

某座二期

BLOCKS PHASE II

我家在某座

路過一個新建成的公共屋邨，看到不少家庭一家大小笑逐顏開地搬進新居，令我想起三十年前，父母把自己帶到我們一家將會入住的新屋邨時，卻是一番截然不同的感受。屋邨位於一個偏僻，荒漠似的山頭，了無人煙，新建的馬路上汽車也不多一輛，鳥不生蛋，看到那個只有一條巴士路線的站頭，感覺有如被遺棄放逐，差點有想哭的感覺。這種負面感覺一直烙印在心頭，心裡總有個念頭：總有一天要衝出這個籠牢。實情是，今天我家還是在某座公屋裡。

香港房地產價格之高在世界上數一數二，公屋更成了不少無殼蝸牛的避難所，根據2010年房屋署統計數字，居住在公營租住房屋單位的人口佔全港人口約百分之三十，當我發覺我仍然在這百分之三十的群體裡，並不覺得氣餒，反而覺得其實屋邨已成為香港生活空間的典型。自搬進去這個屋邨以後，我一直嘗試向這個地方投放情感，嘗試把她作為一個「家」去看待。我明白「家」除了其倫理上的定義，也肯定不是那區區三十平方米盒子空間，而是一個整體社區生活圈。

這樣就過了三十年，其間目睹不少公共房屋設計上的改變，固然不可跟當年同日而語，最重要的是當局一直想洗脫公共屋邨那種「廉租屋」或「給窮人住的房子」的味道，在設施上及設計上存在著跟私人發展屋苑看齊的錯覺，從而表現出社會的進步。一些老舊的屋邨也連連翻新，卻掩蓋不了一重重不太光鮮的現實：低收入、失業、傷殘、家庭問題、新移民及居民人口老化等等，瀰漫一種奇特的沉鬱氛圍，跟這些外表陽光開朗的居住空間成了強烈的對比。另外，自1967年建成的牛頭角下邨，數年前開始清拆，坊間突然湧起一股感物舒懷的情懷，屋邨變成景點，也變成了拍攝熱點。所有早年公共房屋不太人道的設計，驟然洗刷成為凝聚鄰里關係的催化劑，舊屋邨當年艱辛的生活條件被浪漫化，變成一個讓人們去憶苦思甜的平台，令大家都對公屋生活感覺良好。

在1953年石硤尾大火衍生出來的公屋計劃，到現在雖然已超過半個世紀，但不少人還是對公屋存在著強烈的「徙置」思維，從未思考過怎樣去真正使民眾安居，忽視生活配套上的支援，從不少政策上的小處可見端倪，例如近日政府以用地不足作借口，打算計劃將一些屋邨已有的公共空間加建房屋，被形容為「插針式」建屋。

Home in the Blocks

Walking by a newly built public housing estate one day, I saw families happily moving into their new flats. The smiles on their faces were a stark contrast to how I felt thirty years ago when my parents brought me to the housing estate that was soon to be our home. It was located on top of a remote and desolate hill, with few people or cars around. Even birds did not seem to want to visit. Looking at the bus stop that served only one bus line, I felt abandoned, exiled, and almost broke into tears. This painful first impression remains in my heart and I have always wanted to, one day, break free from this cage. The fact is, however, that my home is still in a block of that public housing estate.

Hong Kong's real estate prices are among the highest in the world. Public housing thus becomes the shelter for many who cannot afford to own property. According to the 2010 statistics of the Hong Kong Housing Society, thirty percent of the territory's population lives in public housing. When I realized I was still one of the 30%, I did not feel discouraged. Rather, public housing has come to represent typical living spaces in Hong Kong. Since we moved into this block, I have been trying to put feelings into this place, trying to treat her as 'home'. And I know 'home', besides its ethical definition, is certainly not just a 30 square-meter box, but where an entire community lives.

Thirty years have passed, during which the design of public housing in Hong Kong has undergone many transformations. One of the major changes is that the government has been trying to erase the image of public housing as 'cheap rental' or 'housing for the poor' by emulating the facilities and designs of private residential developments. To show the progress of our society, some old, dilapidated housing estates have been renovated, but this cannot cover up the dark reality: low-income, unemployment, disabilities, family problems, new immigrants, and the ageing population of the residents. An eerie melancholia permeates these blocks, in sharp contrast with their bright facades. At the same time, a wave of nostalgia marks society. A few years ago, when the demolition of Lower Ngau Tau Kok, a public housing estate built in 1967, began, the site quickly became a destination for sightseeing as well as photography. The less-than-humane design of early public housing suddenly became the catalyst for community bonding. The harsh living conditions in the old estate were romanticized, becoming a platform for collective nostalgia, making everyone feel good about life in it.

The tragic 1953 fire in Shek Kip Mei prompted the development of public housing. Although public housing has existed for more than half a century, many still regard it as a kind of 'temporary housing' that few would consider it as permanent home. The lack of coordination and facilities for public housing tenants can be found in many government policies' small details. For instance, using shortage of land as an excuse, the government has recently proposed to squeeze every inch of public space in existing housing estates to build more public housing.

