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## A Primer to Cultural Production as an Adult Video (AV) Actress in Japan: Expectations and Realities

SIAH Xun Wei<sup>1</sup>

### *Abstract*

Is physical nudity always an expression of emotional liberation? Does sexual intimacy lead to spiritual oneness? These are the questions that my paper is going to explore, against the backdrop of the scintillating industry is credited to the Japanese pornography. It is not only monetary rewards that attract women to stage intercourse, but the promise of cathartic thrill and vocational satisfaction. In this aspect, they are not too different from those artists in the mainstream film-making and cultural producers of other mass media. Yet, is publicizing sex a form of sexual liberation? It seems not. Pornography is an extension, not an escape from the norms and strictures of society. The oppression of real life finds itself in the recreation of reel life. “Outside sex” is itself an insider’s world, with spoken and unspoken rules. The need to be commercially viable by pleasing the “male gaze” dispels any potential of liberation in the porn industry. Hopefully, this short paper will motivate more ethnographical researches to shed new light on this taboo subject.

### *Keywords*

Japan, Pornography, Gender roles, Sexual liberation, Cultural production

A series of articles in “The Tokyo Reporter” reveals intriguing facts with regards to the AV (adult video) actress and the pornography industry in Japan. Consider, for example, that a “flaccid period” of poor sales saw an increase in the hiring of weekend-only amateurs, who filled up roles for cost-cutting porn production companies (Nakano, “Stiff Times”, 2012). Atsuhiko Nakamura, a writer on the Japanese porn industry, is cited as saying: “If one position is available, there will be 25 actresses willing to fill it. It is a highly competitive environment.” Due to the oversupply of such prospects, wages have plummeted for part-timers and idols alike. Most actresses participate in group shots, which garner only 20,000 to 30,000 yen per session (Takahashi, 2012). Genre productions, such as the *chikan* (molestation) theme, fetch an upward of 150,000 yen, though after fees and commissions, merely one-fifth of that sum remains (Nakano, “Money Matters”, 2012). Yet in the late 1990s, a top actress could earn “four million to five million yen per flick” for her performances (“Stiff Times”). Lay discourses in other developed countries, mostly Western societies have often positioned pornography along the shades of taboo, immorality or perversion. To religious and cultural conservatives, sexually-explicit depictions of the human body undermine values of chastity and purity. Feminist activists have protested against the exploitation of women for the service of male sexual urges (Downs, 1989: xi-xvii).

These prescriptions suggest that female artistes enter the AV industry in a moral ignorance and/or in the exigencies of financial need. In contrast, Nakamura claims that “monetary rewards are not behind the current oversupply of actress”. Instead, he describes the “liberated sensation of a woman who resigned from a [banking position] to join the AV world”, and the “drastic change...from the daily grind” that a former nurse experienced as a soft-porn actress (Nakano, “Money Matters”). My brief essay aims to contextualise such accounts by identifying social and sexual liberalism as an ideological motive for the works of certain AV actresses, and especially considering the Japanese treatment of sex and body as the art medium (Moeran, 2010). In addition, I will highlight the discrepancy between the motive and the reality of the said cultural labour, arguing that the structure, conventions and stock roles’ definitive of AV productions do not necessarily permit the ideal of female “liberation” (Wong, 2014; Zamir 2013). Representations of femininity in the pornographic visuals might ironically reify and entrench women within the expectations of the male “gaze”.

According to Menger (1999: 554), cultural work has the potential to bring about “non-monetary, psychological rewards”, which include “high levels of personal autonomy”, “a sense of sociality and community”, “the possibility of self-realisation” and “potentially high degrees of recognition, perhaps

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<sup>1</sup> Author – Siah Xun Wei (Student, M.S. in Public Policy at School of International Relations and Public Affairs, Fudan University)

even celebrity” (Hesmondhalgh, 2013: 255). The logic of finding freedom away from the rigid gender/economic role of Japanese society, and thereby one’s own being, appeals to female “libertarians”, who discover in various modes of erotic production as a gateway for self-expression. Willis (2006) observes the new emergence of diversity in Japan, from “assertions of individuality” to the “surfacing of once-taboo issues [about traditional] gender roles” (50). Albeit not without controversy, the Japanese have generally been recognised as a solitary society, with collectivistic people of “solid homogeneity...of a singular consciousness and indeed, of great insularity”, in contradistinction to white Western cultures (50). Gender is inextricably tied to labour, as seen in the archotyping of woman as *ryosai kenbo* (“good wife, wise mother”) since the Meiji Restoration (Faison, 2007: 8-9). That a woman’s main duty in life should be domestic prevailed as a complicit ideology in modern-day, industrialised Japan; the corporate sphere remains largely male-dominated and patriarchal. Women at the workplace are often relegated to peripheral job scopes and/or are forced to conform to the values, temperaments and work ethics as preferred by their male colleagues (Ogasawara, 1998).

Despite its regimented image of socio-economic life, Japanese culture has, perhaps surprisingly, rendered sexual activity as an art unto itself. Moeran (2010) summarises the historical treatment of sex in Japan. In early times, the emphasis was on “the play (*asobi*) involved in courtships or [brothel visits]”; games of pursuit and seduction between the genders. During the Edo period, sexual tension found expression in the “floating world” (*ukiyo*), or pleasure-seeking culture, complete with rituals of aestheticized flirtation by courtesans, such as singing and dancing (171). “Human passions” were regarded with amorality; “not controlled by an abstract moral code...of sin or chivalry, but by aesthetics, by decorum for its own sake, [akin to] an exquisite piece of theatre (Buruma, 1984 in Moeran: 171).” This complement, even flatters the sexual liberalist view of pornography as “essentially communication relating to sexuality”; “the natural result of the fact that humans are sexual beings (Malamuth and Billing, 1984: 118).” As per the *yakuza* (gangster) practice of tattooing, the body is itself treated as a canvas for beauty and artistry (Moeran: 171). The Japanese norm of sacrificing individual desires to meet communal obligations, as well as its tradition of beautifying the sexual form, thereby converged to foster a sprawling world of porn art; a supposedly isolated avenue for sexual, thus social emancipation. The non-matrimonial bed, as with other staged locales of exhibition, gratification or coitus, serves as a visceral space for the catharsis of repressed lyricism and sensuality. Throughout Japan’s history, socio-cultural upheavals have always been followed by a “spate of [pornographic expression]”; sex is in fact a “pleasurable safety valve”; “a form of “dissent, transgression or disobedience that rejects the effects of Western modernisation (Moeran: 172, Lloyd, 2004: 16).” In the pink realm, the woman is disrobed of her social image, identity and duties, at least theoretically. Via her erotic (re)creation, she finds space to diversify and deconstruct the severe, neo-Confucian binary of gender roles, not to mention the Judeo-Christian morality that yokes bodily intimacy to spousal union and abstinence to singleness.

Yet, as Hesmondhalgh points out, the creativity of the cultural producer must be negotiated with the agendas of business, politics and industry organisation (228-68). The ideal of creative autonomy and independence – “freedom from the influence of commercial goals, from powerful sources and from dominant...values [pertaining to] nation, class and gender”- more often than not loiters on the edge of elusiveness (244). In relation to the AV actress, the narrative sequence as typical of soft-porn features imposes upon femininity a fetishized, male-egoistic view. The prevalent motif in AV assumes that a woman should be subservient, innocent and barely defensible to a man’s advances. In his analysis, Wong (2014) identifies a “three-step process” in a clip starring a *bishojo* (beautiful young girl) (141-4). Firstly, the actress is introduced as “cute, cheerful, gentle and sexually naïve.” Secondly, she is aroused into a sexual mode and “stimulated via prolonged foreplay using various means.” Finally, “as a result of sexual enlightenment”, or being taught the ways of pleasure, she “metamorphoses into a...passionate, active and adventurous partner (144).” Most AV productions (except for some genres) adhere to this formula one way or another, whereas “lighter” works are usually pertained to the first step; for instance, by showing the actress in the nude, happily doing her chores or washing a car.

It is noteworthy that in Japanese traditional theatre forms such as kabuki, the “gender ideal is carefully crafted from a repertoire of markers or forms – gestural, sartorial, bodily, cosmetic and linguistic, that are coded masculine or feminine (Robertson, 1998: 38).” The emphasis on a system of externalised codification persists in the use of female archetypes, or stereotypes in modern AV texts. The housewife, the office lady, the girl-next-door, the schoolgirl and the bus or train passenger awaiting molestation are examples of the predetermined personas that an AV actress is expected to embody. At

the site of erotic performance, she is the subject of male voyeurism, handling, tantalisation, even bondage and discipline. In the wider, societal framework of Japanese patriarchy, the woman is commoditised for men's consumption, and should necessarily suit the market demands (Malamuth and Billing, 1984: 122-4). For most scenarios, she is required to strike a balance between being too lustful or "slutty" and being too frigid in the front of the camera. Hence, a woman is allowed to rebel by joining the AV industry, but "not by too much". Male expectations for her to straddle the best of both worlds govern the expression of erotic, creative selves.

We could thereby posit that although an AV actress might experience initial (and inconsistent) feelings of liberation in "courageous self-disclosure" – the risky (risqué) novelty of being naked in the presence of the other, the moral-ideological goal of emancipation is impeded by textual structure and the very nature of pornographic work itself (Zamir, 2013: 96). A woman might have engaged in sexual role-playing for the purpose of "existential amplification", wherein one's "usually unavailable possibilities are fictionally actualised", perhaps then leading to personal "growth" (96). However, the possibility of liberation, as well as being one's self, is difficult to realise in performative, consumeristic sex. Sexual reactions are remarkably uniform in AV productions, from the contortion of faces in pain/pleasure to high-pitched moans that have been caricatured as "cat-like". Varied responses to arousal, even in actual sensation, are controlled, muted or magnified by the artifice of presentation. An actress, to sum it up, could be either faking an orgasm, having a real orgasm, or having an orgasm but not enjoying it. In other words, her emotional mood could be dissociated from, even opposed to her physiological state. An actress inevitably encounters times during the course of work when her desire and mannerisms, or little thereof, must be subjugated to the duty of meeting directorial demands, which are in turn tailored to company guidelines and market specs. This compromise of self-authenticity is not too different from a woman's sacrifice of self for the majority in the corporate workplace, the household or the everyday practice of Japanese culture. In the world of AV, neither is she exempt from challenges to creative individuality or autonomy that are faced by cultural producers in more mainstream industries.

