



"Hong Kong residents shall have freedom
of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association,
of assembly, of procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom
to form and join trade unions, and to strike."

Article 27 of the *Basic Law* of the Hong Kong Special Administration
Region of the People's Republic of China

「香港居民享有言論、新聞、出版的自由，結社、集會、遊行、示威的自由，組織和參加工會、罷工的權利和自由。」

中華人民共和國香港特別行政區
《基本法》第二十七條



Objects of Demonstration

AN EXHIBITION ABOUT THE FREEDOM OF INDIGENOUS
CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EXPRESSIONS

示威遊 / 尤物：一個看我們如何表態的展覽

21 May – 18 July 2004

Chinese Arts Centre, Manchester, UK

Presented by Chinese Arts Centre

(Featured in the "People Used to
Dream about the Future" Exhibition)

6 – 18 December 2002

Exhibition Room of Japan Cultural Center

(The Japan Foundation), Seoul, Korea

Organised by Insa Art Space of
the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation
(Documentation exhibition)

30 June – 21 July 2002

1aspace, Cattle Depot Artist Village, Hong Kong

Presented by 1aspace

Curators: Howard CHAN
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(Community Museum Project)

Researchers: Ireleen

CURATORIAL STATEMENT

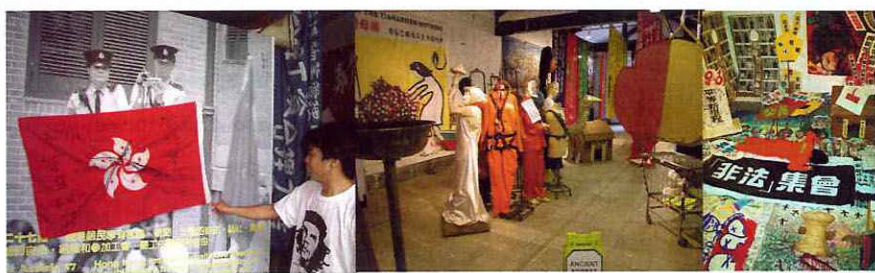


There is allegedly a government department or archive to house objects handed in by demonstrators or objects the demonstrators left on the street. These could easily be a huge collection of great variety, ranging from the more common petition letters and banners, to DIY objects such as broken bowls, June Fourth memorial, masks that bore the faces of high ranking government officials, soiled national and SAR flags and carton coffins. There is a wide range of these objects and their natures are numerous and diverse.

Assumingly there is a political agenda behind the collection. (In recent years the police also take detailed video documentation of petitions. Are they trying to enrich the archive of this specific aspect of community history with modern technology or they will be used as evidence for some legal case?)

Social activists and pressure groups are not the only ones who demonstrate. Government

propaganda by definition is closer than anything to a "demonstration". The authority, endowed with abundant resources, has a better show of force. This is something the community activists cannot imagine to compare with. The military rally on the national day is a good illustration of this.



策展理念

「示威最重要的是真誠，最忌是無的放矢，最令人煩厭是濫用、重複無理挑釁。其實示威可以很有創意、很有藝術，可以令旁觀者如沐春風或潛然流淚，也可以靜幽幽地幽當權者一默。」

蘇守忠，《明報》，2001年5月20日

據聞香港政府中有一部門，或一個收藏間，專把示威請願市民交給政府或遺留在街角的東西貯存起來。普通的物品有如請願信件、橫額、牌匾，也有示威者自製的示威道具，如打碎了的飯碗、追悼六四亡魂的紀

念碑和花圈、扮高官用的紙面具、被塗污了的國旗區旗、紙棺材等等，琳瑯滿目，目不暇給。

想深一層，政府若把他們貯藏起來，必定有政治目的，也許這些東西正是有朝一日秋後算帳的依據，或是將來對簿公堂的證物。（近年我們還看見有警務人員緊隨示威遊行隊伍拍攝錄影，好像拍紀錄片般把一個個這類民主訴求的歷史時刻記下收藏。莫非這個收藏間開了新的檔案部，利用現代的視像科技，有意把香港這方面的民間歷史搞得更細緻可觀？）

示威並不是社會運動人士或壓力團體的專利。政府的宣傳（propaganda）本質上更接近「威」，因為政府

資源充裕，展示的「威」也自然更大，民間的社會運動難望其項。很多國家在國慶日或一些特別日子舉行的閱兵儀式和軍備巡禮，便是示威的超大型示範。

當香港還是英國殖民地的時候，到處豎立著一尊一尊的銅像，如兵頭花園的喬治六世銅像和維多利亞公園的女皇銅像，英國的統治者無時無處不在，形象再具體不過。回歸以後的金紫荊像、回歸紀念柱雖然比較抽象，但宣示主權的作用和效果一分不少——有什麼比豎立一尊「永恆」的圖騰來說明「這裡是我的」更「威」？難怪大企業的總部總有創辦人的銅像。這些都已成為我們「公共藝術」歷史的一部分。

During the time when Hong Kong was still a British colony, statues were established all around the city -- the statue of George VI at the now Botanical Garden, the statue of Queen Victoria at, of course, Victoria Park. The concrete images of the rulers are everywhere over the colony. After 1997, we have the Golden Bauhinia and the Reunification Column. Though relatively abstract in form, the message, claiming the possession of the sovereignty, is always clear. What can be a bigger "demonstration" than establishing a "permanent" totem to say "this land is mine"? No wonder in the headquarters of big corporate, the bust of the founder is never missing. All these have become part of our history of "public art".

There are various kinds of objects and totems in social movement. In the June-Fourth candle vigil each year, one can find in Victoria Park the Democracy Goddess and the People's Heroes Memorial, both modeled after the originals from Tiananmen Square. When examining closely the Democracy Goddess, one can find that the statue is actually made of a wire skeleton and wrapped in fabric. The temporality strikes a big contrast to the Queen Victoria bronze statue on the same site. Does the difference between government objects and community objects of demonstration mainly lie in their occupation duration of public space? In doing the research



for *Objects of Demonstration*, we found that one of the most important elements guiding the design of the object was to draw media attention. It is not surprising that most objects were lost or destroyed afterwards. If we are looking for a collection of demonstration objects, should we turn to the alleged government archive, the biggest "museum of demonstration"?

This imaginary museum or the museum imagery is a blueprint for *Objects of Demonstration*. To us, a group of cultural workers, the idea of a collection immediately leads us to the association of museum and exhibition. The collection is the raw materials to a specific culture. It grows with time, from the leather jacket of So Sau-chung in the '60s to the demonstrator's outfit of the recent SM rally by Rainbow Action. These objects crystallise the community's effort and intelligence. Collectively they reflect the culture of demonstration and document social issues over the years.



這所想像的博物館，正是《示威遊/尤物》的藍本。我們搞藝術文化的，想起這些藏品就想起博物館和展覽。這些收藏品正好是一類文化材料。假以時日，藏品的數量逐漸增加，從六七暴動蘇守忠的皮機恤，到最近彩虹行動的SM遊行的「戰」衣道具等，慢慢地便盛載起我們共有的（示威）歷史文化的內容。這些物品都是參與者苦心經營而創製出來的，每一件都能引伸出一些小故事，每一件都能展現民間的創作智慧，值得我們隆重而重之；而整體來看，又引證了不同時代的示威民情和請願文化，窺見了種種民間的訴求和社會議題。

Demonstration examines and tests the boundary of the freedom of expression in a society. It traces and questions power distribution. What kind of observer and participant can an art worker be? *Objects of Demonstration* extends the brief social life of demonstration objects, and tries to discuss, respond, re-organize and to even demonstrate the culture of demonstration beyond the news headlines.

Community Museum Project May 2004



示威行為在試探香港言論自由的狀況和邊線之外，也在勾勒社會權力分佈的圖像，同時提出質疑。藝術家站在民與官之間，會是一種怎樣的觀察者和參與者？《示威遊/尤物》可以說是延續了示威物品的短暫生命，從新聞標題以外的角度，去討論、回應、重整，甚至「示範」示威這個文化現象。

民間博物館計劃 2004年5月

FORMS OF DEMONSTRATION

Readymade

There are "found objects" in the tradition of fine art. The most famous artwork was from early last Century: Duchamp's *Urinal*. Street protests and demonstrations in Hong Kong have adopted such tradition imaginatively with the "ready made" items available in grocery stores and supermarkets that could be loaded with significance. We have "objects of demonstration" like the unapproachable spiky durian, bitter melon, which signify the hardship of life, rolling eggs that say "beat it" in Chinese and the bowl that symbolises begging for money. All those are the tools to speak against the government and large corporate. They could become signs of "freedom of expression", which, on the one hand, help to attract media coverage, and on the other demonstrate the indigenous creativity and social engagement of the Hong Kong populace.

