

International Conference
國際研討會

21-22/3/2015

The Federal Kuala Lumpur 聯邦酒店
35 Jalan Bukit Bintang, 55100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.

Chinese<>English Simultaneous Interpretation will be provided
提供現場中英文翻譯

發展的反思與超克

探尋社會進步的另類可能

Reflection on Development and Beyond:

EXPLORING ALTERNATIVES TO SOCIAL PROGRESS



活动专区 /
Event Page:



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International Conference

Reflection on Development and Beyond: Exploring Alternatives to Social Progress

Date : 21st to 22nd March 2015

Venue : The Federal Kuala Lumpur (Federal Hotel)
(35 Jalan Bukit Bintang, 55100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.)

Organiser : Genta Media SdnBhd

Collaboration with: Research for Social Advancement (REFSA)

Media Partner: Malaysiakini

Language : Chinese<>English Simultaneous Interpretation will be provided

Overview

We are living in an age which is so close to the brink of despair. Developmentalism has become a global force of hegemony due to the rise of global capitalism and neo-liberalism in the past three decades. We suffer and suffocate as a result of the deterioration of the political economic system, social injustice, and the backlash of the environment and nature. Yet, we are also living in an era in which people fight to live. Different forms of civil disobedience and movements have been blossoming as a resistance against the forces which grab and erode our living space, land, environment and even our basic dignity and value as human beings.

Malaysia is following the path of developmentalism and is striving for economic development on its way to becoming a benchmark of modernization in Asia. Crony-capitalism has become the norm due to the lack of checks and balances, leading to severe exploitation and oppression. “Economic development and growth” have become a cosmetic facade for costly mega projects. The recent rise of the anti-public health hazards movement as a civil movement sees art creation and cultural preservation serving as a medium for community resistance. Nevertheless, the developmentalist idea of economic growth still remains a mainstream influence, given the lack of social development discourse.

At the same time, the recent rise of community building activism also invites people to rethink the relation between their lives and urban development, public space, collective memory and cultural preservation. Community seems to be a space that unites and relates people, and a platform that invites participation and forms resistance. With this, can it be a possible site of reflection and resistance against the mainstream development and capitalism? Can we formulate different lifestyles and value options? Most fundamentally, what is “development”? How can we see “development” from the perspectives of appropriate technology, local governance, urban spaces, local identity, and civil movement?

In this conference, we invite scholars, community workers, community organizers, members of parliaments, and social activists from Malaysia, Taiwan, and Hong Kong, who have been actively engaged in social activism and criticism, to discuss, inquire and share the idea of “development” from different aspects. Through this international dialogue platform, we also aim

to explore the public discourse and possible actions and practices regarding alternative development.

Programme

21 March 2015, Saturday---Day 1

09:30am - Registration

10:00am - *Opening Remarks & Book Launch*

Opening Speech **Liew Chin Tong**

Member of Parliament for Kluang, Johor

10:20am - *Keynote Speech 1*
The Image of Malaysia's Modernization: The Critique of Developmentalism

Speaker: **Prof. Emeritus Dato' Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong**
Emeritus Professor in Sociology of Development and Principal Fellow of Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), National University of Malaysia (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, UKM)

Moderator: **Ahmad Fuad Rahmat**
PhD candidate in Cultural Studies at Nottingham University Malaysia Campus

The main objective of this session is to examine the changes and results of the 'development' discourse, especially after the independence of Malaysia where developmentalism became the important national vision. In 2004, *The Economist* magazine released the results of its Crony Capitalism Index, Malaysia ranked third among the 23 countries surveyed. In the industrialisation and globalisation era, Malaysia has proposed and practised a series of policies such as the New Economy Policy, Look East Policy, National Development Policy, 2020 Vision, One Malaysia, etc, for the purpose of nation building and to fit into the international developmental framework. However, Malaysia also went through financial crises in 1997 and 2008. How would these development projects and discourses shape Malaysia's development vision?

Questions:

1. What is development, developmentalism, and developmentalism in the Malaysian context?
2. How does the state and knowledge-production mechanism construct and reinforce Malaysia's modern development? How has developmentalism (even post-developmentalism) become a mainstream ideology?
3. How does Malaysia's development discourse affect its position at the international level, and how does it shape our identity politics and economic life?
4. How do we reflect and critique the changes and consequences of the local developmentalism discourse?

11:30am - Tea Break

11:50am - *Keynote Speech 2*

The “Appropriate Technology” Movement and Social Development

Speaker: **Assoc. Prof. Dr.Chen Hsin-Hsing**
Associate Professor in the Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies, Shih-Hsin University, Taiwan

Moderator: **Cheong Wey Jin**
Freelance

Malaysia has been striving to become a modernized and industrialized country since its independence. As science and technology are seen as important forces to bring development, the government invests heavily on heavy industries, the Multimedia Super Corridor, information technology upgrading; and also accepts transnational capital by approving controversial mega development projects such as rare earth plants, petrochemical plants, etc. This phenomenon is not unique to Malaysia, it is a microcosm of what is taking place in South East Asian nations as well as other developing countries.

In response to this, anti-public hazards movements are flourishing in Malaysia as actions of resistance, as the people start to rethink and reflect on their relationship with development and technology. By adopting the idea of the “appropriate technology” movement which has evolved since 1970s, are we able to seek a different path of development by experiencing and practising its ideology?

Questions:

1. Why is there a blind faith in science and technology?
2. What is the “appropriate technology” movement?
3. How can “appropriate technology” be used in different practices in this globalized capitalist era?
4. What is the relationship between appropriate technology and community building? How do people actively engage in it?

01:00pm - Lunch

02:30pm - *Session 1*

Overcoming the Dilemma of Development: The Local Governance Perspective

Panelists: **Chua Yee Ling**
State Assemblyman for Kuala Sepetang, Perak

Yap Soo Huey
State Assemblyman for PulauTikus, Penang

Adrian Banie Lasimbang
Executive Director atTONIBUNG, Sabah

Moderator: **Suki Wong Shu Qi**
State Assemblyman for Senai, Johor

In recent years, as traditional economic activities in cities and towns such as agriculture, farming, fisheries industries are gradually dying, new sectors such as tourism and cultural creative industries are fast rising in the hope of improving local economic development and to address talent migration. Economic development, social livelihood, environmental preservation, and people empowerment are among the issues that are closely related to local development. How do we go beyond the urban / rural binary framework to further explore the possibilities of diverse development from the local perspectives?

Questions:

1. What are the challenges in local governance? What are the main issues in local development?
2. How do we go beyond the urban / rural binary framework to explore the possibilities of diverse development from the local perspectives?
3. How can we rethink development, based on the local characteristics of the location in which we stay, in response to urbanization and modernization?

04:00pm - Tea Break

04:20pm - *Session 2*

**The Development of Urban Spaces under Globalization:
Heterogeneity & Hybridity**

Panelists:

Asst. Prof. Dr. Loo Yat Ming

Assistant Professor in Architecture & Built Environment, Faculty of Science and Engineering, University of Nottingham, Ningbo China

Prof. Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi

Professor in the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Built Environment and Engineering, UCSI University

Tey Tat Sing

Co-founder of Tetawowe Atelier

Moderator:

Chung Yi Fan

Parliamentary Researcher, Democratic Action Party

The globalized phenomenon of urban expansionism has intensified the tension and problems of cultural preservation and space for living in societies. As urban planning inclines to favour certain classes in a society, the proliferation of high-rise buildings and mega international chain stores that encourage consumerism has become a major fixture of the urban landscape. However, we must not forget that humans are living in the cities, people are staying in these spaces. How can we create a living space in a heterogeneous society to suit people's hybridity?

Questions:

1. How does urban development look like under the context of globalization? How can we connect the current mainstream urban plans with their future development?
2. What is the relationship between modern development and environmental and cultural conservation?
3. Please share your experience or views on alternative urban planning and development.

06:00pm - End

22 March 2015, Sunday---Day 2

09:30am - Registration

10:00am - *Keynote Speech 3*
The Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong within the context of Globalization: Civil Movement, Urban Development & Local Identity

Speaker: **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Yun Chung**
Associate Professor in Cultural Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Moderator: **Lau Ka Mei**
Freelance Columnist

In the past decade, numerous demonstrations on the Old Central Star Ferry Pier, high speed rail controversy, “brainwashing” within the national education system, and the most recent Occupy Central movements have led enlightened Hong Kong citizens to reflect on issues such as property hegemony, land grabs, urban transformation and community building. The Umbrella Revolution also expands the citizens’ horizons of imagination and sparks discussion on local identity, urban development space, globalized civic movements and so on. How do we learn to sustain the organic relationship between place and land, through these experiences of struggles?

Questions:

1. With the Umbrella Revolution as reference, please talk about the civic movement.
2. How do Hong Kong citizens view urban development, local identity and their relationship with them?
3. How has the notion of “development” changed in recent years?
4. How do community struggles and social movements break and reconstruct the relationship between the people and their community or land?

11:10am - Tea Break

11:30am - *Session 3*
Social Dynamics of Communities: Finding Alternative Development Practices

Panelists: **Choong Pai Chee**
Project Director Kuala Sepetang Art Carnival

Yeoh Lian Heng
Community Arts Worker

Victor Chin and Chan SeongFoong
Facilitators of RakanMantin

Moderator: **Hung Wan Lu**
Independent Researcher & Illustrator

Since the political tsunami of March 8, 2008, various communities have come up with their respective local projects, festivals and carnivals. Faced with forced evictions and demolitions, arts and culture have become tools of action, such as showcasing guided tours of old streets, mapping illustration and art performances – as a form of preservation as well as resistance. The rise of community carnivals, art festivals and community-building projects also encourage people to reflect and redefine urban development, public space, collective memory, cultural preservation, and interaction among the people. Through community building, the people are not merely voters, they are proactive and independent citizens who come together to decide the future of their own communities. Under these circumstances, can a community resist capitalist development? Do we have an alternative way of life and different value options?

Questions:

1. What is community building? Why is community building chosen as a platform?
2. Please share your experience and challenges in community building.
3. What change will community bring to society? What is its relationship with the development model directed by the nation? Is it possible for us to create an alternative development model? If yes, how?

01:00pm - Lunch

02:30pm - *Roundtable Discussion*
The Monstrosity of Development: The Anti-public Health Hazards Movement in Malaysia and the Communities Involved

Panelists: **Wong Meng Chuo**
Director of the Institute for the Development of Alternative Living (Ideal)

Lee Chean Chung
State Assemblyman of Semambu, Pahang

Lee Chong Tek
Chairman of Kuala Lumpur Rejects Incinerator Action Community

Jo Ann Wang

Master student in Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University

Moderator: **Cheong Wey Jin**
Freelance

This discussion is organized in conjunction with the launch of Genta Media's new book "*The Monstrosity of Development*". Back in 2011 and 2012, the anti-public hazards movement have almost become a civic movement in Malaysia. Citizens protested against Lynas, an Australian rare earth mining company that is building its processing plant in Kuantan; cyanide gold mining in Raub, Pahang, the Petronas refinery and petrochemical integrated development (RAPID) project in Pengerang, Johor; the construction of 12 dams and aluminum smelting plants in Sarawak; and also an incinerator planned to be built in Kepong, Kuala Lumpur. With most of the public hazard projects located in districts further away from city centres, the authorities claimed that huge investment in the development projects would secure a lot of job opportunities in semi-urban areas that are less developed, and that the economic outcome generated from the mega projects would eventually prosper the whole nation. However, is this the development that the locals want?

Questions:

1. Please share your observations, experience, limitation and challenges on the community struggles, such as anti-Lynas, anti-RAPID, anti-mega dams, Petaling Street preservation.
2. Please discuss the dialogues in the anti-public hazard movement or community struggles and development.

04:15pm - Tea Break

04:30pm - *Closing Roundtable Discussion*
Making Resistance Possible: Alternatives to Neo-liberalism

Panelists: **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Hsin-Hsing**
Associate Professor in the Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies, Shih-Hsin University, Taiwan

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Yun Chung
Associate Professor in Cultural Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Dr. Vivienne Wee
Research & Advocacy Director of The Association of Women for Action and Research (AWARE), Singapore

Dr. Michael Jeyakumar Devaraj
Member of Parliament of Sungai Siput

Moderator: **Wan Hamidi Hamid**
Director of Genta Media

In the past three decades, we have witnessed severe economic downturns, strict media control, inhumane labour conditions, growing debt, land grabs, and numerous cases of deteriorating political economic system and social injustice. The global wave of capitalism and neo-liberalism has shaped our perception and knowledge of our everyday lives. Climate change, disasters, resources depletion, ecological imbalance and environmental pollution indicate that nature is striking back, unravelling the suffering, suffocation and wretchedness that we have encountered following the rise of global hegemonic developmentalism.

Where there is oppression, there is resistance. Movements of anti-demolition, anti-public hazard, anti-privatization, anti-tuition fee hikes, anti-authoritarian, anti-corruption, anti-monopoly, anti-violence and many other forms and approaches of opposition have been blossoming, to stand against the dark powers that have grabbed and eroded our living space, land, environment and even our basic dignity and human value. We are living in the age of civil disobedience, and we will continue on the path to search for a better world that we can live in.

Questions:

1. Please share your experience of resistance in your areas of profession in this globalized neo-liberal framework. How did it happen and how can it be sustained?
2. Please suggest public discourses on alternative development, reflecting on the practices of intellectuals and activists.

06:40pm - Wrap up by Chair

Master of Ceremony: **Tung Wan Qing**
Genta Media Assistant Editor


Presentation Guidelines:

1. Keynote Speech – Speaker will have 25 minutes to deliver the speech, 25 minutes for discussion, and 10 minutes for conclusion.
2. Other Sessions – Each speaker will have 15 minutes for presentation, 25 minutes for discussion, and 3 to 5 minutes for conclusion.

《发展的反思与超克——探寻社会进步的另类可能》国际研讨会

会议日期：2015 年 3 月 21-22 日

主办单位：众意媒体

协办单位：义腾研究中心 

媒体伙伴：当今大马（中文版）

地点：联邦酒店 The Federal Kuala Lumpur
(35 Jalan Bukit Bintang, 55100 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia.)

语言：提供现场中英文翻译

缘起

我们活在一个如此靠近绝望的年代。全球资本主义与新自由主义逾 30 年卷动的漩涡，令发展主义成为全球主流意识形态霸权；政经体制崩坏、社会不正义与大自然的反扑，皆让我们承受着这些恶果与苦难。但是，我们也同时活在一个置死地而后生的年代。为了抵挡那强取豪夺、侵蚀吞噬我们生活空间、土地、环境，或作为人基本尊严的压迫剥削，不同形式的公民抗命行动或运动，遍地开花。

马来西亚在追赶成为亚洲现代化标杆的过程中，因循着发展主义的路线，追逐各种经济指标，权贵资本主义在缺乏各种监督力量下盛行，掠夺与压迫的状况愈发严重。“经济发展与成长”成为所有劳民伤本的巨型计划的美妆。这几年，反公害运动似乎成为全民觉醒运动，也不乏藉由艺术创造与文化保育作为社区抗争的媒介，然而有关发展的论述匮乏，主流的意识形态仍普遍局限在发展主义式经济成长的迷思里。与此同时，社区营造计划在各地的兴起，也令人们重新思考城市发展、公共空间、集体记忆、文化保育与庶民生活的关系。社区营造透过凝聚居民来决定社区发展，抑或抗争的特性，能否让社区成为反思与抵抗主流发展或资本主义的可能场域？我们是否拥有不同的生活方式与价值选择？追根究底，“发展”是什么？如何从科技技术、地方治理、都市空间、本土认同以及公民运动看待“发展”？

为此，我们邀请来自马来西亚、台湾、香港、新加坡有志于社会实践与批判的知识人、社区工作者、组织者、议员、社运分子，透过这次研讨会的平台，共同讨论与分享，从不同的面向反思“发展”，也尝试透过跨国对话来探寻另类发展的公共论述与行动实践的可能。

议程

2015年3月21日（星期六）

09:30am - 报到

10:00am - 开幕暨新书推介

开幕词：**刘镇东** 柔佛居銮区国会议员

10.20am - **【主题演讲 1】**
马来西亚现代化图像：发展主义的批判
The Image of Malaysia's Modernization: The Critique of Developmentalism

主讲人：**Abdul Rahman Embong** 马来西亚国民大学荣誉教授、马来西亚与国际研究所（IKMAS）首席研究员

主持人：**Ahmad Fuad Rahmat**
诺丁汉大学（马来西亚分校）文化研究博士候选人

本专题演讲旨在勾勒马来西亚自独立后作为以发展主义为主要信念的国家，其“发展”论述的转变与影响。2014年《经济学人》的全球权贵资本主义指数评比结果显示，马来西亚在23个国家中排名第三。处于工业化与全球化漩涡的马来西亚，因着打造国内国族建构需求与国际发展的局势，在不同的阶段颁布与实施新经济政策、向东学习、国家发展政策，2020年宏愿与“一个马来西亚”等，当中也历经1997年与2008年金融风暴，这些发展计划与论述如何形塑马来西亚从过去到今日的发展图像。

问题与讨论：

1. 什么是发展？什么是发展主义？马来西亚式的发展主义是什么？
2. 国家与知识产制机构如何建构与巩固马来西亚的现代化发展？发展主义（甚至后发展主义）如何成为它主流的意识形态。
3. 马来西亚的发展论述如何影响其国际的发展地位，又同时如何形塑我们的认同政治与经济生活？
4. 我们如何反思与批判本土发展主义论述的变化与影响？

11:30am - 茶叙

11:50am - **【主题演讲 2】**
从适当科技运动反思现代社会发展
The “Appropriate Technology” Movement and Social Development

主讲人：**陈信行** 台湾世新大学社会发展研究所副教授

主持人： 张淑芬 自由工作者

马来西亚脱离殖民成为独立国家，“发展”成为其迈向现代化与工业化的主旋律，而科学与技术被视为其中重要动力，因此，政府倡议建立重工业、打造多媒体走廊、知识科技产业转移等，并且引进与接纳跨国资本或财阀充满争议的鉅形发展计划，例如：稀土、石化工业，为将自身打造为进步科技工业化国家，而这也是许多东南亚国家或第三世界国家的“发展”缩影。这几年马来西亚出现多场反公害运动，让人重新思考发展、科技与人的关系。适当科技运动起始於 1970 年代，我们是否能藉由其理念与实践，走出不一样的发展之路。

问题与讨论：

1. 为什么有对科学技术的迷信？
2. 什么是“适当科技”运动？
3. 在全球资本发展主义下，“适当科技”的理念如何展开不一样的实践？
4. 适当科技与社区营造的关系为何？人民如何主动参与？

01:00pm - 午餐

02:30pm - **【讨论组一】**
从地方治理看发展的困境与超克
Overcoming the Dilemma of Development: The Local Governance Perspective

与会者： 蔡依霖 霹靂州太平十八丁区州议员
叶舒惠 檳城玻璃池滑区州议员
Adrian Banie Lasimbang 沙巴乡村发展之友 (TONIBUNG)

主持人： 黄书琪 柔佛州士乃区州议员

为促进地方经济发展，以及减少人才不再外流，许多城镇的传统经济生产活动逐渐退位，反之旅游等服务业、文化创意产业逐渐兴起。经济发展、社会民生、环境保育、居民培力一直是地方发展环环相扣的议题。如何打破城市/乡村二元的发展框架，进一步思考地方更多元发展的可能。

问题与讨论：

1. 地方治理的挑战有什么？地方发展的主要课题是什么？
2. 如何打破城市/乡村二元框架，从地方思考多元发展的可能？
3. 以自身所处的地方特征，应对都市化与现代化的历程，如何反思发展？

04:00pm - 茶叙

04:20pm -

【讨论组二】

全球化下都市发展与空间创造：异质与混杂

**The Development of Urban Spaces under Globalization:
Heterogeneity & Hybridity**

与会者： 卢日明 中国宁波诺丁汉大学科学与工程学院建筑与环境系助理教授
Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi 马来西亚思特亚
大学（UCSI）建筑环境与工程学院的建筑系教授
郑达馨 窝工房创办兼合伙人

主持人： 庄易凡 民主行动党国会政策研究员

全球化下都市扩张、文化保育与生存空间问题愈发紧张。在趋向某种阶级的都市空间打造过程中，高楼大厦、大型连锁国际商店、消费性地景形成都市主要面貌。然而，都市有人，人嵌在空间里。我们如何打造符合异质且多元的人们不同需求的生存空间呢？

问题与讨论：

1. 全球化下都市发展的面貌是如何？现在的主流都市规划如何与发展连结起来？
2. 现代化发展与环境文化保育的关系是什麽？
3. 分享另类的都市空间规划与发展。

06:00pm -

结束

2015年3月22日（星期日）

09:30am - 报到

10:00am - **【主题演讲3】**
从香港雨伞革命看全球化下的公民运动、城市发展与本土认同
The Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong within the context of Globalization: Civil Movement, Urban Development & Local Identity

主讲人：**陈允中** 香港岭南大学文化研究副教授

主持人：**刘嘉美** 自由撰稿人

过去十年裡，从天星码头保育、反高铁、反洗脑、占中等运动中，香港人开始重新思索地产霸权、土地占用、都市改造、社区营造等课题。香港雨伞运动的發生，开展了香港市民对本土身份认同、城市空间发展、全球公民运动更多的想像与讨论，我们如何从这些抗争经验中吸取永续经营地方与土地的关系呢？

问题与讨论：

1. 以香港雨伞运动为例，谈一谈公民运动的发生与影响。
2. 香港市民如何理解城市发展、本土认同与自身的关系？
3. “发展”意涵在这些年出现怎样的改变？
4. 社区抗争与运动如何打破与重建人们对社区与土地的关系？

11:10am - 茶叙

11:30am - **【讨论组三】**
作为社会动力的社区：探寻另类发展的实践经验
Social Dynamics of Communities: Finding Alternative Development Practices

与会者：**庄白琦** “看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华总策划与总协调
杨两兴 艺术工作者、策展人
Victor Chin & Chan Seong Foong 文丁之友（Rakan Mantin）计划总协调

主持人：**洪菟璐** 自由研究工作者、插画家

2008年308政治海啸以后，民间陆续出现不同的社区艺术节计划。在抵挡强征迫迁拆除的过程，艺术与文化成为行动的媒介，例如：老街导论、地图绘制、艺术表演等。另外，社区嘉年华、艺术节抑或是社区营造计划在各个地方上兴起，令人们重新思考城市发展、公共空间、集体记忆、文化保育与庶民生活的关系。透过社区营造，居民不再只是选民，而是能成为主动积极的自主公民，从凝聚、关怀到决策社区的发展，进而影响城镇，这是否是社区作为反思与抵抗发展或资本主义的场域的可能性？我们是否拥有不同的生活方式与价值选择？

问题与讨论：

1. 什么是社区营造？为何以社区作为基地？
2. 分享在地社区营造的经验与挑战。
3. 你认为社区营造可以带来什么改变？它与国家遵循的发展方向的关系是什么？它是否/如何创造另类发展模式？

13:00pm - 午餐

14:30pm - 【圆桌论坛】

发展的怪兽：马来西亚反公害与社区抗争

The Monstrosity of Development: The Anti-Public Health Hazards Movements in Malaysia and the Communities involved

与会者：
黄孟祚 另类生活发展机构（IDEAL）执行长
李健聪 彭亨士满慕州议员
李长特 “吉隆坡不要焚化炉行动委员会”主席
王钧瑜 国立台湾大学人类所硕士三年级

主持人：**张淑芬** 自由工作者

本圆桌讨论为《发展的怪兽》新书的内容而设。2011至2012年，反公害几乎成为全民醒觉运动。反莱纳斯、反山埃采金、反国油石化、反水坝、反炼铝厂、反焚化炉等反公害的各种行动力量迸发出来。公害坐落的地点几乎都是远离城市中心的市镇，在发展计划蓝图与拥护这些发展计划的官商说辞中，这些地方都是缺乏发展或发展相对落后的地区，所以巨额投资的大型计划可以增加该地区的就业机会、发展经济，带动整个国家的繁荣。然而，这是我们想要的发展？

问题与讨论：

1. 分享自身参与与关注的社区抗争的观察、经验、局限与挑战。
2. 反公害运动/社区抗争与发展的对话。

04:15pm - 茶叙

04:30pm -

【闭幕圆桌论坛】

抵抗如何可能？——新自由主义全球化下的社会出路

Making Resistance Possible: Alternatives to Neo-liberalism

与会者：
陈信行 台湾世新大学社会发展研究所副教授
陈允中 香港岭南大学文化研究副教授
黄丽嫣 新加坡妇女行动与研究协会（AWARE）研究及倡导主任
Dr. Michael Jeyakumar Devaraj 霹雳州和丰区国会议员

主持人：**Wan Hamidi Hamid** 众意媒体社长

金融海啸、媒体勒喉、劳动恶劣、债贷高筑、土地掠夺等政经体制崩坏与社会不正义，因着全球资本主义与新自由主义逾 30 年卷动的漩涡下，深深地影响了我们日常生活的所感与所知；气候剧变、惨烈灾难、资源耗竭、生态失衡、环境污染等大自然的反扑，揭示了发展主义成为全球主流意识形态霸权以後，也让我们经历着生命中必须承受的苦难。有压迫就有反抗。反拆迁、反公害、反私营化、反独裁、反舞弊、反垄断、反暴力等不同类型的抵抗行动或运动，遍地开花，以抵挡那强取豪夺、侵蚀吞噬我们生活空间、土地、环境，或作为人基本尊严与价值的黑暗势力。公民不服从/公民抗命的时代，在我们有生之年正发生着。我们依然在寻路。

问题与讨论：

1. 请以自身关注的领域，分享在新自由主义全球化下的抵抗经验如何发生与延续。
2. 提供另类发展的论述，反思知识人与行动者的实践。

06:40pm - 结束

大会主持：**邓婉晴** 众意媒体助理编辑

主题演讲学人 Keynote Speakers

马来西亚 MALAYSIA



Abdul Rahman Embong 是马来西亚国民大学荣誉教授，马来西亚与国际研究所（IKMAS）首席研究员。研究领域为发展社会学，尤其关注中产阶级、族群、多元主义、贪腐社会学、全球化与民族国家等议题。著有《民族国家：进程与争论》（2000），《国家主导现代化与马来西亚新中产阶级》（2002）等。他曾任马来西亚社会科学学会的会长（2000-2010），目前是该会的特别顾问。

Emeritus Professor Dato' Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong is currently a professor in Sociology of Development and the principal fellow of Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS), Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia (UKM). His areas of expertise are the Sociology of Development (Middle Class, Ethnicity, Pluralism, Sociology of Corruption, Globalization and the Future of Nation-states). His works include *The Nation state: Processes and Debates* (2000), *State-led Modernization and the New Middle Class in Malaysia* (2002) and many more. He was President of the Malaysian Social Science Association (2000-2010), and currently the Association's Special Advisor.

台湾 TAIWAN



陈信行教授是美国以色列理工学院科学与技术研究博士，目前是世新大学社会发展研究所副教授，学术专长包括劳工研究、科学与技术研究（STS）和应用文化人类学。陈教授是 1980 年代台湾学生运动的主要组织者，在劳工和学生议题和运动上是敏锐的观察者与参与者。他也曾出版与全球化下的科学和劳动政治相关的学术著作，其著作有发表于《台湾社会研究季刊》的学术文章、以及发表于“苦劳网”、《批判与再造》、《左翼》等处的评论与报道。另編有《工人開基祖：台社勞工研究读本》與《跨界流离：全球化下的移民與移工》（合編）。

阅读陈教授撰写的学生运动文章 《我的野百合》。

Assoc. Prof. Chen Hsin Hsing received his PhD from Department of Science and Technology Studies, Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. He is currently an associate professor in Shih-Hsin University, Taiwan, teaching development theories and social movement at the Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies.

Chen was a leading organizer of Taiwan's student movement in the 1980s, and he has been a keen observer and participant of Taiwan's labour and student movements since then. He has published scholarly works on the politics of science and labour in the age of globalization. He also contributes regularly to one of the most influential online news sites in Taiwan, cool loud.

香港 HONG KONG



陈允中教授出生于马来西亚，是一个社区规划师（国立台湾大学建筑与城乡所的硕士，在美国加州大学洛杉矶分校的城市规划博士）。目前是香港岭南大学文化研究副教授，研究的兴趣包括科技创新系统、文化创意产业、城市更新与社会运动。

自 2004 年抵达香港教学以来，他就活跃于社区保育及社区营造的都市改革运动，包括 2007 年保存中环皇后码头和 2010 年重建新彩园村。2006 年，他与友人共同成立“[社区文化关注](#)”民间团体，专注社区参与营造计划。他同时也是[土地正义联盟](#)创会成员。作为一名社运分子，他在由学生领导的民主运动——雨伞革命，成了学生的后盾和军师，成立“[流动民主课室](#)”，与八十位学者在占领地开班授课，延续“罢课不罢学”精神。

Assoc. Prof. Chen Yun Chung was born in Malaysia. He was trained as a community planner (MPhil in Planning, Taiwan National University; PhD in Urban Planning, UCLA). He is currently an associate professor in Cultural Studies at Lingnan University, Hong Kong. His research focuses on innovation studies and critical urban studies.

As a community planner, he has been actively participating in preservation and community building projects in Hong Kong, including preservation of Queen's Pier in 2007 and rebuilding of new Choi Yuen Village in 2010. In 2006, he co-founded a charity NGO – [Community Cultural Concern \(CCC\)](#) – to launch participatory community building projects in Hong Kong.

As an activist, he has been strong opponent of privatization of public assets, slash-and-burn style urban renewal and top-down development projects that force evict its inhabitants. In the current student-led democracy movement that started in September 2014 – so called umbrella revolution – he sets up “[mobile democracy classroom](#)” at three major occupied streets where college teachers and activists provide democracy-themed classes for the students and protesters.

主持人 Moderators



Ahmad Fuad Rahmat

Ahmad Fuad Rahmat 是诺丁汉大学（马来西亚分院）文化研究系的博士候选人。他也是提倡多元与青年参与的网络平台 projekdialog.com 的编辑。目前也是 BFM 商业电台“晚间学校”的主持人之一，该节目专门探讨哲学与社会理论。

Ahmad Fuad Rahmat is a PhD candidate in Cultural Studies at Nottingham University Malaysia Campus. He is also the editor of projekdialog.com, an online platform for multicultural young engagement, and co-host of Night School on BFM radio, a show that discusses philosophy and social theory.



张激紜

一度以为口语传播是毕生志业，后来辗转在传播研究和社会学中，发现书写是另一种论述的力量。2010 年加入 Refsa 智库并领导众意媒体。现为自由工作者，游走在理论与实践间，痛苦并快乐着地实验另类媒体的各种可能样貌，作为参与社会的自我定位。

Cheong Wey Jin studied media studies and speech communications. But it was sociology that gave her the knowledge map she was looking for. In 2010 she joined think tank Refsa and later headed publishing house Genta Media. By January 2015 she embarks a new career as a freelancer, trying very hard to strike a balance between theory and practice as well as between idealism and reality.



刘嘉美 Lau Ka Mei

土生土长香港人，毕业于香港大学社会工作及社会行政学系、香港中文大学社会学硕士，毕业后活跃於劳工团体。刚刚移居马来西亚，继续以文字关注边缘底层。

Lau Ka Mei is a native Hong Konger, who studied Social Work and Social Administration in University of Hong Kong, and Master of Arts in Sociology in Chinese University of Hong Kong. She has been actively engaged in labour issues and organizations since graduation. Making Malaysia her home, she continues to focus on the marginalized with social participation and frequent writings.

与会者与主持人 Speakers & Moderators



蔡依霖 Chua Yee Ling

大学时期积极推动青年参政并主催各项权利醒觉运动，开创青年及非政府组织“动力青年”。2008年大选期间担任雪州万饶州议员颜贝倪的竞选总干事，2009年成为雪州乌雪县议员，抱着热忱融入草根，智力关心城乡社区发展。2013年首次披甲上阵，出战霹靂州太平十八丁州选区并打败民政候选人，2014年主催“看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华。

At present, **Chua Yee Ling** is the opposition People's Justice Party's (PKR) State Assemblywoman of Kuala Sepetang, Perak, She has been actively engaged in youth political activities, advocating rights issues since her college days. She co-founded “Youth for Change”, a non-profit organization for young people. In 2008, she was the election campaign director for PKR's Gan Pei Nei who won her parliamentary seat in Rawang, Selangor. Chua later became a District Councilor in Hulu Selangor, where she contributed her passion in semi-urban development at a grassroots level. In 2013, she contested in general election for the first time and won. “Look, Port Weld-Kuala Sepetang Art Carnival” was one of her main community building projects in 2014 to galvanize the villagers' interest, love and enthusiasm for their village.



叶舒惠 Yap Soo Huey

叶舒惠留学澳洲莫纳什大学，以第一级荣誉学士学位毕业，随后在墨尔本内特（Burnet）公共卫生及医药研究所担任科学研究员。2011年，出任槟城首长办公室科学、工艺及革新事务特别助理，并在第13届大选中于玻璃池滑区上阵，高票中选为州议员。为打造绿色交通与宜居社区，舒惠积极促成当地行人与脚踏道的完善建设，并推动交通改革。

Yap Soo Huey obtained her Bachelor of Science (First Class Honours) at Monash University, Australia and worked as a research scientist in Australia's largest not-for-profit virology and communicable disease research centre, the Burnet Institute in Melbourne. In 2011, she took up the position of Science, Technology & Innovation Officer in the Penang Chief Minister's Office. As of 2013, Yap is the State Assemblywoman for Pulau Tikus Constituency and is involved in issues pertaining to community improvement, urban liveability and mobility, and municipal planning and development. In the State Assembly, she has promoted bicycling as an alternative to automobiles, and also the one-way traffic system in Pulau Tikus. She is also the Vice Chairman for the Penang DAP women's wing.



