Chapter 6 : A Forming Culture.

A team project of research for 2nd International Architecture Biennale Rotterdam, 2005
A research project of ocean of Taiwan in which many architectural or cultural issues about Taiwan are concerned.

第六章：一個正在形成的文化

以2005年參加鹿特丹國際建築雙年展的作品 <Ocean of Taiwan - From NOwhere to NOWhere> 為例
討論台灣的海洋文化：一個正在演進，尚未定型的文化。

海洋台灣:Ocean of Taiwan - From NOwhere to NOWhere

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海洋台灣:Ocean of Taiwan – From NOwhere to NOWhere

研究內容簡介

緣起

環繞台灣超過 1500 公里的海岸線上蘊含著豐富的資源以及多元的特質，整體而言，台灣海岸有其
不容忽視的獨特性，對於海洋的發展也提供許多機會與條件。但是儘管台灣海岸有其迷人之處，一
旦小尺度地逐一觀察沿海空間，很快會發現台灣海岸充斥許多奇異的現象，在水陸交界處展現出各
事件詭異且奇特的共存與平衡，例如：被切割剩餘的自然資源共處與輕率而為的人為環境，這可能
是缺乏完整且健全的規劃所帶來的產物…等，這些現象清楚地反映出長久以來台灣人民對於海岸景
觀、都市景觀的做法與態度，也正是這些矛盾的景況引發出我們想要對台灣海岸線進行研究的動機。

研究方法

我們從兩個方向破題：一、台灣土地上的人及其性格，文獻研究試圖找尋跟「人」有關的論述，亦
即跟「性格」有關的發掘。我們以「媽祖」[1]為切入點，用以尋找知識面上與海洋元素有關的議題，
而這些議題代表著這塊土地上的人對於海洋的理解與態度，亦即台灣海洋文化裡的心理層面觀點。
「媽祖」在浩瀚無涯的資料庫裡，為我們扮演著篩子的角色並且篩出極具代表性的觀點。二、空間
的痕跡，經由空間的實地訪查建立一連串跟「地」有關的課題，藉此閱讀隱藏在海岸空間、城市、
人為活動及自然資源等不可見的實質物件之間的關係；同時我們也試圖發掘未來發展的可能介入方
式，或者值得進一步探討的空間議題。

「媽祖」在台灣是非常重要的外來神祇之一，當時大量移民橫渡黑水溝〈台灣海峽上水流極險惡的海溝〉來台時便攜帶著
媽祖神像以求庇祐，經過時間的流轉，媽祖逐漸在地化而變成台灣最主要的信仰，進而建立起具本土風格的文化內涵。

Introduction

The more than 1,500 kilometers of coastlines that encircle Taiwan embody rich resources and diverse
characteristics. Overall, the Taiwan coastlines, with their undeniable uniqueness, provide many opportunities
and conditions for maritime developments. Yet, despite their charming qualities, the Taiwan coastlines turn
out to be - once we observe them on a micro level - filled with peculiar phenomena: at the meeting ground
between the ocean and land, we see a bizarre co-existence and equilibrium of unusual events - for example,
the cohabitation of divided and surplus natural resources, and carelessly planned man-made environments,
which probably result from a lack of well thought out planning. These phenomena clearly reflect the Taiwanese
attitude towards and treatment of coastal scenery and urban landscape. And it is exactly these conflicts that
triggered the ideas behind our study on the Taiwan coastlines.

Research Methodology

We cut into our topic from two directions: (1) The people in Taiwan and their character: researching existent
literature to find discourse related to humanity, that is, digging into the Taiwanese "character." We have
chosen the Mother Buddha as our point of entry in this search for ocean related intellectual issues, which
represent how we understand and treat the ocean, i.e., the psychological dimension of Taiwan's oceanic culture.

01.「媽祖」作為一個搜尋的關鍵字
我們從「媽祖」作為檢視條件而得來的結論中,可歸納出下列四個觀點:

大陸型的海洋性格:我們的祖先大多從對岸而來,性格上繼承了相當程度的大陸性,反映在海洋的使用態度也帶著這樣的特質。重視土地而不輕言遷移,追求居住安定及停留,因此海洋國家人民所特有的重視冒險犯難的精神在台灣人上無法被看到,我們的海洋性格(如果有的話)與其說是如波濤般活潑的,不如說是陸地般安靜且低調的。對海洋的原始疏離:「海是危險的」,很多人在這樣的教條下長大。這或許跟先民渡過黑水溝而來有關,因為「媽祖」從保護出海漁民的神祇轉化成保護人們過海的主神,背後隱含著人們對於海洋的恐懼,如果非必要,海洋不會成為尋常生活的一部份。
追求臨時性的安定:居住在台灣島上的人們還沒有停留足夠的時間去塑造追求永恆安定的性格,潛意識裡仍有隨時可以出走、離開的影子,即便在大陸性格引動下的安定感,也是以一種比較臨時手法去達成,便利的建材、可隨意增減的空間、缺乏整體且全盤計畫的都市、恣意取用自然資源…等等,滿足暫時安定的的短線操作手法。
不安於現況的特質:「媽祖」曾經帶著一群人離開一個久居之地而到了另一塊未知的異土,總想「過得更好」,於是利用移動來找出路。我們看到台灣島上大部分的人仍處在一種不安於現狀的心態裡,隨時準備朝下一個美好前進。

01. The "Mother Buddha" As A Search Keyword
From the conclusions we have drawn, using "Mother Buddha" as a search criterion, four points of view can be summarized as follows:

Continental Oceanic Character: Most of our ancestors came here from across the Taiwan Strait; our characters have inherited a high degree of continentalism, and our treatment of the ocean exhibit this trait. We take the land seriously and do not immigrate rashly; we pursue a stable and sedentary life. Therefore, the adventurous spirit typical in oceanic people is not seen among the Taiwanese people. Our oceanic quality, if any, is quiet and low-key, like the land we stand on, instead of bursting with energy.

Original Alienation from the Ocean: "The ocean is dangerous" - many people grow up under this admonition. It might have something to do with the fact that our ancestors crossed the dark waters to this new land, because the Mother Buddha had transformed, from a goddess protecting the fishermen going out to the seas, to a goddess protecting people crossing the ocean, which reveals people's fear of the ocean. Unless absolutely necessary, ocean will not become part of our daily life.

Searching for Temporary Stability: Residents on the island of Taiwan have not stayed here long enough to shape a character that searches for permanent stability. Subconsciously, shadows of them leaving anytime still linger on; even the stability fostered by their continentalism is being realized in relatively temporary ways - convenient building materials, easily adaptable spaces, cities that lack a holistic planning, natural resources randomly used, etc., that is, shortsighted operating methods that satisfy a temporary sense of stability.

Discontent with the Status Quo: Once, the Mother Buddha brought with her a community of people to a land of the unknown, leaving their home residence behind. All they had hoped was "to live a better life," to seek a way out by relocation. We see now that the majority of people on the Taiwan island are still drenched in this discontent with the status quo, and ready anytime to move on to the next bright future.

02. 空間閱讀

經過15天的環島記錄，我們在將近四百五十張的環場照片中得到海岸空間所給予的三個暗示：

阻隔的政策：在政策面上，台灣還處在對海岸採取管制的作法，不管民間多所交流，在實質面的空間關係上仍是一種阻隔的意涵，因此我們可以在沿著海岸線上看見這些管制的痕跡，海防線、哨站、圍籬與堤防。其他諸如：垃圾掩埋場、大型工業區也利用這塊「設有屏障」的區域作為校場，進而對原本已不易親近的海洋行形成更實質的隔斷。

農業型的海洋使用：海洋對我們來說跟一塊壞土有意義是相同，於是我們有蚵田、有鹽田、有魚塭，我們使用海洋不是把它當成一種連結至他處的通道與捷徑，而是一塊站在旁邊可供撈取的「田」，有固定的生產力，並且可停留在原地使用。

