

## 评社区营造新局面： 探讨如何共同生活

# EMERGING CHALLENGES OF COMMUNITY EMPOWERMENT: EXPLORING A HARMONIOUS LIVING AMONG DIFFERENT COMMUNITY STAKEHOLDERS



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在您20余年的社区营造实践中，您是如何理解公共参与的？

黄瑞茂（以下简称黄）：理查德·哈奇在《社会建筑》一书中说道：“参与的重要功能之一对于需求和渴望的创造性回应……参与的真正意义在于它对参与者的作用，而非对建筑的作用……在参与过程中，人们可以重拾营造环境的能力，体验共同工作的乐趣……”<sup>[1]</sup>这段话很符合我在开展社区营造实践之前对于“公众参与”的理解，即“邀请人们参与建造”。而现在我认为，社区营造不仅仅是邀请居民参与，更是将设计的工具交回人们手上。台湾所推动的社区营造（Community Empowerment）可直译为“社区赋权”，“赋权”使得台湾能够在后殖民或后权威的处境中奋力一搏，促发了社

会力量的复苏。回顾第二次世界大战后与空间相关专业的形成过程，可以发现赋权是专业内容发生转变的关键因素，在其影响下，英国诞生了关注战后城市转型与生活重建的“社区建筑”，美国亦提出了关怀公共服务与城市弱势处境的“社会建筑”。“社区营造”正是以赋权作为基础，旨在打造响应居民需求的生活空间。赋权包括三个层面：一是邀请参与，尤其需要让弱势者或沉默者发声；二是开放边界，不对发言内容的范围设限，让居民随心所欲地表达自己的真实意图；三是机制监督，以制度性的互动来保障参与的成果。这三个层面是促进公众参与的保障。

当今的封闭式社区导致都市人群生活方式发生改变，也使得邻里氛围逐渐缺失。

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### 摘要

在全球化、城镇化、金融危机等的影响下，当代人的生活方式不断转变，在城市愈发拥挤、持续扩张的同时，许多乡村却面临着已经“空掉”或将要“空掉”的危机，这种城乡移民现象及其带来的土地性质变更使得城乡之间的界线愈发模糊。在此种现状面前，我们试图借助“社区营造”手法，并将“社区”的定义扩充至城乡、城际尺度，统筹考虑大尺度范围内的生活营造。受访者黄瑞茂结合其20余年的社区营造经验，发表了其对于认同感、公众参与、设计师角色等议题的看法。其提出，随着时代的发展，设计师们关注的重点已由“这是我们所期望的生活空间吗”，转变为“我们需要怎样的生活方式”，并进而转向“我们要如何共同生活在一起”，形成了社区营造的新局面。

### 关键词

社区营造；公众参与；生活方式；都市意识；认同感

### ABSTRACT

Contemporary lifestyles are changing due to influences of globalization, urbanization, and financial crisis. While cities are increasingly crowded and continuously expanding, many rural areas face a crisis of labor shortage and changes of land types, blurring the boundaries between urban and rural areas. Under this background, the scope of community empowerment has been expanded to a larger scale, from one certain community to the whole urban-rural integration to deal with urban problems caused by rural-urban migration. The interviewee, Jui-mao Huang, shared his views on identity, public participation, roles of designers, etc. basing on his 20-year experience of community empowerment. He pointed out that over time, designers' focus has shifted from creating spaces to meet dwellers' demands to affecting dwellers' lifestyles with practices of community empowerment, and to realizing a harmonious living for different community stakeholders.