現成物

搞藝術有所謂found object，著名的有上世紀初藝術家杜象的尿兜。在香港，搞示威遊行也追隨杜象的理念，有ready made的示威道具：只要有想像力，到超市或雜貨店逛逛就可以找到意義深長的東西。苦瓜象徵生活難苦、榴槤刺手、高官滾「蛋」、砵子喻意窮到撻兜...通通都可用來抗議財團、政府的不是；也是社會表達自由的體現。這也往往提供記者們拍攝做新聞的題材，呈現出市民大眾挪用日常物品去講社會議題的民間創意。



DIY Objects

Objects of demonstration do not only include readymade, but also tailor-made objects for specific agenda and petition. They need to be creative and eye-catching, to strike an overwhelming impact in the media and the public's mind. Koo Si-yeuw makes different coffins for different occasions. Death to the authoritarian government is unmistakably the allegory.

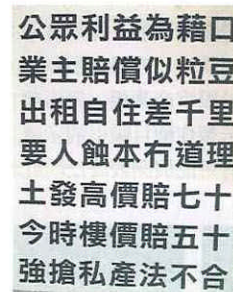
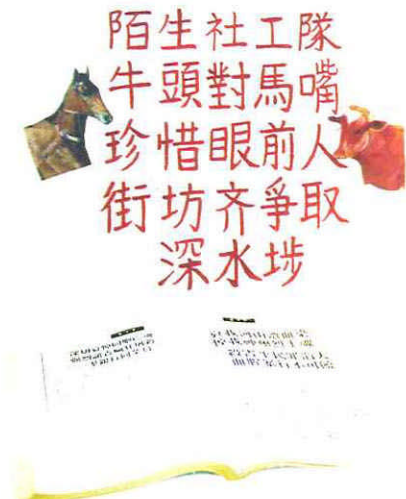
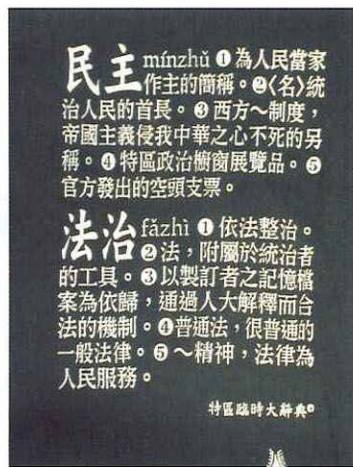
The housewife members of Hong Kong Association for Democracy and People's Livelihood have produced paper crane and puppets to satirise the high government officials who "fled like a crane" and shamelessly put on acting before the public. The Federation of Students held a carton house in a parade, fighting for the rooftop residents of Kam Lun Mansion against being forced out. When citizens have petitions or grievances, they will make use of everyday and cheap resources, with quick and simple technique and grass-roots wit, to produce objects for dealing with government authority, politicians and corporate tycoons. A discussion in the society is thus opened up when the eye-catching props bring hidden agenda of livelihood and politics to light.

自造物

示威物件不一定需要現成買回來的，自己動手去製作，以表達特定的議題和訴求，也大有可為。要在傳媒和公眾面前營造具震撼力的視覺印象或衝擊，就得要創製出別具匠心、形象鮮明的示威道具來。古思堯不斷就辱罵的對象設計出各式各款的棺材，望獨裁政權入土為安；民協師奶製作紙鶴、布偶，諷高官遇事去如黃鶴，在市民面前造戲；學聯高舉紙皮屋遊行，為金輪大廈天台住戶抱不平等等。

市民有訴求、有不滿、有話要張揚，一於動動腦筋，採用身邊的剩餘物資、廉價材料，剪剪砌砌，運用簡單快手、充滿草根氣息的形象思維和技術，造出上鏡的示威尤物，一於跟官商強權、政府政客周旋。利用有限的生活資源，配合庶民創意，去製作醒目吸引的示威道具，去令本來隱沒的生活政治議題曝光，才有可能展開較廣泛的社會討論。



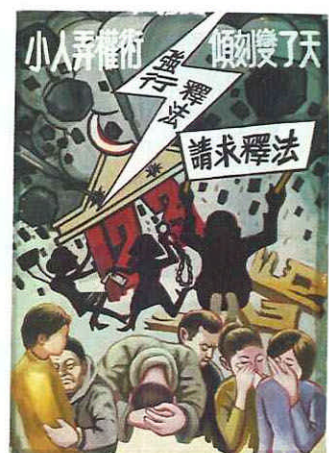


Text

In a literate society, words and texts have become the dominant means of communication and expression. The way of employing texts and words in demonstrations is usually by creating slogans, puns, catchphrases, satiric poetry and even rap songs; all these are transmitted and delivered through loudspeakers, banners, handbills and publications. The ingenious creation of such verbal-textual effects in demonstrations or rallies not only helps to draw attention from the broadcasting media and onlookers, it has also become a form of urban ritual that constantly helps to regenerate the public culture of our modern life. Newspaper ad space is also becoming a platform for demonstration. If you can pay for the fee, you can advertise your views and criticism towards the authority, government officials, celebrities or politicians, in order to realise the spirit of a literate and civil society.

Text

在「文明」社會裡，文字乃是主要的溝通和表達工具。而在示威當中，文字會化成聲浪和形象呈現於面前。示威的聲音多是透過喊口號、捉字畫、諷喻打油詩，甚至以數白燈等形式傳誦和散播；而巨幅、小幅的標語橫額、紙牌標貼、旗幟傳單等則載上直接上口的土話方言，抵死俗語搖晃張揚，浩浩蕩蕩地也在人群中抒發政見。近來，報紙廣告版亦成為示威表態的平台：若你付得起廣告費，你大可利用報紙的版面、用較細緻的文字，挺身而出，點名批評，抒懷已見，向廣大讀者、高官名流、大小政黨一一表態。這些由街頭走到手中報章的文字，靈巧創意，不但能引起傳媒及當權者的注意，更體現了現代「文明」生活中的公民精神。

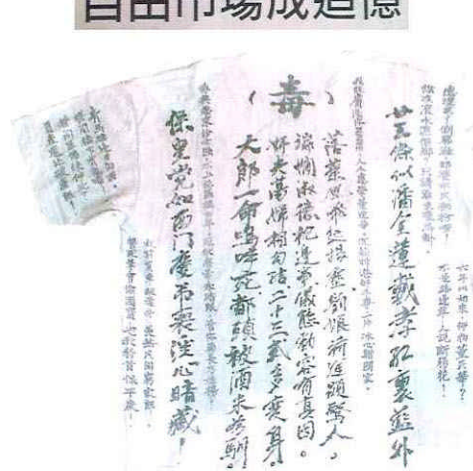
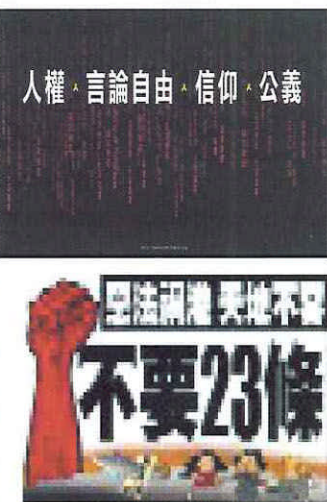
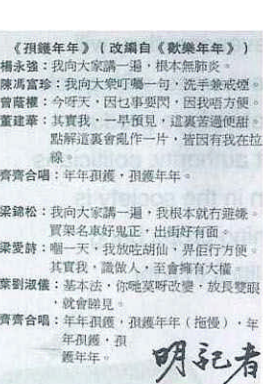
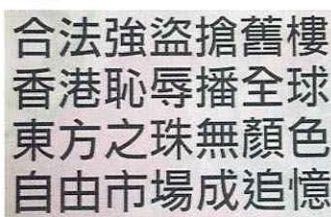


