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## 氛圍 – 彼得·卒姆托建築中的知覺整體性

謝依芳\* 林靜娟\*\*

### 摘要

建築能夠觸動人們的情感，人們的情感能夠建構空間的意義。然而視覺的霸權讓建築的閱讀流於形式、裝飾等表象，使空間與人的生活、身體逐漸脫節，而純粹視覺的建構與缺乏空間感知誘發能力的建築生產，使得空間的深度扁平化。本研究以莫里斯·梅洛-龐蒂(Maurice Merleau-Ponty)所提出的《知覺現象學》之觀點，試圖重拾建築的本質與意義，特別是梅洛龐蒂將身體圖示是為自身身體對應所處存在事物的綜合作用，本研究即是探究身體圖示在建築空間中的意義，以及身體圖示所誘引出的身體為經驗主體的建築知覺整體性，並透過彼得·卒姆托(Peter Zumthor)的建築作品，探討其空間的實質構成與身體的關係，以及此關係所衍生的空間氛圍，透過感官作用之下，探討建築中的知覺整體性的多重可能性。

關鍵詞：知覺(perception)、氛圍(Atmosphere)、身體(body)、彼得·卒姆托(Peter Zumthor)

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## **Atmospheres –Perceptual Integration in Peter Zumthor’s Architecture**

Yvonne Shieh, Ching-Chuan Lin

### **Abstract**

Architecture can touch people's emotions, people's emotions can build the meaning of space. However, visual hegemony flows the reading of architecture into the appearance of form and decoration, gradually separating the space from human life and body, and the rational construction and the standardized production make the depth of space flat. Therefore, based on the "phenomenology of perceptual view" put forward by Maurice Merleau-Ponty, this study attempts to regain the essential meaning of architecture and explore the concept of perceptual phenomenology in architecture through the body- Perceptual integrity. And through the composition of different features in the architectural works of Peter Zumthor, the relationship between the spatial composition of the different characteristics and the scale of the body is explored, and the relationship between the space atmosphere extended by the relationship and the state of sensory interaction. Multiple possibilities for exploring the holistic perception of architecture.

**Keywords :** Perception, Atmosphere, Body, Peter Zumthor

## 一、緒論

### (一) 研究背景與動機

建築照映了歷史，記錄了人類文化的積累、文明的演進以及當下的社會情境。當代觀看建築之慣性，時常陷入視覺範疇的謬誤，使得視覺經驗主控了建築的感官意義，並且征服了感知和表達的基礎，以至於建築中的身體經驗變得扁平空洞、空間的生成深度開始單薄化。總之，視覺霸權使得建築成為一種形象，同時引發了判讀建築的盲從現象。那麼，建築空間自身的使命與潛在的價值又是什麼？

彼得·卒姆托(Peter Zumthor)曾提及：「曾幾何時，我無需思考就體驗到建築」(Peter Zumthor, 2010: 27)，令筆者反思，當代過度追求快速發展的事物，可歸咎於奠基在理性的邏輯與理論，導致過度抽象，以及放諸四海皆準的建築發展，此發展忽略了真實世界中的探索與關注，扼殺了建築中的本質以及經驗者感覺空間的觸角與敏感度。如同卒姆托所言：「建築並不用以承載或象徵那些不屬於其本質的東西。這個社會總是大肆渲染些無關緊要的東西，而建築可以掀起一次反抗，抵抗無用的形式和意義，講自己的語言。」(Zumthor, 2010: 27) 換言之，建築的語彙不必承接其他具體風格，或者象徵性的意涵等非本質的外在表象，建築要能自己說話。

自 80 年代後，建築現象學的理论開始將建築轉移到關注事物的本質與現象的描述，其中身體感知的相關建築觀點鬆動了過去視覺中心、忠於純粹理性構成與抽象的建築走向轉而開始而開使關心事物的本質。現象學家莫里斯·梅洛龐蒂(Maurice Merleau-Ponty)在 1945 年所撰寫的《知覺現象學》(Phenomenology of Perception)一書中強調以身體為經驗的真實事物的作為出發點，意指人類的意識必須透過與真實世界聯繫，對抗純粹思考與過度理性。當代建築領域中芬蘭建築師、評論家朱哈尼·帕拉斯馬(Juhani Pallasma)與美國的建築師史蒂芬·霍爾(Steven Holl)都受梅洛龐蒂的影響，開展了身體知覺在建築空間上的相關思想與研究，可見知覺現象學在建築上的實踐漸漸影響了當代建築思考與觀看的方式。從《知覺的問題—建築現象學》、《肌膚之眼—建築與感官》、《碰撞與衝突：帕拉斯馬隨筆錄》的著作中一再的透過當代建築作品，進行理論在實質空間範疇與空間所衍伸的情感來回辯證，詮釋空間的知覺整體性。如同梅洛龐蒂：「建築以“世界本身”為背景，對人類的生存進行了具體化的表達。」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945: 17)，意即當身體對世界本身開放與關注，身體便是我們的意識，也就是思想的層級，而世界成為了建築基礎經驗，如同建築與環境脈絡、人的生活本質無法脫節一樣。

卒姆托在《建築氛圍》、《思考建築》等書中以知覺現象學進行建築上的談論。即是透過自身的建築歷程和生活經驗，詮釋建築如何回歸本質和形成經驗者的內省，傾注真實被人類生活出來世界之內涵，關注身體知覺，不僅僅在於空間的體驗層面，更是創造空間的驅動力。如同卒姆托提到：「具有強烈衝擊力的建築物通常可以傳達出一種強烈的情感，以反映其空間特性。

他們以一種特別方式擁有神秘的虛空（稱之為空間），並給人以震撼。」（Zumthor，2010:27）。換句話說，建築是具有觸動人心與表達其內在情感的能力，並以此強化了空間本身的特性，如同梅洛龐蒂曾提及：「一個像塞尚一樣的畫家、一個藝術家、一個哲學家，應該不僅創造和表達一種思想，還有喚醒那些把思想植入他人意識的體驗。」（梅洛龐蒂，1945:17）因此，建築不僅僅是表達建築師個人思想，更是透過其思想的空間表達影響經驗者達到共鳴與震撼。

本文針對與《知覺現象學》相關的建築理論與議題進行梳理，透過卒姆托之建築創作品，描述與抒畫建築空間上的感官體驗，開闢閱讀建築之本質的可能，並以身體為經驗建築之主體，誘引出建築中的知覺整體性。

## （二）研究觀點

如前所述，知覺現象學改變了經驗建築的視角，但何謂建築上的知覺現象學，以及知覺現象學如何影響建築空間創造有必要再次說明。梅洛龐蒂所提及「知覺為先」、「知覺先於知識」、「所有意識都是知覺的意識」等批判了將人體視為機器的機械論，並提出身心是獨立個體的二元關係性，梅洛龐蒂並進一步主張身心靈合一的整體性是建構知覺現象學之內涵的必要關鍵。

### 1.從哲學的身體到建築中的身體為探討建築中的知覺整體性

透過前述所建立之脈絡回看建築空間，以知覺現象學之觀點推翻歐幾里德（Euclid）從一直以來不以人的存在為主，以及講求數學構成關係的幾何空間形式。此關係如同帕拉斯馬在【建築的山與路】演講中所說，透過體驗會在建築空間中發現歷史、地景、場域、文化內涵等多重層面，看似混雜卻有著相當豐富的「精神層面」感知蘊涵其中，帕拉斯馬提及：「如法國哲學家梅洛·龐蒂所言，在詩歌、音樂、繪畫領域中『畫家或詩人作品反射其世界』，所有空間、物質、體驗的隱喻（metaphor）濃縮形成抽象化產物，再透過創作者體驗，重新呈現周遭世界的精髓與觸動。所以，建築師所創作的建築並不是象徵、不是符碼，是活的、多重的情境。創作者的意識會逗留其中，是精神上、實體上的空間建構。」（帕拉斯馬，2016）<sup>1</sup>換言之，建築具有濃縮客觀世界之中物質性、抽象性等之能力，並非只是幾何形式之空間內涵。梅洛龐蒂與歐幾里德的空間觀念有極大的差異，梅洛龐蒂的空間觀透過建築師的內化並透過空間轉譯、經驗者的身體經驗的作用，擺脫象徵性的空間意義外，也開展了實質空間的意涵在觀者內心形成擴散的意涵。

卒姆托建築經常能運用最單純的空間構成、材質特性與結構的整體性傳達的詩意，並蘊含著理性的構成的同時還具有觸動空間情感之能力；因此僅僅以材料運用切入，並無法呈現卒姆

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1 Juhani Pallasmaa 主講·【建築的山與路】實踐大學建築設計學系 2016 春季 國際建築師系列講座 07-10 +

托實質空間中濃縮的空間、物質、體驗的隱喻等意義。因此本研究從知覺現象學中從「身體圖示」具有身體的綜合特性作為討論知覺整體性之切入觀點。

### （三）問題意識

觀者經驗事物的盲從、以及其他排除外在真實事物的純粹意識活動、過度理性與習以為常的綑綁，都將阻礙我們閱讀空間，使得閱讀事物時流於扁平化；而建築空間，具有透過身體運動的經驗過程匯集感官、環境、抽象物質、物質之間的能力。經驗空間的過程促使感官同步蔓延與催化，在相互感染的建築中的知覺整體關係，而擺脫受慣性制約的意識。如同梅氏所言：「身體的存在本身成為整體，就是維繫於某個世界……身體的空間性是身體的存在的展開，身體作為實現的方式。」（梅洛龐蒂，1945:142）身體為知覺整體奠定了基礎，維繫建築與客觀事物、抽象事物的整體性，並達到存有內涵的開展。因此本研究借助梅洛龐蒂的知覺現象學的，進行以下幾點探題：

- 1.知覺現象學之哲學觀念在建築空間與經驗者的存有向度上能有何啟示意義？
- 2.知覺整體性透過身體作為媒介，引發建築空間與經驗者的深化內涵與意義為何？
- 3.卒姆托如何在其建築創作中引領觀者身體將經驗過程從感覺到知覺，得以闡釋建築的知覺整體性之意涵，而達成更本質性的建築體驗？

### （四）研究方法

本研究主要透過知覺現象學的文獻回顧，試圖借用以身體為主體經驗的出發點來思考建築問題，茲以《知覺的現象學》為主要觀點建構研究文本，梅洛龐蒂《知覺的現象學》的哲學觀為基礎，進行以身體體驗為主體的建築探究，針對身體經驗為主體的建築探究；其次運用知覺現象學在建築上的探討與理解，透過卒姆托的創作作品閱讀，反思知覺現象學的哲理，進而詮釋知覺整體性如何形成建築空間的創作根源。

## 二、建築中的知覺整體性

梅洛龐蒂在知覺現象學中提出以身體為經驗事物的主體，並且達到一種內省的知覺整體性。本章節借助知覺現象學的理論，試圖詮釋身體經驗建築在空間中的知覺整體性的主體與客體作用，又此整體性如何影響身體內外的觸動，與建築空間內涵深化的可能。因此本節文獻為故知步驟為以下幾點：

1. 首先以知覺現象學將身體作為客觀世界內化而產生意識的媒介，以此觀點進行基本論點與釐清，前述作為觀看建築知覺整體性之基礎觀念，包括身體的主客體意涵含、含混性、融合

感知、身體綜合等，以思考如何在建築中展開多重面向與可能性。

2. 以建築氛圍之觀點揭示空間中的知覺整體性，進一步深化哲學理論中的身體為主體、感官作用、身體為經驗的概述等在空間上的轉譯，以及如何產生空間和自我的意義。

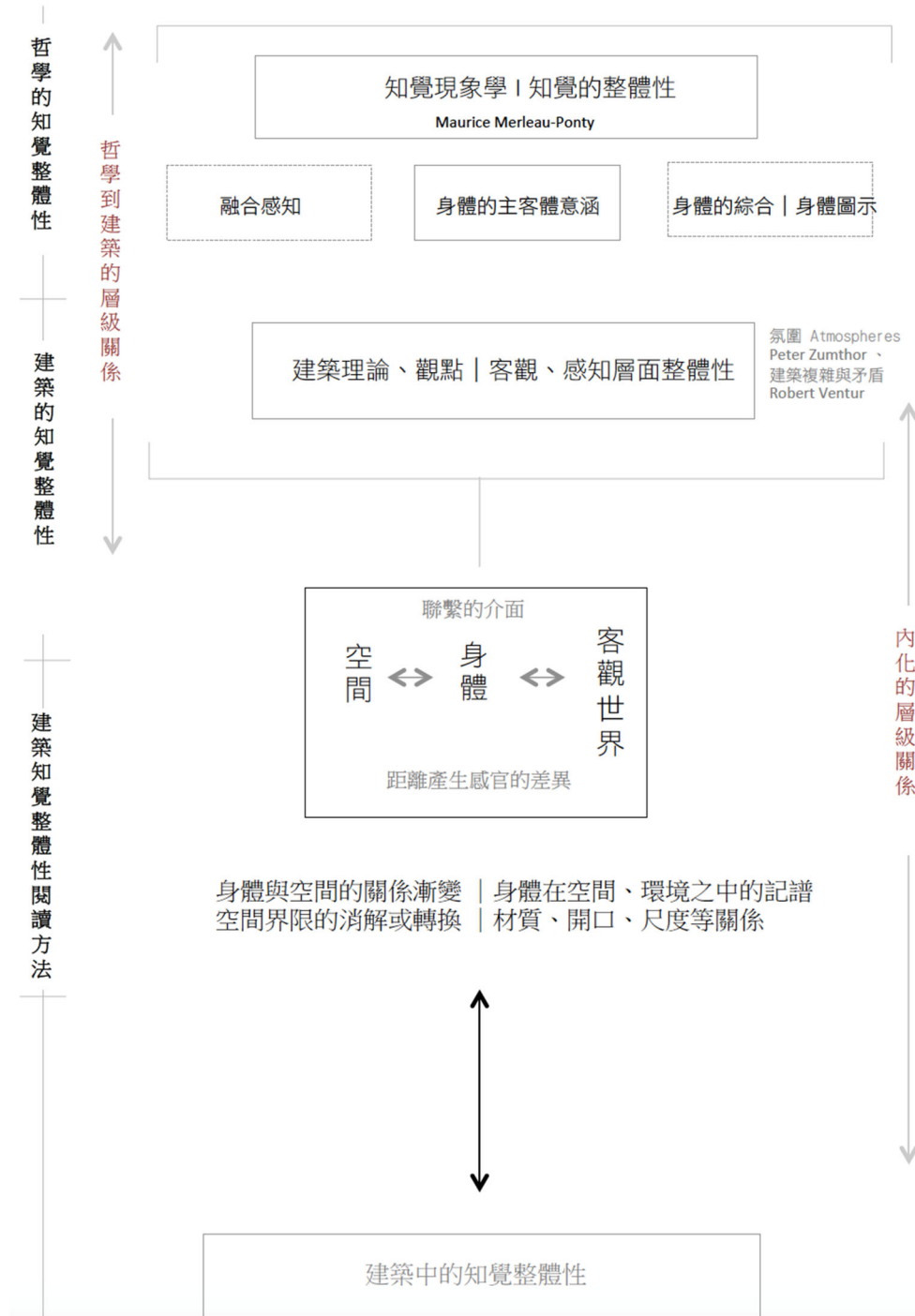


圖 1: 研究觀念架構 資料來源：本研究整理繪製



## (一) 知覺現象學中的知覺整體性

### 1. 身體的主客體意涵

笛卡爾 (Descartes) 的哲學觀影響了多半人對身體與心靈的思想，「心靈」(mind) 被視為經驗所有事物的「主體」(subject)，而「身體」(body) 的存在意義多數被歸類在生理學或者解剖學中的肉身，也就是毫無關係的「客體」(object)。(錢志純，1997) 由此可見，笛卡爾將身心視為二元關係性的兩個獨立個體。「笛卡兒由『我思故我在』，定義『我』為一思想之物，或稱『我』為實體，或靈魂；... 不需要身體的支持，... 意思是說：人類存在或活動皆不依賴身體。」(錢志純，1997:45)「我」為實體證明了思想能夠取代身體承為主體，心靈所表現的思想以及人類的意識活動不再仰賴於身體。

因此梅氏在知覺現象學中開展了身體為身心共存的整體，批判笛卡爾將身體視為與思想脫開的客體，提出身體做為主體與客體 (subject-object) 的並存，在此梅氏推翻了笛卡爾認為的客體不具有思考能力、精神、慾望，並且強調身心是相融合一的。透過此主客體意涵可以得知，身體透過意識與肉身的融合，產生如同「我」一般身心合一的存有意識，並且不在將世界事物與身體視為額外之物將之內化在身體之中。<sup>2</sup>

### 2. 身體空間與能動性

承上節可以得知，身體與我們的意識是一體並且是經驗事物的主體，同時我們透過身體建構知覺整體性，透過知覺整體性體認到世界的所見所聞、內視自我，並且以多重的面相觀看。因此身體的「能動性」(Motility) 搭起了物、空間與我之間的橋樑，誘發知覺與意義的浮現並運作在身體與世界之中，身體的觸動衍生意義與共感近一步影響我們的思想。

而梅洛龐蒂進一步以「肉身距離」闡述身體運動的變動性，「此肉身或肉是作為存有運動變化作用的總稱，「可轉換性」用來描述不同層次的存所有者之兼具中的交換與互為肉身，樞紐的概念群用以描述對象實體化或者主體得以主體化的境遇開放與建立作用，「皺摺」則用來描述存所有者之間的根本間距... 換句話說，從存有的整體現象來看，他不斷地處發生、增殖與變異的間距之中。」(龔卓軍，2006:110) 換言之，身體承載著運動過程所產生的經驗累積，此過程具有主體與對象間轉換的過程，轉換過程在整體現象中產生了存有間的間距，因此可以得之轉換間的變異過程與其距離所產生的差異性是有所影響整體性。

梅氏提到：「身體的空間性不是如同外部物體的空間或『空間感覺』的空間性那樣的一種位置的空間，而是一種處境的空間。」(梅洛龐蒂，1945:137) 處境是關於一個處在的境地，處隱

<sup>2</sup>黃怡璋，2000，建築空間本質的探討－從梅洛龐蒂的身體現象學出發，私立東海大學建築學系碩士學位論文 (p26-28)

含著著存在、棲身，境表達一種疆界。因此，身體本身身處在空間之中也是空間本身的一部分，意即身體的空間性。「空間」已經不只是形而上的問題，並且趨於貼近人類的生活日常，此轉變也影響梅氏空間的觀念。梅氏的空間觀與傳統的希臘空間觀或者笛卡兒的空間觀有所不同，而是從知覺現象學之觀點回看空間，以身體探索所積累的經驗來詮釋空間內涵的。然而，「身體既是能見的又是所見的。我的身體之眼注視著一切事物，它也能注視自己，並在它當時所見之中認出它所表現的另一面。所以，身體在看的時候能自視，在觸摸的時候能自觸，是自為的"見"與"感"。軀體領會自身，構成自身並把自身改造為思想的形式。」（王岳川，2017：3）如果以空間來理解身體所注視的一切事物，可以知道我們透過經驗空間看到自己，透過空間中的觸覺觸動我們的內心，領會的過程是來自感覺與所見所聞，並且將其領會轉為思想。而空間的內涵近一步與客觀世界所有連結：「身體是意識與自然、人與世界的交接口。身體是一種對世界的開放並與世界相關的結構，是我們在世界上的支撐點、中介。梅洛龐蒂甚至認為「如果沒有我的身體，空間就根本不存在」（黃柏翰，2002：3）換言之，身體是與世界萬物連結的媒介並且有所連結，空間的意義因為身體而存在如同梅氏所提及：「我們的身體不在空間裡，他屬於空間。」（梅洛龐蒂，1945：137）

因此透過本節理解，身體經驗必須透過運動過程真實的接觸，所產生的感官作用才得以浮現意義，身體空間的產生是透過身體作為空間與客觀世界的媒介，因此此空間意義是涵括著身體的意義在其中。

### 3.融合感知(synaesthetic perception)

身體作為經驗傳遞的媒介，感覺器官的相互影響更是影響到經驗的積累。視覺影響聽覺、嗅覺影響味覺等時常在我們生活中發生的事情，感覺器官的相互影響隱含著「聯覺」(synesthesia)的概念，聯覺的作用在視覺、聽覺、味覺、嗅覺、觸覺等各種感覺之間密切的相互聯繫與溝通可以促成空間感知的相通與催化。如同在梅氏「融合感知」(synaesthetic perception)一詞透過感知器官協同互助的系統關係相通。然而「聯覺只涉及身體的感覺器官，梅氏的「融合感知」除了感覺器官之間的綜合之外，並涵指意識內涵或作用之間的綜合，以及感覺器官組織與意識組織之間的綜合，因此梅氏的融合感知是一種身體內部組織的整體綜合。」（黃怡璋，2000:87），不同於聯覺作用於身體等感覺器官上，融合感知多了“意識”層面的內涵與催化關係，進而探討感覺的器官、與意識之間的深化整體關係。

感覺透過身體彙整了物質性、抽象性、記憶、想像世界並且產生交流，此交流對話是具有一種變動性，意即梅洛龐蒂所提即知覺整體中的含混性（ambiguite）。含混性的意義如下：「知覺的整體與感覺的統一表現在時間上亦具有變遷性，… … 因此，在這知覺整體之中具有模糊難以確認之處促使知覺具有含混性，「換言之，含混性是人存在的本質，因此我們經歷或思考的

每個事物總是具有多重意義。」<sup>3</sup> (黃怡璋, 2000:49)含混性為知覺整體中具有難以確認、不精確的模糊地帶,此模糊地帶梅氏以含混為定義作為二元之間的橋樑,探求事物的本質以及帶領我們思考事物的多重意涵並達到物我交融的狀態。再者含混具有真理的不固著與不斷變動的意義,使知覺在世界中開展出許多未知的可能性<sup>4</sup>。

因此融合感知除了使感覺與感覺之間相互合作之外,之間的交流所產生的變動性也就是「含混性」衍伸了二元間的多重連結,因此事物達到多重意涵、感官作用也衍伸許多可能性。

#### 4.身體的綜合 – 身體圖示

承上節,無論是空間、事物的意義、自我的存有內涵、感官的作用都關於身體具有的一種連結的能力,因此本節針對身體涵括事物的綜合能力所觸發的知覺整體性做深入的探究。

身體透過經驗具有連結事物、觸發內涵等作用梅氏以「身體圖示」(Body Schema)明確闡釋:「『身體圖示』首先被了解為一種身體經驗的概要,能夠提供註解與意義於內在意念之中,且在任何時刻皆擁有身體的感覺。」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:137)由此可見身體將四散在各處的感官經驗匯集再一起,並起透過這樣過程產生內在的意義與觀念,身體表現一個整體性的概要,整體性的概要也表現身體。然而身體圖示起初在生理學上被理解為身體體驗、運動的總和,陷入一種大量表象以及生理上支配意涵的結合,因此在傳統意義上身體圖示停留在一個表象中心。但是經過梅氏將身體圖示以現象學延伸,身體圖示的意義逐漸從生理上的支配深化至存有意涵。身體圖示已不僅僅單純經驗過程的結合結果而是梅氏提到的「感覺間展的世界之中,對我身體姿態的整體領悟,是心理學意義上的完形。」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:138)意即感官透過身體的整體性開展了了領悟意義的過程。梅氏進一步提及:「身體圖示是一種表示我的身體在世界生存的方式」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:114),揭示了領悟的過程身體圖示不在是圖像的拼湊物,而是其內涵表達一種人從外到內、身理到心裡的一種整體狀態。身體圖示之中所蘊含著整體性的含義,梅氏以「我通過「身體圖示」得知我的每一條肢體的位置,因為我的全部肢體都包含在身體圖示中。」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:114)強調了身體的相互擁有、涵括彼此的狀態,必且透過其整體意涵確認每個肢幹的位置以及關係。

