Come On ! Media Center」。在咖啡廳裡，經常有各種不同立場、年齡的民眾圍著小矮桌而坐。「Come On ! Media Center」則讓來此的民眾可坐下來談天說地。朝向巷口設置了名為「Come On ! 君」的電視機，透過它，播放昔日釜之崎的照片、或以 Youtube 展示影像、或播

送「DJ Yoroshiku」、或談天說地。在此就將創出談天說地情況一事稱為媒體吧。這是我們想要營造出來的景況。商店街也可能隨時沉沒於民眾齊唱的歌聲中。

不知何故，兩處都經常有附近的歐吉桑來造訪。其中，有不少人曾有過居無定所經驗。在談天說地的過程中，許多客人也被情境所感染，而加入話局。花時間在場內感受此種氣氛，原本對自我表現毫不關心的歐吉桑，不知不覺中也受到感染，自發性地展現自我。換言之，在這個地方，讓他們對外面世界發出自我的訊息。此外，因生活、就業問題而來求助的人比比皆是。我等工作同仁作為「專業的門外漢」，了解自己所能做的是，以真誠的態度傾聽他們的心聲，並轉介到最合適的相關機構。在店內，會有人吵架，也會有人口出惡言，但也有人會高聲讚歎，真是太好了！能在此碰到意想不到的人，認識通常不會有機會認識的人。這裡每天都像是創意表演工坊般，即興演出「每日劇場」的劇碼。

自 2011 年起兩年間，我們在釜之崎中央地段著手管理有 45 個房間的樓舍，在此多次經歷舉目無親老人的死亡與葬禮等。cocoroom 的活動在經濟上並不寬裕，付給工作同仁的薪資低到令人難以置信。在此狀況下，還忙得不可開交，讓我們幾乎面臨絕望的境地。待解決的問題堆積如山。即便如此，仍然在辛勤工作中發掘出樂趣，也由於和誠懇勤快的夥伴們一起工作，所以可以做得更帶勁。在此順便一提，在 cocoroom 的收入方面，CAFÉ 營收：

政府補助金：民眾捐款：2：4：4；其中，民眾捐款正逐步增多中。相較於許多藝術 NPO 仍仰賴政府補助金，或許我們還算是具備了較健全的營運機制。在組織架構中，任何大小事無所不包的特殊常勤同仁有 5 人、義工多人，此外，還承蒙許多訪客不定時伸出援手；因而得以秉持「今天仍一如往常，細心周全、開朗地」，持續我們的工作。

上田假奈代（戰鬥詩人、詩業家）

1969 年生，3 歲起作詩，17 歲開始朗誦。1992 年起主持各種詩之創意工坊。2001 年提出「詩業家宣言」，持續在全國展開活動。2003 年成立 cocoroom，以「表現、自律、工作及社會」為主題，創設藝術 NPO。目前在釜之崎經營 CAFÉ 與媒體中心。現任 NPO 法人「聲音與與語言與心靈之房」(cocoroom) 之代表理事。cocoroom 網址 <http://www.cocoroom.org>

## COCO ROOM

*Text: Kanayo Ueda*

*Cocoroom remains the same today - bending flexibly downwards from the waist, while connecting a bridge between people in a casual gathering at "Kamagasaki".*

### Introduction: What is the Public Nature of Art?

In 2002, Osaka's Festival Gate launched a new attempt. Featuring a peculiar appearance, this building is comprised of eight floors with a total shop area of 57,000 square meters. Furthermore, there is a roller coaster that runs through the inside of the building. This unique art center was constructed with aid from Shinsekai's Arts Park operations, the government, and private third-party interactions.

However, this recreational facility, Festival Gate, located in Shinsekai at the southern end of Osaka has since become a ruin. It has not even been a decade since the building's completion, and the shops inside are completely empty. To make use of the space, the municipal government of Osaka introduced a business plan to turn it into a venue for modern art. It commissioned three NPOs (nonprofit organizations) involved in modern music, modern dance, and media, respectively, before soliciting a fourth NPO (modern literature) after six months. With a focus on modern literature, this NPO launched the activity, cocoroom. At the time, there was no previous model available to use as a guide. However, traces of poesy could be found in all sources of art. As a result, we decided we did not want to be constrained within the scope of art and developed an NPO for inter-disciplinary art. The expense structure for this undertaking was particularly unique. Though rent and utilities were paid for by the government, all operating, personnel, and management costs had to be raised by each NPO. Bestowed with a high degree of autonomy, each organization had full discretion over the activities they organized. In this way, a new model of interaction between the government and private organizations was established.

In April of 2003, I was cleaning the grease left behind by the Chinese restaurant that previously occupied the venue, while simultaneously contemplating the role I would play in the collection of sales tax. (Note: Vendors collect a 5% sales tax from consumers on behalf of the government.) I began to feel frustrated. After some thought on how to ensure the public nature of our activities, I made the decision to "design this venue into a space for use by all people" and not just artists. People with an interest in art and those from the general public would all be welcome to use the space. The specific approach was to create a "CAFÉ" to explore the relationship between art and the pulse of society.

Here, I would like to provide a simple introduction of myself. In Japan, it is very difficult to sustain a career in poetry. Before my adolescent years, I helped out behind the scenes for many modern art, theater, music, dance, and other "counter-culture" art events. From the age of 22 onwards, I became a poet and began planning poetry reading sessions and workshops. Listening to my mother, I did not view poetry as my main career and was simultaneously engaged in other activities. However, in 2000, a college student once declared to me that he wanted to "make poetry his life's work." After just this one statement, I began to feel immensely troubled. I did not know how to respond. Two months later, I received terrible news of his suicide. And, the end of his young life was proposing something that would happen a week later. To this day, I still cannot reply. With a deep sense of grief, I have continued to contemplate the question, "In the end, what exactly is poetry?"

Regardless of whom, people are likely to overlook the value and meaning of life when faced with hardship. We think to ourselves that the world would remain the same if we didn't

exist. However, this seemingly insignificant line of text might actually renew hope in life. I think that “poetry” is able to provide a small light that helps us realize the significance of our lives.

The goal behind poetry is not to make money. This is very clear. Because I wanted to focus my time on poetry, I resigned my job at the time and announced that I would become a poet. A year later, a person asked whether I was willing to operate a venue for modern art in Osaka. As a result, I took the opportunity with the idea of operating a business revolving around poetry.

Thus, cocoroom was born with this motivation in mind. It naturally caught the attention of the unemployed, the physically disabled, and others who were faced with difficulties in life yet happy to provide assistance to the public. The bookstands are often lined with various promotional materials for not just art, but also information and newsletters for a wide variety other subjects.

## **A Stimulating Atmosphere for Exchange and Inspiration**

Within the structure of the site, the stage is clearly visible from the cafe. People who are experiencing hardships in life can take a quick look at the performance on stage. Here, the physically disabled can provide mutual encouragement and perform in a musical ensemble together. One can also meet people from the art community who have come to explore the performance venue. There was a youth who had stayed at home for twenty years, but came out to hear the singing of a young foreigner

living in Japan. Before leaving, the youth exclaimed loudly, “This has greatly inspired me!” Some homeless people also came to watch the performance. They became so interested that they offered to help post flyers. Additionally, there were also people who rode bikes to view and dance at the live performances, or attend workshops to broaden their horizons. There, they also interacted with those without residences.

Like this, all kinds of people who normally would not have had the chance to meet, gathered together here and established a connection with one another. In this way, access to a wide range of lifestyles was provided. Everybody has their own personal frustrations and hardships. But, through this interaction, they found inspiration and encouragement. Under these conditions, it’s not surprising that the cocoroom venue provides people with a particularly deep sense of fascination. All kinds of people coming together to express themselves and build a more positive attitude towards life - this is the work of an art-based NPO. This is also what the author, as a poet, has strove to do.

## **Collaborating with Government Agencies is Not Easy, Using a Flexible Attitude to Break Down Barriers**

After two years, the municipal government of Osaka now intends to place “Shinsekai Festival Gate” for sale in a public auction. After hearing that the government had sought to promote a business venue for modern art over a decade, we invested our efforts for a long period of time. Yet, now we discovered that this plan had not actually taken shape in the city government.

Subsequently, we were told: "Of course the government cannot provide a ten-year guarantee." Originally serving as a foundation for business, the "2002 Osaka City Cultural Arts Action Plan" was rewritten in 2004. As a result, the business of "Shinsekai Arts Park" lost its effectiveness. Even after repeated consultations with the government for three years, we still cannot reach an agreement. In the meantime, we conducted an exploration of Osaka's cultural policies and public aspects, while deeply penetrating the markets of each region. In this way, we attempted to make progress in the implementation of our business. Yet, we discovered that the only result of our efforts was a delay of three years. Most unfortunately, we did not win the necessary support. However, we did learn a lot from this bitter experience.

Cocoroom sought to establish a connection between all kinds of people, so that people who are suffering hardships in life can have a place to gather. Though establishing a good relationship with these people is not always easy, what we wanted to implement was this: both parties don't only provide a mutual relationship of assistance, but also come together to create a society that is suited to their lives and proceed on a path towards self-autonomy through an attitude of self-discipline. Of course, we knew that this was not easy, and it may take several hundred years for any results to materialize. However, even if it takes a few hundred years, nothing will materialize at all if the first step isn't taken. With such a line of thought, every day seemingly becomes a valuable experiment. In that sense, everything becomes a lot easier. Even faced with a lack of funds and a difficult level of work, we still stood together with people who work hard for a living every day. In dealing with the government for five years, we learned how to take action with a sincere and flexible attitude.

## **Relocating the Venue to Kamagasaki, a Region Surrounded by a Transparent Wall**

To extricate ourselves from the business framework of the Osaka municipal government, we moved in January of 2008. The region selected was Kamagasaki. In truth, Kamagasaki does not actually exist on a map. In the 1960s, executive authorities set the "Ailin Region" to cover an area of only 0.62 km<sup>2</sup>. This area is famous for providing many odd jobs and part-time work. As a regulating valve of labor during a period of economic growth, a labor distribution market was formed here. Poor working conditions, discrimination, and other factors led to constant riots and violence. To many people, this place became identified as a scary place that everybody should avoid. As a result, its existence was largely ignored, with no one willing to invest much care into the area. With the collapse of the bubble economy in the 1990s, many workers found themselves without a job or even a fixed residence. The area became considered a "vagrant town." Allegedly, as many as 400 people died while homeless on the streets during that time. In 2000, the number of people receiving welfare payments increased rapidly. Up to 200 "temporary homes (simple dormitories)" were established during that time. Today, 80 of these homes still exist. Most of them have become apartments for rescue and relief purposes. Others have been converted into cheap hostels for backpackers. At its peak, there were up to 30,000 workers in the area. Now, this number has been reduced to about 5,000. Even so, Japanese youths who visit this area for the first time cannot help feeling: "I could not imagine that such a slum existed in Japan. This is truly unbelievable."

At that time in 2003, Shinsekai Festival Gate was only 20 meters away from Kamagasaki. Information regarding this area is



extremely scare. Because I was previously busy with other matters, I never actually had the chance to step into the area. Kamagasaki is located just on the other side of the overhead road for the JR Loop Line. However, it is seemingly surrounded by a transparent wall in a state of complete isolation. At night, once you take a step outside of Festival Gate, you will see homeless people go by on bicycles carrying large bags full of aluminum cans. Carrying all their valuable items with them, these people are looking for shelter to pass the night.

I realize that no matter how much thought I put into issues regarding the “public nature of art”, or no matter how hard I work to create job opportunities, this will not help provide them with food or clothing. Should I simply resign from work related to art and culture, and just focus on providing assistance to the homeless? I do not think so. I want to help resolve the problems of Kamagasaki through my existing work. This is because I believe that homelessness is not an individual problem, but that of society as a whole. However, so far, the art community has no example to follow in aiding the homeless. As a result, I decided to launch an investigation into the problems affecting Kamagasaki. Fortunately, in activities at Kamagasaki, many people started to use the CAFÉ as a venue for gatherings. There, we gained the opportunity to hear their stories. While serving them coffee, we asked them questions regarding the history and current conditions of the area.

I understand that the wealth and convenience that Japan enjoys today was due to the hard work and effort of the lower rungs of society. And, this period just happened to overlap with the personal growth I was experiencing. Then, in 2011, the Great East Japan Earthquake occurred. Japan, which had experienced

atomic bombs before, had to once again face the dangers of radiation due to the Fukushima nuclear power plant accident. Doesn't this event bring to attention how certain core issues were deliberately avoided during a period of economic growth amidst a blind pursuit of modernization and globalization? From the end of World War II to today, Kamagasaki had always been relegated to the lowest levels of support for economic take-offs, surrounded by invisible walls, and deliberately ignored. That being said, how is it any different from Hiroshima or Nagasaki?

In 2004, I organized a publication event for the Big Issue Japan magazine. I reached out to homeless poets and pianists, and prepared a stage for them to perform. Homeless or not, they all presented a complete sense of their selves as long as they went up and performed on stage. All were equals that day. However, a wide range of matters had to be handled in respect to the homeless - lack of money and accommodations, dependency issues, and the development of relationships of trust. I also benefited from this experience and learned not to judge a person from their appearance. I grew to believe that time eventually reveals the truth, and that each person lives a unique existence.

Through the above method, we developed strong contacts with the homeless, activists, researchers, and local civic organizations of Kamagasaki. Knowing that no art-based NPOs existed in Kamagasaki, we decided to move to the outskirts of the area into an approximately 12 ping area house (originally a tavern) located on a street of shops in front of the zoo. However, after a series of twists and turns in the moving process, all my staff members ended up leaving.

## Establishing a Bridge Between People at Kamagasaki, Weaving a Network of Various Cultures

In January of 2008, cocoroom implemented the model of an "InfoShop CAFÉ" to start a coffee shop business. In June of 2009, it setup a media center, "Come on! Media Center" opposite from the cafe. People of various positions and ages often sat around the low tables. "Come On! Media Center" allowed people who visited to sit and chat. Facing the alley, a television named, "Lord Came On!", presents pictures of Kamagasaki from previous eras, Youtube videos, broadcasts of DJ Yoroshiku, or chats. Here, the issues discussed become the media. This is the environment we want to create. At any time, the shopping street might suddenly be immersed in song.

Somehow, the two locations are often visited by old men. Among them, there are many who have had the experience of being homeless. During these chats, many guests are often moved by the environment and join the conversation. Spending time at the venue and sensing this atmosphere, these old men, who would originally express an uncaring attitude, would be inspired to spontaneously reveal something about themselves. In other words, this place allows them to broadcast a personal message to the outside world.

Furthermore, people seeking help in issues related to life and employment are everywhere. My colleagues and I serve as "professional outsiders" who are fully aware of what we are capable of doing. With a sincere attitude for listening, we provide them with referrals to the most appropriate agencies. Within the shop, there are arguments and cursing, but also loud shouts of praise. It is great! Here, you have unexpected encounters, getting to know people who you normally

would not have the opportunity to meet. Every day is like an impromptu performance of a "daily playhouse" drama at a creative workshop.

For two years since 2011, we took over management of a building with 45 rooms at a central location in Kamagasaki. Here, we often experienced the deaths and funerals of elderly people who had no families. Economically, cocoroom is not particularly well-off. It pays unbelievably low salaries to its workers. Under these conditions, we are also very busy, while constantly faced with hopeless and desperate situations. The problems that need to be solved can pile up like mountains. Even so, we are able to find a sense of fun amidst this difficult work. Furthermore, working with diligent and sincere partners brings out an even greater sense of excitement and energy. Here, I would like to point out a few things about that the ratio of revenue for the operations of cocoroom and CAFÉ: government grants: public donations is 2: 4: 4. Public donations have actually been gradually increasing. Compared to many art-based NPOs which still rely on government grants, perhaps we are working with a more robust operating mechanism. In the organizational structure, there are five people and many volunteers who are able to encompass pretty much anything. Additionally, thanks go to many visitors who lend a helping hand from time to time. It is only through their contributions that we can continue our work with care, thoughtfulness, and a cheerful attitude.