### KEY WORDS

Community Empowerment; Public Participation; Life Style; Urban Consciousness; Identity

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有社会学家指出，“社区营造的目的就是使社区中的人生活得更安全、舒适，至于认同不认同，则关乎个人偏好，不必刻意去‘营造’一个‘认同’。”<sup>[2]</sup>您认为是否有必要在当下的社区中营造认同感？应该如何营造这种认同感？

黄：从“城市过程”的角度来看，时间的推移不仅能使实体空间扩大，也会促使市民的居住意识发生改变。城市是一个时间连续体，居住于其间的你我也是。因此，相较于基于土地定着物的记忆与认同，烙印在都市环境之中的“时间的形状”对于重现重要的生活过往更具参考作用，也更能响应当下的城市处境。随着就学、就业范围的扩大，人们已经习惯往返于城乡或城际之间。我们需要扩大社区营造的范围，从住屋内、到社区内，再到整个城市及乡村，都可以成为“营造”的对象。街道、街区或社区都是承载城市生活的基本单元，但不断加剧的交通负荷与大尺度街廓开发却改变了街道原有的面貌。如何组织社区或街区中的街道，建立起安全、便捷、舒适，以及支持各类活动的生活街道网络，将成为未来城市规划的重要议题。我们需要将关怀扩大到社区之外，在更大的尺度下探讨“认同感”，同时提倡可持续、绿色、低负荷等价值理念，促使公众参与形成社群力量，以更好地改善

城市生活。最终使当前的城市意识由“资本化”转向“市民化”，缓解都市疏离这一普遍现状。

社区营造会因为地处城市或乡村而有所不同吗？

黄：过去，在城市规划体系的指导下，我们习惯于将城市与乡村视为两类不同的区块。但随着城市的扩张，乡村已经被视作城市发展的储备用地，政府甚至可以通过行政手段将农业用地变更为建设用地。城乡之间空间上的界线愈发模糊。

而在社会层面，城市和乡村的性质也发生了转变。在过去，城乡就业差距催生了“城乡移民”现象，促使亚洲范围内的城乡结构在过去50年间剧烈转变。这一现象一方面构筑起了当今的城市，另一方面也造成了许多已经“空掉”或将要“空掉”的乡村。现如今，几乎所有城市都可以算作“移民城市”，也会有更多这样的城市陆续形成。与此同时，城市正进一步创造和提供更多的服务与机会，医疗、教育、社会福利等亦纷纷向城市集中。《中国城市发展报告（2009）》指出，截至2050年，中国将会有75%的人口居住在城市之中<sup>[3]</sup>。我们的认知与价值观也已不同于城市建设初期。经济发展使我们开始关注下一代的教育和生活质量的

改善，我们开始思考“这是我们所期望的生活空间吗”。而回顾过去几十年间发生的巨大改变，各种生活方式所带来的结果也已逐一呈现，当下，我们亦开始思考“我们需要怎样的生活方式”。所以，在上述背景下讨论城乡界线，意义并不大。

您认为设计师应该如何响应上述提到的“我们需要怎样的生活方式”这一问题？

黄：全球化进程与金融风暴加剧了全球贫富差距，过去占世界最多数、最稳定的“中产阶级”正在逐渐消失。房地产价格的疯涨使得年轻人无法凭借一己之力在城市中找到栖身之所；而面对日趋严重的老龄化与少子化现象，托幼、教育、健康等照顾体系与支持网络，已非一般居民所能负担——“豪宅空城”的预言已然兵临城下。

当前的“城市更新”“社区营造”或“城市设计”不仅涉及空间问题，还应注重培养城市应对外在变动的调适能力。随着城市治理的主要方式由开发建设转向经营管理，场所的作用也越发重要——其可以辅助调控手段，实现城市治理。“社区营造”本应是生活中的日常用语，而我们似乎仍视其为一种用于解决具体问题的设计策略。虽然这种城市意识可以通过不断实践与反思来强化和培养，但要想使社区营造意识最终

成为社会的真实组成，也并非在短时间内就能实现。

为了推动这一过程，我们关注的问题也从“我们需要怎样的生活方式”转变到“我们要如何共同生活在一起”，以推动有关“基于社区的生活”的讨论，并厘清社区利益相关者的角色与关系。在2017年4月于同济大学举办的“共治的景观”工作坊中，我们就以角色扮演的方式再现了不同社会群体对于公共空间的利益博弈。在活动中，我提出“在都市处境下，我们能否共同生活？”这一问题，启发人们认识到社区营造的新局面，建立起重建公共生活方式的积极对话。