此整體性如同梅氏所用的“統一性”含義,「人們之所以有必要引入這個新的詞,是為了表明空間和時間的統一性——感覺間的統一性或身體感知——運動的統一性」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:114)換言之身體圖示中統一性的整體含義揭示了時間和空間、運動身體與感知的共時整

<sup>3</sup>黃怡璋, 2000, 建築空間本質的探討—從梅洛龐蒂的身體現象學出發, 私立東海大學建築學系碩士學位論文 (p49)

<sup>4</sup>楊大春著, 2008, 《當代大師系列-梅洛龐蒂》, 生智文化事業有限公司(pp9-20)

體，共同存在且不能分離；並且強調了統一性的整體內涵先於內容和使內容連結的邏輯。

## 5. 小結

透過本章節的回顧確立知覺整體性必須透過身體作為經驗的主體，並且如將元素個別拆解會使事物失去意義，因此知道事物的意義與內涵是透過身體經驗的內化所衍伸，知識體的建構、意義演的建構所產生的知覺整體性所界定。而身體經驗的過程是透過身體的運動、感官作用等產生存有意義。以空間作為經驗的對象，身體的角色則是介於空間與世界間的媒介，透過身體在空間中的運動過程與空間從材質、尺度、構成等影響的感官作用表現，產生建築中的知覺整體性。因此可以理解為建築的知覺整體性同時也表現客觀世界的事物以及影響經驗者的內省。

## （二）建築理論、觀點中的知覺整體性

本小節延續上節梅氏在知覺現象學中觀看建築中的知覺整體之概念。透過范裘莉《建築的複雜與矛盾》與卒姆托的《建築氛圍》一書觀點做為基礎作為回顧建築中的整體性與知覺的整體性，進一步延伸整體性對抗的理性、邏輯思考下的精確性、身體能動性、融合感知等知覺現象學的課題在建築上的運用。

「身體與建築空間的共同存在而言，身體知覺建築空間的過程是一種「身體整體」知覺「建築空間整體」的交互作用，就能理解建築空間的形狀、顏色、或其它性質，實際上知覺到的就是建築空間本身，而非透過將建築空間加以分解為各個單元元素進行分析或成為個別的感覺資料後，才是知覺到建築空間。換言之，「建築空間整體」本身蘊含個別元素間的關係，透過身體綜合的「知覺整體」結構組織在與建築空間共同並存之時，已經知覺了建築空間。」（黃怡璋，2002：74）

由此可知，身體經驗建築空間的過程產生交互作用，並觸動了建築中的知覺的整體性，透過此身體經驗過程可以理解物質層面以及抽象性質。有鑑於此，知覺經驗所衍伸的空間判讀與感覺並非以分解的方式將空間元素自獨立，而是透過貫穿在空間元素之間的核心意涵，並透過身體的運動產生的綜合能力所組織建築中的「知覺整體性」。

## 1. 建築中的整體關係

哲學上的知覺整體性探討的並非單純經驗的總和，而是關於身體具有的一種連結的能力，身體涵括了連結事物的綜合能力、觸發內涵等作用，而在建築上也有同樣的課題，建築無論是在龐雜的因素之下，矛盾、和諧、對立等各種狀態都有將其空間帶來力量、張力連結的整體性。而此整體性並非像國際樣式，為了追求某種秩序的整體性而將混亂、多餘的事物排處在外，留

下一個影響著當今遍佈各處清晰統合的美學形式，換言之像是某一種秩序或者看不到的邏輯再支撐、衝撞這些龐雜的因素。就如同范裘利在《建築的複雜與矛盾》中提及到：「我們所追求者為藉包容而取得的艱難之整體，並非藉排拒所取得之簡易整體。型態心理學認為我們所領悟知整體實為各部分之總和，但又比總和上多一疇，整體並且受到各部分所佔的位置、數量、原有特質所影響。在賽蒙（Herbert A. Simon）的定義下，一個複雜的體系包含了「大量以毫不單純之方式進行互動的分子」。複雜而矛盾的建築徵所蘊含的艱難之整體包含了多量與多類之元素，而這些元素間則有並不連貫，或較為微弱之關係。」（范裘利，1966:88）

換言之，國際樣式所表現出的整體性無法面對龐雜元素的關係，我們應追求蘊含其中的多重、多類型、大量的元素，甚至之中不連貫的關係以及尺度不同的部分的共存複雜體系所帶來的張力是難能可貴的。此外在前述多重可能性的龐雜的關係之所以重要，是因為除了一個能夠直觀的在瞬間觸動人心的整體感之外，與整體性不相輔所帶來的矛盾感，而產生對自我認知、大環境等抵觸而衍伸的感覺往往是很有生命力的。

因此給予我們直觀反應的整體性與部分和整體之間的關係，反應在建築上的知覺體驗是必須得環扣再一起的。實質空間構成的層面、因而衍伸的實質感官觸動或抽象維度的想像，反應在范裘利「整體性」的核心觀念是有所相連的與適切的。就如同知覺現象學中身體圖示所討論的並非單純身體經驗的總和，而自身體經驗之下多重感官間的相互作用、共存、相斥所衍伸對生存、世界、自身等深層的意涵。

## 2. 建築中的知覺整體

卒姆托所提出的「建築氛圍」（Atmospheres）是關於建築中整體性的品質，非單單只是建築史上、施工圖、等所包含的內容。當建築打動觀者時即是一種建築品質，然而打動觀者內心的過程往往都在一轉眼的瞬間，如同對陌生人的第一印象。氛圍如同第一印象是在尚未被既定印象給束縛的敏銳情感，在尚未經過理性分析拿定主義自己是否喜歡之前知覺就告訴我們答案，意即「我們有能力憑直覺欣賞，靠自發的情感反應，在煞那間否決某件事，這與線性想法非常不同。」（Peter Zumthor, 2010 :10）此外，氛圍還具有影響我們感知事物的敏銳度與確認人類生存的意義：「我們藉助自己的情緒敏感性來感知不同的環境- 通過這種感知模式人們能夠極快地做出決定。顯然，我們人類需要它來幫助我們生存。」（Peter Zumthor, 2010 :10）

然而建築氛圍的範疇包含的很龐大，卒姆托以建築本體、材料、空間聲音與溫度、周圍環境、萬物之光、尺度、美的形式等等來說明建築氛圍的各種狀態。但核心的價值與本質卒姆托以個人經驗來表達對氛圍最純粹的想法以很瑣碎的細節敘述他獨自坐在廣場之中，踩踏在石板上的腳步聲、行經修女的帽簷搖曳、矗立的古銅像、教堂的鐘聲與天氣、陽光、氣味色澤同時的作用影響了他的感覺，他提到：「是什麼打動了我？是一切，是事物本身、人群、空氣、喧囂、

聲響、顏色、材質、紋理還有形式……還有什麼打動我呢？是我的心緒、感受還有當我坐在那裡時使我滿足的期待感。」(梅洛龐蒂, 1945:15) 藉此他想強調一種現實中的整體性, 喚起了看待事物的激情以及發覺魅力的能力就是氛圍。

卒姆托看似抽象的概念敘述, 帕拉斯馬在《碰撞與衝突: 帕拉斯馬隨筆錄》中进一步的延伸以及說明卒姆托氛圍的意義。「氛圍, 是對某一個環境或者一個社會情形的總體地點、景觀或者是一個人的遭遇, 它都表現出一種統一的連貫地性和特性。這正是體驗情形的“共同點”, “著色”, 或者“感覺”。氛圍, 是一種精神的背景, 體驗的性質或者特徵。它懸浮於被感知的客體與表現對象之間。」(Peter Zumthor, 2010:11) 由此可以知道, 氛圍為透過體驗感覺出事物表現出的特性、共同點、感覺, 意即被感覺到的整體性之意涵。氛圍在被感知的客體與主體間產生的一種交流狀態就像一種共鳴, 此共鳴是具物質性或存在性質的感覺、記憶、想像世界的交流對話。正是上述這些因素形成人們能夠即刻和綜合性地領會的整體性的氛圍、感覺、情境、環境。

然而此體驗過程所領會的整體性是與體驗本質上的多重感官上的作用, 「體驗的本質是多感官的, 它也涉及亞里士多德提出的五個感官定義之外的一些因素, 例如方向, 重心, 平衡, 穩定, 運動, 持續, 連續性, 規模和照明的情況。事實上, 當我們對空間特性進行即刻判斷的時候, 需要運用我們那些整體的, 具有代表性的, 已經存在的感覺; 而且, 我們對該特性的感知是種四散的, 周邊性的方式, 而不是通過精確和有意識地觀察而獲得的。此外, 這種複雜的評估需要一段時間, 它是知覺, 記憶和想像的融合。每個空間, 每個地方, 都可能邀請和建議人們產生不同的行為。」(Peter Zumthor, 2010:10) 換句話說, 對空間的判斷與體驗應是四散、周邊性的, 反之聚焦、準確對知覺事物的自由性、擴張性是有所阻礙的。知覺不以精確、有意識的分析就能夠被感知, 經驗空間者需要透過一個不聚焦、放下理性束縛的經驗過程才能被建築中的知覺整體, 也就是建築中的氛圍觸動。

### (三) 結論 | 身體為主體的建築知覺整體性 - 身體圖示

在本章節的(一)、(二)小節試圖在建構哲學上與建築上, 關於身體具有自身的空間能力透過知覺的創造將空間連結與深化。知覺現象中提及「身體圖示」的概念理解到身體為經驗空間的主體透過知覺整體性觸動經驗者的內心。因此透過「身體圖示」具有共構出整體性的基礎, 建構身體圖示在建築知覺整體性的意義。如同帕拉斯馬在肌膚之眼中提到:「建築物內部化在身體中; 運動, 平衡, 距離和規模被無意識地感覺通過身體, 作為肌肉系統中的張力以及骨骼和內部器官的位置。」(Juhani Pallasmaa, 2005: 36) 由此可以知道透過身體的運動過程, 肌理的張力、骨骼的結構、感官器官等與空間作用, 我們的身體包含在建築空間之中、建築內化在身體裡。因此我們可以理解為身體具有一種空間性, 為身體在運動過程進行著身體上行為與動作佔有空

間的過程。

因此透過身體圖示的觀念與帕拉斯馬前述所提及，明確闡釋了以身體為經驗主體透過身體的勞動、運動過程觸發感官的作用，並且獲得一種連結事物的空間性與事物的意義、意識，因而這些意義與意識是經驗對象產生一種知覺上的整體性。換言之，身體的經驗對象在哲學觀念中是屬於客觀世界，而討論建築中的知覺整體性時此對象為建築空間，而身體同樣的是建築與知覺間的媒介。

呈如梅氏提到：「身體的空間性不是如同外部物體的空间性或空間感覺的空間性，那種關於位置的空間性，而是一種處境的空间性… …身體圖示，是一種表達我的身體在世界存在的方式，外部空間和身體空間的雙重界域上顯現的。」（梅洛龐蒂，1945:246）換言之，如同本文所界定建築的知覺整體性意涵，是透過身體圖示的哲學意涵在建築上的運用，

空間並不單純是空間實質構成的性質，也不單純是空間感受描述的性質，而是處於當下實質空間環境之下所置身的外在境界與心裏情境。此處境的意涵就如同卒姆托所提及的實質空間的一種品質，與觀者心境的情緒作用所產生的空間氛圍，而空間氛圍也表明了身體透過空間在其中激發一種身體自身的空間性，以及收斂客觀世界意涵的建築空間中的存在的方式。

因此延續前述所界定之建築中的知覺整體，以 **Brother Klaus Field Chapel** 為描述以身體為主體的知覺整體性為例子，此教堂作品擺脫過去我們習以為常的教堂空間，華麗的花窗所投射的彩射光、拱的元素、十字架的符號性等，開始將經驗拉致 1.3 公里之外的步行距離，從遠觀到近看的視覺尺度變化、身體運動的肌肉作用、周圍農地環境的微小變化，身體的疲累感已經在醞釀其建築的空間體驗。（圖 2）

推開沈重的門片，一陣空間尺度的壓縮與外部曠野產生對比，而後接著在尺度貼近的空間擁有無止境的天空。眼前是帶有精神性支撐，卻不令人怯步的光線。光線與陰影挖鑿出相互依賴的空間，「用純粹的陰影質量去計畫建築物，再將其置放進光線中，彷彿挖掉黑暗，彷彿光線是滲透進的新質量；有系統的照亮物質與其表面，並觀察它們反射光線的方式。」（Peter zumthor，2010:50）即充分地展現透過陰影的質量計算建築物，讓光線重新滲透進空間，這一特殊空間的體驗，讓身體進入無可名狀的空間經驗中，光線的觀察，進一步讓身體感知在不同層次的運動。（圖 3）



圖 2: 外部路徑

參考資料：<https://goo.gl/6CgPfy>

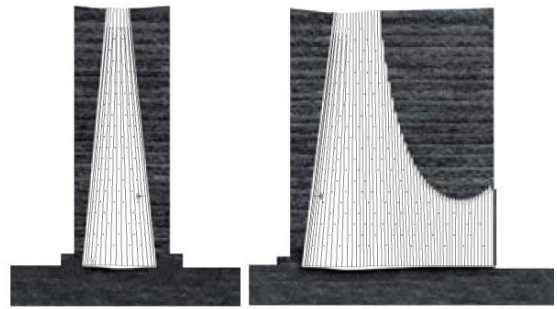


圖 3:剖面之尺度變化

參考資料：<https://goo.gl/2P0AF>

牆的明顯的方向性將眼睛向上引導至屋頂向天空和夜星敞開的位置，天地之間的開口連結因為環境被放大了。黑暗與光點的轉換，開口形成的光圈控制教堂裡的室內氣候。陽光，空氣和雨水反應潮濕積水、積雪、結冰、蒸發 都在黑暗與開放間滲透並作用。（圖：4）三百多顆的玻璃珠帶給空間微弱的光線。透過其開口與玻璃介質，根據一天中的時間（太陽的運動）和季節創造一個非常具體、一覽無遺的環境或體驗變動。頓時，時間就像慢下來開口與材質涵括著世界，這樣的體驗與其變動過程的刺激，將時間具體化並進一步層級化，並從消逝、逆流、靜止的時間過程表現在空間之中，將經驗者進入個人信仰（並非宗教，包自我包含靈魂）的精神向度。我們從這強烈特殊性的物質世界中找尋一種具有生機的狀態與可能性。

因此我認為本案例的知覺上的整體性來自於，空間的構成與物件塑造的氛圍指向時間的放慢每個停頓點拉長與放大，形成了靜止、逆流、流逝的核心意義。「緩慢和記憶成正比；快速和遺忘成正比」（Juhani Pallasmaa，2005: 152），放慢速度將銘記下成為無法忘懷的記憶，生活節奏的緊湊壓縮了體驗的濃度和可塑性。墨黑的視野與觸感從頭頂的雲朵吐出搭建過程、灌漿頻率、焚燒的原木結構的時序。隨著火的燃起這些時序被刻印在空間之中。（圖 5）



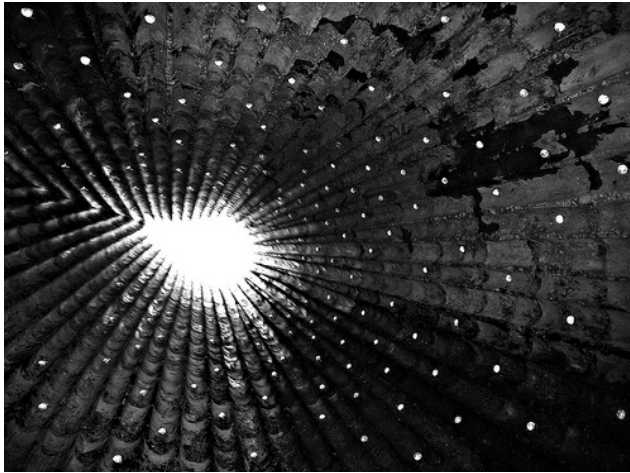


圖 4: 開口的方向性  
參考資料：<https://goo.gl/a9wRvD>

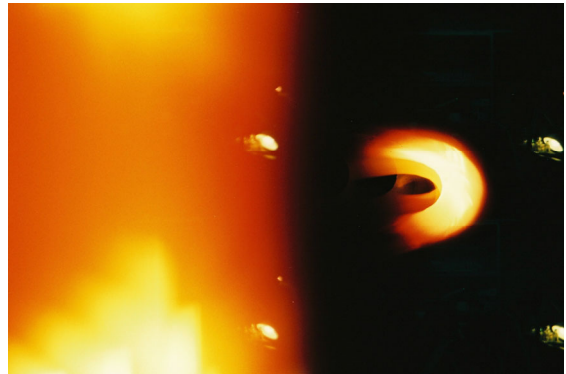


圖 5 靜止、逆流、流逝的知覺整體性。  
資料來源：本研究繪製

因此透過本案例試圖表達一種空間中的身體圖示所表現的建築整體性，傳達著一種身體自身的空間能力與建築空間相互感染，因而開始產生時間的意義、速度的意義取代教堂透過形式與尺度所建構帶有知覺整體性的精神性空間。身體身處於實質空間環境之下所產生的外在境界與心裏情境的整體性，換言之就是透過實質空間的一種品質，與觀者心境的情緒作用所產生的空間氛圍產生建築的知覺整體性。

### 三、Peter Zumthor 建築中的知覺整體性

本章節延續前一章節所討論之 Brother Klaus Field Chapel 之案例，透過分析真實空間建構與感官情緒觸動所交織的知覺整體性之抒畫。本章節以案例 Steilneset Memorial 深入身體為經驗主體的建築中身體本身的空間性與客觀事物的空間性，「身體」一詞並不是關注在身體形象表現的圖像紀錄，而是身體本身綜合事物的「空間能力」所指向空間蘊含的知覺整體性。

#### (一) Steilneset Memorial

Zumthor 在 20 年在挪威的一座小島所做的作品，為了紀念過去十七世界因為巫術而被以女巫定罪與火刑除死的 91 位受害者。透過此作品空間表現別於透過文史、物件所展示的紀念性質表現，而是融合空間構成與環境本身的作用，試圖將經驗者帶入並置身在空間之中感同身受歷史的過往心境。

透過本作品在歷史、環境、空間型態、物件等影響身體之因素，探討身體在之中的行動速度與感受事物的速度，如行走與駐留、遲鈍與敏感、怠惰與積極等都是觸動知覺情感的與創造

空間氛圍的，同時空間的安排與特性影響身體在之中的速度、速度產生時間差，時間差分界出時區，時區訴說了感官敏銳等身體的漸變，身體的漸變以時間性為分界時區表現其空間之中的知覺整體意識。

因此本作品的歷史背景、地景特性、展覽的文字與光線等等，影響著我們的感官接收與否、直接或間接，因而在此案例的狹長空間型態與開口所劃分的時區，是承載許多探討空間、物件、環境等我眼深的敏感度的縮放、流動或駐留、情感孕育的。以上在空間中多重的相互作用是本案例切入建築中知覺整體性的一大要素。

挪威無論寒冬或春天都飄散著一抹冷冽氣息的國家，壓抑著鮮豔的房子塗色與極光色澤，對比性的色彩性格也開始賦予地景變動。女巫審判受害者紀念館位在一座小島，必須走近村莊走入在曠野中密集的生氣，徒步的向島嶼邊緣線的湖邊靠近(圖 6)。視線上的雜訊逐漸被排除之後，先是看見一間背對我的教堂，安安靜靜的陪伴著一旁生命留下的象徵望著湖面與對象的山陵線之後，才能隱約判別原來在之中還有融入了墳墓之中的墓碑高度、湖面另一端的山景、沈入水面之中，平緩的臣服在大地之中的女巫紀念館。(圖 7)



圖 6: 基地位置 資料來源: google map



圖 7: 融入山稜線融入湖面 資料來源: <https://goo.gl/u1ymyn>

踏著竄出草的雪地，階梯可以五步解決進入空間的路途，zumthor 刻意的將觀者在一個單向行走寬度的斜坡，讓身體的速度因為很緩的緩坡行走過程逐漸地慢行，因為緩下的腳步也開始留意周遭細微事物的變動，敏感度也跟著擴張。隨著指向那扇黑暗的洞口的路走著，引領我們走去那個當越靠近視線卻越被遮掩的河面，讓整個行走的過程開始埋下一個不安的伏筆。(圖：8)

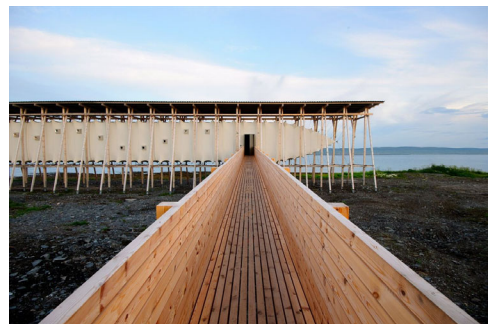


圖 8: 融入山稜線融入湖面  
資料來源: <https://goo.gl/jqngEH>

對比平坦臣服於土地的遼闊的空間感，進到內部空間狹窄的尺度壓縮了身體與外部之間的關係，強化了內外的心境轉換。然而空間轉換之記接踵而來的不安定感似乎來自空間結構，原先看似快速流動的狹長空間型態，因為結構與張力所產生的不穩定性使身體步伐慢下來。在垂直水平向度都擠壓的光線昏暗的空隙之中，試圖找到能夠停留喘口氣的角落，但因為狹長深

具流動性的廊道特性所以駐留、喘口氣的角落並不存在，被迫地走向未知的消點。(圖：9)

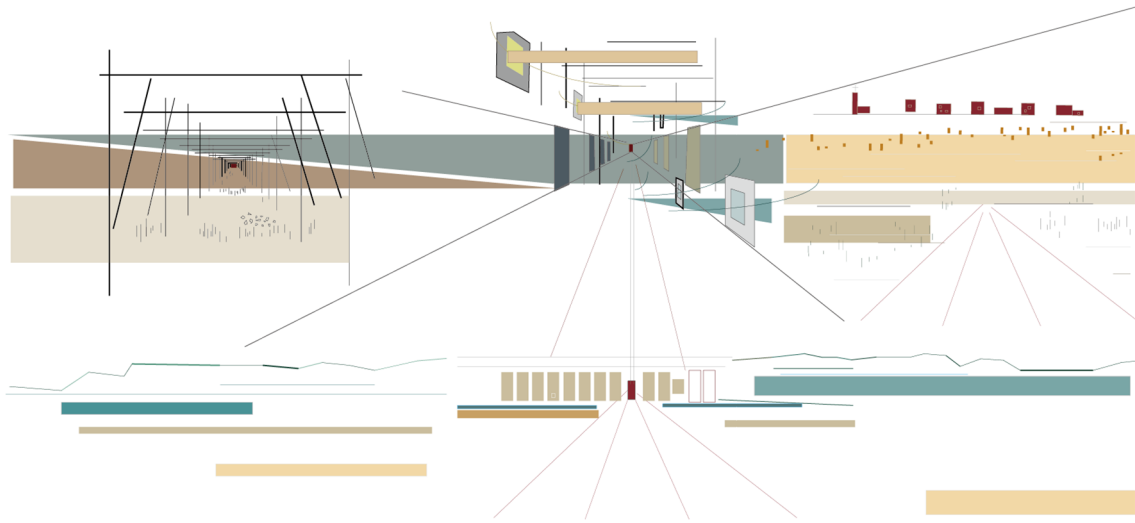


圖 9: 置身於 Steilneset Memorial 的身體 資料來源：本研究繪製

同時身體緊密地被兩側牆壁強迫接收了好多好沈重的人生故事和燃燒生命的過程，身體的速度改變進而影響感官的敏感度。敏感度的放大在 91 個高低錯落有著看不見、彎腰、坐下、平視不同身體尺度的窗口、燈泡與歷史故事，此時因為行走而不斷的積累的情緒自我會開始混雜不同時間、不再存在的歷史、無法碰觸的空間去想像自身在世界中、時間中的位置。(圖 10)

