

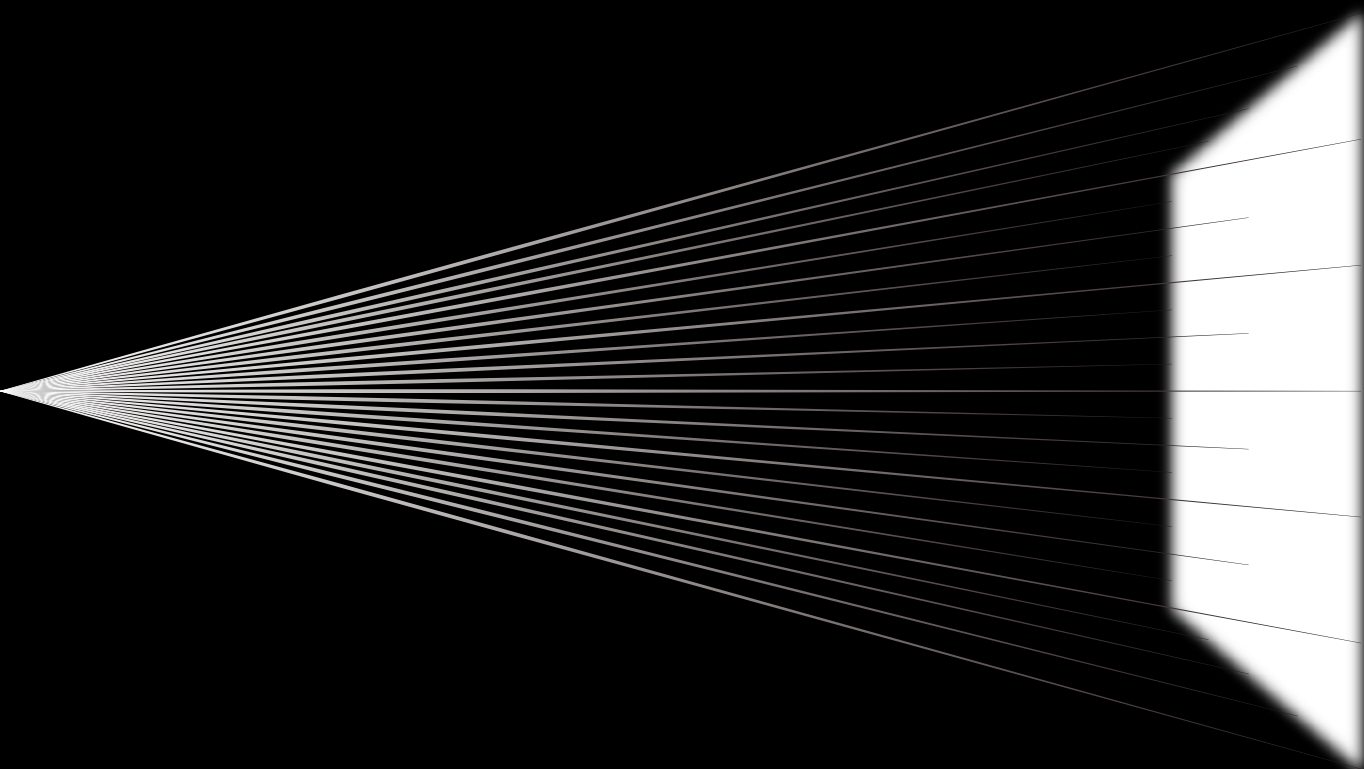
华 语 独 立 影 像 观 察

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PUBLISHED BY CHINESE INDEPENDENT FILM ARCHIVE, NEWCASTLE UNIVERSITY, UK

华语独立影像资料馆出版，纽卡斯尔大学，英国



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The Keywords of Chinese Independent Cinema **中国独立电影的关键词**

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This project has received funding from the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme under the Marie Skłodowska-Curie grant agreement No 801505.

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Introduction: The Interdependence of Individual Practices

Flora LICHAA

In 2020, we founded the *Chinese Independent Cinema Observer* with the aim of raising the visibility of and promoting research on Chinese independent films and film culture. The need to define the meaning of Chinese independent cinema arose from the meetings of the editorial board that took place prior to the creation of the journal. Although this need has already been addressed by an extensive body of publications on Chinese independent cinema that has emerged over the last two decades (Pickowicz and Zhang 2006; Lin 2010; Berry and Lü and Rofel 2010; Robinson 2013; Edwards 2015; Pernin 2015; Zhang and Zito 2015; Pickowicz and Zhang 2017), these publications only partially reflect the current situation, which has changed beyond recognition since the tightening of state restrictions following the appointment of Xi Jinping as General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) in 2012. As the authorities cannot be aware of, and ban, all illegal film production, these restrictions have mainly targeted the promotion and exhibition of independent films, requiring in particular the closure of all independent film festivals that were held in various cities throughout the 2000s and 2010s.

Before the closure of these festivals, independence commonly referred to films that were not submitted to state censorship (see Chris Berry's article). In other words, it was defined as resistance to the state, and by extension to the domestic market censored by the state. It is true that independent filmmakers were in reality never entirely cut off from this market, and some, like Zhao Liang (赵亮) and Wang Chao (王超), regularly navigated between the inside and the outside. But most independent directors firmly rejected any form of dependence on it. This resistance thus delineated the boundaries of independence for the vast majority of independent filmmakers.

However, this criterion no longer seems valid, as some directors now submit their films for censorship. Indeed, since it has become impossible to hold screenings of independent films in locations open to the public and outside the state-controlled market, independent films are now largely unknown to the Chinese public, who can only access them through illegal downloading. A wish to access this local public, coupled with the emergence of a cinephile audience willing to watch images alternative to the mainstream, has prompted more independent directors to enter the market while trying to maintain their independent mindset. Interestingly, some of these films, such as *Kaili Blues* 路

边野餐 (dir. Bi Gan 毕赣, 2015) and *Girls Always Happy* 柔情史 (dir. Yang Mingming 杨明明, 2018), are still considered independent. Meanwhile, other filmmakers still remain outside this market because they want to continue portraying topics and viewpoints that will not pass censorship. Most of them still live in China, despite the repressive environment, while others have settled permanently or temporarily abroad. Among exiled filmmakers, some like Fan Popo (范坡坡) have started to shoot in their host countries, others like Wang Bing (王兵) return to China for their filming, while still others, like Zhu Shengze (朱声仄), use footage from the Chinese internet. These films are either self-produced or produced by Chinese and/or non-Chinese private companies. They are then selected for international film festivals and screened in museums, universities, and cinemas outside China.

These recent developments, both inside and outside the state-controlled market, speak to a wide range of production, distribution, and exhibition practices. This variety is also reflected in the films themselves, which feature diverse topics and forms ranging from fiction to documentary and the experimental. The difficulty of formulating a comprehensive definition of independent cinema in today's China due to this extreme diversity was highlighted during the 2021 conference 'Reassessing Chinese Independent Cinema: Past, Present... and Future' organised by Newcastle University as part of the Chinese Independent Film Archive project. Beyond this difficulty, one may even ask whether the notion of 'independence' is still relevant to recent films made by directors who refused to enter the market in the past but have eventually changed their mind. And what about films that passed censorship the first time round but whose exhibition was banned after their theatrical release? Unable to provide definitive answers to these questions, we guest editors decided to invite filmmakers, producers, critics, and researchers to write about key notions and films that they considered themselves to be independent. It is in this spirit that we built this issue around a keyword approach.

To this end, we compiled the following list of keywords based on our existing knowledge on the topic: underground (地下), avant-garde (先锋), amateur film (业余电影), independent (独立), grassroots (民间), DV, individual (个人), direct cinema (直接电影), objectivity (客观性), truth (真实), on-the-spot (现场), sequence shot/long take (长镜头), margins (边缘), vulnerable groups (弱势群体), subalternity (底层), migrant (盲流), sincerity (诚实/忠实), ethics (伦理), activism (行动主义), film exhibition/festival (影展/电影节), alternative space (替代空间), censorship (审查), archive (档案), author (作者), queer moving images (酷儿影像), gender (社会性别), and feminism (女权主义/女性主义). This list was in fact more indicative than restrictive, since we invited contributors to select a word in the list or choose a word not appearing in it. Some chose the same terms: five decided to write about 'independent' or 'independence', three about 'memory', three about 'feminism', and two about 'individual'. Presenting several articles about a same keyword allowed us to bring together varied and complementary views on this keyword, especially when authors had different profiles. For

instance, the term ‘independent’ was addressed by two academics, two filmmakers, and a producer.

Furthermore, this method reflects the fact that people who were involved in the independent film realm – be they filmmakers, producers, critics, or researchers – have more fragmented visions of the field since the suppression of independent film festivals. As a matter of fact, the social interactions that occurred during public and collective events have been replaced by private and individual discussions. At least these private discussions could be held in person before the COVID-19 pandemic. Since then, because it has been impossible or extremely difficult to travel to and from China, discussions between people based inside and people based outside have become virtual, or have simply stopped. Hence, for researchers, producers, and distributors based outside, it has been particularly difficult to meet independent directors and keep informed of their latest productions (see Karin Chien’s article). All these people thus have a very partial knowledge of the field. In response to this situation, this issue aims to strengthen dialogue by proposing a bilingual version of all articles (with one exception due to ethical issues) written not only by academics, but also by critics, producers, and filmmakers. Naturally, this dialogue does not replace impromptu in-person interactions. However, it allows us to maintain a written record of the contributors’ knowledge and experience, which is invaluable in a context in which the authorities try to erase all signs of independent cinema within the People’s Republic of China (PRC).

Bringing together contributions by a variety of authors implies a diversity of forms in terms of length, writing style, and reference standards. For this reason, this issue does not uniformly adopt the epistemology of the academic article. The first dossier features eleven articles that propose a conceptual analysis of key terms that have dominated the academic field since the early 2000s. Even if these articles are mainly written by academics, their styles differ in that the Sinophone and Anglophone academic worlds do not use the same standards of publishing. I would also like to point out that these articles do not build on Raymond Williams’ *Keywords* (Williams 1976), which has been a key reference since the 1980s for studies articulated around a keyword approach. Rather, for all the reasons explained above, this first dossier provides general but non-exhaustive overviews or personal explorations of the keywords addressed. The second dossier presents nine personal essays by independent directors on keywords that reflect their interests and questions regarding their respective filmmaking practices. The third dossier includes five film reviews and analyses by junior researchers that focus on both a film and a keyword. It supplements the first two dossiers that only include short film analyses. This makes a total of twenty-five articles that explore the meaning of twenty different keywords related to Chinese independent cinema.

The fourth and last dossier presents four articles that were initially published in 2000 in the magazine

of the film club Practice Society (实践社), which was never officially distributed. These articles are transcripts of debates that followed screenings of Chinese independent films, among which are the first documentaries made with High 8 and Mini-DV cameras (see Zhang Yaxuan's article). Although these articles do not directly focus on keywords, they seemed relevant to this issue because they illustrate that some notions, which appear in all or several of these articles, were intensely discussed by filmmakers and film lovers who were seeking to define the distinctive characteristics of independent documentary films. At that time, these notions were also discussed by filmmakers working for television stations, which is not surprising as the first independent documentary directors came from the television industry (on this topic, see the second issue of the *Chinese Independent Cinema Observer*). Thus, despite an apparent nominal continuity, these key terms were used differently by independent directors and their (former) television colleagues. Debates organised by the Practice Society played a major role in the refashioning of these words, hence allowing independent filmmakers to sever ties with the television industry and define their own identity.

These four dossiers describe more than twenty years of the history of Chinese independent cinema, each one referring to a specific time period. The periods addressed here are these, in chronological order. The fourth dossier, named 'Archives', focuses on the turn of the last century, also called the digital turn, when the first small-scale productions were made outside state-controlled studios and screened in film clubs like the Practice Society. The first dossier, named 'Articles', refers to the rise of independent films and festivals and their decline, which spans across a period of two decades. The third dossier, called 'Film Reviews and Analyses', examines films that were made during this twenty-year period. Finally, the second dossier, named 'Personal Essays', mentions this past two decades, but most importantly reflects on the present and looks forward to the future. This whole history does not provide a single definition of independent cinema in the PRC. However, it can serve as a basis for looking beyond the idea of independence as resistance to the state. This is not to say that this criterion is no longer relevant, but that it needs to be amplified to address recent developments. The question thus arises: is there continuity across these periods of time, other than the resistance to the state? To answer this question, I suggest that independence can also be thought as an interdependence of individual practices.

In 2006, Chris Berry argued that Chinese independent cinema could not completely escape the state, notwithstanding 'all the rhetoric of standing alone (*duli*)'. In this sense, Berry proposed the idea of 'in dependence' on the state, instead of independence from the state (Berry 2006, p. 111). Expanding on this idea, Zhang Zhen and Angela Zito contended, in 2015, that independent filmmakers have furthermore been interdependent on multiple social actors:

Indeed, at every turn we confront the irony that the digital, on the one hand, facilitates forms of radically *private* film production and audience habits of small-screen consumption while simultaneously linking up makers and consumers, curators and censors ever more swiftly into wider *publics*. These publics allow for speedier circulation of films made in digital video, more discussion, and quicker formations of public political and aesthetic discourses. While the personalization may provide a *sense of independence* (which, to be sure, has profound creative results), the spreading and tightening of networking surely bespeaks a growing *actual interdependence* among writers, directors, producers, distribution entrepreneurs, and audiences (Zhang and Zito 2015, p. 21).

So, according to Zhang and Zito, after the Chinese ‘in dependent’ films of the digital turn, we have entered into a ‘post-digital round’ characterised by ‘new publics’ (Zhang and Zito 2015, p. 22). This interdependence of social actors is, in my view, an essential element in the definition of Chinese independent cinema across its whole history, as evidenced in the four dossiers of this issue.

The digital turn

Before digital cameras entered the Chinese market in 1997, it was impossible to make a film without the direct or indirect support of a state-sanctioned studio or television station. First High 8, for a small minority of filmmakers, and then DV led to a transition from collective to individual filmmaking practices. Social trajectories were individualised not only because independent filmmakers no longer belonged to a work unit, but also because most were migrants coming to big cities like Beijing to take an active part in the artistic and intellectual effervescence of that time (Johnson 2006, p. 49). In response to these developments, some Chinese academics stressed that the word ‘generation’ was no longer relevant to describe these independent directors (Mo and Xiao 2006, p. 148). This term was commonly used until the Sixth Generation to bring together filmmakers from the same era who shared similar styles and interests. Yet, even if the first independent films made in the 1990s with the support of state-sanctioned production channels shared many similarities, the emergence of digital technologies then resulted in a diversification of the filmmakers’ backgrounds, as well as of the style and topic of their films, which made it difficult to group them under the same generation. Abandoning this term also reflected the desire expressed by independent filmmakers to be considered as individuals claiming their own subjectivity after having experienced collectivism during the Mao era. Debates held by the Practice Society highlight the issues and concerns of five of these filmmakers and of members of the audience during the transition period between the first independent films and the digital turn. In this way, they allow us to understand the nature of changes that resulted from this individualisation.

Among the questions asked during the discussions republished in the fourth dossier, many concerned the technical and practical aspects of film shooting, editing, and post-production. This is not surprising given that independent filmmakers were learning to use new digital technologies. Moreover, as Luke Robinson underlines, their films, all documentaries, emerged from practice, and not from theory (Robinson 2013, pp. 15-16). Apart from these, there was a special interest in the relationship between the filmmakers and the people filmed, in part because individual modes of filmmaking enabled directors to create a direct relationship with their protagonists. Directors Du Haibin (杜海滨) and Wu Wenguang (吴文光) both evoke the relationship of friendship and trust that they were able to build with the subjects whom they filmed in their respective documentaries, *Along the Railway* 铁路沿线 (2000) and *Jiang Hu: Life on the Road* 江湖 (1999). This said, both are aware that they do not belong to the same underclass as their characters, vagabonds for Du and performing farmers for Wu. The fact that those in front of the camera mostly belong to the lower stratum of society raises questions about the relationship of power between the filmmaker and the people filmed. Indeed, Zhu Chuanming (朱传明), director of *Beijing Cotton Fluffer* 北京弹匠 (1999), points out that the very fact of turning on the camera creates an unequal relationship with those in front of the lens.

Ethical issues are also discussed in relation to the public. Duan Jinchuan (段锦川), director of *No.16 Barkhor South Street* 八廓南街16号 (1996) and *The Square* 广场 (1994), says that he seeks to propose an alternative to the ‘falsehoods and lies’ told by the CCP by representing ‘the characters and events as they are, as fully and truly as possible’. This approach allows him to provide the audience with an open interpretation of the reality unfolding in front of them. Film critic Zhang Yaxuan (张亚璇) also argues during the debate about *Along the Railway* that documentary film is valuable because it ‘provides you with the possibility to judge and think’.

The relationship with the Chinese public is very important, as explained by Wu who wrote a book in addition to his film in order to access a wider public, as exhibition channels for independent films were then very limited in China. Films clubs like the Practice Society contributed significantly in connecting these independent films and their directors to local audiences. Thus, from this digital turn, Chinese independent cinema entailed not only new modes of individual filmmaking, but also new modes of interaction or interdependence between individuals.

The rise and decline of independent films and festivals

Apart from the first article by Chris Berry, which presents a general overview of the meaning of independence, other articles in the first and third dossiers outline various kinds of social relationships in which independent filmmakers have been embedded. First, networks of interdependence

have been created around the production, distribution, and exhibition of Chinese independent films. Karin Chien explains that she founded dGenerate to distribute Chinese independent films to North-American audiences and remunerate the filmmakers to help them sustain their creative work. Her main source of supply was the independent film festivals that emerged in several Chinese cities shortly after film clubs were formed. Fan Xiang (樊响) points out that film clubs, ‘by sowing film appreciation, have helped cultivate a new generation of Chinese cinephiles, filmmakers, screenwriters, critics, curators, many of whom later became key figures in the once-thriving independent film festivals.’ Yu Yaqin (余雅琴) describes the main film clubs that emerged at the turn of the century and notes that they contributed in the ‘awakening and rise of civic culture’. Indeed, Fan stresses that clubs and later festivals were also places of meeting and debate for artists, academics, critics, filmmakers, and cinephiles. These events thus contributed to the development of new modes of organisation and thinking. As ‘alternative spaces’, they were nonetheless mobile and uncertain due to their illegal status. As Zhang Yaxuan indicates, screenings usually took place in venues not specifically designed for this purpose, such as bars, art galleries, libraries, and universities. These four articles clearly indicate that films clubs and independent festivals were at the centre of networks revolving around common areas of interests and values that created an interdependence between critics and cinephiles in search for alternatives to the mainstream, distributors and programmers looking for new and exciting independent films, directors wishing to show their films to local audiences, owners who agreed to lend their venues, and finally, organisers and volunteers who made all these connections possible.

Many films programmed in these events continued to focus on the grassroots or margins of society. Following the debates held by the Practice Society, the relationship of filmmakers and protagonists who do not belong to the same social stratum has remained a significant question. This ethical issue, which mainly concerns documentary films but can also be extended to feature films, has raised fierce controversies among the independent film community. Wang Xiaolu (王小鲁) provides an overview of these controversies, the most important of which targeted the use of the image of a female sex worker in *Wheat Harvest* 麦收 (2008) by Xu Tong (徐童). These debates further stimulated reflections on ethics in relation to aesthetics among academics, critics, and filmmakers.

A key argument already mentioned by independent filmmakers at discussions organised by the Practice Society is that independent films differentiated themselves from censored productions because they give the floor to the people and convey their reality as honestly and truly as possible. Such an approach is very difficult to achieve in the state-controlled industry as mainstream films have to convey a positive image of the Chinese society in order to pass censorship (see Zhang Zhanbo’s 张赞波 article). This is the framework adopted by Luisa Prudentino, who argues that several independent feature and documentary

films centred on migrant workers highlight the subjectivity of the characters in a poetic manner, hence proposing an alternative to the ‘paternalistic, even voyeuristic’ gaze adopted by television documentaries. On a different topic, Max Berwald describes how Hu Jie (胡杰), in *Songs from Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声 (2016), interviews the residents of a Miao village devoted to Christianity, whose stories undermine the official discourse that modernity was brought by the CCP.

Another approach postulates that documentary filmmakers can construct their relationships with the subjects filmed and/or with the audience through shooting, editing, and post-production. Xu Kaiyang (徐开阳) argues that Zhang Zhanbo manages to erase the distance that separates him from the rural population, subject of *Falling from the Sky* 天降 (2009), through a discursive relationship between moving image, written text, and spoken language. Wen Hao (闻豪) analyses the ‘affective link’ between the filmmaker Feng Yan (冯艳) and her character that is made visible in a negotiation scene filmed in hidden camera in *Bing'ai* 秉爱 (2007). Luke Robinson interprets the notion of *xianchang* (现场) as an aesthetic of precarity that encompasses the mode of production (unstable financial situation of independent directors), modes of distribution and exhibition (outside state-controlled channels), the subjects of the films (social and economic margins), and the audience (making the viewer feel the precarity of the people filmed). The affective dimension of documentary filmmaking mentioned by Wen and Robinson is also present in Zeng Jinyan’s (曾金燕) article, in which she pinpoints several strategies used by documentary filmmakers to express support for female protagonists, such as showing solidarity and care with them on and off the screen.

Bérénice Reynaud and Zoe Meng Jiang (江萌) examines the ways in which female directors, who are still poorly represented in the Chinese independent film scene, decentre the male gaze by presenting their own representations of female protagonists. Bérénice Reynaud argues that Li Yu (李玉), in *Lost in Beijing* 迷失北京 (2007), first reproduces the male gaze but ultimately subverts it by the film’s end, when the protagonist disappears from the sight of the two men who were both fighting to raise her baby. Zoe Meng Jiang examines the way in which Yang Mingming, in *Female Directors* 女导演 (2012), deflects the male gaze and conveys her own truth about friendship and emancipation.

One way some filmmakers have replied to controversies about ethics is to make images about themselves or about their own communities. An example is the Folk Memory Project (民间记忆计划) that includes young filmmakers returning to their hometowns to interview old villagers about their memories of the Great famine (see Wu Wenguang and Zou Xueping's 邹雪平 articles). Paul Pickowicz explains that some films included in this project not only document traumas of the recent past that the party-state has tried to conceal, but also involve local villagers in the process of filmmaking and remembering. He takes the example of the documentary film *Children's Village* 孩

子的村子 (dir Zou Xueping, 2012) which involves local children who follow the filmmaker with their cameras and interview her. This connection between filmmaking and community building is also illustrated in the article about moving images marked by LGBTQ identities. Chao Shi-yan (赵锡彦) points out that the digital turn entailed the development of non-fiction stories that have ‘reflected and reinforced the formation of local *tongzhi*/queer community’.

The variety of responses to ethical issues reflects the diversification in styles and themes that resulted from the digital turn. It also confirms that relationships between filmmakers and their protagonists and audiences have remained essential to defining the identity of independent cinema in the PRC. Thus, the notion of independence has fluctuated amidst the continuous reshaping of the relations of interdependence in which filmmakers have been embedded. Film clubs and independent festivals provided a platform for these new forms of sociability that were collective, but not in the Maoist sense of the term. It would be more accurate to say that it was a spontaneous, dynamic, and non-centralised mode of organisation in which individuals were interdependent but respected individualities. In other words, it was a way to reconsider social interactions beyond the dichotomy between the individual and the collective (see Cong Feng’s 丛峰 article). However, since independent festivals were strictly forbidden, these networks of interdependence have been partly broken. Independent filmmakers have returned to individual and scattered practices or have entered the domestic market.

Reflecting on the present, looking forward to the future

So, what is next? Formerly independent filmmakers who are trying to make films within the Chinese film industry are now embedded in an even more complex network of interdependence with film professionals and audiences. Those who still refuse to submit their films to censorship continue to reflect on the relational dimension of independence. Some articles presented in the second dossier provide an insight into the recent directions taken by these filmmakers. To give a few examples, Zhang Mengqi (章梦奇), a participant in the Folk Memory Project, has been spending more time in her village since the beginning of the pandemic, while trying to maintain collective work with other participants in the form of regular workshops hold on Zoom. Zou Xueping explains that the subjects of her documentaries have also become the main viewers since the closure of independent film festivals. Gan Xiao'er (甘小二) questions his relationship with Christian peasant audiences to whom he screened his documentary film *Raised From Dust* 举自尘土 (2007), which tells the story of a Christian peasant family. He deplores the lack of access to the general public, but demonstrates at the same time how difficult it is to maintain any artistic quality when trying to pass censorship. Jiang Nengjie (蒋能杰) explains why he believes that making the voices of ‘the disadvantaged and underprivileged’ heard still remains important in order to raise awareness of the public and trigger

social changes. Lin Xin (林鑫) describes the way in which he tries to build a collective memory from individual interviews in order to help the interviewees resist forgetting. Conversely, Li Xiaofeng (黎小锋) argues that documentary films cannot help the people being filmed, and can even get them into trouble. According to him, documentary filmmaking is a cathartic and creative experience that is only meaningful for himself. These examples can be seen as individual attempts to define new forms of social interactions or interdependence after the suppression of independent film festivals and the closure of Chinese borders.

The assembling of this issue has benefited from the kindness of the general editors, Sabrina Qiong Yu (余琼) and Luke Robinson. I also wish to thank the contributing authors who kindly agreed to write articles for this issue, the translators who made possible the publication of a bilingual issue, as well as members of the editorial committee and external reviewers who provided thoughtful comments on submitted articles.

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导言：个人实践的相互依存性

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为提高对华语独立影像的关注度并促进相关学术研究的发展，我们于 2020 年创办了《华语独立影像观察》。在创刊前的编委会会议中，我们认为亟需对中国独立影像的含义进行界定。尽管过去二十年间发表的大量关于中国独立影像的文献已经对其进行了定义（Pickowicz and Zhang 2006; Lin 2010; Berry and Lü and Rofel 2010; Robinson 2013; Edwards 2015; Pernin 2015; Zhang and Zito 2015; Pickowicz and Zhang 2017），但这些文献仅在一定程度上反映了 2012 年习近平被任命为中共中央总书记以来国家言论空间收紧后的状况。由于当局无法得知并禁止所有独立拍摄行为，他们主要对独立影像的宣传和放映进行限制，并迫使所有独立影展中止活动，这些独立影展曾在二十一世纪的头十几年中在一些城市举办。

在这些影展关闭之前，独立通常指的是不提交给国家审查的影像（见裴开瑞 Chris Berry 的文章）。换句话说，它被定义为对国家的抵抗，并延伸到对经过国家审查的国内市场的抵抗。诚然，独立导演在现实中从未完全与这个市场隔绝，如赵亮和王超经常在市场内外游走。但大多数独立导演坚决拒绝任何形式的妥协。因此，这种抵抗为绝大多数独立导演划定了独立的界限。

然而，由于一些独立导演现在将他们的影像提交给了审查机构，这一标准似乎不再有效。事实上，由于无法在国家管控的市场之外进行面向公众的独立放映，独立影像很大程度上仍然不为中国公众所知，这些影像只能通过非法下载的途径获取。对到达更多国内观众的渴望，再加上愿意观看主流以外影像的影迷群体的增加，促使更多的独立导演进入市场，同时努力保持他们的独立心态。有趣的是，其中一些影像，如《路边野餐》（毕赣，2015）和《柔情史》（杨明明，2018），仍被认为是独立的。与此同时，其他独立电影导演仍然留在这个市场之外，因为他们想继续展示不被审查允许的话题和观点。尽管环境压抑，他们中的大多数人仍然生活在中国，而其他人则在国外永久或暂时定居。在流散海外的导演中，有的如范坡坡开始在他们的居住国进行拍摄，有的如王兵回到中国进行拍摄，还有的如朱声仄则使用中国互联网上的素材。这些影像要么是导演自己投资制作的，要么是由中国及 / 或非中国的私人公司制作的。然后，它们被选入国际电影节，并在中国以外的博物馆、大学和影院展出。

最近的这些演变，无论在国家管控的市场内外，都显示了形式多样的生产、发行和放映实践。这种多样性也反映在影像本身，它们由不同的主题和形式组成，包括故事片、纪录片和实验影像。由于这种极度多样性，对当今中国独立影像做出一个全面的定义成为一个难题。2021 年，基于华语独立影像资料馆的研究成果，纽卡斯尔大学举办了一场学术会议“重新评估华语独立影像：过去、现

在.....和未来” (Reassessing Chinese Independent Cinema: Past, Present... and Future) 。这场会议主要讨论了这一难题。在这一难题以外, 有的人甚至提出疑问: 对于那些过去拒绝进入市场但最终改变主意的导演, 他们最近拍摄的影像是否还与“独立”这一概念相关? 而那些先是通过审查, 但在影院上映后又被禁止放映的影像又该如何处理? 由于无法为这些问题提供明确的答案, 我们的特邀编辑决定邀请导演、制片人、评论家和研究者撰写独立电影的一些关键概念以及他们理解的一些独立影像。本着这种精神, 我们用关键词的方式构建了这期期刊。

为此, 我们根据现有的相关知识, 编纂了以下关键词清单: 地下、先锋、业余电影、独立、民间、DV、个人、直接电影、客观性、真实、现场、长镜头、边缘、弱势群体、底层、盲流、诚实 / 忠实、伦理、行动主义、影展 / 电影节、替代空间、审查、档案、作者、酷儿影像、社会性别、女权主义 / 女性主义。这份清单实际上更具有指示性而非限制性, 因为我们邀请作者选择清单中的一个词或清单中未出现的一个词。有些作者选择了相同的词: 五人决定写“独立”, 三人写“记忆”, 三人写“女性主义”, 两人写“个人”。同一关键词同时呈现于几篇文章, 这使我们能够汇集关于这个关键词的各自不同又彼此互补的观点, 尤其是当作者来自不同背景时。例如, “独立”一词分别由两位学者、两位导演和一位制片人进行讨论。

此外, 这种方法反映了这样一个事实: 参与到独立影像领域的人们——无论是导演、制片人、评论家还是研究者——在独立影展被压制后, 对这个领域的看法也更加分散。事实上, 在公共和集体活动中发生的社会互动已经被私人和个人讨论所取代。至少, 在新冠大流行之前, 这些私人讨论可以在现场举行。但从那以后, 由于不可能或极难往返中国, 海内外人士之间的讨论变得虚拟, 或者干脆停止。因此, 对于海外研究者、制片人和发行商来说, 要想与独立导演见面并了解他们的最新作品尤其困难 (见钱盈 Karin Chien 的文章) 。因此, 这些人对这个领域的了解都是非常片面的。针对这种情况, 本期期刊旨在加强对话, 对所有文章采用双语版本 (因伦理问题的考虑, 其中一篇除外), 这些文章不仅由学者撰写, 也由导演、批评家和制片人撰写。当然, 这种对话并不能取代即兴的面对面互动。然而, 在中国当局试图消除所有独立影像痕迹的背景下, 将作者们的知识和经验以书面的形式记录下来仍很有价值。

汇集不同作者的文章, 意味着在篇幅、写作风格和参考标准方面有很大的多样性。出于这一考量, 本期期刊没有统一采用学术文章的体例。第一卷中, 有十一篇文章针对 2000 年代初以来主导学术领域的独立电影关键术语进行概念性分析。虽然这些文章主要是由学术界人士撰写的, 其风格也有所不同, 因为汉语和英语学术界并不使用相同的出版标准。我还想指出, 这些文章并未遵循雷蒙·威廉斯 (Raymond Williams) 的《关键词》 (1976) 模式, 自 1980 年代以来, 该书一直是围绕关键词方法进行研究的重要参考文献。相反, 由于上述原因, 第一卷提供了一般性但非详尽的概述或是一种对所涉及的关键词的个人探索。第二卷则包含了九篇由独立导演个人撰写的关键词文章, 这些文章反映了他们各自影像制作实践中的关注点和问题。第三卷包括五篇由年轻研究者撰写的影评与分析, 文章同时关注一部影像和一个关键词。它是对前两卷的补充, 由于前两卷只对影像进行了简

短的分析。这样一来，共有二十五篇文章探讨了与中国独立影像有关的二十个不同的关键词的含义。

第四卷也是最后一份卷包含了四篇文章，这些文章最初于 2000 年发表于电影俱乐部“实践社”办的杂志上，该杂志从未正式发行。这些文章是早年一些中国独立影像放映后的辩论记录，其中包括第一部用 High 8 和迷你摄像机拍摄的纪录片（见张亚璇的文章）。虽然这些文章没有直接关注关键词，但它们似乎仍与本期主题有关，因为它们涉及了一些出现在所有或其中几篇文章中的概念，这些概念被导演和电影爱好者激烈地讨论，他们试图定义独立纪录片的独特特征。当时，在电视台工作的导演也曾讨论过这些概念，这并不奇怪，因为第一批独立纪录片导演就来自电视行业（关于这一话题，见《华语独立影像观察》第二期）。因此，尽管在名义上有连续性，但独立导演和他们（以前）的电视同行对这些关键术语的使用是不尽相同的。实践社组织的讨论会对这些词汇的重塑发挥了重要作用，从而使独立导演能够切断与电视行业的联系，并确定自己的身份。

这四卷描述了中国独立影像二十多年的历史，每一份都是指向一个特定的时间段。这里涉及的时间段则按时间顺序排列。名为“档案”的第四卷主要关注上世纪末的数字化转折，当时第一批小规模影像制作是在国家控制的电影制片厂之外完成的，并在实践社等电影俱乐部放映。名为“文章”的第一卷，涉及独立影像和影展的兴衰，时间跨度长达二十年。第三卷名为“影像评论与分析”，对这二十年期间制作的影像进行分析。最后，名为“个人随笔”的第二卷提到了过去二十年的经验，但最重要的是对现在的反思和对未来的展望。这整个历史并没有为中国独立影像提供一个单一的定义。然而，它可以作为一个基础，超越独立是指对国家的抵抗这个单一标准。这并不是说这个标准不再有意义，而是说它需要被进一步阐明以应对最近的发展。那么，随之出现的问题是：除了对国家的抵抗之外，在这些时期中，是否存在其它连续性？为了回答这一问题，我认为，独立也可以被认为是个人实践的相互依存。

2006 年，裴开瑞论述到，尽管包含“所有关于独立的言论”，但中国独立影像不可能完全摆脱国家。在这个意义上，裴开瑞提出了“依附于”(in dependence) 国家，而不是独立于 (independence) 国家的观点 (2006, p. 111)。2015 年，张真和司徒安 (Angela Zito) 对这一观点进行了扩展，她们认为独立导演更多的是与多个社会行动者相互依存。

的确，我们每次都要面对这样的讽刺：一方面，数字技术促进了私人影像的制作和观众的小屏幕消费习惯，同时又将制作者与消费者、策展人与审查者更迅速地联系起来，形成更广泛的公众。这些公众让数字影像更快流通，更多讨论，以及更快形成公共政治和美学话语。虽然个人化可能提供了一种独立的感觉（可以肯定的是，这具有深刻的创造性结果），但人际网络的蔓延和收紧意味着作家、导演、制片人、发行商和观众之间日益增长一种实际上的相互依存。(Zhang and Zito 2015, p. 21)

因此，根据 Zhang 和 Zito 的说法，数字转型的中国“依附” (in dependent) 影像之后，我们已经

进入了一个以“新公众”为特征的“后数字阶段”（同上，p. 22）。在我看来，在整个中国独立影像历史中，这种社会行动者间的相互依存都是定义独立影像一个基本要素，这在本期的四卷中得到了证明。

数字转型

在 1997 年数码相机进入中国市场之前，拍摄电影不可能没有国家认可的制片厂或电视台的直接或间接支持。先是少数导演得以使用 High 8，然后是数码摄像机实现了从集体到个人影像制作实践的过渡。社会轨迹成为个人化的，不仅因为独立导演不再属于工作单位，而且还因为他们大多数人是移民，来到北京这样的大城市，积极参与当时的艺术和知识界的发展（Johnson 2006, p. 49）。针对这些发展，一些中国学者强调，“代际”一词已经不再适合描述这些独立导演（Mo and Xiao 2006, p. 148）。这个词在“第六代”之前一直被用来汇集同一时代有着相似风格和兴趣的中国导演。然而，即使九十年代在国家批准的制作渠道支持下制作的第一批独立影像之间有着许多相似之处，但当时数字技术的出现导致了导演背景的多样化，以及风格和主题的多样化，这使得他们很难被归入同一代。对这个词的摒弃也反映了独立导演在经历了毛泽东时代的集体主义之后，希望被视为主张自己主体性的个体。实践社举办的讨论会中，五位导演和观众就第一批独立影像和数字转型之间的过渡时期产生的问题进行讨论。通过这种方式，他们使我们能够理解这种由个人化导致的变化性质。

在第四卷中重新发表的讨论中，许多提及的问题涉及影像拍摄、编辑和后期制作的技术和实践。这并不奇怪，因为独立导演当时正在学习使用新的数字技术。而且正如卢克·罗宾逊（Luke Robinson）所强调的，他们的影像，所有的纪录片，都是在实践中诞生的，而不是在理论中诞生的（2013, pp.15-16）。除此以外，人们对导演和被拍摄者之间的关系尤其感兴趣，部分原因是个体影像制作模式使导演能够与他们的主人公建立直接关系。杜海滨和吴文光在他们各自的纪录片《铁路沿线》（2000）和《江湖》（1999）中都提到了他们能够与拍摄对象建立友谊和信任关系。尽管如此，两人都意识到他们与他们的被拍摄者并不同属于底层社会，杜海滨拍摄的是流浪者，吴文光拍摄的则是农民。镜头前的人们大多属于社会的低层，这一事实引发了导演和被拍摄者之间权力关系的问题。的确，《北京弹匠》（1999）的导演朱传明也指出，打开摄像机这一事实本身就造成了与镜头前的人的不平等关系。

伦理问题也在与公众的讨论中的提及。《八廓南街 16 号》（1996）和《广场》（1994）的导演段锦川说，他试图通过“尽量完整地真实地表现人物与事件的本来面目”，为中国共产党的“虚假与谎言”提出一个替代方案。这种方法使他能够为观众提供对眼前现实的公开解释。电影批评家张亚璇在关于《铁路沿线》的辩论中也认为，纪录片的价值在于它“带给你自己判断和思考的可能性”。

正如吴文光所解释的那样，（独立导演）与中国公众的关系非常重要。他在拍摄影像的同时还写了一本书，以获得更广泛的公众关注，因为当时独立影像的放映渠道在中国非常有限。像实践社这样的电影俱乐部在促进独立影像和导演与国内观众的联系做出了重大贡献。因此，从这一数字转型来看，