设计师需要具备哪些能力以更好地践行社区营造？

黄：在过去，我们习惯将“社区建筑”视为与“建制建筑”相区别的、另类的或是并列的领域。而在当代背景下，我们确有机会从既有的建制性专业向外拓展，在社区设计领域大展拳脚。

在此前提下，设计师的角色也发生了变化。我们需要对专业进行重新架构，从遵从单纯的劳动分工，转变为主动发现问题、面对问题。生活中总会遇到各种问题，而生活的问题同时也是空间设计的议题。在发现问题后，设计师还需要从甲乙方的定式身份中解放出来，主动提案以掌握更多的话语权。使建筑生产程序以个人与地方的需求为

出发点，同时兼顾环境的需求，而非囿于甲方的设计目标。同时，我们要学会借助各个领域的价值观和方法论，穿透专业的盲点。比如，人类学语境下的田野调查即是建筑/空间代理（Spacial Agency）的核心知能，而公众参与也可以在实践中为我们建立起共识——一种具有实用性且可共享的知识。

此外，设计工作的终点并非是设计完工、居住者进驻之时。建筑师需要不断回访

自己的设计作品，去感知与检讨真实的使用情况，去论辩建筑物与周边环境的关系，去感受场所力量的建构，并探索场地中新的创造性工作。我们需要锻炼一种从众多挫折或经验中提炼方法论的能力，这也是我们应当终身学习的重要功课。一线实践者尤其需要跳脱出已有成就，不断追问自己“社区改变了吗”，并时时思考下一步的工作内容将会是什么。LAF



1. 同济大学举办的“共治的景观”工作坊

1. "Cooperative Landscapes" Workshop held in Tongji University

**How do you understand public participation basing on your over-20-year practices of community empowerment?**

**Jui-mao HUANG (HUANG hereafter):** In his book *The Scope of Social Architecture*, Richard Hatch stated that “One important function of participation is the creation of demand, the rekindling of desire.... The true significance of participation lies in its effects on the participants, not on architecture.... Participation is the arena in which people can relearn environmental competence, experience the pleasures of collective work....”<sup>[1]</sup> Before my practices in community empowerment, this argument was very much in line with my understanding of “public participation” that it invites people to participate in construction. Now, however, I realize that community empowerment is more of giving back the right of design to the public. By using the term “community empowerment,” rather than “community building,” the essence of “empowerment” is emphasized in community design, which encourages more people to devote to the revitalization of Taiwan after its colonial period. After World War II, “empowerment” became the key to the development of some

relevant disciplines of space design. For example, Community Architecture in the UK emerged with a focus on urban transformation and community regeneration, while Social Architecture came into being in the USA to improve public services and infrastructure. Thus, on the basis of empowerment, practices of community empowerment aim to create living spaces to meet the needs of dwellers. Specifically, there are three main approaches to achieving empowerment: first is to encourage public participation, especially the disadvantaged groups; second is to provide an open platform for people to freely express their intentions; and third, to establish a mechanism of supervision to ensure credible results.

**By now, gated communities have resulted in a living style which makes the urban population alienate from each other. A sociologist pointed out that “As far as identity, which concerns personal preferences, we do not have to deliberately create an identity.”<sup>[2]</sup> Do you agree with this argument? If not, how could we create such sense of identity?**

**HUANG:** According to the whole urban process, time not only witnesses the expansion of physical spaces, but

also influences people’s attitude towards living. City, like all of us, is a constant carrier of time. Thus, comparing to the memories and identified localities, it is more important to represent our past life experience, to be understood as the “shape of time,” which has been ironed in our city environment. This is more valuable and responsive to the presence surrounding of the city. With urban expansion, people have become accustomed to commute between the urban and rural areas for school or for work. As a result, community empowerment should also cover a larger range from houses to communities, and to the whole urban and rural areas. Due to the heavy traffic and extensive block development, there have been disproportionate numbers of streets, blocks, and communities, for which future urban planning should focus on the configuration of streets in communities or neighborhoods to establish a network of safe, convenient, and comfortable streets which could support a diversity of activities. Meanwhile, the sense of identity should also be explored in a larger scale than the community itself, while advocating sustainable, green, and low-carbon development with a more extensive public participation, to finally improve

urban living conditions. It is also a process to alleviate the problem of urban alienation by transforming the capital-oriented development to the citizen-oriented one.