向近海擴張：人們的貪心與不滿足反映在空間上是對於海洋進行擴張，由陸地向海洋延伸可使用的空間，沒有計畫的濫用而造成海岸空間品質的劣化。
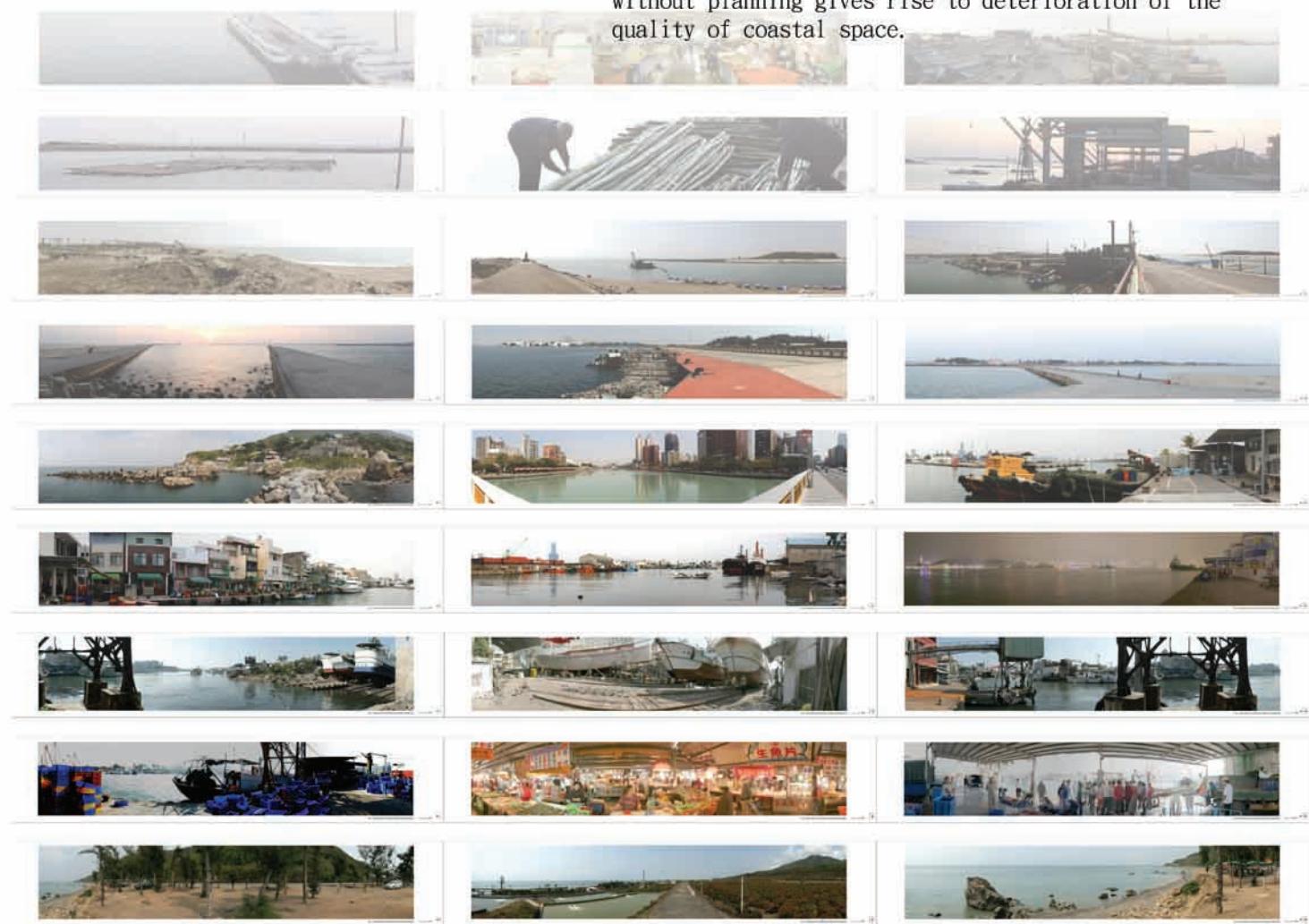
02. Spatial Reading

After a 15-day around-the-island documentation trip and 450 photographs, we have gathered three major observations from the coastal space:

(A) the policy of blockage: Taiwan still maintains a policy of restriction for its coastlines. No matter how much communicational endeavors have the private sector invested, the space around the coastlines is still a metaphor for obstruction. This is why we see traces of restriction along the coastlines: coastal defense lines, outposts, barricades and dikes. Furthermore, there are garbage landfills, and large industrial facilities also use these "shielded" areas for training fields, making the already unapproachable ocean even more physically cut off.

(B) Agricultural use of the ocean: To us, the ocean means the same as owning a piece of land; therefore, we have oyster fields, salt fields, fish farms. We see the ocean not as a path or shortcut to somewhere else, but a field from which we can profit, where production and use are predictable and fixed.

(C) Expansion to coastal waters: Human greed and discontent result in spatial expansion towards the ocean, extending the use of space towards the ocean. Such abuse without planning gives rise to deterioration of the quality of coastal space.

03. 觀點 － 阻隔線上的多元跨越

當「阻隔」存在而人們有了在「擴張」的驅使之下，「跨越」的行為就會出現。綜合「媽祖」的研究與空間觀察，我們發現在台灣海岸線上存在相當數量且異常有趣的現象，稱之為「阻隔線上的多元跨越」，稱之為「多元」係因為這些跨越大多由居民以合法或非法的管道，自發且臨時的手段所進行而形成的各種結果。許多因應政治、國防、安全、交通等需要的設施被強硬地放置在台灣海岸線上，將居民的生活區域與海阻隔開來，與這些組隔相對的是大量由當地居民為了生活、生產、休閒之需求而造出的構造物、產生的活動及進行的行為，這些都是非常有趣的空間經驗，卻同時也是規劃者的夢魘。

03. Viewpoint: Diverse Crossings on the Lines of Obstruction

When there are "obstructions" and the human need for "expansion," actions of "crossing" will follow. Summing up our research and spatial observations on the Mother Buddha, we have discovered many unusual and interesting phenomena along the Taiwan coastlines, which we call "diverse crossings on the lines of obstruction"; "diverse" because these crossings are the result of residents' legal and illegal, spontaneous, and ad hoc methods of actions. Many facilities are forced upon the Taiwan coastlines by political, national defense, security, and transportation needs; and these separate the living area of residents from the ocean. On the other hand, there are the large amount of structures and production activities created by local residents out of everyday needs. These are all extremely interesting spatial experiences, yet also nightmares for the planners.

重新理解並定義的台灣海岸線

經過文獻資料與影像蒐集的彙整之後，我們確實得到了一些值得關注的現象，這些現象的背後事實上還存在著難以清楚劃定的矛盾現象，例如：追求臨時性的安定與不安於現狀的特質；阻隔的政策與向近海擴張…等，這些對立與矛盾當然應該繼續被放在時間向度及空間向度上加以討論，但我們仍指認了四個由「媽祖」而來的觀點以及三組空間觀察而來的提示，作為必須的階段性結論。然而對我們來說，意識到一個新的社會文化正逐漸在這塊土地上成形，群體意識正逐漸由大陸性格邁向海洋國家的過程是相當重要的，文化雖尚未定型，不同的群體也因為移入的時間、外在因素以及心路歷程不同而在性格轉變上引起進程上的差異或方向上的出入，但這就是台灣這個海洋國家目前所持有的獨特性，跟其他國家得以區隔開來，並且無法被歸類。