中国独立影像不仅发展出了新的个人影像制作模式，也发展出了新的个人之间的互动或相互依存模式。

独立影像和电影节的兴衰

除了裴开瑞的第一篇文章对独立的含义进行了总体概述外，第一和第三卷的其他文章还讨论了独立导演所处的各种社会关系。首先，围绕着中国独立影像的制作、发行和放映活动，已经形成了相互依存的网络。钱盈解释说，她创立了 dGenerate，向北美观众发行中国独立影像，并向导演提供报酬，以帮助他们继续创作。她主要将这些影像供应给在电影俱乐部成立后不久在中国几个城市创办的独立影展。樊响指出，电影俱乐部“通过传播电影欣赏文化，培养了中国新一代迷影、导演、编剧、评论家、策展人，其中许多人后来成为一度兴盛的独立影展的关键人物。”余雅琴描述了世纪之交出现的主要电影俱乐部，并指出它们为“公民精神的苏醒和崛起”做出了贡献。的确，樊响强调，电影俱乐部和后来的电影节也是艺术家、学者、评论家、导演和迷影聚集和辩论的场所。因此，这些活动促进了新的组织和思维模式的发展。作为“替代空间”，由于它们的非法地位，它们是流动且具有不确定性的。正如张亚璇所指出的，放映通常在非专业的场所进行，如酒吧、艺术馆、图书馆和大学。这四篇文章都清楚地表明，电影俱乐部和独立影展是围绕着共同兴趣和价值观的中心关系网络，这一关系网络为寻找主流影像之外的评论家和迷影、寻找新的且令人兴奋的独立影像的发行商和策展人、希望向国内观众展示自己影像的导演、同意借出场地的业主、以及使所有这些联系成为可能的组织者和志愿者之间形成了相互依存的关系。

在这些活动中放映的许多影像都持续关注社会边缘群体。在实践社举行的辩论后，主人公及与主人公不属于同一社会阶层的导演的关系仍然很受重视。这一伦理问题主要涉及纪录片，但也可以延伸到故事片，其在独立电影界引起了激烈的争论。王小鲁概述了这些争议，其中最主要的争议是徐童在《麦收》（2008）中对女性性工作者形象的使用。这些争论进一步推动了学术界、评论界和导演对美学伦理的思考。

在实践社组织的讨论中，独立导演们提到了一个关键的论点，那就是独立影像与经过审查的作品的区别在于，他们把发言权交给了人民，并尽可能诚实和真实地表现他们的现实。这种方法在由国家控制的行业中很难实现，因为主流影像必须表现中国社会的正面形象，才能通过审查（见张赞波的文章）。这也是路易莎（Luisa Prudentino）采取的框架。她认为，一些以农民工为中心的独立故事片和纪录片以一种诗意的方式突出了人物的主体性，因此运用了一种替代电视纪录片的“家长式的，甚至是窥视式的”凝视。从另一个主题入手，柏麦仁（Max Berwald）描述了胡杰在《麦地冲的歌声》（2016）中如何对信仰基督教的苗族村庄居民进行采访，他们的故事破坏了由中国共产党塑造的官方话语现代性。

另一种方法显示，纪录片导演可以通过拍摄、剪辑和后期制作来构建他们与被拍摄对象和 / 或观众

的关系。徐开阳认为，张赞波通过影像、书面文字和口头语言之间的话语关系，设法消除了他与《天降》（2009）中的村民间的距离。闻豪分析了冯艳与她的角色之间的“情动联系”，这种联系在《秉爱》（2007）中用隐蔽摄像机拍摄的谈判场景中得以展现。卢克·罗宾逊将“现场”的概念解释为一种不稳定的美学，包括制作模式（独立导演不稳定的财务状况）、发行和放映模式（在官方控制渠道之外）、影像的主体（社会和经济边缘群体）以及观众（让观众感受到被拍摄者的不稳定）。闻豪和罗宾逊提到的纪录片制作的情感维度也出现在曾金燕的文章中，她指出了纪录片导演用来表达对女性主人公支持的几种策略，比如在屏幕内外对她们表达团结与关怀。

雷贝丽（Bérénice Reynaud）和江萌研究了在中国独立影像界仍然缺乏表达的女性导演如何通过对女性主角的再现来分散男性凝视的。雷贝丽认为，李玉在《迷失北京》（2007）中首先复刻了男性凝视，又在结尾处颠覆了男性凝视，即主人公在两个争夺她孩子抚养权的男人面前消失。江萌研究了杨明明在《女导演》（2012）中如何转移男性凝视并表达她自己对友谊和解放的真相的理解。

一些导演对伦理争议的回应方式之一是拍摄有关自己或自己社区的影像。“民间记忆计划”是其中一个范例。年轻的导演回到他们的家乡，采访老村民关于大饥荒的记忆（见吴文光和邹雪平的文章）。毕克伟（Paul Pickowicz）解释说，这个计划中的一些影像不仅记录了当局试图掩盖的历史创伤，而且还让当地村民参与到拍摄和回忆的过程中。他以纪录片《孩子的村子》（邹雪平，2012）为例，该片让当地的孩子拿着相机跟拍导演并采访她。影像制作和社区建设之间的这种联系也在关注 LGBTQ 身份的影像的文章中得到了说明。赵锡彦指出，数字转型让非虚构故事得到发展，这些故事“反映并强化了当地同志 / 酷儿社区的形成”。

对伦理问题的各种回应反映了数字转型所带来的风格和主题的多样化。它也证实了导演与其主人公和观众之间的关系对于界定中国独立影像的身份仍然至关重要。因此，在导演所处的相互依存关系不断重塑的过程中，独立的概念一直在波动。电影俱乐部和独立影展为这些新形式的社会性提供了一个平台，它们是集体的，但并非毛泽东时代意义上的集体。更准确的说法是，这是一种自发的、动态的、非集中的组织模式，在这种模式下，个体是相互依存的，但也尊重个体的个性。换句话说，这是一种重新考虑社会互动的方式，超越了个体与集体之间的二分法（见丛峰的文章）。然而，自从独立影展被严格禁止后，这些相互依存的网络被部分打破。独立导演要么回到了个人化与分散的实践中，要么进入了国内市场。

反思现在，展望未来

那么，接下来会怎么样呢？曾经的独立导演试图进入电影产业之中，如今被嵌入一个更加复杂的网络中，并与电影专业人士和观众相互依存。那些仍然拒绝将自己的影像提交给审查机构的电影人则继续反思独立的相对性维度。第二卷中的一些文章让我们了解到这些导演最近采取的一些方式。举几个例子：“民间记忆计划”的参与者章梦奇，自新冠大流行开始以来，在她的村子里待了更长时间，

同时试图以在 ZOOM 上定期举办研讨会的形式与其他参与者保持集体工作的模式。邹雪平解释，自从独立影展被关闭之后，她的纪录片中的人物也成为片子的主要观众。甘小二就他与基督教农民观众的关系提出疑问，他向这些观众放映了他的纪录片《举自尘土》（2007），该片讲述了一个基督教农民家庭的故事。他对缺乏与公众接触的机会表示遗憾，但同时也表明，在试图通过审查时，要保持任何艺术品质是多么困难。蒋能杰解释了为什么他认为让“弱势群体”的声音被听到对于提高公众的意识和引发社会变革仍然很重要。林鑫描述了他是如何从个人访谈中建立集体记忆，以帮助受访者抵抗遗忘。相反，黎小锋认为，纪录片不仅无法帮助被拍摄者，甚至会让他们陷入困境。据他说，纪录片拍摄是一种宣泄和创造的经验，只对他自己有意义。在独立影展受到压制及中国边境封锁后，以上几个例子可以被看作是个人对新的社会互动或相互依存形式进行定义的尝试。

这期期刊的出版首先要感谢两位主编余琼和卢克·罗宾逊的悉心付出。我们还要感谢那些愿意为本期期刊撰写文章的作者们，感谢那些使双语杂志得以出版的译者们，以及为所提交的文章提供周到意见的编辑委员会成员和外部审稿人。

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ARTICLES 学术视野

Keyword: Independent

关键词：独立

Chris BERRY 裴开瑞 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Chinese Independent | A Diaspora of Meaning

关键词：中国独立 | 流散的意义

Karin CHIEN 钱盈 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Alternative Space

关键词：替代空间

ZHANG Yaxuan 张亚璇 Translator 译者：WU Bo 吴波

Keyword: Film Festival/Exhibition

关键词：电影节 / 放映

FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Grassroots Exhibition

关键词：民间放映

YU Yaqin 余雅琴 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: On-the-Spot

关键词：现场

Luke ROBINSON 卢克·罗宾逊 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Memory

关键词：记忆

Paul PICKOWICZ 毕克伟 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Migrant Worker

关键词：民工

Luisa PRUDENTINO 路易莎 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Queer Moving Images

关键词：酷儿影像

CHAO Shi-yan 赵锡彦 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keywords: Ethics and Feminism | Desiring Feminism in Chinese Documentary

关键词：伦理与女权主义

ZENG Jinyan 曾金燕 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Ethics

关键词：伦理

WANG Xiaolu 王小鲁 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Independent

Chris BERRY

Abstract

The meaning of the idea of being ‘independent’ varies according to the context. To put it another way, ‘independent’ is defined according to what something is independent from. This short essay explains the definition of the term in the People’s Republic of China when it first appeared in the early 1990s; why there had been no independent cinema prior to the early 1990s; why it did appear then; and how it changed in the years that followed. These later changes include the proliferation of audiovisual material that might be understood as independent made possible by the availability of DV cameras and the internet; the pressure on successful and high profile independent directors to come into the mainstream system; and the suppression of independent cinema cultural activities in recent years. This suppression has continued to the point where ‘independent cinema’ has become a toxic brand for many in the film world in China and filmmakers often prefer to characterize the kinds of films once seen as ‘independent’ as ‘arthouse’.

When Chinese ‘independent cinema’ was first named and noticed at the beginning of the 1990s, the definition of ‘independent’ was clear – films that had not been submitted for state censorship. A specific combination of circumstances had made the appearance of such films impossible earlier, but those circumstances had changed. As time went on, there were further changes, and the definition of ‘independent cinema’ became more unstable. However, it has never shaken off its original definition in relation to the state, and in the Xi Jinping (习近平) era of high state control, that means ‘independent’ has become something of a toxic brand.

Wu Wenguang (吴文光)’s 1990 documentary *Bumming in Beijing—The Last Dreamers* 流浪北京—最后的梦想者 was the breakthrough film that was led to the global recognition of the existence of something called ‘Chinese independent cinema’. Independence is, ironically, a relational term; something is defined as independent from something else. Whereas ‘independent cinema’ in the United States meant films made outside the Hollywood studio oligopoly, in the context of the People’s Republic of China ‘independence’ was defined against the state. *Bumming in Beijing* had been made

without being submitted for or passing the Chinese Film Bureau's censorship procedures, and yet it made its way into international film festivals. In 1990, this was the straightforward definition of 'independent cinema' – a film that had not gone through Film Bureau censorship.

Why had no independent films appeared before and what combination of circumstances led to their emergence in the 1990s? Until the mid-1980s, the entire economy was state-owned and controlled, and it was impossible to make a film outside the state system. The market economy was gradually introduced in the 1980s. Not only did private enterprise enable access to equipment and facilities outside the state system, but also mentalities changed. Instead of waiting to be told what to do by the command economy, people began to take the initiative.

Without passing censorship you cannot release a film in movie theatres in China. But taking it overseas was a grey area, legally speaking. The success of the Fifth Generation filmmakers in the 1980s meant that foreign festival programmers and distributors were actively looking for new and exciting Chinese films. Tight censorship and control after the 1989 Tiananmen Massacre made some filmmakers more willing to try independent production and making their money back overseas. In the early 1990s, Chinese independents began appearing regularly on the international cinema circuit.

In the early 1990s, videomaking was confined to a small circle of professionals. However, the internet was launched in China in 1994 and the Mini-DV camera arrived in 1997. In 1998, Jia Zhangke (贾樟柯) proclaimed in his famous essay of the same title that 'the age of amateur cinema will arrive'. Suddenly, there was a huge quantity of audiovisual material that was never going to be submitted to the Film Bureau, and not all of it could qualify as 'independent film'.

By the end of the 1990s, independent cinema was becoming, in the Bourdieuan sense, an artistic field held together by taste. Independent film clubs were operating more or less formally in bars and other venues in Chinese cities. In the new century, a network of independent film festivals grew up, such as the Beijing Independent Film Festival (北京独立影像展) (BIFF, established 2006) and the Yunnan Multiculture Visual Festival (云之南纪录影像展) (Yunfest, established in 2003). Being selected for screening at these events became the way for an audio-visual work not submitted to the Film Bureau to win recognition as an 'independent film'.

Moving into the new century, the definition of 'independent cinema' in the Chinese context was also destabilized from the opposite direction. On the one hand, there was too much uncensored audiovisual material for all of it to be 'independent cinema'. On the other hand, people began to think about whether some material that *had* been submitted for censorship should be regarded as

‘independent’. This second trend was a long-term effect of pressure from the government and, more recently, the mainstream industry.

The authorities put pressure on independent filmmakers as soon as they achieved any prominence. Sixth Generation figures like Lou Ye (娄烨) and Zhang Yuan (张元) were pushed to leave independent production behind in the 1990s. This was seen as a sad loss by members of the independent scene, but it did not challenge the definition of independent cinema. However, it was different with Jia Zhangke. After *Unknown Pleasures* 任逍遥 was in competition in Cannes in 2002, the Film Bureau gave him no choice but to submit his films for censorship.

Jia was by then the embodiment of Chinese indie cinema and by far its most prominent director. His new ‘above ground’ status began to make people ask if some films that had gone through censorship could still be considered as ‘independent’. Was there some set of stylistic characteristics or combination of topics and style that made films recognisable as independent regardless of their censorship status? For hardliners, the answer was negative, but others have been more flexible.

A few years later, this question came up again when the first Tibetan feature filmmaker, Pema Tseden (万玛才旦), emerged around 2005. Everything to do with Tibet is so sensitive in China that it would be impossible for a Tibetan filmmaker to operate outside the system and not submit his work to the Film Bureau. Yet, Pema’s films are far from mainstream in style. Could they be said to be at least ‘independent-style’ films?

The pressure on the independent cinema scene in China got worse after Xi Jinping came to power in 2012. Events like BIFF and Yunfest were forced out of existence soon afterwards. At the same time, the mainstream industry was burgeoning and diversifying. Unlike the early 1990s, where making films independently was almost the only way for young Chinese filmmakers to operate with any freedom at all, there were many more opportunities to find funding within the system, and almost no way to operate without submitting feature films to the Film Bureau. The independent scene rapidly dwindled and attracted fewer new filmmakers.

Some independent filmmakers left China, moving to Hong Kong, like Ying Liang (应亮), or the United States, like Cui Zi’en (崔子恩). The production scene has dwindled in recent years. But younger filmmakers have started within the system from the beginning, rather than being forced into it after finding festival success. Bi Gan’s (毕赣) *Kaili Blues* 路边野餐 (2015) was one of the earliest and highest profile examples, and it has been followed by many others. Are these a new kind of ‘independent-style’ cinema inside the system? Or has the term ‘independent’ become a toxic brand in

Xi's China? Certainly, in the Chinese press, films like Bi Gan's are usually referred to as 'arthouse' these days.

The hesitation about continuing the use of 'independent' to refer to new art film directors emerging within the system maybe safer for them. But it also confirms that, despite all the changes over the years, the term 'independent cinema' in China is still associated with films that operate outside the system. Although contrast to the genre-driven commercial industry that has grown up so quickly in recently years is also important, 'independent Chinese cinema' remains primarily defined in relation to the state.

关键词：独立

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概要

“独立”这一概念是根据语境变化的。换句话说，“独立”的定义是根据事物独立于什么而定的。这篇短文解释了这个词在中华人民共和国90年代初首次出现时的含义；为什么在90年代初之前没有独立电影；为什么后来有独立电影出现了；以及这一概念在随后的几年里产生了什么样的变化。这些变化包括：数码摄像机和互联网的出现让有可能定义为独立影像的作品大量涌现；知名独立电影导演面临着进入主流体系的压力；以及近年来官方对独立电影文化活动的打压。这种打压让“独立”一词成为许多中国电影人唯恐避之不及的负面标签，他们往往更愿意将其曾经被视为“独立”的作品称作“艺术电影”。

当中国“独立电影”在20世纪90年代初得到关注并被命名时，“独立”的定义很明确：未经国家审查的电影。之前由于一些特殊的情况限制了这种电影的产生，但这些情况后来有所改变。随着时间的推移，一系列的变化开始产生，“独立电影”的含义也变得更加模糊。然而，它从未摆脱其与国家紧密相关的最初含义，在习近平领导下中央高度集权的时代，“独立”已经成为一个有毒的负面标签。

吴文光1990年拍摄的纪录片《流浪北京：最后的梦想者》具有突破性意义，它让所谓的“中国独立电影”的存在得到了全球的认可。具有讽刺意味的是，独立这一词是一个关系性的术语；某种事物被定义为独立于其他事物。在美国，“独立电影”指的是在好莱坞电影公司寡头垄断体系之外制作的电影，而在中华人民共和国的语境下，“独立”被定义为对国家的反抗。《流浪北京》在制作过程中没有提交或通过中国电影局的审查程序，却直接进入了国际电影节。在1990年，这是“独立电影”的直接定义——一部未经电影局审查的电影。

那么为什么90年代之前没有出现独立电影呢？是什么原因导致了它们在90年代后出现呢？直到20世纪80年代中期，整个经济体系都是完全以国有经济和国家操控为核心的，在国家体制之外拍摄电影是不可能的。随着市场经济于80年代被逐渐引入，不仅私营企业开始获得国家系统以外的设备和设施，而且社会的精神面貌也发生了变化：人们不再等待命令式的经济告诉他们该做什么，而是开始采取主动。

如果不通过审查，你的电影就不能在中国的电影院上映。但从法律上讲，海外放映是一个灰色地带。

第五代电影人在 20 世纪 80 年代的成功意味着国外电影节的策划者和发行商正在积极寻找新的激动人心的中国电影。电影审查在 1989 年天安门事件后变得更加严格，这使一些电影人更倾向于独立制作，并通过海外市场赚回本钱。20 世纪 90 年代初，中国的独立电影开始成为国际电影圈的常客。

在 20 世纪 90 年代初，视频制作只局限于专业范围内。然而，1994 年互联网在中国兴起，1997 年手持数码摄像机问世。1998 年，贾樟柯在他著名的同名文章中宣称，“业余电影时代即将到来”。一时间，大量的不会提交审查的影像出现，虽然这些影像并非都能被称为“独立电影”。

到 20 世纪 90 年代末，独立电影正在形成一个布迪厄理论中由趣味构建的艺术场域。独立电影俱乐部开始在中国城市的酒吧和其他场所以相对公开的方式开展活动。在新世纪，独立电影节的网络开始逐渐形成，如北京独立影像展（2006 年成立）和云之南纪录影像展（2003 年成立）。被这些活动中选中并放映从而成为那些未经审查的影像作品被认可为“独立电影”的途径。

进入新世纪后，“独立电影”在中国的定义在另一个方向上发生了巨大变化。一方面，有太多未经审查的影像都可以称为“独立电影”。另一方面，人们也开始思考，一些已经提交审查的影像是否应该被视为“独立”。这第二个趋势产生的原因主要是来自政府的长期管控以及近年来飞速发展的主流电影产业。

独立电影人一旦取得任何突出成就，当局就会对他们施加压力。1990 年代，第六代电影人如娄烨和张元被迫离开独立制作若干年。这让独立电影人们感到痛惜，但它并没有撼动独立电影的定义。然而，贾樟柯的情况却不同。在《任逍遥》参加 2002 年戛纳电影节的主竞赛后，电影局没有给他任何选择，他的电影必须提交审查。

当时，贾樟柯是中国独立电影的代表，也是迄今为止中国独立电影最著名的导演。他这种“半地下”的状态引发人们思考，那些经过审查的电影是否仍然可以被视为“独立”？在不考虑审查的情况下，是否可以通过某些特定的风格特征或某种主题与风格的结合来定义独立电影？对于强硬派来说，答案是否定的，但其他人则比较灵活。

几年后，这个问题又出现了，2005 年左右第一位西藏电影导演万玛才旦崭露头角。在中国，与西藏有关的一切都非常敏感，在体制外运作且不走电影局的审查程序，这对西藏电影来说是不可能的。然而，万玛才旦的电影在风格上和主流电影相距甚远。那么这些电影是否至少可以被看做是具有“独立风格”的电影呢？

2012 年习近平上台后，中国独立电影界面临的压力越来越大。像北京独立影展和云之南影像展这样的活动在不久之后被迫终止。与此同时，主流产业也在蓬勃发展，呈现多样化趋势。与 90 年代初不同的是，当时的独立电影几乎是年轻的中国电影人进行自由创作的唯一方式，现在他们在体制内获得

资金的机会越来越多，而且不走审查程序的故事片几乎无法制作成片。独立电影界迅速萎缩，其能吸引到的年轻电影人越来越少。

一些独立电影人离开了中国，移居香港（如应亮）或美国（如崔子恩），独立电影制作领域在最近几年已经萎缩。有些年轻的电影人从一开始就在体制内起步，而非在取得电影节的成功后再被迫进入体制。毕赣 2015 年的作品《路边野餐》是最早且最引人注目的例子之一，之后又有许多其他类似的作品出现。这些作品是一种新的具备“独立风格”的体制内电影吗？还是“独立”这个词在习近平时代的中国已经成为一个有毒的负面标签？当然，对于中国媒体，像毕赣这样的电影如今通常被称为“艺术电影”。

对这些体制内产生的新艺术电影导演而言，不愿继续用“独立”来讨论其作品，也许更为安全。但这也证实了，尽管这些年来发生了种种变化，“独立电影”一词在中国仍然与在体制外运作的电影紧密相关。尽管其与近年来以类型为导向的商业产业模式的对比也很重要，但“中国独立电影”仍然主要与其与国家的关系所定义。

Keyword: Chinese Independent

A Diaspora of Meaning

Karin CHIEN 钱盈

Abstract

The political shifts of the last decade have transformed the meaning of two keywords ‘Chinese’ and ‘independent’. These key words form the backbone of dGenerate (dGen) Films’ mission-driven work to distribute Chinese independent films to North American audiences. Whereby in the 2000s an uncompromised definition of ‘Chinese’ and ‘independent’ informed dGen's acquisition policy, the availability of such strictly defined work narrowed to a trickle by the mid-2010s. Significant regulation and new enforcement tactics by authorities drove both a migration of filmmakers out of mainland China and a new negotiation of censorship within mainland China. This, in turn, posed a crisis of meaning. It is through encountering new work by groundbreaking filmmakers, that dGen has embraced more complex, diasporic, and contradictory meanings of ‘Chinese’ and ‘independent’.

In the past thirteen years, since we started dGenerate Films (dGen) in 2008 to distribute Chinese independent films, the words ‘Chinese’ and ‘independent’ have skidded, somersaulted and transformed meaning. When we started acquiring films, we defined Chinese as those filmmakers living and making films in mainland China. We defined independent as the choice not to submit to China’s state censorship system at the distribution stage. In starting dGen, our objective was twofold: to return revenue to ‘Chinese’ filmmakers and participate in the sustainability of their filmmaking practice; and to make available their ‘independent’ films, unmediated by Western points of views, to audiences in North America.

A decade later, we found our two-fold mission to have disappeared, shorn of meaning by changes in laws and political realities. I’m reminded of an independent film programmer in China turned international sales agent who said matter-of-factly, ‘My programming career was ended by the Chinese Communist Party’. There came a time when the independent film festivals in China ceased to operate or went dark to the public. Where before dGen could find a wealth of Chinese independent work to acquire and release from attending these independent film festivals, by 2017, the supply

through the festival gates was choked off. Chinese independent films as we had defined them—films made outside the censorship system by those filmmakers living and working in mainland China—had been driven into the hermetic margins or out of the mainland.

There are terrific articles, particularly ‘Filmless Festivals and Dragon Seals: Independent Film in China’ by Markus Nornes (Nornes 2019) that document in detail this slow-sudden transformation. There was the evening in 2012, when electricity was cut to prevent the opening night screening of a major independent film festival. 2013 and 2014 saw the detention of festival organizers and the confiscation of China’s largest independent film archive. Then a new national film law, the Film Promotion Law, appeared in 2017, forbidding films not approved by censors from screening anywhere in the world, at risk of extreme penalties.

Several independent filmmakers and key figures left during these years for New York City, Hong Kong, Berlin. In 2012, dGen arranged a residency for filmmaker/curator Zhu Rikun (朱日坤) and filmmaker Wang Wo (王我) and their families at the Jacob Burns Film Center. Not long after, they resettled their families in upstate New York and along the east coast. Filmmaker/festival founder Cui Zi’en (崔子恩) and filmmaker Zhao Dayong (赵大勇) are amongst those who have also migrated to the States. Filmmaker/artist Ai Wei Wei (艾未未) set up base in Berlin and now the UK. Filmmaker/scholar Zeng Jinyan (曾金燕), filmmaker/festival founder Ying Liang (应亮) and others found a way to Hong Kong and to sites beyond. Their choices were varied, but often motivated by family safety and personal freedom. A few may have moved in order to continue to stand in a refusal of censorship. Most of these filmmakers persisted in making films in China or about China. Some returned regularly to mainland China, before the pandemic, to continue their film projects.

A larger number of independent filmmakers have stayed in mainland China. And in staying, they are showing how they can tell stories, from their own points of view, and navigate an emboldened and opaque power structure. There are still a handful of films made each year, without submission to censorship, but these films have little to no opportunity to show domestically. For the most part, the filmmakers who have stayed, through immense creative capacity, are negotiating a new impossible reality of meaning, one of ‘independent’ films approved by censors.

Within the world of the dGen collection, an early example of this negotiation is the filmmaker Pema Tseden. Pema was the exception we made in the dGen collection from the beginning. His films pass censorship. In more than a hundred years of cinema history, Pema is considered the first Tibetan filmmaker to make films about Tibet, in the Tibetan language, with Tibetan cast and crew. To practice his craft and exist as a Tibetan filmmaker in China, Pema must work within the censorship system.

It is through his persistence to make work and his insistence in telling Tibetan stories, that he has created a daring and extraordinary language of cinema, where visual metaphor and narrative allegory create new pathways for meaning to skid, morph, and transform.



Key art from Pema Tseden's *Old Dog*

But during these years, dGen struggled with this shift in meaning of ‘Chinese’ and ‘independent’. Driven by a specific mission, we found ourselves facing a choice. Do we acquire and release ‘uncensored’ films made by Chinese filmmakers living ‘outside’ of mainland China? Or do we acquire and release films, ‘approved by censors’, made by filmmakers living ‘inside’ mainland China? To acquire ‘uncensored’ films about China made by filmmakers living and working ‘in’ mainland China is now, at best, a rare opportunity.

We struggled with these questions. Do we redefine ‘independent’? Or do we redefine ‘Chinese’? How do we choose, and in choosing, are we compromising or capitulating? We belaboured this debate and sought advice from longtime colleagues in the field. In the end, the films themselves revealed the false dichotomy and provided a path forward through the dilemma. During this period, I encountered the feature-length documentary *Of Shadows* 影 (2016) by Cui Yi (崔谊), a Chinese filmmaker living in Montreal and filming in China. I fell in love with the visual language of her work, it felt new and her point of view distinct, different from anything I had seen. After watching this film, I wanted everyone to encounter this work. The acquisition of her film opened our collection to expand the meaning of ‘Chinese’. It now includes filmmakers living outside of mainland China.



An image from Yi Cui's *Of Shadows*

Shortly after, I was lucky to view Yang Mingming's (杨明明) film, *Girls Always Happy* 柔情史 (2018). dGen distributes her earlier medium length film, *Female Directors* 女导演 (2012). In her debut feature, I thought Yang Mingming had found an undeniably fuller expression of her voice. I was stunned by her filmmaking audacity. She dared to expose the bitter rivalry and deep love that ties many daughters to their mothers. She dared to cast a prominent independent film figure as her lover in the film and poke great fun. Here is an artist with a singular and essential point of view on the intersection of gender, power, money and art in contemporary Beijing. Because Yang Mingming lived and worked in China, she submitted and obtained the approval of the censorship

bureau. And yet. I found her film more daring and more exciting than anything else I'd seen that year. Again, I wanted everyone to encounter this work. Driven by that desire, we expanded the word 'independent' to include filmmakers who found space to create something completely new within the structure of censorship.



Writer / director / actor Yang Mingming in *Girls Always Happy*

In the end, the films demanded that we liberate the word 'independent' to account for filmmakers who navigate a totalizing power structure while living and working in China. This liberation allowed us to acquire and release films like *The Widowed Witch* 北方一片苍茫 (dir. Cai Chengjie 蔡成杰, 2017), a first feature shot over ten days, with friends and family, on a shoestring budget in mainland China and submitted to censorship. The films demanded that we expand the meaning of 'Chinese' to include the diaspora of Chinese filmmakers. We shifted our view to include works by filmmakers in Hong Kong, starting with the acquisition and release of films like *Lost Course* 迷航 (dir. Jill Li 李哲昕, 2020) and *We the Workers* 凶年之畔 (dir. Wen Hai 黄文海, 2017).

For American film audiences and indeed the American film industry, there is little to no distinction in these varied meanings of 'Chinese' and 'independent'. The question on this side of the Pacific instead shifts to who and what can be 'American'? In 2021, dGen acquired and released the debut feature of Wang Qiong (王琼), *All About My Sisters* 家庭录像 (2021). Qiong filmed her work in China but had moved to the U.S. by the time she was editing and finishing the work. A film gaining prominence in the 2021 awards race is *Ascension* (2021), the debut feature of Jessica Kingdon, similarly filmed in China and finished in the U.S. Is one film viewed as more American than the other? Last year, the Golden Globes mis-categorized the US-filmed, US-financed and US-released film *Minari* (2020) by Lee Isaac Chung as a foreign film. How does the U.S. industry absorb this slippage in meaning and borders in 'Chinese' films?

dGen, now in partnership with longtime distributor Icarus Films, has worked hard to make these films accessible in as many diverse exhibition structures as possible. This ranges from a founding partnership with Amazon Createspace; to collaborating on a retrospective with MoMA on twenty years of Chinese independent documentary; to regular screenings at microcinemas like UnionDocs and repertory theaters like Anthology Film Archives. We operate in waters roiled by consolidating American market forces and Chinese political shifts. The space for distribution of independent work has narrowed. Theatrical distribution in the U.S. is in a permanent constriction. And despite the

proliferation of online platforms, attention for cinema has weakened. The dominant cultural medium may now be video games.

Words are porous, attempting only to sketch at these deeper contradictions, complicated truths and impossible realities we at dGen and Chinese independent filmmakers navigate each day.

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关键词：中国独立 流散的意义

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概要

过去十年的政治变化改变了“中国人”和“独立”这两个关键词的含义。这两个词构成了dGenerate (dGen)向北美观众发行中国独立电影的核心驱动力。在二十一世纪初，dGen对中国独立电影的收购是以其对“中国人”和“独立”定义的不妥协为条件的，而到2010年中期，符合这种严格定义的作品已经缩小到了一个非常有限的范围。当局的重大监管和新的执法策略促使电影人迁出中国大陆，而留在中国大陆内的电影人则与审查制度进行新的协商。这反过来又导致了含义的危机。正是通过接触各类电影人具有开拓性的作品，dGen接受了对“中国人”和“独立”更复杂的、兼具流散性和矛盾的含义。

自我们2008年创办dGenerate Films (dGen)并发行中国独立电影以来，“中国人”和“独立”这两个词的含义已经在过去的十三年里发生了巨大转变。当我们开始收购电影时，我们把“中国人”定义为那些在中国大陆生活并制作电影的电影人。我们把“独立”则定义为一种不服从中国国家审查制度的发行选择。在创办dGen时，我们有两个目标：将票房收入返还给“中国”电影人，并对他们电影制作实践的可持续性进行支持；以及，在不受西方观点影响的前提下，将他们独立电影提供给北美的观众。

十年后，由于法律和政治现实的变化，我们发现我们的双重使命已然失去了意义。这让我想起来一位从事国际销售代理的前中国独立电影策划人的话：“我的电影策划生涯是被中国共产党终结的。”有一段时间，中国的独立电影节被叫停或无法对公众开放。从前，dGen可以通过参加这些独立电影节来接触大量的中国独立作品，进而进行收购和发行。但到了2017年，电影节的供应被掐断了。我们所定义的中国独立电影——由那些在中国大陆工作生活的电影人在审查制度之外制作的电影——已被赶到密闭的边缘或大陆境外。

有些很棒的文章记录了这种缓慢且突然的转变，其中马库斯·诺恩 (Markus Nornes) 的《没有电影的电影节和龙标：独立电影在中国 (Filmless Festivals and Dragon Seals: Independent Film in China)》(Nornes 2019) 对其进行了格外详细的记载。2012年的一个晚上，在一个大型独立电影节的开幕之夜，（当局通过）切断电力阻止其放映。2013年和2014年，电影节的组织者被拘留，中国最大的独立电影档案被没收。接着，2017年新颁布的国家电影法，即《电影促进法》，禁止未

经审查批准的电影在世界任何地方放映，违反者有可能受到极端惩罚。

一些独立电影导演和独立电影关键人物在这些年里离开（中国大陆），前往纽约、香港和柏林。2012年，dGen 为导演 / 策展人朱日坤和导演王我及其家人安排了在雅各布·伯恩斯坦电影中心的（临时）居所。不久，他们在纽约州北部和东海岸重新安置了他们的家人。电影导演 / 电影节创始人崔子恩和电影导演赵大勇也移民了美国。电影导演 / 艺术家艾未未在柏林定居，后搬去英国。电影导演 / 学者曾金燕及电影导演 / 电影节创办人应亮等都找到了去香港及其他地方的途径。他们的选择多种多样，但往往是出于家庭安全和个人自由的考虑。少数人可能是为了继续拒绝审查制度而搬迁。这些电影人大多数仍坚持在中国拍摄电影或拍摄关于中国的电影。有些人在新冠大流行之前会定期返回中国大陆，继续他们的电影项目。

更多的独立电影人还是留在了中国大陆。这些留下来的独立电影人展示了他们如何从自己的观点出发，讲述故事，并在一个有恃无恐且不透明的权力结构中斡旋。每年仍有一些电影未提交审查，但这些电影几乎没有机会在国内放映。在大多数情况下，留下来的电影人，通过他们强大的创新能力，在试图与一个不可能实现的新现实协商，一个由审查者批准的“独立”电影。

在 dGen 收藏的系列作品中，此类协商的一个早期例子来自电影导演万玛才旦。万玛才旦从一开始就是 dGen 收藏的例外，因为他的电影通过了审查。在一百多年的电影史上，万玛才旦被认为是第一个用藏语和藏族演职人员拍摄西藏的藏族电影人。为了能继续他的拍摄并在中国为人所知，藏族电影人万玛才旦必须在审查制度下工作。正是通过他的不懈努力和对讲述西藏故事的坚持，



万玛才旦的《老狗》的电影海报

他创造了一种大胆非凡的电影语言，其视觉隐喻和叙事寓言为意义的滑动、变形和转变创造了新的途径。

但在这些年中，dGen 仍在“中国人”和“独立”的意义转变中挣扎。在特定使命的驱动下，我们发现自己面临一个选择。我们要收购发行由生活在中国大陆境外的中国电影人制作的“未经审查的”电影吗？还是要收购发行由生活在中国大陆“境内的”电影人制作的“经过审查的”电影呢？获得由生活在中国大陆的电影人制作的关于中国的“未经审查的”电影现在十分罕见。



崔谊的《影》中的一个场景

我们纠结于这些问题。我们要重新定义“独立”吗？或者我们要重新定义“中国人”吗？我们如何进行选择？在选择时，我们是否该妥协或屈服？我们反复讨论过这个问题，并向在这个领域长期工作的同事寻求建议。最后，电影本身揭示了这一二分法的谬误，并为我们提供了一条穿越困境的前进之路。在此期间，我接触到了崔谊的长篇纪录片《影》（2016）。崔谊是一位定居在蒙特利尔但在中国进行影像创作的电影人。我爱上了她作品的视觉语言，感觉很新颖，她的观点也很独特，与我所见过的任何作品都有所不同。我看完这部电影后就希望每个人都能看到这部作品。对她作品的收购使我们的收藏扩大了对“中国人”的定义，它现在也包括生活在中国大陆境外的电影人。

不久之后，我很幸运地观看到了杨明明的作品《柔情史》（2018）。dGen 曾发行过她早期的中短篇作品《女导演》。在她这部处女作中，我认为杨明明不可否认地已经找到了充分表达她声音的方式。我被她大胆的电影创作方式惊呆了。她敢于揭露许多母女关系中都存在的苦涩的竞争和深沉的爱。她敢于让一位著名的独立电影人在影片中扮演她的情人，并大加嘲弄。



作家 / 导演 / 演员杨明明在《柔情史》中的表演

她是一位对当代北京盘根错节的性别、权力、金钱和艺术的关系有着独特观点的艺术家。由于杨明明在中国工作生活，她将《柔情史》提交审查并获得了批准。然而。我发现她的电影比我那年看到的其他任何东西都更大胆、更令人兴奋。同样，我希望每个人都能看一下这部作品。在这一愿望的驱动下，我们扩大了“独立”一词的定义范围，进而包括那些在审查制度的结构中寻求空间来创造全新事物的电影人。

最后，这些电影促使我们解放“独立”一词，将那些在中国工作生活、与集权式的权力结构周旋的电影人考虑在内。这种解放让我们得以收购及发行像《北方一片苍茫》（蔡成杰，2017 年）这样的电影。这部作品是导演的第一部长片，他在中国大陆以微薄的预算与朋友和家人用十天时间进行拍摄，并提交给审查机构。这些电影要求我们扩大中国人的含义，从而包括流居海外的中国电影人。从收购和发行《迷航》（李哲昕，2020）和《凶年之畔》（黄文海，2017）等影片开始，我们改变了观点，将香港电影人的作品也纳入其中。

对于美国电影观众和美国电影业来说，关于“中国人”和“独立”的各种含义几乎没有区别。太平洋这边的问题反而转向了谁和什么（作品）可以定义为“美国人的”？2021 年，dGen 公司收购并发行了王琼的处女作《家庭录像》（2021）。王琼在中国拍摄了她的作品，但在编辑和完成作品之时，她已搬到了美国。在 2021 年的各类奖项角逐中，杰西卡·金顿的处女作《登楼叹》（2021）的地位愈显突出，其同样是在中国拍摄，在美国完成。去年，金球奖将美国拍摄、美国赞助、美国发行的李·以萨克·郑的电影《米纳里》（2020）误归为外国电影。美国产业是如何吸收“中国人的”电影中这种

意义及边界滑移的呢？

目前，dGen 与我们的长期发行伙伴 Icarus Films 合作，努力使这些电影在各种多样的放映结构中进行展映。这包括，与亚马逊 Createspace 的合作；与纽约现代艺术博物馆合作举办中国独立纪录片二十年回顾展；在 UnionDocs 等微型电影院和 Anthology Film Archives 等重映影院定期放映。我们在美国市场力量的整合和中国政治变化的影响下运作。独立作品的发行空间已然变窄。美国的影院发行处于长期紧缩状态。尽管网络平台激增，但人们对电影的关注已经减弱。而现在占主导地位的文化媒介可能是电子游戏。

文字总是有很多缝隙的。我只能试图去勾勒出这些更深层次的矛盾、复杂的真相和不可能的现实，一个 dGen 及中国独立电影人每天都不得不穿行其中的现实。

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Keyword: Alternative Space

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Abstract

This article discusses the connotation of the term ‘alternative space’, and explores the evolution of alternative spaces for Chinese independent films in the past decades. The author reflects upon the origin of alternative spaces, their locality, development, features, administrative properties, and significance in the Chinese social and cultural context. Some reflections are conclusive, yet also adequately descriptive of the current reality of the subject, which, according to the author, is still in development.