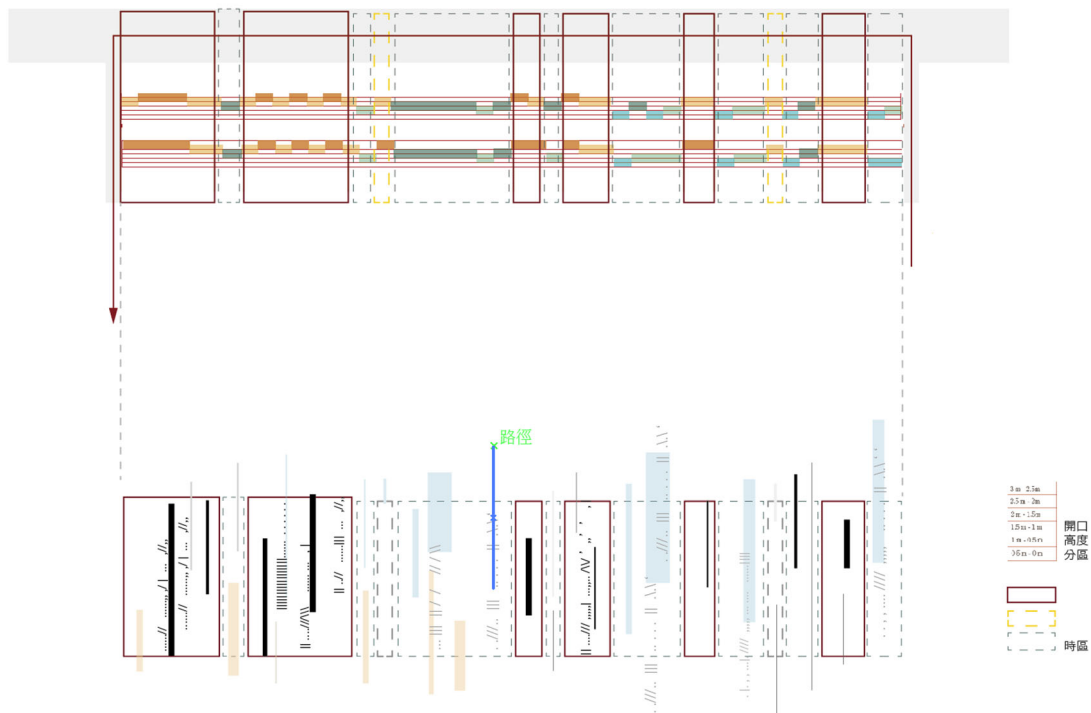


圖 10：開口高度與時區的切分與內外滲透關係 資料來源：本研究繪製

身體直到最後便開始因為接受太多複雜的資訊而疲勞而影響知覺敏銳與心境，此時水平向度意識到外面的廣闊隨著光暈染進來（圖 11），產生與內部空間黑暗、壓抑、重複燃燒情感的對比性，凸顯受審過程渴望自由的心境，同時透過窗口流露的遼闊尋求撫慰的兩面性，似乎在那個剎那可以體會過去女巫審判走向死亡，自由被綑綁的行走過程的心境。換言之 空間透過結構與材質作用具體化了自然的風力，進而具體化了 17 世紀受審人的心境，透過空間傳達給經驗者的身體力行過程。（圖 12）



圖 11: 人造光與自然光透過材料的暈染影響空間氛圍 資料來源：<https://goo.gl/gfm6nw>

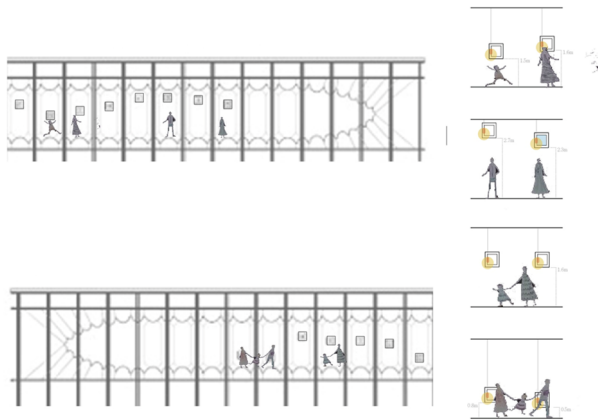


圖 12: 開口與身體的尺度關係與結構與環境所產生的心境  
資料來源：本研究繪製

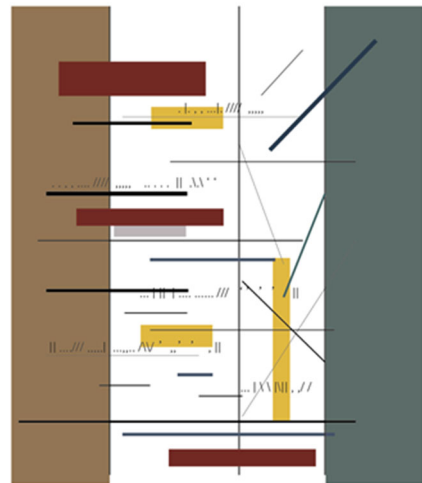


圖 13: 垂直軸向與水平軸向間影響空間氛圍之整體  
資料來源：本研究繪製

而隨著行走的距離，不斷積累的空間傳達的矛盾與壓抑的情緒，當走出空間時如同前述提及的，因為緩坡使行走的速度放慢、距離拉長、專注在某個方向的暗示，背著黑暗走出空間走向被太陽照射的地景，增添彩度的房子與草等，空間、環境的光線、色彩、尺度逐漸轉換心情的沈重隨之跟著速度逐漸卸下與釋放。（圖 13）

Zumthor 似乎透過空間將身體經驗放入看似規律單一狹長空間的狀態，其實在狹長空間對身體的壓縮限制創造了與環境、物件、歷史背景在空間和意義的矛盾，此矛盾的兩面性如同空間氛圍像是渴望自由但明明身處自由、看似穩定的空間構成卻傳達心境的不安定，未知的消點卻有清晰開口表現的水平軸向意識等等。因此筆者認為，透過身體與意識因為兩面性之下的矛盾指向著一種過去歷史的沈重在當今新的視角，接受過去釋放過去、抑或者透過陳述過去將過去烙印的兩種狀態，因而不斷轉換的速度與敏感度某種層面能夠感受傳達空間中知覺整體性

所隱含的當時審判過程與當今釋放的氛圍與意義。

以兩種不同狀態的知覺整體性在作品可以看見幾個共同與差異之影響狀態：(表 3)

- 1.具變動性的空間
- 2.環境與空間的界線與轉換
- 3.空間透過對比性的介質觸動各尺度的氛圍

表 3 :作品交叉分析 建築中的知覺整體性 資料來源：本研究繪製

	Steilneset Memoria	Brother Klaus Field Chape
<b>1 具變動性的空間</b>	帆布 – 張力	木 – 碳化
漸變轉換 對比衝擊	01 與環境的風、雪產生張力的拉扯影響空間的穩定性。	01 木的燃燒變動將時間刻印在空間之中。
<b>2 環境與空間的界線與轉換</b>	01 進入紀念館前，行經小鎮到海邊，狹長的橋面逐漸壓縮身體在寬廣的環境至內部狹長的空間尺度。	01 進入教堂前，必須經歷一公里多的行走過程，從曠野到壓縮之空間 02 華麗的教堂空間之慣性被粗糙的空間意義達到銷抵。
<b>3 對比性的介質</b>	穩定的魚架結構/不穩定的帆布懸吊張力結構	粗糙的混凝土牆面/光滑玻璃珠
	01 穩定的結構介入了隨物理環境影響其張力和動力，相較晚性的材質，進而影響紀念館的抽象含義。	01 透過光滑的玻璃球鑲嵌在粗糙牆面之中，光線環繞在觀者身體。



#### 四、結論

知覺現象學觀點的出現改寫了觀看建築的方式，空間不再只是透過視覺理解其形式表象，我們透過空間觸動身體的多重感官作用，並產生對空間的認知以及空間對人的意義，甚至自我情感的觸動而形成建築上的知覺整體性。此整體性透過卒姆托之作品，透過不同材質、結構等空間構成，產生人和建築間不同的尺度關係、心境的遠近等不同狀態之知覺整體性。

**Brother Klaus Field Chapel** 中的知覺整體性，來自將時間放慢而形塑的各種速度的共存，光線在教堂空間的內涵開始因為空間而產生貼近人的尺度，透過光滑的玻璃珠的曲面反射粗糙的混凝土牆，將垂直軸向破口引入內部粗糙沈重的神聖空間的光線，光線的反映的速度變化給予一種此類型精神性空間的柔化。

**Steilneset Memorial** 中的知覺整體性，來自對於過去沈痛歷史在當今的態度，透過遠到近再到空間之中，再到離開空間都在形塑一種當代的新視角。透過自然的抽象力量透過空間結構張力具體化，透過光線巧妙地引入、與外部連結的可及性變化、強烈的生活過去都在此長廊之中同時不間斷地在不同的身體與緬感速度所產生的時間差而轉意。

因此透過本研究可以得知，建築中的知覺整體性是建築空間構成之實質層面與抽象層面，進而所誘發的感覺與意識而衍伸交融之整體性狀態-意即建築中的知覺整體性。透過卒姆托之案例可以發現，空間中的氛圍來自於多重面向的構成，案例可以看見卒姆托其材質的本性與結構方式強化了環境帶給空間的時間性與貼近生活之意義，並弱化了我們以往認知的空間型態與空間經驗，這也是我們以身體為經驗主體經驗空間達到共鳴進而在建築中衍伸知覺的整體性之原因。

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# 嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村居民於戶外空間進行園藝活動的特徵與動機

方芷君\* 顏子涓\*\* 李宜芳\*\*\*

## 摘要

在台灣，園藝活動是相當受到歡迎的休閒活動之一，每年的經濟產值亦有一定的規模。近幾年來，對於園藝活動的關注除了高經濟產值以外，對於陶冶性情、撫慰人心的功能也逐漸受到了重視。家家戶戶或多或少皆可見到盆栽植物被擺放在陽台上或門前作為裝飾或其他用途。但是，台灣民眾最常種植在戶外的是哪些種類的植物？一般民眾會如何擺設這些植物？而一般民眾是為何要開始進行居家園藝？這些問題在既往研究之中較少見到探討與研究。

因此本研究透過在嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村的實地調查，了解該地區居民進行園藝活動的比例、居民種植在戶外的植物種類、種植方式等以了解該地區民眾在戶外進行園藝活動之特色。並經由居民訪談，了解民眾進行園藝活動的動機。

本研究於 2012 年 8 月至 2013 年 7 月之間共計調查了嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村 732 戶建物周圍園藝植物栽種情形，並深度訪談 11 位當地居民，發現當地居民開始進行園藝活動的主要動機為「興趣嗜好」、「轉移生活重心」、「美化環境」、「童年回憶」。而且有近六成的民眾在戶外種植植物，在進行園藝活動時具有高度自發性、多樣化且注重實用性，也很在意園藝植物的代表意義及栽培照顧上的容易度。雖然建築物形式會影響到居民擺放盆栽的位置，但是居民仍會發揮創意，也會努力拓展栽種空間。

關鍵詞：居家園藝、戶外空間、動機、活動效益

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## **The Characteristics and Motivation of Outdoor Gardening Activities in Fule Village, Minxiong Township, Chiayi County**

Fang Chih Chun, Yen Tsu Yu, Lee, I - Fang

### **Abstract**

Gardening activity is one of the popular recreations in Taiwan. They also created quite a few economic interests every year. In this years, they are not only attended the economic benefit of gardening, but also interest the effect of horticulture therapy. In the residential in Taiwan, we can find many pot horticultures which are displaying on the balcony or front yard. However, what kind of the plant species are displaying on those places? What is the characteristic and style in the community which was locating between country sides and urban by those pot horticultures displaying? We cannot find a lot of papers which were researching those topics in Taiwan.

Therefore, we survey all of the outdoor horticultures species and their displaying situation in Fule Village, Minxiong Township, Chiayi County, to find out the style of the landscape constitute in this community. At the same time, we will survey how many of the Fule villagers are taking gardening activity, and what kind of the feelings when they taking the gardening activity will be receive.

After the survey, we find out that the Fule villagers take the gardening activity spontaneity. It indicates the followings motivations for people plunging into horticulture: “the initiation of interests”, “to find a new goal of life”, “to beautify the environment”, and “to renew the childhood memories.” The plants in Fule village are diversity and practicability. A lot of those plants have auspicious meaning and easy to cultivate. The form of the building will affect the spaces to put the potted, but the Fule villagers also try to expand their originality and space to cultivate plants.

**Keywords :** Gardening, Outdoor Space, Motivations, Benefits

## 壹、研究背景與目的

不論科技發展與生活型態如何變遷，在人類的生活周遭不論是野地自生或人類培植，總是離不開植物的身影，園藝活動在人類的生活之中也總是佔了一席之地。進入現代繁忙快速的工商社會之後，園藝活動之所以受到重視，也從過去的生產高經濟價值作物的角度，逐漸轉變為陶冶性靈撫慰人心的功能。而且在台灣一般人的心目中，園藝活動是相當受到歡迎的休閒活動之一(郭毓仁，2005)。在台灣，園藝活動有多麼受到歡迎，可以從家家戶戶的窗台、陽台或庭院的一角總是可以見到幾盆盆栽而感受得到。在書店，近年來亦有多家出版社(例如：天下文化的大樹自然書屋系列、城邦文化的麥浩思完全元氣花草遊戲系列、蘋果屋出版社、晨星出版社等)陸續出版許多台灣原版且針對一般民眾容易理解運用的園藝書籍，而翻譯自歐美、日本的景觀園藝書籍更不在少數。

在台灣，園藝產業亦是相當重要的經濟活動之一。為了促進產業發展，探討台灣花卉及觀葉植物消費行為的論文，以及政府機關的相關產業經濟統計報告相當的多(張俊彥，1996；潘德芳等，1998；廖思婷等，2004；呂博婷等，2011 等多數)，另外在日本有數篇論文對京都市內居民進行造園的場所及盆器特色進行了研究(下村孝等，2005；高橋さくら等，2005；岡田準人等，2006)，但是較少見到台灣針對一般民眾真正在種植的園藝植物種類進行調查與研究。此外，關於農村景觀、都市景觀及常用植物已有數篇論文及專書介紹(蕭淑文，2011；蔡淑美，2009；社團法人中華民國環境綠化協會，2011 等)，因此，本研究的主要目的在於瞭解台灣居住在介於都市與農村之間的「都市化地區」的一般民眾，在進行園藝活動時的動機，以及呈現的結果，以提供未來社區營造活動時選擇植物種類的參考。

## 貳、文獻探討

### 一、園藝的定義

園藝起初係指小規模的私人栽植活動，由拉丁文 *Hortus* 與 *Culture* 二字所合成，意思為「庭園栽培」，為了與中古世紀農業田間栽培作業的操作方式有所區別(俞玖姣，2004)。近年來，大部分學者傾向採用較現代的園藝學定義：「指栽培水果、蔬菜、花卉及觀賞植物的科學與藝術，包括其所發生對個體身體健康、心理情緒的影響，以及對現代文明的整合影響。」(Relf, 1992)。而 Mastuo (1992) 認為過去的園藝發展太過於注重經濟上的效益，因此其意義與農企業 (Agribusiness) 接近，與原本栽植花草以供欣賞的文化意義大不相同，因此在學術研究上偏好以休閒園藝 (leisure gardening) 來界定研究領域，以避免誤解。本研究主要進行的研究領域亦屬於休閒園藝範疇，主要調查及探討一般大眾在居家週邊種植花草的行為模式。

### 二、休閒園藝的功能

#### (一) 提供感官刺激

馮婉儀(2006)提到，在園藝治療過程中，相當注重植物提供的不同的感官刺激，包含視覺、味覺、觸覺與嗅覺，景觀植物的花、葉、姿態等可提供觀賞，香草與蔬果可提供味覺饗宴，各種質地的植物葉片提供觸覺刺激，而花香、草香、果香更是能讓人提振精神心曠神怡。

## （二）提供心靈的滿足感

在種植植物的過程可幫助人們建立自信心與成就感，近年在台灣再度被提起的「園藝治療」及「景觀治療」等，便是著重於強調園藝栽培過程，以及觀賞庭園甚或參與庭園維護的過程中所得到的精神上的利益(郭毓仁，2005)。

## （三）提供經濟上的挹注

園藝活動在傳統上便是用來生產具經濟價值或較為特殊的植物給市場上販售獲取利益(郭毓仁，2005)，近年來流行的有機種植法，更是吸引民眾嘗試在家自行種植蔬果，不僅可降低上市場買菜的花費，更重要的是可以提供安全安心的蔬果，若有剩餘，更可以成為與鄰居來往交流的好機會。

# 三、動機理論

動機歷程始於個體對於某個目標產生了需求，因而激發了個體自我價值以及驅動力，在此階段稱之為「動機核心」。緊接著因為自我價值與驅動力，進而影響到個體的意圖、行為、自我效能、期望等，此部份則稱之為「動機中樞」。個體以動機中樞做為標準，再對於所產生行為的結果感到滿意並且有所回饋。最後再對於行為加以修正，用來作為下次要達到類似目標的回饋最終成為一循環過程(Locke, 1991)。

Locke (1991)將個體的價值觀視為產生動機的最主要因素。由於每個人皆有相同的需求，例如：食物、空氣、自我實現等，但真正影響個體的動機，乃是取決於各體本身所具備的價值觀上面。正因為每個人在價值觀上的不同，才會造成每個人皆是獨立的個體，且這些價值觀也影響個體在做決策時有不同的指標以及行為產生。再者，價值觀也會直接地影響個體對於事情的評價。

# 參、研究執行方法

## 一、研究場域

### （一）研究基地條件

本研究的主要目的在於瞭解台灣居住在介於都市與農村之間的「都市化地區」的一般民眾，在進行園藝活動時的動機，以及呈現的結果，因此選擇的地區希望是 A.沒有經過大規模社區總體營造，如此才可確保進行園藝活動的居民大多為自發性且未經專業人士輔導。B.建築的主要類型為獨棟型(俗稱透天厝)附有小型庭院，如此才能確保居民進行園藝活動的空間。C.住宅週邊

庭院或空地面積不廣大，若要種植植物不須專業設計即可輕鬆打理。D.社區內的主要經濟活動非以園藝或農業為主，居民大多不以此維生。綜合以上幾點條件，本研究選擇嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村作為研究的基地。

## (二) 研究基地基本資料

根據施添福總編輯的台灣地名辭書(2008)所記載，嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村位於民雄鄉南側，南方即為嘉義市，面積約 2.0639 平方公里。村內有民雄工業區。而根據民雄鄉戶政事務所網頁資料，2011 年 11 月底為止，登記居住在福樂村的人口共有 2292 戶 6958 人，居民雄鄉之冠。而 2013 年 9 月底則成長為 2398 戶 7116 人（2018 年 3 月成長為 2735 戶 7651 人），居住人口逐漸成長中。因福樂村鄰近民雄工業區，住宅需求量大，村內到處可見新建案推出，除了因上班方便遷入福樂村的居民之外，原本便居住在此地的居民也有一定的比例。福樂村人口及建築模式組成變化較多，可認為具有台灣「都市化地區」代表特色。

## 二、研究調查方法

本研究的調查方法主要分為二個部份，分別為現場調查以及居民訪談。各部份主要的調查內容按照順序分述如下：

### (一) 現場調查

實地調查嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村的民宅，針對屋主種植在一樓戶外的植物種類及種植方法、位置、使用盆器種類等以拍攝照片及書面圖表進行記錄。本研究不調查工業區、學校、人行道、社區公園等公共空間中，由政府單位或社區營造活動中所種植的植物種類及位置。調查時以在街道上目視可觀察到，且置放於一樓室外的植物為調查目標，並不調查放置在民宅內部的植物。

本研究調查期間為 2012 年 9 月至 2013 年 8 月，共計 11 個月，分別調查福樂村範圍內建築年代較新的光明街、光明一街、光明二街、自強二街等，以及建築年代較久遠的建國路三段 124 巷、縣道 166 沿線(埤角)等地，共計調查 732 棟透天厝建物周圍的植物種植情形。

### (二) 居民訪談

居民訪談分為兩個階段。第一階段的訪談隨機進行，當調查員在進行現場調查時，與社區居民談天建立良好關係，降低拒訪可能性。待現場調查經過六個月之後，始選擇對園藝活動具高度自發性的居民進行第二階段的深度訪談。訪談內容包括：居民種植植物的動機、選擇植物的理由、植物配置時的考量、照顧植物時的心得與收穫等，以瞭解社區居民進行園藝活動的動機與效益。

因此本研究在篩選過後，選擇了 11 戶熱衷於進行園藝活動的居民進行深度訪談。訪談對象年齡層分佈自 34 歲至 83 歲，種植面積 9 名在 7 坪(含)以下，僅有 2 名種植面積超過 49 坪(含)。受訪者分別以英文字母 A 至 K 編號。

## 肆、家庭園藝於戶外空間的特徵

### 一、社區居民於戶外空間進行園藝活動的情形

#### (一) 種植植物的比例

本研究調查社區居民於一樓戶外目測可知有在進行園藝活動的戶數，調查結果發現，40.4%的居民沒有擺放園藝植物，35.7%的民眾擺放 10 盆以內，10.2%擺放 11-20 盆，8.1%擺放 21-40 盆。而種植超過 40 盆，使居住環境完全被植物包圍的住戶亦達 5.5%。結果顯示超過半數的居民習慣在居家周圍種植植物，且其中僅約 1.2%為地植，絕大部分皆為盆栽。

#### (二) 種植園藝植物種類

調查結果，共發現 86 科 434 種植物，而在記錄時，則以戶為單位，每一戶每一種植物僅計算一次，數字代表有多少百分比的住戶有種植該種植物。其中蘄艾(19.1%)、馬拉巴栗(16.9%)、桂花(14.8%)、沙漠玫瑰(10.6%)、美鐵芋(10.2%)為前五大最受民眾喜愛種植的園藝植物種類。最受民眾喜愛種植的園藝植物種類前三十種的出現比例如圖一所示。其中在傳統認知中或商業行銷後具有吉祥喜慶、驅邪招福招財意義的植物，如：蘄艾、馬拉巴栗、桂花、美鐵芋、銳葉小槐花、羽葉福祿桐、金桔、黃金葛等的出現次數相當高，而可以食用或藥用如：蘆薈、石蓮花、過手香、辣椒、九層塔、草莓等亦不在少數。此外花朵具有高度觀賞性者如：沙漠玫瑰、松葉牡丹、長壽花、日日春、蝴蝶蘭、九重葛、孤挺花、玫瑰等，亦受到民眾的喜愛。綜合以上植物的特性，亦能發現這些植物皆具備容易取得、容易種植、容易繁殖等特性。

此外經過訪談分析，許多居民表示所種植的植物時不一定是從市面上購買的，有些是自行繁殖，有些則是從友人處取得，容易種植是一個重要的選擇因素。此外，居民偏好的植栽選擇亦可歸類出「長年生好照顧」、「觀賞效果好」、「氣味芬芳」、「健康可食」、「實用性佳且代表意義吉祥」（李佩儒，2014）。顯示居民在選擇園藝植物時很注重該植物的代表意義、實用性及觀賞性，如果該植物又容易種植，便容易出現在民眾的居住環境裡。

