



橫空出世的大樹菠蘿女人

THE EMERGENCE OF THE JACKFRUIT WOMAN



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Photograph by the Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group

中文: www.tinyurl.com/JackfruitWomanChi
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www.insurrectionaryam.tumblr.com

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「第九屆東亞另類地理學的區域性會議」發表
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Rethinking Socio-Political Issues from East Asian Perspectives
Panel: *Gender and Spatial Justice II: Struggles over Representation and Uneven Development*

Michael Leung

人類虧欠大地一份生命的恩情，只是他一無所知，也認不出孕育他的大地之母。¹

Man issued from the womb of Mother Earth, but he knew it not, nor recognized her, to whom he owed his life.

— Emma Goldman & Max Baginski, *Mother Earth*¹

¹ www.theanarchistlibrary.org/library/emma-goldman-max-baginski-mother-earth

位處新界西北綠化帶的橫洲面臨收地遷拆，造就了原本寂寂無名的「大樹菠蘿女人」。三年抗爭未成功促使政府讓步。目前，政府拒絕將住宅發展改劃至鄰近棕地，定意逼遷500多名村民。

This zine introduces Jackfruit Woman, an unlikely protagonist in an upcoming village eviction, situated on a green belt in the northwest part of Hong Kong. Despite a three-year resistance led by the Wang Chau villagers, the government is adamant in displacing over 500 villagers, instead of building social housing units on nearby brownfield sites.

新界是香港三個主要地理區域之一。殖民時代實施的原居民政策和福利安排，為橫洲和很多新界地區帶來複雜的社會空間爭議。其中最主要的問題是「原居民」及「非原居民」的差異，和男性原居民建設「小型屋宇」（下稱「丁屋」）的權益。

The socio-spatial issues relating to Wang Chau and other parts of the New Territories, one of three regions in Hong Kong, are complicated and rooted in the laws and privileges implemented by the British colonial government. Two key points continue to be problematic to the present day—the dichotomy between 'indigenous' and 'non-indigenous' villagers living in the New Territories, and the 'Small House Policy' that entitles all male indigenous villagers to building rights.



橫洲村落位置圖。原始版本取自地政總署測繪處
Wang Chau Village location. Modified map from The Survey and Mapping Office, Lands Department.

新界 The New Territories

「新界」原居民的合法傳統權益受
香港特別行政區的保護。

The lawful traditional rights and interests of the indigenous inhabitants of the “New Territories” shall be protected by the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region.

— 中華人民共和國香港特別行政區基本法第四十條
Article 40, *The Basic Law of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People’s Republic of China*²

² www.basiclaw.gov.hk/en/basiclawtext/chapter_3.html

1898年，英國租借新界和香港200個島嶼99年，其中500多條村從此有了「原居民」和「非原居民」的分別。³非原居民跟我說過他們的歷史，40至50年代期間，大批難民從大陸湧到香港，港英政府讓他們在新界開墾定居，新界也開始多了單層鐵皮屋和農村。非原居民在新界安定下來，發展自己的村落。³初期的房屋是木造的，後來村民才負擔得起水泥和鐵材。時至今日，有些非原居民在橫洲已經居住了四代。

³ www.hongkongfp.com/2018/01/13/two-systems-one-colony-small-house-policy-reminder-duality-hong-kongs-past

In 1898, the New Territories and 200 outlying islands were leased to the British colonial government for 99 years, which created the classification of ‘indigenous’ and ‘non-indigenous’ in its 500+ villages.³ I learnt from non-indigenous villagers that during the 1940s and 50s, due to the influx of refugees from Mainland China, people were welcomed by the British government to live and farm in the New Territories, which led to the construction of single-storey sheet-metal-roof housing and farming villages. Non-indigenous people settled in the New Territories and became villagers. They built their own homes, firstly from wood and later upgraded with other materials such as iron and concrete. Today some non-indigenous villagers have resided in Wang Chau for four generations.⁴

⁴ Arguably surpassing the 12-year Adverse Possession (squatter’s rights) period: www.hkreform.gov.hk/en/docs/radversepossession_se.pdf

1972年，港英政府推出「小型屋宇政策」，「容許所



橫洲丁屋，2017年12月攝於香港。圖片來源：橫洲綠化帶發展關注組
Small Houses in Wang Chau, Hong Kong, December 2017.
Photograph by Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group.