The term ‘alternative space’, as a cultural concept, is imported. It can be translated into *tidai kongjian* (替代空间) (literally substitutional space) or *linglei kongjian* (另类空间) (literally other space) in Chinese. The difference between these two translations is small, and they are used according to individual understandings of the connotations and the relevant context. This article explores alternative spaces constituted by and within Chinese independent cinema, whose destinies are determined by the Chinese cinema system. ‘Censorship’ is the key word of the Chinese cinema system. It is an administrative and ideological measure.

To submit to censorship is a central element of the overall production process in the Chinese film-making industry, and an inevitable step on the way to final release and distribution. Censorship in China impedes the production of independent films, which, consequently, have to look for alternative channels in the cultural environment to make up for their missing place in the institutional structure. In this sense, the term ‘substitutional space’ is more appropriate and pertinent than ‘other space’ in that it reveals the dialectical relationships of the existent and the non-existent and of the dominant and the marginal between the state cinema system and Chinese independent films. This ‘alternative space’ is not only physical, but also symbolic. What’s more, the term ‘alternative space’ does not exclude the Otherness of such spaces, which is manifested in the fusion of their physical properties and their cultural standing. To put it plainly, alternative spaces in Chinese independent cinema are not fully equipped movie theatres, hence alternative and substitutional venues.

Alternative spaces originally referred to non-commercial and non-profit art spaces that emerged in the field of contemporary art in the United States in the late 1960s and then became popular throughout the 1970s. Most of these spaces were transformed by spontaneous local artists from abandoned and unused urban spaces. The creative and curatorial practice they carried out in these spaces were, according to contemporary understanding, an endorsement of the avant-garde. The commonplace art forms of today, such as video art, conceptual art, new media art and performance art, were pushed to the forefront, expressing dissatisfaction with classic exhibition modes and work styles and challenging mainstream perceptions. Artists did not conceal their rebellion against the institutionalisation of the existing art system and the commercial nature of art galleries when they occupied unused city spaces and changed their functions and properties through exhibition. Individual artists and art workers were deeply involved in and strongly expressed their own opinions towards social agendas such as urban renewal and the anti-war movement. The alternative space is without doubt an outcome of the historical development of American modern arts.

Alternative spaces have developed in their own right in the United States. Since the 1980s and 1990s, some of the spaces that were once active have disappeared, and some have been incorporated by art institutions. But the inner spirit of alternative spaces has not diminished, and lots of experiences can be passed on. Alternative spaces also emerged in other regions and places outside of the United States, inspiring local artistic practices and playing a social function. At that time, the Asia-Pacific region was in the midst of the economic boom, and alternative spaces became popular in the cities of Japan and East Asia. Their organisational and operational modes brought more initiatives and energy to local art production.

This article will not investigate the path through which the term ‘alternative spaces’, as a kind of intellectual discourse and reference experience, was introduced into the contemporary Chinese art scene, nor will it investigate the exact time when it was introduced. However, from the perspective of art history, spaces with alternative features appeared from the late 1970s and developed continuously in line with China’s reform and opening up to the outside world, although the term was not used to define and name such spaces. By the mid-to-late 1990s, Chinese contemporary artists and art works were gradually known on the international stage, and lots of activities took place in alternative spaces (or other spaces), with both terms being no longer unfamiliar to people in this field. Around 2000, when Beijing 798 was transformed from a declining state-owned factory into a contemporary art park, Chinese artists knew of its New York counterpart, namely SOHO. In the past two decades, a lot of alternative spaces have bloomed in the contemporary Chinese art field, and more conscious efforts have been put into their discursive construction.

The situation with Chinese independent film is slightly different. It cannot be said that there is no awareness of alternative space in this area, but the first and only time I encountered the use of this term was in Ou Ning's (欧宁) account of Yuanyinghui (缘影会) (literally the Society of Film Fans). His overall description was also inspired by contemporary art. In fact, 'alternative space' is not a popular term, neither is there a common consciousness about it in the field of independent films, where, however, real and functional alternative spaces keep emerging in different localities. The origin of alternative spaces for Chinese independent films can be traced back to the emergence of film societies in some large and medium-sized cities in China around 2000, such as the Practice Society (实践社) in Beijing, the U-theque Organisation (缘影会) in Shenzhen and Guangzhou, the 101 Film Club (电影101工作室) in Shanghai, the Rear Window Film Appreciation Club (后窗看电影) in Nanjing, the Freedom Film Society (自由电影) in Shenyang, other film societies in Wuhan and Chengdu, and the film study group (电影学习小组) in Kunming, Yunnan province. As a cultural phenomenon, the emergence of these societies, in a general sense, are the outcome of urbanisation and social development in the process of reform and opening up, but more specifically, it was largely dependent on the improvement of the wider Chinese film environment at that time: not in relief from censorship, but in the prosperous pirated disc market in the late 1990s, which provided movie lovers with an unprecedented amount of resources including art films. Film societies established by movie fans kept looking for public venues to show great films. Therefore, almost all society activities started with screenings of classics by the great masters of film, and then quickly included local films, namely, contemporary Chinese independent films.

Looking back over the past few decades, Chinese independent films, growing from scratch in an institutionalised film system and environment in the late 1980s and early 1990s, bore an inherent demand for the emergence of alternative spaces. In the following decade, many directors produced good films that were shown in international film festivals but unknown to the Chinese audience. The reason was that independent films were not legitimate in relation to the Chinese cinema system and were not entitled to public release. As a result, for a long period, Chinese audiences had no access to independent films despite of the latter's fame in the international field.

Independent films were given a new lease of life around the year of 2000. A new generation of independent filmmakers, thanks to the advent of digital camera, were soon to make their debut. Most of them were born in the 1970s and did not receive a professional film education. Out of the intention of expressing themselves, they started filming with video cameras and contributed their first works at the beginning of the burgeoning DV era, such as *Old Men* 老头 (dir. Yang Lina 杨荔钠, 1999), *Beijing Cotton Fluffer* 北京弹匠 (dir. Zhu Chuanming 朱传明, 1999), *Along the Railway* 铁路沿线 (dir. Du Haibin 杜海滨, 2000), *More Than One is Unhappy* 不快乐的不止你一个 (dir. Wang Fen

王分, 2000), as well as *Jiang Hu* 江湖 (1999) produced by the veteran documentary producer Wu Wenguang (吴文光) in this period.

These works were first introduced to the public by Beijing Practice Society, which, though established later than Shenzhen Yuanying Film Club, was the first film society to show independent films and launch live post-screening dialogues between the filmmaker and the audience. Some of the organisers of the Practice Society were students and graduates from the Beijing Film Academy and had some knowledge of independent films and connections with filmmakers. This convenient access to resources made the Practice Society the best-known organiser of independent film screenings within six months of its establishment.

However, the so-called Practice Society existed only on paper rather than being a real entity with well-defined organisational structures, rights and obligations. All film societies and clubs in China at that time were not administrative organisations, but spontaneous groups started by young film lovers on a whim. The situation started to change as independent film screenings became regular activities reaching more extended audiences and independent film exhibitions were put on. In order to hold these public events legally, film societies adapted themselves into administrative organisations by affiliating to research institutions, universities, art centres, and commercial companies, because few non-profit organisations in China were entitled to legal independent status.

The Practice Society first showed independent films in the bar on Huang Tingzi street no. 50, three hundred meters away from the Beijing Film Academy. Jian Ning (简宁), the owner of the bar, was a contemporary poet, and his partner, Mr. Lin, understood from his past experience of living in the US the role of bars as hubs of marginal cultural activity. In addition, Beijing as the cultural centre at that time was eager to embrace every single type of new activity. Therefore, from August 2000 for about a year, the bar on Huang Tingzi street no. 50 became the fixed venue for Saturday afternoon independent film screenings by the Practice Society. It was here that the Practice Society organised the most influential and well-received events. The bar disappeared a long time ago, but the cultural memories with it would always be embedded in the hearts of film lovers of that period.

Neither the organisers of the Practice Society nor the audience realised that they had jointly created a space for independent films that had long been trapped in institutional limbo and hence out of sight of the public. In this space, these highly personal cultural products could be seen and discussed by the public. This entry of independent films to the public sphere was both tangible and symbolic, breaking their long-standing institutional confinement. In the mainland Chinese cultural scene, the bar on Huang Tingzi street no. 50 became an alternative space in the network of institutional regulations

and film censorship.

The Practice Society explored more spaces in bars and multi-purpose classrooms at universities. Though it never used the name ‘alternative space’ or ‘other space’ in any instance, what it did in promoting Chinese independent films was an effort to construct alternative spaces. One year later, after the first public independent film screening, the Practice Society, jointly with Shenyang Freedom Film Society and organisers from film societies from all over the country, launched and held the first independent film festival in Beijing. The festival held a nationwide tour in Shenyang, Hangzhou, Xi’an and Kunming, meeting its audiences and awakening awareness of independent films among a more extensive public. Film societies throughout the country held activities in the following twenty years despite constant interference and the obstructions of censorship. More and more alternative spaces emerged in the process, like sparks of fire spreading widely.

This creation of independent film spaces was spontaneous. Nor did it seek to name itself. Ou Ning used the term ‘alternative spaces’ in an interview about the work of Shenzhen Yuanying Film Club, but there was no consensus regarding awareness or understanding of this term in the field of Chinese independent film. There was a misalignment between discourse and reality: it was the demands and reality of Chinese culture that finally activated the term, while the discourse and experience of the other only played a supplementary role. That is to say, whether we call them ‘alternative spaces’ or not, spaces for showing independent film would have been created and maintained in China regardless.

The development of alternative spaces has undergone three phases since 2000. The first phase was from 2000 to 2003 when film societies were established in different Chinese cities and the first Chinese independent film festival was held through their joint efforts. The second phase was from 2003 to 2013 when the Chinese cities of Beijing, Nanjing, Chongqing and Kunming held their own independent film festivals. In the third phase from 2013 to the present, independent film festivals in different cities were abolished and new ways of showing independent films took the place. This time line shows that the evolution of alternative spaces in China is parallel with the development of independent films. Alternative spaces, as a cultural product, holds a marginal position in the Chinese cultural and social structure, and this marginality gathers genuine enthusiasm and efforts that keep Chinese independent films alive. From its emergence to the present, Chinese independent film has maintained a valuable development continuity in a complete loop from film shooting to dissemination (if not distribution in its proper sense). It is valuable because behind every single step forward, there are the people who, though not connected in daily life, identify with each other in their common emotional and cultural pursuits, or the spirit of cultural resistance that was spontaneously born in

them and will never be given up.

One thing about alternative spaces in China that has remained the same throughout the past twenty years: they emerge out of bars, book shops, multifunctional classrooms in universities, lecture halls in libraries, and screening rooms in art centres, etc. Therefore, alternative spaces are loaned and owners of spaces and organisers of activities work together to make events happen. That is to say, alternative spaces for independent films are ‘adhesive’ in nature, which distinguishes them from spaces for other purposes such as contemporary art exhibition. Generally, alternative spaces for other purposes are easier to maintain as they are more likely to be owned by producers and patrons of art works. The situation of spaces for Chinese independent films enriches the connotations of the term ‘alternative space’ by endowing them with a sense of mobility and uncertainty, which echoes with the features of local film societies in China.

The current situation of alternative spaces for independent films reflects their difficulties in entering the domain of dominant culture in China. In 2010, Fanhall Studio (现象工作室) established the Fanhall Art Centre (现象艺术中心) in Xiaobao Village of Songzhuang in Tongzhou, Beijing. The art centre was a three-storey building with a café and a cinema inside, and functioned as the venue for the annual film festival and independent film screenings. The Fanhall Art Centre was a pioneer in providing an independent, long-term space for Chinese independent films. It was the alternative space proper as far as its defining features, administrative properties, operation modes, and the events held were concerned. Unfortunately, it suffered repeated setbacks and was finally banned from showing independent films three years later.

The efforts made by film societies to explore alternative spaces for independent films were spontaneous. The earliest alternative spaces showed films for free and received no financial support. Audiences coming to bars were limited groups with small numbers, while film showings at universities were by convention free of charge. Most of all, as they were not licensed, independent films were not approved for commercial purposes, and were thus not legitimately available for public circulation – even if this was not technically illegal.

Members of film societies volunteered to maintain alternative spaces and sought sponsorship to cover the basic expenses. As the acquisition of sponsorship was dependent on chance, to promote independent films would have almost been a mission impossible were it not for the persistence and enthusiasm of volunteers. In recent years, some film societies started to sell tickets to cover expenses such as inviting directors, but the overall situation was still difficult. In fact, it is unrealistic to expect independent films to turn a profit in any cultural system. The final way out for alternative spaces is,

hopefully, to receive supports from cultural funds on the basis of the recognition of their cultural value.

To sum up, as the term 'alternative space' has been completely localised in China, only in the Chinese social and cultural context can its connotations be fully understood. In the past twenty years, alternative spaces have provided a channel for Chinese independent films to reach an audience and made them visible to more public. Alternative spaces, together with Chinese independent films, will leave their imprint on the cultural history of China. At the same time, this is not finished work. The creation of alternative spaces in the independent film scene is still a dynamic process, with a long road ahead. Only over the *longue durée* of history will the full image of alternative spaces be revealed.

关键词：替代空间

张亚璇

概要

本文是在语词梳理和历史沿革的基础上，对中国独立电影电影场域的替代空间所作的描述。这种描述包含了它的历史性生成，它的地理分布，它在时间过程里的延展，它的形态特征和行政属性，以及它在本土文化语境当中所具有的意义等诸多方面。这些描述不乏总结的成分，但仍具有充分的当下性，正如文末所言，它是一个仍在进行中的行动。

作为一个文化概念的“替代空间”，并不是在汉语环境中自生的词汇。它来自于外来语翻译，其源生词汇为英文表达 Alternative Space。在中文环境中，这个词语有时也被译作“另类空间”。两种译法并没有本质的区别，如何取舍更多来自于使用者对于相关语境和词语色彩的把握。本文是对中国独立电影场域中此类空间的描述。它的生成和表现都与中国特定的电影制度直接相关，更确切地说，是被这种制度所定义。中国电影制度的关键词是“审查”。审查是一个行政动作。它尤其强调的是意识形态面向。在主流电影体系当中，接受审查是从制作到发行不可跨越的核心环节，是一条必经之路。而这种强调审查的制度和系统，并没有给独立电影留下空间和位置。独立电影因此需要在它所生成的文化环境当中，寻找一个替代性的位置，以弥补制度性结构中缺失的空间。在这样的语境中，使用“替代空间”的称谓，相对于“另类空间”，更具有恰切性。它形象地揭示了自身存在与主流系统间，那种有无相生，上下相形的辩证关系。也正由于这种关系的存在，“替代空间”所指称的并非纯然的物理空间，它也包含在物理空间的基础上，升华出的那部分象征性空间。同时这种词语的选择，也不意味着替代空间就没有另类的气质。而这种另类也常常表现为一种物理属性和文化立场的融合。在独立影像的场域里，具体而言，就是这类场所通常不具备标准影院的各种配置，因此显得另类，因此是替代性的。

在英语环境中，Alternative Space 作为一个专用语，是用来指称上世纪六十年代末，在美国当代艺术场域开始出现，随后风行于整个七零年代的非商业性和非营利性艺术空间。这些空间大多利用城市的废弃和闲置空间改造而成，这种改造往往是当地艺术工作者的自发行动。他们在这些空间里展开的创作实践和策展实践，以当时的认知，就是先锋和前卫的代言。那些如今已经司空见惯的艺术样态，如录像艺术、观念艺术、新媒体艺术和行为表演，就是在那时通过这样的方式，被推至艺术的前沿。这里有对经典展览模式和作品样式的不满，也带着对主流认知的挑战。当那些艺术工作者

们占据了城市里闲置的空间，并通过展览改变了原有空间的功能和属性，他们无论在话语和行动上，都不曾掩饰对于现存艺术制度体制化和美术馆商业属性的反抗。作为一些具有艺术家和艺术工作者身份的个体，他们也在强调社会参与，并在诸如城市改造和反战的议题上，鲜明地表达自己的主张。在美国当代艺术的背景中理解“替代空间”，它无疑是一种历史性的生成。

替代空间在美国本土有其自身的发展脉络。八九十年代以降，曾经活跃的空间有些消亡，有些被体制性的艺术机构收编。但它内在的精神并没有削减，它也已经积累了许多可传递的经验。它们过渡到其它的地域，给那里的艺术实践带来启示，并继续发挥它的效能。当时亚太地区正值经济崛起，替代空间一度在日本及其它一些东亚城市蔚为风潮。它的自我组织和运行模式，为所在地域的艺术生产带来了新的可能，激发出更加主动和积极的能量。

本文没有详细去考证，“替代空间”作为一种知识话语和可参照的经验，被引入到中国当代艺术现场的路径和准确时间。但在实践的层面，如果从艺术史的角度进行梳理，那么类似性质的空间在七零年代末就已经出现，并随着这个国家改革开放的进程，表现为一种持续的实践。有许多案例可以证实这一点。只是那时，还缺乏这样一个词语，来对这种性质的空间进行概括和命名。到九零年代中后期，中国当代艺术已经成为一个朝向国际的活跃的现场，这里有很多知识的交流和累积，替代或者另类空间不会再是一个全然陌生的词汇。再至 2000 年前后，当北京 798 开始从一个衰落的国营工厂向当代艺术园区转化时，对那些参与的艺术家的来说，不会不知晓纽约 SOHO 这样一个现成的样板。近二十年来，在中国当代艺术现场，产生了更多的案例，表明这个场域对替代空间的经营，已经从实践发展到话语建设，它已成为一种更具自觉性的行动。

中国独立电影场域的情形会稍有不同。不能说，在这里毫无替代空间的意识。我第一次看到使用这个词语来描述在这个场域进行的工作，是来自于欧宁的叙述，他在介绍缘影会做了些什么，但那也是唯一的一次，之后再也没有见到任何人使用这个词语描述对这种行为和空间建设的认知。而欧宁的描述，也是得自于当代艺术领域的启示。即是说，在独立电影场域，“替代空间”这个词语从来没有能够成为一个流行词汇和一种普遍的意识，它更多是作为一个事实和行动而存在：一个不绝如缕的事实，一种持续的，此起彼伏的行动。它的发端，要追溯至 2000 年前后在中国一些大中城市纷纷出现的民间观影社团，如北京的实践社，深圳 - 广州的缘影会，上海的 101，南京的后窗看电影，沈阳的自由电影，武汉、成都的观影会，以及稍后形成的云南昆明电影学习小组等等。作为一种文化现象，这些观影社团的出现不能说与改革开放以来，整个社会的发展和城市化进程无关，但更具体的是，它在很大程度上有赖于当时中国影像环境的改善。影像环境的改善并不是说官方的电影审查和发行制度有所放松，而是自九零年代后期活跃起来的盗版碟市场为广大电影爱好者提供了前所未有的大量资源，这些资源中也包括很多艺术电影。依托这些资源在各个地域自然形成了许多热爱艺术电影的影迷群体，他们互相寻找，就组成了观影社团。这些观影社团的日常活动，即是寻找公开的放映场所，让影迷们能够定期聚集，大家一起来分享那些优秀的作品。因此几乎所有社团的活动，都是以电影史上一些大师的经典作品放映为开端，但也很快，就链接到了本地的影像资源。这些本

地的影像资源也就是当代中国的独立电影。

若干年后回顾，也许可以说，在某种程度上，除了以上原因，当时中国独立电影本身存在的状态也为这个场域替代空间的出现提供了一种内在的要求和动力。中国独立电影作为一个新生事物，在一种体制化的电影制度和环境中从无到有生长出来，始自八零年代末九零年代初。经过十年的发展，已经有作者和作品的累积。但是除了国际电影节，这些作品在国内，从来没有机会被看到。因为它们的存在相对于本国电影制度，并不具有合法性，因此也要受制于这个制度，没有进入公共渠道流通的权利和机会。因此在一个年代的时间里，这些作品对这个国家的公众而言，并非实有，只是听说。

同时 2000 年前后，也是一个特定的时间阶段。独立电影正在孕育新的生机。新一代的作者，由于数码摄像机的出现，很快就要登场。他们大多生于七零年代，也未必经过专业的影像教育，只是想要用影像表达自己，于是拿起摄像机，开始了拍摄的行动。至 2000 年前后，这些使用数码机器展开自己影像实践的作者，贡献出了他们的第一批作品。这也是标志着 DV 时代来临的最早一批作品，从杨荔娜的《老头》（1999），朱传明的《北京弹匠》（1999），吴文光的《江湖》（1999），到稍后杜海滨的《铁路沿线》（2000），王芬的《不快乐的不止你一个》（2000）等等。这个名单里面，除了吴文光是一位中国独立纪录片制作的贯穿性人物，其他都是作为新生代作者开始崭露头角，他们给出的都是自己的处女作。

这些作品都是在北京实践社的活动中被首次推送给了公众。实践社并不是最早成立的观影社团，深圳欧宁启动的缘影会早于实践社成立。但实践社在所有这些社团中，最先开始组织独立电影的放映，以及放映后作者与现场观众的直接交流，这得益于它的地缘优势，以及活动组织者的学院背景。当时中国的独立电影工作者为数还不是很多，而他们当中的大多数都聚集在北京，有些从电影学院毕业，有些还是在校学生。实践社组织者的学院背景和学生身份，使得他们对独立电影有了解，甚至和一些作者有交集。这种资源获取的直接和方便是从 2000 年夏秋季节开始，是实践社的独立观影活动能够迅速而又有声有色地组织起来的一个很重要的原因。而那时，实践社结社还不足半年时间。

但所谓结社，也只是一个口头的约定，并没有实体注册，谈不上组织架构，也没有明确的权利和义务，只是因一群爱电影的年轻人的聚集而设定的那么一个说法。这也是当时各地观影社团的状态，即是说，它们并没有行政属性，每一个群体都是建立在兴之所至基础上的自发组织。这种状况后来随着独立影像放映活动的常规化展开和独立影像展的生成有所改变，因为涉及公共活动，哪怕非常民间，非常草根，也仍需要处理行政的合法性。组织者解决这些活动行政资质的路径各有不同，最常见的是挂靠某个研究机构或单位，或高校，或艺术中心，抑或公司，几乎没有具备合法和独立身份的非营利性机构。这是与西方国家同类社团组织的不同之处。

实践社对独立电影的推送开始于北京电影学院旁边的黄亭子 50 号酒吧。它们的直线距离不过两三百米。酒吧的老板简宁，是一位当代诗人，他的一位合伙人老林，是从美国回来，对酒吧作为另类文

化集散地有了解。加上当时北京的文化氛围，总有一种新事物在层出不穷的感觉，这也许都构成了他们愿意支持这样的活动的原因。于是自 2000 年 8 月开始，在接下来大概一年的时间里，每个周六下午，黄亭子 50 号酒吧成为了实践社组织观影活动的固定场地。实践社在酒吧观影阶段组织的最有影响力，反响最热烈的一批活动，都是在这里发生的。今天黄亭子 50 号作为一个实体空间和地理坐标，早已在这个地方激烈的城市化进程中消失不见，然而与它相伴随的文化记忆，想必还深印在参与了那时现场的一批电影青年心里。

组织者和参与者当时都并没有明确的意识到：实践社的推送事实上创造了一个现场。它为长期处于制度困境中不见天日的独立电影，提供了一个释放的途径，使这些带有个人印记的文化产品，能够进入公共空间，并且在这里被看见，被讨论。这种进入是具体可见的，也具有象征的意味，它打破了一种长久的源于制度的禁闭。在中国大陆的文化场景里，相对于制度性的电影规范和监管，营造出这样一个现场的黄亭子 50 号酒吧正可以被视为一个替代空间。

实践社对类似空间的营造并不止于黄亭子。随着活动影响力的扩大，它也在其它社区开辟了更多的放映场地，但也都集中在酒吧或大学的多功能教室。它从未使用过“替代空间”或“另类空间”这样一个名字，然而它为推广和传播中国独立电影所做的工作，都确凿无疑地可以被看作是建构这样一个空间的努力。这样的工作持续了一年之后，实践社联合沈阳自由电影发起，并邀集全国各地社团组织者，在北京举办了首届独立映像节，之后又在沈阳、杭州、西安、为昆明等数个城市，展开了全国的巡回。独立影像第一次以这样的方式，找到它的观众，民间对于独立影像的意识，也在更大范围内被唤醒。而这种模式一旦开启，就再也没有停止。这就是之后 20 年的时间里，尽管不断遇到审查的干扰和阻碍，各地民间观影社团仍然此起彼伏，对独立影像的传播和推广从未中止的景象。而独立电影场域的替代空间也在这个过程中，不断延伸和拓展，就如星星之火一样，逐渐散布到一个更大的平面。

这是一场自发的行动。它也并不寻求自我命名。欧宁是在一篇公开发表的访谈里说到了缘影会的工作和替代空间，但在中国独立电影场域，这种意识和认知从未形成共识。这是一种话语和现实的错位或者滞后。但这种滞后也恰好说明了，真正将这个词激活的是在地的文化现实和这个现实本身提出的要求，他者的话语和经验在这种现实面前起到的只是助燃的作用。即便没有这样的话语存在，一种文化现实当中蕴蓄的内在能量也会启动类似的实践，并提供动力让它不断延展，无论它被命名与否。独立电影场域替代空间的开辟和经营，为这种情形提供了一个典型案例。

梳理这些空间的发展，也许可以把自 2000 年开始，迄今为时的整个过程大致分为三个阶段：第一阶段为 2000 年至 2003 年，集中在全国第一批民间观影社团的活动，它们各自组织，曾因首届独立影像节一度凝聚；第二阶段为 2003 年至 2013 年，主要是以国内几个独立影像展为首展开的空间，这几个独立影展分布在北京，南京，昆明，重庆；第三阶段为 2013 年之后至今，表现为独立影展被陆续关停之后的替代方案。沿着这样一个线索，会看到中国独立电影场域的替代空间在时间过程中

的演化，而这种演化与独立电影本身的发展亦步亦趋，同时也折射出了它作为一种文化产品的形态，在整个社会结构当中所处的位置和境遇。这是一种相对边缘的位置和境遇，但也许正因为边缘，才凝聚了更多真实的热情和努力，才使得独立电影在本土的存在，形成了一个从制作到传播——如果还不能称之为发行——的完整闭环，并保持了一种可贵的延续性。它之所以可贵，是因为在这些具体的行动背后，存在着一个离散的人群，而他们之间，有着精神上的认同和呼应。那是一种自然生成又不轻易言弃的文化抵抗的精神。

无论在哪一个阶段，这些空间的形态，都基本保持在最初的模式，20 年的时间里，不是没有演进，但也没有很大的提升。这构成了中国独立电影场域替代空间的类型特征：它们是由酒吧、书店、大学的多功能教室，图书馆的报告厅，艺术空间的放映厅等等转化而成。这种空间特征决定了它的特性：独立电影场域的替代空间，在分布上具有一种广泛性，在形态上也具有丰富性，但它在绝大多数的情形下，是一种临时的、借用的空间，活动的组织者和空间的运营者经常是两个不同的主体，事件的发生，是基于两个主体间的有限合作。对独立电影和活动组织者来说，这是一种附着性。这种附着性是独立电影场域的替代空间很难剥离的一个属性，也造成了它和其它文化场域比如当代艺术范畴中替代空间的不同。后者对空间的运营，表现出更多的主动性，因为它的权属关系，往往更为明晰和稳定。这也是艺术史脉络中“替代空间”的普遍状态，但中国独立电影场域的实践，则表现为另外一种情形。在某种意义上，它增加了“替代空间”这个词语的维度，但同时，也给这些空间带来了更大的流动性和不确定性。而这些特点，正与前文所说的民间观影社团的行政身份相呼应。

这种状态也说明了独立电影在它所生成的情境中，进入到现存文化结构的难度。但有难度也便会有相应的努力。2010 年北京通州宋庄的小堡，由现象工作室建立的现象艺术中心开始运营。这栋地上两层地下一层的建筑物内部包含现象咖啡馆和现象影院，该影院除了承载年度的独立电影节活动，也一度安排更日常性的独立电影推送和交流。这是一次为中国独立电影争取自有空间的努力。它的物理空间符合最经典的对替代空间的定义，从物业的属性，运营的方式到输出的内容。如果不是在接下来两三年的时间里，宋庄的独立电影活动屡遭挫折以至于被禁停，这个空间的能量必定会得到更长效的发挥。

上文说到，民间观影社团为独立电影开拓替代空间的努力，都属于自发的行动。它在最初期，既没有经济上的支援，也无法得到任何收益，当时的活动模式就是免费观影。或者因为酒吧放映本来就很小众，或者因为在高校面向在校学生的活动，按惯例都不收费。在这些因素之外，还有一个很重要的原因，那就是为了安全的考虑。因为如果卖票在公共场所放映就变成了商业经营，而独立电影没有任何形式的合法证明，就没有资质去流通，非要促成这样的流通就会被定性为不合法——如果还没有任何法规把它指证为非法。

这意味着，维持这些活动的正常开展，一方面需要社团成员作为志愿者的共同参与，另一方面需要寻求各种途径和形式的赞助，用以弥补活动的基本开支。这种赞助并不容易找到，很大程度上都是

依靠偶然，因此在很长时间里，独立电影的推广工作就是这样在步履维艰的进行，如果没有内在的坚持和热情，它几乎不可能存在。近年来有些观影社团似乎可以通过卖票来弥补一部分工作开支了，比如邀请导演的费用，但整个状况并没有很大的改善，因为在任何系统中，冀望独立电影依靠自身产生的效益来维持这样的运营，都是不现实的。它的文化价值需要首先被肯定，然后得到来自文化基金的支持。

综上所述，“替代空间”在中国独立电影场域，是一个被充分本土化的词汇。只有在产生它的语境当中，它的意涵才能够更准确的被理解。在过去 20 年的时间里，在制度化的管控之下，它为中国独立电影在本土的传播和发行，开拓出了一条通道，发展出一系列空间载体。它使得独立电影，在公共的视域中成为一种确凿的，可见的和可说的存在。作为一种拓荒式的工作，或者行动，它生发的意义和能量，会连同那些作品一起，在这个时代的文化场域中，留下痕迹。同时，这也不是一个已经完成的工作，独立电影场域中替代空间的营造，仍然是一个动态的过程，仍然道路漫长。同样作为一个历史性的生成，时间会为它描绘出完整的廓形。

Keyword: Film Festival/Exhibition

FAN Xiang 樊响

Abstract

This short article sketches the sphere of alternative film exhibition culture in the PRC along the axes of grassroots film clubs and independent film festivals. I trace how the meaning of ‘alternative’ has shifted over the past three decades due to the changing socio-political environment. This article examines how these two ostensibly different forms of alternative film exhibition teetered along the line between the public and private spheres, between independent and legitimate (film) culture. In the second half of the article, I look into the new strategies pursued by film clubs and film festivals in post-2017 China. I argue that these two modes both erode their grassroots/independent aspirations, while feeding into a position of negotiating a new alternative narrative of de-politicised pluralism and economic efficacy.

Over the past thirty years, the erratic trajectory of alternative film exhibitions in China has been split between two overlapping but separate modes. One is the film festival, an institutional mechanism facilitated by cultural elites, academics, and filmmakers to disseminate low-budget Chinese independent films. The other is the film club, a stream of sporadic groups organised by grassroots film enthusiasts, facilitating a cinephilia-oriented cinematic space. The advent of the film festival and the film club created alternative public spaces for Chinese independent filmmakers and artists to circulate works that were not accommodated by hegemonic official discourse and the commercial sector. Yet, due to the growing pressure from political forces and increasing commercial-industrial opportunities, the meaning of ‘alternative’ spaces that the film festivals/clubs facilitated has been altered from their original initiatives. This short article sketches the sphere of alternative film exhibition culture in China along the axes of film clubs and film festivals. I trace how these two ostensibly different forms of alternative film exhibition teetered along the line between the public and private spheres, between independent and legitimate (film) culture. I further point out that, in post-2017 China, these two forms both erode their grassroots/ independent aspirations, while feeding into a position of negotiating a new alternative narrative of de-politicised pluralism and economic efficacy.

The emergence of film clubs in the mid-1990s inaugurated new modalities of film exhibition and sociability in quotidian spaces, from private studios, caf  s, bookshops, museums, libraries, and art galleries to university campuses. Initiated mainly by non-professional film enthusiasts, these film clubs signified a grassroots attribute of the practice of alternative film exhibitions. While the availability of mediocre video recording/copying technology, or more precisely, piracy, facilitated home-based individualised viewing activities, such as video rental and purchase, and small-screen consumption, the film clubs opened up new public/semi-public spaces in which alternative voices and values can be expressed.

The first film club, 101 Film Studio (电影101工作室), was founded by seven film buffs in 1996 in Shanghai. In one of the founders, Xu Yuan's (徐鸢) (2016), recollections, the very first screening event was held in a private residence where they watched and discussed *The 400 Blows* (dir. Fran  ois Truffaut, 1959) and *Shadow Warrior* (dir. Akira Kurosawa, 1980). Like 101 Film Studio, many early film clubs in the late 1990s and early 2000s (for example, The U-theque Organisation [缘影会] and Rear Window Film Appreciation Club [后窗看电影]) focused on masterpieces of Western art film, later also becoming an effective pathway for independent films and documentaries to gain public exposure (Nakajima 2006). The film clubs and the parallel emergence and diversification of independent screening sites in which these events are conducted have cultivated an appreciation of cinema outside the official rhetoric and other alternative fare for broader audiences and revived China's cinephile culture (Zhang 2007, p. 27). By sowing film appreciation, the film clubs have helped cultivate a new generation of Chinese cinephiles, filmmakers, screenwriters, critics, curators, many of whom later became key figures in the once-thriving independent film festivals.

In parallel with the development of the film clubs, the first Chinese independent film festival, the First Unrestricted New Image Festival (中国独立映像展), was launched in Beijing in 2001. Since then, independent film festivals have grown in size and expanded geographically to a range of major urban cities in China, such as the Beijing Independent Film Festival (北京独立影像展) (BIFF), China Independent Film Festival (中国独立影像年度展) (CIFF), Chongqing Independent Film and Video Festival (重庆民间映画交流展) (CIFVF), Hangzhou Asian Film Festival (杭州亚洲青年影展) (HAFF), the Yunnan Multicultural Visual Festival (云之南纪录影像展) (Yunfest). The blossoming of the independent film festivals culminated in Chinese independent film culture in the 2000s. With the premise of 'independence' from the Chinese state's oligopolistic control, these independent film festivals used a 'non-for-profit' model of international film festivals (Lichaa 2017) to prompt an institutional mechanism for circulating Chinese independent films. Given their focus on the communications and social networks between cultural intellectuals, or more specifically, between artists, independent cinema practitioners, and/or academics/critics, the alternative public

spheres (from semi-public, semi-private, to private) forged by these festival institutions were also embedded with ideas of pluralism, social activism, as well as elitism. However, increasing government interference around the Beijing Olympics in 2008 pushed independent film festivals and forums away from accessible public locations. Despite moving screening events to secret venues (falling back to private space), the major independent film festivals mentioned above had all been forced to shut down by 2017.

Certainly, the existence and publicness of alternative film exhibitions are fundamentally jeopardised by the authorities' repressive force. Especially with the implementation of the 2017 Film Law, the exhibition of independent films offering an alternative to officially endorsed values was alienated by the authorities and further marginalised. In the same year, CIFF announced the discontinuation of the festival, which signified the end of the Chinese independent film festival mechanism. To respond to these new constraints in the socio-political environment, both film clubs and film festivals have fed into a position of negotiating a new alternative narrative of de-politicised pluralism and economic efficacy. This new meaning of 'alternative' differentiates itself from 'independent', as well as the term 'alternative' of the 2000s, in which 'pluralism' and 'public opposition' coalesced into discourses that developed outside the hegemonic cultural framework (Berry and Rofel 2010, p. 136).

This new alternative narrative is now contributing to the blossoming of the art film industry, which imbricates the legacy of independent cinema and the logic of legitimate film culture. Arthouse cinema has thus become the primary content of alternative film exhibition in today's China.

We have witnessed the growth of some so-called official arthouse film festivals for film festivals, which offers an alternative to officially endorsed hegemonic values but are not necessarily against/independent from the monolithic political and economic mechanism. These arthouse film festivals, notably, FIRST International Film Festival (FIRST青年电影展) (FIRST IFF, since 2006) and Pingyao Crouching Tiger Hidden Dragon International Film Festival (平遥国际电影展) (PYIFF, since 2017), have regained some public space for the accessing and consecrating of alternative/arthouse/semi-independent cinema since the clampdown of the preceding independent film festivals. However, modelled on the lucrative paradigm of major Western film festivals, they distinguish themselves from their indie predecessors by seeking connections to the commercial film industry and approval from the municipal government (Nakajima 2019, p. 238). It is worth noting that, in 2009, when independent film festivals started to face repressive political pressure, FIRST IFF, then a not-for-profit student film festival based at the Communication University of China (Beijing), was suspended for giving an award to Cao Baoping's (曹保平) black comedy *Troublemakers* 光荣的愤怒 (2006), which contains explicit political and sexual references. FIRST IFF's 2011 relocation to

Xining, away from the political centre Beijing, indicates its co-optation by the Xining municipal authorities, coupled with a discontinuation in its promotion of independent film culture.

Similarly, due to increasing political scrutiny, fewer and fewer film clubs are dedicated to exhibiting domestic films without a dragon seal. Some film clubs limit the visibility of their exhibition information by circulating it to members only, which restricts screening activities to a private or semi-private space. Some continue to use the idea of cinephilia to offer a bourgeois-derived form of film appreciation, sociability, and leisure, with the focus on screening and discussing art films from abroad. Another increasing tendency is more and more film clubs have sought to organise ‘cinema-going groups’ (观影团) for the roadshows of dragon-sealed arthouse/semi-independent films in mainstream theatrical spaces. In line with the government policy supported by the Nationwide Alliance of Arthouse Cinemas, these activities are often in collaboration with on-demand crowdfunding platforms (for example, Elemeet [大象点映]), art film distribution and advertising companies (for example, Blow-up Film [放大影视], created by two key founders of Rear Window Film Appreciation Club), and some new-media influencers. Hence, recent years have witnessed the box-office success of a range of art films and documentaries, such as *Paths of the Soul* 冈仁波齐 (dir. Zhang Yang 张杨, 2015), *Crosscurrent* 长江图 (dir. Yang Chao 杨超, 2016), and *Four Springs* 四个春天 (dir. Lu Qingyi 陆庆屹, 2017).

The trajectory of alternative film exhibition discussed in this short article is indicative of more than an exhibition situation viewed in terms of how to tackle growing political control and the increasing lure of the commercial film industry; it evidences the transformation of the dialectical tension between ‘independence’ and ‘dependence’, between the private and the public spheres. The new ‘alternative’ narrative, defined by film clubs and festivals, nowadays in turn inhabits an interstitial position between spaces and texts.

