

书写社区

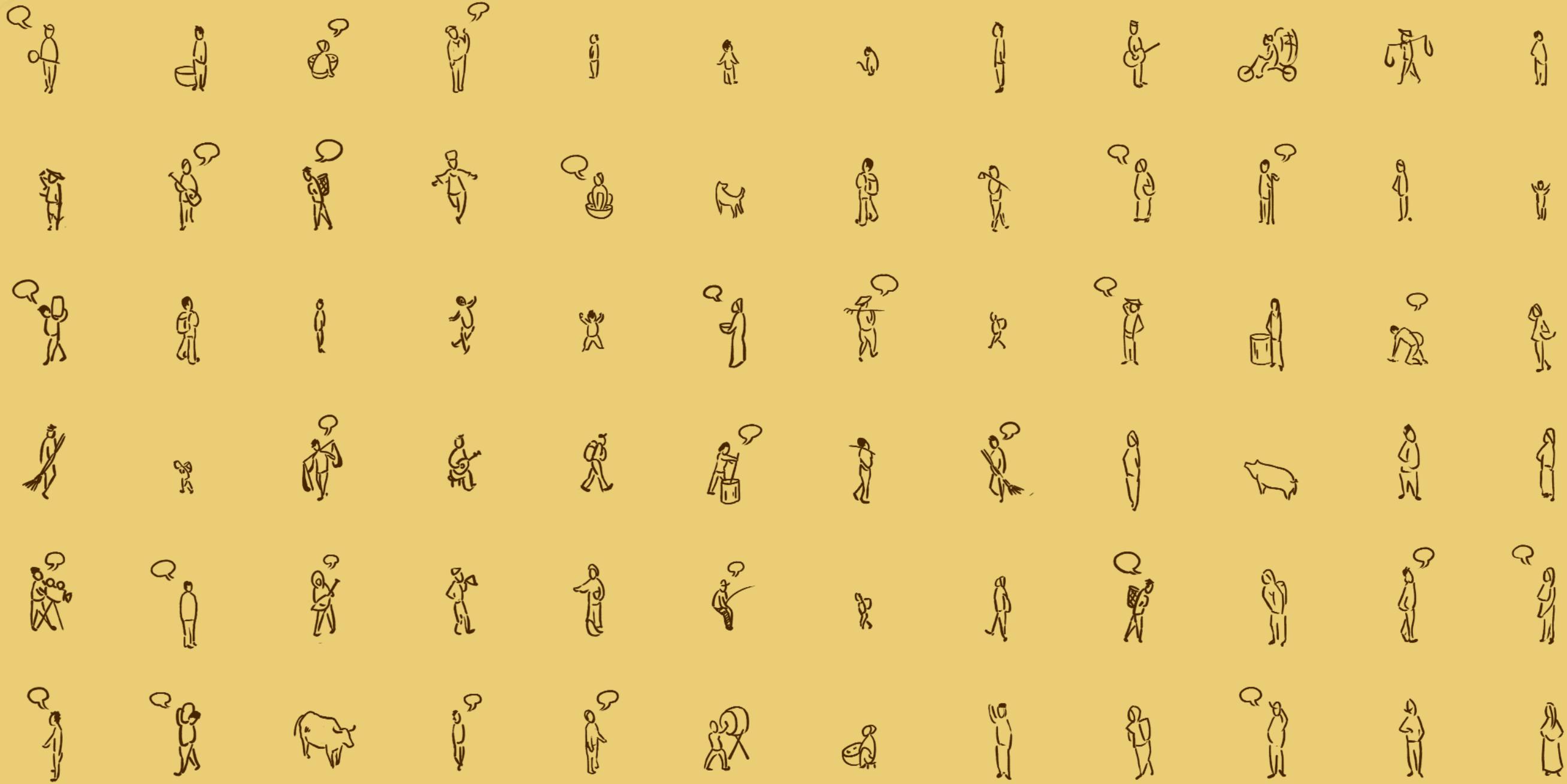
Revival and Resilience

回归与延伸 Community Stories in China



社區伙伴

Partnerships for
Community
Development



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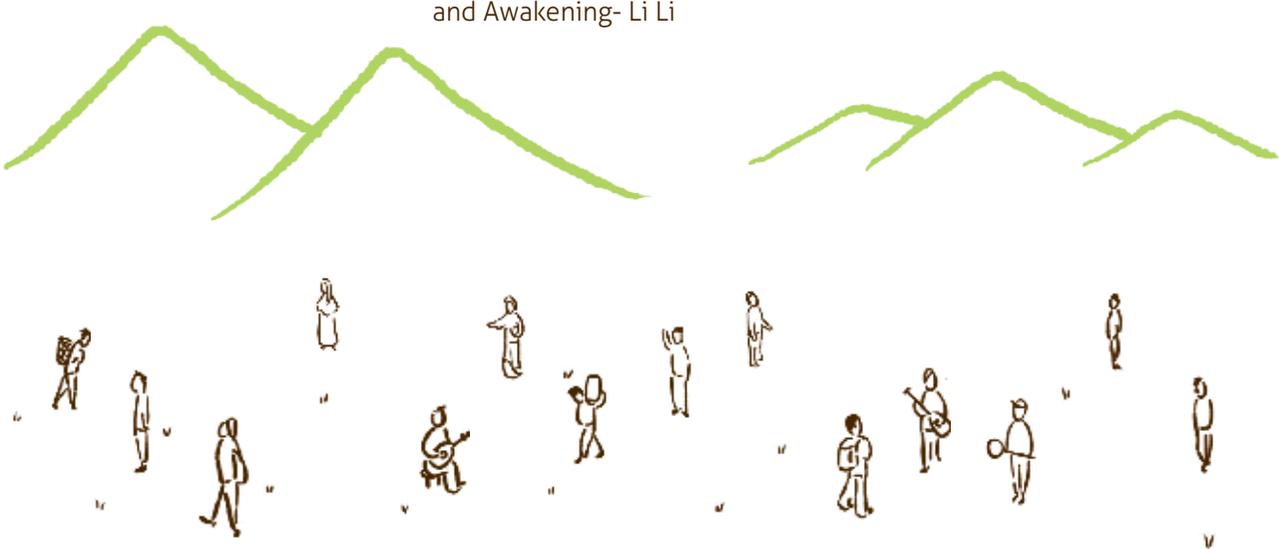
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序 Foreword



爱因斯坦曾说：“我们不能用制造问题的思维去找出解决问题的方法。”

在社区伙伴十二年的生命中，我们一直热切地寻找另类世界观来应对主流不可持续的社会经济范式。我们经常从幸存的传统文化中找到这种“新思维方式”的种子。这些种子成为我们完善社区发展工作框架的重要参考，也使文化反思和敬畏自然成为我们工作的核心。透过与社区、学术机构和政府单位建立多元的伙伴关系，社区伙伴开展了一系列的工作，范围包括整全健康、自然教育、生态农业和青年人工作。在这些领域中，我们的工作重点集中在较为无形的层面，如：协作者培训、能力建设、网络发展等。虽然它们不太容易被看见，但却是带来改变的真正基础。本书的故事正是那些拥有勇敢的心的人的见证。他们敢于挑战主流社会对幸福和进步的假设，并为一个更公正、可持续、万物欣喜共存的愿景而奋斗。

探访社区伙伴的项目点，我常常深受启发，因而获得不少创作灵感。以下是我在拜访云南德钦县社区之后，有感而发写下的一首诗：

It was Albert Einstein who said "We cannot solve our problems with the same kind of thinking we used when we created them." At the heart of Partnerships for Community Development (PCD)'s 12 year existence is a passionate search for alternative worldviews to address the current unsustainable socio-economic paradigm. Often we have found seeds for this 'new way of thinking' in the remnants of traditional cultures and it is from these starting points that our framework for community development, to which cultural renewal and reverence for nature are integral, has evolved. Through a diversity of partnerships - with communities, academic institutions and government agencies - PCD has developed an impressive array of programmes in fields such as holistic health, nature education, eco-agriculture and youth empowerment. In each case our focus has been on the less tangible elements - facilitator training, capacity building, network development - that, while not so visible, are nonetheless the true building blocks for change. The stories in this book are a tribute to those brave hearts and minds who dare to question mainstream assumptions about happiness and progress and strive for a more equitable, sustainable and joyful existence for all.

On visits to PCD project sites, I am often inspired to write creatively. Here is a poem that I wrote after visiting communities in Deqin County, Yunnan...

弦子 (翻译: 芳子)

滇山之端
德钦之心
深处
歌声萦绕弦子舞拍
回响

唱吟
舞弄童子轻软脚踏
牵动老叟掌拍
谱奏二弦琴手妙音

Xianzi

High in the mountains of Yunnan
Deep in the heart of Deqin
Can be heard the sound of singing
To the rhythm of the Xianzi dance

From the softest steps of a child
To the clapping hands of elders
To the players of the 2-string lyre:
Everything moves with the chant



一整夜
人群
圈连寡众
脚荡涡漩踏踢
铺开来世前生

佛陀觉泽满圆
众生
哈笑绵连
天外
喜乐满月
朗照

麦哥利
社区伙伴
管理委员会主席

The circle of people widens
And shrinks throughout the night
As the past & future unfold
In the footwork's stomp and swirl

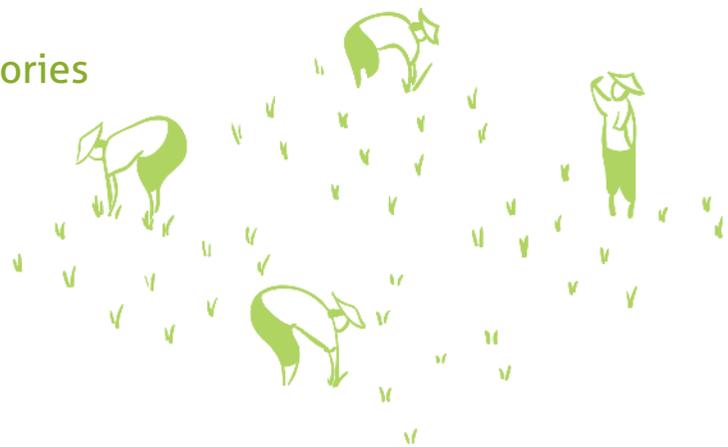
And the laughing never ceases
As the Buddha does his rounds
While outside, the full moon shines
Displaying her delight

Andrew McAulay
Chairperson
Management Committee
Partnerships for Community Development



出版缘起

About the Community Stories Writing Project



在执笔之时，社区伙伴与一些项目社区一起探索可持续生活，已走过三至五年，甚至是更长的道路。这些年来我们看到社区发生一点一滴的变化：人们对社区归属感和责任感的增强，增加了对本土及传统知识的信心，同时意识到人与自然之间的相互连结。这些改变，并不在短时间内呈现出来，也许微小而不显眼，因此一般的“项目评估”未必能发掘及确认这些改变，但是它们确实存在。能够把改变的痕迹，一一印记下来，对社区，对同行者，对社区伙伴来说都有着重大的意义。它可以让我们知道，改变是如何在动态的环境下发生的，我

At the time of writing, PCD's project involvement with a number of communities in southwestern China has been ongoing for three to five years, with some having started even earlier. Throughout these years of partnerships we have witnessed signs of changes in the communities. We have seen a growing sense of belonging and responsibility, increased confidence in local and traditional knowledge, and an awareness of the interconnectedness between people and nature. Since these changes are often incremental small steps, or intangible, they may not be easily measured by means

们亦可以重溯参与在过程中的人们，是如何在互动中成长过来。这些故事的主角，我们称之为“社区协作者”，他/她们在社区探寻可持续生活的过程中，起了关键的作用。这就是书写社区故事的缘起。

讲故事与撰写项目报告不同。我们意识到社区生活的面向之广，内容之丰富，实际上远远超越项目的框架和时间周期。因此我们说故事，便是要尝试不以项目的眼光为出发点，而是以新和更广阔的角度，去阅读和理解与我们多年并肩同行的社区。

故事的叙述，本质上是主观的。它直接呈现了讲故事的人，和故事人物的情感，见解，期盼，和潜能，点点滴滴源自生活，充满真情实感。这些故事，让我们对可持续生活的实际演绎，多了一点点感知。它可以是关于社区的情感和集体的力量，社区的韧性，人与自然的相互依存，对本土及传统知识的重视，应用和创新。

我们收集得来的故事，呈现人们如何在社区生活里，透过践行和本土经验的积累，活出永续精神。面对瞬息万变的经济和社会环境带来的挑战，人们是如何走出他们的路径。正如书中故事要展示的，这些路径并非简单的恢复传统，而是在所谓“现代”与“传统”之间找到平衡。在这里我们看到社区的韧性，它可以如何在复杂多变的环境下，寻求自处的空间和可能。

of project evaluation. After a decade of partnerships with communities, we now want to track the signs of changes in order to better understand the crossing-path between project efforts and community living, which often takes place in a dynamic context. We also want to re-trace the growth path of those people whom PCD refers to as community facilitators, who play important roles in catalysing actions for sustainable living. Hence came the idea of writing community stories.

Storytelling is different from conventional project report writing. We are aware of the fact that community life has a much wider extent that goes beyond the framework and time frame of any single project. PCD staff and partners who take part in the storytelling are encouraged to take a wider perspective to refresh their understanding of the communities with which we have been in partnerships for years.

Storytelling is by nature subjective. The tales bring home to us the aspirations, concerns, affection and potential of the storytellers and the other people in their stories. They are essentially lively accounts of the reality of community life. Through these stories we learn about the elements of sustainable living which are rooted in the community, such as sense of community and collective action, resilience, interconnectedness between

people and nature, ecological living, the value of traditional knowledge and its adaptation and innovation.

The stories we have received show how the community members make use of local practices and conventions to live out their visions of sustainable living. Facing changes and challenges in their socio-economic environment, different communities have been exploring their future pathways. As the stories indicate, such pathways are not mere reversions to a traditional way of life, but are 'third ways' which are in between the modern and the traditional. These show the resilience of communities in their responses to emergent external environments.

Some stories told here may not be on issues that are directly within the remit of PCD's and partners' project engagement with the communities. They enable us, however, to situate community work in the dynamic context of real life, to understand the intersections between communities and projects. As the stories indicate, such intersections occur in the promotion of inter-generational dialogue, nurturing a sense of identity and belonging, community action to take care of the natural environment, and building up of community cohesion.

The process of storytelling matters. We organised a series of writing workshops (writeshops) in the past two years for collecting stories. In these writeshops participants help each other to pick up



书中的故事，并非所有都与我们及伙伴推进的项目内容完全对应，我们反而可以想象项目本来就是在一个动态的真实环境下，与社区相遇和碰撞。项目和社区相遇的轨迹，可以见诸大家共同努力，例如营造跨代的沟通，培养归属感和身分认同，促进社区保护环境的行动，以及建立社区凝聚力。

讲故事的过程有时候比产出更重要。这些故事源自一系列的“写作工作坊”。在写作坊里，参加者学习讲故事的技巧，互相帮忙和碰撞，从记忆和零碎的事件中，抽出故事的主线和脉络，同时要把个人情感和思考，呈现在故事的叙述之中。本书中的故事，是几次写作坊参加者努力的成果，我们非常感激大家用心尝试。我们要特别感激缪芸女士，她在起步阶段推动计划前进，她在过程中给参加者的耐心指导和陪伴极为重要。我们要感谢郭净老师，张原老师，李丽女士赐稿，帮助我们建立对故事更深刻的理解，特别是解读社区韧性和可持续生活的理念。本书的后期编辑，翻译，绘图和设计，得力于郑英女士，Graham Reels 先生，秦婉芬女士，全海燕女士，卢晓峰先生的参与。在两年的过程中，很多同事和伙伴给予宝贵的支持，我们都铭记于心。

希望大家喜欢这些故事和从中得到启发。

吴美玲
社区伙伴
项目统筹

the skills of a storyteller, by drawing out thoughts from memories and facts, working out story lines, and putting affection and personal reflection into telling the stories. The stories in this publication are the result of the storytellers' hard work. Their contribution is much treasured. We have to express our heartfelt thanks to Ms. Miao Yun, who helped lead the writing project in its first phase. Her guidance, support and accompaniment are much appreciated. We would like to thank Mr. Guo Jing, Mr. Zhang Yuan and Ms. Li Li, who contributed articles to help us gain deeper perspectives on community resilience and sustainable living that are ingrained in the stories. We are thankful to Ms. Cheng Ying, Mr. Graham Reels, Ms. Sally Chun, Ms. Quan Haiyan and Mr. Goby Lo, for their good work in editing, translation, drawing illustration and overall design, to make the publication of the stories become a reality. Last but not least, our thanks go to our partners and PCD staff who provided valuable support to the writing project over the last two years.

Hope you enjoy reading the stories.

Freda Ng
Programme Coordinator
Partnerships for Community Development

从社区故事说社区

Understanding 'Community' from Community Stories



这些年，“社区”这个词已经被人们普遍拿来使用，这本小书的名称叫做《书写社区－回归与延伸》，就是一个例子。但社区到底是什么，应该如何理解它的含义，对于参与发展行动的人来说，并不是可以随意忽略的问题。

“社区”最初应该是对英文 community 的意译。这个词翻译得很巧妙，如果拆开来看，“区”可以理解为“地区”，是一个空间的概念；“社”则是一个古老的词汇，它原来指土地神和土地崇拜的场所，夏商周历代君王都有立邦社以祭祀社神的制度，而民间亦以村落为单位各自立社，可见社的建立与土地权相联系。此后，“社”逐渐成为对各种民间团体的通称，与“社”有关的集会叫做“社会”，包括各类节庆和祭奠。民间社团组织的庆典又叫“社火”，所谓庙会，赛会，走会，都是社火的不同表现形式。

The term 'community' has been widely used in recent times. One example is that this book bears the name 'Community Stories'. What exactly does community mean? How should we understand its meaning and implications? These are not questions which can be treated lightly for those involved in development work.

The Chinese word *shequ* is probably translated from the English word 'community'. This is a clever translation. If we spilt the word into two characters, *qu* could be understood as *diqu*, a district, and this conveys a sense of space; *she* is an ancient term with the original meaning of the place for worshipping the earth god and the land itself. As early as the *Xia, Shang* and *Zhou* dynasties, the kings had set up the system of *she* to pay respect to the

组成“社”，并能举办“社会”的有几类群体：一个是血缘群体，就像贵州控拜村“龙”、“杨”“穆”“李”四个家族，每个姓氏选鼓藏头一名，又将四名鼓藏头进行“分工”，形成“两正”、“两副”，正副鼓藏头在两姓“兄弟”之间交换，一届鼓藏头任期十三年（见《我们是一家人》）。

另一个是地缘群体，如由各个姓氏组成的控拜村，就是典型的地缘群体。对于云南德钦县的藏族来说，地缘群体（村庄）要比血缘群体（家族）更为重要，每个村子都有历史上传下来的明确的边界，为了维护这个边界以及边界以内的共同利益，像玖农村民那样时而跟周围村子的村民发生争执和冲突，是司空见惯的事（见《玖农村的故事》）。至于一些历史悠久的乡镇，如四川珙县的孝儿镇，则是范围更大的地缘群体，充当着连接周边许多村庄的枢纽（见《我们的家乡－孝儿镇》）。

还有一个是跨地缘和血缘的群体，其中重要的有行业、宗教和表演群体，比如控拜村的银匠就组织过他们自己的行会，而德钦县玖农村的居士，也组成了自己的宗教团体。

上面这三类群体，通过特定空间亦即共同地域的连接，构成了我们所说的“社区”。

近百年现代化的过程中，组成社区的血缘群体、地缘群体和跨地缘和血缘的群体，都发生了急剧的变化。变化的一个大趋势，是乡村中这些群体的日益涣散乃至解体。伴随着乡村的解体和城市的膨胀，一个旨在为资本提供劳动力的，也更便于管理的“公民”社会逐渐形成。乡民和公民的差别，主要在于前者需要依赖血缘和地缘为纽带的“社区”，后者却彻底摆脱了传统社区的约

gods. The common people also established their own *she* using the village as a basic unit. This shows the relationship between *she* and land rights. Since then, *she* has become a generic term for different kinds of civil society groups; and gatherings concerning the *she* are known as *shehui*, or community, which includes festivals and memorial ceremonies. Celebrations held by social groups are also called *shehuo*. The different kinds of festivals and fairs, such as *miaohui, saihui* and *zouhui*, are different manifestations of *shehuo*.

There are a few groups which can form into *she* and organise *shehui*. The first are kinship groups, such as that comprising the families of Long, Yang, Mu and Li in Kongbai village in Guizhou. Four Drum Festival heads, two chief heads and two deputies, are selected among the four families. The chiefs and deputies alternate between the 'brothers' of two families. The term of office for the head is 13 years (see the story 'We Are One Family').

Another type of group is determined by geographical location. A typical example is the population of Kongbai Village which is made up of people of different surnames. For the Tibetan population in Deqin County in Yunnan, geographical groups (by village) are more important than kinship groups (by family). Each village inherits its clear historical borders. To protect the common interests of those within such borders, villagers of Jiunong Village often engaged in disputes and conflicts with the

束，成了各自孤立的“个体”。然后由这些个体组成以职业为主要导向的跨地缘和血缘的“社群”，为城市创造价值。

由此看来，我们常说的“不可持续的发展”实际上包括了两个方面：一个方面是“资源”的不可持续，另一个是“社区生活”的不可持续。因为，中国当今盲目的快速发展，通过农村的空心化、土地等资源的资本化、传统文化的颓败、乡村自治能力的弱化而导致社区生活逐渐消失。在城市重新建立的所谓“社区”，既没有血缘和地缘群体的支撑，也缺乏共同的价值观和文化体系的支撑，大体上还只是一种行政管理的形式。

从这本书里，我们看到了人们重建社区的种种努力。其实说“重建”并不准确。在传统社区保存较为完整的地方，如云南德钦的玖农村，人们是在扩展和延伸社区组织的功能，原来专注于宗教修行的居士团体，如今在积极推动藏文的普及教育和自然资源保护。这两件事，本质上都和佛教有关系，又与社区教育和环境保护的新观念嫁接在一起。而在贵州雀鸟村，一群苗族大学生以重走迁徙路的方式，试图寻回社区的精神价值。这一行动的特别之处，在于它是离开故乡，与社区生活脱节的年轻人对本土价值的自觉回归，诚如故事里杨光建所说：“我之前一直认为这个活动主要是让外界人了解苗族的文化历史，现在才明白其实我们才是学习的主体；苗族文化不需要什么推广，需要的是我们青年人回家传承这些历史文化。”重建的意义也许就包含在这种回归之中，二〇一〇年贵州雷山县控拜村发起鼓藏节篮球赛的事例，显示了那些到外地打工，深受现代

neighbouring villages (see 'The Story of Jiunong Village'). Towns with a long history, as in the case of Xiao'er Town in Gong County in Sichuan, represent a much larger geographical group. They are hubs connecting the many nearby villages (see 'Our Hometown, Xiao'er Town').

Yet another way of forming into communities is cross-kinship and cross-location, with significant examples being groups formed by sector, religion and performance groups. Silversmith unions in Kongbai Village, and religious groups formed by Buddhist Householders in Jiunong Village of Deqin County fall into this category.

The above three types of organisation create specific spatial connections among people, and form what we know as 'community'.

The last century of modernisation has brought about drastic changes to community groups formed in the above three ways. Change often means the loosening or even dissolution of community groups in the Chinese countryside. With the disintegration of villages and towns and expansion of cities, grouping by 'citizenship' starts to come into operation, the aim being to provide a labour force for the capitalists and make management easy. The difference between a person belonging to a village and one belonging to a citizen group

时尚影响的青年人，依然有可能为社区建设注入新的力量。而且，对这样的村庄而言，城市与乡村的互动，已经成为社区建设的题中应有之义。四川郫县安龙村村民给成都市民配送生态蔬菜的行动，则在农村依附于大城市的背景下，既向市民提供了新的食粮，也提供了新的生活态度和方式。从这个意义上讲，生态农业是一个有可能将当代生活的源泉从城市转回农村的出发点。

社区的延续和重建，不仅仅关乎民间组织的发展、环境的改善以及生活质量的提高。在传统乡村里，社区群体关系的维系，社区价值观的彰显，社区精神的提倡，还必须借助象征性的仪式、庆典和表演来达成。本书的几篇文章，如《我们的生活我们的舞》《温暖的剧团温暖的心》等，讲述了这方面的努力。无论在乡村或在城镇，表演都不仅是一种娱乐。工业社会以抽去人情的原则（如科学中的自然规律，审判制度中的法律，经济交往中的契约等）为价值判断的准绳，前工业化社会的运转和人际关系的调整则更多依靠个人和群体日常和非日常的互动和表演。人们在祭奠和节庆期间营造的气氛，使“社区”在非日常的时刻变成了一种看得见、摸得到的情感，社区仪式的重要性便在于此。每每在昆明看见那些失地农民聚集在公园和广场演唱花灯，弹着三弦跌脚，我都会被吸引。农民进入城市，也同样在改造着城市的景观。他们教我们懂得社区是什么，社区有什么意义。也在把古老的社区精神点点滴滴渗进既繁华又贫瘠的城市生活中。就这点来说，农村并非简单地消失，它已经给中国的许多城市打上了乡村的印记。

is that the former relies on linkages of kinship and location, whereas the latter has broken free from traditional community restraints and has joined an isolated unit. Such units in turn constitute cross-location and cross-kinship communities which are mostly linked by occupation, and these occupational groups define the city values.

Understood in this way, what we refer to as unsustainable development has two aspects, namely unsustainable resources and unsustainable community life. The rapid and reckless development of China has led to a deserted countryside, capitalisation of resources such as land, waning traditional culture, and weakening local self-governance capacities – all these have led to a gradual disappearance of community life. For those newly created communities in cities, there is neither support from bonds of kinship and location, nor is there support from common values or cultural system. In this sense 'community' is, at best, merely a form of administrative organisation.

In this book, we see people endeavour to rebuild their communities. Actually, rebuild may not be the most accurate word. In places where traditional communities remain intact, such as in Jiunong Village, the villagers

are expanding the functions of community organisations. The Buddhist Householder group which was originally concerned with religious practice has now become an active agent in popularising teaching of the Tibetan language and protecting natural resources. Both education and natural resource protection are intrinsically linked with Buddhism. At the same time, they are interlinked with new concepts of community education and environmental protection. In Queniao Village in Guizhou, a group of Miao university students embarked on a project of 'Tracing the Route of Migration' in order to rediscover the core values of their community. What is special about this operation is that it was initiated by youths who have lost touch with community life but are now eager to explore local values. As the student Yang Guangjian said, "I used to think that the purpose of this activity was to get others to learn the history and culture of Miao. Now I realise that it is us who are the learners. We don't need to promote Miao culture. What is needed is for young people to return home and inherit it." Perhaps the significance of rebuilding community life is embedded in such self-conscious homecoming. The instance of returning youths

initiating a basketball match during the Drum Festival in Kongbai Village in 2010 shows that migrant workers who are deeply influenced by modern values can also bring in new energy to the community. For villages like Kongbai and Queniao, rural-urban interaction has become a key issue in community building. Notwithstanding the mainstream view that the countryside is dependent on cities, the case of a villager in Anlong Village of Pi County in Sichuan delivering ecological vegetables to city-dwellers in Chengdu demonstrates a new approach to life. Ecological agriculture could be a start for relocating the focal point of modern life from cities back to the countryside.

The perpetuation and rebuilding of communities involves not only the development of social organisations, and improvement of the environment and living standards. In traditional communities, the functions of maintaining inter-communal group relations, as well as manifesting and promoting community values, still hinge on symbolic rituals, festivals and performances. Stories such as 'Our Life, Our Dance' and 'A Warm Theatre with a Warm Heart' touch on the different functions of rituals and performances. Performances are never just an entertainment, be it in the villages or the cities. Industrial societies have taken out considerations of human interactions in value judgements (such as the law of nature in the realm of science, laws in judicial systems, or contractual

relations in economic dealings); yet, pre-industrial societies rely on daily and periodic interactions and performances to function and to adjust human relationships. The ambience created during memorial ceremonies and festivities turns 'community' into something tangible on these special occasions. I am often intrigued by the group of landless farmers gathering in parks and public squares in the city of Kunming, as they enjoy themselves with traditional plays, music and dance. The farmers entering the cities have changed its landscape. They taught us what is meant by a community, and what its significance is. They also infuse ancient elements of community into city life, which is both prosperous and deprived. The villages have not simply disappeared; they have left marks of the countryside in many Chinese cities.

作者介绍

About the Author

郭净

云南社会科学院历史研究所研究员，致力于文化人类学研究，主要方向为仪式、神山信仰、文化保护。曾为社区伙伴在云南（德钦藏文化反思、昆明大花苗文化交流）、广西（南丹白裤瑶社区生计）和四川（小金县嘉绒藏族文化保护）的项目顾问。

Guo Jing

Researcher at the Yunnan Academy of Social Sciences, specialising in cultural anthropology. Key areas of research include rituals, sacred mountain worship, and cultural preservation. Guo was the programme consultant for PCD's Yunnan (Tibetan culture reflection in Deqin County, cultural exchange of *Dahua Miao* in Kunming), Guangxi (Livelihood of Baikuyao community in Nandan County) and Sichuan (Preservation of local Tibetan culture in Xiaojin County) programmes.

社区艺术：社区营造的新路径

Community Arts: A New Path to Community Building

社区艺术作为社区营造的一种新协作方法，为近年来中国乡村的社会工作提供了一种富有创造性的全新模式。

所谓“社区营造”，就是要为基层社区居民创建一种“有组织、有理想”的生活图景，使其获得“安身立命”的生活基础。而社区艺术作为社区营造的一种路径，则是要“为组织确立一种理想，理想找到一个组织”，其实现的是社会关系的交融和生活价值的彰显。当前中国农村普遍面临的一个困境，就是基层组织与文化价值的瓦解。这近几十年的现代性转型过程中，传统乡土社会所经历的变迁日益呈现出严重的行政化、市场化、个体化、城镇化的倾向，使得基层社区面临着组织机制失效、

The community arts approach represents an innovative way of conducting community work in the Chinese countryside.

The purpose of community building is to create a livelihood prospect of *anshen liming*, or settling down and getting on with one's own pursuits, for community members. Community arts help to achieve community building through promoting relations and values in the community. Currently, most Chinese villages face the problem of dissolution of grassroots community organisations and local cultural values. In the last few decades, as China has undergone rapid development, traditional societies have increasingly been subjected to administrative and market forces, and are becoming more atomised and urbanised. This has resulted in

经济生活依附、伦理价值沦丧、适应能力低下等危机。其中最突出的困境表现为一种脱域（Disembedding）机制下所产生的“地方感”的瓦解，由此基层居民失去了安身立命之所。这里，“安身”指的是个人身份与社会纽带的获得，这需要从地方的社会组织之建立来实现；“立命”则是个人使命和生活价值的确认，这必须从地方的文化价值之塑造来入手。而通过社区艺术来协作开展社区营造，一方面为当地居民提供与当地社会组织交融的载体，另一方面社区艺术作为一种表达性的生活实践，为当地居民确认和彰显生活价值提供新路径。

当前中国乡村基层社区的社会工作，在社区营造、地方感重塑和生活可持续等方面建树极少，相反还暴露出一系列“反社会¹”与“没文化”的工作弊病。乡村的生活似乎只被看作一种没有思想的风俗，而非一种充满意义的文化。我们去乡村似乎只为解决问题，而不是认真倾听他们的心声。如此一来，社会工作呈现出如下几个相互关联的特点：

1. 项目化，即项目管理主导实际工作，使工作短期且肤浅，评估时只看项目目标的达成，而不重视实际的社会效果；
2. 工程化，即重硬件基础设施之建设，这种工作的效果貌似显见而直接，但却流于表面和形式；
3. 碎片化：即在项目化和工程化的影响下无法看到社会工作所面对的是一个有机的社会整体，因而造成工作的开展没有体系，也无延续性；

cultural crises such as decreasing relevance of traditional social organisations, increasing economic dependence on the outside world, declining ethnic values and withering adaptability. A phenomenon which stands out is the disintegration of a sense of place resulting from a kind of disembedding mechanism. Local residents have lost their place for *anshen liming*. Here, *anshen* (or settling down) implies that self-identity and social bonding are to be realised through local social organisations; whereas *liming* (or getting on with one's pursuit) refers to the affirmation of a sense of mission and meaning of life through building local cultural values. Employing the community arts approach for community building, residents are provided with a vehicle to connect with local social organisations. Further, as community arts are expressions of their livelihood, they are also given a new channel to affirm and manifest their core values.

Grassroots community work in the Chinese countryside is now suffering from a lack of vision on community building, re-creation of a sense of place, and sustainable living. In fact, it often wanders into the pitfall of neglecting indigenous social organisations, networks and local culture. Village life is often seen as an assemblage of shallow customary practices, as opposed to an embodiment of rich and meaningful culture. Development workers come only to solve problems, and not to listen

1. 所谓“反社会”是指对地方原有社会组织 and 关系纽带的破坏。

4. 强势性：干预主体过强，缺乏文化理解与沟通；

5. 遮蔽性：社会组织建设缺失和忽视精神文化培育。

针对以上的状况，社区艺术项目最重要的工作原则在于从心出发，回到生活中去。基于理解、对话与共同协作的精神，重新寻找生活之根，照亮生活之美。

从《在爱中行走》、《我们的生活，我们的舞》、《温暖的剧团，温暖的心》这些故事中，我们看到通过开展一系列的艺术活动实践与行动调查研究，社区协作者和村民一起共同探索出一套社区艺术行动研究和社区营造实践模式的本土经验。作为一种社区协作方法，社区艺术是通过发掘引导社区已有的社会行动，配合组织资源和文化观念的价值系统，营造社区良性持续发展的社会情境，从而增强社区的凝聚力和自组织机制，推动个人和群体的文化自觉与社会能动。总结而言，社区艺术的协作方法有以下值得提倡的经验：

1. 互动性原则 – “大家一起干！”

必须看到项目开展过程包含多重行为主体的交融与互动。作为外来者的项目团体成员强调的是参与性，而非干预性。以共同学习的方式，和村民一起针对社区营造、社区艺术和社区发展等议题进行真诚的跨文化理解和对话、协作和实践。

to the voices of the villagers. It is therefore not surprising that community work exhibits these related traits:

1. Projects first. Community work becomes project management instead of actual solid work. Work becomes short-term and superficial. Evaluations focus only on the achievement of project goals and not on actual social outcomes;
2. Infrastructure first. This is because the results are tangible and obvious; yet, they are merely routine quick fixes.
3. Fragmentation. Due to the over-reaching focus on projects and infrastructure, development workers are unable to see the community as an organic, integrated entity. Work thus becomes scattered and disconnected.
4. Dominating. The development organisations often lack cultural perspectives and awareness to enter into dialogue with the local people.
5. Blind spots. They fail to see the importance of building social organisations and fostering local cultural values.

To redress the above issues, the key principle of the community arts project is to start from our hearts, and situate our work in local lives. Abiding by the precepts of understanding, dialogue and joint facilitation, the project seeks to re-discover the roots and beauty of local life.

2. 开放性原则 – “不设标准，一切走着瞧！”

摆脱以往社会工作“项目化”的僵化趋势，没有预设太多的框架和标准，而是在社区中和居民达成的行动共识，一步步的展开工作，并在过程中总结经验。

3. 实践性特征 – “让社区动起来！”

建立一个工作平台，让工作实践和项目行动本身具有一种整体性、延续性和在地化的特征。为此，实践时回到地方生活的情景中去寻找工作资源，例如利用当地原有的节日礼俗、地方组织、文化事项来开展工作；回到居民生活诉求中探寻工作动机，以此完成生活价值的认同与发掘、地方精神的回溯与拓展。所以坚持从具体行动出发，来不断激活地方行动资源，这是社区艺术实践性特征的突出表现。

4. 在地化要求 – “扎下根！”

坚持项目开展的所有行动都是有地方基础的，而不是强加外来资源和理念。当项目团队与社区居民有分歧之时，强调理解和尊重地方逻辑、积极展开对话，以一种最能适应和吻合社区的行动形式来展开工作，并将这些行动内化为社区自身生活展开的一部分。

In the stories 'A Journey in Love', 'Our Life, Our Dance', and 'A Warm Theatre with a Warm Heart', we can see that through a series of community arts activities and action research, community facilitators and villagers have co-created local experience in community arts and community building. As a community facilitation approach, community arts identify and make use of existing social actions, organisational resources and local value systems. This helps to build the foundation for virtuous and sustainable community development, increase community cohesion and self-organising mechanisms, and promote cultural awareness among individuals and groups, and stimulate collective agency. To sum up, the community arts facilitation approach enjoys the following advantages:

A. Interactive – “Let’s do this together!”

The process stresses interaction and connection between outsiders and insiders. For the project team members who are outsiders, the focus is on participation, not intervention. Through co-learning with the community members, the facilitators open up sincere processes of dialogue and facilitation on community development issues.

B. Openness – “Take it a step at a time!”

To avoid the rigidity of focusing only on 'projects' *per se*, community arts approach avoids pre-setting too many frameworks and benchmarks. Instead, community workers

5. 持续性追求 – “有搞头！”

让社区艺术项目的行动内化为地方生活的一个不可分割的部分，只有这样，当项目结束时，“戏仍接着演”。这种持续性的追求不仅是项目本身的要求，也应该转化为社区自身所需。

以社区营造和地方感塑造为原则，社区艺术作为社会生活的一种“集体表现”（collective representation），首要目标在于为当地社区营造一个良性的社会情景，使相关的社会行动在当地获得相应的社会组织支撑和文化价值认同。因此，社区的自组织能力拓展与文化价值的整合形塑是其两大具体的行动主旨。从在四川柏林湾、云南盘指挥村和汉泥扒村实施社区艺术项目所产生的实际效果来看，村民自组织能力不断得到提高，精神面貌也振奋一新，他们重拾了一种对家乡社区的热爱，有了新的生活追求和生活热情。而社区也在社区艺术项目的展开中，越来越成为一个可以依靠的家园，让人身舒心安。这些变化对今后社区各项事业的发展必将发挥积极的作用，为社区积累了巨大的潜力。



strive to build community consensus and draw experience from the process.

C. Practicality – “Get the community moving!”

Community arts allow community work to be integrated, continuous and localised. To achieve this, facilitators look for resources from the community, such as bringing local festivities and customs, organisations and cultural events to the projects. Facilitators also go back to the actual needs of the community members for incentives of discovering, acknowledging and promoting local values. Overall, the approach demands concrete actions to mobilise local resources.

D. Local – “Be culturally rooted!”

Community arts believe the reason for every action should be traced back to its local roots, as opposed to being imposed from the outside world. Whenever there are differences between the outsider facilitators and community members, facilitators should strive to understand and respect the rationale of the locals, be proactive in engaging in dialogues, and work in the manner most befitting to that of the community, so that in the end these actions can be internalised to become part of community life.

E. Sustainability – “It’s worth doing!”

When, and only when, activities have been adopted by the locals as an integral part of community life, the show will still go on upon (and despite) project completion. An aspiration for such sustainability is not just a project requirement, but also an integral component for social transformation.

With the dual aims of community building and re-creating a sense of place, community arts have become a collective representation of community life. The primary goal is to create an opportunity for collective actions which are supported by local social organisations and cultural values. Thus, expanding the community's self-organising capacities and articulating the local values are two major steps. In Bailinwan (Sichuan), Panzhihui Village (Yunnan), and Hannipa Village (Yunnan), we can already see changes happening, such as increased self-organising capacities, rejuvenation of community spirit, and rekindling of love towards the home town and passion towards a new way of life. These are assets for the communities to cope with any future challenges. These communities are on their way to becoming dependable, pleasant and comfortable homes for their residents.

作者介绍 About the Author

张原

西南民族大学西南民族研究院副研究员，人类学博士，为社区伙伴“社区艺术行动研究”项目顾问。

Zhang Yuan

Associate Research Fellow at the Southwest China Institute of Ethnology of Southwest University for Nationalities. Doctor of Anthropology. Zhang is a consultant for PCD's Community Arts Action Research' project

成长，挣扎，觉醒

Growing Up, Struggling and Awakening

自给自足的寨子

关于“社区”，费孝通在《江村经济》中曾这样描述：它是足够小、然而有完整生活的社会单元：有特定的名称，有明确的疆界，居民们紧凑地生活在一起。在农村，社区通常是自然聚居的村庄，我们也叫它“寨子”。

“社区”虽然很小，内涵却很丰富。在或远或近的未来，村民的祖先聚居某处，与周围的环境相互改造和适应，慢慢打磨成今天的样子。在漫长的时间河流中，他们积淀出自己的历史和信仰，学习和创造了丰富的生活技能和知识；他们尽可能自给自足，与自然和谐相处；他们发展了自己的文化，并且代代传承。

Self-Sufficient Villages

In his book 'Peasant Life in China', renowned sociologist and anthropologist Fei Xiaotong describes 'community' as a social unit that is sufficiently small but satisfies all aspects of life. It has a specific name and a clear boundary. The life of people in the community is closely related to each other. In the rural area, communities are villages that develop naturally with people inhabiting the area. We call these communities 'stockaded villages'.