有父系源自 1898 年時為新界認可鄉村居民的男子，在鄉村，或以私人協約方式在政府土地上，申請興建一間三層的村屋」。⁵

In 1972, the British government implemented the ‘Small House Policy’ that *allows every male member of a family descended through the male line from an indigenous villager in 1898 to apply once to build a three-storey village house on either village land, or on public land through a private treaty grant.*⁵

上圖的村屋一棟三層，每層700平方呎(65.03平方米)，是政策容許面積的上限。比起香港其他居住環境，像是劏房和出租床位，新界的丁屋顯得寬敞豪華。然而，這個特權僅僅屬於男性原居民。有些丁屋違例僭建，村代表和政府部門卻往往未能兼顧。好些原居民更藉此撈上一筆，違例售賣興建權。發展商大量收購丁屋和土地，可以將單棟住宅圍起來，組合成獨立的私人屋苑。⁶

From the above photograph you will see a three-storey building, with each floor having 700 square feet (65.03 square metres). This is the maximum size of a Small House. In comparison to other housing conditions in Hong Kong, such as subdivided and bedspace apartments, this is spacious luxury housing—a privilege for male indigenous villagers. Some Small Houses have creative and illegal extensions, which are often overlooked by village leaders and the government. Some indigenous villagers even profit with their privilege, and illegally sell their Small Houses and land rights to property developers, which when purchased in bulk, can be grouped and walled to create a gated community.

學者Carol Jones在Women in Hong Kong (香港的女性)一書這樣寫：「英國法律套用到香港，並未違背當地習俗，反而加強了殖民時代以前的父權民風」。⁷香港雖然在1996年實施《消除對婦女一切

⁵ www.hongkongfp.com/2018/01/13/two-systems-one-colony-small-house-policy-reminder-duality-hong-kongs-past, www.eac.gov.hk/pdf/village/en/vr_app_B.pdf and www.landsd.gov.hk/en/images/doc/NTSHP_E_text.pdf

⁶ www.hongkongfp.com/2018/01/04/revealed-10000-village-houses-built-following-illegal-transfer-land-rights-study-suggests

⁷ Carol Jones, “The New Territories Inheritance Law: Colonization and the Élités,” in *Women in Hong Kong* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 170-171.



錦田丁屋，2018年11月攝於香港
Small Houses in Kam Tin, Hong Kong, November 2018.



立法會議員與新界鄉議局議員會面，2017年5月12日攝於香港。圖片來源：立法會網頁
Legislative Council Members meet with Heung Yee Kuk Councillors, 12th May 2017, Hong Kong.
Photograph from LegCo website
<https://app.legco.gov.hk/PhotoGallery/english/PhotoSlider.aspx?category=599&term=2016>

形式歧視公約》, 卻未能動搖歧視鄉郊女性的父權政策。⁸

⁸ See Article 14: www.lwb.gov.hk/CEDAW/eng/CEDAW_booklet_2018.pdf

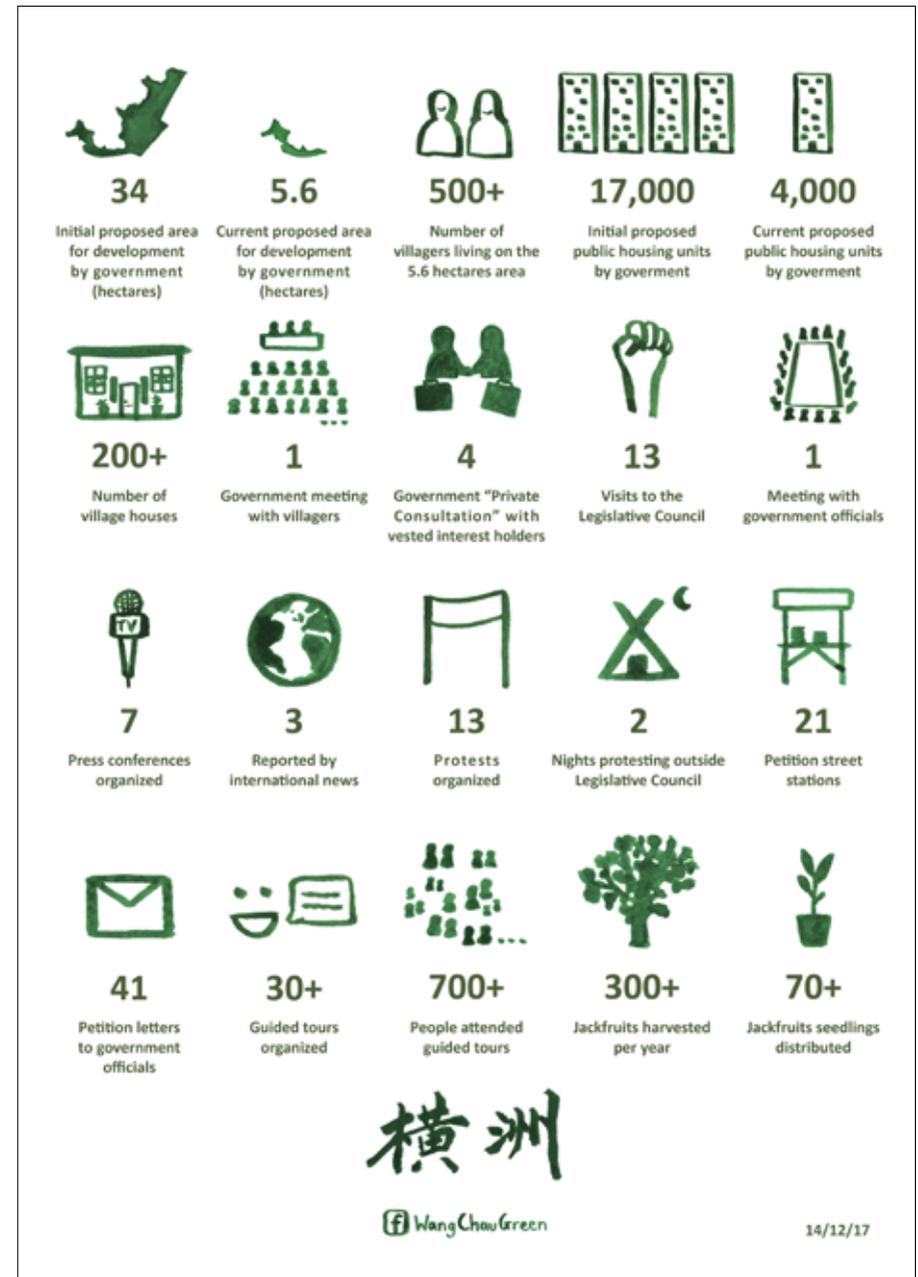
In *Women in Hong Kong* scholar Carol Jones wrote that, *'The initial introduction of British law to Hong Kong resulted not in a conflict with local practices, but a reinforcement of pre-colonial forms of patriarchal power.'*⁷ Despite Hong Kong implementing the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1996, the patriarchal and discriminating law towards *rural women* remains the same.⁸