### 二、植物種植模式

本研究歸納出社區居民在住家周圍擺放或種植園藝植物的位置共可分為九個模式，而方法則可分類為七種。擺放或種植園藝植物的位置及方法歸納結果如圖二所示。本研究調查發現，在福樂村最容易看到的園藝植物擺放位置是屋前(56.2%)，而前庭(0.5%)較少發現，推測是因前庭可能作為住戶的私密空間或車庫使用，平日大多將鐵門放下，調查員難以探知門內情形所致。延邊(12.3%)與對街(10.2%)的擺放位置也算是常見，而這些盆栽植物是居民的私人財產，居民願意將他們放置在自家門外，甚或是道路的對面，除了說明居民們具有樂意與他人分享植物之美的個性之外，也說明部分居民對公領域與私領域，以及自己與他人之間的界線並不是劃分得非

常清楚，有隨意拓展的傾向。其他的置放方式比例分別如下：柵欄內 10.6%，圍牆上 0.9%，空地上 1.8%，街角 7.3%，廊下 0.3%。

絕大部分的居民將植物種植在盆栽裡，且以平放(59.9%)最為常見，其次為架高(22.2%)，8.8%在斜坡上，置放面積較小的階梯及牆上分別佔了 1.6%及 2.8%，僅有 1.2%的植物被直接種植在地面上。

在使用的盆器種類方面，絕大部分的盆器材質是市售的塑膠花盆(80.6%)。其他材質則有陶器(2.3%)、瓷器(8.0%)、木質(0.1%)、石材(2.9%)、水泥花槽(0.9%)以及其他類(1.3%)。而平常容易吸引目光而誤以為被大量使用的保麗龍箱僅佔了全體使用盆器數量的 3.7%。此外在調查中有發現使用特殊的容器如廢馬桶、浴缸、魚缸等作為種植的盆器。居民在使用盆器多以方便取得、價格低廉且不易損壞為主要考量，偶而也會廢物利用創意發想。

調查及訪談過程中亦發現，植物種植數量愈多者，越容易發現不同的裝飾方法以及附隨的手作物品創意發想，或者是為了減輕澆水的負擔而手做的一些設施。

## 伍、進行園藝活動的動機與效益

### 一、進行園藝活動的動機

本研究將深度訪談的內容做成紀錄，並進行分析，歸納出居民會進行園藝活動的動機有以下幾點：

#### (一) 興趣嗜好

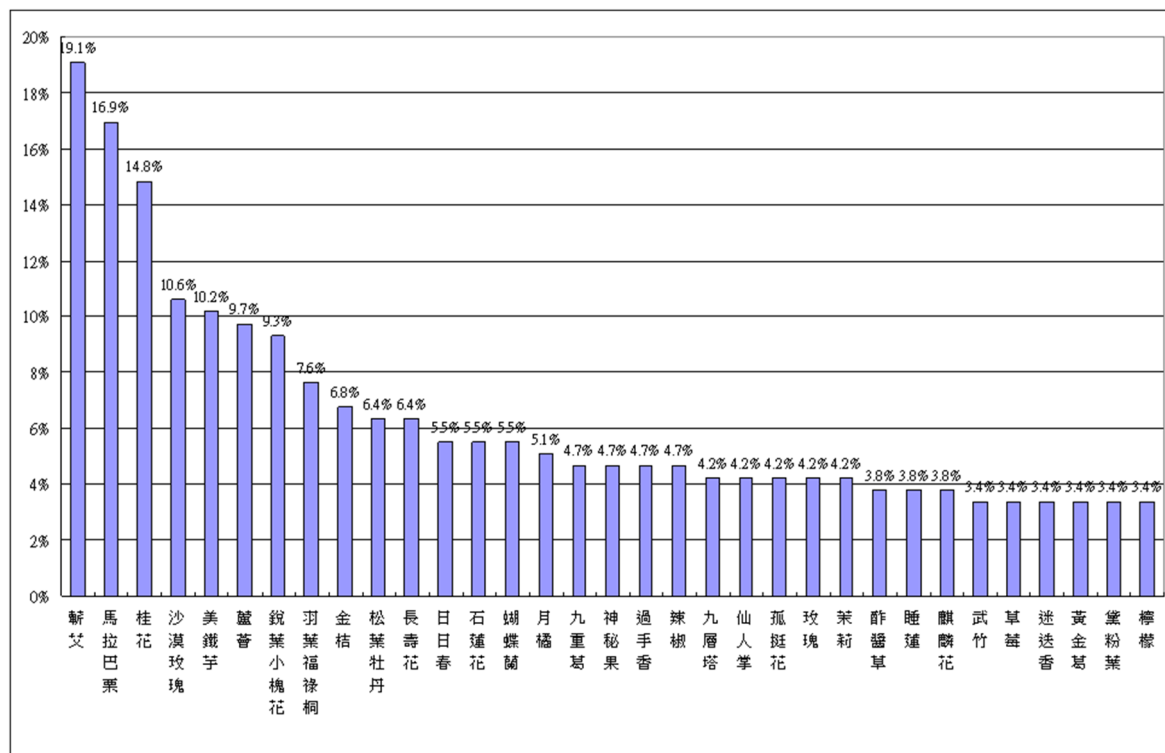
興趣使然才能讓園藝活動持續進行與保持園藝植物良好的狀態。透過實際操作，經驗累積，當看到生意盎然的景觀或摘下可食蔬菜和家人分享時，自我價值認同與街坊鄰居的讚美都是讓參與者對家庭園藝樂此不疲的動機。

對種植植物原本就有興趣了，以前就很喜歡花花草草，感覺就很舒服，逛園藝店的時候看到喜歡的就買個幾盆回來種種看。(受訪者 E)

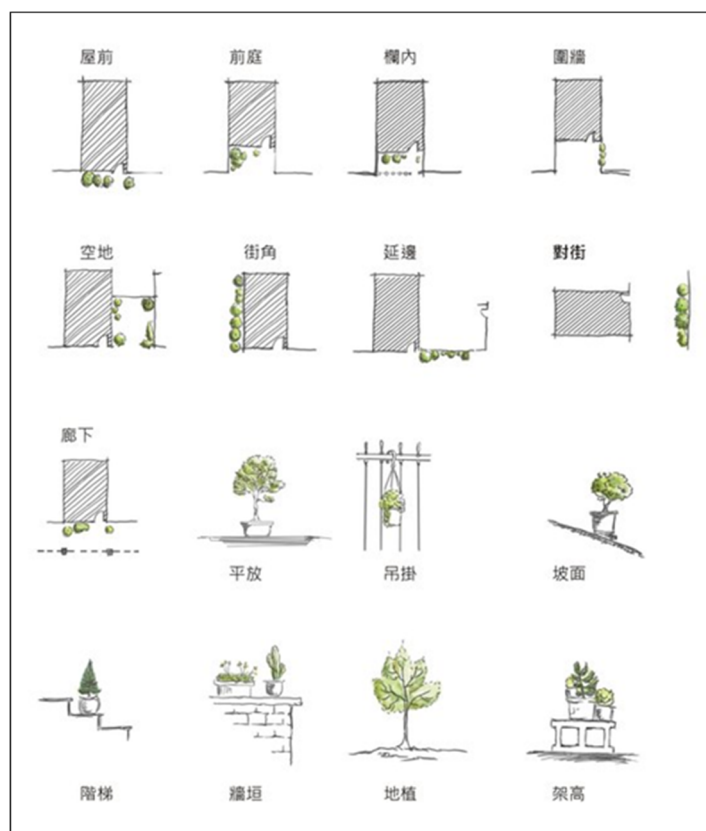
也有因對田園生活有憧憬，卻還無法買地實踐，所以先在居家空間裡享受著與植物互動的喜悅，稍稍緩解夢想未能立即落實的小遺憾。

一直都都很喜歡植物，退休前就有種，但真正有時間好好照顧和認真佈置的時機點是退休之後，愈種愈多……其實現在也很想買一塊地然後能過田園的生活，還沒實行，先在家門口種也是可以啦！(受訪者 A)

另外，有受訪者是為了滿足家人的興趣嗜好或家人帶動，繼而從事園藝活動，顯示園藝活動也帶動了家人之間的互動關係。



圖一 最常見園藝植物前三十種



圖二 擺放或種植園藝植物位置或方法歸納



## （二）轉移生活重心

在 11 位受訪者中，有 6 位直接回答進行園藝活動是為了打發時間。他們的共同點都是已從工作崗位退休。而居家園藝活動容易親近的便利性和活動時能伸展筋骨的健康性，甚至帶來與他人互動的社交性等附加價值，都很符合退休老人的需求。此時投入園藝活動就帶給受訪者因生活重心轉移後心靈上的一個寄託。

在退休後還能藉著園藝活動的參與，建立人際互動的關係以及培養不同的嗜好，不僅能擴展生活圈，提供新的角色定位與足夠的社會支持，更能產生正向情緒。

打發時間啊，退休後很閒沒事，就種來自己欣賞，也能讓外面經過的路人欣賞，自己看了都會覺得植物好多、美化環境好漂亮啊。(受訪者 A)

對退休老人而言，從事園藝活動不僅可以填補退休後的空閒時間，亦可使老年生活多采多姿。對退休老人生活調適、在生命裡重新創造生活意義與價值具有正面意義。

## （三）美化環境

植物豐富的姿態與色彩及旺盛的生命力，使它成為修飾建築生硬冰冷感很簡單又好運用的材料，可以讓環境點綴後顯得活潑些。受訪者的園藝佈置常在一樓車庫、大門口、圍牆邊、屋旁空地…等地方，除了自家欣賞，也讓街巷營造出美的視覺經驗，經過的人也能賞心悅目。

買新家的時候想說佈置一下，讓家裡有些自然的氣息，看起來綠意盎然很舒服，牆角邊或是鞋櫃上擺盆植物，就會覺得空間溫暖起來，線條也柔和多了！看起來就很舒服，有時還會呆呆的站在那裡欣賞。(受訪者 C)

有些居民佈置家門口時，會連住家旁邊或附近的閒置空地也善加利用。在訪談時詢問過受訪者：是否有先經過空地主人的同意？受訪者表示有些有經過地主同意，有些則沒有跟地主確認使用權。但他們表示：土地有種東西才不會長雜草，幫地主美化環境，他們應該很開心！

這邊的地，地主都嘛沒在整理，長一堆雜草，空在那裡不用白不用，草長太高會被人家檢舉的喔，我們會幫他整理，草太高的時候會用除草劑噴一下，不要讓他太茂盛，地主應該還會感激我們的幫忙的！其實這也是互相啦～所以到現在地主也沒來找過我說什麼啊！（受訪者 K）

訪談時發現有居民認為只要是美化環境，就算沒有獲得地主同意也無妨。顯示社區居民不吝惜在公共空間擺放自家盆栽替社區美化環境，也顯示社區居民較沒有公、私領域分別的概念，只要沒被抗議就會擅自使用空地，也成為美化環境的實踐。

## （四）童年回憶

對於大多數人而言，童年的住所及周遭環境，是讓我們體認到自己獨特性的地方。比起重建家園本身，重建兒時花園的某些特性要可行多了 (Lewis, 1996)。一些受訪者憶起小時候的童年記憶，這些回憶透過植物連繫著他們與人事物、環境互動的情感，透過園藝活動投射出一個

童年記憶裡的熟悉情境。

小時候住南投，家裡前面的庭院，爸媽總是種滿滿的花草，爸爸種了很多蘭花，每天都細心照顧，看到他幾乎就是在那照顧蘭花或靜靜欣賞。從小接觸這些，自然而然也喜歡拈花惹草。(受訪者 F)

雖不是所有記憶都是美好的，但受訪者 G 仍在退休後選擇園藝活動當休閒活動，並因為童年幫忙時的經驗累積，讓現在的他在照料植物上更得心應手並充滿成就感，也帶領妻子一起投入園藝世界，增加了夫妻平時共同話題。

## 二、園藝活動的效益

從事園藝活動，除了可以善用植物聯繫鄰里之間的情感，提供話題並建立社區意識之外，在投入園藝活動的同時，也帶給園藝活動者身體的活動與心靈的紓壓，同時也綠化了環境。根據訪談內容將受訪者投入園藝活動所獲得的效益歸納為以下七大項：

### (一) 勞動健身

透過園藝活動照顧植物的過程，挖土、種植、修剪、搬運等過程的勞動，某些細微的動作讓人從手指到腰部到腳全身性的運用到，在活動過程中活絡筋骨，保持良好協調性的體魄。受訪者中，退休年齡層多以園藝活動當成運動，有著休閒兼運動的有趣想法。還有受訪者為了園藝種植，騎著腳踏車到處掃樹葉要當覆蓋物，成了額外的健身法。

### (二) 紓壓放鬆

幾位受訪者在感受照顧過程時與植物和生態之間的細膩互動，專注沉浸在照顧植物的事物中，感受到即使是外在酬賞也無法取代的愉悅感，忘卻時間的流動，感受當下過程的愉悅，心靈因此滿足而獲得紓壓與放鬆。

照顧植物的時候很放鬆，不會胡思亂想，只想怎麼樣讓他更漂亮，長得更好這樣。感覺時間過得很快，常常 2、3 個小時就這樣過去了，怎麼又要吃飯了這樣。(受訪者 I)

親近自然時藉由視覺、聽覺、嗅覺、味覺、觸覺五感的刺激，釋放生活、工作上累積的壓力，心靈上的寄託而感到充實與安適。更因為在園藝活動中精神緊張得到了充分的鬆弛，所以一般情緒性的生理疾病便會減少，身心得以舒展放鬆而獲得健康。

### (三) 建立自信獲得成就感

人們常從植物的生長與和它們的互動中得到慰藉，甚至是從照顧植物的活動中追求自我、肯定自我的存在(王珍珊, 1996)。多位受訪者表示，因為有興趣而主動參與，透過園藝活動過程中產生好奇心、遭遇問題激發挑戰，努力後獲得改善，或是細心照料後植物長得茂盛、蔬果的長成與採收、親近自然的感受、獲得他人的讚賞，都會得到心理的滿足和成就感，既獲得自我價值的肯定也是持續園藝活動的動力。

#### （四）食材收穫

所有的受訪者，都或多或少有栽種一些可食植物，如香料香草、速生葉菜類等，不但下廚使用方便，甚至有多位受訪者也表示自己種植的蔬菜生產量多時，還能與家人、鄰居、老同事共同分享。能吃到自己種的食材，令人感到非常有成就感，同時人與人的情感也透過食物的連結而變得更加緊密。

#### （五）居家休憩空間

佈置的空間，除了兼具美化環境和賞析之外，也可作其他的用途。有些營造出可以休憩、運動、晾衣服、觀察生態、鄰里互動等多功能的運用。受訪者 B 就表示，每逢假日，旅遊景點到處人山人海，而媽媽年老不方便出遠門，孩子又好動喜歡抓蟲觀察做實驗，他們的庭院就是假日最好的休憩地方，營造了一個家人獨享的休閒娛樂空間，也成為孩子最佳的環境教育場所。受訪者 F 並表示她將植物特殊氛圍營造出的空間，是她個人放鬆的小天地。

#### （六）促進人際交流

Lewis (1986) 指出園藝活動有助於鄰里關係的建立，因為在進行園藝活動時，人們會開始主動整理環境，而不只是單純的栽種。雖然居家園藝主要照顧者仍是主動積極參與佈置的人，但透過分享，如果有共同的興趣，在互動關係上有共通的話題，相處的關係也會變得更好。在人際關係方面，植物其實是個很好的交流管道，同時也是情感的發酵劑。可能是一個空間的營造產生的親子與師生互動情誼：「B 先生：『兒子最愛在這裡玩耍和養昆蟲實驗，撿了一堆的東西，家裡的狗就養在這，有時候會放開讓他跑一跑。我教的學生也曾經凹我說要到我家玩，然後就到庭院煮火鍋阿。除了增加家庭的互動，對於工作上的師生關係也有助益。』」

除此之外，園藝活動還吸引同好的目光，讓鄰里或原本陌生的居民串連起來了，甚至還會互相提醒與照顧。

我朋友有時後騎車經過還會特別來看看玫瑰長得好不好，還會教我要怎麼剪枝他才會長的好。鄰居或附近的走過去有時候就閒聊一下，看看花聊一下種花的經驗。(受訪者 K)

在現今忙碌的社會裡，植物成為表達關心的媒介，透過欣賞植物、關心植物、分享植物，甚至擔心植物等方式與話題，成為人與人培養感情的最佳催化劑。

#### （七）環境知覺的啟發

環境的美化，從一個居家小角落延伸到街道小巷，再延伸到整個社區甚至荒地利用。藉由庭院，在日常生活的層次上，我們更能與自然互動，檢視生活常識與自然環境的關係，了解生物和生態的過程，同時透過收集雨水、堆肥生物控制害蟲的方式，學習如何降低對環境的衝擊 (Bhatti 1999)。

自己種了才會知道植物的一些特性，像那個竹子就是，你請景觀公司幫你處理，他們也

不見得會跟你說阿，都要自己去碰到才知道（指根部會亂竄怕危及屋子結構這件事）。（受訪者 J）

園藝活動比一般休閒活動更為特殊的是，它還能進一步創造健康社區和都市，像是創造棲息地、提升空氣品質、阻隔噪音等實質的環境效益（Relf, 1992, 2008; Relf & Lohr, 2003）。自家栽種的園藝植栽，也許數量並不龐大，還是具有調節微氣候的功能。受訪者 J 即表示，她的庭園是露天的，地上種了些草和匍匐性植物，除了下雨天不會積水外，也減緩輻射熱的影響，加上有水池設計，除了賞析、蓄水灌溉功能之外，水的蒸發還能使空氣降溫，微調了車庫裡的溫度，讓住家環境的溫度、空氣等品質有所提昇。

居民透過種植連結了植物生態與感受到整個大自然環境的變化、植物的生長歷程、四季節氣的變化、溫度濕度的影響等細微的改變，也透過照料的過程開啟了照顧者對生態環境的知覺。

## 陸、結論與建議

經過調查、訪談之後的分析，可以發現嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村的居民在進行園藝活動實有以下幾點特徵：

### 一、植物種類及種植方法的多樣性

社區居民種植園藝植物時不僅種植常見的植物，偶而也會種植較為珍奇少見的種類。而種植時使用的盆器材質亦從資源回收再利用的保麗龍箱、舊馬桶、浴缸等到一般常見的市售塑膠花盆、高級陶瓷盆等各式各樣皆可發現。居民們的創意及多元性由此可見一斑。

### 二、注重實用性

從最受居民歡迎的植物種類可以發現，社區居民在選擇園藝植物時，相當注重該種植物的代表意義及實用性，喜好種植可避邪招財或可食用的植物。開花植物亦較偏好選擇較不須時常打理的木本花卉，而每季都需要更新的一年生草花則是熱愛園藝的住戶才會選擇。這些植物如果能兼具生命力強盛容易種植的特性更佳。而在盆器選擇方面亦常常以便利實用耐用為主，顯示社區居民在進行園藝活動時的心態相當務實。

### 三、喜愛使用公共空間

社區居民喜愛將自家盆栽往公共空間擺放，土地使用所有權比較不會起爭議的前庭、欄內與圍牆的盆栽擺放比例僅約 12%，在訪談時也發現有居民認為只要是美化環境，就算沒有獲得地主同意也無妨。顯示社區居民不吝惜在公共空間擺放自家盆栽替社區美化環境，也顯示社區居民較沒有公、私領域分別的概念，只要沒被抗議就會擅自使用空地。

嘉義縣民雄鄉福樂村的居民相當喜愛進行園藝活動，具有高度自發性、多樣化且注重實用性的特質，也很在意園藝植物的代表意義及栽培照顧上的容易度。雖然建築物形式會影響到居

民擺放盆栽的位置，但是居民仍會發揮創意，也會努力拓展栽種空間。

對後續研究的部份，建議可繼續擴展調查範圍，探討台灣其他如北部、中部、南部、東部、外島等地區，高度開發型都市、地方型小型都市、鄉村地區的居民進行休閒園藝活動的實況，以瞭解是否會因為開發密度而影響居民進行園藝活動的模式。甚至地區性不同的生活模式與民俗風情之下園藝活動所呈現出的景觀或營造出的地方感有何不同，都是可延伸探討的議題。

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# Silesia，在記憶與慾望的傳動軸承中躍升- 一個工業資產建構在地自明性的探索性研究

林倩琦\*

## 摘要

Silesia，位於波蘭東南的省區，一個在歷史乘載著多重空間離散的區域；從農業生活，到近代的國家體制的空間印象，Silesia 便一直由於其核心的地理位置與其重要的礦產，成為兵家必爭的區域，其空間記憶便一直在德、奧、傑三國交界的空間形塑動態的認同。從工業革命至今仍是工業的重鎮的 Silesia，在 1990 年代，隨這上世紀政治體制的變化，從共產體制計畫經濟體的製造重鎮到民主體制的開放經濟，Silesia 再一次經歷幾世紀以來，核心工業的離變；然，其過往依工業而發展的市鎮空間，在新世紀的市鎮美學的影響下，Silesia 的空間美學在西方世界 (Western Europe) 所主導的美學倫理下，正邁向其工業歷史與現代市鎮的城鎮規劃；其市鎮經濟亦從重工業生產的聚落群聚轉轉變到西歐市鎮藝術美學之概念設計，Silesia 的空間認同便在國界變化與工業聚落的動態中依存，並乘載著複雜的移民族群與歷史更迭的集體記憶；在建立空間認同過程中，Silesia 以其工業歷史作為其現代空間認同的傳動軸承。本文試圖探索 Silesia 省區政府以工業資產作為其現代市鎮規畫的核心概念，並從其工業意象與礦業歷史的集體記憶，創造市鎮空間的現代性，並從中建立其地方自明性的過程中所探究其多元族群與現代空間交疊的歷史性；本文在理論上應用 Kelvin Lynch 的城市意象、Shukran Qazimi 的地方感、Fatima 和 Oliveria 的社會性認同與 Maria Lewicka 的地方依戀感與集體記憶等論點，以深度觀察法，試圖從存在於 Silesia 城鎮中的歷史途徑，如工業場景(地標式高聳的”傳動軸承”(szybs)，生活集居的工作空間等，所承載的當代城市意象的動能，爬梳 Silesia 從集體記憶的工業場景躍升至美學市鎮空間過程中建立自明性的歷史。

關鍵字：Silesia, 城市意象、自明性、地方認同、工業資產、傳動軸

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## **Silesia, the rising szyb of memory and desire -an exploratory research of constructing sense of place on industrial heritage**

Lin, Chien-Chi

### **Abstract**

Silesia, an administrative subdivision region in Poland, locating in the border of Germans, Checks and Polacy<sup>1</sup>. The boundary often changed since the Bohemia crown, Austrain Habsburgs and Prussia, its complicated history is like an “potpourri” in the context of ethnicities and modern industrialization.. The Industrialization has a big impact in the development in Silesia, due to the abundant mining sources, Silesia became the highly development industrial region in 20<sup>th</sup> century, it was once one of the rich region in Poland. However, the ideal of modern urbanization has gradually transformed heavy industrialized region to a new form of industrial heritage. Silesia drives its characters by the industrial heritage in the process of urbane renovation. This paper aims at the potential transformation of the post modern industrial heritage as a memory and culture identity as the development which form the sense of place of Silesia by in-depth observation during March to June 2018, from the perspective on sense of place, based on the theory of Kelvin Lynch’s city image, Shukran Qazimi’s Sense of place, Bernardo Fatima and Jose Oliveiras’ social identity, and Maria Lewicka’s Place attachment and place memory, focusing on the industry heritage image in the region, The outcome reveals the infrastructure of Silesia shows a rising potential by the output of public and private sector as well as the financial input by European Union as part of the industrial route.