In conclusion, this essay has briefly examined the AV actress and industry against the backdrop of Japan's societal, historical and philosophical peculiarities. The psychological motivation of her cultural/creative labours, as specified earlier, seems to contradict the multivalent reality of the AV world, which is bodily aesthetics entangled in the web of dominant discourses, power politics and of course, the profit motive. An erotic chamber no longer retains its privacy in the presence of a camera that records for capitalist distribution and consumption; publicised sex accordingly subjects itself to public surveillance and compulsion. In "performing" (rather than just "having") sex, the woman leaves one or few social institutions for yet another; pornography is itself an institution of hierarchies and boundaries. An AV actress, as per the job description, must act – to perform a role, which might compromise as much as improvise upon her gender subjectivity. Finally, I would like to acknowledge a few limitations of this essay, if not a primer for further ethnographic studies and fieldwork. The discussion thus far has been restricted to heterosexual eroticism, while assuming a male majority among its consumers. One would expect the dynamics of creative (in)dependence to change in lesbian-themed productions or those geared towards female sexual tastes and responses, which are allegedly more contoured. The same could be said of the *chijo* (female molester) and *gyaku nanpa* (female pick-up) genres, featuring sexually aggressive women and thus deviating from the ubiquity of Japanese perceptions (Wong: 36-7). In addition, I recognise the dichotomised framing of sexual liberalist/non-liberalist, whereas future interviews might clarify and add nuance to the complex psychology of AV actresses and account for "in-betweens", such as those who take up AV as a short-term change of gears, or as an escapist hobby. Inferences from erotic texts about production norms and performance psyche could and should be corroborated by first-hand or onsite accounts of the filming set and process, answering questions of whether the actress thinks or feels she is truly "liberated".

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## 一場後現代網路狂歡：“膜蛤”亞文化淺析

徐悅東<sup>1</sup>

### 摘要

自 2011 年以來，“膜蛤”風潮持續在中國大陸的網路世界上風靡。在中國這個獨特的網路和社會環境下，這種網路惡搞與西方類似的情況很不一樣。這究竟是一種通過懷舊來表達不滿還是僅是一種巴赫金意義上的狂歡？本文首次嘗試從學理上做出分析。首先簡單梳理“膜蛤”的前世今生，然後嘗試從神話學的角度剖析“膜蛤”亞文化在中國這個獨特的社會環境中的意義，再用後現代等理論嘗試去解釋其背後的原因。經過分析，本文認為“膜蛤”是一種狂歡，是對言論管控和嚴肅的政治大敘事的一種遊戲和消解。這種亞文化也建構著年輕一代線民的自我認同，也形成參與政治的一種新方式，並且在遊戲和消解的過程中不斷地在與官方的收編進行協商。

### 關鍵字

“膜蛤”，亞文化，神話學，後現代，狂歡

### 引言

“膜蛤”是中國網路亞文化中一個生命力愈發旺盛的網路狂歡現象，各種“膜”的形式（常見的比如引用江澤民的言論，用其表情包）在當下中國的網路社區裡風靡，形成一種“黑話”，甚至一些流行語直接被官方媒體所使用，這股亞文化的潮流還帶動了周邊產業，並且也壯大到引起了官方對此亞文化的封殺。在中國獨特的政治環境和社會環境下，對國家領導人的網路惡搞顯然在語境、動機和意義上與西方的類似的情況很不一樣，那麼為什麼“膜蛤”亞文化會在中國如此火爆？這是一種懷舊來表達對當下的不滿還是僅是一種巴赫金意義上的狂歡？由於此選題的政治敏感性，在中國大陸的學界裡並沒有相關的前人研究，只有一些自媒體和一些境外媒體的評論。本文首次從學理上做出分析，首先簡單梳理“膜蛤”的前世今生，然後嘗試從神話學的角度剖析“膜蛤”亞文化的在中國這個特殊的社會環境中的意義，再用後現代等理論嘗試去解釋其背後的原因。

### “膜蛤”簡史

“膜蛤”指的是中國網友對中國前國家主席江澤民的言行及形象的惡搞的現象。“膜”指“膜拜”，“蛤”則取自江澤民像蛤蟆的觀點<sup>2</sup>。“膜蛤”者自稱“蛤絲”或“膜法師”。自從 2000 年江澤民怒斥香港記者事件開始，加上當時被中央取締的邪教組織“法輪功”在海外批評江澤民的“醜態百出”的證明，網上就陸續有人開始惡搞其言行來表達對其的不滿，這是“膜蛤”亞文化的萌芽階段。直到 2011 年 7 月 6 日，香港亞洲電視錯報江澤民的死訊，經新華社闢謠後，江澤民“死而復生”的軼事使得人們把他和同年出生的還在位的卡斯楚和英國女王伊莉莎白二世對比，人們對於他的興趣被激起。從這個時候開始，有戲謔意味並且褒貶指向更加模糊的“膜蛤”才算正式的開始，隨著 2011 年到 2013 年關於江澤民越來越多的新聞視頻和語錄被挖出來，被“蛤絲”奉為經典的“蛤三篇”<sup>3</sup>也在這個時候成形，“膜蛤”亞文化開始茁壯成長，從 2011 年以前的人人網泛政治圈子裡的政治討論中快速擴散到各大網路平臺<sup>4</sup>。2014 年，微信

<sup>1</sup> 作者：徐悅東（香港中文大學跨文化研究碩士生，2017/18 學年）

<sup>2</sup> AMY QIN. “‘膜蛤文化’盛行中國網路，或為影射習近平”。紐約時報中文網。2015 年 10 月 21 日。  
<https://cn.nytimes.com/china/20151021/c21sino-jiang/>，2017 年 12 月 6 日

<sup>3</sup> 分別是中南海怒斥香港記者，接受邁克·華萊士訪談談笑風生和以前領導的身份視察國機二院。

<sup>4</sup> 段平；蘇昕琪。“一位長者的死與生：中國網路‘膜蛤’的前世今生”。端傳媒。2016 年 8 月 20 日。  
<https://theinitium.com/article/20160824-mainland-toadworship/>，2017 年 12 月 6 日



有了“江選研討會”和“一顆賽艇”的公眾號，百度也有很多“膜蛤”貼吧，不過在引起了巨大閱讀量之後都被當局關閉，而當年被江澤民怒斥的香港記者張寶華的新浪微博帳號也成了“蛤絲”們的聚集地，“圖樣圖森破（too young too simple）”、“提高姿勢（知識）水準”、“悶聲大發財”、“上臺拿衣服（sometimes naive）”“感到拙計/捉雞”、“吼啊（好啊）”、“無可奉告”、“談笑風生”、“弄個大新聞”、“excited！（或一顆賽艇/亦可賽艇）”、“苟利國家生死以”等等眾多江澤民語錄已成為網路流行語，而亞視誤報死亡事件也讓人們經常用“+1s”或“續一秒”等來祝福或調侃江澤民的長壽。此外，還有很多表情包，黑框眼鏡的圖片，高褲腰帶的形象等等與江澤民有關的外形言行軼事都成了網友狂歡的表達符號。甚至官方媒體偶爾也會採用這些流行語，並且帶動了周邊產品如有其流行語的手機殼、背包、T恤和滑鼠墊的熱銷。隨著2017年對網路管理的加強，大量微博和貼吧的“蛤絲”帳號被清理，鼎盛一時的“膜蛤”在政治高壓下似乎緩和了下來，但是其對中國以年輕人為主體的互聯網流行語/表情包的影響已經非常深遠。

對於此現象的原因，中國沒有學者給出過評論，而海外人士對此的看法主要分兩派，自由派知識份子認為“膜蛤”是在表達對當下領導人的不滿，典型的比如夏明表示“江澤民海派文化的特徵，經過宣教出來的對世界文化的仰慕，同時對全球價值觀的認同，對西方國家、對世界文明希望靠近……使得中國民眾，尤其是知識份子懷念江澤民”<sup>5</sup>，包括《紐約時報》也曾發表文章認為在不苟言笑的胡錦濤和習近平的廉價公關<sup>6</sup>的對比之下，人們更懷念更加自然又有個性有人情味又幽默率性又有深厚中西學問底蘊的江澤民，以及懷念當時相對寬鬆的言論空間<sup>7</sup>。但是也有很多人也不贊同這種說法，比如端傳媒也曾報導很多人不同意《紐約時報》的這種觀點，很多“自幹五”（不收酬勞為當局辯護的線民）也是資深“蛤絲”，認為“膜蛤”跟諷刺當局沒有必然的關係<sup>8</sup>。

### “膜蛤”的神話學

根據羅蘭·巴特在《今日神話》一文裡提到，神話是一種二級符號系統，在第一個系統裡是符號（即一個概念與一種意象的結合整體）的，在第二個系統裡變成了普通的能指<sup>9</sup>。在法輪功的“蛤”生成的原文本<sup>10</sup>裡，“蛤”在一級符號系統中，首先能指是蛤的發音字形，然後它的所指是一種動物。在二級符號系統裡，這種動物作為能指，所指是醜陋，禍害世人。在法輪功對江澤民的醜化中，把江澤民比作蛤蟆，達到了神話的功能：它表意和告知，它使人理解並強迫人理解<sup>11</sup>江澤民是一個醜陋並且有著負面影響的人物，這也是一種神話使得的變形<sup>12</sup>（deformation）。然而羅蘭·巴特說：“神話概念中無任何固定性：神話概念可以形成，可以轉變，可以分解，可以完全消失<sup>13</sup>。”而在“膜蛤”群體中，“蛤”的神話已經不是醜化的內涵了。首先是他們對原神話的一種解讀，就如羅蘭·巴特解釋的對神話的第三種解讀一樣，“如果我側重於神話的能指就像我側重於意思與形式的一個無法理清的整體那樣，我就會獲得一種含混的意指：我使自己適應神話的構成機制和其原動力，於是，我變成了神話的讀者…第三種

<sup>5</sup> 夏明. 時事大家談: 透視中國網路上興起的“膜蛤文化”. 美國之音. 2015年10月29日.