Kanayo Ueda (Fight Poet, Poet)

Born in 1969, Kanayo Ueda started writing poems when she was 3 years old, and reciting poems when she was 17. Since 1992, she has been hosting creative workshops for a variety of poetry. In 2001, she proposed a "Poet Manifesto" and continued organizing activities across the country. In 2003, she founded the art-based NPO, cocoroom, which focused on the themes of "expression, self-discipline, work, and society." Currently, she is operating a cafe and media center in Kamagasaki, and serves as the representative director of cocoroom.

cocoroom official website: <http://www.cocoroom.org>





# 缺分頁 照片

高雄

Kaohsiung

## 高雄 城市殘影

文：柯念璞 Alice Ko

### 湍流與裂縫

2011 年底陳菊召開記者會宣傳高雄市政府如何推行亞洲新灣區藍圖，勾勒對於這座港口城市未來高瞻遠矚的寄望。隨著網路、報章雜誌等視覺媒體的展示，連不善於觀察的觀眾都能強烈感受到高雄的變化，從以往工業都城，空氣汙濁、烏煙瘴氣灰濛濛的視覺印象，高雄的影像在各個傳播展示平台上開始悄悄地變亮，夜晚的街道的燈光設計、變乾淨、變綠，廣設公園綠地、分隔島的綠化，政黨輪替後，政府更是極力以文化政策治理高雄，大型燈會、音樂展演活動、藝文活動、電影推廣宣傳等。分隔島上旗幟逐漸變成音樂會、藝術展演與文化中心活動的宣傳飄揚著，在各大媒體報導總不忘將高雄與文化二字一同擺放。無論觀光客或是在地居民皆同意高雄的確蛻變為美麗的都城，這樣的印象是真實的大力改造與媒體影像廣為宣傳高雄新文化都市意象所交錯結合成的都市風格。

一連串的硬體建設、媒體再現的影像，劃清過去這座城市與工業及勞工的歷史臍帶。對於未來投機的，在謝長廷執政後，以文化導向的城市行銷政策愈趨明顯，一連串都市美化的整頓政策開始重新為這座工業之城容貌。高市政府認為如要發展高雄市特色，柔化高雄鋼鐵工業、加工出口區等剛硬冰冷的視覺經驗，以此理念展開一連串塑造城市視覺美感空間的建設以及美感經驗的塑造。往後陸續推動美化城市光廊、市民藝術大道、愛河等公共空間，運用燈光強化夜晚城市的景色或是廣設藝術裝置。這些地景真實的改造，不僅影響觀光客的瀏覽旅遊數量，在地居民的生活習慣也因城市空間的改造而起了解變化。

快感過後的動物感傷成了懷舊的鄉愁，指著一棟棟嶄新開發大廈的歷史故事。在進步的未來與歷史牽絆的拉扯下，高雄猶如患有精神分裂的病患。昔日高雄市被列為工業經濟發展的重心，吸引大量勞動人口聚居，形成今日的工商港埠，也塑造出高雄的重工業都市形象。經過一連串都市景觀的翻修、拆除或興建，從捷運建設、新闢公園綠地、街道景觀設計，歷經現代化都市蛻變過程，2001年駁二藝術特區的興建、2003年起配合捷運路線設置，一系列觀光導向的都市景觀其中以公園及街景的改建計畫。在謝長廷執政後，以文化導向的城市行銷政策愈趨明顯，一連串都市美化的整頓政策開始重新為這座工業之城容貌。

## 記憶與慾望的連結

做為南方之都的高雄在1950、60年代，政府推動一系列的國家基礎建設，包括重工業和能源項目的工程，徵收大林蒲的土地，興建高雄沿海工業區，當台灣人開始享受經濟奇蹟所帶來的富庶時，卻是大林蒲居民噩夢的開始。一根根巨大煙囪和電塔遮蔽層層翠綠的山峰，濛濛的黑煙汙染了純淨的空氣和水源；祖先留下的田地被鋪上水泥，成為「閒人勿進」的工廠，而美麗的海岸線被廢棄物和爐渣所填滿，居民往返市區更因這座「工業叢林」被迫繞道而行。

過去依靠傳統農漁業即可自給自足的大林蒲，自然的生產環境卻因為工業區的進駐而被剝奪，於是大批居民進入工廠工作，經濟生活越來越依賴工廠。面對頻繁的工安意外或環境污染，為了保

全工作，居民總是選擇噤聲或遷出，因此大林蒲逐漸衰落，像是一灘沒有希望的死水。不同於高雄後勁或雲林麥寮面對的是單一企業，包圍在大林蒲四周，是數以百計的私人工廠和國營企業，每每發生問題時，居民時常不知該向哪個單位究責。

## *Kaohsiung - The Afterimage of a City*

*Text: Alice Ko*

### **Turbulence and Rifts**

In a press conference held at year's end, the Kaohsiung City mayor, Chen Chu, announced how the municipal government was going to execute plans for the Asia New Bay Area, a project filled with much hope and aspiration for the harbor city. Covered by many Internet and traditional media outlets, the visual presentation of the proposal let everyone feel a sense of hope for the transformation of Kaohsiung City. Impressions of a polluted industrial city with smog hanging overhead were removed, leading to a brighter image for Kaohsiung. The city proposal featured better lighting and more parks, in addition to a focus on cleaner and greener pursuits. After a change in the ruling party, the government more actively relied on policies that emphasized culture to move the city forward. Large-scale lantern festivals, concerts, art and movie events were held. Flags that once filled a median island were replaced with promotions for concerts, art exhibitions, and cultural center activities. Most major news outlets always seemed to make Kaohsiung synonymous with culture. Both tourists and local residents held the consensus that Kaohsiung must become a more beautiful city. This impression is the result of actual change as well as promotion by the media that paints Kaohsiung as a city of culture.

Through a series of urban reconstruction projects and media promotion campaigns, the city began to disassociate itself with its industrial past. After Frank Hsieh became the mayor of Kaohsiung, the city's use of culture as a means to

promote itself became even more apparent. A series of urban beautification projects were passed in an attempt to give the city a much needed face lift. The Kaohsiung municipal government felt that, to promote the city's true characteristics, it had to reduce the visibility of Kaohsiung's steel industry and export processing zones. To achieve this, a series of initiatives were introduced to enhance the visual aesthetics of the city. Shortly thereafter, public spaces, such as the Urban Spotlight Arcade, Avenue of Fine Arts, and Love River, were all established. Along with placement of public art, better illumination highlighted and enhanced the nightscape. These physical changes to the urban landscape not only helped attract tourists, but also transformed the lifestyles of local residents.

However, euphoria is usually followed by an instinctive sense of nostalgia. This is the story behind the many high-rises of Kaohsiung. While moving forward into the future, people still cannot forget the past, leading the city to seemingly suffer from a form of schizophrenia. In the past, Kaohsiung was designated as the industrial center of Taiwan, and it attracted those who sought employment as laborers. This made Kaohsiung the harbor city and industrial hub it is today, as well as created its image as an industrialized city. A series of urban renewal projects, including the Kaohsiung Rapid Transit, new park land, and streetscape design projects, gave the city a new look. In 2001, the Pier-2 Art Center was established, while a series of urban renewal projects that were aimed at creating sightseeing locations along the Kaohsiung Rapid Transit was commenced in 2003. After Mayor Hsieh took office, the government's culture-driven approach towards implementing urban renewal pursuits became even more apparent as initiatives aimed at beautifying the industrial city of Kaohsiung commenced.



## Connecting Memories with Desire

Yet, as this city attempts to sever its past, many art and cross-field activists have taken action to preserve precious memories. For example, the Takao Renaissance Association, an art activist group, established a platform for tracking the city's development. South of Kaohsiung, the Dalinpu community had been the focus of many industrial and energy projects in the 50s and 60s. Vast amounts of land were allocated for Kaohsiung's coastal industrial zone. As the rest of Taiwan began to benefit from a growing economy, this marked the beginning of a nightmare for the Dalinpu community. Tall chimneys and electric towers blocked residents' view of the mountains, while black smoke polluted the area's air and water.

In the past, the Dalinpu community had been a self-reliant fishing community. However, its natural resources were taken away from them for the purposes of this industrial zone. As a result, many of the residents began working in factories, gradually tying their livelihood to these industries. In response to dangerous working conditions and a polluted environment, residents chose to remain silent because they did not want to risk losing their jobs, or simply moved away. As a result, the Dalinpu community gradually began to decline, stagnating like a puddle of dead water. Unlike Kaohsiung's Hou Jin or Yunlin's Mailiao communities which only have to deal with the factory of a single corporation, the Dalinpu community is surrounded by hundreds of private and government-owned factories. Residents have no one to turn to when a problem arises.





## 高雄港 海馬迴

文：王冠人

「我們今天不看電影了，因為我們不想只聽一首高雄港的輓歌；我們要以紀錄片為武器，控訴那些拆遷與徵收過程的不正義。」

2010年7月，【海馬小組】的成員蕭立峻和幾個朋友經過幾週的討論，在網路上發佈活動消息：將於8月7號，舉辦一日的「海馬迴·港影像行動」工作坊，號召「對港懷有熱情的朋友，共同討論放映行動的形式與短片劇本。」高雄港，一個產業結構持續變化的區域、四部紀錄片、一群充滿影像熱忱和行動力的「海馬」，會碰撞出什麼樣的火花？談到「海馬」的由來，立峻從「記憶」的角度切入解釋。「海馬迴是人腦中的一個結構，和我們形成長期記憶的過程有關。」「過去曾為了治療癲癇病人，以手術摘除患者的前腦額葉，症狀看似解除，但卻常造成難以逆轉的失憶困擾。」工作坊的文案附圖，是一個側面的人頭輪廓，頭內嵌著狀似高雄港的示意圖。這個圖簡明地說明了這個影像行動的企圖：「用行動去記憶，用影像去對抗」。因為「無意間發現高雄港的輪廓就像隻海馬」，這群人決定自稱海馬小組。

海馬小組的組成，要回到2010年的夏天。蕭立峻來到高雄，經由當時正就讀世新大學社會發展研究所的朋友陳婉娥介紹，與高雄一些對影像有興趣的朋友接觸，其中包括非影視科班出身的陳皇儒。2009年，皇儒正在記錄高雄市政府強制徵收旗津舢舨船的過程。彼時，同樣位處哈瑪星（日文原義：濱線鐵路），也正有「打狗驛古蹟指定聯盟」和「電療聚樂部」的朋友，聚焦高雄港站的鐵道復駛和保存議題，舉辦鐵道影展。立峻和婉娥兩人，因同為獨立媒體苦勞網寫稿而結識。一個剛考上清大人類學研究

所，一個則是一邊工作，一邊和碩士論文奮鬥（以戰後高雄港的工會組織模式為主題，進行人物訪查和分析）。

在工作方面，立峻持續拍攝紀錄片，那是一個以科技業勞工為對象的拍攝計畫，須明察按訪台灣和中國的幾間科技大廠；而婉娥在勞動事務的諮詢和協助方面，有多年經驗。這些經歷和關係，也一路牽連至2012年，由立峻等人號召成立的「台灣影音展演藝術產業工會」。不過，先再讓我們回到【海馬迴港】的籌備。這個影像行動的四部紀錄片，分別敘述、討論了高雄的某個區域、產業或事件。但有個共同的連結：主角都直接受到當前的「都市更新」和「經濟發展」政策的衝擊和傷害。

四月，立峻拋出他的構想時，四部影片中的三部已完成，包括《誰的公園路》（伍心瑜）、《紅毛港家變》（王振宇、陳穎彥）和原名「再見舢舨船」的《海岸舢舨船》（陳皇儒）。另外，為期四週的鐵道影展正進入尾聲。當時仍就讀南藝大音像記錄所的陳一芸，也以高雄港站和鐵道保存／復駛議題為題材，製作《三十八股的倒數》，成為計畫中的第四部影片。種種因素下，一群主要組成「青年以上，中年未滿」的影像製作、展演、藝文人力初步集結，帶著各自的想像和社會經驗，共同投入新的戰場。也將在行動中認識彼此，交換想法。以上大概交代影像行動的脈絡。接著談談四部片各自如何產生，包括主題、拍攝者和相關人員。

陳皇儒拍攝的《海岸舢舨船》的主角，是一群往返於旗津—鼓山的自營舢舨業者。他們每天沿著高雄港內的固定路線行駛，提

供即時、價格低廉的載運服務（24小時輪班、單趟票價每人10元）。怎知，數十年累積下來的日常規律，獨特的城市風景，無法保證生活無憂。2009年，市府一道行政命令下來，硬生生終止了這條水路上的擺渡人生。公告上寫著所有船隻將在4月17日由市府強制徵收，交由海洋局銷毀。舢板船為船家賴之營生的工具（儘管依賴的程度不一）、為兩岸居民提供實際的運輸功能，亦為促進城市觀光的工具。在各級政府部門（市政府海洋局和交通部港務局）的眼中似乎僅代表高雄「老舊」、「不安全」的一面。為了「整頓市容」，相關單位開出來的處方是除之而後快。業者若不配合將船駛離碼頭，將領不到收購金並受罰。皇儒在網路上得知消息後，開始造訪幾位船東，希望自己的影像記錄能提供具體的協助。雖然一群來自四方的朋友應聲集結（南方野盟、自由劇場等），加上海洋科技大學造船工程系的洪文玲、王治平老師等人多次聚會討論，對外發聲，最終二十幾艘舢板船仍「依法」拆毀。只剩一艘〈充利進號〉得以「暫時」置放在科工館地下室展出，但後續歸屬和處置仍未明。

4月29日，舢板船最後一次駛出。眾人繪製看板傳單、登船呼喊，並在碼頭邊開講，聊備一格地回應著公部門的「依法」行政。當時我們站在舢板上，乘風駛過，心中多少有種荒涼卻緊迫的推擠感。隨著這場儀式，眾人悼念的，不僅是舢板船和港灣文化，更有我們自己對公共事務的沉默與疏離。影片貼身記錄了業者的無奈掙扎和民眾的回應與行動，對於政策剝奪人民生存空間和工作權的過程，提出質疑。導演以感性的畫面寫人記事，為我們打開一扇省思的窗口。官方打出「幸福高雄」的口號，世運也風光舉

行。但在政府引以為傲的親水港岸，公權力卻以無預警無妥協餘地之姿，「依法打造」一場粗暴的傾軋。

讓我們將時間軸回推到2006年。兩位導演在《紅毛港家變》片中，回頭凝視振宇母親的家鄉。紅毛港，這個有三百多年歷史的漁村，長期承受著港口擴建工程的影響。始自日治時期到國民政府遷台，當權者強力推出各種「經濟建設」。但少數人獨享的政治和經濟利益，一去不回地奪取、消滅了眾人共有的生活聚落和經濟資源。發展高污染產業（如：石化工業）持續造成環境惡化，不僅鄰近的居民難接受，惡果更是全民共同承受。耗費公帑和時間的「紅毛港遷村計畫」，毀去原有聚落，將村民逐出家園。多數居民負擔不起搬遷之後購置新房的費用。而不切實際的補償金額，被政府用來簡化、合理化錯誤政策。不用多久，一個聚落的消失對城市整體生活的禍害，就可從與紅毛港地緣關係密切的大林蒲一帶，民生明顯蕭條的情形，得到映證。「雖然這些不合理的事件，在不同的時空中發生，但當中我們可以看見決策者的相似作法。」立峻提到：「不管是拆除和強迫搬遷，都以城市的進步和經濟的發展為名。」【海馬回港】影像行動的背後，是思考如何聯合這些不願接受官方說法、也不滿意生活僅剩下回憶的人。

生活、產業變化和土地使用之間的複雜關係，也在另兩部作品中浮現：伍心瑜《誰的公園路》和陳一芸《最後三十八股的倒數》。公園路位於鹽埕區，在二戰之後即形成全台最密集的拆船工業，收購船上的各式機械物件（如：馬達、發電機），將其拆解，重新製作利用。這特殊的過程也稱「殺肉」（閩南語）。船上大多

數的進口二手機件，由於款式新穎（有的只用過幾次），拆下來後非且不用淘汰，憑藉其原本的品質和師傅「客製化」的調整技術，在台灣都還能賣出好價錢。沿路區域也在超過半世紀的發展經營後，逐漸形成分工完整的聚落，以「大五金街」聞名。「很多中北部的客戶來，都會一次買齊需要的東西。」一位店家曾這麼表示：「有的東西，我這裡若無，就跟伊講哪家店找有。」而且，外人看似油膩紛亂的店面擺設，其實自有業者陳列歸類的秩序和道理。多年來，政府舉著大旗大規模發展高科技產業（往往也附帶高污染）。大五金業者收購、再利用基礎機件的製作方式，可將整體成本降低。甚至當台灣高科技產業受限於國內政策和國際經濟布局，漸顯疲態和瓶頸，公園路上多樣化、中小規模的營生體系，卻依然活絡。直到市府決定以「違建」之名分四期拆除店家，闢建公園綠地。業者必須面臨四散、「破市」的命運。片中，導演伍心瑜走訪了部分店家和民眾，讓我們看見他們的平日生活和對政策的意見。也看見「打狗五金老街保存發展協會」（主要由這些大五金業者組成），如何為自己的生存和工作權益挺身抗爭，以及背後的挫折和失落。