新界鄉議局是1926年成立的法定機構，負責諮詢和協商新界事務。27名委員會成員均為男性。⁹ 鄉議局委員是新界發展的關鍵，然而，農業用地正經歷重大挑戰。不少人通過非法棄置等活動取利，污染泥土，甚至用水泥覆蓋農田。¹⁰ 面對上述社會和文化問題，偏偏有三條橫洲村落（永寧村、鳳池村及楊屋新村）在過去三年堅決抵抗由上而下的發展規劃，讓人看到鄉郊女權運動的曙光。

⁹ www.had.gov.hk/rre/chi/images/hyker/chairemen_rc.pdf

¹⁰ www.facebook.com/johnchoy.hk/media_set?set=a.895296953920104.1073741898.100003194230604&type=3

The Heung Yee Kuk rural council is a statutory advisory and consultative body established by law for the New Territories in 1926. The council is now composed of 27 members, all of which are men.⁹ These men play a significant part in the development of the New Territories, as agricultural land is increasingly contaminated and concretised to accumulate capital from illegal activities such as construction waste dumping.¹⁰ Despite all the aforementioned socio-cultural issues, three villages (Wing Ning Village, Fung Chi Village and Yeung Uk San Village, referred to in this text from here on as Wang Chau Village) have been resisting a top-down government development plan for over three years, and shows potential of a feminist rural movement in Hong Kong.



2015年10月到2017年12月的抗爭運動圖解
Infographics illustrating the details of the movement from October 2015 to December 2017.



橫洲山丘下的棕地，攝於2017年6月
Brownfield visible up the hill from Wang Chau Village, June 2017.

橫洲村民和橫洲綠化帶發展關注組自2015年10月一直爭取公平的發展草案，以求保護綠化帶和生態環境，以及村民居住多年的房屋。政府初時計畫在34公頃土地上（包括棕地）興建1萬7千個公營房屋單位，後來卻改為在5.6公頃土地上興建4千個公營房屋單位，只向村民和綠化帶下手。立法會議員和村民認為政府對棕地業權有所顧慮，才大幅縮減發展範圍。不少鄉紳利用棕地營運非法商業活動，例如貨倉、停車場和回收場，甚至左右新界發展議題的鄉議局也手持棕地業權。¹¹

The Wang Chau villagers and Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group have been active since October 2015 in demanding an equitable development plan, that does not destroy the green belt, biodiversity and their self-built homes. The government originally proposed to build 17,000 public housing units on 34 hectares of land (including brownfield), but ultimately decided to build only 4,000 units on 5.6 hectares (opting to displace the villagers, destroy their homes and concretise the green belt). Legislative Council members and villagers suspect that the 34 hectares were significantly reduced due to the ownership of the brownfield. Some of the land is used by (hostile) “rural strongmen” for illegal business operations, such as storage, car parking and informal recycling.¹¹ Some land is owned by the Heung Yee Kuk rural council, who have considerable negotiating power with the government across the New Territories.