<https://www.voachinese.com/a/io-20151028-china-internet-culture/3026248.html>, 2017年12月6日

<sup>6</sup> 指去包子鋪買包子，官媒造詞“習大大”等形象公關。

<sup>7</sup> AMY QIN. “‘膜蛤文化’盛行中國網路，或為影射習近平”. 紐約時報中文網. 2015年10月21日.

<https://cn.nytimes.com/china/20151021/c21sino-jiang/>, 2017年12月6日

<sup>8</sup> 段平; 蘇昕琪. “一位長者的死與生：中國網路“膜蛤”的前世今生”. 端傳媒. 2016年8月20日.

<https://theinitium.com/article/20160824-mainland-toadworship/>, 2017年12月6日

Roland Barthes. “Myth Today”. Mythologies. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: The Noonday Press, 1972. 113.

<sup>9</sup> Roland Barthes. “Myth Today”. Mythologies. Trans. Annette Lavers. New York: The Noonday Press, 1972. 113.

<sup>10</sup> “據知情人透露，早在1996年時，江澤民曾去南方路過一著名寺院。在大殿上香後，江澤民便來到鐘樓。不料方丈以善言百般相勸：“施主萬不可在此撞鐘。”江澤民大為不悅，毫不理會，執意撞響了古鐘。老方丈當場半晌，只是默默垂淚不已。後來有人得知，老方丈曾言道，江澤民是超級癩蛤蟆轉世，鐘聲一響，必定引發中原水族作怪。從此中原大水連年，再難平安。”參見

<http://epochweek.com/gb/395/14072.htm>, 2017年12月6日

<sup>11</sup> 同上，115.

<sup>12</sup> 同上，121.

<sup>13</sup> 同上，119.

側重方式是賦有動力的，它按照神話的結構的結局來利用神話：讀者把神話看成既真實又不實際的一種歷史”<sup>14</sup>。“蛤絲”們知曉了這個神話，並且利用了這個神話的構成機制，賦予了這個神話以動力。因為一個符號具有多義性，“蛤絲”們將其的“錨定”（anchorage）改變了，“蛤”在二級符號系統裡的所指變成來“哈”諧音的一種寫法，一種刻意剝離了其政治性而變成娛樂化的產物，當然，其原來的所指還在，但是絕不只是某一個特定的所指（醜化江澤民），在直呼其名有所敏感的中國網路環境裡，如此也能成功的避開了政治審查來指代江澤民。所以這也體現了“膜蛤”亞文化這種剝離明確特定所指的一大特點，而形成了一個意義不斷在生產的場域。就如羅蘭·巴特在晚年在《作者已死》裡總結，文本“是一個多維空間…仿若一張寫滿引語的棉紙，從不計其數的文化中心汲取著養分…只能在生產行為中被人們體驗。”<sup>15</sup>

因此，“膜蛤”亞文化首先是一種基於當時某種官方神話（官媒中的江澤民）和反對者的神話中進行解讀的基礎上，拋棄原有的所指，進行再生產的一種亞文化。它是一個開放的文化場域，不同立場的人都能在他的身上找到自己的需要，這是“膜蛤”亞文化一個最重要的特點，就如費斯克指出，“作為生產者的受眾在文化經濟中的權力是不可忽視的”<sup>16</sup>。他們都是為我所用的生產者。

舉個例子，在被“蛤絲”奉為經典語錄的“蛤三篇”中，在第一篇江澤民怒斥香港記者張寶華的段落中，“too young, too simple, sometimes naïve”<sup>17</sup>（諧音：圖森圖樣破，上臺拿衣服）這句話爆紅一時。其實，在一開始反對江澤民的人的神話是這樣的：

能指：too young, too simple, sometimes naïve 的聲音的形式。	所指：太年輕，思維太簡單，有時還很幼稚。	
符號：即興英文指責對方太幼稚（作為能指）。		所指：在作為領導人怒斥記者的語境下，領導人認為自己經歷過的世面很多，香港記者別想用如此簡單的有傾向性引導性的問題大做文章。
符號：江澤民在被拆穿真面目後惱羞成怒中體現了其霸道官威逼人的一面，更加說明霸道的中央想媒體噤聲來達到對香港自治的干預。		

所以在他們再創作的文本中，如“too young, too simple, sometimes naïve”的表情包，圖片，語言等，表達的意思都是在諷刺當局，他們對江澤民原文本的編碼的解碼採取的是斯圖亞特·霍爾所說的“對抗式解讀立場”<sup>18</sup>（oppositional position），所以他們再編碼資訊也是諷刺。但是在支持中共的人眼裡是神話是這樣的：

能指：too young, too simple, sometimes naïve 的聲音的形式。	所指：太年輕，思維太簡單，有時還很幼稚。	
符號：即興英文指責對方太幼稚（作為能指）。		所指：在作為領導人怒斥記者的語境下，領導人認為自己經歷過的世面很多，香港記者別想用如此簡單的有傾向性和引導性的問題大做文章。
符號：個別香港記者居心叵測，想學西方媒體的報導模式，撲風捉影就想搞個大新聞批判中共一番，刻意抹黑中共，被老練又精通中西（英文脫口而出，證明其對西方的瞭解）的江澤民看出，並且教訓了一番。		

<sup>14</sup> 同上，127.

<sup>15</sup> Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author”. Image-Music-Text. London: Fontana. 1977. 146-157.

<sup>16</sup> John Fiske, Television Culture. London: Routledge. 1987. 313.

<sup>17</sup> 參見“江澤民怒斥香港記者完整版”，TVB新聞透視節目片段，

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2VoIUCon77o>

<sup>18</sup> Stuart Hall. “Encoding/decoding” in Culture, Media, Language. London: Hutchinson. 1980. 138

他們對原本文本的解碼是主導式解碼<sup>19</sup>（dominant-hegemonic position），所以甚至覺得江澤民怒斥香港記者替他們“出氣了”。

當然，其實大部分“蛤絲”們在用這句話的時候並沒有採取前面說的這兩種二元對立的神話的解讀過程（當然，《紐約時報》說的那些通過“膜蛤”來影射當下的，當然存在，但是不能以偏概全整個“蛤絲”群體），可以說跟原本文本一點關係都沒有，這就是這個亞文化的後現代性。

### “膜蛤”的後現代性

在詹明信的《後現代主義，或晚期資本主義的文化邏輯》裡總結道，後現代文化的其中一大特點是“無深度感”，而且是拼貼（pastiche）（不帶有嘲弄色彩的）勝過摹仿（parody）（帶有諷刺色彩的）<sup>20</sup>。人們在不同的場合引用，挪用，生產有關於“膜蛤”的文本的時候，大多就是一種拼貼，沒有什麼反諷或者含義在裡面，沒有什麼深度感可言。它們從以前的原本的文本生產出來，變成了一個個漂浮的能指，拒斥深度，在無窮無盡的互文機制中遊戲。比如說，除了到處模仿江澤民的語氣和言辭發言，“蛤絲”們經常“暴力膜”，意思即毫無聯繫的情況下進行“膜蛤”。比如，2014年北京玉淵潭公園展出了一個22米高的充氣“大金蟾”，因為蟾蜍即蛤蟆，就形成了社交網路裡一股轉發的熱潮。就算在路邊拍到一隻青蛙（僅像蛤蟆），都能在社交網路上發圖片，發言一句“+1s”。甚至“曰..曰”都能與其帶黑框眼鏡的江澤民聯繫起來等等。在這些遊戲裡，他們也沒強烈地表現出諷刺或推崇些什麼，這些強行拉上關係的符號之間進行一種符號的狂歡，在生產文本的同時將“膜蛤”原素材的符號無限泛化。“膜蛤”是一場巴赫金意義上的狂歡，每一次“膜蛤”，在網路平臺這個開放式的“廣場”上人們盡情自發地釋放自己，這是產生共鳴的場所。就如北岡誠司對巴赫金狂歡理論的歸納一樣：脫離體制，“膜蛤”擺脫了等級森嚴的日常生活中對評論政治領導人的忌諱和敏感；插科打諢，空心化的戲仿，也就是“膜”，往往是插科打諢的，詼諧幽默的；俯就和粗鄙化，模仿嚴肅的最高領導人用如此“接地氣”的語言。這都是反叛了森嚴的等級制，消解了在高壓的政治管控輿論環境高度政治緊張<sup>21</sup>，消解了官方給領導人“偉光正”（偉大光榮正確）作為民族前進的舵手的大敘事和異議人士醜化抨擊的形象的高度政治化的二元對立。在這對官方主流大敘述（metanarrative）和反官方主流的大敘述的二元對立下，“膜”本義是一種歌頌膜拜，“蛤”的本義又來自於對其的汙名化，“膜蛤”的特點在於其“膜”不是真正意義（或官方意義上的）“膜拜”，也不是真的罵他為“蛤”，而是一種解構了這兩種大敘述的二元對立下的小敘事——江澤民各種顯得很讓人津津樂道讓人覺得親近的軼事和名言（在西班牙國王面前梳頭，開會打哈欠，被記者挑釁失態發怒，彈夏威夷吉他，即興飆英文或吟詩或者學著說方言等等很率性不符合官方大敘事宣傳形象的要求的舉動），在“膜”的表面讚美形成在政治高壓環境下的保護之下，進行一種沒有嘲諷意義的拼貼摹仿，游走於這個高度緊張的二元對立的政治敏感模糊地帶並進行“調戲”，這成了快感的重要來源之一。

### 作為一種亞文化的“膜蛤”

套用 E. P. 湯普森的一句話，“蛤絲”可不是像太陽上山一般“自然而然”誕生的，這是一個自我構成的過程<sup>22</sup>。當然“蛤絲”不是一個階級，是一個亞文化群體，但是其自我構成的也是很重要的。在伯明罕學派中，青年亞文化是一種對主導文化的抵抗，比如斯圖亞特·霍爾認為青年人特別的穿著風格是“一種未成年人的通俗藝術...用來表達某些當代觀念...例如離經叛道、具有反抗精神的強大社會潮流”<sup>23</sup>，它是一種反抗源於社會結構矛盾和階級問題的主導文化的一個想像性解決。相似地，“膜蛤”也在挑戰中國對直接評論國家領導人的忌諱，它採取的不是

<sup>19</sup> 同上，136.