在公園路上，我們看見具發展活力的產業活動，即將被官方強調「休憩功能」的規劃覆蓋取代。對照之下，鄰近閒置多年的高雄港站（舊稱：打狗驛）鐵道區，則不難嗅到政府歡迎新興商業進駐投資、開發的想像和企圖。哈瑪星（約為南鼓山地區）與鹽埕和旗津，同為高雄市較早開發區域，「濱線鐵路」（Hamasen）自日治時期即聯繫市區和港口交通，扮演重要的經貿功能。也是當時的日本帝國以台灣為基地，欲擴張版圖、繼續「南進」的樞

紐。當地許多居民仍記得「高雄第一個火車站」往來反復的繁忙景象。幾年前，一芸和立峻因參加全景影像工作室主辦的工作坊「榮光眷影」而結識。一芸著手記錄打狗驛存續議題後不久，立峻便提出【海馬迴港】的構想。為配合放映日程，影片的後製便以十分鐘長度為目標。片中訪談的對象包括民眾、台鐵站長和打狗驛古蹟指定聯盟成員；也旁及哈瑪星代天宮的廟口開講活動，以及從在地議題出發的鐵道影展。在【海馬迴港】籌備階段，成員們決定每部片子需另外剪出一個十分鐘的版本，供聯合放映使用。大家期待紀錄片工作者不僅要帶著「長片」回到拍攝的地區，也能藉由「短片集」的形式，讓不同區域的民眾看見社會的結構性問題，開啟議題連結、彼此對話的可能。看似個別的事件，往往不是偶然發生。能否驅動更多人一起面對，關鍵在於我們能否意識到某個事件、某個問題「確實與自己的生活有關」，發覺現象背後的原因和某種相似的態度、邏輯。要創造新的連結，並不容易。畢竟我們有許多不同的方法說服自己：「那些都是別人獨自承受的問題，與我無涉。」這是強力的、使人繼續安於現狀的心理機制。但同時，衝撞前述那種安逸感的動力，也持續醞釀著，源自於對現況的不滿、對於真相更完整的渴求、對於各式觀點（和如何被呈現）的興趣與好奇。

2010年8月7號的影像行動工作坊，在高雄市產業總工會進行。報名人數雖不到十位，但這些「共同討論放映行動的形式與短片劇本」的朋友，也帶來第二波進化的海馬小組。來自各地的參與者包括：影癡級研究助理、大眾傳播研究生、藝文導覽員，文化行政等。在報名的來信中，可見他們對於港、土地和影像擁有各

自的體驗與想像。其中，惠嵐提到紀錄全球「一日生活」的《Life in A Day》影像計畫，「我獨自到高雄港車站拍下屬於我自己觀點的記錄片，及高雄各個對我有意義的地方」。另也寫到自己對舢板船的喜愛，「我都叫它北海小英雄」。苡爭則從自己離家去花蓮讀書的經驗，對照不同的港灣記憶。雖成長於高雄，但「一心只想望得高望得遠，因此海港的記憶未曾在高雄雋刻」，反而是大學時代在花蓮習慣於「港的駐足」；畢業後回到西部，渴望了解這片土地的故事，抓牢正在流失的高雄港。影片行動對他而言，是一種「默然卻有力的控訴」。新成員們初識於工作坊當天。大家分享自己的想像、意見，並完成初步分工。預計開拍的短片，起因是擔心觀眾對各紀錄片的議題未必熟悉，連看四部會有些吃力，另外也希望透過實際拍片的過程，更熟悉彼此。最後決定以黑白色調、台式 kuso 廣播劇的形式，以虛構的故事穿插在「正片」之間。分工方式為：伍心瑜擔任導演，王振宇、陳一芸和紀岳君負責攝影，阿冠（本文作者）撰寫劇本初稿，安娜擔任造型和道具設計，演員則不分性別、隨機指派。這個號稱人類與海馬之間的家庭倫理奇幻愛情劇，在四個地點取景，場勘同時開拍。密集的拍攝耗時兩天兩夜。在影像部分拍完後的隔天，相關人等再神祕地潛進高雄市 k 大校園某間神祕的數位實驗室，進行後製。雖說是回到原本各自紀錄片取材的地區拍攝，期間仍難免波折。譬如：位在西子灣捷運站附近的打狗驛，四周已圍起了鐵圍籬，劇組絞盡腦汁要穿牆而入。又如：旁白原本要找小伍的研究所同學幫忙配音，後因時間緊迫，只好由台語其實不夠輪轉的阿冠頂替上陣，寫詞配音，化身「海馬之聲」的記者披披挫。發音監督則由昭雪擔任（同時也是影片配樂和剪接），立峻化身錄音工程師。

海馬小組這次的影像行動實驗，生發於成員的熱忱和信任，及挑戰主流映演機制的意志。思考如何由影像製作者／勞工創造放映交流的場合，以影像為媒介，主動把議題和故事帶去各地。當某些地區的民眾，受限於生活型態或結構性的資源分配，未必能接觸到他們感興趣的題材，而傳統的商業放映形式，又無法滿足更多交流和互動渴望時，「我們做的，有點像是『游擊電影』」。人力和經費有限的情况下，要具體實踐這個行動的概念，需要「開發」相應的配備。除了自備投影機和搭設布幕，眾人協力完成的「行動放映裝置」大概最能貼切地說明海馬精神。用手推車、汽車電瓶、電視螢幕加上音響擴大機自行改裝，一個方便移動且能就地放映的舞台場子，就在眼前活現。當然帶著募款箱和文宣走入人群、直接接觸對話，也是一定要的。

近年來，不管是中小型影展或紀錄片的巡迴放映，漸成風潮。與（以選片放映為主的）大型影展所能短暫蔚集的人氣不同，這類地區性、小規模的映演的優勢在於，群眾有更多機會與認識影像工作者和片中人物，窺見影像背後的拍攝過程，進而參與討論和行動。這種透過影視媒材互相學習，行動與影像相輔相成的能动性，可以視為在（強調「作品賞析」和「美學品味」的）電影研究主流之後，對於媒體「內容」（content）與「脈絡」（context）之間辯證關係的重探、重新定義（revisiting of the dialectical relation between media content and context）。

這次影像行動，對於參與者而言，還有另一啟發。從一個「小組」參與策劃籌備的過程中，多少可看出一個意圖：改變多數影展「僅

有少數人參與決策、工作人員和志工少有發表意見、決定活動內容」的策展機制。在【海馬迴港】的實驗中，蕭立峻提出構想，並主要統籌活動進度，但更珍貴的是在短片製作和放映執行的過程中，小組成員們的想法得以交換和積累，憑藉著各自的經驗和能力，合作協調，「玩出」了近一個月的影像行動。類似的想法，在2012年金甘蔗影展「前進大林蒲」時，有了更進一步的實踐。

在可見的未來，這群人仍持續面臨挑戰：如何集結各個領域的影像工作者和議題，提高民眾、社區參與的自主性；如何適當運用有效的資源和行動，維持運作；參與者的熱情與才能和每一次行動的經驗，如何繼續成為薪材，創造有機的關係。

## 後記：

感謝投身其中的朋友們，為這篇必然有所疏漏的文章，提供視角和素材，謹在此一併列出：

安娜、月亮、跳跳、致廷、撒旦、慶章、宇軒、嫻岑、昱升、佳慧、華嚴、惠嵐、信璋、庭堯和苡爭等。在「海馬迴港」的一年半後，為了重啟這拖延許久的報導，我重新搜索資料。期間，成員們也已在不同階段不同地點，各自努力或繼續接力合作，包括：大林蒲照片展、暑假以大林蒲學生為對象的「南星計畫」青年營、金甘蔗影展，以及台灣影音展演藝術產業工會的成立。希望我可以從一個參與者的角度，述說當時的輪廓，並與每一個可能的讀者與行動者，傳遞、分享接續其後的種種期許和想像。

## *Remember, To Resist*

*Text: Y-kuan Wang*

We are not watching films today, not just sitting quietly to listen to an elegy chanted. Instead, we want to take these four documentaries toward you, to uncover those unjustness in the process of dismantling of places and removal of people." says Hsiao Lichun, the organizer of an one-day workshop: 'Hippocampus, Harbor: Images and Action' on August 7th. He explains the connection between Hippocampus and Kaohsiung Harbor. "Hippocampus is an essential for human brain. It's related to the formation process of long-term memory." He said. "If Hippocampus is resected for the purpose of treating epilepsy, once adopted in early history of medicine, the patient will suffer from a symptom of amnesia irreversibly." He added.

The main logo for the workshop is a profile of a head, having a sketch of Kaohsiung Harbor inside. This plain image embodies the intention and warning of Hsiao and his co-organizers — to remember, to resist. The origin of this unusual image is briefly introduced on the blog: "We accidentally find the sketch of Kaohsiung Harbor is similar to the shape of seahorse, which is also the literal meaning of Hippocampus, so we call ourselves the 'seahorse team'." In 2010's summer, Hsiao came to Kaohsiung. Helped by his friend, a postgraduate student studying the life history of labors at Kaohsiung Harbor, Hsiao gathered four directors and their documentary films. Each of these films depicts and discusses specific event, region, industry or population in Kaohsiung that has been profoundly affected by the policy of urban renewal or economy-enhancing. When Hsiao brought up his idea in April, two of the documentaries had already been completed. One is Sampans, made by an amateur film-maker Chen Huang-ju; another is Homeless by a young student director Wang Jhenyu.



Chen's *Sampans* focuses on the owners of sampans in the Kaohsiung Harbor. It provides a close look at how they fought for their right to work. They earn a living by transporting passengers back and forth between two banks of the harbor, 24 hours per day. But in February 2009, an abrupt decision has been made and inevitably altered their ordinary tracks of lives. The authority considers these "shabby, old sampans" having jeopardized city's appearance and hindered international tourism. As a result, the city government mandated a compulsory collection of all privately-owned sampans in Kaohsiung Harbor by April. It was three months before the World Games. Chen learnt this news from the internet and decided to approach these owners.

Wang's making of *Homeless* traced back earlier around 2006. He documented his birthplace Hong Mao Harbor, a fishing village with a more than three-hundred-year history. The naming of "Hong Mao" Harbor is related to the "red hair" Dutch. It is said a red-hair foreigner navigated the ocean and appeared here in the eighteenth century. Long under the impact of harbor-broadening construction, the inhabitants were compelled to move to another new place. The villagers' misfortune resulted from economic ambitions of different dominators — from Japanese governor to the National government. A variety of construction projects have proceeded all at the expense of villagers' living space and environmental conditions. For example, the establishment of the thermal power plant and the expansion plan of container terminals forced many people to immigrate to unfamiliar urban areas.

"Notwithstanding these absurdness occurred in different places and during different periods of time, we can see similar ways of treatment from the authority." Hsiao says. "What's in

common is the dismantlements are all carried on in the name of economic development or progress of the city." Therefore he wants to unite the people who also resist to accept the official propaganda, and who do not regard people's lives as remains of memories. Another task is to make the film list more complete. Hsiao then contacted other two film-makers, Wu Hsin-yu and Chen Yi-yung. Wu had completed *Whose Electronic-Mechanical Street* two years ago while Chen is still documenting the ongoing development of Takao-Eki Harbor Train Station (also known as Kaohsiung Harbor Train Station).

*Whose Electronic-Mechanical Street* is the story along Gong Yuan Road, where has formed the most centered network of ship-recycling industry in Taiwan since Second World War. However, according to the city renewal project, this nearly fifty-year-old venue was going to be dismantled by four stages; most of the land will be turned to parks or green spaces by 2012. Wu interviewed several store owners, observed their lives behind the seemingly greasy appearance of their stores. The roughness of the enforcement process is seriously queried in Wu's work. One of the main points in Wu's work is to follow how some of the store owners started to organize an association for preservation and development.

While the vigorous ship-recycling industry in Gong Yuan Road will be replaced by the leisure scenes, vast amount of commercial investment is welcomed to enter Takao-Eki (Kaohsiung Station), now a broad and almost empty area. Lying in the earliest developed area of Kaohsiung, this railway system is the pivot of trade and economic activities during Japanese-governed times. Its legacy of the thriving transportation still exists in the memories of many inhabitants of nearby region. Chen started working on this issue few months before

Hsiao mentioned this plan of screening to her. Among four documentaries, her ten-minute long Final Countdown for Takao-Eki Harbor Train Station is the only work without longer version; in order for joint screenings, the others are requested to edit into a ten-minute one. Each is planned to be screened at least once in the place where filmmakers documented the subjects. There will also be occasions which put four shorter versions together. With regard to this, Hsiao says, "It is important for us and those people from different regions to have an opportunity to realize that the things happened to them is not accidental. Instead, they are all under the similar internal logic of authoritative thoughts."

Having organized and communicated for two weeks, Hsiao and the core of organizers welcomed new members at workshop on August 7th. And they were all invited to co-organize the following activities of community screenings. So there are new forces of the "seahorse team": several local film enthusiasts, a student of media studies, an NGO worker and some acquaintances of the filmmakers. The major aim of workshop is to get new members to familiarize with the ideas of the activities and to see these four documentaries. Besides, another unusual mission is to form a crew to make a new short.

This short will function as the linkage of four documentaries when they are screened together. So, everyone will play a role in this collaborative task. At the workshop, near half of the attenders saw these films for the first time. In the first section, Hsiao and directors shared their motivation of filming and observations of the relevant policy. Then, in the second part of workshop, they tried to map out the division of labor for the new shot. As a result, Wu and Chen were assigned as the

main director and the photographer respectively. And a film enthusiast, Wang, is encouraged to initiate the Script.

With limited finance and manpower, 'seahorse team' processed their plan mainly out of enthusiasm of trust. However, making a new short is not the only challenging part of the whole activities. In order to approach citizens and quickly evoke their consciousness to the issues, Hsiao DIY a set of mobile screening equipment. It consists of a portable television battery, a projector and a speaker. During the three weeks of screenings, there will be a few occasions held in populous areas. "It's like guerrilla movies." Hsiao described.

As we shall see recently, some big film festivals grow bigger yet some others have gotten trapped for different reasons. For example, the frequent change of the core organizer. In that sense, we might expect that there is another possibility. Possibly, this kind of regional activities, which are motivated by current issues and more associated with local film enthusiasts, film-makers will be a practical attempt. In terms of grassroots movement or civilian participation, the art of film/film-making could actively interact with other form of human activities. "Learning from doing" will be one of the core values in this kind of gathering. As Hsiao mentioned in the blog, "it's always not too late to reflect that we do have different choices from passively waiting for others to decide what we really need in our lives, don't we?"