'Community' is small but rich in substance. In the distant and recent past, the villagers' ancestors inhabited a certain place. Both the ancestors and the environment changed and adapted to each other, slowly shaping the villages as we see them today. In the long

“社区”也是社会重要的基础单元。在中国广袤的田野，栖息着无数个大大小小的社区。它们以自己的价值观念、知识体系和行为模式，管理着河流、山川、森林、草场和土地，也在生长于斯的人身上打下不可磨灭的印迹。它们不仅经营着粮仓、牧场和菜园，也是牵系我们情感和心灵的“家园”与“故乡”。

因此，社区不仅与我们每个人的身心和生活有着千丝万缕的关系，社区的健康与活力也直接影响到整个社会的可持续运营与发展。

river of time, they have settled into their own history and faith. They have learned and created a wide array of life skills and knowledge. They did their best to be self-sufficient and lived in harmony with nature. They developed their own culture and passed it on to future generations.

Community is also an important basic unit in a society. In the vast expanse of fields in China lie countless communities of different sizes. With their distinctive values, knowledge and behaviour, they manage the rivers, mountains, forests, pastures and farmlands. They also leave indelible traces on those who are born and raised within them. They contain not only the tangible components of rural life such as granaries, grazing pastures and vegetable fields; they are also the homeland that holds our affection, hearts and minds.

Community is intricately related to our body and mind. Moreover, its health and vitality has a direct impact on the sustainable running and development of society as a whole.

Over the past decades, China, with a farming population of one billion, has been striving very hard to integrate into the global market. Communities are constantly changing but those changes have never been so fast, so vigorous. They are dragged into the current of development without the chance to think and judge – ancient crops are replaced by fast growing high yield crops; land and rivers are polluted by chemicals; some land is

过去数十年，拥有十亿农民的中国一直在奋力融入世界市场。对社区而言，尽管变化一直都在发生，但从未如此迅猛和剧烈，甚至来不及思索和判断，就被裹挟到巨大的时代洪流中：古老的品种被速生高产的作物取代，土地和河流被化学品污染，或者失耕荒芜；缤纷多彩的传统服饰被T恤和牛仔裤取代，附着在服饰之上的精巧工艺和文化内涵几乎被遗忘；年轻一代从小就离开村庄，到遥远的市镇求学或者打工，村寨迅速“空心化”，只剩下老人、妇女和儿童，因而被戏称为“993861”¹部队；神圣的节日逐渐失去原有的风采和意义，有些凋零，有些被开发，服务旅游者的猎奇、休闲和狂欢……

面对逆境的生存力量

在这场巨大的变革中，社区有时显得如此脆弱，传统的生活方式和价值观念，以及深藏其间的那些曾将人们世代凝聚在一起的结构与力量，在十年二十年间濒于瓦解。然而，事实又似乎不那么令人悲观——至少，在这集子里，我们读到贵州雀鸟和控拜的故事，在呈现整个农村社区面临的普遍危机中间，又给我们展示了一种潜藏着的希望：社区的内里，原来包裹着一些坚韧的东西，遇到合适的机缘，便会勃勃生发出一种自我修复和更新的力量，去积极守护和发展自己的家园。

1. 99 重阳节代表老人，38 妇女节代表妇女，61 儿童节代表儿童。

993861 represents Chong Yang Festival (the Double Ninth Festival) honouring old people on September 9, women on March 8 Women's day and children on June 1 Children's Day respectively

abandoned and left idle; colourful traditional clothing is replaced by T-shirts and jeans; delicate craftsmanship and the cultural weight of traditional crafts are almost forgotten; the young generation leaves the village when still small, studying or working in the distant towns; villages turn rapidly into 'empty nests', leaving behind the elderly, the women and the infants, 'earning' the nickname of '993861'¹; sacred festivals lose their glamour and meaning day by day, some fade away while others are degraded into adventures, leisure and revelries for tourists.

Resilience

At times, communities are weak in the face of these drastic changes. The traditional way of life and values, and the structure and strength that once bound the generations together, have been disintegrating over the past two decades. But the reality is not always that gloomy – in this compilation, we at least have the stories of Queniao and Kongbai, telling us of the crisis affecting rural communities and yet holding the seeds of hope. The community has kept something resilient that will, under suitable conditions, reveal a strength that can heal and renew the community to protect and develop the homeland.

雀鸟故事的写作者杨胜文，曾是我的同事。发起“重走迁徙路”活动，缘于一个很朴素的动机。还记得在贵州乡土文化社的一次规划会上，胜文第一次提出这个设想时说：“我想发动村里的年轻人，向老年人学习村寨的历史，了解我们这群人是怎么来的，怎么一步步走到今天。”他还说，虽然生在雀鸟，但大部分年轻人对村寨并不了解。

“很小的时候，我们是深深融入村寨的，而开始上学以后，我们就离开了村寨，读书的努力学习，但这些知识与村寨没有关系；没有读书的，就背井离乡去打工。总之，我们的目标，都是要离开村寨到城市去。”

我们很容易理解，这是社区的年轻一代，在城乡二元结构之下做出的普遍选择。而在迫于生计或者追逐理想的漂泊中，逢年过节的短暂探亲，隔三差五的电话问候，并不能满足他们内心对身份和文化认同的渴望，以及对社区的真诚关怀。假使有机会，他们愿意发展与社区更加紧密的联系；甚至，如果有空间，他们希望回家。



Yang Shengwen, author of the story of Queniao, was a colleague of mine. The initiative of 'Tracing the Route of Migration' started with an innocent motive. I remember we were in a planning meeting of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Culture in Guizhou. Shengwen put forward this idea, saying, "I want to mobilise the young people in the village to study our history from the elders, to find out how we have come to this place and day." He also said that most of the young people knew little about the village even though they were born there. "When we were small, our life was deeply merged with the village. At school age, we left the village. We studied hard but the knowledge had nothing to do with the village. Those who didn't go to school left their home and worked outside. In any case, our aim was leaving the village for the city."

We can understand this common choice of the young generation in a dual rural-urban structure. Wandering between livelihood and dream, they are lost in their self identity and cultural identity. The short festival trips back home and occasional good wishes on the phone cannot satisfy their quest for identity and their sincere care for their community. If there is a chance, they are willing to develop a closer connection with the community. They even want to return home if there is the opportunity.

To the young people in Queniao, 'Tracing the Route of Migration' is a journey of cultural awakening and root-searching. Their story not only tells how the young people built a new

“重走迁徙路”是雀鸟年轻人的一次文化自醒与寻根之旅。而这个故事呈现给我们的，不仅仅是社区的年轻人透过对村寨历史的学习，获得重新认识社区的视角。它还如同滴落的水珠，在社区荡起一圈圈涟漪：年轻人的行动，唤起了社区的长者和妇女，那些因为不懂得外面世界而被视为落伍的人们，对自己和社区的信心；也多多少少引发了一些因时代的剧烈变迁而迷惑和盲目的人们的反思：我们到底需要怎样的生活？

在控拜，因为拥有精湛的银饰锻造技艺，人们纷纷离开村寨，迁到城市或者集镇以求更加靠近市场，控拜也因此成为雷山县最早也最著名的“空心村”，很多房屋十多年无人居住，不少土地无人耕作。对社区而言，更深刻的危机则如故事中所揭示的，传统的社区治理结构，因为“活路头”制度在农业技术的变迁中消亡而打破，失去平衡，几乎导致社区的冲突与分裂。

幸而我们看到，控拜村民拥有对社区的集体记忆，这些记忆体现在对鼓藏节的重视，对家谱的梳理与铭记，以及对村寨曾经的团结与荣光的珍惜。当这些集体记忆被激活，社区的年轻人便开始了自觉行动，以自己独有的方式，巧妙结合了旧有的结构与新的治理方式，将社区重新凝聚在一起。

perspective to understand their community through their study of its history; their action was also like a raindrop, spreading ripples in the community. For the village women and elderly, who used to think that they were backward, knowing little about the outside world, the youngsters' action revived their confidence in themselves and the community. For those who are lost and have submitted to the drastic changes, the youngsters' action makes them ask "What kind of life do we need after all?"

In Kongbai, people with sophisticated skills in silver craftsmanship leave the village to get closer to the market in the cities or towns. It therefore became the earliest and most famous 'empty nest' in Leishan County. Many houses have been left vacant for a decade, and farmland was not tilled. The most profound crisis confronting the community, as our story reveals, is the dismantling of the traditional governance structure. The end of the 'Farming Head' system amidst the change of agricultural technology has disrupted the balance of power, almost leading to community conflicts and disintegration.

Fortunately, we see that the villagers of Kongbai have a collective memory of their community. It manifests itself in the importance they place on the Drum Festival, in the compilation and remembrance of their family tree, and in how they treasure the past solidarity and glory of the village. When these collective memories are activated, the young people, in their unique way, take action to ingeniously blend the new governance system with the old structure. The community is re-united.

社区的觉醒

两个故事给我很多启发。作为发展项目，“重走迁徙路”和“控拜社区文化集体记忆及社区为本调查”，跟大多数生计改善、或者卫生、教育的项目相比，有那么一点非主流，因为看不到很物化的产出。而它们对社区，同样有很积极的贡献。

两个项目的共同点，是触及了社区文化的深层面，并致力于激发社区成员的自醒自觉。说到文化，我们常常会觉得“虚”，或者简单化地理解为一些物化的东西，而雀鸟和控拜的实践，开拓了我们对于看待社区及其发展的新维度：每个社区都潜藏着不易摧折的核心价值、结构和力量，等待发展工作者和社区的人们一起去发掘和运用。这一过程，也许就是费孝通先生常说的“文化自觉”。

社区的自觉，往往从某个成员或者某个群体的自觉开始。雀鸟和控拜的故事中，社区年轻人是最为活跃的因子，他们像一粒粒饱满的种子，等待季节，随时萌生。

Community awakening

I am inspired by these two stories. As development projects, 'Tracing the Route of Migration' and 'Kongbai Collective Memory and Community-based Study Project' are not typical mainstream efforts like the majority of our livelihood improvement, health and education projects. There is no tangible output, but the projects contribute greatly to the community.

The two projects share one thing in common: both touch upon the core of community culture and aim at arousing community awakening. We often think of community culture as something abstract or see only its physical expression. The actions in Queniao and Kongbai reveal to us a new perspective on community and its development – every community has its latent core values, structure and strengths that cannot easily be destroyed. They are there waiting for development workers and community members to uncover and use them. This process is probably what Fei Xiaotong describes as 'cultural awakening'.

Very often, community awakening starts with the awakening of individuals or groups. In the stories of Queniao and Kongbai, the young people are the most active in the community. They are like ripe seeds. When the right season comes, they will sprout.

当然，这个过程并非坦途，相反，它一定是曲折的，经由各种困难和挑战。雀鸟故事的作者杨胜文，在写完这个故事后，不得不告别他热爱的发展工作，去考公务员。早年，贵州乡土文化社与社区伙伴合作，培养“文化反思与可持续生活青年实习生”，企望为社区的年轻人提供“自觉”的土壤，企望他们的自觉，能够给社区带去“自觉”的契机。胜文的离开，看上去是个体的选择，而在这个选择的背后，我看到各种现实的挤压。这些挤压，并不仅仅是草根发展机构的低薪、欠保障、无地位，而是整个社会对年轻人，尤其是农村出身的年轻人的挤压。从某种程度上看，胜文的故事，也折射出社区的困境。

自然，他们心中的种子发了芽，无论身在何处，都会长在绿荫。我相信。

This process is not, however, a smooth one. On the contrary, it is bound to be a winding road with difficulties and challenges. Yang Shengwen, after writing the story of Queniao, took a job in the civil service, bidding farewell to the development work about which he was so passionate. In the early years, Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Culture in Guizhou and PCD worked together to nurture the young interns on cultural reflection and sustainable living. It hoped to provide the young people with the soil for self awakening, thereby opening up the opportunity for community awakening. Shengwen's departure seems to be a personal choice. But behind the choice, we can see how a person is squeezed by life's realities. It is not just about the low salary, job insecurity and low status in grassroot development organisations. It is society's tight grip on young people, particularly those from the village. To a certain extent, the story of Shengwen reflects this difficult situation for the community.

Once the seeds in their heart sprout, they will naturally grow into shade-throwing trees wherever the young people go. I believe so.

作者介绍

About the Author

李丽

贵州日报记者，二〇〇三年一个偶然机会，开始涉足贵州农村发展工作。二〇〇八年创立“贵州乡土文化社”，致力推动本土文化传承和发展，尝试从手工艺、戏剧等不同切入点，协助少数民族社区重新认识自己文化的价值，并在当下和未来的生活中继续实现多样化的功能。青年人培养是文化社重要的工作领域，机构早期目标是为 NGO 培养后备人才，目前致力于支持乡村青年的文化自觉与社区行动，帮助少数民族年轻一代扎根社区，凝聚社区，善用本地资源和技能，同时拥有广阔视野，与社区一起探索符合本地价值观和生态友善的发展道路。

Li Li

A journalist at Guizhou Daily, Li Li became involved in rural development of Guizhou in 2003. She founded the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Culture in Guizhou in 2008, with the aim of promoting inheritance and development of indigenous cultures. Experimenting with methods such as handicrafts and drama, the Centre helps ethnic minority communities rediscover their cultural values, so that these values will continue to play multiple roles in their life, in both the present and the future. A key focus of the Centre's work is youth development, and an early objective of the organisation was to groom young talents for work in NGOs. Currently the Centre is supporting rural youths in building cultural awareness and engaging in social actions. By helping the younger generations of ethnic minorities put down roots in their communities, building social cohesion, making good use of local resources and capacities, and having a broad vision, the Centre explores a pathway to the future with the communities which both benefits local values and is ecologically friendly.

社区的力量

Community Strength

最早的社区是人们自愿走在一起居住，顺着自然环境，慢慢打磨社区独特的文化。今天中国农村经历重大变化，但似乎有一只神秘的手把社区成员再度牵引在一起。这背后是什么内在力量启动社区自我保护体系来应对生存的变化？是共同流动的热血，还是对家、对土地一份敬虔的爱？

The earliest communities were formed by people who came together voluntarily to live in the same area. Each community evolves its own unique culture in response to the local conditions and natural environment. Although rural communities in China have undergone dramatic changes in recent times, a mysterious hand helps to bind community members together. What is this inner force that triggers a community's innate mechanism for coping with change? Is it the filial bond formed by the ties of kin, or the love of home and land?



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玖农村的故事
The Story of Jiunong Village



p58.

我们是一家人
We are one family



p76.

我们的家乡孝儿镇
Our hometown, Xiao'er Town



p106.

拼出来的情意
Patchwork of Affection



玖农村的故事

The Story of Jiunong Village

在藏区，人们对自然环境的敬畏是与生俱来的，在主流文化冲击下，这些文化特质依然在血液里流动，牵引着一群藏传佛教居士，自我延伸传统社区组织的社会功能，与村民重建祖辈的生活方式。跟不上现代化的步伐，对社区来说未必不是一种祝福。

In Tibetan areas, people are raised with a sense of respect and awe for nature. Under the impact of mainstream culture, these cultural traits are still in the blood, leading a group of Buddhist householders to reviving their ancestors' way of life with local villagers.

This is a story of how tradition organisation extends its social function. Falling behind the steps of modernisation may be a blessing to the community after all .

承载历史重任的居士

Buddhist householders: bearers of historical responsibility

玖农村是云南省德钦县江坡行政村的一个村民小组，有一百二十多人，二十二户人家，全是藏族。“玖农”是藏语，其意是铁矿箐里的村庄。

在慢长的历史长河中，玖农村形成了适合自身的社会、文化、经济特点，这其中至关重要的是村里特有的居士文化。在玖农村，居士不是一种个人行为，也不是藏传佛教信仰的一种表现，而是玖农村的一种生活方式。

这些居士中有一位年轻的居士，他名叫斯南尼玛。他自两岁起便与母亲相依为命，懂事的他不愿看到母亲如此的辛苦，从学校逃回了家，与母亲一同担起繁重的劳动。其实学习是

Jiunong Village is a settlement of 22 families comprising more than 120 people, all of whom are Tibetans. It lies in Jiangpo Administrative Village in Deqin County, Yunnan Province. Jiunong is a Tibetan name meaning a village in the iron ore valley.

Over the long course of history, Jiunong Village has developed social, cultural and economic characteristics that fit its existence. The most important of all is its Buddhist householder way of life.

Among the villagers is a young Buddhist householder called Sonam Nyima. At the age of two, he and his mother were the only ones

斯南尼玛最喜欢的事情，他开始跟村里的老一辈居士学习藏族古老的文化。这些学习对那个时期的他而言只是一种知识的学习，并非心灵的感悟。真正从那些知识产生心灵感悟的起点是从九十年代村里和邻村争抢山林开始的。

in the family. He was a sensitive child. He did not want his mother to work so hard. He quit school and shared the heavy work with his mother. He also started to study ancient Tibetan culture from a senior Buddhist householder. At that time, it was not a spiritual awareness but purely a kind of knowledge to him. The spiritual awareness came in the 1990s when Jiunong Village fought over the forest with the neighbouring village.



从争山抢林到心灵感悟

Spiritual awareness out of the scramble for the forest

以前像虫草、松茸等林副产品并不值多少钱，一九八六年前后，日本从中国大量输入松茸，人们知道了那个无人问津的松茸可以改变自己的生活。因为玖农村划到的山林中长虫草和松茸的林地很少，玖农村民便到隔壁村的山林中采松茸。随着松茸和虫草价格的不断攀升，这些山林资源成了人们最为重要的经济来源，到九十年代中期，有松茸资源的村子开始限制或拒绝其他村子到自己的山林中采集。

玖农隔壁村也开始控制自己的山林资源，于是与玖农发生了纠纷，从开始的争吵发展到后来的械斗，特别是村里的年轻人为了玖农的利益几乎都加入到了这场纠纷中。一直闹了四五年，直到昌都然迺活佛的一场讲经法会让许多

Around 1986, the Japanese were buying matsutake from China in huge quantities. People realised that the long-neglected matsutake could change their lives. This forest resource turned into their most important source of income. In the mid-90s, villages with matsutake started to restrict or forbid people in other villages from collecting in their forest.

Neighbouring villages of Jiunong did the same, and disputes erupted with Jiunong. The disputes ended up in armed fights. The young villagers, in particular, joined the fight to protect the interests of Jiunong. It was not until a sermon was given by the Living Buddha from Chang Du region that many of

参与这场纠纷的人心里感觉不安了，其中斯南尼玛也深深有了感悟，他说：“祸根在于人无止境的贪欲，贪欲让人们迷失了生活的意义，其实即使是天天喝稀饭，只要心安理得也可以让人舒心的过一辈子。”此后，斯南尼玛开始劝导周围的乡亲从纠纷中出来。

发自内心的改变是看得见的，几年后玖农与隔壁村又回到了以往友好和睦的景况中。这中间还发生了一件特别重要的事情。

those who had been fighting started to feel uneasy. Sonam Nyima was one of those who became enlightened. He said, "The root of the problem is our insatiable greed. We have lost sight of the meaning of life. Actually, even if congee is the only food for each meal, we can live with peace of mind if we feel contented and at ease." Sonam Nyima then started to talk to other villagers to stop them from fighting.

This change of heart saw a revival of Jiunong's friendly relations with its neighbours a few years later. Meanwhile, there was another event of special significance.



重建失落的藏文化 Reviving the once-lost Tibetan culture

那是二〇〇五年，德钦卡瓦格博文化社¹（简称文化社）与社区伙伴在德钦许多村子开展可持续生活探索的项目，以传统文化的反思和恢复为基础，推动社区思考和探索適切当地文化和环境的生活模式，当中一个重要活动是藏语文培训班。能在夜校里学习自己民族的文字，这让玖农的村民非常羡慕。于是在文化社和社区伙伴的帮助下，斯南尼玛与从西藏学成归来的格能师傅和村里的几个居士一起把玖农村及附近几个村子组织起来，开起了藏文夜校，运用自己过去学到的知识给村里的乡亲授课。

在夜校里除了给村民教授文字课外，还教有关村里神山的经文、传统寓言故事、格言故事等方面的内容。大多数教材以朗朗上口的藏族传统诗歌“说唱体”形式，通过唱诵的方式学习，用通俗易懂的内容告诫人们做人做事的道理。

It was 2005. Deqin Kawagebo Culture Society and PCD ran Tibetan language evening training schools and other activities in a number of villages in Deqin. The activities were aimed at the conservation of traditional Tibetan culture. With the assistance of Kawagebo Culture Society¹ and PCD, Sonam Nyima, teacher Genie who has studied in Tibet, and several Buddhist householders in the village mobilised Jiunong and its neighbouring villages to run evening Tibetan language schools. They taught the villagers what they had learned.

One teaching resource was a textbook edited by Sonam Nyima and other householders. It was a collection of Tibetan folklore. We heard that when the villagers learned about the 'Story of the Monkeys and Birds', their attitude

其中有一本课本是斯南尼玛与村里的居士们共同编写的，内容由许多藏族传统故事编辑而成。据说当村民们在夜校里学习了其中的《猴鸟故事》后，村民间对因山林问题发生的纠纷产生了很大的影响。

这篇寓言故事讲述了在一座大山上，猴子、鸟类和各种野兽本来各有各的居住地，大家和平快乐的生活着。但后来，有几只顽皮的猴子无故入侵了鸟类的草坪，在那里吃喝玩乐。百鸟见了，便派白松鸡到猴子那里进行交涉，抗议他们的入侵。不料猴子却不讲道理，也派出代表进行狡辩，因而使纠纷更加扩大。鸟类为了保卫领土，又派出了鹦鹉、白松鸡向猴子提出警告：“要是不讲道理，就以武力解决。”猴子表面强硬，内心却十分畏惧，便请兔子和公鸡出面调解。最后，达成了鸟类让出了三分之一的草地给猴子，而鸟类在猴子的领地，即树林中栖息和觅食的交换条件。从此，它们各守领地，相安无事。

这篇寓言故事语言通俗易懂，村民很喜欢更重要的是由于它反映了藏族人民热爱家园与和平的传统观念。

村民们在夜校学习藏文的同时，还与邻近几个村的村民组织起制作和学习传统乐器弦子和锅庄。弦子在德钦藏族中是一种比较常见的乐器和歌舞形式，但村里几乎没有真正能够制作和进行完整表演的人，特别是八〇后的年轻人几乎不会一首完整的曲目。村民花了一年的时间来学习和完成弦子的制作。第二年，各自然村的村民开始收集整理传统弦子和锅庄的曲目和词曲，收集好后再在夜校里共同学习，为了让这些收集和整理出来的曲目广为人知，第三年起各自然村组织起了自己的弦子队不定到各自然村之间进行交流比赛。

towards the disputes arising from the forest resources changed substantially.

The fable talks about the monkeys, birds and other animals living happily in their own places on a large mountain. One day, a couple of naughty monkeys invaded the grassland of the birds, and entertained themselves on it. The birds were upset and sent White Grouse to negotiate with the monkeys and protest against their occupation. However, the monkeys had no intention of reasoning things out. Instead, they sent their representative to defend themselves. The dispute grew. To protect their territory, the birds sent Parrot and White Grouse to convey their warning to the monkeys: "Reason or Fight". The monkeys looked tough but were scared at heart. They invited Rabbit and Rooster to be mediators. In the end, an agreement was made – the birds offered one third of the grassland to the monkeys; in return the birds could rest and feed in the forest, the monkeys' territory. They kept their own territory and lived peacefully ever after.

The fable was written in simple language. The villagers could easily understand the story and they liked it. More importantly, it expressed the traditional value of the Tibetans – upholding the truth and peace loving.

In addition to learning Tibetan language, the villagers of Jiunong and their neighbours initiated the making and learning of the

1. “卡瓦格博文化社”是德钦县一个民间组织，致力于传播藏族优秀传统文化，保护本地区特有的生态和文化环境。
Kawagebo Cultural Society is an NGO in Deqin County, committed to the promotion of Tibetan traditional culture, and the conservation of the distinct local ecology and culture.

弦子歌词内容大都涉及人类的起源、人与自然的关系、歌颂宇宙的形成，讲述宗教的起源、歌颂山神的福泽、赞美村庄环境、道德观念等等，歌词中蕴涵很深的哲理和史实，包含了大量的传统知识，和朴素的民间环保思想。同时，弦子的表现形式则为人们提供了一个实现传统伦理教育、传统知识教育、相互学习的一个重要场所，让人们在娱乐的同时感悟大自然、感悟人生、认识身边的环境与自己的关系。更为重要的是在这个场合对于实现民间艺术的传承、建立村民正确的伦理道德观、文化保护意识具有十分重要的意义。

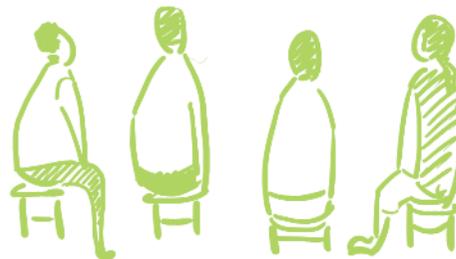
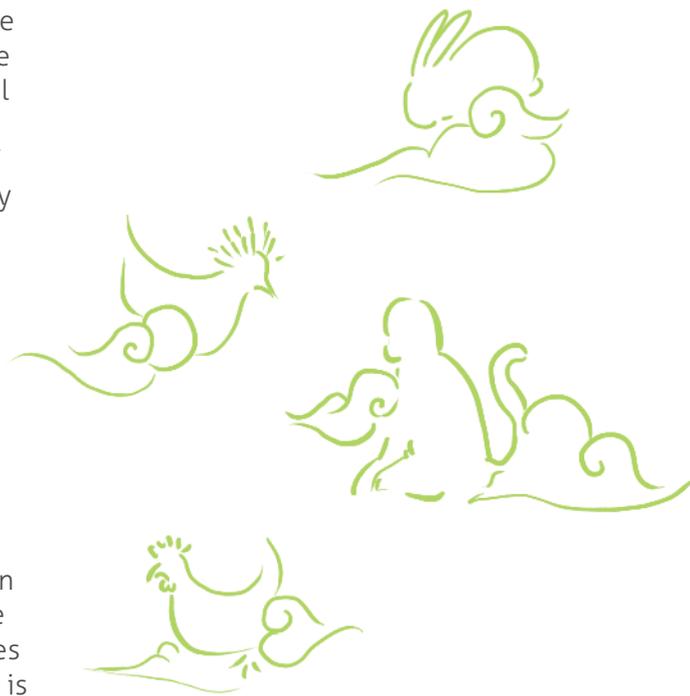
看似简单而随意的夜校，居士和村民们共同开展的活动其实对传统文化保护、文化重建有着非常重要的意义。一九五〇年以前，玖农所在的德钦县能够学习藏文的大都是出家的僧人（僧人的比例占总人口的百分之十以上）和富裕家庭的子弟，而普通老百姓很少获得正式学习的机会。一九五〇年以后，尽管国家按民族政策也有藏汉双语教育的内容，但藏语文普及依然非常薄弱；另一方面，与外界交流的语言大都是汉语，因此很多人认为学好汉语更重要；而因为缺乏用本民族语言或文字记录的东西，只能透过收看主流媒体的汉文节目来达到娱乐、学习汉语和外部世界文化的目的。主流文化的影响下，孩子们失去了许多吸收本土文化营养的机会，使本土文化边缘化。对于文化保护、生态保护和重建而言，如果本土语言被其他语言所取代，诸如用藏语言为表达方式的祭祀神山、朝拜神山等许多与生态保护有密切关系的诸多文化必将不能用自己的方式生动的表达出来。

traditional three-string *xianzi* and circle dance. *xianzi* is a common musical instrument and dance style among the Tibetans in Deqin. But nobody could really make the instrument and perform the whole piece. The villagers spent a year learning and making the instrument. In the following year, villagers started to compile the songs and lyrics of *xianzi* and circle dance. They then brought the compilation to the evening classes for learning. They hoped to promote the musical pieces and that in the third year, each natural village would form their own *xianzi* group joining inter-village contests.

The lyrics of *xianzi* are mostly about the origin of the people and their religion, their relationship with nature, the universe, and the mountain god, praise of the village landscape, moral values, and so forth. It embodies profound philosophy and traditional facts. It also contains much traditional knowledge and simple folk wisdom for protecting the environment. The style of *xianzi* is entertaining and at the same time leads us to be aware of nature and life, and understand how the environment relates to us.

The evening schools appeared simple and spontaneous, but actually the activities organised by the householders and villagers were very important for the conservation and revival of traditional culture. Prior to 1950, monks (comprising more than 10% of the population) and children from rich

families were the only people in Deqin who had the chance to learn Tibetan. It was rare for ordinary villagers to learn the language formally. After 1950 even though bilingual education is included in official policies regarding ethnic groups, the promotion of Tibetan is minimal. At the same time, many people regard Chinese language as more important because it is the main medium of communication with the outside world in the course of economic development. Moreover, there is not much audio-visual material produced in Tibetan. People can only meet their needs of entertainment, learning Chinese and learning the culture of the outside world from the Chinese programmes in the mainstream media. Influenced by mainstream culture, children do not have much opportunity to immerse themselves in local culture, which becomes further marginalised. If the local language is replaced by another language, many cultural traditions that bear a close relationship with environmental conservation, such as worshipping and offering ceremonial sacrifice to the holy mountain, cannot be vividly articulated.



现代与传统的脚步

Footsteps of the 'modern' and the 'traditional'

玖农人的脚步似乎永远跟不上山外的变化和趋势，当八十年代以来人们把使用化肥、农药、能用上方便的塑料袋、穿上化纤制品、吃上各种袋装食品、住上更大的房子、看上彩色电视、生病可上医院作为一种可以看得到的最一般的现代生活的标准时，玖农人还没有能力改变过去简单而依附自然的生活。当他们通过艰辛的努力去实现这些的时候，发现他们的农田因为化肥和农药变得板结；各种塑料袋随处可见，他们听说这是白色垃圾会污染环境；那些化纤制品据说大都是伪劣产品；那些袋装食品则是垃圾食品，有的是由地沟油制成的……他们追求的先进似乎在一夕之间都被否定，这种结果让他们很茫然。茫然归茫然，生活依然要继续，可选择的路只剩下一条，就是自己应该怎么面对这一切。

It seems that the villagers in Jiunong can never catch up with the changes and trends on the other side of the mountain. When they made an effort to modernise, they found that their fields became hardened from the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Plastic bags littered the villages. The result refuted their dream of 'advancement' overnight. The villagers were at a loss.

In 1992, the villagers heard the first warning to restrain their use of natural resources after a landslide on the Ghajun Range. The north face of Ghajun was originally covered by natural forest. Villagers felled the trees for buildings and fuel. They tried to figure out the cause of the landslide. They concluded that, in violation of the traditional code, they had angered the holy mountain by their logging

一九九二年村里噶窘山脉的一场山体滑坡第一次警示玖农村民要节制对资源的利用。整个噶窘山脉的北面全是原始森林，是玖农村民建房木材和生活薪柴的采伐地。村里人开始寻找滑坡的原因，大家都认为这是村里违反了传统上对神山的规矩，因砍伐噶窘山脉的木材引发了神山的怨恨和愤怒。为了防止神山更大的愤怒，一九九三年，通过玖农全体村民的讨论，按传统上的规矩定立了新的村规民约，把噶窘神山周围的林地划为“松日”，即“守护山”，并划定了一条封山线“日寡”。由于这是传统上就有的习惯，再经过了村民一致决定的，此后得到了村民很好的遵守，二十年后的今天，要不是村民告诉我们那里曾经发生过山体滑坡，那片山体滑坡的伤疤已经没有了踪影，只见长满茂密的云南松和各种植物。

但玖农周围的森林并不都能像噶窘神山那样及时得到保护，追赶发展的脚步没有因为山体滑坡而放慢。二〇〇五年七月的一天，安静的玖农河谷被突然响彻山谷的隆隆声惊醒，只见裹挟着巨石、泥沙的山洪从玖农河源头像条巨龙奔涌而下，这股泥石流顷刻间冲毁了七百多米的引水渠、两百多米围墙、四百多米输电线和沿途的一些农田。惊魂未定的村民，第一反映是“这是山神的惩罚，一定有人若怒了山神。”

on Ghajun. In a village meeting in 1993, the villagers resolved to institute a new local code on the basis of the traditional practice. Under the new code, the forest area around Ghajun Holy Mountain was designated as "song ri" (protector mountain). An off-limit line, "ri gua" was drawn. This was nothing new as it was part of their tradition. It was unanimously agreed in the meeting, and the code has been well followed by the villagers.

However, not all the forests around Jiunong were protected like the Ghajun Holy Mountain. The strides of development did not slow down because of the landslide. One day, in July 2005, the quiet village woke up to a thundering roar. In seconds, a rockslip destroyed a 700 metre-long aqueduct, 200 metre-long wall, 400 metre-long power lines and dozens of fields along its course. The first thought that came to the mind of the still badly shaken villagers was that "this is punishment from the Mountain God; somebody must have angered the Mountain God."

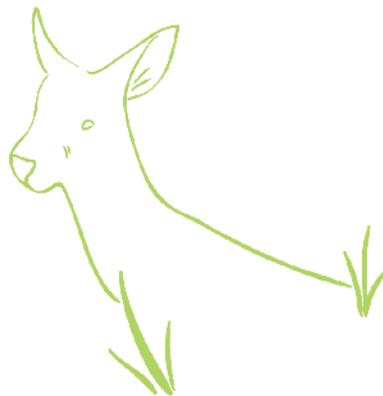
究竟是谁若怒了山神，这是一个心照不宣的事情，也许每个人都有份。但这场村里人有生以来从未见过的灾难开始真正让人们从内心反思。

离神山最近的牧人开始谈论山里的动植物，他们说这二十来年有许多动植物几乎已经看不到了，特别是那些可以卖钱的；而在八〇后、九〇后青年们的印象中，像獐子、豹子等动物只是爷爷、奶奶口中的传说，并不曾亲眼见过或看到过有人穿了豹皮镶边的藏袍；每年砍伐垫圈栎树枝叶和薪柴的村民，觉得采伐地离村越来越远；土地里的庄稼长势不好；许多农活年轻人已经不会干了；村里生病的人越来越多……

许多变化在不经意间产生，村民生活变得愈来愈脆弱。外界的帮助固然重要，但所有的一切还是必须通过自己来改变，让生活回到正轨。村民开始从摸得到、看得见的问题入手。

Who had angered the Mountain God? It was something unspoken in the village. Perhaps everyone in it had. In any case, the villagers were led to think deeply about this unprecedented disaster.

Inadvertently, the village was undergoing many changes. The village life became more and more fragile. External assistance was important but it was up to them to bring their lives back on track. The villagers started with the tangible problems around them.



恢复祖辈生活理念

Revive the life philosophy of the ancestors

二〇〇九年在社区伙伴的协作下，玖农村开展了一个名叫“健康漫步”的活动。对于玖农乃至大多数藏族人来说，垃圾就是那些可以再回到农田中作为肥料的东西，并没有白色垃圾的概念，也没有垃圾污染环境的概念。在藏族人家，二楼堂屋里所产生的垃圾在扫地的时候都被扫到门背后的小孔落到了一楼畜圈，那些垃圾最后与垫在畜圈里的树叶和牲畜粪便经过堆肥发酵，最后被作为农家肥回到庄稼地里。

过去那些被扫到畜圈里的垃圾可能是瓜子皮、果皮、灰尘等，后来便有了糖皮、方便面袋子、各种袋装食品的塑料袋，当这些塑料袋被作为肥料施入农田后，村民发现土地并不吸收它。村民大面积使用地膜种植早熟作物后，发现那些留在农田里的地膜会让土质板结，山林牧场上的塑料袋则影响牧草长势和牲口的健康。“健康漫步”活动便从垃圾的分类、捡拾、处理开始让村民认识垃圾的问题。

In 2009, Kawagebo Culture Society organised a health walk in Jiunong Village. To the villagers and most of the Tibetans, 'garbage' meant material that finds its way back to the fields as fertiliser. They did not have the idea of the waste polluting the environment. In Tibetan households, the garbage in the living room on the first floor was swept down to the livestock pen on the ground floor through a hole behind the door. The garbage fermented together with the leaves and manure in the pen and was finally used as compost in the field.

In the past, what went into the pen were likely the melon seed skin, fruit peel and dust. Later, candy wrappers, instant noodle packets and other plastic packaging went into it. The villagers found that the soil did not absorb the plastic packets after they applied the compost. Mulching film was used on a large area for early-ripening crops. It was found that when the film was left

认识垃圾的活动不仅在村庄里进行，也在山林牧场中进行。斯南尼玛和村里的同伴还拍了一部有关这个活动的纪录片《东通的垃圾处理》。片子记录了东通牧场由于挖虫草、旅游、转经的来入太多，这些人留在牧场上的啤酒瓶、塑料袋、饮料瓶随处可见，严重影响了牧草的自然更新，因此村里的青年团员组织起来上山捡拾垃圾并进行填埋处理。据说这个片子在村中放映时引起了很大的反响，东通牧场其实是周围几个村共同使用的地方，除了作为牧场外，其实它还是周围几个村子共同捡拾虫草的地方，看到片子中牧草稀疏，垃圾充斥的牧场，老人们问那个绿草如茵的牧场怎么变成了那般模样，场上的牛吃什么？年轻人担心不知道东通的虫草还有几年可捡。

“健康漫步”活动中的另一个行动是调查身边的濒危植物。其中有个牧人专门调查了牧场上的一种植物——雪莲花。一九八五年以前，雪莲花在高山牧场是一种常见的植物，但现在要在牧场上找一朵雪莲花就要花一点工夫。牧人对雪莲花在牧场逐渐减少的原因做了详细调查，原来一株雪莲花十五六年才开花结籽，但人们七月份一开花就提早把它采去卖。其实传统上藏医在采集雪莲花时都是等到九月份种子成熟后再采的，那个时候既有了繁育新雪莲花的种子，剩下的植株和根与开花时的药性是一样的。

这个活动的目的并不是进行简单的种类和数据的统计，而是分析现代生活观念带来的冲击，逐步复苏祖辈的生活理念和一些比较好的生活方式。

on the field, the soil would harden. The plastic bags in the pasture affected the growth of forage grass and the health of draught animals. health walk approached the issue with the teaching of garbage separation, collection and treatment.

The activity was held in the village, forests and pastures. Sonam Nyima and his fellow villagers also produced a documentary of the activity, "Garbage Treatment in Dongtong". It recorded the problem of the beer bottles, plastic bags and other drinks bottles left by the large number of people going to Dongtong pasture digging caterpillar fungus, touring or circumambulating. The garbage seriously affected the natural growth of the forage grass. A group of young villagers organised a trip to the mountain, collected the garbage and landfilled it. I heard that the documentary made a big impact when it was shown in the village. Dongtong pasture was actually shared by several neighbouring villages. It was a place for grazing as well as gathering caterpillar fungus. Seeing a pasture with sparse grass and dense garbage, the old villagers asked what had happened to it. What could the cattle eat? The young ones were worried how much longer the caterpillar fungus could last.

The aim of the activity was not a simple account of the types and statistics of the garbage. The activity was aimed at analysing the challenge posed by the values of modern life and then, step by step, reviving the philosophy of the ancestors and a better way of life.

遇见传说中的野生动物

An encounter with the legendary wild animals

二〇一一年，因为牧放于山林中的牲畜经常被偷猎，村里的牧人和年轻人组织起来开展了巡山活动。在玖农山林中每年都有大量捕捉野兽的铁丝扣子，村里每年大约有五六头的牲畜被这些扣子所伤害。损失一头大牲畜按目前的市场价看就是五千至八千元人民币的损失，对一个家庭而言是一笔不小的损失。

巡山活动刚开始的时候，许多年轻人认为他们可能是白费力气，但村民们还是抱着试试看心理。年轻人和牧人开始不定期的分组巡山，在巡山的过程中他们不但解下安放于山林中的扣子，还观察山林中野生动物出没的环境和规律。两年后他们发现村里牲畜受到的伤害减少了许多，而且收缴上来的扣子数量减少了

Livestock grazed in the forest were often stolen. Besides, large numbers of wire traps were laid in the forest by outsiders to catch wild life, causing injuries to about five to six domestic animals each year. At market price, it means a loss of 5000 to 8000 yuan for one big animal: quite a significant loss to the family. As a result, in 2011, the herdsmen and young villagers started to patrol the forest.