#### **Does community empowerment vary in urban and rural areas?**

**HUANG:** Although the urban and rural areas were considered to be completely different, the boundary between these two areas has become fuzzy due to urban expansion. More rural lands have been or will be transformed into construction lands for urban development through government intervention.

There are also changes in social affairs in both urban and rural areas. In the past 50 years, employment opportunities in some Asian cities have resulted in a large amount of rural migrant workers, which not only promotes urban development, but also causes labor shortage in villages. Thus, nowadays there are and will be more cities formed as “immigrant cities.” However, it is undeniable that public services and employment opportunities

in cities are getting strengthened, with more medical, educational, and social welfares. According to the Annual Report on Urban Development of China (2009), 75% of China’s population will live in cities by 2050<sup>[3]</sup>. After decades of development, on recognizing differences between various living styles, designers have shifted their focus from creating spaces to meet dwellers’ demands to exploring approaches which could affect dwellers’ lifestyles with practices of community empowerment. Therefore, it is unnecessary to discuss the urban-rural boundaries in such a context.

#### **How could designers affect dwellers’ lifestyles with practices of community empowerment?**

**HUANG:** The process of globalization and the financial crisis have widened the global gap between the rich and the poor, resulting in a decline of the dominated and most stable “middle class.” Pressures such as the skyrocketing real estate price, which makes it impossible for young people to live in their own houses, increasingly serious problems of

aging and low birth rate, and heavy responsibilities in childcare, education, and health issues have overwhelmed most of the urban dwellers.

Practices of urban renewal, community empowerment, or urban design, should focus not only on space, but also on the urban resilience to changes in the physical environment. While the mode of urban governance shifting from development to management, shaping and providing places for citizens could make it easier to realize the management. Community empowerment, although usually regarded as a design strategy or solution to problems, should have been a part of our daily lives. However, the awareness and acceptance of community empowerment will not be easily realized in rather a short time, even if it could be reinforced with a great deal of practices and reflections.

Nevertheless, efforts have been made to stimulate discussions on community-based living and to clarify the relationship between community stakeholders, during which process our focus shifted from affecting dwellers’ lifestyles with practices of

community empowerment to realizing a harmonious living for different community stakeholders. For instance, we represented the conflict of interests of different social groups in a role-playing manner in the “Cooperative Landscapes” workshop held in Tongji University in April 2017. By raising the question that “can different stakeholders live harmoniously in a community,” I encouraged the audience to further reflect on rebuilding community lifestyles.

**What competences could help designers better introduce community empowerment into their practices?**

**HUANG:** Taking architecture design for instance, we used to discuss Community Architecture with the Established Building System as different and paralleled fields. In the contemporary context, however, with their boundary blurring, more opportunities have been provided for designers to focus on Community Architecture.

Designers, in response to new challenges, have to act with initiative

to find and solve problems in people’s daily lives with spatial design, instead of doing design passively according to specifications. Once noticing these problems, designers should actively propose architectural programmes to meet demands of dwellers, and local and environmental development, rather than simply satisfying the clients. Interdisciplinary collaboration is also significant in this process, for which we could make full use of different values or methodology from other disciplines, such as fieldwork in anthropology, which is also the core of architectural design and spatial agency, and public participation in sociology, which generates feasible and shared ideas in practices.

We should also be aware of the fact that the design work never ends even if the construction is completed or the building is open to users. Further steps are to be conducted with reflections on previous works by experiencing and evaluating the real building in use, its relationship with the surroundings, the power of a place, and finally, the possible innovations to further improve the quality of the site. Although troubles inevitably exist in the design

process, what matters is our ability to summarize lessons or methodologies from these setbacks. Moreover, existing achievements should also motivate designers to rethink whether the communities are changed due to their efforts and, more importantly, what do they expect to achieve next. **LAF**

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