## 現實即未來的填星計畫

文：王冠人

大林蒲社區經歷 40 多年的重工業開發，現今居住環境與工廠為鄰。面臨居住環境的惡化和變遷，居民不是沒有憤怒，只是長期處於無奈與噤聲的狀態。直到鄰近紅毛港社區被遷村毀滅，大家才開始意識到政府的開發計畫不曾停止，譬如 2013 年自由貿易港專區和南星計畫遊艇專區，一夕之間社區四周將被工業區包圍，這股壓抑許久的心聲漸漸被爆發出來，民眾開始集結。

「填星」計畫，反映的是高雄市邁向後工業化地景的再造和其代價。過去以勞力密集的加工出口為主的產業類型，經歷多次的產業外移讓城市失去經濟命脈，遺留下來的還是繼續污染的重工業。大林蒲社區因為靠海，又鄰近臨海工業區，政府「順勢」將一些無法處理的工業廢棄物填入大海。美其名是要創造一塊南方的淨土，背後卻掩藏更多難以逆轉的廢棄物問題。填星計畫，根本一點都不甜。

影音工會的成員，恰好參與了社區居民對於環境意識的再次覺醒過程，除了我們是參與者、行動者，也因為我們這些外部力量、文化干擾的視野，讓原本對於政府／社區的政經結構失望的居民，有了新的想像。在這過程我們嘗試以紀錄片製作、靜照拍攝、收集社區故事和老照片、環境監測、廟口放映開講、肢體藝術等工作坊課程，透過社區培力，期待引發居民的自主參與，讓他們感受參與社區議題／公共生活的各種可能。

本次展出作品呈現目前大林蒲社區面臨的重大開發——南星計畫開發案問題。現場再現當時的事件場景與物件，佈置成為水上體

驗場，重現《老闆不爽，免費吃魚！》活動（原地點位於南星最後一處室外養殖魚塢）。現場放置當時架設在水池上的「魚塢大戲院」，並放映魚塢主人李朝義當時在現場講述多年來跟政府纏訟的影片。

另一件作品《贈品我們不要：事業廢棄物》，源自前陣子的一次行動。一位里長與工會成員一同到南星計畫內，大家用鋤頭向下挖掘，竟然發現醫療用的針頭、藥罐、齒模等廢棄物。作品將填海造陸的廢棄物模擬、轉化為夜市遊戲攤位的贈品。原本應該開心度過、無憂無慮的夜市體驗，如今卻只見一包一包上架「美麗」又「詭異」的商品，彷彿徒然的消耗。期待讓大家都用遊戲的方式認識填海造陸的真實樣貌。

最後，我們會在牆面上以塗鴉的方式，畫出居民與工會這兩年來經歷的大小事件，讓水上遊戲場同時鏡射著一起努力的時間軸。藝術的介面存在著磨合縫隙的可能，由參與者共同構成的關係（藝術創造即社會關係的重塑），對於所關注的議題產生影響或形成助益。大林蒲社區居民不只是被動地提供事件、物件或元素，供藝術家發想，而是許多真實存在的主動生活／行動創造者。

### 短寫 6/4 環評大會現場

6 月 4 日，包括大林蒲和鳳凰頭地區的居民，集結前往環保署抗議。在討論南星計畫遊艇製造專區的環評大會前，齊力拉網演出「牽罟」行動劇，訴求「留給後代子孫一個可以呼吸的海岸」。

昔日沿海居民捕魚維生，時常在海邊拉網和休憩，集體孕育了好幾代港都青年的成長記憶；數十年間，社區和海岸卻已被工廠團團圍住，不僅交通不便，環境也破壞殆盡。猶如城中孤島。

來到環保署的現場，民眾頭戴煙囪帽和大遊艇，胸前掛著大型工廠和標明各式廢棄物的牌子。短短的十分鐘，凸顯的是數十年來不斷襲來的大型開發過程，帶來難以忍受的居住／環境不正義，也化為基層民眾心中的憤怒。填海造陸的開發大餅所維護的，是少數既得利益集團的鈔票，卻不顧人民的生活權益。居民記憶中的美好海岸即將消逝，他們帶著憂慮與傷懷，大聲吶喊、勇敢集結，決定走出自己的路。

那一天，居民自己拿起相機／攝影機，記錄現場的行動劇、環評會議上的發言與各方爭論。其他沒辦法進到會場的民眾，則在一樓耐心等待和聆聽，一邊述說自身的經驗和心情。漫長的會議過程中（往返的路途也同樣漫長），隨著鄉親在樓上慨切陳述，我們在樓下也不時爆出掌聲和叫好聲，遙相呼應。

不意外地，開發／事業單位處處引用數據，聲稱自己的開發合乎標準，有信心控制污染。但環評委員也指出質疑，認為此類大型開發缺乏整體評估，對於實地的環境狀態，也缺乏令人信服的佐證資料。考量居民健康和基礎土壤坍塌的風險，暫時將案子退回重審。

得知結果，大家難掩興奮之情。但隨即回到現實，我們知道這只是抗爭的另一個開始，不是終點。回來後，影產工會的夥伴也繼續與金煙囪的成員和新認識的朋友們，討論組織的方法和向外傳播與串連的各種可能。

在過程中，希望透過行動與故事的分享，增加基層民眾之間的相互理解。畢竟，行動不會只有一條路線，一種觀點。只有不停地交流反省，聚集各方力量，並尊重彼此的差異和選擇，才能創造更寬廣、更符合公義的生活條件。而藝術，也才可能是奠基於現實的一種創造性方法，可以使我們更認清自己在社會中的位置，與人的關係。

## *A Plan for the Future*

*Text: Y-kuan Wang*

The Dalinpu community has already undergone more than 40 years of heavy industrial development. Currently, the residential area is located adjacent to many factories. Facing the consistently changing and deteriorating conditions of their living environment, residents have indeed been feeling much anger. However, this anger has been brewing amidst a long prevailing sense of helplessness and an active suppression of their voices. It wasn't until the relocation and destruction of the neighboring community of Hong-Mao-Gong that everybody began to realize that the government's development plan had never actually stopped. For example, with the establishment of the free trade area and the Special Zone for Yacht Area in Nan Sing during 2013, communities found themselves suddenly surrounded by industrial areas seemingly overnight. Pent-up feelings long held by community members have gradually broken out, and the people have started to assemble.

The "Tian Xing" plan reflects Kaohsiung City's path towards the re-creation and costs of a post-industrial landscape. In the past, the local industry was mainly based on labor-intensive export processing. After multiple migrations of its industries, the city soon found itself without an economic lifeline. The only legacy that now remains is heavy industry, which continues to pollute the local environment. The Dalinpu community is located next to the sea and sits adjacent to a coastal industrial zone. The government took advantage of this fact and began dumping industrial waste that could not be processed into the sea. Euphemistically, the government announced that it was creating a pure land of the south. But, in truth, it was just covering up an even greater waste problem. There is nothing sweet (pronounced "xing" in Chinese) about the Tian Xing plan at all.

The Taiwan Studio, Exhibition and Arts Labor Union just happened to be a part of the re-awakening process for a sense of environmental awareness by residents. In addition to participating and taking action, we believe that external forces and a cultural disturbance in the area enables residents to gain new imaginations, particularly after having lost hope in the political and economic structure of the government/community. In this process, we began workshops on documentary productions, static photography, collections of community stories and old photographs, environmental monitoring, lecture presentations in front of temples, and body art. By empowering the community, we hope to see the voluntary participation of residents, so that they feel involved in the various possibilities for community issues/public life.

The works on display at this exhibition present the major development currently faced by the Dalinpu community, particularly the problems emerging from the Nan Sing development project. Scenes and objects from particular events are recreated at the venue, which is arranged into a watery experience to reproduce the event, "The Boss is Unhappy, Free Fish!" (originally located at the last outdoor fish farm at Nan Sing). Originally erected in a pool of water, "Fish Farm Theater" will be setup at the venue to present a movie about fish farm owner, Li Chaoyi, and his many years of dispute with the government.

Another work, *We Do Not Want Gifts or Industrial Waste*, is inspired by a particular action taken a while back. Together with union members, a community magistrate had gone into the Nan Sing development project area and began digging into the ground with shovels. They unearthed medical needles,

medicine bottles, tooth molds, and other waste. This work simulates the waste used for land reclamation, and converts them into gifts won at game stalls in night markets. What was supposed to be a happy and carefree night market experience is now just one consisting of packs of “beautiful” and “strange” goods on a shelf, as if signifying a wasteful level of consumption. Through games, we hope that everyone will come to realize the true face of land reclamation.

Finally, we will use graffiti on walls to portray the experiences of local residents over the last two years, enabling the water game course to simultaneously mirror a timeline of working together. There exists the possibility of a gap in adjustment in the interface of art. Through a relationship (i.e. a remodeling of artistic creation and social relationships) constituted of participants, impactful and constructive ideas are generated regarding issues of concern. The residents of the Dalinpu community do not only passively contribute events, objects, elements and inspiration to artists, but also serve as many active life/ action creators in real life.

### **Summarizing the Environmental Impact Assessment Meeting on June 4**

On June 4, the residents of the Dalinpu and Fengpitou areas gathered to protest before the Environmental Protection Department (EPD). In front of the Environmental Impact Assessment (EIA) Meeting, which was discussing the Special Zone for Yacht Area in Nan Sing at the time, the residents performed an action drama titled, Trawling, which demanded that “a breathable coast be left behind for future generations.” In the past, coastal residents would rely on fishing for their

livelihoods, often pulling up nets and resting by the beach. This experience is a collective memory shared by many generations of youths growing up by the harbor. After just a few decades, the communities and coastline now find themselves surrounded by factories. Not only has this made transportation very inconvenient, but it has also caused great damage to the environment. This area has since become like a lonely island within a city.

Coming before the EPD, residents wore chimney caps and yachts on their heads, while hanging signs featuring large factories and categories of waste across their chest. In just ten short minutes, they highlighted the relentless, decade-long course of development, which had brought a terrible injustice to their living environment. This travesty had long manifested a grassroots sense of anger in the hearts of residents. The process of land reclamation and development only sought to protect the money of a few vested interests, while ignoring the lives and interests of the people. The beautiful coastline had already faded away, now only existing in the memories of residents. With concern and sadness, they cried out loudly and assembled bravely to try to find a way out of their situation.

That day, the residents brought cameras and video cameras to record the live action drama, as well as the speeches and arguments of every member at the EIA. Those who could not enter the venue waited patiently and listened on the first floor, while talking about their own experiences and feelings. Over the long course of the meeting (a round-trip journey is equally long), as residents upstairs spread the word to us downstairs, we would burst into applause and cheers that echoed loudly from time to time.



Not surprisingly, the development/business unit referred to data and claimed that its development lay within acceptable standards, while declaring its confidence of controlling any resulting pollution. However, one EIA committee member pointed out their belief that this type of large-scale development lacked an overall assessment regarding the actual state of the environment, as well as any convincing evidence to their claims. With considerations based on risks to resident health and the dangers of soil collapse, the case was temporarily returned for reassessment.

After hearing this, we could barely conceal our excitement. But, then, it was back to reality. We knew that this was not the end to anything, only the beginning of yet another struggle. The Taiwan Studio, Exhibition and Arts Labor Union will continue to work with the members of Golden Chimney and other new friends to discuss the various possibilities for organizational methods and external communication.

Along this process, I hope to achieve a mutual understanding between grassroots cultures through the sharing of our actions and stories. After all, there isn't just a single route or perspective for action to take place. Only by gathering our collective abilities through continuous exchange and reflection and conveying a respect for each other's differences and options are we able to create even more accommodating and suitable living conditions. And, only through this way, can art serve as a creative method that is grounded in reality, allowing us to gain an even better understanding of our position in society and our relations with other people.





# 活化

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## 香港

文：柯念璞 Alice Ko

『這天，廣場上有許多人抬起頭，朝一座如希臘神廟般的建築仰望，建築物頂上有一座女神雕像，女神手握一把天平，他們所以這麼看，又指指點點，原來是因為女神手持的天平不知怎麼不見了』

西西《我城》

香港特殊的殖民歷史、政治主權的轉移以及地理位置塑造香港在亞洲區域的獨特角色。香港作家西西在《我城》從『我』的多重視點帶出這座城市的諸種樣貌，香港的殖民歷史常使香港處於一種失根描繪，但對於香港人來說時空的實體，儘管歷史的錯綜離散，生長於土地之上的肉身感知與記憶情感是緊密相連的。然而消失的天平，象徵著香港對於殖民歷史，土地以及人權自由的失衡與消失。

在美國 2012 年發布《全球經濟自由度指數報告》(Index of economic freedom report)，香港已連續第十八年拿下全球自由經濟體系之冠。根據指數報告服膺新自由主義之觀點，自由度愈高代表區域內政府干涉水平愈低，而絕對的市場自由正是城市經濟持續繁榮的保證。然而這個講求自由競爭的體系卻使香港在近十多年來，不斷面臨新自由主義高度發展所產生的內部危機，社會失業人口增加、貧富差距擴大、都市興建計畫驅趕、隔離社會底層。

如今卻也漸漸隱去，在書中以母親的話語所說：「你們還看見什麼呢？」如同對當今城市發展提出質疑，並且香港自 2005 年反 WTO 運動以來對諸眾提問，青年藝術家與社會運動者經過保皇后碼頭、反西九龍文化園區、反高鐵與菜園村運動等累積能量的展現於都市空間。從都市公領域的景觀社會發展，私領域抹滅人權的居住空間。《空間詩學》(La Poétique de l' Espace) 裡對家的詩意想像，在今日香港可謂蕩然無存，天臺樓，劏房甚至是籠屋的塌居空間。在這種城市光景下，藝術若仍唯心地討論崇高與瞬間的美感體驗。

生活本身變成奇觀 (spectacle)，奇觀並非對於真實宏偉的嘆為觀止，而是猶如光影般虛幻真實難以分辨，消費社會的發展，使得任何東西都可以變成商品。光鮮華麗異化了人與土地的關係，人與人之間的連結、親密與交流。如果以唯物論調剖析藝術並非自我與抽象的生產，而是與社會兩者之間作為一種相互參照的生產者與被生產者關係。香港的近年來的藝術行動正是回應這座城市的新自由主義之極致。當現今世界成為景觀、美感化的虛無。我們對於藝術除了商品還有何所求？當藝術結合消費主義入侵日常生活、進駐商場，只能坦白藝術感嘆藝術的完結。在此時藝術的對話、連結與參與試圖重建現代性所排除在外的邊緣地景與人物時，似乎開闢了另一條路徑。

2008 年因香港政府宣布新建高鐵而被迫遷村的菜園村居民與藝術家一同運用藝術聯結外界的力量抵抗高壓強權。《新春胡士托·菜園村藝術快樂抗爭》，便匯整了整個保衛運動的過程。參與者自發地舉行音樂會、文學創作坊、行為藝術表演和戶外裝置展覽，以短暫自治的烏托邦氛圍戲謔官樣文化，並引發大眾和媒體關注菜園村事件所代表的舊區重整的城市化所帶來的地區文明保育困難與提倡另類生活方式的新問題。一些年輕藝術家和行動者更選擇下鄉作有機耕種，以生產代替消費，以實踐勞動代替抗爭姿態。其中新界東北的「馬寶寶社區農場」和「菜園村生活館」定期舉辦各種工作坊和展覽，提倡另類生活方式和共同體的社群模式。然而在這些受到資本所必須面對的壓迫與遷移，同時也在中港身份以及香港主體性上產生爭辯。

人與人之間的社會關係透過生產與流通各項物品而建立，在這些老舊的傳統手工業中殘存並非只是對於過去的鄉愁而是情感與記憶。面對不斷仕紳化 (gentrification) 的社區、私有化的公共空間以及都市空間資源不公平的分配情景。藝術家不再視藝術創作為孤立的狀態，而透過藝術作為一種抵抗宣示。

## 活化廳 - 日常生活的反叛

特別是香港將會有一個西九文化區，裡面美術館主張要緊貼當代生活，也就是讓一般人感到參與其中的一種想像但卻只有空談一些理念出來。同時面對香港藝術發展，仍然有許多結構性的問題還未處理，香港政府就用幾百億的錢就放在這個文化區，當時藝術家們也相當關注這個情況，所以活化廳出現一方面也建立在這樣的背景上面。

活化廳由一群關心社會、政治與公共議題的藝術家們所組織的藝術團體，重新思考藝術與社會、社群以及公共生活之間關係的創造。透過香港藝術發展局所釋出的空間，接手管理位於油麻地之上海街視藝空間。在藝術家們所開啟的框架中，指出隱蔽、卻影響著個人生命與環境力量之間的內在關聯。在資本主義底下，資源如何分配是造就貧富不均的原因，而活化廳如何在藝術受市場收編、公共空間私有化的背景之下，成為資源共享的平台。

在每一檔期的策展皆由藝術家以社會議題、國家、公共事務做為主軸而發展的藝術展覽，藝術作為一種社會運動，試圖翻轉、提

醒埋沒在日常生活中習以為常的價值觀與公共討論。但這些依照中產階級或官方規劃的美學標準，不僅未能重振公共生活，更成為官方掩蓋都市不公平的社會分配。面對香港城市文化逐漸走向企業管理的局勢，活化廳構築眾多關於反對市區強迫重建的藝術展覽。2010 年小西九雙年展，一反由官方所舉辦的雙年展，以街坊、社區經驗與故事出發，藝術家構思觀眾互動的行為藝術點出油麻地地價不斷上漲的社會現象。藝術家們描繪從街道的角度所見的景象，將被迫搬走的店家挖空，以感嘆的標語「你還記得這些店嗎？」，對話之間的往返真切地描摹這些被迫成為城市回憶的人事物。

在《殺到油麻地！地區自救計劃暨展覽示範》的藝術計畫中，藝術家提出國家機器在近期對於此地的強硬規劃，藉由四個不同面向的計劃，提議社區可如何自救，藉此拋磚引玉，為各位街坊示範如何身體力行，藝術家提出對抗商業發展的立場，以藝術創作提出不同對抗主流價值的生活示範。同時在展覽期間，透過介紹展覽的目的和觀眾展開自救方法的討論，並邀請居民寫下意見，在最後讀出自救方法及討論。在香港的天台、大廈的屋頂與廢棄工廠的閒置空間都是可以將其利用的優勢資源。自身體驗讓他回到香港重新思考香港都市水泥磚牆的都市叢林如何帶入農耕、還原人與食物、人與土地的異化關係，並試圖改變冰冷的都市景觀，帶入一種草根性的綠化運動。

活化廳與社會議題相結合的參與對話在社區中發芽茁壯，種下真實的果子。開啟社區藝術生產歡騰、愉悅的消費式參與之外的新

途徑。活化廳的藝術家開啟另一種別於鬥爭現場的抵抗，以藝術與展演活動搭建起日常的公共討論平台，作一種長時間與居民對話的文化運動。如同法國都市[是]理論哲學家 Henri Lefebvre 所言，在都市規劃者所設計的生活場域，構築了特定城市人們的生活模式，情感與聯結隨之而生。香港近年來的藝術行動正是回應這座城市極致的發展主義。這一群 80 後年輕藝術家 社運者與各界關心公眾的諸眾，面對香港身分認同與政治主體的體驗，以及生活異化與社會制度將化的倦膩，化為積極的草根行動力量。

# Hong Kong

Text: Alice Ko

*That day many people stood on the square and lifted up their heads to look at a building that resembled a Greek temple. On the top was the statue of a goddess holding a balance in her hand. The reason why they were looking at her was that, for some reason or other, the balance in her hand was missing.*

*Sai-sai, My City*

The peculiar colonial history of Hong Kong, its political handover and geographic position have all contributed to its special position in the Asian region. In her book *My City*, the Hong Kong writer, Sai-sai, looks at the various faces of the city from her own varied perspectives. Hong Kong's colonial history has led to Hong Kong becoming rootless. Yet whatever history has done, Hong Kong people still feel that their homeland is real. Their memories and feelings are intimately bound to the soil. The loss of the balance is a symbol of the disappearance of balance in the city's colonial history, land, human rights and freedom.