**key words : Silesia, city image, sense of place, place identity, industry heritage, szyb**

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<sup>1</sup>Tomasz Kamusella(2011). Silesia and Central European Nationalisms: The Emergence of National and Ethnic Groups in Silesia. Purdue University Press

# 1. Historical Potporri

## 1. 1. Brief History

Silesia, a voivodeship in southeast Poland, consists of collective memory of ethnic 'potpourri', industrial glory and culture pride. A 40,000 km<sup>2</sup> area which includes Lower Silesia and Upper Silesia, a population of 8 millions, Silesia's largest city and historical capital is Wrocław, locates in Lower Silesia, and yet, the biggest metropolitan area is the Upper Silesian metropolitan area, Katowice is the center of it. The historical capital of Upper Silesia is Opole, nevertheless the largest towns of the region, including Katowice, are located in the Upper Silesian Industrial Region, the total population of which is about 3,000,000<sup>2</sup>.

Located along the Oder River, Silesia has a long agriculture tradition since medieval, it was then also recognized by its rich mineral and natural resources in the industrialization. In the course of industrial development and German's evasion, several important industrial areas have been formed on the need of industrial production. Silesia's borders and national affiliation have changed over time, partly because of its hereditary possession of noble houses and the rise of modern nation-states. The first known states to hold power there were probably those of Greater Moravia at the end of the 9th century and Bohemia early in the 10th century. In the 10th century, Silesia was incorporated into the early Polish state, and after its division in the 12th century became a Piast duchy. In the 14th century, it became a constituent part of the Bohemian Crown Lands under the Holy Roman Empire, which passed to the Austrian Habsburg Monarchy in 1526<sup>3</sup>. Most of Silesia was conquered by Prussia in 1742<sup>4</sup> and transferred from Austria to Prussia. Later, Silesia became a province of Prussia, a part of the German Empire and the subsequent Weimar Republic. The varied history with changing aristocratic possessions resulted in an abundance of castles in Silesia, especially in the Jelenia Góra valley. After World War I, the easternmost part of this region, i.e. an eastern strip of Upper Silesia, was awarded to Poland by the Entente Powers after insurrections by Poles and the Upper Silesian plebiscite. The remaining former Austrian parts of Silesia were partitioned to Czechoslovakia and are today part of the Czech Republic. In 1945, after World War II, the bulk of Silesia was transferred, on demands of the Polish delegation, to Polish jurisdiction by the Potsdam Agreement of the victorious Allied Powers and became part of Poland.

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<sup>2</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Silesia](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Silesia)

<sup>3</sup><https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silesia>

<sup>4</sup>Treaty of Berlin.

The small Lusatian strip west of the Oder-Neisse line, which had belonged to Silesia since 1815, remained in Germany. The largest town and cultural centre of this region is Görlitz.<sup>5</sup>

The administrative division of Poland since 1999 has been based on three levels of subdivision. The territory of Poland is divided into *voivodeships* (provinces); Within *voivodeships*, a further division of *powiats* (counties or districts) and *gminas* (communes or municipalities). Major cities normally have the status of both *gmina* and *powiat*. Poland currently has 16 voivodeships, 379 powiats (including 65 cities with powiat status), and 2,479 gminas. The current system was introduced pursuant to a series of acts passed by the Polish parliament in 1998, and came into effect on 1 January 1999. Previously (in the period from 1975 to 1998) there had been 49 smaller voivodeships, and no powiats<sup>6</sup>. The reform created 16 larger voivodeships (loosely based on and named after historical regions) and reintroduced powiats.

The boundaries of the *voivodeships* do not always reflect the historical borders of Polish regions. Around half of the Silesian *Voivodeship* belongs to the historical province of Lesser Poland. Similarly the area around Radom, which historically is part of Lesser Poland, is located in the Masovian *Voivodeship*. Also, the Pomeranian Voivodeship includes only the eastern extreme of historical Pomerania, as well as areas outside it<sup>7</sup>. Poland's current *voivodeships* (provinces) are largely based on the country's historic regions, whereas those of the past two decades (to 1998) had been centred on and named for individual cities. The new units range in area from less than 10,000 square kilometers (3,900 sq mi) for Opole *Voivodeship* to more than 35,000 square kilometers (14,000 sq mi) for Masovian *Voivodeship*. Administrative authority at *voivodeship* level is shared between a government-appointed voivode (governor), an elected regional assembly (*sejmik*) and an executive elected by that assembly<sup>8</sup>.

Most inhabitants of Silesia today speak the national languages of Polish and Czech as according to their identity, both of which are Western Slavic languages. The population of Upper Silesia is native<sup>9</sup>, while Lower Silesia was settled by a German-speaking population before 1945. An ongoing debate exists whether Silesian speech should be considered a dialect of Polish or a separate language. Also, a Lower Silesian German dialect is used, although today it is almost extinct. It is used by expellees within

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<sup>5</sup><https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silesia>

<sup>6</sup>Administrative division of the People's Republic of Poland.

<sup>7</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Poland)

<sup>8</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative\\_divisions\\_of\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Administrative_divisions_of_Poland)

<sup>9</sup>There are some immigrants from Poland who came in the 19th to 20th centuries

Germany, as well as Germans who were left behind<sup>10</sup>. During the years 1848-1918, Poland was influenced by Western European movements. The German ethnic model of language and culture had been replicated in the case of Polish and Czech nationalisms. Silesia became a focal point as an area that was sought after by all three nations. Subsequent historiographies have treated Silesia and its population as a part of the three national histories, however, in reality, the German/Germanic-speaking Protestants began to identify themselves as Germans, but the Slavic-speaking Catholic Silesians did not fully recognize any of the three national influences and clung to their religious identity. Others developed specific ethnic identities connected to the ethnic groups of the Szlonzoks, the Slunzaks and the Morawecs. The groups remained prominent until the division of Silesia among Czechoslovakia, Germany, and Poland in 1919-22<sup>11</sup>. Leszek Balcerowicz in the early 1990s enabled the country to transform its socialist-style planned economy into a market economy. Like other post-communist countries, Poland suffered in social and economic, but it became the first post-communist country to reach its pre-1989 GDP levels, which it achieved by 1995 largely thanks to its booming economy<sup>12</sup>. Most visibly, there were numerous improvements in human rights, and political rights (1st class), as ranked by Freedom House non-governmental organization. In 1991, Poland became a member of the Visegrád Group and joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) alliance, in 1999 along with the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary. Poles then voted to join the European Union in a referendum in June 2003, then becoming a full member on 1 May 2004. Poland joined the Schengen Area in 2007, as a result of which, the country's borders with other member states of the European Union have been dismantled, allowing for full freedom of movement within most of the EU<sup>13</sup>. In contrast to this, a section of Poland's eastern border now comprises the external EU border with Belarus, Russia and Ukraine. That border has become increasingly well protected, and has led in part to the coining of the phrase 'Fortress Europe', in reference to the seeming 'impossibility' of gaining entry to the EU for citizens of the former Soviet Union.

## **1.2 Industry history in Poland**

Poland was disparate as repeated partitioning of this nation occurred during the decisive 150 years

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<sup>10</sup>Lukowski, Jerzy; Zawaszki, Hubert (2001). *A Concise History of Poland* (First ed.). University of Stirling Libraries – Popular Loan (Q 43.8 LUK): Cambridge University Press. p. 3.

<sup>11</sup><https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Silesia>

<sup>12</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy\\_of\\_Poland](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Economy_of_Poland)

<sup>13</sup>Reuters, Ukraine, Poland and Lithuania form joint military unit. Warsaw, 19 September 2014

in which Europe's first textile works, coal mines and railways were built. During those years, parts of today's Poland belonged to the neighboring powers, and their development varied correspondingly. As in many European nations, population growth generated a large union of labor. A major centre of heavy industry emerged in Dabrowa-Becken (Zagłębie Dąbrowskie), which bordered on the former Prussian Province of Upper Silesia, based on mining and processing of local coal and iron ore reserves. Industrialization took an unusual course in Upper Silesia, The Prussian King Friedrich II, who won this territory rich in natural resources from Austria in the Silesian Wars, appointed experts who brought in state-of-the-art British technology. Coal mining in Silesia commenced as early as the end of the 18th century, and 1788 saw the commissioning of the first steam engine in the revitalized silver and lead mining operations in Tarnowitz (Tarnowskie Góry). The first blast furnace went into operation in Gleiwitz (Gliwice) in 1796<sup>14</sup>, and the zinc ore around Katowice were abundant. During the 19th century the output of zinc from Upper Silesia exceeded that of all other European regions.

State-sponsored industry had set the process in motion, Silesian landowners became the primary financiers for the expansion of heavy industry. Astonishingly, the industrialization of the mixed Polish-German population of Upper Silesia did not trigger a wave of nationalism as it did in Bohemia: here, social classes formed the main divisions. This first German industrial region gradually began to decline toward the end of the century, as more and more ore had to be imported. The primarily agrarian Lower Silesia made headlines in 1844 when the mechanization of textile production triggered the well-known weavers' uprisings. After the First World War, the diverse economic structure of the various regions weighed heavily on the reconstituted Polish nation. Additionally, the established trade ties dissolved after 1918. It was not possible to compensate for the structural weaknesses, particularly the dependence on foreign capital, before a new crisis on Black Friday 1929' <sup>15</sup>.

### 1.3 Mining industry in Silesia

Although Silesian's industrialization era begins at Kingdom of Prussia, Silesian industry developed heavily after the war. To stimulate the economy Protestant Czechs, lots of labors were invited to settle in the country, particularly in Upper Silesia<sup>16</sup>. Most of the settlers originated from non-Prussian

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<sup>14</sup>Scotsman John Baildon introduced British puddle furnaces in Katowice which produced extremely tough wrought iron, and succeeded in establishing a steam engine works in Gleiwitz.

<sup>15</sup><https://www.erih.net/how-it-started/industrial-history-of-european-countries/poland/>

<sup>16</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Silesia#Industry\\_and\\_mining](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Silesia#Industry_and_mining)

countries, since Frederick II<sup>17</sup> also wished to increase Prussia's population. The Poles settled all over Upper Silesia<sup>18</sup>, with the recruitment of Germans from Middle and Western Germany many mine and lumber settlements were established. Large estate owners soon followed and founded many new settlements. Frederick II supported the reconstruction of the cities, by the ban on wool exports to Saxony or Austria and the increase of customs duties. Mining and metallurgy reached special importance in the middle of the 18th century. In 1769 Silesia established a standardized mining law, the so-called "*revidierte Bergordnung*", which excused miners of subservience to the laird and placed them under the control of the upper mining authority<sup>19</sup> which first located in Reichenstein and later in Breslau, later moved to Upper Silesia. Confessional restrictions were abolished already during the first Silesian war and, until 1752, 164 provisional churches, so called *Bethäuser* or *Bethauskirchen*, were built. The Moravian Church, a Protestant denomination, established several new settlements, which became culture and believing center of some mining communities. After 1815, Silesia's industry was in bad condition in the decades. Silesian linen weavers suffered under Prussia's free trade policy and British competitors that already used machines destroyed the competitiveness of Silesian linen, after Russia imposed embargo which caused the Silesia traditional craft died out<sup>20</sup>. The recovery of Silesian industry was closely connected to the railroad. The first railroad line was built between Breslau and the industrial region of Upper Silesia (1842–1846), followed by lines to the Lower Silesian industrial region (1843–1848). The fast-growing network of railroad lines supported new companies, which in turn led to growth of the industry in Upper Silesia. The concentration of mining, metallurgy and factories in a small region like Upper Silesia resulted in enormous growth of the settled area, especially because of workers' villages next to mines and ironworks. The older cities of the area were *Bytom*, *Gliwice*, towns like *Katowice*, *Królewska Huta*, *Zabrze* emerged, all chartered during that time. After the political situation stabilized in the 1860s and political parties evolved, the special status of Upper Silesia, driven by confessional, linguistic and national differences, began to develop. The Upper Silesian Industrial Region is located in the province of Upper Silesia and Zagłębie Dąbrowskie in southern Poland in a basin between the Vistula and Oder rivers<sup>21</sup>.

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<sup>17</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick\\_the\\_Great](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Frederick_the_Great)

<sup>18</sup>most of them in this period were from the Habsburg-ruled area

<sup>19</sup>*Oberbergamt*

<sup>20</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Silesia#Industry\\_and\\_mining](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Silesia#Industry_and_mining)

<sup>21</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History\\_of\\_Silesia#Industry\\_and\\_mining](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/History_of_Silesia#Industry_and_mining)

## 2.Sense of Place in Silesia

The etymology of “place” comes from Greek ‘plateia’ (hodos) ‘broad’(way), in the medieval time, the Latin word ‘Placea’(place) meaning courtyard (open space, avenue). Identity comes from Latin word ‘idem’ and then become the meaning of “same”, it is now known as identity “identity”. Architectural psychologist was inspired by these concept and developed the idea of “psychology of space”, regarded the space as product of physical attributes, human conceptions and activities. Stijiks developed a theory called “transactional view of setting” based on these ideas, and addressing “transactional” focuses on the either the person or the environment, he emphasized the relationship between a place and a person is interdependent. In the discussion of ‘Sense of place and place identity’, Qazimi described that the relationship between identity and the physical environment(social identity theory, place-identity theory and identity process theory). He addressed the place identity is focused on the relationship between people and the environmental psyche argued the relationship between place and identity were based on social identity theory and identity process theory<sup>22</sup>. ‘Nikiszowiec Mock-up’ was carried out by the local initiatives factory association according to the idea of Zdzislaw Majerczyk, psrtner of the Groupa Jarowsha in cooperation with the coal mine “Wiecaorek, the project is co-financed by the city of Katowice. Workers house estate, a pearl of social housing architecture, designed in the early twentieth century by local architects.

### 2.1 Administration division and culture identity

Silesian Voivodeship was established in 1999 by merging the former Bielsko Biała, Częstochowa and Katowice voivodeships<sup>23</sup>. In addition to the Katowice conurbation, three more agglomerations are found in the voivodeship: Bielsko-Biała, Częstochowa and Rybnik. There have been two different concepts for the transformation of the existing voivodeship structure.

The Upper Silesian Industrial Region lies mainly in the Silesian Voivodeship, centered on Katowice. It is situated in the northern part of Upper Silesian Coal Basin (Silesian metropolitan area), the southwest border of the Rybnik Coal Area and west borders with the Ostrava urban area. This area covers over

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<sup>22</sup>Qazimi, Shukran, (2014)“Sense of place and place identity”. Vol.1, No.1. European Journal of Social Sciences Education and Research.

<sup>23</sup>The Voivodeship has a dual structure in the administrative sense, forming a single NUTS 2 region and encompassing eight NUTS 3 statistical sub-regions, 17 administrative districts (powiats) and 19 cities with district rights (LAU 1), as well as 167 municipalities (LAU 2) – of which 49 are urban, 96 are rural and 22 are mixed local governments. (Regional statics, 2004)



3,200 km<sup>2</sup> and about 3 million people<sup>24</sup>. Upper Silesian Industrial Region is an area with enormous concentration of industry, which including mining industry, iron and steel industry, transport industry, energy industry and chemical industry<sup>25</sup>.



The Voivodeship has significant intra-regional differences in the realm of demographics and social indicators. The quality of space is fragmentation: settlement components with widely divergent origins, physical quality and level of maintenance are found haphazardly in each other's proximity. The conurbation, emerging from constituting cities but also bearing some traits of a single metropolis, carries this heterogeneity on all territorial scales (BARANYAI and LUX, 2014). The fragmentation can be described of dimensions of spatial differentiation: –Upper Silesia is still characterized Poland's threefold imperial division. The different cultural and socio-economic attributes of the Prussian, Austro–Hungarian and Russian zones of influence are obvious today, which can be observed the weaker

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<sup>24</sup>Krystyna Szaraniec & Lech Szaraniec & Karol Szarowski, *Katowickie Towarzystwo Społeczno-Kulturalne*, Katowice 1980

<sup>25</sup>[https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upper\\_Silesian\\_Industrial\\_Region](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Upper_Silesian_Industrial_Region)

institutional endowment but higher formal education in the conurbation's eastern population, or the more advanced technological competencies of the western in the Prussian parts. The Silesian Voivodeship itself is sharply differentiated: the conurbation, Częstochowa, Rybnik's coal mining district and Bielsko-Biała are three disparate poles within a single voivodeship (Klasik–Heffner 2001), and a source of both structural and political divisions. Despite multiple integration attempts, the conurbation remains politically divided, and the independent policies of local governments lead to parallel developments, overlapping competencies and constant conflict. – The cities are fragmented by the mining and industry-driven urbanization process, leading to a non-standard urban morphology characterized by very diverse housing stock. This was further differentiated by the later processes of social breakdown, industrial crisis, environmental and mining damage, and followed by market-led and community-based revitalization initiatives). Radical differences are found even on the level of individual housing blocks, making for a mosaic-like spatial pattern. The fragmentation of the urban fabric is not merely a phenomenon of space, but one which is also embedded in the temporal dimension<sup>26</sup>. Development and destruction (city-building and intentional city demolition) have been based on the free overwriting of symbolic spaces, and sometimes entire urban functions, city morphology remains influenced by the outcomes of previous decisions (Murzyn–Kupisz–Gwosdz 2011, Chmielewska 2012). Urban space stripped of their former relevance with the downsizing of consumption and trade, or in the case of living areas, “overwritten” by newly erected living complexes. Upper Silesia, in the context of modernization that the re-formed spaces of consumption, business services and finance have led to the emergence of a Central Business District in Katowice, while other urban centers in the conurbation have contributed to this reclaiming of the city with the rise of representative shopping centers and malls. The developments of these individual cities undergo specialization, and the governance at setting down common goals at a metropolitan level, transforming the fragmentation into the modern European virtue of polycentric development. Katowice has proven to be the strongest as the centre of the region. Other significant cities (particularly Gliwice, Sosnowiec and Tychy) take on the role of sub-centers in this configuration. In Katowice, the last few years have seen the regeneration of the historical city centre, based on the conversion of spaces formerly used by transportation or industry, and attempting to create a functional city centre. The underlying consumption-oriented model relies on private capital as well as European Union funding, and fits into the mainstream of European urban policies. After 1989, the

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<sup>26</sup><http://www.ksh.hu/docs/hun/xftp/terstat/2014/RS04208.pdf>

symbolic space was reclaimed once again<sup>27</sup>, the grand shopping complexes in Katowich, Silesia City Centre has been constructed on the site of the former Gottwald mine, preserving and rejuvenating certain symbolic elements of the mine's architectural ensemble as a reminder of the city's heritage. Katowice and the building of a connected shopping mall; or the currently emerging new cultural quarter on former mine sites (a concert hall, exhibition space, university library and conference centre) enrich the city with previously missing metropolitan-scale infrastructure and new public spaces. The transformation contributes to economic diversification and has positive consequences for socio-economic resilience (Polko 2012). However, the local authority require the building of large shopping centers in every city (Polko 2013) – symbols of modern urbanization of advance, although there is a debate of the development of the central city is not followed by organic renewal and functional enrichment throughout the broader conurbation, however, renewed urban areas almost always border on smaller or larger areas of segregation. Example of the cultural quarter in Katowice shows that these ideas are often identical to those found in any other large city in Europe – while local conditions would prescribe an entirely different way of development.

## 2.2 Transformation

Upper Silesia has a potential of being the main role in European competition, because of its neighbor– Kraków in Poland and Ostrava-Karvina<sup>28</sup> in Czechia. The development of Upper Silesia during post-socialism shows the character of a reemerging historical region and the exploration of its newfound potential. Although Upper Silesia once hit by the structural crisis because of its reliance on traditional industries and the socio-economic processes, the potential of it make this area became one of Central Europe's most interesting and vibrant regions. Furthermore, its improving infrastructural connections<sup>29</sup> and enhanced economic and political cooperation create a new cluster of development poles and further integration. The extent of the process, which has led to Upper Silesia's increased significance by the ability to continue its economic renewal through the balance of traditional and new approaches. Although, the socio-economic consequences of restructuring remain; new external shocks in the coal and steel sector, or long-term shifts in the automotive industry may pose new risks, and the political pressures of centralizing states and internal conflicts of interest may lead to the disintegration

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<sup>27</sup>By constructing monumental statues for two great interwar statesmen-Józef Piłsudski and Wojciech Korfanty.

<sup>28</sup>An important and enormous industry area in Czeck Republican.

<sup>29</sup>The public transportation, such as the A4 and A1 motorways and the renewal of the tram system.

of Opole<sup>30</sup>. While decentralization initiatives, reversing years of progress. These systematic setbacks are nothing new in the wider region. Nevertheless, Upper Silesia can be expected to re-emerge as a key role among Central European regions. New forms of economic adaptation and administrative integration are being explored, and it is precisely this innovative character that imbues the region with its resilience and ability to reinvent itself in an ever-changing economic, social and political landscape (NÓRA and LUX, 2014).

### **2.3 Urban design as a way of balacing industry past and modernized commercial**

Regarding its industry history and the economic gloria, in the course of transformaing into European virtue of city devlopment, Upper Silesia pocessed the fragmentation of these industrial satellite cities into a polycenter-like city setting, these were made by the cities of different industrial core, each of them were centered by its industrial privilege. Katowice has gradually establishing itself as the centre and the conurbation as well. Other significant cities, such as Gliwice, which processes of a power station, Sosnowiec and Tychy take on the role of sub-centers, yet, these cities were formed by the core industry, which differed from the organic glowing of the traditional cities. While transformed itself into one of the ‘Western Europe’ virtue of city, especially the ideology of ‘Western aesthetic’ of point-line-dimension structure embedded in the concept of intangible urbane development, and environmental protection and inspiration, a culture-oriented historical trace back in Upper Silesia would have been the ‘recording context’, industrialization in Upper Silesia along with the modernization of state became something recognized and traceable, to build up the collective memory, a recognized and traceable history is a carrier to bridge the past and now, an art form based culture content is the model of ‘Western European’ virtue of urbane transformation. A point-line-dimension way of transformation Upper Silesia image from heavy industry to modern city context, reforming mining history and the fabrication associate with steel, electricity power and all those sites in the context, would considered the memory carrier form the past to contemporary. Turn of the century, the gradually closing down of mine, the transformation of industrial sites, renovation of electrical power sites are on-going along with the public transportation design in a touristic context, along with the building up of culture city image by museums, historical sites and modern art center, Upper Silesia transforming its city image based on industrial historical content in tangible heritage and the intangible festival-oriented activities<sup>31</sup> to build up the intangible memory and value.

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<sup>30</sup>the historical capital of Upper Silesia, now it is the centre of the Opole Voivodeship

<sup>31</sup><http://industriada.pl/>

## 2.4 Build up a culture space based on industry history

According to Lynch's city image, shafts are recognized as the coal mining center in Upper Silesia, radiated from Katowich area, the shafts in the city center depicted the mining history, the renewed project transformed this area into an art atmosphere by surrounding symphonic hall, Concert halls, exhibition halls and conference centers, and yet, the shaft is still a center landmark within the soft images of culture replacing the hard history of industry and yet the shaft and the chimneys became a historical monuments of the history. The streets, trails and railroads connected by the creative site and museum has connected by shafts sites which including mostly coal mining, silver, zink and copper. While enlarging to a domain of districts, the identity of mining workers' residents and the music group playing group have collected the memory of the region. The perspectives of receiving rural people from agriculture community into city and reforming the mining community by the residential space of farming and family setting as Nikiszowice, an industrial city image has implanted deeply by the image of industrial tool and the residential space.

While one began to reflect the convenience of industrialize era, the pollution expands and environment preservation issues being brought up, more and more industrial regions has gradually turns its image by culturally build up. Silesia, a region with its abundant resources in mine, yet also full of various politic figures in the history and ethnic varieties, an uprising movement of industrial pride has been brought up by the transformation of the region, as Kevin Lynch mentioned of the city image, shafts, the mining core, as an image of Silesia, especially in Katowich(The capital city of Upper Silesia),The city of Katowice is the centre of cultural and economic life in Upper Silesia (Gorny Slask), a region in south eastern Poland. The city centre of Katowice is rich in museums, monuments and ecclesiastic buildings with enough diversity. There are many historical buildings, which have been classed as monuments with different architectural styles that can be seen in the city. The entire region itself contains only a few of these historical structures as most have been concentrated in Katowice itself. Its central location and efficient infrastructure has made Katowice a popular venue for conducting business. The Katowice Expo Centre (Katowickie Centrum Wystawiennicze) organizes trade fairs and exhibitions all year round.