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关键词：电影节 / 放映

樊响

概要

这篇短文沿着民间电影俱乐部和独立电影节的脉络，勾勒出中国另类电影放映文化的发展轨迹。我追溯了“另类”(alternative) 一词的含义在过去三十年中是如何根据社会政治环境的变化而发生改变的。本文讨论了这两种表面上不同形式的另类电影放映是如何在公共和私人领域、独立和合法性（电影）文化之间的脊线上蹒跚前行的。在文章的后半部分，我研究了 2017年后中国电影俱乐部和电影节发展的新策略。我认为，今天，这两种模式的民间 / 独立精神被削减，同时他们也发展出一个与去政治化多元主义和经济效益进行协商的新另类叙事。

在过去的三十年里，两种相互交叠且又各自独立的放映模式共同印证了中国另类电影放映步履艰难的发展轨迹。一种是电影节，这是由文化精英、学者和电影人促成的传播中国低成本独立电影的机制。另一种是电影俱乐部（或民间放映团体），由民间电影爱好者组织的零散电影团体，旨在发展以迷影（cinophilia）为核心的电影空间。电影节和电影俱乐部的出现，为中国独立电影人和艺术家创造了一种公共空间，由于他们的作品在霸权主义的官方话语和商业主导的电影产业中难以得到传播。然而，由于政治环境的缩紧和商业电影产业机会的激增，电影节 / 俱乐部所促成的“另类”空间的含义与其最初的倡议已大不相同。这篇短文沿着民间电影俱乐部和独立电影节的脉络，勾勒出中国的另类电影放映文化的发展轨迹。我追溯了“另类”(alternative) 的含义在过去三十年中是如何根据社会政治环境的变化而发生改变的。本文讨论了这两种表面上不同形式的另类电影放映是如何在公共和私人领域、独立和合法性（电影）文化之间的脊线上蹒跚前行的。我进一步指出，在 2017 年后的中国，这两种模式的民间 / 独立精神被削减，同时又发展出一个与去政治化多元主义和经济效益进行协商的新另类叙事。

二十世纪九十年代中期，电影俱乐部在中国大陆产生，并开创了在日常的空间中——从私人工作室、咖啡馆、书店、博物馆、图书馆、艺术画廊到大学校园——进行电影放映和社交的新模式。这些电影俱乐部主要由非专业的电影爱好者发起，标志着另类电影放映实践的民间属性的诞生。虽然家用录像 / 拷贝技术，或者更准确地说，盗版的出现，促进了以家庭为基础的个人化观影活动，如视频租赁与购买，以及各类小屏幕影视消费，但电影俱乐部开辟了一种新的公共 / 半公共空间，在这些空间中，人们被允许自由表达与主流价值观不同的声音。

中国第一个电影俱乐部,电影101工作室,由七个影迷于1996年在上海成立。在创始人之一徐鸢(2016)的回忆中,电影101工作室的第一次放映活动是在一个私人住宅中举行的,他们观看并讨论了《四百击》(The 400 Blows, 导演: 弗朗索瓦·特吕弗, 1959)和《影子武士》(Shadow Warrior, 导演: 黑泽明, 1980)。与电影101电影工作室类似,九十年代末和二十一世纪初的许多早期电影俱乐部(如缘影会和后窗看电影)都专注于对西方艺术电影佳作的传播与赏析,他们后来也成为独立电影和纪录片向普通公众传播的有效途径(Nakajima 2006)。电影俱乐部及其衍生的各种各样的独立放映场所,培养了更多观众对官方话语之外的另类影像的欣赏,并促进中国迷影文化的复苏(Zhang, 2007, p.27)。通过传播电影欣赏文化,电影俱乐部培养了中国新一代迷影、导演、编剧、评论家、策展人,其中许多人后来成为一度兴盛的独立电影节的关键人物。

在电影俱乐部发展的同时,第一个中国独立电影节——中国独立映像展——也于2001年在北京启动。从那时起,独立电影节的规模不断扩大,并在中国一系列主要城市展开,如北京独立影像展(BIFF)、中国独立影像年度展(CIFF)、重庆民间映画交流展(CIFVF)、杭州亚洲青年影展(HAFF)、云之南纪录影像展(Yunfest)。独立电影节的蓬勃发展使中国独立电影文化在二十一世纪前十年达到顶峰。在“独立”于中国国家寡头控制的前提下,这些独立电影节仿效一些国际电影节的“非盈利”模式(Lichaa 2017),从而促成中国独立电影流通机制的建立。鉴于他们强调文化知识分子——或者更具体地说,那些艺术家、独立电影从业者、以及/或者学者/批评家——之间的交流和社会关系网络的建立,这些电影节机构所建构的另类公共领域(从半公共、半私人到私人)在宣扬多元主义和社会行动主义的同时,也蕴含精英主义的意味。然而,为了筹备2008年北京奥运会,越来越多的政府干预迫使独立电影节和论坛从公共空间撤离。尽管将放映活动转移到了秘密场所(从公共空间回落到私人空间),上文提到的主要独立电影节仍然在2017年之前相继被迫关闭。

当然,另类电影放映的存在以及公共性从根本上受到了当局压迫。特别是随着2017年《电影产业促进法》的实施,传播另类价值观的独立电影展进一步被边缘化。同年,中国独立影像年度展宣布停办,这也标志着中国独立电影节机制的结束。为了应对这种新的社会政治环境,电影俱乐部和电影节都发展成一个与去政治化的多元主义和经济效益进行协商的新另类叙事。由此产生的新“另类”既区别于“独立”,也区别于二十一世纪初对“另类”一词的定义——由“多元主义”和“公开反对”共同组成的、存在于霸权文化框架之外的话语(Berry and Rofel 2010, p. 136)。

今天,随着艺术电影产业的发展,这种新的另类叙事将独立电影精神和合法性电影文化逻辑结合在了一起。因此,在今天的中国,艺术电影则成为另类电影放映的首要内容。

近些年,我们见证了一些所谓的官方艺术电影节的成长,它为官方认可的霸权主义价值观提供了替代性选择,但又不一定完全反对或独立于一元化的政治经济机制。在之前的独立电影展纷纷关闭后,这些艺术电影节,特别是FIRST青年电影展(自2006年起)和平遥国际电影展(自2017年起),重新占据了流通另类/艺术/半独立电影的公共空间。然而,仿照西方主流电影节的盈利模式,这

些电影节通过寻求与商业电影产业合作和地方政府许可来区别于独立电影节 (Nakajima 2019, p. 238)。值得注意的是, 2009 年, 当独立电影节开始面临政治力量的压制时, 作为当时设在中国传媒大学 (北京) 的非营利性学生电影节, FIRST 青年电影展因将大奖授予曹保平的黑色喜剧《光荣的愤怒》(2006) 而被暂停, 该片具有明显的政治性及性爱场景。2011 年, FIRST 青年电影展移师西宁, 远离政治中心北京, 一方面表明其与西宁市政府的合作, 另一方面也表明其与独立电影文化的割裂。

同样, 由于政治审查的收紧, 致力于放映没有龙标的国产电影的电影俱乐部越来越少。一些电影俱乐部通过只在会员内部发布放映信息来降低放映信息的可见度, 这就把放映活动限制在一个私人或半私人的空间内。另外一些俱乐部则继续利用迷影的概念, 提供一种小资电影欣赏、社交和休闲方式, 其重点是放映和讨论国外的艺术电影。另一个日益增长的趋势是, 越来越多的电影俱乐部开始组织“观影团”在主流影院空间进行文艺片 / 半独立电影的路演。受全国文艺院线联盟这一官方机制的支持, 这些活动常常与众筹点映平台 (如大象点映)、艺术电影宣发公司 (如放大影视, 由后窗看电影的两位创始人创建) 以及一些新媒体合作。因此, 近年来, 一系列艺术电影和纪录片取得了票房上的成功, 如《冈仁波齐》(Paths of the Soul, 张扬, 2015), 《长江图》(Crosscurrent, 杨超, 2016), 以及《四个春天》(Four Springs, 陆庆屹, 2017)。

这篇短文中所讨论的另类电影放映的发展轨迹, 不仅仅表明, 在应对日益严格的政治控制和商业电影产业的持续诱惑下, 观影形势的转变; 它也证明了“独立”和“依赖”之间、私人 and 公共领域之间辩证张力的转变。这一由电影俱乐部和电影节定义的新“另类”叙事居于 (放映) 空间和 (电影) 文本之间, 并相互影响。

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Keyword: Grassroots Exhibition

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Abstract

The term *minjian* (民间) exhibition – or grassroots exhibition – refers not only to the fact that the exhibition institutions are unofficial but also to the fact that most of the films shown do not have a ‘dragon seal’ or ‘studio label’. In China, where censorship is strict, and there is a lack of arthouse cinemas, these exhibitions have offered film lovers a completely different experience of cinema-going and communication. Since the 1990s, *minjian* exhibition institutions have emerged in China, and they have been inextricably linked to the production, distribution, and criticism of independent cinema in China. The vicissitude of *minjian* exhibition institutions is, therefore, somewhat indicative of the cultural values of Chinese society. With this in mind, examining the trajectory of independent exhibition may help us understand changes in Chinese society.

The term *minjian* exhibition refers not only to the fact that the exhibition institutions are unofficial but also to the fact that most of the films shown do not have a ‘dragon seal’ or ‘studio label’. In China, where censorship is strict and there is a lack of arthouse cinemas, these exhibitions practices have offered film lovers a completely different experience of cinema-going and communication. Although not every exhibition institution has its own physical screening space, the existence of *minjian* exhibition has opened up a virtual space for us, which is accompanied by the awakening and rise of civic culture.

1. Emergence

In the mid-to-late 1990s, with the rise of the CD-ROM industry and frequent communications with people overseas, *minjian* film organisations began to emerge. Most of the initiators and participants in these film organisations were young film fans, and the venues were often cafes and bars. For example, the café-brand Sculpting in Time (雕刻时光), which has several branches in China today, was then a stronghold for screening (mainly pirated) art films near the Beijing Film Academy.

These organisations often started by viewing rare foreign classics or art films and then moved on to so-called ‘underground’, ‘independent’, and ‘experimental’ cinema. However, such organisations were difficult to sustain, as their activities were loose and their participants often changed. Many of them were just ephemeral.

None of the early *minjian* exhibition organisations existed for very long, but they had made a profound contribution, as many of their key participants later became significant curators, directors, and critics in China, who have influenced Chinese independent cinema for nearly thirty years.

With this trend, there emerged some relatively regular *minjian* film screening groups in some cities, among which the most influential were 101 Film Studio (‘101’) (电影101工作室) in Shanghai, the U-theque Organisation (缘影会) in Guangzhou, Practice Society (实践社) in Beijing, and Free Cinema (自由电影) in Shenyang.

Founded on 1 October 1996 by only seven people, 101 Film Studio is considered to be the first *minjian* film organisation in China. In 1999, 101 Film Studio changed its name to 101 Film Office (电影101办公室), and all its activities became free and open to the public, while the organisation’s operating costs came from donations from its members. The screening resources came from recorded copies of films from foreign television stations and even some VCDs and videotapes purchased at high cost from overseas.

According to the then-participants’ recollections, many films screened there didn’t have subtitles, and the screening condition was also quite basic, but the screenings were always packed. In 1998, 101 screened Jia Zhangke’s (贾樟柯) *Xiao Wu* 小武 (1997). Perhaps inspired by Jia’s work, some participants attempted to make short films themselves. Around 2007, Xu Yuan (徐鸢), one of the founders, began to curate films for the Shanghai International Film Festival (上海国际电影节), and 101 Film Studio slowly decreased the frequency of screenings.

In 1999, the U-theque Organisation was founded in Shenzhen, and in 2000 it centred its activities in Guangzhou. It was a *minjian* film organisation that combined multiple activities, including screening, criticism, publishing and production. Apart from screening art films and independent films, promoting local experimental films was an important feature of the organisation.

Ou Ning (欧宁) was the founder of the U-theque Organisation, and artists Cao Fei (曹斐) and Jiang Zhi (蒋志) were key members. At that time, Ou Ning used to purchase some niche art films from Hong Kong for screening in the mainland, attracting a group of young people interested in the

subject, many of whom were artists, writers, and media professionals.

In his article, 'The First Tide in the South and South of the South' (初潮在南方及南方以南), scholar Cao Kai describes the U-theque Organisation in detail. He suggests that these rare films that circulated in the Pearl River Delta played a significant role in a cinematic enlightenment, which means that the U-theque Organisation indeed had a profound impact on experimental media production in the Pearl River Delta. In 2004, implicated in the *Southern Metropolis Daily* incident, the U-theque Organisation was forced to shut down.

In April 2000, Dong Bingfeng (董冰峰) launched Free Cinema in Shenyang. Most of the core members were students or graduates of the Lu Xun Academy of Fine Arts and students from the Chinese literature departments of Liaoning University and Jilin University. Their first event was called New Images of China (中国新影像), which focused on the then 'underground' and 'semi-underground' Chinese independent films.

Beijing's Practice Society was founded on 1 April 2000 by Yangzi (杨子), who graduated from the Beijing Film Academy in 1998. Inspired by the Youth Experimental Film Group (青年实验电影小组) founded by Jia Zhangke, Wang Hongwei (王宏伟) and Gu Zheng (顾铮), Yangzi's Practice Society emphasised production more than screening. It is also clear from their manifesto that one of their objectives was 'to take the right of visual expression away from the aristocratic industry'.

In 2001, Practice Society and *Southern Weekend* co-founded the first Unrestricted New Image Festival (映像展), which was held at the Beijing Film Academy. It is also recognised as one of the first unofficial *minjian* film festival. In 2003, due to a screening at their Nanjing branch, Practice Society was investigated for 'failing to submit its activities for approval'. In the same year, Practice Society was closed down.

2. Climax

In 2003, the establishment of the three major *minjian* film festivals (Yunnan Multicultural Visual Festival [云之南纪录影像展], China Independent Film Festival [中国独立影像年度展], Beijing Independent Film Festival [北京独立影像展], and the prevalence of internet culture, led to the proliferation of exhibition organisations of all sizes, such as Fanhall Studio (现象工作室) and Trainspotting Cultural Salon (猜火车文化沙龙) in Beijing, Tianjin Film Fans' Kindergarten (天津影迷幼儿园), Chengdu Jungle Screening (成都丛林放映), No. 66 Changsha Screening Room (长沙66号放映室), Kunming Amateur Film Society (昆明业余电影社), and the Luoyang Film Archive (洛

阳电影资料馆). The participants in these groups were not only film fans in the general sense but also independent film enthusiasts and creators. During this period, a number of well-organised *minjian* exhibition organisations focused on screening Chinese independent films and documentaries.

Around 2010, several *minjian* exhibition organisations began to emerge on a national scale, notably Cinephile Collective (齐放) and Pure Movies (瓢虫映像). The prototype of Cinephile Collective appeared in 2006, initiated by Indie Workshop (影弟工作室) and dozens of other screening groups, venues, and organisers across the country. Cinephile Collective was a collection of many *minjian* organisations that interact loosely and only join together to do some activities or joint screening events when necessary.

Pure Movies was born in 2012, and, at its peak, it held simultaneous screenings in eleven cities across the country. All the members were volunteers who connected online without meeting each other in person. One of the founders, Yang You (杨侑), was at the heart of the organisation. His job had nothing to do with film, but he had contributed to independent documentary screenings for years.

Although Pure Movies was just a *minjian* volunteer organisation, it was to a certain degree well-organised, and included a committee, a film programming team, local organisers, and ordinary volunteers. This ensured the security of film copies and the timely and effective promotion of activities nationwide. The combination of online and offline also allowed for continuity of the activities. Yang You believes that, compared to other *minjian* exhibition organisations, the most important feature of Pure Movies was a large audience and the continuity of activities. He emphasised publicity and promotion, especially on the WeChat public account. In March 2013, Pure Movies' WeChat public account was registered. After a year, it was fully taken over by the Chengdu branch and began to circulate across the country.

3. Undercurrent

Unfortunately, in 2016, the Film Industry Promotion Law (电影产业促进法) was introduced, which imposed strict regulations on *minjian* exhibition and penalties if a venue showed a film without the permission of the relevant authorities. This posed great challenges to *minjian* exhibition in China. In 2019, Pure Movies started to restructure. In addition to setting up a committee, it also attempted to expand its influence by giving talks, programming thematic exhibitions, and putting out calls for films. However, due to the pandemic, among other reasons, Pure Movies' nationwide activities had by December 2021 been on hiatus for over two years, and its key members were 'scattered', leaving the nearly 10-year-old *minjian* exhibition organisation facing closure. In response to this, Yang You

said: 'It doesn't matter whether it is Pure Movies or not; there will always be someone doing this (screening).'

It is true that since 2016 there has been a collective decline in old *minjian* exhibition organisations and *minjian* film festivals on the one hand, and the rise of new organisations and events on the other. Many of today's exhibitions are held in a small number of art cinemas and cultural institutions, which often come with a screening fee. This means that they have to accept a certain amount of censorship, but generally there aren't too many differences from the previous screening activities. In my view, the new *minjian* exhibition practices that have emerged in recent years have the following features:

1. Guerrilla-style screenings, with which most organisations tend to 'move from one place to another', without a fixed venue, and with little continuity.
2. Awareness of copyright has increased. Compared to around 2000, when many of the sources for *minjian* exhibition came from pirated discs or were licensed for free by the filmmakers, today the younger generation of exhibition organisations not only rarely screen pirated copies, but also pay royalties through ticket sales, for example, which demonstrates their awareness of copyright.
3. Short films have replaced feature films. In recent years, there have emerged several short film festivals in China. Apart from their significance in encouraging young directors' filmmaking, perhaps one of the crucial factors is that the form of the short film is more flexible and can more easily evade the 'film law'. Therefore, we can see the spirit of Chinese independent cinema in some short films, which perhaps can be understood as another inheritance.

Finally, it should be noted that there are many such *minjian* exhibition organisations across the country, in various forms and at various times, but it is impossible to list them all here. However, I believe that the vicissitude of *minjian* exhibition institutions somewhat indicates the cultural values in Chinese society. With this in mind, examining the trajectory of independent exhibition may help understand changes in Chinese society.

关键词：民间放映

余雅琴

概要

所谓民间放映，不仅指放映机构是非官方的，放映的影片大多也没有“龙标”或者“厂标”。这些放映机构在审查严格并且缺乏艺术院线的中国，为影迷群体带去了与电影院完全不同的观影和交流体验。自上世纪90年代开始，中国开始出现民间放映，民间放映与中国独立电影的生产、传播和评论产生着各种千丝万缕的联系和影像。因此民间放映机构的兴衰与变迁一定程度上是中国社会文化精神的指标，带着这种眼光考察独立放映，或许可以提供观察中国社会变迁的一个微小切口。

所谓民间放映，不仅指放映机构是非官方的，放映的影片大多也没有“龙标”或者“厂标”。这些放映机构在审查严格并且缺乏艺术院线的中国，为影迷群体带去了与电影院完全不同的观影和交流体验。尽管不是每一家放映机构都有自己的实体空间，但民间放映的存在为我们开拓了虚拟的空间的延展度，并且伴随着民间放映兴起的是公民精神的苏醒和崛起。

兴起

在上世纪90年代中后期，随着光盘产业的兴起和与海外交流活动的频繁，民间电影电影社团也开始兴起。这些电影社团大的发起者和参与者大多是年轻的影迷，活动的场地往往是咖啡馆和酒吧，比如今天在中国有多家分店的咖啡品牌“雕刻时光”，当时就是北京电影学院附近一个观看艺术电影（主要是放映盗版）的据点。

这些组织往往是都从观赏少见的国外经典影片或是艺术电影作为最初的活动内容，再慢慢转向关注所谓“地下电影”、“独立电影”和“实验电影”。但是，这样的民间观影组织往往很难长久发展下去，活动松散，成员变动往往造成许多的观影活动只是“昙花一现”。

早期的民间放映社团存在的时间都不算长，但意义却很重大，其中不少重要的参与者后来也成为中国重要的策展人、导演和评论家，并在近三十年的时间中对中国独立电影产生着持续的影响。

伴随这股风潮，一些城市出现相对固定的民间观影团体，其中影响比较大的有上海的“电影101工作室”（简称“101”）、广州的“缘影会”、北京的“实践社”和沈阳的“自由电影”等。

“电影 101 工作室”成立于 1996 年 10 月 1 日，它被认为是中国最早成立的民间电影组织，最初参与只有七位成员。1999 年，“电影 101 办公室”更名为“电影 101 工作室”，所有活动开始面向全社会免费开放，组织的运营费用则来自成员的捐款。组织放映的片源来自于翻录国外电视台转播电影的录像带，甚至还有部分从海外高价购买的 VCD、录像带等。

据当事人回忆，当时很多影片没有字幕，放映条件也比较简陋，但他们的放映依然座无虚席。1998 年，“101”放映了由贾樟柯授权的《小武》，或许是受到贾樟柯创作的鼓舞，一些成员还开始尝试拍摄短片。2007 年左右，创始人之一的徐鸞开始为上海国际电影节选片和策展，“电影 101 工作室”的放映活动慢慢减少。

1999 年，“缘影会”在深圳成立，2000 年开始将活动的中心放在广州。这是一个集放映、评论、出版、制片为一体的民间电影团体。除了放映艺术电影和独立电影之外，推广本土的实验电影是“缘影会”很重要的特色。

“缘影会”的创始者是欧宁，艺术家曹斐、蒋志都是其中重要的核心成员。当时欧宁经常从香港买回一些小众的艺术电影碟片回内地放映，吸引了一批对此感兴趣的年轻人，其中很多本身就是艺术家、写作者和媒体人。

学者曹恺在《初潮在南方及南方以南》的文章里比较详细地介绍过“缘影会”。他认为这些内地罕见的电影在珠三角地区起到了影像启蒙的作用，也可以说“缘影会”真正开始对珠江三角洲的实验媒体创作产生了巨大而深刻的影响。2004 年，受到“南都事件”的影响，“缘影会”被迫解散。

2000 年 4 月，董冰峰在沈阳发起了“自由电影”。核心成员多数是鲁迅美术学院的学生或毕业生，另外还有辽宁大学、吉林大学中文系等专业的学生。他们首次活动名为“中国新影像”，关注的正是当时尚处在“地下”和“半地下”状态的中国独立影像。

北京的实践社成立于 2000 年 4 月 1 日，创办者杨子 1998 年毕业于北京电影学院。受到贾樟柯、王宏伟、顾峥等人创办的“青年实验电影小组”的启发，杨子的“实践社”在放映之外更重视创作本身，从他们的章程里也能看出他们的目的之一，是“希望把影像表达的权利从贵族化的行业中夺取过来”。

2001 年，实践社与《南方周末》共同发起举办了第一届“民间映像节”，其它几家不在北京的民间机构也有参与，“映像节”举办地点在北京电影学院，也是公认的最早的非官方的民间影像展。2003 年，由于南京分社的一次放映，实践社被调查，原因据说是“活动未报批”，这一年“实践社”被解散。

高潮

2003 年，伴随着“三大民间影展”（“云之南纪录影像展”、“中国独立影像年度展”、“北京独立影像展”）

的成立，以及越发普及的互联网文化，大大小小的放映机构陆续多了起来，比如北京的现象工作室、猜火车文化沙龙、天津影迷幼儿园、成都丛林放映、长沙 66 号放映室、昆明业余电影社、洛阳电影资料馆……这些团体的成员不但是一般意义上的“影迷”，也不乏独立电影的发烧友和创作者。这个时期涌现出不少组织性和策划性都比较强，以放映中国独立电影和独立纪录片为主的民间放映组织。

2010 年前后，一些在全国范围内活动的民间放映组织开始出现，其中“齐放（Cinephile Collective）”和“瓢虫映像（Pure Movies）”是比较重要的两个团体。“齐放”的雏形出现在 2006 年，是由“影弟工作室”和全国各地数十个民间放映团体、场地或组织者共同发起、开放参与的一项独立电影民间巡回放映的普及活动。“齐放”事实上等于是多个民间机构的集合体，平时各自松散互动，有必要的时候才联合起来做一些活动或者联合放映某些作品。

“瓢虫映像”诞生于 2012 年，巅峰时期在全国 11 个城市举办同步的放映活动，成员都是志愿参与，彼此依靠网络联结，并不见面。创始人之一的杨侑是这群人的核心，他的工作与电影毫无关系，多年来一直致力于独立纪录片的放映。

“瓢虫映像”虽然也是一个民间的志愿者组织，但其组织具有一定的严密性，形成了组委会、选片组、各地负责人、一般志愿者这样一个组织架构。保证了影片拷贝的安全性、全国活动的推送、及获得及时有效的推行。线上线下的结合，也让活动有了持续性。杨侑认为瓢虫与其他的民间放映机构比最大的特点是观众多、活动稳定。他对宣传和推广十分重视，尤其重视“微信公众号”的运营。2013 年 3 月，“瓢虫映像”的微信公众号注册。运营一年后转由成都站全权运营，并开始辐射全国。

暗涌

2017 年，《电影产业促进法》出台，其中对民间放映进行了严格的规定，若某场所没有得到有关部门的允许放映了电影则会被责罚，中国民间放映受到了巨大的挑战。2019 年，“瓢虫映像”试图改革，除了成立了委员会，还试图以做讲座、主题策展以及征片等方式继续扩大影响力。但后因为疫情等原因，“瓢虫映像”全国性的活动截止 2021 年 12 月已经停滞超过两年的时间，其主要成员也做四散状，这个拥有将近 10 年历史的民间放映组织面临事实上的解散，对此杨侑曾表示：其实叫不叫“瓢虫”不重要，这个事（放映）总有人会做。

事实也是如此，2017 年以来，一边是老牌的民间放映机构和民间影展的集体性衰败，一边则是方兴未艾的新组织和新活动。尽管如今的放映活动不少选择放在艺术电影院和文化机构中，往往还会收取一定的放映费用，意味着变相接受一定审查，但大体并未改变之前放映的倾向。在我看来，近年来民间放映呈现以下几个新的特点：

- 1、游击队式的放映，大部分机构往往“打一枪换一个地方”，没有固定的场地，持续性也不长；

2、版权意识提高，比起 2000 年左右的民间放映的片源不少来自盗版碟，或者是作者的免费授权，如今年轻一代的放映机构不仅很少放映盗版，还会通过卖票等方式支付版权费，体现出版权意识的深入人心；

3、短片代替长片，近年来中国出现了数个短片电影展，除却鼓励年轻电影的人意义之外，其中一个很重要的因素或许因为短片的形式更加自由且更容易规避“电影法”的管理，因此常常可以在一些短片中看到中国独立电影的影子，这或许就是一种曲折的继承。

最后需要说明的是，全国各地，各种形式各个时期，这种民间放映很多，这里无法一一列举。但笔者认为，民间放映机构的兴衰与变迁一定程度上是中国社会文化精神的指标，带着这种眼光考察独立放映，或许可以提供观察中国社会变迁的一个微小切口。

Keyword: On-the-Spot

Luke ROBINSON

Abstract

This commentary discusses the Chinese term *xianchang* (现场) and its significance to independent documentary. Initially reflecting on my first encounter with the term in Beijing as a graduate student, I then consider how we might frame *xianchang* as an aesthetic of precarity, and why that might explain its continued attraction for filmmakers working today.

I did not encounter *xianchang* (现场) until I came to Beijing as a doctoral student in January 2005. I had started a Film and Media Studies PhD programme in London eighteen months earlier. My initial interest was in the independent feature film of the Sixth Generation; quickly, though, my focus shifted to non-fiction filmmaking. Prior to moving back to the UK I had been living in China, and what I had glimpsed of the independent documentary and experimental film scene was more compelling than its fictional counterpart. I still remember one weekend accompanying an acquaintance to watch a performance piece in an abandoned Beijing factory; some years later, viewing Wu Wenguang (吴文光) and Wen Hui's (文慧) *Dancing with Farmworkers* 和民工跳舞 (2001) for the first time, I was shocked to recognise first the space, and then the back of my head, captured on video as I wandered, slightly bemused, amidst the performers. But there was very little academic writing on this material, and even less in the way of easily accessible recordings. I spent my first year-and-a-half begging and borrowing from friends and colleagues, slowly building up a catalogue of material. And then I applied to spend six months as a visiting student at the Beijing Film Academy.

Although my time at the academy was officially spent auditing classes, my primary reason to visit was research. I wanted to interview filmmakers, watch more films, and understand what distinguished independent documentary from the non-fiction production that had come before it. While in the UK I had become interested in these films' relationship to the idea of 'publicness' *gonggongxing* (公共性). Related to, yet distinct from, the Habermasian 'public sphere', the various senses of making visible, and audible, and of shared experience or understanding associated with this concept appeared to me to haunt these documentaries. But in conversation with filmmakers, publicness was not something in which they displayed much interest. They did not see it as a defining feature of

their work. Instead, an implicit yet recurring theme in what I heard and read was contingency: the uncontrollable, the unpredictable, the unexpected. Once, while interviewing a critic and curator, I asked whether she thought this quality separated independent documentary from state-produced non-fiction TV in particular. She stared at me blankly, said ‘of course’, and carried on talking. I went home and resolved to think harder about the implications of that statement.

This was ultimately how I came to *xianchang*. Initially, I encountered the term in Wu Wenguang’s writings on his own filmmaking, as well as his art journal of the same name. Glossing the term in English as ‘liveness’ captures its significance as both practice and aesthetic: the consequence of shooting ‘on the scene’, in Zhang Zhen’s (2007, p. 18) formulation, but also the conscious attempt to document the ‘here and now’ of location filming through editing and cinematography. But my initial point of entry also sought to link this back to question of publicness. If *xianchang* entailed an acceptance of the uncontrollable, then how could we understand this semiotically in terms of the acceptance of the uninterpretable—one way in which film theory has framed the contingent. The anthropologist Liu Xin (2000, 2002), writing about turn-of-the-century China, discusses how particular social actors lose the power to determine the agreed meaning of specific signs. If publicness suggested a degree of shared interpretative experience, then what was the relationship between *xianchang* and the rise of ‘individual’, ‘personal’, or ‘private’, filmmaking? These were terms that I also heard quite frequently in Beijing, and which implied the collapse of overarching political master narratives, precisely as much of the literature I had read on post-socialism proposed.

In exploring these connections I was attempting to understand independent documentary as both a product of, and a witness to, China’s post-socialist transition. But I was also trying to articulate a relationship between *xianchang* and a condition for which I did not yet have the language. That condition was precarity: the various modes of socio-economic abandonment and instability that are central to contemporary capitalism. In describing *xianchang* as an aesthetic of precarity I am trying to formulate the relationship between cultural form, content, and conditions of production; to suggest an association between the precariousness of this documentary style and its broader context. This formulation helps explain the increasing focus of certain independent documentary filmmakers on socially and economically marginal groups, but also the parallel emphasis by others on the ‘I’ as the subject of documentation and the agent of filmmaking. It invokes the cruelty that scholars such as J.P. Sniadecki (2015) and Wang Yiman (2005) have identified, in different ways, as central to independent documentary practice during this period, and which we could understand as an affective dimension of precarity. And it also underlines how these films were increasingly made and circulated in China. Even at its height, the unofficial infrastructure for the domestic distribution and exhibition of independent cinema was at best fragmented and unstable. Furthermore, despite the comparative

success of certain directors, independent filmmaking remains an economic unstable and for some politically marginal activity from which few can exclusively make a living. To call *xianchang* a precarious aesthetic suggests its semantic connection to the contingent. But it also opens up the practice's relationship to the many other ways insecurity has manifested in contemporary China, often with devastating results.

Margaret Hillenbrand makes this clear in a recent article on Chinese 'suicide shows', or *tiaolou xiu* (跳楼秀). This term refers to public displays of protest by Chinese labourers, mostly in the construction industry, in which they threaten to jump from tall buildings unless wages owed are paid them in full by their foreman or boss (Hillenbrand 2020, p. 149). These protests are in turn often filmed and circulated online via social media platforms, in the process acquiring their own generic conventions particularly focused round the bodies of those participating. Part performance, part video art, suicide shows are thus self-conscious interventions aimed at raising public awareness of the workers' plight. One way they seek to do so is through visual disruption of the contemporary Chinese urban skyline, in all its bland homogeneity. But another, Hillenbrand suggests, is via a specific aesthetic that combines the choreographed, the uncontrolled, and the embodied. From this form,

derives the power of the show's deployment of the mediatized body-as-weapon: the tension between script and shock, contingency and planning, shoddy production values and a savvy media awareness that the precarious body at high altitude has a rawness that can never quite be attenuated by familiarity (Hillenbrand 2020, p. 161).

Suicides shows are distinct from the earliest full-length independent documentaries in that they are amateur productions made possible by the ubiquity of digital media. Their very existence as non-professional, self-made media products reflects the changes that independent documentary has undergone following the proliferation of digital culture, in which traditional boundaries of form (a film vs. a video) and process (the filmmaker vs. the filmed, for example) are blurred. The precarious labourers are now behind the camera; their work explicitly addresses, but is also a product, of precarity, and, as Hillenbrand (2020, p. 166) points out, thus foregrounds the clash of class interests that underpin the videos—in ways that professionally produced documentaries on similar subjects may not. But, the aesthetic deployed to convey the sense of precarity is very much one derived from *xianchang*. Through an emphasis on the staged and the unexpected, on physical danger in the here and now, the precarious status of the labourers is conveyed here as an affect (or, as Hillenbrand says, an 'atmospheric condition' [166]). It does not simply seek to draw attention to the labourers' condition; it tries to get the audience to *feel it*, too. This is a *xianchang* recalibrated for the digital era, for amateur production and online circulation, but it is still recognisably a *xianchang* that speaks

directly—more directly, perhaps, than in the past—to the issue of social inequality, and how to film it, that has always been a concern of filmmaking outside the mainstream.

Over a decade has passed since I was a PhD student in Beijing. In many ways the situation is now very different. Politically, independent production is clearly much harder. Formally, documentary has diversified, a situation accelerated by media convergence and the democratization of image production. But inequality remains, and with it the need for a language that can register its continued presence. From the purist vision still favoured by certain professionals, to the documentary footage underpinning artists' moving image work, to the self-made videos circulated online by migrant workers, the 'here and now' retains a critical power to articulate the persistence of socio-economic divisions. Perhaps this helps explain the endurance of *xianchang* in the current moment.

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关键词：现场

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概要

这篇评论探讨了中文“现场”一词以及它对独立纪录片的意义。我首先回溯了我在北京读研究生期间第一次遇到这个词的情景，然后讨论了我们如何将“现场”定位为一种不稳定美学，进而解释它对当今影像导演具有持续吸引力的原因。

我是在 2005 年 1 月作为一个博士生来到北京后才接触到“现场”一词的。在这之前的十八个月，我开始在伦敦攻读电影和媒体研究方向的博士学位。我最初的研究兴趣是第六代导演的独立故事片；但很快，我就将注意力转移到了非虚构的影像制作上。在搬回英国之前，我一直生活在中国，我所瞥见的独立纪录片和实验电影场景比虚构类作品更引人入胜。我记得，有一个周末，我陪一个熟人在北京一个废弃的工厂里观看了一部表演作品。几年后，当第一次观看吴文光和文慧的《和民工跳舞》（2001）时，我惊讶地认出了那个空间，接着我发现自己后脑勺也被摄像机拍了下来，当时我正在表演者间徘徊，并带有些许困惑。但是，当时关于这些素材的学术著作很少，能够获取的视听纪录就更少了。借用朋友和同事的资源，我先是花了一年半的时间逐渐建立了一个素材档案，然后申请到了去北京电影学院做六个月访问学生的机会。

虽然我在电影学院的学习本应以旁听课程为主，但我访问的主要目的还是研究。我想采访更多的导演，观看更多的影像，并了解独立纪录片与之前的非虚构类作品的区别。在英国时，我对这些影像与“公共性”这一概念的关系产生了兴趣，其与哈贝马斯 (Habermasian) 的“公共领域”(public sphere) 概念相关，但又有所不同。在我看来，与公共性这一概念相关的一系列视听感觉，以及对公共性的共同经验或理解，似乎长期困扰着这些纪录片。但在我与导演的交流中，他们并未对公共性表现出特别的兴趣，也并不认为这是定义他们作品的一个最主要特征。相反，在我听到和读到的内容中，一个隐晦的但却反复出现的主题是偶发性，其不可控、不可预测且出人意料。有一次，在采访一位评论家及策展人时，我问她是否认为这种品质将独立纪录片与官方的非虚构类电视节目区分开来。她茫然地盯着我说，“当然”，然后继续进行她的谈话。我回到家后，决心加倍努力思考这一表述的含义。

这就是我最终如何接触到“现场”的。我最初接触到这个词是在吴文光关于他自己的影像创作的文章中，以及在他编纂的《现场》艺术期刊中。我把“现场”一词用英文表述为“鲜活性 (liveness)”，这可以体现出它作为实践和美学的双重意义：用张真（2007：18）的表述，这是“在场”拍摄的结果，

但也是通过剪辑和摄影来记录现场拍摄的“此时此地”的有意识尝试。但我最初的切入点也试图将其与公共性的问题联系起来。如果“现场”要求对不可控因素进行接纳，那么我们如何从符号学的角度来理解这一晦涩难懂的概念，其中一种解释方式是，电影理论塑造了这种偶发事件。在写到世纪之交的中国时，人类学者流心（2000，2002）讨论了特定的社会行动者如何通过失去权力，从而确定特定符号的约定意义。如果公共性意味着一定程度的共同解释经验，那么“现场”与“个体”、“个人”或“私人”影像制作的兴起之间有什么关系呢？这些词都是我在北京时经常听到的术语。正如后来我读到的关于后社会主义的许多文献所解释的那样，它们意味着总体性的政治主叙事的崩溃。

在探索这些联系时，我曾试图将独立纪录片理解为中国后社会主义转型的产物及见证者。但我也曾尝试阐明“现场”与一种状态之间的关系，当时的我还无法用准确的语言形容这种状态。这种状态就是不稳定：各种社会经济模式的中止和不稳定是当代资本主义的核心。在将“现场”描述为一种不稳定的美学时，我试图阐述文化形式、内容和生产条件之间的关系；从而揭示纪录片风格的不稳定性与更广泛的社会环境之间的联系。这种表述有助于解释某些独立纪录片导演对社会和经济边缘群体的日益关注，同时也强调“我”作为纪录的主体和影像制作的媒介。如史杰鹏（J.P.Sniadecki）（2015）和王亦蛮（2005）等学者指出的那样，这一时期独立纪录片实践的核心是残酷性，我们可以将其理解为情感层面的不稳定。它同时还突出了这些影像是如何在中国被越来越多地制作和传播。即使在独立影像发展的黄金时期，它们在国内发行和放映的非官方基础设施也是零散且不稳定的。此外，尽管某些导演取得了相对的成功，但独立影像制作仍然是一种经济上不稳定、对某些人而言同时也是政治上边缘化的活动，很少有人能完全以此为生。将“现场”称为一种不稳定美学，表明其与偶发性的语义联系。但它也促成了此类实践与当代中国的许多其他不安定的因素建立联系，其往往带来灾难性结果。

何依霖（Margaret Hillenbrand）最近一篇关于中国的“自杀秀”，或称“跳楼秀”的文章中明确指出了这一点。“跳楼秀”一词指的是中国劳工的公开抗议活动，这些劳工主要从事建筑行业，他们威胁要从高楼跳下，除非工头或老板全额支付他们的工资（2020: 149）。这些抗议活动经常被拍摄下来，并通过社交媒体平台在网络流传，在这个过程中，参与者用自己的身体对自己的基本权利进行诉求。跳楼秀一部分是表演，另一部分是视频艺术，因此它是对自我意识的干预，其旨在提高公众对工人困境的认识。一方面，他们试图对当代中国的乏味同质化的城市天际线进行视觉破坏。但另一方面，Hillenbrand 认为，他们是通过一种特定的美学，这种美学将精心策划的、不受控制的具身化的结合起来。通过这种形式，

这场秀将媒介化了的身体作为武器进行有效部署：剧本与冲击力、偶发性与计划、低劣的生产价值和精明的媒体意识之间存在张力，这就好像人体在高海拔地区会有所不适，但这种不适永远不能因为（对环境的？）熟悉而有所削弱。（2020: 161）

“跳楼秀”与早期的长篇独立纪录片不同的是，它们是由无处不在的数字媒体所制成的业余作品。这

些业余的自制媒体产品的存在反映了独立纪录片在数字文化盛行后所经历的变化，在这种变化中，形式（影像与视频）与过程（例如，拍摄者与被拍摄者）的传统界限被模糊化。现在是生活不稳定的劳工站在摄影机后；他们的作品直截了当，但也是不稳定的产物，正如 Hillenbrand (2020: 166) 所指出的那样，他们的视频强调阶级利益冲突——专业纪录片处理类似主题时可能不会这样。但是，此类用来传达不稳定感的美学，在很大程度上是来自于“现场”的。通过对舞台和不可预测性的强调，以及对此时此地的人身危险的强调，劳工的不稳定状态在这里被传达为一种情感（或者，如 Hillenbrand 所说，一种“富有感染力的状态” [166]）。它并不只是为了引起人们对劳工状况的注意；还试图让观众也感同身受。这是一个为数字时代、为业余制作和在线传播而重新调整的“现场”，但它仍然是一个可识别的“现场”，它直接地——也许比过去更直接地——讲述社会不平等的问题，以及如何拍摄它，这一直是主流之外的影像制作所关注的问题。

距离我在北京的博士生活已经过去十多年了。现在的情况与当时已有种种不同。从政治上来讲，独立制作显然愈发艰辛；从形式上来讲，纪录片已经呈多样化发展，这种情况因媒介融合和图像生产的民主化而加剧。但不平等依然存在，因此亟需一种能够持续纪录不平等的语言。从某些专业人员仍然偏爱的纯粹主义视角，到艺术家影像作品中的纪录镜头，再到农民工在网上流传的自制视频，“此时此刻”用一种批判性的力量来表现一直在持续的社会经济分化。也许这有助于解释“现场”在当下的持续发展。

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Keyword: Memory

Paul PICKOWICZ

Abstract

In the more than three decades since the appearance of independent, non-state-sector filmmaking in China, the initiative has grown in many remarkable ways. One of the most captivating directions involves the activities of determined filmmakers who insist on probing the complicated and often controversial realm of memory. Memory means remembering the past. What should be remembered about the past? Officialdom (in all nations) typically has its own, self-serving way of remembering the past. But independent explorers of China's past refuse to function as cheerleaders or propagandists for the state. They are critical cultural producers dedicated to truth telling, even when it is painful. Consequently, their memory work has been highly sensitive and politically explosive. Officialdom prefers selective memory that pays homage to glorious moments in the history of the nation. They think remembering of this sort provides solid proof of the patriotism of filmmakers. Critical remembering that pays attention to the debacles of the past is said by officialdom to make China look bad. Remembering of this sort, they stress, is unpatriotic. Officialdom is thus insecure and defensive when it comes to the issue of memory. Independent filmmakers who take a critical approach to remembering are far more secure and confident. Their work often implies that remembering the traumas of the past is a higher form of patriotism and a way to prevent such tragedies from reoccurring.