自2005年始起，「領匯房地產投資信託基金」從香港房屋委員會手中，接管了大部份公共屋邨商場的經營及管理權，以往由房署管理屋邨商場雖然無為而治，但起碼是從建構或支援居民生活的思維出發，而「領匯」作為一所上市公司，很自然會從公司及股東的收益角度去考慮。引入大型連鎖集團的商店，在跟市面看齊的加租幅度，導至大量小商戶、街市商販和大小食肆，都相繼被迫結業。這些小商戶以往可以提供相對市價較為便宜的服務和商品，令屋邨收入較低的居民能有較為合理的生活質素，現在屋邨的居民卻要承擔高昂物價壓力。這些經過改建後的商場帶著金光閃閃的裝潢，叫人誤信「領匯」的口號：「提升生活質素」，其實反過來在沒有商業競爭的環境下，只會令選擇變得有限。說到底，生活質素並不是單純體現在粉雕玉砌的生活空間裡。

以往屋邨建築那種帶點粗獷主義味道，充斥著灰灰沉沉不加修飾的混凝土，是恰如其份的低調，正是反映住在裡面的居民那份踏實過活的心態。但當我某天一覺醒來時，發覺對面的大樓驟然被刷上粉色調子配搭的斑斕油漆，活脫脫的把幼稚園或遊樂場的氛圍帶過來，這些視覺上的噪音打擾了我本來平靜的生活。讀過阿倫·狄波頓寫的《幸福的建築》（*The Architecture of Happiness*），會明白我們對待建築，其實跟對待別人所持的態度別無兩樣：「我們感覺一幢建築不吸引人，也許只是因為我們不喜歡我們通過它的外表模糊辨別出來的某種生物或者人所具有的那種氣質——正如認為另一幢大廈很美只不過感受到了一種如果放在一個人身上我們會很喜歡的性格。」而我現在面對著正是一個情緒起伏的傢伙，在老朽的臉龐上塗脂抹粉，展露著一個無知的笑臉。

這些經驗都為我帶來不少的衝擊，也是驅使我進行這個拍攝計劃的原因之一。我沒有意思以此書去考究這些修飾的功能或品味，無意為公屋設計作考査，更遑論動用什麼空間理論，甚至把其視之為一個視覺研究，我只是希望用攝影與建築物對話，與空間對話。我的照片並不可能完全盛載著我想講的一切一切，卻是我作為一個居民的心理面貌的投射。漫遊在各屋邨空間進行拍攝，看到新舊建築的林林總總，我並沒有阿Q式的自得，卻看到建築物的死亡與再生，令我想起佛洛伊德在《文明與其不滿》（*Civilization and its Discontents*）的開首裡，用了「永恆之都」古羅馬城作了一個比喻，古羅馬裡每個歷史階段的建築都不和諧地並存和重疊著，以往被破壞或焚毀的建築物都會殘存著，文化、時間和人的痕跡也層層疊疊地累積在那裡，而這些建築卻是體現人類心靈生活習性的視覺呈現，告知我們總會被自己的過去縈繞於懷：「心靈生活經歷過的一切，無一會丟失，曾經形成的，|都不會消失，一切都以某種方式留存下來，等待適當的時機變將再返現。」。

《某座》這個系列可能是我心目中的羅馬古城，籍此回視我的過去，無奈地看著人們被硬生生要求投放情感在其中，而讓它們變成他們的「家」，除了探索這些被刻意營造的幸福居所裡奇特的生存狀態外，也是為我居住在公共屋邨三十周年作出的一點紀念。

As another example, the Hong Kong Housing Authority endowed “The Link Real Estate Investment Trust” to operate and manage shopping malls in most public estates. Although these shopping malls were minimally managed in the past, they were at least serving the needs of the residents. The Link REIT, however, as a listed company, naturally works for the profit of its shareholders. It has introduced large chain stores into the shopping malls, increased the rent to market price, and consequently pushed out many small shops, wet market vendors and eateries. These small businesses used to provide services and products at lower-than-market prices, so the relatively low-income residential population of the housing estates could still enjoy reasonable quality of life. Now they have to shoulder the burden of expensive commodities. The shiny interior of the malls after renovation misled people into believing in the Link REIT’s advertising slogan -- “Enhancing people’s lives”. In fact, such monopolized business environment actually limit people’s choices. After all, luxuriously decorated living space is far from the reflection of the true quality of life.

The rough appearance of old public housing blocks, made of plain grey cement, was a fitting metaphor of the low-key, practical mindset of their residents. When I woke up one morning and noticed that the opposite block had been painted in shades of pink as if it were a kindergarten or amusement park, these visual noises disturbed my otherwise quiet life. As Alain de Botton writes in *The Architecture of Happiness*, the way we look at architecture is not any different from the way we look at a person: “To feel that a building is unappealing may simply be to dislike the temperament of the creature or human we dimly recognise in its elevation - just as to call another edifice beautiful is to sense the presence of a character we would like if it took on a living form” I am now looking at an unstable bloke, his decrepit face covered up in heavy make-up, flashing an ignorant smile.