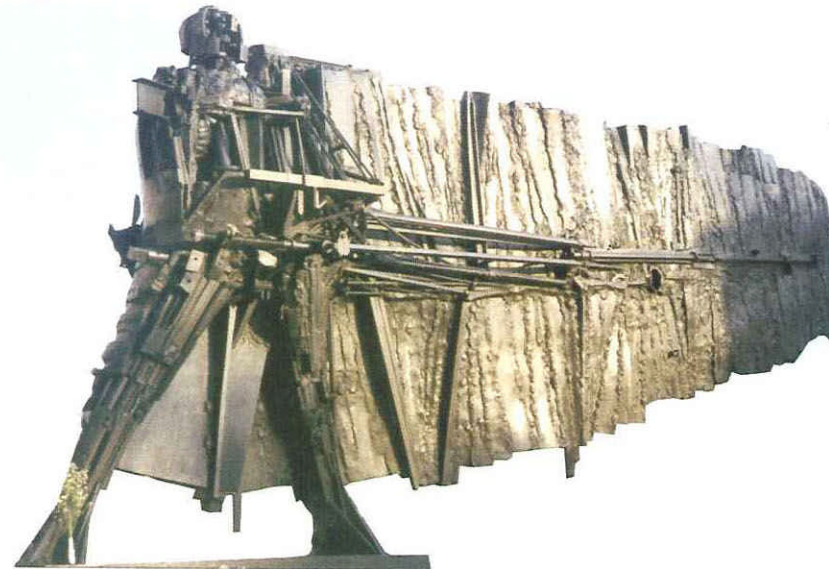
Pictorial

If you find textual and verbal expressions in demonstrations becoming more a matter of routine, try images. But this needs some extraordinary skill. Being able to draw pictures which express political commentaries or civic demands requires some kind of sophistication. It sometimes helps to convey inexplicable things and thoughts; it carries the power of direct symbolism, and could be taken in at a glance. If done properly, it has the power to impress, to amaze and to leave unforgettable images and impressions on peoples' mind. Since pictorial images could illustrate things more directly, they appeal to the emotions of the demonstrators and the crowd. Pictorial messages are more employable as objects of demonstration by the public, if they are able to be circulated in mass printed form. (Such as the "Down-with-Tung" posters offered by Next Magazine were being stuck on the front of Ta Kung Pao Office during the 1st of July petition.) Hence, pictorial messages could often serve as a serious warning to those who attempt to control and suppress.

Image

如果你覺得在示威遊行中以文字或口號等表達方式太過因循，你大可試用圖像！不過這等表達方式需要一定程度的技術。若你想透過繪畫來表達政治上的意見及民生上的訴求，你必定能有效掌握繪畫的技巧和語言才能實踐。圖像往往能表達一些不能言喻的事情及想法；有時候，它直接呈現特定的情景，能衍生具體的訊息和印象，以視像、象徵、記號等形式存於你我的腦海中。由於圖像能夠把事件具體地呈現出來，示威者及群眾的抗爭情緒往往容易被受鼓動。如果把圖像大量製成印刷品，公眾亦容易加以運用（如《壹周刊》附送的反董海報便大量地被示威人士貼到大公報的大閘前）。對那些鎮壓者而言，圖像可以營造一種嚴正的警覺。



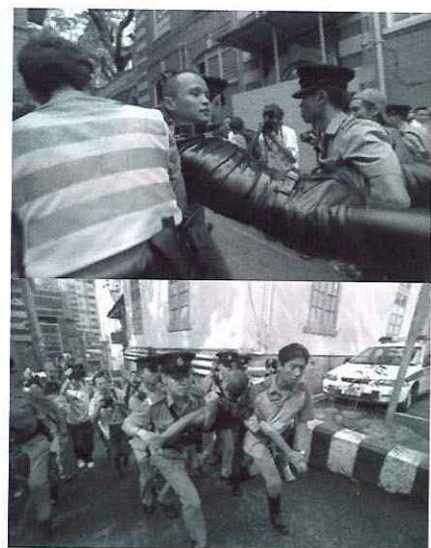
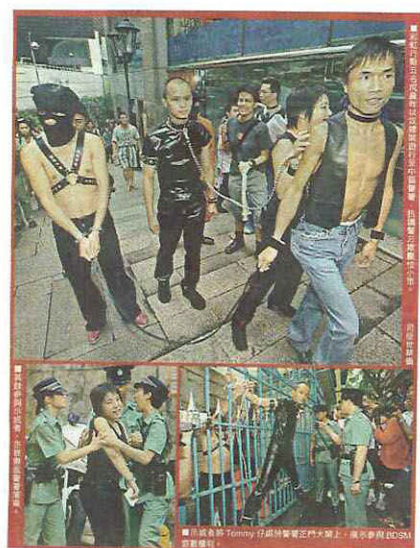


Body and Performance

Parades and demonstrations demand the participation of one's body in articulating one's discontent -- the body cries out slogans, waves banners, wears T-shirts, does street performances and combats water barricades. One use the body to stop the government from demolishing structures, to stop the manufacturers from producing genetically modified food, etc. The police also uses their bodies to counteract the demonstrators' bodies. To its advantage, however, the police have received formal training and they are endowed with unsurpassed power. In situation where bodies are in confrontation, body politics are apparent: if the demonstrator subscribes, he/she will suffocate; but if he/she fights back, he/she will be prosecuted of assaulting the police.

身體與演示

遊行和示威中，示威者需要運用身體去表達他們的反對訊息：叫喊口號、揮動橫額、穿起T恤、街頭表演和衝擊水碼等，都是身體和示威道具的演示和發揮。示威者甚至以一副血肉身軀去抵擋政府的舊建遷拆、去阻止工廠繼續生產基因食物等等。而警察在「解示威」時也會以身軀去回應，築起人牆，或以身鎖著示威者身體。不過由於警察受過訓練和被賦予權力，他們自然有一手絕對的伎倆：在身體與身體的對峙中，如果示威者不敢反抗，他／她會瞬即被制服；反抗的話，又會被控襲警。身體的權力就是這樣被界定。

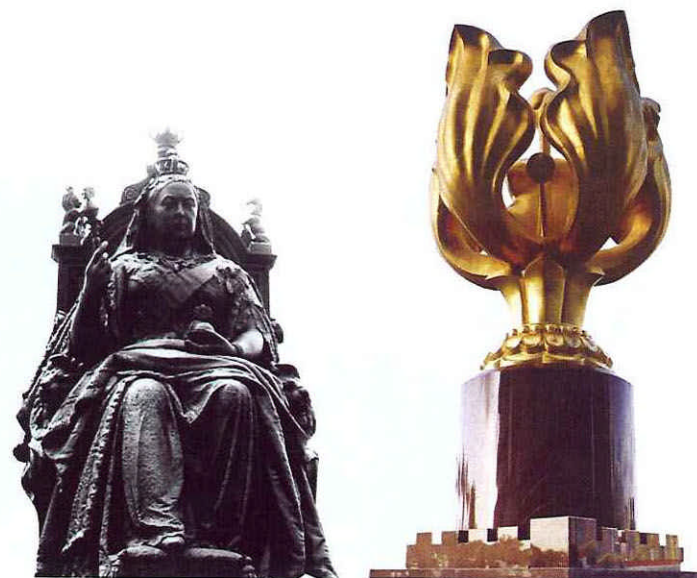


Monument

When a Nation demonstrates, bronze and marble are employed; heroic bronze statues, permanent totems are erected in order to proclaim: this is my land! In fact, "to commemorate" is to demonstrate and construct a particular version of memories. What the British Government intended with her monuments in her colonial regime was no different from that of the Beijing sovereignty and HKSAR Government - the King George VI and Queen Victoria statue vs. the Golden Bauhinia and the Reunification Column. The community adopts similar strategy whenever there are civic demands: the Frenchman, the Pillar of Shame, the miniaturised Goddess of Democracy of the HK pro-democratic bodies are all alternative totems which keep on reminding the historical sufferings of the dissidents.