台灣島上的住民對於台灣的指認大部分還是從地理上的輪廓線而來，然而輪廓線上及之外的事情大概是從來不太去探討它的，因此台灣的形狀也僅止於提供指認的對象而已，這一種心理層面的「不知為何處」的狀態間接造成對台灣海岸空間的誤用、濫用，並沒有真正回應海洋所給予的資源與特質。我們的研究從心理層面找到島上居民的性格，並理出海岸空間使用背後的意義，因此我們運用兩條研究主軸所得到的觀點，亦即「阻隔」與「跨越」互為矛盾卻又同時存在的現象，重新詮釋出一個新的台灣輪廓，重新畫出一張屬於生活的、屬於結合海洋與陸地價值的台灣地圖，並進一步提出海岸空間的發展觀點，如此我們已將自己從「NOwhere」的狀態帶往「NOWhere」的狀態，認識並且知道該如何走下一步。
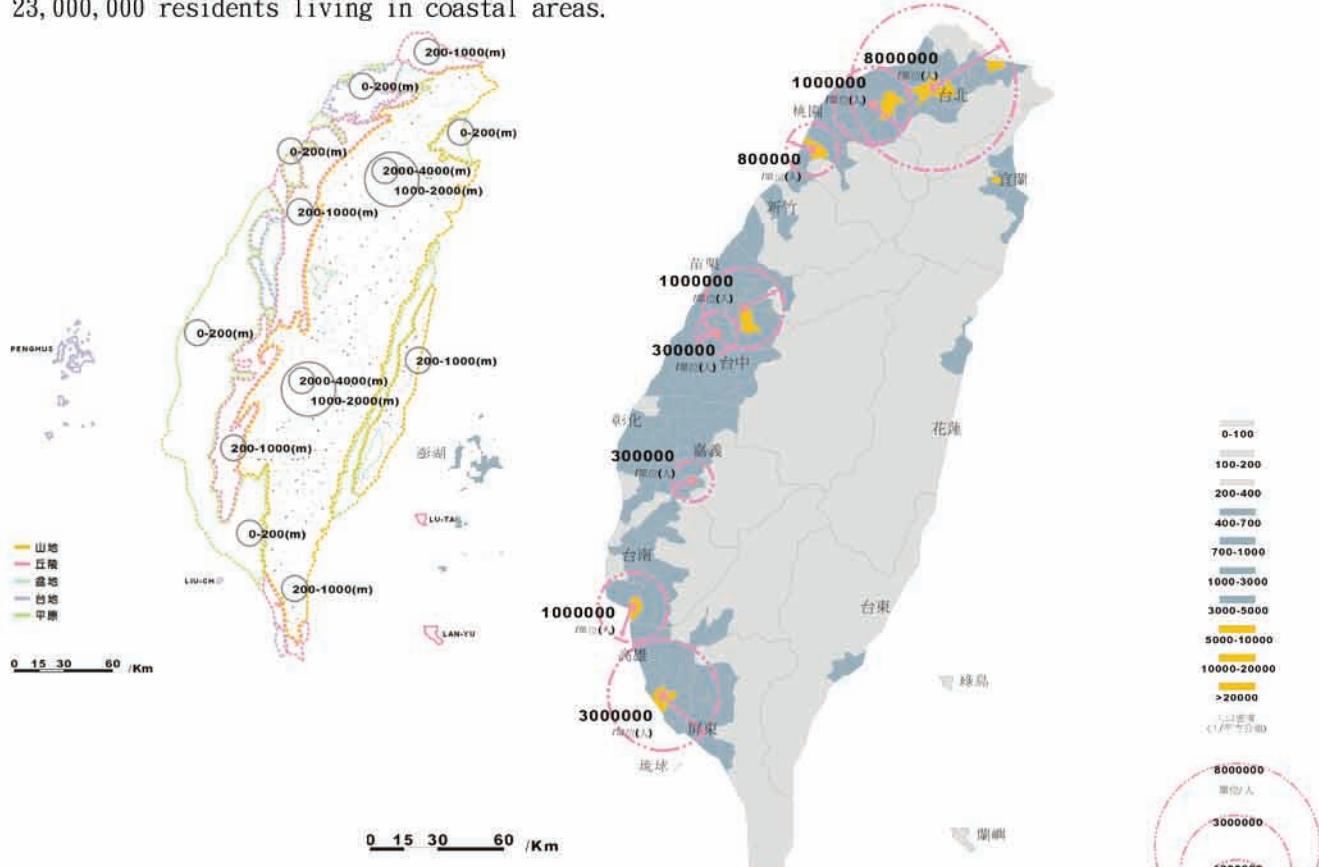
Re-examining and Re-defining the Taiwan Coastlines

After researching compiled text documents and visual data on this subject, we have discovered certain phenomena worthy of our attention; in fact, contradictions still exist behind these phenomena, for example, the characteristics of seeking temporary stability and discontent with status quo, the policy of blockage and coastal expansion. These conflicting opposites certainly should continue to be discussed in spatial and temporal dimensions; nevertheless, we have still identified and recognized four points of view derived from the Mother Buddha, and three sets of observations based on spatial observations, as necessary conclusions. To us, it is important to be aware of a new social culture gradually taking shape on this land, where the collective consciousness is in the process of transitioning from a continental to an oceanic orientation. In spite of the fact that the culture is not yet fully formed, and that different groups diverge in their pace of progress and their directions, due to differences in the time of immigration, objective environments, and also mentality, these qualities are nonetheless unique to this oceanic country of Taiwan, and are what distinguish it from other countries.

Residents of Taiwan identify the island mostly by its geographical outlines, and ignore almost all the other elements; therefore, the shape of the island provides only an object for identification. This psychological "disorientation" indirectly brought misuse and abuse to the Taiwan coastlines, rather than making us respond to the resources and qualities that the ocean has endowed upon us. Our study found the character of the island residents through psychological analysis, and sorted out the significances behind the use of coastal spaces; thereupon, with the two conflicting yet co-existing main axes of "obstruction" and "crossing," we attempt to interpret a new outline for Taiwan, and redraw a new map for Taiwan which embodies living values and integrates the ocean and the land, and further propose our viewpoints on the development of coastal spaces. In so doing, we have elevated our status from "NOwhere" to "NOWhere," and we now know how to make the next step.

台灣與海洋　　Taiwan and the Ocean
婆娑之洋，美麗之島　　Amazing Ocean, Beautiful Island

台灣，位於太平洋與東中國海的交界處，為一座由火山及板塊運動所形成的高山島，面積僅約36,000平方公里，其中三分之二以上是高山，適合耕種的平地面積相對稀少。由於受到地殼板塊活動及早期冰河的作用，全島山巒綿互，溪谷縱橫，垂直高差將近4,000公尺，這樣的先天條件造成兩千三百萬人口絕大多數都居住在沿海地區。

Taiwan, located on the border of the Pacific Ocean and the East China Sea, is a mountain island that was born from volcano and techtonic plate movements. Taiwan's area is only about 36,000 square meters, with over two thirds of it being mountainous, and with very few arable plains. Due to the effects of techtonic plate movements and early glacier activities, the island is full of mountains and rivers and valleys, and the vertical height difference is nearly 4,000 meters. Such natural conditions resulted in most of its 23,000,000 residents living in coastal areas.

灣島並非原來就是擁擠的。在東南亞的歷史中，台灣一向被視為"化外之地"，雖然在北部與東部曾經發現新石器時代的文化遺址，但與附近其他文明間一直缺乏正式且活絡的的接觸，直到十六世紀大航海時代開啟全球化序幕，台灣才因為「地處東亞政經體系的關鍵位置」而漸漸受到重視，開始串連至國際活動的網絡之中。台灣最早的與外接觸都是從海洋開始的，當時的海上活動甚至比陸地上的活動來得更活絡，可以說真正具有海洋國家的性格：冒險犯難、對外貿易、自給自足。海洋是連結的條件，也是生計的依靠，當時不管島上的人身份為何，對於海洋的理解與態度是普遍開放且無懼的。

The island of Taiwan had not been this crowded originally. In the history of Southeast Asia, Taiwan had always been seen as a "land outside of culture." Even though neolithic cultural sites have been discovered in northern and eastern Taiwan, the island had not had official and lively contact with neighboring cultures. It was not until the 16th-century Great Era of Navigation and the start of globalization, that Taiwan began to be recognized for its "key location in the East Asian political and economical system," and became part of the global activity network. Taiwan's early contact with the outside world started exclusively over the ocean. In Taiwan of that period, activities over the ocean were much more energetic than those over the land; we might say that it had truly a character of an oceanic country: adventurous, trading with foreign countries, and self-sufficient. Ocean meant connection with the rest of the world, and the source of livelihood; at that time, people on the island, regardless of ethnic identity, held the same open and fearless view of and attitude towards the ocean.