Adrian Banie Lasimbang

Adrian Banie Lasimbang 是马来西亚原住民权益活跃分子。目前为环境可再生替代品公司（ERA WIRA）及非政府组织沙巴乡村发展之友（TONIBUNG）的董事。他大部分时间都在沙巴内陆，推广及发展以社区为本的绿色科技及永续发展项目，并引导原住民青年在其“可再生能源与适当科技”机构（CREATE）操作微型替代能源。目前，TONIBUNG 正在马来西亚原住民村落安装社区型的微型水电项目。他同时也是全马原住民网络（JOAS）的发言人，联合社区型组织和非政府组织，为马来西亚原住民权益发声。

Adrian Banie Lasimbang is an indigenous rights activist in Malaysia. As a director of ERA (Environment Renewable Alternatives) WIRA Sdn. Bhd. and non-profit organisation TONIBUNG (*Tobpinai Ningkokoton koburuon kampung*), he dedicates most of his time in the rural areas in Sabah, promoting and developing green technologies for community-

based sustainable development projects, and training indigenous youth to run micro scale alternative energy projects at Centre for Renewable Energy and Appropriate Technology (CREATE). Currently his organisation TONIBUNG is implementing community based micro hydro projects in Orang Asal villages in Malaysia providing rural electrification through renewable energy and facilitating sustainable socio economic activities through available power, at the same time conserving the watersheds to sustain the Micro Hydro system. He is also a spokesperson for Jaringan Orang Asal Malaysia (JOAS), a network of community based organisations (CBOs) and NGOs advocating indigenous peoples' rights in Malaysia.



黄书琪 Suki Wong Shu Qi

毕业于台湾政治大学新闻系与政治系双学位，现为柔佛州士乃区州议员，柔佛州民主行动党政策主任，以及民主行动党妇女组全国副宣传秘书。

Suki Wong Shu Qi obtained her Bachelor of Journalism and Politics (double major) at the National University of Governance (National Chengchi University), Taiwan. She is now the State Assemblywoman of Senai, Johor. She is also the Johor DAP policy director and the National DAP Women Assistant Publicity Secretary. She aspires to contribute to the well-being of the people, as well as to make Malaysia a better place for all to realize big dreams.



卢日明 Dr. Loo Yat Ming

建筑师兼讲师，英国伦敦大学学院巴特列建筑学院建筑历史及理论博士，留校教学多年。现于中国宁波诺丁汉大学科学与工程学院建筑与建筑环境系担任助理教授，教导建筑学，推崇跨文化思想，研究重点在建筑、多元城市、文化认同、移民与全球化交集处。除了建筑工程，他也热衷于以社群为基础的文化生产与社会活动，将它们视为城市历史形塑的一种介入与空间策略形式。因此在 2000 年联合创立马来西亚策略资讯研究中心 (SIRD)，出版政经社会的书籍。著有《Architecture and Urban Form in Kuala Lumpur: Race and Chinese Spaces in a Postcolonial City》(2013)。

Dr. Loo Yat Ming is an Assistant Professor in Architecture & Built Environment, Faculty of Science and Engineering of the University of Nottingham Ningbo, China. He obtained his Master degree in Architectural History and PhD in Architecture and Urbanism from the Bartlett, University College London. As a registered architect, urbanist, architectural historian and theorist, his academic research explore ways of connecting the issues of cultural identity, architecture and globalisation in envisioning intercultural urbanism. Besides architectural projects, he is also keen on community-based cultural production and social activities, seeing them as a form of intervention and spatial tactics in making cities and history. This includes co-founding the Strategic Info Research and Development (SIRD) in 2000 to publish books on social, political and economic issues. He is the author of *Architecture and Urban Form in Kuala Lumpur: Race and Chinese Spaces in a Postcolonial City*, (Ashgate Publishing, 2013).



Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi

马来西亚思特亚大学（UCSI）建筑环境与工程学院的建筑系教授，擅长伊斯兰建筑的建筑学理论与历史，尤其从先知穆罕默德的圣训观点与早期西方现代主义的思想框架进行研究分析，已出版多部关于回教堂设计与社群课程，并经常给讲座予宗教领袖、学者与大众。他也翻译早期现代主义、本土建筑与国家认同相关的理论。他希望能透过社区建筑的文化与价值的设计观点进一步影响公共政策。除了在《星报》、《前锋报》等主流媒体书写关于社会与建筑的文章以外，他也透过书写教育、种族主义，及伊斯兰激进主义，冀望能勾勒出一个新马来西亚社会。最新出版为《Architecture, Society and Nation Building》（2012年）及《Looking For a New Malaysia》。

Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi is a Professor at the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Built Environment and Engineering, UCSI University, Cheras. He specializes in theory and history of architecture with emphasis on the ideas of Islamic Architecture from the perspectives of the Prophet Muhammad's Sunnah (traditions) and the framework of early western modernist thoughts. He has published many books and articles on the subject of mosque designs and community curriculum, as well as translating many of the early modernist theories into Malay while documenting the theories of local architects. Apart

from his main academic fields his crusade is to bring changes to public policies and perception on cultural and value based design ideas in the realm of community architecture. Apart from being a columnist in the mainstream media like The Star and Utusan Malaysia writing on society and architecture, he writes frequently on issues of education, racism, Islamic extremism and his personal blueprint for building a New Malaysian Society. His latest books are *Architecture, Society and Nation Building* (2012) and *Looking For a New Malaysia*.



郑达馨 Tey Tat Sing

不务正业的建筑师。理大毕业，留学英国。现为 窝工房创办兼合伙人。从事关注环境，再循环，有诗意的空间设计工作。

Tey Tat Sing studied architecture in University Sains Malaysia and Cardiff University, UK. He is the co-founder of Tetawowe Atelier, a young and dynamic design firm specialises in creating design narratives. What is thought to be raw materials taken from the site's existing rain trees, the geometrical shape of a site that is reminiscent of Miro's artwork, the way the owners would spend their lazy afternoon, birds on the wire, dialogues between the river and passers-by, a Beatles song, a banal job site depicted in a Kafka dreamlike space – are the sources of inspiration for their design.



庄易凡 Chung Yi Fan

毕业于瑞典隆德大学环境研究及永续科学硕士班，现于在野民主行动党从事国会与政策研究。作为研究员，他长期关注环境议题与绿色抗争运动在马来西亚的发展和演变。作为公民，他积极参与数个绿色运

动的幕后工作。

Graduated from Lund University, Sweden with a Master's in Environmental Studies and Sustainability Science, **Chung Yi Fan** is the Parliamentary Researcher for opposition Democratic Action Party (DAP) since June 2013. He is a keen observer and in some instances, an active participant in the environmental movement in Malaysia.



庄白琦 Choong Pai Chee

毕业于马来亚大学经济系，2005 年负笈香港科技大学攻读社会学硕士。1998 年大学时期，与大专朋友共同创办“马来西亚青年与学生民主运动”（简称“学运”），掀起学生运动风潮。2000-2003 年创办《小辣椒》杂志，同时参与白小保校运动。308 大选海啸后出任雪兰莪州行政议员黄洁冰的私人助理。2011 年，为了让自己拥有更多的时间和空间来养育两个孩子，毅然决定离开职场担任全职妈妈，并用一年时间编著《庙里的课堂——八年白小保校抗争记》（2011 年出版）。由于对政治和社会改革运动的热诚依旧，推动社区教育的理想不曾褪色。2014 年兼职“看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华总策划与总协调，这两年透过游戏、讲故事手工活动等体验式学习举办“我是环保小尖兵”小学生营、“爱护地球、开心来环保”亲子营、“大手牵小手、阅读起步走”亲子营，及雪兰莪州“新村传书香”活动，激发孩子们的学习乐趣。

Choong Pai Chee obtained her Bachelor of Economics in University of Malaya before completing her Master of Social Science from The Hong Kong University Science and Technology. She is the founding member of Malaysia Youth and Students Democratic Movement (DEMA) in 1998 during the Reformasi Movement, advocating campus democracy and student rights. She was also actively involved in Save Our School Damansara Movement, a community education rights movement aimed at reopening a community Chinese language primary school that had been abandoned for 8 years since 2001. She became the personal assistant of PKR's Elizabeth Wong, the Selangor State Executive Councillor after the political tsunami swept off the ruling National Front (Barisan Nasional) from power in the state of Selangor on 8 March 2008. At present, being a full time mother of two, she still manages to find time to be the executive director of “Look Port Weld” Kuala Sepetang Community Arts Carnival, caring and preserving the green environment in the Kuala Sepetang fishing village in Perak. She is also actively involves in community education programs such as storytelling, love-the-environment kids camp as well as advocating fun learning.



杨两兴 Yeoh Lian Heng

艺术工作者，策展人，相信艺术具有参与改变社会的能力。2004 年成立 Lostgens' 当代艺术空间，策划了《非那局》民办艺术节，后来分别在檳城姓氏桥，半山芭，马六甲等地办进行区计划。2011 年因茨厂街爆发捷运征地事件，和一群艺术工作者进驻社区展开了《茨厂街社区艺术计划》保街运动及进行文化耕耘的工作。

Yeoh Lian Heng is a community arts worker and curator who believes that art has the ability to participate and change society. In 2004 he founded the art space and collective Lostgens with his artist peers, pursuing eclectic expression in the exploration of arts' roles in society. In his projects, Yeoh utilizes art towards increasing awareness and understanding of various social issues such as the loss of cultural heritage in “Pudu and Petaling Street community art project” in Kuala Lumpur. He was also the curator for “Notthatbalai Art Festival”, Kuala Lumpur and a number of community projects. He utilizes community art project to increase awareness and understanding of various social issues such as the loss of cultural heritage.



Victor Chin

Victor Chin 在 1980 及 1990 年代曾是本地著名画家，主要彩绘海峡殖民地的特色传统店屋水彩画，以 64 张画作刻画出马来西亚建筑遗产的兴亡。此外，他也专门拍摄弱势群体，特别是原住民及残疾运动员，以此唤醒大众对他们的认识。他近期的艺术行动透过联合一些朋友在社交媒体发起“吉隆坡之友”及“文丁之友”活动，让人对这些地方有更深的关怀和认识。

Victor Chin is a well-known Malaysian painter, famous for his water colour paintings, depicting the characteristics and facades of the Straits Settlements traditional shop houses. His collection of 64 artworks embodies the effort to ensure the survival of Malaysian architectural heritage. His photographic collections give visual profiles of the various marginalised communities in Malaysia including the Orang Asli and the disabled athletes which he hopes would contribute to better public awareness. His current art activism has led to the formation, with some friends, the *Rakan KL* and *Rakan Mantin* on social network.



Chan Seong Foong

社会学家，并在 1980 年代活跃于社区活动，在自由贸易区组织胶工及工厂工人。之后远赴瑞士参与负责联合国机构旗下的国际教育发展计划。她之后决定回马陪伴家人，也重拾她对社区工作的热忱，与 Victor Chin 合作发起“文丁之友”的计划，为这个位于吉隆坡南部，正面临政府迫迁拆除的传统客家锡产村庄发声。

Chan Seong Foong is a sociologist. She was active in community work in the 1980s, organising people in rubber estates as well as factory workers in the Free Trade Zones. She went on to work with a UN agency based in Switzerland to oversee an international development education programme. She decided to take time off to bring up her family in Malaysia. Recently she has rekindled her passion for community work and is back as a cultural activist working in collaboration with Victor Chin on the Rakan Mantin project, a traditional Hakka tin mining village south of Kuala Lumpur which is under threat of demolition.



洪莞璐 Hung Wan Lu

住在檳城的台北人。台湾淡江大学建筑系毕业，清华大学人类学研究所肄业。来到檳城后曾在陈耀威文史建筑研究室从事文史研究与修复工作，2010 年成为米米的全职妈妈。目前为自由研究工作者，并从事插画工作，著有《妈妈的田野笔记》。

Born in Taipei, **Hung Wan Lu** is a Taiwanese residing in Penang. A graduate trained in architecture (Tamkang University) and anthropology (National Tsing Hua University), she conducted fieldwork in Balik Pulau in 2007, got married and eventually resides in Penang since 2008. She was involved in heritage conservation projects when working at Tan Yeow Wooi Cultural and Heritage Research Studio and became little Mimi's full-time mother in 2010. She joined Urban Sketchers Penang when Mimi was 10 months old and has since developed a habit of conducting fieldwork on the spot while doing outdoor sketching, any time and at any place. Currently she freelances as an independent researcher and illustrator. She is an author of 《Simple Fieldnotes of a Mama》.



黄孟祚 Wong Meng Chuo

1950 年出生于砂拉越诗巫。拥有神学学士，教牧硕士与环境管理硕士学位。曾获马来西亚国民大学公共知识分子学者奖、美国加州大学柏克莱分校访问学者奖。著《顾全大地》、《迈向永续农耕》及《乡土情，全球意》。曾任基督教砂拉越卫理公会牧师，报章编辑，学院讲师及研究员。长期致力于原住民人权与福利事工，为砂拉越非政府组织先驱。目前为砂拉越卫理公会会友传道、专栏作家、社会与环境咨询员、诗巫选举观察员。

Wong Meng Chuo was born in Sibul, Sarawak in 1950. He studied theology and pastoral studies, and obtained his Master Degree in Environmental Management from the Imperial College, London. He was a pastor, press editor, college lecturer and researcher. As a social and environmental activist, he dedicates his time and efforts on the indigenous people's struggles for land rights and welfare. He is a veteran in many non-profit organizations, and has been the director of Institute for the Development of Alternative Living (Ideal) since 1996. At present he is a columnist, social and environmental consultant, a Sibul Election observer, and author of various publications.



李健聪 Lee Chean Chung

马来西亚多媒体大学电子工程学士，科学工艺大学交通物流硕士。在投身政治工作以前，他曾担任美资企业 IDC 咨询研究助理（2006-2007）、以及港资企业利丰物流见习经理（2007-2008）。2008 年全国大选以后，他成为政改研究所（KPRU）研究员（2008-2011），如今也是人民公正党的英迪拉马哥打区部代主席、公正党彭亨州州委。健聪活跃于环境与反莱纳斯稀土场运动，曾是反莱纳斯联盟媒体主任（2011-2013），以及绿色盛会 2.0 的宣传主任（2011-2013）。现为彭亨士满慕州议员（2013-）、人民公正党环境局主任（2013-）。

After graduating with a Bachelor's Degree in Electronics Engineering (with Honours) from Malaysia's Multimedia University (MMU), **Lee Chean Chung** went on to pursue a Master Program in Transportation & Logistics at the Malaysia University of Science & Technology

(MUST). He had worked in a US & Hong Kong-based company before getting himself involved in political movements. He joined the Political Studies for Change Unit (KPRU) as a Research Officer after the 12th General Election on March 8, 2008. Besides his current positions as the State Liaison Committee Member for the People's Justice Party (PKR) in Pahang and Acting Chairman for Indera Mahkota PKR Division, he is also active in environmental movements. He has been the Media Chief for Stop Lynas Coalition (SLC) as well as Publicity Chief for Himpunan Hijau 2.0. After the 13th General Election held on May 5, 2013, he is elected as the State Assemblyman of Semambu Constituency in Pahang, and the PKR environmental bureau chief.



李长特 Lee Chong Tek

吉隆坡不要焚化炉行动委员会主席

The Chairman of Kuala Lumpur Rejects Incinerator Action Community



王钧瑜 Jo Ann Wang

毕业于台湾大学公共卫生学系，双修社会学系，辅系人类学系；硕士第一年就读于台湾大学职业医学与工业卫生研究所，第二年转所至人类学研究所，目前为硕士班三年级。曾在 2014 年海外华人研究生国际学术研讨会、台湾人类学与民族学年会、第五届科技与社会研究生论文研讨会（获最佳论文奖）、2015 年第七届香港中文大学人类学研究生论文研讨会，发表有关边佳兰反石化课题的论文。主要的研究兴趣为环境运动。

Jo Ann Wang obtained her Bachelor degree from National Taiwan University with a double major in Public Health and Sociology, and minor in Anthropology. Now a third year Master's candidate, she spent her first year in Institute of Occupational Medicine and Industrial Hygiene before transferred to Department of Anthropology in second year. She has been active in various conference such as The International Conference for Overseas Chinese Studies 2014; Taiwan Society for Anthropology and Ethnology Joint Meeting 2014; 5th Postgraduate Student Forum

on Science, Technology and Society 2014 (where she won the Best Paper Award); and 7th Postgraduate Student Forum on Anthropology from the Chinese University of Hong Kong 2015, where she published her paper on the anti-petrochemical movement in Pengerang, Johor. Her main research focuses on environmental movements.



黄丽嫣 Vivienne Wee

新加坡妇女行动与研究协会（AWARE）研究及倡导主任，曾任至少五届执行委员。她曾主持新加坡妇女组织理事会领导的“停止对女性暴力！”国家计划。本身是人类学者的她也长期关注性别与发展，特别是其与文化的关系，曾在新加坡国立大学、香港中文大学及香港城市大学任职，并参与创立香港城市大学发展研究硕士课程，以及新加坡私立新跃大学社区领导与社会发展硕士学位课程。她也活跃于希尔卡特加赫妇女资源中心（Shirkat Gah-Women’s Resource Centre）主领的“妇女赋权及民主发展领导”跨国计划。

Vivienne Wee is AWARE’s second Research and Advocacy Director. She is a founding member of AWARE. She served on at least five Executive Committees and several sub-committees, including research and advocacy on key issues. She formerly chaired the national task force ‘Stop Violence Against Women!’, led by the Singapore Council of Women’s Organisations.

As an anthropologist, Vivienne has worked extensively on gender and development, especially in relation to culture. She taught at the National University of Singapore, The Chinese University of Hong Kong and City University of Hong Kong. She played a key role in initiating the Master’s Programme in Development Studies at City University of Hong Kong and the Master’s Programme in Community Leadership and Social Development at SIM University (Singapore). She is also involved in the multi-country programme “Women’s empowerment and leadership development for democratization”, led by Shirkat Gah Women’s Resource Centre in Pakistan.



Dr. Michael Jeyakumar Devaraj

Dr Jeyakumar Devaraj 原是一名医生，在政府部门服务了 18 年之后，于 1999 年全国大选中上阵对垒时任印度国大党主席三美威鲁。1999 及 2004 年落选，最终于 2008 年获胜，成为霹雳州合丰区国会议员至今。他在大学时期就是社运分子，也是马来西亚社会主义党（PSM）的发起人之一，现任党中委。他也在反对医药服务私营化联盟自 2004 年成立以来，一直担任秘书一职。曾出版多本英文及马来文书籍。

Dr Jeyakumar Devaraj is a medical doctor who, after completion of 18 years in government service, took on the then MIC President Dato Seri Samyvellu in the 1999 general elections. He lost in 1999 and in 2004, but managed to displace Samyvellu in 2008, and retained the Sg Siput parliamentary seat in 2013. A social activist since his university days, he is a founder member of the Parti Sosialis Malaysia (PSM) and is currently a PSM central committee member. He has been the secretary of the Coalition Against Privatization of Health Care since its formation in 2004. Jeyakumar has authored several books including *Sucked Oranges* (Insan 1989), *Logging Against the Natives* (Insan 1989), *The Marginalised Society* (Alaigal 1993 – in Tamil), *Speaking Truth to Power* (Alaigal 2002), *Malaysia at the Crossroads* (Parsosma 2009) and *Maaf Tuan Speaker* (Parsosma 2011 – in Malay).



Wan Hamidi Hamid

从事新闻从业员 25 年，先后待过 *Berita Harian*, *New Straits Times*, *The Star*, *The Sun*, *The Straits Times*，与 *The Malaysian Insider*。他也在吉隆坡澳洲高级委员会担任媒体关系顾问。现为众意媒体社长，同时负责马来西亚民主行动党媒体关系、政治沟通与宣传工作。

Wan Hamidi Hamid has spent more than 25 years in journalism, working with, among others *Berita Harian*, *New Straits Times*, *The Star*, *The Sun*, *The Straits Times Singapore*, as well as online news portal *The Malaysian Insider*. He also had a stint as media relations adviser at the Australian High Commission in Kuala Lumpur. At present, besides advising Genta Media, he

also helps Malaysia's Democratic Action Party with media relations, political communication and publicity.

口译员 Interpreters

唐南发 Josh Hong



宽柔中学毕业，后负笈伦敦，分别于都会大学完成学士（文化研究）及伦敦大学亚非学院完成硕士（国际政治）。目前为 *Malaysiakini* 及《火箭报》专栏作者，长期关注后殖民，移工，难民，族群与性别弱势等议题。

After graduating from Foon Yew High School, **Josh Hong** went to London and obtained his Bachelor's degree in Cultural Studies (Metropolitan University) and Master's degree in International Politics (SOAS). He is now a columnist for the online news media *Malaysiakini* and *The Rocket*. He has been engaging in the research of post-colonialism, migrant worker issue, refugee protection, as well as racial and gender minorities."



曾薛霏 Chen Shaua Fui

曾薛霏是一名记者，报导的课题涵盖马来西亚国家政策、政党政治、环境、人权、财经议题。曾任职于本地中文报章、独立网络媒体《独立新闻在线》。

Chen Shaua Fui is a journalist who have been reporting in various issues including Malaysian public policy, political parties, environment, human rights and financial reporting. She had worked for a local Chinese news paper and the online Chinese language news portal Merdeka Review.com.



李存孝 Howard Lee Chuan How

李存孝在还未涉足马来西亚政坛以前，曾是英国高级餐饮公司经理，也曾参选英国自由民主党市议会选举，在职业生涯中异常活跃于政治界。在 2007 年回流到马来西亚后，决意加入行动党，为改朝换代献力。

目前为霹靂州兵如港州议员、霹靂州社青团秘书及霹靂州民主行动党公共政策主任，他极力参与全州各乡区的演讲会，将最新及最真实的政治消息带给资讯落后的地区居民。他也自费组织名为 PROSPECT 的霹靂州智囊团，以非官方组织的名义，透过民众与相关人士的参与，为民联研究公共政策与从事公共教育。

Before joining Malaysian politics, **Howard Lee** was experienced in premium food and beverages business in Norwich, UK. Active in local politics throughout his working life, he also contested as a candidate under the UK Liberal Democrats at a City Council by election. Howard returned to Malaysia at the end of 2007 and saw the start of his involvement with DAP. Now as a State Legislative Assembly Representative for Pasir Pinji and State Secretary of DAPSY Perak, he works tirelessly throughout the state, speaking in rural areas addressing kampong folk and bringing to them the latest political news. Howard also heads PROSPECT, a Pakatan Rakyat linked, independently funded policy think tank charged with the task of crafting policies for Pakatan Rakyat state leaders through public and stakeholder engagement.

21 March 2015, Saturday---Day 1

Keynote Speech 1

The Image of Malaysia's Modernization: The Critique of Developmentalism

Speaker : **Prof. Emeritus Dato' Dr. Abdul Rahman Embong**

Emeritus Professor in Sociology of Development and
Principal Fellow of Institute of Malaysian and International Studies (IKMAS),
National University of Malaysia (Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia, UKM)

Moderator: **Ahmad Fuad Rahmat**

PhD candidate in Cultural Studies at Nottingham University Malaysia Campus

【主题演讲 1】

马来西亚现代化图像：发展主义的批判

主讲人： Abdul Rahman Embong

马来西亚国民大学荣誉教授、马来西亚与国际研究所（IKMAS）首席研究员

主持人： Ahmad Fuad Rahmat

诺丁汉大学（马来西亚分校）文化研究博士候选人

IMAGE(S) OF MALAYSIA'S MODERNISATION: A CRITIQUE OF DEVELOPMENTALISM

Abdul Rahman Embong

Emeritus Professor & Principal Fellow, Institute of Malaysian & International Studies (IKMAS),
Universiti Kebangsaan Malaysia

(Draft outline for keynote address at the International Conference “**Reflection on Development and Beyond: Exploring Alternatives to Social Progress**” at the Federal Hotel, Kuala Lumpur, 21-22 March 2015)

Modernisation and development are two key concepts and policy imperatives that are at the centre of debates in developing countries such as Malaysia in their agenda of nation-building. While modernisation and development are closely inter-twined, the two are conceptually distinct: Modernisation refers more to socio-cultural and political change, which is not linear and that there are multiple modernities, while development, both planned and unplanned, is more economic in nature. ‘Image’ or ‘images’ are part of the imagination by elites and ordinary people, and given the differentiation of society into classes, ethnic groups, religious groups, regions, etc., their imagination need not be the same, thus the ‘image of modernisation’ should be spoken more in the plural than the singular. From this it follows that we should speak of ‘image(s)’ rather than ‘image’ of Malaysia’s modernisation because it is more diverse than monolithic. While we have the state-defined image(s) of modernisation, there are those defined and aspired by other stakeholders such as political parties, corporate groups, civil society groups, indigenous communities, etc.

However, for manageability, this paper will focus mainly on the state-defined image(s) of Malaysia’s modernisation and how they relate to development, and then evaluate developmentalism as it occurs in Malaysia and its impact on society and nation-building. In Malaysia, there are at least three defining moments in the country’s history that attempted to define or shape the images of Malaysia’s modernisation. First is the time of Independence in 1957 and the formation of Malaysia six years later in 1963, with the promulgation and adoption

of the Federal Constitution that defines the founding principles of the modern state, nation and society, the rights and responsibilities of citizens, the right to religious beliefs and practices, relations between ethnic and religious groups, and between regions. It also defines Federal-state relations, and underlines the secular, multi-ethnic and multi-religious character of the country. In short, what was envisaged was the evolution of a modern united multiethnic society with different groups respecting and accepting each other as citizens.

The second defining moment is the post-1969 period (following the ethnic riots), which saw the adoption of Rukunegara (National Philosophy) announced on 31 August 1970. The preamble of Rukunegara adopts an inclusive and far-sighted approach presenting an image of modernisation as the evolution of a united, democratic, just, liberal, and progressive society based on science and technology. The five principles of belief in God, loyalty to King and country, supremacy of the Constitution, upholding the rule of law, and good behavior and morality are principles to be upheld in building such a modern society.

While the first two defining moments mentioned above occurred during the immediate post-Independence years, during a critical period of nation building when development policies and strategies were directed at transforming the commodity-based economy through industrialization, the third defining moment occurred at a qualitatively different stage, i.e., during a period of what I would call ‘developmental triumphalism’ (*Malaysia Boleh*) following Malaysia’s dramatic economic growth and the East Asian ‘economic miracle’. This was marked by the formulation and articulation of Vision 2020 in February 1991 which defines a far more visionary imagining of the modern Malaysian society, polity and economy. It emphasizes first and foremost the aspiration to be a developed nation (within its own mould) through the building of a united *Bangsa Malaysia* (Malaysian nation), a liberal, democratic, caring and ethical society, with a modern competitive economy based on science and technology. As stated in Vision 2020 document, “Malaysia should not be developed only in the economic sense. It must be a nation that is fully developed along all the dimensions: economically, politically, socially, spiritually, psychologically and culturally. We must be fully developed in terms of national unity and social-cohesion, in terms of our economy, in terms of social justice, political stability, system of government, quality of life, social and spiritual values, national pride and confidence.”

Of course, since the articulation of Vision 2020, we have other imaginings such as ‘Islam Hadhari’ (civilisational Islam), and also ‘1Malaysia’, but these are variants of Vision 2020 and

Rukunegara, with the founding principles of society remaining basically the same, and the principles of the Constitution being reaffirmed.

As was the case with the East Asian tigers, Malaysia's modernization occurred under the aegis of a developmentalist state that has been guided by developmentalism as its ideology of development. Developmentalism is a doctrine and an ideology that legitimises the role of the state in development and of the right abrogated by the state to conduct social engineering exercise in the name of nation building; it is also a doctrine that defines the country's economic performance in terms growth rates and increased living standards and its achievement as the state's central source of legitimacy; it is also a doctrine that directly or indirectly demands the people to show gratitude as they 'owe' their well-being to the goodness of the regime, and thus should give it their loyalty and support. Development -- measured by increase in GDP figures and material prosperity -- has been pronounced as the panacea to overcome backwardness, regain the nation's dignity and self-worth, and as the necessary means to catch up with the developed West. For such development to take place, stability and continuity is a necessary prerequisite, thus authoritarian rule should be tolerated as a means of ensuring law and order to create stability and confidence for foreign investment. In short, developmentalism creates the conditions -- wittingly or otherwise -- for the dominance of the state over society, the acquiescence and dependence of the latter on the former, and that the state should not be challenged.

In Malaysia, the developmentalist ideology has permeated through the various development plans of the government due to the existence of a strong developmentalist state and the long unbroken incumbency of the UMNO-led Barisan Nasional. Developmentalism too has more or less shaped the course of the country's modernisation. Over the last several decades, Malaysia had formulated and implemented the long term perspective plans and five-year development plans -- the New Economic Policy (NEP) (1971-1990), the National Development Policy (1991-2000), National Vision Policy (2001-2010), the National Mission, and the current Government Transformation Plan. The emphasis in these state-driven plans and projects -- some consisting of mega-projects and huge development corridors -- with the private sector or the market serving as the engine of growth is to achieve high growth and increase the country's wealth through various policies.

In terms of economic performance, official government documents show that Malaysia has achieved sustained economic growth over the three decades from 1970 to 2000 with an average

annual growth of about 7% despite several temporary economic downturns when growth was significantly below the average. However, since the beginning of the 21st century, the GDP annual growth rate was much lower, registering an average of 4.68% for the period 2000-2014. Nevertheless, over the decades, standards of living of the majority of the population were transformed, with levels of real gross domestic product (GDP) per capita in 2000 being about four times the levels reached in 1970, while absolute poverty which was very high at almost 50% in 1970 has been reduced to about 1% today, but social inequality remains high. Malaysia's industrialization too has been accompanied by the rise of a burgeoning multiethnic middle class, and a corporate class, but the country has been caught in what has been termed 'the middle income trap' since the mid-1990s, and plagued by corruption and cronyism spawned especially since the heyday of rapid growth. This is a crossroads the country must overcome.

Given these developments, the latest discourse in Malaysia in the last few years is that it needs to overcome the middle income trap and transform into a 'rich' or 'high income nation' by 2020. To achieve that, the government planners expect the gross national income (GNI) to expand to US\$523 billion by that year, with a per capita income of US\$15,000 – that is, to more than double the GNI per capita of US\$7000 in 2010. For this to happen, the economy has to grow by about 6% per annum. In short, what Malaysia is attempting to achieve in a few decades (to be a modern-developed nation by 2020) is what Western Europe took about 200 years to achieve, or what Japan took about 100 years to do the same.

This paper is a modest attempt to briefly assess Malaysia's modernisation and developmentalism in terms of how they affect the society, politics and the economy. It will address three key questions: first, with Malaysia's emphasis on developmentalism as shown above, what happened to the quality of growth and development – has it been socially inclusive, economically competitive and ecologically sustainable? Second, with such an over-drive towards a high income nation status, what happens to the agenda of fostering a united and developed modern multiethnic society that is at peace with itself? And finally, under conditions of 21st century globalization, what are the possible alternative pathways for a better future for the country towards 2020 and beyond?

Key words: Modernisation, development, developmentalism, rich nation, developed nation.