At first, many of the young ones thought that it could be a waste of energy. But they still wanted to give it a try. The young villagers and herdsmen formed into groups and patrolled the mountain on an irregular basis. While on duty, they dismantled the traps. They also observed the environment and life pattern of the wild animals in the forest. What amazed them was that they saw many animals that they previously only knew from the legends told by the grandparents. The

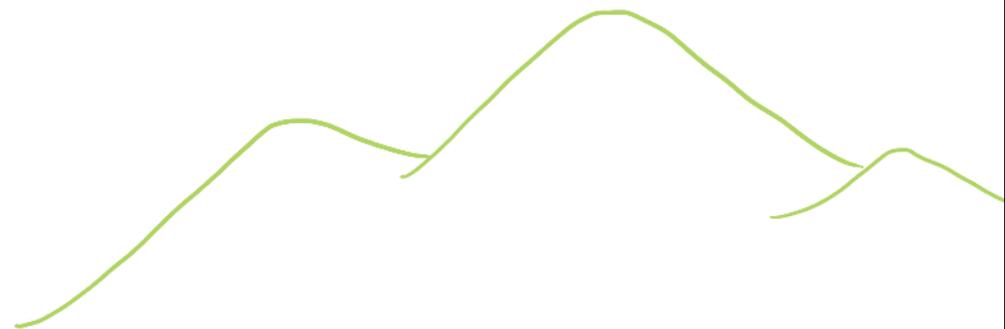
许多。更为惊人的发现是村民看到了许多只有爷爷奶奶传说中的动物。村民利用野外远红外摄像机观察山林，终于看到了传说中玖农山林中的动物，例如黑熊、水鹿、列羚、獐子、狐狸等动物，村民说：“哦，本来以为只是老人们随便讲的，没想到我们山上还真有这些动物，原来它们都躲起来了，看来我们的巡山还是有意义的。”

这个活动的初衷原本是要减少猎扣对家畜的伤害，但它所起的效果则远远不止于此，对玖农乃至周围大片山林中的野生动物所带来的福音那是可以想见的。



villagers surveyed the forest with infra-red video camera and finally saw the legendary animals of moon bear, sambar, lechwe, musk deer and fox. The villagers said, "I used to think that the elders just told about these animals as a story. I didn't expect that they really live on our mountain. They are actually here in hiding. Our patrol has its use after all."

The original idea of the activity was to reduce the injuries to livestock caused by the hunting traps, but the result went far beyond this. One can imagine the blessing on the wild animals in the vast span of forest in and around Jiunong.



敬畏自然的农耕方法

Farming methods that embrace respect and debt to nature

同年，玖农村在社区伙伴的帮助下开始开展生态农业建设。乍一听到生态农业几个字，村民以为要搞什么高科技种庄稼的方法。但当告诉他们庄稼地里不施农药化肥，大家立刻明白了。

其实，村里大多数村民，主要粮食作物荞麦、青稞、小麦、玉米等基本还是用传统的方式种植，所需的大量农家肥是在每年冬季十一月时上山采集阔叶树枝垫在畜圈中，第二年十一月份从畜圈中运出经过堆肥发酵后施入农田。庄稼的种植方法也是按传统方式栽种，所以当知道生态农业就是自己一直在运用的方法后，大家并不觉得难，难的是一直被大家认可和追求的东西——那些化肥、农药，现在却有危害的这个观念。

在二〇一一年开始之初，村里大多数家庭还是以观望的态度对待生态农业，只是象征性的每户试种了两亩左右，但当看到按生态农业要求种植的庄稼收成和土地肥力的变化后，村民

In the same year, with assistance from PCD, Jiunong took up eco-agriculture. Most villagers were still growing the staple crops of buckwheat, highland barley, wheat and corn, using traditional farming methods. Every November the villagers collect branches and leaves to make stall bedding, which is composted for fertilisers the following year. Crops are planted in the traditional way. In this context the eco-agriculture methods were not a challenge for the villagers. However, it has been harder for them to accept the fact that the chemical fertilisers and pesticides which they were encouraged to use in the past are in fact hazardous to health and the environment.

When the project was launched in 2011, most of the families adopted the wait-and-see attitude. As a gesture, each family trialled with just 2 *mu* of land (about 1,330m²). Later

的行动有了改变。同时村民渐渐发现生态农业其实与自己信仰的佛教有深厚的关联 – 不用化肥就不会伤及无处不在的鲁神²，不会给鲁神带来污秽，也不会伤害大地的精气“聚”；不使用农药就不用为了肚子问题去杀生。因此在这样的文化观念下，二〇一三年，玖农的生态农业建设中，大多数家庭几乎拿出四分之三的土地来做生态农业的农作物种植。

短短几年中，在玖农村的居士和村民共同努力下，做了许多如上所述的事情来面对正在发生和将要发生的生存危机。所有的这些事情，看起来要有一个需要耐心和等待的过程，但相信经过时间沉淀的东西一定可以持久和经受考验，更何况藏族人的文化中本身就有这些东西，只是需要一些时间去重建，村民们明白玖农人的幸福是在自己手里。



when they saw the difference in the harvest and soil fertility in the farms that followed the eco-agricultural principles, they changed their mind. At the same time, they came to realise that eco-agriculture has a deep connection with their Buddhist faith. Avoiding chemical fertilisers means avoiding bringing harm and filth to the omnipresent Rain God². It also avoids disrupting the *qi* (life force) of Nature. Not using pesticides means that we don't have to kill for our stomach. Influenced by these values, most families planted three quarters of their land the ecological way.

In just a few years, the Buddhist householders and villagers have done much to address the crisis that threatens our survival, now and later. All these efforts call for patience and waiting. Over time, however, they will endure and stand up to challenges, when civic awareness is developed and the villagers become conscious of themselves, especially that they are part of the Tibetan culture. The villagers understand that their happiness lies in their own hands. They just need some time to revive their traditions.

2. “鲁”神，在藏传佛教的信仰中是十分重要，与人们的生活息息相关，它是专司雨水的神祇。
“Lu” is the Rain God, closely linked to people's life. It is a very important deity in Tibetan Buddhism.

项目背景

About the project



玖农村坐落在卡瓦格博（又称梅里雪山）右侧对面的深山峡谷中，村子弯弯曲曲就像一条飞龙，被四坐神山围绕，里面有十多个龙地，森林茂盛，鸟类繁衍，大动物频繁出没，生物多样性丰富，民族文化浓厚。只有二十来户村民，感情和睦。可惜自二〇一〇年公路开通，外来文化的影响逐步壮大，年轻人外流情况日渐严重，村民传统的生产生活方式也备受冲击，水源、森林和野生动植物的保护难度增加。始自二〇〇五年，社区伙伴资助玖农村的传统文化传承活动，奠基於村民对神山圣湖的崇敬、对雪域众生的尊重，并深感传统文化和外来文化的相互冲击，项目逐步扩展至生态健康和本土经济的领域，推动村民开展社区为本的水源和森林保护、野生动植物调查和监测、传统医药恢复、传统“半农半牧”生计模式的再思、垃圾分类和生态农业试验等。

Jiunong Village is situated in a deep valley facing the right side of Mt. Kawagebo (known as Meili Snow Mountain by tourists). In a bird's eye view the village follows the shape of the meandering river valley and resembles a flying dragon. It is surrounded by four mountains that are sacred to the local Tibetans, and dotted with more than ten sacred sites. A myriad of birds and large animals can be found in its lush forests. The area is rich in biodiversity as well as in cultural heritage. The village has only about twenty households and they co-exist harmoniously. Since the opening of a road to the village in 2010, however, influences from the outside world have gradually crept in. More and more young people are leaving the village, while the traditional way of life is also facing challenges. These changes have had negative impacts on the protection of the village's water source, forest and wild animals. PCD has been supporting the learning and transmission of traditional culture in Jiunong Village since 2005. Building on the foundation of a traditional approach to life in which people pay great respect to nature and all beings, the project has gradually expanded its scope. It now covers eco-health, local economy, community-based conservation of water source and forest, local survey and surveillance of wildlife, restoration of traditional medicinal knowledge, traditional livelihood of agropastoralism, community waste management, and eco-agriculture. The purpose is to build up community resilience as a response to the undesirable aspects of mainstream culture.

作者资料

About the author



斯南尼玛，藏族，既是一名村民，也是一名居士，二〇〇五年开始自发在玖农村里开办藏文班，义务当上老师，后被村民选为农家卫生员，更自学摄制了多套关于村里的文化、生态、健康的短片，片子曾在国内电视台播放；因积极推动山林和野生动植物的保护，二〇一三年被选为村内的护林员。

Sonam Nyima is a Tibetan villager. He is also a Buddhist householder. Since 2005, he has been a volunteer Tibetan language teacher. More recently, he was elected as a health volunteer by his fellow villagers. He has picked up the skills of community video film-making, and his films, covering topics such as local culture, ecology and health, have been broadcast on local television. As he is very committed in protecting forests and wildlife, he was elected community forest warden in 2013.

章忠云，藏族，云南香格里拉出生和成长，现职云南省社会科学院民族学研究所副研究员，致力藏族文化的研究和推动。

Zhang Zhongyun is Tibetan-born and grew up in Shangri-La County (Zhongdian). She is now a researcher in the Institute of Ethnology of Yunnan Academy of Social Science. She is committed to research in and promotion of Tibetan culture.



我们是一家人

We Are One Family

村寨传统结构的现代境遇
Current State of Traditional Social Structure
in a Miao Village

贵州雷山县传统村寨控拜村的鼓藏头没有按旧约定在苗族村内的两户大姓人家之间交接。僵持不下之时，年轻人带头过起了苗历新年。村长的选举让两个家族重新实现了一种权力平衡。这个一波三折的故事，让我们看到了强烈的集体意识，看到了社区在变动的状态下，自我调整，从新建构传统的能力。一个村子就是一个大家庭，分分合合，始终会在一起。

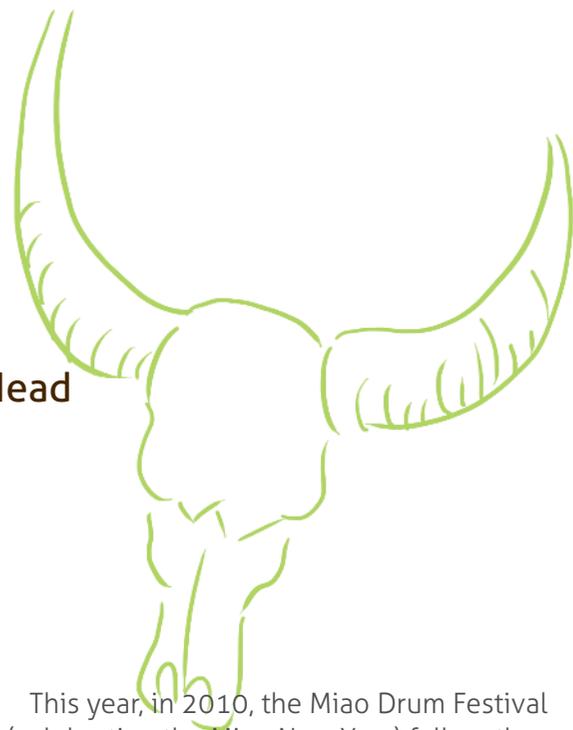
In 2010, the two biggest Miao clans in Kongbai Village, Guizhou could not settle on the new Head of the Drum Festival (Miao New Year) in accordance with the traditional practice. Because of the stalemate, the young people took the lead in celebrating the Miao New Year. The balance of power between the two clans was restored with the election of the village head. The ups and downs of these events demonstrate a strong sense of community. We also see that this community, in a state of flux, is able to adjust and reconstruct its tradition. A village is one big family. People come and go but in the end, the family will stay.

两大家族没有如约 交接鼓藏头

Two families in dispute over the succession of the Drum Festival Head

像雷山县辖区内的很多苗族村寨一样，控拜村在传统上有着“寨老”管理世俗生活、“鼓藏头”执掌苗族村寨精神传统活动，他们和寨老一道，守护着村寨固有的精神传统。鼓藏头的产生和传承有一整套村落的传统制度，按照规定十三年新旧鼓藏头交接一次。但是，在最近一次的鼓藏头交替过程中，发生了出乎意料的插曲。

二〇一〇年农历十一月是苗族鼓藏（新年）活动，是一个盛大的仪式，按照传统，埋鼓时进行鼓藏头交接仪式，以双方互换鸭腿（翅）为标志。但是，进行到交换鸭腿（翅）时突然起了争执，让整个埋鼓现场混乱起来。问及在场的村民，才知道因为这次鼓藏头交替，“李家”和“穆家”正在为“大”、“小”鼓藏头的交接问题争执不下。



This year, in 2010, the Miao Drum Festival (celebrating the Miao New Year) fell on the eleventh month of the lunar calendar. It is a big ceremony. According to the tradition, when the drum is packed, the current Festival Head selects his successor, signified by an exchange of duck thigh and wings between them. Normally, in the district of Xijiang in Leishan County, there is only one Drum Festival Head in each Miao community. But there are four in Kongbai Village. In 2010, disputes broke out during the exchange. The ceremony turned into complete chaos. The Li and Mu families could not agree on the succession of the chief and deputy Heads.

雷山县西江地区的苗族社区通常都只有一个“鼓藏头”。但是，控拜村有四个鼓藏头。

控拜村民讲述“龙”、“杨”、“穆”、“李”四姓是一七三五年被焚毁的老控拜村的后裔，为同一“鼓”的本家，因清廷不允许使用苗名，按家族使用这四个“汉”姓。为使每个姓氏都有代表参与村寨公共生活，控拜村每个姓氏选鼓藏头一名，又将四名鼓藏头进行了“分工”，形成“两正”、“两副”，因“龙”姓与“杨”姓为兄弟，“穆”姓和“李”为兄弟，正副鼓藏头就在两姓“兄弟”之间交换，一届鼓藏头任期十三年。因杨姓人口较少，其鼓藏头均任副职，穆姓和李姓一直按十三年周期轮换。

这次埋鼓时的纷争起源于穆、李两家大鼓藏头的正、副职位没有“如约”地交接，穆姓把象征大鼓藏头权力鸭腿直接递给了穆家的继任者，引起李家的不满，后者当场就和穆家理论。纷争持续一段时间以后，前届任正鼓藏头的李姓村民向祖先请愿之后；宣布李家自己选出正、副鼓藏头，不再与“穆姓”家族轮换。因此，控拜的鼓藏头交替制度就变成了：龙家和杨家的小鼓藏头交接还按过去的方式进行，每届有一正一副二位鼓藏头产生；而李穆两家不再按约交换正副鼓藏头，而是各自选出自己家族的鼓藏头，双方不再按约交替。

Villagers in Kongbai recounted that the village was burned down in 1735 and that the four clans of Long, Yang, Mu and Li were the descendants of the same drum (lineage). To ensure that each of them has representation in managing the village life, each clan in Kongbai Village selects one Drum Festival Head on a 13-year term. The Mu and Li clans have been selecting each other's Heads once every 13 years.

The dispute during the drum packing ceremony was triggered when the Mu and Li clans did not follow the tradition when they selected the new chief and deputy Heads. The Mu clan passed the duck thigh and wing — the symbol of the Head's authority — to the Mu successor directly. The Li clan was upset and disputed with the Mu. After a while, the Li announced their own Li successors without any plans of succession to the Mu.

传统生活受挑战

The challenge faced by traditional social structure

从两家纷繁的讲述中，我大概理出了头绪，原来鼓藏头的交替以如此复杂而细致的方式进行，与控拜“活路头¹”的消亡有很深的关系。

控拜以往每年春耕播种、插秧、收割及谷熟尝新等活动，往往都由活路头举行特定的祭祀仪式之后“起活路”，其他的人家才能开始。控拜的这两个重要社区职务本来也是人口最多的李、穆两家分管，约定李姓家族世袭活路头，穆姓家族世袭鼓藏头，这样代代延传，相安无事。当年的活路头像今天鼓藏头一样，享有很高的社区地位。可是随着现代农业技术的推广，传统的农耕祭祀活动也失去实际作用。活路头的作用减小，李姓家族不再有人继任活路头，活路头的角色就在控拜消失了。然而，李姓族人也需要在村寨公共事务中有代表，七十年代末期，控拜村形成了李姓家族选出一人与

The complicated and delicate procedure of succession has a lot to do with the demise of the system of Farming Head *huolutou*¹ in Kongbai. With the advent of modern agriculture, traditional ceremonies of the agricultural cycle have lost their function, and the Li clan no longer has a Farming Head. However, the Li still want to have their representative in public affairs. By the end of the 70s, Kongbai Village had instituted the system of selecting the Drum Festival head between the Li and Mu clans, with each alternately holding the roles of chief and deputy head. But now, the Mu clan rejected the protocol. They claimed that the Head should come from their clan and there was no place for the Li.

1. 活路头是苗族村寨掌管农事的带头人，带头播种，插秧等，任何人不得先于活路头。
The Farming Head, *Huolutou*, takes charge of farming in Miao villages. The Head is the person to initiate the work of sowing and planting. No others can do it before the Head.

穆姓族人轮流担任“鼓藏头”，形成特殊的正、副鼓藏头轮值制度。当年形成的规矩，如今受到穆家后人的反对。他们觉得，鼓藏头理应由穆家担当下去，没必要再让李家从中插一手了。李家是李家，穆家是穆家。两家哪个当正鼓藏头，好像已经不是承接控拜老祖公的荣光，而是为了给本支系后代子孙带来无限荣耀。

回想往昔，大家是多么齐心协力的啊。我不只一次地从村民口中听到，过去吃鼓藏的时候，各家都会有许多客人来，却又未必住得下。这时，鼓藏头就要做表率，一定要注意待人大方，否则要丢全寨人的脸面。鼓藏头必须出面组织张罗四邻各家的亲友，哪家住不下，就要在他家住；哪家烧不了那么多饭，他就喊到自家吃。过鼓藏的日子，他家常常要摆长桌宴才坐得下；晚上鼓藏头家的地板上都睡满了人，好不热闹。哪家热闹，说明哪家人缘好，哪家口碑也就好。当鼓藏头正是这样一份既风光，又出力的事情。在满足“村寨头人”头衔的背后，其实更多的是对社区责任的一种担当。

相比之下，今年过鼓藏，在各家为争正鼓藏头而僵持不下时，节日原本应该有的热闹气氛少了很多。甚至有村民跑到邻村去过，控拜的村民因为寨上过于冷清，喟叹今不如昔……

In the past, the villagers were so united! Every family invited their guests to the Drum Festival dinner but they might not be able to accommodate them for the night. The Festival Head had to set a good example, making sure that the guests were well received. Otherwise, this would disgrace the whole village. He had to check with the villagers, and if there was not enough space, the guests would stay in the Head's house; if there was not enough food, the Head had to bring the guests to his house. Over the period of the Festival, he often had to prepare long dining tables. At night, the floor in his house was filled up. It was all action! Being the Festival Head was both an honour and a hassle. The position was more about having a strong commitment to the community than enjoying the status as the 'village head'.

However, in 2010, the clans could not settle their fight over the position. The Festival was not as lively it used to be. Some villagers even celebrated the Festival in neighbouring villages. Villagers in Kongbai felt sad about the desolate atmosphere which they had not seen before.



年轻人：我们的新年要过得比其它村寨热闹

Youth: We have to spend a better New Year than other villages!

没想到过了几日，忽然听到屋外扩音设备高声宣讲着什么。村民听了笑逐颜开，忙着给我们几个不懂苗话的人解释：

“年轻人要搞点事情啦！”

村里的年轻人常年在外，我们平常来这基本上都见不到他们。可过年过节，他们全都分毫不差地赶回来。

穆九银是村里活动组织的骨干。今年，几个鼓藏头为过节期间搞活动经费的事头痛不已的时候，他带着村里的一帮年轻人全寨挨家挨户敲门，筹集活动款。这笔钱最后还真是让他们跑下来了。他们刚才在广播里宣布的正是这个消息，他们前前后后一共筹集到了一万多块，准备搞些活动让节日热闹起来。

Unexpectedly, a few days later after the Drum festival head ceremony, after hearing an announcement from the electronic speakers, the villagers were cheered up and busy explaining to the few of us who could not understand the Miao language:

"The young guys will be doing something!"

The young villagers are away from home all year round. Normally, you won't be able to see them in the village. But for the New Year, they all come back.

Mu Jiuyin was the key organiser of village activities. This year in 2010, the Festival Heads were troubled by the lack of funds for the festival. Jiuyin brought the young

年轻人雷厉风行。他们拿上刚刚凑到的钱，买了音响，买了碟片，给篮球赛事设置了一笔可观的奖金，吸引了方圆数里的村寨球队前来参赛，希望抢回让别人抢走的风头。

年轻人主持的活动中，音乐高声播放着，主持人也学着在电视节目中看到听到的主持风格，希望把在场的人都带入到一个节日应有的氛围中去。村里整天高音喇叭响起，小广场上熙熙攘攘，人头攒动，确实和此前的冷清景象相比有了翻天覆地的变化。我问九银怎么不加点苗族传统的歌曲给大家听，而去放这些流行乐、摇滚乐。他说：“那些老歌曲也没什么意思，而且我们都听不懂啦！”

后来，他们还是找来了一些村里过去搞活动唱苗歌录影下来的碟片放了，也播放了苗族歌手阿幼朵唱的那些现代歌曲。

年轻人是控拜的希望。他们没有老人生活的阅历丰富，拥有足够多关于历史的记忆。不过，当长辈们争得面面相觑，寸步不让时，好像没有给年轻人带来更多的负面影响。青年们一起打篮球比赛的时候没有吵吵闹闹，各家的青年很融洽地奔跑在同一个赛场上。这些外出打工的年轻人常常一起搭伴，相互照应、帮扶，因此相比家族利益，伙伴间的情谊更是他们首要考虑的东西。青年人正在重新构建一种新的认同和记忆，这种认同和记忆超越了所谓

people to raise funds from door to door. They raised more than 10,000 yuan and planned to organise some activities to liven up the festival.

With the money they raised, they bought a sound system and some DVDs. To revitalise the festival, they set up a handsome reward for a basketball competition, attracting teams from villages miles away. The small square was packed with people, completely different from the deserted scene a few days ago.

The young people hold the future of Kongbai. Unlike the elders, they don't have rich life experience and memories of the past. But when the seniors fight with each other and are not prepared to give in, the young people don't seem to be affected. They didn't take the conflict into the basketball match. Young people of the different clans played on the same court, getting on well with each other. Those working outside often travel together, helping and taking care of each



的“家族”观念，而上溯到更远的过去。老人家说，那时控拜是个大家庭，人人都是兄弟姐妹，无分彼此……

篮球赛最后是让附近一个村寨的队伍夺得了最高的奖金。我起初担心控拜的小伙子灰心丧气。

“那又有什么呢？我们差不多把全雷山的球队都吸引来了！”他们对其他村寨也是宽容和大度的。

为这一年的鼓藏，虽然开始有争执，不过因为年轻人促使氛围中途回归，节日气氛不断发酵，后来每一天都热闹非凡。最后，过节的时间由原定的七天足足延长到十一天。

other. Their first concern is friendship, not clan interest. They are building a new identity and memory which transcends the idea of 'clans'. It reaches back to the more distant past. The elders told them that Kongbai was a big family back then. The villagers were brothers and sisters; between them, all was common.

Although the Drum Festival began with disputes, it was brought back to normal after the young people joined in. The atmosphere built up and the festival was filled with excitement every day. In the end, the Festival was extended from seven to eleven days.



村委的选举，权力的再次平衡

Village election restoring the balance of power

二〇一〇年十二月，大家刚刚过完鼓藏，又借着节日的劲头，轰轰烈烈地展开了新的村长选举。选举正式开始时正值下大雪，大雪封住了山路，通往控拜的山路根本无法行车。但是村民或从雷山县城，或从凯里市、西江纷纷步行赶回家来。

选举由西江镇提名，村民推举产生候选人。但是经过几次预选，竞选主要在李、穆两家之间展开。在控拜，当村长其实意味的更多是放弃和付出。控拜是一个银匠村，由于平常生意多，多参与社区的工作势必会影响到自家的生意。

控拜的村长并不那么好当。控拜过去没有通往外界的公路，“交通基本靠走”。当时的村长抓住州政府资助的机遇，带头去镇里、县里乃至州里

In December 2010, right after the Drum Festival and riding on its energy, the Village Head election came onto the scene in an impressive manner.

The election was primarily a matter between the Li and Mu clans. Kongbai is a village of thriving silversmiths. Working for the community will surely affect their business.

The villagers already had their idea of the kind of person to choose. Firstly, young but not too young – if the officials are too old, the village may not develop well, but they are not composed enough if they are too old. Secondly, even distribution of power – no clan should monopolise the power; there



去申请经费，几经周折终于使控拜有了一条通往外界的公路。修建小学也是这样。控拜在民国时期就有一所小学，附近寨子的适龄儿童都来此就读。二〇〇四年，县教育局决定重修，但是需要扩大场地，公共土地不够，这时，旁边麻料寨也进行了申报。小学本来就在控拜，控拜人觉得让麻料抢去未免丢自己的脸；再说，让自己的孩子到麻料读书，心里不放心，毕竟要跑远的山路。最后，村长带领大家合力申报，并捐出自己坝子上的良田，让控拜小学如期落成。这两届村长都由李姓担当，这让说到这些往事的李姓人，自豪之情溢于言表。

对于村里需要怎样的村干部，村民有自己的选择标准。第一，要年轻：太老了对村寨发展不利，太年轻又有失稳重。第二，分配要均平，权力既不能集于一身，也要保证每个姓氏都有人选。其三，要充分尊重民意，选举公开透明。其四，候选人要有文化，充分发掘本村的人才。正是因为村民对村干部有着很高的期待，选举才几经周折。直到二〇一一年一月的中旬，村民终于选定了村两委人员，他们基本都在四十岁以下。

must be an official from each clan. Thirdly, open and transparent election, respecting public opinion. Fourthly, the candidates have to be educated, so that the election makes good use of local talent. The election met with obstacles only because the villagers had high expectations of the village officials. In mid-January, 2011, the village committee members were all selected. They were generally aged below 40.

Li Zhengwen is a reputable silversmith in the village. He walked for several hours to get back home so that he could make it to the election. Li used to live in the county seat of Leishan County, taking care of his business. He was elected the Village Head and therefore had to stay at home. He lost much of his business as a result. But, "I do it of my own will." he said.

李正文是村里威望较高的银匠，曾获省级文化遗产传承人称号。为了参选，他步行数小时回到家里，也如期赶上了选举。李正文过去为了照顾生意，不得不长期在雷山县城生活。他最终当上了村长，就要长待家中，生意丢掉不少，两地奔波的交通费用也是不菲。“我这些都是自愿的。”他说。

新任副村长与会计穆修军去年从县城凯里学院毕业，计算机专业出身的他没有在外面谋职，回到家里。他对此解释说外面工作难找，回家里做这个会计虽然薪酬不多，但是也自有乐趣。“村里很多人都说支持我，我也觉得，村里的事情管好了并不简单，我想试一试。”

新村支两委的“决策岗位”上，村主任姓李，支书和会计姓穆。而上一届的村两委中，村主任和支书都是姓李，而会计姓穆。乍看上去，李、穆两家在村干部岗位的人选上的消长，仿佛是穆家占据着“优势”。实际上作为村主任的李正文，还分饰着李姓正鼓藏头的角色。像这样鼓藏头当村主任的情况，以往好像还没有出现过。

至此，村寨权力又重新由两个家族来分担了，村里躁动的情绪也渐渐淡去。

Mu Xiujun, the newly elected Deputy Village Head and Accountant, graduated at Kaili College from Leishan County in 2010. Trained in computer science, he did not land any jobs outside and returned home. He explained that it was difficult to get a job outside. Salaries were low as an accountant here but it was enjoyable. "Many villagers are supportive of me. I think it's not easy to manage the village affairs well. I want to give it a try."

With these developments, village power was once more shared by the two clans. Gradually, the village became more peaceful.



重构传统，重构社区模式

Rebuilding tradition, rebuilding community structure

控拜过去是这样：鼓藏头主理祭仪活动，寨老负责日常事务。现在年轻的村干部取代寨老的角色，曾经外出的银匠也开始关心村寨的发展，仿佛是受到“回家的诱惑”。这我不禁寻思：家族观念深重的控拜人，回家管理村寨时，将不仅是为本家族的利益奔走，他还要为全寨的集体利益着想；而近二十年来出外找钱的他们，本来就抱着“舍大家，为自家”的心思远走他乡。是什么促使了他们的转变，使他们对以前的想法有了调和？这几年在村里的一些活动，也许能给出一些答案。

二〇〇七年的一个契机，寨子里的人以另外一种方式联结在了一起。贵州省文物局这一

In the past, the Drum Festival Head took care of the ceremonies and rituals while the Village Elder took care of the daily business. The latter has been replaced by the young village officials. The silversmiths have started to care about the development of their village. This makes me think about the change of heart of those who have left for 20 years to earn money. What has brought about the change in their minds? Perhaps the village activities over the past few years offer the answer.

The villagers were connected in a different way in 2007. That year, the Guizhou Provincial Cultural Heritage Bureau ran a project on



年开展了苗族传统银饰技艺传承与社区发展项目。正是因为这个机会，全村的人为了到底自己需要什么事情开了一次讨论会。全村的人进行讨论的结果是，希望能首先帮忙把路修好。在村民自己选出的修路小组成员的带领下，整个修路的过程家家户户都表现得积极踊跃，很快为村里添置了一条方便通行的石板路来。

二〇〇九年，社区伙伴和贵州师范大学地理与环境科学学院在控拜开展文化集体记忆和社区为本调查项目，不少村民参与到了反思与交流学习的活动里。村寨以往有老人在村里的老年活动室集中议事的传统，在此基础上，越来越多村民加入到沟通交流之中。村民开展社区

the inheritance of Miao traditional silver craftsmanship and community development. A road construction team was selected by the villagers. Under its lead, every family was committed to the whole process. Very soon, the village got a convenient stone road.

In 2009, for the Kongbai Collective Memory and Community-based Study Project organised by the Geography and Environmental Science Department of the Guizhou Normal University, the participating villagers organised group meetings with other villagers to share their experience in the study. Those going out to share with other villages were selected by the

调查会与其他村民进行分享调查心得；外出交流的村民由村民小组选举产生，并且会在学习过程中发现其他村寨和本村，各自的优点与不足。

通过活动，大家发现村里卫生状况不够好了，村里过年过节会吹芦笙（苗族传统乐器）的人少了，村里小朋友甚至一些妇女会唱苗歌的人也少了……有什么后果呢？被其他寨子笑话自己村寨脏了，过节不热闹了，大家的乐趣也越来越少了……怎么办呢？成立小组专门负责全寨卫生，成立学习苗歌、芦笙的小组经常性地排练……

控拜过去是个大家庭，各家其实是姐妹兄弟，这是不变的。只是分家太久，每家都组建了新的家庭，各自形成了新的生活习惯。同样在变的还有生活。社区希望在这变与不变之中，形成一个良好的社区治理模式，所以才发生鼓藏场上的争端，有了竞选村长的热闹。

village groups. In these activities, the villagers discovered their differences with other villages, both the positive and negative. Quite a lot of villagers had the chance to learn and reflect.

From these activities, they realised that the hygienic conditions in the village were not so good; not many people could play *Lusheng* (the reed pipe) in the festivals; not many children or even women could sing Miao folk songs...The result? Other villages laughed at them – the village was dirty, festivals were not lively and less fun...What to do? They set up a group to clean up the village. The Miao folk song and the *Lusheng* groups practised regularly.

Kongbai was a big family in the past. The families were brothers and sisters. This has not changed. It's just that they split after getting married and formed their own families and a new way of life. Life is changing. The community wants to work out a good system of governance balancing the new and the old. This is the background to the dispute in the Drum Festival and the active participation in the village head election.

这届新的领导班子组建以后，各尽其力，显示出了一种新的配合模式。二〇一一年的三八妇女节期间，村里组织开展了妇女节日娱乐活动，其间举办了一系列以村寨日常活动为背景的竞赛，有拔河、吹蜡烛、捉鸭子、刺绣、唱苗歌等等。妇女们对这些活动喜闻乐见，玩得不亦乐乎。村里新的“人畜饮水工程”完工以后，大伙都很高兴，很多在外的人也积极赶回家来。村委组织大家凑钱杀了两头猪，全村开怀畅饮，连续庆祝了两天。不少老人家说，除了过节的时候，村里“多少年都没有这么热闹过了！”

这些老人家所说的话，我想不仅仅是对新任村干的肯定，更重要的是，说明一种新的东西在村里逐渐形成。它不是看得见摸得着的，而是精神层面的一种主观价值选择。这是社区群众彼此体谅，同甘共苦的结果。这是他们有理想、负责任、有抱负的体现。

这是社区在重构自己的传统。

The new leadership worked their best, demonstrating a new mode of operation. In 2011, they organised leisure activities for the Women's Day. Among them were contests based on their daily life, including tug-of-war, blowing candles, embroidery and singing Miao folk songs. The women loved these activities and enjoyed them very much. When the project for was completed, everyone was delighted. Many who lived outside came back home in great excitement. To have two pigs for the celebration, the village committee coordinated a community fund-raising effort. The whole village celebrated for two days with good drink. Quite a number of old villagers said that apart from the festivals, the village "had not been this lively for a long time."

The elders' comment is not just a recognition of the new village officials. More importantly, it reflects that something is evolving in the village. It's not tangible; it's a value system at the spiritual level, growing out of the mutual understanding and sharing of the ups and downs in the community. It's an expression of their dream, their acts of responsibility and their aspiration.

It's a community re-building its tradition.

项目背景

About the project



控拜村是黔东南地区著名的银匠村，社区生计比较单一地依赖银饰加工，村里近二百亩土地撂荒，近万亩山林无人管护，形成雷公山地区少有的空心化村庄。村里七成的银匠出外谋生，大部分集中在凯里，形成独特的凯里“控拜村”。青年人脱离村寨苗族传统文化，又不能融入城市生活，丢失了村寨文化传统，缺少精神文化寄托，逐渐被城市和乡村社会边缘化。针对这样的问题，二〇〇九年社区伙伴与贵州师范大学地理与环境科学学院合作开展“控拜社区文化集体记忆及社区为本调查项目”。项目以培养社区协作者为方向，希望通过对社区集体记忆的唤起，重塑社区的凝聚力，引导村民总结控拜社区苗族传统文化的整全的核心价值，协助社区反思可持续生活需要的条件，重整社区未来发展的方向。

Kongbai Village is in the southeastern part of Guizhou Province. It earned its fame as the silversmiths' village for the exquisite craftsmanship of Miao silver accessories. Its livelihood is thus dependent solely on silvercrafts. About 200 *mu* (around 133,400 square meters) of land is left idle and forests covering millions of square meters are neglected. The village has become an 'empty nest' which is rare in the area of Leigong Mountain. Some 70% of the silversmiths work outside, mostly in an area of Kaili city which is dubbed the "Kaili Kongbai Village". Detached from their Miao village culture but not integrated into urban life, the young people are spiritually uprooted and marginalised in both worlds. In response to this issue, PCD partnered with the Geography and Environmental Science Department of the Guizhou Normal University on the Kongbai Collective Memory and Community-based Study Project in 2009. It nurtured community facilitators and assisted them to conduct community-based studies and organise exchange activities with other villages. The project aimed to rouse the villagers' collective memory of their community. On that basis, it hoped the villagers would re-build community connections, review the core values in Kongbai Miao tradition, reflect on the necessary conditions of sustainable living and re-orient the direction of community development in Kongbai.

作者资料

About the author



朱晓星 前贵州师范大学地理与环境科学学院研究生，二〇〇九年至二〇一一年期间在但文红教授的带领，开展“控拜社区文化集记忆及社区为本调查项目”，现为社区伙伴贵州项目的工作人员。

Zhu Xiaoxing was a postgraduate student in Geography and Environmental Science Department of the Guizhou Normal University. Between 2009 and 2011, led by Prof. Dan Wenhong, he carried out the Kongbai Collective Memory and Community-based Study Project. Zhu is currently on the staff at PCD Guizhou Office.



我们的家乡—孝儿镇

Our Hometown, Xiao'er Town

社区，不仅是我们集体居住的地方，更是我们的家。这种集体感和归属感是维系一个社区生命力的来源。以下三篇文章，从社区志愿者和项目人员口述，娓娓道出四川珙县孝儿镇社区的变化：从前的青山绿水和记忆中的鱼类被垃圾取代；社区环保意识和责任感的提升。一个社区公共卫生问题，透过项目的介入，又把来自五湖四海的人们团结起来，共同构建健康家园。

Community is not just a place where we live; it's also our home. The sense of collectiveness and belonging is the source of a community's vitality. In the following three articles, volunteers and staff of Xiao'er Township's community waste management project write about the changes in their hometown: their memories of the once green mountains and of fishing in the rivers; the nightmare of garbage; the community's increasing sense of responsibility and awareness on environmental issues. Through the intervention of the project, the issue of public health has united people from different walks of life to build a healthy home.

我心中的南广河

The Nanguang river in my mind

张钦万—孝儿镇志愿者

Zhang Qingwan - Volunteer in Xiao'er Town

家乡在每个人的脑海里是一个怎样的概念，是怎样的一种感觉呢；是一个聚居着你亲戚的地方？是一帮一起玩到大的朋友吗？抑或是一座山吗？是一个伴随自己长大的大树吗？是一条清澈见底的河流吗？

确实，在我的心中有条南广河，流淌着我的童年，承载着我的故事。

What is 'hometown' in your mind? How does it feel? Is it a place where your relatives live? Is it the friends that you grew up with? Or is it the mountain? The tall tree that watched you growing up? Is it a crystal clear river?

In my mind lives the Nanguang River. It carries my childhood in its course. It carries my story.



流之不尽的南广河

The Ever-flowing Nanguang River



我家从父辈起就居住在南广河畔孝场，曾又名孝儿嘴，孝儿乡，孝儿公社。撤乡建镇后，方为现在的孝儿镇，我们就居住在镇上的宁泰社区。

虽名称几改，但河水依旧。曾记得那些年孝场没有接上自来水，孝场上下供人们下河挑水、洗菜、洗衣的水码头就有近二十个之多，靠船的码头也有三四处。我家也同大家一样挑水、洗菜、洗衣、游泳，就依靠着这条千百年来取之不完，流之不尽的南广河。南广河恰如人般性情喜怒：每逢天旱、枯水季节，水流量不大，河面大船停航，

My family has been living in Xiaochang by Nanguang River since my father's generation. It has been renamed Xiao'erzui, Xiao'er Village and Xiao'er Commune. It was named Xiao'er Town when it was built into a town. We live in Ningtai Community of the town.

The name has changed, but the river hasn't. I remember in those years without tap water, there were about 20 piers in Xiaochang where people went down to the river to collect water, wash the vegetables and launder their clothes.

只有小船往来，深水沱几乎看不到水流动，静如池水，绿如兰；汛期来临，河水暴涨，浊浪滔天，势如猛兽，令人惊心动魄，会伴随房屋、船只、人畜尸体、树木等飘浮物一泻千里。所以在我童年，大人们总不让我单独到河边玩。我只能站在家门口看绿水洪峰，看牵夫上水拉牵，看点点白帆，听船工们嗨啾嗨啾的用力拉牵和下水船搬撬，宛转而很有节奏的内河号子声。我有时也模仿着唱几声、跳几下，总惹得大人们开心的笑起来。不过在我上小学时年龄稍大些，还是偷着跟伙伴们下河洗澡、钓鱼，有时也到别人船上玩，但总不受欢迎。

记得儿时的我就特喜欢下河洗澡、钓鱼、摸鱼。记忆犹新于小学时的某星期天，我与同学下河钓鱼，鱼没钓得几条，倒是同学把我“钓”到了：我俩钓位相距太近，他甩钓时没注意钓子钩着我的脸，由于钓子有倒刺勾，拨不出来。后来弄到医院作了一次开刀取钩的手术，终把钓钩取出。

There were three or four piers for berthing. Just like other families, we fetched water, washed vegetables and clothes, and swam in the Nanguang River - a river that we relied on; a river that has been flowing for thousands of years, endlessly and inexhaustibly. When I was small, my family would not let me play by the river on my own. I could only stand at the doorway, watching the river at its low and high, the dockers berthing the boats, dots of white sails, while listening to the dockers singing *hai-zuo-hai-zuo* as they pulled the boats. I remember as a child, I loved to bathe and fish (sometimes with my bare hands) in the river. The memory of one Sunday in my primary school days is still fresh. On that day, I went fishing in the river with my classmate. I didn't catch much but I was 'caught' by my classmate. We stood too close to each other. He didn't notice and when he cast his line, the hook got into my face. I could not get it off because of the barb. I had to have surgery in the hospital before I was finally unhooked.