台灣曾經曾多次易主，除了原有的原住民之外，還有海盜、墾殖者與貿易商盤據，航海時代開始之後，西班牙人、荷蘭人、日本人相繼踏足台灣的土地，晚近來自中國的明鄭與清政權、戰敗割讓而至的日本政府以及二十世紀中葉已降的國民政府等政治勢力，輪流用各自的態度與手段經營台灣的土地。先後自中國移入的華人是現今台灣島居民的主幹。在整個政治勢力交替的過程中，這些人展現了某種文化上的韌性，而這樣的韌性促使著台灣人在吸收各種外來衝擊的同時，也逐漸形成了某種模糊的文化自明性，隨之而至的還包括價值觀、生活方式和宗教信仰上的微妙轉變。
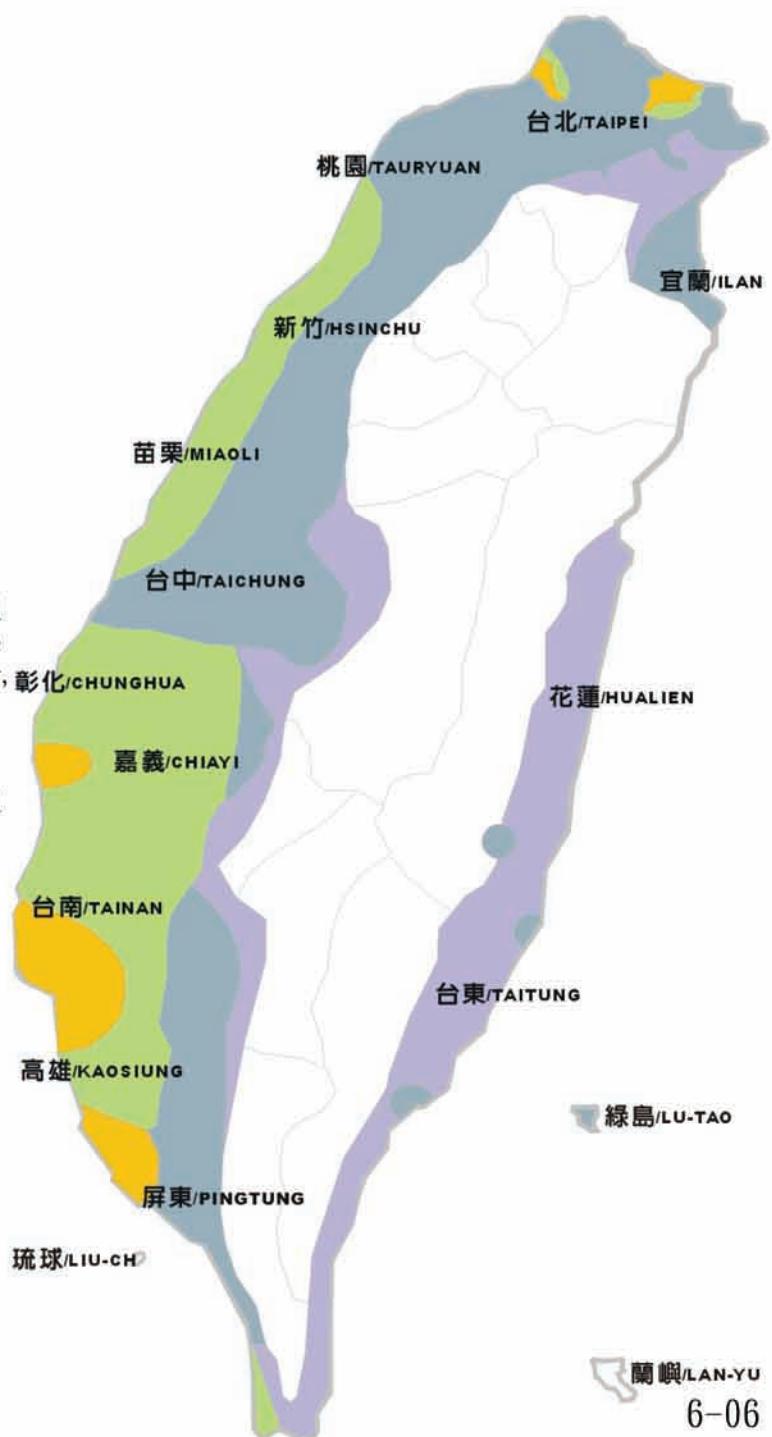
台灣海峽上的強烈海潮百年來仍不斷的翻覆著，當大量的移民毅然決然賭上性命越過這一道鴻溝時，可謂帶著一種決裂的義無反顧，幾個世代下來海洋也洗鍊了島上人民的性格，這個出走的介質逐漸換化成一股阻擋的力量，由是我們必須重新理解台灣、重新定義海洋。

Sovereignty over Taiwan changed hands several times. Besides the aboriginals, there had been occupations by pirates, pioneers and traders, and, since the era of navigation, the Spanish, the Dutch, the Japanese, and lately, the Ming and Qing dynasties from China, the Japanese government, to whom Taiwan was ceded to after the Sino-Japanese War, and the Nationalist Chinese government since the mid-20th century - all of whom managed the land with their own attitude and methods. The Chinese, who have migrated to the island in succession, form the base of the current Taiwanese population. During the transitions of political power, these people exhibited a kind of cultural tenacity. It was this tenacity that helped the residents form a certain cultural self-knowledge while absorbing various incoming cultural impact, and it was followed by subtle changes in their values, ways of living, and religious beliefs.

Over the last one hundred years, violent waves have been rolling relentlessly over the Taiwan Strait. As masses of immigrants, with their lives one the line, crossed the deep ocean with a determination of never turning back, the ocean has also tempered the island residents' character. This medium of exodus has gradually transformed itself into a power of obstruction; this is the reason that we must re-interpret Taiwan and re-define the ocean.

台北/TAIPEI
桃園/TAURYUAN
宜蘭/ILAN
新竹/HSINCHU
苗栗/MIAOLI
台中/TAICHUNG
彰化/CHUNGHUA
花蓮/HUALIEN
嘉義/CHIAYI
台南/TAINAN
台東/TAITUNG
高雄/KAOSIUNG
綠島/LU-TAO
屏東/PINGTUNG
琉球/LIU-CH
蘭嶼/LAN-YU

荷蘭/DUTCH
明鄭/CHENG
中國/CHINA
日本/JAPAN

6-06

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尋求「低敏銳度的客觀」　　　　　　　　　　Searching for A "Low-Sensitivity Objectiveness"

生活經驗的包袱是沉重的，這也是為什麼當我們面對自己居住的土地時，常常不能保持冷靜而公正的態度去評判；因為生活面上包含太多程度不一的的感受，太多複雜的問題待解決，太敏感，所以棘手。因此在開始找尋研究可切入的議題及未來可發展的方向時，我們希望能夠盡量保持客觀的態度，以一個不敏銳的眼睛開始搜尋，換句話說，我們不刻意先採取一種態度而將自己侷限於某種類型的議題，希望這種在一開始的「低敏銳度的客觀」可以找到一個有趣的開始。

The burden of life experiences is heavy, and this is the reason why we often cannot keep a cool and objective attitude in judging our own land; differences in life experiences often lead to complicated and sensitive issues that need to be resolved. Therefore, we aim to keep an objective attitude, and start our search with an insensitive eye; in other words, we do not want to limit ourselves with preset ideas, in the hope that this initial "low-sensitivity objectiveness" will allow us to find an interesting new beginning.

下圖是一張由歐洲人在十七世紀大航海時代時期所繪製名為「媽祖神殿」（Temple of Mother Buddha）的版畫，除了「媽祖」這個物件之外，整個畫面完全無異於西方神殿的佈局，這樣的開始，就是我們所追求的一種「低敏銳度的客觀」，亦即透過在這塊土地上沒有生活經驗的人的眼睛看到一個被突顯出來的主體，這個主體藉由一個不尋常的記錄方式被呈現出來進而形成一股張力，背後代表某些生活上的、政治上的、態度上的意義，這樣的開始就正是我們想要的。

The illustration here is a European engraving done in the 17th-century Era of Great Navigation, entitled "Temple of the Mother buddha." Except for the icon of the "Mother buddha," the scene is no different from any other Western pantheon. Such a beginning is the "low-sensitivity objectiveness" that we are looking for, i.e., a subject being foregrounded by the eyes of someone who has not lived on this land before. This subject was documented in an unusual manner, and further developed into a tension, with meanings related to life, politics and ideologies behind it – such a starting point is exactly what we want.

《媽祖廟》版畫來源《荷蘭東印度公司在大清帝國的活動記》，作者奧立佛・達波爾。阿姆斯特丹，1670年。國立臺灣歷史博物館。

如果，十七世紀的荷蘭人選擇在澎湖娘媽宮與明朝官員和談；清光緒年間英國船員大費周章的把馬公天后宮測繪在海圖上；明鄭時期與清朝都選擇以蓋媽祖廟的方式向島民宣示主權，那麼站在2004年的我們，研究也將以同樣的故事開始 – 媽祖，也就是說，我們選擇媽祖作為觀察台灣人之海洋觀的發軔點。

Just as the 17th-century Dutchmen chose to negotiate with the Ming Dynasty officials at the Temple of Mother buddha on the Pescadores Islands, the turn-of-the-century British sailors laboriously put the Temple of Mother buddha in Magong on their navigational map, the Ming and Qing Dynasty claimed sovereignty over Taiwan by building temples of the Mother buddha, so we, in 2005, will also start our research with the same story – the Mother buddha. In other words, we choose the Mother buddha as a point of departure in our research on the Taiwanese view of the ocean.