马来西亚的现代化多重图像：关于发展主义的批判

Abdul Rahman Embong

马来西亚国民大学荣誉教授、马来西亚与国际研究所（IKMAS）首席研究员

（此篇主题演讲大纲草稿发表于“发展的反思与超克：探索社会进步的另类可能”研讨会）

在发展中国家如马来西亚的国族打造议程当中，其核心辩论的两个关键概念和政策要务是现代化和发展。现代化和发展虽然紧密纠结，但在概念上是两个截然分明的概念：现代化更多指涉的是社会文化和政治改变，是非线性、多重的；而无论是计划或未计划的发展，较以经济为本质。“图像”（image）或“多重图像”（images）是精英和平民百姓想象的一部分。若考虑到社会依据阶级、族群、宗教团体和宗教等分化，他们的想象并不必然相同，因此“现代化图像”（image of modernisation）应该是复数而非单数。依此，我们应该表达马来西亚现代化的“多重图像”而非“图像”，因为前者比较多样而非铁板一块。当我们有国家定义的现代化多重图像，另一端也存在着其他利害关系人如政治政党、企业组织、公民社会团体和原住民社群等所定义和向往的版本。

不过，由于篇幅有限，此文只专注讨论国家定义的马来西亚的现代化多重图像，以及它们如何与发展产生关联，并检视发展主义出现在马来西亚的意义，与对社会和国族打造的影响。在马来西亚史上，至少出现三个关键性时刻，试图定义或形塑马来西亚的现代化多重图像。首先是 1957 年独立时期，以及六年后马来西亚于 1963 年的成立，随着联邦宪法的宣布和采纳，界定了一些基础性原则，包括什么是现代国家、国族和社会、公民权益和责任、宗教信仰和实践的权利、族群和宗教团体之间的关系，以及宗教之间的关系。它也界定了联邦和州属之间的关联，并强调国家特质为世俗、多元族群和多元宗教。简言之，随着不同群体相互尊重和接受彼此成为公民，它让我们设想了现代团结多族裔社会的演进。

第二个决定性时刻，是随着种族冲突事件后的后 1969 年时期，我们见证了国家原则（Rukunegara 或 National Philosophy）于 1970 年 8 月 31 日宣布被采纳。它的前言采取了

一个具包容性和有远见的途径，呈现出一种现代化的图像，一个以科学与技术为主的团结、民主、正义、自由和进步的社会。若要建设这样的现代社会，必须维护这五大原则——信奉上苍、忠于君国、维护宪法、尊崇法治和培养德行。

上述提及两个关键性时刻恰好都发生在独立后的几年里。当时是国族打造的关键阶段，商品经济正透过工业化转型，发展政策和策略也朝往这个方向。随着马来西亚历经巨变的经济成长和东亚的“经济奇迹”，第三个关键时刻经历了质变，我把它称之为“发展必胜”阶段（developmental triumphalism，或 Malaysia Boleh，马来西亚能）。这体现在于 1991 年 2 月规划及公布的 2020 宏愿中，界定了一个更具远景想象的现代马来西亚社会、政治和经济。它首先强调要在自己的模式中成为先进国的抱负，透过建立一个团结的马来西亚国族（Bangsa Malaysia 或 Malaysian nation），一个自由、民主、关怀和伦理的社会，同时兼具以科学和技术为基础的现代竞争经济。如同 2020 宏愿文件所述，“马来西亚不应该只是发展经济。它必须是全方位完善发展的国家，包括经济、政治、社会、精神、心理和文化。我们必须完整发展，包括国家团结和社会凝聚、经济、社会正义、政治稳定、政府制度、生活品质、社会和精神价值，以及国家自尊和自信。”

当然，自从有了 2020 宏愿的表述，我们也开始有了其他的想象，诸如“文明化伊斯兰”（Islam Hadhari 或 civilisational Islam）以及“一个马来西亚”（1Malaysia）。不过，这些是 2020 宏愿和国家原则的变体，其社会基础性原则仍然原封不动，并重申宪法原则。

按照当时与东亚老虎（East Asian tigers）的情况来看，马来西亚现代化是在发展主义导向国家（developmentalist state）的庇护下促成的，而背后所主导的发展的意识形态就是发展主义（developmentalism）。发展主义是一个信条和一套意识形态，以国族打造之名进行社会工程演习，合法化国家在发展和废除权利的角色。它也是界定国家经济表现的信条，强调增长率、生活水平的提升和它的成就，作为国家合法性来源的中心。由于人民接受了良善政体的福利而有愧于它，发展主义也直接或间接地要求人们必须时时表达感恩之心，甚至对政体忠心耿耿及全力支持。发展以国内生产总值（GDP）各种数据的提升和物质繁荣来测量，它被视为是解决落后的万能丹，恢复国家尊严和自我价值，以及追逐发展西方国的脚步之必要途径。为了落实这样的发展，稳定性与持续性成为了必要的前提。于是，人们必须忍受独裁主义的法规，作为保障法律和秩序的途径，好为外国投资创造稳

定性和信心。简言之，发展主义有意或无意地创造了一些条件，让国家主导社会、让后者默许和依赖前者，且国家的地位是毋庸置疑、不可挑战的。

在马来西亚，由于强势发展主义导向国家（strong developmentalist state）的存在，加上巫统主导的国阵政权长年屹立不倒，发展主义导向意识形态（developmentalist ideology）已渗透到政府各个发展计划当中。发展主义或多或少也形塑了国家现代化的方向。在过去数十年中，马来西亚已经规划并执行了各种长远愿景计划和五年发展计划，如新经济政策（New Economic Policy（NEP），1971-1990）、国家发展政策（National Development Policy, 1991-2000）、国家愿景政策（National Vision Policy, 2001-2010）、国家使命（National Mission），以及目前的政府转型计划（Government Transformation Plan）。这些国家主导的计划和方案，其中包括一些巨型计划和大型发展走廊，是以私领域和市场作为成长的引擎，所强调的是透过不同政策快速达到高成长率，提升国家财富。

在经济表现方面，官方政府文件显示，马来西亚在过去三十年（1970-2000）间，整体已达持续性经济成长，每年平均成长 7%；尽管历经数个暂时性经济萧条，成长率明显低于平均指数。不过，自 21 世纪初以来，国内生产总值的年度成长率较低，2000 至 2014 年期间一度只有 4.68%。无论如何，在过去数十年，大部分人口的生活水平已转型，2000 年实际人均国内生产总值（GDP）是 1970 年的四倍；而绝对贫穷率曾在 1970 年高达 50%，如今也已降至 1%，只是社会的不平等仍然偏高。马来西亚工业化也见证了多族裔中产阶级和商业阶级的快速崛起，不过它也自 1990 年中期以来即陷入“中等收入陷阱”（the middle income trap），同时受到贪污腐败、裙带关系蔓延的侵蚀，特别是在经济成长的全盛期间。这是这个国家必须面对的十字路口。

在这样的发展下，解决中等收入陷阱，并在 2020 年以前成功转型成“富有”或“高收入国”是马来西亚近几年的最新论述。为了达到此目标，政府规划者期望国民生产总值（GNI）可以在 2020 年提高到美金 523 元，人均收入达美金 1 万 5 千元，也就是把 2010 年人均国民生产总值美金 7 千元翻转超过两倍。若要成真，经济每年成长率必须维持在 6% 左右。换言之，马来西亚正试图在短短数十年即 2020 年以前成为现代先进国，这个目标是过去西方欧洲花耗了两百年、日本则用了一百年才能达到的。

这篇文章试图简要地检视马来西亚的现代化和发展主义，观察它们如何影响社会、政治和经济。它提出三个主要问题：首先，如上述所言，在马来西亚强调发展主义的情况下，它将对成长和发展素质造成什么影响，是否能同时兼具社会包容、经济竞争和环境持续？第二，在过度强调迈向高收入国的前提下，它对促进一个团结和发展的现代多族裔社会的议程会产生什么影响？最后，在 21 世纪全球化的情境下，是否还有其他可能的替代途径，可以一样许一这个国家迈向 2020 年和以后一个更美好的未来？

关键词：现代化、发展、发展主义、富有国家、发展国家

Keynote Speech 2

The “Appropriate Technology” Movement and Social Development

Speaker : **Assoc. Prof. Dr.Chen Hsin-Hsing**

Associate Professor in the Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies, Shih-Hsin University, Taiwan

Moderator: **Cheong Wey Jin**

Freelance

【主题演讲 2】

从适当科技运动反思现代社会发展

主讲人：陈信行

台湾世新大学社会发展研究所副教授

主持人：张激紜

自由工作者

From “People Serve the Things” to “Things serving the People”: Reflection and Practice of Appropriate Technology Movement

Chen HsinHsing

Graduate Institute for Social Transformation Studies, Shih-Hsin University

Appropriate technology is a technology reform movement that emerged in different parts of the world since the 1960s. Some of its propositions have become the policies of official agencies such as the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and major international non-governmental organizations such as Oxfam. One can find its slogans and articulations feature regularly in various discourses and practices expressing discontentment against today’s technological society. Although the movement of appropriate technology may not have brought about revolutionary changes, what it advocated has nevertheless become the source of inspiration whenever alternatives are being explored at times of technological disasters.

The fundamental proposition of appropriate technology is simple: tools owned and used by human beings should serve the needs of human beings and not the opposite where human beings serve the needs of the tools. This may sound very much straight forward and logical. However, it is not uncommon to hear teachers, politicians, business tycoons and public members making statements in different social settings about the need for Taiwan to change one way or another or for Taiwanese to learn this or that skills or knowledge, for fear that it may not catch up the technological advancement and would be left behind. Is it not that such view propagates that the constantly improved tools are the master whilst individuals, corporations, governments or the states and the whole human race would have to chase after them for fear of leaving behind by the master and not the opposite in which the tools should be used to meet our needs?

Since the beginning of the industrial revolution in the 19th century, there has been continuous emergence of philosophical discourses and art works reflecting on modern technology. However, it is a protracted movement that started since the 1960s that synthesized the various reflection discourses into something concrete that is operational, debatable and implementable. The key proponent of this movement in the early stage is an economist, E.F.

Schumacher (Schumacher, 1973/2000) who was most concerned with the economic development problems in Third World countries.

Appropriate Technology and the Problems of Development

The last two or three decades may represent the worst time of unequal world economic development in the history of human kind. Agriculture and industrial producers in developed countries are constantly under the threat of recession due to over production while the population in Third World countries that died of hunger daily are ever increasing. Why is that so? From one perspective, the main root-cause for such an imbalance stems from wrong technology and economic policies that have been widely used.

When the current Third World countries ended their colonial or semi-colonial period and attained their independence in the 1950s, “development” became the common slogan of these newly independent states. If colonial economy was characterised by cheap export of agriculture and mining products in exchange for industrial products from the colonial masters, these independent states sought to change such division of labour and aspired to develop its own local industry. But how should one go about industrialisation? Developed countries in the Europe, United States and Japan became the clear examples to follow. Catching up with such developed countries became the slogans of nation building.

Following this direction, technology transfer — import of technological know-how and machines — became the quickest shortcut to industrialisation. From India to Iraq, from Brazil to Mexico, industrial facilities such as steel factories, oil refineries, chemical plants, automobile factories were established by importing whole factories from foreign countries. In order for such facilities to run, students were sent to Europe and United States to learn the skills. To supply these factories with adequate labour force, technical and vocational schools were set up. To train teachers for these technical and vocational schools, teaching colleges were established. Thus, the importation of factories was not limited to only a pile of machineries, but also a total restructuring of the society. To pay for the foreign currencies needed for such investment, sectors in developing countries that used to contribute to export such as agriculture, forestry, fishery and mining were forced to adopt a more intensive and specialised production system in order to earn more foreign currencies.

In such a process, social polarisation intensified between local workers and technocrats that studied abroad, between small holders and big farm owners and wholesalers, between farmers that were evicted from their land and land owners that made a fortune out of export of agricultural products. These social conflicts accumulated and waiting to explode in the open one day. Or, as in the case of most countries in the south of Sahara where the commodity markets that they relied on for foreign currencies collapsed while social conflicts were brewing. From coffee, cocoa, peanuts, cotton, soya to oil palm, almost all tropical agriculture commodities joined the world market after World War II. The producing countries placed their dream of industrialisation on these commodities. However, the monopoly of the buyers and the increase of supply by producing countries led to the collapse of the market of these commodities in the 1960s. The collapse of economy coupled with serious social polarisation dragged these countries one by one into the dark abyss of high foreign debt and civil war. Such development, with the original purpose of strengthening the political, economic and technological independence of these countries, unfortunately resulted in a further entrenched dependence in the end.

One famous example of failure is the “green revolution” in agriculture sector, which sought to increase the crop production with high yield seeds developed in research labs. In the beginning of the 1940s, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation in the United States supported a series of agricultural reform projects in order to address social conflicts in the agrarian societies of Third World countries. These projects presupposed that social conflicts could be resolved by creating wealth. Under such guidance, they sought to increase the agriculture production via technology. “Green revolution” started in Mexico and expanded to Brazil, India, Pakistan, Southeast Asia and many other newly independent states in Africa following the expanding influence of the United States after World War II.

After 30 years, many researchers criticised the “green revolution” not only for its failure in its original social goals, but also for intensifying social contradictions. As an unintended consequence of the Green Revolution, many small farms went bankrupt, and many rural families have to migrate to the cities, creating this current wave of unprecedented urbanisation of the world population. (See Lappe & Collins, 1987) At the centre of the Green Revolution’s problem is exactly its technology. The “high yield” varieties of rice, maize and other crops were actually “high response” varieties that responded well to pesticide, fertilizer and irrigation, as pointed out by Lappe & Collins. In order to exploit the full potential of these varieties, farmers would need to spend a huge amount of money to buy pesticides and fertilizer (normally imported from

foreign countries or monopolized by few companies) and maintained a good irrigation system. In the absence of land reform, only rich landlords and big farm owners in villages could afford such investment. The rest of the farmers were left with either continuing with the low yield varieties and production methods or get a loan and shift to high yield varieties. When the production of rich farmers increased and resulted in the overall price drop of the crops, the income of small farmers would be badly affected and once they were not able to repay the loan, they had no choice but to face bankruptcy. The bankruptcy of small farmers then allowed the rich landlords and big farm owners to expand their land holdings and intensified rural inequalities.

Of course, not all areas that implemented “green revolution” ended up with tragic results. Taiwan was highlighted by critics of “green revolution” in the 1970s as an important example of opposite effects. In fact, with the support of land reform, construction of irrigation system and credit from farmers associations, Taiwan was able to avoid social polarisation for a considerable long period despite its farmers using the same “high response” varieties. Nevertheless, due to the deployment of large quantity of pesticides and fertilizer for a long period, it has resulted in irreversible ecological destruction in Taiwan.

“Green revolution” is only one of the many examples of well-meaning major technology projects bring about serious negative implications. Modernised high technology projects that were popular in the past half a century, such as nuclear power plants, mega dams and others, had similarly brought immense negative social impacts that were out of the expectation of the original designers. In our daily life, we could observe many similar situations. After the 921 earthquake, thousands of the disaster victims could not afford to rebuild their homes. It made us realised how much a modern Taiwanese family had to spend on buying and maintaining an expensive house to the extent that the house loan would immediately turn into an unbearable heavy burden for the family once the house was destroyed. The common sights of buildings in Taiwan that were made of steel and concrete, weren't they also a product of technology that is highly standardized and commoditized?

The historical lessons of negative social impacts of technology has led to various critical discourse in the 1960s and 1970s calling for the abandoning of habitual behaviour of constantly going after bigger, newer and more advanced technology and explore other perspectives on technology and ways of using them,. This was to ensure technology will serve the needs of

human beings and human beings will not follow blindly the logic of established science and technology.

E. F. Schumacher is an economist born in Germany and educated in the United Kingdom. He worked at the United Nations after World War II and was economic adviser for many newly independent states at that time. As an economist, his main target of dialogue was the popular mainstream economic discourse that narrowly defined “economic growth rate” as the sole purpose of economic activities. He introduced simple but often neglected values, such as ecological sustainability, the desire of human being for meaningful work, democracy and equality in economic life etc., to reassess the efficacy of contemporary system of technology and capitalist economy, and found them highly inefficiency. Massive industrial technological systems would deplete a lot of important and irreplaceable natural resources; Technology that reduced workforce led to massive unemployment. Industry owners that care nothing except profits reduced economic life of the majority to a primitive level. The development of massive industrial technological systems are taking away a wide array of people’s skills and placing them in the hand of few experts and monopolized corporations. Schumacher called on all to be open-minded and explore the possibility of alternative economic theories, such as frugality as preached by Buddhism, non-violence, moderation, righteousness and other values. On technology, Schumacher argued that intermediary technology should be developed as a necessary correction of the brute science and violent technology of the contemporary society. The intermediary technology should be:-

- Cheap enough for everyone to access;
- Suitable for small scale operation;
- Meet the human needs for creative work. (28)

The requirement of “small scale” was due to Schumacher’s believe that a big scale organisation would inevitably lead to division of power and the difficulties for democratic discussion. Nevertheless, Schumacher did not oppose to all forms of new technology and big scale organization, neither did he believe that the intermediary technology would be a “one shoe fits all” solution. On the contrary, precisely because of the complexity of the living conditions and the needs of human beings, there would be no one technology or standard that fits all circumstances. The key point was to develop knowledge, tools and means for each and every specific context. For example, in a society with high unemployment rates, it would be

meaningless to develop capital intensive technology (as this would reduce job opportunities) when labour intensive technology would be more appropriate.

Under the influence of Schumacher and critics of technology society in the same period, increasing number of important agencies started to adopt the appropriate technology (Schumacher's intermediary technology) as their working principle. The government of United States established the National Center for Appropriate Technology during President Carter's administration. UNDP, World Bank and other agencies also set up related projects and organizations. But more importantly, there were many academic institutions and non-governmental organizations, such the Intermediary Technology Development Group of Britain that was heavily influenced by Schumacher, involved in promoting various forms of appropriate technology projects in Third World countries and developed countries since the 1970s. UNDP established the Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries to specifically promote global exchange of experience on appropriate technology and this organization is now called Special Unit for South-South Cooperation. It emphasises on developing pragmatically the social needs that are suitable for societies in developing countries (the "South") and not to follow the developed industrial countries (the "North") blindly.

From Schumacher to this day, the characteristics of what all appropriate technology projects had tried to achieve were:-

- Small scale;
- Energy-saving;
- Environment friendly;
- Labour intensive;
- Controlled by local community;
- Simple and could be maintained by users themselves (Hazeltine & Bull, 3)

These standards were derived from the criticism against development model that was capital intensive, highly dependent on experts and advanced technology. They emphasized the use of local resources, man power and knowledge; get rid of the problems of dependence economy; and protect local ecology and social environment. Development projects that used the concept of appropriate technology covered many sectors, such as energy technology, agriculture production, healthcare system, design and production of tools. With the influence of the concept of "intermediary technology", these projects in practical term aimed to synthesize the scientific

knowledge of experts and local knowledge of actual users in order to produce technology that would take root locally and evolve independently.

The significance of the movement of appropriate technology to developing countries was immense as they were lacking in industrial foundation and relied highly on foreign technology. By avoiding worshipping advanced technology and examining rationally the needs of local populations and the local resources, man power, skills and cultural traditions to meet such needs, the path of appropriate technology may save developing countries from the vicious cycle of economic, political and cultural dependence and debt crisis. As such, the movement was given many opportunities to put in practice its propositions in developing countries. However, as pointed out by Schumacher, the problems of contemporary economy such as ecological destruction, unemployment, social inequality and others were not confined only to developing countries. Similar problems were deteriorating alarmingly as well in developed countries, especially during the emergence of “globalisation” phenomena after the oil crisis in the early 1970s. Thus, industrialised society including those in the United States and Europe also started to put in practise “appropriate technology” in various forms with the hope that this technological reform would be able to address the social and ecological crisis.

Box 1: Common Criteria Associated with “Appropriate Technology”

Below are the conditions and slogans of proponents of appropriate technology from different countries since the 1970s. Consider this: What are the opposite of each of these conditions? Which one do you think would be relevant to the society of Taiwan? Which ones are questionable?

Small scale, energy saving, environment friendly, labour intensive, controlled by local community	Natural materials, organic, sensitivity, easy to modify, recyclable, decomposable, direct human contact	Harmony, feminine, yin (as opposed to yang), flexible, cheap, non-market, sustainable
Simple	Soft	Locally produced
Can be maintained by users themselves	Compatible with cultural traditions	Local style

Some Cases of Appropriate Technology

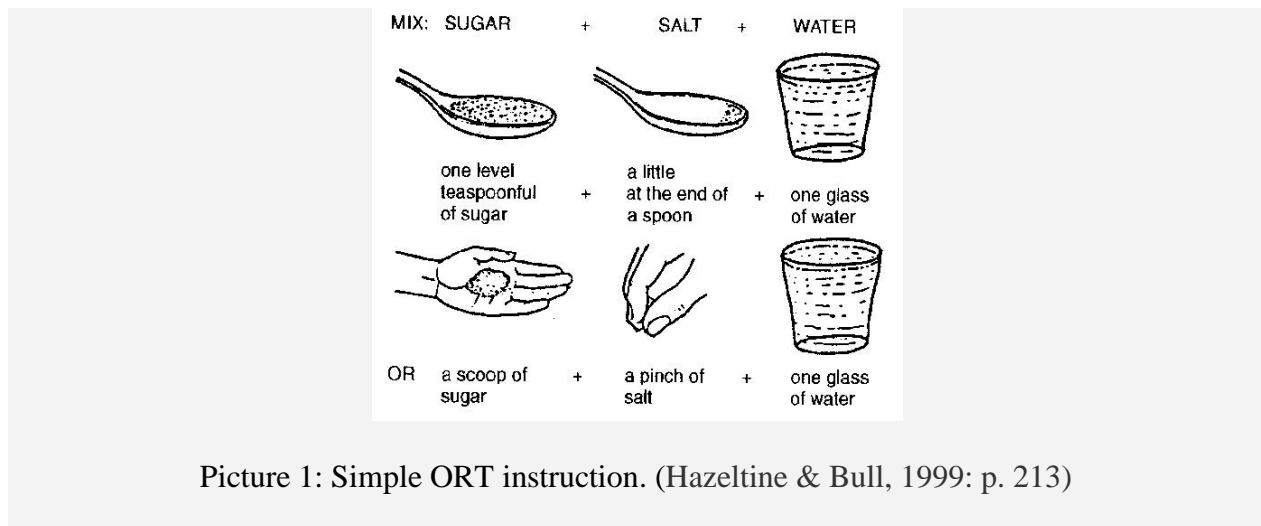
Supporters of modern science always believe that human kind can overcome all sorts of challenges with advanced scientific knowledge and technology. While such confidence is admirable, a technology would be useless if the apparatuses, equipment, raw materials, etc. it needs are not available. Thus, the practitioners of “appropriate technology” always seek to achieve their goals within the material constraints of a society in need. For more than 30 years, there have been many projects developed with appropriate technology, including fuel-saving cooking stove, small hydro project and other local energy projects, mixing and rotating organic farming, housing projects that utilised local materials and human initiatives etc. I shall use the following examples to explain the overall idea of appropriate technology.

The Beauty of Simplicity

It is sometimes unbelievable how simple or appropriate a solution can be found through good research. For example, one of the reasons for the extremely high rates of infant mortality in the rural Third World was dehydration due to acute diarrhea. In 1980, globally, five million infants below the age of five died of this medical condition. Infant diarrhea may be caused by one of more than 25 different types of parasites, bacteria or virus. Water contamination is the most common route of infection. Most of the deaths are due to dehydration and malnutrition following diarrhea. With adequate replenishment of water and electrolyte, most of the infants will recover. In a regular modern hospital, diarrhea can be treated with medicine and intravenous injection. But in many parts of Africa, most medicines are imported, expensive and not affordable for the local populations. Intravenous injection is very effective but requires trained medical staff. It also needs sterile intravenous bottle, injection needle, saline solution and other medical materials which are all imported, expensive, and have to undergo long transportation to reach the patients in need. This is clearly not an appropriate solution to the problems of infant diarrhea in Africa.

Beginning from 1962, a group of young researchers at the medical faculty of Dhaka University, Bangladesh (then East Pakistan) started to research on alternative treatment of diarrhoea and the resulted dehydration. They came up with a simple method: Oral Rehydration Therapy (ORT). Following received protocols of medical research, they conducted rigorous clinical tests and proved that this treatment was indeed effective. Basically, this treatment lets the patient to drink water mixed with sugar and salt to replenish what was lost during diarrhoea.

Through simple education, almost every family can make adequate OR fluid for their members, and save the patient from critical conditions and help them recover.



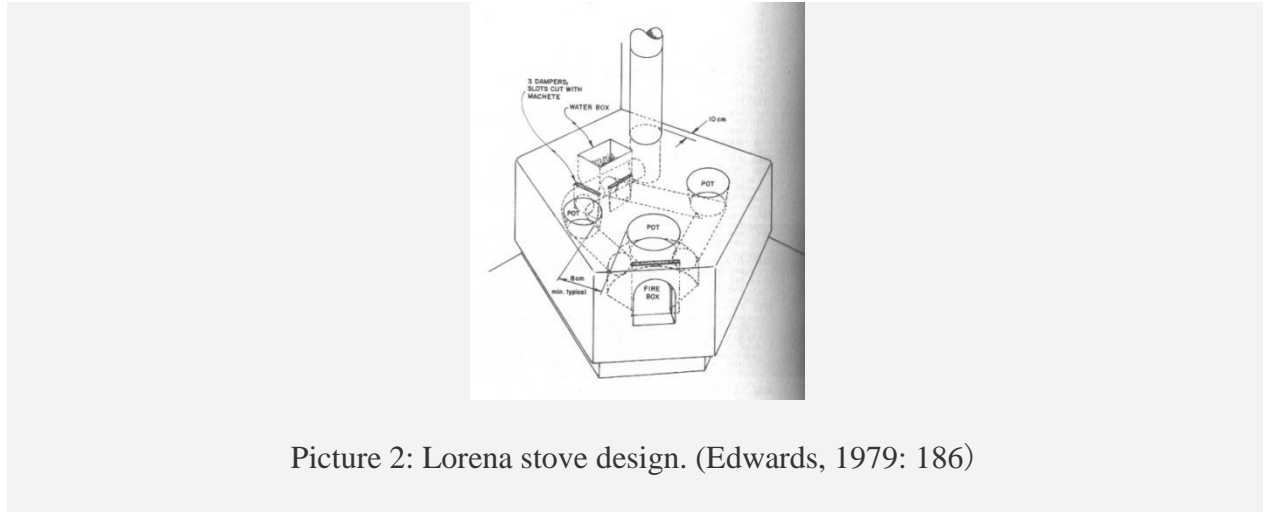
Picture 1: Simple ORT instruction. (Hazelatine & Bull, 1999: p. 213)

Picture 1 is a simple education campaign material. And an even simpler way doesn't even need a measuring spoon. Just add a scoop of sugar and a pinch of salt to a cup of clean water, and its ready. In 1975, the World Health Organization (WHO) and the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) began to promote Oral Rehydration Salts (ORS) in a sachet. Price for each sachet was below USD 0.5 and it could be taken by just adding water. For the users, there was almost no additional cost in taking ORT treatment. With adequate education, it did not need to depend on external medical resources, and it was almost a near perfect appropriate technology.

According to the estimates of experts, at least one million children from poor families globally were free from the threat of death caused by diarrhoea every year since the promotion of ORT in the early 1970s. From 1990s, UNDP started to include the percentage of ORT usage as part of the Human Development Index assessment of its member states. A higher percentage would represent a higher success of public health education. (UNDP, 2011) However, such a "small and beautiful" technology was not well received across the board. Public health officials in developing countries were keen to accept such a cheap and reliable method, but the mainstream medical institutions in the United States continued to prefer intravenous therapy, and this set the "standard" for many medical facilities even in places far different from the US. Public health officials in all countries had to explore all means to convince the public to accept this simple treatment. One of the ways was to put the sugar and salt used in ORT in a sachet with

English wordings and charge a small sum for that in order to convince the parents that the ORT was indeed a form of medicine that will work.

Accounting for Local Conditions



Picture 2: Lorena stove design. (Edwards, 1979: 186)

The near perfection of the simplicity of the ORT case study is however not achievable in all the other case studies. Most of the appropriate technology projects require constant revision to fit local conditions. The fuel-saving cooking stove project, which is being implemented in many countries, is one such example in which it has developed in different directions according to local conditions.

For many ethnic groups in East Asia, cooking stove is part of the traditional culture and rarely it is considered as a form of technology. However, for many other cultures including those in the Europe, cooking stove was only accepted of late. The firewood burning cooking stove that was popular in Europe and other areas under its influence after the 19th century was made of cast iron. It was very expensive as it could only be produced by skilled blacksmith or factory with necessary equipment. To this day, many who cannot afford to buy an iron cooking stove or modern gas or electrical stove still rely on fire place or open fire pit for cooking. This may sound romantic, but its combustion efficiency is poor, it consumes a lot of firewood and creates a lot of smoke and heat and is a health threat to those women who have to do the cooking on a daily basis. In the 1960s, many were alarmed with the rapid deforestation in developing countries. Besides unchecked logging by multi-national corporations, such situation was also contributed by poor peasants who cut down trees for fuel. Developing and promoting fuel-saving cooking

stove thus became an important project to address both ecological problem and problems in people's daily lives.

In 1976, an earthquake took place in Guatemala. Due to the demands for wood to rebuild the houses after the earthquake, wood prices shot up. This created a heavy financial burden for poor families who used firewood for cooking. Researchers of the Aprovecho Research Center in Ohio state collaborated with the Chonqui experiment station in the mountainous area of Guatemala and developed a stove named Lorena stove that was easy to make and with good combustion efficiency.

The basic materials of Lorena stove was clay and sand, which were mixed and moulded into a proper form. While it was half dry, the fire box, thermal channel, ash pit and the pot holes for holding vessels were carved out. Three air inlets made with used will control the supply of air and adjust the combustion efficiency. A chimney was added on top of it. The size of each inlet was calculated rigorously based on thermodynamics in order to achieve maximum combustion and thermal efficiency. It only needed 3-4 days to build. After completion, a fire under the first pot would be able to heat up another two to three vessels.

The advantages of this design were: First, except for the chimney and the tin plate, most of the other materials were easily available. Second, the making process required few tools and little skills. It could be done with farming tools every farm family in the mountain areas of Guatemalahas, such as machete, shovel and water bucket. Third, each family may adjust the shape of the stove top freely depending on the condition of the houseand cooking vessels. Fourth, good combustion efficiency of 20-25%. (Open fire only 10-15%) As such, it would reduce the expenses spent on firewood. Due to these advantages and the intentional oral promotion by the staff of Choqui experiment station, Lorena stove was soon widely used. The successful case study in Guatemala was introduced to many other countries following exchanges of experience conducted by international organizations. By the end of 1970s, there were at least 12 international organizations funding large-scale Lorena stove projects in West Africa alone (OTA, 1979:61).

However, the weakness of Lorena stove was that the sand-mud mixture breaks down after a certain period of time. So it would need to be rebuilt itafter a year or so. The chimney was also expensive, making the whole cost of the stove may come to a maximum of USD 20. In

comparison with the saving on firewood, it did not seem to be cost effective. Many field survey reports in the early 1980s pointed to the conclusion that Lorena needed more tinkering.

Some of the more successful model of fuel-saving cooking stove compromised on the principle of “self-built and self-maintained”, instead they turned to traditional skill workers. Such change was commonly due to the new design of the stove that did not fit the cooking habits of the women who used the stove (Sinha, 2002:24). For example, the government of India established a National Program for Improved Chulhas in the early 1980s and provided huge subsidy for all states to promote the making of improved Lorena stove in villages. The result fell below expectation. Some local projects shifted their support to local skill workers to improve the traditional small stoves that were sold in the market.



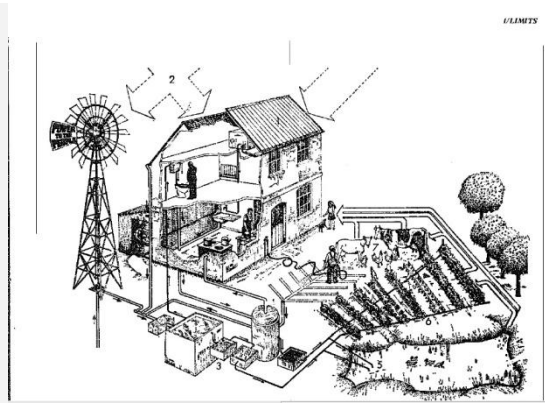
The illustration on Picture 3 is a small stove developed by Agriculture Tools Research Center in Bardoli, Gujarat. It could be produced by local stove maker with a cost of USD 4. The main improvement was an addition layer of heat shield clay in the inner side of the shell made of tin plate and a metal door at the fire box to control combustion. The combustion efficiency of Damro Chulha could reach 30% and it was better than big Lorena stove and also much cheaper. Clearly, Damro Chulha stove was suitable in a society that was quite different from the mountain villages in Guatemala. In India, there was no lacking of traditional skill workers, especially in the cities' slum areas where population increased rapidly. Industrial wastes such as tin plates were easily available. With highly specialized division of labour, even the poor families were used to buy household stuff instead of making it themselves. As such, small products such as the Damro Chulha stove were able to spread more widely in comparison with large stove.

Based on the 30 years of experiences in promoting fuel-saving cooking stove, many researchers concluded that the crucial factor for success rested with the close involvement of the users – the housewives – in every part of the design, production and usage of the stoves. Thus, most of the cooking stove development projects in the post-1980s started to emphasize on producing stove designs that were developed out of local housewives' discussion, and not by male engineers sitting behind closed lab doors and having no cooking experience themselves..

The Challenge of Appropriate Technology: What are Local Conditions?

Although the slogans and propositions of appropriate technology are easy to understand, however, to practice it in a concrete social context involves a complex analysis of the specific socio-cultural and technological conditions of the society. Without such analysis and merely transplanting successful cases from other areas often will only result in failure or merely romantic fantasy. For instance, in the contemporary society of Taiwan, using firewood for cooking will be most likely more expensive than using gas and it will also faced the problem of safety and smoke ventilation. It can probably be used only during mid-autumn festival for barbeque and this is surely not practical at all for daily use.

In fact, the appropriate technology movement since the 1970s did not thoroughly investigate the conditions of other societies outside of villages in Third World countries and had since develop appropriate technology based on such foundation. As such, for an industrialized society that is increasingly influenced by the environmental protection discourse of “back to the original nature”, and thus adopt directly the model of application of appropriate technology of Third World village, which is characterized by low capital investment, utilization of natural materials, low industrial skill and labour intensive, such design and method is bound to fail in fitting into the living conditions of various industrialized society. It nevertheless has developed into a trendy life-style fashion and became one of the various leisure activities among the middle class. It did not completely transform the relationship between human and technology as the movement ambitiously proclaimed in its early stage. Technology philosopher Langdon Winner (1980) and Witold Rybczynski (1980), an engineer that promoted appropriate technology movement for many years, both criticized in 1980 the exaggeration of the appropriate technology movement in Europe and United States at that time.



Picture 4: A modern ecological farm in rich countries.

In fact, such trend continues from the 1980s to this day. Picture 4 shows an ecology farm that represents a romanticised imagination of people from Europe, United States to Taiwan that is bored with city life. But without the user participating in building them and thus know how to fix the equipment themselves, such “green building” will be extremely expensive and only the rich can afford it. And, if any piece of equipment breaks down, the owner can only call in the service persons and probably replace the whole thing, if it’s still under warranty. Such an “ecology farm” is thus neither environment friendly, nor appropriate for its social settings.

The most famous example of practice of appropriate technology in Taiwan was the series of building designs and constructionsthat werespearheaded by architect Hsieh Ying-Chun’s “Atelier-3” studio in the period between the post-921 earthquake reconstruction in 1999 and the reconstruction after the typhoon Morakot disaster in 2010.

Completely different for the romanticized ecology farm in the country side, Atelier-3 studio aimed to make their building so cheap that even disaster victims can afford it. Moreover, it also reformed the construction methods in order to allow unemployed disaster victims to involve in the construction after some basic training, and to master the theory and methodology of the construction of the building. At the same time, the construction team would involve as much as possible the disaster victims’ community in designing, planning and implementation of the projects. In such manner, the process of reconstructing the houses after disaster would also provide jobs for the unemployed disaster victims and achieve the larger goal of rebuilding the social fabric previously torn apart by the loss of family members and properties. In the future, if the houses needed repair or maintenance, the skills needed would be already mastered by the

owner who had involved in the construction process, thus would need no more external assistance.



To achieve such social objectives, the Atelier-3 studio uses materials and methods that were not unusually considered “rustic.” For example, main structural members of the house often use cheap and light-weight C-steel bars connected with nuts and bolts. It is easy to handle and to work on, so that every able-bodied person can become useful during the construction. Such technical decision was made after taking into consideration a series of economic and social conditions and not just merely a “technical problem”.

Conclusion: Technology and the Reform of Society

In today’s technological society, persons often stumble into different roles through education, training and highly specialised division of labour at the workplace. We become designers, producers and consumers; electrical engineers and insurance agents; English teachers and construction workers etc. Without consciously break through the confined of one’s narrow role, one often become resigned to his or her fate, knowing only so much that is required by your role, and not much else. However, we are living in an environment filled with newer and newer technological products. It is completely understandable that many people feel highly anxious in their lives. You either constantly worry about things you have no control over, or you can put your blind faith with the experts, otherwise, you can reject all these and claim that experts are a bunch of liars. None of these reactions can improve our situation, because they cannot help the people participate in the making of our own technological world.

What the appropriate technology movement wants is not only some good products, but to address the pressing issue of democracy in an industrial society. In successful cases produced by this movement, things are always made to serve the people's need, instead of some desirable high-tech gadgets for people to pursue, to change themselves to fit the machine, and to keep paying gigantic multinationals for fancy new stuff that is bound to be obsolete in months. People need our own technology!