更甚的是，橫洲規劃缺乏公眾諮詢，政府和新世界發展有限公司涉嫌官商勾結，加上原居民祖墳問題和工程顧問公司奧雅納（ARUP）挪用政府資料的醜聞，令橫洲的社會空間問題加倍惡化。官方認可人員更不擇手段闖入居民家中，假扮成普通遠足人士，甚至冒充年長村民的親戚。¹²

¹¹ www.hongkongfp.com/2016/09/26/rural-strongman-earns-hk100m-from-wang-chau-car-park-he-operates-partly-on-govt-land-report/?utm_content=buffer5b6e6&utm_medium=social&utm_source=plus.google.com&utm_campaign=buffer and www.hongkongfp.com/2016/11/01/govt-allowed-wang-chau-car-park-keep-illegally-built-entrance-amid-rural-resistance-report

¹² https://ofomb.ombudsman.hk/abc/files/Annex_2_E_2.pdf and www.hongkongfp.com/2016/09/28/consulting-firm-arup-used-confidential-govt-data-developers-wang-chau-bid-report

Socio-spatial issues are exacerbated by no public consultations, government and developer collusion (New World Development Company Limited), protection of indigenous villagers' burial grounds, lax confidentiality by engineering consultants (Arup) and controversial methods employed by government statutory bodies who try to enter villagers' homes, sometimes in disguise as hikers or imitating the relatives of elderly villagers.¹²

2016年1月，民間團體本土研究社發現新界共有1,192公頃棕地，反映棕地供應充足。¹³ 然而，繼早前菜園村的居民抗爭，反對新界東北新發展規劃的呼聲不斷，政府卻選擇再次拆村，勒令村民在2019年春天內遷離。¹⁴

In January 2016, a non-governmental organisation called Liber Research Community discovered that there are 1,192 hectares of brownfield located in the New Territories.¹³ Despite abundant brownfield and previous land resistant movements such as in Choi Yuen Village and the ongoing Anti-North East New Territories Development Plan, the Hong Kong government chooses village displacement with an eviction scheduled for 2019.¹⁴

根據目前規劃，政府將會平整橫洲一帶土地作日後發展，包括一座26米高的小山丘。一篇刊登在《自然：國際科學周刊》的文章指出，「剷平山丘和移山造地就像在地球表面大動手術」。¹⁵ 橫洲的土壤將送往何方？大概要用來填補政府2018年8月提出的「明日大嶼」2200公頃人工島計劃。¹⁶ 剷平山丘，意味著現時居住橫洲的植物、樹林和動物都會失去棲息地，整個生態會遭受破壞。義工組織「新界反逼遷動物戰隊」也多次走訪橫洲，評估拆遷對社區貓狗的影響。¹⁷

The government plans to flatten the topography of Wang Chau Village, to allow construction on a flat surface. Some areas of the proposed develop site elevate up to 26 metres above ground level. An article in the *Nature: International*

¹³ www.tinyurl.com/BrownfieldHK
Summary-English

¹⁴ www.martinkrenn.net/choi_yuen_village/info.html?fbclid=IwAR3qZRcVeFyaF5yHXbLfQ871yi5MjHsF2LHw2EzTaWX4J1MUFeYS27oCXMs and www.facebook.com/LoveNENT

¹⁵ www.nature.com/news/environment-accelerate-research-on-land-creation-1.15327#/b5

¹⁶ www.hongkongfp.com/2018/08/07/2200-hectare-reclamation-project-off-lantau-house-1-1m-people-says-think-tank-headed-ex-leader

¹⁷ www.tinyurl.com/AnimalsWillLoveHK



新世界發展有限公司在橫洲收購囤積的農業用地，攝於2017年5月。
A piece of agricultural land in Wang Chau Village acquired and hoarded by New World Development Company Limited, May 2017.

圖片來源：本土研究社
Image from Facebook page: 本土研究社, Liber Research Community

Weekly Journal of Science stated that, 'Land creation by cutting off hilltops and moving massive quantities of dirt is like performing major surgery on Earth's crust.'¹⁵ Where would the Wang Chau Village soil go? Perhaps it will be relocated to the 2,200-hectare 'East Lantau Metropolis' land reclamation project recently proposed by the government (August 2018).¹⁶ Wang Chau is home to numerous plant and tree species, and biodiversity; cutting off *hilltops* will cause considerable ecological destruction. Meanwhile a self-organised group known as 'Animals Will Love HK' have been visiting Wang Chau to assess what will happen to the village's cats and dogs before the government's proposed eviction date.¹⁷





大樹菠蘿 The Jackfruit Tree

[...]果樹的壽命比人要長，是人類最先可以傳給下一代的產業。果樹必須細心打理，所以定明繼承權至關緊要。有了果樹，便有了族譜。

[...] since Fruit trees may last more than a generation, the fruit tree is the oldest form of heritable fixed property. Since it is important that fruit trees be cared for, it becomes important to control and certify kinship succession. Hence the fruit tree gives rise to the family tree.

— Claire Russell, 生命和死亡之樹
*The Life and the Death Tree*¹⁸

¹⁸ Claire Russell, *The Life and the Death Tree Folklore* Vol 11(3) 1981 p.131.