I think it's best for me to do this as a deeply personal reflection. As we know, in the more than three decades since the appearance of independent, non-state-sector filmmaking in China, the initiative has grown in many remarkable ways. But, as an historian, the direction that captivates me more than any other involves the activities of determined filmmakers who insist on probing the complicated and often controversial realm of memory. Memory means remembering the past. What should be remembered about the past? Officialdom (in all nations) typically has its own, self-serving way of remembering the past. We must always keep in mind that independent explorers of China's past refuse to function as cheerleaders or propagandists for the state. They are critical cultural producers dedicated to truth telling, even when it is painful.

Not surprisingly, many in the state apparatus in China are opposed to independent remembering. They see it as out-of-control activity. As a consequence, such memory work has been and continues to be highly sensitive and politically explosive. Officialdom prefers selective memory that pays homage to glorious moments in the history of the nation. They think this sort of remembering provides solid proof of the patriotism and loyalty of filmmakers. Critical remembering that pays attention to the debacles of the past is said by officialdom to make China look bad. Remembering of this sort, they stress, is unpatriotic. Officialdom is thus insecure and defensive when it comes to the issue of memory. Independent filmmakers who take a critical approach to remembering are far more secure and confident. Their work often implies that remembering the traumas of the past is a higher form of patriotism and a way to prevent such tragedies from reoccurring.

It is useful to make a distinction between critical, independent filmmakers in China who focus on the past and those, like Ai Xiaoming (艾晓明), who engage in investigative filmmaking that treats the serious social and cultural problems of the present day. Needless to say, the problems of the present are quite often closely linked to the problems of the past, and I admire both sorts of politically engaged independent filmmaking. But I want to focus here on those who are devoted to remembering the past.

But what do independent, memory filmmakers in China mean when they refer to the past? China has thousands of years of history. Do they cover all of that? No, these independent filmmakers stress memories of modern China, especially the twentieth century and the years since the formation of the People's Republic in 1949.

In terms of genre, memory filmmakers have resoundingly favoured documentary rather than live-action filmmaking. Part of the reason for this is cost. Independent, live-action filmmaking is incredibly expensive. This does not mean that there are no independent, live-action films that deal in unforgettable ways with memory. Peng Tao's (彭韬) gut-wrenching *Red Snow* 红色血 (2006), a mind-boggling film about the ugly essence of the Cultural Revolution, is in my view one of the best Chinese films ever made.

A more important reason for the preference among memory filmmakers for the documentary genre has to do with sources. How exactly does one go about documenting traumas of the past that state leaders want the people of China to forget? Many of the most influential memory filmmakers in China prefer the documentary genre because they want to film interviews with witnesses, that is, people who actually experienced those traumas. This type of source quite literally puts a human face on the tribulations of past decades. They believe that this type of eyewitness source is more credible

than the sort of fictional characters who inhabit the live-action screen.

I understand their preference because long ago I encountered the same sourcing problem myself. Like most scholars of modern China who started out in the 1960s when there was no access to China for university-based American researchers, I worked exclusively with sources that were available outside China, including books, newspapers, public documents and archival materials. I wanted to do research on the ground in China and talk with people who had experienced China's modern history, but that was not an option. Finally, in 1978 I was able to start a long-term village field research project in a North China village and fell in love with face-to-face conversations with everyday villagers. We called these accounts oral histories. Of course, there is no such thing as a perfect source, and interviews are no exception. People's memories can be spotty and problematic. But I found the process to be intensely human and absolutely addictive.

In the mid-1980s I jumped at the chance to take such interviewing to the next level —— filmed interviews of witnesses to major historical events. I signed on with Ambrica Productions and functioned as Associate Producer of two documentaries, *China in Revolution, 1911-1949* (1989) and *The Mao Years, 1949-1976* (1994). My job was to identify potential interviewees and coordinate with my camera crew to film a wide array of conversations with witnesses. I learned what China's memory documentarians were discovering at about the same time: reading the words of a witness to trauma is not nearly as impactful or gripping as hearing the words (usually spoken with distinctive regional accents), seeing the facial expressions, and observing the body language of witnesses. It was hard to hold back tears during such filming sessions and even now, many years later, I get emotional when I view some of those old interviews.

The memory episodes I was able to film included village-level atrocities that occurred during the Sino-Japanese War (1937-45), brutal class warfare carried out during the Civil War (1945-49), the terrors of the 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign, and the agonies of the Great Famine (1958-1962). These crucial moments were life altering for millions of people. Their personal accounts are not only riveting, they are grassroots —— another key word that is now closely associated with independent filmmaking in China. In other words, we need to try to understand China's modern history not only from the top-down (as experienced by elites), but from the bottom-up (as experienced by ordinary citizens). Memory documentarians in China know that top-down histories are important, but independent, bottom-up, grassroots histories are special and have been ignored far too long.

As a scholar of Chinese filmmaking, I benefited enormously from my own involvement in grassroots documentary filmmaking. It became somewhat easier for me to see the world of filmmaking in the

ways these independent producers see it. I recommend that scholars of independent film find ways to visit production locations and perhaps even get involved in filmmaking projects. I require my undergraduate history students to engage in filmmaking. It changes the way they see and understand the films of others.

One of the key independent memory documentarians of the last thirty years is Wu Wenguang (吴文光), a native of Yunnan province in southwest China. Wu has engaged in many different kinds of independent filmmaking, but the aspect I want to emphasize here is his truly pioneering work in promoting and developing a field of documentary filmmaking that focuses on memories of recent Chinese history, especially the years since 1949. Like me, he got interested years ago in filming the grassroots testimonies of witnesses to many of the most important moments of the 1950s and 1960s. Indeed, to this day Wu calls this ongoing activity the Memory Project. I first visited his amazing Caochangdi (草场地) workstation in a northeast suburb of Beijing in summer 2011, one year after the Memory Project was launched. After his team was compelled to relocate in 2017, I visited him once again in fall 2019 in his new workspace in the remote village of Qinjiatun (秦家屯) north of Beijing. I was so impressed by the grassroots historical documentaries produced by the Memory Project that I helped organize two international workshops, one at the University of California, San Diego in June 2014 and one at the University of Edinburgh in November 2014, both of which highlighted the work of young filmmakers trained by Wu Wenguang.

My 2011 trek to the Caochangdi workstation in Beijing was truly remarkable, and seeing it helped me understand the passions of young artists who are dedicated to remembering. It was not enough for me to see their films; it was necessary to meet them and learn about their backgrounds and motivations. After all, they were engaging in work that was not welcomed by officialdom and they certainly weren't in it for the money since their films could not be easily shown on television or in state-run cinemas in China. Their approach to the recent history of state socialism in China was highly critical, but the original Caochangdi workstation functioned nonetheless as a groovy commune. Young people recruited by Wu Wenguang from all over China lived together in the complex, grew their own vegetables, prepared their own meals, ate collectively, and studied filmmaking together throughout the day — with occasional breaks for group yoga sessions. It reminded me of American counterculture, hippie communes of the 1960s. The new and more remote workstation in Qinjiatun that I visited in 2019 is much simpler, but still features the main components of the old complex — including enjoyable yoga sessions.

Wu Wenguang and his team make all sorts of films, but here I will focus only on the people most actively involved in the Memory Project. Wu stresses the need to recruit young women and men from

rural China. That is to say, many come from farming families located in nondescript villages. Typical activists in the Memory Project are beginners who have little or no prior training in filmmaking. Living and bonding at the workstation, they learn the basics of digital filmmaking, including the crucial process of editing and the struggle to produce a coherent final product. The most important thing they learn is that it's not that hard to make a movie. Don't be intimidated. Just do it. You don't need a fancy Beijing Film Academy education. Once their basic, group-oriented training is complete, Wu urges them to go back to their home villages (with basic equipment supplied by him) and film interviews with elderly and sometimes infirm neighbors. Probe their memories. Ask them about their experiences in the past.

One of the main priorities of the Memory Project is the Great Famine of 1958-1962, the largest famine in world history. It was a self-inflicted wound caused by Mao Zedong's catastrophic Great Leap Forward. The famine is not a subject taught in schools in China. It was an excruciating time for Chinese villagers, a time that officialdom wants the world to forget. The young filmmakers trained by Wu Wenguang knew very little about the dimensions of the famine in their own villages. Early Memory Project filmmakers were mainly in their twenties, born more than two decades after the famine. The challenge was to go back to their villages, with digital camera in hand, and find elderly villagers who were about 20 years old in 1960. These people would have experienced the crushing weight of the famine. In 2010, when much of this type of memory filmmaking was being undertaken by Wu's team, these villagers would have been about 70 years old — or older. Many were clearly in bad health, but their memories were surprisingly sharp. And most had no qualms about sharing their experiences.

An excellent example of an early-stage Memory Project documentary filmmaker is Zou Xueping (邹雪平), a native of Zoujiacun (邹家村) village in Shandong province. I first met Zou in 2014. It was refreshing to get to know a woman filmmaker because the Chinese film world has been dominated by men from the 1920s to the present. Zou joined the Caochangdi workstation in 2009 when she was 23 years old and managed to produce a film a year for the next five years, all of which focus on her home village and involve filmed interviews of local villagers, some of whom are family members. Her work is a superb example of memory documentaries that stress the testimonies of grassroots witnesses. Zou's films are easily accessible, and I urge readers to take a look for themselves.

I'll mention three of Zou Xueping's films here. *Starving Village* 饥饿的村子 (2010) deals directly with the testimonies of fifteen elderly villagers who experienced first-hand the unimaginable privations of the Great Famine. These powerful interviews are rough-and-tumble and Zou does little to clean them up. Zou estimates that 20 percent of Zoujiacun villagers died during the famine. Although many

of her interviewees are in fragile condition, their testimonies are credible. One of the hallmarks of memory documentaries is that filmmakers like Zou Xueping are not heavy handed and do not try to hit viewers over the head with a rigid, one-dimensional takeaway message. She lets the witnesses speak for themselves. Viewers can make up their own minds.

Children's Village 孩子的村子 (2012) is a remarkable film that takes the Memory Project in a new and unexpected direction. In this work, Zou Xueping mobilizes village children, ages 11-13. It is not enough for a novice filmmaker like Zou to educate herself about village history, she is determined to get local children involved in the remembering process. Zou got her basic training from Wu Wenguang, but back in the village she asserts that it is her duty to organize children (most of them young girls) and teach them how to use a camera and how to interview the elderly. This refreshing development constitutes a deepening of the democratization and diversification of cultural production. The kids are very excited and begin at once to film the heartbreaking testimonies of elders. The children are not only learning about village history and why it's important to remember, they are recording history.

This raises a challenging question about the aesthetics of memory documentaries. This work forces us to rethink our aesthetic categories and standards. By the aesthetic standards of many artists at the Beijing Film Academy, these are low-grade, inferior films. There are all sorts of interruptions and distractions, the camera often moves about randomly, kids run in and out, the sound is uneven, many of the elderly have hearing disabilities, and dogs and chickens are running about making lots of noise. I concluded long ago that the apparent aesthetic messiness of these memory documentaries makes them more human, more convincing, and more charming. These are real people, and this is serious filmmaking.

Trash Village 垃圾的村子 (2013) is not a memory documentary, but rather an astounding example of the political and social consequences of encouraging village children to learn about history and teaching them how to use a camera. The process is empowering. Vividly aware that Zoujiacun village is littered with trash and that village adults don't seem to care, the kids (again, mainly young girls) decide to organize a village clean-up campaign. They are delighted that Zou Xueping decides to make a documentary about their project. The youngsters enjoy being filmed by Zou and are happy to talk about their discussions with adult villagers who think it's stupid to go about picking up other peoples' trash. *Trash Village* makes the crucial point that memory filmmaking involves more than remembering the past. Memory filmmaking can and should connect past and present.

I'll end this reflection by pointing to three problems that face documentary artists who film

interviews with grassroots witnesses to key moments in China's modern history. First, the clock is ticking. All the people I filmed in the mid-1980s and early 1990s about events that happened in the 1937-1962 period have now passed away. Had we not filmed them in their later years, we would not be able to watch them telling their stories today. I made my first visit to China in 1971, in the middle of the Cultural Revolution. It seems like yesterday to me. But it was half a century ago. People who were 20 years old when the Cultural Revolution started in 1966 are now in their mid-70s. We need more filmed interviews of people who experienced the Cultural Revolution — before it's too late. Thankfully, documentarians associated with the University of Pittsburgh have in recent years filmed hundreds of interviews of people who witnessed the Cultural Revolution. (See [*The Cultural Revolution: 10 \(CR/10\) Project*](#)) The documentarians who filmed these extraordinary interviews were born and raised in China but now live and work in the United States. This raises the question of whether filmmakers who reside outside China can be considered independent, non-state-sector, Chinese filmmakers. I think they can. With respect to the events surrounding the 1989 Tiananmen protests, another moment that officialdom wants the people of China to forget, we tend to think of this as a fairly recent event. But the fact is that people who were 20 in 1989 are now in their early 50s. This is another memory topic that needs considerable attention before it is too late. Yes, the clock is ticking.

Second is the problem of ethics. Back in 2016 an independent documentarian showed me a rough cut of a deeply disturbing film about powerful Chinese men who abused young women in systemic ways during the 1950s and 1960s. At one point I noticed that the camera seemed to be in an awkward position. I was told that a hidden camera was used because interviewees would not have spoken if they knew they were being filmed. Hidden camera? This practice is wrong and should never be used. All interviewees must agree to be filmed. It is the obligation of memory documentarians to win the trust of people they want to film.

Third, there are ongoing problems related to the dissemination of memory documentaries. State censorship boundaries have been constantly expanding and contracting since 1990. Filmmakers diligently monitor the situation and respond accordingly and creatively. Censorship, especially when it comes to documentaries that remember traumas and include grassroots testimonies of witnesses, has been steadily tightening in recent years. For example, all the annual independent film festivals staged in China have been shut down. Nonetheless, memory films continue to be made and key players, including Wu Wenguang, continue to travel abroad where their films are screened, discussed and archived. International scholarly interest in Chinese memory work continues to be high. And at this critical juncture it is important to appreciate that Chinese officialdom does not behave in a uniform way. Differences of opinion are expressed behind the scenes — and sometimes openly

— in government circles. Some in authority actually welcome the work of memory filmmakers and believe it is essential to remember the traumas of the post-1949 period. Conservatives, for their part, want acts of remembering to stress foreign aggression during what is now referred to as the Century of Humiliation. Their priority is to stoke superficial nationalism and uncritical loyalty to the state. But producers of memory documentaries reject the amnesia agenda — insisting instead that it is essential to remember the details and impacts of painful self-inflicted wounds. These filmmakers do not expect scholars to heap praise on everything they produce. On the contrary, they welcome discussion and debate. They deserve our utmost respect.

关键词：记忆

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概要

在过去的三十多年里，民间独立影像制作在中国诞生并在许多方面得到了显著的发展。其最具魅力的一点就是影像导演坚持不懈地探索复杂且有争议性的历史记忆领域。关于过去，什么才是应该被记载的呢？（所有的国家）官方通常都用一套有利于自己的方式来记载过去。但对中国历史进行独立探索的人们则拒绝充当国家机器的宣传者。他们是具有批判意识的文化生产者，致力于讲述真相，即使是那些不堪回首的痛楚。因此，他们的记忆工作常常具有高敏感性和政治爆炸性。当局则更倾向于对国家历史的高光时刻进行选择记忆，他们认为记载这类历史是影像作者爱国主义情怀的体现。当局认为对历史上失败的尝试进行批评性记录会给国家形象带来很多负面影响。强调这样的记忆是不爱国的。因此，当涉及到记忆问题时，当局会感到不安且存有戒心。对历史记忆采取批判态度的独立影像导演则更从容也更自信。他们的作品常常暗示，对历史创伤的记忆进行记录是一种更高形式的爱国主义，同时也为了防止类似悲剧再次发生。

我想把这篇文章作为一次深刻的自我反思。正如我们所知，在过去的三十多年里，民间独立影像制作在中国诞生并在许多方面得到了显著的发展。但是，作为一名历史学家，我最感兴趣的一点就是影像导演坚持不懈地探索复杂且有争议性的历史记忆领域。记忆意味着对过去的记忆。关于过去，什么才是应该被记载的呢？（所有的国家）官方通常都用一套有利于自己的方式来记载过去。但对中国历史进行独立探索的人们则拒绝充当国家机器的宣传者。他们是具有批判意识的文化生产者，致力于讲述真相，即使是那些不堪回首的痛楚。

毫不奇怪，许多为中国国家机器服务的人都反对独立记忆。他们认为这类活动是失控的。因此，此类记忆工作一直（并将持续）被视为高敏感的和极具政治爆炸性的。当局则更倾向于对国家历史的高光时刻进行选择记忆，认为记载这类历史是影像导演爱国主义情怀的体现。当局认为对历史上失败的尝试进行批评性记录会给国家形象带来很多负面影响。他们强调这样的记忆是不爱国的。因此，当涉及到记忆问题时，当局会感到不安且存有戒心。对历史记忆采取批判态度的独立影像导演则更从容也更自信。他们的作品常常暗示，对历史创伤的记忆进行纪录是一种更高形式的爱国主义，同时也为了防止类似悲剧再次发生。

我们有必要对那些对历史进行批评反思的中国独立影像导演和像艾晓明这种对当今严肃的社会和文化问题进行调查研究的独立影像导演进行区分。当然，当下的问题往往与过去的问题密切相关，我

对这两种政治性的独立影像创作都很欣赏。但我这里主要讨论那些致力于记忆过去的作者们。

但在中国，独立的记忆影像导演探索的是什么样的过去呢？他们的作品涵盖了中国上下几千年的历史吗？并不是，这些独立影像导演主要关注的是对现代中国的记忆，尤其是二十世纪以来及 1949 年中华人民共和国成立之后的岁月。

就影像类型而言，记忆影像导演一致偏爱纪录片的手法而非现场表演的方式，其部分原因是成本。由真人表演的独立影像成本非常昂贵。但这并不代表由真人表演的独立影像不能以发人深省的方式处理记忆问题。如彭韬的《红色雪》（2006）揭露了文化大革命的丑陋本质，在我看来是有史以来最好的中国电影之一。

还有一个让记忆影像导演偏爱纪录片的更重要的原因就是其对记忆来源的记录。我们究竟该如何去记录那些当权者希望人民忘记的历史创伤呢？在中国，许多最有影响力的记忆影像导演都更偏爱纪录片，因为他们想采访那些历史创伤的亲历者。这种记忆来源为中国过去几十年的磨难赋予了人性的色彩。他们认为，这种来自历史见证者的记忆来源比由真人扮演的虚构人物更可信。

我理解他们这种的偏爱，因为很久以前我自己也遇到了同样的信息源问题。像大多数研究现代中国的学者一样，我六十年代的时候就开始研究中国，当时美国大学研究人员还无法进入中国进行研究，我只能利用中国境外的资料，包括书籍，报纸，公共文件和档案材料。我渴望的是在中国实地做研究，与经历过中国现代历史的人交谈，但无法成行。终于，在 1978 年，我得以在中国北方的一个村庄进行一个长期的乡村田野研究项目，并热爱上与村民进行对话。我们把这些叙述称为口述历史。当然，没有完美的信息源，访谈也不例外。人们的记忆可能是不完整的或模糊的。但我发现这个过程充满了对人性的探索，让人十分着迷。

二十世纪八十年代中期，我有机会得以将这种采访提升到新的水平——对重大历史事件的亲历者进行拍摄采访。我与 Ambrica 制作公司签约，担任两部纪录片《革命中的中国，1911–1949》（1989）和《毛泽东时代，1949–1976》（1994）的副制片人。我的主要工作是确定可能的受访者，并与我的摄制组协调，拍摄一系列与这些历史见证人的谈话。我认识到与同时期中国历史记忆纪录片人探索到的相似的内容：阅读历史创伤亲历者的文字，远不如聆听他们的话语（通常带有独特的地方口音）或观察他们的面部表情及身体语言更有冲击力和吸引力。在这拍摄过程中，我常常强忍住泪水，甚至在许多年后的今天，再次回顾这些之前的采访，我也会十分感动。

我当时记录的历史事件包括中日战争（1937–45）期间发生的村暴，内战（1945–49）期间进行的残酷阶级斗争，1957 年反右运动的恐怖活动以及大饥荒时期（1958–1962）个体的苦难。这些关键的历史事件改变了数百万人的命运。他们的个人陈述不仅引人入胜，而且颇具草根性——这也是一个现在与中国独立影像密切相关的关键词。换句话说，我们对现代中国的理解不仅要自上而

下的（精英们的经历），而且要是自下而上的（普通民众的经历）。中国的历史记忆记录者很了解自上而下的历史的重要性，但却长期忽视那些独立的，自下而上的，草根的独特历史。

作为一个研究中国影像制作的学者，我从自己参与的民间纪录片制作中受益匪浅，能更理解独立制片人看待影像制作的方式。我建议研究独立影像的学者们尽量去实地考察研究拍摄地点，甚至自己参与到影像制作中去。同时我也要求我的历史系本科生参与到影像制作中，这可以改变他们理解影像的方式。

吴文光是过去三十年来重要的独立记忆影像记录者之一，他来自位于中国西南地区的云南。吴文光从事过许多不同类型的独立影像制作，但我想在此强调的是，他在推动发展中国（尤其是 1949 年以来的）记忆影像的领域具有先锋作用。像我一样，他多年前就开始对记录五六十年代重要历史时刻见证者的民间证词产生了兴趣。事实上，直到今天，吴先生还把这项正在进行的影像纪录活动称为“记忆项目”。2011 年夏天，在“记忆项目”启动一年后，我第一次参观了他位于北京东北郊的草场地工作站。后来，他的团队被迫于 2017 年搬迁。我于 2019 年秋天再次拜访了他在偏远的北京北部秦家屯村的新工作空间。“记忆项目”制作的民间历史纪录片给我留下了深刻的印象，我帮助组织了两次国际研讨会，一次是 2014 年 6 月在加州大学圣地亚哥分校，一次是 2014 年 11 月在爱丁堡大学，这两次研讨会都把重点放在吴文光培训的那些青年导演的作品上。

2011 年到北京的草场地工作站之旅对我影响深远，它让我更了解那些年轻艺术家对记忆研究的热情。对我来说，仅仅观看他们的影像作品是不够的；当面见到他们并了解他们的背景和动机是十分必要的。毕竟，他们从事的工作不受官方欢迎，他们当然不是为了盈利，因为他们的影像很难在中国的电视上或主流电影院中放映。虽然他们对中国国家社会主义的历史持高度批判的态度，但最初的草场地工作站还是以公社的形式运作的综合体。吴文光从中国各地招募来的年轻人共同生活在这个集体中，一起种菜、做饭、吃饭，整天一起研究影像创作——偶尔休息一下，一起做做瑜伽。这让我想起了美国的反主流文化，如六十年代的嬉皮社区。我在 2019 年访问的新的秦家屯工作站更偏远也更简单得多，但仍有旧（草场地）综合体的主要组成部分——包括令人愉悦的瑜伽课。

吴文光和他的团队拍摄了各种各样的影像，但在这篇文章里我想主要谈谈那些“记忆项目”中最积极的参与者。吴文光主张招募来自中国普通农村家庭的青年男女们。很多“记忆项目”的参与者都是初学者，他们之前几乎没有接受过任何影像制作方面的训练。他们在工作站生活，学习数字影像制作的基本知识，包括剪辑和制作成片的整套过程。他们学到的最重要的知识就是，制作一部影像并不难，不要被吓到，只管努力去做，你并不需要接受花哨的北京电影学院的教育。一旦他们完成了这些基本的集体训练，吴文光就会让他们回到自己的村子（由他提供基本拍摄设备）去拍摄那些年老体弱的村民们，探索他们的记忆和过去的经历。

“记忆项目的研究重点之一是 1958–1962 年的大饥荒。这是世界历史上最大的饥荒，也是毛泽东的“大

跃进”给中国造成的灾难性伤害。在中国，大饥荒在学校课本中并不存在。对中国农民来说，那是一段痛苦的日子，也是一段当局希望全世界忘记的记忆。吴文光培训的青年导演们对他们自己村庄的饥荒规模知之甚少。早期“记忆项目”影像导演大多只有二十几岁，他们在大饥荒的二十多年后才出生。他们要回到自己的村庄，用手中的数码摄像机拍摄村里那些在1960年时二十岁左右的人们，那些曾经历过大饥荒沉重打击的老年村民。2010年，当吴文光的团队在进行这种类型的记忆拍摄时，这些村民大概有七十多岁。他们许多人虽然健康状况不佳，但记忆却出奇地清晰，而且大多数人对分享他们的经历毫无顾虑。

来自山东省邹家村的邹雪平是早期“记忆项目”培训的优秀纪录片导演之一。我第一次见到邹雪平是在2014年。认识女性导演令我耳目一新，因为从1920年代至今，中国电影界一直由男性主导。邹雪平于2009年加入草场地工作站，当时她二十三岁，在接下来的五年里，她每年都会制作一部影像，所有的影像都以她的家乡为中心，包括对当地村民进行拍摄采访，其中一些拍摄对象还是她的家人。她的作品极好地表现了记忆影像中民间证词的重要性。邹雪平的影像很容易找到，我建议读者自己去看一看。

在此我将主要讨论一下邹雪平的三部影像。《饥饿的村子》（2010）直接展现了十五位亲历大饥荒的老年村民的证词。这些证词简单粗糙但极富张力，邹雪平几乎没对它们进行任何处理。根据邹雪平的估计，百分之二十的邹家村村民都在大饥荒中死亡。尽管她的许多受访者身体状况不佳，但他们证词却是可信的。记忆纪录片的一个特点就是，邹雪平这类导演的影像方式并不粗糙，也不用僵硬的、一板一眼的宣传方式来绑架观众。她让受访者为自己证言，观众也可以做出自己的判断。

《孩子的村子》（2012）是一部了不起的影像，它将“记忆项目”带入了一个崭新的方向。邹雪平让很多十一到十三岁的农村儿童参与到这部影像中。对于像邹雪平这样的青年导演来说，仅仅教育自己了解村庄历史是不够的，她决定让当地儿童也参与到对村子的记忆中来。从吴文光那里得到了影像的基础训练后，邹雪平回到村里，她坚信自己的责任是把孩子们（大部分是女孩子们）组织起来，教他们如何使用摄像机，如何采访村里的老人。这一新发展对文化生产的民主化和多样化进行了深化。孩子们非常兴奋并马上着手拍摄老人们让人心碎的证词。孩子们不仅在学习村庄的历史，更重要的是学习为什么要记住历史，他们同时也在自己记录历史。

这就涉及到一个关于记忆纪录片美学的问题。这部作品让我们重新思考影像的审美类型和评价标准。按照北京电影学院许多艺术家的审美标准，这类影像是低档次的劣质影像，里面有各种各样的中断和干扰，摄像机经常随意移动，孩子们跑进跑出，声音不均，许多受访的老人都有听力障碍，村子里的鸡鸣狗吠又产生了很多噪音。我很久以前就得出过结论，这些记忆纪录片中显而易见的美学倒错让影像更具人性，更有说服力，也更有魅力。这是以一种严肃的影像拍摄方式记录真实的人。

《垃圾的村子》（2013）不是一部记忆纪录片，而是通过鼓励村里的孩子学习历史并教他们如何使用

摄像机，来以一种令人深省的方式展现其政治和社会影响。这一过程影响深远。孩子们（主要是女孩子们）意识到，邹家村垃圾遍地，而村里的成年人似乎并不在意，他们决定组织一次村庄清扫活动。他们很高兴邹雪平愿意以影像的形式记录他们的活动。孩子们喜欢被邹雪平拍摄，并乐于讨论他们与成年村民的对话，那些村民认为捡拾别人的垃圾是愚蠢的行为。《垃圾的村子》提出的一个重点是，记忆影像不仅仅涉及到对过去的记忆，而且应该承接过去和现在。

在这篇文章最后，我想指出纪录片艺术创作者在拍摄中国现代历史关键时刻的民间见证者时所面临的三个问题。首先，时间在流逝。我在八十年代中期和九十年代初期采访拍摄的那些 1937–1962 年期间的历史见证者们现在都已去世。如果当年没有在他们的晚年采访到他们，我们今天就无法看到他们对自己故事的陈述。我第一次访问中国是在 1971 年，当时正处于文化大革命期间。对我来说，这就像是昨天的事，但实际上已经是半个世纪前发生的事。1966 年文化大革命开始时二十岁的人，现在已经七十多岁了。我们需要对经历过文化大革命的人进行更多的拍摄采访——否则就来不及了。值得庆幸的是，匹兹堡大学的纪录片导演们近年来拍摄了数百个文化大革命见证者的访谈（见 [The Cultural Revolution: 10 \(CR/10\) Project](#)）。这些纪录片导演们在中国出生并长大，但现在美国定居。这就提出了一个问题：中国境外的导演是否可以被视为民间独立影像导演。我认为是可以的。1989 年的天安门事件是中国当局希望人民忘记的另一个历史时刻，也是一个相对来说年代比较近的事件。但事实是，1989 年二十岁的人现在也已经五十多岁了。这是另一个我们亟需关注的历史记忆主题，否则就来不及了。没错，时间在流逝。

其次是道德问题。2016 年，一位独立纪录片导演给我看了一部令我深深不安的影片粗剪。该片表现了在二十世纪五六十年代，有权有势的中国男性对年轻女性有组织性的虐待。我注意到摄像机似乎处于一个奇怪的位置。他告诉我，之所以使用隐藏式摄像机，是因为如果受访者知道自己被拍摄，就不会说话了。隐藏式摄像机？这种做法是错误的，绝对不应该在纪录片中使用。所有受访者都必须同意被拍摄。赢得被拍摄者的信任是记忆纪录片导演的责任。

第三，记忆纪录片的传播途径有限。自 1990 年以来，国家审查制度的边界一直在不断变化。影像导演一直对其边界进行观察试探，并作出相应的应对措施。近年来，尤其在涉及到历史创伤和民间证人证词的纪录片时，审查一直在不断收紧。例如，在中国境内举办的所有独立电影节都被叫停了。然而，记忆影像的创作仍在继续，包括吴文光在内的主要导演的影像在国外被放映、讨论及收藏。国际学术界对中国记忆工作的兴趣仍然很高。在这一关键时刻，值得注意的是，当局口径不一。在政府的圈子里，不同的意见有时是私下沟通的，有时是公开表达的。一些当权者实际上是对记忆影像导演的工作持接受态度的，他们认为记住 1949 年后的历史创伤很重要。但保守派则希望通过各种纪念活动来强调一个世纪以来外国列强对中华民族的侵略和羞辱。他们的首要任务是激起民族主义情绪，让人民对国家保持绝对忠诚。但是，记忆记录者们拒绝对真实历史的遗忘——他们坚信应牢记自我施加的那些痛苦的伤口的细节和影响。这些影像导演并不期望学者们对他们的每一部作品都大加赞赏。相反，他们对讨论和批评持开放态度。他们值得我们最大的尊重。

Keyword: Migrant Worker

Luisa PRUDENTINO

Abstract

This paper is an introductory essay on Chinese independent documentaries about rural migrant workers. It focuses specifically on the relation between migrants and trains (or train stations), understood as both a place and a metaphor. It explores the recurring characters in this particular kind of film, especially the rural migrant *mingong* who experiences the city.

According to the latest estimates, there are nearly 300 million migrant workers in the PRC today.¹ Moreover, the statistics represent only a part of the migrant population. Many are not registered and therefore counted. But what is this satirical category that is hard to define and that includes more individuals than the whole of Europe? Half-citizens, half-countrymen, these individuals, who are often classified as 'floating population' *liudong renkou* (流动人口), are first of all migrants and it is this dynamic state that distinguishes them: they don't live in the countryside anymore but neither do they live in the city; they are integrated into the urban economy but they are also involved in agricultural or para-agricultural activities; they are city-dwellers but not necessarily citizens... Since this statistical category combines social, economic, and political dimensions, it crystallizes the main stakes of the urbanization process in China today. These 'floaters' exist because the Chinese government has always resorted to an administrative means to control the movements of the population: the *hukou* (户口). This document, adopted by Mao in the mid-1950s, aimed to avoid the massive movements of the population from the countryside to the city. It consists of a part which makes a distinction between 'agricultural' and 'non-agricultural' individuals and of another part which establishes a link between the individual and the place of residence. This distinction establishes a dual legal regime between the city and the countryside, particularly with regard to land and access to public services; as far as 'the incorporation to the place of residence' is concerned, it administratively limits access to public services. This labor is stigmatized by an expression the *mingong* (民工), that is the workers who come from the countryside. For a long time, they were invisible both statistically and administratively speaking, but their role in the Chinese economic model was visible. Only the census of 2000 made it possible to understand the demographic reality of migration. In fact, for the very first time, this questionnaire allowed us to know the duration of someone's stay in the city, identifying the

'floaters', Some of this information was surprising. The greatest surprise was Shenzhen: in 2000, the *Statistical Yearbook of Chinese Cities*, based on assessments of the population officially registered in this city, gave the total population as 1.3 million. The census gave seven million! More than five million people lived and worked in Shenzhen even if their *hukou* was registered elsewhere. Today, most major Chinese cities still have several thousand or even one or two million migrants, although the development gap between the rural inland areas—where migrants traditionally originated—and the rich, industrialised coastal areas that were their destination is gradually narrowing.

Since the mid-2000s, the discursive regime of 'social harmony' has become the 'main melody' in Chinese politics, forming a response to the increasing alleged social injustice and inequality emerging in mainland Chinese society as a result of unchecked economic growth. Along with this focus in the political realm, the figure of the *mingong* has also become a favourite subject matter in documentary films that focus on marginal identities. It is in this political context that official television has designed a series of documentaries devoted to the figure of the migrant worker. One of the most representative is *Talking About Rural Migrant Workers* 话说农民工 (2009), a ten-episode documentary produced by China Central television (CCTV). That series, although made with a certain empathy, is not free from the typical stylistic features of propaganda in both form and content. In fact, 'rural migrant individuals appear in the series only to be seen, rather than heard' (Sun 2013, p. 5); the approach is often paternalistic, even voyeuristic, and the voice-over adds pathos to situations which, although real, appear fictional on screen.

Indie cinema has move away from this rather complacent depiction of migrants, and, while continuing to favour a documentary approach, has made a totally different analysis of the figure of the migrant in contemporary Chinese society. The appearance of DV technology has enabled the creation of many films in an alternative film industry totally different from 'main melody' cinema. Working often alone or with a very small team, filmmakers have seized this new technology, which is also easy to access, to cast a lucid glance over the new urban realities and the migrants who have arrive there. With just a cameraman and a sound engineer at her side, the filmmaker Guo Xiaolu (郭小橹) walks through Beijing in her movie *The Concrete Revolution* 嵌入肉体的城市 (2004). She shows how the old Beijing is rapidly crumbling away, how house after house is demolished to make room for the new China. The favourite hangout of Guo Xiaolu is the largest construction site in the city, where the preparations for the 2008 Olympic Games are well under way. The climax of this poetic anti-narrative essay-documentary is when one of the construction workers cries on camera: he left the countryside to come to Beijing and work as a manual laborer in order to support his wife and two children; he cries because the construction company has not paid him for months. 'You are nothing without money in this society,' he said on camera. This documentary can thus be considered as a

kind of 'transitional' documentary between main melody and independent documentaries: although the film includes voice-over commentary, a technique that typically characterises main melody documentaries, it displays reality naked and raw in front of the viewer's eyes. The migrants speak in front of the camera and Guo Xiaolu gives them enough time to narrate their experiences in full. Unfolding in an innovative visual style, between effects created by the director and real images (the whole according to a sometimes-dizzying rhythm), the film contributes symbolically on the one hand to the idea of a society in perpetual movement, and on the other hand also allows the spectators to get the seriousness of the reasons that drive rural migrants to leave their hometowns: the rural poverty and, at the same time, the hope, despite everything, for a better life.