从「人役于物」到「物役于人」：适当科技运动的思考与实践

陈信行

台湾世新大学社会发展研究所副教授

「适当科技」(Appropriate Technology)是从 1960 年代开始,在世界各地兴起的一个科技改革运动,至今这个运动的一部份主张已成为联合国开发总署(UNDP)等官方机构与如乐施会(Oxfam)等各大国际援助非政府组织(NGO)的官方政策,它的口号与风格也常常出现在各种对当代科技社会不满的论述与实践。虽然我们很难说适当科技运动带来了什么划时代的大变革,可是,每当科技灾难出现时,这个运动的主张就会成为人们构思另类出路时,不可或缺的思想资源。

「适当科技」的核心主张很简单:人们所拥有、所使用的「东西」要为人的需要服务,而不是反过来,人为「东西」的需要服务。这句话听起来毫不出奇,似乎很理所当然。可是,想想看,在各式各样的场合中,教师、政治人物、商场大亨、一直到普通百姓,几乎都会说:台湾需要这样或那样的改变、台湾人必须学习这种或那种技能或知识,不然就会「赶不上科技创新的浪潮」会「被时代淘汰」。这样的主张,不恰好是认为:不断推陈出新的「东西」是主人,而不管是个人、企业、政府、或国家、甚至全人类,只能被动地在后面苦苦追赶,唯恐被这个「主人」抛弃,而不是拿这些「东西」来达成自己的需要?

从 19 世纪的工业革命开始,反思现代科技的哲学论述与文艺创作就不断出现,但是,将这些反思的思潮汇聚成具体的可操作、可讨论的实践的,是 1960 年代开始的一场历久弥新的运动,这场运动最重要的早期提倡者,是一位经济学家——E. F. 舒马赫(Schumacher, 1973/2000)。而他最关注的,是第三世界国家的经济发展问题。

适当科技与发展问题

过去这二、三十年大概是人类历史中,世界经济的不平衡发展最严重的时代。工、农业先进国家的生产者不断笼罩在因生产过剩而产生的萧条乌云中,但是每日在第三世界的

街头与农村饿死的人口，却有增无减。为什么会这样？从一个角度来看，这种不平衡的一个重大的根源，来自于一种普遍却错误的科技与经济政策。

1950年代，当现今的第三世界国家纷纷从前殖民地、半殖民地的地位上取得独立之后，「发展」即成为新独立国家一致的口号。如果殖民地经济的标志是出口廉价农矿产品、交换殖民母国的工业产品，独立国家理应追求摆脱这种分工，要追求本地的工业化。然而，要怎么工业化呢？欧美日先进国家提供了鲜明的指标，「超英赶美」成了建设国家的口号。

在这个政策路线中，科技转移、进口科技知识与机器，成为最快速达到工业化的捷径。于是，从印度到伊拉克、从巴西到墨西哥，一个又一个整厂进口的工业设施——炼钢厂、炼油厂、化工厂、汽车厂等等——在地平线上出现了。为了让这些设备运转，必须送留学生到欧美学技术。为了给这些工厂提供适当的劳动力，必需广开职业学校。为了训练职业学校的教师，又必须办起师范院校。工厂的进口不只是一堆机器，更是对社会翻天覆地的改造。而为了偿付这些投资所需要的外汇，发展中国家往往要求原来出口部门的产业——农、林、渔、矿——必须以前所未有的密集与专业化耕作与开采，来产生更多的外汇。

在这个过程中，社会的两极分化愈来愈加剧：本地工人与留学过的技术菁英、小农与大农场主与经销商、被剥夺土地的农民与靠着出口经济作物发财的地主。这些社会矛盾累积到一定的地步，或许就会爆发为公开的冲突。或许，如撒哈拉以南的非洲大部分国家一样，国内冲突尚在蓄积，该国赖以出口换汇的商品市场就崩溃了。咖啡、可可、花生、棉花、大豆、油棕……，几乎所有的热带商品农作物在二次战后都纷纷投入世界市场，带着让种植它的国家迈向工业化的希望，却纷纷在1960年代中期之后，因买方市场被垄断、各国卖方又不断增产，而导致崩盘。经济崩溃、加上严重的两极分化，往往就此让一个又一个国家陷入债务与内战的深渊。而这整个发展，原意是为了促进国家经济、政治、科学技术的独立自主，结果却是更深重的依赖。

一个著名的失败案例是农业上的「绿色革命」，即以实验室研发的高单位产量品种来促进粮食产量的计划。1940年代开始，美国福特基金会与洛克斐勒基金会为了缓和第三世界国家的农村社会矛盾，开始资助一连串的农业改进计划。这些计划假设社会矛盾可以由丰裕的物质生活来解决，并在此前提下试图以技术手段提升农业产量。「绿色革命」开

始于墨西哥，随着二次大战后美国影响力的扩展，也推行到巴西、印度、巴基斯坦、东南亚、乃至非洲许多新独立国家。

三十年之后，许多研究者批评「绿色革命」非但没有达到原先预想的社会目标，反而更激化了社会矛盾，造成大量小农破产，并逼使他们流离到大都市（如 Lappe & Collins, 1987）。问题的关键是出在「绿色革命」的技术本身。「高产量」的稻米、玉米等品种，如研究者 Lappe & Collins 指出，其实是「高反应」品种，对农药、化肥、灌溉等投入的反应良好。要发挥这些品种的潜力，农民必须投资大量金钱购买（往往是国外进口或少数公司垄断的）农药与化肥，并维持稳定的灌溉水源。而在没有经历过农地改革的农村，往往只有地主、富农负担得起这种耕作方式。其他农民要不是只能守着原来产量低的品种与耕作方式，就是硬着头皮借贷改种新品种，而背负了大量债务。而一旦富农、地主土地上的产量增加，整体农产价格下跌，小农的收入就节节减少，债务还不起，只有破产一途。小农的破产，更进一步造成了地主、富农阶层的土地扩张，使得农村不平等益发严重。

当然，不是每个推行「绿色革命」的地方都会造成这种悲剧性的后果。台湾就是在 1970 年代对「绿色革命」的批评者认为非常重要的反例。同样使用高反应品种，台湾的农民在农地改革、水利会的灌溉建设与农会的信贷支持之下，事实上的确在很长的时期中避免了两极分化的厄运。然而，长期大量使用农药、化肥的耕作模式，却也造成了台湾农地难以挽回的生态破坏。

「绿色革命」是立意良善，却造成严重后果的大型科技计划例子之一。核电厂、大水坝等各种过去半世纪风行的「现代化」高科技计划，往往都带来原设计者意想不到的负面社会效果。在日常生活中，我们也可以看到无数类似的状况。921 震灾之后，成千上万的灾民无力重建家园的状况才让我们警觉到，现代台湾家庭平常必须花费多少金钱与精力购买与维持一个昂贵的住宅，而一旦遭逢变故，住宅的债务往往就成为威胁家庭生计的沉重负担。台湾一般常见的钢筋、钢骨水泥住宅建筑本身，不也是一个被高度标准化、商品化的科技产物？

科技导致负面社会后果的这些历史教训，使得一些批判思潮纷纷在 1960、70 年代呼吁，为了使科技服务于人类的需求，而非人类盲从于既成的科技的逻辑，我们必须摆脱永远追求大、新、尖端科技的惯性，思索另一些看待科技的观点、另一些使用科技的方式。

E. F. 修马克是德国出身、在英国受教育经济学家，二次大战之后任职于联合国，长期担任印度等新当时独立国家的经济顾问。作为一位经济学家，他的主要对话对象是当代盛行的把「经济成长率」视为经济活动的唯一目标、目光狭隘的主流经济学。他引入一些浅显易懂，却总是被忽略的价值——生态环境的可持续性、人类对于有意义的工作的迫切需求、经济生活的民主与平等——来重新评估当代科技体系与资本主义经济的效率，并指出这些体系的高度浪费与无效率。巨型的工业科技体系耗费大量不可弥补的珍贵自然资源；「节省劳力」的科技改进造成大量失业；除了业主的利润之外一无所顾的私有企业制度造成经济生活的「原始化」；而大型科技体系的发展使得人类赖以生存的技术手段愈来愈远离一般人的掌握，而垄断在少数专家与企业手中。修马克呼吁人们开敞心胸思索另类经济学的可能性，例如：根植于佛教俭朴、非暴力、「中道」、「正业」等价值观的经济学。在科技问题上，修马克主张发展「中级科技」(intermediary technology)以作为当代的「粗鲁科学与暴力技术」的必要修正。这些科技必须：

- 够便宜，让每人确实掌握；
- 适合小规模运用；
- 能够与人类对创意的需求相吻合。（28）

对「小规模」的需求，是由于修马克相信，大型机构必然导致权力的分化与民主讨论的困难。然而，修马克并非一概反对新科技与大型机构，也不认为「中级科技」能放诸四海而皆准。相反地，正是由于人类的需求与生存环境是如此多元复杂，没有任何一个科技或准则能够四处通用。重点在于发展出真正适合各个具体状况的知识、工具与手段。例如，在高度失业的社会中，发展资本密集（因而相对地提供较少工作机会）的技术是无意义的，劳力密集的技术才是真正适合的。

在修马克及同代的技术社会批评者的影响之下，一个又一个的重要机构采纳「适当的科技」（即修马克的「中级科技」）作为工作方针。在卡特政府时代，美国政府设立了「国家适当科技中心」（National Center for Appropriate Technology）；联合国发展总署、世界银行等机构也纷纷成立相关的计划与组织。但是，更重要的是大量的学术机构与非政府组织，如修马克影响下的英国「中级技术发展组织」（Intermediary Technology Development Group）从 1970 年代起不断地在第三世界与先进国家推动各式各样的「适当科技」计划。联合国发展总署（UNDP）特地成立了一个「发展中国家技术合作计划」

(Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries) 来促进这些适当科技经验的全球交流，这个组织现在称为「南—南合作特别单位」(Special Unit for South-South Cooperation)，特别强调不盲目追赶工业先进国家(所谓「北方」)的科技时尚，而是实事求是地发展适合发展中国家(所谓「南方」)社会的需要(参阅 <http://ssc.undp.org/>)。

从修马克至今，各种「适当科技」计划追求的大致是以下这些特性：

- 小规模；
- 省能源；
- 环保；
- 劳力密集；
- 由在地社区控制；
- 简单到能够由使用者自行维护。(Hazeltine& Bull, 3)

这些准则是来自于对上述的资本密集、高度依赖专家与先进技术的发展路线的批判，强调依赖在地资源、人力与知识，摆脱经济依赖的弊病，并尊重在地生态与社会环境。而使用「适当科技」概念的发展计划包罗万象，从能源科技、农业生产、医疗保健、到工具的设计与制作。在「中级科技」的概念影响之下，这些计划在作法上都希望能够结合掌握科学知识的专业者与实际使用者的在地知识，打造出能够落地生根、自主发展的技术。

「适当科技」运动对于缺乏工业基础、高度依赖外来技术的发展中国家具有重大的意义。藉着摆脱高科技崇拜、理性检视本地人民的需求及足以满足这些需求的在地资源、劳动力、技术与文化传统，「适当科技」道路可能可以让发展中国家脱离愈来愈深重的经济、政治、文化依赖及债务危机的循环。因此，这个运动获得最多实践机会的也是在发展中国家。然而，修马克所指出的当代经济的问题——生态破坏、失业、社会两极分化等等——绝不是发展中国家的专利，尤其在 1970 年代初的石油危机之后出现的所谓「全球化」现象之中，这些问题在已发展国家的恶化愈来愈醒目。因而，包括美国与西欧在内的发达工业社会也纷纷兴起各式各样的「适当科技」实践，希望藉由技术的改革挑战社会与生态危机。

Box 1: 常用来定义「适当科技」的一些条件

以下这些是 1970 年代以来各国的适当科技运动提倡者常常谈到的条件与口号。想想看：与每一个条件相对应、相反的是什么？你认为哪些条件在当代台湾社会是有意义的？哪些是值得商榷的？

小规模、省能源、环保劳力密集、在地社区控制	自然材质、有机、感性、易改装、可再生、可自然分解、与人直接接触	和谐、阴性、灵性、便宜、非市场、可持续
简单	柔软	本地出产
使用者自行维护	适合文化传统	本土

适当科技的一些案例

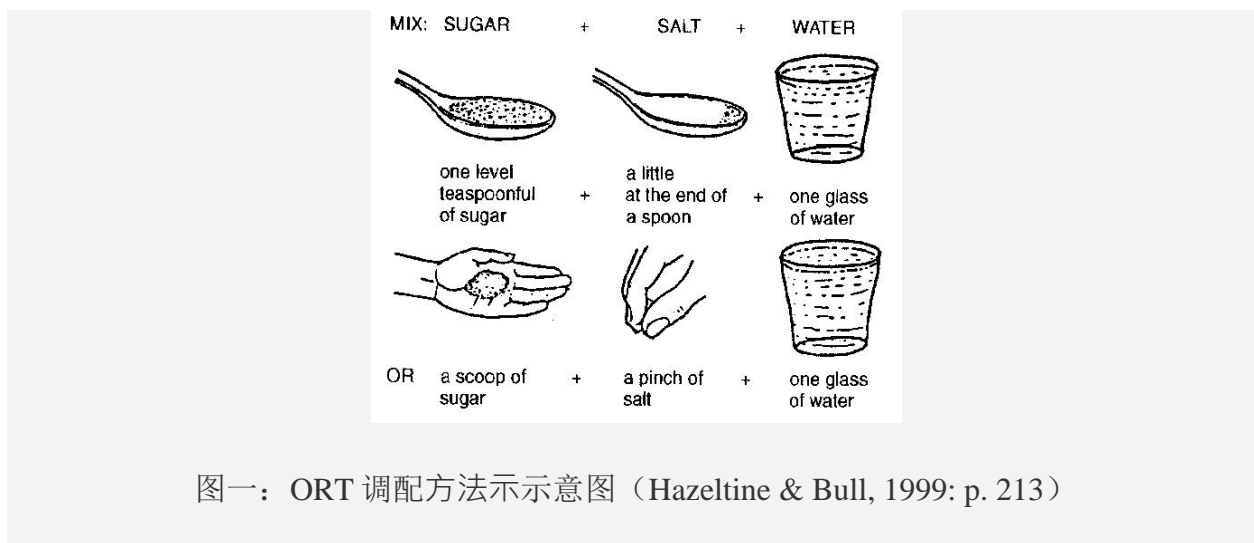
现代科学的支持者总是主张：有了深思熟虑的科学知识与技术，人类能够克服一切困难。这样的豪情壮志是值得钦慕的，但是，如果这些科学知识与技术没有了与其相连的仪器、设备、原料等等，资源就毫无用武之地。那么，对于资源匮乏的人们来说，这种科技等于无用。「适当科技」的实践者因而力求能在各种匮乏状况下达成目标。三十余年来，「适当科技」发展出的作业项目包罗万象，包括如节柴灶、小水电计划等在地能源计划、溷种轮种等生态农法、以及运用在地材料与人力住宅建筑计划等等。以下我只举一些例子以勾勒出一个大致的面貌。

简约之美

有时候，在成熟的研究之下找出来的适当解决方案或许简单得让人难以置信。例如，第三世界农村奇高的婴儿死亡率，很大一部份是来自于急性腹泻脱水致死。在 1980 年，全球有 5 百万 5 岁以下的婴幼儿死于此因。小儿腹泻可能来自约 25 种不同的寄生虫、细菌或病毒。水源污染是最常见的传染途径。腹泻致死的多半是由于腹泻造成的脱水及营养不良，在适当补充水分与电解质之下，大部分小儿腹泻能够安然度过。在一般医院中，治

疗腹泻多半靠药物与点滴。然而，在非洲，药物多靠进口，昂贵且不见得适用于本地。点滴治疗非常有效，但需要熟练医护人员，也需要同样是进口而昂贵的无菌点滴瓶、注射针乃至生理食盐水等医疗材料。这些都不是解决大量小儿腹泻问题的适当办法。

1962 年开始，一群孟加拉（当时称为东巴基斯坦）达卡大学医学院的年轻研究者开始寻找治疗腹泻脱水的另类方法。他们提出了一个极为简单的方法：「口服水分补充疗法」（Oral Rehydration Therapy）。他们依照正统医学试验的方法从事了严谨的临床试验，证明这个治疗法确实有效。基本上，这个疗法只是让病患饮用水、盐和糖的溶液，泻多少、喝多少。几乎任何家庭都能够调配出适当的 OR 溶液，在简单的教育之下，可以顺利照顾病患脱离险境、康复。

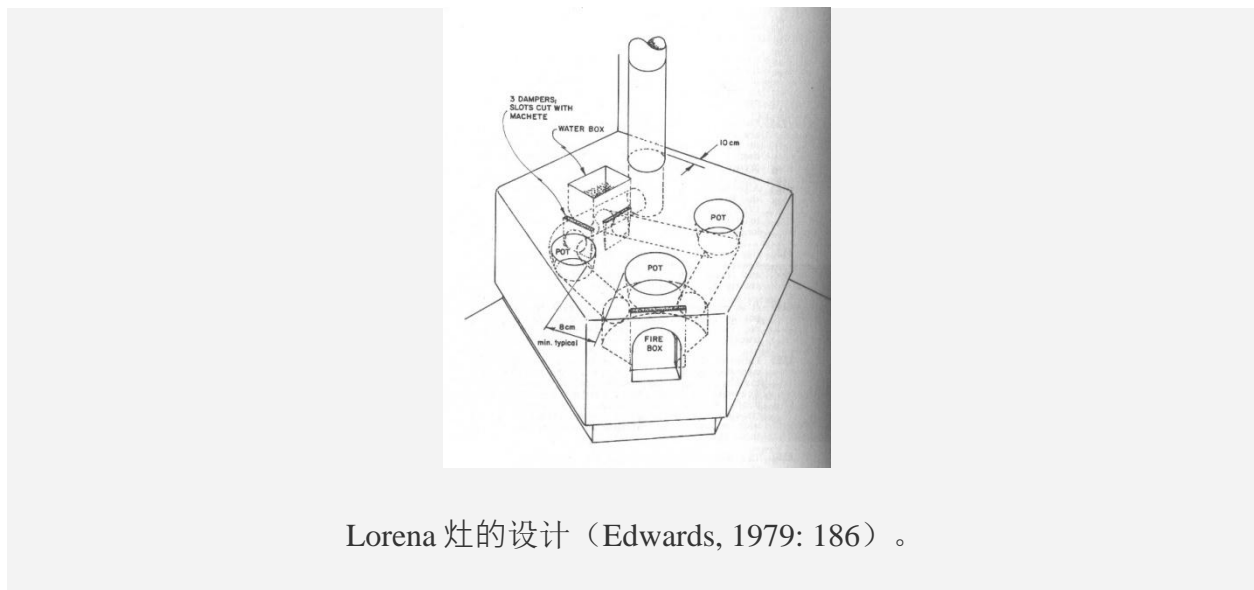


图一：ORT 调配方法示意图（Hazeltine & Bull, 1999: p. 213）

图一是简单的宣导教材，更简单的方法甚至不需量匙，只要用一把糖、一撮盐、和一杯开水调匀即可。世界卫生组织（WHO）和联合国儿童基金会（UNICEF）于 1975 年开始推广包装好的最佳配方口服水分补充盐（ORS），每包成本在 50 美分以下，加水即可使用。ORT 疗法，对使用者来说，几乎没有任何金钱负担，在适当的教育之后，也不需依赖外来的医疗资源与协助，是一个几近完美的适当科技。专家估计，从 1970 年代初 ORT 开始推广至今，每年全球至少有一百万贫困家庭子女得以免于腹泻而死的威胁。联合国发展总署也从 1990 年代开始，把 ORT 的使用普及率，当作它每年评量各个会员国的「人类发展指标」（Human Development Index）的一部份。普及率愈高，代表公共卫生教育愈成功。（UNDP, 2011）然而，这么一个「既小又美」的科技并没有被普遍接受，

发展中国家的公共卫生人员基本上极愿意接受便宜可靠的 ORT 疗法，但以美国主流医疗机构为主的医疗圈仍然偏好昂贵的点滴疗法。因此，各国公卫人员必须想尽办法让人们接受这个简单的疗法。方法之一，是把 ORT 所用的糖和盐包装在英文标示的袋子里，并向求医者索取他们负担得起的药费，好让父母们觉得 ORT 还是一种「药」，可能有效。

关注在地条件



ORT 案例几近完美的简单，不见得在每个案例中都能达成，大多数的适当科技计划需要不断地修正改进以符合在地条件。在许多国家地区推行的「节柴灶」计划就是一个例子，多年下来，这个计划在不同在地脉络下发展出许多不同的面貌。

「灶」这回事对东亚各民族来说都是传统文化的一部份，很少会让我们把它当作一种「科技」。然而，包括西欧在内的大多数文化，都是十分晚近才接受这种器具。十九世纪后在欧洲及其影响地区风行开来的烧柴炉灶主要是铸铁打造的，需要熟练铁工或工厂设备才能制造，因而十分昂贵。至今，无力购买铸铁灶或现代瓦斯炉或电炉的人家仍然普遍使用壁炉、营火等生火方式，这些方式看似浪漫，但热效率差、耗柴，产生的烟雾及热气对必须每日主中馈的妇女造成严重的健康威胁。1960 年代中，愈来愈多人注意到：发展中国家大量的森林流失，除了跨国公司的滥伐林木之外，很大一部份是由于贫穷农民必须砍伐柴薪以供日常所需。研发推广节柴灶便成为同时应付生态问题及人民生活问题的重要项目。

1976 年瓜地马拉发生大地震，地震之后家屋重建的需求使得木料价格高涨，因而，柴薪对于贫穷家户来说变成了沉重的经济负担。美国俄勒冈州的 Aprovecho 研究所的研究者与瓜地马拉山区的 Chonqui 实验站合作，发展出一种建造简单、燃烧效率极佳的灶，称做 Lorena（沙泥）灶。

Lorena 灶的基本材料是黏土与沙，溷合后浇灌成适合的形状，在半干时再挖出炉膛、火道、灰渣室及置锅的坑洞。三道以废马口铁片裁成的气门可以控制空气供给，从而调整燃烧效率。上面再加上一根烟囱。各个孔道的尺寸经过反覆的热力学计算以达到最高燃烧与导热效率。整个建造过程需时三至四日。完成之后，在操作时，只需在第一个锅子下生火，热气可加热其他二到三个锅子。

这个设计的优点是：第一、除了烟囱与马口铁片外，几乎完全是利用随手可得的材料。第二、建造工序只需极少量的工具与技术，基本上瓜地马拉每个山区居民家户都有的大砍刀（machete），再加上铲子、水桶等农具就可以。第三、形状可配合各种家屋的型态及锅具而自由调整。第四、燃烧效率佳，可达 20-25%。（营火只有 10-15%）因而能节省使用者的柴薪支出。这些优点加上 Choqui 实验站的工作人员刻意推动的口传宣导，使得 Lorena 灶很快散佈开来。瓜地马拉的成功按例，在各国际组织的交流之下，散佈到许多国家，到 1970 年代末，西非洲就有至少 12 个国际组织赞助的大型节柴灶计划（OTA, 1979: 61）。

然而，Lorena 灶的缺点是：它的泥沙材质容易在使用后逐渐崩坏，因此最短可能一年之后就得重新建造。烟囱的价格昂贵，使得整个灶的造价可能高达 20 美元，相较于它的节柴能力，不见得划算。80 年代初的许多田野评估指出，必须构思新的改进方案。

有些较成功的节柴灶方案牺牲了如 Lorena 灶「自建自修」的原则，转而利用比较传统的工匠工艺。这种转向主要是着眼于新设计往往不能符合使用炉灶的妇女的烹饪习惯（Sinha, 2002: 24）。例如，印度政府于 1980 年代初成立了一个「全国炉灶改进专校」（National Programme for Improved Chulhas），以大笔经费补贴各省推动农村家户建造类似 Lorena 灶的改进炉灶。结果并不理想。一些地区性的计划转而寻求辅助当地工匠改进传统的市售小型炉灶。

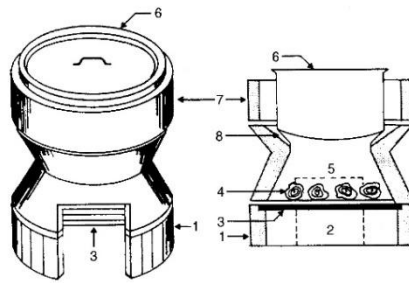


Fig. 6.15. Damro Chulha stove. 1, ash pit construction; 2, ash pit window; 3, grate; 4, fuelwood; 5, fuel-charging window; 6, cooking vessel; 7, heat shield; 8, three ribs to support vessel. (Reproduced with permission from Agricultural Tools Research Centre [13].)

Damro Chulha 炉灶（Hazeltine & Bull, 1999: 109）。

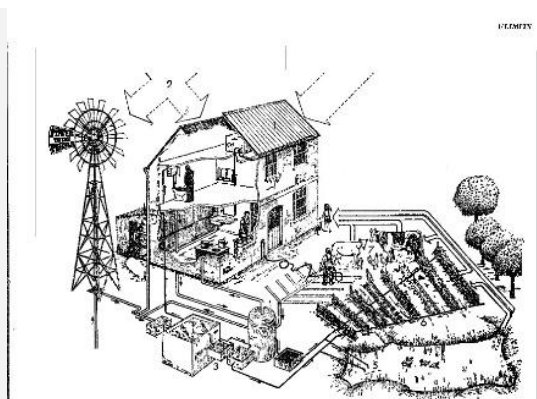
上图所示即是印度 Bardoli 省的农具研究中心（Agriculture Tools Research Center）研发的小型炉灶，可由当地的锅匠以大约 4 美元的成本制造。主要的改进在于在马口铁外壳内加一层黏土隔热层，并在灶口加上一个金属门以控制燃烧。Damro Chulha 灶的效率可高达 30%，比大型的 Lorena 式灶还好，也比较便宜。Damro Chulha 灶显然适合一个与瓜地马拉农村不同的社会脉络。印度尤其是人口急速膨胀的都会贫民区，并不缺乏具有传统工匠手艺的劳动力，马口铁等工业废料的取得也不是问题，而社会分工高度发展之下，即使贫穷家户也习于购买所需的生活器具，而非自制。因此，类似 Damro Chulha 的小型商品化炉灶能取得比大型自制炉灶更好的普及能力。

三十年来的节柴灶推广经验使得许多研究者总结：成功的关键在于使用者——家庭主妇——在设计、制造、使用等各个环节中的密切投入。因此，80 年代后的炉灶发展计划多半强调组织在地主妇经由讨论发展出适合的设计，而非在实验室中由（男性）专家「闭门造炉」（OTA, 1992: 62）。

适当科技的挑战：什么是在地条件？

虽然适当科技的口号与主张很容易了解，实际上要在一个真实的社会脉络中去实践这些主张，却牵涉到更复杂的、对于具体的社会人文与科技条件的分析。缺乏了这些分析，而生搬硬套在其他地方成功过的案例，往往会失败，或者沦为昂贵的浪漫想像。例如，在当代台湾的都会生活中，用烧柴或炭的灶做饭菜，多半会比用瓦斯炉还贵，而且会面临安全、排烟等各种问题，只能在中秋节烤肉时使用，并不实用。

1970 年代以来的适当科技运动，事实上并未深思熟虑地先调查研究第三世界农村之外的其他型态社会的特定条件，并以之为基础，设计出符合该社会的「适当科技」。相反地，在「回到原始」的环保思潮下，直接在工业社会中沿用低资本投资、自然材质、需要长时间而低工业技能的农村劳动力等第三世界农村型设计。这些设计与作法当然无法适应各个工业社会的生活状况，却蔚为生活美学风潮，终至成为中产阶级多元的休闲方式之一，而并未如运动初始时豪气万千地要彻底改造人与科技的关系。技术哲学家 Langdon Winner (1980) 与推动适当科技运动多年的工程师 Witold Rybczynski (1980) 不约而同地在 1980 年批评当时为止欧美适当科技运动的浮夸之处。



一个标准的生态农舍的想像

事实上，这种风潮从 80 年代至今绵延不断。如上图所示的「生态农舍」，就是许多从欧美到台湾的厌倦工业社会生活的人们的美好想像。但是，如果缺乏了使用者自己动手、自己掌握技术的条件，类似的「绿建筑」往往十分昂贵，只有富人负担得起，而且任何设备坏了，只能叫厂商来修理，或是乾脆汰换丢弃。这种脉络下的生态农舍，也许一点都不环保，更不「适当」。

台湾最著名的一个适当科技实践的案例，是以谢英俊建筑师为主导的「第三建筑工作室」从 1999 年的 921 震灾灾后重建到 2010 年莫拉克风灾重建所推动的一系列建筑设计与实践（第三建筑工作室，n.d.）。



第三建筑工作室设计施作的台东太麻里乡德其永久屋（2010）。

与单纯的田园想像之下的生态屋不同，第三建筑工作室希望他们的建筑能够便宜到连灾民都负担得起，而且，施作工法必须改良到让失业的灾民在简单训练之后，就能参与工作、甚至逐渐掌握整个建筑的原理与方法。同时，在重建家屋的过程中，建筑团对会尽可能组织受灾社区民参与设计、规划与施作。这样，灾后重建房屋的过程，同时也达成了灾民在就业的社会目的、从而达成社会重建的更大的目标。同时，未来房屋若需要维修，所需的技术都是参与建造的住户自己能够掌握的，不假外求。

为了这样的目标，第三建筑工作室的设计往往使用一些并不「田园风格」的材料与工法，例如，结构採用便宜、施作容易的 C 型钢、用螺丝固定。类似这样的技术决定，是考虑到一系列经济、社会条件之下的结果，而绝不是单纯的「技术问题」。

结论：科技与社会改造

在当代科技社会中，人们往往被教育、训练、精细分工成为各种不同的角色——设计者、制造者与消费者；电子工程师与保险业务员；英语教师与泥水工等等——而如果没有有意识的追求突破，就一辈子只懂得自己被分配到的角色所知道的知识与技能。但是，我们又是处在一个科技产物无处不在的生活环境中。于是，许多人对身边的科技产物要不是无法掌握而焦虑、就是盲目相信所谓「专家」、不然就是同样盲目地排斥。总之，不可能理性地参与自己的生活环境的设计与打造。

「适当科技」运动所希望达成的目的，不仅仅是做出一些好的产品，而是希望能解决精细分工社会之下的民主问题。在这个运动成功的案例中，科技产品会永远是为使用者服务的工具，而不是让人类追赶不上的目标。

Session 1

**Overcoming the Dilemma of Development:
The Local Governance Perspective**

Panelists: **Chua Yee Ling**
State Assemblyman for Kuala Sepetang, Perak

Yap Soo Huey
State Assemblyman for PulauTikus, Penang

Adrian Banie Lasimbang
Executive Director at *TONIBUNG*, Sabah

Moderator: **Suki Wong Shu Qi**
State Assemblyman for Senai, Johor

【讨论组一】

从地方治理看发展的困境与超克

与会者：**蔡依霖**
霹雳州太平十八丁区州议员
叶舒惠
檳城玻璃池滑区州议员
Adrian Banie Lasimbang
沙巴乡村发展之友（TONIBUNG）

主持人：**黄书琪**
柔佛州士乃区州议员

Overcoming the Dilemma of Development: The Local Governance Perspective

Chua Yee Ling

State Assemblywomen for Kuala Sepetang, Perak

I would like to begin with the place where I work – Kuala Sepetang, a small fishing village in Taiping, Perak.

I remember the time when I was assigned to represent the Kuala Sepetang constituency, I had very shallow and stereotypical impressions of the fishing village: aging population, outflow of young people, low employment opportunities, economic backwardness and so on. Also, due to my non-local identity, it inevitably aroused many voices during the election. Some voters questioned whether a non relative foreign candidate could speak for the community and groups.

However, perhaps it was precisely my non-local identity that allowed me to discover the characteristics and beauty of this community in a new perspective. I tried to find out the potentialities of Kuala Sepetang, hoping to infuse new cultural elements and dynamics into it, and to open up and create more possibilities of development for this place.

In fact, this also breaks the myth that only the locals can represent the community. I think the notion of community management and local governance is to start with the current living environment. When we discuss about local development, the subjectivity of the community has to be manifested, yet it is not necessary to reject the experiences from foreign organizers. There should be some room for the people from outside to participate, in order to spark more energy into the community.

Develop new patterns of community development

In 2014, we planned a series of community art carnival “Look, Port Weld”. Throughout the year, we incessantly organized various activities, including “Know My Home Kids Holiday Camp”, “Exploring Mangroves Forest Family Camp”, “Conservation of Historical and Natural Heritage in Taiping–Matang–Kuala Sepetang Symposium and Workshop” and so on. Through the community engagement of Kuala Sepetang, we hope to build a platform for more plans of

collaboration and participation. With the networks derived from the platform, we could combine various resources to help the workers who are devoted to environment protection, historical heritage conservation, and regional native culture preservation.

Unlike other development plans which seek for the collaboration of developers or travel agencies, we targeted the following groups to discover the local characteristics of Kuala Sepetang: artists, educators, environmental conservationists, landscape architects, cultural promoters, music producers, humanity painters, photographers, ecotourism guides, backpackers, domestic and overseas university students and so on. This is because they all have different experiences and perspectives to share, and are more sensitive in vision. They could come up with many different proposals and creative experimental plans.

At the same time, we are also committed to organizing workshops for environmental and art education. Through these “cultural and creative experiments” of Kuala Sepetang, we hope to put forward a richer and more sophisticated development blueprint with local characteristics, which is defined from the bottom-up perspective. Choosing to “intervene the community through arts” is like throwing stones into the lake, as it not only attempts to try the water temperature, but also to see how far can it ripple.

Turning to the small and medium-sized developers

A local once suggested to me: “Yang Berhormat (State Legislator), if you wish to develop tourism in Kuala Sepetang and the government doesn’t want to help, you should then bring in some well-funded developers to build hotels, jetties, public toilets and more, as this will run things faster.” I asked him in reply immediately: “If many large-sized developers and international investors flood in, do you think you will still have a chance?”

The development of society nowadays has become more diverse, and each community has different needs. The model of large-scale construction and development in the past no longer meets the needs of the diverse society. In other words, the repetitious and dull method of development is now facing unprecedented challenges. It is time for us to think of a way to collaborate with the small and medium-sized developers inside and outside the community, but not to rely merely on the large-sized investors.