<sup>20</sup> Fredric Jameson. Postmodernism, or The Cultural Logic of Late Capitalism. Postmodernism: A Reader, Columbia University Press. 1993. 67-74

<sup>21</sup> 北岡誠司. 魏炫譯. 巴赫金: 對話與狂歡[M]. 石家莊: 河北教育出版社, 2002. 281-286.

<sup>22</sup> E. P. Tompson. The Making of the English Working Class. Harmondsworth: Penguin. 1980. 8.

<sup>23</sup> Stuart Hall, Paddy Whannel. The Popular Arts, New York: Pantheon Books, 1967. 280 - 282.

直接攻擊，而是一種披著讚頌的外衣進行消解這種文化的遊戲，挑戰著官方主流大敘述的霸權。而這種用來反抗的“符號”（模仿江澤民言行等）可以說是種“儀式”，一種風格，一種擾亂主流大敘述的“噪音”，亞文化所代表的對霸權的挑戰並不是直接由亞文化產生，而是間接地表現在風格之中<sup>24</sup>，即符號層面的風格，這也是建立認同的關鍵。霍爾提到，亞文化也是年輕人尋求認同的一種方式，比如流行音樂亞文化——歌曲、雜誌、音樂會、節日活動、滑稽戲、與流行歌星見面、電影等等——可以幫助青年人樹立一種認同感。<sup>25</sup>“膜蛤”也一樣，在這些經過無限次拼貼和解讀的“代碼”中，知道其典故的人和不知道的自然就分為圈裡人和圈外人，這也是作為代際的一種認同的體現。就如霍爾說“亞文化群體開發了群體內部生活的核心關切、慣例和禁忌一系列社會儀式，依靠它們形成共通的“情感結構”，建立了群體的認同”<sup>26</sup>，進入“蛤絲”的群體的門檻就在於有沒有在知曉這些原文本的前提下表達出這種“風格”。這也使得作為經常被評價為“政治冷感”的一代，用一種後現代的方式在規避和消解著政治，卻在客觀達到政治的影響，並且建構著這一代青年的代際認同。

既然是亞文化，就會有收編的問題，赫伯迪格認為有兩種收編方式：第一種是以商品化的形式，第二種是以意識形態對越軌行為進行標籤。<sup>27</sup>“膜蛤”也遭受了官方的“收編”，不過其不是直接指向階級矛盾的亞文化，所以其不忌諱被商品化。相反，因其的後現代特性，商品化對“膜蛤”亞文化還有支持的作用（讓這些符號傳播的更遠，擴大群體），其符號的戰場的焦點在於其話語的政治曖昧性，而官方的使用似乎讓“蛤絲”們更興奮，他們也是想得到承認的。而對其的真正的收編在於讓其曖昧性消失，讓其神話的二級符號系統斷裂，不再能指意，一旦“膜蛤”不再政治敏感了，那些話語不管官方還是民間，都不再在乎是誰在什麼語境下說過的，或者說這個政治管控的環境不存在了，那麼這個狂歡也就不能產生快感了，這是第一種收編；第二種收編是意識形態收編，官方將這種行為標籤化作對政權是充滿危險的，進行封殺和使其政治敏感化，那麼其曖昧性也消失，其符號內部的多義性，可能編碼解碼的空間也消失，被官方統統歸納到另一邊反對當下政權的二元對立裡去鎮壓，這也使得“膜蛤”亞文化變質，使得意在非政治化的“膜蛤”政治化起來，變成了跟官方刪帖鬥爭的貓鼠遊戲，“膜蛤”也可能淪落到只為異議者代言。

當然，霸權是協商的結果，是平衡著抵抗和收編不穩定的場，葛蘭西認為強力和贊同是彼此滲透的，市民社會是一個壕塹系統，是以“陣地戰”奪取霸權為主的<sup>28</sup>，官方通過強制排斥“膜蛤”行使“象徵暴力”，向借“膜蛤”反對政權的局外人施壓，使其政治內容無效化，另一方面在市民社會裡進行文本的協商，所以我們能發現官方媒體有時也會“膜”，很多流行語走進了日常生活日用而不知。

## 結論

首先，“膜蛤”是一種基於中國網路的獨特言論管控環境下產生的青年亞文化，其建立於前期官方文宣下的江澤民的形象的神話和反對江澤民的神話的二元對立的特定神話意指系統的解讀之上，解構著這些二元對立。其濃重的後現代特性使得這套符號下允許包含著多元的價值觀，這不是某種特定立場的產物，而是不同立場的人都能通過對這些能指的再生產來表達自己的所指。而對於大多數“蛤絲”來說，這種拼貼和無深度感的“膜蛤”模式，是一種巴赫金意義上的狂歡，是對森嚴的言論管控制度和嚴肅的政治話語的一種遊戲和消解。這種亞文化也同時建構著年輕一代的自我認同和形成參與政治的一種方式，並且在遊戲和消解的過程中不斷地在與官方的收編協商。由於“膜蛤”文化皆圍繞著江澤民而存在，在特殊的網路環境和社會環境中成長起來，一旦這些要素有變，這個亞文化也就可能會消亡。

<sup>24</sup> 迪克·赫伯迪格. 亞文化：風格的意義. 陸道夫，胡疆鋒譯. 北京：北京大學出版社. 2009. 20.

<sup>25</sup> 同上，276-281.

<sup>26</sup> Stuart Hall, Tony Jefferson. Resistance Through Ritual. London: Routledge. 53 - 54.

<sup>27</sup> 迪克·赫伯迪格. 亞文化：風格的意義. 陸道夫，胡疆鋒譯. 北京：北京大學出版社. 2009. 117.

<sup>28</sup> 安東尼奧·葛蘭西. 獄中劄記. 曹雷雨，姜麗，張跣譯. 鄭州：河南大學出版社. 2015. 305.

## 互文性視角下的三島由紀夫後期文學與“文學死”

孫暢<sup>1</sup>

### 摘要

三島由紀夫的後期文學，以大河小說《豐饒之海》中的《春雪》和《奔馬》為代表，有著明顯的互文性特徵。一方面，主人公的愛情觀是《古事記》、《葉隱》等古典文學傳統思想的承繼；另一方面，《奔馬》中全篇引用的《神風連史話》則令兩部小說一文一武兩位主人公形成統一，共同代表了未經玷污的古典日本形象。這種回歸古典的傾向與其崇拜的尼采思想及後現代互文理論相背離，在二戰後的東方主義情境下，三島只能選擇捍衛而非顛覆古典。最終，受尼采“肉體論”影響，他索性放棄語言，轉向肉體，並以“文學死”的方式實現了自我昇華。

### 關鍵字

三島由紀夫，《豐饒之海》，《春雪》，《奔馬》，後現代，互文性

### 緒論

三島由紀夫的自殺<sup>2</sup>是上世紀 70 年代一場震驚世界的死亡儀式，研究者傾向於將之歸為“文學死”，他後期的作品與文學觀因此具有極大的研究價值。作為三島人生最後的作品，《豐饒之海》這一大河小說以“輪回轉世”為紐帶，書寫了松枝清顯、飯沼勳、月光公主、安永透四人的悲劇。小說的風格與他之前的創作具有很大差異，不僅存在大量引文，在內容上也相互勾連，共同反應著相似的主旨思想。本文將分析這一系列小說的前兩部《春雪》與《奔馬》，探究反映在三島由紀夫後期文學中的互文性，並嘗試解釋他最後的“文學死”。

### “互文性”理論的發展

“互文性”（intertextuality）一詞最早由法國語言學家茱莉亞·克裡斯特娃創造，後由羅蘭·巴特、熱拉爾·熱內特、以及哈樂德·布魯姆等理論家進一步發展，強調文本與文本、文本與主體之間互相影響的關係。在互文性理論的發展過程中，可以看到一個“廣義-狹義-廣義”的脈絡。

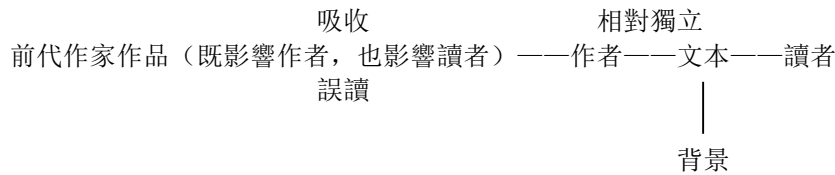
克裡斯特娃的互文性理論起初是基於巴赫金的對話理論而產生的。巴赫金在考察作者與小說主人公的關係時，提出他們之間實際上存在一種對話關係，小說主人公在很大程度上獨立於作家，最後形成的文本中兼有二者的聲音，小說內容因此得到了極大的豐富。受到巴赫金這一理論的啟發，克裡斯特娃在論述“互文性”時畫出了兩條軸線：“橫向軸（作者-讀者）和縱向軸（文本-背景）重合後揭示這樣一個事實：一個詞（或一篇文本）是另一些詞（或文本的再現），我們從中至少可以讀到另一個詞（或一篇文本）。”<sup>3</sup>克裡斯特娃的互文性理論很快得到了羅蘭·巴特的認同，後者利用互文性將對文學接受的研究擴大到作家與讀者兩個層面，提出了“作者已死”的觀點——人人都可以基於自身的閱讀經驗對作品做出不同的解讀，作者的本意已經不再重要。結構主義學者熱拉爾·熱內特對於互文性的貢獻在於他提出了“跨文性”與“超文性”的概念，將狹義的互文（引文，橫向），與廣義的互文（縱向）做出了界分。在他之後，後現代主義理論家哈樂德·布魯姆又將關注點放回了廣義的互文性研究上，認為詩歌的發展實際上是一段誤讀的歷史，“天賦較遜者把前人理想化，而具有較豐富想像力者則取前人之所有為己用。然而，不花出代價者終無所獲。取前人之所有為己用會引起由於受人恩惠而產生的負債之焦