2017年5月，一班守護馬屎埔的村民到橫洲聲援，分享他們在2016年4至6月期間的拆遷經歷。那天晚上，一位村民借出舊居讓大家聚會。我和馬屎埔的村民剛到達，橫洲居民已經準備多時，屋內擺放了不同顏色的膠凳，投影機的燈光打在一幅白布上面，旁邊設置了咪高峰和音響系統。兩個小時的聚會中，大家輪流分享個人經歷或照片，對拆遷前的行動提出自己的想法。

In May 2017, land protectors from Ma Shi Po Village visited Wang Chau to show solidarity and share their eviction experiences between April and June 2016. The meeting happened at night, in a village house. I joined the Ma Shi Po land protectors and entered the village house to a welcoming group of villagers, multi-coloured stools, a microphone/speaker system and a projector beaming onto a piece of white fabric. For the next two hours everyone shared their experiences, photographs and ideas of what could be done before the eviction.

席上橫洲村民談到他們的花園和小農田，還有父母輩種下的果樹，他們又提及村裡高大的大樹菠蘿。說



何生其中一棵大樹菠蘿，攝於2017年6月。One of Mr. Ho's jackfruit trees, June 2017.



2017年橫洲大樹菠蘿節海報，2017年6月2017。Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival poster, June 2017.

到這裡，橫洲大樹菠蘿節的概念開始成形。有別於過往一年多的策略，2017年的大樹菠蘿節為抗爭活動注入創意元素，展現橫洲好客、歡慶、引人入勝的一面。¹⁹ 之後兩個月，關注組成員和其他支持者合力籌辦活動，悉心打理村裡面的大樹菠蘿。

The Wang Chau villagers spoke about their small farms and gardens, and fruit trees—grown by their parents. After speaking about their tall jackfruit trees, this led to the idea of creating a 2017 Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival, an event that differed from the strategies employed by the villagers in the past year and a half—something welcoming, celebratory and rich with stories—contributing to a creative resistance.¹⁹ Over the course of two months the villagers, the Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group and supporters organised the festival, keeping a close eye on the jackfruits growing in the village.

籌備活動期間，村民在朗屏路架起了帳篷，下面擺椅子，又放了資訊板、風扇和盆栽，旁邊的螢幕用來存放雜物。村口頓然成了個公共空間。村民就在那個臨時空間交流資訊、互相打氣。佈置的政治色彩愈益濃烈，後來又有人把大樹菠蘿節的海報貼在村口。

During the festival planning the villagers transformed the Long Ping Road village entrance into a common space with a folding gazebo, chairs, an information board, a fan, plants and a tent to store items. This transient space became a new platform for villagers to share information and build solidarity. The jackfruit festival event poster was later put up at the politicised village entrance.

馬屎埔抗爭期間擺在村口的綠色菠菜巨人啟發了後來橫洲的吉祥物。就在活動前一個月，海報上出現了個長有女性臉孔的大樹菠蘿。藝術家筆下的這名橫洲新成員，五官隱約看得出村民鄭太的輪廓。張太在橫洲耕種多年，守村抗爭以來一直敢於發聲。大樹菠蘿節前那天在市區有個藝術和種植的展覽，策展人瞿暢把



馬屎埔村口的堡壘，攝影：文，攝於2016年5月
Fortress at Ma Shi Po Village, Hong Kong, May 2016. Photograph by Wen.

海報帶了去，並形容上面畫著的「大樹菠蘿女人」是個「如同大地女神般潤澤百物的人物，和土地息息相關。她眼光徘徊在橫洲耕種歷史的根源，同時凝視土地仍是模糊的將來」。²⁰

²⁰ 'A Tale: The Land of Fish and Rice' research station at Cattle Depot - www.facebook.com/events/102580470399002

The Spinach Man at Ma Shi Po Village inspired a new mascot at Wang Chau and the Jackfruit Woman emerged one month before the festival. An artist painted the new member of the village, with facial features loosely modelled on Mrs. Cheng, a Wang Chau farmer and villager who has been very vocal in the movement. In an art and farming exhibition in the city, that opened a day before the festival, curator Qu Chang included the festival poster and described the Jackfruit Woman as a, 'Gaia-like nurturing figure that is intrinsically connected with the concept of earth, she gazes back to Wang Chau's farming roots, while looking towards an unclear future of the land.'²⁰

活動在橫洲的一個水泥地公園進行，原本不過是西鐵綫架空段的一片空地，改造後吸引了許多村民和公眾到訪，平日不太關心政治的人也為了活動和農作物特意參加。大樹菠蘿成為了大家免費享用的食物，連種子也公開派發。²¹ 活動期間，主辦的朋友不斷供應煮成涼果的大樹菠蘿核，有人帶領公眾創作大樹菠蘿臉譜，其他人則和參加者分享村裡面的農作物、喝馬屎埔村出產的茶。大家一同繪畫的巨型大樹菠蘿，到現在仍作為公眾雕塑放置在村口。大樹菠蘿節讓公眾了解政府不公平的發展計畫，同時推動土地正義議題。現場的音樂表演和戶外聚餐把村民和支持者拉得更近。關注組成員林安琪創作了幾首歌，靈感取材自橫洲生活，她和居住橫洲70多年的黃伯關係密切。一次村大會上，黃伯表達盡心協助守村的年輕人令他十分感動，林安琪也一直未能忘懷。

²¹ See www.xximagazine.com/c/seeds-of-awareness

The festival location reappropriated the concrete village public park under the West Rail line bridge into a place that attracted the public and many villagers, some of which are apolitical but came to enjoy the festivities and village harvest.