I have always been asked about how to avoid commercialization in local development. For instance, some people unspiritedly imitate or copy some buildings from other places in order to boost tourism. In this case, I believe that we could never prevent commercialization from happening, but we could actively open up new creative patterns for the community to boost more innovative, sophisticated, elaborated and profound ways of travelling. For example, to resist vulgarity, we introduced the family camp which focuses on ecological education; we also carried out the “eco-school” tour for the educators, or the sketching tour in mangrove forests.

Town development is the way to solve urban problems

The saturation of urban development has brought up many urban problems such as overcrowded population, traffic congestion, high pressure and long-term nervous living condition. These have been seriously affecting people’s quality of life. To solve the problems, we have to reallocate the resources. Namely, it is to shift our focus to develop the towns, promoting the economic development of the small areas, creating employment opportunities to help with the backflow of population.

The environmental problems are tough nowadays, moreover, we have entered a post-industrial lifestyle (meaning that the industrial society has ended), thus it is impossible to improve our lives through working in factories. Nevertheless, Malaysia has a lot of towns like Kuala Sepetang, which possess better conditions to keep away from the industrial society, turning to develop the ecological industry. In this development process, we need to engage in conversations and dialogues with people to prompt our thoughts and reflections. Also, we are continuously trying on new cases to find out the development model that this generation needs.

从地方治理看发展的困境与超克

蔡依霖

霹雳州太平十八丁区州议员

我想从我现在工作的地方开始说起，霹雳太平十八丁。我记得当初当自己被安排可能在十八丁上阵的时候，对于渔村的印象是非常表面及刻板的：人口老化、年轻人外流、就业机会低、落后等等。之前在选举期间，也因为不是本地人的身份，难免杂声四起，有些选民质疑一个和当地非亲非故的外来候选人，如何代表这个社区和群体说话。

然而，或许也因为恰恰不是本地人的身份，让我更能以一种全新的视野，去发掘这个社区的特色与美丽。我尝试找出十八丁的潜质，并试图为这个地方注入新的文化元素及活力，为这个地方开拓及创造更多的发展可能性。

这其实也打破了只有当地人才能代表社区主体的迷思。我认为，社区经营和地方治理就是必须从你生活当下的环境着手，在讨论地方发展的过程中，社区的主体性必须出来，但也无需过于排斥外来组织者的经验，要有一定的空间让社区以外的人来参与，这样才能有机会擦出更多社区火花。

开拓新的社区发展格局

2014年，我们策划了一系列“看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华，过去一年来，我们马拉松似地举办了大大小小的活动，当中包括“小学生认识家园假期营”、“大手牵小手探索红树林亲子营”、“太平一马登—十八丁古迹与生态研讨会暨工作坊”等等。我们希望透过十八丁社区搭建成平台，透过更多合作与参与式的计划，利用平台的人脉，组合资源帮助更多从事生态保育、历史古迹保存、地域性原生文化经营的工作者。

有别于一般发展的合作对象，例如发展商及旅游社等，我们首先把发掘十八丁地方特色的对象群，锁定在艺术家、教育工作者、环境保育者、景观建筑师、文化推动者、音乐制作人、人文画家、摄影爱好者、生态旅游导游、背包旅行客、国内及海外的大专生等。

因为他们拥有不同的经验及视野，眼光较为敏锐，可以提出很多不同的建议及创意的实验方案。与此同时，我们也致力举办工作坊培力环保与美学教育，希望透过更多的“十八丁的文创实验”，延伸出更丰富，由下而上的更精致，更有地方特色的城乡发展蓝图。选择“以艺术介入社区”，就像把石头丢进湖里，除了试试水温，也想看看能激起多少涟漪。

借力于中小型的开发者

曾经有居民向我提出建议：“州议员，你要发展十八丁旅游业，如果政府不要动，你应该要找有资本的发展商来建旅店、建码头、公共厕所，这样比较快一点看到成绩。”我当下马上问他：“如果大发展商及国际投资者都进来了，你觉得你还会有机会吗？”

当今的社会发展越趋多元，社区的需求也很不同，以往的大规模建设及发展模式不仅不能满足多元社会，单调发展土地的方法也受到前所未有的挑战。我们是时候思考，如何与社区里外的中小型开发者合作，而不是只寄望着大型投资者注入。

每当被问起，如何避免地方的发展沦为商业化，例如为了打造旅游业，而刻意模仿，空洞地复制其他地方的建筑等问题，我想，我们无法阻止商业化，但我们能让社区更积极地去开创新的格局，以更多标新立异，更细腻及精致的品位深度旅游，如开展注重生态教育的亲子团、教育工作者的“生态学堂”之旅、红树林导览写生团等，去抵抗庸俗化。

发展城镇才是解决城市问题的出路

城市发展饱和，很多的城市问题如人口拥挤，交通阻塞，城市居民长期生活在高压及精神紧绷等等，都已严重地影响人的生活品质。要解决这些问题，只有重新分配资源，把重点转移发展城镇，促进小地方的经济发展、制造就业机会、让人口回流，才是出路。

当今环境议题严峻，加上现在进入了后工业生活模式，即工业社会已结束，要藉在工厂上班改变生活已不可能，而马来西亚拥有很多城镇，像十八丁一样，正好拥有更好的条件，跳过工业社会，朝生态领域发展。这过程中，我们需要更多的发展对话，激荡及反思，还有不间断地尝试新的个案，以延伸出这个世代需要的发展模式。

Influencing the Pulau Tikus Development Trajectory

Yap Soo Huey

State Assemblywoman for Pulau Tikus, Penang

Solving problems due to population pressure and facilitating sustainable development requires Local Governments to move away from a “top-down” approach towards an approach that places emphasis on inclusivity and citizen engagement. However, this requires both systemic changes on the part of local government, as well as social consciousness and literacy on the part of the community.

Urbanization and development gone wrong can lead to unhealthy and unsustainable living conditions, or worse, the dying out of a community or township. Many developing cities sit on the crossroads of “good” and “bad” development. Local government and its governance culture directly determine the development trajectory of a city.

The town of Pulau Tikus in Penang used to be known as an affluent township with the best market, schools, hospitals and quality lifestyle. Today, this reputation has become less obvious and it sits at the crossroad between thriving and dying out due to developments within Pulau Tikus and neighboring towns. The Pulau Tikus case will be presented followed by presentation of some of the local actions taken to mitigate the decline.

影响浮罗池滑区的发展轨迹

叶舒惠

槟城玻璃池华区州议员

要解决人口压力问题，促进永续性发展，地方政府必须从由上至下的治理方式，转向重视包容性及公民参与。然而，这除了需要地方政府的系统性改变以外，也需要社区拥有社会意识及读写能力。

方向错误的城市化及发展，将导致不健康及无法永续的生活状况，严重者甚至导致社区或乡镇消亡。许多发展中城市都处在“好”与“坏”的发展交叉口，地方政府及其治理文化，将直接决定一个城市的发展轨迹。

槟城浮罗池滑曾经是个富裕的乡镇，以拥有最好的菜市场、学校、医院及优良的生活素质而闻名。如今，这美名已经逐渐没落，浮罗池滑也因城内及邻近的城镇发展，而处在兴盛或凋零的十字路口。我将分享浮罗池滑镇的案例，以及一些为了减缓乡镇没落而采取的地方行动。

Session 2

**The Development of Urban Spaces under Globalization:
Heterogeneity & Hybridity**

Panelists: **Asst. Prof. Dr. Loo Yat Ming**

Assistant Professor in Architecture & Built Environment, Faculty of Science and Engineering, University of Nottingham, Ningbo China

Prof. Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi

Professor in the Department of Architecture, Faculty of Built Environment and Engineering, UCSI University

Tey Tat Sing

Co-founder of Tetawowe Atelier

Moderator: **Chung Yi Fan**

Parliamentary Researcher, Democratic Action Party

【讨论组二】

全球化下都市发展与空间创造：异质与混杂

与会者：**卢日明**

中国宁波诺丁汉大学科学与工程学院建筑与环境系助理教授

Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin bin Haji Mohamad Rasdi

马来西亚思特亚大学（UCSI）建筑环境与工程学院的建筑系教授

郑达馨

窝工房创办兼合伙人

主持人：**庄易凡**

民主行动党国会政策研究员

Postcolonial Migrant Cities as Method

Dr. Loo Yat Ming

Assistant Professor in Architecture & Built Environment, Faculty of Science and Engineering, University of Nottingham, Ningbo China.

There is a Third World in every First World, and vice versa. --- Trinh T. Minh-ha 1991:148

1. MIGRANT CITIES

Human beings are nowadays migrating urban beings. They are shaping and being shaped by the increasingly diverse cities. More than half of the world's population of seven billion are now urbanised. Nearly 200 million people now live outside their countries of origin, a figure that has leapt up by 25 percent since 1990. Migration within nation also increases. Of China's 1.35 billion people, more than 50 percent lived in urban areas.

Hence we now live in a world of migrant cities. Cosmopolitan cities, hybrid cities or mongrel cities are all, in essence, migrant cities. The interconnected transnational and transcultural network of migrant cities in the world are changing our cultural values, world-views and built environment.

Most of us are now migrants to a certain degree. It is a common fate for all. Plurality of identity, culture, society, economy and modernity are irreversible. In this increasingly diasporic intercultural and interracial life-world, there is an urgency in contemplating a form of rooted cosmopolitanism.

2. THE DISCONTENT OF POSTCOLONIAL MIGRANT CITIES

Every city has its shanty spaces. Frantz Fanon described in *The Wretched of the Earth* this generic colonial binary-city or divided city as an entity with two irreconcilable parts:

‘The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity [...] No conciliation is possible [...] The settler’s town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town... is always full of good things [...] The town belonging to the colonised people, [...] is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoe, of light.’ (Fanon, 1971, p.29)

This colonial othering of spaces is being reproduced in the postcolonial migrant cities. The world now is still divided between the few who are rich and the many who are poor, between the free and the oppressed.

The place of the first historical occurrence of multicultural city is linked to colonialism which has pioneered methods of dealing with ethnically, racially and culturally different societies. Many lessons can be drawn from (post)colonial cities. The world today is still plagued by mythologies, racial and cultural prejudice constructed during the past 300 years of colonialism, coupled with capitalist urbanisation. These prejudices have its material consequences, in that they have architectural, spatial and geographical implications for the migrant groups and their spaces. Today, the sights of shanty towns, ghetto, slums and segregated spaces are commonplace in cities. Fanon’s vision of ‘The Wretched of the Earth’ has become ‘The Wretched of the Cities’.

3. STRATEGIC POSTCOLONIAL COSMOPOLITANISM

Faced with the rapid change of globalisation, race, religion and culture are being exploited as tools for regressive political agendas. The danger of politically correct multiculturalism is that it also can fuel cultural isolationism and fundamentalist nationalism in a way that kindles ethnocentrism, xenophobia and enmity towards Others.

Encountering the Other is one of the biggest challenge of the 21st century. The increasing interconnectedness of migrant cities provides an opportunity that never existed before: an opportunity to imagine being a world citizen through encountering those who are culturally and racially ‘Other’.

Different cultures have their versions of cosmopolitanism. In contrast to adopting an acultural approach, I contend that a form of Strategic Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism is needed to recognise the role of different modernity, life-world and social imaginary associated with a

particular person, place and culture. This strategy aligns with Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak's notion of Strategic Essentialism. It dares to provisionally essentialise self, culture and community. It dares to imagine flexible citizenship. It rethinks about nation. It speaks in recognition of universalism and particularity. It rearticulates a dialogue between cosmopolitanism and nationalism. It supports the self-determination of Third World and the recovery of self of the subaltern. It concerns about alleviating injustice in poor countries and at home. Its position is provisional.

It is about questioning, replacing, dismantling and transgressing the previous colonial and imperial containments and hierarchies of space, power and knowledge that divided racial, ethnic, and cultural groups.

The main target of a Strategic Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism is power. There is little meaning to reach across the lines of race, class, gender, culture and faith that divide cities and nations, if we do so without sharing power more equally.

4. POSTCOLONIAL MIGRANT CITIES AS A POSITIVE FORCE

Seeing contemporary cities as migrant cities is to cure a cultural amnesia: an amnesia in forgetting the key contribution of migrants in constructing this intercultural civilisation. Cities and architecture are machines for remembering and forgetting history. A shared collective memory and history of cities may help asserting minority cultural right in the urban movement of 'right to the city' and in the making of urban commons. We need to treat the minority people or place not as hostile aliens or objects of study, but as full partners sharing responsibility for the fate of humankind.

With Strategic Postcolonial Cosmopolitanism, postcolonial migrant cities are a positive force to inspire us to imagine being a world citizen, to help to liberate ourselves and others from our own conditioned culture, and to dwell poetically with many 'Others'.

后殖民移民城市作为方法

卢日明博士

中国宁波诺丁汉大学科学与工程学院建筑与环境系助理教授

在每一个第一世界都有一个第三世界，反之亦然。 --- 郑明河，1991：148

1. 移民城市 (Migrant Cities)

人类是迁移中的都市物种。都市变得愈多样，人们也在这个过程中形构与被形构。全球七十亿人口，超过半数都经历过都市化。如今，将近两亿人口都在原生国以外的地方生活，自1990年以来跃升了近25巴仙。国内迁移也有相同的增长趋势。其中，在中国的13.5亿人口中，超过半数也在都市生活。

因此，我们都居住在一个移民城市的世界中。本质上，世界城市 (Cosmopolitan cities)、混杂城市 (hybrid cities) 或杂种城市 (mongrel cities) 全都是移民城市。全球移民城市的跨国界、跨文化网络相互联结，正在改变我们的文化价值、世界观和居住环境。

某个程度上，我们大部分人都是移民，这是我们所有人的共同命运。身份认同、文化、社会、经济和现代性的多样性是无法逆转的。在这个越来越离散的跨文化和跨种族的生活世界中，仔细思考一种有根的世界主义 (a form of rooted cosmopolitanism) 形式如何可能是非常急迫的。

2. 后殖民移民城市的异议

每个城市都有贫民窟。佛朗兹·法农 (Frantz Fanon) 在《大地上的受苦者中》 (*The Wretched of the Earth*) 中，形容这种类殖民地的二元城市 (generic colonial binary-city) 或被分割的城市，为一个相互斥的实体：

“被殖民居住地带与殖民者居住地带，并不呈现互相补充的状态。这两个地带相互对立，但这样的对立不是为一个更高的统一而服务[...]无法和解[...]殖民者的城市是石块和钢筋打造的铜墙铁壁，灯火通明...肚子总填满了好吃的东西[...]被殖民的城市，[...]是座饥饿城市，渴望着面包、肉、鞋子、煤炭和光明。”（Fanon, 1971, p.29, 转自*杨碧川译, 2009 [1971], p.74, 台北：心灵工坊文化事业）

这样的空间的殖民他者化在后殖民移民城市中再生产。如今世界依然是在富者与贫者、自由者与被压迫者之间，壁垒分明。

在多元文化城市里，首个发生历史事故的地方与殖民主义有关。它累积了很多开创性的方法，要如何与不同社会的族群、种族和文化协调。我们可以从（后）殖民城市习得很多经验。殖民主义过去三百年所建构的神话、种族和文化偏见，加上资本型都市化，至今仍让这世界饱受折磨。这些偏见有其物质后果，它们对移民群体和其空间有着建筑、空间和地理上的影响。城市里出现棚户区、贫民窟、陋巷和隔离空间早已见怪不怪。法农在《大地上的受苦者》中所描绘的景象，如今已变成了“城市里的受苦者”（The Wretched of the Cities）。

3. 战略性后殖民世界主义

面对全球化的迅速变迁，种族、宗教和文化被滥用为工具，为退化的政治议程服务多元文化主义的政治正确，其危险在于它也可以透过煽动对他者的民族优越感、仇外和敌意，来刺激文化孤立主义和原教旨主义者国族主义。

与异己遭逢是二十一世纪最大的挑战之一。移民城市之间逐渐相互联结，提供了一个前所未有的机会，如何与文化和种族截然不同的“异己”遭逢，想象自己成为世界公民。

不同文化会有他们专属的世界主义版本。若跟采取去文化的途径相比，我坚决主张我们需要一种后殖民世界主义的战略，以肯认在特定的个人、地方或文化中，不同的现代性、生活世界和社会想象所扮演的角色。这个战略符合斯皮瓦克（Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak）的策略本质主义（Strategic Essentialism）的概念。它敢于暂时地将自我、文化和社区本质化；勇于想象弹性公民权、反思国族、肯认普世主义和特殊主义。它在联结世界

主义和国族主义之间的对话。它支持第三世界的民族自决权，以及贱民（subaltern）的自我修复。它关注缓和贫穷国家和家园的不平等问题。它的位置是暂时性的。

这是关于质问、替代、拆除及跨越过去殖民和帝国的围堵，以及分离各种种族、族群和文化群体的空间、权力和知识的层级。

战略性后殖民世界主义的主要目标是权力。倘若我们并未平等地分享权力，即使跨越了种族、阶级、性别、文化，及分割城市和国家的信仰，也是没有意义的。

4. 后殖民移民城市作为正向力量

将现代城市视为移民城市可以治疗文化失忆症（cultural amnesia）。这种失忆症是在建构不同文化之间的文明的过程中，遗忘了移民的主要贡献。城市和建筑是记忆和遗忘历史的机制。在“城市权利”的都市运动和都市居民的形成过程中，共享城市的共同记忆和历史，有助于维护少数族群的文化权。我们不应该视少数族群为敌对的异族，或视地方为研究的客体；而是完全的伙伴，共同承担人类命运的责任。

透过战略性后殖民世界主义，后殖民移民城市可以是一股正向的力量，启发我们想象自己成为世界公民，协助和解放我们自身和其他受制约在我们的文化中的人们，并富有诗意地和许多“他者”一起生活。

An Interpretation of Malaysian Architecture from the Political, Temporal and Economic Mind-Prisons

Professor Dr. Mohamad Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi

Faculty of Built Environment and Engineering, UCSI University, Cheras

The main purpose of this essay is to give an introductory understanding of the relationship between architecture or built forms with the ideas that people have concerning their own society. A wonderful thing about architecture is that it cannot hide a lie. It always speaks the truth about a society, an architect, the profession, or a particular client. One can actually read a society's mindsets about certain issues related to nation building through an expert analysis of the building that was constructed. In this short essay, I will attempt to elucidate some general issues of architecture and its problems related to nation building.

The concern of this essay is not specifically about architecture and urban space. It is about how the political leadership and the citizenry defines what being Malaysian is all about. The simple ideal of 'Malaysia' is embracing multi-culturalism within a framework of democratic discourse to resolve conflicts and enforce a sense of brotherhood among the people. After half a century of *merdeka*, sadly, many Malaysians are citizens by birth only and not by concept or idea. Judging by the controversial racial slurs and bigotry by politicians, NGO's and netizens alike, it would not be presumptuous that Malaysia is approaching a 'failed' state. This condition is clearly reflective in many aspects of life and inclusive of 'architecture'.

I have coined the term 'Mind-Prisons' rather than 'mind set' to emphasize the severity of the problem of nation building in this country. I will speak briefly and candidly about my interpretation about the state of lost democracy through administrative architecture, the state of stagnant spirituality in mosque architecture and the state of negative materialism in the housing scenario.

Administrative Architecture and the Autocratic Mind-Prison

The backbone of this nation is a democratic practice of governance as opposed to its previous monarchical administration and colonial management. Democracy puts the power to the citizenry. Theoretically, even a simple hawker can be active in a political party and eventually end up being the Prime Minister of Malaysia. After a 5 year stint in the office the Prime Minister can, theoretically, go back to becoming a hawker if his or her party was voted out of office. The beauty of democratic election, if done fairly without too much 'creative' delineation and a stronger black ink, would prevent nepotism of the siblings of the premier taking office like in the days of the Rajah, Sultans and Emperors.

Another important aspect of democracy is that many university graduates, academics and professionals forget, did not know and are simply indifferent is the fact that democracy does not stop after the election. Many of the citizenry thinks that once they have elected certain personalities and parties to govern, then they should sit back and let them lead. Democracy will fail if those elected were left to lead without a critical view by the learned citizenry. The learned citizenry, at least those who can read and write and have a good education should participate in the governance of this country by giving opinions on issues, suggestion to solving problems and help each other to resolve racial and religious conflicts. Only from these two active participations, the elected representatives and the citizenry, can true democracy be established. If not, the ugly head of autocracy would surface again.

Now let us look at three important built forms. Firstly take a look at the Parliament Building in Malaysia. Firstly, we should notice that it has no ethno-centric language. This means, it does not look like a Malay, Chinese or Indian building. It has a universal language of functional modernism. Secondly, it has many sun-shading devices to prevent a high cost of air conditioning. Thirdly, it looks like an office building with a large *dewan* or hall. The message is clear. Here in the building people are working hard in an office and meeting in the hall to debate and discuss while making sure they do not spend the people's money extravagantly. All these people also know that they are merely representatives and not princes, aristocrats or feudal lords. Furthermore, the lobby space and grounds are designed so that masses of people can rally in front and meet the representatives.

In contrast, take a look at the Prime Minister Office in Putrajaya. It looks like an emperor's palace. It is sumptuous with expensive décor, no sun shading device and framed in a French 18th

century chateau or mansion. It is biased to one ethnic group in language expression. The massing and grounds are manicured gardens setback far away from the huge monstrous gate. Who works here, I wonder? A hawker turned Prime Minister or an Emperor with New Clothes? Now, take a look at No. 10 Downing Street, the Residence and Office of the Prime Minister of Great Britain. It looks just like an ordinary terrace house. This means that the PM and Ministers know who they are in the society, an ordinary person given temporary power by their Masters, the citizenry.

The question that begs to be asked is not why Tun Mahathir and UMNO wanted the design of this building like a palace? The question is rather why did the people or the citizenry allow the building of this simple office building to be like a palace? Is it because some of the citizenry still thinks that a Member of Parliament or the PM is akin to the Raja and Sultan of old? In the Malay annals, the Bendahara, which is almost equivalent to the Perdana Menteri, is a Royal appointee, not elected by the people. He carries the Sultan's mandate. In modern Malaysia, the PM not only answers to the Yang di Pertuan Agong, symbolically, he has to answer more to the people of Malaysia. It is the people who shall 'write his report card' once every five years.

But since some of the citizenry does not understand the true meaning of democracy, then such administration complexes like Nusajaya in Johor has followed almost exactly like the planning and design of Putrajaya. It seems that Malaysians have a new 'royal' power in Nusajaya and Putrajaya. The people of Malaysia must break away from this Mind-Prison of thinking the elected representative are akin to royalty and can do no wrong. It is only then can the architecture be like the Reichstag design in Germany; a building that allows the citizenry to walk about the glass domes looking into the space where parliamentary debates are held. This is the ultimate symbolism of the idea of 'Rakyat Hakim Negara' or people as the jury for the country.

Religious Architecture and the Temporal Mind-Prison

To my mind, the National Mosque in Kuala Lumpur is the epitome of mosque architecture in the world and in the 20th century. First of all, it does not look like a middle-eastern mosque with domes and arches. It has a large and airy *serambi* or verandah, a single minaret and two large pools of water for ablution, to cool the building and induce a meditative state of calmness. It has no fence or massive gateway and the building has a folded plate roof structure that was the technological wonder of the times. This building reflects Islam and the Muslim personality. The architectural language speaks of Islam that welcomes and embraces all who happen to rest at its *serambi* without fences. It is an Islam that does not believe in wastage and opulence or grandeur.

The sweeping horizontality speaks of a *tawadhu* or humble personality of the Muslim. It is the Islam that would be magnanimous in forgiving others for simple misunderstanding. It is an Islam that is dynamic and progressive adapting to the demands of the times within the limitation of its main tenets.

But take a look now at the four minaret and massive dome of the Shah Alam Mosque, the twin minarets and monumental Hagia Sophia-like dome of the Wilayah Mosque, the six minaret-four iwan and multiple domes of the UTM Mosque and finally the ‘floating’ massive domes and gateway of the Putra Mosque. What language of Islam do they speak? To me, they speak of an Islam that is arrogant, opulent, grandiose and not entirely people friendly. The buildings speak of Islam that is trapped in the Mind-Prison of the past and resist any adaptation to the needs of modern times. It seems to speak an Islam that wants to burn Bibles, that puts teenagers in prison for a small misunderstanding, that monopolizes the Arabic word Allah to a single minor ethnic group, and an Islam that does not tolerate any form of criticism or questioning of its religious officials.

It is therefore, my understanding that the majority of the Muslim community in Malaysia has been taught a restrictive and a static understanding of Islam that causes tension and conflict between other religious minorities in this country. Only by understanding the breadth of Islam as represented by the industrious effort of such NGOS like the Islamic Renaissance Front and IKRAM can there be hope for a more liberal and progressive Islam and an architecture that moves towards the spirit of the National Mosque in KL..

Community Architecture and the Economic Mind-Prison

The more critical development that would affect the most in terms of nation building is Community Architecture because this is where the ‘Malaysian’ community lives, work, pray and participate in the rituals of birth and death. It is my opinion that having lived in and observed many hundreds of housing estates in this country, I have assumed that housing is either treated as a property investment or as mere shelter. Private developers view housing as a pure investment opportunity for them and the buyer. State governments seem to view housing simply as fulfilling an election pledge of the ruling party in providing basic living shelters. It is my personal opinion and hypothesis that neither one of these patrons are remotely interested in developing housing to strengthen the idea of a ‘Malaysian community’.

What we have is not the old spirit of 'kampung living of old' but mere objects of investment and shelter. A thing to buy and later sell on one extreme and a 'pigeon hole' at another extreme. I have often described Malaysia's housing schemes as an expensive or an inexpensive 'parking garage' for the family. In Malaysia's housing scheme, you park your family in the house at night and take everybody out during the day and then park them back at night. Thus we have the idea of isolated living even though each housing estate has an average of 300 – 600 units of houses and apartments. The question is not about whether we have 'enough' houses but whether we have a 'community of Malaysians' or not. Now with the influx of foreign workers and expatriates, we are no longer a community of 3 or 4 races but a community of 20 or more races. If we could not live harmoniously with 3 or 4 races how are we expected to live with 20?

Let us ask the question of how we should live as a Malaysian Community? My answer is we 'Malaysian' must simply...commit to be Malaysian first! It is not enough that we have a blue IC but we have to love to be Malaysians. This seems funny but Malaysians only seem to become Malaysians in foreign countries, not in our own. In Malaysia, I get the feeling that the Malays feel that they are Malays living in a country called 'Malaysia'. To me the Malays, whether young or old, whether high school educated or having a PhD are the same basically...there are Malays first and have no idea about being Malaysian. Malays feel and are taught consciously and unconsciously that they are the original owners of this land and that 'others' are 'foreigners with blue IC'. I have spoken to many Malays over a span of three decades and this is basically the feeling. Malaysia is just a piece of land...not an idea to be understood and cherished. I will not say what other races feel because I have not enough data and most non-Malays are tight lipped over this sensitive issue. If we want this country to work, this housing to work, we must all 'want consciously to be Malaysian'. To me, in order to be a true Malaysian all of us must have the following creed:

*A Malaysian is one who is proud of his or her own race, religion and ethnic culture but also views other races with a different religion and culture as a 'necessary and critical' part of their social, economic and spiritual life. As there is no family that have children that likes the same thing or behave in the same way or have the same mental aptitudes, so must a country view its diverse races as a necessary difference in order to make or fit a unit whole. A **family** is a unit of different individual with the same DNA and thus a **nation** is a family of different cultures with the same objectives of peaceful co-existence, meaningful co-operation and spiritual brotherhood.*

If any of us say that it is better that this nation survive with only one ethnic group with the same religion and culture, then it is like a person who prefers to live alone without children or a spouse. Life is about accepting differences and dealing with it in order to strengthen spiritual peace. There is no life and spiritual enlightenment without strife and challenges. God has made life and strife as inseparable partners for humankind to climb spiritual heights. We are all in the same ship in a vast ocean of challenges heading towards a common destiny. (Mohamad Tajuddin, 2015)

Unless and until we have such a vision can we actually become a nation. At this moment we are all simply Malays, Chinese, Indians and Kadazans living in a piece of dirt called 'Malaysia'. We are 'not' Malaysian yet. This is the Mind-Prison that binds us all. In our housing estate planning, I do not see any 'community centers' with a proper organizational structure to create activities to make the different races come together. The Malaysian government has not implemented what the Singapore or the British government had done in creating such entities.

Secondly, I see only land reserves determined by the municipality for mosques or *surau* but none for other religions in a single housing. Granted that Islam is the most practiced religion, but I do not see places dedicated for the Chinese to perform their ritual burning of joss sticks or paper money which they do regularly certain months in a year. I also do not see any terrace house design that takes into account cultural violations such as visual privacy from windows in the back-to-back lanes. I do not see clusters of hawkers catering to different foods in the housing estates. Finally, I do not see and outdoor spaces for the different races to come out and interact. The jogging tract and the exercise grounds are two good starts but they are not enough. Hardly 3% of the community can be seen in the public spaces in the early mornings and late evenings. This is because housing, as I said, is simply a matter of private investment for the buyer and a necessary shelter for the poor. Nothing more, nothing less.

Conclusion

I am sorry to say that our problems in urban spaces or architectural development are tied directly with our attitudes about social interaction between race, cultures and religious adherents. The social interaction issue is tied, in turn with the political idea of what Malaysia is all about. If we define Malaysia as simply people with blue ICs 'tolerating' each other, then we are simply like a husband and wife on the verge of divorce or a family on the brink of breaking up. A small spark like the 'Allah' issue or the Bak-kut-teh issue would send the whole nation in flames.

Unless and until all Malaysians feel that we ‘necessarily need one other’ for our social, economic and spiritual well- being, all Malaysian fully participate in the democratic process of offering advice and constructive criticism to the leadership and until Muslims understand that Islam is a religion of mercy to all mankind, then and only then we can see a true expression of the Malaysian built environment. Malaysians must free themselves from the Mind Prison of misguided democracy, the Mind-Prison of misinterpreted Islam and the Mind-Prison of misplaced worth of housing. There is literally no need for a special formula of urban planning or theory of architectural identity as the buildings and spaces will be shaped by our pure will, behaviours and values as ‘willing Malaysian’.