一島之隔的勝利女神與救難女神　　　The Goddess of Victory and Goddess of Protection Separated by an Island

國際社會對台灣的普遍認識，大多是由1542年葡萄牙人的一句「福爾摩沙！」（Ilha Formosa！）開始。勝利女神在大桅船頭帶領著這群意氣風發的水手就這樣掠過了台灣東北角。同時，在台灣西南側，有另一群人正企圖在台灣島上生根。於是一群意外將台灣個名字定點在世界地圖上但從未登島一探究竟的人，與另一群自己並不知道腳下土地正開始與世界串連，每日汲汲於生計、祈求當初帶他們平安渡海的媽祖庇佑的人們，第一次隔著台灣島，擦身而過。一邊是抱懷著遠大夢想、勇往直前的冒險家，一邊是守住一點點夢想，將未來落實在竹筏、草寮與小香爐之間的奮鬥者，對於這群想要在這塊土地上安身立命的人來說，台灣是no. where，也是now. here。

The world community began to get to know Taiwan with the 1542 Portugese exclamation, "Ilha Formosa!" The Goddess of Victory carried these proud sailors on her ship and sailed past the northeastern corner of Taiwan. At about the same time, on the southwestern side of Taiwan, another group of people were trying to settle down on the island. And thus a group of people who marked the word Taiwan on the map of the world but who had never set foot on the island, and another group of people who had no idea that the land they stood on was starting to connect with the rest of the world and were busy working for a living and praying for protection from the Mother buddha (who carried them safely across the ocean), passed each other for the first time, across the island. On one side were the courageous adventurers who held grand dreams, and on the other were strugglers who held just a tiny dream, and realized their future among bamboo boats, grass huts, and little incense burners. To this group of people who wanted to settle down on this land, Taiwan was no-where, and also now-here.

媽祖信仰中看到台灣人的特質

媽祖信仰是台灣境內最重要的信仰之一，其「從出海神變為過海神再升格成主神」的特性在本次研究中尤其受到重視。台灣西海岸的媽祖廟分布幾乎與早期漢人移民的聚落完全重疊，而媽祖的分靈、分香、巡境等等活動，也隱約暗示著移民社會的拓展及其勢力的變遷。也因此，我們將「媽祖」視為一個過濾系統，幫助我們過濾資料的調性；換句話說，「媽祖」正代表著從海的那一邊過來的移民社會之群體意識。正是這層意義使「媽祖信仰」變得特別適合作為研究初期切入的開端。

在整個「媽祖」的研究過程中，我們關注的特點與意義摘要如下：

1. 「媽祖林默娘」傳說背後所包涵的文化意義，是一種普羅大眾視海為吞噬生命的所在，一種將悲劇化做神話而達到安慰人心的手段，而「媽祖」原為救難神而非海神的事實，其背後也代表著人們「轉借他人信仰以求心安」的普遍事實，整體而言，人們對海洋的群體情緒是一種恐懼、刻意疏離並且不甚瞭解其特性的。

2. 移民登陸點與媽祖廟的關係，說明媽祖在渡過黑水溝的過程中成為移民者信仰並寄託的對象，安全來台之後以感恩的心繼續崇拜。媽祖廟的各分布地點無論在空間發展、產業型態、聚落分佈等議題上皆出現相似的演進與構成，這也說明了早期移民社會在生活內容及樣態上的單一性與類似性。而且我們也發現台灣西部沿海聚落的發展是係以單點錨定、線性擴張，之後連結出有層級關係的，而非多點落定、網狀連結的型態，這些層級關係的溯源可從其由「繞境」、「循境」、「分香」、「探源」、「遙祭」等活動看出，進而得以推演出聚落間的層級關係。另外，台灣的開墾路線也與媽祖廟以分靈、出祖等方式擴張有相當的重疊性。

3. 歷代政權登台之後對媽祖信仰的態度、政策或應對方法，多採尊重並方式，一方面可以收服民心，另一方面沿用信仰圈所構成的社會結構及人力資源可以快速地拓展其政治權力在島上的範圍，因此從各政權在台灣島上的發展版圖範圍來看，可見歷來都是堆疊在原有的軌跡之上，由是，媽祖信仰及其所代表的社會文化意涵也在政治變遷中逐漸改變其對台灣文化的影響與地位。

4. 媽祖由「出海神」到「過海神」到「主神」，甚至繼續衍生成為「護境神」、「農業神」、「升學神」，神格上的改變代表著社會結構的變遷以及不同信仰之需求的事實。人民逐漸擺脫單一信仰背後所代表的原始恐懼，追求進一步的安定與慾望，同時原本「神力單純」的神祉不斷被誇張、渲染及扭曲之後（如此神一開始出現的那樣），也逐漸被「加持」進而化身成為庇佑眾生的神明，這是人們不斷「挪用他者」的結果。

The Taiwanese Character in the Mother buddha Cult

The Mother buddha cult is one of the major religious beliefs in Taiwan. Mazu's "transformation from a goddess for going out into the ocean, to a goddess for crossing the ocean, and then elevation to the status of the main goddess" is taken seriously in this research. The distribution of temples of the Mother buddha overlaps almost exactly with that of the early Chinese immigrant communities; and the religious rituals of "separating the spirit", "separating the incense", and "cruising the territories" associated with the Mazu cult somehow reflected the expansion of immigrant societies and the evolution of their power structure. For this reason, we see Mazu as a filtering system, helping us filter out the tonality of our data; in other words, Mazu represents the group consciousness of the immigrant societies that came from the other side of the ocean. It is this significance that makes the Mazu cult the perfect point of departure for the initial stage of our study.
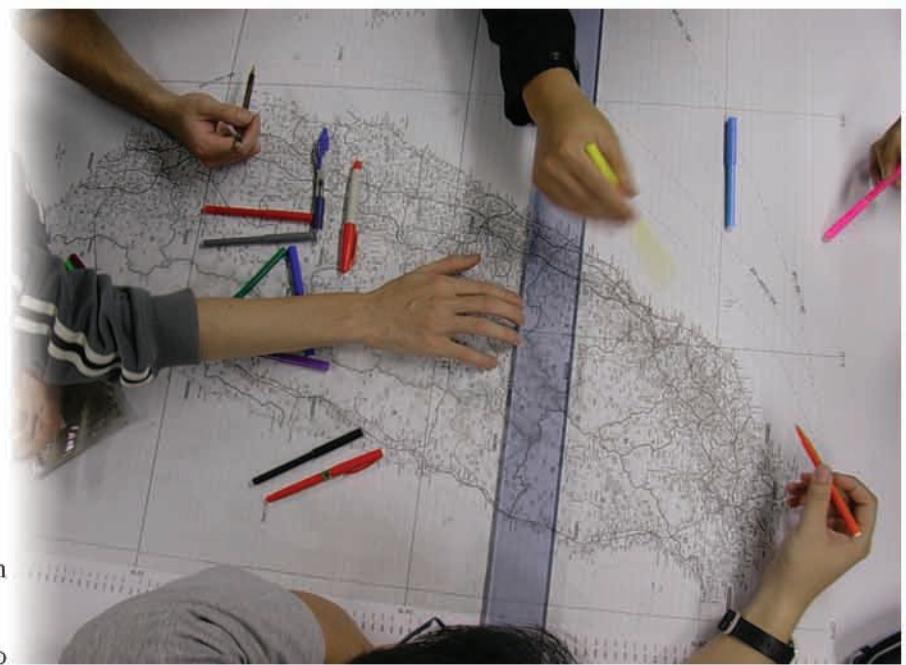
In our study of Mazu, our concerns can be summarized as follows:

1. The legend of Lin Mo, the Mother buddha, has a hidden cultural signification. The proletarian populace sees the ocean as a site where human lives get devoured. It is a method of comforting the human spirit by transforming tragedy into myth. And the fact that Mazu was originally a protector of maritime accidents, not a goddess of the ocean, also reflects people's "borrowing others' belief to seek peace of mind." On the whole, people's collective emotion towards the ocean is one of fear, deliberate alienation, and ignorance.

2. The correspondence between the locations of immigrants' landing spots and that of the Mazu temples shows that, on the journeys over the dark waters, Mazu became the object of belief and trust for the immigrants, and after their arrival, the immigrants continued to worship her out of gratitude. The sites of Mazu temples all show very similar patterns of evolution and structure in terms of spatial development, industry typology, and community distribution; this also exposes the uniformity and similarity within early immigrant communities in terms of the content and manners of living. We have also discovered that the development of coastal communities in western Taiwan follow the pattern of single-point anchors, linear expansion, and later development into hierarchical structures, instead of multi-point anchors and web-like connections. The sources for these hierarchical patterns can also be detected in Mazu-related rituals, such as "encircling the realm", "following the realm", "separating the incense", "searching for the source", "remote sacrifice", etc. In addition, the routes of development of the island overlap considerably with the expansion of Mazu temples, with their methods of "separating the spirit", "outings of the goddess", etc.