As revealed by Rollero and De Piccoli (2010) addressed in the concept of place attachment, identification and environment perception<sup>32</sup>, the relationship between people and place is characterized

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<sup>32</sup>Chiara Rollero, Norma De Piccoli(2010). Place attachment, dentification and environment perception: An empirical study.

b affective and cognitive dimensions, defined, respectively, as place attachment and identification. The clarifying differences between place attachment and identification can be done by identifying the predictors in a structural equation model and exploring their association with the environmental perception. Husserl(1954), Jorgensen and Stedman (2001) addressed that the psychological dimensions of experiencing place have been described under several different concepts, such as sense of place, topologic community sentiment, sense of community, and community identity. The concept of place attachment lies at the very heart on people and places. Place attachment is a multifaceted and complex phenomenon that incorporates different aspects of people-place bonding and involves the interplay of affect and emotions, knowledge and beliefs, and behaviors and actions in reference to a place<sup>33</sup>. In Silesia, the miming sites and the minors' residential has formed an intertwined a functional residential space with a small area of faming space in the residential area since century ago, although in the communists' time, the situation has been desperate, while the free economic era began, the function of the place, and the attachment of the place were still tied among the daily life of bakery, restaurant and daily necessities, space identity among different of miming labors have formed the distinct characteristic in the city.

### 3.Festival to build up the intangible value

The economic structure of Upper Silesia was characterized by the excess weight of traditional industrial branches and the underdevelopment of services at the time of systematic change(Lux, 2009). In 1990, the Voivodeship had 1.2 million inhabitants employed in industry, the continuing significance of industry demonstrates the enormous weight of Upper Silesia's industrial legacy, but apart from the magnitude of the crisis, it also showcases its unexpected resilience in finding new, innovative paths of adaptation.

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<sup>33</sup>Altman, I., & Low, S.M.(1992). Place attachment. A conceptual inquiry. New York: Plenum Press.



**Map of sites in the festival of Industriada**

<http://tinyurl.com/yxjd7e2a>

The Upper Silesia Industrial Monuments Route is one of the few Central and Eastern European route entered in the prestigious list of the European Route of Industrial Heritage (ERIH)<sup>34</sup>. Out of 77 ERIH anchor points, places recognized as objects of particular importance to industrial culture and history of Europe, seven are located in Poland, including four on the Industrial Monuments Route of the Silesian Province. The Industrial Monuments Route is a flagship tourism product of the Silesian

<sup>34</sup><https://www.erih.net/>

Province. It was established in 2006 and the route offers 36 attractions. It includes not only museums, but also residential workmen colonies and fully functioning work stations. Identity is a dynamic product of the interaction between on the one side the capacities for memory, consciousness and organized construal which are characteristic of the biological organism and physical and social structures and influence processes which constitute the social context (Breakwell, 1986). In this context, thought, action and affect are the basic processes, ideas, doing something and make a difference to reach the aim are the real acts of these three processes. These processes include both personal and social identity values, whether positive or negative. The organizational content analysis is hierarchical, the identity social frame is regulated by an accommodation-assimilation formation, absorption of new elements, and adjustments I the existing identity shape<sup>35</sup>.

The mining industry came from the need of Steel, and Shaft, the etymology meaning is a pole or rod that forms the handle of a tool, the second fold meaning processing rod forming part of a machine, which turns in order to pass power on to the machine<sup>36</sup>. Factories and places for workers became a habitant cluster during industrialization. Shafts becomes symbols in Upper Silesia, some of them today are still activating, for those closed-down mining, shafts became symbols of them. Some of them became museums or culture center, some of them transform into park or creative field<sup>37</sup>. Aside of the sites of mining, mining place such as Sztyrgarka, which use to be a place where mining worker of the level of decision making used to hold a daily conference, it is now a public space with the building revitalization of several business and social platform, locating in the knot of Chorzow, not far away of city center, but functioned as a path from center to the knot. As Qazimi addressed the ideal of “place identity” is formed by a “potpourri of memories, conceptions, interpretations, ideas and related feelings about specific physical setting, as well as types of settings”(1983). Place attachment is part of place identity, but place identity is more than attachment. Place identity is substructure of social identity, social class. It is composed by interpretation and environment.

## 4.Conclusion

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<sup>35</sup>Qazimi, Shukran.(2014). Sense f place and place identity. European Journal of Social Science Education and Research. Vol1, No.1

<sup>36</sup><https://dictionary.cambridge.org/zht/>

<sup>37</sup>Such as Museum Silesia transformed from the previous mining site in Katowich, President mining place-Szytrgarka is renovated into an industrial park, Nikiszowice is a mining family log and workers habitant, and Gallary Wilson is a



In conclusion, after nation-state era to war time, the identity of Silesia was mobilized politically and ethnically, until the uprising period in 1920s, Silesia, as an identity entity is often in the changing boundary among German, Czech and Poland. Mining life in Silesia in 20 century became collective memory of the area, the recorded history, contemporary history started the miming era, farmers in urban area immigrated to city look for working opportunity has intertwined both farming culture and industrial image. Szyb, shafts so to speak, presenting the historical landmark of industrial era, expanded from the landmark, park, business, living space radiated from the shaft landmark which formed public space and living area. The living miming industry and the historical industrial sites exist both at the same time in Silesia nowadays. Not only the landmark in the capital city Katowice of upper Silesia and also the satellite city next to Katowice, on the mobilizing path, these image of Shafts became one of the important symbol of this region, and also an knot of newly transformed urban planning. This research aims at revealing these industry heritage sites, no matter functioned or transforming into public access path or space, shafts located in a number amount in Silesia have become the essential memory of local, yet, while preserving the symbols of memory, a move-forward momentum through the transformation of city center and the revitalization of industrial area is now a mobilize drives of a soft and beautiful image, the proud of through preservation of industrial sites and the building up of new sense of place are moving toward uprising direction. Silesia, a space of golden history in industry, is now transforming its image on cultural and industry landmark, through industrial activities process of space memory, Silesia is moving up to its next peak through the history like the mobilization of Szyb.

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## 苗栗文化景觀資源融入環境教育之遊客滿意度與環境認知評估

呂適仲\*

### 摘要

本研究主要針對環境教育導向之文化景觀環境進行調查，故透過問卷調查資料，了解遊客對於環境教育導向之文化景觀資源進行分析，藉以從環境滿意度、環境認知與環境教育等面向進行調查；本研究進行於苗栗縣重點文化景觀區域進行調查，採便利抽樣，共計 450 份有效問卷。主要研究發現為：多數的受訪者對於整體環境滿意程度都是感到滿意的，其中以文化景觀與產業文化景觀兩者最讓受訪者滿意，而公共設施尚不能符合民眾期待；多數民眾對於永續發展等相關名詞之瞭解已經十分普及；在環境教育軟硬體設施部分，解說牌、自導式步道、解說員、故事性的解說措施、DIY 的體驗課程都是民眾所期待的環境教育項目，也顯見目前苗栗文化景觀發展的環境教育設施是不足的；環境教育導向之文化景觀資源將是未來可供發展的重要手段。

關鍵詞：苗栗縣、環境教育、文化景觀、遊客滿意度、環境認知

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## **Evacuation of the Satisfaction and environmental identity for the cultural landscape resource with environmental education at Maili county**

Shih-Chung Lu

### **Abstract**

The study tried to focus on the cultural landscape resources based on environmental education. Therefore, it was able to recognize the issues by using questionnaires, including environmental satisfaction, environmental identity, and environmental education. It tried to survey the main cultural landscape identification at Miaoli by convenient sampling for 450 valid questionnaires. The main findings were: much of respondents showed higher environmental satisfaction. Meanwhile, both cultural landscape and industrial cultural landscape were more popular, but the public utilities were not fit to the need of publics. Much of respondents owned related sustainable ideas. In addition, the Narrative cards, self-guided trails, narrators, narrative measures, and DIY experience courses were expected, and the Miaoli environmental education facilities were weak. To sum up, it is the main strategy for future development for the cultural landscape resources based on environmental education.

**Keywords:** Maili county, environmental education, cultural landscape, tourist satisfaction, environmental identity

## 一、研究背景與目的

近年來台灣經濟高度發展，國民所得增加，惟在國土永續利用、城鄉生活環境景觀風貌品質未能同步提升，與先進國家有相當差距；歸納其主因在於文化發展與城鄉景觀未能提供一個更具有文化特色與文化意涵的生活空間，導致使生活情趣及歷史文化埋沒在現代化鋼筋水泥叢林中(周道宏 2011; 黃昭璘 2015)。然而，苗栗縣因其地理特色與環境發展，其城鄉內部蘊藏著豐富文化景觀與多元族群文化，但如何將城鄉本身的特色加以發掘、建立及塑造，其所採取的方法往往影響到改造工作(劉謹榕 2015)，因此如何將零星破碎的文化景觀資源加以整合，並形塑一個文化脈絡的整體性考量，將成為未來文化景觀發展與地方特色塑造的主要方向。

自聯合國教科文組織(UNESCO)通過「保護世界文化和自然遺產公約」以來，文化資產的保存維護及永續經營已是國際的共同議題。文化旅遊早已成為國人主要旅遊型態之一，加上這幾年我國政府戮力推行地方特色產業轉型，故具地方產業特色之文化旅遊型態儼然成為國內主流旅遊活動之一(馮威傑，2014; Yang, 2015; 吳桂陽等人，2016)；然伴隨著旅遊人次的增加，相對地，衍生出相關文化產業保存、維護及溫室氣體排放等環境問題(曹庭菀，2013; Wu et al., 2014)。然而，真正治本的方式在於真正的落實於環境教育，使旅遊者能夠在從事觀光旅遊活動的同時，潛移默化地將正確的保存與保護的觀念傳輸給大眾(Surata & Vipriyanti, 2018)，方為目前發展文化景觀的當務之急。

目前文化景觀(Cultural Landscape)一詞在觀念上的起源可以追溯到19世紀中後葉的一些德國史學者和法國地理學者的作品中(Sowińska-Świerkosz, 2017; Cocks et al., 2018; Arnaiz-Schmitz et al., 2018)。文化景觀成為特定名詞則是20世紀前葉間學術界的發明，主要由1920至30年代間美國Berkeley學派的人文地理學者Carl Sauer教授所提倡(Cocks et al., 2018)。文化景觀具有多重含義，不同人有不同的解釋，美國地理學者Carl Sauer在1925年為文化景觀下了經典性的定義：「文化景觀由某一文化團體形塑自然景觀而來，文化是作用力(agent)，自然地區是媒介(medium)，文化景觀是結果(result)」(Sauer, 1925)。Wagner and Mikesell (1962)的定義亦表達了世界遺產文化景觀的重要觀念：「文化景觀是一具有某種文化偏好的人類社群，和他們所在之特殊自然環境背景之間交互運作下的一種具體的、有特色的產物，它是許多時期的自然演變和許多世代的人類努力之遺產」(Arnaiz-Schmitz et al., 2018)。文化景觀在觀念上的突破在於其「人地互動」的精神。有別於過去人們將景觀分為「自然」和「文化」兩者的概念，文化景觀更加強調的是人與地之間的緊密連結。然近年來，對於文化景觀資源之主要研究焦點放在各項文化資產保存與文化變遷上(Lehr & Cipko, 2015; Salvati et al., 2017; Arnaiz-Schmitz et al., 2018)，有部分的學者將其研究之方向鎖定於社區發展與營造上(Crumley et al., 2017; Eunhi & Chong-ku, 2017; Pritsolas & Acheson 2017)，然其主要採用的研究方法以質性論述與參與式觀察法居多，鮮少以環境教育為導向之文化景觀分析，而對於文化景觀之調查部分則多屬於各

鄉鎮市層級之規劃報告或是景觀綱要計畫，其側重的部分在於資源的調查，而非分類，且其主要用於鄉鎮市的景觀發展願景，與環境教育並無實質相關。

然綜觀國內外相關研究，針對以環境教育為導向的文化景觀資源調查與評估上，大多單以環境教育場所調查或是遊客態度評量部份進行評估(王瑋增，2010;吳孟容，2014; 劉仁傑，2016; 林子筠，2017)，因觀點與專業之差異，而產生看法與意見之落差，在兩者整合上卻有可能造成專業上與方法學上的落差，亦不易清楚了解文化景觀如何與環境教育進行結合，且易於產生認知差異情況，對於決策者來說，難免陷入了解問題卻無法操作的兩難局面，故本研究期望針對此一議題進行探討，進行文化景觀資源之調查，並透過以環境教育為導向之研究構面，將調查結果進行評估。

故本研究將先針對專家學者進行訪談，待充分了解問題之核心與內涵後，以環境教育構面為主，進行相關場域的初步評估，擬定遊客問卷，透過問卷調查，了解遊客對於環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之態度與認知，分析現地調查資料與問卷調查結果，了解未來苗栗縣發展以環境教育為導向之文化景觀相關旅遊或是活動推廣之核心問題。本研究在環境教育與文化景觀發展的潮流下，針對環境教育導向之文化景觀環境資源調查進行研究，以求達成下列目的：

- (一) 調查目前苗栗文化景觀的環境滿意度，並了解其所面臨的問題
- (二) 分析遊客之環境認知，了解對於相關議題之熟悉程度
- (三) 了解遊客之環境教育認知，發現遊客需要之環境教育相關設施
- (四) 發掘以環境教育為導向之文化景觀發展之問題

## 二、問卷調查與研究設計

### (一) 研究方法選擇與說明

本研究為求得受訪者對於此議題之態度與想法，則透過問卷調查法進行態度與行為之調查，藉以瞭解民眾對此議題之發展方向與可行方針，此外，為了能夠清楚了解民眾對於此議題之環境認知與態度，故引用願付價格作為評量環境認知與認同之工具，其主要目的並非進行相關效益評估，乃是作為相關環境態度之量測，本研究之假設，相關環境認知越高者，其願付價格越高；再者，在擬定問卷與進行研究設計之初，則透過焦點訪談之專家會議方式，進行相關觀念之溝通與了解，透過專家會議方式了解該議題之可能發展方向與問項內容，結合相關文獻後，擬定初試問卷，並進行相關研究。



## （二）研究架構

本研究透過文獻探討分析並進行相關專家學者訪談後，審酌相關研究內容，確立研究變項，包含環境滿意度、環境認知、環境教育及個人社經背景（如圖 1 所示）。

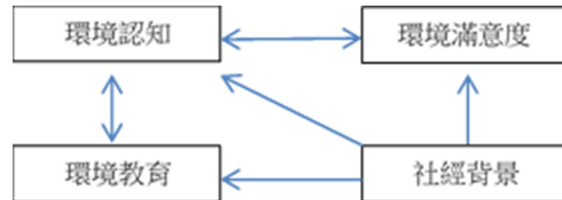


圖 1 研究架構圖

## （三）研究設計與實證研究

### 1、抽樣計畫

由於調查區域數量眾多，且分布廣泛，遊客人數眾多，具高知名度，故本研究依據下列公式計算其樣本數，以 95% 之信賴區間為基準，依據顏月珠（1998）所提之公式為計算基準(顏月珠，1988)，其最低有效樣本數需為 384 份，估計相關研究之廢卷率與其回收率，其應抽樣樣本至少為 423 份。

本研究採用便利抽樣，因調查範圍涵蓋苗栗縣全境，主要以文化景觀聞名之處，如龍騰斷橋、勝興車站、三義等地，故調查期間於各區域之主要出入口、停車場、知名景點、廟宇前廣場等處進行問卷調查之施作，時間為 2017 年 7 月至 2017 年 8 月間，其中包含例假日與一般日之抽樣，抽樣時間為早上九點至下午五點為止。

### 2、問卷設計

本研究之問卷設計主要透過文獻回顧共分為四大部分，分別為環境滿意度、環境認知、環境教育及個人社經背景(各量表之細項問項如下表 1)；問卷題項設計主要以黃正德(2015)、吳寶綺(2017)、林子筠(2017)等人之相關研究問卷進行修改，並依研究架構與分析基礎，進行問卷設計，並輔以問卷預試與信效度分析，剷除不適之題項，以求研究之嚴謹性；並於滿意度認知之題項設計採 Likert 五等量表。

表 1 問卷變項表

量表	變項	變項等級	問卷選項
社經背景與本次旅	性別	類別	男/女
	年齡	等距	直接填答
	教育程度	順序	國中以下/高中/大學(大專)/研究所以上
	職業	類別	學生/服務業/軍/公/教/商/自由業/其他

遊資 料	居住地	類別	直接填答
	個人月收入	等距	直接填答
	家庭月收入	等距	直接填答
	前往基地次數	等距	直接填答
	是否專程前往	類別	是/否
	從事活動內容	類別	觀賞自然景觀/觀賞文化景觀/體驗文化/體驗當地產業/參觀產業活動/參觀博物館/參與宗教活動/參與 DIY 活動/其他
	同行者	類別	家人/朋友/單獨/旅行團(團體旅遊)/同事(員工旅遊)
	交通工具	類別	步行/腳踏車/機車/汽車/遊覽車/公車/火車/其他
	本次花費	等距	直接填答
	整體環境滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境 滿意 度	自然環境滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
	文化景觀滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
	產業文化景觀滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
	公共設施滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
	擁擠程度滿意度	等距	Likert 五等量表
	整體最滿意項目	類別	自然環境滿意度、文化景觀滿意度、產業文化景觀滿意度、公共設施滿意度、擁擠程度滿意度
	整體最不满意項目	類別	自然環境滿意度、文化景觀滿意度、產業文化景觀滿意度、公共設施滿意度、擁擠程度滿意度
	改善願付價格	等距	支付卡法、開放式問答
	周圍遊客數	等距	直接填答
	期望遊客數	等距	直接填答
環境 認知	改善擁擠願付價格	等距	支付卡法、開放式問答
	是否聽過永續發展	等距	Likert 五等量表
	苗栗文化景觀是否應進行永續管理	等距	Likert 五等量表
	永續管理之可能衍生增加費用	等距	Likert 五等量表
	衍生費用是否要轉嫁到遊客身上	等距	Likert 五等量表
	衍生費用是否要轉嫁到政府	等距	Likert 五等量表
	衍生費用是否要轉嫁到 NGO 或其他第三方組織	等距	Likert 五等量表

環境教育相關軟硬體設施(解說牌)	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境教育相關軟硬體設施(自導式 步道)	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境教育相關軟硬體設施(解說員)	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境教育相關軟硬體設施(故事性 的解說措施)	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境教育相關軟硬體設施(環境教 育 DIY 體驗)	等距	Likert 五等量表
環境教育相關軟硬體設施(語音式 解說設施)	等距	Likert 五等量表

備註:本研究之各變項中，主要定義來源為各相關研究之變項，其中文化景觀主要針對歷史建物、古蹟、紀念性街道為主，而產業文化景觀則主要針對地方產業發展過程中的製造、販售、創新部分進行討論。(本研究整理)

### 3、問卷預試結果與信度分析

雖本研究之量表乃參照相關研究進行修改，但為求研究之嚴謹與問卷之周全，針對預試問卷進行信度分析，有效問卷共計 103 份，子構面信度也都達  $\alpha$  值為 .7 以上，依此推測此量表整體信度良好。以內部一致性效標分析法求出各題項的決斷值(CR；critical ratio)，以及利用相關分析法計算各題目與總分的積差相關，以檢定具有鑑別度且能區分受試者反應的題項。分析結果若達顯著者( $p < .05$ )則予以保留，未達顯著者則予以刪除。故依據分析結果來修訂正式研究問卷，並直接用於正式問卷。

### 4、實際問卷發放與訪員訓練

為求問卷調查之順利，本研究針對六位施行抽樣計畫之訪員進行職前訓練，除告知研究梗概外，並施以基礎研究方法與問卷調查注意事項之訓練，訓練時間共兩小時。本研究之實際發放問卷為 472 份數為基礎，共計回收 472 份問卷，剔除 22 份無效問卷，共計 450 份有效問卷，有效問卷回收率為 95.7%。

## 三、結果與討論

### (一) 樣本描述

在 450 份有效樣本中，「男性」有 242 位佔全部樣本數的 54%；「女性」有 228 位佔全部樣本數的 46%。樣本中年齡最大者為 71 歲，最小者為 18 歲；而遊客年齡層主要分佈於「40-49

歲」(203 位, 佔 45.1%), 其次為「30-39 歲」與「19 歲以下」(分別為 82 位與 72 位, 佔 18.2%與 16.0%)。教育程度以「大學」最多為 282 位, 佔 62.7%, 其次為「高中職」為 102 位, 佔 22.7%, 本研究調查之教育水準與其他研究結果相似。職業則以「學生」者為最高, 為 118 位, 佔 26.2%, 「服務業」者居次, 為 103 位, 佔 22.9%。在居住地部分, 主要為「台中市」與「苗栗縣」為最多, 各為 144 位與 73 位, 佔 32.0%及 16.2%; 若以地區論之, 則以「中部地區」為最高, 為 288 位, 佔 64%最多, 顯見遊客居住地分布與旅遊地之區位具有顯著的關聯。個人月收入平均為 32,144 元; 其家庭月收入平均則為 100,608 元。

在本次旅遊相關資料部份, 包括前往基地之次數、是否專程前往、從事之活動內容、同行者、交通工具、本次花費等。旅遊之目的主要以「觀賞文化景觀」與「體驗文化」為最多, 各為 312 位與 235 位, 佔 69.3%與 52.2%, 「體驗當地產業」與「參觀產業活動」則分居第三、四, 有 199 位與 183 位, 佔 44.2%與 40.7%。專程前往部分者 341 位, 佔 75.8%, 顯示其為目的型之遊憩區。而前往次數平均為 3.12 次, 有超過四成(182 位, 40.4%)為四次以上。於同行者部份, 主要以「朋友」與「家人」為最高, 分別為 195 位與 135 位, 佔 43.3%與 30%; 主要交通工具則以自用小客車為最多(254 位, 佔 56.4%); 本次花費每人每天平均為 1,108.2 元。

## (二) 環境滿意程度

而在本次環境滿意度上, 有 330 位(73.3%)的遊客對整體環境感到滿意(非常滿意 23.6%與滿意 49.7%), 僅有 17 位(3.8%)感到不滿意。對於當地之文化景觀滿意程度與自然環境滿意程度感到滿意者(非常同意與同意), 分別有 76.9%與 59.3%。在產業文化景觀滿意程度方面感到滿意者(非常同意與同意), 有 61.8%。公共設施滿意度方面, 有 32.8%之遊客感到滿意; 而擁擠程度滿意度則有 51.1%感到滿意。48.7%之遊客認為文化景觀是最為滿意的環境資源, 38.2%的遊客認為公共設施是最不滿意的遊憩資源, 顯見本次苗栗地區各重要文化景觀區域之公共設施尚未能符合期待, 且最有改善之空間, 而由於調查之區域皆為文化景觀知名景點, 故在文化景觀方面最讓受訪者感到滿意, 其結果符合調查現況, 也與相關研究相符, 此外, 本研究結果亦顯示, 苗栗之公共設施上, 仍有改善之空間, 若要進一步強化其文化景觀特色, 則應進行相關設施之改善。對於改善遊客認為現地環境資源缺失之願付價格為 320.81 元。在擁擠程度方面, 附近遊客數與期望遊客數相當(平均各為 62.1 人與 50.2 人), 顯見在本次調查區域之擁擠程度甚低, 故其結果反應於擁擠程度改善之願付價格中, 僅 315.3 元, 與相關研究相比, 其結果顯然偏低; 然進一步分析調查之地點與時間, 在假日時勝興車站與三義木雕街則顯然在擁擠程度改善願付價格中, 有偏高之趨勢, 為 513.5 元, 經過研究觀察, 兩地於假日時, 擁擠程度甚高, 停車位嚴重不足, 故其擁擠程度改善之願付價格遠高於其他地區, 亦可顯示願付價格與相關環境議題認知具有顯然之指標意義。