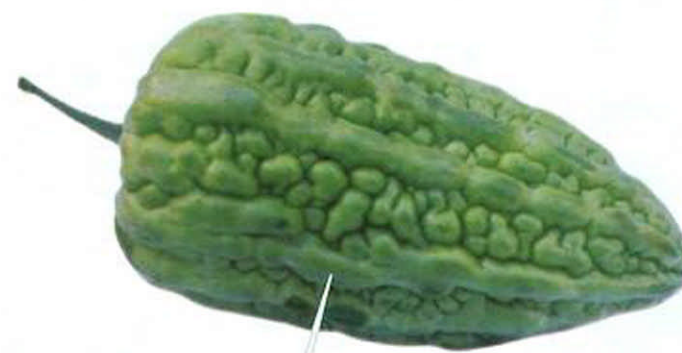
紀念物

國家要示「威」，會以銅、大理石來建紀念碑、造銅像，豎立高大、永恆的圖騰來歌功頌德一番，並說明「這地方是我的」。其實，「紀念」就是宣示和打造某種特定的記憶。不論是殖民年代，英國政府在香港豎立的統治者銅像——如喬治六世銅像和維多利亞女皇銅像，還是回歸後北京中央、特區政府分別建造的金紫荊像和回歸紀念柱，都發揮宣示及確認主權的作用。民間有訴求，也挪用這種策略來表態，「翱翔的法國人」、「國殤之柱」、支聯會的縮水版民主女神像或工傷紀念碑是不斷提醒歷史傷痛的另類圖騰。





INDIGENOUS CREATIVITY



The public's idea of creativity is rather superficial. They think that creativity is monopolised by artists, designers, movie directors and the like. Thanks to the mass media for this wrong impression! Indeed, everyone can be creative, and creativity always pops out as people express their views, to cope with situations, to organise resources. Take a look at these demonstration props: in a variety of forms, they crystallise the mass creativity. Creativity is often triggered by initiative and motivation. And certain method is needed to convert concepts into reality. For instance, faced with big issues like social or civic interests, people are urged to assemble the most ready materials (objects collected from everyday life, or using one's own body) and the most direct way of thinking (limericks, slang, pop songs, etc.) into expressive forms (objects of protest like banners, allegorical models, puppets, costumes and T-shirts and large paintings). These are, nonetheless, just a part of our indigenous creativity. Hawkers' highly mobile stalls, specially designed for fleeing from the police in the quickest possible manner, accessories on students' school bags, etc. are all manifestations of the individual or collective ingenuity. However, all these are frequently undermined, seen as vulgar, or even outlawed, trashy and condemned. This illustrates that a certain hierarchy does exist with "creativity". The creative acts that do not fall within the authority's definition of instrumentality and rationality are rarely given any notice.



民間創意

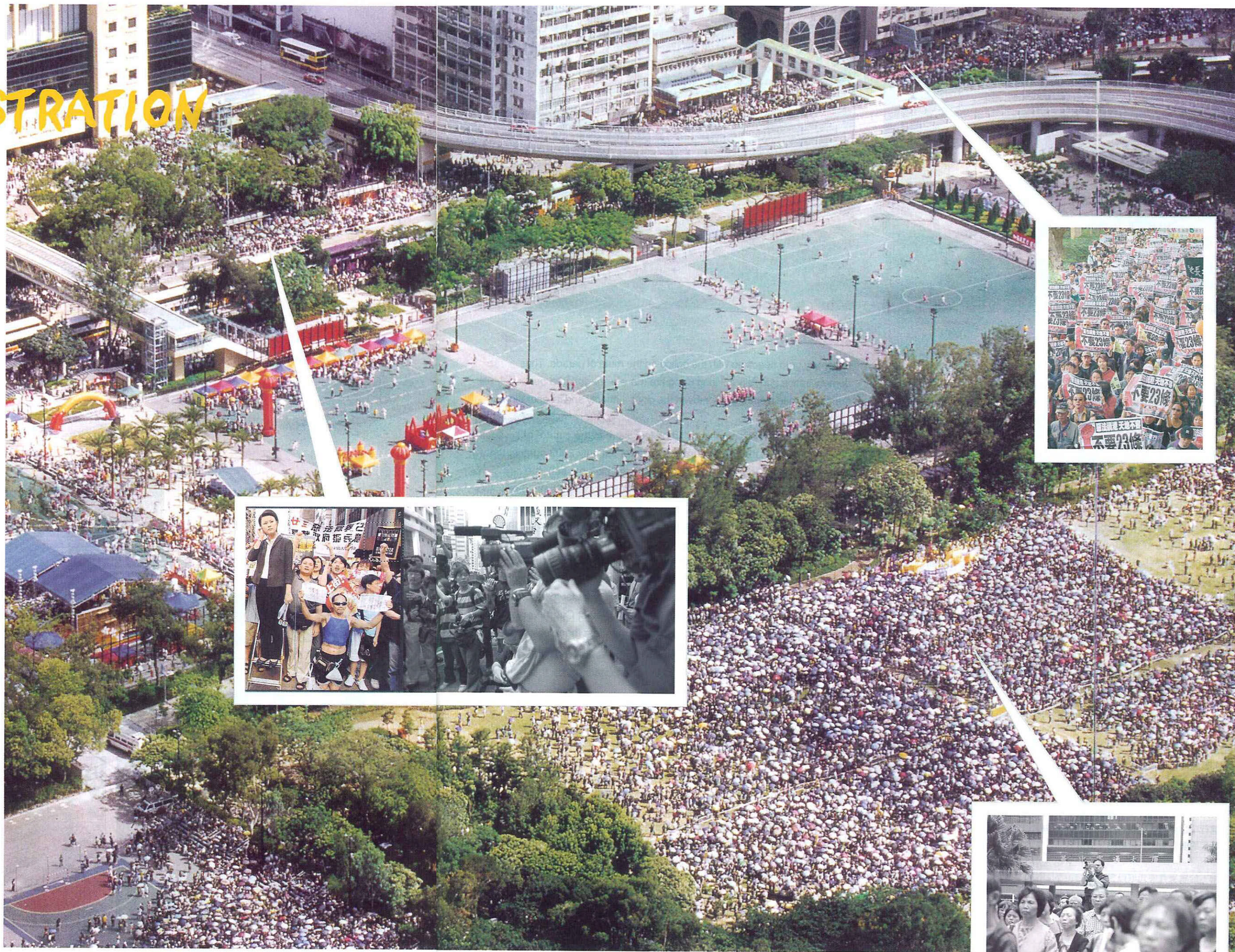
普羅大眾對創意的理解頗為片面，以為藝術家、設計師、電影導演等人才有創意。真多得大眾傳媒的誤導！其實人人都有創意，也經常利用其創意和無窮的創造力去表達意見、去組織和協調週遭的人和事，以及社會資源，以促進社會發展。看看這些示威道具，形形色色，花樣百出，都是大家花心思的傑作。當然創意要有動機和動力，亦要有方法把意念轉化成實在的東西；例如，面對社會和公民利益之大是大非，大家都懂得利用最現成的物資（所有生活中檢來的廢物或東西，甚至自己的身體都可成為創作媒介）最生活化的思想資源（打油詩、俚語、流行曲等都轉化成朗朗上口的諷喻、口號和訴求），去營造具體的表達工具以至社會訊息（示威尤物，如橫額、喻意模型、布偶人物、衣裝T恤、大畫），去呈現一種立場和態度。當然民間的創造力不止於此，無論是小販們針對「走鬼」而設計的流動擺賣攤位，學生書包上的裝飾等都發揮個人或群體的創意。但這往往被人忽略，評為庸俗，甚至被指責為違規行為，不值一顧，永不超生。這說明「創意」的階級性，不迎合官方社會工具理性的創意往往是視而不見的。