<sup>1</sup> 作者：孫暢（香港中文大學跨文化研究碩士生，2017/18 學年）

<sup>2</sup> 1970 年 11 月 25 日，日本作家三島由紀夫率領 4 名盾會青年佔領自衛隊總監室，在陽臺上發表關於保護天皇和日本傳統的演說無果後，按照計畫退回總監室切腹自殺。

<sup>3</sup> 轉引自薩默瓦約：《互文性研究》，邵焯譯，天津：天津人民出版社，2002 年，第 4 頁。

慮。”<sup>4</sup>現代詩人對於前代詩人的情感類似於弗洛伊德的俄狄浦斯情結，始終存有不能保存自身的焦慮。互文性理論中各元素的關係也許可以在下圖中呈現：



### 《春雪》與《奔馬》的文本分析

#### 一、壓抑的愛情——與古典文學的互文

和日本的其他作家相比，三島由紀夫對自己的文學創作相當坦誠布公。他在自己的隨筆中談《豐饒之海》的創作動機時，承認了自己與古典文學難以割捨的關係。閱讀了國文老師清水向他推薦的《濱松中納言物語》後，他頓時“對它那種夢與轉生的主題，那種隱約擁有疲倦的風情的文體，那種衰弱佳人般的形象著了迷”，覺得“無論如何也要寫出一部龐大的現代版的《濱松中納言物語》。”<sup>5</sup>

體現《濱松中納言物語》最多的無疑是《豐饒之海》小說的第一部《春雪》，一個籠罩在古典氛圍當中的愛情悲劇。高傲的松枝清顯多次抗拒青梅竹馬的陵倉聰子對自己的愛慕之情，但當聰子與洞院宮治典王訂婚後，又迫切地與她陷入熱戀。本應一帆風順的愛情在清顯的情緒搖擺之下變得不為世俗所容，結果聰子在流產後出家遁世，而清顯至死都沒能再見愛人一面。

小說開頭寫到了清顯十三歲時所愛慕的春日宮妃，後者是第一個勾起他情欲的對象。在清顯眼中，春日宮妃如雕塑般完美，隱約浮現的幾寸肌膚為少年帶來了無盡的幻想。然而遮蓋著肉體的重重華服，對於愛慕者來說又無異於冰冷的拒絕。清顯的情感從一開始就因雙方身份、年齡的懸殊而註定會落空。

春日宮妃對於清顯之後的戀愛觀有著很大的影響。按照佛洛伊德的理論，“人的潛意識中對某種獨一無二、不能替代的東西的熱戀，會表現為一種永無休止的追尋活動”<sup>6</sup>，因此長大後的少年清顯總希望能在聰子身上尋到春日宮妃的影子。聰子的第一次出場舉手投足已經足以與春日宮妃媲美，然而當清顯認出遠處的女子是一直愛慕自己的聰子後，反而心生沮喪。姿態上的相似並不足以填補他情感上的空虛，春日宮妃身上另有其耽溺的特質，即“難以逾越的身份障礙”。兩人之間存在著的平民與貴胄、未婚與已婚的種種不對等，才是勾起清顯欲望的根源。以此出發回顧清顯與聰子的戀愛過程，可以發現，清顯從起初對於聰子的熱情展現出輕蔑與冷酷，不斷抑制自己的情感，到最後與之深陷愛河，其中的轉捩點正是聰子與治典王殿下的結婚得到天皇赦許。

松枝清顯與綾倉聰子都是在華族深宅中成長起來的青年，兩人的結合行為確屬叛逆，但追溯其精神底色，則並沒有脫離上層社會愛情觀念的影響。在嚴重西化的日本社會背景下，清顯極具古典氣息的情愛心理可以說是三島對於日本傳統武士道精神中“忍戀”觀的挖掘與重寫。早在江戶時代，武士道經典《葉隱》中就已包含有關於“忍戀”的論述：“戀之最高境界乃秘藏於心、絕不外露之忍戀……一生秘藏於心，苦於相思，鬱鬱終生，方為戀中極品。”<sup>7</sup>由武士道“向死而生”精神所衍生出的這種愛情觀強調以死亡作為至純之愛的終結。常人避之不及的死亡，在《葉隱》當中卻是成全最高愛情的良方。因為唯有預知結局必然走向悲劇，過程中所付出的情感才更加純淨。

<sup>4</sup> 哈樂德·布魯姆：《影響的焦慮》，徐文博譯，臺北：久大文化，1990年，第3頁。

<sup>5</sup> 三島由紀夫：《藝術斷想》，唐月梅譯，石家莊：河北教育出版社，2002年，第212-213頁。

<sup>6</sup> 西格蒙德·弗洛伊德：《性學與愛情心理學》，羅生譯，南昌：百花洲文藝出版社，2009年，第160頁。

<sup>7</sup> 山本常朝口述、田代陣基筆錄：《葉隱聞書》，趙秀娟譯，長春：吉林出版集團有限責任公司，2014年，第59頁。

《奔馬》是《春雪》故事的延續：松枝清顯的摯友本多繁邦在 38 歲時邂逅了名叫飯沼勳的少年，他因為和清顯長有相同的痣而被本多認為是後者的轉世。阿勳深受“五一五事件”<sup>8</sup>影響，和一群志同道合的夥伴策劃暗殺財閥和大臣，希望還政于天皇。事情提前敗露導致他們被捕，阿勳憑藉本多的努力奔走和愛人槿子的假證詞獲釋，卻在出獄後立刻刺殺了財閥藏原並切腹自殺，臨死前仿佛看到了徐徐升起的朝陽。與《春雪》相類似，在《奔馬》中也能夠看到主人公飯沼勳對於喜歡自己的槿子的冷漠。

如果欣然接受到底會產生怎樣的後果呢？《古事記》中記載著日本第一對新郎新娘的悲劇：

“新娘伊邪那美命先說道：‘啊！真是個好男人！’隨後新郎伊邪那岐命說道：‘啊！真是個好女人。’然後新郎對新娘說：‘女人先說，不好。’眾所周知，他們最初的合歡之後，生下水蛭子，是個殘廢兒。”<sup>9</sup>男人如果回應女人的示愛，一定不會有好的結果，《葉隱》中的“忍戀觀”即是對《古事記》中這個暗示的重寫。

綜上，我們可以在三島對於壓抑愛情的書寫中總結出這樣一條縱向的線路來：

《春雪》、《奔馬》——《葉隱》——《古事記》

## 二、引文的意義——“輪回”主題的內在揭示

三島由紀夫在《奔馬》中做出的一大嘗試是將一篇名為《神風連史話》的歷史話本完全引入了小說原文。這本記錄了明治 6 年武士起義的小冊子可以說是飯沼勳的行動綱領，他把這本書交給本多繁邦，希望對方能夠理解自己。本多卻在閱讀這樣一段充滿暴力與血腥的歷史時想起了已故的清顯：“他的熱情也不過是奉獻給一位女性的熱情罷了，然而卻也只能以同樣的不合理、同樣的劇烈、同樣的反抗和死亡來結束此事。”<sup>10</sup>

《春雪》的主題雖然是愛情，但清顯的殉情和武士切腹的行為一樣，都與對皇室的崇拜密不可分。隨著天皇的地位不斷下降，信奉“以死事君”的日本武士逐漸失去了精神支柱。在參戰已無可能的情况下，他們的信仰便只能以殉情來達成。原本在《葉隱》中只有寥寥數語的“忍戀”，便有了更加強烈的意義，清顯最終就是在和平年代實現了殉情的理想，而他先後愛慕的兩個女性還都是皇室成員的配偶。春日宮妃是天皇的寵妃，清顯幾乎是帶著對皇室的崇敬為她提起裙裾的；聰子在成為治典王未婚妻後，則成為了清顯與皇室的唯一聯繫。某種程度上，他與聰子的偷情是在以犯忌的方法去接近至高無上的皇族。

因此，這段引文的意義就在於它實現了《春雪》與《奔馬》之間的聯繫與轉換，衰弱佳入與激進的武士在此形成了統一。阿勳是清顯的轉世，他們表面上雖然是一文一武，但實際上代表著同一個形象，即未經玷污的古典日本。三島由紀夫曾在一篇遊記隨筆中盛讚希臘少年安提烏諾斯的雕塑，稱其是“未曾接受基督教洗禮的希臘的最後之花，是預兆著羅馬走向頹廢之日的、留在人們記憶中的希臘最後的形象。……安提烏諾斯的憂鬱，不是他一個人的憂鬱，因為他代表著已經消失的古希臘的厭世觀。”<sup>11</sup>《豐饒之海》中所塑造的少年清顯也許就是三島為日本塑造的安提烏諾斯形象。雕像這種凝固時間的空間形式使得希臘少年的活力與精神成為了永恆，《豐饒之海》中則是利用英年早逝和轉世輪回這種超越時空的方式令清顯所代表的那種古日本的壓抑自身與激烈抵抗的精神成為了永恆。

如前文所說，《豐饒之海》的“輪回”主題可能來自於《濱松中納言物語》，但我們不能忽視尼采對於三島由紀夫的深刻影響。三島一向將尼采哲學奉為主臬，還模仿尼采《查拉圖斯特如是說》中的《道德的講座》一章寫了日本語境下的《新道德講座》。《豐饒之海》的“輪回”主題也可看作是尼采哲學結合東方宗教的產物。“永恆輪回學說中最沉重和最本真的東西就是：永恆在此刻中存在，不是稍縱即逝的現在，不是對一個旁觀者來說僅僅倏忽而過的一剎那，而

<sup>8</sup> 五一五事件：1932 年 5 月 15 日由日本海軍發起的軍事政變，首相犬養毅在政變中被殺。

<sup>9</sup> 同 4，第 198 頁。

<sup>10</sup> 三島由紀夫：《奔馬》，張林譯，重慶：重慶出版社，2015 年，第 102 頁。

<sup>11</sup> 同 4，第 159 頁。

是將來與過去的碰撞，在這種碰撞中刻得以達到自身。此刻決定著一切如何輪回。”<sup>12</sup>轉世不再是消極意義上對於無間痛苦的承受，而是積極意義上對於永恆的創造。因此，《豐饒之海》中，清顯死前與本多相約來生在瀑布下相見，英年早逝的命運在那一刻得到確定，而出現于瀑布的阿勳關於濕熱南國的夢（《曉寺》中月光公主的出場地）則是對這種輪回的永恆的繼續。