### （三）環境認知

在環境認知部分，本研究結果顯示，在是否聽過永續發展上，受訪者有 90.4%都聽過這個名詞，顯示目前國內大量強化永續發展之宣傳與該詞句的使用已明顯獲得成效；在苗栗文化景觀是否應該進行永續管理上，則 91.6%的受訪者表示贊成(非常同意與同意)；但在進行永續管理上可能會增加額外費用的問題上，則 69.8%受訪者則認為贊成(非常同意與同意)，但對於是否應該將該費用轉嫁於遊客上，其結果則僅有 49%的受訪者贊成，深入了解其不贊成的受訪者意見，他們認為應該是政府部門進行吸收，而非一昧的加諸於民眾身上；此外，若是透過環境教育的手段進行相關軟硬體設施之強化，如自導式步道、解說員，甚至增加活動的多樣性，如 DIY 體驗，則多數受訪者(70.3%)則願意額外付出金額進行體驗，且也有多數的受訪者(81.2%)願意多停留一些時間。在是否聽過生態旅遊上，89.3%的受訪者表示聽過該名詞，但卻僅有 46.7%的受訪者知道生態旅遊之理念也可運用在文化景觀資源；在是否聽過低碳旅遊或是永續旅遊部分，51.1%的受訪者有聽過低碳旅遊或永續旅遊，顯見該觀念已逐漸普及，但對於相關內容與設施是否了解上，則僅有 23.8%的受訪者認為自己清楚；而在是否從事過低碳旅遊部分，則 12.4%受訪者認為其曾經或正在從事低碳旅遊活動。

### （四）環境教育

在環境教育部分，本研究結果顯示，受訪者(84.9%，包含非常同意與同意)對於環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念相當贊同，主要認同的原因在於環境教育具有教育目的(64.2%)、文化景觀資源具有環境教育的本質(61.1%)、文化景觀資源必須受到環境保護等(52.2%)、產業文化具有顯著的教育意義(50.0%)等，故由研究結果顯示，受訪者對於環境教育導向之文化景觀資源利用具有正面積極的想法。此外，高達 79.6%的受訪者認為文化景觀正在被破壞中，有維護與保存的必要，其中以實質地方產業文化與地方意象最為嚴重，佔 56.0%及 50.01%，而產業遺跡則是受訪者認為保存較為完整的文化景觀，僅佔 19.3%，顯見苗栗目前文化景觀面臨保護與保存的必要。此外，有 80.4%受訪者認為環境教育的導入，有助於解決文化景觀保護與管理的困境；在環境教育導入之則應該由誰來做，有 45.6%的受訪者認為應該由政府介入主導，而 28.0%的受訪者則認為應該有 NGO 或其他第三方組織進行，故顯見對於環境教育導向之文化景觀議題上，應該有跨域治理之權責單位。此外，在環境教育相關軟硬體設施部分，62.4%的受訪者認為應該要有適量的解說牌進行相關的解說，52.2%的受訪者認為應該設置自導式步道，40.0%的受訪者則認為應該有足夠的解說員進行解說，32.9%的受訪者則認為應該提供有故事性的解說措施，25.6%的受訪者認為可提供具有環境教育意涵的 DIY 體驗課程；顯然對於環境教育相關設施上，受訪者是有所期待的，也顯見環境教育相關軟硬體設施在苗栗地區是嚴重不足的。

## （五）假設檢定

### 1、基本背景屬性與環境滿意度之關係

問卷調查地點與公共設施滿意度有顯著差異( $p=0.00$ )，教育程度與產業景觀滿意度有顯著差異( $p=0.009$ )，個人月收入則與自然景觀滿意度、公共設施滿意度與遊客擁擠程度滿意度成顯著正相關。家庭月收入則與整體環境滿意度、產業景觀滿意度、公共設施滿意度及遊客擁擠程度滿意度呈顯著正相關。

### 2、基本背景屬性與環境認知之關係

問卷調查地點與知悉永續發展理念呈顯著差異( $p=0.05$ )；年齡與知悉永續發展理念呈顯著正相關；教育程度與是否從事低碳旅遊活動呈顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )；職業類別則與環境教育的必要性有顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )；居住地則與知悉永續發展理念、是否從事低碳旅遊活動有顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )。個人每月收入與知悉永續發展理念、是否從事低碳旅遊活動有顯著差異呈顯著正相關。家庭每月收入與環境教育的必要性、是否從事低碳旅遊活動有顯著差異呈顯著正相關。

### 3、基本背景屬性與環境教育關係

問卷調查地點與五年內第幾次前來、專程與否、環境教育有助於解決困境、相關軟硬體設施( $p<0.05$ )有顯著差異；年齡與專程與否、五年內第幾次前來、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度原因有顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )，且與五年內第幾次前來旅遊有顯著正相關；教育程度與五年內第幾次前來、主導單位為何、相關軟硬體設施有顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )；職業類別則與五年內第幾次前來、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度原因、主導單位為何、相關軟硬體設施( $p<0.05$ )；居住地則與環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度原因有顯著差異( $p<0.05$ )。個人每月收入則與五年內第幾次前來旅遊、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度原因、主導單位為何呈顯著正相關。

### 4、環境滿意度與環境認知關係

整體環境滿意度與知悉永續發展理念、環境教育的必要性有顯著相關；文化景觀滿意度與知悉永續發展理念、苗栗文化景觀進行永續管理、環境教育的必要性、是否從事低碳旅遊活動有顯著相關；公共設施滿意度與苗栗文化景觀進行永續管理、衍生費用支付呈顯著顯著相關。

### 5、環境滿意度與環境教育關係

整體環境滿意度與五年內第幾次來、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度有顯

著相關；文化景觀滿意度與五年內第幾次來、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度、環境教育有助於解決困境、相關軟硬體設施有顯著相關；公共設施滿意度與五年內第幾次來、是否專程前往呈顯著顯著相關。

## **6、環境認知與環境教育關係**

知悉永續發展理念與環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度有顯著相關；環境教育的必要性與五年內第幾次來、是否專程前往、環境教育導向之文化景觀資源之理念認同度、環境教育有助於解決困境、相關軟硬體設施有顯著相關。

## 四、結論與建議

### (一) 結論

本研究主要研究發現如下：

#### 1、環境滿意度

在環境滿意度部分，多數的受訪者對於整體環境滿意程度都是感到滿意的，其中以文化景觀與產業文化景觀兩者最讓受訪者滿意，顯見目前苗栗各文化景觀重點區域之發展確實有其獨特與具有吸引力的部分，其中以文化景觀最受到受訪者青睞，也表示苗栗確實有利用文化景觀資源做為未來施政主要方針的潛力；然而從本次調查也顯示苗栗地區各重要文化景觀之公共設施尚不能符合民眾期待，也亟需改善；因此若是要持續發展文化景觀等相關政策，公共設施之加強是有其必要性的。整體而言，擁擠程度對於多數的苗栗文化景觀來說，並不嚴重；但在本次調查中發現，勝興車站與三義木雕街則顯然較其他地點讓遊客感到壅擠，而其相對應的公共設施滿意度則明顯不佳，故未來苗栗除持續推動文化景觀相關景區規劃與文化推廣外，原本舊有之全國知名文化景觀特色區域，仍需改善公共設施，藉以提高重遊意願。

#### 2、環境認知

在環境認知部分，本研究調查顯示，多數民眾對於永續發展等相關名詞之瞭解已經十分普及，可見近年來公私部門間，不斷透過各項管道宣傳相關理念頗有成效；對於苗栗之文化景觀資源須進行永續管理上，則絕大多數人皆表達肯定的意見，但對於可能衍生的費用則不盡然都能接受，許多人認為應該是政府部門需擔負支付的責任，而不應該加諸於民眾身上；但若能夠透過環境教育的手段，進行相關軟硬體的強化，則多數受訪者則表示願意多付出金錢與時間進行體驗，顯然，相關政策的推廣，應該能夠讓受訪者有感，方能夠讓民眾願意多花一些成本進行相關活動。

#### 3、環境教育

在環境教育部分，多數人對於環境教育導向的文化景觀資源利用持贊成的態度，主要認同之原因在於環境教育具有教育目的、文化景觀資源具有環境教育本質、文化景觀資源必須受到保護等，因此，民眾對於環境教育導向之文化景觀資源利用具有正面積極的想法，更顯示多數人對於環境教育導入文化景觀資源利用上抱有期待；受訪者認為文化景觀正在被破壞中，是有保護與保存的必要性，多數也認為環境教育的導入，有助於解決文化景觀管理的困境；在主要導入的單位上，多數人仍認為地方政府扮演很重要的腳色，應該居主導地位，有部分受訪者則認為應該由 NGO 或是其他第三方組織進行，故顯見民眾對於環境教育導向之文化景觀議題上，



應有跨域治理的權責單位，方能確實完成環境教育的使命。在環境教育軟硬體設施部分，解說牌、自導式步道、解說員、故事性的解說措施、DIY 的體驗課程都是民眾所期待的環境教育項目，也顯見目前苗栗文化景觀發展的環境教育設施是不足的。

#### 4、假設檢定

在環境滿意度與環境認知關係上，整體環境滿意度與環境認知高低有著顯相關，其代表整體環境與環境認知上有一定程度的關聯，若能確實透過環境教育傳達環境理念，將有助於未來苗栗文化景觀相關政策之推廣；而對於文化景觀滿意度而言，對於永續發展理念、永續管理與環境教育必要性等變項，皆呈現顯著負相關；其結果顯示，苗栗文化景觀發展若要真正進行落實，則必須以環境教育為手段，作為主要發展的利器，方能獲得相輔相成之效。在環境滿意度與環境教育關係上，整體環境滿意度與環境教育導向之文化景觀資源理念具有顯著負相關，該項成果顯示，目前對於整體環境滿意度越低者，認為環境教育導向之文化景觀資源將是未來可供發展的重要手段；在文化景觀滿意度上，則與環境教育導向之文化景觀資源理念、環境教育有助於解決當前困境、相關軟硬體設施有顯著相關，亦可解讀為文化景觀與環境教育有著密不可分的關係，未來文化景觀相關政策之推行，將有賴環境教育的影響與策略。在環境認知與環境教育關係上，永續發展理念與環境教育導向之文化景觀資源理念兩者具有顯著相關，其結果顯示環境教育導向之文化景觀資源運用，將為苗栗未來文化資源永續發展的重要指標。

#### (二) 建議

基於以上結論，總結建議苗栗環境教育導向之文化景觀資源發展，有以下四點建議：

- 1、目前苗栗文化景觀景區中，公共設施滿意度甚低，顯見其公共設施管理維護或是足夠與否都有待檢討，然目前苗栗縣政府因各項主、客觀因素造成預算緊縮，故對於相關的新設設施施行應有困難；故其應透過管理維護手段來進行公共設施滿意度之提升，將能夠透過較少的預算，獲得較大的幫助。
- 2、本研究結果顯示，環境教育之於文化景觀資源維護管理，是很重要的一環，因此，透過環境教育的理念與想法，來進行文化景觀資源的運用，將是未來苗栗發展的重要關鍵之一。此外，未來相關環境或是觀光政策推動，應該透過環境教育作為發展的媒介，皆有助於政策執行的成效與永續發展。
- 3、苗栗文化景觀發展應能夠結合在地產業、宗教儀式、地方特色、生活體驗，才能真正塑造出苗栗特有的文化景觀，更能強化出特殊印象，藉以增加苗栗縣民的環境自明性。
- 4、綜觀本研究結果，環境教育結合文化景觀發展為未來發展之主要方針之一，受訪者對於兩者之結合皆抱有相當的期待，然對於傳統之環境教育被動式的解說而言，對受訪者不

盡然有顯著之吸引力，故若要能夠發揮環境教育導向之文化景觀資源的特色，將能夠有效的改變目前苗栗地方觀光產業的遲滯；此外，目前國內外皆開始強調地方特色故事的引入，並透過景觀敘事方法進行相關產業的推動，若未來能試圖利用此一趨勢，將有助於營造更多的在地故事與文化議題，更能夠增加遊客的滯留時間，創造更有利的文化創意環境。

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## 現代與後現代的都市景觀

### -以楊德昌和泰第的電影為例-

辜率品\*

#### 摘要

本研究以法國的泰第導演和台灣的楊德昌導演為主題，在現代和後現代的都市景觀裡，根據都市區位和社會涵構，描述其轉型和經驗。在泰第的電影中，明確的以「我的叔叔」以及「遊戲時光」二片詮釋現代都市景觀的轉型和經驗。他的電影亦暗指了懷舊與辯證的論述。再者，楊德昌獲得公元兩千年坎城影展最佳導演的電影「一一」，架構一種真誠的氛圍和深刻的認知，反映了當代台北市的都市景觀，電影裡的多重和多樣的社會網絡和日常生活，是後現代都市現象的徵兆。本研究利用時間性做為主要論述架構依現代和後現代來探討這三部電影中社會和空間的轉型，並驗證這種歷史時間架構在幫助瞭解都市轉型的可能性。在當代交錯複雜的都市空間中，本研究的目的也在釐清經常被誤解的與城市景觀相關的現代和後現代議題，而選擇這三部電影的原因則在於其對城市景觀轉型的可讀性。此外，楊德昌導演的另一部電影「恐怖份子」也對台北市都市景觀和社會的轉型做了深刻的紀錄和分析，雖然在此不加論述，但對同類研究很具參考價值。再者，其他導演的電影也常觸及城市景觀中現代性和後現代性的關聯議題，其中較特殊者如蔡明亮的「洞」，或許在現代性和後現代性之外，又呈現了吊詭和曖昧的空間議題，也是同類研究的另一切入點。

關鍵字：現代性、後現代性、都市化、城市景觀

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## Modern and Postmodern Cityscapes – The Tempo-Spatial Practices of Tati and Yang's Films<sup>1</sup> –

Shuai-Ping Ku

### Abstract

The study focuses on two film directors, Jacques Tati of French and Edward Yang of Taiwan, as well as their specific films which depict urban transformations and experiences. We might classify them separately, according to their geographical and social context, as modern and postmodern styles. Tati's films, especially for *My Uncle* and *Play Time*, show clear intention in interpreting the transformation of modern cityscape and imposition of modernity on our daily life. His films imply both nostalgic sensation and dialectic criticism. On the other hand, Edward Yang's film *A One and a Two*, which won Best Director at Cannes Award in 2000, sports a sincere aura and contemplating perception reflecting on contemporary urban landscape of Taipei city. Its filming of multilayered and diversified social network of everyday life symptomizes a postmodern urban phenomenon. Based on the temporal division of modern and postmodern as discursive framework, the study looks into the social and spatial transformation of the aforementioned three films. It also attests the possibility in employing the temporal framework to help understand urban transformation. On the other hand, the study tries to clarify the often-confused modern and postmodern issues concerning cityscape. The reason of choosing the three films lies on their lucid readability in terms of the transformation of cityscape.

**Keywords :** modernity, post-modernity, urbanization, cityscape

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<sup>1</sup> With the title of *A One and a Two*, the paper was first presented in the symposium *Urban Cinematics: Film, City and Narrative* held by the Department of Architecture at the University of Cambridge in Dec., 2009. Current version has been under main modification.

## I. Introduction

Since the late nineteenth century, film has provided a theoretical and technical laboratory for the definition of modernism. (Vidler, 1993: 45) Incorporating time to space, the vision of film is the modernist art of spatial representation. In the cinematic scenes, the street and cityscape provide inexhaustible subjects for the conception of modernity. In the same article, Vidler considered Benjamin's "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Representation" as a first step in the constitution of the filmic as the modern critical aesthetic. Following this light, we would like to quote some of Benjamin's words to emphasize the rationale of choosing film as material to investigate the transformation of modern and postmodern cityscapes:

*By close-ups of the things around us, by focusing on hidden details of familiar objects, by exploring commonplace milieus under the ingenious guidance of the camera, the film, on the one hand, extends our comprehension of the necessities which rule our lives; on the other hand, it manages to assure us of an immense and unexpected field of action. Our taverns and our metropolitan streets, our offices and furnished rooms, our railroad stations and our factories appeared to have us locked up hopelessly. Then came the film and burst this prison-world asunder by the dynamite of the tenth of a second, so that now, in the midst of its far-flung ruins and debris, we calmly and adventurously go traveling. With the close-up, space expands; with slow motion, movement is extended....An unconsciously penetrated space is substituted for a space consciously explored by man....The camera introduces us to unconscious optics as does psychoanalysis to unconscious impulses. (Ibid., 53)*

The elongated quotation not only provides the rationale for connecting film with city, but demonstrates the potential to use cinema as an instrument to further explore the cityscape. This "unconscious penetrated space" is the cinematic advantage to provide other visions and perspectives in looking into modern cityscapes, and later post-modern one. Moreover, this "unconscious penetrated space" will be used to explain and interpret the transformational cityscape, as well as its social and spatial connotations.

The study approximates modernity and post-modernity by specific references. Here the modernity is referred by, firstly, the notion of David Harvey's compression of time and space. In his essay "*Time-space Compression and the Rise of Modernism as a Cultural Force*," (Harvey, 1990: 260-283) Harvey argued that new ways of viewing space and motion began to be thought out and applied to the production of urban space. For example, in 1913, the first radio signal was sent around the world from the Eiffel tower, thus emphasizing the capacity to collapse space into the simultaneity of an instant in universal

public time. In the same year, Ford set up his assembly line. He fragmented tasks and distributed them in space to maximize efficiency. He also showed that time could be speed-up by virtue of the control established through organizing and fragmenting the spatial order of production. This notion will be attested in the discussion of *My Uncle*. Besides, Harvey stated that the more unified the space, the more important the qualities of the fragmentations become for social identity and action. For Tati's film *Playtime*, this notion might imply the intention of Hulot's final destruction of the restaurant scene. Furthermore, Harvey emphasized that the global capital flow placed strong emphasis upon the specific qualities of spaces to which the capital might be attracted. The shrinkage of space implies a heightened sense of awareness of what makes a place special. This identification of the importance of place can be noticed in Hulot's living community in *My Uncle*. Secondly, notions from Lefebvre could also be valuable for discursive purpose. The French cultural theorist once quoted Baudelaire and stated that the "modern" is in particular the ephemeral, the fleeting and often indefinable. He clarified Baudelaire's and Marx's "modernity" with the same insightful concept. For Baudelaire, modernity is temporal, instantaneous phenomena, and it has mysterious connection with the external. Modernity is the shifting image of an immobile eternity. For Marx, the modernity is defined by separations, divisions and multiple dualities. The modernity is the conflicts between private and public, between the specific and the general, between the nature and man, between everyday life and higher authorities. (Lefebvre, 1995:170-173) Additionally, Lefebvre pointed out that abstraction and discontinuity as two indispensable qualities of modernity. These two traits will also be confirmed in later discussion of cinematic representation. Thirdly, the study would like mention architectural theorist Heynen's specific notion on modern architecture. In the book *Architecture and Modernity*, she connects modernity with progress: politics, economics, and culture are all united under the banner of progress, which is seen as harmonious and continuous. In this light, she considers architect Le Corbusier as a typical one who possesses this viewpoint and quotes his statement: 'A great epoch has begun. There exists a new spirit. There exists a mass of work conceived in the new spirit; it is to be met with particularly in industrial production...' (Heynen, 1999: 13) This new spirit will be elaborated on the discussion of Tati's films. However, by preliminary selection from various notions concerning the study's specific purpose, the study will use these three notions as modern reference to look into the spatial and social transformation in the urban areas of the discussed films.

With the same token, the study chooses three essential postmodern notions acting as the basic reference for further discussion. Firstly, the cultural theorist Jean Baudrillard's notion of "Simulacra and Simulations" (Brooker, 1992:151-162) is especially resourceful in media and cinematic study. This notion tries to clarify the difference of representation and simulation, as well as the relation between



image and reality. In Yang's film, which shows strong dialectic between image and reality, this notion plays a critical role, especially on the transition from signs which dissimulate something to signs which dissimulate that there is nothing. On the other hand, "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning." (Ibid., 153) This connotation also looms on Yang's film from time to time. Secondly, Fredric Jameson's notion on "Postmodernism and Consumer Society" (Brooker, 1992:163-179) could be useful in terms of its social and cultural clarification. He had mentioned a specific mode of nostalgia film. In this mode, the nostalgia film could be set in past, present or future, as long as it seeks to reawaken a sense of the past associated with some particular objects. Jameson's main concerns also include postmodernism and the city, as well as the aesthetic of consumer society. All these conceptions are subtly connected with Yang's film. Thirdly, Lyotard's "Answering the Question: What is Postmodernism?" (Brooker, 1992:139-150) could provide another valuable notion in that it erases the credibility of "metanarratives" and emphasizes the individual or heterogeneous experiences. He considers that the postmodern would be that, in the modern, puts forward the unrepresentable in presentation itself; that searches for new presentations to impart a stronger sense of the unrepresentable. Lyotard also points out that the artists are working without rules in order to formulate the rules of what will have been done, and searching for the feeling of sublime which makes the unrepresentable felt. Finally, postmodernism is not modernism at its end but in the budding state, and most of the arguments stated here could be tested in Yang's film.

To make a preliminary conclude, there is a subtle connection between modernism and postmodernism. On the other hand, many of the postmodern contexts seem to emerge from arguments in Northern America against the modernist legacy of art and architecture (Docker, 1994:143). Postmodernism possesses the characters of indeterminacy, contradiction, difference and heterogeneity. The perpetual implicative and narrative possibilities of heterogeneous texts create a postmodern world filled with selected fragments and reconstructed partial wholeness. In terms of urban representation, *Learning from Las Vegas* is one of the most popular works to investigate the cultural and spatial configuration of postmodernism (Venturi, et al., 1977). The book argues that the modernist architects reject the "very heterogeneity of our society," they desire to control, purify and rein. The modern architect's obsessions are represented by Tati's films. These obsessions are against Las Vegas's intertextuality, inclusiveness and multiplicity (Docker, 1994:88). Basically, the main characters of postmodern city are heterogeneity and multiplicity which make impressive marks in Yang's film.

## II. The Precondition

The scenes of *my uncle* are depicted in a narrative continuum: Hulot's own residence and his sister's house represent pre-modernity and modernity relatively. The factory where Hulot goes to work in *My Uncle* pursues a kind of industrial efficiency, producing plastic things in a tedious and repetitive space. For a moment Hulot breaks the routine and brings pleasure to his fellow workers, but is soon fired and the order restored. On the contrary, when Hulot returns to his own residence, the aura of the neighborhood is cozy and warm. The nearby market works in a simple and hearty way. Hulot's living unit on the top of an old house oozes a comfortable atmosphere of everyday life. This daily fun and resolution are also showed by school boys' plays after school. When Hulot follows school boys' traces and involves in their games, he seems to create an action bridging the social gap between pre-modernity and modernity. The spatial and social practices of this kind may help us regain psychological balance during the ruthless process toward modernity.

The film *My Uncle* cover two well-defined temporalities. The cozy community of Hulot's living place symbolizes a pre-modern temporality with spatial intimacy and social interaction; the living style in plush mansion owned by Hulot's sister possesses a modern temporality with a passion on order and efficiency. Hulot seems comfortable in traditional community but uneasy in modern mansion. He represents the transient figure living in two different temporalities. The disorientation and disjunction caused by the process of modernity explain his various unfitting behaviors in the modern mansion and the factory. The pre-modern cityscape, represented by Hulot's community, has its own traditional market and tavern where people keep sincere and warm relationship. In this village-like cityscape, people have a sense of belonging and clear identity.