3. Successive political regimes' attitudes and policies towards the Mazu cult and manners of dealing with it have mostly been respectful, which can, on the one hand, grab the people, and on the other, take advantage of the social structure and human resources already set up by the cult to efficiently expand their political control on the island. Examining the areas of expansion of these regimes, we see that they are layered upon original paths. Against the backdrop of political vicissitudes, the Mazu cult and its social and cultural meanings have thus gradually changed its influence on and status in Taiwanese culture.

4. Mazu's transformation from "goddess for going out to sea", to "goddess for crossing the ocean", to the "main deity", and even on to "goddess for protecting the realms", "goddess of agriculture", "goddess of getting into school" reflect the reality of social changes and the different religious needs of the people. People slowly freed themselves from the primal fear behind the monotheistic religion, and began the search for further stability and satisfactions; in the meantime, the deity that originally had "simple powers" have been exaggerated and distorted (just as when it first came into being), and further "blessed and empowered" into a goddess that protects all humanity. This is a result of people's continuous "appropriation of the Other."

掃瞄台灣 Scanning Taiwan

隨機性 The Stochastic

對應以一種「低敏銳度的客觀」之態度找尋到「媽祖」做為文獻研究的切入點，在搜尋海岸空間現象上，我們也試圖以客觀的方式去蒐集田野資料，用以網羅最多樣的空間樣態及活動行為，然後從其中觀察歸納出具代表性的台灣海岸線現象。「隨機性」於是成為我們決定前往觀察地點的操作概念。將整個台灣從南到北以每三公里的間隔橫剖一線，在這條剖線與海岸線的交界處即是我們的觀察基地，這樣的方法我們稱之為「掃瞄台灣」（scanning Taiwan）。隨機性的概念即是從偶然性中探求必然性，亦即在大量蒐集的田野資料中找出足以呈現出具代表性的現象，也是隨機性概念所提供的客觀事實，因為單一事件裡有其不確定性及不可預測性，但多次取樣之後即能顯現出規律性，也是統計學所稱的隨機現象的統計規律，在這個統計規律下的成果就是我們要找的對象。

Mirroring our employment of a "low-sensitivity objectiveness" in finding the Mother buddha as an entry point for literature study, we have also attempted to use objective methods in collecting field data on the phenomena of coastal spaces, so that we can gather the most diverse typology of space and behavior, from which we can observe and then sum up as the key representatives. "The stochastic" thus became the operational concept in our deciding on the places to examine. We take Taiwan from south to north and draw a horizontal sectional line every 3 kilometers; where these lines intersect with the coastlines are the sites of our observation. We call such a method "scanning Taiwan." The idea of the stochastic is to find determinacy in indeterminacy, i.e., to find, in large amount of field data, phenomena that are sufficiently representative. It is also an objective reality that the stochastic concept presents, because individual events contain uncertainty and unpredictability, yet with multiple samplings, patterns will emerge; this is the principle of statistics, called the stochastic phenomenon in statistics. The result of this stochastic principle is the object of our search.

海洋台灣，64種跨越，1134公里
環島攝影的影像經過建檔與分類之後，透過空間元素、活動行為的指認，我們找到三種海域與陸域的關係：
1. 海陸的串接
海域與陸域空間原本處於分離或隔斷的狀態，透過線性物件的出現而將兩者的關係串連起來，例如道路、階梯、橋樑等，把原本空間性不連續的海域與陸域連結起來，使人的活動與行為因此跨越在兩個區域之間。

2. 海陸的連結
相鄰的海域與陸域空間因為新物件的介入而在某個時間點發生緊密的交流，這個物件通常是點狀的、具有功能的，例如吊具的升降或是輸油設備的運作等，在片段時間裡將兩個原本疏離的空間連結成一體。

3. 海陸的交疊
海域與陸域空間處在一種重疊的狀態，在交集的範圍產生新的空間使用，這種使用模式以一種長期而固定的方式存在海陸的交疊面上，例如漁塭、鹽田、卸貨空間等。

透過這三個海與陸的關係，我們看到一個很重要的特性：台灣的陸與海、生活與海洋是相當程度被阻隔的，因為政治、國防、水利、護岸等理由，造成人們生活上對海洋的疏離，因此我們會在海邊看見大量的堤防、海巡哨所、禁止跨越的告示牌甚至防風林、鐵絲網，這些都是刻意阻隔海與陸的交流的元素。其他如濱海道路、大面積不易通過的鹽田漁塭、因為內陸土地不易取得而設置在堤防外的垃圾掩埋場、大型工業區等等，都是因其他目的而「無意地」造成阻隔。

東、西岸的差異
西海岸的產業呈現過飽和狀態，且大部分產業都具有相當的「農業性格」，相較於西岸的高密度使用，東海岸由於受到地形侷限的關係，沿岸腹地的使用因此得以與濱海岸區別開來，以提供海岸觀光為主要活動。東、西海岸的差異除了地形造就不同產業型態之外，還存在著不同因素影響之後所形成的不同型態的「組隔線」，東海岸的阻隔線則大多因為地理因素所形成的與海的阻隔；而西海岸由於是平軟沙岸，對於海洋本來應該具有相當程度的可及性，但由於海防、人工堤防、南北向快速道路等物件造成阻隔，加上農業型的產業使用佔據大部分的海岸空間，因此在海與陸之間出現明顯的人為隔斷。

Oceanic Taiwan: 64 Crossings, 1134 Kilometers
Photographs from our around-the-island photography project were filed and categorized after the field trips. By identifying spatial elements and event behaviors, we have come up with three types of relationship between the ocean and the land:

(1) Stringing together the ocean and the land:
Spaces over water and land were originally separated or blocked from each other. Through the existence of a linear object, the two are connected; examples include roadways, stairs, and bridges. By connecting the previously disconnected ocean space and land space, human activity and behavior thus cross over both domains.

(2) Joining of the ocean and the land:
At a certain point in time, neighboring ocean and land spaces communicate intimately through the involvement of a new object. This object tend to be point-like and functional - such as cranes or oil transportation facilities - which momentarily joins into one two previously separate spaces.

(3) Overlapping of the ocean and the land:
Ocean and land spaces overlap, and new uses of space occur at the areas of intersection. This mode of usage exist in a long-term and fixed mode; examples include fish farm, salt fields, unloading spaces, etc.

With these three relationships, an important characteristic emerges: The land and ocean, life and ocean in Taiwan are considerably separated for political, national defense, security reasons, making the residents feel alienated from the ocean. Thus we see, along the coastlines, large amounts of dikes, patrol outposts, "no trespassing" signs, and even wind breaks, barbed wires - all elements that deliberately obstruct the communication between the ocean and land. Others, such as coastal roads and salt fields that cover large areas and are difficult to pass through, garbage landfills that are located outside of the dikes due to scarcity of land, large industrial zones, are all "unintentional" obstructions that resulted from projects intended for other purposes.

The Difference Between East and West Coasts
The status of industries on the west coast is over-saturated, and most industries there are agricultural in nature. In contrast to the high-density use of the west coast, the east coast, because of its isolated geography, is mainly dedicated coastal tourist industries. In addition to differences in industries, there are different "lines of obstruction" shaped by various elements: the lines of obstruction on the east coast are shaped by geological characteristics, while the west coast, which should have been accessible because of its mostly sandy coastlines, actually shows obvious man-made obstructions between the ocean and land, as a result of objects such as security structures, dikes, south-north highways, and agricultural   industries which take up most of coastal space.

阻隔線上的多元跨越Diverse Bypasses on Borders

在實地調查的過程中，我們發現台灣沿海缺乏民眾在生活上的參與，但是並沒有完全被劃絕於陸地之外。觀察的過程中可以發現堤防、哨所、防風林、鐵絲網及警戒線等等帶有阻隔意味的人工設施串連成島嶼海陸的阻隔線。但同時仍有大量而多樣的活動發生在這條「阻隔線」兩側，顯示這條「阻隔線」是可被跨越的。In our field research, we discovered that the coastlines lacked the everyday participation of residents, but it was not entirely closed off from the land. We saw that man-made facilities such as dikes, outposts, wind breaks, barbed wires, and warning lines are strung together to form the lines of obstruction that separate the ocean from the land. Yet, at the same time, large amount of diverse activities still take place on both sides of these lines of obstruction, showing that they can be crossed.