消失中的黄腊丁

Disappearing yellow catfish

虽然我现在退休了，但下河钓鱼的兴趣仍然很浓。记得是去年农历九月间重阳节过后，那天竟然艳阳高照，午饭后我拿了两根鱼竿，挖了十多条蚯蚓¹去约一位钓友。到他家时，看着他拿的是海竿，我说：“噢！想钓大个的吗？”他笑了笑说：“用你的话说，碰运气呀。”

我俩边走边聊，不一会到了河边，哪知早有一位社区里人称外号“江太公”的钓友在那里钓鱼。我俩靠近“老江”找了一个比较阴凉的地方，老王穿好饵料跟他小时的方法一样向饵料上吐吧唾沫，并念念有词：“口水就是药，甩下就来戳，不钓鲢鱼就钓青鲇，”然后用力甩出去。我同“老江”在旁忍俊不禁，笑着说：“你还没有忘记小时候钓鱼的口诀？”他说：“儿时的东西不能忘，也不会忘。”确实，每个成长的年代里都有我们最深的记忆与情感的联结。

我问起了老江：“到多久了，开张了吗？”老江说：“怕有一个多钟了，钓了一个白鱼儿，两

I am now retired but I am still very interested in fishing. On a fine day in mid-autumn last year I took two fishing rods, dug up a dozen earthworms and called up a fishing-mate named Old Wang. At the riverside, I saw another fishing-mate who got the nickname of 'Great grandfather Jiang' (Note: This refers to the ancient Chinese figure Jiang Ziya.) from others. We went to a more shady spot close to Old Jiang. Old Wang tied the bait and then, as he had done when he was small, spat on the bait and chanted, "Saliva is the poison; I cast and I spike; it's either carp or green shoot erythroculter." And then he cast the line vigorously. Old Jiang and I burst into laughter. I said, "You still remember the fishing spell you chanted when you were small?" He said, "Things from childhood can't be and won't be forgotten." Indeed, as we grow up, we keep deep memories of, and affectionate connection with all those times.

1. 即蚯蚓，当地人叫螭蟥。



个憨包鱼²儿，总共还没有一两重……现在这河头的鱼，不像我们当娃儿那个时候，下河洗澡只要你分把两分钟停止不动，成群的小鱼认为你是死尸就都来啃你身上的肉。”

“你说这个事的确是这样，有一次我脚肚上生了一个疮，出水化脓了，下河洗澡有个鱼在疮上戳了我一下，戳流血了，我也痛惨了！”我回忆着答道。

老江又问：“你两个还记得不，我们读高小时，那天蛇蚂蚁³飞……”

我说：“当然记得，那时像是六月间，在路上看到蛇蚂蚁飞，落得满河都是，只看到鱼浮起来戳吃，黄蜡丁最多，大家书都不读了下河整鱼，那天虽然挨了批评还是值。”

老王说：“现在黄蜡丁想钓一个看是什么样子都没有了，估计大家只能通过回忆来拼凑它的模样咯……”

I asked Old Jiang, "How long have you been here? Got your first catch?" He replied, "Almost an hour. I caught a whitefish and two 'Stupid Fish'². They are less than one tael all together...The fish in the river are not like what we had when we were small. If you bathe in the river and stop moving just for two minutes, a herd of small fish will come and bite your flesh, thinking that you are a corpse." "You are right. I once had a blister at the back of my lower leg. It was running with pus. I was bathing in the river. A fish bit me. It bled and hurt terribly!" I recalled.

Old Jiang went on asking, "Do you two remember one day when we were in upper primary school, the flying ants³..." I said, "Yes, of course. It should be June. I saw them flying and dropping on the river. The fish swam to the surface to eat them. It's mostly yellow catfish. We didn't care about the class and went to catch the fish. We were scolded but it was worth it."

老王简简单单的话语，让我不禁思考：消失的何止是黄蜡丁啊，还有我们的快乐的童年，还有我们一起置身于自然的那份休闲与互动的方式；也许现在的孩子心中再也没有黄蜡丁，再也找不到与河水与自然的那份情感……

老江说：“现在这条河鱼类有很多几乎绝种了，如白甲、石扁头、黄蜡丁、油鱼子、青鮠、岩里巴、翘壳鱼等，有的连样子都看不到了……”

老王说：“你说的白甲鱼在这条河中要算品种比较好的，肉质细，用钓子是钓不到的，又警觉，每当天要下雨，只见在河中泛白，比天上的星星还多。由于水质清亮，丈把深的水都能看到，游动反白，典型的晒鱼坝。这种鱼在市场上的价格相对都高，因不易捕捞，现在这种鱼已绝种了。”

老江说：“如今市场上卖的多数是人工喂养的，张毛耳，叶根耳（编者按：卖鱼居民）卖那些翘壳是网箱饲养，假冒天然河鱼，应有尽

Old Wang said, "Now, you can't see any yellow catfish. Perhaps we can only figure out its shape from our memory."

The simple words of Old Wang made me think: what has been lost is not just the yellow catfish. We have lost our happy childhood. We have lost the relaxing and interactive life that we spent together in nature. Nowadays, children may not be able to have yellow catfish in their mind anymore. They may not have the kind of affection that we had with the rivers and nature...

Old Jiang said, "Very few are left in this river – only a few of white scale fish, large fin catfish, yellow catfish, escolar egg, green shoot Erythroculter, winged shell fish... Others have totally disappeared..."

2. 憨包鱼：一种嘴大而身长只有四厘米许的有甲鱼，肯吃钓易上钩，繁殖很快，近年河里才有的，不知其名故称憨包鱼。
Stupid fish, a kind of small fish with a big mouth. It's about 4cm long. It likes the bait and can be caught easily. They normally live in rivers. I don't know the name and so I call it 'Stupid Fish'.

3. 蛇蚂蚁：一种大蚂蚁有翅，飞翔能力不强，夏天就有，天气变化有时会满天飞。
Flying ants, a big ant with wings, cannot fly high, comes out when there is a change of weather.

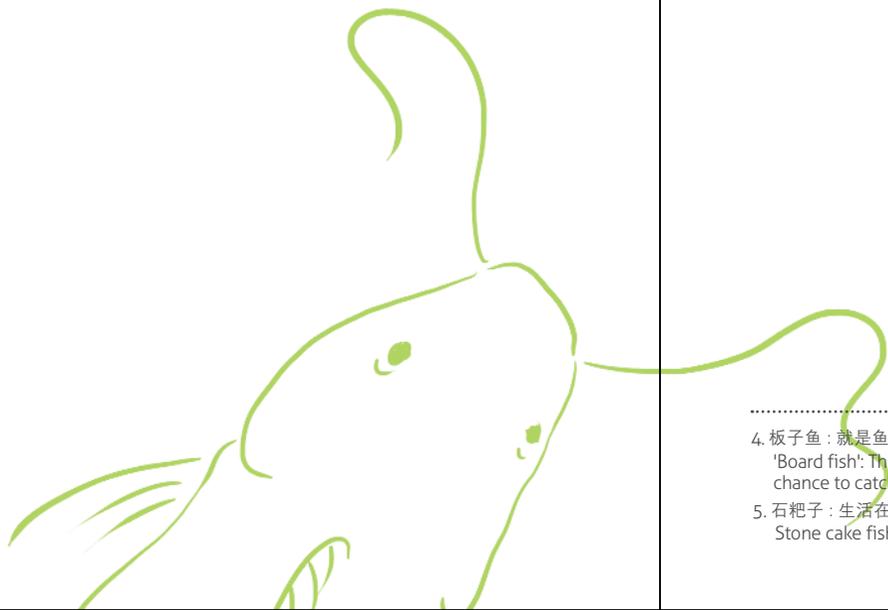
有。鲤鱼有部分板子鱼⁴，大家只要买就有，你说我们的生活质量是提高了还是下降了呢？”

他接着又说：“还有一种石耙子⁵你看到有吗，据说现在有人出到每斤一百二十元的高价，好多年都没有看到了。它是一种在流水浅滩清洁的活石头底面生长的，有的一块石板下要耙很多个。水里面的石头多数是滑的，一旦石头滑落筛子打倒了，石耙子全部冲走，前功尽废，有一次我筛子都被急流冲走没找到。现在电站一修，险滩流水都变了平湖，生活在急流浅滩中的石耙子、白甲、油鱼子、青波子当然也随之没了。”



Old Jiang said, "In the market, they are mostly selling farmed fish. The winged shell fish that Zhang Mao and Ye Gen (local fishermen) sell is reared in net boxes. There are lots of fish that are sold as natural river fish. Some of the carps are 'board fish'⁴. You can buy whatever you want. Is our life better or worse? What would you say?"

He continued by saying, "And can you see any Stone cake fish (*Shibazi*)⁵? I heard that it fetches a high price of 120 yuan for 2 kg. I haven't seen it for years. It lives below the clean stone in shallow rapids. After building the power plant, the rapids have turned into lakes. Fish that lives in rapids and shallows like stone cake fish, white scale fish, escolar egg and green wave fish are all gone."



4. 板子鱼：就是鱼产卵将会游到河边浅水有水草地方，将卵产附在水草上或人为的树枝上，所以人们乘机去捕打。
'Board fish': The fish will swim to the shallow end of the river for laying eggs on the weeds or tree branches. People take this chance to catch them.
5. 石耙子：生活在流水浅滩的石板下，寄附在石板下，耙得很稳，贴在脸上也能耙稳，只有拇指大小的一种鱼类。
Stone cake fish (*Shibazi*) lives in shallow water. It is the size of a thumb and can attach itself firmly to the stone and even our face.

被污染的家乡

The polluted hometown

老王说：“那个年代的鱼多有几个因素，第一人们的捕鱼工具差，办法少，鱼产卵时禁止打板子鱼，水质无污染；现在捕鱼工具之多，条网、迷魂网、电烧、药毒、炸药，水质污染毁灭性的搞，鱼能不少吗？鱼在产卵期大量捕杀无人禁止，鱼能繁殖起来吗？当然现在炸鱼的少了，水质污染还是一个大问题，老张你是环保老志愿者，参加社区一同搞环境项目已经几年了，你说这个项目最终结果将会是什么？也包括南广河水污染的治理……”

“我们先不谈结果如何，但有很多东西是你们耳闻目睹的，也是无可否认的。第一是孝儿脏乱差的治理，在项目未在孝儿开展实施之前，孝儿镇遍街是垃圾，场镇围绕垃圾堆数十个，连孝儿老政府、党委政府吊牌下就是一堆垃圾，堆比窗高，里面无法办公。小桥两端四堆垃圾从河底堆起高过桥面，垃圾堆中烂肉、

Old Wang said, "We had more fish before for several reasons. The fishing tools were poor and we didn't have that many fishing methods. We were not allowed to catch 'board fish' when they were laying eggs. The water was not polluted. But now, there are so many fishing tools - doping net, electro-fishing, poison and explosives. The water is polluted by devastating acts. Could there be many fish? People are not stopped from mass fish catching and killing in the spawning season. How can the fish breed? Explosives are less used now, but water pollution is still serious. Old Zhang, you are a volunteer in environmental protection and have worked in the environmental project for a few years. What will be the result of the project? Will it do something about the pollution of Nanguang River?"

烂菜、死猫、死狗都有蚊蝇蒲天飞，臭气难当，往来行人都是捂鼻急驰而过。有时摆摊的弄得遍街都是，被碾压的场景真是无法形容。”

“那时隔着小河我家对面那遍岩上，正是横街子几十户住户的屋后遍岩的垃圾，红黄蓝白。晴天里的胶纸、方便袋、竹枝上、树稍上都挂满了五彩缤纷，这是众所周知，亲眼所见。在珙县电视台栏目上也不止一次曝光孝儿场景，你不可能说你没见过吧。自二〇〇七年项目在孝儿镇开展项目，负责同志，镇和社区干部以及相关人士、学校学生、志愿者团队，亲自动手冲街，捡垃圾，岩上树稍上搭起长梯、吊起索进行清理，并向全镇所有住户交涉，并签订了环境保护、环境治理合同。老王、老江我首先请问二位签订合同没有？”二人肯定的回答当然签了，“那么我刚才所说的也是你们亲眼所见的，有无变化，有哪些变化？”

老王说：“相对而言变化当然大，但是孝儿街上比大城市还有差距，但比几年前是一个巨大的变化。原来是临时请车隔三差五的拖一次垃圾，所以才有数十堆垃圾下河，遍街都是垃圾

"Let's not talk about the result for the time being. But you can't deny that there are many visible changes. The first one is fixing the problem of waste. Before the project, the streets in Xiao'er were all littered with garbage. Dozens of garbage dumps were scattered around. There was even one right at the gate of the government and party committee building. The dump was higher than the window and people inside simply couldn't work. At both ends of the bridge, four piles of garbage grew from the bottom of the river and got higher than the bridge. The dump was a collection of rotten meat, rotten vegetables, dead cats, dead dogs. Mosquitoes and flies hovered over it. It stunk terribly. People crossing the bridge had to cover their noses and run at full speed. The street stands left a streetload of garbage. The messy scene with crushed garbage was beyond words.

"Opposite to my house, on the other rock edge of the river, was the garbage from the

的现象。现在整个宁泰社区增加了环卫工人，增设了监督人员，增加了增产垃圾运输车、洒水车，乱丢乱倒垃圾的现象杜绝了。人们从不理解，到有了环保意识，并自觉进行垃圾分类，特别是严禁垃圾下河这一举措，数十堆垃圾不见了，街面清洁了。”

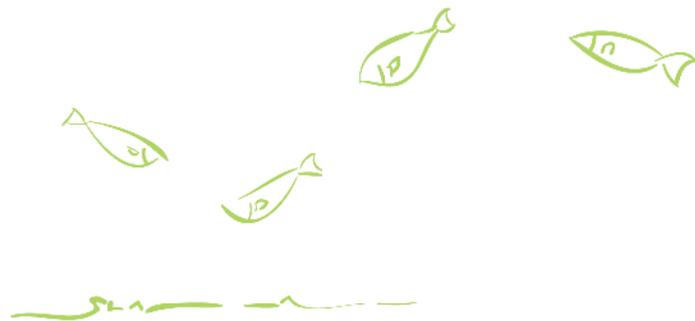
老江抢着说：“关于垃圾下河这个问题我很有感受。前几年下河钓鱼，经常钓起塑编袋、方便袋、烂鞋、烂布等杂物。禁止垃圾下河后，近两三年再没钓到那些东西了。你们看两河两岸的竹枝上、树梢上原来挂满了五颜六色的方便袋，各种色彩的烂胶纸，烂布，现在都没有了，这当然就是一种变化。可是我也很担忧啊，你说社区伙伴能陪我们走多久呢？社区里人口流动及数量变化那么大，垃圾量越来越大，我们这一代环保老者又能守多久呢？社区里年轻人走的走，打工的打工，倒是一帮做生意的外地人闻着利益进来了，又有多少人对这个地方有感情有认识？单是增设了垃圾处理的设施，又能持续改善社区卫生多久呢？”

dozens of families in the side streets. Plastic paper and plastic sheets of all colours hung on the bamboo and branches. Everyone knew it and saw it. It was reported more than once on Gong County (where Xiao'er town belongs to) TV. It's not possible that you didn't see it. When the project was launched in 2007, government officials and staff at all levels, students and volunteers rolled up their sleeves and set about washing the street, collecting the garbage, and setting ladders and ropes at the rock edge and tree branches to clean up the garbage. They also talked to all the families and signed environmental protection and management agreements with each of them. Old Wang, Old Jiang, did you sign the agreement? For sure, you would say yes. Now then, you must have witnessed the things that I have just said. Are there any changes? What are the changes?"

Old Wang said, "Sure, relatively, the changes are huge. But it's still way behind

the big cities. But it's a big change when compared to a few years ago. Back then, the trucks took the garbage only once in a while. That's why we had dozens of garbage dumps in the river and in the streets. But now, we have more cleaners, monitors, garbage collection trucks and sprinkler trucks. You no longer see people littering and throwing garbage indiscriminately. People changed from not understanding the issue, to developing an awareness of environmental protection, to consciously separating the waste. The measure of forbidding littering the river was particularly effective. The dozens of garbage dumps are gone. The streets are clean now."

Old Jiang interrupted, "I feel strongly about littering the river. A few years ago, my 'catch' was often plastic woven bags, convenience bags, broken shoes, broken clothes and so on. In these two years or so, I didn't catch these things any more after river littering was forbidden. On both sides of the river, there are no more bags, plastic sheets and torn clothes of all colours hanging on the bamboo and tree branches. This is surely a change. But I have big worries too. How long can PCD go on with us? The mobility and number of the population has changed a lot. The volume of garbage has increased. How long can the old volunteers hold out? The young people are leaving, working elsewhere whereas some businessmen followed the smell of money and moved here. How many of them would know the place and have affection for it? With the waste treatment facilities alone, how long can we keep up the community hygiene?"



项目带来环保意识

Environmental awareness brought about by the project

面对着被人类驯服平静与污水直入的南广河，我们几个若有所思。许久我说：“单从这些变化所耗的人力财力不少，所耗的时间几年，所费精力颇多，社区里人与人之间也产生了一些不应有矛盾，但我觉得这些矛盾是正常的，是对的，是因为我们需要去改变，改变就少不了矛盾冲突；就如在这个环保项目开展初期，有很多人不是那么理解：自己门前是自己使用，但你叫他经常保持清洁他都像觉得很难，总是不爱打扫，要不他就是把垃圾往外往别人门口或街心扫，连各人扫门前雪的基本道理都不懂。曾一度我们社区老志愿者团队，组织人员带上清扫工具，看那家门前未清扫我们就去扫了，并作了摄像纪录。同时给户主打招呼下不为例，希望不再有第二次。这样对大部份人也取得一定效果。关键在于需治理的对象多、面广、参加治理人员有限。如果颠倒过来或者互动起来那就不错了。比如像我们三个，如果都来作志愿者力量就要大很多，如果大家环保意识增强了，都能自觉遵守，不乱丢、乱倒垃

Human beings have tamed Nanguang River and pumped waste water into it. Looking at the river, all of us fell into deep thought. After a long while, I said, "We have spent a lot of human and financial resources, time and effort to get the changes we have. At the same time, we have created conflicts in the community. But I think it is normal and correct. We need to change, and change begets conflicts. Just like at the beginning, many people did not understand the point. You may think that it's good for them to keep the area in front of their house clean. But when you told them to keep clean, they just didn't do it. Or they would sweep the garbage to others' doorways or out onto the street. They didn't even care about 'cleaning their own snow at the doorway'. For a while, the old volunteers took the tools and cleaned up for those who didn't do it. We also filmed it and told the family that we wouldn't give them

圾，知道保护环境实际就是人类在做自己保护自己的工作，那我们志愿者就没有存在的必要了。

“还有一次也就是项目刚开展不久，人们的环保意识还不是很强，我们环保志愿者还需分头去宣传，动员督促。那次是逢场天下午，去叫大家把门前卫生打扫干净，以便垃圾车来了好尽快拖走。我走到一家杂货店门前，看地面比较脏，我叫他赶快打扫垃圾车要来了。那个店家不理不采，也没行动，做起大老板很高傲的样子。我看他满以为我是项目上用钱雇用我帮他们办理的打工仔，当时我非常严肃的对他说，你别认为我是雇请来督促你的，我退休后用我自己的钱，吃我自己的饭，督促一些不自觉的人，把环卫搞好。你们不是帮别人而是自己做自己的事，但起码一点不能影响整个社区环境卫生。你生活、工作在这个地方，就应按照这个地方的规定，并且你也同社区环保项目签订了合同，就必须按合同办理。然后他也没有再如何争辩，急忙打扫干净了。像这样的情况是屡见不鲜，只是说二位没有亲自参加环保志愿者工作，实际应做的工作是做了的，环保意识是有的。”

“刚才老王问我项目最终结果，我想这个项目无需问结果，就看你我及社区居民如何持续面对的态度就知道答案。现在大多数人都有了环保意识，养成了良好的环保习惯，只要长期永恒的坚持下去，宁泰社区的环境会越来越好，南广河的污染会大大减轻。随之而来的河水会由浊变清，鱼类也会越来越多，这也是我们期待和盼望的。将来下河钓鱼就不像今天几条憨包鱼儿、白鱼儿就了事了。”

a second chance. Most of them did change. The problem is that there are just too many people and places that we have to work on but too few of us in the management group. It would be much better if it was the other way round, or the two sides worked together. Take the three of us as an example. If all of us volunteer, the impact will be stronger. If people are more aware of the environment, more disciplined, dispose of their garbage properly and realise that protecting the environment means protecting ourselves, we the volunteers are no longer needed.

"Just now, Old Wang asked about the results of the projects. I think we don't have to ask. The result is in our attitude of keeping up our effort. Now, most of the people have the awareness and habit of environmental protection. If we can keep it up, the environment of Ningtai Community will get better, easing the pollution of Nanguang River. The water will get clearer and the fish stocks will increase. This is my hope and aspiration. In the future, when we fish in the river, we won't just end up with a few tael of 'Stupid Fish' and whitefish like today."

社区一角

A Little Corner in the Community

张孝银—孝儿镇志愿者

Zhang Xiaoyin - Volunteer in Xiao'er Town

二〇〇六年下半年的某一天，我加入了志愿者协助推动社区环教活动，经过一轮培训，我才感触到人类所面临的危险，才知道其它动物被人类灭绝了不知多少种类，人类却也在毁灭自己。看孝儿宁泰社区在搞环保及垃圾分类前满街垃圾乱丢，随处可见垃圾成堆，臭气熏天，苍蝇、蚊虫满天飞，小河大河边的个个木上挂满了各色塑料袋。

In the second half of 2006, I joined the voluntary work to promote community environmental education supported by PCD in Xiao'er Town. After the training, I realised the crisis that human beings were facing. I also realised that countless animals were going extinct because of human beings who were destroying themselves at the same time.

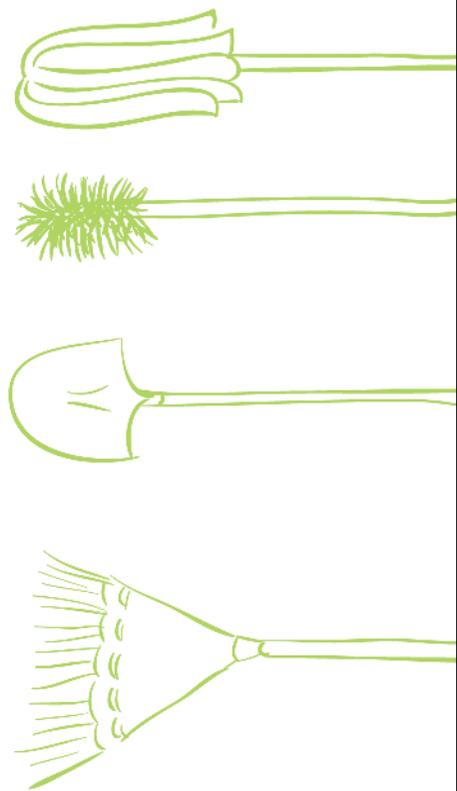


悄然而至的环保意识

Environmental awareness emerges quietly

再看这几年的变化，在这几年里，镇上设立了专门垃圾分类与管理办公室，软体方面设立了一套垃圾分类的培训材料与方法、建立了一系列管理制度与机制；硬件有垃圾车、垃圾库、垃圾桶、铲和清洁工人。在这些年的培训、宣传、专栏、相声、文艺表演利旧创新等方面起到了对居民的教育作用。在领导和志愿团队的共同努力下，居民对环保及垃圾分类有了一个清醒的认识，就连街上乞丐也象感觉到了什么。有一次我在社区小桥头的专栏处看环保和

Before we did anything on environmental protection and waste separation, Ningtai Community was clogged full of garbage. Stinking rubbish dumps, mosquitoes and flies were everywhere. Plastic bags of all colours hung on the trees by the rivers. Over the past few years, a special waste management office was set up in the town; a set of training materials and methods was established; garbage collection trucks, waste pools, bins, spades and cleaners were provided. Impacts on the community were made



垃圾分类的宣传知识时，发现一个乞丐从我身边走到离我约三米远的垃圾桶旁，伸手往垃圾桶内找吃的东西。结果他找到了一个有点烂的桔子米米（编者按：川话，意指桔子核）也丢在了垃圾桶里。这件小小的行动，却引起我很多的思考。为什么一个无文化没有知识更不说接受什么培训的人，他为什么能做到很多其他人都难做到的事来，难道他会怕有人在监督他吗？还是桥面的清洁使他觉得无法乱丢垃圾吗？还是简单的意识到那里拿的东西不用的自然放回原处等等……这个社区场景，引人深思，至少让我知道了我们的宣传是意义有效的。它不经意间成为了人们的习惯，同时也更增强我的社区价值。

through various innovative educational activities – training, publicity, notice boards, talk shows, art and cultural performances. The residents were given a clear understanding of environmental protection and waste segregation. One day, I was reading the information about these matters on the notice board at one end of the bridge. A beggar passed by and walked towards a garbage bin about three metres ahead. He put his hand into the bin, looking for food. He found an orange which had gone slightly bad. He then put it back into the bin. This little move made me think a lot – how come an uneducated person with little knowledge and no training whatsoever can do something that others find it so difficult to do? Is it that he knows somebody is monitoring him? Or is it that the bridge is so clean that he doesn't want to spoil it? Or is it that he understands the basic principle of returning unused items to their original place? The scene was thought-provoking. It told me that our publicity works. People have developed the habit without realising it. I have a stronger sense of my place in the community.



怎么去教育？

How do we make people aware?



优美的环境，清洁的街面，新鲜的空气，是人们的共同愿望，要想达到此目的，确是任重而道远，既要资金支持，还要有一大批高素质的管理人材和志愿者。我曾经看到有一次，在我们社区的新区里面，一位农村被占地迁搬上街的七十多岁老人提着一小袋垃圾来到垃圾车旁，被卫生监督人员发现分类不彻底，便引发激烈的冲突和辱骂。监督人员采取人身攻击和侮辱人格的办法来想达到垃圾分类的目的，直气得那位老人（农村老实人）连话都差点说不出来。没想到的是，第二天这位老人到街上走耍时，又碰到了另一个卫生监督人员（他们都认为用辱骂这些刚上街的农民是达到卫生监督的最好办法），他更是变本加厉的把这位老人骂得只差没有气死，其语言下流不堪入耳。后来这位老人向社区领导反映了被卫生监督人员辱骂的情况。社区领导知道后，向

It is everybody's hope that the environment is nice, the streets clean and the air fresh. But it's a long, arduous road to get there. We need funding as well as a good team of management staff and volunteers. There was once an old man in his 70s, carrying a bag of garbage to the collection truck. The hygiene monitor saw that he did not separate the waste properly and started to make humiliating comments to him. The old man was so upset about this personal attack and humiliation that he could not even utter a word. He didn't expect that he would meet yet another monitor the next day he was in the street. The monitors believed that humiliation was the best way to make the farmers that came into the town keep the place clean. This second monitor made even worse comments. The old man was

这位老人表示，对卫生监督人员这种行为一定严加管理教育，保证类似情况不在发生，并耐心细致的安慰老人，也给这位老人宣讲了环保与垃圾分类的重要性，以理服人的办法使这位老人深受感动。既认识到对环保和垃圾分类认识不足，也知道了今后该怎么做。后来这位老人经常与人交谈时，深表对不文明卫生监督的行为的痛恨，又自觉的按社区领导讲的去做，不知不觉的也成了垃圾分类的义务宣传员。社区领导也对这些不文明不给群众做思想工作，一味用骂街的行为方法的卫生监督人员进行学习、批评教育，严格要求他们按和谐社会文明监督，以理服人，提高居民的认识，才能达到垃圾分类的真正目的。相信我们社区的环保和垃圾分类一定会圆满成功，还人类一个原本清洁的地球，真正实现人类健康长寿的目的。以前的社区环境是没人管，现在是有人管了，但也向我们自己提出另外一个问题：怎么去管，怎么去教育？宣传教育的目的是为了严厉制止他人的不良行为，还是工作要做到人心里去，让他们成为我们的力量、我们的主流环保声音？我们如何与身边的人，邻村的人做工作……

infuriated. He complained to the local official who told him that he would talk to the monitors. The official assured the old man that it would not happen again. He explained to the old man again the importance of environmental protection and waste segregation. This approach of reasoning inspired the old man. Later on, whenever he met somebody, he would still complain about the rude monitors but he also did what the local official did. Without realising it, he became a volunteer for environmental education. This incident raises a question – now that we have the monitoring system, how should we monitor? How should we educate the residents? Are we to deter undesirable behaviour? Or should we instead touch the heart, build the strength from within and make it the mainstream voice of environmental protection? How should we work with the people around us and in the neighbouring villages?

别忙着发展，忘了保护 Don't trade environment for 'development'

社区的环境远不止垃圾那么简单，污染源的问题环环相扣。现在居住在沿河一带的人群，所产生的污水、粪便大多直接排放在河里。看着社区昔日的望腮溪小河基本变成了通便河，河底河边沉浸的污垢是多么的严重，对人蓄饮水造成的后果是不堪想象的；现在大量的儿童玩具大多使用一次性电池，每天产生大量废电池大多被混杂在其它垃圾内，最后在垃圾场烂掉后进入土里，地下水里河里，最后被人蓄循环食用，造成慢性自杀，这是多么可怕的后果；还有大量的塑料垃圾，用火烧直接污染空，埋在土里也要几千年才能分解。国家前几年规定了相关解决办法，但到现在还有无数不法厂家在

Community environment is not simply about the issue of garbage but also about pollution sources. People living along the river discharge waste water and human waste into the river. Wangsai Stream has turned into a sewage duct. A repulsive layer of scum lines the bottom and edges of the river. Its impact on drinking water is unimaginable. The local children have lots of toys and most of them are powered by disposable batteries. Every day, lots of used batteries go into the garbage. In the landfill, the batteries leak into the soil and then underground water and finally make it into the bodies of people and animals. This is chronic



大量生产不合格塑料袋，尤其在我们小镇上，所有的塑料袋还是商家免费送的……

我们的生活质量，在我们能感受到，看到的层面确实发生了翻天覆地的变化，但是很多潜在的风险又潜伏在我们的身边，时刻等着回来报复。若我们还是一心忙于发展，忘了与保护同步，那么我们的家园所谓的发展就是掘根毁灭。

社区力量的组织与发展，是个漫长的过程，如何做工作影响及关注不同的环境议题，都是留给我们社区的人一个永恒的思考。这不是我一个人的事情，不是一代人的事情……

人类只有一个地球，只要人人都为自己的健康、子孙万代的幸福着想，从长远利益出发，保护好其它动物，保护好我们的地球母亲，健康幸福就一定会与我们同行。

suicide. The impact is frightening. And then, we have lots of plastic waste. Burn it and the air is polluted. Bury it and it takes thousands of years to decompose. The government introduced some measures a few years ago but many factories are still producing sub-standard plastic bags. In our town in particular, all the plastic bags are given out free.

As far as we can feel and see, our quality of life has improved significantly. At the same time, hazards are abound, waiting for the moment to strike back. If we ignore conservation and care only about development, the so-called development will uproot and destroy our home in the end.

It's a long road building up the community. What should we do to work on various environmental issues and make an impact? This is a never-ending question for everyone in the community. It's not the business just for me or my generation only...

We have only one Earth. Health and happiness will surely be with us if every one of us protects other animals and Mother Earth out of the long-term consideration of our own health and the happiness of future generations.

家乡，你在哪里？

Where Are You, My Hometown?

韦罗东—社区伙伴项目人员

Wei Luodong - PCD Programme Officer

回想与孝儿镇交往已经五年了，孝儿镇就像一个家一样，交往的五年里，看着这个家里的人不断的来来往往、进进出出很是感慨。

因为垃圾，家里的姊妹间不乏呕气、冲突打架；因为垃圾，村与村之间的问责激烈；也因为垃圾，看到了家里的姊妹携手共同商讨怎么办。可是因为外部因素的介入，电厂来，其他也跟着来了，加速了家里人频繁的流动，常驻的走了，新的又变成常驻的了，城镇居民搬迁成县市级市民了，农民又一下子搬迁成城镇居民了，进进出出，因为安家立业大家似乎都冲着钱去了，整个社区钱的味道越来越浓，垃圾似乎不再能牵制大家一起来推进社区善治。

It's been five years since I connected with Xiao'er Town. It's like a family. In those five years, people have kept coming and going. It's sad.

The issue of waste made the sisters shout and fight against each other. Villages blamed each other for their waste problems. The issue of waste also brought the sisters together looking for solutions. However, some external factors are beyond our control. A hydro power plant was constructed, followed by others. Family members became more mobile. Permanent and temporary residents kept changing. To build a family, people plunged their thought into money. The smell of money grew stronger in the community. The issue of waste no longer impelled them to work towards good community governance.



我不禁的心底发问，现在的孝儿镇又是谁的家乡呢，谁来守住这个家呢，什么样的事情什么样的议题才能让让大家走在一起来守住这个家呢？

回溯项目几年里社区的老年人及老街居民一直是社区的活跃分子，虽然很多的常驻居民我没有拜见，但我们知道他们一直在为家乡做出努力，因为这里有他们的过去。可是这里的延续又在哪里呢？我们的年轻人在那里呢？镇上两所中学，因为校方升学压力及学生安全原因一直都没有机会接触到年轻人，当戏剧进入校园之后，发现即使环保活动得到了很多的在校学生的关注，但真正属于本地社区的人太少太少，无法支撑本地家园守护者的角色。

I cannot help asking, from the bottom of my heart, whose hometown is it now? Who will protect this home? What can bring people together to protect this home?

Looking back, the elderly and residents of the old districts were the active members in the community. We knew that they had been working hard for their hometown because it carried their past. But where will the community go next? Where are the young people? There are two secondary schools, but the pressure of examinations and the concern about students' safety have kept us apart from our young people. When we brought drama to the campus, the students did express concerns about environmental protection. However, the number of local students was very small, too small to form guardians of the hometown.

本地的年轻人去了哪里呢？ Where have the young people gone?



记得垃圾分类项目是二〇〇七年开始，而二〇一〇年在接待一次大学生社区实践活动中，一个外地求学回来的本地学生忽然问垃圾分类那么麻烦为什么要去做呢……在爬犀牛山与游南广河活动中，还是不断的有年轻人问，二十八峰的故事是什么，为什么叫孝儿镇……

是的，没错！我们都不知道，因为我们从小就被送去外面读书，因为乡镇的教育资源不好，在外面老师教我们长江黄河，可却从没有人告诉我家傍边的小河小山，没有人告诉我们的地域饮食、山丘、河流、乡土文化……

I remember that the waste segregation project began in 2007. In 2010, we hosted a group of university students doing their community project. One local student, who had studied in the city, struck us with a question: "It's troublesome to separate the waste. Why are you doing it?" While we were climbing the local Xiniu Mountain and strolling along Nanguang River, the young students kept asking questions like "What's the story behind the 28 Peaks?" and, "Where did the name of Xiao'er come from?"

Such tough questions! We didn't know the answers, because there were scant resources in village and township schools and so we were sent to the city at a young age. The teachers out

没有告诉，我们怎能去懂；这里也不是我们成长过程中脚踩的土地，你怎么能让我对它有感情，让我因为感情而去爱它，传承保护它？

那中年人呢，他们到哪里去了？他们挣钱去了！挣钱无可厚非，作为小城镇住家的主要经济支柱，在电厂的卷风下，挣钱与花钱都是必须得，所以每天得加倍努力工作都是理所当然。有意思的是当一起被问起孝儿镇的时候，他们都很骄傲的说好，你看我们有雄伟的电厂发电达到多少千瓦时、我们的社区越来越大，镇上的商家越来越多，想怎么生活就怎么生活，很是方便，仅次于珙县县城！而更有意思的是当被单独问起的时候，相对以前，我更能感觉到他们一种不安、没有归属。

社区是变大了，但似乎再也看不到张老师文章中夜晚不敢出门的畏惧自然的害怕之心了，反而是夜夜不休的烧烤唱K夜生活；看不到人在自然中的惬意的生活，而是人与人之间的较量。

there taught us about the Yangtze River and the Yellow River, but nobody ever told us about the small rivers and hills next to my house. Nobody told us about our local food, landscape and culture.

How can we know if nobody told us? I did not set foot on this land while we grew up. How can you expect me to have feelings for it; to love it and protect it?

How about the middle-aged? Where are they? They are away making money! It's understandable. As the bread-winner, in the hurricane of hydro power plants, earning and spending money are a must. It's a matter of course that they have to work harder everyday. The interesting thing was that when asked, as a group, about Xiao'er Town, they took much pride and said, "Look! When the giant hydro power plants produce several megawatts, our community will grow bigger with more shops. We can live however we like. Very convenient, second only to the county seat!" What is more interesting is that when they were asked individually, I felt in them a sense of insecurity; of not belonging anywhere.

Yes, the community has grown, but we no longer see the sense of awe and fear of nature in people that kept them from going out at night. Instead, people have endless nights of BBQ and karaoke. We no longer see people living a fulfilling life in nature, but competing with each other.

我的家乡 My hometown



我说我的家乡很像孝儿镇，只不过我广西老家那里是村。

因为奔波，我们常年在在外，一年回家一次，一次都是那么的奢侈。

再次回到家乡，让我觉得可怕的不是那单一的种植，不是曾经商贸繁华的街区现在凋敝殆尽，不是那些空巢的家庭；以前的家乡“乱”，以前村寨里的争执打架种种都并不可怕，

可怕的是现在社区里没有了声音，稍微能发声的声音也湮没在社会大脚步声里，连你自己都听不到自己发出的那份铿锵有力的声音，对于一切都那样的顺其自然、逆来顺受。

我不期望孝儿镇也是这样子，我不期望你我都只是保持沉默！



When I say Xiao'er Town feels like my home, it's only because my hometown in Guangxi is in similar setting. We are always away, busying with this and that. We go back home once a year. Even this one visit is a luxury.

The last time I was home, what was scary was not the monoculture or the deserted streets which once hosted bustling trading activities or the empty homes. What scares me now is the silence. My homeland used to be 'chaotic', with people always shouting and fighting. All the faint voice that remains is muffled by the big sound of society's footsteps. You can't even hear your own voice, which is striking and strong. Villages just grin and bear whatever comes into their lives.

I wouldn't like to see Xiao'er Town going down like this. I wouldn't like to see us silence ourselves.

项目背景

About the project



珙县的孝儿镇位于四川宜宾地区，是一个典型迅速发展城镇。显示出现代化城市人购买消费品数量增加，产生大量垃圾，对环境和人的健康构成沉重的负担。社区伙伴与当地政府联手于二〇〇七年开展垃圾分类处理项目，除了基本的设备和措施方面的改善，亦以垃圾减量化为目标，动员社区志愿者进行环保教育，透过持续和多样的社区活动，鼓励居民探寻和思考垃圾—环境—生活之间的关系，在生活上以实质行动来回应环境的问题。

Xiao'er Town is in Gong County, Yibin District, Sichuan. It is a typical fast-growing urban town – people are buying more consumer goods, creating more garbage, bringing a heavy burden to the health of the environment and people. PCD and the local government launched a waste management project in 2007. Apart from improving the basic facilities and measures, the project also aimed at waste reduction. Mobilising local volunteers for education on environmental protection and organising various activities, the project hoped to encourage the residents to think about the relationship between waste, environment and life, and explore possible actions in their daily life to address this environmental problem.

作者资料

About the author



张钦万是孝儿镇宁泰社区的居民，当地老人体育协会的秘书，自项目开展以来一直以志愿者身分，热心参与推动社区环教活动。

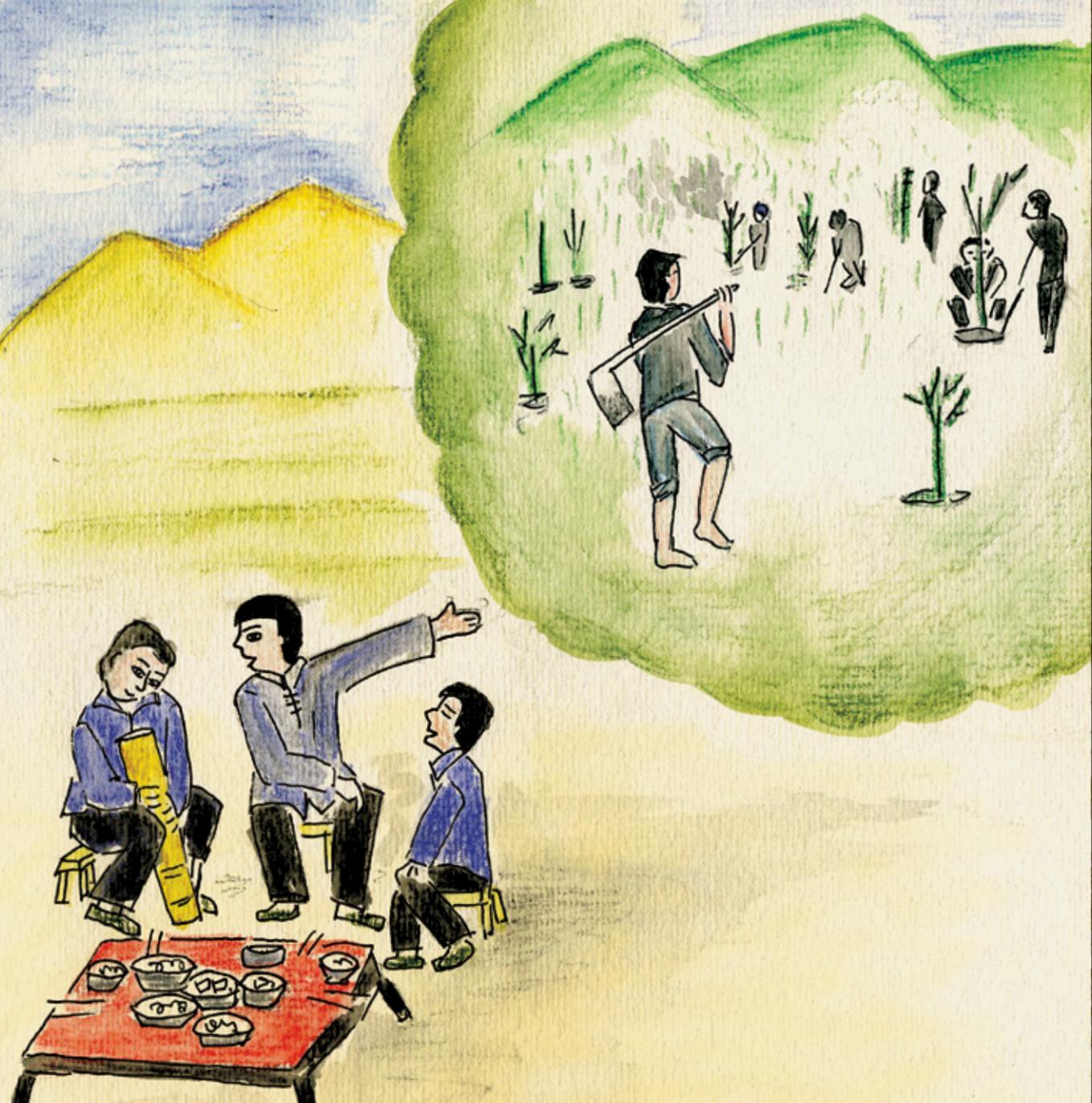
Zhang Qinwan is a resident of Ningtai Community in Xiao'er Town and secretary of the local old people's sports association. Zhang has been a volunteer, ever since the project began, he has been actively promoting environmental education.