This point is particularly well illustrated in Jia Zhangke's (贾樟柯) films. In fact, as Xiao Jiwei says:

Jia's work is more than a cogent depiction of specific locales and times. His critique of Chinese urbanization and modernization is filtered through a poetic, often elegiac, view of the ephemeral present. If in a social critic's eyes, for example, 'leaving' home/land is inevitably associated with economic disparity and forced migration, for a poet, leaving is also escaping from the present and seeking freedom—it is the permanent state of modern existence. The prevalence of transportation vehicles in Jia's films—train, bus, car, plane, boat, motorbikes, flat-bed truck, monorail, etc.—is the reality of a society in great flux as well as a metaphor for the inner restlessness of its citizens set adrift from home/land and trying to catch up with the change (Xiao 2011).

This instability that Xiao talks about is the basis of Jia Zhangke's second feature film, which has a particularly evocative title: *Platform* 站台 (2000). This film is not about migrant workers, as in his sixth feature film, *Still life* 三峡好人 (2006). but the protagonists, young actors of a theatre troupe facing privatisation reform of the 1980s, stuck in the boring life of a small provincial town, dreaming of going elsewhere. The platform is the starting point for all their hopes. But the journey that seems to have been made in ten years by the little troupe collapses in the epilogue, where one realises that the characters have only been going in circles. The 'platform' of the title becomes more of a platform on which they return to their point of departure than one that allows them to escape.

Whatever their metaphorical significance, railway stations and trains play a prominent role in the films that filmmakers devote to the *mingong* in the first decade of the new millennium, filming their wandering from village to city. In fact, their passage from the countryside to the city starts at a train station, which represents the last link they maintain with their village: at the train station, they eat, sleep, and wait for the train of hope. This is why, for the 2021 edition of *La Semaine du Cinema Chinois* (*Chinese Film Week*) in La Rochelle (France), which I have been the programmer

for since its inception in 2013, I plan to dedicate a section called *Train(s) de Vie (Rail-ways of Life)* to the figure of the *mingong*. Playing on the double meaning that the word 'train' assumes in this French expression, I want to show films dedicated to migrant workers for whom the train becomes the symbol of hope for change in their lives. In fact, this can be clearly noticed in the documentary *Looking for a Job in the City* 进城打工 (dir. Ning Ying 宁瀛, 2003), that was made in collaboration with UNICEF. At the station in a very small village in Sichuan, Ning Ying interviewed some young girls who, forced by necessity, decided to migrate to the city. Anyone moving from the country to the city faces an obvious level of cultural disruption. But the disruption is greatly intensified for a simple farm girl. As a matter of fact, a great number of these *mingong* are women, since employers consider them more docile and less demanding than men. In this documentary, most of them have never taken a train in their life ... Their accounts, naïve and intense at the same time, are very moving. The French metaphor here takes on its full meaning since the notion of destiny it implies corresponds particularly to these young girls who do not know what awaits them in town. All they can do is hope, rely on fate, and let themselves be carried away by ... the train of life.

The second film that I showed in this section was *Last Train Home* 归途列车 (dir. Fan Lixin 範立欣, 2009). This is another documentary where the train is an effective metaphor of the vagaries suffered by all these migrants, but also of their hopes for a better life and a good future for their children. To show us their arduous and frustrating journey and reveal the impact their long-term absence has on their families, the filmmaker follows Chen Suqin and her husband Zhang Changhua, as they return from their factory jobs in Guangzhou to their family home, a rural farm, where they reunite with their two children, who have been left in the care of Chen's mother. In focusing on one family, Fan Lixin puts a human face on widespread hardship conditions in China. Like millions of others, Chen and Zhang have left their remote farm to work at factory jobs in the city so they can support their children's education. When the Chinese New Year comes, they, like millions of others, travel home to see their children, who have remained on the farm to work the land while going to school. Their painfully bipolar family life is a problematic condition similarly found in millions of other contemporary Chinese families. Chen and Zhang manage to board the train, but must then continue their journey by ferry, bus, and on foot, toting heavy bags. At first, the family's reunion seems great. But their absence has caused deep tensions which soon surfaces: the daughter expresses anger at her parents because of understandable feelings of abandonment and such anger suddenly erupt into a shouting match and a fistfight. At the end of the film, the daughter refuses to continue her schooling and leaves home. She travels to southern China and finds a job in a nightclub: she herself becomes a new migrant worker, repeating the cycle in the tragedy of migration. The title refers to the last sequence of the film: the mother's giving up her job to take care of her son's education. She can only end one separation by causing another. The title refers also to the last hope of Chen Suqin not to

sacrifice her children on the rails of the high-speed train of unbridled modernity taken by China.

In contrast to self-effacing style of Fan Lixin's movie, in her documentary *Railway of Hope* 希望之旅 (dir. Ning Ying, 2002), following agricultural workers who leave Sichuan by train for a long journey towards China's far-west Xinjiang, where endless cotton fields are awaiting for the harvest, Ning Ying foregrounds her own presence through her exchanges with fellow passengers, as they respond to her disarmingly direct questions about their lives, hopes, and dreams with heartbreaking candour. People seem to be more optimistic here than in other documentaries, especially women. In fact, economic reform brought forth by the capitalist system makes it possible for women to relocate, a move that gives them hope to overcome economic hardship and cross-generational gender oppression. That hope to overcome pre-modern rural conservatism and inequality via the modernisation process keeps them optimistic. As Eric Florence points out:

One should note that younger people in the same film tend to put forward reasons more related to positive and 'emancipatory values', such as the will to change one's condition compared to their older counterparts. What this shows is that the decisions these people make are interwoven and shaped by a number of forces, such as normative family and gender expectations, expectations regarding social mobility, material constraints related to health and education costs, as well as a politics of desire constructed within the migration process. These elements all combine to shape migrant workers' subjectivities and agency in complex ways (Florence 2018).

The will to change one's own condition also drives the dreams of Xiao Min, Ling Ling, and Lao Ye, the young protagonists of *Bitter Money* 苦钱 (dir. Wang Bing 王兵, 2016). In the carriages of the umpteenth Chinese train, their bodies entangled in search of sleep, they have just left their village in Yunnan for the city of Huzhou, which has 18,000 small-scale garment factories and employs more than 300,000 workers. The young migrants discover the city as soon as they get off their train, when with their backpacks and wheeled suitcases they head for their new home. The concrete is still bare and the architecture is a succession of grey corridors, balconies, and stairwells. And the décor is just as rough in the dormitories, as if to indicate that the work that awaits them is very hard and the conditions more than basic. The mobile phone is the only 'luxury' that allows them to keep in touch with those who have left home. As with all of Wang Bing's films, there is a lot of displacement in this one too. People walk, they are followed, and he sets himself to track the footsteps of people going their way. In doing so, he walks in other people's footsteps and cleaves to the situation in the companionship of a distant intimacy. This is how he films the drama of Ling Ling, who is rendered completely sleepless by the incessant noise of the sewing machines, so that she can no longer work in the workshops and, above all, is chased out of her home by an abusive husband who has suffered

a tragedy of his own when a machine cuts off the fingers of his hand. The camera of Wang Bing cleaves to a world, and then it moves on to another situation and it turns experiences that for a while. Exploited, very poor, mistreated, exhausted, these people believe, despite everything, in their future. They have chosen a medium-sized city, which could allow them, according to the current laws, to obtain an urban *hukou* if they keep a stable job for three years and participate in the social security system for several years. This will allow the *mingong* to give up the floater status that is currently still maintained for the big cities, which allows the government to adjust individual economic strategies. In this way, migrants still have the option of returning to their villages or farming activities when the urban labour market no longer meets their expectations.

However, it is possible that this discrimination will slow down in the future due to economic growth in central and western China, rising wages for migrant workers and narrowing income differences between migrants and natives in the cities. In the meantime, the overall situation of migrants remains precarious. The cinema was able to capture also this tendency thanks to the careful eye of Peng Tao (彭韬). In his short film *Wait* 川流不息 (2008), the actress Zhao Tao (赵涛) plays a young peasant arrived in Chongqing with her baby to look for a job; her husband has left to Pakistan and she goes to the post office every day to see if he has written to her. She owns a noodle stand which will be soon destroyed like many other things in Chongqing. Fortunately, her most loyal customer is a company director who offers her a job in the canteen on their building site. The river is omnipresent, the sprawling city extends over its two banks, and to cross it there are some cabins swinging along the cable above the muddy waters, as a beautiful and sad metaphor for the lives of migrants. The cable car replaces the train here to further underline the precarious condition of migrants, the multiplicity of their problems and their hardship.

These films illustrate all the upheavals in Chinese society over the last two decades. In this context, the city, characterised by very significant changes, explodes and is composed at the same time. Density is at the heart of this great urban adventure, and mobility, represented by the *mingong*, is a major issue that must be definitively integrated into the contemporary Chinese scene, as independent cinema has integrated it in one of its most interesting chapters.

Notes

1 According to the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS) 2020 survey of migrant workers, China's rural migrant worker population decreased by 5.2 million as the Covid-19 pandemic and attendant economic slowdown led to job losses and job stagnation.

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关键词：民工

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概要

本文是一篇对中国农村移民题材独立纪录片的介绍。文章主要关注移民和火车（或火车站）之间的关系，这两者分别被理解为一种空间和隐喻。它探讨了在这种特殊类型影像中反复出现的人物，特别那些来体验城市生活的农村移民，即民工。

根据最新数据统计，今天的中国有近三亿的农村移民。¹ 然而，这些统计数字只代表流动人口的一部分。许多人没有登记，因此没有被计算在内。但是，讽刺的是，这个比整个欧洲人口更多的但又难以定义的人口类别到底什么呢？一半是公民，一半是农村人口，这些人通常被归类为“流动人口”。他们首先是移民，正是这种流动状态使他们与众不同。他们不再生活在农村，但也不属于城市；他们融入城市经济，但也从事农业或准农业活动；他们是城市居民，但不一定是公民……由于这一统计类别结合了社会、经济和政治层面，它将当今中国城市化进程的主要利害关系进行了具体化。这些“流动人口”之所以存在，是因为中国政府一直采用一种行政手段来控制人口流动：户口。这份文件由毛泽东在五十年代中期通过，旨在避免人口从农村向城市的大规模流动。它一方面将“农村”和“非农村”户口进行区分，另一方面则将个人和居住地之间建立联系。这种区分就在城市 and 农村之间建立了双重法律制度，尤其是在土地和获得公共服务方面；就“融入居住地”而言，它在行政上限制了（流动人口）获得公共服务。这种劳工被称为“民工”，即来自农村的工人。长期以来，他们在统计和行政上都是不可见的，但他们在中国经济模式中的作用却是有目共睹的。只有 2000 年的人口普查让我们有机会了解到移民的人口现实。事实上，这个调查第一次让我们了解到如何通过一个人在城市中的停留时间来定义“流动人口”。其中一些信息令人惊讶。最令人震惊的是深圳：2000 年，《中国城市统计年鉴》根据对该市正式登记的人口的评估，给出的总人口是一百三十万。而人口普查的结果却是七百万！也就是说，超过五百万人在深圳工作生活，但他们的户口却在其他地方。今天，尽管内陆农村地区——传统上移民的发源地——与其迁移目的地富裕、工业化的沿海地区之间的发展差距正在逐渐缩小，大多数中国大城市仍然有几千甚至一两百万的移民。

自二十一世纪初以来，“和谐社会”的话语体系已经成为中国政治的“主旋律”。这是（官方）对中国大陆社会因无节制的经济增长而出现的越来越多的社会不公和不平等问题的回应。政治上的关注让民工成为关注边缘群体身份纪录片的炙手可热的主题。正是在这种政治背景下，官方电视台设计了一系列专门刻画农民工形象的纪录片。其中最具代表性的是由中央电视台（CCTV）制作的十集纪录

片《话说农民工》（Talking About Rural Migrant Workers, 2009）。这部系列片虽然或多或少带着对农村移民群体的同情，但在形式和内容上都没有摆脱典型的宣传风格。事实上，“出现在该系列中的农民工个体只是被看到，而不是被听到”（Sun 2013, p.5）；这种方法往往是家长式的，甚至是窥视式的，而由画外音渲染出来的情感让即使真实的画面也显得虚假。

独立影像则已摆脱了这种对移民居高临下的叙述方式。同样运用纪录片的方式，独立影像对当代中国社会的移民形象进行了完全不同的阐释。DV技术的出现，让许多影像创作得以在一个与“主旋律”电影工业完全不同的另类电影体系中进行。影像导演利用这种便捷的新技术，通常独自或与很小的团队一起，对新城市现实和那里的移民进行拍摄。导演郭小橹在拍摄她的纪录片《嵌入肉体的城市》（The Concrete Revolution, 2004）时，只带了一个摄影师和一个录音师，在北京穿行。她展示了老北京是如何迅速分崩离析的——为了给新的中国腾出空间，一座又一座的老房子被拆除。郭小橹最喜欢拍的地方是这个城市最大的建筑工地，在那里，2008年奥运会筹备工作正在顺利进行。这部充满诗意的反叙事论文纪录片的高潮是其中一个建筑工人在镜头前哭泣：他离开农村来到北京，从事体力劳动，来养活他的妻子和两个孩子；他哭是因为建筑公司已经几个月没有给他发工资了。他在镜头前说：“在这个社会，没有钱，你什么都不是。”因此，这部纪录片可以被认为是一种介于主旋律和独立纪录片之间的过渡性纪录片：尽管影片包括画外音解说，这也是主旋律纪录片的典型方式，但它将现实赤裸裸地直接展现在观众眼前。移民们在镜头前说话，郭小橹给他们足够的时间来完整地叙述他们的经历。影像以创新的视觉风格展开，徘徊在导演创造的效果和真实影像之间（整个过程以时而令人晕眩的节奏进行），其一方面象征性地展现了一个社会的不停运转，另一方面也让观众了解到促使农村移民离开家乡原因的严重性：农村的贫困，以及，尽管如此，对更好生活的憧憬。

这一点在贾樟柯的电影中得到了很好的诠释。事实上，正如萧纪薇（Xiao Jiwei）所说：

贾樟柯的作品不仅仅是对特定地点和时代的有力描述。通过一种诗意且往往带有哀伤的角度来看转瞬即逝的当下，他对中国城市化和现代化进行批判。如果说在一个社会批评家的眼中，“离开”故 / 土不可避免地与经济差距和被迫迁移联系在一起，那么对一个诗人来说，离开也是逃离现在和寻求自由——这是现代生存的永久状态。贾樟柯电影中交通工具——火车、公共汽车、汽车、飞机、船、摩托车、平板车、单轨列车等——的普遍存在，是一个正在经历剧变社会的现实，也是一个对公民从故 / 土漂泊而来并试图追赶时代变化内心惴惴不安的隐喻（Xiao 2011）。

萧纪薇谈及的这种不稳定性是贾樟柯第二部长片的基础，该片有一个颇令人回味的标题：站台（Platform, 2000）。像他的第六部剧情片《三峡好人》（Still life, 2006）一样，这部影片不是关于移民工人的。但主人公，一个被困在省级小城的无聊生活中的年轻剧团演员，面对八十年代的私有化改革，梦想着去更远的地方。这个站台是他们所有希望的出发点。但是，这个小剧团十年来的经营却在影片结尾走向崩溃，人们意识到，他们只是在原地打转。标题中的“站台”更像是他们回

到出发点的站台，而不是让他们逃脱的站台。

无论其隐喻意义如何，在千禧年的第一个十年中，火车站和火车都在民工题材的电影中扮演了重要角色，电影导演们以此拍摄他们从农村流浪到城市。事实上，他们从农村到城市的旅程是从火车站开始的，这代表了他们与村庄的最后联系：在火车站，他们吃饭、睡觉、等待充满希望的火车。这就是为什么 2021 年在法国拉罗谢尔举行的中国电影周（我从 2013 年开始担任策展人）上，我准备策划一个名为铁路生活（Train(s) de Vie）的展映单元致力于展现民工形象。利用“火车”一词在法语表达中的双重含义，我想放映那些刻画农民工的电影，对他们来说，火车成为改变他们生活的希望的象征。事实上，在与联合国儿童基金会合作拍摄的纪录片《进城打工》（Looking for a Job in the City, 宁瀛, 2003）中，我们可以清楚地看到这一点。在四川一个很小的村庄里，宁瀛采访了一些年轻女孩。她们迫于无奈，决定迁移到城市。任何从农村迁往城市的人都面临着明显的文化冲击。但是，对于一个普通的农村女孩来说，这种冲击就大大加强了。事实上，这些民工中有很多是女性，因为雇主认为她们比男性更温顺，要求更低。在这部纪录片中，她们中的大多数人一辈子都没有坐过火车……她们天真又热切的叙述让人十分感动。法语隐喻在这里具有充分意义，因为它所蕴含的命运这一概念特别符合这些年轻女孩，她们不知道在城里等待她们的是什么。她们所能做的就是怀有希望，依靠命运，让自己被……生活的列车带走。

我放映的第二部影片是《归途列车》（Last Train Home, 范立欣, 2009）。这是另一部将火车作为隐喻的纪录片，暗示所有这些农民工所遭受的变化无常，但也表现他们对更好生活的憧憬和对孩子们的美好未来的希望。为了向我们展示他们艰辛而令人沮丧的旅程，并揭示他们的长期缺席对家庭的影响，导演跟随陈素琴和她的丈夫张昌华，从广州打工的工厂回到他们农村的家，在那里他们与两个孩子团聚，这两个孩子被留在陈的母亲那里照顾。通过对一个家庭的关注，范立新将中国普遍存在的困难状况展现在人们面前。像其他数以百万计的人一样，陈和张离开了偏远的农村，到城市的工厂里打工，以支持他们的孩子上学。当中国新年到来之际，他们和其他数百万人一样，回家看望他们的孩子，这些孩子留在农村，一边干活一边上学。他们痛苦的两极家庭生活是一种问题，在其他数百万个当代中国家庭中也有类似的状况。陈和张设法登上了火车，但随后必须继续拖着沉重的行李乘坐渡轮、公共汽车和步行才能到达家乡目的地。起初，这个家庭的团聚似乎很顺利。但他们的长期缺席导致（与子女的）紧张关系，这种紧张关系很快就浮出水面：女儿感受到被抛弃而对父母表示愤怒，这种愤怒的爆发由此引发一场拳脚相加的争吵。在影片的最后，女儿拒绝继续她的学业并离开了家。她来到中国南方，并在一家夜总会找到了一份工作：她自己也成了新移民工人，重复着移民的悲剧。这部影片的片名指的是影片的最后一幕：母亲为了顾及儿子的学业而放弃了工作。她只能通过开始一次分离来结束另一次分离。片名也是指陈素琴最后的希望，即不要在中国这列无节制的现代性高速列车的轨道上牺牲她的孩子。

与范立欣电影的谦逊风格不同，在宁瀛的纪录片《希望之旅》（Railway of Hope, 宁瀛, 2002）中，她关注的是农业工人，他们乘火车从四川前往中国最西边的新疆，那里有一望无际的棉花田等待收割。

通过与乘客的交流，宁瀛突出了导演的存在感。他们以令人心碎的坦诚回答了她关于他们生活、希望和梦想的问题。与其他纪录片相比，这部片子中的人们似乎更加乐观，尤其是女性。事实上，资本主义制度带来的经济改革使女性有机会迁移，这让她们对解决经济困难和跨代性别压迫产生希望。这种通过现代化进程来解决前现代农村保守主义和不平等的方式给她们带来希望。正如埃里克·弗洛朗斯 (Eric Florence) 所指出的那样：

我们应该注意到，在同一部影片中，年轻人倾向于提出相对积极和与“解放价值”有关的理由，例如对与父辈不同生活的向往。这表明，这些人的决定是由各种力量交织导致的，如规范的家庭和性别期望、关于社会流动的期望、与健康和教育费用有关的物质限制，以及在移民过程中构建的欲望政治。这些因素结合在一起，以复杂的方式塑造了移民工人的主体性和能动性 (Florence 2018)。

对改变自身生活的向往也推动了《苦钱》(Bitter Money, 王兵, 2016) 中的年轻主人公小敏、玲玲和老叶的梦想。无数次睡在中国火车的车厢里，他们的身体相互靠在一起。他们离开云南农村，前往湖州，那里有一万八千家小型服装厂，雇用了三十多万名工人。这些年轻的移民一下火车就去探索这个城市，他们带着背包和带轮子的行李箱向他们的新家走去。新家的建筑是由光秃秃的混凝土墙和一连串的灰色走廊、阳台和楼梯间组成。宿舍的装饰也同样粗燥，似乎在暗示等待他们的是非常艰苦且条件简陋的工作。手机是这里唯一的“奢侈品”，可以让他们与家人保持联系。与王兵的其他电影一样，这部电影也存在大量的置换行为。人们行走，被跟踪，他（王兵）让自己去追踪别人的脚步。由此，他踏着别人的脚步，坚持这种和被拍摄者的密切关系。这就是他如何拍摄玲玲的故事的。玲玲被缝纫机的噪音弄得完全失眠，以至于她不能再在车间工作，尤其是被虐待她的丈夫赶出家门之后，因为他自己也遭遇了悲剧——被机器切断了手指。王兵的镜头坚持表现一种世界，然后转到另一种情况，对它进行体验。这些人被剥削，极其贫穷，受虐待，精疲力竭，尽管如此，他们仍相信自己的未来。他们选择来到一个中等规模的城市，根据目前的法律，如果他们保持连续三年的稳定工作并加入几年社会保障体系，就可以获得城市户口。这将使民工放弃在大城市的漂泊身份，也让政府能够调整个体的经济战略。这样，当城市劳动力市场不再满足他们的期望时，移民仍然可以选择回到他们的村庄或从事农业活动。

然而，由于中国中西部的经济增长、农民工工资的提高以及城市中移民和本地人之间收入差距的缩小，这种歧视有可能在未来放缓。与此同时，移民的整体状况仍然不稳定。彭韬审慎的目光让电影也记录到了这种趋势。在他的短片《川流不息》(Wait, 2008) 中，演员赵涛扮演一个带着孩子来重庆找工作的年轻农妇；她的丈夫去了巴基斯坦，她每天都要去邮局看他有没有给自己写信。她有一个面条摊，和重庆的许多其他事物一样，很快就会被摧毁。幸运的是，她最忠实的顾客是一位公司主管，他给她提供了一份在他们建筑工地食堂的工作。河流无处不在，无垠的城市延伸到它的两岸，为了穿越河流，有一些小木屋沿着电缆在泥泞的水面上摆动，这是移民生活一个美丽而悲伤的隐喻。缆车在这里取代了火车，进一步强调了移民的不稳定状况，他们问题的多重性及生活的艰辛。

这些电影说明了中国社会在过去二十年中的所有剧变。在这种背景下，城市在经历剧变，在爆发，同时也在被建构。密度是这个城市大冒险的核心，而以民工为代表的流动性是一个必须明确纳入当代中国语境的重要问题，独立电影已经将其纳入最耐人寻味的篇章之一。

注释

1 根据国家统计局 (NBS) 2020 年对农民工的调查, 由于新冠性病毒大流行病及随之而来的经济放缓导致工作岗位流失和工作停滞, 中国的农民工人口减少了 520 万。

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Keyword: Queer Moving Images

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Abstract

Aiming to sketch the contour of ‘queer moving images’ in mainland Chinese independent cinema, this article does not aim to be exhaustive, but mainly unfolds along the axes of fiction and non-fiction filmmaking. Drawing attention to the influence of the digital technology, this article maintains that queer fiction filmmaking witnessed an experimental turn in the early 2000s due to the availability of this new technology, which also proved fundamental to the emergence of queer non-fiction filmmaking. Whereas the activist turn of the queer digital documentary reflected and reinforced the formation of the local *tongzhi*/queer community, women’s marginalization remains a structural issue in the queer community-building and documentary making. The article concludes by pointing out two directions for further research: one involves the fiction/non-fiction divide; the other is underlined by China’s newly evolved media environment that further complicates the article’s premise of ‘independent’ cinema as affiliated with alternative, non-commercial productions.

This article maps out the sphere of ‘queer moving images’ in mainland Chinese independent cinema. Without the intention to be exhaustive, the discussion mainly unfolds along the axes of fiction and non-fiction filmmaking. Drawing attention to the impact of digital technology, this article maintains that queer fiction filmmaking saw an experimental turn in the early 2000s due to the availability of this new technology, which also proved foundational to the rise of queer non-fiction filmmaking. Whereas the activist turn of the queer digital documentary reflected and reinforced the formation of the local *tongzhi*/queer community, women’s marginal status, I suggest, remains a structural issue in the queer community-building and documentary making. The article concludes by hinting at two directions for further research: one involving the fiction/non-fiction divide, and the other underlined by China’s newly evolved mediascape that complicates the earlier figuration of mainland Chinese independent cinema as characterized by an alternative/arthouse/underground affinity.

1. Queer fiction filmmaking: the Sixth Generation, digital technology, and an experimental turn

Along with economic reform and the reintroduction of a market economy, China has seen an

increasing tension between the socialist regime and the capitalist agenda since the 1980s. In tandem with incongruities between the political and economic realms, China's postsocialist condition has also found expression in the cultural terrain. In particular, the proliferation of human subjectivities (McGrath 2008, p. 3) and public discourses (Nakajima 2006, 2010), alongside the formation of 'public spaces' (Berry 2010) and even an 'alternative public sphere' (Zhang 2007, p. 30; Edwards 2015), has been facilitated by, among others, a changing mediascape that includes practices and venues outside the official system (Veg 2019). Imperative to this is, notably, the growing strand of independent filmmaking in China's post-1989 era, which consists of not only fiction filmmaking but also non-fiction filmmaking. While the latter has been coined by critics as the New Documentary Movement (Berry, Lu and Rofel 2010; Lu 2003; detailed below), the former was initially aligned with the Sixth Generation filmmakers such as Zhang Yuan (张元), Wang Xiaoshuai (王小帅), He Jianjun (何建军) and Lou Ye (娄烨), with their low-budget works characterized by a committed search for 'reality' (Dai 1999, p. 382) via marginalized characters, filtered through an urban milieu, modern sensibility, uncertain situation, individualistic perception, and documentary effects (Zhang 2007, p. 53).

It is from this emerging independent filmmaking scene came the first domestically produced images that are explicitly marked by LGBTQ identities. While He Jianjun's *Postman* 邮差 (1995) incorporates the subplot of the eponymous character probing into the letters and lives between a gay couple, Zhang Yuan's *East Palace, West Palace* 东宫西宫 (1996) is arguably the first feature from China focusing on a gay-identified character. With its story unfolding over an overnight interrogation of the gay protagonist caught cruising in a park by a policeman, the film – while bringing to light state-sanctioned abuses of gay individuals – incisively borders on the themes of confession and seduction, imbricated in an ambiguous power play and the issue of agency. **[Figures 1-2]** For Song Hwee Lim (2006), the film, by characterizing the protagonist as effeminate, strategically adopts 'the trope of femininity' from Chinese literary tradition, so as to reconfigure the power relations involving marginalized subjects (namely those in 'structurally feminized positions' [p. 70]) through the particular dynamic of 'resistance-via-obedience' (p. 18). Meanwhile, Chris Berry (1998) sees the film's heightened theatricality – a deviation from the documentary tendency in Zhang's previous work and the Sixth Generation in general – as symptomatic of the 'immense difficulty at the moment of putting China's real gay subculture into public discourse' (p. 86); the latter, for Berry, further resonates with the more generalized 'Chinese postsocialist condition' marked by the conflicts between economic and political fields, against which different social groupings struggle to establish their identities and win public recognition in public space (p. 85). Mediating upon the power relations and the access to public discourse of various marginal social groups that also include independent filmmakers like Zhang himself, *East Palace, West Palace* allegedly registers a strong sense of 'allegory' in its use of gay or effeminate gay characterization (Bao 2020b, p. 362; Zhang 2011, p. 447; Lim 2006, pp. 96-8).



Figure 1. A scene of confession in *East Palace West Palace*



Figure 2. Cross-dressed gay subject and policeman handcuffed to each other in an entangled play of power and desire in *East Palace West Palace*

This sense of allegory, however, became much diluted in the next two features with LGBTQ protagonists: *Men and Women* 男男女女 (dir. Liu Bingjian 刘冰鉴, 1999) and *Fish and Elephant* 今年夏天 (dir. Li Yu 李玉, 2001). Scripted by renowned gay novelist Cui Zi'en (崔子恩), *Men and Women* revolves around a young male migrant worker in Beijing who is hosted by a married straight couple, yet their mis/perception of him as 'a man who does not like girls' triggers a chain of events that test the nature of his sexual orientation. As an 'innocent' young man who simply enjoys 'being liked' by the others regardless of their gender (Cui 2003, p. 45), the main character's 'real' sexual preference remains somewhat ambivalent by the end. While the meaning of *East Palace, West Palace* figures around the 'uses of femininity' (Lim 2006), *Men and Women* is arguably constituted through 'troubled masculinities' in its questioning of gender and sexuality (Williams 2006). Whereas *East Palace, West Palace* and *Men and Women* represent the first explicitly gay and bisexual protagonists respectively, Li Yu's *Fish and Elephant* is the first feature that deals with self-identified lesbian characters (Cui 2003, p. 96). Eschewing the 'memorial mode' often adopted by female same-sex romances (Martin 2010), the story unfolds around a female zookeeper in Beijing who develops a loving relationship with another woman (played by noted lesbian artist Shi Tou 石头) during 'this summer' (*jinnian xiatian*, the film's original Chinese title); however, the zookeeper's mother, not knowing her daughter's sexual preference, continues arranging male dates for her, while the zookeeper's ex-girlfriend reappears after killing her abusive father. With a fairly simple storyline, the film is rendered through a plain, realistic style (reminiscent of Neo-realism for its employment of non-actors, location shooting, natural lighting, and a slightly loosened narrative structure), with various thoughtful arrangements of cinematography and mise-en-scène (e.g. the use of elephant, fish and handgun in picturing the different personalities of three young women and their relationships both to each other and to patriarchal society). I find that the film's depiction of the daughter's 'coming out' is especially moving and convincing, and its portrayal of lesbian sex is sensuous but not sensationalized. Winner of an Elvira Notari Prize in the Venice Film Festival in 2001, the film also won a 'Netpac Award – Special Mention' at the Berlin International Film Festival in 2002 'for its courageous subject matter and for its decision not to exploit its protagonists but rather have confidence in the reaction of the families towards the two protagonists' (IMDb 2001).

It should be noted that in line with independent fiction filmmaking, the aforementioned queer features were all shot on film (in traditional analogue form), while the availability of digital technology – from digital camera to editing software – began to make an impact in the early 2000s. As has been pointed out, the digital camera's relative affordability, easy operability, and the freedom and simplicity promised by computer editing have rendered film production 'more individual than professional and industrial' (Robinson 2013, p. 22; Zhang 2010; Cao 2005, pp. 127-9). I want to highlight that the accessibility of the new digital technology has further contributed to an 'experimental' turn

in queer fiction filmmaking. It is amply evidenced by the subsequent works of Cui Zi'en, Andrew Cheng Yusu (程裕苏), and Zhu Yiye (朱一叶). Among the first to wholeheartedly embrace DV for narrative filmmaking, Andrew Cheng's first two features conceive of metropolitan Shanghai as a dreamscape marked by 'hypochondria and a pervasive sense of purposelessness among the new urban generation' (Zhang Z. 2010, p. 114). His feature debut *Shanghai Panic* 我们害怕 (2001), based on Mianmian's (棉棉) eponymous autobiographical novel, toys with a docudramatic mode through a Dogma shooting style, following a gang of loafers with ambiguous social and sexual orientations. Whereas a good part of the film unfolds around the group's reactions to a member's self-suspicion of HIV-infection (which turns out to be a false alarm), the film also includes a prolonged sequence of that member's exploration of his same-sex desire [Figure 3], a female member's lesbian relationship [Figure 4], and another male character (with a suicide attempt in the recent past) performed by openly gay vocalist Coco Zhao (赵可) (also the title subject of documentary *Snake Boy* 上海男孩 (dir. Michelle Chen 陈苗 and Li Xiao 李晓, 2001). While *Shanghai Panic* is characterized by mobile framing and black-and-white imagery, Cheng's second feature, *Destination Shanghai* 目的地上海 (2003), purportedly shifts around different filming styles and image processing, giving postsocialist Shanghai 'its exuberant visage as well as a schizophrenic character' (Zhang 2010, p. 116). Instead of focusing on a cohort of close friends, *Destination* shows a string of vignettes about loosely connected characters, including a young 'male hustler' or 'money boy' (Rofel 2013, p. 162) whose clients include men engaging in kinky acts [Figure 5], and a gay husband (played by Cui Zi'en) who forsakes his family for his free social life with younger gay guys [Figure 6].



Figure 3. Exploring gay desire in *Shanghai Panic*



Figure 4. The lesbian couple in *Shanghai Panic*



Figure 5. A money boy engaging in kinky sexual acts with a male client in *Destination Shanghai*



Figure 6. A gay husband hanging out with young gay guys in *Destination Shanghai*

Far removed from metropolitan Shanghai, Beijing high-school campuses become the backgrounds for Zhu Yiye's two DV features on same-sex attracted girls: *Lost in You* 啦啦啦 (2006) and *Love Mine* 小树的夏天 (2008). *Lost in You* is an experimental narrative that consists of three scenarios faced by two intimate girlfriends who suddenly find themselves forced on the label of 'homosexuality'. The three sections can be read either as independently separate storylines or as parts of one narrative. While lesbian love is 'identified and confirmed' in section one, it is 'found and lost' in section two, and 'immediately forbidden and suppressed' in section three; combined together, the experiences of the first two sections also 'contribute to triple the lesbians' pain in converting to heterosexuality' in the final section (Shi 2014, pp. 137 and 139). Underlining the absence of an appropriate discourse that allows the characters to express lesbian desire and love in a way they find acceptable, the film in the end also points to the lack of place for female same-sex love in public space (Shi 2014, p. 126). Taking experimentation a step further, Zhu Yiye's second lesbian feature *Love Mine* comprises two pairs of characters who represent two separate narrative strands of the same story running parallel to each other (one in the past and the other present). All the frameworks of time and place then (by three-fifths into the film) collapse into one large entanglement, wherein the existential predicament and haunting melancholy experienced by many (young) lesbian subjects are foregrounded. Zhu Yiye's features (especially *Lost in You*) also serve as a clear inspiration for An Yingjing's (安映憬) lesbian experimental narrative of *The Puzzles* 轮回的棋子 (2012).

The most prominent figure in queer fiction filmmaking is novelist-critic Cui Zi'en, who became a screenwriter (and actor) with *Men and Women*, and has been the writer-director of more than a dozen features. Beginning with *Enter the Clowns* 丑角登场 (2002) and *The Old Testament* 旧约 (2002), Cui's features include, among others, *Feeding Boys*, *Ayaya* 哎呀呀, 去哺乳 (2003), *Star Appeal* 星星相吸惜 (2004), *Shitou and That Nana* 石头和那个娜娜 (2004), *My Fair Son* 我如花似玉的儿子 (2005), *Withered in a Blooming Season* 少年花草黄 (2005) and *Refrain* 副歌 (2006). All shot on DV with low budgets, his films are characterized by an avant-gardish approach with a distinct auteur style. Chris Berry has compared Cui's work to the pre-Stonewall films of Kenneth Anger and Jack Smith, and identified its preoccupation with religion, sexuality, and family relations as 'an unholy trinity of themes: the sacred, the profane and the domestic' (Berry 2004, p. 196). With a visionary stress on utopian otherworldliness and forms of fluidity, Cui's films often depict 'queer bodies with fluid gender, sexuality and social relations, through which he aims to deconstruct the moral and the kinship often highly valued in the Chinese society' (Bao 2020b, p. 365; Leung 2012, p. 530). Crucially, Cui's experimental approach also reflects his leftist political stance. He often portrays his main characters as 'naked, poor and not attached to traditional types of family, kinship and property' in illustrating his view of human existence as lumpenproletarian (Bao 2018, p. 138; Cui in Fan 2015b, p. 254). With the aid of DV, he purposefully creates an edgy aesthetic to challenge the perceived

notion of ‘cinema’ institutionalized through capital (Cui 2003, pp. 7-9; Comolli and Narboni 2016). For Cui, making films and organizing queer film festivals also resembles social gatherings, based on the spirit of having fun and egalitarianism that echoes the notion of communism or utopianism (Cui in Fan 2015b, p. 253). He further envisions the continuing exchange of ideas through unofficial or underground channels as ‘building a communist international of queer films’ (Liu 2015, pp. 48-58). As a queer artist and activist with innovative and coherent visions, Cui Zi’en embodies a unique voice in the polyphony of queer cultures both domestically and internationally’ (Bao 2020b, p. 365).

In queer fiction filmmaking, parallel to the DV-informed experimental tendency was the continuation of audiovisual productions that were foremost aligned with conventional narrative filmmaking. Though only a few in number, these films generally involved foreign financial and/or technical supports and were largely arthouse oriented, as exemplified by *Spring Fever* 春风沉醉的夜晚 (dir. Lou Ye, 2009, China/France), *Looking for Rohmer* 寻找罗麦 (dir. Wang Chao 王超, 2018, France/China), and *A Dog Barking at the Moon* 再见, 南屏晚钟 (dir. Lisa Zi Xiang 相梓, 2019, China/Spain). While Lou Ye and Wang Chao are established Sixth-Generation filmmakers with respective track records of arthouse productions, Lisa Zi Xiang likewise had her feature debut premiered at the 2019 Berlin International Film Festival. Whereas *Spring Fever* garnered a Best Screenplay (for Mei Feng 梅峰) in the Cannes International Film Festival, and *A Dog Barking at the Moon* received a Teddy Jury Award in Berlin, *Looking for Rohmer* had its world premiere at the Busan International Film Festival in 2015 (with its original 88-minute version [BIFF 2015]). *Spring Fever* has a meandering narrative that starts with an affair between a gay man named Jiang and a married husband named Wang, and that ends with Jiang developing an ambiguous relationship with another man called Luo, who – originally hired by Wang’s wife to spy on Jiang – also finds himself attracted to Jiang while managing his relationship with his girlfriend in this feverish springtime. Shot with handheld camera and featuring an editing style that delicately interweaves the plots together on a mesmerizing soundscape, the film is patently a gay story, but as the director notes, it is more than that: he also wanted to use the gay issue to examine the wider sociopolitical context, forms of boundary and freedom, and the spiritual condition of human beings (Lou in Cheng 2012, pp. 54-68). In this manner, *Spring Fever* also enlists a sense of allegory that echoes *East Palace, West Palace*, only in a less theatre-induced style. *A Dog Barking at the Moon* revolves around the plot that a pregnant woman, accompanied by her American husband, pays a visit to her parents in Beijing. The story then unfolds on three layers: the present that is marked by the family crisis surrounding the father’s gay identity found out by the mother long ago, the past that is associated with the daughter’s childhood memory shadowed by her parents’ troubled married life, and an even older past that eventually reveals the mother’s own same-sex desire prior to her marriage. In addition to the phenomena of *tongqi* (同妻) (gay wives, usually women who enter marriages without knowing their husbands’ gay

desires) and religious cults, the film incisively foregrounds the vicious circle triggered by certain societal mores and dominant ideologies. While the tremendous pressure of marriage leaves no space for individuals, gay and otherwise, to remain outside the marriage institution, the agony and frustration faced by unhappily married individuals is readily contagious and can be differently inflected along the axes of gender and generation within the family. From the daughter's perspective, her *tongqi* mother is not only a victim, but also an abusive victimizer who, nonetheless, has internalized the patriarchal ideologies and been trapped in the heteropatriarchal system (the title song 'Nanping wanzhong' [南屏晚钟] indeed invokes the image of a woman lost in a deep forest). I find the scene where the daughter has a conversation with the father's younger male love interest especially moving. She expresses her support of gay rights and cautions against his marriage to another woman. He reveals that his marriage is different from that of the protagonist's parents', but an expedient 'contract marriage' *xinghun* (形婚) based on a mutual agreement between a gay man and a lesbian to alleviate their respective marriage pressure. He also reveals that the child the woman is pregnant with has come from her own decision with her partner via artificial insemination. A sense of human agency is tangibly perceivable through the queer characters' negotiation with the system. Just a year before *Dog Barking, Looking for Rohmer* became known as the first gay-themed domestic film to gain a public release in China. However, the officially released version from 2018 is a reedited one, and the current 83-minute version (also the version I saw at the 2018 Bucheon International Fantastic Film Festival) has supposedly watered down the male homoromantic relationship to such a degree that it can easily escape undiscerning eyes (Qian 2018).