如果從我們先前所指認的三個現象來討論的話，可以探究出其特殊的關聯性。If we tackle the problem from the three phenomena identified earlier, the unique relationships among them can thus be revealed.

Ocean of Taiwan_from NOWHERE to NOWHERE

海岸線
阻隔線(政策/對策)

01. 阻隔的政策The policies of obstruction:
軍事———在國家安全考量下，海岸必須被適當的管理，海岸線成為軍事需求上所區劃出的阻絕帶。
交通———由於島嶼南北向的交通連結，因此選擇低開發度的濱海地帶作為交通建設的用地，而阻斷了海岸與內陸間的連結。
產業———利用海岸空間的低開發度與土地取得過程的容易，大規模的工業區、垃圾處理廠等「不受社區歡迎的建設」被放置在海岸上，而這些設施確實需要適當程度的區隔與疏離。
Military: Under considerations for national security, the coastlines have to be managed properly, and become lines of obstruction that satisfy military needs. Transportation: The transportation lines that connect the northern and southern parts of Taiwan took over the less developed coastal areas, and thus cut off the connections between the coastal and inland areas. Industries: Taking advantage of the less developed areas along the coasts that are easily obtainable, "constructions unwelcomed by communities," such as large industrial zones and garbage processing plants, are positioned along the coast. These facilities really need to be closed off properly.

02. 農業型的海洋使用Agricultural Use of the Ocean
沿海的產業除了動態的漁撈業外，鹽田、漁塭則屬於靜態的濱海產業，利用海陸介面間的土地進行生產，產量則與面積有關。當這類產業密集而大量出現時，往往形成不易跨越的區間帶而加劇與海洋的疏離。另一方面，為了防止海岸線的沖刷以維持沿岸土地的使用而進行的護岸工程，在構築工事的同時，也造成海岸的自然性遭受破壞。
Industries along the coasts include not only the dynamic industry of fishing, but also static industries such as salt fields and fish farms, which make use of the interface areas between the water and land for production, and that production depends on the amount of area involved. When such industries occur in large amounts and high density, they often result in bands that are difficult to cross over and further enhance the alienation from the ocean. On the other hand, the constructions that protect the coastal land use from the waters also damage the naturalness of the coastlines during their construction process.
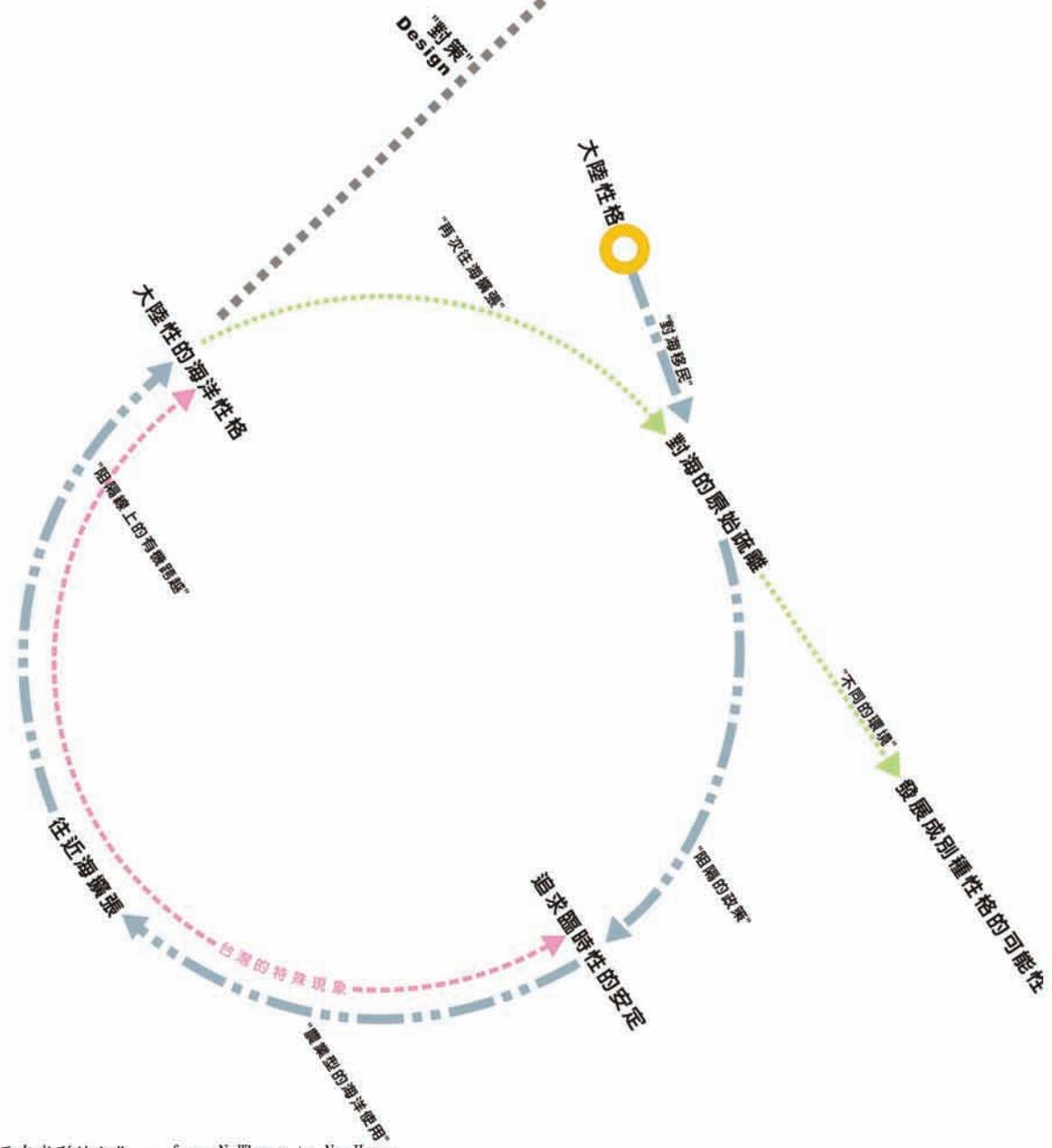
03. 向近海擴張 Inshore Expansions

不管是產業建設上或者當地居民的需要，當沿海土地不足時便會發生向近海擴張的現象，例如自海岸向外圍圍出堤堰以構築港灣。這樣的擴張除了國家層級或地方層級的規模之外，甚至是以家庭或個人的規模在進行，例如：臨時收納在岸邊的膠筏、簡陋的工寮及海面上的船塢。Inshore expansions occur whenever coastal land areas cannot satisfy the needs of the industries or local residents, such as the construction of dikes that extend into the waters when seaports are built. Such expansions occur not only on the national or local government levels, but also on household and individual levels, such as rubber rafts stored temporarily on the shore, construction workers' shacks, and docks over the sea.

阻隔線上的多元跨越 Diverse Bypasses on Border

當「阻隔」與「擴張」在同樣的地點發生時便產生「跨越」。「多元」則是因為這些跨越大多由當地居民以合法或非法的管道，利用最廉價的手段或方式來進行的，因為不同需求而形成多樣性的臨時構造。這些構造物為了產業、休閒等等的需要，被隨意地置放在堤防、岸邊、甚至海面上以提供居民靠近海洋，進而形成有趣的地貌景觀。"Bypasses" occur when "obstructions" and "expansions" happen on the same site. They are "diverse" because these bypasses are carried out with the cheapest possible means, legally or illegally, and they satisfy different needs. These structures that grow out of industrial or recreational needs are placed carelessly along the dikes, shores, even over the waters, to bring people closer to the ocean, and, in so doing, they create an interesting landscape.
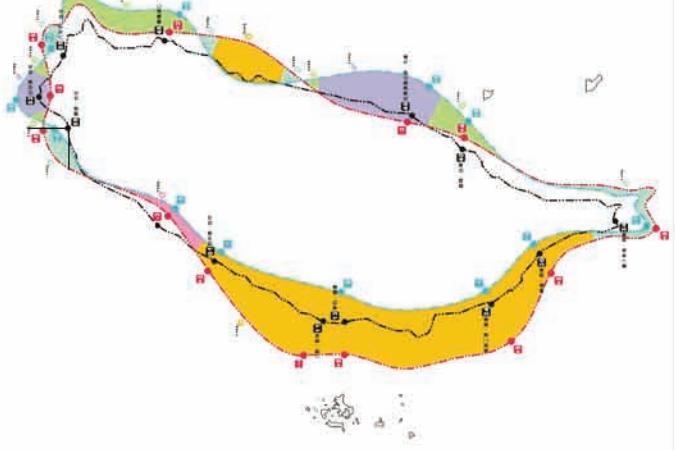