To further argue the temporal specificity of pre-modern society in *My Uncle*, we would like to point out the quality of improvisation in Hulot's character. In *My Uncle*, this quality is demonstrated in his make-shift behaviors, such as wrongly fixing the fish fountain in modern mansion and accidentally producing sausage-like plastic tubes in the factory. These spontaneous deeds often cause confusion and disorder which the modern society tries to avoid. Hulot's improvisational actions and awkward conditions imply his pre-modern mentality while living in a modern cityscape.

## III. Tati and the Modern Cityscape

Because the modernity creates a disjunction of spaces and causes the discontinuity of spatial memory, the omnipresent theme of searching for the essence of modernity and regaining the sense of

space would lead us into Tati's film *Playtime*. *Playtime* reminds us of Le Corbusier's architectural modernism. In 1922, he designed a *Plan for a Contemporary City of Three Million Inhabitants*. He attempted to point out the planning issues afflicting modern city by using conceptual terms, and he made four axioms: 1. town centers must be made less congested; 2. town centers must be more densely built up; 3. means of transport must be increased; 4. there must be an increase in open spaces (Jenger, 1996:49). Several scenes in *Playtime* suit these categories: the carousel-like traffic circle fits the axiom of increasing the means of transport; the scene of sleek high-rises fits the condition of densely building up of town center; and the wide sidewalks reflect less-congested town center. Moreover, various drawings and models done by Le Corbusier strengthen the connection between Tati's cinematography and Le Corbusier's architectural concepts. To further depict these two artists' affinity for particular themes of modern urban experience, Lee Hilliker uses *The Charter of Athens's*<sup>2</sup> four functional categories—habitation、leisure、travail and circulation—as comparative elements. These four functions also help define the entire body of Tati's film career, which overlapped the time-period of the great social and spatial change in France after World War II (Hilliker, 2002:318-319). Following this viewpoint, the 1958's *My Uncle* showed the burgeoning car culture as a main player, and Tati's beginning to take a close look at urban Paris. Later, the 1967's *Playtime* focused exclusively on the contemporary urban environment, in a time when official policy in Paris conversed to modernism along the concepts developed by Le Corbusier and the Bauhaus architects.

*Playtime* may be considered as one of the most essential films connected to the context of modernity. The symbolic and semiotic elements are ubiquitous. Early in the film, Tati challenges our perception of the typology of modern buildings by staging a space of air terminal which we misguidedly perceive as a hallway of hospital. This scenario carries a message that our perception of spatial identification seems to need updating occasionally. Another remarkable scene in *Playtime* is Hulot's finding himself in an area full of identical office cubicles. As Hilliker argues:

... forms part of a seamless architectural whole that segues from airport to workplace to dwelling to leisure space without a break and with little differentiation between structure... This sense of wholeness, of the ensemble, was in fact an integral component of new architecture in Paris during the 1960s, when modernism became the official style of the city... (Ibid., 323)

This argument is related to five of the film's main scenes: the TV box-like dwelling units, the same

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<sup>2</sup> The Chart of Athens was resulted from the fourth meeting of CIAM (International Congress of Modern Architecture), which was founded in 1928 as an organization devoted to studying and promoting the influence of contemporary architecture, and was composed of architects, planners, theorists, and artists concerned with urban questions. The fourth meeting was held in Athens and it was mainly dominated by Le Corbusier.

tourist posters for different places, the identical working cubicles, the airport terminal and the restaurant. These scenes also correspond with the four functional categories in *the Charter of Athens*, and they blend into a seamless modern context of uniformity, repetition and transparency. On the other hand, Tati's films suggest that the relationship between industrial technology and modern life is difficult to sustain in modern cityscape. This notion is disclosed in the revised ending of the film, in which the modern high-rises are taken away because they actually are temporary stage settings. When these tabula masks disappear, a historical house with the hue of everyday life reveals itself. The connotation of this nostalgic scenario is further demonstrated by Hulot's striding into that house. Here we notice the solidity of memory and history; otherwise we only see historical structures, such as Eiffel Tower, Arc de Triomphe and Place de la Concorde, in various reflections of glass windows.

Purposefully Tati frustrates our conventional notions of time and space, therefore Hulot often breaks up narrative continuum by playing spontaneous events. This interruption of modern world's rhythm seems to make the return of traditional temporality possible. Nevertheless, Hulot also processes a wandering nature of leisure as Baudelaire's "flâneur" does. Thus the character of Hulot acts as a mirror to reflect the true nature of modernism, which requires precise tempo-spatial scheme to fulfill its modern agenda.

The socio-spatial practice of *Playtime* could be further investigated by looking at the reduction of spatial and social experience to a totalizing environment of modern technology and consumerism. In *My Uncle*, Tati mocked the infatuation of the new French class with the way of "modern" life. Yet at the time *My Uncle* was filmed the postwar transforms in everyday life had not yet been well integrated. The different sentimentalities between modern environment and old-fashioned neighborhood like where Hulot lives were evident. In *Playtime*, such binary distinction disappeared and Tati completely focused his view on the grand new world of urbanized modernization:

In fact, the decade between the making of *My Uncle* and *Playtime* was decisive in transforming French from an insular, agrarian, and empire-oriented society into an urban, industrial, and decolonized nation... Paris was permanently reshaped...Between 1954 and 1974, 24 percent of the buildable surface of the city was subjected to demolition and redevelopment...in the name of urban renewal. The transformation of postwar Paris into "neo-bourgeois space" entailed a whole new...city and suburb, social modernization and ethnic segregation...By 1969 the *grands ensembles* that sprang up around the periphery, built by a technocratic Gaullist regime and notorious for their shoddy construction, lack of amenities, and "morbid geometrism," housed one-sixth of the inhabitants of greater Paris region... (Ockman, 2000:182-183)

The quotation attests the socio-spatial transformation during Tati's two main films, as well as the

situation that political, social and spatial aspects often entangle together and form a polemic tapestry of modernity construction. However, Tati's celluloid tries to show that there might be some way to free from this social routine and banality, which are represented by the multiplication and proliferation of identical spatial types. The seemingly impossible possibility is led by comic flaneur figure of Hulot, and the prescription is to let spontaneity and 'play' rule the day. Hulot and his kind often do their routine in unintended ways and take them out of their normal context. In *My Uncle*, Hulot accompanies his nephew doing unstructured plays. In *Playtime*, Hulot's unintended behaviors in the party scene make constructed social world falling apart. These unstructured actions and unintended behaviors may have potential to cause socio-spatial metamorphosis. This metamorphosis of modernity can be noticed when Hulot shatters the restaurant's walls. The action causes the breakdown of class exclusion and marks a utopian hue of equality in shared enjoyment.

To summarize, we would like to go back to Heynen's main argument on the new spirit of progress which is elaborated in the first section. This kind of new spirit is also subtly depicted in *My Uncle*, with the slick modern house and efficient factory. Later, the same spirit of progress dominates almost every scene of *Playtime*. The film's cityscape and architecture are closely related to Le Corbusier's perspective of modern city, and it may be one of the most elaborated films in depicting and staging the new form of modern city and its architecture. This notion of progress has direct connection with the transformation of spatial performance and cityscape. In the case of *playtime*, some tourist destinations such as the Eiffel Tower, the Arc de Triomphe and the Place de la Concorde only appear in various reflections of glass windows. It may imply that those old landmarks are affected by modern transformation and have to redefine its role under the banner of progress, and this concept of progress acts as the foundation of the following notions: in Harvey's case, the compression of time and space is one of the most essential ideas affecting modern cityscape; in *My Uncle*, the tempo-spatial compression is symptomized by the lifestyle of modern villa and working condition of the factory; in *Playtime*, the same compressing phenomenon is represented by the staged modern cityscape and the purposeful routine of tourists. All the three notions result from the optimistic thinking of progress

Moreover, Harvey emphasizes that the modern thinking fragments tasks and distributes them in space to maximize efficiency. This is attested both by the factory scene of *My Uncle* and the office cubicles of *Playtime*. Harvey also states that the more unified the space, the more important the qualities of the fragmentations become for social identity and action. It is possible that Tati creates the character of Hulot to justify this notion because he often behaves outside unified space and exposed the fragmentation of society. Hulot is a critical character to destabilize the progressive myth of modernity. Since the globalization placed strong emphasis upon the specific qualities of spaces, the idiosyncratic

character of Hulot and his nostalgic living environment have been highly valued.

Finally, we would like to mention Lefebvre's notion about abstraction and discontinuity as two indispensable qualities of modernity. The modern architecture and cityscape, exemplified by the modern villa in *My Uncle* and city scenes of *Playtime*, are self-evidently abstraction. As for the discontinuity, it can be seen from the different life style of Hulot and his sister in *My Uncle*, and sensed from almost all the Hulot's unfitting behaviors in *My Uncle* and *Playtime*. This discontinuity is also a discontinuity of mindset. It could cause Hulot's unpredicted actions of disorientation. Lefebvre also mentions that the modernity causes conflicts between private and public, as well as between everyday life and higher authorities. In both films, Hulot is the perfect embodiment of these conflicts. In the restaurant scene of *Playtime*, Hulot gradually deconstructs the entertainment place of modernity, and ends with a kind of social integration and unexpected freedom for every participant. Here the director seems to point out the conflicts mentioned by Lefebvre and suggest a fantasy-like resolution.

#### IV. Yang and the Postmodern Cityscape

This section focuses on Yang's feature film *A One and a Two* (2000). In the peak of his creative years, Yang worked out this insightful film concerning our general human condition and social transformation. It provides a possibility to explore the essence of postmodern social structures and spatial metamorphosis. The film's tone, like the poetic title of an essay written by Stan Lai, is of "luminosity in the darkness." (Lai, 2008:3) Lai, Yang's friend and himself a director, states that:

Even when the urban Asian landscape mushroomed out of frame, enveloping everything in its soulless haze, even with the human soul reduced to a dot in the blur, the flicker remained, a diminishing but irreplaceable speck in the waste... The medium of film is a composite of light, shadows and darkness in motion. The films of Edward Yang have always been about darkness and light. An overwhelming darkness; a frail but passionate light.

This statement is a sensational brief of *A One and a Two*, especially for its specific social milieu and spatial landscape. In the context of spatial transformation and cinematic representation, the study would like to add one of architect Steven Holl's design concepts to further argue Yang's cinematic representation. In Holl's essay "Question of Perception- Phenomenology of Architecture," he writes that:

*We must consider space, light, color, geometry, detail, and material as an experiential continuum...and ultimately we cannot readily break perception into a simple collection of geometries, activities, and sensations... A complex interlocking of time, light, material, and detail creates the 'whole' of cinema wherein we can no longer distinguish individual elements.* (Holl, 1994:45-46)

Holl's "whole" is a multiple one directed toward our perception of both cinema and architecture. This sensation of experiential continuum, which is implied on the creation of a permeating aura of wholeness induced by different vectors, is omnipresent in *A One and a Two*. The film's narrative structure creates a specific nostalgia zone for its cinematography, in which city's socio-spatial transformations are brought to our recognition. Its multiple themes and distinctive characters make it a forerunner of postmodern aesthetic, under which Taipei's contemporary cityscape formed, represented and experienced.

*A One and a Two* opens with a scene of wedding party spreading out amid serene greenery, following a tremendous density of incidents and episodes happens during a comparatively short time period. The combination and permutation of events and individuals are staged on contemporary Taipei city. In terms of spatial representation, the multiplicity of people, themes and incidents invoke ideas related to architectural theorist Tschumi's statement on the design of Parc de la Villette (Tschumi, 1987). In the project, Tschumi employs point, line and surface as the elements of spatial formation, and event, movement and space as different ingredients to create a new combination of urban experience. His main intention seems to lie on the interactions between people and those elements. This urban design device is analogous to Yang's cinematic presentation for they both are about spatial implications and new possibilities of social interpretations. The spatial devices which Yang employs are manifold and meticulous. Taking Ting Ting and Fatty's dating scene as example, it takes place under elevated motorway, and Fatty's deceitful voice-over accompanies the red traffic light turning to green. A drama of teenagers' romance resonates our general experiences with a hue of contemporary urban life. On the other cut, we follow Ting Ting's gaze from the balcony of a high-floored apartment to Lili's mother, framed by a window and talking into a mobile, and to the bird view of Taipei cityscape, ending with Lili and Fatty's dating scene under the elevated motorway. The floating of camera, the possibility of storytelling, and the contemporary cityscape mix into a reflection of our daily life, with all the possibilities of social interactions. The use of specific spatial devices as backdrop to emphasize the character's emotion and social condition is obvious everywhere in the film. The change of cityscape and spatial setting, such as the interior and furniture, reveal the director's perception of people and society, which subtly floats through this poetic film.

One of the film's postmodern traits is double coding, which means to allow ambiguity and irony. (Hutcheon, 1986:192) The name of the protagonist's son, Yang Yang, could be the director's reflection of budding artistic talent; Ting Ting is both the sweetheart of her family and the explorer for her new social role; Lili is a multiple-faced femme fatale; Min Min lives a dutiful life without fulfilling her own wish. This naming of characters parallels cinematic devices such as the overlapping of two different

story lines: the voice-over of NJ and his girlfriend in Tokyo's setting is used as backdrop of Ting Ting's dating with Fatty in Taipei; the contemporary Japanese park scenes accompany the nostalgic voice-over of NJ; and Ota's on-site piano playing mixes with his conversation with NJ. All these scenes act as stages to reflect specific themes of different story lines. This double coding, sometime with surreal aura, could also be sensed by Yang Yang's infatuation with the girl. The enemy-in-public and lover-in-private gradually embed in Yang Yang's mind and reach to a climax as he plunges into swimming pool. Moreover, Yang Yang's watching goddess-like profile of the girl in a dark room with artificial thunder light might also be a double coding scene of the femme fatale, who possesses both the image of a innocent girl and the temple of thunder light.

Another postmodern trait of redefining memory and nostalgia is also evident. NJ's eating in a spontaneous street place with collages, surrounding by brick structure and traditional street furniture, might reflect old way of life and doing business. The banquet setting in Grand Palace Hotel, decorated with traditional textiles and patterns, is anticipating a traditional wedding event. But the pregnant bride and the disturbance caused by A-Di's long-time girlfriend upset the traditional setting. One of the most poetic memories is created by the walking together of Ting Ting and Lili framed by elegant trees. This harmonious scene is later deconstructed by Lili, Tang Tang and Fatty's complicated relationships. The notion of redefining memory, especially the modernism memory highlighted by Tati's identical office boxes and residential units in *Playtime*, is emphasized by showing contemporary urban box-like office buildings floating through Tokyo's cityscape. The significance of temporality and spatiality of postmodern cityscape is well depicted.

Furthermore, the improvisation of the formation of contemporary Taipei urban places are delicately staged. Besides the above-mentioned street eating place, the space under the elevated motorway becomes main location for teenagers' love stories. Sequence of plots happens under the elevated motorway according to processing time, and that makes this awkward site an essential public place. Another space possesses similar importance is the elevator-front of the apartment. People chat, meet, kiss, hide and exchange information in front of it. These busy social activities make it main communicative place of all these urbanite. Shortly, *A One and a Two* could be interpreted as a postmodern film, set on a postmodern cityscape, telling postmodern sensation and social transformation. Many of the film's merits lie on the recapture of themes and emotions from the socio-spatial transformation of Taipei's speeding urbanization, and the interpretation of its hybrid culture such as Taipei's adoption of American-style chain stores while still preserving some traditional values.

Likewise, the film's starting of a wedding and ending of a funeral in the same locale, and the



"complexity and contradiction"<sup>3</sup> of these kinds of scenes imply the intention of a well-devised grand film. Yang's contemporary narratives, with cunning flashback of modern era and fragmentary retrospect of postmodern scenarios, not only create memories of the past, but offer a promising perspective for the future. In some ways, there even is a hue of postmodern "nostalgia for the present" (Jameson, 1991:279) floating through his works.

To sum up, the aforementioned three postmodern notions by Baudrillard, Jameson and Lyotard will be attested again. In Yang's film, the 'simulacrum' from Baudrillard's notion plays a critical role. For example, there are flickering cityscapes at night or their reflections on glasses accompanying people who think or talk to each other. The flowing nightscape is proximate to the image of simulacrum because it seems to dissimulate both something and nothing. Take Baudrillard's notion as reference, Yang's depiction of nightscape is more like the simulation but representation, because it seems to reflect the image but reality. In other words, Yang's depiction of nightscape is dreamlike, weightless and perpetually flowing. Moreover, Yang's film oozes out a special feeling of nostalgia, which could be sensed from many staging details such as the spatial aura of wedding banquet, accidental reunion with old girl friend and the family members' compassion toward each other. The culmination of this kind of nostalgia can be seen in the scene of grandmother's coma, where every family member has to talk to her. This representation of emotion and nostalgia is deeply implanted in people's minds and showed up in unconscious manners. It also attests Baudrillard's idea that "when the real is no longer what it used to be, nostalgia assumes its full meaning." As for Jameson's notion on postmodernism and consumer society, he had mentioned a kind of film with nostalgia mode. This kind of film is a particular practice of pastiche, which Jameson recognizes as blank parody, parody that has lost its sense of humor. In this sense, *A One and a Two* is a film with nostalgia mode since its emotional representation and social appropriateness seem to imitate a specific era which happened in Taipei's past. In some particular moments, the audience could even encounter a sense of déjà vu. Besides, Jameson concerns postmodernism and city in that our perceptual equipment cannot match the mutation in built space. In *A One and a Two*, the family of the protagonist lives in an apartment building, where the normal communication of everyday life is often taken in the small area in front of the elevator. This kind of situation has been, according to Jameson, "a mutation in the object, unaccompanied as yet by any equivalent mutation in the subject." Jameson's another crucial statement is about the aesthetic of

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<sup>3</sup> Complexity and Contradiction in Architecture is considered one of the most important architectural literatures on the topic of postmodernism. The book is written by Robert Venturi and published by The Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1966. The main concepts of the book such as double-functioning element, contradiction juxtaposed, and the obligation toward the difficult whole might help to depict Yang's cinematic works.

consumer society. He believes that the emergence of postmodernism is closely related to the emergence of late, consumer or multinational capitalism. Our contemporary social system has begun to lose its capacity to retain its own past, has begun to live in a perpetual present and in a perpetual change that obliterates traditions. In this light, *A One and a Two* possesses a standpoint that it precisely depicts the loss of tradition such as in the cases of dying grandmother and disoriented mother, as well as the protagonist's impossibility to go back to his old lover. Finally, Lyotard's notion of discarding metanarratives and emphasizing individual and heterogeneous experiences can be evidently noticed in *A One and a Two*. All the family members of the protagonist own their own different lives and pursuit various goals. Although the protagonist tries to stick on traditional value, he still runs into a temptation to go back to his old lover. The wife of the protagonist is confused with her job and everyday life, and chooses to go to retreating temple for cultivation. The daughter comes across her first love experience and becomes more mature after that. The son develops his artistic talent by means of camera and encountering his first femme fatale. There is a multiple value system and the individual is given the freedom to development different life style. Moreover, Lyotard considers that the postmodern would be that, in modern, puts forward the unrepresentable. In *A One and a Two*, when the protagonist decides that he will not leave the family for old lover, he makes a difficult decision that may imply an insightful understanding of life. This is a situation that makes the unrepresentable (in the film, it could be the ambiguous and uncanny feeling that the protagonist feels) felt, and, take Lyotard's words as reference, Yang is "working without rules in order to formulate the rules of what will have been done."

## V. Conclusion: The Nexus of Spatiality and Temporality

The study uses six critical thinkers' notions about modernity and postmodernity as backdrop to show how Yang and Tati's films can be used as vivid examples to catch the insight of the social-spatial transformation of cities.

The main result has been elaborated in previous two sections. In this final section, we would like to point out that to present the urban transformation by films, the main ingredients are time and space, as well as the "event," which is similar to plots and storylines. With specific time and space as backdrop, the "event," or incident, is where the cinema expresses its critical thinking and, in the case of studied three films, shows the tremendous transformation on cityscapes. The "event" is the nexus of spatiality and temporality. Both Yang and Tati use it in their specific ways to suit specific purposes.

In fact, Yang's *A One and a Two* is packed with incidents, which are those emotional events taking place in daily life. This superb ensemble not only covers a family's important events such as marriage,

birth and death but also other events of daily life. The relationship between daily-life's temporality and cityscape's spatiality has been stated in Henri Lefebvre's essay "See from the Window:"

*...With its diverse spaces affected by diverse temporalities... (Lefebvre, 1996: 224)*

On the other hand, Yang's tempo-spatial practice has strong sociologist's precision. In *A One and a Two*, wedding, birth and death are intertwined with courtship rituals, mid-life crises, coping with the failures of relatives and friends and regretting lost opportunities (Rayns, 2001:53-54). This overlapping, juxtaposition and superimposing of events are complementary with socio-spatial transformation of cityscapes. To further look into the essence of event in cinematic performance, we would like to quote architect Bernard Tschumi's statement in "Spaces and Events:"

*...the inevitable "mediatization" of architectural activity... cinematic devices replace conventional description. Architecture becomes the discourse of events as much as the discourse of spaces...And we gradually increases the complexity by introducing literary parallels and sequences of events. (Tschumi, 1996:149)*

In Tati's *Playtime*, the modernist reconstructs the city; in Yang's *A One and a Two*, the postmodernist concepts of intertextuality, multiple reading and dual coding reassemble the fragmentary social and spatial tapestries into an allegorical story of redemption and salvation. In both Tati and Yang's films, new codes of assembling events are places in new urban situation, which is evident on new social landscape. Modernism and Postmodernism could be a dialectic and interrelated continuum, where the multiplicity of tempo-spatial themes submerges in the vortex of human being's everyday existence.

Additionally, this comparative study could be a cross-cultural investigation aimed at finding out narrative and interpretative possibilities between Western and Eastern cinematic performances. In some ways, Yang uses *A One and a Two* to reject modern orthodoxy which is represented and criticized by Tati's films. This orthodoxy is often attacked for its reduction to minimalist in formal operations. On the other hand, Yang's work is enriched by its multiple reading and dual coding with the connotation of intertextuality. This intertextuality dissolves modern thinking into postmodern context and creates a cinematic scene of hybridization. The unfolding of postmodern scenarios in Taipei's spatial context reveals an anxiety in finding temporal continuity in Taipei's cityscape. The disjunction of everyday existence and historical memory could be one of the main reasons causing family members' disassociation in *A One and a Two*. This polemic viewpoint may encourage people to rethink the possibility of connecting space and time together. The postmodern issues such as the fragmentation of social network and family experience could engender an urgent need to reconsider the essence of our everyday existence, and reconstruct our living place as a nexus of spatiality and temporality.

The argument of cinema as a form of social practice and spatial representation is symptomized by

its content of tempo-spatial transformation affecting on the people and cityscape. The nexus of time and space is attested by the micro-history of Hulot's personal legend in Tati's *My Uncle* and *Playtime*, as well as NJ's family in Yang's *A One and a Two*. While cinema is based on a context of social experience, it explicitly shows the connection between the geography of place and the transformation of time. As characters move through the city, they experience the urban topography formed by a spatially organized social network. Cinema creates a tangible vision of reality through various scenarios and provides a channel leading to a perception of tempo-spatial representation, thus improving our fragmentary knowledge of cityscapes. This nexus of spatiality and temporality could be a cinematic mapping of social and spatial practices. It goes beyond Kevin Lynch's mapping method (Lynch, 1960) which pays attention to the perception of physical environment, and has close relation to Fredric Jameson's aesthetic of cognitive mapping (Jameson, 1990) which has profound social concern.

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...意義的符號體系（Barthes，1988：23-24）

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