The jackfruit became common, shared with whoever visited the festival—seeds too.²¹ During the festival, organisers were serving caramelised edible jackfruit seeds, making jackfruit people masks, sharing village produce, drinking Ma Shi Po Village tea, and collectively painting a giant jackfruit (that now remains in the same place, as a public sculpture). The festival raised awareness of the government’s inequitable development plans, encouraged environmental justice and brought people together in solidarity, with live music performances and an evening outdoor feast. Lam On Ki, a member of the concern group, played a series of songs inspired by her experiences and kinships with Wang Chau villagers, such as Mr. Wong who has lived in the village for over 70 years. She recalled a moment in a village meeting when Mr. Wong shared how moved he was by the determination of the younger activists supporting the villagers’ plight.

大樹菠蘿節當日參加導賞團的人都收到一份特別印刷的橫洲地圖。製圖的藝術家覺得關注組原本派發的地圖流於古板，美感和政府的的城市規劃圖不相上下。其中一幅遊覽小冊子的地圖借用了都市觀光指南的元素，在遊覽路線上註明一個個「停留點」。對比之下，那幅自發創作的地圖呼應地理教育家 Zonia Baber 的看法，也就是繪製地圖是地理教育三項最重要的元素之一。²² 她提倡鼓勵學生對地圖學發展出自己的見解，並認為地圖應該讓人了解「真實的人和地」。²³ 新的橫洲地圖以中英雙語標示村裡面的細節，把生態環境、村民種下的農作物，還有抗爭橫額，都一一展示出來。

²² www.smithsonianmag.com/science/woman-who-transformed-how-we-teach-geography-180967859

²³ Ibid.

2017橫洲大樹菠蘿節集體照片。圖片來源：橫洲綠化帶發展關注組
 2017 Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival group photograph. Photograph by Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group.
 2017 Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival map (front), July 2017. Available at www.tinyurl.com/WangChauFlowers

A special edition jackfruit festival village map was distributed to participants who joined the village tours that day. The map artist felt that the concern group’s existing maps were too conventional and had a government urban planning aesthetic. For example, one map that featured in a village tour booklet borrowed the visual elements of a metro map with “stopping points” on the village tour. This self-initiated illustrated map echoes the geography teacher Zonia



2018橫洲大樹菠蘿節。圖片來源：橫洲綠化帶發展關注組
2018 Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival group photograph. Photograph by Wang Chau Green Belt Concern Group.

Baber who stated that, *'the third key element of geography education was map-making.'*²² She advocated that students should create their own approach to cartography and that maps should correspond to *'real places and real people.'*²³ The updated Wang Chau map is critical and shares the village's details by including biodiversity, sharing some plant species grown by villagers and protest banners—all in Chinese and English.

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拆遷原本訂在2017年12月進行，後來政府因著某些原因把遷拆期押後，無意間促成了第二屆大樹菠蘿節。面對著看不清的未來，橫洲的歐陽太、鄭太、張太，和鄭小姐四名女村民在關注組協助下再次籌備盛會。²⁴

²⁴ www.facebook.com/events/2115271718791784

It was thought that the village eviction would happen in December 2017, but for unknown reasons the government extended the eviction deadline. The indefinite eviction extension fortuitously made way for a second jackfruit festival, organised predominantly by four women villagers, Mrs. Au Yeung, Mrs. Cheng, Mrs. Cheung and Miss Cheng, and members of the concern group.²⁴

第二屆大樹菠蘿節移師到歐陽夫婦的村屋和庭院進行。承襲前一年的活動，加上開放部分私人地方，「大樹菠蘿共享空間」應運而出。橫額製作、新書分享會、絲網印刷、面具製作等各項創意藝術活動也在那裏舉行，而村民就在旁邊免費供應新鮮水果和果酒。

The second festival was located at Mrs. and Mr. Au Yeung's village house and their large front yard. Building on last year's events and opening a private space to the public, activated a 'jackfruit commons,' where jackfruits and jackfruit mead was shared freely alongside creative events such as a banner-making workshop, mask-making, an art exhibition, a book sharing and silkscreen printing.

《後現代地理學：重申批判社會理論中的空間》一書中，Edward Soja指出：「給生命留空間、創造環

境和人性化習慣的對立張力之下，主觀性和客觀性得以重新連繫」。²⁵ 新界的傳統和流傳至今的父權風俗，以及橫洲的男性領袖和他們的所謂擁躉，對比第二屆大樹菠蘿節的新意，讓人看出一個新環境正在逐漸成形。在這個社區為本的環境裡面，人人都可以參與，不需要顧忌階層差異， 兼且整個氣氛更為女性化。Mary Mellor在《女性主義與生態學》一書指出：

²⁵ Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, (London: Verso, 1989), p.133

「南北各地女性草根運動的共通點在於女性難以抵擋環境問題，但那些造成環境問題的權利核心，卻是他們沒途徑進入的圈子。貧窮和弱勢社群中間，女性往往佔較高比例，權力階層發揮較大影響力的人則較多為男性，意味著很多女性(和男性)需要承受政府、軍事、工業和商業決定的結果，卻沒有地位去影響這些決定。」²⁶

²⁶ Mary Mellor, *Feminism Ecology* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1997), p.24.