### 語言的焦慮——進入後現代的肉體轉向

尼采對於三島由紀夫的另一啟發在於他對主體性的否定。尼采認為並不存在“自我”，這一概念的出現不過是人類利用語言所進行的自我欺騙。不管尼采能不能算是嚴格意義上的後現代之父，後現代理論家對於尼采哲學的借鑒與引申都無可否認。哈樂德·布魯姆的《影響的焦慮》中所論述的當代詩人所焦慮的就是這種自我的喪失。如果無法擺脫前代文學的影響，詩人的作品就只是毫無新意的複製品，他自身的主體性更是無從談起。因此，必須要先“弑父”，即對古典文學進行顛覆。進入後現代之後，互文性不再停留在意識形態批判上，而開始成為一種建立新文學的指導方法。

按照上一節的分析，三島由紀夫後期的文學似乎是走向了後現代“互文性”理論的反面。這裡有必要交代一下三島所處的時代背景，即1945年起盤踞在日本歷史中的美國。二戰結束後，為了掃除籠罩在美日兩國同盟關係上的戰爭陰雲，美國開始經由媒體向外界輸出一個與戰時截然不同的神秘、纖弱的日本形象。在美國/西方的凝視之下，日本傳統文化的深層被迫讓位於表面。櫻花與紅葉只是絢爛的異域風景，不再是死亡和鮮血的象徵；蝴蝶夫人忠貞、柔弱的藝妓形象深入人心，但她憤而自殺的情節卻被藝術化地一筆帶過；日本禪作為一種至靜至簡的風格廣為流行，與之暗中相通的向死而生的武士道精神則遭到了忽略……日本的古典文學在西方是受到歡迎的，那個時代的日本小說譯介盛況可以充分反映這一點，然而它被接受的條件是必須抽走內核——一種暴烈的美。因此，在古典文學這位“父親”本身都岌岌可危的情況下，三島很難再去“弑父”。相反，他以《豐饒之海》回歸古典，在這部大河小說中，即便是帶有強烈尼采哲學色彩的轉世輪回，也都加上了佛經的注腳。

文學無法證明自我之存在之時，三島索性選擇了放棄語言，轉向肉體。尼采認為，“肉體乃是比陳舊的“靈魂”更令人驚異的思想，無論在什麼時代，相信肉體都勝似相信我們無比實在的產業和最可靠的存在——簡言之，相信我們的自我勝似相信精神。”<sup>13</sup>對此三島由紀夫深以為然。在人生的最後階段，三島不再寄希望于通過文學展現自己的理想，所以他才會利用自己的肉體表現了在那個年代已然式微，只會出現在小說和電影中的武士道儀式，亦即文章開頭所提到的“文學死”。

<sup>12</sup> 汪民安：《尼采的“同一物的永恆輪回”》，同濟大學學報，2015年第1期。

<sup>13</sup> 尼采：《尼采文集——權力意志卷》，周國平譯，西寧：青海人民出版社，1995年，第38頁。



## Community art activism and social development in Hong Kong: ---A Case study of Woofer Ten

HE Linlin<sup>1</sup>

### *Abstract*

With the further development of socio-cultural environment, Hong Kong government is putting more emphasis on the significances of community art developments, and the existence of Woofer Ten, are both playing an important role in the local community art development. This paper will specifically study in Woofer Ten (活化廳), a community art organization in Yau Ma Tei, by analysing the pros and cons of its existence, to evaluate how public and private partnerships get involved into the cultivation of local community art. Investigating the current situation of Woofer Ten in Hong Kong, we could see its existence is raising the awareness of cultural development, but it also generate a cause and effect relationship between the art organization and Gentrification (士紳化). Woofer Ten values its engagement and interaction with the local community, it is regard as an important driven force for the social changes in Hong Kong. At the same time, it plays a different role in cultural development because of the active willingness in engaging with the Hong Kong local community. For the criticism on Woofer Ten is namely in three dimensions: providing space to the overseas artists, purpose of the venue and the relationship between artists and community residences. In conclusion, Woofer Ten brings the possibility of further development of community arts in Hong Kong. Unfortunately, under current situation, the conflict between Woofer Ten and Hong Kong government still cause some limitations to their community art projects.

### *Keywords*

Woofer Ten, Gentrification, Community Art, Social changes, Culture development

### **Introduction**

Community art, which involves community engagement and deep rooted within cultural democracy (Inspireart,2017), it is often treated as social activities to encourage self-empowerment of a community. It's a collaboration process (Marsden,1996) which involves groups of artists and a community (Ontario Arts Council,1998) and sometimes being used as a tool to promote social inclusion (Peter,2013). Emphasizing on the importances of community arts development, which is a core work of Hong Kong Arts Development Council (ADC). ADC aims to stimulate citizens' interest in participating in the art activities and make arts more accessible to every citizen (HKADC,2017). Urban Renewal Authority (URA) also aims to "integrate arts and culture elements in urban renewal", provide funding and supports for art and cultural activities (URA,2017). The government also encourages the support from other public entity or private sector. For example, the "Social Inclusion Community Arts Project (SIP)" was initiated to help with the minority groups and new immigrants to fit into the local culture (HKAPA,2017). In the private sector, the Robert H.N.Ho Family Foundation provides grant to support local community-based arts and cultural projects (rhfamilyfoundation,2015).

This paper attempts to use Woofer Ten (活化廳) as an example, to insight into how a community arts project can influence and benefit to the local community and society.

### **General Situation of Woofer Ten**

Woofer Ten is a non-profit art organization funded by HKADC and located at an aging grass-root community and neighbourhood at Shanghai Street Art Space in Yaumatei. It is formed by a group of artists that is aiming to bring arts to the community. It operates like a community centre which serves as a platform to fill the gap between community and art (Woofer10,2017). Woofer Ten organizes art exhibitions, and offer the publics various activities including performances, workshops and guide tours etc (Woofer10,2017). It has four objectives:

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<sup>1</sup> Author – HE LIN LIN (Student, CUHK's MA in Cultural Management programme, AY2017/18)

- Serve as an open platform to connect arts and community. Establish interaction between contemporary arts and the community to promote mutual development with simulative experiments;
- Provide positive impact to the local community through active discussion on the topic of arts and community;
- Improve the social awareness in the Hong Kong arts scene;
- Share the contemporary art with the community and to make arts more accessible to people.

According to one of the Woofers Ten founding members, Lee Chung-Fung (2013), who mentioned it was “not established around a single ideology but to serve as an open platform” and “with constantly changes and exploration”. It is important to point out that the cultural policy in Hong Kong, which is mainly developed to facilitate the economic growth with its vision to make Hong Kong become an “international cultural metropolis” (HAB,2017). Thus, the cultural development is often developed alongside with Hong Kong’s urban development. Especially there is an increasing trend of gentrification in community art (inmediahk,2013).

### **Gentrification**

Gentrification (士紳化) has appeared a lot in the Hong Kong’s media and often associated with “urban redevelopment and its impact on local culture and older neighbourhoods” (Grange & Pretorius,2016). Generally, gentrification means the process that transforms an older community, or a grassroots neighbourhood into a middle-class community, causing “rising cost of living and social exclusion of the original inhabitants” (Grange & Pretorius,2016). The gentrification in Hong Kong affected the cultural development as well, because many arts gallery or revenue are associated with the urban redevelopment. Therefore, the arts may lose its purpose when it is served more for the economic development. This shows us the importance of Woofers Ten because they are willing to engage with the community rather than to create a more affluent “gated community” (inmediahk,2013).

During an interview, Lee (2014) shared that they started Woofers Ten when they started to realize that Yau Ma Tei, the old district that was threatened by the redevelopment, can be used to discuss and redefine community arts (multitude,2014). The artists started to do projects, attempting to find another way to establish the relationship between arts and communities, as they felt that the Hong Kong government and estate developers often use arts or cultural development as a tool of gentrification. This provides Woofers Ten a different social role to play within such context, and it can be used as an independent and open platform to discuss social and cultural issues. It may even have been used as an instrument to voice out different opinion about gentrification in Hong Kong.

### **Community Art and Social Change**

It is mentioned that community arts could be a significant force for social change (Takechi,2011). Woofers Ten really values their engagement and interaction with the community. Lee mentioned there is a mutual influence in the community art events, as the artists would be influenced and changed by the local community because they are indeed living in the community. It provides a unique exemplary demonstration how arts can be interacted with the old community rather than being merely a tool to facilitate urban redevelopment. Instead, Woofers Ten is seen as a powerful platform to experiment with “neighbourhood activism” (Lee,2013). For example, the Youmatei Self-Rescue Project was initiated to help “reshape and reconnect broken community relations” (Lee,2013; Huang,2013).

### **Criticisms towards Woofers Ten**

However, there are also criticisms towards Woofers Ten. According to Lee, the founder himself, there are three major critiques (Lee,2016). The first critique is centred around the argument that whether Woofers Ten should provide space to overseas artists instead of just giving to those who need it. The second critique is about the purpose of whether the venue should be provided to Woofers Ten for art creation instead of using it as a forum to discuss problems and issues within the community. The third critique is that due to the mobility and short staying period of the artists compared to the community

residents, many questioned about the connection between artists and the community and some may even raise the problem of “neoliberal cultural imperialism”. Because of its “Art/Activist-in-Residence” project, Woofer Ten invites artists across Asia to stay at Yau Ma Tei for research or arts creation (Woofer Ten,2017). For example, it invited Misako Ichimura from Tokyo who is an artist concerned with the living condition of homeless people in Tokyo. People may question the importance of such issue and why Woofer Ten promote its awareness among the local community (Woofer Ten,2013).

It seems there is an inherent conflict or struggle of Woofer Ten due to the fact it was established with the government funding, yet it wants to bring more political or social awareness which the government may not want it to happen (Lee,2016). After 4 years since its establishment, Woofer Ten could not get funding from ADC in 2013 and artists were forced to move out (mingpao,2014). This is again showing the conflict of Woofer Ten with the government. Woofer Ten associated themselves with anti-gentrification, which end up leading to its failure to win government support. For example, it set up exhibition related to “Umbrella Movement” and even accused to be involved in the Mong Kok Occupation (Chen,2014). According to Mo (2013), what Woofer Ten’s impression to her is “always fighting”. With such characteristics, it is not difficult to understand why Woofer Ten is classified more towards social activist. The intention to fight against the long-established capitalism, rigid bureaucratic structure as well as the rapid gentrification has already set its destiny.