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(For more books by Prof. Dr. M. Tajuddin, please go to www.pustakaglobalresources.com)

马来西亚建筑的诠释：从政治、世俗和经济的思想囚牢来看

Mohamad Tajuddin Mohamad Rasdi 教授

建筑环境与工程学院建筑系，蕉赖思特亚大学

这篇文章的主要目的在于介绍建筑物或建筑形式与人们关注社会的一些想法，以及这两者之间的关联。建筑物最奇妙的事是它无法隐瞒任何谎言，经常道出一个社会、建筑师、专业人士或特定顾客的真实想法。我们其实可以透过建筑专业分析，来了解一个社会如何看待与国族打造相关的一些议题。在这篇短文中，我将试图阐明一些关于建筑的普遍议题，以及它和国族打造相关的问题。

这篇文章并不特别讨论建筑与都市空间，而是关于政治领导人和公民如何定义马来西亚。“马来西亚”的简单理想，是拥护民主论述框架内的多元文化主义，以解决冲突和加强人与人之间的手足情谊。虽然历经半世纪独立（或 *merdeka*），遗憾的是许多马来西亚人的公民权依然是按照出生，而非概念或观念来界定。从政治人物、非政府组织和网民们所制造的争议性种族歧视与偏见言论来看，若要说马来西亚逐渐要成为一个“失败”的国家，一点也不为过。这些情况清楚地反映在许多生活层面，也内含在“建筑”之中。

我提出“思想囚牢”（Mind-Prisons）而非“思维”（mind set）这个概念，来强调国族打造问题在这国家的严重性。我会从行政建筑丧失民主的状态、回教建筑的精神停滞状态，以及在房屋上负面的物质主义状态，简要且坦白地分享我的诠释。

行政建筑和专制思想囚牢

治理的民主实践是这个国家的支柱，与过去的君主制行政和殖民管理恰好相反。民主将权力赋予公民。理论上，即使是区区一个小贩也能活跃于政党政治，最终甚至成为马来西亚首相；假使他的政党在五年后被否决了，理论上他也可以卸下首相一职做回小贩。倘若民主选举可以公平地执行，没有太多的“创意”描述，并提供更深刻的黑色墨水，它的魅力将能够避免像过去君王、苏丹和皇帝的时代一样，遏制首相在任期间的裙带关系。

许多大学生、学术人员和专业人士都遗忘、不知道甚至不关心，民主其实并未在选举后即停止。这是民主另一个重要的面向。很多公民以为一旦他们遴选出某些名人和政党，任务就算完成，他们只需等待被领导。如果就任由这些代议士领导，没有被受教育的公民监督，民主注定还是会失败。受教育的公民，至少是那些善于阅读书写、受过良好教育的人，应参与国家治理、针砭时弊并提出解决方案，协助彼此化解种族和宗教冲突。唯有这两方面的积极参与，代议士和公民才能真正落实民主；否则，丑陋的专制始终会再浮现。

现在，让我们来看看三种重要的建筑形式。首先是马来西亚国会建筑，我们应该注意到它并未展示任何族群中心的语言，这意味着它看起来并不像是马来人、华人或印度人的建筑物。它诉说着功能现代主义（functional modernism）的普世语言。第二，它在多处设有遮荫装置，避免装设高成本的冷气设备。第三，它就像拥有一个大礼堂（或 *dewan*）的办公建筑。那个讯息是非常清晰的。建筑物内的人们在办公室里辛劳地工作，在礼堂内会面辩论，同时确保他们并未浪费公帑。这些人也明白自己不过是个代议士，而不是什么王子、贵族或封建领主。再者，国会建筑设有大厅和空地，让大众可以在建筑物前集会请愿和会见代表们。

不过，布特拉再也（Putrajaya）的首相署建筑却恰恰相反。它像是一个皇帝的皇宫，装潢富丽堂皇、没有任何遮荫设备，建筑设计以法国十八世纪封建时代的城堡或官邸为参考框架。它的建筑语言偏向某一特定族群，一大片修剪整齐的草坪花园，相隔庞大如怪物的铁门很远很远。我在想到底是谁在这里工作？是那个摇身变成首相的小贩？还是穿着新衣的国王？现在让我们来看看唐宁街（Downing Street）10号的英国首相官邸。它就像一栋平凡不过的排屋，意味着首相和部长们清楚知道他们在社会中的位置，他们不过是由他们的主人——公民赋予临时权力的平凡人而已。

不禁要让人问的问题，不是为什么敦马哈迪（Tun Mahathir）和巫统（UMNO）要把这栋建筑设计得像皇宫一样，而是为什么人们或公民容许一个简单的办公建筑可以设计得像皇宫那样？他们是否仍然认为国会议员或首相就像过去旧时代的王子和苏丹一样？根据马来历史记载，几乎相等于今天首相职位的宰相（Bendahara）一职，是由皇室委任，授命于苏丹，不是人民。在现代的马来西亚，首相不只是要向最高元首负责，更多地是要象征式地向马来西亚人民负责，因为是人民要在每五年的大选中评估他任期内的表现。

不过，很多公民显然并不理解民主的真正意义，所以许多行政大厦如柔佛努沙再也（Nusajaya）的政府行政区，也几乎完全遵循着布城的规划和设计，仿佛马来西亚在努沙再也和布特拉再也有了新的“皇权”。人民必须从思想囚牢中逃脱，不要认为人民代议士与皇室相近，甚至误以为他们不可能犯错。唯有到那时，我们的建筑才有可能像德国国会大厦（Reichstag）的设计一样，人民可以穿越透明的玻璃穹顶（domes），从外部看见国会进行辩论的空间。这才是表现“人民是国家法官”（Rakyat Hakim Negara）的终极象征。

宗教建筑和世俗思想囚牢

在我看来，吉隆坡国家清真寺（National Mosque）是全世界，也是二十世纪伊斯兰教建筑的象征。首先，它不像中东清真寺般设有穹顶和拱门（arches）。它有一条宽敞和通风的走廊（*serambi*）、一座尖塔（minaret）和两个供洗礼用的大池水，让建筑保持凉爽并引导人们进入一种平静的冥想状态。它没有篱笆或厚重的大门，建筑的顶端是一张折叠式金属板的屋顶结构，堪属时代的技术奇迹。

这栋建筑反映了伊斯兰教和穆斯林的特质，它所叙述的伊斯兰教的建筑语言，是欢迎和拥抱任何在没有篱笆的走廊上休息的人们。它代表着一种不相信耗费、富裕或壮观的伊斯兰教。空旷的水平面显露出穆斯林的谦卑（*tawadhu*）态度，说明伊斯兰教鼓励人们表现宽宏雅量，学会原谅他人，不会介怀小小的误会。伊斯兰教是动态和进步的，在主要信条的范限下适应时代的需求。

不过，现在来看看沙亚南清真寺（Shah Alam Mosque）那四座尖塔和巨型穹顶、直辖区清真寺（Wilayah Mosque）的两座尖塔和类似不朽的圣索非亚大教堂（Hagia Sophia）的穹顶、工大清真寺（UTM Mosque）的六座尖塔、四座拱形大厅中庭（*iwan*）和数个穹顶，最后还有布特拉清真寺（Putra Mosque）的“漂浮”巨型穹顶和大门。

它们诉说着怎样的伊斯兰教语言？对我而言，它们所象征的伊斯兰教是傲慢的、富裕的、浮夸的和不完全亲民的。这些建筑物的伊斯兰教语言被困锁在过去的思想囚牢中，拒绝适应任何现代的要求。它似乎要表达的伊斯兰教是想要烧毁圣经，以及让年轻人因为小小误会而被囚禁。它垄断阿拉伯文中的“阿拉”（Allah）一词，只许特定少数族群使用；它也无法容忍任何形式的批判，或质疑宗教官员。

因此，我的理解是大部分的马来西亚穆斯林社群所理解的伊斯兰教是受约束和静制的，导致他们和国内其他宗教的少数族群处于紧张冲突的关系。一些非政府组织，如伊斯兰复兴阵线（Islamic Renaissance Front）和伊斯兰宣教组织（IKRAM）努力地再现伊斯兰教的广泛性。惟有理解这样的伊斯兰教，我们才有希望推动更自由和进步的伊斯兰教，以及与吉隆坡国家清真寺的精神看齐的建筑物。

社区建筑和经济思想囚牢

还有一个将影响国族打造概念的关键发展，是社区建筑，因为这是“马来西亚人”社群（‘Malaysian’ community）生活、工作、祈祷和参与生死仪式的地方。我在这个国家生活多年、观察了无数房屋住宅，我认为这里的房屋不是被当作产业投资，就是仅仅用作庇护所。私人发展商纯粹把它当作是他们和买家的投资机会；州政府则将房屋当成是执政党满足选举需求，为人们提供基本住宅庇护的承诺。根据我个人的意见和假设，没有任何上述资助者是有一点点意愿，想要透过房屋发展来强化“马来西亚社区”的概念。

我们拥有的不过是投资和庇护的物体，而不是“旧时甘榜生活”的旧有精神。一端是先买后卖的物件，另一个极端则是“鸽笼”。我经常形容马来西亚房屋计划就是每户家庭的昂贵或廉价“泊车车库”。在马来西亚房屋计划中，晚上你把家人泊在家里，白天把每个人载出门，到了晚上又把他们泊回那里。

于是，尽管每个住宅区平均拥有 300 到 600 个房屋和公寓单位，我们却有生活孤立的想想法。问题不在于我们是否拥有“足够”的房屋，而是我们是否拥有一个“马来西亚人的社区”。如今，大量外籍劳工和外派涌入，我们再也不是一个由三或四种种族组成的社群，而是一个拥有超过二十种种族的社群。倘若我们连三、四种种族都不能融洽相处，那么试问要如何与二十多种种族生活在一起？

让我们试着反问，我们要如何生活在一个马来西亚社区之中？我的答案是我们“马来西亚”人首先必须要承诺成为马来西亚人！区区拥有一张蓝色身份证是不足够的，我们还需要热爱成为马来西亚人。虽然这听起来很滑稽，但马来西亚人只有在国外才会认为自己是马来西亚人，而不是在自己的土地上。在马来西亚，我总有种感觉，马来人觉得他们是住在一个叫“马来西亚”国度的马来人。对我而言，马来人无论年轻或老年，高中毕业还是

拥有博士学位，基本上是一样的……他们首先认为自己是马来人，而对成为一个马来西亚人没有任何概念。

马来人有意无意地认为也被灌输，他们是这片土地的原始拥有人，而“其他人”不过是“拥有蓝色身份证的外国人”。这是我过去三十年和许多马来人沟通后的基本感受。马来西亚只是一片土地……而不是一种需要被理解和拥护的概念。对于其他非马来族群，由于我未掌握充分资讯，加上他们对这敏感议题一向避而不谈，因此不便发表意见。若要让这个国家和房屋真正发挥作用，我们必须全都“有意识地想要成为一个马来西亚人”。对我而言，我们若要成为一个真正的马来西亚人，必须拥有以下信念：

一个马来西亚人除了会对他或她自身的种族、宗教和族群文化感到自豪外，也会把不同宗教文化的其他种族，视为他们所共同拥有的社会、经济和精神生活中“必要且关键”的一部分。就像没有任何家庭的孩子们会喜欢相同的事物、拥有相同的行为或态度一样，一个国家也必须视不同种族为必要的差异，才能让整体变得更完整。**家庭**是一个拥有不同个体但相同 DNA 组成的单位；**国家**则是一个拥有不同文化但相同目标，如和平相处、有意义的合作和精神上的手足情谊组成的家庭。倘若有人说这个国家最好只存在单一族群，拥有相同宗教和文化，那就像有人会比较喜欢一个人生活，没有孩子或伴侣一样。生活就是要学会去接纳差异，并与其协调以强化精神上的宁静。没有一种生活和精神启蒙是没有冲突和挑战的。上苍创造了生命，而冲突就是人类无可分割的一部分，学习提升精神上的境界。我们同乘一艘船，在充满挑战的浩瀚海洋中，驶往共同的命运（Mohamad Tajuddin, 2015）。

除非/一直到我们都抱有那样的愿景，我们才能真正成为一个国家。此时此刻，我们不过是同住在这片称为“马来西亚”松土上的马来人、华人、印度人和卡达山人。我们还“不”算是马来西亚人。这就是捆绑着我们全部人的思想囚牢。在我们的房屋规划当中，我并没发现任何一个组织架构合适的“社区中心”，创造各类活动以促进各族群之间的关系。马来西亚政府也没有效仿新加坡或英国政府建造类似的实体。

第二，在单一房屋住宅区内，我只见市政局为清真寺（surau）保留土地，其他宗教却没有相同的待遇。就算伊斯兰教是最多人实践的宗教，我也没有看见任何地方是专属于华裔，以进行每年特定几个月都有的烧香和金纸膜拜仪式。我也不见任何排屋设计把文化

暴力考虑在内，例如如何保障后巷之间的窗户的视觉隐私。我也没在住宅区内看见一群小贩售卖各类食物。最后，我更没看见一个适合各族群出外互动的户外空间。跑道和运动操场是不错的开始，但仍嫌不足。每天早晨傍晚出现在公共空间的人们几乎还不到社区的 3% 人口。如同前述，房屋对买家而言只是一种私人投资，而对贫穷人家来说是必需的庇护所，如此而已，不多也不少。

结论

很遗憾地，都市空间和建筑发展的问题，跟我们如何与不同种族、文化与宗教之间互动的态度是息息相关的。社会互动的问题又跟我们如何定义马来西亚的政治概念紧密相扣。如果马来西亚纯粹只是一群拥有蓝色身份证的人们彼此相互“妥协”，那么我们就只是像处在离婚边缘的夫妻，或即将各自离散的家庭一样。就连“阿拉事件”或肉骨茶事件这些小小火花都足以在全国爆发争议。

直到所有马来西亚人都认为，为了社会、经济和精神福祉，我们必须需要彼此，同时完全参与民主化的过程，为领导层提供劝解和建设性批评；直到穆斯林了解到伊斯兰教是一种包容所有人类的宗教，我们才能看见一个真正的马来西亚所塑造的环境。马来西亚人民必须从被误导的民主、诠释错误的伊斯兰教、价值错置的房屋议题，这些思想囚牢中解放出来。其实并没有所谓的都市规划的方程式，或建筑身份的理论，只要作为一个“积极主动的马来西亚人”(‘willing Malaysian’)，自然会透过我们纯真的意愿、态度和价值形塑建筑和空间的样态。

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更多关于 Tajuddin 教授的书籍详情，请浏览 www.pustakaglobalresources.com。

The Trend and Opportunity of Cultivating Micro Public Space in Contemporary Urban Space

Tey Tat Sing

Co-founder of Tetawowe Atelier

1. The decline and fall of the traditional and classic public space.
2. The emergence of micro public space.
3. The role of the times in micro public space.
4. When micro public space impacts on public space: the possibilities of model transformation.

“培植”微公共空间在城市空间的趋势和契机

郑达馨

窝工坊创办兼合伙人

1. 传统和典型公共空间的势微和沦陷
2. 微公共空间的催生
3. 微公共空间的时代角色
4. 微公共空间冲击公共空间——模式转变的可能

22 March 2015, Sunday---Day 2

Keynote Speech 3

**The Umbrella Revolution in Hong Kong within the context of
Globalization: Civil Movement, Urban Development & Local
Identity**

Speaker: **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Yun Chung**
Associate Professor in Cultural Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Moderator: **Lau Ka Mei**
Freelance Columnist

【主题演讲 3】

从香港雨伞革命看全球化下的公民运动、城市发展与本土认同

主讲人：陈允中

香港岭南大学文化研究副教授

主持人：刘嘉美

自由撰稿人

從佔領中環到雨傘運動： 雨傘一代的誕生

陳允中 YC
嶺南大學文化研究副教授
流動民主教室召集人
ycchen38@gmail.com

2013年前的民主運動 (北京無限拖延)



- 九十年代初的中英談判，香港人就已列於談判桌上，香港人的命運早已與中國綁在一起。
- 1990年通基本法，實行兩制，北京答應香港最終過渡到有全面普選。
- 2004年，北京反悔，透過人大釋法，「三步曲」變為「五步曲」。
 - 1. 行政長官向全國人大常委會提出報告
 - 2. 人大常委根據香港的實際情況和循序漸進的原則予以確認
 - 3. 須經立法會三分之二多數通過
 - 4. 行政長官同意
 - 5. 並報全國人大常委會批准或者備案
 - 2007年，人大確認2017年才可以普選特首，2020年才可以普選立法會
 - 2014年，北京加條件，特首必須「愛國愛港」

2013年前的民主運動 (泛民無力對抗)



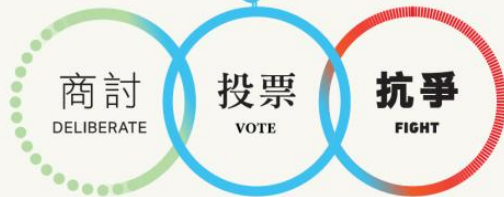
- 泛民在立法會中，25席佔19席，但特首只佔8席，這成為永久的政權，交棒給新人非常困難。
- 他們以和平方式爭取真普選30年，北京都不讓步。
- 2010年，民主黨作為最大的泛民政黨，跟北京簽成協議，不理其它政黨及泛民反對，轉台支持政改通過。此舉造成泛民內部的不信忍至今。
- 泛民面對很大危機，但他們卻束手無策，完全不知道如何跟北京斗爭。



以愛與和平佔領中環 泛民最後一戰



- 2013年3春，兩位大學教授及一位牧師發起佔中，以非暴力的「公民抗命」方式爭取2017真普選特首。
- 佔中造成了分裂及混亂的泛民。



- 佔中清楚表示，這是老民主泛民最後一戰。



以愛與和平佔領中環 泛民最後一戰

三輪商討方案

622 電子公

- 這個人人都可參與的平台，容許溫和派和激進派都可以提方案。溫和派提「政黨提名」或「公民推薦」，提委會再確認，激進派提「公民提名」。

- 北京開台冷對泛民，發現佔中成勢後開始打壓。

2014年6月，泛民開始投票支持公民提名，北京開始打壓。

- 老民主派(溫和)以公投作為終點，抗爭只屬威脅而不是真做

- 年青民主派(激進)認為佔中真正的核彈是「公民抗命」佔領中環

新民主派(雨傘一代)的興起

1) 經過二十年的斗爭，泛民不情願的變成「忠誠的反對者」，他們顯得老態，無法對北京政府有威脅，漸漸失去香港人(尤其是年青人)的支持。

2) 民主黨在2010年的政改妥協，嚴重的造成泛民內部的不信任，使各家自掃門前雪(以當選為主要目標)的情況更嚴重。

3) 泛民議員無法控制佔中，因為它是非政黨主導的公民抗命行動，同時包容溫和派與激進派。

學界: 學民與學聯

2010前，民主運動是由泛民及民間陣營主導，學生組織是配角。2010年泛民更失去大眾的信任。老民主派失去領導地位，年青一代開始取而代之。

- 學民思潮 是香港的中學生組織，2011成立，單一議題: 反對洗腦國民教育課程在中學課程中實施。

- 反國教成功之後，學民思潮變成香港最主要的學生組織。

學聯2010年民主黨公投之後，積極加入社運與

- 2012年反國教
- 2013年支援碼頭工人罷工
- 2014年佔中，罷課，佔領

黃之鋒
學民思潮



周永康，學聯

新民主派(雨傘一代)的興起: 條件

1) 他們沒有過去失敗的負擔。他們不願意再跟隨泛民及他們的方法。

2) 學民與學聯都有更強的動員能力，比任何一個泛民政黨都強太多。他們有能力可以組織自己的議題。

3) 他們「無畏無懼」，敢領導群眾，而不是怕得罪群眾 (損失選票)

學界的挑戰一：2013 我們要「公民提名」



溫和民主派
不得罪北京
的方案都是改
提委會為主。

■ 學民與學聯剛好相反，他們提出「公民提名」

■ 他們在商討日遊說成功，是三個入選的方案中，「公民提名」元素。

■ 溫和民主派不滿，但他們的動員力低，也只好願賭服輸。 ●9

學界的挑戰二：2014 預演佔中



面對佔中，溫和民主派佔中行動，學聯以「預演佔中」投訴中。511名示威者被補。學聯也此取得佔中「行動」的領導權。



831人大常委170票全票通過 假普選框架

- 提委會跟現在一樣，四大組別不變，區選不變，只推2-3位候選人，每一位都要獲得過半數(600票)才能成為候選人，再進行全港投票。
- 人大常委連最保守的泛民方案都否決，逼使很多溫和派都參加佔領行動。可是，佔領行動中的公民投命行動卻一拖再拖，最後提議的對年輕人來說，是玩真的。



中要求
日起佔領佔
可是10月1日與
是公共假期，過
本來就關閉給行人使用，不算公民抗命。一定一直坐到10月3日才是真正公民抗命。



從罷課到佔領: Democracy Now! 2014年9月22-28日



雙學關點，佔中不但是抗爭昇級，更是降級，因此學聯多名開始計劃自己的佔領行動。

- 雙學組織一星期的罷課行動，922-926.
- 926結束晚會中，雙學忽然宣佈要重奪公民廣場！從政府高牆中解放出來。9月27日，千上萬的支持者來援被圍困在公民廣場的學生及群眾。
- 佔中行動於9月28日開始，如糾察及協助系統可以啟動「佔中」、「佔鐘」。



從罷課到佔領: Democracy Now !

2014年9月22-28日



- 28 September morning, 20 thousands protestors were blocked at Admiralty MTR from crossing the LEGCO road. They crossed the road. At 6:30, police fired tear gas to disperse the crowd, resulting in occupation of three districts .
- OCLP was renamed the umbrella movement. 13 days onwards.

The umbrella movement: Students at the centre (1)



HKFS and Scholarism have become the leading organizations of the umbrella movement. OCLP, Democratic councilors, civil society alliance have taken up supportive roles. The five parties have regular meetings during the movement.

Coordination and decision making during the umbrella movement (2)



- Within the five parties, only HKFS have the recognition of both the occupiers and the Hong Kong government.
- According to a new survey, HKFS has become the most popular political group in Hong Kong

● 15

Going to Beijing on 15 November 2015



學聯三子明上京

周永康：政府勿再敷衍
鍾耀華：堂堂正正上京
羅冠聰：從未如此愛港

- Hong Kong people who lost faith in the old democrats now expect the students to find a way out of the political stalemate.
- After meeting with the Hong Kong officials, HKFS are now **seeking to meet Beijing officials** directly in order to address the problems of the decisions of the NPCSC, the basic law, and even the implementation of "one country, two system."

● 16

Three occupation zones with different characteristics (1)



Biggest and most expressive occupation zone: **Admiralty**

Best and most occupied zone: **Causeway**

Three occupation zones with different characteristics (2)



Most dramatic and vibrant occupation zone: **Mongkok**

The new generation has come out, are the old democrats ready to leave?

- While the student organizations become more popular, parties within the democratic camp are further marginalized because of their inaction and internal fighting.
- For example, the students urge the democrat legislators to start a Non-cooperation movement to paralyze the government, or to resign collectively in order to trigger a de facto referendum. The democrats are reluctant to accept such a proposal.

The top questions are after the 2012 town hall event:

- Who is going to lead the future democratic campaign?
- What is the way forward?
- Are the students ready to inherit the seats of the old democrats in the Legislative Council? Are the Legislators ready to give up their power?

• 19

Mobile Democracy Classroom



Session 3

**Social Dynamics of Communities: Finding Alternative Development
Practices**

- Panelists:* **Choong Pai Chee**
Project Director Kuala Sepetang Art Carnival
- Yeoh Lian Heng**
Community Arts Worker
- Victor Chin and Chan Seong Foong**
Facilitators of Rakan Mantin
- Moderator:* **Hung Wan Lu**
Independent Researcher & Illustrator
-

【讨论组三】

作为社会动力的社区：探寻另类发展的实践经验

- 与会者： **庄白琦**
“看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华总策划与总协调
- 杨两兴**
艺术工作者、策展人
- Victor Chin & Chan Seong Foong**
文丁之友（Rakan Mantin）计划总协调
- 主持人： **洪菟璐**
自由研究工作者、插画家

Social Dynamics of Communities: Practical Experience in Finding Alternative Development Practices

Choong Pai Chee

Project Director of Kuala Sepetang Art Festival

This is not an academic paper but an attempt to sort out my thoughts and exploration:

1. What is a community? How to define Community Building?
2. At present, there are a few community models “implemented” in Malaysia:
 - Communities facing instant problems such as forced eviction, environmental hazards: SJK (C) Damansara, Bukit Koman, Mantin Village, Jalan Sultan etc.
 - Communities that are marginalized, poor and lacking resources: Orang Asli, Indian estate workers, Arts Ed-Sungai Pinang Project etc.
 - Political party-based communities: Residents associations, New Village Development Committees, Divisional branches of political parties etc.
 - Since 2008, there have been artists entering the communities to promote “community art festivals”, other recently well-known festivals include Pangkor Island Festival, Sasaran Art Festival etc.
3. From the models mentioned above, we can further explore the mode of participation by the residents in the communities:
 - Is the community building in top-down or bottom-up model?
 - Are the decisions made by one individual, or by the residents after project plans discussion?
 - Do residents expect the community leaders to take the lead after they make suggestions?
 - Do outsiders coming in to help outnumbered the local residents?
 - If the community has really become active, can it be sustained? Does it become more matured subsequently?

4. The community movements that I took part in: SJK (C) Damansara Movement (2001-2012); several community education projects (2009-2012), but I did not station in a specific community. By 2013, I became the election campaign coordinator for Chua Yee Ling. Since then I have been involving in community works in Kuala Sepetang. Here, I wish to share my practical experience in SJK (C) Damansara and Kuala Sepetang.

SJK (C) Damansara and Kuala Sepetang are two different models of community building, and I have learnt that using the same model or a standardized method to organize and promote different communities would not work. Their differences lie in geographical environment, issues pursued, leading organization, culture and history, and also community structures.

5. Using SJK (C) Damansara Movement as an example, has the movement brought any change to community building?

The SJK (C) Damansara Movement saw the eight-year struggles resulting in the re-opening of the original school. Its significance in relation to social movement and political movement can be summarized as follows:

SJK (C) Damansara has shattered the hopes that the Chinese community, particularly residents in the new villagers, may have had on MCA as a Chinese-based political party. MCA was not able to help the Chinese community to resolve policy issues regarding education such as the quota system. The movement also showed to all people that they themselves can directly face up to the government officers and deal with the relevant departments to resolve problems. This is a very significant process of democratization at the grass root level.

From this incident, we can see how a less privileged community struggled in its protest against the government, and finally emerged to become a model in the community movement. Damansara New Village has about 140 households and merely more than 100 are Chinese families. When the school was closed down, the government did not foresee that the power of the villagers in opposing its decision could be so strong and firm. The villagers did not give up despite facing many rounds of intimidation and oppression. They continued their struggle for eight years.

During the many rounds of negotiation leading to the reopening of SJK (C) Damansara, it was demanded that a branch of the school should be established. However, in the end, it still had to involve the moving of a micro-scale Chinese school as replacement. This had clearly exposed the policy of the Barisan Nasional (BN) government in disallowing the building of new Chinese primary schools. In many urban Chinese primary schools such as those in Kuala Lumpur, Selangor and Johor Bahru, there are too many students. However, due to the implementation of unfair policies in this country, the government does not approve the building of new Chinese primary schools. This has forced the Chinese community to resolve the serious shortage of Chinese primary schools in the urban and densely populated areas via the moving of micro-scale Chinese primary schools. (Quoted from the summary on the last page of the book *Classes in the Temple*.)

Unfortunately, the process of community building ended after the SJK (C) Damansara reopened.

Community building in Kuala Sepetang is a new model. As it has just been implemented for two years, it is impossible to conclude now whether it has brought changes. However, we are positive towards the current model of community building and development that combines eco-tourism with environmental education and conservation.

6. Conclusion

- i. The term ‘community’ has to be used properly, lest it could be abused.
- ii. Community building does not have a fixed model or a definite process.
- iii. Different communities and different people are concerned with different issues or incidents.
In the process of our involvement in community building, the “people” or the “community residents” are the real local players.
- iv. The greatest challenge to sustain a community is to get different people who have different concerns on different issues, and to reach consensus through collective participation so that all are willing to work together.
- v. Community workers must have clearly defined positions and roles.

作为社会动力的社区：探寻另类发展的实践经验

庄白琦

“看见十八丁”社区艺术嘉年华总策划及总协调

这不是一篇论文，我把自己的思路与探索整理出来：

1. 社区是什么？如何定义社区营造？

2. 目前在马来西亚“推动”的社区模式有几种：

- 即时面对的问题如逼迫搬迁、受环境危害的社区：白小、Bukit Koman、Mantin、苏丹街等
- 被边缘、贫穷、缺乏资源的社区：原住民、印度园丘、Arts Ed-Sungai Pinang Project 等
- 政党为主：居民协会、新村发展委员会、党区部
- 2008 年开始有艺术家进入社区推动“社区艺术嘉年华”，最近比较红的“海岛节”、“沙沙兰艺术节”

3. 从以上的模式中，我们再延伸探讨社区居民的参与模式：

- 这是由上而下，还是由下而上的社区营造？
- 一个人做决策，还是把计划与居民共同讨论之后行动？
- 居民提出建议，然后期望社区领袖带动？
- 外面进来社区资助的人力多于当地居民？
- 如果社区真的动起来，是否有继续经营？之后成熟了吗？

4. 我曾经参与的社区运动：白小保校运动（2001- 2009），2009-2012 年期间参与一些社区教育活动项目，没有蹲点在某个社区，直到 2013 年担任蔡依霖的竞选总干事后，开始在十八丁进行社区组织工作。这里分享我在白小与十八丁的实在经历：

白小 VS 十八丁是两个不同的社区经营，也让我学习到不能用同一套模式/统一的方式去组织和推动社区。两者的不同点分为：地理环境、议题、主导性团体、文化历史、社区结构。

5. 以白小做为例子，它是否为社区营造带来改变？

白小保校运动经历了八年抗争最后获取重开原校、白小在社会运动和政治运动的意义如下：

白小打破了华社，尤其是新村居民对“马华华基政党”的幻想。马华在教育不能帮华社解决政策上的问题，如固打制。这个运动也让全人民知道，人民可以直接面对官员，直接和有关部门处理事情，这是一个很重要的草根民主化的过程。

从白小事件中让我们认识到一个弱勢的社区如何与政府斗争，并可在这社区运动中作为一个典范。白沙罗新村大概有 140 多户，其中只有 100 多户是华人家庭。当学校关闭时，政府没有想到村民们的反对力量那么大，那么坚定，不曾因为多次的恐吓和打压而退出，并持续的抗争八年之久。

白小原校的重开虽然经过多次的谈判，要求建分校，但最终的结果是将一所微型华小迁移过来。这明显暴露了国阵政府拒绝增建华小的政策。许多城市如雪隆和新山区的华小学生严重爆满，那是这个国家政策不平等的问题，导致政府不批准增建新华小，以致华社必须通过搬迁微型华小的方式，以解决在城市地区和华裔人口密集区，华小严重短缺的问题。

（转载《庙里的课堂》后页总结篇）

然而，自从白小重开后，社区营造就结束。

十八丁的社区营造是一个新的模式，由于刚刚起步两年，无法马上定论是否带来改变，但我们对于朝向“生态旅游”结合“环境教育与保育”的社区营造发展的回应是正面的。

6. 总结：

- i. “社区”这名堂应该要好好地用，不然会不小心被利用。
- ii. 社区营造没有一个固定的模式或是必然的阶段。

- iii. 不同社区、不同的人关怀的议题或事物不同，在参与的过程中，“人”或“社区居民”才是当地的主角。
- iv. 持续经营一个社区最大的挑战，是要如何获得不同人关怀不同议题，并通过大家的参与而找到共识，愿意一起投入。
- v. 社区组织工作者的定位与角色必须要明确。

Culture Arts – An Alternative for Community Struggles

Yeoh Lian Heng

Community Arts Worker, Curator, Founder of Lostgens' Arts Space

Community-based art, or art as a form of struggle was not commonly seen in Malaysia in previous days. People usually perceive political force as the main approach to solve problems. In recent years, art workers have started to try on different approaches to voice up for the communities. As they engage with the communities, art festivals, oral history, community exhibition, cultural map illustrations, art installations, cultural jamming and many other cultural activities have flourished. I will share my experience on using art as a tool to unite and relate people in a community, as well as forms of resistance. The challenges and the societal meanings of using arts as forms of resistance will be reflected.

文化艺术——另一种社区抗争的替代

杨两兴

艺术工作者、策展人、Lostgens' 艺术空间创办人

以往在马来西亚，艺术进驻社区及作为抗争的方式并不常见，普遍认为政治力量才是解决问题的王道。近年来，艺术工作者们开始试图用另外一种方式协助社区发声，他们走入社区耕耘，办艺术节，进行口述历史，社区历史展览，绘制社区人文地图，装置艺术甚至进行文化干扰（culture jamming）等等文化行动，我将会分享过去几年策划及参与借用艺术作为一种社会凝聚社区串联及公民抗争的经验，同时也会对文化艺术作为公民抗争方式的挑战，社会意义及进行反思检讨。

The Rakan Mantin

Chan Seong Foong & Victor Chin

Facilitators of Rakan Mantin

Rakan Mantin was founded in 2013 by two friends, Chan Seong Foong and Victor Chin, in response to a distressing call for help by a village near Seremban in Negeri Sembilan. With experience of previous engagement in other communities, Rakan Mantin was formed with a *facebook* announcement to organize a community initiative to promote and protect this village as a historical and cultural landscape from indiscriminate destruction. Together with the villagers and friends, many activities and events were organized to bring about a renewed sense of identity and pride amongst a community. This significant pre-British timber village, one of the last few still existing, has diminished by both size and loss of its members as a result of time and economic forces. Rakan Mantin aspires to empower the stakeholders of Kampung Hakka with tools to voice their dissent and spread awareness on their issues.

文丁之友

Chan Seong Foong & Victor Chin

文丁之友计划总协调

“文丁之友” (Rakan Mantin) 在 2013 年，由两位朋友 Chan Seong Foong 和 Victor Chin 成立，目的是为了回应来自森美兰芙蓉区一个村庄的求救呼唤。通过先前在其他社区的介入经验，“文丁之友”通过社交网站面子书发起，组织社区倡议来推广及保护文丁村这个历史及文化地景，免受任意毁坏。在村民及朋友的参与下，社区举办了多场活动来召唤新的身份认同及自豪感。这个在前英殖民时代重要的木屋村，目前已经硕果仅存，村庄的大小及村民人口也随着时间及经济效应而逐渐缩小及流失。“文丁之友”希望能赋权予这客家村的利益相关者，勇敢说出他们的异议，并提高人们对此议题的关注。

Roundtable Discussion

**The Monstrosity of Development:
The Anti-public Health Hazards Movement in Malaysia and the
Communities Involved**

Panelists: **Wong Meng Chuo**
Director of the Institute for the Development of Alternative Living (Ideal)

Lee Chean Chung
State Assemblyman of Semambu, Pahang

Lee Chong Tek
Chairman of Kuala Lumpur Rejects Incinerator Action Community

Jo Ann Wang
Master student in Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University

Moderator: **Cheong Wey Jin**
Freelance

【圆桌论坛】

发展的怪兽：马来西亚反公害与社区抗争

与会者：**黄孟祚**
另类生活发展机构（IDEAL）执行长
李健聪
彭亨士满慕州议员
李长特
“吉隆坡不要焚化炉行动委员会”主席
王钧瑜
国立台湾大学人类所硕士三年级

主持人：**张激紛**
自由工作者

The Monstrosity of Development: Anti-public Hazards and the Community Struggles in Malaysia

Wong Meng Chuo

Director of the Institute for the Development of Alternative Living (IDEAL)

Introduction

Hydroelectric power stations being one of the large-scale national development projects, has to be sited in areas where the rivers have potential water level drops. In Malaysia, the feasibility study conducted in the 1960s and 1970s found that Sarawak has the potential for the construction of 155 dams. Since the early 21st century, the current Sarawak state government had formulated an ambitious plan to build 12 large dams for generating 7,000 megawatts of electricity by the year 2020. It had also planned to spend RM334 billion to build 51 power stations by the year 2030, to increase the hydroelectric power generation to 20,000 megawatts. The social and environmental impacts of this development project are certainly cannot be neglected.

Personal experience

In the mid-1970s when there were initial reports about the feasibility studies on hydroelectric dams in Sarawak, I began to gather information about the dams and the aluminium smelting plant introduced for power generation. By then I was shocked to learn of this huge development project and I dared not believe it could be true. I realized that the implementation of hydroelectric power projects would definitely bring about major changes to the environmental ecosystem and impacts on the society. I was particularly worried about the effects on the local community caused by the pollution from the industry to be introduced.

In 1983, the feasibility study report on Bakun Hydroelectric Power Station was released. The Society of Christian Service (SCS), a non-governmental organization (NGO) that we had just established by then, began to contact the affected local communities and provided them with the relevant information apart from implementing community organization work. We also

arranged some of the representatives from the Bakun communities to visit Batang Ai Hydroelectric Power Station, then the first large dam built in Sarawak, and to interact with the local residents who had been resettled there. (By then, SCS did have some reports on the Batang Ai Dam but these were confined to very limited information channels.) In 1986, there were 2,000 residents from Bakun who signed a petition submitted to the government while the organizations and opposition parties in Sibul in the downstream of Rejang River also launched signature campaigns against the Bakun project. At that time, the NGOs were weak as they were few in number and within the limited political space available (the NGOs and the members active in community work were tightly monitored and secret agents from the government had even infiltrated the organizations), they could only weakly voice out their 'calls'. Subsequently, I had no choice but to give up SCS that I had established.

After Operation Lalang (1987), there were more NGOs set up within the country and activists working on human rights and environment protection movements had more partners. At the same time, I was able to gain more contacts with NGOs and academic circles in the country and abroad that were concerned with dams. In September 1993, the Federal Government announced the construction of the Bakun Dam (as a privatization project, with construction work to commence one year later and the EIA Report was only submitted subsequently in stages). The matter was thus raised to the level of a national issue.