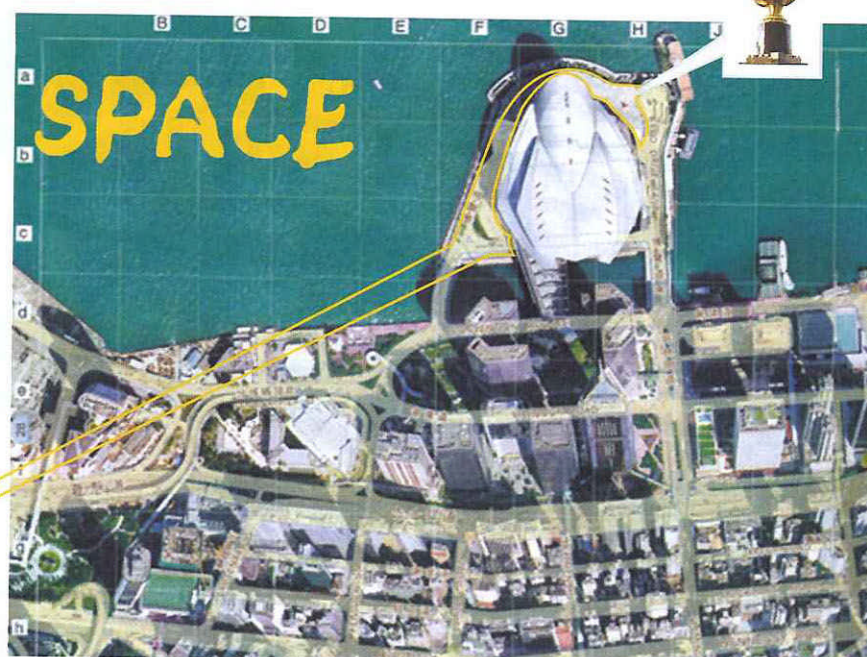
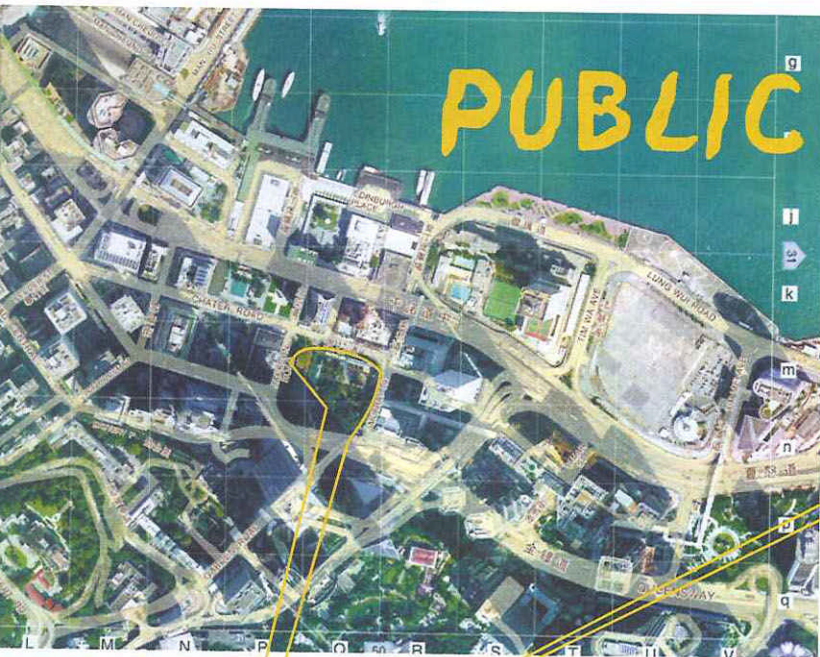
VISUALITY OF DEMONSTRATION

Demonstration is meant to display petitions or the people's power. This power sources from solidarity. To gain eminence, it has to be visualised (as in the July 1st rally, half a million people stormed Victoria Park because it is a counting point of the police. The participants tried to demonstrate solidarity in front of the police's birdseyed surveillance camera by accumulating at the Park. One sensed the visual power. To magnify the visual impact of such momentum, demonstrators have to create a focal point. They make novel props, raise colourful banners, and at times masquerade -- demonstrations are inseparable from the stronghold of the visual in contemporary society. Regardless of the specifics of their claims, the forms of demonstrations are always comparable. Their visual prominence makes a good match with today's televised news media: information is instantly transformed into images, released to the world as "real events". With such a condition, the success of a demonstration is not measured only by its political effectiveness, but also its visual exposure (vigorous movements and uproar always follow the TV camera). This is about effective manifestation of messages, and also the (temporary) assertion in the visual world. The first thing for a demonstrator to do after a demonstration is filing clips from the press. A demonstration is worthwhile only if it attracts coverage, and the criterion is: the message has to be visualised.

示威的視覺性

示威的重點在於展示訴求，或是人民的威力。這威力透過人民的自我組織和凝聚產生，但要把這種力量展示出來就要把它視覺或視象化（七一遊行，數十萬市民迫向維園，原因是要透過警方的高空影像和點算，證明這種匯聚起來的人民力量）。當你眼見人民開始在某一空地或廣場匯聚，你意識到這種動力。為了加強這種動力的視覺效果，示威者往往要營造一種視覺焦點：他們製作的示威道具標新立異、高舉顏色鮮明的橫額、有時將身體打扮成示眾的工具，都說明示威遊行都離不開現代社會趨向視覺展現（晒冷！）的文化策略。不論訴求的內容，示威形式往往同出一轍。這亦配合今天電視傳媒和新聞媒介的特質和習性：訊息、動態速速化成影像，『如實地』廣報世界。因此，示威成功與否，不一定在於訴求是否得逞，而是行動能否吸引傳媒的圖文報道（示威人群每每遇到傳媒的鏡頭就手舞足蹈，鼓動不休）。這涉及示威訊息的有效散播之餘也是示威者在當今視象世界肯定（短暫）存在價值的其中一種方式。示威後第一件示威者要跟進的工作，也許就是要搜集報章的圖文報道和電視新聞片段，存檔。因此，能夠吸引報章的示威才有價值，條件是：訊息要盡地視象/覺化。





Demonstration often outlines the distribution of power in public space. The Square next to the Hong Kong Exhibition and Convention Centre (where the reunification ceremony in 1997 was held) is not only the site for the national and HKSAR flags raising ceremony, it also accommodates the Reunification Column and the Golden Bauhinia sculpture, a gift from the Chinese Central Government. The Square is itself a demonstration of sovereignty, emerging after '97 as a place embedded with nationalistic symbolism.

The Chater Garden is a popular spot for demonstrators, mainly because it is adjacent to the Legislative Council building, a symbol of public participation in politics. When this mechanism inside the building fails, public participation takes a more primitive form outside the premises. The map of demonstration changes in different era. The former Government House and the China News Agency before the reunification lost their appeal to the demonstrators as time goes by.

In Hong Kong, written notification to the Commissioner of Police is required prior to public assembly. Most demonstrators are happy

公共空間

示威往往勾勒出權力在公共空間的分佈。會展新翼外的金紫荊廣場不單是舉行國旗和區旗升旗儀式的場地，也是慶祝回歸的「回歸紀念柱」和「金紫荊雕塑」的安身之所，這地點本身就是主權的「示威」，是隨著九七出現的象徵性地標。遮打花園成為眾多遊行的起點，主要原因是鄰近立法會會址——一個象徵著公眾參與政治的地方。當這個機制失敗時，公眾參與便以原始的方式在機制「外面」進行。這個示威地圖也因時代不同而轉變，回歸前的港督府和新華社，便因為時代的變遷而失去示威的「價值」。

在香港，公眾集會要先取得警務處的「不反對通知書」才能進行，大部份示威者也樂於遵守這項規則，先與警方協商遊行路線，一般社會輿論亦傾向示威不

to comply or to negotiate with the police on the route of parade. Thus demonstration and rally in Hong Kong are more a "negotiated performance" than a strategy to subvert the city's authority and its operation.

Nevertheless, public space is still a critical issue in the culture of demonstration. In the grand demonstration of 1st July 2003 against the legislation of *Basic Law* Article 23 (the national security act), the protestors gathered in one section of Victoria Park before setting off for the parade. In another section of the Park was a carnival, organised by a pro-government group. The two camps once quarreled over the transgression of boundary. Each year, the organiser of June Fourth vigil has to apply for the use of Victoria Park for the event. Any delay in reply from the government department likely causes rumor of political censorship. Another example is the court once issued a restriction order to bar a veteran demonstrator from approaching the Wan Chai District Court. Very often, one can find that disputes in public agenda manifest themselves in the fight for the right of public space usage.

應影響日常生活，於是示威遊行失卻了群眾佔據城市空間，癱瘓城市機構運作，與權力討價還價的意義，變成協商下的「表演」。

然而，公共空間仍是示威文化裡面的一個重要焦點，在七一遊行當日的維園，一方是支持政府的工聯會租借球場作嘉年華會，另一方是整裝待發的反對基本法廿三條立法人士，雙方一度因為越界問題爭執。支聯會每年申請租用維園的球場作六四紀念晚會，總是因為管轄維園的康文署遲遲未能回覆而屢屢傳出政治審查的疑雲。另一個例子是為禁止示威者衝擊灣仔裁判處，法庭曾頒布禁制令，乾脆令「女長毛」雷玉蓮無法接近裁判處。可見是公眾議題的紛爭往往呈現成為公共空間使用權的角力。



INTERNET DEMONSTRATION

Time has changed. The Net media has introduced new possibilities for demonstrations, both in terms of content and form. The Internet does not only facilitate information transmission and interpersonal co-ordination, it also provides a channel for demonstration. Mass releases of adapted songs, movie clips (like "Mrs Dung" and the sequence of "Matrix 23"), slogans and image designs (such as the Hong Kong Flying Dragon tourism logo being transformed into an anti-Tung symbol), organisation of demonstrations through the Internet and mobile phone messages (announcement of dress code for rally, assembly point, etc.) are all made possible by the modern media. The accessible platform of the World Wide Web allows convenient publication of political views, designs, as well as images (like photographs of parades, designs of demonstration T-shirts). One can never underestimate the Web's mobilising capability, or its capacity for consolidating political views. All the more, everything can be backed up in digital files. Properly used, it can be a store of collective memory, a "museum of virtual culture", as opposed to that of material culture. The question is: how can we turn messages on the global network into substantial knowledge and action that contributes to the development of public sphere?