In 2012 the Index of Economic Freedom published in the USA showed that for 18 years running Hong Kong was among the world leaders for economic freedom. According to the neo-liberalism which informs this report, a high degree of freedom indicates a low level of government interference, and absolute market freedom is a guarantee of continuing market prosperity. Yet this pursuit of liberal competition has meant that over the last decade Hong Kong is facing internal threats posed by the development of liberal capitalism, namely unemployment is increasing, the wealth gap is widening and urban planning is excluding and marginalizing the lower echelons of society.

Today there is a gradual disappearance of the past which is expressed in the book by a mother who asks, "What can you still see?" She seems to be querying current urban development.

Ever since the 2005 WTO movement in Hong Kong, questions are being put. Young artists and social activists have been exploring the urban space through collective actions such as Protect Victoria Harbour, Oppose West Kowloon Cultural Park, Oppose the High-speed Rail and Defend Chai Wan Village. Thanks to social development in public areas, private development has been eroding the human right to living space. The feelings for home expressed in *La Poétique de l'Espace* are to be found in Hong Kong's present feeling of non-existence. Literature still talks about the high-rise buildings and crowded flats of the city as if artists are still wedded to idealistic discussion and fleeting feelings of beauty.

Life itself has become a spectacle. A spectacle is not something that leads you to gape in awe at its true grandeur but the use of lights to shine on something so that it is hard to tell the difference between the real and the imaginary. The development of the consumer society means that just anything can become a commodity. The bright lights alienate people from the land and from each other. If we use the language of materialism to analyse art then it is not the production of the self and an abstraction but that of the relationship between producer and product in society. In recent years artistic activities in Hong Kong reflect the extremes of neo-liberalism in the city. When the modern world has become the background, a beautification of emptiness, what can we expect of art except that it too should become a commodity? When art is linked to consumerism and invades daily life, occupying the market then we can but artistically sigh for the ending of art. At such a time dialogue, connection and participation in art aim to re-found the places and people which modernity has rejected and marginalized, opening an alternative way forward.



In 2008 when the Hong Kong government used a policy of forcible eviction of the people in Chai Wan Village for the construction of a high-speed railway, a group of artists joined the people and enlisted outside forces to oppose the evictions. New Spring Utopia: Chai Wan Village Happy Artistic Opposition united the whole movement. Participants held concerts, literary workshops, artistic performances and outdoor exhibitions, creating a temporary utopic culture, an alternative style of life, attracting public and media attention to the plight of old quarters subject to urban planning and faced with the difficulty of preserving their character. Some young artists and activists went even further and set out for the countryside to engage in organic farming, replacing consumption by production, opposition by practical work. The Dear Little Horse Community Farm in the northeast of the New Territories and the Chai Wan Village Living Hall held workshops and exhibitions at regular intervals providing a forum for an alternative and collective style of life. This was a challenge to the oppression and forced eviction imposed by capitalism and an argument in favour of Hong Kong's own identity within its status as a SAR of China.

Relationships in society are built on the production and exchange of all kinds of objects. In old traditional handicrafts survival is not just a matter of the atmosphere of the past but also involves feelings and memories. As society increasingly becomes gentrified, public space is privatized and the resources of urban space are unevenly distributed, artists no longer see art as an independent activity but as a means of propaganda in favour of opposition.

### **'Living Room': reflecting daily life**

Hong Kong will have a West Kowloon Cultural Area in which the art gallery will be closely linked to modern life so that the public at large can feel they are participating. However, this is all only theoretical talk up to now. The development of art in Hong Kong runs into many structural problems. The Hong Kong government has merely set aside several million HK\$ for the cultural area. Contemporary artists are really concerned about this problem and it is one of the reasons for forming Living Room.

Living Room involves a body of artists who are concerned about society, politics and public issues. They meet together to reflect on the relationship between art, society, the community and public life. They make use of space provided by the Hong Kong Art Development Office with a contact point in the art space in Shanghai St. at Yaumatei. Within the framework opened out by the artists they bring to light the hidden, yet influential, internal relationships between the life of individuals and the force of the surroundings. In a capitalist setting, the way resources are distributed influences the division between rich and poor. Living Room seeks to find a way for art to be an equal platform of resources in the face of the marketization of art and the privatization of public space.

Each exhibition finds the artists taking social issues, the state, and public matters as the axis for the development of the exhibition. Art functions as a kind of social movement, that

can overturn or bring to attention the values and public debate that are buried within the patterns of daily life and habitually taken for granted. But the aesthetic standards of the bourgeoisie or of official plans are not only unable to reaffirm public life, they even become a means for concealing the unequal distribution of resources in the city. Faced with the gradual movement of Hong Kong's urbanization towards the business management model, Living Room presents art exhibitions that oppose forcible reconstruction of urban areas. In 2010 at the Little West Kowloon Biennial Exhibition, there was opposition to the official biennial. This opposition worked by the artists setting up in street corners, listening to community experiences and stories, and getting people to react by means of skits that showed how land prices in Yaumatei were forever rising. The artists described what was happening from the viewpoint of the street where the homes and shops of those forcibly evicted were left bare. Sighs of regret—"Do you still remember those shops?"—resulted in a very realistic dialogue which described how people were forced to become mere urban memories.

In the art project Murder in Yaumatei: Area Self-help Project and Model Exhibition the artists showed how the state machinery had imposed rigid plans on the area in recent years. The artists presented four different plans by which the community could rescue itself and so get 'rid of the brick and attract the jade' showing how each street quarter could act. The artists provided a standpoint for opposing commercialization and used artistic creation to present alternative models of life to resist mainstream values. During the course of the exhibition the artists introduced the purpose of the exhibition and discussed how the audience could engage in self-help. They invited the inhabitants to write down their opinions and ended

up reading out and discussing the way to save the communities. The tops of Hong Kong's skyscrapers and the idle spaces of disused factories are all a first class resource. Personal experience can lead to restoring the concrete jungle that Hong Kong has become into a place where people farm the land, restoring the now alienated relationship between people and food, and people and the land. It is thereby hoped to transform the cold urban landscape and bring in a green movement with real plants.

Living Room has provided a way to dialogue with social issues and let people participate. The movement has already shown sprouts of life and real fruit has been produced. It has provided a space for a successful and joyful new path away from that of consumerism. The artists of Living Room have opened the way to a form of resistance that is not one of struggle. They have used art and performance to provide a new platform for the public airing of daily issues and created a cultural movement that engages the people in dialogue over a long period of time. As the French urbanologist, Henri Lefebvre, has said, the living space designed by urban planners has structured a certain type of lifestyle for urban dwellers. Feeling and communication have followed on from that. Artistic activity in Hong Kong in recent years is a reflection of the extreme developmentalism that has affected the city. In the face of the experience of Hong Kong's own identity and its political subjectivity, these post 80s young artists, social activists and concerned citizens have sought to change the alienation of life and the ossification of social structure into a positive grassroots movement.





## 重訪香港市區重建問題與論述

文：陳劍青

隨著香港特區政府新一波的移山填海大計，排山倒海的土地與房屋議題像已蓋過了曾經熾熱的市區重建（都市更新）爭議。儘管香港有關市區重建的一套的官方歷史敘述，仍然定形了香港公眾對於市區重建的看法，但民間對市區重建的認知在多年的城市運動裡可有帶來轉變？有什麼問題與論述值得我們重訪與反思？本文從本地市區重建的政策背景、意識變化與重建（暴力）問題三方面，嘗試描繪香港市區重建發展形態的基本輪廓。

### 政策脈絡

有關政府推動重建的歷史，70年代曾經有以政府房協主導的都市改善計劃（Urban Improvement Scheme），在上環灣仔進行土地收回及重建，然而官方認為「早期重建計劃屬零散、無序及細小…對改善舊區老化的情況貢獻不大。」在中英香港前途談判塵埃落定，1988年港英政府提出成立「土地發展公司」，以純商業運作方式和發展商合作進行收購重建，圈出了港島與九龍的「貧窮地帶」（Pockets of Poverty）。從圖一可見，這次都市改造的想法是巨大的，目標是將大部分市區內的唐樓建築連根拔起，以騰出新土地給都市發展。

當時，港英政府雖說這種政府推動的市區重建是為了「改善舊區環境」，背後因由卻與中英前途談判後限定了每年不可賣地多於50公頃，政府要另覓土地開發；與及港英政府佈署於1997年如何「光榮撤退」，在主權移交前清除殖民地上之「礙眼」建築；也與地產發展在1984年中英聯合聲明後成為中英雙方保障香港

穩定過度的「經濟龍頭」，需要透過市區重建讓地價潛力釋放給發展利益的政治經濟脈絡不無關係。

在土地發展公司運作十多年間，重建計劃只完成了16個，公佈後遲遲未有啟動的有25個。面對亞洲金融風暴，土發在收購重建一項目時以97年香港樓價最高時收購，到98年跌至谷底，立即陷入了周期性的財政危機。當時政府對「土發模式」進行檢討，指出因做法太過注重「合理收購物業的步驟」及「開價公平與合理」的原則，最後才能向政府提出強制收回土地，故令收購程序拖延，不能運作下去。

基於以上理由，2000年政府成立了市區重建局取代了土地發展公司，重新激活市區重建計劃。打著「以人為本」的口號，市建局在立法框架下可直接向政府申請徵收土地，不再需要經過「冗長」的「合理」收購過程，就能開展未來20年以重建為主導的225個土地發展項目。同時，發展模式亦承認放棄以往土發的焦土政策（slash and burn），加入復修、活化及文化保育等發展元素，亦引進私營地產商參與收購後的發展。對於受影響居民的生活，2001年規劃地政局局長曾俊華在香港地產行政師學會致辭時引述過一個西方諺語：「You can't make an omelet without breaking eggs」。

同期，政府亦在私人收購重建中，立法容許私人發展商若收購九成以上的市區物業就可以申請強制拍賣，逐漸形成了私人重建的市場空間。此十年間，香港陸續冒起了不少協助大地產商收樓的

中介公司，如田生地產，亦讓某些大地產商不用再向政府購地，可以透過具有法例協助下的私人收購重建與改劃囤積農地，賺取比向政府買地上數十倍計的豐厚利潤。

2008 年重建策略的檢討在都市運動的浪潮下重新展開。御用學者羅致光反覆指出香港愈來愈多超過 50 年樓齡的唐樓，過往的重建速度卻追不上，來合理化政府加速私人重建收購的措施。取而代之，市區重建局的角色成為了「促進者」，市建局繼續進行舊區重建之餘，建立「地區諮詢平台」讓業權人主導參與發展。同期，政府亦立法再將私人重建申請強制拍賣的收購門檻由九成降至八成，以加速 50 年樓齡樓宇的私人重建收購。

## 重建意識變奏

由 1988 年至今，對市區重建的想法亦起了微妙的變化。無論是政府與社會大眾，功能主義角度一直主導了我們對市區重建各種問題的理解。譬如市區「老化」，導致功能衰落，故此要重建翻新的說法似乎成為了無可質疑的常識。整體社會也慣以成本 / 利益的分析考慮，將重建引發的爭議純粹理解為賠償合不合理的問題。然而，就算單從功能主義的角度看市區重建的政策安排，單以這種角度來看其實站不著腳。例如讓私人收購重建更積極協助解決「市區老化」問題，卻在降低私人重建強制拍賣後，首兩年最主要被重建的地方都集中在半山區、太子道西一些傳統低密度高級住宅，明顯助長了以利益出發的私人重建，卻無助解決真正建築物老化的問題。

而不少建築失修及老化問題，是在宣佈某區重建的政策所導致的，如觀塘重建計劃中，政府早於 90 年代宣佈將會重建，然而十多年並沒有任何舉動，令區內業主不願花錢維修，造成了衰老的客觀事實。政府亦未有在功能上針對一些真正需要重建的區域及建築，尤其是 56 年至 58 年間大量興建的「咸水樓」，反而只選擇土地利益較高的區位重建，可見出城市問題與政策功能明顯出現不對應的情況。再者，唐樓建築的既有功能，包括是提供低下階層生活空間、公共性較強的街道與環境，亦本質上在重建過程視若無睹。

近年的都市抗爭之後牽起了一股建築懷舊風潮，大量有關本地舊建築風格的出版與導賞活動湧現，對於本地建築的歷史與知識愈來愈關注。現時這種建築設計為主導的討論與政府推動的重建計劃在某種意義下相得益彰——在這種專業參與裡，不僅讓建築 / 規劃利益得到更多的顧問及設計資源，同時亦將重建本身問題轉化為專業界內可以自我完善的工作。而建築作為歷史、社區的承載，懷舊的意識未有在過程中發揮成為強而有力的力量，卻在不少情況助長了這些舊建築變成消費本土文化的空間。

面對重建模式被新形勢挑戰之際，往往就是新自由主義 (neoliberalism) 的主意冒起的時機，常以解決問題的姿態出現。1997 年，在土地發展公司面臨「破產」，就會有官員提出讓私營市場可「分擔責任」，使政府既可積極賦予收地權力之餘，亦令私人地產商更廣泛參與重建計劃。當其後眾多市區重建計劃被批評決策非民主，政府又出現「社區主導」的想法，以更多法例讓私人

業主及發展商及市場更廣泛地參與重建。然而，私人地產商只著重發展利益，對於整體城市規劃、社區公共生活、居住權利及市民真實需要等視而不見，重建過程將製造更嚴重的都市問題，包括扯高市區樓價與租金、低下層的生活空間萎縮、城市空間私有化及屏風樓等。

現時，對重建較多批判「士紳化」(gentrification)這種「都市提昇」的一面，卻對於另一面「無產化」(proletarianization)的都市變化未有深刻、全面的描繪與問題化。政府與地產商在土地結集的過程中，重新將產權重新集中到一小撮人手中，沒收老業主的業權，租戶得到小賠償卻要流離及負擔更貴的租金。這種充滿「富人搶地」意味的階級復仇計劃未有形成社會對重建問題的共識。而現時的都市重建運動，較多是從社工組織倫理及人文關懷出發，多強調社區共識與苦主居住、參與及選擇權利，而有關重建背後的政治經濟霸權的整體批判實踐仍然方興未艾。

## 暴力之源起

由於重建抗爭一直都是社會爭議中較邊緣弱勢的運動，政府往往在此權力不平衡的格局下，政府往往可以視程序於無物。當民間反對無效，示威、反抗、清場行動以至重建過程裡很引起眾多暴力的形態，政府的暴力行為於是與不公伴隨著再都市化而生，這卻是較少在本地有深入的探究。在重建的案例中，明顯出現四種主要的暴力：

### 1. 程序暴力

將不公的做法放置於程序其中。最大莫過於在法律設計中置入受

影響居民稱為「尚方寶劍」的「土地收回條例」(舊稱官地收回條例)。重建一方收購九成物業即可引用條例，就算收購不足亦可以以「公眾利益」之名引用，市民的選擇權幾乎完全在程序中扼殺。此外，在既往的賠償安排中，如果在收回時單位是空置(俗稱「交吉」)的話，業主則可獲額外數十萬賠償，變相鼓勵業主在重建過程趕走租戶，分化社區力量。

在重建過程受影響居民亦面對許多程序機關的玩弄。2005年政府開始啟動觀塘重建，市建局也曾提出了「未來規劃與賠償網綁」的口頭說法，意味著受影響業主亦要成為支持市建局未來地產發展的共同體。未來重建計劃賺多些，業主相對上就可賠多些。2013年，九龍衙前圍村重建計劃，市建局以保育考古為名實為逼遷，列出村內十一個將遭挖掘之處，正與還未有安置好的商戶的位置相當鄰近，要求加速收回村民的家，亦可見使用程序時的暴力。