In 1995, IPK (Institut Pendidikan Komuniti, or Institute for Community Education) in Sibul and Suaram in Kuala Lumpur jointly organized a seminar on Bakun Dam (this resulted in the registration of IPK being revoked and I was barred from leaving the country from 1995 to 2001). At the same time, the affected residents launched the Bakun Declaration, urging the government to cancel the project. In the following year, with the assistance of SAM, three residents from the water reservoir area sued the government and challenged the legality of the EIA (the High Court ruled that the EIA was invalid but this was rejected by the Court of Appeal). There were 40 other NGOs leading 3,000 people to a gathering to submit a petition calling for the government to stop the Bakun project. At that time, the civil society movement lacked strong leadership and probably because the project site is located in the far interior area, the issue did not attract much attention from the people in the entire nation (although the Ministry of Finance had allocated RM5.75 billion from EPF for the project). Faced with various constraints, more than 10,000 residents affected by the project were not able to garner the power of protest. By 1999, before the commencement of the construction work on the main dam, the residents were forced to move

due to the powerful propaganda and intimidation from the strong government machinery (some residents refused to move or decided to move to the lands of their ancestors).

The construction of Bakun dam, after many twists and turns, was eventually completed in late 2010 (flooding). By then, the Sarawak state government had constructed the Murum Dam in the upstream of Bakun in 2008 (before any environmental and social assessment). Following the revelation of the plan to build 12 large dams, the government announced the implementation of the Baram Hydroelectric Power Station Project. During this period, more indigenous people had been involved in efforts to campaign against the dam projects through organizations such as SAM (Sahabat Alam Malaysia), Brimas (Borneo Resources Institute Malaysia Sarawak), SCANE (Sarawak Conservation Alliance for Natural Environment), Save Rivers, BPAC (Baram Protection Action Committee) and Pemupa (Peleiran Murum Penan Affair Committee). I have now retired from the forefront and am involved in writing commentaries, participating in forums and community consultation work. Meanwhile, the Baram Blockade endeavoured by the Baram residents (since October 2013) appears to be strong and effective, thus establishing some new hopes for the struggle of the people.

Dialogue between community struggle and development:

The premises of development

- The ultimate concern should be the interests of the people;
- The selection of development projects should assess their environmental and social sustainability;
- The local residents affected by development, especially the indigenous people, must be respected; the projects must not be started before obtaining their free, prior and informed consent (United Nations Declaration on the Rights of the Indigenous People, UNDRIP);
- In the event of necessary resettlement for some of the local people, they should receive reasonable compensation and appropriate emplacement;
- The standard of the lives of the affected people should not be worse than what they had before (Theory of Justice by John Rawls: The victims / least advantaged should not do less well).

发展的怪兽：马来西亚反公害与社区抗争

黄孟祚

另类生活发展机构 (IDEAL) 执行长

前言

国家大型发展项目，如水力发电站，当然是要坐落河流具水位落差的潜在处。就马来西亚而言，早在上世纪六、七十年代的适宜性调查研究 (Feasibility Study) 中，就发现砂拉越具有 155 座水坝的潜能。当今砂州政府于本世纪初立下了雄心勃勃的计划，决定于 2020 年修建供电量达 7 千兆瓦 (7000 megawatts) 的 12 个大坝，并拟花费马币 3340 亿，于 2030 年建成 51 个发电站，将水力供电量推向 2 万兆瓦。这项发展计划所造成的社会与环境冲击，肯定是不容忽略。

个人经验

1970 年代中最初报导有关水坝适宜性调查时，小弟就开始收集相关的资料，包括靠其所供电力而引进的铝熔炼工业。当时我对这项大型的发展计划感到非常震惊，甚至不敢相信，并意识到水力发电计划的推行，必然带来重大的环境生态的改变与社会的冲击，尤其担忧引进污染工业对当地社区的影响。

1983 年巴贡水电站可行性报告出炉后，我们刚成立的 NGO (Society of Christian Service, SCS) 就开始联系受影响的当地社群，为他们提供相关资讯，并推行社区组织的工作，也安排部分巴贡社区代表，前往参观当时已建成的砂州第一座大水坝——巴当艾水电站，及与当地被迁移的居民交流（当时 SCS 曾对巴当艾水坝做了一些报导，但局限于有限的资讯管道）。1986 年，两千名巴贡居民联名请愿，同时下游诗巫社团及反对党也进行签名运动。当时的 NGO 势力单薄，在狭小的政治空间里（NGO 与社区活跃成员被紧

密监控，特务甚至渗透到组织中），只能做微声的“呼吁”。后来，不得不放弃自己所建立的 SCS。

国家茅草行动（1987）后，国内有更多 NGO 成立，让人权与环境工作多了一些伙伴，同时也与国外关注水坝的 NGO 及学术界取得联系。1993 年 9 月，联邦政府宣布修建巴贡水坝（私营化计划，于一年后动土，过后才提呈 EIA 并分阶段核准），问题提升为国家级别。

1995 年，IPK（诗巫社群教育协会）连同 Suaram（人民之声）在吉隆坡举办论证巴贡大坝的研讨会（之后导致 IPK 被吊销注册，我本身则在 1995-2001 年被禁止出国）。同时受影响的居民发起《巴贡宣言》，呼吁政府取消计划。次年在马来西亚自然之友（SAM）的协助下，3 名水库区居民起诉政府质疑 EIA（编按：环境影响评估报告书，Environmental Impact Assessment）的合法性（高庭判 EIA 无效，却遭上诉庭驳回）。另 40 个 NGO 领导 3000 人集会请愿呼吁停建巴贡水坝。当时的公民社会缺乏强有力的领导层，又可能是问题处于偏远地区，没有唤醒全国人民太大的注意（虽然财政部挪用了马币 57.5 亿的公积金）。万余名居民在各种的局限下未能凝聚抗拒力量，而于 1999 年主坝工程尚未建造前，在强大的官方机器宣传与威逼下被迫迁移（部分居民不搬迁或迁移到自己的祖先之地）。

巴贡水坝的工程，几经波折于 2010 年杪建成（蓄水）。同时砂政府已于 2008 年（环境与社会评估之前）在巴贡上游修建姆仑大水坝。随着 12 大坝的计划被泄漏后，巴南水力发电计划又宣布上马。在这段时期，已有更多的原住民组织起来抗拒。这包括马来西亚自然之友（SAM）、婆罗洲资源（Brimas）、砂拉越自然环境保育联盟（Sarawak Conservation Alliance for Natural Environment, SCANE）以及挽救河流（Save Rivers）等；以及社区组织，如巴南保卫行动委员会（Baram Protection Action Committee, BPAC）与姆仑本南事务委员会（Peleiran Murum Penan Affair Committee, Pemupa）。小弟已退居后线，写写评论、参予论坛或做些社区咨询的工作。而巴南居民坚持的路障抗衡（2013 年 10 月起），显得相当刚强与有效，为人民的斗争建立了新的希望。

社区抗争与发展的对话：

发展前提

- 当以广大人民的利益为依归；
- 发展项目的选择当衡量其对环境与社会的可持续性；
- 发展所影响的在地居民，尤其是原住民当受尊重；工程项目在获得彼等『自由决定、事先知情的同意』（Free, Prior, Informed Consent）前，不可进行（联合国原住民人权宣言 UNDRIP）；
- 若必要迁移一些社区人民，他们就应该获得合理的赔偿与恰当的安置；
- 受害者的新生活水平，不应该较以前更差（John Rawls 的公平正义理论：输家/最不利者不可输）。

The Anti-Public Health Hazards Movements in Malaysia and the Communities Involved

Lee Chean Chung

State Assemblyman of Semambu, Pahang

Development is not only a process of exploitation that contests with the “nature”, but it also stands for a politico-social oriented issue, one that contests with “human”. The rise of the anti-public health hazards movement and the community struggles have shown that, a group of united people, who share unequivocal objectives, have launched their challenges to the authority.

In 2009, when the Kuantan MP Fuziah Salleh from PKR first raised the issue of Lynas rare-earth plant factory in parliament, not many had heard of the Australian company Lynas. At the time, the overloaded parliament and the MPs were seemingly lack of interest in the issue, and the response was lukewarm.

Unexpectedly, the Lynas problem and other issues on environmental hazards continued to simmer in the 13th General Election, in which they became important national issues.

From the filing out of resistant actions such as the signature campaign, parliament visit, memorandum submission to the Australian High Commission, protest rallies and factory besiegement, we could see two trends emerging. First it was the unceasingly rising energy of the movement. From the moderate signature campaigns and seminars, to the later few large rallies (including the BERSIH 3.0 rally integrated with the Bersih coalition) and the besieging action at the Lynas factory at the end of year 2012, we could see the movement abandoned moderate actions and adopted more conflicting strategies. This is because the activists had no chance to play a role in the system, and the trend had sustained until the end of the 13th General Election.

Following the radicalization of the movement, its discourse and framework had been transformed from the early “environmental issue” which focused on the conflicts between civilization and nature, into the appeal of the entire political system reforms, one that concerns about the political economy and the society.

The earlier positioning and its framework were certainly aimed for an “above interest” environmental movement, which was equipped with a more universal appeal to call for more followers. Nevertheless, environmental movement is obviously not one that emphasizes the opposition between the society and nature. Instead, it was an assemblage of different social forces, one that interpreted and argued for the contested resources in different ways.

As a result, when the environmental movement becomes politico-economic oriented, this positioning allows the movement to uncover the actual interest groups and power blocs. It is also able to highlight the fundamental conflicts between the victims/victimizers, the manufacturers/polluted, and the central/local. The development of this kind of movement will then allow the participated individuals or groups to achieve progress and independence in their thinking and personality, through their criticism towards the society and the self.

The second trend was the movement’s link with the political force. This is to turn the social mobilization into political influence, in order to be able to change the stance of the ruling elites. During the 13th General Election, many campaigners from Himpunan Hijau stood for the election, including myself, the chairperson Wong Tack and the social activists of the self-organized group

Serambi Hijau. It was an action in supporting Pakatan Rakyat to win more seats in Pahang through the green force.

What is equally important is that, the anti-public health hazards movement like Anti-Lynas is not merely a political behavior, but more of a cultural behavior. Through various discourse and actions which shape the identity of the movement, new meanings for the society have been constructed. To a certain extent, the mainstream notions on environmental protection and radioactive waste have been changed. This is conducive to promote social progress.

Many people ask: after the 505 Election, Barisan Nasional continues to cling on minority rule, and the Lynas factory is still not closed down, then, which way should the Anti-Lynas movement head for?

In my humble opinion, the first thing is to diversify the environmental movement, which is to narrow the gap in knowledge and information between each ethnic groups, as well as between the urban and rural communities. It is necessary to expand the diversity and inclusivity of the environmental movement, and to evoke similar feelings and responses from the victims of different classes and ethnic groups.

In the 13th General Election, the results of two polling stations closest to the Lynas factory—Sungai Ular and Balok—did not widen the gap significantly of the 2008 election results. This had proven that the Malay-dominated constituencies had not been completely persuaded by the Anti-Lynas movement which raged like a storm in the Chinese community. Even worse, the constituencies were polarized by the state-controlled media and some extreme racist statements. Therefore, the community organizations and educational works in the area have great potentiality to be expanded.

The second thing to be reminded is that, Anti-Lynas movement is merely one environmental movement among many others. Under the rampant situation of developmentalism, business-government collusion, corruption and the abuse of power, environmental problems will definitely increase. As a matter of fact, many related issues are being double-marginalized for the reasons of ethnicity (indigenous people) and region (remote areas). We have to face the following challenges: victims being silenced, protests being demonized and the movement being stereotyped. Those who participate in the social movements should manifest greater self-criticism, and to concern/intervene related issues with greater tolerance and altitudes.

发展的怪兽：马来西亚反公害与社区抗争

李健聪

彭亨士满慕州议员

发展，除了是个开发自然的“与天争”之过程，更是个政治社会面向的“与人争”之课题。反公害与社区抗争的发生，就是由拥有具体目标且彼此团结的人民，向掌控权威者发动的集体挑战。

2009年，当人民公正党关丹国会议员傅芝雅在国会提出莱纳斯（Lynas）稀土厂课题时，没有多少人知道莱纳斯这家澳洲企业。被课题负荷过重的国会与众国会议员们，对稀土厂课题，也表现得兴趣缺缺，反应非常淡静。

没有预料到，莱纳斯稀土厂联同其它的环境公害，会持续发酵至第13届全国大选，并成为一项举足轻重的全国课题。

从签名运动、造访国会、呈交备忘录予澳洲最高专员署到集会抗议甚至围堵工厂，我们可以看到两个趋势。第一就是运动的不断升温，也就是从原本温和的签名运动与讲座会，到后来连续数场的万人大集会（包括与净选盟结合的BERSIH 3.0大集会）与2012年岁末时莱纳斯稀土厂前的突围行动。这是运动者没有机会在体制内发挥作用，因此舍弃温和的姿态，而采取冲突性的策略。这种趋势一直到505的大选后才戛然而止。

随着运动的激进化，其论述与框架，也从早期文明与环境冲突的“环境问题”，到后来转化为关怀政治经济与社会的面向，进而要求政治体制的改革。

早期的定位与框架固然让参与者有“超越利益”（Above Interest）的凌驾能力，让这种诠释环境运动的方式具有更普遍的吸引力，进而能够号召庞大的追随群众。可是，环境运动显然不是社会与自然的对立，而是不同社会力量，对于所竞逐的资源有着不同版本的诠释与主张。

因此，当环境运动纳入政治经济的面向时，这种定位能够涵盖背后的利益与权力集团，并能够凸显更根本的受害者/加害者、生产者/受污染者与中央/地方的矛盾。这种运动的发展，无论是让参与的个人或团体，能够通过对社会与自我的批判，而达到思想、人格和精神上的进步与独立。

第二个趋势是运动与政治势力的结合。这是为了把社会动员转化为政治影响力，以期能够改变执政精英的立场。过去的第十三届大选有多名绿色盛会人士，包括我本人与绿色盛会主席黄德参选，以及社运人士自发组织绿色走廊（Serambi Hijau），以期能通过绿色的动员力量帮助民联拿下彭亨州更多议席，就是一个明证。

同样重要的是，诸如反莱纳斯的反公害运动，不只是政治行为，更是文化行为。它通过各种论述（Discourse）与行动（Action），为运动塑造认同，为社会建构新的意义，甚至某个程度上改变了主流对环保与辐射废料的观念，有助于推动社会的进步。

许多人问，505 大选后，国阵以少数民意继续执政，莱纳斯稀土厂依然尚未关闭，那么反莱纳斯运动应该何去何从？

依我浅见，其一，促成环境运动的多元化。那就是，如何在环境运动中拉近各族裔与城乡之间的认知与资讯差异，扩大环境运动的多元性与包容性，尽量让不同阶层与族群的受害者拥有相近的感受与回应。第十三届大选，坐落稀土厂最靠近的两座投票站——双溪乌拉（Sungai Ular）与巴洛（Balok）的成绩，并没有大幅扩大 2008 年的差距，证明以马来裔为主的当地居民，没有完全被“风起云涌”（尤其在华社）的反莱纳斯运动说服，甚至被控制的媒体与极端种族主义散播的言论所分化。因此当地的社区组织与宣教工作，非常有拓展的潜能。

其二，反莱纳斯运动只是环境运动的一支，而且我国在发展主义、政商勾结、贪污滥权越发猖狂的情况之下，肯定会产生更多的公害。事实是，许多公害问题面对族群（原住民）与地域（偏远地带）的双重边缘化，以至于需面对受害者被消音、抗争被妖魔化与反对运动遭刻板化的挑战。参与社会运动的人士，必须展现更大的自我批判，以更大气度与高度去关怀/介入这些课题。

Kepong Residents Protest against the Construction of Kepong Jinjang Beringin Incinerator: An overview

Lee Chong Tek

Chairman of Kuala Lumpur Rejects Incinerator Action Community

1. Is there a need for the desperate rush to build a waste incinerator in Kuala Lumpur?
2. The government's rhetoric on the issue of waste management is completely different from the views of the residents.
3. The Auditor General's Report of the year 2012 pointed out that the four existing small-scale waste incinerators in the country (located in Cameron Highlands, Pulau Langkawi, Pulau Pangkor and Pulau Tioman) were still unable to operate normally as technical problems had not been resolved. As such, how can the people believe that the government has the capability to manage a large-scale incinerator designed to handle 1,000 tonnes of waste each day?
4. Basically, the government did not implement proper education and promotion on issues regarding 3R environmental protection. At present, such efforts are mostly carried out by charity organizations such as Tzu Chi Foundation.
5. Viewing from various perspectives, the operation of incinerator has low economic efficiency and is often hampered by the lack of professional management and proper maintenance. In the past, many 'white elephant' projects were not able to benefit the people and to earn their trust. For example, the Automatic Street Toilets (ATS) project was implemented in Kuala Lumpur a few years ago, but was eventually failed due to the lack of proper maintenance of the advanced technology.
6. The Beringin Incinerator will not be a free lunch for all. The government is implementing it on the 'Build, Operate and Transfer' (BOT) basis. Although this does not involve any initial cash outlay on the part of the government, the people are in fact bearing the cost and they will eventually end up as victims.
7. Without proper management and operation, the incinerator is a time bomb. Tens of thousands of residents in the surrounding areas will have their health jeopardized and their residential properties will see the values plummeting.

8. Based on a rate of handling 5,000 tonnes of waste per day, the sanitary landfill located about 50 km away from Kuala Lumpur can still be used for 70 years. With better 3R efforts to reduce or maintain the waste at 2,500 tonnes per day, the useful life of the sanitary landfill can be extended to more than 100 years.
9. The Malaysian government has always wanted to learn from the Japan, but do not forget that Japan has conducted researches on 3R practices and incinerators for 40 years. If we want to take shortcuts to achieve immediate success, the probability of failure will be very high.

B. Resistance Movement: Challenges and Dilemma

1. Awareness campaign: It is no easy task to arouse the concern of the many indifferent residents, to let the people know that the project will be harmful to them, and to get more people to join our resistance movement.
2. Funds: All activities such as forum, 3R campaigns, media conferences and so on , require funds. It is not easy for the action committee to get financial assistance.
3. Personal interests: Most of the Malay residents dare not come forward to protest because of their jobs and other interests. These include the civil servants and residents in government flats. The residents joining the resistance movement comprise mainly Chinese.
4. News media: Due to limited scope of democracy and openness of the society in our country, news media, particularly non-Chinese newspapers, will often avoid news that is unfavourable to the government. Very often, reporters from the pro-government newspapers choose not to attend our media conferences.
5. Unity and affinity: The awareness action committee comprises members from different residential areas. Some of them lack experience in social organization works and thus minor problems may lead to disappointment or even withdrawal. After all, they are not paid to join the committee.
6. Cohesiveness: The members join the committee to assist in the resistance movement out of willingness. Many a time they are not able to attend the activities due to work commitments. This is particularly so for the members of Gabungan Anti Incinerator Kebangsaan (GAIK) who live in different states.
7. Easier said than done: Many people will tell us what and how we can do but when we invite them to join our resistance movement, they are reluctant to do so, citing various personal reasons. They should have set good examples by actually getting involved in our work!

8. Some young members in our resistance movement, due to factors associated with their jobs or influence exerted by their colleagues and family members, become more cautious with joining activities, and not daring to show up at the protests.
-

甲洞居民反对建设甲洞增江柏林京焚化炉大纲

李长特

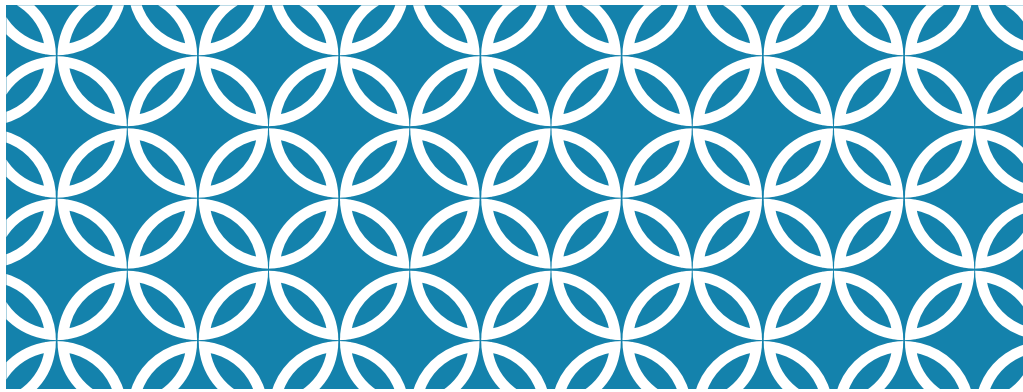
“吉隆坡不要焚化炉行动委员会”主席

1. 吉隆坡有必要急迫地，赶紧建设焚化炉吗？
2. 政府对垃圾处理课题的说辞和民间的看法背道而驰。
3. 2012 年稽查报告（PAC）指出，国内现有的 4 个小型垃圾焚化炉（分别坐落在金马论高原、浮罗交怡、邦咯岛和刁曼岛）无法正常操作，技术问题至今尚未能克服，人民如何能信服政府有能力管理每天 1000 吨垃圾的大型焚化炉？
4. 基本上政府在 3R 环保课题尚没良好的进行宣传和推广，现今的 3R 多数由慈善团体例如慈济在执行。
5. 从各角度看焚化炉，经济效益，欠缺管理专业及维修文化，过去许多大白象工程无法让人民受惠和信服，例如数年前吉隆坡的自动化系统公共厕所（ATS），就是我国维修文化无法追赶上先进的科技，最后以失败告终。
6. 柏林京花园的焚化炉不可能是免费的午餐，政府将会以建造、营运、转移（BOT）的方式进行，虽然政府开始时不需付出款项，事实上人民必须买单，最终痛苦的是人民。
7. 管理及营运不当，焚化炉就是一枚计时炸弹，周边数以万计的居民，健康受到威胁，家居产业价格将会一落千丈。

8. 假如以每天 5000 吨垃圾的产量计算，离开吉隆坡 50 公里的卫生土埋场尚可使用 70 年，只要 3R 环保做好将相应减少或维持在 2500 吨，土埋场的使用期超过 100 年肯定不是问题。
9. 我国政府经常要国民学习日本，不要忘记日本在 3R 和焚化炉的研究已有 40 年的历史，想要跑捷径一步登天，失败的机率非常大。

抗争的挑战和困境

1. 醒觉运动：如何让更多冷漠的居民关心，让人民知晓这工程将会带来的危害，使到更多人参与我们的抗争，这可不是件容易的事。
2. 基金：一切活动例如讲座会、3R 环保运动、新闻发布会都需要基金和费用来推动，行动委员会不容易获得金钱上的资助。
3. 个人利益：大部分巫裔同胞因为本身职业为公务员，或因工作关系和利益问题，不敢站出来或出面反对。例如政府公仆、居住在政府组屋的居民。抗争队伍成员们以华裔同胞为大多数。
4. 媒体：媒体报道我国的民主制度及开放度不够全面，在新闻报道有所保留，尤其是非华文报章，稍有对政府有怨言的控诉，很多时候也不见亲政府的报章记者出席发布会。
5. 团结及亲和力：醒觉行动委员会成员们分别来自不同的住宅花园，有部分成员因为缺乏参与团体或社团活动，遇上一点小挫折成员就不肯妥协，打退堂鼓不干了，反正都没薪水拿。
6. 凝聚力：因为各成员都是自愿性，自动前来协助抗争活动，有时候会为了工作谋生而无法出席活动。尤其是全国联盟反焚化炉行动委员会（GAIK）的成员，分别居住在不同的州属。
7. 知易行难：许多人会告诉你可以这样做那样做，当我们邀请他/她加入我们的抗争行列，个人却有许许多多理由而无法胜任，要参与身历其境才是最好的身教！
8. 一些年轻的抗争成员因为本身职业受到公司团体及家人的“开导”所影响，对接下来抗争活动有所保留，不敢露面大胆进行。



邊佳蘭反石化運動

THE ANTI PETROLEUM COMPLEX MOVEMENT OF PENERANG

王鈞瑜 (台大人類學研究所)
Jo Ann Wang (Department of Anthropology, National Taiwan University)



空間特徵 SPATIAL FEATURES





人口特徵 DEMOGRAPHIC FEATURES

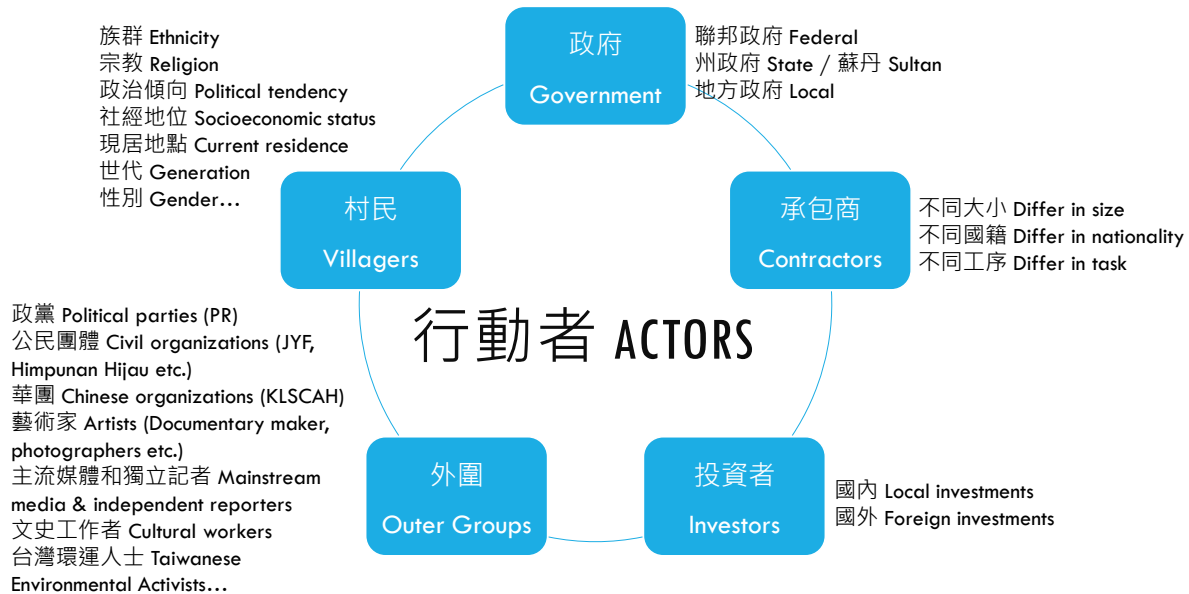




為什麼邊佳蘭重要？

WHY PENERANG MATTERS?

時間軸 TIMELINE



策略與劇碼

STRATEGIES & REPOTAIRE

項目 What	時間 When	人員 Who
公投連署 Call for Referendum 反石化 Anti Petroleum Complex 保義山 Cemeteries Preservation	2012.04 2012.06	DAP and Angry Lobster DAP and NGO Alliance
文化資產 Apply for Cultural Heritage Preservation 義山和神廟 Cemeteries Cina & Temples Cina	2012.08	PKR and NGO Alliance
環境影響評估 DEIA Dialogue RAPID TAIWAN KUO KUANG COMPANY	2012.06 2013.05	NGO Alliance NGO Alliance
法律訴訟 Legal Action (Judicial review & civil action) 漁民 (華、巫) Fishery (Cina & Malay) 土地 (華、巫) Land (Cina & Malay) 義山 (華) Cemetery (Cina)	2012-2015 2012-2014 2014-2015	NGO Alliance and PKR lawyer NGO Alliance and PAS lawyer NGO Alliance, PKR lawyer and independent lawyers

策略與劇碼

STRATEGIES & REPOTAIRE

活動 What	時間 When	人員 Who
集會 (非全部) Rallies (not all) 首次集會 First rally ever! 反滅村 Himpunan 'RAMPAS' Pengerang 綠色盛會之永續邊佳蘭 Himpunan Hijau Lestari Pengerang	2012.03.18 2012.05.26 2012.09.30	Held by PAP (UMNO) Held by NGO Alliance Held by Himpunan Hijau and NGO Alliance
拯救邊佳蘭藝術計畫 Save Pengerang Art Project	2012 summer to winter 2013 summer to winter	Held by JYF, independent artists and NGO Alliance
結廬守墓與聯合公祭 Sleep at the tombs and offer sacrifices to ancestors and ghosts in Chinese ghost month	2012.08.18 2013.08.08 2014.07.27	Held by NGO Alliance and Chinese Cemetery Association Held by Toothless Uncle Chua
義山行 Jogathon Warisan Piala Dugong Pengerang Jogathon Warisan Pengerang 2.0	2012.11.04 2013.11.17	Held by KLSCAH, NGO Alliance, JYF and else
無牙伯上京保義山 500 km ascetic walking to Kuala Lumpur	2014.06.01-12	Held by Toothless Uncle Chua



「艺术不容辞反公害」 开幕 Opening Ceremony
20/12/2013 (fri) 11am

Anti Public Nuisance Art Exhibition

守望边佳兰艺术展
Pengerang Art Exhibition
20.12.2013 - 23.12.2013, 11am - 8pm

KLSCAH 隆雪华堂

《拆》舞台剧 STAGE PLAY
Tear Down

20/12/2013 - 22/12/2013 8:30pm
21/12/2013 - 22/12/2013 3:00pm
MCPA KLSCAH 隆雪华堂 主辦
* 乐捐入场 By Donation RM25

联络: 嘉南黄色行动小组、边佳兰自救联盟、隆雪华堂社联委员会 询问 Inquiry: 09-2274 6645 (KLSCAH)

《反公害运动与公民教育》
分享会

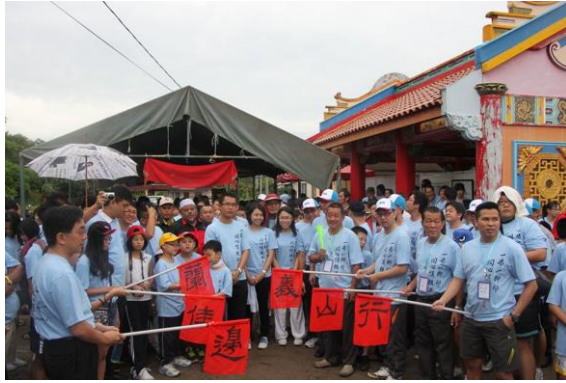
20 Sep (fri)
14:00-16:00
嘉南黄色行动小组
嘉南自救联盟

演讲者:
李成福
陈江毅
陈伟强
陈伟强

石化工程令海岸线消失
用艺术拼湊边佳兰风光

嘉南黄色行动小组、嘉南自救联盟、隆雪华堂社联委员会 主辦

嘉南黄色行动小组、嘉南自救联盟、隆雪华堂社联委员会 主辦



課題 ISSUES

1. 漁民經濟損失 Economic loss of fishermen (2011-now)

6 boat owners from Sungai Kapal, 124 fishermen from Tanjung Sepang had taken legal actions. (2013-now)

2. 土地徵用 Land expropriation (2012-now)

15 land owners from FASA PERTAMA, 3 land owners from FASA KEDUA had taken legal actions. (2012-2014)

3. 墓園搬遷 Relocation of cemeteries (Malay: 2012-2013, Cina: 2014-????)

4, 4, 11 ethnic Chinese descendants had taken legal actions. (2014-now)

課題 ISSUES

4. 學校搬遷 Relocation of schools (2014-now)

1 primary school, 2 Chinese primary schools, 1 secondary school

5. 宗教場所搬遷 Relocation of religious places (2014-now)

many masjids and many temples

6. 賠償屋況不佳 Appalling conditions of Taman Bayu Damai (2014-now)

defective houses, no water and electricity supply, lack of basic facilities

7. 迫遷 Forced evictions (2014-now)

3 households in Sungai Kapal...

8. 其他 (沙塵、交通、治安、物價和地價上漲等民生問題) Other (2011-now)

dust, traffic, crime, inflation...



常見批評...和我的辯護

COMMON CRITICISM... AND MY DEFEND

1. Villagers relied too much on outer support / were not helping themselves.
村民依賴外圍·自己並不團結(接受賠償、同意搬遷)
2. They were politically naïve and were used by opposition party for election.
他們政治天真·被反對黨利用
3. Why don't make it environmental? Why so obsessed with cemeteries Cina?
為什麼不打環境課題?? 反而一直打義山課題??
4. It was a single ethnic issue (Cina) and there were no ethnic Malay involved.
單一種族課題·沒有友族參與
5. The movement is done by now (and therefore meaningless).
運動已經失敗(所以沒有意義)

小結 CONCLUSION

邊佳蘭的案例... In Pengerang's case...

北方環境主義和南方環境主義的混種

Demonstrates a hybrid of northern and southern environmentalism

村民所捍衛的「環境」是族群地景和認同·因為乘載了集體歷史和個人記憶

The "environment" they are fighting for is the one of ethnic landscape and identity, which is full of collective histories and individual memories

抗爭劇碼不只是缺乏科學知識和語言的被動結果·更是當地社群的主動選擇

The protest repertoire they take on is not just a passive result of the lacking of scientific knowledge / language, but an active choice of the local community

反映且挑戰了馬來西亞現存的族群政治和族群關係

Reflects and challenges the existing ethnic based politics and relations in Malaysia

TERIMA KASIH!

Facebook: Jo Ann Wang (王鈞瑜)

Wechat or Line: jothekiddie

Email: r01841009@ntu.edu.tw



Closing Roundtable Discussion

Making Resistance Possible: Alternatives to Neo-liberalism

Panelists: **Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Hsin-Hsing**
Associate Professor in the Graduate Institute for Social Transformation
Studies, Shih-Hsin University, Taiwan

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Chen Yun Chung
Associate Professor in Cultural Studies, Lingnan University, Hong Kong

Dr. Vivienne Wee
Research & Advocacy Director of The Association of Women for Action
and Research (AWARE), Singapore

Dr. Michael Jeyakumar Devaraj
Member of Parliament of Sungai Siput

Moderator: **Wan Hamidi Hamid**
Director of Genta Media

【闭幕圆桌论坛】

抵抗如何可能？——新自由主义全球化下的社会出路

与会者：**陈信行**
台湾世新大学社会发展研究所副教授
陈允中
香港岭南大学文化研究副教授
黄丽嫣
新加坡妇女行动与研究协会（AWARE）研究及倡导主任
Dr. Michael Jeyakumar Devaraj
霹雳州和丰区国会议员

主持人：**Wan Hamidi Hamid**
众意媒体社长

Towards Gender Equality: A Sustainable, Collective Alternative to Neo-liberalism and Other Forms of Authoritarianism

Dr. Vivienne Wee

Research & Advocacy Director of The Association of Women for Action and Research (AWARE), Singapore

1. Neo-liberalism as authoritarianism

Why does my title suggest that neo-liberalism is a form of authoritarianism? Is it not the case that neo-liberalism is associated with freedom and individual choice? But what are the types of choices offered by neo-liberalism? For example, are these the choices?