张孝银是孝儿镇宁泰社区的居民，曾是项目的志愿者，参与推动社区环教活动。

Zhang Xiaoyin is also a resident of Ningtai Community. He was formerly a volunteer promoting environmental education.

韦罗东是社区伙伴四川项目的工作人员，曾在孝儿镇驻点，负责协调垃圾分类及社区教育项目，目前把关注点扩展至宜宾地区小河流域与社区健康的公众教育。

Wei Luodong is a staff member at PCD Sichuan Office. He used to be stationed in Xiao'er Town, taking charge of the waste management and community education project. His work has expanded and he is now responsible for public education in the river valleys and community health programme in Yibin District.



“拼”出来的情意

Patchwork of Affection

发展工作，涉及很多启发人心和世界观的内容。因此协作手法需本土化才可以了解社区、产生改变人心、整合集体力量的作用。文章介绍的“打拼伙”，就是大家聚在一起吃上一顿，热闹一下。享受快乐也罢，讨论集体事务也罢，最重要的是大家有了坐下来相互交流的平台。这种传统的联谊方式，变成一种社区协作手法，“拼”的就不仅仅是食物，而是社区集体解决问题的力量……

Community development is about inspiring people's minds and broadening perspectives. To achieve this, localisation of community facilitation approach is indispensable. "Da Pin Huo" is the Yunnan version of a "pot-luck party" – coming together for a good time over food. It can be just for fun or a discussion on community affairs. The point is that people get the chance to meet and share their thoughts. In this project, the local social platform of "Da Pin Huo" is adapted as a method of community facilitation, in which villagers get together not only for food, but for collective action to resolve community problems.

爱上打拼伙

Falling in love with *Da Pin Huo*

“打拼伙”在云南很多村子都有。在冬闲、或节日、或偶然得了某件稀罕野味之时，一些情投意合的朋友，就会聚在一起，找一处“好在”之地，自做自吃。这种聚餐谈心的习俗，就是“打拼伙”。“打拼伙”如何做？有时候各自从家里取来现成的肉食酒菜，合伙一起享用；有时候，单个凑点自己生产的粮食、蔬菜，房前屋后拾点柴火，搭伙做；另一种是大伙摊钱买酒买肉，“一起动手，丰衣足食”。“打拼伙”很少考虑饭菜的花样，而更看重吃得高兴，喝得痛快，谈得开心。

小湾子村是我们在云南石屏县的一个项目点。在村子里走访的时候，人人都有打拼伙的故事。他们回忆的时候，脸上带着甜甜的微笑，“小时候，干活时，在一起吹牛，有什么想干的、干过的、好玩的，吹着吹着来感觉了，就约着找个地方去玩了。”这是村民对“打拼伙”的定义。

Da Pin Huo is a very common village social activity in Yunnan. Like-minded friends often come together and cook their own food after the busy farming days in winter, during festivals or when they occasionally make a catch of a rare wild animal. Villagers may bring their own food such as homegrown food and vegetables and share it with others. They may also buy some food and wine and share the cost. In any case, what is on the table doesn't bother them that much. The villagers care more about enjoying the food, the wine and the conversation.

In traditional societies where affection is highly valued, mutual help is needed to keep village life going. The importance of *Da Pin*

在过去，传统的情感社会里，需要大家相互帮助，才能维持正常的生活。在一起“打拼伙”就显得尤为重要，它没有固定的模式，也没有年龄的限制。它不仅仅是大家在一起吃一顿，更是沟通情感的管道。二〇〇九年石屏县的项目构想如何加强社区的凝聚力，让大家对可持续生活有共同的想象，并关心身边的问题。这无疑是一项挑战，要找到村民关注的事作切入点，以及他们处理问题的方式。我们留意到，村民喜欢坐下来边吃边聊，而不像机构工作的人那样坐在会议桌上讨论，开会对他们来说有点受罪的感觉。而坐在饭桌边，边吃边聊，就显得轻松愉悦，无拘无束。打拼伙由此成为了项目与村民相接合的一个切入点。

Huo is particularly marked in this context. It is not just about dining together. It is more about a communication of affection. In 2009, PCD's project in Shiping County moved from infrastructure building to awareness building with the aim of initiating actions for change. But how? We had no clue at all. We had to identify the issues that concerned the villagers and their method of problem solving. We learned that they liked to talk over meals. Formal meetings were a torture to the villagers. *Da Pin Huo* thus became a way for the project team to connect with the villagers.



把一些技术带回去 Bring home the technical knowledge

苏银平是小湾子村民，过去在项目的技术支持下，开展了生态农业试验。他说：“现在把‘打拼伙’与项目活动结合起来，是发自内心的喜欢‘打拼伙’，自己从这个活动也得到很多东西，如果没有这个活动，很多经验和技術都要失传，那就很可惜了。老人家告诉我们，他们那时候生活有多艰苦，为了提高产量，要花很多心思和汗水在肥料上，养好地，才能养活人。他们做基肥、研究蒸肥，到山上拿树叶、腐殖土、烧火土、采摘嫩叶踩到田里等等。有了老人们的现身说法，才开始明白一些东西，经验和技術如果不传承，肯定要失传掉。”

“打拼伙”做到现在，并不要求来参加的人都能拿一些技术来讲，而希望参加的人能带

Su Yinping is a villager in Xiaowanzi Village. He is an active participant of training workshops on eco-agricultural techniques and is now putting the theory into practice.

"I do like *Da Pin Huo* from my heart. I learned a lot in the process. Much experience and technical knowledge would have been lost were it not for this activity. That would have been unfortunate..."

At the outset, we didn't expect every villager coming to *Da Pin Huo* to share their technical skills. Instead, we hoped that they could take home some technical knowledge. We also discussed morality and friendship, with regard

一些技术回去。除了讨论技术外，也会聊一些道德、情感方面的话题，比如教育年轻人，不要嫌弃老人。打拼伙实践了一年左右，村里已经有三分之二的人参加过。村民们开始变得比较关心这个活动了，田间地头碰到，会相互交流。“这次‘打拼伙’讨论了哪样技术，如何实践……”等。而我们这些组织者也开始思考要如何做，才能有点进步。而最大的希望就有一些新的机制，把这个活动持续下去。

与苏银平聊天的时候，能感受到他的真诚。中国农业经历了五千年，地力没有衰竭，还哺育着世界上人口密度最高的国家，就是因为我们的祖先们兢兢业业的劳作，他们总是用各种办法为土壤补充肥料，也根据自然的规律，给土地轮流耕作，冬闲休耕等。不像现在这么高频率的使用土地，种一些外来、高产的东西，不断的喷洒农药，除虫、除菌、除草、膨大、早熟……看到农业现在面临的危机，也看到这些在努力实践的人，虽然他们若大海里的一滴水，但这也有一丝希望。

to educating the young and not abandoning the old. The *Da Pin Huo* initiative that incorporated learning has run for one year, attracting two thirds of the villagers. They have started to take it more seriously. They talked about it when they bumped into each other in the fields. Meanwhile, as organisers, we have started to think about how to move on for more progress. The primary hope would be building a new mechanism to sustain the activity.



有讨论就有了行动

In action

项目前期做了很多农村垃圾处理和意识提升的工作。那天我和当地伙伴永华一起到小湾子。我们在村子里转了一圈，发现街道变得很干净，走到河边却看到一堆垃圾。一个大妈告诉我们，他们村子昨天搞了集体劳动，在家的人都来打扫卫生，计划把扫出来的垃圾运到山上。卡车运了几趟，没油了才倒到河边的。虽然垃圾的处理不尽满意，村子确是有点变化了。这期项目开始时，每次都只有何正荣和苏银平两人参加活动，我心里很着急，这个村子怎么做呢？现在看到村子里出现集体劳动的可喜变化，心里怎么能不高兴呢！当然他们把垃圾倒到河里也是问题，但看到行动，就有了希望。接下来需要推动他们讨论垃圾丢在河边的

In the early stage of the project, we had quite a lot of activities on waste management and awareness building. One day, I went to Xiaowanzi Village with Yonghua, our local partner. We found that the roads were very clean but the river was lined with waste. A woman told us that they organised a village cleaning day. Everybody who was home joined in. They planned to take the waste up to the mountain but after running for several trips the truck ran out of gasoline. The waste was then dumped by the river. Although this solution is far from perfect, I can see the signs of change in the village. In the days when the project was launched, we had the same participants in all our activities I was very anxious and worried about how to move on. I was delighted when I saw this promising

危害，经过三番五次的讨论，半年后村民将河边垃圾进行了焚烧和堆肥，原来堆放垃圾地方变成了小菜园。我们还是要继续努力把工作做得更全面。

在一次“打拚伙”中，村民想到垃圾问题以外，还可以再做什么。于是想到了在后山种树。去年一场大火烧光了护寨林，一旦下大雨，对村子的威胁很大。植树是为了美观，更是为了安全。大家担心，树没了，泥石流的发生的可能性也就多了。



initiative of collection action. The collective waste dumping by the river was obviously a problem, but hope starts with every step of change. What followed was a discussion on the hazard of garbage dumping by the river. Half a year later, after a series of discussions, the villagers took action again, either burning or composting the waste. The original dumping ground was turned into a small vegetable garden. We still have to continue improving action.

Out of the villagers' concern about public health, the visible problem of waste came to their attention during a *Da Pin Huo* activity. With this increasing awareness, the villagers wanted to do more. They thought of tree planting on the side of the mountain. The previous year, the village-protecting





种树的时间定在三月份，刚好是植树节，也是我们项目进行中期评估的时间。村民们还特意在中午搞了一场“打拼伙”，他们平时从来没有中午搞过。可能当时我比较紧张，感觉氛围有点怪异。男人们默默地吃饭，妇女们也變得安静乖巧，不像平时大声说笑，不时还会相互打趣。席间，除了同事偶尔提几个问题外，村民只简单讲了下午种树的事情，就只会埋头吃饭。十二点左右，村民们不约而同拿了工具，往后山走。没有谁再通知，他们都说，前几天就说好了。到了山上，村长稍微介绍了一下种树要注意挖坑的深度、距离、种植棵数，话还没有说完，村民就动起来了。下着雨，但谁也没有停下休息的意思，一直热火朝天地干着，下午三、四点，属于集体护寨林的地盘都种上了马尾松的种子。

trees were burned down in a hill fire. Now, the villagers were worried about landslips following heavy downpours.

The villagers happened to pick the Tree Planting Day in March for their action. This coincided with the day for the mid-term project review. *Da Pin Huo* was never before held at lunch, but on the day of the review, the villagers organised a special *Da Pin Huo* lunch. I might have been a bit nervous and felt it a little strange. The men ate in silence.

The women were also unusually quiet. Apart from responding to the questions from the project staff, the villagers just kept eating, save for a brief introduction of the tree planting in the afternoon.



Around mid-day, without any announcement, the villagers took up their tools and walked up the mountainside. Up on the heights, the village head briefly noted how deep, how far apart and how many trees were to be planted. The villagers could not wait and started before the village head could finish. It was raining but nobody showed any intention of resting. They worked non-stop, with great enthusiasm. At about 4pm, the plot for the village-protecting forest was filled with the seeds of Masson's pine.



最难的不是发现问题， 而是解决问题

The most difficult thing is not identifying the problem, but solving it

植树也是为了解决自来水的问题。有山才有水，这个道理大家都懂。可山上的树早已换成了果树、桉树等需水量大的经济植物。有些人家约上几户人家集资建了自己的水池，也有自己私下里接了管子到家里，但全村没有一个合适的解决办法。

解决自来水的问题，也是打拼伙的时候经常讨论的话题。有一次，在苏银平家，摆了两张桌子，每桌八、九个人，一桌是男的，在喝酒，另一桌是女的。各桌都在边吃边吹，男的聊一些经济方面的事情，女的聊最近村子里的新闻。我坐在旁边，边吃边听他们吹，偶尔问一下他们谈话内容的背景，还没有进入状态。

突然，苏三叔对我说：“小杨，社区伙伴应该为我们解决一下自来水的问题。”在一边喝酒的苏银平马上回答：“他们不做硬件。”苏三叔又说：“不做硬件，那做什么？”我说：“做软件。”

Tree planting can also improve the availability of potable water. It is common knowledge that there is no water without green mountains. However, the mountainside was planted with water-sucking fruit trees and eucalyptus that bring in cash. Much of the available water is diverted to irrigate these trees. Some villagers have pooled resources and built their own water tanks. Some have secretly connected a water supply to their houses. There was no village-wide solution.

Actually, potable water was a popular topic of concern in *Da Pin Huo*. On one occasion, we prepared two tables in Su Yinping's house, each table seating nine or so persons. All of a sudden, Uncle Su said to me, "Xiao Yang, PCD should solve the water problem for us." Yinping was having some wine but jumped on my reply, "They don't work on hardware."

三叔慢慢端起碗，喝了一口酒，“软件？什么是软件？”

“软件就是人嘛，人的思想认识。项目想要和大家一起学习，过去的一些美德。老祖辈们在生产生活中会相互帮忙，人跟人在一起很和善地相处。对自然也是有敬畏的，不会想着去征服世界。现在，过去的互帮互助在演变，哪家需要帮忙，要给钱才行，是吧？像你们村子没有水，你们每天睁开眼，就看见对面山光秃秃的。没有树，加上今年特别旱，水肯定越来越少。”我对着三叔说。

三叔吃了一粒花生米，转过身说：“老辈子的古话说，有山才有水，我们也认得这个道理。对面山头，几百年的大树，在大炼钢铁时候就砍了。后来慢慢开成地，前几年种烤烟，剩下的树也砍了，现在我们吃水都要到下面总管挑。”

后来大家讨论了一会自来水的问题，就陆续回家睡觉了，只有三叔陪我们聊到十二点多才走，对项目有了新的认识。走的时候说：“做软件是应该的，就是难度会比较大。”

"No hardware?" asked Uncle Su, "Then what do you do?" I replied, "Software." He picked up his bowl of wine slowly and took a sip before he continued, "Software? What is it?" I said, "Well, software is about people: people's mind. This project is about studying the traditional virtues. The ancestors helped each other with their living and producing; people were friendly to each other. They hold nature in awe and respect, not thinking of conquering the world. But now, things have changed. If you need any help, you have to pay. Is that so? There is no water in your village. Every morning, you open your eyes to a bare mountain. Without any trees, particularly in a dry year like this, for sure you will have less and less water."

Uncle Su munched a peanut, turned around and said, "As the old saying goes, there is no water without mountains. We recognise this principle. On the mountain in front of us, the centuries-old trees were cut down at the time of the mass steel milling campaign. It was later gradually turned into arable land. A few years ago, the villagers started to grow tobacco leaves. The remaining trees were cut down too. And now, we have to collect water from the main pipe down there."

The conversations stayed on the water problem for a while and then everybody went home to close the day. Uncle Su chatted with us until midnight, going home with a fresh understanding of the project. He said as he left the house, "Yes, we should work on software. It's just that it's more difficult."

未完的打拼伙

Future *Da Pin Huo*

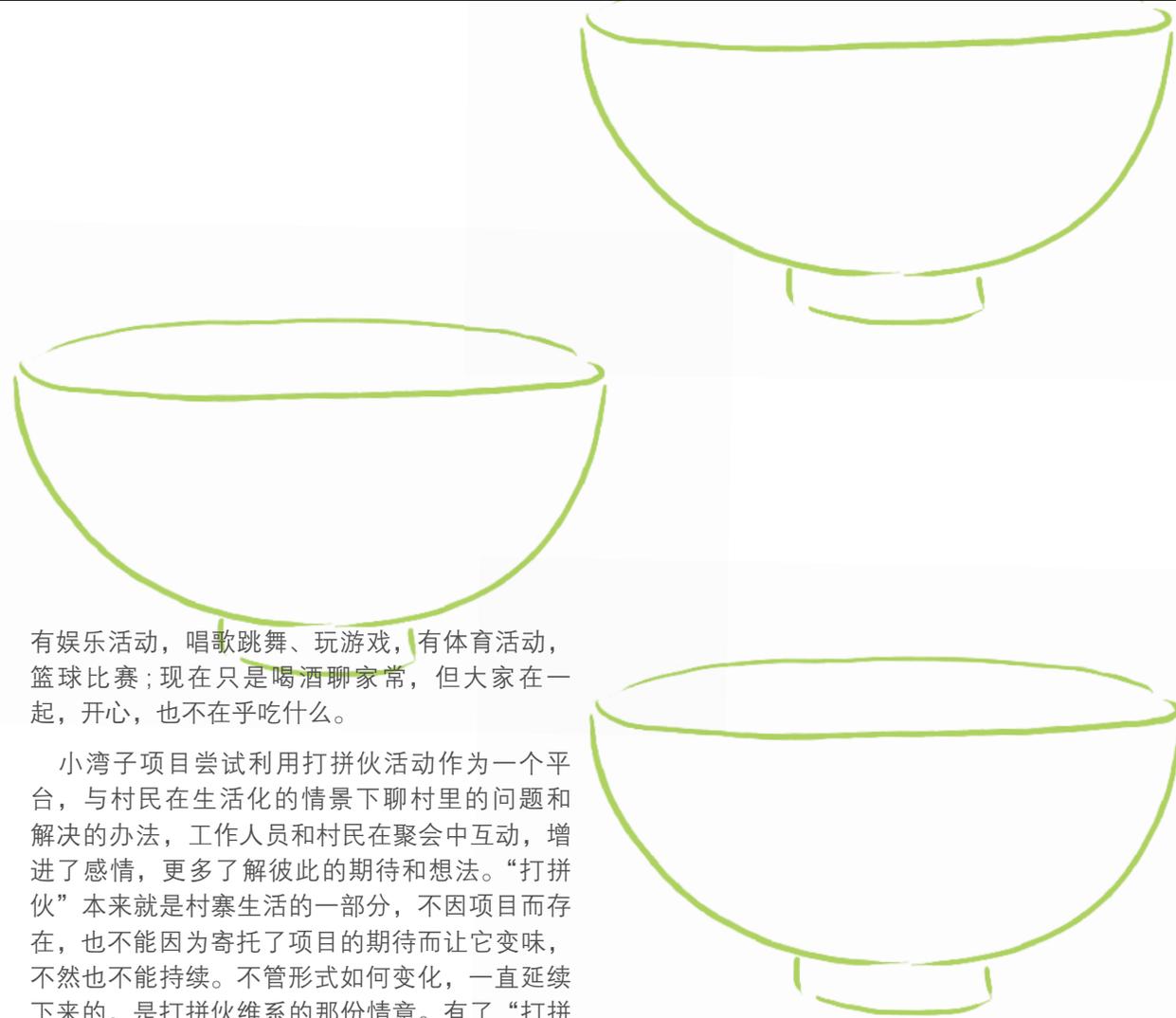
写作社区故事的过程，同时也是一个与村民一起思考的过程。有人在谈到“打拼伙”的变化时，第一句话会说：“现在么好了，吃的好呀！”但再问怎么好，往往就会抓脑壳：“其实还是以前的好吃、健康，虽然是些山茅野菜，但是真正的绿色蔬菜，那时候的鸡、鸭真土，味道没得说的，酒也是真的粮食酒，现在么，假的太多了，吃的多是农药化肥。”深问下去，他们往往会否定掉第一个答案，继而说出心里实际的想法。现在日子虽然好了，钱赚得也多了，碰上有人结婚或者做寿等，城里包个馆子，吃一顿，这样的方式，虽然方便很多，只消带着嘴去，吃饱了就走，却少了很多沟通交流的机会，人情味变得越来越淡。这并不是村民真的想要的生活。

对“打拼伙”的变化，除了食物，还会说到形式。大部分人记忆里都觉得以前好玩，花样多，

We made *Da Pin Huo* our platform in the villagers' life setting to talk about their village issues and the way out. It allows us to interact with the villagers in a lively manner, for building up friendship and mutual understanding. *Da Pin Huo* is part of village life. It doesn't spring from the project. We should not change its flavour even though it carries our project objectives. Otherwise, it cannot last. What is enduring is the affection maintained in *Da Pin Huo*. As long as there is *Da Pin Huo*, the villagers have a platform for getting together. *Huo* is getting together to discuss, to do something. *Pin* is the patching of food. It can also patch together resources, ideas, action...In Xiao Wanzi Village, *Da Pin Huo* is still in its present continuous tense.

有娱乐活动，唱歌跳舞、玩游戏，有体育活动，篮球比赛；现在只是喝酒聊家常，但大家在一起，开心，也不在乎吃什么。

小湾子项目尝试利用打拼伙活动作为一个平台，与村民在生活化的情景下聊村里的问题和解决的办法，工作人员和村民在聚会中互动，增进了感情，更多了解彼此的期待和想法。“打拼伙”本来就是村寨生活的一部分，不因项目而存在，也不能因为寄托了项目的期待而让它变味，不然也不能持续。不管形式如何变化，一直延续下来的，是打拼伙维系的那份情意。有了“打拼伙”，大伙就有了聚在一起的平台。“伙”是聚在一起讨论事情，做事情；“拼”的却可以不仅仅是食物，那也可以是资源，是想法，是行动……打拼伙在小湾子仍然是一个未完的进行式。



项目背景

About the project



小湾子村是社区伙伴在云南石屏的项目村，位于石屏县新城乡下新寨村委会。新城乡是白花龙河的源头，全乡依河而建，两边以两条山脉为界。小湾子村在河流的中游。自二〇〇五年开始，社区伙伴与石屏县政府合作，在石屏县新城乡开展了人类健康和生态健康推动项目。在总结人类健康和生态健康项目经验的基础上，以流域保护和管理为主题，旨在进一步巩固当地社区在生态健康方面的视野和能力。

Xiaowanzi Village is a project village in Xiaxinzhai Village Committee, Xincheng Township, Shiping County Yunnan. Xincheng Township is at the source of Baihualong River. The village was built along the river, flanked by the mountain range on both sides. Xincheng Township lies mid-stream. Since 2005, PCD has been working with the Shiping County Government on a human and eco-health project in Xincheng Village. Drawing experience from this project, the river conservation and management project aimed at consolidating the perspective and capacity of the local community in eco-health.

作者资料

About the author



杨丽芬曾是社区伙伴云南办的项目人员，参与石屏项目，与村民度过了难忘的三年。

Yang Lifen is a former project staff at PCD Yunnan Office. In this project, she spent three memorable years with the villagers.

社区协作

Facilitation of Community Work

泰国清迈社会知识管理学院创立人差猜万·通滴叻先生曾经打过一个比方：“我们生活的社区像土地，社区里面的老百姓像土地里的一只虫，我们外来者就像一只鸟，我们可能会看到很大、很远的东西，但是很难看到地底下发生的事情。”鸟和虫，该维持怎样的关系？是谁影响着谁？还是互相被触动着？

Mr Chatchawan Thongdeelert, the founder of College of Social Knowledge Management (CSM) in Chiang Mai, Thailand, once remarked, “The community is like a piece of land, the people in the community insects on the ground, and we outsiders birds. We might be able to see far and high, but it is difficult for us to see what is happening on the ground.”

Birds and insects, what kind of relationship should they have? Who is influencing who? Or are they each leaving an impact on the other's lives?



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A Journey in Love

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我们的生活，我们的舞
Our Life, Our Dance

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温暖的剧团，温暖的心
A Warm Theatre with a Warm Heart

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关于垃圾应有的生活态度
Attitude to Waste, Attitude to Life



在爱中行走 A Journey in Love

社区艺术是近年常用的社区软性协作手法之一，用以唤起居民对社区生活及传统文化的归属感、对幸福生活的重新定义。艺术滋养心灵，在这过程中，没有生硬的生计指标去衡量社区，更多的是一种平等，相互欣赏和学习的情谊，在外部协作者和村民之间流动，互相滋润。

Over the past few years, community arts has been widely used as a facilitation tool. It aims at building affection for the life and tradition of the community, and also to inspire thoughts on what is meant by happy living. Arts nurtures the soul. Unlike livelihoods projects, there are no rigid indicators to measure 'progress' and 'output'. Rather, we place trust in the process itself. There is an equal relationship between facilitators and villagers, based on friendship, mutual appreciation and learning from each other's life experience.

“正月那个就把那红灯挂哟，溜也溜连溜呀，二月那个燕儿那衔泥巴哟，红花溜斗连斗海棠花……”

筹备了将近两个月，四川柏林湾社区妇女文艺队和山歌组终于来到了成都，开始了期待已久的表演。随着台上表演的进行，观众们情不自禁的跟着哼唱起来。正在这个时候，一个朋友从人缝中穿过来，拍着我肩膀说：“这就是你项目点？表演的太好了，从他们的表演以及脸上的笑容，真的能感受到他们的幸福，太让人羡慕了。”

我笃定地点头，不禁望向站在舞台右侧的阿存、路加和周微¹，记忆的大门轰然被打开……

“Hey! Hanging red lanterns in January. Lala-la-lala-lala...”

After two months' preparation, the women's art group and folk song group of Bailinwan Village finally made their way to Chengdu, and gave a long-expected performance on stage. A friend of mine tapped my shoulder and said, "Hey, is this your project? They are just gorgeous. From their performance and their smiles, I can really feel that they are happy." My eyes turned to the right side of the stage where Ah Chuen, Lo Ka and Zhou Wei¹ were standing. The door of memory was struck open...

村里来了两个香港人 Two guests from Hong Kong

烈日炎炎，周围的一切仿佛一点星火就会肆意的燃烧起来。村中心小学的教室里传出一阵阵欢快的笑声，天气瞬间变得清爽起来。教室里，阿存弹着吉他跳跃在孩子们的中间，路加在黑板上写着什么，孩子们则坐在自己的位置上眼球随着阿存转动。阿存用着尽量流利的普通话问：“你觉得音乐像什么？”“苹果”，孩子瞪着闪亮的大眼睛说。

“你呢？”“树。”一个略显害羞的男孩子回答道。

一会的功夫，孩子们在阿存和路加的引导下创作出了自己的首张单曲——“音乐像……”“音乐像树，音乐像苹果，音乐就像我的好朋友……”优美的旋律在教室飘荡，孩子们轻快的歌声引来了

It was a hot summer day. Laughter broke from the classroom in the village primary school. Playing his guitar, Ah Chuen made the best of his Putonghua and asked, "What is music like to you?"

"Apple!", said a kid with sparkling big eyes.

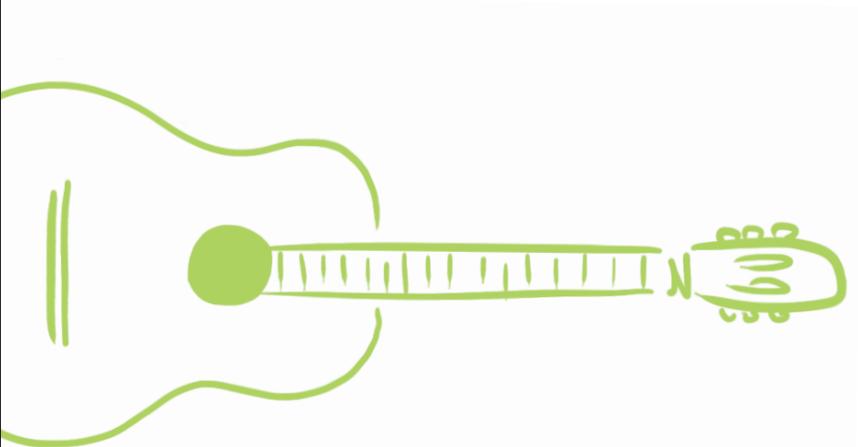
"What about you?"

"Tree!", a shy boy said.

In just a short while, the children finished writing their debut song, 'Music is Like', under the guidance of Ah Chuen and Lo Ka.

"Music is like a tree, 'Music is Like' an apple, music is like our buddies..."

1. 阿存与路加是社区伙伴邀请到柏林湾社区的社区音乐及戏剧顾问。周微是成都社区艺术协作者网络的一员。
Ah Chuen and Lo Ka are the project consultants of Community Music and Theatre; Zhou Wei is a member of the Chengdu Community Arts Facilitators Network.



鸟儿们的阵阵欢叫。阿存一直坚信人人都可以成为音乐家的信念，用自己满满的爱鼓励着这群对音乐充满渴望的孩子，使孩子们的音乐梦慢慢的绽放。

孩子们因为亲自创作了属于他们自己的第一首歌，格外兴奋。下课了，他们被唤起的音乐梦却没有因此而停止。有的在专注的拨弄吉他的琴弦，有的在热情洋溢的打着手鼓，有的在认真的抄写歌词，还有几个小女孩哼着歌欢快的跑着、跳着。正在这时候，一个小男孩跑过来，把一张小纸条悄悄的塞进了我的手里，然后害羞的跑开了。我好奇地打开，纸上面青涩的笔触描绘了一个弹着吉他的男生，下面写着“给路路”。路加拿到第一位小粉丝的“礼物”时，端详了许久，眼神里流露出一种欣慰与感动。尽管孩子的画笔比较粗拙，线条也不够流畅，但是这幅画却已经深深地镌刻在了路加的心里。他小心地把“礼物”折好，放在自己的口袋里，深深地吸了一口气。当天晚上，吃过晚饭后，我们一起坐在院子里乘凉、聊天。路加聊到自己这些天来与孩子们的相处，做游戏，玩音乐，创作歌曲的种种场景，也聊到了远离故乡来到异地乡村工作的种种不易。然而当聊到自己在其中的感动与收获时，他觉得自己所做的一切都是值得的。

The kids were really excited with their debut song, their very own composition. The class was over but the children stayed on. Some plucked the strings on a guitar with great concentration. Others dutifully copied out the lyrics. A few girls ran and jumped around joyfully, singing the song. A boy ran to me and stuffed a note into my hand. I unfolded it with curiosity. It was a drawing of a guy playing guitar, and a note at the bottom saying: "To Lo Ka". I passed it to Lo Ka who, for a long while, looked at this present from his first fan. He then folded the note with great care, put it into his pocket and took a deep breath. That night we had a good chat after dinner. Lo Ka shared the joy of playing music with kids in those few days, and the difficulties of working in a new place. However, he felt everything he did was worth it.



乡音二重奏

Duet of village voices

“阿存，我刚把稻谷打起就来了，没有晚吧？”社区的山歌王张新良匆匆地走进教室。“没有，你来的很及时，辛苦你了……”

待他坐下后，孩子们在阿存和路加的组织下，坐在了自己的座位上，等待着老人们教授山歌。起初，由于没有教孩子们唱山歌的经验，张新良唱歌速度偏快且没有停顿的习惯，许多孩子跟不上，小小的眼睛里充满了茫然。阿存和路加发现后，与张新良商量了一下，在教室的两旁跟着张新良的节奏弹起吉他，孩子们也渐渐的跟上了调子。就这样，重复多次以后，孩子们已经基本能掌握了山歌的唱法。张新良在其中自是享受到了教孩子们的兴趣，热情洋溢的听孩子们一遍一遍的唱山歌。这是老人家们第一次听见自己的孙子辈们唱山歌，那些经过岁月洗涤的婉转音符经过孩子们童真的演绎，与老人们饱经沧桑唱出的韵味截然不同，带着一些旭日初升的力量和希望。山歌所传唱的浓浓乡情也随之在祖孙之间流淌下去。

"Ah Chuen, I am just done with the threshing. Am I late?" Zhang Xinliang, king of folk song in the community, entered the classroom in a hurry. The kids returned to their seats, waiting for the elders to teach them how to sing local folk songs. At the beginning, many of them could not catch up, their eyes looking blank. Noticing this, Ah Chuen and Lo Ka played guitar as accompaniment to Zhang's rhythm. The children gradually picked up the melody, and after a few rounds they had grasped the basic singing technique. It was the first time the elders had heard their grandchildren singing their folk songs, the Mountain Songs.

To experience the connection of the folk songs with life, Ah Chuen and Lo Ka had braved the heat and joined the villagers in harvesting the rice a day before. They

为了体会村民们唱山歌的场景和心情，也为了让大家找回山歌与生活的实际联系，阿存和路加特意在头一天顶着烈日与村民们一起到地里收割稻子，并鼓励大家像以前一样，边割稻子边唱收获庄稼的山歌。有了前一天的基础，妇女们明显更加积极地投入到和我们一起做的活动中来了。

“我们现在人到齐了，一起做个游戏好不好啊？”阿存热情的说：“我们就来想想柏林湾都有什么，然后把你最喜欢的东西写在黑板上或者画在黑板上，可以吗？”大家都异口同声的说：“可以。”顿时，大家争先恐后的在黑板上写下自己喜欢的东西，生怕漏掉了家乡的一草一木。有小白兔、有蔬菜、有兰花……

老人、孩子以及活跃在二者之间的阿存、路加构成了一幅画，一幅流动的富有生命力的图画，似乎在演绎着社区的未来。像往常一样，阿存引导他们把这些东西编成歌曲，路加则在一旁弹着吉他为他们伴奏。孩子、老人一起唱起“我们的家乡……”唱着自己创作的关于家乡的歌，每个人都难掩满脸的自豪。这优美的乡音二重奏百转千回的飘荡在安静的校园里，飘向乡间的小路上，回响在整个柏林湾。

encouraged the villagers to sing the harvest songs as they had in the past. Doing this, the women harvested the rice more enthusiastically.

Ah Chuen now said to the kids, "Now that everybody is here, shall we play a game? Let's think about what we have in Bailinwan and then write or draw what you like most on the blackboard. Shall we?" In unison, the children answered, "Yes!" In no time, everybody rushed to the blackboard and wrote down the things they liked – rabbits, vegetables, orchids... As usual, Ah Chuen guided them to arrange the words into a song. The young and the old were soon singing "Our hometown..." Singing a song composed by themselves and about their hometown, the villagers had a proud look on their faces, every one of them.

我们的中秋节 Our moon festival



二〇一一年的中秋节，小雨，空气微甜。筹备已久的中秋晚会并没有因为这样的天气而有丝毫的改变。

“正月里，什么花，人人所爱？什么人，手挽手，同下山来？”

“正月里，迎春花，人人所爱。梁山伯，祝英台，同下山来……”

社区的山歌王张新良与张保良应观众们强烈的要求，唱了一首又一首，观众们的热情也是一场高过一场。孩子们也拿出了自己的作品。除了创

It was drizzling on the day of the Moon Festival in 2011, but that did not dampen the evening activity which the villagers had started preparing quite a while ago.

"What is the flower in January that everybody loves? Who are they that walk down the mountain hand in hand?" – the kings of folk song, Zhang Xinliang and Zhang Baoliang, sang one song after another, satisfying the audience's requests. The children performed their two pieces 'Music is Like' and 'Our Hometown' accompanied

作歌曲的原班小朋友积极参与之外，他们还邀请了自己的哥哥姐姐也加入进来，并且加入了一些自编的简单动作，一起合作表演了《音乐像……》和《我们的家乡》这两个节目。演出赢得了阵阵掌声，并在观众们的一致呼声下再次登台表演了《我们的家乡》，还和观众们玩起了互动游戏，台上台下一起演绎这首歌曲。

妇女文艺队一直是节目最多的。这次活动，他们还表演了自己的原创曲目《花溪的公路》，并且邀请了小朋友们的参演。路加和我们配合小朋友们，乘着搭建的“小火车”，在观众中间来回穿梭。台上的表演者、台下的观众以及与在观众中间游移的小朋友们和我们的工作者，各个笑容满面，淋漓欢畅。此时此刻，我觉得自己不再是工作者，他们也不再是合作对象，我只想把自己置身其中，与他们一起尽情享受这种欢乐的时刻。



with simple moves. The women's art group also performed their original song, 'The Road in Huaxi', inviting the kids to join in. Lo Ka and the rest of us formed a little train with the kids, going around the audience. At that moment, I no longer saw myself as the project staff or them as the project target.

原来可以这样跳舞

Oh, we can dance like this!

在张新良家的院落里，每个人都搬起一块砖，弯下腰，迈着略显夸张的步子吃力的走着。之后来自成都，作为自由舞者同时是社区协作者的周微引导大家想象自己怀孕时的样子，并鼓励妇女们重新体验当年的感觉。刚开始，妇女们很害羞，表现得很不自然。李菊阳更是因为害羞，站在旁边不愿意加入进来。当周微接二连三的扮演孕妇后，大家也渐渐地接受了这个游戏。李菊阳率先把自己的外衣脱掉，塞到毛衣里充当孩子，顶着“大肚子”走来走去。不一会，其他的妇女也纷纷找来了“道具”，顶着鼓鼓的肚子享受孕妇的乐趣。大家你扶我，我扶你，笑颜如花，笑出了眼泪。

In the courtyard of Zhang Xinliang's house, Zhou Wei, a dancer and a member of the Chengdu Community Arts Facilitators Network asked the women to imagine themselves being pregnant and encouraged them to recall that feeling. She played a pregnant woman herself a few times before the other women got used to the exercise. Li Juyang made the first move, taking off her coat and stuffing it inside her sweater to make the baby. She then walked around with her 'big belly'. Very soon, other women joined in and enjoyed the fun. "Imagine that we are holding something heavy. Our body will lean downward, won't

“我们大家想象一下搬重物的时候，身体是不是向下倾的？因为我们把一个东西看成一种负担时，身体会自然而然的向下。然而，我们并不会把腹中的胎儿当作负担，尽管腰疼、腿酸，我们还是会用最大的努力把它挺起，保护好它。”周微对舞蹈有着独特的认识与见解，“只要用心，人人都可以成为舞者，舞蹈不是来源于别处，而是来源于生活。”这是她对舞蹈最好的诠释。

为了把她自己对于舞蹈的体会传递给妇女们，周微花了很多心思。她让妇女们模仿她们身边常见的事物的形态，例如模仿一年四季不同时节的树；模仿露珠、水滴、小溪、河流、海洋等不同形态的水。妇女们想重编《花溪的公路》的舞蹈，周微就和她们一起讲故事，让大家重温当时的场景，回忆当时的心情，然后让大家一起用戏剧和舞蹈的动作来模拟修路的场面，那是一幅美丽的风景，夹杂着异常悦耳的欢声笑语从张新良的院坝里传来，在静谧的山间回荡。然而要让妇女们自然地生活到舞蹈的身体语言的转换，并非易事。为了让阿姨婆婆们走出修路时欢快的步伐来，周微想了个小游戏，请她们想象自己回到了十六岁，带着十六岁的情怀去走路。大家一起数着节拍，不论是二十五岁的周微，还是四十五岁的阿姨，七十多岁的婆婆，都蹦蹦跳跳地走出了十六岁的感觉，这场景带给人莫名的欢愉。

it? That's because we take it as a burden and our body will naturally lean down. But we won't see our baby as a burden. Our waist and legs hurt but we will still prop it up and protect it with our best effort." Zhou Wei had her own understanding and opinion about dancing. "Everybody can be a dancer as long as we do it with our full heart. Dance takes its root in life. Nothing else."