### 2. 傳媒操弄

市區重建局多年來積極聘請傳媒業界人士做公關工作，會暗中向個別傳媒發放保密消息，亦會製作給傳媒一式一樣的「鱗稿」直接刊登。在利東街重建爭議中，市建局公關向相熟傳媒暗中公佈積極參與反清拆的居民個人資料，稱某住戶曾在以往重建計劃獲得多少賠償，這些收購資訊只有市建局才知道，成功製造居民「貪得無厭」的形象。

因嚴重利益事故而辭職的前市區重建局主席張震遠，去年曾主動發動新聞發佈機器，向傳媒提供一剩下商戶資料，指即將可以開

展收地的重建區內某商戶還不肯賣鋪，暗示將會因他一個拒絕出售的決定而令其他簽訂計劃的業主得不到賠償。報導一出，旋即惹來區內居民的冷言冷語，亦令鋪主在社區壓力下迅速屈服於市建局的收購安排。

### 3. 非法拘捕

在都市抗爭運動中，2007年那15名保育人士在集集中被拘捕及起拆的事件，拉開了香港政府「政治檢控」行動者的序幕。15位保育人士在街道上集會時不僅被當場非法禁固，最後被控「阻差辦工」及「阻礙公眾地方」，部分被扣押時遭到「剝光豬搜身」，被公眾質疑濫用警力。拘捕過程中，有示威者遭警方「扯頭髮」拖行，幾個警員亦前往醫院驗傷。聆訊一個月，最終因警員口不可信而無罪釋放。2007年底一協助被清場居民的議員助理謝柏齊，亦在深水埗福榮街的重建區被警察拘捕他「嘔打」，帶到警局後才定罪他在警局「襲警」，最後因警員口供不吻合而無罪釋放。

此後，一些組織者亦因參與市區重建時被控「襲警罪」。不只令參與重建的公眾卻步，更為重建運動裡的組織者製造各種麻煩，包括財務上、心理上及時間上的壓力。

### 4. 收樓賤招

私人收樓的賤招曾出不窮，威逼利誘，水沖火攻，事件往往集中在未曾完成收購的唐樓發生。例如在還未收購足夠八成強拍門檻的樓宇貼上「多謝各業主支持，本廈已成功併購」的大字布，製

造社區恐慌令餘下業主急急賣房。在囤積唐樓單位後讓建築物日後失修，亦積極以業主身份主導業主立案發團以加速收購工作。2013年最新近一次，就是針對某戶不願出讓單位的老人，在其單位對面的牆壁掛上了嚇人的「鬼臉相片」，讓她日常生活也會感到不安。

## 重建運動—希望之所在

雖說市區重建運動至今大部分都是清拆收場，其實過程中亦誕生不少另類價值與思想，對於未來城市運動功不可沒。2004年揭開「新都市運動」的利東街抗爭，當中提倡「人民規劃」，由社區聯同專業人士及公眾，自發倡議名為「啞鈴方案」的民間規劃方案，正好讓城市規劃民主化在社區實踐中找到具體模樣。同時，利東街的「空間抗爭」，開啟了對城市空間抗爭的想像，其公共參與及運動樣式，亦成為了香港各處空間運動的生母，與同期的天星、皇后、反高鐵以至於新界東北的都市/土地運動一脈相承。

未來的重建運動需要民間知識生產，建立研究能力，以面對龐大公關資源不定期的意識宣傳。現時重建抗爭中，較常見的支援研究有過往社工界流行的「個案追蹤調查」，以檢視重建戶及租戶搬遷前後的生活質素變化，與及以故事方式紀錄當區生活居民的人、地、情。透過緊密的社區組織，重建運動可加強讓社區動態可以由下而上拚出更形象化的圖象，有助回應政府與發展部門常以「分化」及「抽象化」的方式掩蓋地區實況。另一方面，按政治經濟脈絡下重建體制的研究亦相當重要，需要發展對整個重建



進行具體批判，以及當中許多具體政策措施、法理基礎、人物關係、財務利益等，都有待更深入的分析與調查。而有關市區重建「無產化」過程研究應擴展至各領域，包括市區環境、各受影響階層社區、城市整體佈局與公共空間的衰落，為重建爭議提供具體的論述資源。因現時的重建計劃已經轉移至私人收購主導，有關公眾參與、土地利用、居住權利等論述亦有待更新。自 2005 年開始，我從研究觀察到參與，甚至在紀錄過程中捲入過一場政府檢控，每件事務都不斷與社會共同開啟著對市區重建的視野，嘗試弄清楚什麼是（我們想看到的）重建運動。

80-90 年代是一個新自由主義意識橫行的年代，過往我們的中學地理課本仍然會教授新古典經濟的過氣城市模式來說明市區重建的必然性、「貪新忘舊」、只懂以官方角度思考。市區重建局成立後，有關市區重建的教材更直接引用市建局所提供的官方資料。整套思想價值的貫輸，甚至連基本事實知識也遭扭曲。我們是較早接觸到一些西方都市批判理論開始進行另一種都市運動實踐的一群。

我們最早的嘗試，是在大學內香港批判地理學會開展一個「忘記地理」的計劃，進行一系列的閱讀、分享與討論，為大學新生與中學教師「去知識化」，過程中，有感重建問題功夫要不僅要從零做起，更要首先「減掉」公眾對市區重建累積以久的迷思。經過「洗腦」的一代，許多事件無法一觸即躐。明顯的，這種意識不僅是來自學校，涉及對於市區重建的傳媒生態及社會整體意識。若不觸及暴力及侵犯人權的「核心價值」，

傳媒會按各自立場表述，基本上並不會容許挑戰土地發展本身的意見登出，如曾向傳媒在市區空間管理及重建政策上多次提及「訂立租金管制」及「重建土地上增建公營 / 可負擔房屋」，最後這些觀點傾向不被選擇。而最新發展資訊亦由市建局壟斷，故此很容易就能把握著單一消息操弄新聞，直接抄寫市區重建的官方資料。

市區重建爭議中民間聲音一直處於社會劣勢，這是許多重建運動爭議感到無力的來源，雖說公眾對於重建的關注度提昇，關注重建的民間力量沒有明顯增長，足以抗衡既有的重建模式。要想像一種有關本地市區重建的抗爭，那就不單是面對居民的組織工作，亦同樣需要建立一股挑戰社會主流意識型態的力量。這種力量必然是多範疇的，有獨立專業者反過來挑戰專業霸權、善用傳善用傳媒及建立自己的媒體、開啟文化以及各種都市政治的可能、認真面對問題的批判及方案研究，這些都是我在思索及關心的問題，至今仍然有待努力。

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## ***Discussion on the Issues of Urban Renewal in Hong Kong***

*Text: Kim-Ching Chen*

A new wave of reclamation programs undertaken by Hong Kong's SAR Government has led to land and housing issues that seem to overshadow the once familiar disputes regarding urban renewal. Hong Kong's long history of urban renewal projects by the government has actually shaped public perception regarding urban renewal. Yet, how has such public perception changed after so many years of urban movements? What discussions and issues are worth revisiting for further deliberation? This paper will focus on policy backgrounds, perceptual changes, and reconstruction (e.g. violent clashes) issues inherent to local urban renewal projects for the purpose of gaining a basic understanding into the development of urban renewal in Hong Kong.

### **Political Context**

There is a history of government-induced urban renewal in Hong Kong. In the 1970s, the government, along with the Hong Kong Housing Society once initiated an urban improvement scheme at the Sheung Wan and Wan Chai areas. However, government officials believe that "early urban renewal programs were unfocused, unorganized, and insignificant, while doing little to improve older neighborhoods." In 1988, responding to negotiations between Britain and China regarding Hong Kong's future, the British Hong Kong government proposed the establishment of the Land Development Corporation, a for-profit entity that would work alongside developers to purchase and revamp districts. It would focus primarily on pockets of poverty throughout Hong Kong Island and Kowloon. Figure 1 illustrates the immense size of the undertaking. The goal was to remove most of the city's tenement buildings to make way for urban development.

During this time, the British Hong Kong government was pushing for urban renewal to "improve old neighborhoods." Yet, during the negotiations between Britain and China, it was decided that no more than 50 hectares of land could be sold per year. In response to this, the government had to find alternatives. This response was in part driven by Britain's desire to establish its legacy in Hong Kong before the lease was up in 1997. It decided that it would demolish all the "obtrusive" buildings of the colony. Such urban development also ensured the future prosperity of Hong Kong for the coming years, and an agreement was reached between Great Britain and China in 1984. It was determined that urban renewal would unleash the potential of the real estate market, which would benefit the local economy and politics.

Ten years after its inception, the Land Development Corporation completed only sixteen renewal projects, with twenty-five projects pending. Right before the Asian Financial Crisis in 1997, the corporation made land purchases at a time when real estate prices had reached a peak. Then, in 1998, prices plummeted and the corporation suffered severe cash flow problems. At the time, the government began to re-evaluate the business model for the Land Development Corporation. It was deemed that the corporation focused too much on "purchasing procedures" and "fair and reasonable prices" to place itself in a position to request a repossession of land from the government. This hindered the purchasing procedure, and it was determined that the corporation could no longer function in its current state.

Based on the above reason, the government created the Urban Renewal Authority to replace the Land Development

Corporation. With “people in mind” as its slogan, the Urban Renewal Authority could directly obtain land from the government without having to go through “cumbersome” and “reasonable” purchasing procedures. With this new arrangement in place, the Urban Renewal Authority was projected to complete the renewal of 255 areas over the next twenty years. At the same time, the new model no longer used slash and burn tactics, shifting the focus to renovation, enlivenment, and cultural development. Private real estate companies were also invited to develop on purchased land. In 2001, John Tsang Chun-wah, Secretary for Housing, Planning and Lands, used the idiom, “You can’t make an omelet without breaking eggs” in response to the effect the authority had on local residents.

In the same period, a bill was passed that allowed private developers to apply for a compulsory auction when they purchased over ninety percent of the property in a reconstruction project. In effect, this made the task of reconstruction a mostly private venture. During the past ten years, many agencies began to facilitate real estate holding companies in their purchasing of properties, so that such companies no longer had to buy land from the government. Richfield Group Holdings is an example of such an agency. Like this, private entities could legally purchase and hoard agricultural land, generating profits ten times higher as compared to obtaining land from the government.

In response to the urban movements in 2008, urban renewal strategies were placed under review once again. Scholar Chi-kwong Law argued that Hong Kong had an increasing amount of apartment complexes that were over 50 years old, and that

reconstruction could not keep up. This argument became the basis to legitimize an acceleration of the private acquisitions of land intended for urban renewal. This development turned the Urban Renewal Authority into a “facilitator”, which, aside from conducting urban reconstruction also set up a “regional advisory platform” to let landowners participate in development projects. At the same time, the government passed a bill that lowered the ownership threshold for the compulsory auction of land from ninety to eighty percent. It did this with the hope that the reconstruction of buildings more than 50 years old would be conducted by the private sector.

## **A Change in the Meaning of Renewal**

Since 1988, profound change has altered the meaning of urban renewal. Whether it be the government or the general public, functionalism has always dictated the conversation about urban renewal. For example, an “aging” neighborhood’s function is a depreciating one. Therefore, it is a common belief that such districts should be revamped. Furthermore, society is accustomed to evaluating renewal projects on the basis of cost and benefit, which places the focus on compensation levels. Yet, functionalism in the context of urban renewal cannot be the only perspective. For example, private entities jump at the opportunity to solve the issue of “aging neighborhoods.” But, when compulsory auction thresholds are lowered, they turn their attention to Mid-Levels and the western area of Prince Edward Road - more high-end residential areas. Obviously, private entities are more focused on profit than actually solving the issue of aging buildings.

Furthermore, the disrepair and aging of buildings mostly occur

when urban renewal plans are announced. For example, when the government announced an urban renewal project for Kwun Tong during the 1990s, the area was left in a state of disrepair for at least a decade. Homeowners just did not want to invest in repairs if a building was to be demolished sooner or later. This made the area appear even more dilapidated. From a functional perspective, the government never addressed the areas and buildings that truly required renewal, particularly the “saltwater buildings” constructed in large quantities between 1956 and 1958. Rather, the government only chose to renew areas that have a potential for higher profits. Furthermore, the function of a tenement building is to provide living spaces for people with lower-incomes, making such areas less profitable.

In recent years, urban movements have brought about a wave of nostalgia in terms of architecture, leading to a rise in publications and tours that focus on old building styles. This shifted an emphasis onto local architecture and history. In a certain sense, the emphasis on such architectural design and the government’s urban renewal agenda share a symbiotic relation, which has led to greater profit potential as advisory and design resources are made available. At the same time, it shifts the focus from renewal issues to self-improvement. Architecture embodies the history of a community. The nostalgic sentiment it invokes creates a powerful case for renewal projects. Yet, this has often only led to the consumerization of local culture.

When existing renewal formats are challenged by new modes of operation, ideas based on neo-liberalism have a chance to thrive, legitimized on the basis of solving issues. In 1997, when

the Land Development Corporation was facing bankruptcy, officials proposed that the private sector could “share some of the responsibility,” so that it could assume control of land while giving the private sector the chance to participate in renewal projects. When many renewal projects were criticized as being undemocratic, the government proposed a community-led approach, which allowed even more individual landowners and developers to participate in urban renewal projects through a much broader capacity. Yet, individual landowners only focused on profit, and were uninterested in fulfilling goals related to urban planning, community living, and tenant rights, thus leading to even more severe urban issues. Housing prices and rents rose, while lower-income housing decreased in size and city spaces became privatized.

Currently, only the gentrification aspect of urban renewal has been the focus of criticism. The proletarianization aspect has yet to be seriously discussed and made into an issue. As the government and businesses hoard land, power becomes consolidated to a few powerful individuals, while smaller landowners lose their ownership and renters. Although they gain small compensation, they have to face much higher rental rates in the future. This kind of “land grab by the wealthy” suggests that society has yet to form a consensus regarding urban renewal issues. Currently, activism in the field is carried out mostly by social workers with humanistic concerns in mind. Their focus is mostly on community consensus, victimized tenants, and tenant’s rights to choice. Yet, discussions about the economic and political aspects of such issues have yet to be brought up.

## Causes of Injustice

Compared to other social disputes, protests against urban renewals projects have never gained much attention. In conditions where there is an imbalance of power, the government often ignores such protests. When residents' objections are not taken into consideration, protests and riots become the only means to raise awareness. Therefore, violent clashes are often part of the urban renewal process. The government's use of force leads to injustice, which is a theme less researched in the context of urban renewal. Below is a list of the four main kinds of injustice involved in urban renewal:

### 1. Procedural Injustice

Unfair practices as part of the procedure. This can be attributed to the Lands Resumption Ordinance (previously called The Crown Lands Resumption Ordinance), a law that is often labeled as the government's "silver bullet." In response to the ninety percent land ownership threshold, entities can make use of this ordinance, calling upon the excuse of "public interest" to limit resident's choices in renewal projects. Furthermore, in terms of compensation arrangements, owners can receive thousands of Hong Kong Dollars in compensation when a unit becomes vacant. This secretly encouraged homeowners who rented their property to terminate their agreements with tenants, creating a rift in society.

Residents are also faced with many procedural hurdles during renewal processes. In 2005, the government initiated the Kwun Tong renewal project. The Urban Renewal Authority also made statements regarding "future planning and compensatory

restraints," suggesting that landowners should become a part of the Urban Renewal Authority's urban renewal coalition. In other words, should the renewal project generate more profit, the landowner would be compensated more as well. In 2013, for the reconstruction of Nga Tsin Wai Village in Kowloon, the Urban Renewal Authority used the preservation of historic sites as an excuse to evict residents. Eleven locations within the village were designated as excavation sites. These locations just so coincided with the areas that were not owned by any business entity. This expedited the recovery of the land, as residents were effectively forced to leave their homes. This is obviously an act of procedural injustice.

### 2. Media Manipulation

For many years, the press has served as the public relation arm of the Urban Renewal Authority. The authority would intentionally leak confidential information to the press. It would go so far as to draft their own press release, which the press would just conveniently publish. During a dispute about the renewal of Lee Tung Street, the authority leaked the personal information of residents who opposed the renewal plan to the press. The leaked information also disclosed compensation amounts received by those individuals for previous renewal projects, thus successfully painting them as "greedy profiteers."

Barry Cheung, the head of the Urban Renewal Authority who resigned due to a conflict of interest, revealed information of remaining businesses that did not want to sell their land to the press. The statement implied that their refusal to sell would hamper the compensation payout of those who did sell their land. The announcement pressed the businesses to falter, and

they eventually agreed to the terms of the Urban Renewal Authority.