2. Queer non-fiction filmmaking: New Documentary, the activist turn, and lalas with DV cameras

DV's influence on queer media was most significant in the non-fiction filmmaking, especially that extended from the New Documentary Movement. Launched by filmmakers such as Wu Wenguang (吴文光), Duan Jinchuan (段锦川), Jiang Yue (蒋樾) and Zhang Yuan in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the New Documentary generally rejects the official tradition of newsreels and *zhuantipian* (专题片) (literally 'special topic films'), which are characterized by footage compiled in accordance with pre-written scripts, and by directly addressing the audience from a grand, top-down perspective (Berry 2007, p. 117). In opposition to these previous forms, the New Documentary highlights the 'spontaneous and unscripted quality' of on-the-spot realism (Berry 2007, p. 122), conveying a deep concern for 'civilian life' from a 'personal standpoint' (Lu 2003, pp. 14-15). Thematically, the New Documentary distances itself from official discourses, choosing instead to document the lives of ordinary people, especially those on the periphery of society (Wen 2016; Edwards 2015; Lu 2003), such as marginalized artists, Tibetans, migrant workers, the disabled, the

elderly, the poor, and those who are queer-identifying. With the newly available digital technology, Zhang Yuan made *Miss Jin Xing* 金星小姐 (2000), featuring the eponymous male dancer who underwent gender reassignment. In 2001, Ying Weiwei (英未未) shot *The Box* 盒子, which became known as China's first lesbian documentary. Since then, a steady stream of independent documentaries has been made that takes the lives of gay or transgendered Chinese men or women as their critical focus.

As has been pointed out, the early digital queer documentaries largely revolved around two main themes: one featuring same-sex attracted women, and the other gender-nonconforming men (Chao 2014; Chao 2010a; Chao 2010b). What is striking about the latter, as Luke Robinson notes, is 'its preoccupation with Chinese male homosexuality as performance' (Robinson 2015, p. 289). This manifests in two ways. The first is a focus on gay male subjects who *are* performers, in particular the so-called *fanchuan* (反串) (or simply cross-dressing) performers. Even if the films' principal subjects may not engage *fanchuan* for a living, the films may as well explicitly include scenes of predominantly drag performance (Robinson 2013, pp. 112-113). Examples here include *Miss Jin Xing*, *Snake Boy*, *Tangtang* 唐唐 (dir. Zhang Hanzi 张涵子, 2004), *Baobao/Tongzhi Baobao* 宝宝/同志宝宝 (dir. Han Tao 韩涛, 2004), *Meimei* 美美 (dir. Gao Tian 高天, 2005), *Xiang Pingli* 香平丽 (dir. Jiang Zhi 蒋志, 2005), *Beautiful Men* 人面桃花 (dir. Du Haibin 杜海滨, 2005), *From Chrysalis to Butterfly* 蝶变 (dir. Wang Yiren 王逸人, 2005), *Lost in Shanghai* 上海上海蓝 (dir. Wang Leijun 王雷军, 2009), *Madame* 姑奶奶 (dir. Qiu Jiongiong 邱炯炯, 2010), and *Be A Woman* 舞娘 (dir. Fan Popo 范坡坡, 2011). The second, by comparison, is less direct. It involves the adoption of shooting practices that, nonetheless, 'formally' reflect the interest in performance on the part of the filmed subjects. The practices may include, for instance, a blending of actors into 'real' people, or the particular camerawork that pastiches the *verite* style of documentary, only to reveal the films in question as constructed artefacts or products of mediation (Robinson 2015, p. 290). These techniques, as most obvious in *Tangtang* and *Xiang Pingli*, serve to deliberately blur the boundary between documentary and fiction, placing the films at the intersection of the 'reflexive' and 'performative' modes (Nichols 2001, pp. 125-37). In my previous analysis of *Tangtang*, I have also suggested the film's reflexive interrogation through *verite* style serves to challenge the assumed correspondence of *xianchang* (现场) (on-the-spot realism) to reality, which simultaneously opens up the status of the queer identity of the filmed subject into an ambiguous, open-ended self-fashioning (Chao 2010a).

The focus on *fanchuan* performers and female impersonation not only reflects the ubiquity of cross-dressed performance within and beyond the Chinese gay community, but it also enlists certain social significance. From the perspective of the mostly straight-identifying filmmakers and the more general, non-gay audiences, there is perhaps inevitably a sense of 'voyeurism' imbricated with

documenting and viewing the ambivalent spectacle of *fanchuan* (Bao 2020b, p. 364; Robinson 2013, pp. 116-7; Chao 2010a). However, through the citation of accepted theatrical codes of cross-dressing, the *fanchuan* performers also manage to fashion their subjectivity against the regime of heteronormative gender system at the same time. By rendering their identity through paradigms derived from the theatre, that is, some room is still left for denial: after all, what we see could be nothing more than performance. In this manner, the queer subjects negotiate access to public space without having to commit to a stable, identifiable sexuality. From the perspective of *fanchuan* performers, cross-dressing can thus be understood as an act of self-empowerment, and a 'survival strategy' (Muñoz 1999) by dint of 'an appeal to ambiguity'. It is my contention that *fanchuan* can be taken as a way in which filmed subjects strategically frame a public identity while self-consciously retaining a degree of ambiguity about their 'actual' sexual orientation (Chao 2010a, pp. 166-7). It echoes Berry and Robinson's observation that cross-dressing has traditionally been 'one of the few ways in which the queer Chinese subject can gain access to 'public space, public discourse, and public record'.' (Robinson 2013, p. 113; Berry 1998, p. 88).

I consider the years between 2007 and 2009 a crucial period for the 'activist turn' in China's queer documentary making. For Zhang Zhen, the activist turn in the larger New Documentary Movement has been facilitated by dedicated individual filmmakers (e.g. Hu Jie [胡杰], Ai Xiaoming [艾晓明], Ai Weiwei [艾未未]) and 'the popularization of portable DV cameras, editing software, and Internet-based social media' in the first decade of the century (2015, p. 316). Digital technology and committed individuals have likewise played an indispensable part in the activist turn in queer documentary production. Interrelated to the latter, I would like to add, has been the communal and institutional impact. In part facilitated by nongovernmental (NGO) funding (especially vis-à-vis HIV/AIDS prevention), the communal and institutional impact has been materialized through, for instance, the ongoing Beijing Queer Film Festival (北京酷儿影像展, beginning from 2001) and the attendant China Queer Film Festival Tour (中国酷儿影像巡回展, from 2008), the emergence of grassroots activism across urban China such as the PFLAG (since 2009) and forms of the annual pride celebrations (like the Shanghai Pride since 2009), and in particular the launch of 'Queer Comrades' (同志亦凡人) (from 2007) as China's only independent, long running LGBT webcast that also sponsors some documentary projects since 2009. All these communal activities have been well documented by Bao Hongwei, Elisabeth Engebretsen, Stijn Deklerck, Wei Xiaogang (魏小刚/魏建刚), Fan Popo, among others (Bao 2021, 2018; Engebretsen *et al* 2015; Deklerck and Wei 2015; Fan 2015a; Robinson 2013).

During this period, aforementioned gay filmmaker Cui Zi'en made *Queer China*, 'Comrade' China 志同志 (2008); through a mosaic of talking heads, it addresses aspects of China's emerging queer community, ranging from the history to the rights issues, marking the 'milestone' of this activist



Figure 7. Talking-heads mosaic in *Queer China*, 'Comrade' China

turn. [Figure 7] It was soon joined by several newcomers, best-known among whom are activist-filmmakers Fan Popo and Wei Xiaogang. Founder of 'China Queer Independent Films' (中国酷儿独立影像小组), Fan Popo is famous for documentaries such as *New Beijing, New Marriage* 新前门大街 (2009), *The Chinese Closet* 柜族 (2009),

Be A Woman, Mama Rainbow 彩虹伴我心 (2012), and *Papa Rainbow* 彩虹伴我行 (2016). Founder and Director of 'Queer Comrades', Wei Xiaogang's filmography includes *Come To Daddy* 恋夕阳 (2009), *Comrades, You've Worked Hard!* 同志们辛苦了 (2010), *The Cream of the Queer Crop* 同志她她她他他他 (2010), and *The Next Generation* 下一代 (2011). While the earlier documentaries on queer material, as mentioned, are marked by a particular focus on gender-nonconforming men and a sense of ambiguity, more contemporary documentaries are characterized by 'the ways in which they break with this tradition' (Robinson 2013, p. 117). It manifests in two interrelated dimensions. In terms of the subject matter, it has expanded to include a wide range of topics, such as reflections on queer history and community-building in Cui's *Queer China*, 'Comrade' China; coming-out stories in Fan's *The Chinese Closet*; open discussions of sexual encounters and lifestyles, as in Zhou Ming's (周鸣) *All About Gay Sex* 那话儿 (2010); working-class gay men in rural China, as in Yue Jianbo's (岳建波) *Comrade Yue* 小岳同志 (2013); cross-generational gay relationships in Wei's *Come To Daddy*; the public staging of gay marriage in Fan's *New Beijing, New Marriage*; the preparation and shutdown of the first Mr. Gay China pageant in Wei's *Comrades, You've Worked Hard!*, among various other subjects. In terms of the outlook and attitude portrayed, the (mostly) gay-identifying directors – as opposed to the straight-identifying ones in previous years – are less concerned with the issue of ambiguity, but they see 'the act of articulating an unmistakably queer identity as a political and ethical decision in its own right' (Robinson 2013, p. 119). All these socially engaged documentaries or 'community documentaries' (Bao 2021; Bao 2020b, p. 367; Bao 2018), moreover, were made possible with varying degrees of institutional support from, for example, the popular 'Queer Comrades' webcast, the Beijing Gender Health Education Institute (北京纪安德咨询中心), Ford Foundation, China Queer Independent Films, and Queer University (酷儿大学) (a Queer Comrades-sponsored, one-week filmmaking training program held annually since 2012).

Amidst this activist turn and the institutional support, however, I would like to draw attention to the

alarming issue of gender inequality: local lesbian filmmakers and subjects, I find, remain relatively marginalized in the larger picture. While some of the aforementioned documentaries (e.g. *The Cream of the Queer Crop*) manage to strike a fairly good balance in terms of gender, the rest (such as those on sexual encounters, cross-generational relationships, and the first Mr. Gay China pageant), in fact, serve the interest more of gay men than lesbians. While MTF transgender subjects remain in focus since 2007 (as in such documentary features as *Lost in Shanghai*, *Madame*, and *Be A Woman*), the first FTM transgender documentary short *Brothers* 兄弟 (by lesbian director Yaoyao 妖妖) only came out in 2013, to be followed by another documentary short *So Long!* 再见, 启程 (by lesbian director Dajing 大京) in 2016. This has lagged behind the development of its MTF counterparts. Even in Fan Popo's *The Chinese Closet*, the crucial issue of 'coming out' is predominantly illuminated by the stories of ten gay individuals and the mother-son duo of noted PFLAG advocator Wu Youjian (吴幼坚), while the stories of two lesbian couples only account for one sixth of the film's whole running time.

Here we may re-direct our attention and revisit a thesis I proposed a decade ago (Chao 2010b; Chao 2020, pp. 273-300). As noted, gender-nonconforming men consist of 'but one main theme' of the early queer documentary work. The other, often-neglected strand is indeed about same-sex attracted women. When writing on the early lesbian documentaries, including *The Box* and *Dyke March* 女同志遊行日 (dir. Shi Tou and Ming Ming 明明, 2004), alongside *The Girls That Way* 别样女孩 (dir. Shadow Zhang and Jude Tian, 2005), *Women 50 Minutes* 女人50分钟 (dir. Shi Tou and Ming Ming, 2006), *Gender Game* 伤花 (dir. Tracey Ni 梔子白, 2006), *'T' Is for Tomboy* (dir. Ana Huang 黄阿娜, 2008), I took issues with *The Box*. Directed by a straight-identifying woman filmmaker who chose a 'feminist' and 'personalised' angle to document the everyday life of a lesbian couple, *The Box*, for me, falls short of a sensitivity to lesbian identity and the urgent need for 'community' at that historical moment. Comparing it with the other available documentaries by lesbian-identifying filmmakers, I discerned a certain tendency from within the emerging lesbian



Figure 8. Filmmaker Shi Tou enacting a 'coming out' in San Francisco in *Dyke March*



Figure 9. A scene in Beijing on Valentine's Day in *We Want to Get Married*



Figure 10. A scene of alternative family life in *Our Marriages*



Figure 11. A subject turning to the filmmakers, poking fun at her recorded 'contract marriage' ceremony in *Our Marriages*

community, and proposed the idea of ‘lesbians with video cameras’. Echoing Thomas Waugh’s notion of ‘committed documentary’ (Waugh 1984), the idea of ‘lesbians with video cameras’ first highlights a commitment to reflecting and changing the social status of Chinese lesbians premised on a sensibility to the socio-political conditions specific to them; and secondly, it answers to what I saw as a growing ‘call for collective creation from within the [emerging lesbian] community’ (Chao 2010b, p. 94; Chao 2020, p. 268). Against both the steady growth and activist turn of China’s ‘queer’ independent documentary making, lesbian focuses have somehow remained sidelined in the very process. Because of this, my call for ‘lesbians with video cameras’ or rather, ‘*lalas* with DV cameras’ (Chao 2020, p. 268) remains highly relevant. In fact, two lesbian activist shorts in the participatory mode by Shi Tou and Ming Ming, namely *Dyke March* and *We Want to Get Married* 我们要结婚 (2007) on street activism in San Francisco and Beijing respectively, even ‘predated’ the said ‘activist turn’ in the queer documentary scene. **[Figures 8-9]** During the activist reorienting in queer documentary making, some *lala* activist-filmmakers, while working with gay activists in community building, also networked their way and filmed ‘from the margins’ of the male-privileged queer community. Two pairs of *lala* filmmakers, He Xiaopei (何小培) and Yuan Yuan (袁园), Shi Tou and Ming Ming, exemplify this. Two of their recent films illustrate the significance of ‘*lalas* with DV cameras’ (see also Bao 2020a, pp. 46-66, on Shi Tou/Ming Ming’s *Women 50 Minutes*; Bao 2021, pp. 84-99, on Sam Zhao (赵静) and Shi Tou’s *We Are Here* 我们在这里 [2015]; Bao 2021, pp. 139-54, on He Xiaopei’s *The Lucky One* 宠儿 [2011]).

Directed by He Xiaopei and Yuan Yuan, *Our Marriages: When Lesbians Marry Gay Men* 奇缘一生 (2013) addresses the issue of cooperative or ‘contract marriage’ gaining popularity in China’s queer community. Set in Shenyang, the film follows four lesbians who, pressured to get married, looked for gay husbands to enter nonsexual contract marriages. In the process, the four met, fell in love, and moved in together as two couples, along with two cats and two dogs as their children. As the film’s subtitle suggests, the focus of the picture is on lesbians, not gay men. The gay husbands, wherever relevant, are only presented from the lesbians’ perspective. The picture zooms in on the lesbian subjects’ life experiences, particularly how they have negotiated the terms of their marriages with wit and humour, and how they manage their long-term cohabitation – what Lucetta Kam calls ‘an extended *tongzhi* kinship network’ through ‘a *tongzhi* counter-space’ (Kam 2013, pp. 101-102) – with caring and mutual support. **[Figures 10-11]** A clear sense of collective queer agency reverberates through the tale of this negotiated alternative family. Throughout the film, we also perceive the filmmakers’ open, easy interaction with their subjects in this intimate environment, which must not be as readily accessible by outsiders (be they straight women or gay men) as by committed, talented *lala* filmmakers like He Xiaopei and Yuan Yuan (Chao 2020, p. 271). In Shi Tou and Ming Ming’s latest film, *Xinjiang Girls* 新疆女孩 (near completion), the filmmakers even

followed the lives of a group of Xinjiang-based lesbians, mostly Uyghurs, over the years. With a lesbian gathering place as the link between two sets of narratives, the film portrays the worlds of both an individual and a group of close friends. The two sets of stories subtly reflect the subjects' different backgrounds (one working class while the other more intellectual), and thus a sense of unevenness – if not bifurcation – within the *lala* community. Alongside the factors of family ties and urban-rural divide, crucial to the narrative is further the sensitive issue of ethnic tension in Xinjiang that has also overshadowed the *lala* community (as seen in their restricted individual mobility and compressed social space following the 2009 Urumqi riots). In short, not only does the film provide a view into the *lala* community in Xinjiang inaccessible to and ignored by outsiders, but the nuanced and intimate portrayal of this community, like that through *Our Marriages*, exemplifies the talent and dedication needed for *lalas* with DV cameras. Both *Our Marriages* and *Xinjiang Girls* thus demonstrate the significance of *lalas* with DV cameras.

3. Concluding remarks

On China's independent queer filmmaking, this article mainly unfolds along the axes of fiction and non-fiction filmmaking. I contend that while queer fiction filmmaking was marked by an experimental turn due to the availability of digital technology, the latter also proved foundational to the emergence of queer non-fiction filmmaking. Whereas the activist turn of the queer digital documentary reflected and reinforced the formation of the local *tongzhi*/queer community, women's marginalization, I find, remains a structural issue in this community building and documentary making. In this conclusion, I would like to briefly point to two other relevant aspects for further study: one involving the fiction/non-fiction divide, and the other a rethinking of 'independent' in terms of funding, genre, and circulation. Along with *Shanghai Panic*'s playing with a docudramatic mode and *Tang Tang*'s experimenting with a *verité* style to blur the boundary between documentary and fiction (as noted above), Cui Zi'en's *Night Scene* 夜景 (2004), in dealing with the sensitive topic of 'money boys' (Rofel 2013, 2010), strategically blends scripted plots into documentary footage, mixing fictional characters with social actors, so as to create a safe distance for the subjects from reality (Voci 2010, p. 265; Wang 2014, p. 169). For Bao Hongwei, queer activism in Fan Popo's series of documentary films, from *New Beijing*, *New Marriage* to *Papa Rainbow*, are incisively mediated and animated through a particular 'theatre-documentary convergence' (Bao 2020c). I find in lesbian filmmaker Dajing's *The Death of Lesbians* 女同之死 (2013) and *I Am Going to Make Lesbian Porn* 我要拍女女色情片 (2014), gendered queer politics is likewise largely mobilized by the strategies of 'documenting performance' and 'performing documentary' respectively. How the ambivalent contact zones between fiction, documentary and theatre/performance have been rendered through digital media to generate 'embodied' knowledge about social others and even to affect social changes is indeed an area that

merits further research (Bao 2020c; Tan 2017; Zhang 2015, 2010; Wang 2014; Robinson 2013; Yue 2012).

In recent years, we have also witnessed a stream of feature films that are funded and produced by independent companies and target online platforms such as iQiyi (爱奇艺). I understand this trend as largely initiated by the tremendous popularity of the online series like *Addicted* 上瘾 (dir. Ding Wei 丁卫, 2016) and the attendant mainstreaming of the boys' love (BL) culture, on top of China's booming video platforms and digital media productions facilitated by a massive influx of the 'hot money' from the private sectors and overseas (Li 2019). Tying with the generic BL formula and aiming at wide online viewership, recent fiction films such as *A Round Trip to Love* 双程 (dir. Qin Zhen 秦榛, 2016), *Swinging Blossom* 梦回少年时 (dir. Huang Chao 黄超, 2017) and *River Knows Fish Heart* 鱼心河忍 (dir. Lü Powen 吕博文, 2018) deviate from their queer predecessors' alternative/arthouse/underground affinities; their patent commercial appeal complicates the label of 'independent' production (Chung 2017, p. 210) and deserves to be studied through a framework that is beyond the scope of this article (Wong 2020; Yang and Xu 2017).

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关键词：酷儿影像

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概要

本文旨在勾勒出中国大陆独立影像中“酷儿影像”的脉络。文章主要沿着虚构和非虚构影像创作的轴线展开，而非历数所有酷儿影像。本文主张新数字技术的出现让虚构类酷儿影像创作在二十一世纪初出现了实验性的转变，而新数字技术也是非虚构类酷儿影像创作产生的基础。虽然酷儿数字纪录片的社会行动转向反映并加强了当地同志 / 酷儿社区的形成，但对女性的边缘化仍然是酷儿社区建设和纪录片创作中的一个结构性问题。本文的结论部分指出进一步研究的两个方向：一个方向涉及到虚构 / 非虚构类影像的划分；另一个方向强调中国新形成的媒体环境，这让“独立”影像隶属于另类、非商业创作的前提进一步复杂化。

本文描绘了中国大陆独立影像中的“酷儿影像”。文章主要沿着虚构和非虚构影像创作的轴线进行讨论，而非历数所有酷儿影像。本文提请注意数字技术的影响，我认为在二十一世纪初，由于这种新技术的出现，虚构类酷儿影像创作出现了实验性的转变，而新数字技术也促进了非虚构类酷儿影像创作的发展。虽然酷儿数字纪录片的社会行动转向反映并加强了当地同志 / 酷儿社区的形成，但我认为，女性的边缘地位仍是酷儿社区建设和纪录片创作中的一个结构性问题。文章最后阐明了进一步研究（酷儿影像）的两个方向：一个方向涉及到虚构 / 非虚构类的划分；另一个方向强调中国新形成的媒体环境，它使中国大陆独立影像作为另类 / 艺术 / 地下的表现这一早期想象复杂化。

酷儿虚构类影像：第六代，数字技术，和实验性转向

自八十年代以来，随着政治改革和市场经济的重新引入，中国的社会主义制度和资本主义议程之间的关系愈加紧张。在政治和经济领域凸显不协调的同时，中国的后社会主义情境也在文化领域得到体现。不断变化的媒介环境，包括体制外的实践和场所，让人的主体性（McGrath 2008, p.3）和公共话语（Nakajima 2006, 2010）得到多重发展，同时让“公共空间”（Berry 2010）甚至“另类公共领域”（Zhang 2007, p.30；Edwards 2015）得以形成（Veg 2019）。尤其是在 1989 年后的中国，独立影像创作日益增多，其中不仅包括虚构类影像创作，也包括非虚构类影像创作。后者被评论家称为新纪录片运动（Berry, Lu and Rofel 2010；Lu 2003；详见下文），而前者最初与像是张元、王小帅、何建军和娄烨等“第六代”导演衔接，其低成本作品的特点是致力于寻找“现实”（Dai 1999, p.382）。这种“现实”主要是通过对边缘人物的刻画来实现，并对城市环境、现代感性、不确定状况、个人主义的感知和纪实效果进行铺衍（Zhang 2007, p. 53）。

在这一新兴的独立影像创作背景下，第一批明确带有 LGBTQ 身份的国产影像开始崭露头角。何建军的《邮差》（1995）的一个副线中，其邮差主角窥探到一对同性恋人间的信件往来和生活。张元的《东宫西宫》（1996）可以说是中国内地第一部聚焦同性恋身份的剧情片。这部影片讲述了主人公在公园里游荡时被警察抓获并被彻夜审讯的故事。影片在揭示国家对同性恋的暴力的同时，巧妙地与忏悔和诱惑的主题接轨，并与暧昧的权力游戏和能动性的问题相连【图 1-2】。对于林松辉（Song Hwee Lim）（2006）来说，通过将主人公定性为娘娘腔，这部影像策略性地采用了中国文学传统中的“阴性书写”，藉由“透过驯服进行抵抗”（p.18）的特殊动态，重新配置涉及边缘化主体的权力关系（即那些“结构上被女性化的位置”（p.70））。同时，裴开瑞（Chris Berry）（1998）认为影片的高度戏剧性——与张元以前的作品和第六代作品中的纪录片式倾向不同——体现了“目前将中国真正的同性恋亚文化纳入公共话语的巨大困难”（p.86）；对裴开瑞来说，后者与更普遍的“中国后社会主义状况”产生了共鸣，其特点是在经济和政治领域的冲突间，不同的社会群体于公共空间中努力建立自己的身份并赢得公众认可（p.85）。通过对各种边缘社会群体（包括像张元这样的独立导演）的权力关系和进入公共话语的机会进行审视，《东宫西宫》在使用同性恋或娘娘腔的角色时体现了强烈的“寓言”色彩（Bao 2020b, p. 362; Zhang 2011, p. 447; Lim 2006, pp.96-8）。

然而，这种寓言在接下来的两部以 LGBTQ 为主角的作品中则被弱化：《男男女女》（导演：刘冰鉴，1999）和《今年夏天》（导演：李玉，2001）。由著名同性恋小说家崔子恩编剧的《男男女女》围绕着一个年轻的农民工在北京的生活展开，他住在一对异性恋夫妻家中，被误认为是一个“不喜欢女孩的男人”，这引发了一连串的事件来考验他的性取向。作为一个“天真的”年轻人，他仅仅是享受“被人喜欢”，无论他们的性别为何（Cui 2003, p.45），主角“真正的”性取向到影片最后依然模棱两可。当《东宫西宫》的意义围绕着“女性气质的运用”而展开（Lim 2006），《男男女女》可以说是通过“被干扰的男性气质”来对性别和性向进行质疑（Williams 2006）。当《东宫西宫》和《男男女女》各自首次表现男同性恋和双性恋主角时，李玉的《今年夏天》则是第一个涉及女同性恋自我认同的影片（Cui 2003, p.96）。该片摒弃了女同性恋影像中经常采用的“回忆模式”（Martin 2010），故事围绕一位北京的女动物园管理员展开，她在“这个夏天”（与该片的标题扣合）与另一位女性（由著名的女同性恋艺术家石头扮演）发展出恋爱关系。然而，动物园管理员的母亲对她女儿的性取向



图1：《东宫西宫》中自白的场景



图2：《东宫西宫》中，在一场纠缠不清的权力与欲望的游戏里，跨性装束的同性恋主角和警察彼此铐在一起

并不知情，并继续为她安排与男性的约会，与此同时，动物园管理员的前女友在杀死虐待她的父亲后再次出现。影片的情节相当简单，通过平实的写实风格（让人联想到新现实主义，因为它采用了非专业演员、外景拍摄、自然光和略微松散的叙事结构），且在摄影和场面调度上做了各种巧思安排（例如，用大象、鱼和手枪来描绘三位年轻女性的不同性格，她们互相的关系，及她们和父权社会之间的关系）。我认为影片对女儿“出柜”的描述特别令人感动和信服，对女同性恋性行为的描写则感性而不煽情。本片获 2001 年威尼斯电影节的埃尔维拉·诺塔里奖，并于 2002 年在柏林国际电影节上获得“亚洲影评人协会——特别提及奖”，“因其勇气可嘉的主题，不剥削主要角色，且对两位主角及其对家庭的反应给予足够的信心”（IMDb 2001）。

应该指出的是，上述酷儿影像与其他虚构类独立影像创作一样，都还是采用（传统类比模式的）胶片拍摄的，而数字技术的出现——从数字摄像机到编辑软件——自二十一世纪初开始产生影响。正如有学者指出，数码相机的相对可负担性、易操作性，以及电脑剪辑的简单灵活性，使影像创作“更加个人化，而非更专业和工业化”（Robinson 2013, p. 22; Zhang 2010; Cao 2005, pp.127-9）。我想强调的是，新数字技术的可及性进一步促进了酷儿虚构类影像创作的实验性转向。崔子恩、程裕苏和朱一叶后来的作品就充分体现了这一点。程裕苏是第一批全心投入 DV 拍摄叙事影像的导演之一，他的前两部剧情片将大都市上海构想为一个以“疑病症和新一代城市人中普遍存在的无目的感”为标志的梦境（Zhang 2010, p. 114）。他的长片处女作《我们害怕》（2001）根据棉棉的自传体小说改编。运用道格马式的拍摄方式，他对一帮性取向不明的社会青年进行纪实式的拍摄。影片的大部分内容围绕这群人对一名成员疑似感染了艾滋病的反应而展开（结果是虚惊一场）。影片还包括一个关于该名成员探索其同性欲望的冗长段落（图 3），一名女性成员的同性恋爱关系（图 4），以及由另一个公开性向的歌手赵可（也是纪录片《上海男孩》【陈苗和李晓，2001】的主人公）所扮



图3:《我们害怕》中的同性欲望探索



图4:《我们害怕》中的女同志情侣



图5:《目的地上海》中一个男妓与他的男客户进行玩虐



图6:《目的地上海》中一个同性恋丈夫和其他年轻男同志们的社交生活

演的一个（曾有自杀企图的）男同志角色。《我们害怕》的风格是移动取景和黑白影像，而程的第二部作品《目的地上海》（2003）则有意在不同的拍摄风格和影像处理上进行转换，赋予后社会主义的上海“充满活力的表征和精神分裂的内里”（Zhang 2010, p. 116）。《目的地上海》并没有聚焦于一群亲密的朋友，而是展示了一些看似松散但相互连接的人物的生活片段，包括一个年轻的“男妓”或“钱童”（Rofel 2013, p. 162），他的客户包括有性怪癖的男人（图 5），以及一个为了能与年轻男同志们自由进行社交生活而放弃家庭的同性恋丈夫（崔子恩扮演）（图 6）。

将镜头调离大都市上海，朱一叶的两部 DV 作品《啦啦啦》（2006）和《小树的夏天》（2008）则以北京高中校园为背景，讲述了女孩间互有好感的故事。《啦啦啦》进行了实验性叙事，在三个不同的情境中，两个亲密无间的女友突然发现自己被迫贴上了“同性恋”的标签。这三个情境既可以作为独立分开的情节，也可以作为整体叙事的一部分。在这部影片中，女性之间的爱恋在第一节中被“识别和确认”，在第二节中被“发现和失去”，在第三节中“被立即禁止和压制”；将前两节的经历结合在一起，也“让这对女同志在最后一节中转换为异性恋的痛苦加倍”（Shi 2014, pp.137 & 139）。影片强调，合适话语的欠缺让角色很难以她们认为可以接受的方式表达女性之间的欲望和爱，同时在片尾指出女同性爱在公共空间缺乏位置（Shi 2014, p. 126）。朱一叶的第二部女同志实验作品《小树的夏天》由两对人物组成，他们各自代表来自同一个故事中的两条叙事线，各自独立却相互平行（一个在过去，一个在现在）。在影片的五分之三处，所有的时间和空间框架崩塌并变成一个纠结的整体，凸显出许多（年轻）女同志主体所经历的生存困境和萦绕的忧郁。朱一叶的影片（尤其是《啦啦啦》）显然也是安映憬的女同志实验性叙事《轮回的棋子》（2012）的灵感来源。

小说家兼评论家崔子恩是酷儿影像创作中最突出的人物，他在《男男女女》中担任编剧（和演员），并自编自导十余部影片。从《丑角登场》（2002）和《旧约》（2002）开始，崔子恩的影片包括：《哎呀呀，去哺乳》（2003），《星星相吸惜》（2004），《石头和那个娜娜》（2004），《我如花似玉的儿子》（2005），《少年花草黄》（2005）和《副歌》（2006）。他的影像都是用 DV 拍摄的，预算不高，其特点是采用前卫的方式，具有明显的作者风格。裴开瑞（Chris Berry）将崔的作品与肯尼思·安格（Kenneth Anger）和杰克·史密斯（Jack Smith）的前石墙影像相比拟，认为其对宗教、性欲和家庭关系的关注，有如“圣三位一体般的主题变奏：神圣、亵渎和私领域”（Berry 2004, p. 196）。崔子恩的影像强调一种对乌托邦彼岸和多形式流动的想象，他经常描述“酷儿的身体具有性别、性向和社会关系的流动性，通过这种方式，他旨在解构中国社会中通常被高度重视的道德和亲情”（Bao 2020b, p. 365; Leung 2012, p. 530）。最重要的是，崔子恩的实验性方法也反映了他的左派政治立场。他经常把他的主要人物描绘成“赤裸裸的贫穷，不依附于传统家庭、亲缘关系和财产的类型”，以说明他对人类生存的无产阶级看法（Bao 2018, p. 138; Cui in Fan 2015b, p. 254）。通过 DV 的形式，他有意创造一种前卫的美学，从而挑战被资本体制化了的“电影”概念（Cui 2003, pp.7-9; Comolli and Narboni 2016）。对崔子恩来说，影像创作和组织酷儿电影节也类似于社会集会，其基于玩乐和平等主义的精神与共产主义或乌托邦主义的概念相呼应（Cui in Fan 2015b, p. 253）。他进一步设想，通过持续的非官方或地下的交流来“建立一个酷儿影像的共产国际”（Liu 2015, pp.