Hoping to share her experience by dancing, Zhou Wei invited the women to imitate the things they commonly see around them – the tree in its different seasonal forms; water in its different manifestations as morning dew, water drops, stream, river and ocean. The women wanted to have a new dance to go with their song 'The Road in Huaxi'. So Zhou Wei invited them to tell their stories, recalling their feelings from when they built the road. And then they re-enacted the scenes of road building with drama and dance steps. It turned out that it was not easy for them to express their life experience with body language in a natural manner. To get them taking light and joyful steps, Zhou Wei played a game with them. She asked them to imagine themselves walking as a 16-year-old girl. Finally, counting the beat, Zhou Wei at 25, the aunties in their 40s and the grannies in their 70s hopped around in the spirit of a teenager.

笑容与赞美 Smile and praise



“你能清醒点不”，“每次都是因为你”，“你再这样就别来了”……

当越来越多的抱怨发生在妇女文艺队内部，整个团队瞬间成了一盘散沙，彼此你争我骂。阿存和周微认为，营造团队的正能量是迫在眉睫的事情。

“每当我们排练结束后，大家要对彼此笑，并且要像这样赞美对方可以吗？”周微边说边竖起大拇指，站在一旁的阿存和路加跟着做了起来。妇女文艺队的队员和山歌组的张新良、张继良也跟着他们朝着对方竖起了大拇指。

“以后经常给他们灌输这种意识，希望能避免矛盾的产生吧。”阿存说。排练即将结束的时候，阿存等人组织大家围成一个圆圈，鼓励她们要团结、互相帮助、多体谅他人、温和的提意见，不要因为意见不合而闹矛盾。“你做的很好”“你也不

"Can you pay more attention?" "It's all because of you." "Don't come if you go on like this."

Complaints built up in the women's art group, and it looked it was going to fall apart. Ah Chuen and Zhou Wei felt that they needed to do something immediately to restore the group spirit. "After our rehearsal, we should smile at each other and praise each other like this, shall we?" said Zhou Wei, holding up her thumb. Towards the end of the rehearsal, Ah Chuen and other facilitators formed a circle with the women, encouraging them to stay united, help each other, appreciate each other, make suggestions in a gentle way and accept different opinions. Later on, their

错” 这样的话语像爱心传递一样在每个排练结束的时刻循环出现，出自口中，进入心窝里。

“我们的舞蹈土里土气，不好看，不敢去成都表演，咋个能跟人家的表演比。”“就是说嘛。”排练中间，妇女们开始你一言我一语地开始抱怨。临近艺术节，妇女们明显表现出焦躁、紧张、不自信的情绪。周微、阿存、路加不停地在旁边鼓舞士气：“参加艺术节不是为了跟别人比什么，只要自己开心，用最美的笑容来表演就可以了，这才是我们柏林湾社区的表演想要的。”阿存细心的拍下他们排练时满脸笑容的状态给他们看，鼓励他们继续这样保持下去，开心的去排练，去表演。

rehearsals ended with expressions of mutual appreciation like "You did very well", "You are also quite good", and a spread of love.

Grumbles surfaced again – "Our dance is out-dated. It's not good. We dare not perform in Chengdu. Other performances will surely be better." The women started to feel anxious and lose confidence about performing in the community arts festival. Zhou Wei, Ah Chuen and Lo Ka kept up their spirits by saying, "Joining the festival, for us, is not about competing with others. It's important that we enjoy it and perform with our best smile. This is the only thing we want for the Bailinwan performance." Ah Chuen filmed their happy moments in the rehearsal and played it to the women. He encouraged them to stay that way, enjoying the rehearsal, enjoying the performance.

崭露头角 Standing out

“得儿啷当 得儿啷当 得儿啷 得儿啷 得儿啷当”

一首“花溪公路”把我的思绪拉回了艺术节现场。舞台上，演员们正在重现修公路的镜头，有的在挥锤子，有的在捡石头、有的在用衣袖拭汗，秩序井然。山歌组的张新良和张继良在一旁满脸自豪唱着山歌，张贵良在一旁拉着二胡，阿存、路加则弹着吉他、吹着笛子为他们伴奏。一阵叫好后，《十二月花》粉墨登场，整个表演达到了高潮。当台上演员唱起“三月里来时什么花？”有观众随即举起了粉红艳丽的“桃花”，这是周微等人之前发给观众的由表演者自己制作的“道具”。紧接着，三朵、五朵、越来越多，越来越多 此时的观众席成了一片花海，花蕊的芬芳靡散在空中，久久不肯散去。这是一片爱的海洋，没有尽头

"Ding Dang...Ding-a-Dang..." – the chorus brought me back to the community arts festival after the applause for 'The Road in Huaxi'. 'Flowers of the Month' was up next. When the performers sang "'What is the flower in March?", someone in the audience waved a pink paper peach blossom, followed by three, then five, and then more and more peach blossoms. The 'petals' of each month rattled to the rhythm and melody, singing in chorus to the beautiful voice on the stage. At the end of the song, the audience turned into an ocean of flowers.



后记 Postscript



爱是当地的融合

又是一年春来到，柏林湾一片生机。花儿睡醒了，小草探头了，为大地铺上了层层绿毯。伴随清脆的鸟鸣，轻快的二胡二重奏从远处传来。此时，路加和张贵良正坐在院坝里摆弄着二胡。张贵良的二胡饱经沧桑，已经走了音。路加看在眼里，从香港特意给他带来了二胡线。两人正在尝试着换线，这画面好不和谐，是朋友却又像极了父子。

Love is immersion with the local people

It was spring again. Lo Ka and Zhang Guiliang were playing *erhu* in the courtyard. Zhang's *erhu* was worn out from long use and was out of tune. Lo Ka took this to heart and brought him new strings from Hong Kong. They were putting on the new strings. It was such a picture of harmony; a picture of two friends or rather, a picture of father and son.

爱是永远的记忆

“阿存和路路来了没有？”自创作《我们的家乡》已经一年的时间过去了。孩子们还能清楚的记得创作歌曲时的一点一幕。张新良的孙女说，去年路加在黑板旁边弹吉他，下课的时候带他们玩游戏和打鼓。还说，阿存唱歌的时候肚子会动，可是他们学不来……孩子们你一句我一句。对去年此时的阿存和路加，以及创作歌曲时的场景还记得如此真切。路加和阿存满满的爱给孩子们留下的记忆已经成为他们生命的一部分，不可抽离。

Love is remembering

"Did Ah Chuen and Lo Ka come?" It's been a year since 'Our Hometown' was born, but the kids have very clear memories of every moment of the song writing. Over the past year, they have joined the activities of community study, art and craft lessons and summer camp. The memory of song writing with Ah Chuen and Lo Ka is still alive. It is part of their lives, weaved with the full love of Ah Chuen and Lo Ka.

爱是成长与认同

也是一年，妇女文艺队里多了很多新面孔。柏林湾的社区艺术绽放了，开花了。文艺队队长亲切的拉着我说这一年的变化。从“春节大团拜”说到“清明节”，再到“端午”。各种各样的活动，各种各样的表演，她说这样的生活很快乐，生活很安逸。晚上，妇女文艺队和山歌组给我们表演了自编自排的新歌舞，很美。排练过后，妇女们开始你一言我一语的问我，“周微啥时候来？让周微再给我们指导指导……”而谁又能想到能让这些妇女们念念不忘的周微，加上排练和表演，她们彼此统共见过三次面、相处不过一周而已。认同不在时间的长短，而在感情的真挚，周微用爱做到了。

Love is growing up and recognition

There were many new faces in the women's art group. Community arts in Bailinwan had blossomed. The group leader warmly told me about the changes over the past year, about their performances in the Spring Festival, Qingming Festival and the Dragon Boat Festival. She said that this kind of life was very happy. In the evening, the women in the art group and the folk song group kept asking me, "When will Zhou Wei come again? Get her to teach us more." Zhou Wei had met the women three times, and they had only spent one week together. Recognition is not a matter of how long people know each other, but how sincere people are.

项目背景

About the project



柏林湾社区位于四川省通江县，社区伙伴于 5.12 地震后支援社区的重建，关注点慢慢演变为社区的整体营造。后来社区艺术开始贯穿在项目的设计中，并邀请来自成都和香港的社区艺术工作者提供协作指导。自二〇一一年开始，社区伙伴与当地民间团体大巴山生态与贫困问题研究会在柏林湾进行了多个社区艺术活动。如：协作山歌组和腰鼓队的成立、二〇一一年中秋活动、邀请村民参加二〇一二年初在成都举行的社区文化节、端午节活动、学生夏令营等。

Bailinwan Village is in Tongjiang County, Sichuan Province. PCD supported its community re-building after the 512 Earthquake. The project gradually moved towards holistic community building. Later on, community arts was integrated into the project design, engaging community arts facilitators in Chengdu and Hong Kong. Since 2011, PCD has been working with the local NGO, the Dabashan Society for Ecology and Poverty Research, on various community arts activities. We facilitated the formation of the folk song group and women dance group, supported the Moon Festival event in 2011, invited the villagers to the Community Arts Festival in Chengdu and facilitated the Dragon Boat Festival event and also the summer camp in 2012.

作者资料

About the author



余珍是西南民族大学的民俗学研究生，参与通江项目作社区艺术与社区营造课题的跟踪研究。

Yu Zhen is a graduate student in Folklore Studies at Southwest University for Nationalities. She has researched the topic of community arts and community building in the Tongjiang project.

邹乔是社区伙伴四川项目的工作人员，在推动社区艺术工作上投入了大量精力。

Zou Qiao is a project staff of PCD Sichuan Office, who has spent huge efforts on the community arts programme.



我们的生活，我们的舞

Our Life, Our Dance

盘指挥村妇女之家的故事
The Story of Women's Home in Panzhihui Village

文章以三位不同年代的妇女，因为社区艺术走在一起建设家乡美的故事，展现社区的价值观和她们对村子的希望：五十年代的白云仙希望大家为自己村子历史自豪，保护村子环境；六十年代的白秀华希望看到大家和谐；最年轻的七十年代的白红芬希望大家注重心灵，服务村子。正如妇女们认为，“一个村子，必须要有组织活动；一个村子，要有自己的精神。”透过歌舞表演，她们向村民展示了“我们是在一起”的热情！

This article tells of three women of different generations who joined together in expressing love of their community through dance and drama. Each of the women has a distinctive character and aspiration about their village. Bai Yunxian, who was born in the 1950s, hopes that villagers will feel proud of their own village and will protect the environment; Bai Xiuhua, born in the 1960s, hopes that villagers can live in harmony with each other; while Bai Hongfen, the youngest and born in the 1970s, hopes that the villagers will live with a good spirit and serve the village. Community arts brought them together to make their hometown a better place to live, and the villagers could sense their passion in their performance. Just as they said, "a village has to be organised and develop its distinct spirit."

在二〇一一年的三八妇女节的前夕，云南石屏县盘指挥村的妇女遇到了后勤分工难题。依照过去的惯例，总是妇女过来帮工、洗碗、抬菜。今年登记帮工的人绝大多数是男人。女人们都说：“老公在家里都是不洗碗抬菜的，不能让他们来干呀。”老公们说：“算了，今年就让我们来干吧，你们好好玩。”

争执不下的时候，组织今年三八妇女节的几个核心成员一起商量，决定就让男人来干吧。已经讨老婆的，就帮忙洗碗洗菜；没有讨老婆的小伙子，就让他们抬菜吧。

就这样，盘指挥村的三八妇女节，是首次男人来做后勤的节日。年轻人看到妇女节过得这么红红火火，很是羡慕，感到：“现在我们不如妇女了，看她们过得这么红红火火，我们也应该过过自己的节日。”

夜幕降临，好戏上台了！



On the eve of Women's Day in 2011, the women in Panzhihui Village, Shiping County in Yunnan Province, encountered some problems with arranging the villagers for the logistics of meal preparation during the festival event. By custom, it is always the women doing the job, but this year, it was the men who mostly signed up for it. The core members of the organising team decided to let the men do it. And so, the Women's Day in Panzhihui village was the first festival in which the men worked on the logistics of preparing festival meals.

The night was falling and the curtain was drawn!

《家乡美》第一幕《白花龙河的故事》

“Beauty of my homeland”

scene 1: the legend of Baihualong River



白花龙河好地方，青山绿水好风光。从前有个白姑娘，家住河边盘指挥。

勤劳美丽又勇敢，身背背篓去采药。一直都往河流走，心想要上鲁汉山。

姑娘生得真美丽，三龙看见爱上她。青龙上前抱住她，其他两龙不满意。

龙洞发水淹村庄，鲁汉山长高压青龙。洒满粗糠铺龙洞，七口大锅支起来……

当身着传统服饰的白云仙与白粉仙手牵着手，走上台，开始唱起《白花龙河的传说》，台下的白秀芬笑眯眯地看着表演，听着村民热烈讨论：“原来，我们的传说这么美丽，原来我们的传统服装这么好看……”

紧接着，三龙上台，用舞蹈的方式热烈的打斗起来。这段舞蹈，在排练中是最难把握的。为了排好这段舞蹈，大家在一起没少争论，有

What a great place with Baihualong River

What a great landscape with mountains and rivers

Long long time ago a woman named Bai

Lived in Panzhihui by the river

She is pretty, daring and hardworking

Carrying the basket to pick herbal medicine

On and on she went to the river

Thinking of climbing Luhan Mountain

She is pretty, three dragons all fall in love with her

One dragon goes to hug her, two others are not happy and start to fight

The fighting causes big flooding to the village

When Bai Yunxian went on stage in the

几次的排练就是在这个环节上卡住了呢。扮演白姑娘的白红芬，是整个剧的舞蹈编导，为了编排这个舞蹈，没少费心思。在排演《白花龙河的传说》这一节的时候，谁出演主角白姑娘成为妇女之家¹的讨论重点，后来，大家一直推荐由白红芬来演白姑娘的角色。

出生于一九七九年的白红芬，是妇女之家的年轻骨干，她已经是两个孩子的妈妈了呢。红芬家有四姊妹，她在家是最不起眼的孩子。和姐姐们比起来，她实在是太丑了，她心里对此也一直有介怀。小的时候，她都不敢和大人们说话，怕引起别人的注意，担心大人们说：“呀，这个姑娘好难看呀！”她没有想到，也有一天会和大家一起在舞台上展示自己的歌舞。

九十年代的时候，有段时间盘指挥妇女文艺队都在白红芬的妈妈家活动，已经结婚的白红芬每天都要回下家，跟着大家一起跳舞。慢慢的，舞越跳越好，也逐渐能够编舞，带着新人跳舞。红芬觉得：“在家里，和老公，你看我，我看你，也没什么意思。姐妹们在一起跳舞，烦恼就会忘掉。以前丈夫赌博，心急，后来检查出来心脏不好。那个时候觉得真苦，后来在妇女之家跳跳舞，姐妹们相互说说，也就好些了。”

village performance, in traditional clothing and started singing 'Legend of Baihualong River', Bai Xiufen was among the audience, happily listening to the comments of the excited villagers – "Oh, I didn't realise that we have such beautiful legend, such beautiful traditional clothing..."

Bai Hongfen, who played the role of Madam Bai, was the choreographer. Born in 1979, and a mother of two, she is a key member of the Panzhihui Women's Home¹. Hongfen has three sisters. She always thought that she was the ugliest and never imagined that she would ever perform her dance with other villagers.

For a while in the 1990s, the Panzhihui Village women art group held their activities in Hongfen's mother's house. Although married, Hongfen would go to her mother's house every day and dance with the others. To her, "All my troubles are gone when I dance with them."

到了二〇〇〇年后，红芬正式加入妇女文艺队，成为文艺队的骨干，过了不久，文艺队也改名为“盘指挥妇女之家”。再后来，社区伙伴在盘指挥村做健康项目，鼓励妇女之家为村子做事情。在村子里做事情，会面临许多的流言蜚语，红芬的丈夫听了一些话，就不太支持活动，担心对红芬有伤害，曾有过一段时间，红芬也迟疑了。白云仙是丈夫的二娘，一直在积极参与妇女之家的活动。看到白云仙积极的精神，红芬很受触动。经历过很多波折后，红芬认为：“人家怎么想是人家的事情，只要自己开心就好。看人不是看外表，关键是看心灵。我们做的事情是为了村子，怎么样都要撑下去。”

In 2000, Hongfen became a key member of the art group. Soon afterwards, the art group was renamed 'Panzhuhui Women's Home'. Later, PCD launched a health project in the village, encouraging Women's Home to do something for the local community.

Doing village business usually invites rumour-mongering. The rumours came to Hongfen's husband who became less supportive of the activities. Hongfen was hesitant to go on. Bai Yunxian is the step-mother of Hongfen's husband. She was an active participant of the Home's activities. This inspired Hongfen, thinking, "What the others think is their own business. It's important that I am happy doing it. A person should be judged by their heart and not their look. What we are doing is for the good of the village. We have to hold out, no matter what."

1. 妇女之家的前身是二十世纪五十年代成立的妇女文艺队，起到丰富村子文娱活动，增进村子团结的作用。二〇〇六年，经过乡上批准，正式更名为盘指挥妇女之家。

Women's Home was a former women art team founded in the 1950s. Their main objective was to promote a sense of solidarity in the village through art and entertainment. In 2006, the local government approved this women team with a new formal name "Women's Home of Panzhuhui Village".



《家乡美》第二幕《垃圾的问题》

“Beauty of my homeland” scene 2: the garbage

《白花龙河的传说》最后讲到白姑娘救了全村，在离开村庄的时候，在百花龙河的两岸撒下了白色的花朵，从此百花龙河两岸每到春天都会开满白花。回到现实中，百花龙河两岸则是撒满了白色垃圾。当舞台上洒满了白色垃圾的时候，白云仙上台了，她边拣垃圾，边唱到：

清清的百花龙河，为何垃圾满遍河。

曾经柳树一排排，两岸白花满山开。

现在河堤大都垮，不见过去好风光。

白色垃圾到处是，人们不知如何好。

背着背篓去上街，不把垃圾背回来。

垃圾处理要分类，不把垃圾倒河里。

河堤两岸要种树，竹子柳树护河堤。

全乡人民一起来，共建我们家乡美。

As the legend of Baihualong River goes, Miss Bai in the story saved the village from flooding. When she left the village, she sprinkled white flowers on the banks of the river. Ever since then, the river banks were dotted with white flowers in spring. Back in reality, the banks of Baihualong River are dotted with white garbage. Bai Yunxian went on to the stage, standing among the scattered white litter, and sang,

Sparkling Baihualong River; why is it filled with litter?

Willow once lined the river; the mountain covered with white flowers

The banks are mostly gone; the beautiful landscape is gone

Plastic bags lying around; no one knows the way out

唱歌的白云仙出生于一九五六年，家里兄弟姐妹一共五个，妇女之家的成员都亲切地称她为“云仙姐”，最初跳舞是应生产队的要求去跳，进入到盘指挥妇女文艺队后，白云仙学得快，很快脱颖而出，从此就一直是妇女文艺队的积极参加者。后来有一段时间，她做过村子里的妇女主任以及妇女文艺队的负责人。七十年代末八十年代初生产队解散的时候，妇女文艺队继续保留了下来，一直延续到现在。

白云仙热爱生活，她家的小菜园是盘指挥村最多多样化的菜园，有萝卜、白菜（绍菜）、茄子、卷心菜、莴笋、菜花、花椰菜、大蒜、香葱、茴香、姜、芫荽、辣椒、西红柿、茄子、牛皮菜、豌豆、蚕豆、薄荷……菜园靠近家边的地方，种植着花草。还间种着中草药，并在房前午后的一些零星地段，种植一些中草药。村子里有人需要草药的时候，云仙总是会慷慨的赠送。云仙家虽然是住在百花龙河边上，用水方便，但家里仍然装置了一个废水回收系统。即水房（也是洗菜洗碗洗澡间）底下埋了一根水管，通向菜园中间的一个水坑，废水在水坑中经过沉淀，便可用来浇菜地。云仙姐说自己平时都不买东西。菜都是吃自己种的，药也不吃西药，生病了就在山上找药吃，只是现在人们都在搞经济，种植桉树，渐渐草药的品种少了很多，人们也不重视，因为一生病就开始吃西药，就不重视草药了。

Bring your basket to the market; keep plastic bags out

Separate the waste; spare the river from waste

Planting trees on the banks; bamboo and willow hold the banks

Everybody join hands; bringing beauty to our Land

The singer Bai Yunxian was born in 1956. She was asked by the village production brigade (one of the local village structure before 1980s) to dance and that was how she started dancing. She has always been an active member in the Panzhihui women art group. Bai Yunxian loves her life. Her little vegetable garden is the most diverse in the village, with carrots, cabbages, eggplants... Next to her house, she grows flowers and also medicinal herbs. Whenever a villager needs herbal medicine, Yunxian generously gives it free. In the house, Yunxian installed a grey water recycling system, watering the vegetable garden with the treated water. Yunxian told us that she only eats the vegetables she grows. She will not take western medicine. If she falls sick, she goes to the mountain and picks medicinal herbs.

云仙家的垃圾不随便丢，一些难以回收和再利用的垃圾，她会选择在晚上没人的时候燃烧掉。她不喜欢乱丢垃圾，她发现村民现在出门逛街都不背背篓了，都是用塑料袋提东西。她自己还在编制背篓，背篓编得很结实，环保耐用。她见到人丢垃圾，都会上前讲道理。因此在这一幕编排的时候，大家都一致推白云仙来主唱，然后大家一起上台捡垃圾。

在妇女之家，云仙姐算是长辈，但她依然保持活力，热心积极参加妇女之家的活动。她会唱很多山歌小调，还会依据情景来编写歌词。《白花龙河的传说》歌词便是她和白秀华主编，妇女之家的成员们共同修改的。她在编写歌词的时候，说道：“以前寨子里的老人会拜佛，寨子里也有家庙，但渐渐人们都不信佛了，现在信佛的人很少。人们现在不保护龙树、庙堂，天上的神也就不保佑村民了。我最希望白花龙河的传说能够一直流传下去，让大家知道自己的历史，保护我们的环境。”

她还说：“我这辈子就是要做个农民！”

Yunxian doesn't dispose of waste indiscriminately. That which can't be recycled she burns at night when other villagers are not around. She noticed that other villagers no longer take their baskets to the market, preferring to use plastic bags. But she still weaves her own baskets that are sturdy and durable. Whenever she sees people littering, she explains to them that this is a bad practice. Therefore, when rehearsing the garbage scene, everybody wanted Yunxian to do the singing, while others went on stage to clean up the garbage.

Yunxian is a senior in Women's Home but she still joins the Home's activities with great enthusiasm. She can sing many folk songs and can even improvise the lyrics according to the context. The lyrics in 'Legend of Baihualong River' were written by her and Bai Xiuhua, and revised collectively by other members of Women's Home. When she was writing the lyrics, she said, "Old people in the village used to pay respect to the Buddha. As days go by, people are no longer believers. They don't protect the divine tree and temples any more. The deities therefore don't bless the villagers any more. I hope the legend of Baihualong River will live on so that people know about their history and protect our environment." She also said, "I want to be a farmer for my whole life; nothing else!"

《家乡美》第三幕《种下的希望》

"Beauty of my homeland" scene 3: planting the seeds of hope



在舞台上，当大家一起把垃圾清理干净后，便是第三幕——《种下的希望》，盘指挥的白姑娘们一个个走上台，表达了她们的愿望：

我要在河边种上柳树，保护河堤，保护农田；

我要在河边种上樱桃树，樱桃花开可以美观，樱桃可以吃；

我要种很多树，让我们的生活更美好……

这一幕，是大家共同讨论出来的内容。当我们在一起讨论如何让村子更美的時候，妇女们纷纷说要种树。面向全村，说出自己的愿望很重要。在台下的白秀华笑眯眯地看着大家一个个上台，说自己要种下的希望，虽然没有上台，但她也有自己的希望呢。一起和白云仙姐

Planting the seeds of hope, the Bai ladies went on stage one by one, talking about their aspiration:

"I will plant willows along the river to protect the river banks and the fields";

"I will plant cherry trees along the river. The blossoms are for the eyes; the fruits are for the stomach";

"I will plant lots of trees so that we have a better life".

The women invariably suggested tree planting when they discussed how to make the village better. It's important that they told the villagers in public about their aspiration.

编写《白花龙河的传说》的白秀华，虽然不会跳舞，但每次妇女们一起跳舞的时候，她总是会在一旁，帮大家拿衣服，当大家跳完后，她都会给一些具体适用的意见，有她在，大家都会觉得很踏实。

白秀华是一九六四年出生，高中毕业后，就开始了在外打工的生活。架高压线，收烟……各种活路都干活一些，一天四元钱，一个月一百二十元钱，除了自己的生活所需，所节省下来的钱供弟妹读书。虽然日子过得辛苦，但因为性格比较好，总是能乐呵呵的看待生活的艰难，这样，艰苦的生活也变得有趣起来。后来回到村子，由于读书还算多，被选举为盘指挥村委会的妇女主任，一直干到现在。

白秀华不爱唱不爱跳，觉得自己不适合做妇女工作，按照一般理解，做妇女工作应该是能唱能跳么。不过每次文艺活动，都会在旁边看着，因为看着多了，跳得队形如何，都是能给点意见的，偶尔也会编下歌词。

因为她的脾气比较好，在村子里的人缘好，与村民“个个合得来”，她的女儿都说：“妈，你的脾气怎么这么好，咋没有遗传到我的身上呢？”在妇女之家，如果有意见不同的时候，就是少数服从多数的原则来解决问题，她总是尽所能与大家一起和和气气地解决矛盾。她觉得：“在村子里办事，肯定会有人说风凉话，希望大家能有话当面说，不要在背后说风凉话。这样村子才会更和谐。”

Below the stage, Bai Xiuhua, wearing a smile, watched them. Xiuhua wrote 'Legend of Baihualong River' together with Yunxian. She could not dance but she always offered concrete and useful advice. With her around, the women felt assured.

Bai Xiuhua was born in 1964. Upon graduation from high school, she started a new life working away from home. Life was hard but she looked at it with a light heart, and it became more fun. After returning home, she was elected head of the women's committee of Panzhui Village. She still holds that post.

Xiuhua does not actually like singing or dancing. But she watched a lot and could offer advice on the others' dance. Occasionally, she also writes lyrics. She is very popular and gets along well with everybody in the village. When opinion is divided in Women's Home, she always tries her best to get the women to resolve the conflict peacefully. To her, "People who come forward to do something for the village will surely invite sarcastic remarks. We should comment openly but not gossip. The village will be more harmonious this way."

《家乡美》第四幕《家乡美》

“Beauty of my hometown” scene 4: beauty of my hometown

演出到了尾声，妇女之家的白姑娘们排好队形，开始了最后一支舞——《家乡美》。

家乡美，最美是那家乡的水，清晨太阳照莲花水中睡，

金珠银珠一串串哎，月儿向湖坠；

家乡美，最爱是那家乡的水，阿哥水边坐琴声柳树醉；

阿姐阿妹洗衣忙哎，笑声多清脆；

家乡美，最美是那家乡的人，天天都唱歌年年都欣慰；

一方水土一方情哎，生在心里的根；

家乡美，家乡美，最美是那柔柔的家乡水……

这是白姑娘们坚持要加的一幕舞蹈。首先最后一幕结束的时候，一定要全体成员都能站到

It's approaching the end. The Bais got into position and started their last dance – 'Beauty of My Hometown'.

Beauty is the water in my homeland. The morning sun shines upon the sleeping lotus in the water. Beauty of my homeland.

Love is the water in my homeland. The willow is enchanted by the lute the lad plays by the water. Beauty of my homeland.

Beauty is the people in my homeland. They sing every day; they feel gratified every year. Beauty of my homeland.

Affection grows out of the water and land; the root grows in our heart.

Beauty is the gentle water in my homeland. Beauty oh beauty of my homeland.

舞台上，这个对于妇女之家来说是很重要，意味着“我们是在一起的”；其次，《家乡美》代表了她们对家乡的爱与期待，所以一定要放在最后给全村人看。

白云仙、白秀华和白红芬只是盘指挥妇女之家的三位代表人物，更重要的是，妇女之家是一个整体，她们除了唱歌跳舞外，在村子里集体活动的时候，村子里的妇女全都会来，一起探访老人，哪家有事情去哪家探访。这个时候，大家就觉得能够帮助到村民而感到很开心，有在一起很齐心的感觉。

妇女之家的成员们认为，一个村子，必须要有组织活动，妇女之家跳舞不是为单个跳舞，而是为这个村子，为村子增光。一个村子，要有自己的精神。妇女们活跃起来了，村子就会活跃，大家生活在村子里也会舒心。

成员们希望有更多的人参与妇女之家的活动，这样能在一起为村子做更多公益的事情。一开始的时候，年轻的姑娘认为自己不是“妇女”，结了婚的才是“妇女”，因此不愿意加入。

The Bai women insisted on adding this last dance. At the end of the final scene, they wanted everybody on the stage, implying "We are together". 'Beauty of My Hometown' expressed their love and aspiration about their Hometown and it had to be the last act, a focus of attention for all the villagers.

Yunxian, Xiuhua and Hongfen are three of the more outstanding women in the group. Women's Home is a close group. Apart from singing and dancing, all the women joined the village activities. They visited the old people and they made home visits whenever needed. They felt happy and united when they could be of help to other villagers.

Women's Home believes that a village has to organise community activities. They do not dance for themselves but for the glory of the village. A village has to nurture its distinct spirit. When women are active, the village will be activated. People will feel happy living there.

同时，小姑娘大部分也在外面，在村子里的少。红芬跟年轻妇女分享：“一个女人，在家里很辛苦，白天要一起做活，晚上还要做家务照顾孩子，应该要学会放松心情。我们跳舞，不是争什么名次，而是要开心。”

妇女之家的成员也开始在关注村子的环境卫生，白云仙在其中发挥了很大的作用。她说：“大多数人只管家里，进门才是家，其实整个村子就是我们的家。每次看到人家倒垃圾，我就上前去说，但大家的习惯很难纠正，很难改。红芬年轻，不好意思说，看到了就想找我多说说别人。这个事情应该是个个出来管，要相互管理才好呀。”

从二〇一一年开始，有越来越多的妇女加入到妇女之家。村子里的男人们对妇女之家组织的活动也开始刮目相看。而如何更好的发挥妇女之家的作用，推动村子里的老人、男人、年轻人都组织起来为村子做公益事情，则是大家正在思考的问题。

盘指挥妇女之家的故事还在继续延续，妇女们的生活如同她们的舞蹈一样活跃起来，正如白云仙所说：“我最希望白花龙河的传说能够一直流传下去，让大家知道自己的历史，保护我们的环境。”

The Home's members hoped to have more people joining their activities and doing more for the village. The young single ladies thought that 'women' referred to those who were married and therefore did not want to join. Hongfen shared her thoughts with them. "A woman has a hard life at home. We work the field during the day. At night, we do domestic chores and tend the kids. We have to learn to relax. We don't dance to compete but to make ourselves happy."

Women's Home is also concerned about the environment and hygiene. Yunxian gave this a big push. She said, "Most people care about their home only, the home behind the door. Actually, the village is our home. Whenever I see people littering, I will go up and talk to them. But it is hard to change their habit. Everybody should come forward and remind each other."

More and more women have joined Women's Home since 2011. The men are looking at their activities in a new light. The next thing they have to think about is what the Home can do to encourage the old, the men and the young to do something for the village.



项目背景

About the project



盘指挥村位于云南省红河州石屏县新城乡盘指挥村白花龙河畔。自二〇〇五年开始，社区伙伴与石屏县政府合作，在石屏县新城乡开展了人类健康和生态健康推动项目。在总结人类健康和生态健康项目经验的基础上，以流域保护和管理为主题，旨在进一步巩固当地社区在生态健康方面的视野和能力。

Panzhihui Village lies by Baihualong River in Xincheng Township, Shiping County, Yunnan Province. Since 2005, PCD has been working with the Shiping County Government on a human and eco-health project in Xincheng Township. Drawing experience from this project, the river conservation and management project aimed at consolidating the perspective and capacity of the local community in eco-health.

作者资料

About the author



全海燕是社区伙伴前员工，从二〇一〇年十月到二〇一一年三月期间，协作石屏整全健康项目，尝试用社区艺术的方式，推动村民开展生态健康宣传活动。

Quan Haiyan was a member of staff at PCD Yunnan Office. She worked on the Shiping eco-health project between October 2010 and March 2011. She tried the community arts approach when facilitating the villagers to initiate eco-health educational activities.



温暖的剧团，温暖的心

A Warm Theatre with a Warm Heart

都说“农村情谊浓，城镇人情薄”，但水泥墙内外，岂不都是大地母亲的儿女。漂泊在城镇寻找新家园的人们，更需要多一份关怀和互助。一份来自农村的人情、一种城镇社区服务的集体互助精神和荣誉，透过一个社区剧团的诞生过程，努力延伸和成长。

It is said that, "sisterhood is thick in rural villages, but thin in cities", but are those who shuttle through the city's concrete walls not also children of Mother Earth? Drifting through urban jungles looking for new homes, these people need care and mutual help. With the birth of a community theatre and a touch of humanity from the countryside, a spirit of collective solidarity and honour of community service begins to spread and grow.

温暖剧团是什么？最简单的说，它是四川成都锦江区水井坊社区里喜欢唱歌、跳舞、表演的老百姓在“爱有戏社区文化发展中心”（简称“爱有戏”）的协助下组建起来的一个剧团，剧团里的团员个个都是能歌善舞的人。用“爱有戏”的话来说，就是运用参与式的手段，协助热爱艺术的社区老百姓组建成的一支能够自我管理、自我组织的，为社区提供文化艺术服务的组织。

What is the 'Warm Theatre'? Put simply, it is a self-organised theatre from Shuijingfang community in Chengdu city, comprising community members of varied talents. In the words of the Chengdu Jinjiang Aiyouxi Community Culture Development Centre ('Aiyouxi'), it has been using a participatory approach to build up a local self-managed theatre to serve the locals with arts.



一个剧团的诞生

The birth of a theatre group



二〇一一年三月，“爱有戏”入驻水井坊社区，承接为老助残关爱站时，一切百废待兴。中心主任刘飞对大家说：“这是我们‘爱有戏’第一次做正规的项目，我们需要用我们拿手的文化艺术方式，结合参与式的工作方法，来协助社区发展。”

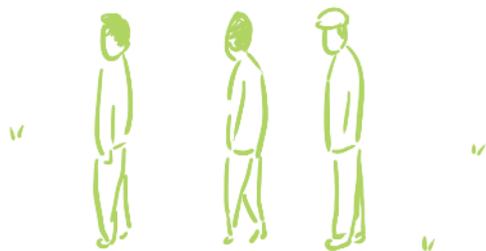
在之后的三个月里，大家开始认识社区——社区调研、残疾走访、寻找社区的潜能。最先，为了聚集人气，召开了第一次水井坊市民论坛，邀请了数十位社区的骨干分子，他们都是退休赋闲在家的老人，每个人都多才多艺——有的是合唱团的领唱、有的是舞蹈队的队长、有的是乒乓球社的主力、有的是热心服务的好人。多么宝贵的资源！之后，举办了第一次的口述历史讨论会，以清明节作为讨论主题，这次活动，成为了吸收剧团核心成员的引子。

In March 2011, 'Aiyouxi' launched its social service project, 'Love and Care Station', in Shuijingfang, Chengdu city. It had to start from scratch. Aiyouxi's director Liu Fei said to the residents, "This is the first formal project of Aiyouxi. We are using the community arts approach and participatory methodology to facilitate community development." We then studied the community, making home visits to people with disabilities, and exploring community potential. We organised the first residents' forum. We also organised the first oral history workshop on the theme of the Qingming Festival.

“爱有戏”每一位成员都来自不同的学校不同的专业。吕小布是成都大学影视表演专业毕业的学生，是水井坊项目点的一员。时任水井坊项目点负责人的张利君与吕小布，在口述历史活动中发现，主持人季老师、主讲人陈强、杨晓清，是最为活跃，也是思想最为开放的老人，觉得温暖剧团的第一批成员非他们三人莫属了。之后，吕小布开始用诚意打动三位老师。功夫不负有心人，最终，他们都同意加入温暖剧团，成为首批团员，通过三位老师在社区的人脉，很快，温暖剧团将要组建的消息传遍了社区。最终，一支二十多人的温暖剧团建立了。



A performing arts graduate at the Chengdu University, Lu Xiaobu, teamed up with Zhang Lijun (person in charge of the Shuijingfang project) in the implementation of this project. In the oral history workshop, they found that Madam Ji (the workshop chairlady) and Chen Qiang and Yang Xiaoqing (the hosts) were active and open-minded seniors. Moved by Lu's sincerity, all of them accepted her invitation to join the theatre. This first batch of recruits spread the news about the theatre in their local network and very soon a theatre group of more than 20 members was formed.



万事起头难

Everything is difficult at the start

剧团建立之后遇到的第一个难事，便是缺乏表演指导人员。三位老师找到吕小布，邀请小布教他们表演。二〇一一年的六月份开始，水井坊关爱站与文化活动中心便成了温暖剧团排练的场地。每一次课前，三位老师都会和小布一起商定培训内容，而三位老师以身作则，不仅认认真真上好每次培训，更坚持每次活动都参加，从不迟到早退缺席。这一点也深深的感动了小布，在小布看来，三位老师虽然都年过半百，却依然这么执着和坚持。

三位老师在小布的建议下，“三顾茅庐”拜访一位社区文化骨干——合唱团团长曾老师。这样，包括曾团长、小布、季老师、陈老师、杨老师在内的五人小组组成立了。

The first difficult thing was learning the art of performing. The three core members invited Lu to teach them. For each lesson, they would discuss the course content with her. They also set a good example, participating fully in every lesson, not missing one second.

Taking up Lu's suggestion, they approached Master Zeng, the head of the community choir. After a few visits, Zeng agreed to join the theatre group. A core group of five (Master Zeng, Xiaobu, Ji, Chen and Yang) was thus formed.

《幸福》初来临

The advent of 'Happiness'



合唱团的曾老师是一个热衷于摄像拍摄的老师。他特别希望合唱团能够拍一个片子出来。这提议让另外三位老师眼前一亮。“对啊，为什么不搞个电影或是拍个电视剧呢！”一下子，四位老师你一言我一语，连拍摄那些镜头都开始构想了。看着几位老师兴致高涨，小布决定趁热打铁，便对四位老师鼓励道：“既然如此，大家一起来设定整个过程。我们要开始找编剧，选演员，培训演员，拍摄，剪辑。”这时，季老师也提出了一个更加不可思议的点子：“不如我们搞个红毯仪式吧，这样肯定‘温暖’的名气就大了。”这个提议让几位老师更加沸腾了！

Master Zeng is a fan of film-making. He wanted to make a film of the choir. This idea excited the other three teachers. "Sure!", they said, "Why don't we make a film or a TV drama?" The four of them immediately threw up ideas, even the storyboard. Xiaobu did not want to lose the momentum. She encouraged them, saying, "Since you mean it, we have to get script writers, audition and train the actors, do the shooting and editing." Ji then rolled out an incredible idea. "Let's roll out the red carpet!"

Led by Master Zeng, the four of them had regular meetings for the formation of a

在曾团长的组织和带领下，季老师、杨老师、陈老师四位经常聚在一起，商量筹划建立编剧组，或者与团员一起，征集社区故事。他们走街串巷，与团员们一起拜访社区里面的老人，征询社区发生的故事。

很快，编剧团成立了。成立之后，编剧团的十余位老师围坐在一起，从收集的十余份故事稿件里开始整理。最终敲定了汪老师（归国华侨，凭着多年来对水井坊的念想与社区的变迁，提出了幸福的剧本框架。）自己的故事为主线，加入社区互助，关爱他人的内容进去，最终成为了温暖剧团首部剧本的初版。在确定剧本内容后，剧团的四位老师他们一起撰写剧本内容，邀请汪老师对他们撰写的剧本提出意见，邀请刘中老师改编，邀请季老师加入文艺气息。最终，在大家伙的共同奋斗下，在改稿了二十三次之后，形成了最终版的电影剧本——《幸福》。

备注：

关于《幸福》：讲述的是男主人公解放前，为了刚出生的孩子，毅然前往美国讨生活，没想到一去几十年，回想还在内地的妻女，后悔不已。主人公回国寻亲，来到了水井坊社区，结识了出租车师傅冯阿姨与社区好人季老师，在季老师与社区居委会主任杨老师的带领下，凭着主人公当年遗失在出租车上的半截梳子，找到了自己女儿和孙女儿，也就是杨老师和冯阿姨。

script writing group or collecting community stories with other members. Very soon, a script writing group of ten was formed. They considered more than ten community stories and eventually picked the story of a community member, Wang (Teacher Wang is a returned overseas Chinese. Witnessing the changes the Shuijingfang community has gone through in the past decades, he outlined the script of 'Happiness' to express his feelings), with additions on content on community support and care. This became the first version of their debut drama. The group worked hard together. After 23 revisions, the final version of the movie was ready, titled 'Happiness'.