台灣海洋的軌跡：一個正在成形的文化 – from NoWhere to NowHere

我們指認出四種對海洋的不同態度與三種不同的空間特性。在時間軸的延展裡，一個正在更新的社會與文化逐漸在這島嶼成形中，台灣居民的群體意識正處在由大陸性格轉變為海島性格的過程。不同的群體因為移入的時間、因素與歷程的不同，在轉變過程中有著進程上的差異或方向上的不同，於是各種矛盾與衝突產生，這不僅發生在族群意識或政治立場等無形的範疇間，也同時存在於有形的資源利用與地景對待上。
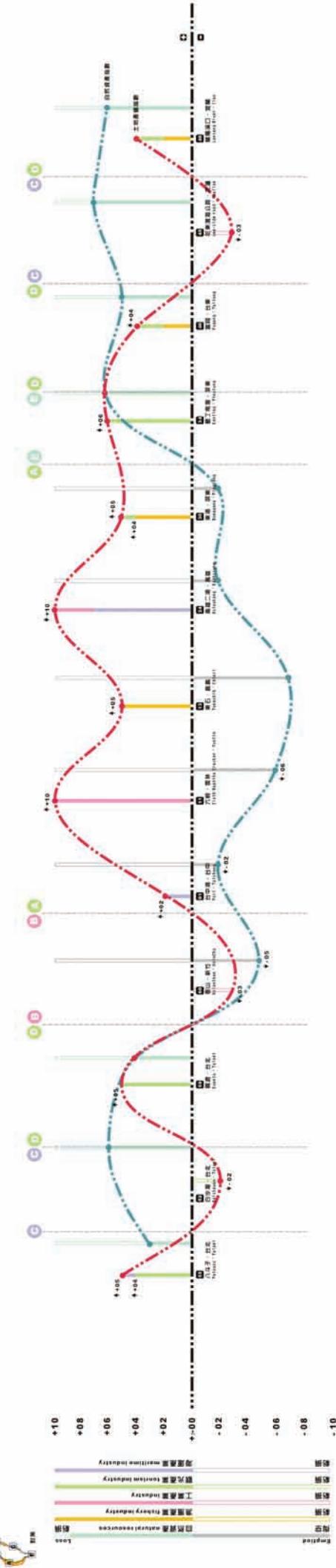
左圖是我們將觀察到的現象整理出的一個模型，顯示我們所認為台灣海洋從過去到當下的軌跡，在思考上應當有助於解釋許多現象，同時也反映出正在成形中的台灣文化 – "from NoWhere to NowHere"。

6-12

重新定義的台灣海岸線：
以產業收益與自然資源定義的台灣海岸線

研究架構：從原始資料到歸納

歸納

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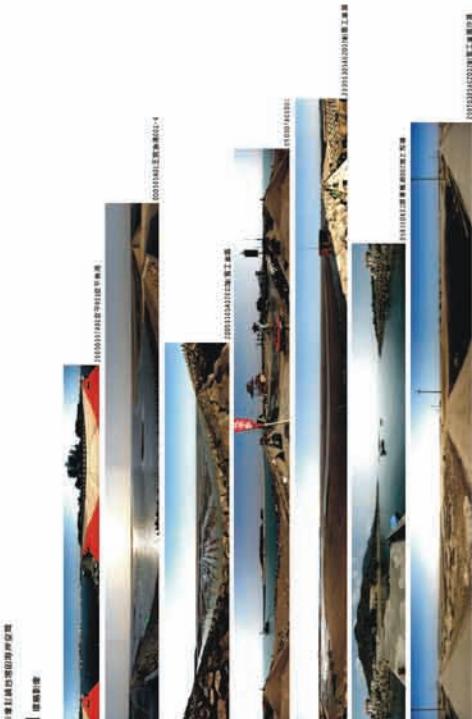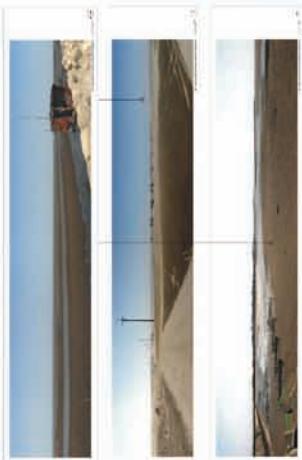
大陸性格

時間行為心理

阻隔線上的多元跨越

針對十三個地點的分析
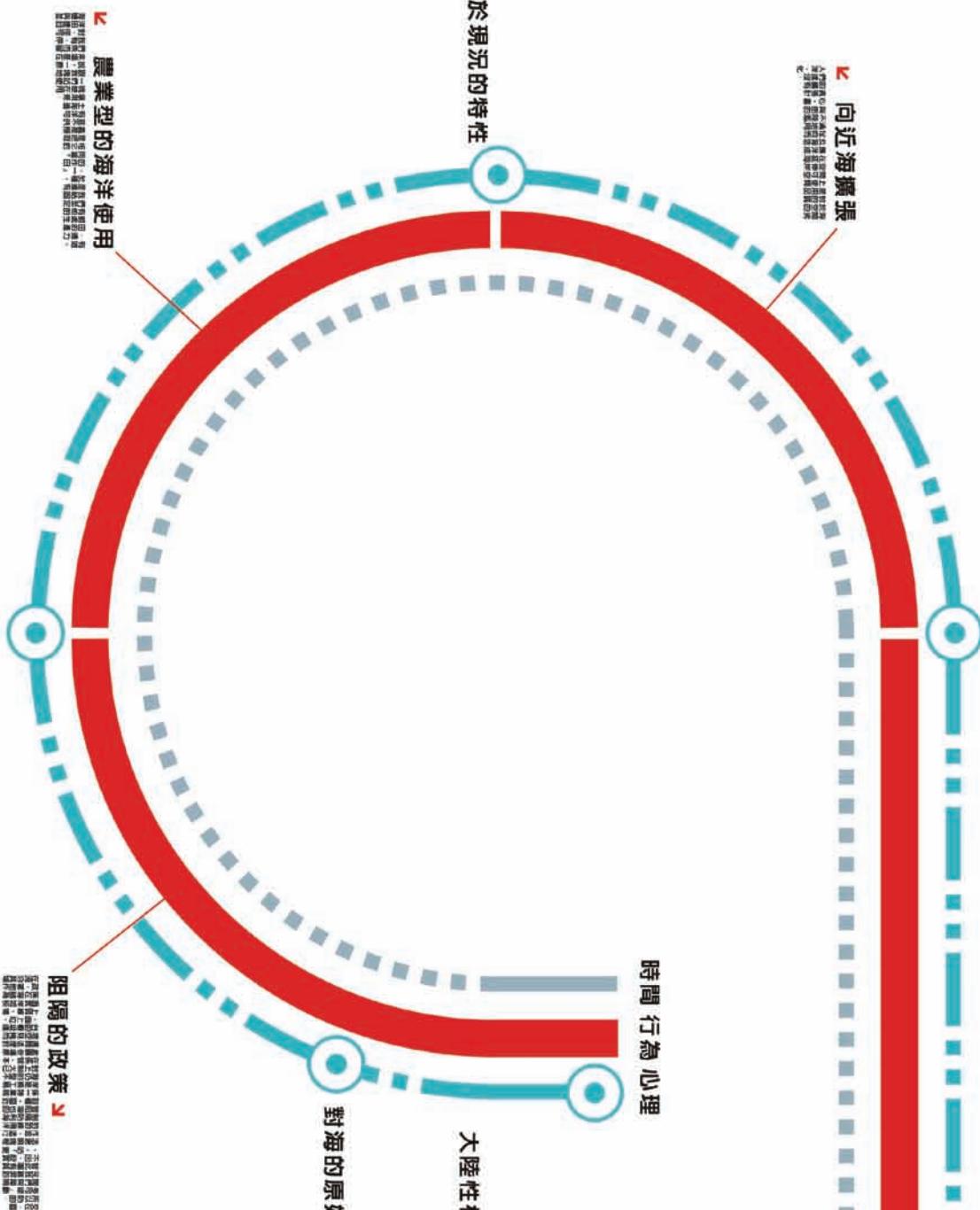
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