The community art is a long-term process because of the immense effort and time spending on the interaction and trust building with the residences. In addition, the very low return on investment and minimal economic benefits make ADC difficult to allocate resources to support the community arts (mingpao,2014). According to Newman et al (2001), social gains or benefits are often difficult to be measured and justified for community-based art projects. Therefore, ADC might be well-positioned to blame for Woofer Ten’s value proposition in terms of social values.

Another problem is the art itself, or the question whether community art is considered as art or not (Lee,2015). According to Lee (2015), it seems it is pointless to argue the issue from the artistic perspective as art is often appreciated to be subjective. Lee does not deny the fact that Woofer Ten is involved in social activism because he considers arts should not only involve the community but also the politics, and function as a tool rather than just being a form of art.

The core problem is rooted in the conflicting views of how community arts should work between ADC and Woofer Ten. Even though the government may attempt to create an art space for the community, the social and political involvement of Woofer Ten’s arts creation will not be supported, especially when it is viewed as a powerful symbol to against the government-led gentrification.

### Conclusion

The Woofer Ten has achieved certain breakthrough with their community engagement and arts experiments. It also brings the possibility of further development of community arts in Hong Kong. The artists have a great vision in setting up bridge between community, arts and social-political activities and to bring innovation and passion with their new ways of arts creation. Unfortunately, the conflict of Woofer Ten and Hong Kong government has caused the failure of this community art project. It is difficult to justify whose responsibility it is to the failure of Woofer Ten. However, without government support and funding, it is impossible for any art group to survive in Hong Kong. Thus, the development of community arts in the future should consider the multi-relationship between different subjects in society and try to maintain the cultural ecology in the community.

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## Small Arts Organization in Hong Kong – The Limitation of Its Development Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble (竹韻小集) as a Case Study

LUI Ka Yan, Rainky<sup>1</sup>

### *Abstract*

Apart from the Big Nine flagship performing arts organization in Hong Kong, there are many small to medium arts organization, hoping to survive with its limited resources. How to have a sustainable development for the organization is a big challenge for them. After conducting an interview with the founder, Mr. Chan Chiu-yin, this essay will take Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble as a case study to explore its hierarchy and management, positioning strategies, and its limitation, as well as to analyze how the funding by Hong Kong Arts Development Council influences its development. Finally, a long-term strategic plan and art entrepreneur idea are suggested for future possibilities of the small arts organization.

### *Keywords*

Performing Arts, Small Arts Organization, Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble, HKADC Year Grant Scheme, Development and Limitation, Future Possibilities

Apart from the Big Nine flagship performing arts organization in Hong Kong, there are many small to medium arts organization, hoping to survive with its limited resources. How to have a sustainable development for the organization is a big challenge for them. Choosing the Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble to study has a reason, as it is the only Chinese music group among the 54 organizations which is receiving the Hong Kong Arts Development Council Year Grant Scheme<sup>2</sup>. Supposing it does not have as many competitors as the other performing arts group, however, its development is in a slow progress. Therefore, after conducting an interview with the founder, this essay will take Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble as a case study to explore its hierarchy and management, positioning strategies, and the limitation of its development, as a result, to find out the future possibilities of the small arts organization.

Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble was established in 2003 by Mr. Chan Chiu-yin (陳照延先生), having a mission to “promote Hong Kong Chinese music culture”. Their vision has 4 slogans, which are to provide a platform for local professions; to preserve and promote culture; to root in Lingnan tradition; and to integrate Chinese and Western.<sup>3</sup> In view of this, they have a very clear mission and vision, focusing on the local and would like to share the Chinese music to the public. Yet, the slogans are rather general and broad. It would be better to point out the specific outcomes that the ensemble would like to achieve.

Reviewing the organizational structure, it is divided into two sections<sup>4</sup>. One is the administrative section, while the other is artistic section. There is one Managing Director, who is the founder Mr. Chan Chiu-yin, and two administrative contract full-time staff. They are responsible for year planning and carry out all logistics, administration, finance and marketing works. On the other hand, there is one Artistic Director, who is the conductor Mr. Ho Man-chuen. Under the Artistic Director, there are 13 regular musicians who form the music ensemble. They are responsible for the artistic related issues, programme planning, and being the performers on stage. Both directors work together closely to run the organization. Therefore, it can be classified as an organic organization, since the whole group has 3 administrative staff only and each of them does not have a fixed role, but multi-tasking, which is a common phenomenon for the small arts organization.

<sup>1</sup> Author – Lui, Ka Yan Rainky (Student, CUHK’s MA in Cultural Management, AY2017/18)

<sup>2</sup> “Grant Recipients List,” Hong Kong Arts Development Council, accessed December 16, 2017, <http://www.hkadc.org.hk/?p=3184&lang=en>.

<sup>3</sup> “Mission,” Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble Ltd, accessed December 16, 2017, <http://www.hkwindpipe.org/page.php?type=1&lang=2>.

<sup>4</sup> *ibid*

However, there was a significant change due to the policy of the Hong Kong Arts Development Council (HKADC) in 2011. To apply for the funding, it is required to set up as a corporate company, and form a board committee, in which the HKADC would like the organization to have their self-regulation after receiving the grant. Therefore, the Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble became a limited company, and report to their board committee as well. This cultural policy has changed the hierarchy of most of the small arts organizations in Hong Kong. According to Conte and Langley, there are 4 major types of performing arts companies – it could be artist-driven, board-driven, management-driven, or shared leadership company<sup>5</sup>. In view of the organization structure, Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble is led by the board committee, however, it is set up to fulfil the policy only, the ones who really manage the organization are the Managing and Artistic Directors. The function of a board committee could not be fully utilized for most of the cases.

After understanding the hierarchy and management of the organization, it could be further exploring the positioning strategies of the Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble. In general, it does not have a strategic planning for the long-term growth of the ensemble, but what could be concluded is their development history. At the very first stage, they were in the process of exploration. The founder Mr. Chan set up the ensemble and organized concerts regularly and continuously, hoping to provide a platform for the young musicians. And then, through different kinds of performance experience, they established their mission, characteristics and uniqueness to survive in the arts field. The next step, is how to achieve artistic professionalism of the ensemble, and build up their branding, nevertheless, there is still a long way to go, especially the organization has limited staff and resources to expand and develop.

But as mentioned before, Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble is the only professional Chinese ensemble group receiving the HKADC funding. When comparing it to the Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra, its uniqueness could be easily seen. Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra is a full orchestra with 73 resident musicians, and its repertoire is usually large-scale concertos<sup>6</sup>, and influenced by the western symphonies style<sup>7</sup>. While Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble has 16 resident musicians only, which is formed by tradition strings and woodwinds instruments, its repertoire is a list of small-scale pieces when comparing to the concertos. In view of this, the formation of the Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble is actually following the Chinese tradition, yet, exploring the modern way to positioning the ensemble, and with an artistic motto “Small but elegant, simple yet refined”. It tries to develop another direction of Chinese music, apart from the influence of western symphonies, which becomes the uniqueness of the organization.

Influenced by the nature and size of the ensemble, its presentations are surrounding the traditional Chinese music, which includes the element of classic and masters, traditional and modern, new stars, and different region characteristics in China. These structure the programming of the concerts, and curate the Chinese music festival in every year. Interestingly, Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble also takes the local culture as an important asset. The resident musicians are music graduates from Hong Kong tertiary institutions; the group often use the local instruments and promote Guangdong music; in addition, they commission local composers to build up their own repertoire. Furthermore, the ensemble is getting the Leisure and Cultural Services Department’s (LCSO) funding to be the Community Cultural Ambassador since 2007, and have the School Culture Day Scheme since 2010, for enhancing the local reputation. As a result, the ensemble becomes a Hong Kong representative to other region festivals, and serve as a role of cultural preservation and modernization, to fulfil the mission of the ensemble – “promote Hong Kong Chinese music culture”. Different from the other arts form, such as drama and dance, music field is actually more difficult to build up their own established programmes.

<sup>5</sup> David M. Conte and Stephen Langley, *Theatre Management: Producing and Managing the Performing Arts* (United States: Hollywood, Quite Specific Media Group, 2007), 60.

<sup>6</sup> “Concerts,” Hong Kong Chinese Orchestra, accessed December 16, 2017, <http://www.hkco.org/tc/index.html>.

<sup>7</sup> “重塑真正東方美學：迷失中尋找香港中樂出路,” HK01, accessed December 16, 2017,

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Of course, having a good programme is not enough for the small arts organization, marketing and promotion are essential as well, but are always neglected. The profile picture of the Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble is young and fresh, which reflects they would like to expand the audience group to the new generations. Using Facebook, Weibo and YouTube for promotion is low cost but far-reaching. However, with the limited budget, the ensemble could not expand their marketing plan as the Big Nine. The Facebook page has 2,000 likes only<sup>8</sup>, and the promotion design is quite an old school. Therefore, one could criticize that marketing is the weakness of the ensemble, so that the audience is always the same group of people. Branding is difficult to establish. It is also one of the reasons why the development of the small arts organization is so slow in progress.



After discussing the case study of Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble, a few points could be concluded as the limitation of small arts organization's development in Hong Kong. Firstly, the HKADC funding restricts their development. Not only because of changing the hierarchy of the organization, but also there are more administrative requirements, such as holding committee meetings, doing auditing works, this becomes a huge burden to the small groups. Although there is Arts Administration Internship Scheme<sup>9</sup> sponsored by HKADC helping to add manpower to the small groups, the intern is fresh graduate only who is learning from the organization, rather than inputting some professional knowledge. Furthermore, for each internship scheme could last for two years only, the intern will leave if the organization does not have a budget to hire he/she as a staff, then the organization has to apply for the next round internship scheme and help train a new intern. All the above limits the development of the small arts organization.