Remarks:

Regarding 'Happiness': For his newborn baby, the male protagonist decided to make a living in America before 1949. After living abroad for decades, he began to rue over his decision and missed his wife and daughter who were still in China. He came back to China for them. In Shuijingfang community, he met a taxi driver Auntie Feng and the warmhearted Teacher Ji. With the help of Teacher Ji and the Director of the Residents' Committee Teacher Yang, and with the clue of a half comb that the protagonist left on Auntie Feng's taxi, he finally found his daughter and granddaughter. They were Teacher Yang and Auntie Feng.

共同经营《幸福》

Working together for 'Happiness'

温暖剧团的成员觉得，既然剧团是属于社区的，那么就应该有更多的社区居民参与到这部电影中来。最终决定，一定要搞个海选活动，现场征集演员！

于是，在一个风和日丽的下午，在社区的一片空地上，围满了人。空地正中央的横幅上写着：温暖剧团社区电影《幸福》演员海选仪式！这是一次十分盛大的海选活动，前来报名的除了想要当《幸福》演员的团员，一些想要过一把演员瘾的老百姓也加入了海选之中——会拉空竹的小学生、会唱山歌的老大妈、会走模特步的退休职工、会跳舞的老婆婆，全都来报名参加海选了，现场沸腾极了。经过一下午的海选与评议，最终选出了十位温暖剧团《幸福》的演员。

Members of the Warm Theatre felt that since theirs was a community group, there should be wider participation in the movie production.

Auditions started. Some candidates came for the acting roles but others applied for any performing roles just for fun. They included primary students who played the diablo, grannies who sang folk songs or danced and retired workers who could do catwalk. In one afternoon, ten actors for the cast of 'Happiness' were selected.

In the following two months, the four core members trained the actors on different aspects of performing: vocal, breathing, actors' artistry, acting, etc. They also arranged

之后的两个月里，四位老师为这些演员培训表演，教他们如何发声、练气，给他们讲解演员的修养、演戏的方方面面，带着他们去街头即兴表演，带着他们去练习声乐，上上下下足足“折腾”了两个多月。两个多月里，在四位老师的组织下，他们在关爱站里为孤寡老人、残疾人表演戏剧《白毛女》、在街头为社区百姓表演《雷雨》、在空巢老人家里慰问，演员们不仅在学习中成长，更在实践与社区服务里得到了提升。看着这些由出租车司机、退休老人、归国华侨、社区务工人员组建而成的演员团有如此多的收获，让四位老师心里乐开了花。

street improvisation and opera lessons for the actors. In two months, the actors grew from the learning. They also developed their community service – performing a play called 'White-Haired Girl' to the elderly and disabled at the Love and Care Station, staging a play named 'Thunder and Rain' in the street, and making home visits to the solitary elderly.



《幸福》开拍 'Happiness' in action

寒风凛冽的十二月，温暖剧团社区电影《幸福》开拍了！这一消息在社区不胫而走。十二月上旬的一个上午，《幸福》开机仪式启动了。小布发现，他们所到之处，皆是围满了围观的居民朋友。“他们在拍电影”，“哇，好洋盘，我也要拍”，“能不能让我也加进来哦！”许多围观的居民朋友特别兴奋。

一连一周的时间，上午，下午，晚上，甚至团员的家中，出租车上，都有他们的身影。“停”、“第十场第二幕第三遍，开始！”作为场记的团员认真负责，毫不马虎；“停停停，这条重来！”作为导演的曾老师严格要求；“我来搬，我来！”作为剧务的团员也毫不留力，为大家伙服务。大家团结一致，终于在一周后，整个电影按照预期的剧本及分镜头，拍摄完成啦。

'Happiness', the community movie, started rolling in December, 2011. Xiaobu realised that wherever they went, there was a huge crowd of residents watching and talking: "They are making a movie", "Wow, it's classy. I want to make one too", "Can I join in?" The production crew was to be found all over the place and was active all day long through the ensuing week. "Cut", "Scene 10-Act 2-Take 3. Action!" The group members took the work of log keeping very seriously.

After a week's rest, the four teachers decided that they should start editing. But editing was new to Xiaobu, and Master Zeng could not do it all by himself. What could they do?

休息了一周，四位老师开始商量，应该要对拍的这些素材进行编辑了。可是小布对编辑也非常陌生，曾老师并不能独立剪辑《幸福》，怎么办呢？

也许是巧合，小布的大学同学在无意间知道了小布的困惑之后，给她推荐了一个人：成都大学的学弟，居然也住在水井坊社区，专业是动画，却酷爱拍摄与剪辑视频。小布立马找到了他，在与他聊了一下午之后，说服了他作为社区志愿者，参加到温暖剧团编辑工作中，为《幸福》提供后期支持。功夫不负有心人，一个多月之后，最终版《幸福》出炉了。

Xiaobu's university classmate learned about the problem and introduced a junior colleague to her. He was also a resident of Shuijingfang. He studied animation and loved filming and editing. Xiaobu immediately contacted him and in a matter of one afternoon, convinced him to be the voluntary editor of Warm Theatre. One month later, the final cut of 'Happiness' was released.



与社区分享《幸福》 Sharing 'Happiness'

在关爱站里，四位老师组织了温暖剧团所有的成员一起，观看《幸福》，这一部由他们自己编剧、自己当演员、当导演拍摄出来的社区电影，却真实地感动了他们自己。许多在场的团员看到《幸福》里高潮部分的剧情时，都忍不住落下了泪来。

“这是一部好片子！”中心主任刘飞评价道，“我们下一个月不如就做《幸福》的首映礼吧。我们要让社区的百姓知道，我们社区自己也有部电影啦！”

于是，在二〇一二年三月的义集上，社区自制电影《幸福》的红毯仪式首映礼启动了！当天，每一位团员都穿来正装，略施粉黛。连年轻的团员也请来了化妆师，帮他们造型。不过，红毯的两边早已被前来凑热闹在社区百姓

The four teachers invited all the group members to the Love and Care Centre for the preview of 'Happiness', a community movie written, acted and directed by themselves. When the movie reached the climax of its story, many of them could not help shedding tears.

"This is a great movie!" the Aiyouxu Director commented. "Let's have the premiere next month. We should tell the community that we have got our own movie!"

And so, in the charity bazaar in March 2012, the red-carpet premiere of 'Happiness' was launched. Every group member attended the ceremony in formal attire and light make-up. Both sides of the red carpet were packed

以及团员们的粉丝团围得水泄不通，许多人手上还高举着“XXX 我爱你，我们永远支持你”的旗子。主持人小布在台上每一次介绍接下来走上来的谁时，下面总是会发出热烈的掌声与尖叫声。里里外外因为都是人，当最后两位团员，也是温暖剧团里气场最强的两位老师——季如意与杨晓清缓缓走上红地毯时，现场沸腾了，激动了，一些百姓手里拿着笔记本，非要两位签名，要合照。激动地人群把红毯的路都给堵住了。

这一次的首映礼十分成功，也增长了温暖剧团团员们的信心，他们觉得，原来自己做的这件事，可以这么好，特别是编剧之一的邓婆婆，在首映礼下来便找到工作人员，手里拿着剧本，说这是她创作的新剧本。

with on-looking residents and fans of the group members, some of them holding banners that read, "I love you. We support you forever and ever!"

The premiere was a big success. It attracted a crowd of 4,000, many of whom came for the first movie of their community.

The success of the premiere boosted the confidence of the members of Warm Theatre, especially Grandma Deng, one of the script writers. After the premiere, she revealed that she had written a second movie script.



一个观众的剧场

A Theatre for the Audience



因为项目进展的原因，温暖剧团在这一高潮后，便平稳起来。没有排练也没有课程。于是，杨晓清老师约上陈强老师一起，和“爱有戏”的工作人员一起下社区走访。一周后，来到了刘婆婆家里，开始了第一次的关爱演出。

刘婆婆是住在社区年近八十的一位老人，因为儿子有残疾，没有生活能力，只能在家里住着，而孙子也是抱养来的，目前正在上学，学费也是很大一笔开销。虽然刘婆婆是退休工人，有退休工资，却维持不了这么庞大的支出，所以每天她都在院子里缝鞋垫，拿出去卖补贴家用。杨老师与陈老师来到刘婆婆家里，

Due to the project schedule, no further rehearsals or trainings were organised after this climax. Yang Xiaoqing and Chen Qiang made home visits with Aiyouxi staff. A week later they visited the home of an elderly woman, Grandma Liu, and gave their first Love and Care performance.

Grandma Liu was almost 80 years old. Her son was physically handicapped and could not take care of himself. He therefore stayed at home. Liu made shoe insoles in the courtyard every day, earning something for their living. Teachers Yang and Chen

与她聊天，询问最近的身体状况，之后为他表演双簧，黄梅戏。刘婆婆看着好看的戏剧，开心极了，拍着手打节奏。看着看着，刘婆婆落下了眼泪来。原来，刘婆婆觉得，社区里居然还有这么好心的人，过来看望她，还给她表演节目，与她聊天。她激动的拉着杨晓清老师的手说：“太感谢你们两位了，我好几十年没看过表演了，今天看到了，我就高兴的哭了！”杨晓清与陈强也偷偷抹起了眼泪来。后来他们告诉小布，当时忽然觉得，社区里这么多还在为了生计而发愁的人，太可怜了，我们要做些什么，于是他们主动向小布提出，不如以后每周都组织起温暖剧团的人，去拜访那些困难的家庭，带给他们表演，去关心他们吧。这个主意很好，小布立马答应了。

chatted with Grandma Liu, asked about her health, and performed a two-man comedy and *Huangmei* opera for her. Grandma Liu was clapping her hands to the beat, totally amused. In the middle of the performances, tears rolled down from her eyes. She was moved and held Yang's hand, saying, "Thank you so much, you two. I haven't watched any shows for decades. Today, I watched some after all these years. I was so happy that I cried." Yang and Chen quietly wiped away their tears. Later on, with Xiaobu, they organised home visits by Warm Theatre group members to families suffering hardship every week.



不知道什么原因，一位记者知道了这件事，专门跑来找到“爱有戏”，想详细询问一下过程，小布热情接待了他并向他介绍了整个过程。记者在听完了之后，也感动了。于是第二次，杨晓清老师带着温暖剧团的另外两位成员去孤寡老人陈婆婆家时，这位记者也跟了过来，全程参与了进来。第二天，报纸上刊登了一篇名为“一个观众的剧场”的报道。小布看着这篇报道，觉得这个题目特别好，很有感觉，于是和其他同事一商量，干脆设计一个项目出来，专门关心慰藉那些孤寡老人、空巢老人、残疾朋友和困难家庭吧。于是，借用这篇报道，“爱有戏”设计出了“一个观众的剧场”项目。杨晓清与陈强老师是老资格的社区志愿者，决定也来加入其中，无偿为那些需要帮助的人服务，其他团员也纷纷参加进来。似乎一下子，温暖剧团就找到了新的方向。

A reporter heard about this story and visited Aiyouxi to learn more. Xiaobu told him the whole story enthusiastically. In their next home visit, Teacher Yang went to the home of another elderly woman, Grandma Chen, with two other group members. The reporter went with them to visit Grandma Chen, who lived alone. The next day, the newspaper ran a report headlined 'A Theatre for the Audience'. Xiaobu found it a good name. She felt something and planned to design a project targeting old people who live alone, people with disabilities and families with hardships. Taking the name from the news report, Aiyouxi initiated the Theatre for the Audience Project. Teachers Yang and Chen, veteran community volunteers, came on board for those in need. Other group members joined in one by one. All of a sudden, Warm Theatre seemed to be steering towards a new direction.

目前，水井坊项目点的温暖剧团活动已经逐步推向院落，结合“一个观众的剧场”、“口述历史”、“百姓故事会”三个项目一起完成：在关心慰问之后，利用口述历史的采访现场编辑成为“一个观众的剧场”，还原他们的故事，表演出来，最后在叙述文字整理素材，编撰成为“百姓故事会”。而温暖剧团的团员们，有了新的目标，也更加乐意去参加活动了。下一步，温暖剧团将面向街道辖区，吸收中青年加入，注入新鲜血液。

The Warm Theatre Group has now reached out to a wider audience in the community. Integrating the projects of 'A Theatre for the Audience', 'Oral History' and 'People's Stories', the group extends care to individuals in need. They listen to individuals' life stories and play back in front of them. There is a plan to record all the stories in words and compile them in a collection of 'People's Stories'. With this new direction, the theatre group members are more eager to join the activities. Next, the group will extend its activities to the street precinct, hoping to attract younger members and new insights.



项目背景

About the project



爱有戏（全称成都市锦江区爱有戏社区文化发展中心）是致力于社区文化建设和发展的公益性社会组织。爱有戏社区文化发展中心以社区艺术为手段、以传播公益文化为目的、以服务公众利益为宗旨，凝聚艺术、技术、管理人才以及志愿者，帮助社区建立以社区居民自主参与的社区文化体系，实现社区人与人、人与自然的和谐发展。在社区文化建设、弱势儿童关爱以及公益文化传播上有丰富的实操经验和强有力的策划及执行团队。在社区艺术的探索方面，爱有戏曾在社区尝试了口述史、剧团、故事会等社区艺术手法。

Chengdu Jinjiang Aiyouxi Community Culture Development Centre ('Aiyouxi') is an NGO dedicated to the building and development of community culture. Aiyouxi uses the community arts approach to promote a culture of public service to meet the interests of the public. It aims at building participatory community-based cultural systems by drawing together talents and volunteers in art, technical skills and management. The ultimate aim is that people live in harmony with each other and with nature. Aiyouxi has a strong team with rich experience in building community culture, providing social services to disadvantaged children and promoting volunteer culture. In the exploration of community arts, Aiyouxi has diverse experience in oral history, theatre, storytelling, and more.

作者资料

About the author



高杰，一九八八年生，现任“成都市锦江区爱有戏社区文化发展中心”综合办公室主任。曾任爱有戏“金喇叭”盲童广播剧剧团项目负责人、口述历史项目负责人、水井坊项目点负责人。

Gao Jie is a staff of Aiyouxi.



关于垃圾应有的生活态度 Attitude to Waste, Attitude to Life

随着讲究包装的现代化用品涌入农村，农村社区普遍出现如何处理垃圾的难题。是要加快清理垃圾，还是减少制造垃圾，云南石屏县新城乡汉泥扒村的村民开始了后一种尝试，将垃圾处理与生态健康，社区可持续发展结合起来，透过培训村民成为社区协作者，协作村民理解垃圾处理不是一个技术问题，而是一个生活态度的问题。这过程让社区村民角色产生微妙的变化，也让村民处理社区事务上有更大参与度和拥有感。

Modern packaged goods have found their way into rural villages, and waste management has become a common concern in the countryside. Should we work on waste disposal or waste reduction? Villagers in Hannipa village, Yunnan Province took the latter road, as they link waste management with eco-health and sustainable community development. Village facilitators are trained to help the villagers understand that waste management is not just a technical issue but a life attitude. This process has brought subtle changes in villagers' roles. The villagers also have greater participation and a sense of ownership in community affairs.

村协作员：我们想做 传统粑粑宴和祭水活动

Village facilitators: we want to organise
the traditional rice cake feast and water festival

二〇一〇年春节前的一个赶街天，汉泥扒村的几位骨干林新华、白秀芬、熊小仙兴致勃勃地来到乡农科站办公室找我，三人你推我让一番，最后是小仙姐开口：“我们商量在大年初一搞一个传统粑粑宴和祭水活动，宣传从源头减少垃圾的事。”我说这很好啊，我跟马副和李师¹反映一下。他们同意并给建议：“利用村协作员自发组织的这两个活动，宣传一次性纸杯危害和小孩零食危害，资料由我们提供，促进健康意识提升及源头减少垃圾。”

这是村协作员第一次主动来访，我内心别提有多高兴，因为我终于看到了村协作员的主动性，他们对项目有了新的认识，从别人要我做项目到我要做项目，项目的成就感得到了增强。

At the time of the Spring Festival in 2010, several key members of Hannipa Village came to the Village Agricultural Station for me. They were in the best of spirits but they pushed each other to say the first word. Finally, one of them said, "We are thinking of organising the traditional rice cake feast and water festival on New Year's Day, promoting the idea of waste reduction." I replied that it was a great idea and that I would discuss with Deputy Ma and Li Shi¹. They agreed and suggested that we "make good use of these two activities initiated by the village facilitators and talk about the harm of disposable paper cups and wrappers of children's snacks. We will provide

the information. The activities can raise the awareness of health and waste reduction at its source."

You can hardly imagine how happy I was about their first visit. I had finally witnessed the facilitators gaining a full understanding of the project and taking the initiative. It was a change from "I do what others ask me to do" to "I want to do something". It was a jump of achievement.

1. 马副是镇政府一方的项目负责人，李师是社区伙伴一方的项目负责人。

Ma is an official of the township government, taking charge of the project. Li Shi is the PCD staff on this project.



第一期项目：方便了全村人，辛苦了几个人

Phase 1: convenience for all but hard work for a few

自二〇〇四年社区伙伴来到新城乡，在盘指挥及下新寨村委会扎下了根，汉泥扒村就成了其中的项目村之一。项目团队主要有三人组成：乡人民政府副乡长马祖红、兽医站站长李永华，和在农科站工作的我。

我对汉泥扒村的垃圾处理项目特别有兴趣，不是因为它倾注了社区伙伴或村协作者的大量心力和劳苦，而是因为在农村搞垃圾处理特别有意思。

秀芬姐、何彬是第一期垃圾处理项目管理小组的代表人物。据他俩回忆，当时在社区伙伴的鼓励、引导和推动下，垃圾处理项目在全村开展得轰轰烈烈，人心大振。组建了垃圾处理项目领导小组（白秀芬、何彬、唐玉春等村民），在村头、村尾及村子中部顶头建立了垃圾池，然后是分组划区（分成十六个片区，十六个小组）、选小组长、编织竹萝（每个家庭两个小萝，每个小组

In the first phase of the eco-health project in 2005-2007, activities on the health of humans and nature, livelihood and culture were launched. I was particularly interested in the waste management project in Hannipa Village.

Xiufen and He Bin were the leading members of the project management committee. They recalled that the project was launched on a large scale: a steering group was formed, locations were selected at both ends and in the middle of the village for waste storage pounds, the village was divided into groups with group leaders, bamboo basket weaving was undertaken, training was given on waste segregation and a group management system, down to household clusters, was formed. For a moment, Hannipa

一个大萝)，并进行了垃圾分类培训、讨论管理制度等一系列工作。形成大组管理小组，小组管理辖区人家的管理系统。一时间，汉泥扒成了新城乡垃圾处理第一村，垃圾处理项目成了汉泥扒村的主推项目。垃圾项目搞好了，象征着汉泥扒村的方方面面的工作都得到巩固和增强。现在汉泥扒村的项目活动八九不离十还是围绕垃圾这个主题。

谈到做项目的感受，秀芬姐和何彬真是哭笑不得，村头村尾的垃圾池没多久就倒满了，而且有机无机不分隔，黑色白色混一堆，更有少量人图方便，出门就往竹蓬倒垃圾。秀芬姐是老协作者了，也是协作者中年岁最大的，她不怎么善于言表，却很善于表率。我有几次下村，看见秀芬姐一个人在垃圾池弄垃圾，内心好不纳闷，全村人的事，仅靠秀芬姐怎能行？秀芬姐当然不愿得罪人伤和气，她说大家都是早不见晚见的，这种事一定要靠自觉。渐渐地，倒垃圾倒是全村人有份，处理垃圾却成了垃圾管理小组的事了。一次两次不打紧，次数多了，不少成员就提出不干了，就连责任心最强的秀芬姐和何彬也觉得力不从心。

谈到协作者对项目的看法，秀芬姐和何彬都说对村子是件好事，但对协作者来说，如果占用劳动时间太多，也会有不情愿。有时参加项目活动是出于对社区伙伴的感激之情，活动过程中记挂家里的农活，人在心不在，影响活动效果。

had become the model of waste management in Xincheng Township.

Xiufen and He Bin, however, had mixed feelings about the project. The waste storage pounds were soon full. The villagers did not separate organic and inorganic waste. Some even simply threw their unsorted garbage into the bamboo shed on their way out. Xiufen was a veteran facilitator and was also the oldest. On several occasions when I went to the village, I saw Xiufen sorting the garbage in the pound. How could she take care of everybody's business all by herself? Xiufen did not want to have any trouble with anybody. She said that the villagers did not have much chance of meeting each other. They left waste management to the management committee. The committee did not mind if this was only occasional, but when it became more and more frequent some committee members quit. Even Xiufen and He Bin, who had the strongest sense of responsibility, felt it beyond their ability to cope.

In discussing the project, both Xiufen and He Bin said that it was good for the village. But at times, the facilitators were hesitant when they had to spend too much time on it. Sometimes, they joined the activities out of gratitude to PCD, but their mind was on work in the field. This affected the project's impact.

第二期项目：环保是一种生活态度

Phase 2: environmental protection is an attitude to life

第二期项目于二〇〇九年四月启动，是以新城乡白花龙河流域管理的推动健康项目。以流域保护和管理为主题，旨在进一步巩固当地社区在生态健康方面的视野和能力，推动社区可持续生计探索与实践，同时注重协作者的能力培养。

林新华、高秀平、何水平、腊国秀、熊小仙、白秀芬是第二期项目的村协作者。

新华说汉泥扒是个幸运村，得到社区伙伴的关心。新华是以村协作者的身份进入项目的，我认识的新华是一个思想活跃、大方、豪爽、热情、随和、责任心强、重情的人。她的家人很理解支持她做项目工作。每次到她家，不管新华在不在，我们都会得到热情的接待和支持，时间长了，我们甚至很不客气地在她家自己做饭吃。

Phase two was launched in April 2009, building upon the health promotion project of Baihualong River management in Xincheng Township. The river conservation and management project aimed at consolidating the perspective and capacity of the local community in eco-health.

Lin Xinhua, Gao Xiuping, He Shuiping, La Guoxiu, Xiong Xiaoxian, Bai Xiufen are the village facilitators of the Phase two project.

Xinhua joined the project as a community facilitator. Her husband is a driver and she always drives around with her husband. As a facilitator, she took the opportunity to photograph environmental cases, both good and bad, and shared them with her family and

新华经常跟他老公在外跑车，但不忘自己是协作者，在外遇到好的环境或者坏的，保护环境或破坏环境的见闻，她会留意并用手机拍下来带回家与亲友分享。有一次外出到昌元县，遇见一位老师带着好多小朋友在河边捡垃圾，那里山清水秀，环境很优美。新华被小朋友的行为所感动，和小朋友们一起捡垃圾唱歌聊天，小朋友一致认为她是老师，分别时还恋恋不舍地喊着：“老师再见。”回家后，新华提出沿白花龙河搞一次捡垃圾活动，以此提醒河边村子的人们不要再往河里倒垃圾了。

新华认为靠山吃山，靠海吃海，一些砍伐挖山是不可避免的，但是不能砍护寨林和水源林。她希望村子的人对自己的生活环境、森林有保护意识；希望自己与合得来的朋友一起努力为村子做一些事，哪怕只能做出一点点好的影响；希望通过开展项目活动能使村子的人从源头上减少垃圾；希望利用自己家乡的竹子编织生活用品，如菜篮子、小背篓、果盘等，减少使用塑料制品。遇到比较大的项目活动，比如不久前乡里组织的水源林及饮水管理交流会，还有近期即将举行的白花龙河流域保护文艺交流会，即便她在外，接到通知也会赶回来参与。

friends. One day, she met a teacher picking up garbage along the river with a big group of children. Moved by the children's action, Xinhua joined them in the clean-up while singing and chatting with them. Back home, Xinhua suggested doing the same along Baihualong River to remind the villagers not to throw the garbage into the river.

Xinhua felt that villagers could not avoid cutting trees and digging on the hillsides because they are dependent on their living environment. But they should not cut the forest that protected the villages and the water supply. She wanted the villagers to be more aware of the need to protect their own living environment, and wished to do something for the village's waste reduction with like-minded friends even if the impact may be small. One way was to reduce the use of plastic items by weaving her own baskets, pack baskets and fruit dishes with local bamboo.

值得一提的是，新协作者都是我们妇女同胞，也许与软件性项目有关，男人自然隐退。

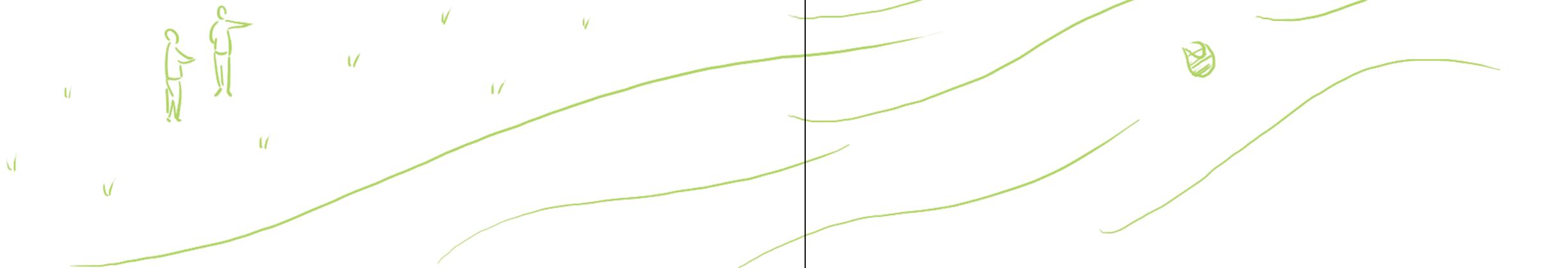
俗话说：近朱者红，近墨者黑，同胞们跟着社区伙伴就变的关心环保。通过参加了贵州流域管理交流会后，村协作者像洗脑了似的，变化还真不小。有一次，我和永华下村去找何水平，她不在家，我和永华跟她妈妈闲聊起来，她妈妈很支持水平做项目协作者，她还乐呵呵地告诉我们何水平骂她的事：“有一天，我随手朝下排邻居家后墙脚丢了一个塑料袋，丢个小塑料袋是很平常的事情，小水却一改往常不爱说话的性格，叫我不再往下排丢垃圾，还说以后再让她发现，要我亲自去捡回垃圾呢！”

The facilitators changed a lot after attending a seminar on river management in Guizhou. One of the facilitators was called He Shuiping. One day, I was chatting with Shuiping's mother and found that she supported her daughter's work. She related an incident when Shuiping had shouted at her: "One day I didn't think much and threw a plastic bag at the back of my neighbour's house. It was no big deal but Shuiping did not remain quiet as she usually did. Instead, she asked me not to litter in the lower row of houses. She also said that if she caught me doing it again, she would make me pick up the garbage!"

高秀平是一个能歌善舞的，纯纯正正的彝族妇女。之前她曾经参加过“云南印象”花腰歌舞表演，在北京、广州等地演出。经过流域管理培训及交流，她认识到桉树对土壤和环境不好，回家后就把自己家已种下的油桉给拔了。她还说要把自己掌握的花腰歌舞教给年轻人和下一代。

和协作者相处久了，我们都快成老朋友了，我多次接到她们的电话，说要找我谈新的想法。我们经常约在农科站面谈，有时我不在，他们也会去找永华。有时街头路尾碰到，总要聊上几句，谈农事，谈项目。她们说农村人太忙了，四至十月是起早摸黑忙得不可开交的时节，没时间做项目活动。的确，有时我们乡团队会心怀侥幸白天去访，结果十有八九吃闭门关。为了不耽搁她们的劳动时间，我们尽量晚上下村作项目跟进和引导，也让她们在农事稍闲时多开展项目活动。这样下来，她们还比较乐意接受，项目保持开放性和参与性，乡团队和村协作者都觉得轻松愉快。

Gao Xiuping was a natural singer and dancer, a typical Yi woman. After joining several river management training and exchange activities, she learned that eucalyptus was bad for the soil and environment. When she went back home, she tore down the eucalyptus that she had grown. She also said that she would teach the young generation the traditional songs and dances that she had mastered.



传统文化中的生活智慧

Wisdom of life in traditional culture



协作员在为减少垃圾思考着、行动着。继粑粑宴活动之后，我们还参加了她们在本寨小学校里组织的传统粽子制作活动。老老少少三四十人围坐一块，中间摆着淘过的糯米和山上采来的粽叶。年轻人和老人们在一片学做好玩又好吃的粽子，整个活动津津有味，笑声不断，真是其乐无穷。不多时就制作了不少各式各样的粽子。在土地承包到户的今天，大家能聚在一起的确是件很开心的事情。

二〇一〇年七月，汉泥扒村又承办了社区伙伴、乡项目团队及四个项目村共同参与的传统文化交流会，目的是宣传本土食品的安全和减少对外来食品的依赖，同时不离从源头减少垃圾的主题。交流会分别有四个项目村的协作员参与，四个项目村各自带着自己本村的特色传统食品：盘指挥的傣族手抓粑粑、腊左寨的

The facilitators kept thinking and taking action to reduce waste. After the rice cake feast, we attended the rice dumpling-making activity organised in the village primary school. It was a fun activity of flavour and laughter. In a short time, we had made rice dumplings of various kinds. In this day and age, when each family looks to take care of its own, it is really heartwarming that the villagers gathered together.

In July 2010, Hannipa Village organised yet another activity – Traditional Food Expo. It aimed at bringing home the message that traditional food is safe and reduces our reliance on external food supplies. It was also about waste reduction. Villagers of the

酸笋煲鱼、河头的干腌菜。汉泥扒作为东道主更是丰富：糕粑粑、卷粉、豆腐、面耳朵、各式煎饼、芭蕉芋粉（又叫洋葱姑粉）等等。经过对本地食品的制作、品尝和讨论，大家对传统食品有了更深的理解和重视，也说好久好久没有品尝过如此亲切美味的食品了。其实大家对本地食品是很有感情和留恋的，只是随着经济的发展把生活弄得方便化、简化了，就拿蒸糕来说吧。以前的上坟、立房子、中秋节都要蒸糕，但现在都买个蛋糕代替了。方便是方便了，但是节日和喜庆的气氛却淡了很多很多…

协作员们还要在村里搞竹编替代塑料制品，要推行到乡上去。就在二〇一一年中秋节前，我们收到了她们编织的菜篮子。中秋节就派上了用场，我用菜篮子直接装上梨、石榴、柿子，比平时少带三个塑料袋回家。顺便提一下，我妈妈也要学我提菜篮子上街买东西了。还有，我和同事聊了一次性纸杯的危害后，我们农科站就不用纸杯盛水待客了。

她们还在春节时自发组织传统文体活动，大家在竞技玩乐中增进了团结和友善。同时也组织跨村学习交流竹编技术等。前不久，她们还去查看了距村子五公里以外的水源林。对于她们每个人而言，都是第一次去关心自己的水源林。有时也会几个人约起来去清理清理垃圾池。她们的确想为村子做一些有用的事。

four project sites brought along their own traditional food – Dai ethnic group's rice cake from Panzhihui Village, sour fish soup with bamboo shoot from Lazuozhai Village, pickles from Hetou Village. As the host, Hannipa offered a big selection of rice cakes, rice rolls, bean curd, rice noodles, various pancakes, Canna edulis noodles, etc. The villagers knew and appreciated traditional food more after the learn-and-taste activity. Actually, they love traditional food. It's just that people look for the easy and convenient living that comes with economic development.



我们想要做得更好

We want to do better



问及同胞们在组织活动时的困难，她们觉得少部分人还是不能理解她们，有时活动不能够做到全村人参与，没有参与的人会有想法，会有得罪人的感觉。还有人对着协作员说：“人家项目人员是来找你，又不是找我！”这时的尴尬无以言表。不过，新华倒还乐观，她说组织活动的人是尽责任，项目活动是全村的事，如果人家对活动不感兴趣，强扭的瓜也不甜，只有慢慢去团结和影响他们。



When asked about the difficulties they had when organising project activities, the facilitators said that some villagers still could not comprehend what they were doing, and sometimes the activities were not open to all. Those who did not get in felt shunned. Some even said to the facilitators, "The project staff is asking for you, not me." The facilitators were totally embarrassed beyond words. But Xinhua remained optimistic. She said that the organisers did their best and the activities were for the whole village. If they were not interested, you could only pull them in and influence them slowly. The melon would not be sweet if you plucked it before it was ripe.



带着感情和感恩做事

Do it with affection and gratitude



第一期项目村民都夸社区伙伴好：改善了饮用水、盖起了村卫生室、资助村民建盖沼气池，健康教育、田间学校、生态农业进社区……做的事情看得见，摸得着。而陪同项目活动的科技骨干和健康教育骨干等人员大多感觉有些累和烦。主要是点多、面广、量大，活动频繁，占用劳动时间较多，项目推动干预较多，社区大多处于一种被动接受状态。

第二期项目在总结第一期项目的基础上，以社区为主，项目引导为辅，结合各村实际情况，开展符合项目理念的各种活动。主要关注社区精神，村民感兴趣，主动性逐渐增强，参与项目的人员比较轻松愉悦。

The villagers had a high regard for PCD in Phase One – water supply was improved, a health clinic was built, bio-gas tanks were installed. Progress was made with health education, farmer field school, eco-agriculture, etc. All these were tangible outcomes. But the key members mostly felt a bit tired and disturbed, mainly because the project covered too many sites and too many issues, and the activities were too many and too frequent, taking up a lot of their time. Moreover, it was mostly project staff taking the lead in initiating activities, and the communities only responded passively to their ideas.



第二期以流域管理的生态健康项目截止二〇一一年十二月就结束了。说实话，我很喜欢社区伙伴的项目工作，因为我在其中学到了在工作单位上学不到的东西。在其中，我感到丰富、充实，社区伙伴的整全健康理念与社区智慧的结合，或多或少会影响到我们的工作和生活，甚至会影响到我们身边的一些人。在社区伙伴项目期间，乡项目团队起着承上取下的作用，做了一些事，也存在好多不足。初衷想法很好，但实施起来却力不从心，可能要留着想法作为努力方向了。

两期项目走过，总体感觉是：在社区做项目，光做硬件，群众容易产生依赖性，滋生“等、靠、要”的思想。只做软件，村民又觉得没有实惠，特别是男同志，他们最喜欢做实事。如果能软硬结合，以点带面，做出亮点，把项目精华揉在某个村，不知可行否？

After reviewing the work of Phase One, the second phase was adjusted. The communities took the lead, with guidance from project team, launching activities that suited the local situation and the project ideas. The focus was on community spirit. The villagers got more interested and show greater initiatives. The organisers were more relaxed and happy.

To be honest, I really liked the PCD projects. I was enriched by the work. The integration of the ideas of holistic health with local wisdom impacted on our lives and work, extending to the people around us. During the project cycle, the local project team opened a road to the future. They did something but there were many shortcomings. The ideas were good but the will and strength did not match. Perhaps we have to keep the ideas for our future effort.

Going over the two phases, my overall impression is that it is easy for the villagers to have a mindset of 'wait', 'rely' and 'take' if the project was a material one, but if it was

带着感情和感恩做事，是一种享受。不管是项目伙伴还是村协作者，能在一起是一种缘分。珍惜缘分，协力合作，理解换位，淡定自然，乐在其中。

扪心自问，我们是白花龙河的子孙，保护母亲河是我们每个新城人义不容辞的责任，项目只能起到抛砖引玉的作用，需要我们做的事情还很多。不管项目能否延续，我还会和姐妹们一起，不断学习生态健康知识，为探索社区可持续生计做一些力所能及的事情。

non-material, they could not see anything substantial. This was particularly the case with men who liked to do concrete things. It would be better if we had both, did it well in one village and then extended it to other villages.

It is enjoyable to work with affection and gratitude. Fate has drawn the project partner and village facilitators together. Treasure it, support each other, appreciate each other, stay calm, be natural and enjoy the work. I tell myself, "We are the children of Baihualong River. It's the compelling responsibility of everybody in Xincheng to protect Mother River. The project can only set an example. There is a lot more that has to be done. Despite the fact that the project will not carry on forever, my fellow sisters and I will keep up our knowledge of holistic health and do whatever we can for sustainable living in the community."



项目背景

About the project



汉泥扒是一个多民族多姓氏混居的村寨，位于云南石屏县新城乡东南部，白花龙河中上游，主要民族有彝族、汉族、傣族、哈尼族。自二〇〇五年开始，社区伙伴与石屏县政府合作，在新城乡开展了人类健康和生态健康推动项目。在总结人类健康和生态健康项目经验的基础上，以流域保护和管理为主题，旨在进一步巩固当地社区在生态健康方面的视野和能力。

Hannipa Village is a mix of various ethnic groups and family clans. It is in the southeastern part of Xincheng Township, in the upper middle section of Baihualong River. The main ethnic groups are the Yi, Han, Dai and Hani. Since 2005, PCD has been working with the Shiping County Government on a human and eco-health project in Xincheng Township. Drawing experience from this project, the river conservation and management project aimed at consolidating the perspective and capacity of the local community in eco-health.

作者资料

About the author



张泽华是农科站的工作人员，以项目协作者的角色参与推动项目。她对有机农耕萌发了浓厚的兴趣，自行在单位住宅的空地种起蔬菜来。

Zhang Zehua works at the Agricultural Station in Xincheng Township and joined the project as a facilitator. She has developed great interest in organic farming, and has been growing vegetables on the empty lot in the staff quarters.

年轻人的社区自觉

Community Consciousness of Young People

走出农村，奔向城市，几乎是大多数村民的愿望。许多农村因此成了“空心村”。年轻一代却不甘心成为“空心人”。浮游在农村和城市之间，时代青年如何回归社区，为家乡注入新生命力？

Getting out of the village and making it in the city is the dominant aspiration among younger villagers in China. Many villages have become empty shells, with only the elderly left behind in the scramble for city life. The younger generations who migrate to the cities become disconnected from their home communities. But some are unwilling to sever these ties. Floating between villages and cities, how can the modern youth return to their community and reinvigorate their homeland?



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一样的村庄，不一样的家乡 – 发现“雀鸟”
The Same Village, A Different Hometown: Discovering 'Birds'



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安龙村的三个片段
Three Episodes of Anlong Village



一样的村庄，不一样的家乡

The Same Village, A Different Hometown

发现“雀鸟”

Discovering 'Birds'

在社会主流文化冲击下，民族传统文化在苗家村寨悄然消失。一群外出读书的贵州苗族青年感受到这个文化危机，在家人，乡亲及同伴的不理解眼光底下，他们选择了挑起传承民族文化这个重担，重新回到村寨学习传统文化，为的不是要向全世界耀扬，而是明白了自己才是文化的主体。走出去，是一种寻找。回归，何尝不是一种希望？

Undermined by mainstream culture, the traditional way of life in Miao stockaded villages has slid quietly into oblivion. Sensing the crisis, a group of Miao youths who had studied outside chose to shoulder the responsibility of reviving their traditional culture even though their families, the villagers and friends did not appreciate it. They returned to their village to learn the traditional culture; not to show it to the world but in recognition that after all, it is they who are the agents of their culture. If leaving the village is to search for new life, isn't returning home a journey of hope?

重新寻找我们自己的历史故事

A search for the stories of our own history



二〇〇八年盛夏，我在图书室角赫然看到《苗族简史》《苗族迁徙史》两本发黄的书籍。翻开《苗族简史》，心中一股自豪感油然而生。第一次发现自己的民族历史能追溯到上古时代，小时候自己身边那些古老的歌谣竟然是一部艰辛的迁徙历史，传递人与人的情感。很多的关于人类起源神话，讲述人与人与自然和谐相处的故事。近年来，贵州地区苗族的历史文化、生态环境和生计方式发生了前所未有的转变，我们苗族青年在选择的十字路口迷失方向，不断遗失本民族的传统文化。这些传统文化和乡土故事立即激起自己民族认同感、似乎找到一种

In mid-summer of 2008, I came across two old books in the corner of the library in my university: 'A Brief History of the Miao' and 'History of the Migration of the Miao'. A sense of pride grew in my heart. For the very first time, I realised that our history traced back to ancient times. The old folk songs that came to my ears when I was small were in fact about people's experience during the harsh history of clan migration. Today, however, the young people of the Miao are lost at the crossroads, forgetting and losing our own culture. When I looked at these books, I was immediately

追求幸福生活的力量源泉。从此以后，在我大学最后的一年时光里，书包里总会有一本关于苗族的书籍。

在贵阳有一群来自雷山县雀鸟村的大学生，他们有和我同样的经历：在很小的时候总是围在祖母的身边，听着苗族历史故事长大；七岁开始离开祖母，带着整个家庭甚至整个家族的希望来到学校，开始学习从没有听过的语言、从课本上看到祖母没有说过的故事。小学在村子里上学，中学就离家到县城，大学走的更远。我们总想重新捡起小时候那些美好苗族童话故事，但体制教育下的课本已把故事弄得支离破碎。

“还记得去年过年那个事情吗？我们在杨广家喝酒，几位叔妈回来唱起酒歌。当时文华和阿吉哭起来，我也不知道他俩为什么要哭。后来我才知道叔妈她们唱的内容是‘家里太穷，父母没有能力；比不上别人家的孩子，让我们在外受苦了’。”杨光建说道。

awakened to my ethnic identity by the traditional culture and folk stories. It seemed that I had found a source of strength in my search for a happy life.