網絡示威

時移世易，網絡媒體發展已為示威表達的內容和方式帶來新可能。互聯網不但輕易地傳播訊息，統籌群眾，也可以發放林林總總的示威創作，政見多元，不乏創意。這門科技，也為示威創作帶來新的表達方式。由發放改編政治諷喻歌曲及電影片段（如《龍太》主題曲和Matrix 23片段），到提供示威標語和示威形象設計（如香港飛龍變成反董符號及各式漫畫），到利用互聯網和手機短訊組織遊行和示威方式等（穿某款服飾上街或到那裡集合等）。通通都是現代傳播工具的功勞。電腦網絡的自助式介面更容許普羅市民簡便他書寫政見、發表設計和散播示威表達的各類形象和符號（如遊行相片、示威T恤圖案）。其動員力不可被低估，也不可忽略它幫助凝聚政見的力量；而且一切有電子檔案為存。如果運用得宜，它將成為社群集體記憶儲存庫。（就像相對於物質文化的「虛擬訊息文化博物館」）。問題是我們怎樣把網絡世界流通的訊息或訊號化成實質的認知和行動，達到示威表達的具體目的，以界定公共空間權限。



www.article23.org.hk/english/main.htm
www.amendpoo.hk.st
www.faluninfo.net
www.article45.com
www.rebuildhk.com
www.anymo.com/23/
www.notung.org
www.anti-tung.org
www.yumkun.com
www.chisun.net/index.html



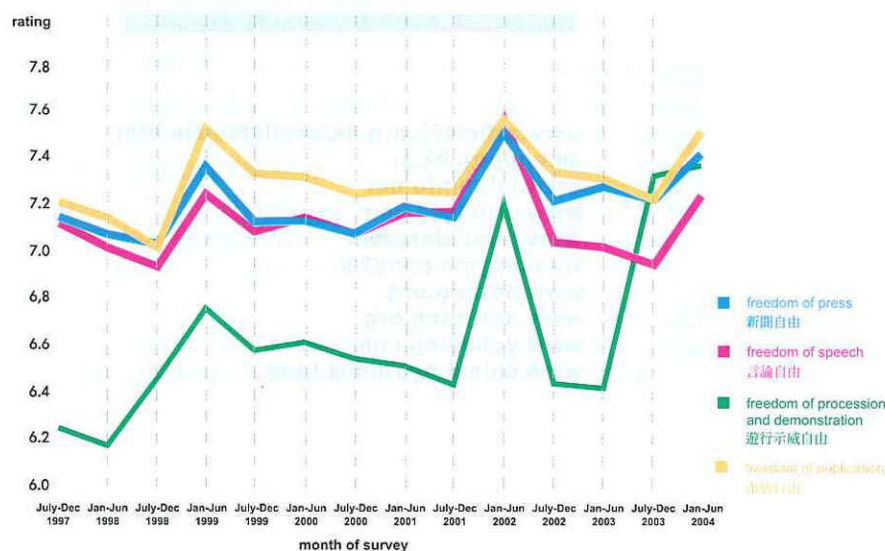
FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION

Warning

This is a warning from the Police. You are now participating in a public procession. Since the Commissioner of Police has not been notified of this procession. Under Chapter 245 Section 13 of the Public Order Ordinance, this shall be an unauthorised assembly. The Police will consider prosecuting you.

Article 27 of the *Basic Law* of the Hong Kong Special Administration Region of the People's Republic of China states, "Hong Kong residents shall have freedom of speech, of the press and of publication; freedom of association, of assembly, of procession and of demonstration; and the right and freedom to form and join trade unions, and to strike." The freedom of procession and assembly is a basic human right. Demonstrations are indexical to the freedom of speech in contemporary society.

Drawing data from the long established Public Opinion Programme, a research unit at The University of Hong Kong, the public's rating for the freedom of procession and demonstration was generally lower than that of publication, the press and speech - much to do with the "Public Order Ordinance." After the July 1 rally (when 500,000 people took to the streets), the rating rose and surpassed the aforementioned three. Dr Robert Chung, Director of POP, made the following analysis: "Hong Kong people's appraisal of their freedom to demonstrate surged quickly after the July 1 Demonstration, and then retreated a little. It now scores higher than the freedom of speech, and can be considered as one of the positive contributions of the July 1 event."



Before 1997, the procedure required for processions was just notification. There was no need to apply for an official approval. After the handover, the provisional Legislation Council hastily passed a revised "Public Order Ordinance", requiring organisations to apply for a "No Objection Notification" from the police seven days prior to any procession or assembly. If one fails to do so, he may be legally charged and penalized with an imprisonment of five years in maximum. The prerequisite of the police's approval implies that the authority can censor as well as prohibit processions and assemblies. This is obviously against the principles of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. Presently, most demonstrators notify the police a day in advance.

言論自由

「香港居民享有言論、新聞、出版的自由，結社、集會、遊行、示威的自由，組織和參加工會、罷工的權利和自由。」中華人民共和國香港特別行政區《基本法》第二十七條遊行集會自由是每個人的基本人權。

在九七前，市民遊行都只須事前通知毋須申請。然而，特區政府於回歸後透過臨時立法會催促通過修訂之《公安條例》，規定遊行集會之團體於舉行遊行集會之七日前向警方申請「不反對通知」，否則可遭行刑事起訴，最高可判入獄五年。公安法要求市民在遊行集會前得到警方批准，當中意味有關部門有權審查並禁止市民舉辦遊行和集會，這明顯違反了《公民權利和政治權利國際公約》的規定。現時，遊行人士大都在遊行前一日知會警方。示威現象是當代社會言論自由的指標。

從香港大學自1997年以來對「自由指標」研究所得數據（「自由指標綜合圖表」（半年結）— 1997年7月至2004年4月）看到，由於《公安條例》的影響，市民認為遊行集會自由受到打壓，對「遊行示威自由」指標的評分長期較「出版自由」、「新聞自由」和「言論自由」為低。直至「七一大遊行」，五十萬人上街，民意反彈，「遊行示威自由」才超越「出版自由」、「新聞自由」和「言論自由」。對此，民意研究計劃主任鍾庭耀有這樣的看法：「七一遊行除了宣示市民對特區政府的不滿外，還改變了市民對遊行示威的看法。市民現時高度評價本地遊行示威的自由程度，其實有助促進公民社會的發展，和突顯一國兩制的獨特性。」



DE-DEMONSTRATION

When there is "revolution", there is "counter-revolution". When there is "demonstration", there is "de-demonstration". "De" means to remove, to eliminate, or to erase. "De" has an edge over "counter". "Counter" means one has to fight hard in a battle to the death. "De" makes the adversary vanish automatically without a trace, and preferably without anybody knowing it. De-demonstration requires skills and tactics. It is an art. Mastering it is not easy.

On July 1, a carnival supporting the legislation of *Basic Law* Article 23 was held in Victoria Park by a pro-government organisation, hoping to counter-balance the abutting demonstration against the legislation. However, the former was obviously overwhelmed by the latter in terms of attendance. This incident of de-demonstration was totally ineffective. How can the police downplay the impact of a demonstration, where demonstrator's headcounts usually outnumber the police's, and restore the site to its "original" order? Pretty likely, restoration of the "original order" is the ultimate goal for de-demonstration. You take over a place physically, shout all around and disrupt the order, I fence you off and limit your activities. The police are also keen on using pepper spray, physically irritating the demonstrators for an easy dispersal. But this is not "de", this is a sort of "countering". For such a purpose, the police have also invented the "demonstration quad": water barricades, chain cutters, pepper spray and white worker's gloves. All these are objects of de-demonstration.