- i. Choices between different brands of consumer goods in a globalised economy of limited choices;
- ii. Choices between different employers in a range of industries that obtain profit from underpaid labour;
- iii. Choices between different schools in a hierarchical educational system that produces skilled and unskilled labour for the globalised economy, including migrant workers;
- iv. Choices between different styles of clothes in an economy where fashion is determined by global fashion houses.

In other words, the choices available in a neo-liberal political economy are constrained by what is allowed to exist and what is pushed out of existence. For example, while one can choose between different supermarkets, one may not be able to choose to shop at a small neighbourhood grocery store because such stores may have been pushed out of existence.

More importantly, what makes neo-liberalism a form of authoritarianism is that it concentrates power in the hands of a small elite who are not accountable to the majority. These small elites exist in public and private sectors at global, national and local levels and mutually support each other's interests and actions, thereby constituting a comprehensive supply chain of cheap resources and cheap labour for profit maximisation.

2. Forms of resistance

What works? What doesn't? What do we mean by this? Are all forms of resistance of equal value? For example, some claim that religious fundamentalism is a form of resistance. Let's examine this claim by asking some questions:

- i. Does religious fundamentalism expand the economic choices available to us?
- ii. Does religious fundamentalism offer non-exploitative wages and benefits to workers?
- iii. Does religious fundamentalism promote equality between all members of society – male and female, young and old, rich and poor, believer and non-believer?
- iv. Does religious fundamentalism provide information and knowledge that equips people to improve their lives and livelihoods in a changing world?
- v. Does religious fundamentalism involve the participation of all members of society in decision-making?
- vi. Does religious fundamentalism really offer a sustainable and collective alternative to neo-liberalism?

My answer to these questions is “no”. Replacing neo-liberalism with another form of authoritarianism is worse than useless. It sets us off in the wrong direction.

Another form of resistance that has emerged is described as “living off-grid”. This refers to people who try to be self-sufficient and live without modern amenities. Tribal societies have indeed lived in autonomous economies for centuries, if not millennia. However, almost all tribal societies world-wide are threatened by the encroachment of migrants, industrial agriculture and neo-liberalism. Apart from tribal societies whose existence is under threat, there are also small religious communities with relatively autonomous economies, such as the Amish and the Hutterites. However, is it feasible for the world's 6 billion people to live in small autonomous economies without modern amenities?

Whereas “tribalism” may not be another form of authoritarianism, it is not realistic to attempt to turn the clock back to pre-modern times. Do such attempts to turn back the clock offer sustainable and collective alternatives to neo-liberalism?

My answer is “no”. The fact is: we are where we are now. That is, we are citizens of a divided world where one per cent of the world's population own more than the remaining 99 per

cent. According to Oxfam's study (2015) "*Wealth: Having it All and Wanting More*", the richest 1% had seen their share of global wealth increase from 44% in 2009 to 48% in 2014. At this rate, it will be more than 50% in 2016.

Any alternative to the economic system that has produced inequality of this scale should not be another system that produces inequalities of other sorts – for example, between male and female, between native and non-native, between urban and rural, between ages, sectors, educational levels.

3. Towards gender equality

There are around 3 billion girls and women in the world – half of the world's six billion people. Any alternative that proposes to be an alternative to neo-liberalism cannot be based on disenfranchising half the population. This means that we cannot start with the premise of getting rid of neo-liberalism first, then later think in a vacuum about how to organise economic, social and political relations. On the contrary, any initiative that proposes to replace neo-liberalism, which now encompasses almost every aspect of our lives, must envision alternative ways of organising economic, social and political relations.

It is perhaps not well recognised that the exploitative magnitude of neo-liberalism sits on top of other forms of exploitation – in particular, the exploitation of women's labour in social reproduction, in the informal sector, and in the family. This is the foundational exploitation that makes other forms of exploitation possible, including low wages, inadequate benefits, lack of social protection, and so on.

The relegation of caregiving as women's unpaid and underpaid work is the norm even in countries that are supposedly "developed", such as Japan, Korea and Singapore. This is because women's unpaid and underpaid caregiving labour reduces economic costs, lowers wages and hence increases profit. The fact that this fundamental exploitation is seen as a women's issue, rather than a social issue relevant to both men and women, is symptomatic of the hegemony that has enabled neo-liberalism to be as successful as it is.

In other words, so long as most people (including men and women) take for granted that it is acceptable to exploit women, they are unwittingly also accepting all other forms of

exploitation, including exploitation of themselves. The logic of exploiting women as a norm can be extended as follows:

- “You are a woman; so it is alright to exploit you.”
- “You are _____ (fill in the blank: a member of an ethnic minority, a less educated person, a migrant, a person from a rural community, a person from a less developed country, a disabled person, a relatively young person, a relatively old person, etc.); so it is alright to exploit you.”

So long as one category of persons is defined as inherently exploitable, then all categories of people can be so defined. All that matters then is who is in a position of power to define others. The encounter between Humpty Dumpty and Alice in Lewis Carroll’s *Through the Looking Glass* (Chapter 6) illustrates this:

“When **I** use a word,” Humpty Dumpty said, in rather a scornful tone, “it means just what I choose it to mean — neither more nor less.”

“The question is,” said Alice, “whether you **can** make words mean so many different things.”

“The question is,” said Humpty Dumpty, “which is to be master – that’s all.”

The introduction to this conference starts with this sentence: “Community seems to be a space that unites and relates people, and a platform that invites participation and forms resistance.” In this context, it may be useful to refer to Antonio Gramsci’s analysis of capitalist society, which he says as comprising two overlapping spheres – a “political society” (which rules through force) and a “civil society” (which rules through consent). Gramsci’s view of “civil society” differs from the associational view of “civil society” simply as a sector of society occupied by voluntary organisations and NGOs. Instead, Gramsci saw “civil society” as a public sphere where ideas and beliefs are shaped, where the hegemony of those in power is produced and reproduced through cultural process in the media, universities and other institutions so as to “manufacture consent” and thereby legitimise the holders of power. (Gramsci 1971; Heywood 1994: 100-101). Gramsci (1971) further suggested that before any revolutionary struggle for control of the means of production, a prior “war of position” is necessary as a “counter-hegemonic” struggle over values, ideas and beliefs. (Heywood 1994: 101).

Gramsci's view of civil society as a sphere for reshaping values, ideas and beliefs is important for the creation of alternatives that will not just replace one form of authoritarianism with another or one form of exploitation with another. Going further than Gramsci, I argue that this process of reshaping values, ideas and beliefs must occur in both public and private spheres. It should not be the case that neo-liberalism is challenged only in the public sphere, whereas practices of exploitation in the private sphere are accepted as a norm. If that were to happen, then the inequalities manifested in the public sphere would simply continue as such inequalities rest on foundations of gender inequality in the private sphere.

To create an alternative world to the one we have – where 1 per cent owns more than the remaining 99 per cent – no fundamental change will occur if the redistribution only extends to 50 per cent owning more than the other 50 per cent. But that is the limited change that will be all that is possible, if we do not envision how to restructure an economic system where the majority of the 1.5 billion people living on 1 dollar a day or less are women and where women earn on average slightly more than 50 per cent of what men earn.

迈向性别平等：新自由主义及各种形式权威主义的另一条可持续、集体的方案

黄丽嫣

新加坡妇女行动与研究协会（AWARE）研究及倡导主任

（一）新自由主义即权威主义

为什么我说新自由主义也是一种权威主义？难道新自由主义与自由、个人选择没有关联？新自由主义提供了人们什么选择？是否如下所列的选择？

1. 在选择有限的全球化经济中，选择不同品牌的消费品；
2. 在一系列从廉价劳工中谋利的工业中，选择不同的雇主；
3. 在为全球化经济生产技术及非技术性劳工、包括移民劳工的等级教育制度中，选择不同的学校；
4. 在流行时尚由全球时装品牌做主的经济中，选择不同款式的衣服。

换句话说，在新自由主义政治经济里的选择，受限于什么是被允许存在、什么是不能存在的。例如，人们可以选择不同的超级市场，却可能无法选择到街坊邻里的小型杂货店购物，因为这些小店可能已经被迫结束营业。

更重要的是，新自由主义是一种权威主义，是因为它的权力集中在一小撮不必向大众负责的精英手中。这一小撮精英出现在全世界、各个国家及地方的公共领域及私人领域，他们共同支持彼此的兴趣及行动，进而组成了一个完整的廉价资源、廉价劳工的供应链，以赚取最大的利润。

（二）抗争的形式

结果什么是有效的？什么是无效的？这意味着什么？是不是所有形式的抗争都有相等的价值？例如，一些人称宗教原教旨主义（Religious fundamentalism）也是一种反抗的形式。让我们进行提问以审视这个说法：

- vii. 宗教原教旨主义是否扩大我们现有的经济选择？
- viii. 宗教原教旨主义是否提供非剥削性的工资及对劳工有利？
- ix. 宗教原教旨主义是否提倡社会各成员，包括男女、老幼、贫与富、信徒与非信徒的平等？
- x. 宗教原教旨主义是否提供资讯及知识给人们，好让他们在多变的世界中，改善他们的生活及生计？
- xi. 宗教原教旨主义是否在决策过程中，让社会各阶层人民参与？
- xii. 宗教原教旨主义是否提供一个取代新自由主义的可持续及集体方案？

我的答案是：“不是”。以另一种形式的权威主义取代新自由主义根本没有好处。它将让我们误入歧途。

另一种抗争的形式被形容为“离网形式的生活”。这是指人民尝试自给自足，及生活在没有现代化设施的状态中。部落社会早就已经以经济自主的方式生活了几个世纪、甚至超过1000年。但是，几乎全世界的部落社会都受到外来者侵略、工业化农业及新自由主义的威胁。除了生存面对威胁的部落社会，还有一些相对经济自主的少数宗教群体如：阿们宗派（Amish）及哈特派信徒（Hutterites）。但是，若没有现代化的设施，全球60亿人口是否能在小型的自主经济中生存下去？

毕竟时间不会倒流到现代化之前的时代，那么既然“部落主义”不太像是另一种形式的权威主义，这种“回到过去”的方式是否可取代新自由主义的可持续、集体方案？

我的答案是：“不能”。事实上，我们活在当下。我们是分裂世界的公民，世界1%的人口所拥有的财富多于其余99%人口。2015年Oxfam调查报告《财富：拥有全部，想要更多》指出：世界最富有的1%的全球财富占有率，从2009年的44%增加至2014年的48%。根据这样的趋势，这个数字将在2016年突破50%。

任何要取代现有这种已经制造不平等局面的经济制度，不应该是继续制造其它不平等状况的制度，例如：男女之间、原住民及非原住民之间、城乡之间、不同年龄阶层、不同领域、不同教育背景之间。

（三） 迈向性别平等

全世界有30亿妇女，占了世界总人口约60亿人的一半。任何新自由主义的替代方案，绝不能剥夺世界这一半人口的权利。这意味着我们不能先从“废除新自由主义”开始，然后才凭空思考如何重组经济、社会及政治关系。相反地，新自由主义已经几乎占据我们的生活，它的替代方案必须能够预想各种重组经济、社会及政治关系。

新自由主义的剥削严重性是众多剥削形式之首，或许还未广为人知，特别是社会再生产、非正式领域及家庭中对女性劳动的剥削。正是这些基础性的剥削，才让其它形式的剥削变成可能，包括低工资、不适当的福利、缺乏社会保护等等。

将家庭看护降级为女性的无薪或低薪工作，在那些称得上“发达”的国家如日本、韩国及新加坡，也已成规范。这是因为女性的无薪及低薪照护劳动，能够减少经济成本、降低工资，最终增加利润。事实上，这种根本上的剥削仅仅被视为妇女课题，而不是一项事关男女两性的社会问题，就是一种霸权的象征，让新自由主义继续横行。

换句话说，只要大部分人（包括男女双方）理所当然地认为剥削女性是可以接受的，他们也就不经意地同时接受了其它剥削的形式，包括自我剥削。我们可从以下例子看出剥削女性的逻辑已成为一种规范：

- “你是女人，所以剥削你没问题。”
- “你是 _____（填充：某个少数民族成员、教育程度不高的人士、外来移民、来自乡区的某人、来自不发达国家者、残障人士、年纪尚轻者、相对年老者等等），所以剥削你没问题。”

只要上述某个类别的个人被定义为天生就可以被剥削，那么各种类别的人都可以被定义。最重要的是，谁有权力去定义其他人？作家刘易斯·卡罗尔（Lewis Carroll）在其笔下《爱丽丝镜中世界奇遇记》第六章，矮胖子和爱丽丝的偶遇中如此描述：

“我用一个词，总是同我想要说的恰如其分，既不重，也不轻。”矮胖子相当傲慢地说。

“问题是你怎么能造出一些词，它可以包含许多不同的意思呢？”

“问题是哪个是主宰的——关键就在这里。”矮胖子说。

这项研讨会的背景介绍以这句话做开头：“社区是一个凝聚与联系居民的空间，及号召参与与抗争形式的平台”。遵循此脉络，按照这个脉络，参考安东尼奥·葛兰西（Antonio Gramsci）针对资本主义社会的分析是有意义的。他认为资本主义社会包括两个相互重叠的领域，即“政治社会（通过强制力统治）”及“市民社会（通过认同统治）”。葛兰西对“市民社会”的概念有别于一般的看法，认为“市民社会”只是社会上由自愿团体及非政府组织形成的一个群体。相反地，葛兰西视“市民社会”为一个塑造理想及信仰的公共领域，通过媒体、大学及其它机构的文化过程，生产并再生产那些掌权者的霸权，“制造甘愿”，进而合法化当权者的地位（Gramsci 1971; Heywood 1994: 100-101）。葛兰西（1971）也认为，在进行任何掌控生产工具的革命性的抗争之前，更重要的是通过“阵地战”作为一种“反霸权”斗争来反对价值观、理念及信仰。（Heywood 1994: 101）

葛兰西认为市民社会作为一个重新塑造价值观、理念及信仰的空间，对于创造替代方案非常重要，它既不是要以另一种独裁主义形式取代原来的独裁主义形式、也不是要以另一种剥削形式取代原来的剥削形式。在葛兰西的见解之外，我主张这个重塑价值观、理念及信仰的过程，必须发生在公共及私人领域当中。我们不应该只在公共领域挑战新自由主义，却接受私人领域的剥削为常态。如果真的如此，那么发生在公共领域的不平等也会继续存在，因为这种不平等的基础就是源自于私人领域的性别不平等。

如今，我们正处在一个1%人口的财富比其余99%人口还多的世界。如果我们创造另一个替代生活世界的方式，是把财富再分配扩展到其中50%人口的手中而另50%的人维持不变，将不会有什么本质上的改变。但是，现有制度下，15亿人口每天只赚取1美元或更少，当中女性占大多数，并且女性平均所赚只比男性所赚多少50%。如果我们没有预想如何重组这样的经济制度，这也将是所有可能性当中最有限的改变。

Making Resistance Possible: Alternatives to Neoliberalism

Jeyakumar Devaraj

Member of Parliament of Sungai Siput, Parti Sosialis Malaysia

Neoliberal policies which have become ever more prevalent in many parts of the world since the 1980s, have resulted in:-

- Privatization of basic services such as the provision of water, health care and education in the name of efficiency¹, and the resulting “commodification” of those essential services. This has led to increases in the cost of living and growing indebtedness of the ordinary citizen.
- The fencing up of the “commons”, for example land, and knowledge through ever expanding Intellectual Property Rights legislations;
- Depression of wages, and the widening of the gap between the top 10% and the rest of the population²;
- The dismantling of the safety net that had been set up in the preceding decades;
- Economic hardships for the bottom 60% of the population;
- An exponential increase in greenhouse emissions resulting in CO2 level surpassing 400 ppm.

Alternatives to neoliberalism

The alternatives are not difficult to conceptualize. Many of them were implemented in the first 3 decades after World War II. Basically these alternatives require greater state intervention to redistribute the wealth of society in a more equitable manner. They include:-

1. A decent minimum wage

At present wages only makes up 33.6% of GDP in Malaysia³. Increasing the minimum wages to say RM 1500 from the present RM 900 would benefit the families of the ordinary non-skilled

workers. It would also improve the income of the 1 million or so small businessmen and women in this country who stand to benefit from the increase in purchasing power of the population.

2. *De-commodification of Basic Needs*

Another strategy for redistributing national wealth in favour of the poorer 75% of the population would be to take the provision of basic services – housing, health care, tertiary education, electricity, water, etc out of the market and provide them at subsidized prices through State owned (but democratically controlled and transparently run) entities. This is nothing new for us in Malaysia – our government was doing this quite well in the 1960s and 1970s. This strategy would lessen the economic burden currently borne by the people, and would also augment the domestic market because if people do not have to spend so much on housing or put aside money monthly for their children's tertiary education, they would have more disposable income.

3. *Strengthening the safety net*

Universal old age pension for all those aged 65 years and above would do a lot to improve the lives of our senior citizens most of whom now face their 7th decade without any savings. Only around 15 % of our elderly receive government pension, and a smaller number are on SOCSO benefits.

The MTUC (Malaysia Trade Union Congress) has been asking our government to implement a scheme guaranteeing *retrenchment benefits* for people who lose their jobs. However this has been buried in study after study, and has yet to see the light of day. Such a scheme would not only be of help to the workers who are laid off, but would also help prevent the over-rapid constriction of aggregate demand in times of recession, as the laid off workers would still be getting some income.

4. *Progressive taxation*

The rich should be taxed. Poorer families should be spared tax. The government should stop the ongoing reduction of personal income tax and corporate tax⁴. At the very least these should be maintained at current levels until we get the international cooperation that would enable us to increase the rates of these taxes without running the risk of relocation of businesses to

neighbours with a lower tax regime. The GST should be withheld. The “Tobin” Tax⁵ which taxes financial transactions should also be considered as a means to generate income for the state coffers.

None of these policy options are new. In fact several were implemented in many parts of the world in the 3 decades post World War II but have been rolled back ever since the 1980s. How do we build resistance to the neoliberal onslaught and reverse it? I have a few suggestions.

A. Empower the People

The activists seeking to re-establish pro-people policies have to understand that the shift from the “Developmental” State of the 1950s and 1960s to the “Neoliberal” State of the 1990s has been caused by a significant shift in the balance of class forces in the world.

The “auto-lysis” (self-destruction) of then existing socialism in the Warsaw Pact countries in the early 1990s, and the opening up of China to capitalism dramatically enhanced the position of the richest 1% in the world because:-

- It led to a profound loss of confidence that the global capitalist system could be challenged. People began doubting that there could be a credible alternative. Thatcher’s “There is no alternative” seemed to be self-evident.
- Industrial capitalists battling organized labour in the advanced countries outsourced production to China, Vietnam and Eastern Europe. This greatly reduced the bargaining power of the working people in the advanced countries, and forced the weakened unions to accept lower terms of employment because the alternative would have been further losses of jobs.
- The loss of thousands of well paying industrial jobs and the migration of industrial production to lower wage countries reduced the tax base for the advanced countries and this led to budget deficits. The evolution of an international financial order that allowed the off-shoring of corporate “headquarters” to obscure tax havens further aggravated the budget deficit. This in turn led to pressure to reduce the welfare budget.
- Developing countries began a “race to the bottom” in their efforts to attract Foreign Direct Investment. Labour and environmental standards were sacrificed in the mad scramble to attract investors.

- All over the world pro-corporate policies were adopted.

Once one accepts that the increasing dominance of the richest 1% over the rest of society is the main driver of the neoliberal onslaught, then it is obvious that empowerment of the 99% is one of the main strategies that we need to use to reverse neoliberalism.

B. Put forward our Alternative Vision for the World

Many in the 99% despair because they have bought the analysis given by the neoliberal spokesmen. Many have come to believe that Margaret Thatcher is right – there is really no alternative. Neoliberal dogma holds that:-

- The market mechanism is the most efficient provider of goods and services in society as the competition between different providers will drive down costs and constantly improve the quality of goods and services provided. Thus, it will lead to the most cost-effective provision of these services. The provision of these services by the public sector is (according to the proponents of neoliberalism) inefficient and slow because of the bureaucratic nature of government.
- Private sector providers who are driven by the profit motive will perform much more efficiently than government employees whose monthly incomes are not dependent on customer satisfaction⁶.
- The proper role of government is to establish standards and the regulatory framework⁷ for the network of private providers of goods and services. Direct provision of services by the government “distorts” the market for that service and thus causes inefficiencies. The government should therefore divest itself of the provision of services to the public.
- Too elaborate a safety net is bad for the nation. For it requires a large budget which then translates to higher taxes on businesses and entrepreneurs. These taxes reduce the funds available to entrepreneurs to upgrade and improve their services as well as their motivation to earn more income by expanding their provision of services. At the same time, the provision of too much welfare benefits creates a dependent mentality in the poorer half of society who over time comes to expect a “free lunch” as their birth right. It encourages laziness and is bad for national productivity.

- Society needs tougher Intellectual Property Protection laws. Otherwise innovations will dry up and we will all suffer.

All these ideas are not true. We need to debunk them and make people see that there are alternatives to the model of creating a society based on human greed cut-throat competition. A better world is indeed within our grasp. We just need to get together to work towards it.

C. Allay the fear of the 99% that their political and civil liberties are at stake

The neoliberal propaganda machine has managed to convince a large section of the population that provision of basic services by the state would create huge bureaucracies and pave the way to authoritarian rule. The state of affairs within the USSR in the 20th century is used as a cautionary example. We need to explain that there are many effective ways to democratize the management of public utilities including:-

- Having provisions for the periodic election of members of the general public as well as workers in these utilities into the management boards of the utilities;
- Ensuring transparency in the management of these utilities;
- Having provisions for annual wealth declarations by the people in position of power;
- Enforcing strict term limits for public office;
- Establishing an effective ombudsman mechanism.

And we have to show that we mean what we say by studiously observing best democratic practices in our institutions and the mass movements that we are associated with⁸.

D. Place the entire debate within the context of Climate Change

Carbon dioxide levels have exceeded 400 ppm. Climate change is a reality. The world has to find ways of meeting the needs of all its inhabitants without further increasing CO2 emissions. The economic imperative to keep growing ceaselessly would be suicidal⁹ for the human race! We need to think of a society that is not fixated on constantly growing the GDP.

We need a new paradigm of development that is based on solidarity among men and with the environment. And it is through praxis that we can define that new vision more clearly. So let's go back to the people and help them stand up for their rights and fight attempts to impoverish them. Let's build a broad-based, democratic and inclusive peoples movement to reclaim our future.

Notes

1. However in practice, privatization in Malaysia has produced large monopolies. For example in the health care sector, the support services (laundry, clinical waste disposal, housekeeping, maintenance of medical equipment, and building maintenance) for government hospitals throughout the country were divided out to 3 companies following 3 zones. The screening of foreign workers was given exclusively to Fomema. So the story of healthy competitions driving down costs isn't true at all.
2. Good data for this phenomenon in Malaysia given in Muhammed Abdul Khalid's book *The Colour of Inequality* (MPH Publishing).
3. The Star, 8/9/2014, Pg 12. *Quoting the preliminary report of the 2014 Household Income Survey done by the government.*
4. Now pegged at 25% in Malaysia for the top range for individuals and for corporate profits.
5. James Tobin, a Nobel Prize laureate suggested a 0.5% tax on all foreign exchange transactions. That may be too large a rate. Even a tenth of that rate would generate a lot of income for the State. However it is something that has to be implemented in all countries. Otherwise traders will just shun the Forex market of the countries that implement this tax.
6. This is a very economic conception of human being. It completely ignores the fact that people are driven by many motivations including altruism, the satisfaction in completing a task successfully and the need to excel.
7. The high probability of regulatory capture by large corporations is not even recognized let alone addressed.

8. Marta Harnecker's *Rebuilding the Left* (Daanish Books, India) is a must-read for all serious activists who wish to combat neoliberalism. Harnecker is a Chilean sociologist who has lived in Venezuela for several years.

9. See Naomi Klein. *This Changes Everything*. (Penguin Books)

抵抗成为可能：新自由主义的替代方案

杰亚古玛 (Jeyakumar Devaraj)

霹雳州和丰国会议员，马来西亚社会主义党

自 1980 年代以来，新自由主义政策在世界各地更为普遍流行，其中表现在：

- 基本需求服务如水、健康医疗和教育，以效率之名私营化¹，使这些基本服务商品化，平民百姓的生活成本提高，甚至卷入沉重的债务；
- 对“公共产物”设下藩篱，例如透过智慧财产权法的扩张，让土地和知识遥不可及；
- 压制薪资，扩大社会顶端的 10% 富人和剩余的底层人口之间的鸿沟²；
- 过去数十年好不容易建立起来的社会安全网(safety net)逐渐解除；
- 60%底层人口面对经济困苦；
- 温室排放物指数升高，二氧化碳水平超过 400ppm。

新自由主义的替代方案

若要将这些替代方案概念化并非难事，其中很多方案在二战后首三十年就已经实行过。基本上，这些方案需要国家更多的干预，以更平等的方式重新分配社会财富，其中包括：

1. 有尊严的最低薪资

马来西亚的薪资只占了国内生产总值(GDP)的 33.6%³，若把目前的最低薪资 RM900 提升至 RM1500，将会让一般无技术劳工的家户受惠，也将提高一百万人口或经营小生意的男女商家们的收入，进而提高他们的购买力。

2. 基本需求的去商品化

为 75% 的贫穷人口重新分配国家财富的另一个策略，是规定市场必须从基本需求服务的供应中退出，如房屋、医疗健康、高等教育和水电供应，改由国家管控的机构治理，按照补助后的价格提供给这些贫穷群体，唯必须以民主透明的方式管理。这不算是新鲜事，政府曾在 1960、70 年代管理表现良好。如果人们每月无需为房屋或孩子的高等教育花费那么多，他们会有更多可支配的收入。这样一来将可减轻人们的经济负担，也会扩大国内市场。

3. 巩固安全网

全民退休金制度(*Universal old age pension*)可以有效地改善 65 岁或以上老年人的生活。大部分的老人正面临人生的第七十个年头，却无任何储蓄。其中只有约 15% 的老人享有政府退休金福利，另外少数受到社会保险金 (SOCSO) 的保障。

马来西亚工会代表大会(Malaysia Trade Union Congress, MTUC)不断要求政府实施**裁员福利计划**，以保障失业人士。不过，政府一再推说还在研究，至今仍未见曙光。这计划不仅可以帮助被辞退的劳工们，也能够让他们在经济萧条时期还有一点收入，不至于因需求高涨而快速吃紧。

4. 渐进性的税收制度

富人应该被征税，贫穷家庭则应免税。政府应该停止不断减免个人所得税和企业税⁴，或至少维持在目前的水平，直到我们能够在国际间取得共识，合作提升这些税率，却又不会导致各种生意外移到税务政体更低廉的国家。此外，消费税也应该被抑制。向金融交易征收的托宾税 (Tobin Tax)⁵，也可以考虑作为一种为国家金库制造收入的途径。

其实，这些政策选项不算新颖。其中好些政策都曾于二战后的三十年间，在世界很多地方落实过，却在 1980 年以后开始倒退。我们要如何抵抗新自由主义的侵袭并将其翻转，我想借此提出一些意见。

A. 赋权予人民

社运分子寻求重新建设以人为本的政策，首先必须明白 1950、60 年代的“发展型”国家（“Developmental” State）转向为 1990 年代的“新自由主义”国家（“Neoliberal” State），是出自于全球阶级动力的显著转变。

1990 年代初期，当时既有的社会主义在华沙公约（Warsaw Pact）国家自我分解（“auto-lysis”; self-destruction，自我解构），加上中国向资本主义开放，戏剧性地巩固了世界上 1% 富有阶级的地位，因为：

- 人们开始怀疑是否存在另一个可信赖的替代方案，对“全球资本主义制度可以被挑战”的想法完全失去信心，仿佛前英国首相柴契尔（Thatcher）的“别无选择”之说不证自明；
- 工业资本家挑战先进国家有组织的劳工，把生产外包给中国、越南和东欧国家。这大大地削弱了先进国家劳工们的议价权力，并逼迫脆弱的工会接受更恶劣的劳动条件，否则将失去更多的工作机会；
- 已发展国家面对失去数以千计薪资优渥的工业职缺，以及工业生产迁置到低薪资国家，税收基础将因此减少，进而导致预算赤字。国际金融秩序的演变，允许企业总社设在海外来避税，更加剧预算赤字的问题，也变相成为降低福利预算的压力；
- 为了吸引外国直接投资，发展中国家纷纷“向下沉沦”，为了吸引投资者，不惜牺牲劳工条件和环境标准，陷入疯狂的争夺；
- 全世界采用亲企业的政策（pro-corporate policies）。

新自由主义袭击的主要动力，来自于 1% 富有阶级在社会的主导性之提高。一旦人们接受这样的看法，那么翻转新自由主义的主要策略，显然就是要赋权予 99% 的底层人口。

B. 为世界提出替代视角

许多 99%的底层人们因为接受了新自由主义代言人的分析而感到绝望。他们愈发相信柴契尔夫人是正确的——真的别无选择。新自由主义信条认为：

- 市场机制是社会中最有效率的机制。不同供应者之间会竞逐削减成本¹，持续提升货品和服务的品质，以达到最佳的成本效益。根据新自由主义支持者的说法，倘若改由公部门提供，政府的官僚本质会让这些服务变得毫无效率和怠慢；
- 私领域供应者以盈利为动力，会比政府公务员来得更有效率，因为后者的月收入并不依赖顾客满意度来分发⁶；
- 政府的恰当角色是为私领域提供的物品与服务网络建设一套标准和法律框架⁷。由政府直接提供这些服务，无疑是“扭曲”市场的规律而变得无效率。由此，政府应该放弃向公众提供这类服务；
- 对国家而言，过分强调安全网是有害。它需要庞大的预算，随之转嫁到生意人和企业家们的头上，向他们征收更高的税务。这些征税会减少企业家们可动用的资金来提升和改善服务，也削弱他们想要扩张服务范围以赚取更多收入的动力。同时，为超过社会人口半数的贫穷人士提供过多的福利，将会让他们产生依赖的心态，误以为获得“免费午餐”是他们与生俱来的权利。这会鼓励惰性的滋长，对国家生产力产生负面的影响；
- 社会需要更严苛的智慧财产权法，否则我们会流失许多创意而损失惨重。

这些想法都并不正确。我们需要揭穿它们的真面目，让人们看到除了主张人类贪念的的割喉竞争的社会外，还有其他替代的社会模型。我们其实有能力创造一个更美好的社会，只是它需要我们共同协力完成。

C. 减缓 99%底层人口认为他们的政治和公民自由危在旦夕的恐惧

新自由主义的议程机制成功说服大部分人，认为国家管理基本服务会衍生庞大的官僚体制而滋生威权管制。二十世纪的苏联局势，就经常被用来作为警戒别人的例子。我们需要解释，事实上有很多有效的方法能让公共事业的管理民主化，包括：

- 让公众和这些公共机构服务的劳工们能够透过定期举办的选举,进入这些机构的管理委员会；

- 确保这些公共机构的管理透明；
- 规定掌握公职的官员定时公布年度财富；
- 严厉执行公部门的任职期限；
- 建立有效的监督员机制以调查政府官员舞弊的问题。

我们也必须遵守承诺并付诸行动，在机构及与我们有牵连的群众运动中，仔细观察各种最好的民主实践方法⁸。

D. 把所有辩论放在气候变化的脉络之中

大气中二氧化碳的浓度已超过 400ppm，说明气候变化是真实存在的。为了避免二氧化碳排放物持续提升，全世界需要寻找一条新的出路，以满足所有居住者的需求。持续增长的经济规则恐怕将会让人种自我毁灭⁹！我们必须重新想象一个社会，一个并不迷恋国内生产总值持续增长的社会。

我们需要全新的发展典范，强调人类与环境的团结互助。而唯有透过实践，我们才能让新世界变得更清晰。让我们回归自己，帮助人们一起争取权益，抵抗贫穷，建立更宽广、民主和包容的公民运动，重新主导我们的未来⁷。

注：

1. 然而，事实上马来西亚的私营化已衍生出许多庞大的垄断商。以健康医疗为例，全国政府医院的支援服务（洗衣业、诊疗废弃物处理、家政清洁工作、医疗器材维修和建筑维修）这三个领域仅由三家公司外包垄断。移工身体检查也是由 FOMEMA（移工医疗检查与检测机构）独家垄断。所以，企业之间良性竞争以降低成本的说法并不属实。

2. 莫哈末阿都卡立（Muhammed Abdul Khalid）的著作《不平等的肤色》（*The Colour of Inequality*, MPH Publishing 出版）为马来西亚的相关现象提供了充分数据。

3. 见 The Star, 8/9/2014,第 12 页。摘自政府出版的 2014 年家户收入调查 (2014 Household Income Survey) 的初步报告。
4. 现在高收入的个人和企业利润的征税标准订在 25%。
5. 詹姆士.托宾 (James Tobin), 诺贝尔奖得主, 建议向所有外汇交易征税 0.5%。这个比率也许太高, 但即使只是其中的十分之一都已经可以为国家制造很多收入。无论如何, 所有国家都应该实施这样的税收措施, 否则交易商将会想尽办法避开那些在外汇市场征税的国家。
6. 这是关于人类非常经济主义的概念, 完全忽略了人们也可能受到其他因素鼓舞的事实, 包括利他主义、完成任务的满足感以及表现突出的需求。
7. 这极可能被大财团管控占领, 但我们连这也不愿意承认, 更遑论要提出问题。
8. 马尔塔.哈内克 (Marta Hannecker) 的《重建左翼》 (*Rebuilding the Left*, 印度 Dannish Books 出版) 是所有立志与新自由主义抵抗的社运分子必读之著作。作者哈内克是一名智利籍社会学家, 在委内瑞拉生活多年。
9. 见娜欧蜜.克莱恩 (Naomi Klein), 《气候危机改变一切》 (*This Changes Everything*, Penguin Books 出版)。

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