My experience was shared by a group of university students from Queniao Village (literally, 'Birds Village') in Guiyang – as kids, we would sit around our Grandma, listening to the stories of the Miao. At the age of seven, we left our grandmother and went to school, carrying with us the hopes and expectations of the family and even the whole clan. We started to study a language alien to our ears, reading stories not told by our Grandma. We went to the primary school in the village, the secondary school in the county seat and then the university even farther away. Oftentimes, we wanted to pick up the beautiful Miao folk stories, but in the formal textbooks the stories were fragmented. One of my old

吴义摇摇头说：“我们这帮哥们太无能了，当时我们应该唱敬酒歌回谢阿姨们的，可我们连她们唱什么都听不懂；我们真的需要回家学点东西。”

我们这一群飘在异乡找不到根的苗族青年总想为自己做些什么。二〇〇九年，一次偶然的机会结识贵州乡土文化社；看到文化社致力做的事情，正是自己一直苦苦寻找的。于是加入成为文化社的青年实习生，结束后进入文化社工作。我一直对苗族的历史感兴趣，为自己苗族的古歌、指路歌所著迷；于是找到雀鸟村这一群伙伴，共同回到故乡；重走祖先迁徙路，重新寻找属于我们自己的历史故事。

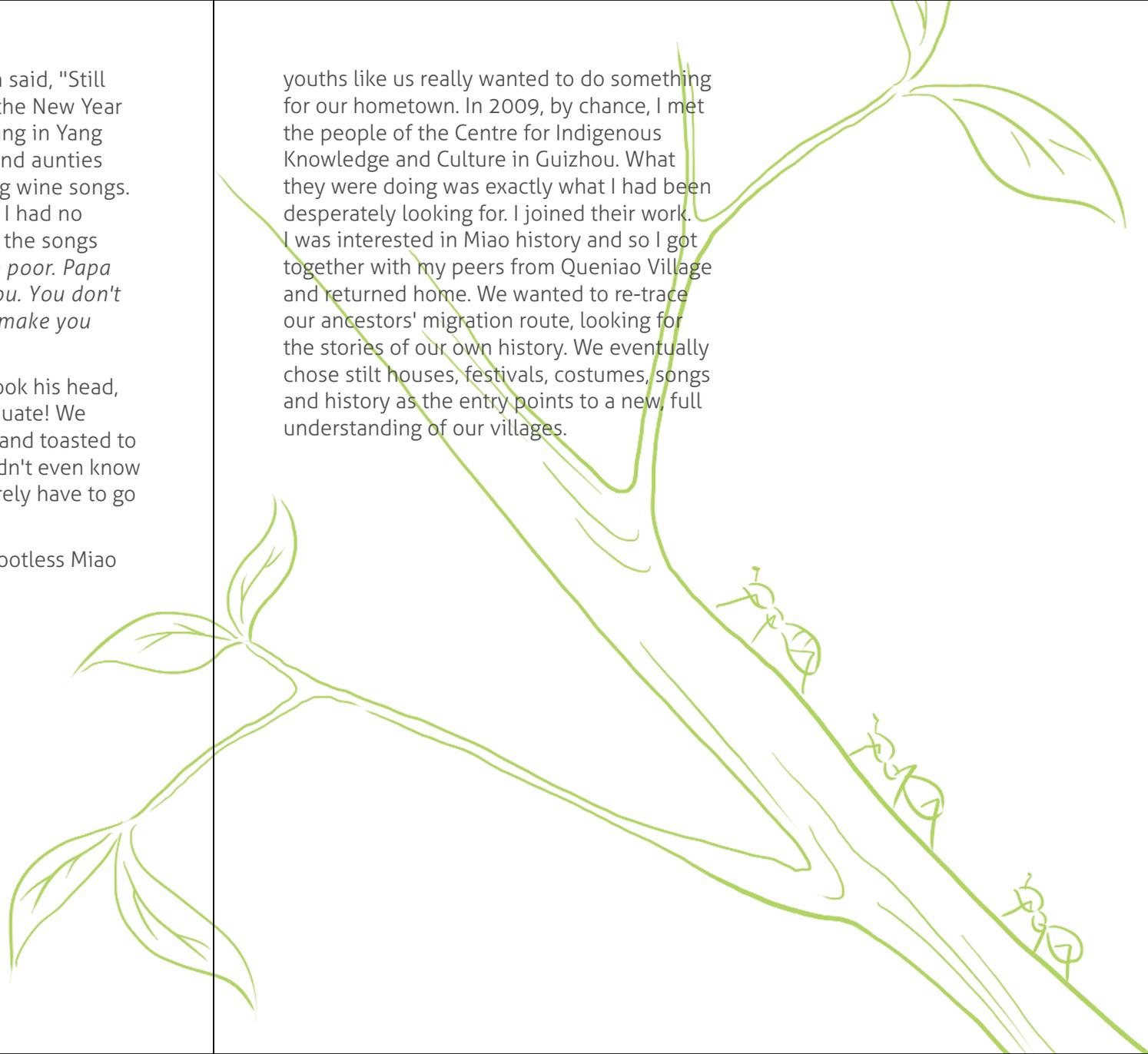
最后大家选择吊脚楼、节日、服饰、苗歌、历史入手，再一次全面的认识自己的村寨，让自己的心灵回归。

village friends Yang Guangjian said, "Still remember what happened in the New Year days last year? We were drinking in Yang Guang's house. Some uncles and aunties came along and started singing wine songs. Wenhua and Aji started to cry. I had no idea why. Later I learned what the songs were saying: *'Our family is too poor. Papa and Mom can't do much for you. You don't measure up to other kids. We make you suffer away from home!'*"

Another old friend, Wu Yi shook his head, saying, "We guys are so inadequate! We should have sung a wine song and toasted to the aunties in return but we didn't even know what they were singing. We surely have to go home and learn."

Wandering in an alien land, rootless Miao

youths like us really wanted to do something for our hometown. In 2009, by chance, I met the people of the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Culture in Guizhou. What they were doing was exactly what I had been desperately looking for. I joined their work. I was interested in Miao history and so I got together with my peers from Queniao Village and returned home. We wanted to re-trace our ancestors' migration route, looking for the stories of our own history. We eventually chose stilt houses, festivals, costumes, songs and history as the entry points to a new, full understanding of our villages.



父母说，不要再这样子玩下去了

"Don't fool around any more." my parents said.



二〇一〇年盛夏，九名雀鸟青年、七位志愿者晚上九点在月光下走进雀鸟苗寨，开始为期八天的回归之旅。父母完全不知道自己的儿子到底是在做什么事情，一直认为我是在玩，这一次不过是带很多外面的朋友回到雀鸟村旅游。十几年前把儿子送进学校念书，他们认定他们的儿子毕业后肯定会回来考公务员或者当老师，谋个为家族争光、较稳定的职业。但此时他们看到儿子是在到处飘荡、玩耍，更要命的还蛊惑别人家的孩子一起疯玩。从他们的眼神的语言中，我看到是父母对我的失望和怒气。

每天晚上十几个人在客厅里喝酒，讨论当天走访的内容；老爸每天晚上都会静静坐在角落里

One night in mid-summer of 2010, under the moonlight, nine Queniaoyoungs and seven volunteers walked into the Queniaoyoung village. It was the beginning of their 8-day coming home journey. My parents had no idea what their son was doing. They thought that I was just back for a holiday, but with several friends this time. A decade earlier, when they had sent their son to school, they were very sure that after his studies he would come back for a government or teaching job. He would opt for a stable career that would bring honour to the clan. But now, they saw their son wandering and fooling around.

听，眼神黯淡无光似乎又带些不屑的表情。出于礼貌性，他时不时会用几句志愿者听不懂的普通话在劝酒。白天在结束走访后，我有机会与他单独在一块的时候，感觉到他很想和我静下来讨论一些严肃的话题，但是每次都开不了口，最后说：“晚上煮饭记得要早点，别让客人饿着了。”老爸性格比较温和，不太会强烈表达自己的情感，但我还是感觉到他心底有一股怨气。

“记得多留意政府网的通知，看看公务员什么开始报名，不要再这样子玩下去了！”这是在活动结束后返回贵阳时说的。他往我背包硬塞五百元，神情凝重，我亦无语。

第一次重走迁徙路的历程，在家人的怨气与失望中结束。

又是一年盛夏、又是一样的活动，二〇一一年八月份我们再回到家乡开展重走迁徙路第二站活动。同样的场景，我们在我家集体讨论明天的走访路线，聊聊去年我们的发现。发现老爸能开心地融入我们的讨论，很兴奋给我们介绍去平祥村应该先在雀鸟村找哪些老人；给我们提建议说拜访老人要注意那些行为。我们在小组走访分工时，他给出很多的建议说谁谁适合做什么，不再是去年的沉默。

Worse still, he'd got others' kids to fool with him. In their eyes and tone, I saw and heard my parents' disappointment and anger.

"Make sure you keep an eye on the notices on the government website; check when the civil service recruitment is open. Don't fool around any more!" These were my father's words on the day I returned to Guiyang after the evening activity. He stuffed 500 yuan into my backpack, wearing a heavy look on his face. I didn't say anything.

August 2011, the same activity, in mid-summer again. We went back home aiming for the second stop on the migration route. It's the same setting – in my house. We discussed the route we should be taking the next day. We talked about what we had discovered last year. I found that my father now joined our discussion happily. Excitedly, he suggested that we looked for several elders in Queniaoyoung Village before we went to Pingxiang Village. He reminded us of the proper manner when we visited the elders. When we were assigning our tasks, he made suggestions about who should be doing what. Unlike last year, he did not stay silent.

自我认同，因为我们 对家乡了解得更多

Identifying with ourselves because
we knew more about our hometown



二〇一一年八月十五日，重走迁徙路第二站活动正式开始。这一次沿着迁徙之路，走访的范围扩展到了周围的方祥乡的平祥村，水寨村。在平祥村我们找到的老人，都是民国时期从西江搬迁过来的；真正的平祥先祖家族没有走访到。在平祥村的走访中，有一家在喝酒，听到我们是来学习传统文化的，都出来给我们敬酒唱歌；有位老人唱起祖先搬迁到平祥村后开亲的歌谣¹。

Our journey to the second stop on the migration route started on August 15, 2011. The area we visited this time extended to the neighbouring villages of Pingxiang and Shuizhai in Fangxiang Township. We came to Pingxiang Village where a family was drinking wine. When they heard that we were there to learn the traditional culture, they all came out, offered wine and sang to us. An old man sang the folk song of *kaiqin*¹ that the ancestors sang when they settled in Pingxiang village.

第三天我们要走访现在为整个方祥乡制作芦笙的工匠，芦笙对于苗族是非常重要的；它不仅是在节庆中的乐器，也承载着苗族历史文化精髓。到达平祥村与平祥的青年交流我们这几天听到的学到的。雀鸟的青年看到平祥的青年连自己的村寨道路不熟悉，不认识家乡的老人，更不用说知道关于自己村寨的历史。提醒雀鸟的小伙子们，我们的任务很艰巨！

最后一天我们回到雀鸟，去年的老队员给新队员讲述雀鸟祖先从下游搬迁过来的路线。站在老芦笙场上讲述关于芦笙的古老传说，仰望雀鸟两位祖先几百年前种下的栗子树。在下寨的栗子树旁边，有位雀鸟的小伙子说：“前几年这棵树都死了，你看这几年又重新发芽长出新的枝条；也许它看到我们青年人又回来了！”

参加重走迁徙路的苗族青年们，他们对自己民族的历史自豪感，对民族文化的自豪感有很大的提升。在此之前在教育体制下的历史教科书，从黄帝到现代完全没有找到自己民族的影子；苗族青年们唯一的信心来源，是电视网络媒体迎合现代大众旅游消费而做的粉饰性广告。我们的苗族青年唯一能炫耀只有苗歌和节日。但重新发现自己民族的精髓文化后，苗族青年对自己的历史，对自我的认同如泉水不断冲破地层涌出。

We got back to Queniao on the last day. The team members from last year told the new members the route the Queniao ancestors took from downstream. We told the legend of *lusheng* (the reed pipes) in the *lusheng* square. We looked up at the chestnut trees planted by the two ancestors of Queniao several hundred years ago. In the lower end of the stockade, a young guy from Queniao said by the chestnut tree, "This tree was dead several years ago. Look! New branches have grown from the new sprouts. Perhaps it has seen the young people coming back!"

The Miao youths who joined the migration journey gained a much stronger sense of pride in their history. In the history textbooks at school, there are no traces of the Miao in the whole period from Yellow Emperor to modern times. With their discovery of the core Miao culture, there was a surge in the young people's identification with their history and with themselves, like spring water breaking through the ground.

1. 开亲歌是苗族流传最广的古歌，开亲歌长达一万余行，两天两夜也唱不完，内容分为“出亲”、“开亲”两部分。“开亲”部分是全歌的主体，具体地叙述了各种动物，天上神仙，人类的婚姻进程。
Kaiqin is the most popular folk song of the Miao. It is 10,000 lines long. The singing can go on for days. It has two parts: *chuqin* and *kaiqin*. The latter is the main part of the song, describing in detail various kinds of animals, deities in heaven and the lineages of human beings.



家乡远方，家乡的根却在心里

My home is afar,
the root is close at heart

活动成员杨光建在活动刚开始时，他最大的兴趣就是回家学习苗歌。他觉得学习苗歌更有助于把苗族的文化推向外界，发扬光大。他认为重走迁徙路的活动意义就是让更多的外界人知道我们苗族。在拜访村寨的老人和鬼师之后，他知道了自己家族的历史迁徙故事、知道整个苗族迁徙历史。在第一天晚上的总结，他激动地说道：“我之前一直认为这个活动主要是让外界人了解苗族的文化历史，现在才明白其实我们才是学习的主体；苗族文化不需要什么推广，需要的是我们青年人回家传承这些历史文化。”

杨光建父亲是村里的医生，在村里的威望比较高，他知道的雀鸟村历史故事也非常雀跃。

When we launched the activity, Yang Guangjian, one of the team members, said that his greatest interest was learning the Miao songs back home. To him, the songs were the most effective in introducing Miao culture to others and spreading its glory. After his visit to the elders and the medium in the village, he knew the history of migration of his clan and the Miao people. In the recap meeting on the first night, he said with high emotion, "I used to think that the purpose of this activity was to get others to learn the history and culture of Miao. Now I realise that it is us who are the learners. We don't need to

杨光建母亲是雀鸟村有名的女歌师，古老的歌谣她如数家珍。在雀鸟村走访的日子里，刚好有一天是传统节日“吃新节”。我们一家一家轮着吃，直到下午我们才轮到杨光建家，他父母亲摆了一桌丰盛的宴席等了整个上午。席间他们唱起苗歌，给我们讲述关于苗族吃新节的来历故事。很多的走访人物都是活动成员的家人。在十几年的成长中，我们没有听到这些精彩的故事，十几年后再一次回来学习，让老人们感到欣慰和感动。

“你们回来学习家乡老祖宗的这些东西非常有必要！再不回来学就要忘记了。但是你们只能用业余时间来学，不能为了这个而耽误学校的学习时间。”杨光建父亲说，和村寨的很多老人一样，对于我们来学习传统文化他们感到非常欣慰。但要是自己的儿子回来学习传统文化，内心还是很忧虑。杨光建父母亲和我双亲有着同样的担忧，怕儿子耽误学习或影响考取“铁饭碗”。

参加重走迁徙路的青年，筹划在过年期间开展传统芦笙表演比赛、苗歌比赛；向贵州乡土文化社申请小活动经费支持，购买一套属于青年人自己的芦笙，让更多的雀鸟青年有机会学习芦笙演奏。有一次过年，村里穿着时尚、染着红绿头发在外务工兄弟们也回来了，他们在村里喝得醉如烂泥、到处寻事打架闹事。开晚会时在舞台上跳着不伦不类的舞蹈，被村里的老人们扔瓶子，招来一片痛骂声。参加重走迁徙路的成员对此觉得不可思议，为什么我们那些远在沿海务工的兄弟们为什么变得这么陌生？我们让他们加入我们，一起去寻找我们的根。

promote Miao culture. What is needed is for young people to return home and inherit it.”

Our old friends from the same village who now work in factories in coastal areas found our behaviour very ridiculous. One of my primary schoolmates phoned me up and asked, "What kind of job are you doing now? Why did you force our little brothers to become shamans?" This friend came back to the village later and joined us in visiting the community video exhibition in Kunming, Yunnan after he realised what we were doing was learning our Miao history.



在福建、深圳等地的工厂里打工的雀鸟村年轻人很早就知道我们在家开展活动。他们觉得我们不可思议；这一群兄弟为什么回家做这么一件无聊的事情。我的小学同学曾打来电话聊道：“你做的到底是什么工作？怎么逼着一群大学生回家学做鬼师！”他也觉得我大学毕业后不务正业，还强迫小弟们来玩，他的提问让我哭笑不得。

春节我那同学回来，看到我们在风风火火地组织传统习俗比赛。当他听到参加活动的成员说起雀鸟村几百年的历史故事，他决定参加我们的下一次活动。于是二〇一一年三月，我们一起参加“云之南记录影像展”。看到其他民族青年用影像纪录自己的民族文化；他感叹道：“其实我们也可以回家把我们自己的东西记录下来！”慢慢的村里越来越多的青年人知道我们在做什么，加入我们的行列。

整个假期，我们在村寨到处找老人走访，让村里人觉得很诧异。五十岁以上的长辈听到我们要回来学习传统文化习俗，立刻热情地介绍村寨里有哪些人值得我们去拜访，给予我们很大的鼓励。遇到奶奶阿姨们，当他们听说我们要开始学习唱苗歌，她们不仅热情地给我们介绍拜访的歌师，有时还现场给我们献歌一曲。

For the whole holiday, we went around the village visiting the elders. The villagers were surprised. When the 50-year-olds heard that we had come back to learn the traditional culture, they gladly told us whom we should visit. It was very encouraging. When we told the grannies and aunties that we were learning Miao songs, they happily introduced the singing masters to us. Sometimes, they even sang us a song.

但是村里中壮年村民对我们很不屑，觉得我们的思想不可理解。都这么评价我们：“你们这些大学生是怎么了？哪根筋出问题了！送你们出去学习科学技术、吃公家饭，怎么现在却来学习这些迷信东西！”他们对于我们大学生回来向鬼师学习觉得不可思议。因为他们这一辈基本上是在改革开放走过来的，他们观念里更多关心的是杂交水稻比传统品种产量高、科技种植能赚大钱。

“这些传统习俗你们还懂吗？要是我们不回来学，你们也不学！这些东西不就完了吗？”我们反问道。

“要学也是在外打工的青年回来学，不应该是你们大学生回来学。”

凭什么就不能让我们大学生回来学呢！在他们的经验里，在外打工的青年终有一天回来村子。那时他们会学习传统文化。而我们念天学的一半都在城里生活，城里不需要故乡的传统文化。

However, the later generation of villagers despised us. They found our ideas incomprehensible. Their comment was that "What happened to the university students like you? What has gone wrong? We sent you to learn science and technology and to get a government job. How come you are learning superstitious stuff?" They found it incredible that university students would come back and learn from the village medium. Their generation went through the economic reform. They cared more about the higher yield of hybrid rice and higher income of scientific farming than revisiting their traditional culture.

伴随着家人失望的眼神，乡亲们诧异的问题，同伴的不可思议，还有长辈的鼓励，我们一路坚持走来。但在不知不觉中，一切发生很多的变化。我还在每天不务正业的“玩”，每年带一群雀鸟村的青年去“玩”。我们还到别的村寨，当地的青年甚至也参与进来。但是我们更加明确知道我们是在做什么，我们希望在滚滚的利益洪流中寻找我们自己的根、寻找曾经的一方净土。在春节后的贵阳聚会，吃饭之前不再是我祭祖先；而是我们青年人中辈分最大、年龄最小的杨光建捏肉、滴酒祭祖先。越来越多的苗族青年拾起祖辈的遗训，我们相信祖先

We persevered and went on with our journey, bringing with us the disappointment of our families, the surprises of the villagers, the queries of our peers and the encouragement of our seniors. Lots of changes were brewing without our notice. Against the tide of seeking personal gains, we hoped to look for our root and the little land of purity that we used to have. After the Lunar New Year, in our meeting in Guiyang, it's not me paying respect to the ancestors before the meal – it was Yang Guangjian, the youngest but the most senior among us, who offered the meat and wine to our ancestors. More and more young people of the Miao follow the teaching of the ancestors. We believe that

有三个灵魂，一个沿着迁徙路回到祖先居住的地方；一个在山上流浪等待转世；一个在后辈的身边时时保护着我们。回到故乡在酒场上，现在我们能听懂阿姨们唱的酒歌的寓意是什么，可以唱上一两首简单的酒歌回敬。

春节过后，雀鸟全村的青年候鸟式的倾巢外出，村子陷入寂静一片；但是在每个人内心深处，都有了一座苍茫的大山，我们都在悄然地变化着。

the ancestors have three souls – one returns to the ancestors' home along the route of migration; one wanders in the mountain, waiting for reincarnation; one stays by their descendants to protect them. Now, when we are in the wine drinking square back home, we can understand the meaning of the wine songs the aunties sing. We can even sing a song or two in return.

After the Lunar New Year, all the young people of Queniao left, like the migratory birds leaving the nest. The village slipped into silence. But, deep down in our heart lives a high mountain. Every one of us is undergoing changes, silently.



项目背景

About the project



雀鸟村位于贵州雷山县东部，地处国家级雷公山自然保护区核心腹地。雀鸟苗语称“爵脑”，意为“青山绿水之源”，至今仍保存苗族传统文化。寨子有四大姓氏杨、罗、吴、梁。杨姓祖先来自方祥乡，到雀鸟有十七代人大概五百年的历史。

Queniao Village, in the eastern part of Leishan County, Guizhou, is in the centre of the National Leigong Mountain Natural Reserve. Queniao is pronounced as 'jue nao' in Miao, meaning 'the source of green mountains and rivers'. Miao traditional culture is well conserved in the village. There are four major clans in the stockaded village – the Yang, Luo, Wu and Liang. The ancestors of Yang came from Fangxiang Township. The Yang clan in Queniao has a line of 17 generations spanning over 500 years.

作者资料

About the author



作者杨胜文来自于雀鸟村，二〇一〇参加贵州乡土文化社青年实习生，实习结束后成为贵州乡土文化社成员。致力于贵州文化反思与可持续生活青年人培养，开展民族文化学习和民族青年自我认同活动。因各种原因，目前胜文已经离开文化社，回家乡当公务员。

Yang Shengwen is from Queniao Village. He was an intern with the Centre for Indigenous Knowledge and Culture in Guizhou and became a member after the internship. He is committed to youth development in the project of cultural reflection and sustainable living in Guizhou. He initiates activities to promote the learning of traditional culture and identity building of the Miao youth. Due to several reasons Shengwen has now returned to his hometown and found a job in government sector.



安龙村的三个片段

Three Episodes of Anlong Village

在食品安全问题威胁下，城市居民转向农村渴求有机蔬菜。四川成都郫县年轻乡民回归土地，和城市消费者一起追求可持续生活的道路。他们打破了主流商业模式，透过蔬菜配送，把农村人情味和精神价值，一点一滴向城市消费者延伸……

Concerned about food safety, more and more urban residents are turning to organic vegetables. A young villager from Pi County, Sichuan Province, have chosen to reconnect himself with the land. In search of sustainable living, these farmers and their city consumers have broken through the mainstream business model. Through the platform of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA), the human sympathy and rural community values are slowly extending to the urban consumer.

四月成都，鸢飞草长，当城市人还沉醉春风时，农民已经开始一年里最早的播种。在成都，郫县安德镇安龙村，走马河静静流过，农民日出而作，日暮而息，过着平静安稳的生活。

安龙村的清晨，天还没亮，三十八岁的青年农民王成开着满载蔬菜的微型面包车，向东驶去。距离村庄二十多公里外的成都市区，有上百个家庭餐桌等待着王成的蔬菜。

您也许会好奇，为什么农民王成不把菜拿到菜市场去卖？为什么远在城市的消费者，不就近买菜，而愿意付出高于市场一般蔬菜的价格，去选择一名农人配送的蔬菜？请允许我用三个片段，为您讲述一个安住于土地的快乐农夫的故事。



It is morning in Anlong Village, the sky still dark. Wang Cheng, a 38-year-old farmer, is driving his van, loaded with vegetables, eastward. In Chengdu, 20km away, the dining tables of more than 100 families are awaiting Wang's vegetables.

You may be curious. Why doesn't Wang Cheng sell the vegetables in the market? Why don't the consumers in the city buy in their own neighbourhood, rather than paying more for vegetables delivered by a farmer from afar? Please allow me to tell you, with three episodes, the story of a happy farmer who lives a peaceful life with the land.

第一个片段：伤心白菜 Episode 1: sad *Pak Choi*

二〇〇七年一月二十七日，安龙村，王成在自家菜地砍下一棵大白菜，在他身后，两分地的大白菜烂成一片。“没办法，今年白菜批发价也只要一毛钱，拿到镇上批发市场去卖，运输费都挣不回来。”王成一脸无奈地说：“还不如让它烂在地头。”

王成家的遭遇，并不是个例。村外沟渠里，满是农民丢弃的大白菜。原来，去年大白菜的价格好，今年不少村民蜂拥种大白菜，没想到市场上，大白菜太多卖不出去，农民只好贱价出售，或是烂在地里，随意丢弃。

January 27, 2007, Anlong Village. Wang Cheng picked a *Pak Choi* on his farm. Behind him, all the *Pak Choi* in an area of 133 m² have gone bad. "There's no other choice. This year, the wholesale price of *Pak Choi* is only 10 cents. I can't even cover the transportation cost if I take it to the wholesale market in town", said Wang Cheng with a helpless face. "May as well let it rot away."

This was not an isolated case. The ditch outside the village was filled with *Pak Choi* discarded by the village farmers. The thing is that a year ago, *Pak Choi* fetched good prices,



菜贱伤农，使得王成对自己率先加入成都市城市河流研究会（简称河研会）的生态农业项目。王成对在村里实施的生态农业项目的行为还心存顾虑，“我可不敢把家里全部土地搞成生态试验田。”王成家除了种菜种粮，还种植有两分地的兰草，“每年春节，还能卖一千多元钱呢。”

二〇〇六年，在河研会项目组的帮助下，王成家成为安龙村最早的生态试验农户之一，开始对自家参与生态农业示范田的土壤进行改良转换，并陆续修建了沼气池、粪尿分集式厕所和家庭污水处理系统。

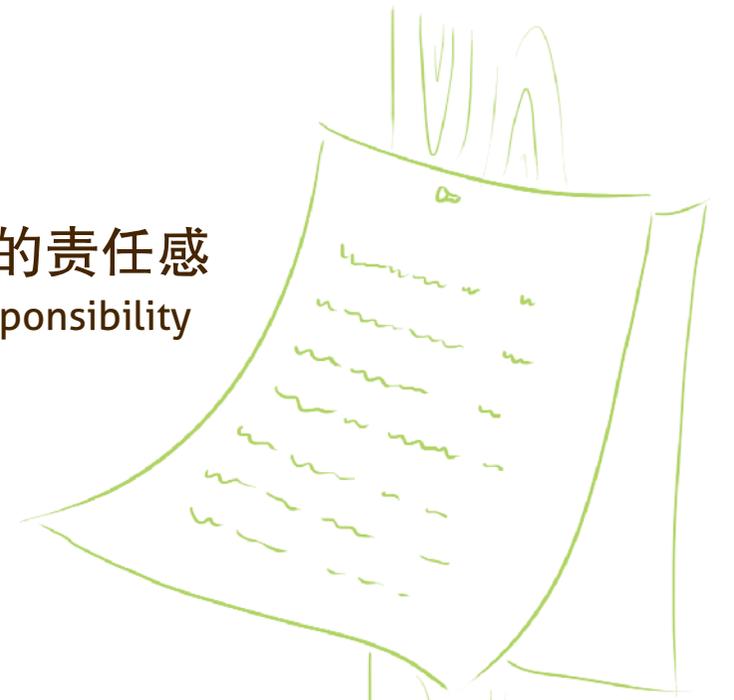
对于生态农业试验田的发展，王成并没有太多的期望。只是，相对于过去面朝土地背朝天日复一日的单调劳作，生活似乎有了一些变化。

so many villager farmers ploughed their efforts into *Pak Choi* growing in the next year. Now, there was too much of it and the farmers could not sell it all. They could only sell at very low prices or simply discard the crop.

Cheap vegetables hurt the farmers. Wang Cheng was the first farmer from his village to join Chengdu Urba River Association (CURA). Regarding the eco-agriculture project, he had some reservations. "I dare not turn all my land into pilot farms." Apart from vegetables and grains, Wang Cheng also grew 133m² of orchids. "Every Spring Festival, I can sell them for 1,000 yuan."

Nevertheless, in 2006, with the help of CURA, Wang Cheng became one of the first eco-agriculture pilot farmers in Anlong Village. He started to convert and improve the soil of his pilot farms. One after the other, he also built a bio-gas tank, composting toilet and grey water treatment system. Wang Cheng did not expect much from the pilot farms. But he felt good about the little change in his life away from the usual, monotonous farming routine.

第二个片段：种菜的责任感 Episode 2: A sense of responsibility



在王成家里，张贴着一张“客户喜好表”，上面罗列了消费者的蔬菜配送要求，比如：xx：不吃葱蒜；xx：不吃芹菜、萝卜……根据要求，王成在配送蔬菜时，就不会把消费者不喜欢的菜装进口袋。

“以前到市场卖菜，卖完收市，哪里晓得是什么样的人吃了我种的菜？哪去关心吃菜人的感受？现在不一样，不但晓得菜卖给了谁，还有消费者的反馈意见，让我及时调整种植，”王成笑着说：“现在，种菜有了责任感。”

从最初的三个家庭，发展到现在每周为一百

A 'Customer Preference' list is posted in Wang Cheng's house. They are notes for personalised customer deliveries, such as 'XX: no spring onion, garlic'; 'YY: no celery, carrot, etc'. Wang Cheng packs his orders according to the customers' preferences.

"In the market, I left when I had sold everything. How on earth could I know the person who ate my vegetables? How would I know their tastes? Now, it's different. I know whom I sell to. I also know their opinion so that I can make quick adjustments," explained

个家庭配送蔬菜，王成收获了消费者的信任和支持。每次王成送菜，张建阿姨都会提前站在路边等待，为他节约时间；有时，蔬菜品相不好，张阿姨也会毫不留情地向王成提意见。张阿姨说，王成总是态度和蔼，末了，还会道谢，“感谢您的支持和批评”，让人乐不可支。

每年红辣椒收获，王成亲手制作豆瓣酱。装在土瓦坛里的几百斤豆瓣酱，白天晒太阳，晚上扯露水，成了川菜必不可少的地道调味料——郫县豆瓣。这也让王成犯了愁，如何销售出去？成都消费者佳佳知道这一情况，主动为王成家的豆瓣酱找销路——在自家的淘宝店里，把王成自制的豆瓣酱卖向全国。短短半月，佳佳已经帮王成卖出一百多斤豆瓣酱。

Wang Cheng happily. "Growing vegetables carries a sense of responsibility now."

Having started with three family customers, Wang Cheng is now delivering vegetables to 100 families a week. He has harvested the trust and support of the consumers. Every time Wang Cheng delivers to his customer Auntie Zhang Jian, she will wait for him on the roadside to save his time. Sometimes, the vegetables are not that good, and she will tell him squarely. Auntie Zhang said that even so, he kept a nice demeanour and would reply, "Thank you for your support and comment." It was really amusing.

Every year, Wang Cheng harvests his red chilli and makes bean paste in a large earthen jar that holds hundreds of kilograms of the paste. Baking in the sun during the day and soaking in the dew at night, the mixture turns into Pi County bean paste, an indispensable seasoning in Sichuanese cuisine. However, it puts Wang Cheng to the test: how can he sell it all? Jia Jia, a consumer and retailer in Chengdu, heard



农民和消费者之间，不止是买卖关系，他们更像是朋友，有着深厚的友谊和平等的交流。从二〇一一年开始，王成在新米收获的时节，都会邀请消费者吃坝坝宴（编者按：四川话，意指农村摆宴席），感谢他们对自己从事的生态农业的支持。坝坝宴上，吃的都是自家地里的新鲜蔬菜、自养的粮食猪、稻米鸭；消费者们也带去对王成一家最衷心的感谢，感谢农民们保护着城市人餐桌的安全健康。

about Wang and took the initiative to sell his bean paste for him. In her online shop, she took orders for Wang's home-made bean paste from all over the country. In just half a month, Jia Jia sold 50kg of it.

It is not just a transactional relationship: the farmers and consumers are more like friends. There is deep friendship and sharing on an equal footing. Since 2011, Wang Cheng has been inviting his customers to the courtyard feast after the rice harvest. This is his way of thanking them for their support for his eco-agriculture venture. In the feast, they eat vegetables freshly picked from his farm, pork that comes from the pig he feeds with grains, and ducks that he rears in the paddy field. In return, the consumers bring along their sincere thanks to Wang's family for ensuring the safety and health of the city population on the dining table.



第三个片段：收获

Episode 3: Harvest



二〇一二年六月四日，安龙村，王成一家五口，站在自家田地旁，拍下全家福。

短短六年，王成从最初一分地进行生态种植，到如今五亩地投入生态农业种植；从最初三份蔬菜订单，到现在一百个城市家庭餐桌的支持；他不仅收获了城市消费者的信任，也收获了人生中最珍贵的爱情。

二〇一〇年，湖南姑娘夏瑞莲通过媒体得知王成从事生态农业的故事，亲自来到村庄见到王成，两人一见钟情。去年，他们的宝宝降生，为这个辛勤劳作的家庭增加了无限欢乐。

June 4, 2012, Anlong Village. Wang Cheng and his family of five stand at the side of his farm and take a family photo.

In six years, Wang Cheng has expanded his eco-agricultural land from 67 m² to more than 3300 m². The support he gets has increased from three families to 100 families in the city. He has harvested the trust of the city consumers. He has also harvested the most valuable love in his life.

In 2010, Xia Ruilian, a woman from Hunan, learned about the story of Wang Cheng in the

生态农业，带给王成一家稳定的经济收入，也开启了一扇令农人收获良多的幸福之门。

成都以西，来自都江堰的水日夜奔流，滋养着土地，养育着土地上善良的人们。农人们勤劳耕作，守护家园，敬天惜物，生生不息。

media. She travelled all the way to his village to meet him. They fell in love with each other at first sight. Last year, their child was born, bringing boundless joy to this hard-working family.

Eco-agriculture has brought steady income to Wang and his family. It has also opened the door to happiness for a farmer who is reaping a rich harvest.



项目背景

About the project



安龙村位于四川成都市郫县。长期以来，成都农村区域形成了星罗棋布的乡村院落。这些院落和周边高大乔木、竹林、河流及外围耕地等自然环境有机融合，形成一个个形如田间绿岛的农村居住环境形态，被称为“川西林盘”。成都河流研究会在安龙村推动可持续生态示范村，从保护河流的角度在农户间推动生态农业的实践。部分农户非常认同生态农业带出的人与自然和谐的理念，并透过社区支持农业的实践，与城市的消费者建立互助互信的深厚情谊。

Anlong Village is in Pi County, Chengdu City, Sichuan. Over the years, the rural landscape of Chengdu has been dotted with villages and courtyards. The courtyards are integrated into the surrounding trees, bamboo forests, rivers and the farmland beyond. The living environment looks like green islands in the field, earning it the name of 'Tree Basin in Western Sichuan'. Anlong Village is the pilot village of CURA's sustainable living project. It aims at promoting eco-agriculture from the perspective of river conservation. Some farmers identify fully with the idea of people-nature harmony in eco-agriculture. At the same time, they are building a deep relationship of mutual support and trust with the city consumers through the CSA (Community Supported Agriculture) platform.

作者资料

About the author



张鸣是新闻工作者，成都消费者互助组织绿心田的志愿者。

Zhang Ming is a journalist and a volunteer for Green Heartland, a consumers' mutual help organisation in Chengdu.

让我走近你

Let me get closer to you



很幸运，我和社区伙伴的项目工作人员和协作者一起走过社区故事写作的过程。

对社区故事而言，如何完成故事的写作的过程比最终写出了一个什么样的故事更重要。写作者能在参与项目的过程中，走得慢一些，投入得多一些，想得深一些，就是最好的回应。

我很喜欢大家讲述的每一个故事，不论是教育的、农业的、文化的、环保的……我喜欢看大家在口述故事时生动的表情，投入的状态。很多社区我没有去过，但我和他们一起分享了那份爱。



I consider myself lucky to have the chance to go through the journey of writing community stories together with other people working for the projects.

Concerning the writing of community stories, what matters most to me is the process, rather than the intention of writing a story of a certain form as the final outcome. It is a process that encourages the community facilitators involved in the writing to slow down a little, to let personal feelings come out, and to give deeper thought to the stories that they have encountered. I think this is what the writing of community stories aims at.

我很享受看很多故事，他们不是一个冷静客观的转述者，写故事的人把写作当成一种个人的分享：喜悦、感动、困惑、艰难……我看到社区正在发生的事，看到了那些事是怎样发生的，为什么会发生……不仅如此，我还体会到了他们的感受，思考……我强烈地感受到，他们和社区走得很近很近，我和社区也走得很近很近。

我也有困惑的时候，为什么一些故事一旦变成了文字，便像穿上了中山装，我知道发生了什么，但还是有一种距离感，写作者和社区的距離，我和社区的距離。我想，也许是因为把写作当作客观的描述大于个人主观的分享，也许是因为故事里的社区呈现的是一个模糊的群体，而没有让人印象深刻的鲜明的个体。

走得太快，容易忽略很多东西，希望能在写作的过程中，我们能走得更慢一些，更慢一些，能离社区的人近一些，更近一些。

I like every story that I have heard in this process, be it about community education, farming, community culture or environmental protection. I enjoy seeing the lively expressions of everyone telling their stories; that everybody has engaged in the process with their whole being. Although I have not been to all the communities of which stories were told, I can still share the love in them.

I enjoy reading all the stories. They are not narratives by 'objective' storytellers. The writers make use of writing to share their happiness, affection and emotion, bafflement and perplexity. I have learned from these stories what is happening in communities, how things happen and why they happen. What is more, the stories have enabled me to feel what those involved feel. Thoughts are also strongly present in the stories. The writers are so close with the communities, and through these I as a reader can get closer and closer.

I am also perplexed. Why, in many cases when stories become words, are they just like people putting on formal dressing – I know what has happened, but still feel it is so distant, a distance between the writers and the communities, that between them and myself. Maybe it is because we treat writing as objective narration, more than for sharing of personal subjectivity? Or maybe because the subjects of the stories are just an ambiguous representation of a collective, instead of appearing clearly as individuals?

It is easy for us to neglect many things when we are walking too fast. I hope that we can adopt a slower pace in the process of writing, so that we can get closer to the people in the communities.

作者介绍 About the Author

缪芸

自由撰稿人和协作者，协作本书社区故事文章的产出。她于二〇一二至二〇一三年在东非坦桑尼亚的桑给巴尔岛当志愿者，参与发展当地的生态旅游。

Miao Yun

Miao Yun is a workshop facilitator and freelance writer. She was a facilitator in the series of writing workshops that generated stories in this book. In 2012 to 2013, she worked as a volunteer in the eco-tourism field in Zanzibar, Tanzania.



社區伙伴

Partnerships for Community Development

“社区伙伴”是一个社区发展组织，于二〇〇一年五月由‘嘉道理基金会’创办及资助（经由麦哥利夫人所管辖的基金部分）。“嘉道理基金会”成立于一九七〇年，创办人贺礼士嘉道理勋爵一直秉持“助人自助”的信念。

社区伙伴相信，每个人不管物质如何匮乏，都有权利和能力与别人、大自然以至整个世界和谐共存，过有尊严而可持续的生活。要维持一个和谐而可持续的社区，人身心的康健至为关键。社区伙伴相信，社区要团结起来，反思社区与大自然的关系，重寻传统文化的根。

Established in Hong Kong in May 2001, Partnerships for Community Development (PCD) is a community development NGO set up and funded by the Kadoorie Foundation (via a stream of funds allocated by the Hon. Mrs McAulay). The Foundation is a Hong Kong-based trust founded in 1970 by the late Sir Horace Kadoorie, who believed in the motto: "Help people to help themselves".

PCD believes that everyone, however deprived in material terms, has the right and the ability to lead a dignified and sustainable life in harmony with others, with nature, and with the world at large. Individual well-being is crucial in maintaining a harmonious and sustainable community. PCD believes that the community has to work together to reflect on its relationship with nature and on its cultural traditions.

书写社区—回归与延伸

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传真： (852) 2430-7099
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