### 3. Unlawful Arrests

During an urban movement, fifteen preservation activists were arrested and charged in 2007, marking the prelude to a series of political persecutions carried out by the Hong Kong government. The fifteen activists were unlawfully arrested when they congregated on the street on the grounds of obstruction and impeding public places. Some were detained and strip searched. It was a blatant abuse of power. Some activists had their hair yanked by the police, resulting in wounds. After one month of trial, the activists were released based on untrustworthy testimonies made by the police. During the end of 2007, Tse Pak-chai, an assistant counselor who sided with the evicted residents, was beaten by police at Fuk Wing Street in Sham Shui Po. He was arrested for assaulting a police officer. Tse was later released because police testimonies were inconsistent.

Subsequently, other activists who had been involved in urban renewal issues were also accused of assaulting a police officer. This not only curbed the public's involvement in urban renewal projects, but also added much financial and psychological burden to activists.

### 4. Repossession Tricks

The playbook for repossession includes coercion, setting fires, and employing rowdy crowds. Another effective trick is to place a banner that reads "Thank you for your support. This

apartment is sold" on a building. Residents would panic and sell their units as well. After a complex is possessed, it is left in a state of disrepair, so that its acquisition can be expedited. In a more recent case in 2013, an elderly person who refused to relocate was subjected to scare tactics. A poster of a "threatening ghostface" was posted across her unit, causing her much unease.

## The Renewal Movement - Where Hope Lies

Although urban renewal movements have mostly focused on addressing the aftermath of renewal projects, it has led to the creation of alternative values and ideas that are invaluable for the future. In 2004, the Lee Tung Street dispute led to the proposal of "community-led urban planning," in which local residents worked with professionals to revamp a neighborhood. This led to the creation of the Dumbbell Proposal, a community-led urban project that aimed to democratize the practice of urban development. At the same time, the "disputed space" of Lee Tung Street prompted people to imagine a war over urban space, leading to activism and public participation. These are the seeds for urban space activism in Hong Kong, which a similar lineage with the urban movements involving the Star Ferry, Victoria, and High Speed Rail.

Future movements require knowledge that will broaden of research capabilities, so that they can wage effective awareness campaigns. Currently, it is common for researchers to conduct "follow-up investigations for individual cases," a practice often used by social workers to evaluate the impact of urban renewal on tenants and renters affected by redevelopment. Through a

tight network, urban movements can strengthen communities and let their voices dictate decisions made by the authorities. This will also help the government and relevant departments gain understanding into a neighborhood's condition through a method of differentiation and abstractification.

Regarding the proletarianization of urban renewal, research should cover all relevant fields, including urban environments, affected communities, city arrangements, and the creation of public space, as part of a concrete framework for discussion about urban renewal. With renewal projects dictated by property acquisitions made by private entities, discussions about public participation, land utilization, and tenant rights should be revisited. Since 2005, I have been researching and participating in urban movements. Once, I was even prosecuted by the government for a video recording incident. Every event is continuously opening up a common vision for urban renewal, as we attempt to figure out how exactly to define a reconstruction movement (what we want to see). The 1980s and 1990s saw a rise in libertarian ideals. In the past, our junior high school curriculum still included obsolete classical economic theories and outdated notions on urban planning. What we were taught was heavily prescribed from the perspectives and statistics provided by the state, extolling the coming of new development while disregarding the merits of legacy. Under the influence of the state, the values and knowledge of generations of students were distorted. We were among the first to learn of dissenting debates originating from the West, and the first to begin urban development related movements.

Our first attempts in this endeavor began with a series of events that promoted the study of literature and discussion, and the sharing of ideas related to modern concepts of justice in urban development. Our primary objective is to rectify the years of miseducation of junior high school teachers and university

students by establishing a clean slate devoid of the burdens of preconceptions imposed by the systems of the state. We realized that our endeavors would not see immediate results. After all, we need to start from zero, and re-educate the public, particularly the generations that had been brainwashed.

Obviously, these new concepts do not only originate from academia, but also include the arms of the media and the pervading sentiments of the public. The challenge remains in changing the outlook of the media. In the absence of violence or the violation of human rights, the media is reluctant to report urban development related news stories in a negative light. As a result, the media has merely become a tool of the state, as all sources of urban development related news are controlled by governing bodies.

Amid the struggles related to urban development, the voices of the people have always been positioned at a disadvantage, seemingly rendering all efforts futile. Despite growing public awareness and scrutiny, there has been no observed growth in dissenting movements, which serve as a check on the progress of urban development. In order to create movements that are able to contend with authorities, the effort requires more than the participation of affected residents. Independent experts and certain branches of the media must be willing to promote awareness and social discourse on these issues. These are all questions and issues which I continue to ponder and research. Needless to say, there is still much to be done.

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## 活化廳

文：李俊峰 / 「活化廳」核心成員

撰寫此文時刻，「活化廳」已接到藝發局的中止資助的通知，並需於九月三十日前遷出現址，心情多少複雜。

### 源起：一場各自修行的「社區／藝術」實驗：

接到念璞的邀請寫一篇介紹「活化廳」的文章，不知怎的，就是很難下筆，我說：「到我們的網頁下載吧，那裡還不夠詳細嗎？」她還是要求我寫出來。但「活化廳」的故事，其實很不好說。為什麼？一直以來，「活化廳」不算曾共識過一特定的意識形態，又或大家必須遵從的理念框架／會章之類，她是一個蠻開放的平台... 開始自一些疑問、一些關注，最終走到那裡也是未知，然後，我們從一堆模糊的想像不停摸索、重溯、又再重申修正，對於這空間可以是怎樣？應該是怎樣？誰有權操作？然後，一下子我們便走到現在了<sup>1</sup>。

所以，該如何說起呢？聽說這最初是藝術家程展緯的點子。喜歡發掘失敗個案可能的他，有天想向藝發局提交一個註定失敗的提案，申請額是一元（\$1），於是便出現藝發局連一元也不肯支持的笑點。可是此念頭讓他無意中發現藝發局網頁上刊登的「上海街視藝空間管理計劃」申請，而藝發局對此空間的定位正正是「社區藝術」，因此藉營運（或當時流行語：騎劫）此空間，對於打開「社區藝術」的討論是一個有趣的槓桿點。另外，空間處於油麻地上海街社區一個面對高速城市發展的臨街地舖，並與草根社區朝夕相對，對於一直以來打游擊的行動方式，這正好提供一個安頓下來，與社區建立持續關係發展的根據點。於是，程邀請到各位近年活躍從事社會／政治性創作及評論研究的藝術家朋友加入<sup>2</sup>，組織了「活化廳」。然後，就如所大家知道，我們就成功地拿下了這空間。

1. 其實，「活化廳」本來既是一拒絕被定義的開放平台，也便沒有人能用一種方式定義之。每一個描述「活化廳」的方法也有其主觀角度，所以，我只能以我個人觀察來描述。當然，不同人對「活化廳」有不同想法其實可能更有趣。如街坊偶爾會以為我們是社會福利署、政黨之類，也反映他們注入了自己的想法。無論如何，就一篇文章，是不足以說明「活化廳」整體，其他方法可以是參考如我們的年度報告、facebook、又或親身前來考察、與街坊談話、又或參與其中。

2. 成員包括以政藝小組為核心的程展緯、劉建華、羅文樂、關尚智；經營自主空間的鄭怡敏 + 張嘉莉 (C&G)；再加上其他活躍的藝術工作者，如黃慧妍、魂遊、黎鍵強、俞若玫和我

### 「活化」本地藝術的外框與內涵：

就此，「活化廳」在2009年的9月起在油麻地「上海街視藝空間」落戶。最初，「活化廳」並不是以成為長遠作戰的壓力團體策略而創立，只是程展緯定位的一個「一年起，兩年散」蠻具游擊性的藝術家空間（artist-run space）實驗。此實驗在於讓各人在此一持續面對街坊的平台，開拓／實驗「社區藝術」的可能性，這些實驗的意義在於釋放想像，因此，「活化廳」之為「活化」：讓一些隱藏的可能性被「活化」起來，打開重新審視事情的可能性，試驗藝術可如何真正「活化」社區之餘，也帶動討論，從而「活化」藝術／藝術空間可能性本身。街坊與藝術家在此框架下是一種共同生活的關係，沒有說誰「活化」誰，也沒有說誰一定需要誰，一切建立在人與人、點對點的平等對話關連和分享。

### 重視日常交往的「社區／藝術」：

在此一框架下，「活化廳」以兩個主軸方向發展。其一，日常狀況下開放予街坊的「活化廳」。其二，以個別主題性實驗為單位的藝術計劃。前者體現在「廳」的設定。「廳」的意思，一方面有點把其想像成官方機構（曾想過叫活化局，與市局重建局打對台），另是取其「公／私」交流點之意。把空間佈置成親切佈局的客廳，門口寫著：「隨便進來坐」，並提供各種各樣的設施，如雪櫃、飲水機、圖書閣、電腦等。初時亦委約藝術家在這些設施中創作，如魚缸水底裝置展、雪櫃冰雕展、獨立漫畫書架等。另又或開業時開展的「乒乓外交」，街坊進來打乒乓球，可拿走一卷從其他藝術空間偷來的廁紙等，基本上都成功讓街坊模糊了社區中心和（作為藝術展示和生產的）藝術空間，兩者之理解<sup>3</sup>。不過其實這個「廳」最重要的還是人的因素，而不是其設定。比

3. 比如說，南亞小朋友來「活化廳」等朋友的時候，會在電話裡跟人說：「I wait you in the artspace」雖然有次有一班功夫迷在「活化廳」即場較技時，同一位小朋友問：「Why they do this in the artspace?」

如說，我們旁邊另一機構「哮喘會」也提供坐椅，也有展覽和報紙等，可是，甚少甚少見到有街坊走進去。另外，老人家其實可以去老人中心或公園，小朋友也可選擇留在家裡上網（甚至有街坊曾說道：若這裡不是「活化廳」便不會進來）但為什麼街坊偏偏愛來「活化廳」？我想其一因素是因為這裡有「人」，並在此找到他們的自足感，真的「當成自己個廳」。

因此，像街坊半夜走進來談心事一類事情便常常發生，曾經一段時間，在廳內特別多一些失學待業退休但又想幹點事兒的街坊。而且，部份成員也常待在「活化廳」，而不是一個受薪職員，好些關係便可以比較「活」的發展。街坊與成員有時論政交鋒，有時激辯藝術理論，有些時候，這些關係得以發展成一些合作，然後，街坊會邀請朋友進來聊天，碰撞出別的事情。

### 「社區／藝術」的對話平台：

大體上，在這些關係基礎下，很多主題計劃就按此申延開去。比如說：由藝術家遍尋社區有趣事再製作獎盃的「小小賞，多多獎」；回應社區在地文化，如「風水」、「師父贊」；涉及硬政治時事議題碰撞，如「藝術造假」、「反清復明書畫展」；藉不同面向探討六四與社區歷史脈絡的「六十四件事」；每月邀請不同藝術家於櫥窗策動行為展演的「隔窗有野」；以派送小禮物作為藝術行動的「每月益街坊」等等。<sup>4</sup>

藉此，「活化廳」提供藝術家一個進入這本土草根社區，街坊同時又願意前來分享參與其中的對話平台。主題計劃各自有其實驗

5. 或這樣說吧，以朱光潛的比喻，有些人看見大樹，以科學眼光看到的是知識，如這樹是什麼品種；有些人欣賞樹的美態，拿起筆做個素描。「活化廳」的取態有些不同，就是坐在樹下思考自己和樹有什麼關係，而進行方法可以是結合兩者。

方向，而前線成員亦拉動不同配套活動，撮合有趣街坊作為支援。如「小小賞·多多獎」，一方面讓藝術家走進社區進行考察，街坊同時也進來舉報社區好人好事，藝術家與其合作，構成有趣對話。另這些關係也一定程度隨時間發展，如最近一位在三年多前「小小賞·多多獎」獲頒獎盃的街坊，因獎盃的部件脫落下來，於是便把獎盃拿到廳來維修，這卻反映這小行動對她卻構成重要的情感／紀念價值。

這種人的因素也體現在策展方向上，如以回應區內手藝行業的「師父贊」，著眼的不單是梳理各工藝行業的知識，而是由藝術家拜師學藝的對話中得出一種人與人的生活體驗，找出一些「故事」<sup>5</sup>。

### 從「一年起，兩年散」到「交個廳俾街坊」：

但在此空間計劃進行差不多一年的時間，我們開始知道藝發局將會將此空間再作公開招標（最初因藝發局就此空間沒明確定位，我們一度以為是每年內部續約，對是否延續發展一向沒共識定論。）亦即是，「活化廳」將要處理一個難題：應如最初設定讓其「一年起，兩年散」，還是嘗試延續發展？

當時，內部討論都出現重大分歧，對部份藝術家而言，他們參與時的定位並不是長遠深耕一個社區，而且持續經營也不是他們擅長。另廳的前線工作非常繁重，其他成員亦不易分擔，如何處理前線的消耗狀況？這在當時也成了應否延續下去的難題。然而，一直以來，「活化廳」的親民風格卻得到了好些街坊的認真投入，若輕言放棄，如何面對他們？此外，「活化廳」兩年來的實驗方向其實才剛打開一些新可能性的討論，在已建立的知識基礎和社

4. 另，在成立其間亦即開展了主線以外一重要計劃：「花牌師父黃乃忠駐場計劃」，及後來由我推展的「藝術家／行動者駐場計劃」，但因篇幅所限，未能一次討論。

區網絡下，若「活化廳」能集中過往成功經驗再下一乘、深化發展，那其實才是真正建真章。

最後，經一輪商議後，得出一個決議方案：在現時願意繼續參與的成員上，再加入新的成員，在未來盡快解決「活化廳」的不穩定因素，終極而言，待漸上「軌道」之時，把「活化廳」交到街坊手中，然後我們才離開。於是部份成員負起了新計劃書的責任，如是者「活化廳」竟又再成功續約。

### 繼往開來來來：活化廳延續計劃：

因此在最初十位成員建立的基礎下，「活化廳」在第三年度加入了新一代成員。而隨著部份舊成員漸漸隱退，開始出現兩代成員交接，我亦從這時接替劉建華（總司令）作為前線營運及活動策劃的負責人，而他為組織負責人。新成員大都是以「八十後」為主，經驗相對較淺，但漸漸投入不同想法和參與。因此，在過往的框架下，「活化廳」的發展方向上也漸漸出現轉變。

首先，以實驗為單位的藝術生產模式開始被鬆綁。反而更見成員重視投入時間，主動「落區」接觸街坊，建立社區網絡。比如說，經常出現在前線的成員，比例上增加了，而不是在策劃活動時才出現。街坊與個別成員的關係也較為深度發展，也不限於常常來的街坊。如在附近天台種植的街坊、排檔小販等，也包括區內的社運朋友、藝術家等。另在交往過程得到的知識經驗也隨著「活化廳」作平台深化發展，好些計劃非一次性，而是持續進行。

6. 當時計劃書大致由我，劉建華和鄭怡敏負責，新成員的班子亦由我來召集，就未來發展，雖然當時心如雞道極高，但總而言之，先續下來再算。

7. 這轉向之原因，或因為早期的實驗取向已開始漸漸失卻她的根得對象。因為若以「活化廳」作為碰撞一種新模式的討論，其實在最初一兩年也大致實踐出來。此外，這些討論如何被帶進建制討論，從而構成改變？這也讓人質疑。其次，若早期「活化廳」有一「反藝術作為藝術」的傾向，那新一代成員或更會認為，連這是不是藝術的他者定位也似乎沒什麼意思。如這是有意義的，何不直接做出來？是否需要顧慮這是不是藝術？（因為某程度藝術更內化其中）其實在未接班之前，邀請還未加入的80後藝術家策劃的「拜山先講- 再問六四與與城」計劃（2011）已開始見到此分別。

在行政上，早年的方式是由兩位前線成員全職負責日常事務，其餘的核心成員負責個別的策展項目。但這種分工卻不見得能在新一代成員中順利進行，前線工作及策展實驗很多時都是由不同成員以團隊方式相互協作發生。主題展覽開始慢慢減少，而多是一些藝術行動、工作坊、服務、關係建立等。

另一轉向是其行動主義的手法態度。這或因大部份新成員曾參與社會運動，但我認為這其實也是一個有關「有效性」和是否對自己真誠的反思。正如前所說，新成員大多有更深耕社區的傾向，其實正因過往以碰撞式手法的溝通只是第一步，特別是當街坊對「活化廳」已建立一定信任，如何進一步讓理念滲透到他們的主動參與和日常生活中？另一方面，現場行動和對話創造的是點對點的接觸，常涉及參與者自行創造意義，而這或更深入到情感生命，造成內在的轉變，而較不是一次性的消費經驗。