解示威

有「革命」就有「反革命」，有「示威」就有「解示威」。「解」是解除，肅清，使之消失，不遺痕跡。「解」本來比「反」高明：反意味硬碰，目的要你死我活。解要令對手不留痕跡地離去，或隱沒其中，甚至自動消失，盡量做到不為人知！解示威的伎倆有高低，因人而異，是一種藝術，很難才做得完美。

七一大遊行當日，工聯會就在維園辦了個支持二十三條立法的嘉年華會，一心企圖抵消隔鄰反二十三條立法示威人士的聲勢，可惜參加嘉年華的跟七一遊行的人數相形見绌，解示威的作用切底瓦解。解示威實在牽涉權力的問題，尤其是在「以少搏大」的情況下完成消解（可能的）衝突。如何利用少量警力去解除（通常較大）的示威聲勢，把場面迅速回復至「本來」的狀態？回復「本來狀態」

More adroit handling involves confiscating the leaders' loud speakers, driving or carrying the protestors away, or even arresting them. The potential danger of "radical combat" is removed as the demonstration is weakened. The police have developed some arresting tricks. Besides gripping one's throat and plugging one's nose, the police have also learnt from the U.S. a "pressure point controlling method". Pressure points are connected to the nervous system. The demonstrator is temporary paralysed when being attacked at these points. These are all methods of minimal force applied in resolving demonstrations. To the police, these are not "counter", but "de". New ways to de-demonstrate are constantly invented by the police, and they are creative and artistic. For example, public toilets are locked so there are needs for ending a demonstration before long; Beethoven's symphony was played to cover up protestors' yelling and shouting. The commander suggested that the symphony was played for the police officers, in order to ease their tension. This occasion, in which public adjuration was tempered with high art, is a classic case of de-demonstration.



也許是解示威的終極目的。你用身體佔據某些地方，用大聲公到處唱歌和喊口號，阻礙本來運作，我就用身體配以鐵馬排成封鎖線，以阻礙或限制你的佔據活動。警察亦喜用胡椒噴霧，令示威者的眼鼻受強烈刺激，以方便驅散或拘捕示威者。但這不是解，是擋。為此，警方也發明了「示威四寶」：水碼、剪鉗、胡椒噴霧和白手套，是解示威之尤物。

較高明的，就會直接了當地奪去大聲公，把示威者驅趕、分散、抬走、甚或拘捕，除去將要演變成「反」的危險，瓦解示威者的陣容。警察也因應發展了一些擒拿身體的技巧，除了扣喉和插鼻外，亦從美國引入了「壓點控制法」，以力按穴位，也就是人體神經叢樞紐，令之失去反抗力。這些都是消解示威請願的最低武力。對於警方而言，這不至於反，是解。警察瓦解示威的招數層出不窮，也充滿藝術創意：包括封鎖廁所，迫令示威者隨著人有三急的呼喚而盡早解散；也有公開播放貝多芬命運交響曲，掩蓋示威者大聲公的叫喊。指揮官並聲稱交響曲是為警員播放，以緩和現場氣氛。以藝術聲浪來緩和請願聲浪，是解示威藝術之經典。

OBJECT MNEMONIC

The Meaning of Objects in Social Movements

The study of social movements has recently shifted its focus from value preferences, social relationships and organisation structure towards the exploration of social movement culture. This is largely caused by the increased discussions on social culture, as stimulated by the "new social movements". Another main reason for this turn is researchers' discovery of rich and complex designs and cultural creations in social movement culture.

Objects in a movement are seen as an element of secondary importance -- though they are indeed carrying the history of social movements and symbols indexical to certain cultural meanings.

One comes to a disappointment when he looks for objects from Hong Kong social movements. There is no collector, no record, and most objects are temporary. In Hong Kong, the majority of social movements is usually of a small scale and rather reactive. Since the 70s, social movements

have mostly been initiated by the residents in housing-related issues. With limited means, their objects are usually banners and cardboard signs that aim to state their requests, and are not the focal points of the event.

Housing movements usually take place as an assembly outside the Housing Department's premises, and the submission of a letter to officials or legislators concerned seems to be the climax of the whole event. In order to give journalists a focal point, the letters are specially designed. They are either big envelopes or strange objects, which are quite creative. In a case concerning compensation for urban renewal, a crab was used to illustrate the local saying "the boulder squashes the crab", a symbol of unfair suppression. Hong Kong Confederation Trade Unions used a "saline drip" to symbolise the critical situation of workers' underemployment. Bitter melons were used to represent the difficulty of the common people who are in dire straits.

In general, such appeals usually demonstrate the suffering of the masses under oppression, and the masses are portrayed as victims. Victimization attracts press coverage and embarrasses the "enemy". Thus the objects are heavily loaded and satirical, to project statements and release discontents. Objects created in such a way could hardly become symbols of "collective identity", and it is more difficult for them to record history and events.

History On the Verge of Dissolve

Objects in social movements serve three functions. First, they inherit / retain history and continue the impact of a movement. When Fung Ka-keung, representative of The Hong Kong Federation of Students, was arrested by the police in a high profile manner in May 2002, he walked out from his residence in a T-shirt with a "gongan efa" ("mal-policing," literally "public-security-malignant-law") print. This was a comment on the occasion, and at the same



time, an extension of a previous protest against the revalidation of the Public Order Ordinance by the Provisional Legislative Council. A reappearing object does not only retell history, it also perpetuates the movement.

The second function of these objects is the creation of a common ground for collective identification. The Goddess of Democracy configures June Fourth as a democratic movement. The associated patriotism is downplayed, as well as the agenda of anti-bureaucracy and anti-corruption. This kind of monumental object is fundamental for collective identification. The annual re-erection of the Goddess of Democracy by the Hong Kong Alliance in Support of Patriotic Democratic Movements in China is a call up for people committed to the cause.

In Hong Kong, objects are rarely used for the



動的形象，同時淡化了愛國運動、反官倒、反腐敗等內容。此種紀念碑式的物體是為參與運動者找到認同的基調。每年香港支聯會重豎民主女神像，就是要呼召認同此運動的人歸隊。

然而，香港大部分民間組織所運用的物件鮮有發揮出以上兩項功能，而較多見的是第三種功能，亦即是肯定參與者在行動中所付出的努力。民間組織中，不少參與者會嘗試寫打油詩，或者製作模型，如爭取在市區重建中得到合理賠償的街坊，織了一條很長很長的，尾巴配在貓模型身上，以諷刺市建局與官方「扯貓尾」還有古思堯製造的棺材模型等，這些物件都記錄了個人在運動中的貢獻。這些創造不一定可以建立集體認同的符號，但卻肯定了個人與運動之間的關係。會運動沒有轉化成日常生活的一部分。

above two functions by the activist groups. Rather, they are more likely used for a third function -- recognition of participants' contribution. Limericks, effigies and models are popular among non-government organisations' activities. In a case lobbying for urban renewal compensation, protestors tied an exceedingly long tail on an effigy of a cat. A visual cue to the local saying "pulling a cat's tail" (meaning avoiding responsibilities by cheating or mutual pretences), the piece derisively mocked the Urban Renewal Authority and the government. Another example is the coffins made by Koo Si-yuew. These creations have not necessarily established any symbol for collective identification, but they have consolidate the relation between the participating individuals and the movements.

It is uncertain why, in the past, NGOs in Hong Kong rarely made objects for social movements. But observably, the scarcity of objects was much related to a lack of objects for



香港的民間組織普遍來說較少創造運動物件，原因有待深入探討。但從現況可見，一方面由於缺乏物件來延續及記錄歷史，也沒有保存得較為長久的物件作為運動的集體認同符號，另一方面，香港的居民組織的運動多採用「論述性」的鬥爭方式，以文字寫作作為抗爭的媒介，而這些表達方式又非一般基層參與者所善長，因此造成社會工作者、議員及知識分子主導了社會運動的策略位置，甚至乎主導了運動的領導位置。

以論述與書寫為主要抗爭工具的運動模式，導致運動物件佔有次要位置。基層參與者雖也製造出不少饒有創意的模型與標語，但在行動過後組織機構不加以保存，而參與者似乎也認為行動物件不屬於私人財物，不適合在私人生活中存在，甚至乎認為此類物件不能在家庭中出現。因而，這些物件在轉折間變成廢物。此顯示了不少參與者眼中，參與社會運動是屬於

the perpetuation of social movement history, as well as the lack of well kept objects that would serve as symbols of collection identification. NGOs in Hong Kong are keener on "discursive" means of fighting. Language is used as the primary means for contestation, though it is hardly mastered by the grass roots. As a result, strategic positions in social movements are dominated by social workers, legislators and intellectuals, who also frequently take the lead.