In *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory*, Edward Soja wrote that, 'Subjectivity and objectivity thus reconnect in a dialectical tension that gives place to being, that produces a milieu, a humanized second-nature.'²⁵ The traditional and on-going patriarchy in the New Territories, the Wang Chau male village leaders and his "followers" and the new approach to the second jackfruit festival, gives evidence to a production of a new *milieu*—one that is more community-based, non-hierarchical, inclusive to participation and more feminist. In *Feminism Ecology*, Mary Mellor wrote that:

*'What is common to women's grassroots campaigns, North and South, is women's vulnerability to environmental problems and their lack of access to the centres of decision-making which cause them. While women are disproportionately represented in poor and vulnerable communities, men are disproportionately represented in positions of power and influence. This means that women (and many men) bear the consequences of government, military, industrial and commercial decisions without being in a position to influence them.'*²⁶



示威者在宮下公園外抗議拆遷和士紳化，並反對縮減公園開放時間，2017年攝於東京 Miyashita Park protest against evictions, gentrification and the reduced opening times of the public park, Tokyo, 2017.

籌備第二屆大樹菠蘿節時，一名關注組的成員指出「村民女性主義開始成形」。我把它看作一個記號，指向即將來臨的解放環境，同時我也很好奇村民是否意識到沿用已久的父權法例和政策，並刻意投身「村民女性主義」。《愚妄的地球：女性主義、政治和環境》作者、地理學家兼外交政策專家 Joni Seager 指出：

²⁷ Joni Seager, *Earth Follies: Feminism, Politics and the Environment* (London, Earthscan, 1993), p.237

「帶領社區運動的女性不一定是女性主義者，甚至不一定會留意或關心女性主義對權力、文化、性別和架構的分析。事實上，不少在日常威脅下掙扎的女性，都表示關乎女性主義的評論不過在轉移視線。」²⁷

Prior to the second festival, a member of the concern group noted a 'villager feminism in the making.' I saw this as a sign of an emancipated milieu and wondered if the villagers were conscious and engaging a 'villager feminism' amidst a long lineage of patriarchal laws and policies. In *Earth Follies: Feminism, Politics and the Environment* geographer and global policy expert Joni Seager wrote that:

*'Women who take lead in community organising are not necessarily feminists, nor are they necessarily aware of, or interested in, feminist analyses of power, culture, sexuality, structure. In fact, many women who are in the midst of a struggle against a daily-life threat express the view that feminist questioning is diversionary.'*²⁷

本文旨在描述一些正在成形的現象，無意對橫洲的女性主義提出任何理論或臆測。男性主導的鄉郊政策有源遠流長的歷史和衝突，和村民分享這些觀察，或許會（也或許不會）對挑戰這個狀況帶來一些實踐上的貢獻。挑戰者可以是新來的村民，一個幻想出來、代表共融的角色，一個不受任何村長、鄉議局成員、鄉郊勢力所威嚇的人物：大樹菠蘿女人。²⁸ 大樹菠蘿女人大概可以代表不同性別的弱勢村民，以及種種居住綠化帶的生物。她不屈不撓、

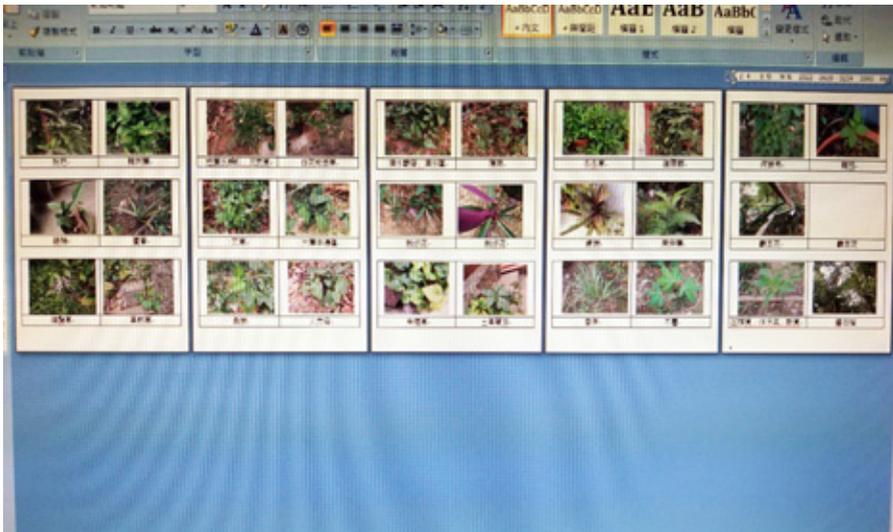
無處不在，同時存在於實體與數碼世界、足跡不為地域所限，去年便現身東京的宮下公園。²⁹ 她為運動開創了新的敘事和詞彙，反映更深層次的掙扎，和台灣的土拉客實驗農家園、印尼中爪哇肯登的婦女領袖、巴拿馬庫納雅拉的「第三性別」群體互相輝映。³⁰