### 「街坊行動主義」- 社區／藝術／社運：

因此，在與街坊開始互有往來時，我們如何能感染到他們再走前一步，讓其具自發的行出來表態、參與、甚至作出行動？這一點像是松本哉（Haijime Matsumoto）的「窮人大作戰」又或柄谷行人（Kojin Karatani）提倡的「理念聯合運動」的想法。社區中本存在一群與我們理念相近的「窮人」，只是我們如何動員大家出來，讓不可見的網絡被再現？此一想法，動員的對象不單止是街坊，也包括參與的藝術家和成員，及至更大的社會。從一小社區至大社會，大社會再回饋小社區，兩者之間的互動。若說行動主義

終指向其實就是各人能直接實踐社會轉變，而這些基礎便在於我們如何建立持續性的地區網絡，並散播到日常生活中。

比如說，是次展出的《殺到油麻地·地區自救計劃》（Yau Ma Tei Self-Rescue Project），相對初期同樣是回應城市發展議題如《小西九雙年展》（Siu Sai Gual Bananle），前者更見一手法上刻意重塑破碎社區關係，從而再粘合起來的傾向。比如，對被拆下檔口的馮畫師與附近社區網絡關聯的考究、油麻地的天台種植網絡、又或不停「洗區」派發傳單令其成「一件事」的「街坊傾計會」（廣東話：聊天會），策展人幾乎每天駐場收集街坊回應等... 足見其重點不是想生產出一些只供欣賞或討論的案例，而是重構一個社區，也讓理念散佈和連合到街坊，讓其漫延。

### 邁向主客互融的「社區／藝術」：

然後，在成員積極建立的地區基礎下，「活化廳」開始出現一些有趣的現象：街坊開始一步步由受眾過渡成主動策劃，不單向我們提議不同活動，甚至由他們自行策劃，而成員只是協作進行。如今年初，熱心街坊 Fred 媽忽然自行籌來兩千元，“資助”我們為她攪一次「新春派飯團」活動。原先，派飯團活動是 2011 年平安夜晚策劃的藝術行動，而新春本無此計劃的想法，但在婆婆的主導下，“感染”成員助她願望成真。成員在網上發動「你幫我幫佢」行動，網上資源共享平台群組 oh!yes it's free 成員一眾快速響應，自組團隊合力完成其事，由買材料、製作飯團、分發到社區有需要人士，都由社區自發促成。在此，「社區藝術」的主體有趣地被模糊了，因為已不是藝術家單方面主導，而是街坊自行發動整件事情，「活化廳」只是一個促發這種社區自發能

量的平台，發展出一種互有往來分享的社區禮物經濟之可能性，與之前提出的「交個廳俾街坊」其實已開始愈走愈近。因此，在新成員的主導下，數月前，我們以「街坊主導」，而藝術家協作的方向，交上新一年度計劃的提案，而驚訝地，藝發局卻忽然以活動「不夠多元」為由，拒絕我們繼續營運此空間 ...

### 我們如何共同生活？共同藝術？

無論如何，這事我們還是要追究到底。但若回望三年多以來，「活化廳」到今天還是一個「共同體」實驗，而且一直向外申延，這是她十分可愛的地方。到底我們基於什麼需要在一起？想建立一個怎樣的社區？這些其實很基本的問題，不會是一時三刻的們找到答案，但我們向著那美好想像前進。三年多以來，「活化廳」生產了很多嘗試，搭建了很多平台，基於很簡單的理由：我是藝術家，也是一個普通人，我如何去幫件事？「活化廳」無論是一開始的實驗方向及至後來更強調結合生活情感的取向（或其實一直互通），大家就是想著，我們如何「活」一點的去做藝術。「活」一點的意思就是，更貼近庶民生活，更貼近藝術應能感染的大眾，順手拈來而不矯飾造作，身體力行而不是姿態表述，回到地面，跟街坊用心談，用心聽，其實就是這麼一件事。當然，我想說，藝術家能行出這一步，離開其本位本已是十分不容易，也可說是不擅長。但最後，攪一個空間，我們還是要問問自己：「為了\_\_\_\_，你可以去幾盡？」當我們走到現在，街坊與藝術家，各自如十隻手指不同長短，在似乎歧異又相容的生活價值中，短短三年多時間碰撞磨合，然後如何共同生活／共同藝術？對我而言，這是「社區藝術」最有意思，而又很需要大家一起探索的難題。

# Woofers

*Text: Chen Chun-Fung Lee / Founding Member of Woofers Ten*

At the time this paper was written, Woofers Ten received notice that the Arts Development Council would cease its funding. As a result, Woofers Ten must be moving out of its current address before September 30.

## **Origin: A series of independent “community / art” experiments:**

Woofers Ten was not established around a single ideology. Instead, it serves as a rather open platform that sets its focus on addressing certain issues. Its future is unknown. By constantly exploring new ideas and making adjustments to existing ones, we try to answer the following questions: What can this space eventually become? What should it be like? And, how should it be managed? In the blink of an eye, we have come this far. 1

The original idea for Woofers Ten came from Chin-Wai Ching when he stumbled across the Shanghai Street Artspace Exhibition Hall Project application posted on the Arts Development Council website. The council defined it as a space for “community art.” Thus, he began to explore the field of “community art” through the operation of this space, which was located in a rapidly developing neighborhood along Shanghai Street in Yau Ma Tei. Situated in a grassroots community, it was able to conduct its operations through guerilla tactics, while also establishing a base and connections with the surrounding community. Over the years, artists whose works focused on social and political issues were invited to join the cause 2. Woofers Ten was created as a result.

Woofers Ten was never intended as a long-term project. Rather, it was meant to act as an artist-run space, an experimental project that would last no more than one to two years. The platform was intended to let artists explore and create

community art in a neighborhood setting, while providing an escape for their imagination. It also opened up a conversation about society, prompting discussion regarding art and its ability to enliven a community. The premise of the project was based on bilateral communication and sharing.

## **Focus on community / art in daily life:**

The development of Woofers Ten utilized a two-pronged approach. One consisted of daily operations that catered to the neighborhood. The other focused on the implementation of experimental art projects. The former revolved around the notion of a “hall,” which can be thought of as an official institution, as well as a hub where the public and private domains intersect. The space was decorated into a cozy living room, and featured a sign that read “drop by anytime” next to its entrance. The space provided amenities like water fountains, a study room, computers, etc. It successfully blurred the lines between a community center and an art space (a place where art is displayed). Yet, the most important element to a “hall” is people.

## **A Dialogue between Community and Art**

Generally, many themed projects are brought into fruition with such a pretext in mind. For the exhibition, Prize! Prize! Prize!, artists scavenged the neighborhood to search for something interesting; Mastermind and Feng Shui echo community culture; Faking it and Fanqing Fuming Calligraphy Exhibition focused on political incidents and clashes; 64 Incidents discussed the history of the community and the Tiananmen Square incident. For the Through the Looking Glass Project, artists were invited to display their art, and art was distributed as small gifts for Monthly Jetso. 3 4

Through such an approach, Woofer Ten provided artists with an entrance into a grassroots community. Neighborhood residents also participated in the dialogue by sharing their perspectives. Each project featured an experimental theme and executed alongside events organized by frontline members. This resulted in an interesting combination. Human elements also acted as a core theme for the exhibitions. For example, Mastermind served as a tribute to the local arts and crafts industry. It not only brought much insight into the industry, but also established a unique dialogue between artisans and artists in an attempt to form a “story.”<sup>5</sup>

### **From temporary project to a hall that serves the neighborhood:**

However, just one year after its founding, the Arts Development Council revealed its intention to recover the space. Woofer Ten found itself facing a tough challenge: should it stick to its original plan or continue its planned development? After much deliberation, a consensus was reached: members who were willing to continue would work alongside new members to find a solution. The original plan was for Woofer Ten to be handed over to the community once its operations stabilized. Only then, would the founding members discontinue their involvement. In response to this, a few members began to draft a proposal.<sup>6</sup> Thus, Woofer Ten survived.

### **Continuation of Woofer Ten Project**

During the third year, a new generation of members joined Woofer Ten based on a foundation established by the ten founding members. Most of the new members were born after the 1980s and carried little experience. Yet, they provided new

perspectives. With these changes to its initial framework, the development of Woofer Ten also steered towards a different direction.<sup>7 8</sup>

First, Woofer Ten’s experimental format for creating art was loosened. As a result, members spent more time interacting with the surrounding community, which helped establish a local network. Member who worked on the frontlines also increased, and they did not just show up only when required. Certain individuals forged deep bonds with the local residents, and their relationship with the community became even more significant. Those who became involved included rooftop gardeners, street vendors, social activities, and artists. The experience and knowledge obtained from these newly formed relationships helped Woofer Ten deepen its roots as a platform. Many of its projects continued previous themes.

Another change included an increased interest in activism.<sup>9</sup> This can be attributed to the new members who were already deeply involved in social activism. However, I think this change is more attributed to “effectiveness”, and serves as a sincere reflection of itself. As mentioned previously, most of the new members showed a tendency and desire to cultivate the local community. In fact, the previous trial and error approach was just a start. When Woofer Ten became established in the community, it had to figure out how to become a part of the daily life of local residents. On another end, on-site events and exchange helped establish many connections. Participants often became involved in the creative process, which led to a deeper impact on life as well as internal change. Its events served as more than a mere single consumer experience.

## **Neighborhood Activism - Art, Politics, and Social Movement**

During its interaction with the community, can we sense that Woofer Ten has been able to improve its operations, while increasing the amount of declaration, participation, and even action? This is like Hajime Matsumoto's The Poor Strike Back or Kojin Karatani's proposal of the Association movement idea. Within a community, there exists a group of "poor people" who share ideas similar to ours. However, the question becomes: how do we mobilize everyone so that we can materialize this invisible network? This idea might be not to limit the object of mobilization to the streets, but should also include participating artists, members, and even society at large. From one small community to the larger society and back - this is the interaction between the two. As a result, when one mentions activism, it is actually referring to how a person directly implements social change. And, these are based on how we establish a sustainable regional network that can be spread into daily life.

For example, as compared to the earlier Mini West Kowloon Biennial, which also served as a response to urban development issues, the Yau Ma Tei Self-Rescue Project & Demonstration Exhibition deliberately attempts to reshape and reconnect broken community relations. An example is Mr. Feng, a painter who had his stall removed. The exhibition also explored the community networks of the neighborhood, the rooftop gardens of Yau Ma Tei, and the non-stop bombardment of pamphlets that led to a situation in which the community formed an organized resistance. The curators visited every corner of the neighborhood to gauge public opinion. The purpose was not to produce case studies for the sake of enjoyment or discussion. Rather, it was intended as a means to restructure a community, and spread such ideals to all corners of the neighborhood.

## **Fusion of subjectivity and objectivity in community/art**

On the foundation of a region actively constructed by members, some interesting phenomena began to appear at Woofer Ten. Members of the neighborhood gradually began to take initiative in planning. They not only started to propose various events to us, but also planned activities on their own. Members only provided assistance.

Interestingly enough, the subject of community became blurred because the artist no longer held the ultimate authority. Instead, the members of the neighborhood began to take over the entire business. Woofer Ten became a platform to spark this spontaneous energy of the community. This also reflected the foundation for establishing a certain community network and developing a possibility for mutual sharing in a local gift economy. In truth, this actually split from the previously proposal of being a "hall that served the neighborhood." As a result, under the guidance of new members, we followed the lead of the neighborhood a few months ago. With artists helping in providing a direction, they proposed a new year plan. Surprisingly, the Arts Development Council stated that there was "not enough diversity" as an excuse to stop our operation of this space.

## **How do we live and create art together?**

In any case, we have to find the cause behind this. If Woofer Ten was still an influential "community" experiment like it was three years ago, then that would be rather charming. What makes us stay together? What kind of community do we want to create? These are not questions that can be answered without further deliberation. Nevertheless, we strive to achieve a splendid ideal. Since its inception three years ago, Woofer Ten has dared to experiment, creating many platforms along



the way. This is based on a very simple premise: I am an artist and an ordinary human being. What can I do to make myself useful?

Either inspired by Woofar Ten's initial experimental approach or its later focus on daily life, we always strive to approach the creative process with a bit more "liveliness." In this context, "liveliness" means art that lies close to the lives of ordinary people. The result is engaging and unpretentious artworks. Instead of making bold statements, we practice what we preach. We engage communities with sincerity and listen to the voices of the residents. It is as simple as that. Of course, I want to say that this is already a big feat for an artist because it is not in their nature to do so. In the end, I have to ask myself, "For whom am I doing this?" Up until now, the neighborhood and the artists, each with their strengths and weaknesses, live together and share values that are both similar and different. Over the course of three short years, how does one continue to live and create art together from now on? For me, this is the most interesting aspect of community art, yet also the toughest question that needs to be addressed.





## 結語

「伊底帕斯再弄瞎雙眼後，漫遊著，並且對於他所看不見的世界，有了全新的知覺；他現在變得謙卑，因此更接近眾神。」

約翰伯格曾描述林布蘭 (Rembrandt) 的畫中每個身軀，都是被賦予敘事能力的肉身。肉體代表了一種空間，集聚情感、記憶，認知自己，面對著生命的脆弱與孤寂，卻也同時感受喜悅與幸福。每一個人的身體就像寄存於世，有時卻又獨立於世的中介空間。我們身體上所感受的種種被壓抑與不快樂的經驗，讓我們對自身所處的世界有所知覺。猶如伊底帕斯，在失去視覺與觀看的能力後，如何探索、理解所有的相似與不相似。因此在城市空間中，我們講求回到身體感知已被資本主義所剝奪的感官權力的自權。

六、七零年代從後格林柏格藝術實踐上逃脫的亡命之徒們所擴展，從英國社群藝術傳統與美國暫時性公共藝術的實驗經驗裡，把原來向內的對藝術作品的批判，轉為一組積極實踐，透過畫廊牆壁，直接面相世界，把主體間互動的新形式和社會運動結合 (Kester 2006, 23)。但這類具溝通性質的對話性作品，因本身的特質往往留下痕跡。也因此急需對此類創作進行一種紀錄、檔案整理的歷史性計畫。

這裡並非強調社群藝術以及對話性藝術等這些行動的絕對力量，也並非一味提倡它們的政治如何正確。這些藝術行動背後的困難以及矛盾，參與其中或是曾經接觸的人必都深刻體驗這些藝術行動背後的困難以及矛盾。但這裡並不是討論這些藝術的形式或是

藝術的美感是否可納入藝術史的書寫，而是這些藝術行動被何種時空背景所生產出來？這樣的藝術生產代表著甚麼意義？回到社會現實。看這個現實給了我們什麼樣的框架

以及但側重的是這些行動背後代表著當代社會的甚麼光景與困境？藝術家如何去回應，而「參與以及對話」在當今社會為何顯得重要以及珍貴，這些特徵無可否認引發許多關於社會 / 階級 / 人羣的思考軸線。

柯念璞

## *Conclusion*

“After Oedipus blinded both his eyes and wandered the land, he began to have new perceptions about the unseen world. He became humbler and, thus, closer to the gods.”

John Berger once described how every body portrayed in Rembrandt’s paintings are bestowed with an ability to tell a narrative. The physical body represents a type of space that gathers emotions, memories, and a sense of self-cognition. It faces the fragility and solitude of life, but also senses joy and happiness. Each person’s body acts as a sort of deposit in the world, while sometimes it seems to be completely independent from the space around it. Various experiences of being oppressed or unhappy felt by our body allow us to gain a perception about the world we live in. Like Oedipus, the loss of vision and the ability to observe seemingly leads to an exploration and understanding of all things similar and dissimilar. Therefore, in an urban space, we demand the right to restore physical perceptions that have since been deprived by capitalism.

During the 1960s and 1970s, with the expansion of followers who escaped from post-Greenberg art practices, the art traditions of British communities, and the experimental experiences of American temporary public art, the originally inward criticisms of art works are converted into an active practice. From the wall of an art gallery, they directly face the world, combining new forms and social movements amidst the interaction of subjects. However, this type of communicative and dialogic work often leaves behind traces due to its nature. And, as a result, there is urgent need for a historic plan that records and comprehensively files this type of art work.

This does not suggest that an absolute power can be found in community or dialogic art, nor does it blindly advocate for their political intentions. People who are involved or previously come into contact have all deeply experienced the difficulties and struggles behind these artistic actions. However, what is discussed here is not whether these artistic forms or aesthetics can be incorporated into the pages of art history, but what space-time background can produce such artistic actions? What meaning does this type of art production bring? A return to social reality, and seeing what kind of framework this reality brings us.

And, what circumstances and dilemmas of contemporary society do these actions represent? And, why does it seem important and precious for artists to respond and “participate in dialogue” in today’s society? These characteristics undeniably spark many lines of thought regarding society/class/community.

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