These experiences have shocked me but also motivated me to carry out this shooting project. I do not aim to do research into the function or design of public housing, nor do I want to engage theories of urban space or conduct visual research. I only hope to create a dialogue with these buildings through photography, a dialogue with space. My photographs cannot possibly capture everything I wanted to express, but they projection my psychological landscape as a resident. Wandering through the spaces of various public housing estates, I saw a wide variety of old and new architecture and felt no complacency. Observing the life and death of these blocks reminds me of an analogy of Ancient Rome that Freud makes in the introduction of *Civilization and Its Discontents*. In the “Eternal City”, he notes, buildings from different historical periods co-exist and overlap in disharmony. The ruins of damaged or burnt architecture accumulate traces of culture, time, and people. They are the visual manifestations of the mental lives and habits of human beings, informing us that we will always be surrounded by our own past: “nothing once formed in the mind could ever perish, that everything survives in some way or other, and is capable under certain conditions of being brought to light again, as, for instance, when regression extends back far enough.”

BLOCKS is perhaps my Ancient Rome, through which I look back at my past and watch, rather helplessly, people being forced to invest feelings of “home” in these buildings. In addition to exploring the bizarre living conditions inside these artificially engineered residences of happiness, this series is also a memorabilia of the thirty years of my life in public housing.

岑允逸出生及現居於香港，1994年獲香港理工大學攝影設計（榮譽）學士，曾任攝影記者超過十年，現為自由攝影師。曾獲多項紀實攝影獎，包括由香港報業公會、香港攝影記者協會、亞洲傳媒大獎及國際特赦組織等機構舉辦的新聞業界獎項。

岑允逸多年來的創作主要探討個人與都市生活空間的關係，本地弱勢社群的生存狀態，以及當代中國在經濟急遽發展下的城鎮面貌。他曾舉辦多個個人的主題展覽包括「別名：Xianggang」（2003）、「奧運健兒寫真」（2009）及「某座」（2011），也曾參與過眾多本地及國際的攝影節及聯展，包括影像香港（2008）、香港當代藝術雙年獎（2010）、城市漫遊者—社會紀實攝影（2010）、平遙國際攝影節（2008及2011）、三藩市現代美術館主辦的「Photography Now: China, Japan, Korea」（2009），意大利的Savignano SI Fest（2010）及 Asolo Art Film Festival（2011）等。其作品為美國三藩市現代美術館、香港文化博物館及私人收藏。

岑曾參與出版的攝影集包括《一人生活》（2007），《係•唔係樂園：岑允逸攝影作品》（2008）及《麻雀》（2009-2012）等。

除個人創作外，他於2013年初創辦攝影展覽空間「The Salt Yard」（www.thesaltyard.hk），參與策展多個海外及本地攝影師的作品展覽。岑亦經常以「Fotopiggie」名義發表有關攝影論述的文章，文章可見於個人網誌「攝影豬影像隨筆」：fotopiggie.blogspot.com

Dustin Shum was born and currently lives in Hong Kong. He graduated from the Hong Kong Polytechnic University in 1994 with a Bachelor of Arts (Honours) Degree in Photographic Design. A photojournalist for more than ten years, he now works as a freelance photographer. Shum has received many awards for outstanding documentary photography over the years, including those by the Newspaper Society of Hong Kong, the Hong Kong Press Photographers Association, World Association of Newspapers and Publishers, and Amnesty International.

In his work, Shum focuses on the relationship between individuals and urban spaces, the living conditions of local disadvantaged groups, and the transformation of Chinese cities and towns in rapidly developing economy. His works have been exhibited in solo and group shows locally and internationally.

Past solo exhibitions include "Alias: Xianggang" (2003), "Photogenic Olympians" (2009) and "Blocks" (2011). He also participated in many local and international joint exhibitions including Imaging Hong Kong (2008), Hong Kong Contemporary Art Biennial (2010), City Flâneur: Social Documentary Photography (2010) Pingyao International photography Festival (2008 & 2011), Photography Now: China, Japan, Korea (2009, organized by SFMoMA), Savignano SI Fest (2010) and Asolo Art Film Festival (2011) in Italy. His works have been collected by the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art, the Hong Kong Heritage Museum, and private collectors.

Shum has also published several photobooks including Live Alone a Life: People with Mental Illness (2007), and Themeless Parks: Photographs by Dustin Shum (2008) and Mahjong (2009-2012).

In Jan 2013 he co-founded The Salt Yard, an independent, artist-run exhibition space dedicated to photography, where he curated a number of exhibitions by overseas and local photographers. Shum also writes frequently about photography under the name of "Fotopiggie," which can be found on his personal blog (in Chinese): fotopiggie.blogspot.com.