Social movements that are basically discursive and textual subordinate objects to a secondary position. Although creative props and slogans are created by grass-roots participants, they are not given much regard after the events. They usually end up being "rubbish" at the participants' own disposal. In Hong Kong, the aftermath of these objects is rather interesting. The participants do not take them home, since these objects should not become personal property and appear in one's home.



「公共領域」的行為，不宜與「私人領域」混淆，這反映了現在的社會行動並沒有由「公共」進入「私人」空間，換句話說，社會運動沒有轉化成日常生活的一部分。

社會運動沒有在日常生活中獲得深化，因而變得破碎及事件化。六四每年的紀念活動就是其中一例。六四紀念晚會，已經變成一年一次的儀式，參與者到維園是一次的表白，一次的再肯定。然而，紀念活動結束時，組織者呼籲的是群眾和平散去，或者提醒參與者明年重來，而不是將愛國民主運動的意識形態或者價值信守，在日常生活宣揚開去。參與者可以掌握的物件——蠟燭，在活動中溶化掉，而參與者的六四紀念活動參與者的身分，在活動之後亦同樣在傾刻間完全化掉。



睹物思人：物件在社會的運動的意義

有關社會運動的研究在近來由社運的價值取向，或者運動內部的社會關係及組織結構，轉向運動文化的探索，原因是「新社會運動」的出現引起了關於社會文化的討論，同時也因為研究人員開始關注到運動文化中的豐富與雜沓紛陳的設計及文化創造。

但不少的社會運動研究習慣忽略在運動中出現的物件。其實，物質性的東西內藏著特有的社會意義，同樣地能夠承載著與有關的社會運動的歷史。這些物件是一個符號，指涉某種文化意義。

追蹤香港社會運動的物件，可能會令人失望，因為曾經出現過的物件，沒有人收藏，沒有紀錄，大多成為暫時性的。香港的街頭運動中，組織形式多數規模較小，亦頗為反應式(reactive)。自七十年代起的社區



運動，大多數是居民組織發起，由於資源有限，物件的形式多是橫額、紙牌，主要用來傳遞訊息，表達訴求，並非整個行動的重點。

在房屋運動中，請願者多數聚眾於政府部門外，向有關官員或議員遞請願信。將信交到有關官員議員手上，是整個運動的高潮，為了成為記者的焦點，信的設計會較為特別，如大信封或者其他奇怪的物件，頗具創意。例如爭取在市區重建中得到合理賠償的街坊，曾以巨蟹相贈暗喻「大石壓死蟹」；工盟以「吊鹽水」比喻工人開工不足的苦況；也有示威者以苦瓜寓民間之苦。

總的來說，此類民間訴求，傾向展示群體受壓迫之苦，盡量將群體塑造為受害人，以吸引傳媒的廣泛報道及造成使「敵人」感到窘困的局面。因此，這些創造出



來的物件雖較為沉重但同時又富有諷刺意味，達致對外宣揚與宣洩的效果。不過，這類創作出來的物件，很難成為一種符號幫助參與者建立「集體自我形象」，也較難以達致承載歷史、記錄事件的功能。

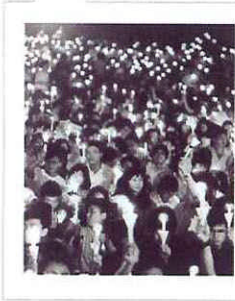
化掉的歷史

一般來說，社會運動中使用的物件有三種功能。首先是承載歷史，或者延續一個運動。當2002年5月警方重案組高調帶走學聯代表馮家強的時候，馮家強要穿上印有「公安惡法」的T恤才跟警員離開住所的做法，是明顯地要向大家表達他為事件作出定性，同時亦將過去反對臨時立法會恢復公安法的運動作出進一步的延伸。物件重現，不單是重提歷史，也是運動的延續。

物件的第二個功能，是為社會運動製造出一個集體認同的基礎。六四民主運動的民主女神像強化了民主運

Many consider these objects improbable for their private space, and eventually the objects become obsolete waste. This shows that, for many, participation in social movement is an act in the "public sphere", exclusive from the "private sphere". As a consequence, social movements do not enter "private" space from the "public". In other words, social movement is not a part of everyday life.

The causes of social movements are rarely internalised in daily life. The movements thus are fragmented, incidental and *ad hoc*. The June Fourth memorial vigil has become an annual ritual. Participants' attendance at Victoria Park is a re-statement, a re-affirmation. The events usually ends with a call for a quiet dispersal or a reminder of the vigil next year, but hardly with reinforcement of the movement's ideology or values, nor how the ideas can be spread in daily life. The belief dissolves in the air, just like the candles the participants were holding. At an instance, the June Fourth memorial and the participants' identification with it all fade out after the event.



身體廉價但短暫的武器

在過去幾年，真正重視物件的社會運動，是「綠色和平」此類綠色運動團體，成功地獲取傳媒注意。然而，「綠色和平」是個運動組織，有能力系統地籌措及運用資源，但對於基層組織來說，由於缺乏資源，只好借用最容易獲得的資源：身體。身體可以作為武器，佔領對手的空間作滋擾性行動。房屋運動中，為爭取取消出售公屋，組織者佔據佛光街房委會總部地下大堂，亦有街坊在會議中，以「牛步」方式離開會場，使房屋委員會的日常運作受到影響。近年爭取居港權人士，以剃光頭來向特區政府作出控訴。可惜，身體不能永遠以運動時候出現的形式永久保存。唯一的例外，是梁國雄出獄後的「冬菰頭」比以前的一襲招牌長髮更具強烈的政治效果。

身體政治在一些進取性社會中，的確可以清楚吸引群眾的注視，甚至惹起當權者的非理性反應，然而，這類方

The Body: Cheap But Temporary

Over the past few years, objects have only been consciously employed by activist groups like Greenpeace. As an activist organisation, Greenpeace is capable in deploying resources in a systematic way. The general public, with little means to achieve stunning and media-catching effects, has to resort to something handier and cheaper. The body is the cheapest resource as a weapon to spatially annex the opponents' territory. In a housing movement, the organisers, fighting against the sale of public housing, took over the lobby of the Housing Authority headquarters. Some residents crawled out of the place after meeting with the Authority, thus interrupted the Housing Authority's routine operation. A few years ago, protestors in fight for the right of abode shaved their heads as a critical gesture against the Special Administration Region government. Although body politics attracts the media, one cannot preserve permanently the state of the body as when the social event took place. Thus this also falls short as historical records.

In some proactive societies, body politics is effective in grabbing public attention and provoking the authority. But the dramatic effect is temporary. For instance, in

a gay rights movement, organisers cross-dressed and applied for an official registration for marriage. The only historical records left after the movement were some highly creative wedding cards. The event did not create any definite emblem for the whole movement. Gay rights activist Tommy went on the street for SM enthusiasts, but was charged by the police. His SM outfit is a symbol loaded with historical meaning – but what does it symbolise? What is it after?

Social movements have been taking place in Hong Kong for a few decades. But where can one locate their history? How do they perpetuate? The search for objects in social movements has not yet started, not to mention any systematic analysis and decoding. Yet a brief review has shown how such work can reveal another side of the Hong Kong social movement culture. As a point of departure, this is an area for more inspirations and a better understanding of social movement culture.

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Community Museum Project

Community Museum Project is a Hong Kong-based non-profit making cultural organization set up in 2002 by a group of art curators, design educators and cultural researchers. Its aim is to examine critically the behaviours, knowledge and culture of our daily life. It also attempts to establish a platform to facilitate dialogues and collaborations among the public, artists/designers and academics. In order to realize its objectives, Community Museum Project lines up exhibitions, researches and studies, publications, workshops and other related activities. The group's previous projects include *Objects of Demonstration* (2002) and *this is Not a Fake Museum* (2003).

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民間博物館計

民間博物館計劃是香港的非牟利文化組織，2002年由一群策展人、設計教育人員及文化研究員成立，旨在探討日常生活中的行為、知識及文化，亦嘗試建立公眾、藝術家/設計師及學者之間對話和合作的平台。為實踐宗旨，民間博物館計劃進行展覽、研究及搜集、出版、工作坊及其他相關活動。民間博物館計劃曾策劃《示威遊/尤物》〈2002年〉及《不是翻版博物館》〈2003年〉。

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