This zine does not attempt to theorise or extrapolate the villager feminism taking place in Wang Chau, but shares what is already *in the making*—or even emerging. Sharing this text with the community may (or may not) contribute to a praxis that challenges the long history and conflicts relating to male indigenous villagers and their political actions. Perhaps the challenger may be a newcomer to the village, the Jackfruit Woman—someone fictional and an inclusive representative who cannot be intimidated by any village leader, rural council member, hostile rural strongmen or the government.²⁸ Jackfruit Woman can perhaps speak for the disempowered villagers (all genders) and the multispecies living inside the green belt. She is someone who is physical and digital, omnipresent and invincible, across many geographies, as seen in her presence at Miyashita Park in Tokyo last year.²⁹ The emergence of Jackfruit Woman introduces a new narrative and vocabulary to the movement, revealing deeper aspects of the struggle, which can be seen elsewhere at the Land Dyke Feminist Family Farm (Taiwan), with the women leaders in the Kendeng mountains (Indonesia) and in the third gender communities in Guna Yala (Panama).³⁰

²⁹ www.medium.com/@studio_leung/a-short-pause-5a25ed38469c

³⁰ www.insurrectionaryam.tumblr.com/search/women

²⁸ www.hongkongfp.com/2016/09/23/death-threats-against-lawmaker-elect-eddie-chu-not-linked-to-wang-chau-housing-debacle-police-say



四名女村民正在製作她們種植的中草藥圖錄。她們會利用新計畫分享傳統智慧，同時讓其他村民參加，例如從事跌打的林師傅。下月我們會上橫洲的髻山找尋草藥。髻山高度75米，上山時東一堆西一堆放著不同村民做的簡陋傢俱，山頂有座漆上紅黃兩色的涼亭，一幀裝裱在金色畫框內的觀音像放在涼亭內。觀音是印度佛教的菩提薩埵，本為男身，傳到中國之後變成女性形象，人民尊稱觀世音菩薩，某些地區也有人相信他化身為媽祖。人類學教授Stephan Feuchtwang對媽祖有這樣的說法：³¹

³¹ Klaas Ruitenbeek, *Mazu, the Patroness of Sailors*, in *Chinese Pictorial Art Aribus Asiae* Vol 58 No. 3/4 1999 p.320.

「...尊稱她『天后』，並非紀念她是個賢淑的大家閨秀，也沒有記著她拒絕婚嫁的不孝行為，而是將她等同了捍衛村落領土的守護者」。³²

³² Stephan Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion in China: the Imperial Metaphor* (Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001), p.86.

At present the four women villagers are making an inventory of their gardens' Chinese medicinal herbs, for a future project in the village. The project shares indigenous knowledge and will also welcome other villagers such as Mr. Lam, a traditional bone setter. In the coming month we will walk up the nearby Kai Shan, a mountain that climbs 75 metres above Wang Chau, and look for medicinal herbs. When you climb the mountain you will see informal furniture, clad in tiles, made by some villagers. A red and yellow painted pavilion is at the mountain's apex, and inside there is a golden picture frame that features a visual representation of *Guanyin*, known as *Bodhisattva*, the Buddhist god in India (male), later feminised in China and called the Goddess of Mercy. Writing about *Mazu*, where the goddess is sometimes equated with *Guanyin*, anthropology professor Stephan Feuchtwang wrote that:³¹

*'[...] know her by her imperial title, Tian Hou (Heavenly Concubine), but interpreted not as the virtuous daughter of gentry, nor as an unfilial daughter who refused to marry, but as a fierce defender of the territories of lineage villages.'*³²

但願媽祖和觀音這個性別酷兒，會讓我們看見一種人



橫洲中草藥圖錄，鄭小姐於2018年12月編製
2018年大樹菠蘿節三個gif圖之一，2018年8月。網絡位置：www.tinyurl.com/JackfruitWoman

An inventory of Chinese medicinal herbs grown in Wang Chau by Miss Cheng, December 2018. Frames from one of three GIFs (Graphics Interchange Format) created for the 2018 Wang Chau Jackfruit Festival, August 2018. GIF viewable online at www.tinyurl.com/JackfruitWoman

人平等、眾生和諧共處的抗爭，在追求環境正義的路上，守護在2019年捍衛家園的村民。

Learning from *Mazu* and the gender-fluid *Guanyin*, may they inspire us of an egalitarian and multispecies resistance that pursues environmental justice, and empowers the villagers as they fiercely defend their homes in 2019.

中文翻譯 Translated to Chinese by Pheebz

2018年12月12日寫於首爾
12th December 2018, Seoul

Facebook: WangChauGreen