Venue is also another problem. For a performance arts group, it needs spaces for storage, rehearsal and performance. Without spaces, they could not grow. For Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble, their storage, office and rehearsal spaces separate into three different area – Kwai Chung, Sham Shui Po and Kowloon Bay. The efficiency is low and extra travelling is required. Performance venue is not easy to secure as well, since it is not a member of the Venue Partnership Scheme. Some may argue that the LCSD Community Cultural Ambassador provide performance opportunities for the group. Yet, it is rather a local outreach and education activities than a professional performance, and the group has to absorb the production and promotion cost too.

With such limitation of the organization itself and policy support, what are the future possibilities of a small arts organization? A long-term strategic plan is needed, as well as to revise the organization structure. Mr. Chim Shui Man (詹瑞文) pointed out "The government's subsidy creates a comfort zone for theatre companies. But they would easily lose their motivation to expand and excel. Receiving

<sup>8</sup> "Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble Ltd," Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble, accessed December 16, 2017, <https://www.facebook.com/windpipe2003/>.

<sup>9</sup> "Arts Administration Internship Scheme Open for Applications," Hong Kong Arts Development Council, accessed December 16, 2017, <http://www.hkadc.org.hk/?p=4988&lang=en>.

subsidy is like working as paid staff, yet the only one who has courage and power to leap forward is the entrepreneur.”<sup>10</sup> Referring to this comment, Windpipe Chinese Music Ensemble is a similar case, which is in their comfort zone. It satisfies the current situation and believes it would be the operation format. How to be an art entrepreneur and step forward, would be the key exploration of the small arts organization in Hong Kong.

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## 社區藝術在舊區—土瓜灣故事館社區藝術項目的思考

李芳<sup>1</sup>

### 摘要

近年來，隨著香港政府舊區改造進程的推進，有不少藝術團體陸續進駐舊區運營社區藝術項目。一方面，為當地居民帶來接觸藝術的機會；另一方面，冀借助社區藝術去保育舊區、喚醒舊區居民關注社區的意識；同時，改變普羅大眾對於舊區的刻板印象。

土瓜灣故事館作為土瓜灣舊區內的社區藝術項目，是連結區內居民與文化的一座橋樑，同時，也肩負著喚醒“土瓜灣人”關注家園、保育社區文化意識的使命。本文將從社區藝術與舊城區之間的關係、土瓜灣故事館社區藝術項目所運營的藝術項目、運營情況等方面來分析及探討土瓜灣故事館社區藝術項目的得與失。

### 關鍵字

社區藝術，香港舊區與社區藝術，土瓜灣故事館，社區藝術的要素

### 土瓜灣故事館社區藝術項目

土瓜灣，是香港的舊區之一，1998年啟德機場關閉後，舊區重建工作的進行及港鐵沙中線的修建導致區內變動甚多。在這樣的背景下，由社區文化關注及聖雅各福群會共同營運並受何鴻毅家族基金「藝術·改寫香港」項目資助的土瓜灣故事館（又稱土家）由2013年起進駐並紮根於土瓜灣。創立至今，土家在區內持續舉辦了展覽、街頭音樂工作坊、社區文化導賞、達人劇場、印度文化工作坊等活動，旨在通過系列社區藝術項目連結區內不同族裔的居民、喚起區內居民保育文化、關注社區、保育社區的意識。

### 社區藝術與舊區

“擁有一種自我的概念，擁有一種自我身份的認知是有意義的，它不是一種簡單的、潛在的我就是我的概念，而是把自我置身於世界上某一個特定地點的自我身份認知。”(Malpas,1999:152)一方面，土家以家、命運共同體的概念營造社區空間，在區內打造藝術項目，希望區內居民能夠認同社區，無論是中產或基層、華裔或其他少數族裔，能夠以“土瓜灣人”的身份去關心鄰里、守護社區；另一方面，社區藝術與舊區也面臨矛盾，舊區重建仍未完成時區內已有小部分中產階級居住，他們亦算是土瓜灣舊區的一份子。“任何的社會行為都可以被理解為是由特定場域中占主要位置的關係和結構所確定的。”(Bourdieu, 1993:72)土家的社區藝術活動由於缺乏所謂的中產階級的品味，舉辦地多在“舊區之中的舊區”，因此居住在此的中產階層或主動或被動的排斥於這些項目之外。雖同處一個社區之中，但卻沒有心理及地理上的連結，參與社區的不足使得中產階層不會認同自我是土瓜灣人的這樣一個身份，關注土瓜灣、保育土瓜灣更無從談起。

在香港，不乏在舊區之中進行社區藝術以達到特定目標的社區藝術項目。如與土家同屬一個運營團體的灣仔藍屋、被市區重建局清拆並完成重建的利東街、中環上環舊城項目、油麻地上海街視藝空間等等；他們所面臨的共同問題是，當人們的關注度逐漸減弱，所受的資助逐漸減少，區內居住階層更替完成；原本以凝聚社區居民、構建扎實社區、保育舊區文化為使命的社區藝術項目將如何繼續。

<sup>1</sup>作者：李芳(香港中文大學文化管理碩士生, 2017/18 學年)

## 土瓜灣社區藝術項目的得與失

當人們談論社區藝術時，通常都會思考社區藝術項目究竟可以為一個社區帶來什麼。對於土瓜灣故事館，無疑想通過鼓勵居民參與社區藝術，達到自己空間自己做主的目的；甚至在土瓜灣市區重建的過程中，與政府討價還價為土瓜灣留下一個像灣仔藍屋般的空間，留下一種對舊時土瓜灣的想像。

### 一、社區藝術與社區

2015年，土家舉辦了「同一頁·土瓜灣地圖展項目」。32位在土瓜灣居住的街坊手拿地圖，一步一步在區內尋找過往的生活回憶與故事，並在地圖中標注出來，憑藉自己過往的記憶編寫了一部社區故事人文地圖。項目完成後，進行了長達二個月的展覽。除了土家故事館，展覽場地更覆蓋了整個土瓜灣地區，吸引了更多的街坊拿著地圖去經歷以往每個不同個體在土瓜灣的生活路線，分享彼此的故事。

對於社區藝術，我想最重要的一個要素就是能否滿足所在社區的真正需要，能否讓社區居民感覺到他們真的做出了一些成就、真的深度參與了社區藝術。土家把社區故事變成了一個每個街坊都可參與的社區藝術項目，而非只局限於最初參與的32位居民，更多居民的參與也為重建後的新社區留下了想像。對於即將經歷清拆重建的土瓜灣社區，保留區內的集體回憶是在地居民的訴求，清拆不可避免，土家以我手寫我心的形式為土瓜灣留下回憶；而選擇舊時故事作為切入點，激勵更多人的帶入更多情感，也適時的為土瓜灣人搭建了一個互相熟悉交流的平臺。對於這樣一個社區藝術項目，不僅可以作為中介的角色為基層市民搭建參與藝術的平臺，更作為改善社區溝通環境的工具。

### 二、組織者、參與者與社區藝術

談到社區藝術家的角色，“對於任何一個社區藝術家來說，他的首要角色是，設計和策劃面向大多數社區居民（參與者）的項目。這樣做是確保項目是可行的、創新的、與社區相關的、並擁有專業的支持和資助。”(Hannigan,2012:147)土家作為舊區社區藝術的組織者，不單單要對社區藝術所採取的形式深思熟慮還要對所展現的內容作出慎重決定，舊區基層居民比例大於新搬入的中產居民，如何讓內容更加貼地讓基層居民可以深度參與而又不排斥流失中產參與者，這對土家的駐場藝術家來說是一個難以越過的障礙，但在此並非鼓勵土瓜灣故事館的社區藝術家們一定要創作出所謂符合中產階層品味的社區藝術，這無疑是一種離地的表現。

土家目前所進行過街頭音樂工作坊、達人劇場等項目均以基層市民參與為主，除此之外，近期土家開始關注區內印度等少數族裔，邀請他們開設文化工作坊教學烏爾都語，講解印度文化，幫助族群之間互相瞭解亦幫助少數族裔解融入社區。但通過訪問瞭解，發現土家進行的不少社區藝術項目並沒有明確的核心目標也沒有明確的動機驅使策劃者去策劃活動，只是覺得到了週末，需要這樣一個活動去消磨時間，從而更無法評估它的影響與成果。當然，這裡並不是完全的去否定過去的一些藝術項目，參與者始終處在一個比較被動的位置，而組織策劃者作為中介人的角色將藝術帶給參與者，那麼就有責任去選擇、界定一些藝術項目，讓它真正的紮根於社區，而非根據自身的喜好去設定項目，社區藝術家需要將這兩者明確的區分開。

### 三、文化導賞與社區藝術

土瓜灣故事館目前運營4條不同的文化導賞路線，涵蓋了土瓜灣地區所有主要的歷史文化遺跡及工業遺跡。但值得思考的是，這樣的文化導賞是否是社區藝術的一種呢？文化導賞，看起來更貼近於公眾藝術，它的參與者，大多是區外市民。首先，社區藝術，並不是社區加上藝術，簡單的把4條文化導賞路線加入土瓜灣社區並不等於營造了新的社區藝術，社區內的居民並不會有太大的熱情參與而且也無助於構建社區；其次，社區藝術擁有特定的核心目標與動機，不可否認的是文化導賞路線的存在是以加深對土瓜灣社區的認識及瞭解為基礎的，但是核心目標的缺乏並不能使文化導賞歸於社區藝術之下；再次，這種文化旅遊並不能為社區帶來什麼，無法有效的把社區與居民鏈接起來，也無法回應社區真實存在的需求。

### 結論與討論

過去的四年中，土瓜灣故事館作為社區藝術的主體為土瓜灣社區帶來了不少社區藝術，喚起了人們對社區的關注，尤其是對清拆重建的關注，聯結了區內的一些藝術資源，例如坐落在區內的牛棚藝術區，藉助藝術區的資源共同舉辦視覺藝術展覽等活動。但現在的土瓜灣故事館項目正處在風雨之中，一方面即將面臨清拆，資金的匱乏也帶了了運轉方面的困難，無法運營覆蓋面更廣的大型社區藝術；另一方面，下屬的一系列項目與教育並無太大的交叉點，培養更多的參與者尚需時間；更重要的是，土瓜灣故事館有著改變社區環境的使命，但隨著區內環境的改變這一目標可能無法完成。

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