48-58)。作为一个具有创新和连贯视野的酷儿艺术家和活动家，崔子恩在国内外的多元酷儿文化中发出了独特的声音（Bao 2020b, p. 365）。

在酷儿虚构类影像创作中，与实验性的DV作品趋势平行的是，倚赖传统叙事的视听影像制作的持续出现。这些影像虽然数量不多，但通常都有外国的资金和 / 或技术的挹注，而且主要是以艺术片为导向，如《春风沉醉的夜晚》（娄烨，2009，中国 / 法国），《寻找罗麦》（王超，2018，法国 / 中国），以及《再见，南屏晚钟》（相梓，2019，中国 / 西班牙）。娄烨和王超是知名的第六代影人，各自都有艺术片创作的深厚经历，而相梓也类似地在 2019 年柏林国际电影节上首映了她的长片处女作。《春风沉醉的夜晚》在戛纳国际电影节获得了最佳剧本奖（颁予梅峰），《再见，南屏晚钟》在柏林获得了泰迪评委会奖，《寻找罗麦》在 2015 年的釜山国际电影节上进行了全球首映（原版 88 分钟，BIFF, 2015）。《春风沉醉的夜晚》有一个蜿蜒的叙事，从一个姓江的男同志和一个姓王的已婚男人之间的婚外情开始，到江与另一个姓罗的男子发展出的暧昧关系结束，罗——最初被王的妻子雇来监视江——发现自己被江吸引，在这个燥热的春天里他还得处理和女友的关系。影片采用手持拍摄，剪辑风格巧妙地将情节交织在一个令人着迷的音景中。该片显然是一个同性恋故事，但正如导演所指出的，它不仅仅是这样：他想利用同性恋议题来审视更广泛的社会政治脉络、边界和自由的种种形式，以及人类的精神状况（Lou in Cheng 2012, pp. 54-68）。通过这种方式，《春风沉醉的夜晚》也与《东宫西宫》相呼应，启用了一种寓言的模式，只不过是有一种不那么戏剧化的方式。《再见，南屏晚钟》则围绕着这样的情节展开：一个孕妇在她美国丈夫的陪同下，去拜访她在北京的父母。故事在三个层面展开：当下的家庭危机，以父亲早年被母亲发现其同性恋身份为核心；女儿被父母挫败的婚姻生活所笼罩的童年记忆；以及更早远的过去，最终揭示母亲婚前的同性情欲。除了“同妻”（同性恋妻子，通常是在对丈夫有同性欲望不知情的情況下与其结婚的女性）和封建迷信的现象外，影片还精辟地凸显了某些社会规范和主导意识形态所引发的恶性循环。结婚的巨大压力令个人（不管是否为同性恋）无法抗拒，而婚姻不幸的人所面临的痛苦和挫折很容易感染，并会在家庭中沿着性别和代际的轴线产生不同的影响。从女儿的角度来看，她的同妻母亲不仅是一个受害者，同时也是一名加害者，后者已然内化了父权制意识形态，并把自己困在异性恋父权制中（主题曲《南屏晚钟》确实让人联想到一个迷失在深林中的女人的意象）。女儿与父亲的年轻男性爱侣对话的场景格外令人感动。她表达了自己对同性恋权利的支持，并告诫他不要与另一个女人结婚。但他说，他的婚姻与主人公父母的婚姻不同，是一种基于男同志和女同志间之相互协议的“形婚”，以减轻他们各自的结婚压力。他还透露，这个女人所怀的孩子是她自己和她的伴侣通过人工授精所得。人的能动性可以明显地从酷儿角色与体制的协商中感知。就在《再见，南屏晚钟》完成的前一年，《寻找罗麦》成为了第一部得以在中国内地公开放映的同性恋题材国产电影。然而，2018 年官方发布的版本却是一个经过重编的版本，目前 83 分钟的版本（这也是我在 2018 年富川国际奇幻电影节上看到的版本）已经将男同性恋关系淡化到近乎难以辨认（Qian 2018）。

酷儿非虚构类影像：新纪录片，社会行动转向，和持DV摄像机的拉拉

DV 对酷儿媒体的影响在非虚构类影像创作中特别显著，尤其是在延伸自新纪录片运动的这个脉络。

由吴文光、段锦川、蒋樾和张元等导演在二十世纪八十年代末和九十年代初发起的新纪录片概念，抵抗官方新闻片和专题片的传统。专题片的特点是按照事先写好的剧本编排镜头，并从一个宏大的、由上而下的角度直接向观众讲述（Berry 2007, p. 117）。与这些形式相反，新纪录片强调现场现实主义的“自发性 and 无脚本性”（Berry 2007, p. 122），从“个人立场”出发，传达对“平民生活”的深切关注（Lu 2003, pp.14–15）。在主题上，新纪录片与官方话语保持距离，而是选择记录普通人的生活，尤其是社会边缘群体的生活（Wen 2016; Edwards 2015; Lu 2003），比如被边缘化的艺术家、西藏人、农民工、残疾人、老人、穷人和那些具有酷儿自我认同的人。利用新兴的数字技术，张元的《金星小姐》（2000）讲述了同名男性舞者进行性别转换的故事。2001年，英未未拍摄了《盒子》，该片被认为是中国第一部女同志纪录片。此后，以中国男同志或跨性别者的生活为题材的独立纪录片持续涌现。

已有文章指出，早期的数字酷儿纪录片主要围绕着两个主题：一个是以女同性恋为主题，另一个则以跨性别男性为主题（Chao 2014; Chao 2010a; Chao 2010b）。正如卢克·罗宾逊（Luke Robinson）所指出的，后者引人注目的是“它对中国男同性恋作为一种表演的执迷”（Robinson 2015, p. 289）。这表现在两个方面。首先是对男同性恋作为表演者的关注，尤其是对所谓的反串（或者说异装）表演者。即便影片中的主要人物不以反串为生，影像中也还是经常包含以变装为主的表演场景（Robinson 2013, pp. 112–13）。这方面的例子包括《金星小姐》（陈可辛和李晓，2001），《唐唐》（张涵子，2004），《宝宝 / 同志宝宝》（韩涛，2004），《美美》（高天，2005），《香平丽》（蒋志，2005），《人面桃花》（杜海滨，2005），《蝶变》（王逸人，2005），《上海上海蓝》（王雷军，2009），《姑奶奶》（邱炯炯，2010），以及《舞娘》（导演：范坡坡，2011）。相比之下，第二种方式就不那么直接了。它涉及到影像拍摄手法，这些手法透过形式反思被拍摄者对表演的兴趣。这些做法可能包括，例如，将演员融入“真实”的人，或者采用特殊的摄影技术，拟仿真实电影的纪录风格，进而揭示影像是被构建的人工制品或是经过中介的产物（Robinson 2015, p.290）。这些技术，在《唐唐》和《香平丽》中尤其明显，它们有意模糊了纪录片和故事片之间的界限，使影像处于“反思性”和“表演性”模式的交汇点（Nichols 2001, pp.125–37）。在我之前对《唐唐》的分析中，我也认为该片通过真实电影风格的反思性介入，挑战了“现场”（现实主义）与现实的假定对应关系，同时也让拍摄对象的酷儿身份成为一种模糊且开放式的自我塑造（Chao 2010a）。

这种对反串表演者和扮演女性的关注，不仅反映了中国酷儿社群内外无处不在的异装表演现象，还体现了某种社会意义。从大多数异性恋导演和非酷儿的普通观众的角度来看，他们对反串场景的纪录和观看，或许不可避免地带有“窥视”的心态（Bao 2020b, p. 364; Robinson 2013, pp.116–7; Chao 2010a）。然而，通过引用公众接受的戏剧反串程式和符码，反串表演者也同时设法塑造他们的酷儿主体性，从而抵抗异性恋规范的性别系统。通过戏剧中演绎出的范式来呈现他们的身份，反串表演者仍然保有一些否认的空间：毕竟，观众看到的也可能只是表演而已。通过这种方式，酷儿主体无需承诺一个稳定且可识别的性向，即可协商进入公共空间。从反串表演者的角度来看，变装可以被理解作为一种自我赋权的行为，也是一种借助模糊性的“生存策略”（Muñoz 1999）。我的论



图7:《志同志》中的众人谈话头式纪录呈现

点是，反串可以被视为一种被拍摄的主体策略性地塑造自己公共身份的方式，同时有意识地对他们的实际性取向保持一定程度的模糊性（Chao 2010a, pp.166-7）。这呼应了裴开瑞和罗宾逊的观察，即异装在传统上是“中国酷儿主体获得‘公共空间、公共话语和公共记录的’少有的几个方式之一”（Robinson 2013, p. 113; Berry 1998, p. 88）。

我认为 2007 年至 2009 年是中国酷儿纪录片创作向社会行动转向的关键时期。在张真看来，在本世纪的第一个十年里，有志于此的电影人（如胡杰、艾晓明、艾未未）以及“便携式数码摄像机、编辑软件和基于互联网的社交媒体的普及”，促进了更大范围的新纪录片运动的社会行动转向（2015, p.316）。数字技术和坚定的个人实践在酷儿纪录片创作的社会行动转向中也发挥了不可或缺的作用。我想补充的是，与后者相互关联的是社区和机构的影响。在非政府组织（NGO）的资助下（特别是在艾滋病预防方面的组织），社区和机构的影响已经具体化，比如持续经年（从 2001 年开始）的北京酷儿影展，和随后（从 2008 年开始）的中国酷儿影像巡回展。又比如中国城市基层社会行动的出现，如同性恋亲友会（PFLAG，自 2009 年开始）和年度骄傲庆祝活动（如自 2009 年开始的上海骄傲节），尤其是（自 2007 年开始）“同志亦凡人”的发起。作为中国唯一独立的且长期运行的 LGBT 网络广播，它自 2009 年起也赞助了一些纪录片项目。所有这些公共活动都被包宏伟，殷莉（Elisabeth Engebretsen），涂建平（Stijn Deklerck），魏小刚 / 魏建刚，范坡坡等人详细记录（Bao 2021, 2018; Engebretsen et al 2015; Deklerck & Wei 2015; Fan 2015a; Robinson 2013）。

在这一时期，前文所提的男同志导演崔子恩拍摄了《志同志》（2008）；该片通过众人谈话头式的纪录方式，探讨了中国新兴酷儿群体从历史到权利多方面的问题，这是标志着酷儿创作向社会行动转变的一个里程碑（图 7）。几个新人很快加入行列，其中最著名的是影像导演及运动人士范坡坡和魏小刚。作为“中国酷儿独立影像小组”的创始人，范坡坡因拍摄一系列纪录片而闻名，如《新前门大街》（2009），《柜族》（2009），《舞娘》，《彩虹伴我心》（2012）和《彩虹伴我行》（2016）等。魏小刚是“同志亦凡人”的创始人和总监，他的影像作品包括《恋夕阳》（2009），《同志们辛苦了》（2010），《同志她她她他他他》（2010），以及《下一代》（2011）。如前所述，早期关于酷儿的纪录片的特色是对跨越性别的男性和模糊性的特别关注，而更当代的纪录片更重要的是“打破这种传统的方式”（Robinson 2013, p. 117）。它表现在两个相互关联的面向。就主题而言，它已经扩展到更广泛的主题：例如崔子恩的《志同志》中对酷儿历史和社区建设的思考；范坡坡的《柜族》中的出柜故事；周鸣的《那话儿》（2010）中对性行为和生活方式的公开讨论；岳建波的《小岳同志》

(2013) 中对中国农村工人阶级男同志的探讨；魏小刚的《恋夕阳》中的跨代同志关系；范坡坡的《新前门大街》中对同志婚姻的公开展示；魏小刚的《同志们辛苦了》中，首届中国彩虹先生评选的筹备和停办，等等。就其影像中展现的观点和态度而言，这些（绝大多数的）同志导演——与前几年以异性恋为主的导演相反——不太关心模糊性的问题，而是认为“明确表达酷儿身份的行为本身就是一种政治和道德决定”（Robinson 2013, p. 119）。所有这些社会参与的纪录片或“社区纪录片”（Bao 2021; Bao 2020b, p.367; Bao 2018），都是在各种机构不同程度的支持下完成的，例如，广受欢迎的“同志亦凡人”网络广播，北京纪安德咨询中心，福特基金会，中国酷儿独立影像小组和酷儿大学（自 2012 年以来，由“同志亦凡人”每年赞助的为期一周的影像创作培训项目）。

然而，在这种社会行动转向和机构支持中，我想提请注意性别不平等这一问题。我发现，国内女同志导演及主题在大范围内仍然相对地边缘化。虽然前述的一些纪录片（如《同志她她她他他他》）在性别方面取得了相当好的平衡，但其余的（如那些关于性行为、跨代关系和首届中国彩虹先生评选的纪录片）更多的是服膺于男同志的兴趣和权益，而非女同志的。自 2007 年以来，当男跨女的跨性别题材持续受到关注（如《上海上海蓝》、《姑奶奶》和《舞娘》等纪录长片），第一部女跨男跨性别纪录短片《兄弟》（由女同志电影人妖妖执导）却在 2013 年才问世，随后另一部女跨男纪录短片《再见，启程》（由女同志电影人大京执导）则于 2016 年问世。这显然落后于其他男跨女影像的发展。在范坡坡的《柜族》中，“出柜”这一关键问题也主要由十名男同志和著名的同性恋亲友会倡导者吴幼坚母子二人的故事来组成，而两对女同志伴侣的故事只占整个影片时间的六分之一。

在这里，我们可以重新审视一下我在十年前提出的一个论题（Chao 2010b; Chao 2020, pp.273–300）。如前所述，跨性别男性只是早期酷儿纪录作品的一个主题。另一个经常被忽视的主题则是关于女同志。在撰写关于早期几部女同志纪录片时，包括《盒子》和《女同志游行日》（石头和明明，2004），以及《别样女孩》（Shadow Zhang 和 Jude Tian, 2005），《女人 50 分钟》（石头和明明，2006），《伤花》（栀子白，2006）以及《‘T’ Is for Tomboy》（黄阿娜，2008），我对《盒子》持有异议。《盒子》是由一位异性恋女导演执导，她选择从“女权主义”和“个人化”的角度来记录一



图8：《女同志游行日》中，影像导演石头在旧金山进行“出柜”的行动



图9：《我们要结婚》中，一个北京街头情人节场景



图10:《奇缘一生》中的另类家庭场景



图11:《奇缘一生》中的一个主人公对著导演自嘲她的形婚婚礼纪录。

对女同志的日常生活，对我来说，《盒子》缺乏对女同志身份的敏感度，并忽略她们在那个历史时刻对“社群”的迫切需求。将该片与其他由女同志拍摄的纪录片进行比较，我发现了一种来自新兴女同志社群的创作倾向并提出了“持摄像机的女同志”这一观点。“持摄像机的女同志”这一观点与托马斯·沃（Thomas Waugh）“承诺纪录片”（committed documentary）（Waugh 1984）的概念相呼应，首先强调对反映和改变中国女同志的社会地位之坚定承诺，其前提是对她们特有的社会政治条件持有敏感性；其次，这一观点回应了我所观察到的“来自（新兴女同志）群体内部对集体创作的呼吁”（Chao 2010b, p. 94; Chao 2020, p. 268）。在中国“酷儿”独立纪录片创作稳定增长和向社会行动转向的这一过程中，对女同志的关注在某种程度上仍然被边缘化。正因如此，我对“持摄像机的女同志”，或者说“持 DV 的拉拉”（Chao 2020, p. 268）的呼吁仍然有其意义。事实上，石头和明明的两部分别于旧金山和北京拍摄的、参与式的女同志街头行动短片，即《女同志游行日》和《我们要结婚》（2007），甚至早于上述酷儿纪录片的“社会行动转向”（图 8 和 9）。在酷儿纪录片创作的社会行动转向期间，一些拉拉运动人士及电影人在与酷儿运动人士合作并进行社区建设的同时，也用她们自己的方式，在以男性为中心的酷儿社区的边缘进行拍摄。两对拉拉电影人，何小培和袁园，石头和明明，就是这方面的典范。她们最近的两部影像说明了“持 DV 的拉拉”的意义。

《奇缘一生》（2013）由何小培和袁园导演，探讨了中国酷儿群体中日益流行的合作婚姻或“形婚”议题。影片以沈阳为拍摄背景，讲述了四位女同志在结婚的压力下，寻找男同志丈夫来缔结无性的形婚。在这一过程中，这四位女同志相遇、相爱，并成为两对伴侣搬到一起，还有两只猫和两只狗作为她们共同的孩子。正如影片的副标题所示，影片的重点是女同志，而非男同志。凡是与男同志丈夫相关的部分，都只从女同志的角度来介绍。影像放大了女同志的生活经历，特别是她们如何藉机智和幽默的方式协商婚姻条款，以及她们如何通过“同志反抗空间”（Kam 2013, pp.101–102）来管理她们的长期同居关系——金晔路（Lucetta Kam）称之为“延展的同志亲缘关系网”——并相互关怀和扶持（图 10 和图 11）。这个协商的另类家庭中明显回荡着一股酷儿集体的能动性。在整部影片中，我们也感知到导演在这个亲密的环境中与她们的拍摄对象进行了公开且自在的互动。这种情景很难被除何小培和袁园这样立场坚定且有才华的拉拉导演之外的圈外人（包括异性恋女导演和男同志导演）接触到（Chao 2020, p. 271）。在石头和明明的（即将完成的）最新影片《新疆女孩》中，两位导演多年来跟拍了一群新疆女同志的生活，她们大多是维吾尔族人。影片通过一个女同志聚会场所将两组叙事联系起来，描绘了一个个体和一群亲密朋友的生活。这两组叙事巧妙地反映了拍摄对象的不同背景（一个是工人阶级，另一个是知识分子），从而反映了拉拉社群内的异质性——若非分歧的话。除了家庭关系和城乡差距的因素外，其叙事至关重要的一个方面是，紧张敏感的新疆民族关系问题，这也给拉拉社区蒙上了一层阴影（从 2009 年乌鲁木齐暴乱后他们的个体行动受限和社会空间被压缩即可看出）。简而言之，这部影像不仅提供了一个外人无法进入且长期被忽视的新疆拉拉社群的视角，而且导演对这个社群细致入微的描写，就像《奇缘一生》一样，体现了拉拉们对 DV 摄像机使用的天赋和执着。因此，《奇缘一生》和《新疆女孩》都展示了持 DV 摄像机的拉拉的意义。

结语

关于中国的独立酷儿影像创作，这篇文章主要沿着虚构和非虚构影像创作的轴线展开。我认为，由于数字技术的出现，酷儿虚构类影像创作出现了向实验性影像的转变，而数字技术也成为了酷儿非虚构类影像创作出现的基础。虽然酷儿数字纪录片的社会行动转向反映且加强了在地同志 / 酷儿社区的形成，但我发现，女性的边缘化仍然是这个社区建设和纪录片创作中的一个结构性问题。在这一结论中，我想简要地指出可供进一步研究的两个方向：一个是涉及到虚构类 / 非虚构类的划分，另一个是从资金、类型和流通的角度对“独立”进行重新思考。除了《我们害怕》的纪实模式和《唐唐》尝试用真实电影风格来模糊纪录片和故事片之间的界限（如上所述），崔子恩的《夜景》（2004）在处理“钱童”这一敏感话题时（Rofel 2013, 2010），策略性地将故事片情节融入纪录镜头，将虚构人物与社会演员混合，从而为拍摄对象创造出一个与现实的安全距离（Voci 2010, p.265; Wang 2014, p. 169）。对包宏伟来说，从《新前门大街》到《彩虹伴我行》的一系列纪录片中，范坡坡通过一种特殊的“戏剧——纪录片融合”的方式将酷儿行动进行调节并助其成形（Bao 2020c）。我发现，在女同志导演大京的《女同之死》（2013）和《我要拍女女色情片》（2014）中，性别化的酷儿政治也分别通过“记录表演”和“表演纪录片”的策略被调动起来。故事片、纪录片和戏剧 / 表演之间的矛盾如何通过数字媒体呈现，其如何进而产生关于社会他者的“具体”知识，甚至影响社会变革，这确实是一个值得进一步研究的领域（Bao 2020c; Tan 2017; Zhang 2015, 2010; Wang 2014; Robinson 2013; Yue 2012）。

近年来，一系列由独立公司投资和创作的剧情片不断涌现，这些影像在爱奇艺等网络平台播放。我认为这一趋势产生的主要原因是《上瘾》（导演：丁伟，2016）等网络剧的大受欢迎及随之而来的同人文化逐渐主流化，而中国蓬勃发展的视频平台和数字媒体创作也得到了大量来自私营部门和海外“热钱”的投资（Li 2019）。近年的一些虚构类影像，如《双程》（秦榛，2016）、《梦回少年时》（黄超，2017）和《鱼心河忍》（吕博文，2018）等，采用一般的同人套路，并以广泛的在线观众为目标，偏离了他们的酷儿前辈与另类 / 艺术 / 地下的密切关系；他们明显的商业动机使“独立”制作的标签复杂化（Chung 2017, p. 210），这也值得从一个本文研究范围以外的框架进行研究（Wong 2020; Yang & Xu 2017）。

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Keywords: Ethics and Feminism

Desiring Feminism in Chinese Documentary

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Abstract

This article analyses a series of ‘Desiring China: Sexuality and Female Subjectivity’ screening and discussion of Chinese independent documentary films at the University of Hong Kong in 2016. It explores a feminist positionality in Chinese independent documentary film to deal with privacy, gender, violence, and trauma, including: 1) the filmmaker’s position on the ethics of care and (intimate) solidarity with protagonists; 2) the protagonist’s position of confession and appeal in reclaiming autonomy from gender based violence and discrimination; 3) the filmmaker’s and the protagonist’s different positions on reducing documentary’s negative impact on protagonist’s personal life through controlling distribution; 4) the evolving positions of protagonist and filmmaker on self-transformation and re-opening for screening; 5) the activist position of representation in politics and filmmaking’s position of representation in arts; and 6) tensions between theory and practice that require scholars, filmmakers, and activists to situate and contextualise ethics for discussion and practice.

This article argues for the need to adopt a feminist ethics of care when producing, exhibiting, and critiquing documentaries about women and social margins in contemporary China. It promotes equal power relationships among documentary participants, and innovations of cinematic language, to deal with ethical dilemmas and the potential limitations of filmmaking and of exhibiting Chinese independent documentary films.

‘Desiring China’ poster (designer: Wang Wo 王我), which was designed based on feminist Ye Haiyan’s (叶海燕) nude performance photo of advocating for women and children’s rights



1. 'Desiring China: sexuality and female subjectivity'

I curated with Sik Ying Ho (何式凝) 'Desiring China: Sexuality and Female Subjectivity', a series of screenings and discussions of Chinese independent documentary films at the University of Hong Kong (HKU), on Saturdays between 15 October and 19 November 2016.¹ This series was inspired by two books, *Desiring China* (Rofel 2007), and *Sex and Desire in Hong Kong* (Ho and Tsang 2012), to discuss sexuality, gender, and the representation of female subjectivity in Chinese independent documentary films. In the book *Desiring China*, detailing the neoliberal logic of governance dominated by the market economy through a Foucauldian lens, Lisa Rofel particularly scrutinises the pervasive, discursive, and disciplinary power being taken upon by individuals in everyday practice (2007). Desires of material, sexuality, and affection have been subjectified in public culture in the process of state reconfiguring Chinese citizenship (Rofel 2007). The second book, on the experience of sexuality and desire in Hong Kong and across China (Ho and Tsang 2012), illustrates how the individual's sex and desire is conditioned by (post-)colonial, transnational, and social-political forces in the broad Chinese context. Adopting a Foucauldian approach and being informed by studies of desire in Chinese society and Hong Kong (Rofel 2007; Ho and Tsang 2012), this series explored the discipline of sex as the deployment of social powers on individuals, and desire is seen as a resistant power that 'transforms one's self, and reforms the society one is living in' on screen.² In this article, my Foucauldian enquiry centres not only on the power relations among documentary participants, but also on scrutinising the reproduction of power structures in intellectual activity and representational politics, distinguishing the of seizure power, as well as partnership and resistance as positive forces.

Increasing numbers of Chinese independent documentaries on the theme of desiring (as subversive agency) and female subjectivity (which has been suppressed in worldly life and cultural/knowledge production) have been produced since the late 1990s (Yu and Lebow 2020). However, due to concerns around privacy, on-going ethical controversies, or tensions between filmmakers and protagonists, the series managed to select and screen eight documentaries/video documentations according to relevance to the series' theme, filmic significance, and availability. Bao Hongwei (包宏伟) has discussed the queer space of *Women Fifty Minutes* 女人 50 分钟 (dir. Shi Tou 石头, 2006) (Bao 2019) and queer feminist memory in *We Are Here* 我们在这里 (dir. Zhao Jing 赵静 and Shi Tou, 2015) (Bao 2020), screened in the series, therefore, amongst these eight films, the following six ones serve as basis for discussing feminism in Chinese documentaries in this article:

1. *Nightingale, Not the Only Voice* 夜莺不是唯一的歌喉 (dir. Tang Danhong 唐丹鸿, 2000)
2. *The Love Life of Lao An* 老安 (dir. Yang Lina 杨荔钠, 2008)

3. *A Song of Love, Maybe* 恋曲 (dir. Zhang Zanbo 张赞波, 2010)
4. *Hooligan Sparrow* 流氓燕 (dir. Wang Nanfu 王男楸, 2016), screened together with *Ai Weiwei's Interview with Ye Haiyan on August 26 2010* 2010年8月26日对叶海燕(流氓燕)的采访 (dir. Ai Weiwei 艾未未, 2013)
5. The short 3D animation *A Poem to Liu Xia* 致刘霞 (dir. Trish McAdam, 2013) was screened before each event's main schedule.

In addition, the ethical dilemmas raised by *Sister* 姐姐 (dir. Hu Xinyu 胡新宇, 2007) and *Wheat Harvest* 麦收 (dir. Xu Tong 徐童, 2008) are also discussed in this article, though the two documentaries were not screened in the series due to ethical concerns to be discussed in details later (Sniadecki 2014 and 2015; Edwards 2015b; Lu 2018).

Reflexive conversations with documentary participants — filmmakers, protagonists, or both identity holders — have opened up spaces for examining key ethical concerns in Chinese independent documentaries, including the treatment of protagonists before, during, and after filming; the question of informed consent; solidarity and the filmmakers' commitment to activist causes; the ethics of distribution and exhibition of films about domestic violence and other types of abuse; and, general concerns about the balance between privacy and the public right to know. These conversations have addressed the complexity of documentary participants' positions while privacy (inner; personal; family; and *si* (私) meaning profit *si li* (私利) or 'immoral' desires *si yu* (私欲), not appropriate for the public to view [McDougall and Hansson 2002, pp. 3-24], pain, and trauma are represented in documentary films. In this article, a feminist point of view is employed to understand sex, gender-based violence, and the representation of female subjectivity in documentaries, and filmmakers' ethic concerns. This feminist perspective differentiates gendered asymmetries of representation in the ethos of masculinity and domination (Evans 2009, pp. 29-40), even in the documentaries and literature regarding subaltern/vulnerable groups (such as in the ethical controversy over *Wheat Harvest*). It recognises femininity and the experience of disadvantaged documentary participants in representation and reasoning.

Theorising the positionality of documentary participants requires us to consider the practice of ethics being situated in specific cases (Nash 2012, pp. 318-331). Analysing my conversations with documentary participants, documentary film texts, and transcripts of after-screening discussions during the series of 'Desiring China' at HKU, this empirical study of local practice and filmmaker reflexivity, is my effort to theorise the position of a filmmaker, protagonist, curator, scholar, and feminist activist, and to advance constructive conversations on film ethics among documentary

participants and researchers.

This article provides different perspectives to discuss a feminist positionality in Chinese independent documentary film: 1) the filmmaker's position on the ethics of care and (intimate) solidarity with their protagonists; 2) the protagonist's position of confession and appeal in reclaiming autonomy from gender based violence and discrimination; 3) the filmmaker's and protagonist's different positions on reducing documentary's negative impact on the protagonist's personal life through controlling distribution; 4) the evolving positions of protagonist and filmmaker on self-transformation and re-opening for screening; 5) the activist position of representation as in politics and filmmaking's position of representation as in arts (Spivak 1988); and 6) tensions between theory and practice that require scholars, filmmakers, and activists to situate and contextualise ethics for discussion and practice.

I argue for the need to adopt a feminist ethics of care when producing, exhibiting, and critiquing documentaries about women in contemporary China. This article promotes equal power relationships among documentary participants, and the innovation of cinematic language, to deal with the ethical dilemmas and potential limitations of filming and exhibiting Chinese independent documentary films.

2. Positions of care and feminist solidarity

Filmmaker-scholar Sniadecki encourages us to put 'care', along with 'sense of responsibility' and 'humanity', at the centre of the filmmaker-protagonist relationship, especially in response to the



In *Outcry and Whisper* 喊叫与耳语 (dir. Wen Hai 文海/闻海, Zeng Jinyan 曾金燕, and Trish McAdam, 2020), me talking to the camera to save myself from breaking down under surveillance due to memories of house arrest and the severe pain caused by political and gendered violence. This repeated self-whispering, a form of video diary, carries the haptic care and protection of a young women's privacy, dignity, and strength while vulnerable, and her desire for kindness and love while in desperation.

documentation of violence, suffering, and injustice in Chinese society at large (Sniadecki 2014, p. 54, p. 57). Care, a key quality of feminist solidarity, is seen in ground-breaking studies of Chinese feminist filmmaking, with the first-person camera documenting women's experiences in response to the interplay of patriarchal, authoritarian, and transnational power (Marchetti 2020; Yu 2020; Yu and Lebow 2020; Zhang 2020). As Zhang Zhen (张真) illustrates in her study (2020), the veteran filmmaker Wen Hui (文慧), pioneering dancer, choreographer, and multi-media artist, has been living under the long term shadow of her ex-partner Wu Wenguang (吴文光), and Wen Hui's intellectual and artistic contribution to the co-initiated Caochangdi Studio (草场地工作室), and its noted Folk Memory Project (民间记忆影像计划) has been largely undermined.³ In this context, Wen Hui directed *Listening to Third Grandmother's Stories* 听三奶奶讲过去的事情 (2012) and *Dancing with Third Grandma* 和三奶奶跳舞 (2015). Wen Hui transforms her 'forgotten' Third Grandma and her own bodies into an everyday stage, to activate, perform, and archive autobiographies in reconstructing female kinship beyond the patriarchy as well as healing Wen Hui's present and Third Grandma's past traumas. Women's expression is centred in these two documentaries and the protagonists' family connections re-built through the female experience of birth, family relation, memory, and everyday life. Haptic care of each other is delivered in Wen Hui and her Third Grandma's daily conversations, play, joy, and bodily movement/performance with domestic stuff, in front of the camera. Therefore, the two documentary films open up intimate-public space (Zhang 2020), a new kind of cinematic social spaces beyond the public, semi-public, and the private (Berry and Lü and Rofel 2010; Robinson 2010; Robinson 2012; Edwards 2015a).

In *Hooligan Sparrow*, which is about the feminist fight against child sexual abuse and political haunting of activists (Marchetti 2020), the young New York-based Chinese filmmaker Wang Nanfu did not include her filmmaking experience in the early editing drafts (Zeng and Tan 2019, pp. 126-133). In the end, she presented her filmmaking process as one storyline of the film, a documentation of the self's feminism awakening, a witnessing and testimony of her homeland's local feminist activists' fight against rape culture and dysfunctional government systems, as well as a feminist activist and cultural broker between realms of activism and art, China and world.⁴ On-screen, she is the feminist filmmaker as the protagonist. Off-screen, she managed to not only bring the film story to the world, but also bring the teenage protagonist Yaxin (雅欣) — daughter of protagonist Ye Haiyan who has been repeatedly censored, forcibly evicted from her home, and prohibited from traveling internationally as state punishment for her activism (Ye 2021, pp. 153-156) — to the US for middle school study. Afterwards, Wang Nanfu edited short videos to advocate for the release of then imprisoned lawyer Wang Yu (王宇) and amateur filmmaker Huang (activist Deng Chuanbin [邓传彬], aka Huanghuang [晃晃], named Huang in the film), who are part of the feminist activism in *Hooligan Sparrow*. The feminist fight, of the protagonist 'mine', protagonist 'hers', and

protagonists ‘theirs’, become a fight of ‘ours’ with support and care to each other, on-screen and off-screen, in solidarity (Marchetti 2020).

The haptic visual representation in Wen Hui’s documentaries centres care in women’s expression, as well as the *minjian* (among the people, non-official, non-institutional, see Veg 2019) construction of history and female kinship. The filmmaker’s commitment to her protagonists’ life and feminist activism in *Hooligan Sparrow* demonstrates the ethics of feminist solidarity. The title *Hooligan Sparrow* is taken from the protagonist Ye Haiyan’s pen name. Ye Haiyan’s video confession in Ai Weiwei’s interview appeals to the interviewer and audiences by reclaiming women’s autonomy, though suffering from gender based violence.

3. Protagonist’s position of confession and appeal

Ai Weiwei’s Interview with Ye Haiyan on August 26, 2010 (*The Interview* for short) was made in a context in which ‘there were many controversies about her [Ye Haiyan] and I wanted to understand her’, stated Ai Weiwei.⁵ The documentary was released on YouTube on 3 June 2013, during Ye’s detention in the midst of protesting against the child sexual abuse documented in *Hooligan Sparrow*. The two were screened together in the ‘Desiring China’ series for an enriching representation and discussion of Ye Haiyan, enquiring into gender-based violence, sex, sexual capital, desire, and documentary representation (Zeng 2016a). *The Interview* is a talking head-style video documentation. Ye Haiyan is sat on a chair in Ai Weiwei’s Beijing Studio, facing the camera which is in a fixed still position. Ai Weiwei’s interview questions are presented via subtitles, which makes Ye Haiyan’s talk similar to a personal monologue. Ai Weiwei’s interview questions invite Ye Haiyan to introduce herself; explain her divorce and perception of marriage and aging; share other women’s similar experiences of sexual violence; recall her gender awakening process; detail sex work payment and strategies; discuss her single parenting practice; discuss explicit attitudes on discrimination against women; tell stories of violence against sex workers and police response; and explain her advocacy for legitimatizing sex work and the state crackdown on sex workers.

In *The Interview*, Ye Haiyan narrates and reflects on her life history of lived experience fighting against the stigmatization of sexual violence victim. She details her identity as a sex worker, an activist advocating sex workers’ rights, and a ‘slut’ who is a pioneer of sexual liberation and enjoying sexual pleasure. She sees herself a self-motivated activist speaking for other sex worker ‘sisters’ who experience sexual violence and discrimination, a self-educated NGO worker who is capable of civil organizing and independent thinking, and an open-minded independent woman who liberates herself in all dimensions. In telling her experiences of openly transforming herself into a

sex worker, she recalls a question from a Hong Kong sex worker activist: ‘Can you accept yourself as a sex worker? If you cannot accept yourself as a sex worker, how do you pursue your anti-discrimination work?’ (my translation). She explains that in order to do a campaign for sex workers who come from poor families and work under violent and insecure environments, she started to do sex work and publicly announced herself a sex worker.

In my 2016 interview with Ye Haiyan, Ye said that she is more than an admirer of Ai Weiwei, who is her ideal type of man for a romantic partnership. She also openly said as a playful ‘joke’ that one day she might sleep with Ai Weiwei, a way of ‘retweet[ing]’ Ai Weiwei’s jester artist role (see [Callahan 2014] on Ai’s jester’s role, and see [Qian 2014] on ‘retweet’). *The Interview*, somehow, is Ye Haiyan’s nuanced video love letter to Ai Weiwei. Sharing her self-understanding of the separation of mind and body while doing sex work (Ning 2002 and 2004 and 2006), this is a message about her ability to keep her self-autonomy, and her desire to look for a soulmate like Ai Weiwei. The imagined and actual relationship between interviewer Ai Weiwei and interviewee Ye Haiyan, pushed Ye Haiyan to present her innermost authentic self during the video interview, creating intensive appeals to the interviewer and audiences. She became a confessor in this semi-personal and semi-public video letter, under Ai Weiwei’s gaze — male and powerful in terms of social position, and desiring for the interviewer’s reciprocal responses.

Nonetheless, Ye’s confession in *The Interview* is powerful, for it adopts an NGO empowerment approach and depicts grassroots women’s collective suffering, and their vulnerability to sexual violence in particular. Her position of appeal is grounded in demonstrating woman’s agency in recognising female desire, dealing with sexual violence, and establishing their own autonomy. Though experiencing sexual violence and facing discrimination, a woman like Ye Haiyan is able to heal, to organise others for self-help and mutual support, to mobilize the public for social change, and to advocate equality for everyone, girls, women, and sex workers in particular.

The Interview is circulated on the internet as Ye Haiyan has been openly campaigning for sex workers, women, and children online. Some other filmmakers, to be discussed in next section, have concerns about the negative impact of their documentaries on their protagonists’ ‘unconventional’ desires and intimate life, and therefore take rigorous control of distribution.

4. Filmmaker’s position on informed consent and the risk of distribution

Do protagonists really understand the impact on their lives of giving filming informed consent to filmmakers? Do they understand in what kind of context their footage will be used? Do filmmakers,

ethnographic filmmakers in particular, clearly know during the shooting process what film they will make? Lastly, do protagonists really have control over how their footage will be disseminated (online and offline) in the future? Though commentary on ethical questions is hardly heard from protagonists directly (except those being edited into films), filmmakers indeed bear these concerns for protagonists. Filmmakers Yang Lina (*The Love Life of Lao An*), and Zhang Zanbo (*A Song of Love, Maybe*) reflected on their documentary ethical dilemmas during the 2016 ‘Desiring China’ series.⁶ These two films represent love stories and views from the perspective of ‘unethical’ extra-marital lovers—conventionally social defined. Both filmmakers revealed that they had invited the protagonists to watch the documentary footage during the editing process to enable the protagonists’ understanding of themselves and the footage. Thus, the filmmakers and their protagonists mutually developed their documentaries with nuanced and evolving informed consent. Both filmmakers took rigorous control of screening and chose not to distribute their films in the PRC, in order to reduce the political and social impact on their protagonists’ personal life. Yang Lina clearly stated in the after-screening discussion of *The Love Life of Lao An* that (Chinese Independent Documentary Lab's transcript, 22 October, 2016):

The film’s protagonists do not mind if I screen the film. However, I am clearly aware that their understandings about media are different from ours. They are not aware of the power of dissemination.

While the protagonists choose to show the public their ‘immoral’ positions, they provoke the public or intend to legitimatise their controversial practices from their own perspectives. This perspective often contradicts the interests of the other protagonists, such as the wives of those having extramarital relations. If the filmmaker acts in the interest of one protagonist, it may have negative consequences for the other protagonists, or often both. Therefore, rigorous control of distribution became the filmmakers’ choice, while the protagonists might not even be aware of such an ethics of care.

5. Protagonist’s position of prohibiting screening

Privacy conveys the notion of an inner, personal, and family realm (Zarrow 2002, pp. 121-146; Yuan and Feng and Danowski 2013, pp. 1011-1031), one not allowed to being intervened in by outsiders, especially for present-day Chinese women in the context of individualisation and transnationalism (Yan 2003 and 2010; Zheng 2013). Considering privacy matters, the protagonist of *Sister*, the sister of the filmmaker, makes it clear to director Hu Xinyu that if *Sister* is further screened, he would be in the court.⁷ Family members regarded Hu Xinyu’s filming as casual ‘play’

wan (玩).⁸ They were not aware of Hu Xinyu's role as a filmmaker and did not know about the production of *Sister*, its sequel documentary *Family Phobia* 家庭恐惧 (dir. Hu Xinyu, 2008), and his ongoing work based on family footage.⁹ For Hu Xinyu, he does not like the camera to be 'the eye of the god' but 'enjoy[s] the equal relationship in front of and behind camera' — because according to Hu Xinyu's explanation, his protagonists do not know that the footage will be used for filmmaking. He admits that this way of dealing with documentary filmmaker-protagonist relationship might be a 'moral' question from a new generation's perspective. But for the 'old one like me working in the human realm', Hu says that he cares about creating a film as a piece of art. He claims neither the filmmaker nor the film has a standpoint. He calls his private cinema 'drawer films' (抽屉电影), not for distribution now but to be watched in the future.

Sister details tensions of in a mother-daughter relationship, when a teenage daughter who used to live with her Chinese father and Japanese step-mother in Japan and China, is newly arrived in the US to live with her mother and American stepped father. The mother protagonist's memories of experiencing long-term domestic violence and its consequence in her previous marriage were triggered in dealing with these mother-daughter relational conflicts. *Sister* indeed brings about healing and redeeming—a correction of actions according to new and modern family values: the American husband decides not to keep silent anymore, expressing care and love for his wife, '[I] worship[s] this woman' in his words, in a conversation with the daughter in the manner respecting her as an interlocutor who can reason. The daughter clarifies that she wants mutual understanding and recognition from her mother as a daughter, not as an appendage of the father who used to abuse the mother, and that she cares about her mother (e.g. save money), rather than hurting her mother by mentioning her life experiences with her father and step-mother. For example, she likes the food cooked by her Japanese step-mother who is a fulltime housewife, better than the food cooked by her working mother in the US. The mother promises in conversation with her daughter, to let petty things (and past traumas) go in daily life in this new Chinese-American family, and correct her own mistakes, if any, in dealing with mother-daughter relationship.

The mother and daughter protagonists redeem their actions on film, healing each other's pain and constructing a new mother-daughter relationship with love and care in a transnational context. *Sister* inexplicitly reflects the representation of the traditional aspect of patriarchal culture in modern Chinese and Japanese societies, especially taking the director's documentary sequel, *Family Phobia*, into consideration, in which we see the arguably violent intimate relational practices of *Sister*'s extended natal family. Meanwhile, healing and redeeming are mediated by an American husband in the film, not the Chinese director's calm (or cold) observational camera. The filmmaker occasionally conspired with the newly arrived East Asian teenage daughter's condemnation of her

mother's 'wrong doings' in front of the camera. The filmmaker provided emotional support to his niece from a perspective contradicting his sister's. While the director filmed another fierce mother-daughter quarrel from a relatively far distance, obviously without protagonists' awareness, the sudden enlarged framing of his sister's face, the shaking of the camera lens, brings to audiences the sensual trembling of the sister in pain and emotional turmoil, and the sensual feeling of, probably, the director's attempt to comfort his beloved sister.¹⁰ However, this temporal and rare haptic gentleness in *Sister's* visual representation—such a shot is not seen in *Family Phobia* with its calm observational camera—did not change the closure of the protagonist's decision on distribution. Considering the risk of the protagonists' private life being judged by public audiences holding conventional values regarding domestic violence, family, and intimacy, the mother protagonist in *Sister* was determined to ban the film's screening, backed up by legal means. Off-screen, reconciliation between mother and daughter is promised by the ethics of care in family practice.

6. Evolving positions of director and protagonist on self-transformation

Documentary film functions as a mirror for the protagonist to see their own self, memory, and individual/collective trauma (Jin 2013, pp. 209-222). It can also function as a shield for some protagonists, and at the same time as a sword for other protagonists in dealing with memory and pain—especially an protagonist's (un)willingness to engage in self-acceptance and self-transformation. Tang Danhong, director and one protagonist of *Nightingale, Not the Only Voice*, managed to rescreen the film in the 2016 'Desiring China' event. This was after approximately fifteen years of not screening the film to ease her pain and to avoid further tension between Tang and her parents, though 'the private pain is not really private' (Tang Danhong in: Zeng and Tang 2021, p. 236). In the film, Tang Danhong asks for an acceptable answer from her parents to explain their abuse of her as a child. This was during the Cultural Revolution, when her parents who were intellectuals suffered from public political violence. The parents explained their own past experiences in the way that was no different from



Tang Danhong watching her own self-image in the 2016 'Desiring China' screening after about fifteen years of not screening/watching the film. Following the screening, Tang reposted a poem written in August 2002 with this photo (Figure 3) on Facebook, 17 October 2016, to comment on her on-screen image of the Hong Kong screening.

what Tang Danhong experienced as a child being abused. They defended their family relational practice and their explanations of their political experiences—which of which were violent in Tang’s view. The parents were hostile toward the documentary film.

Before travelling to Hong Kong for the screening, Tang wrote on her Facebook account on 21 September 2016:¹¹

There are fleeting moments—such as the dazzling white salt shores of the Dead Sea; the arid, desolate Negev Desert; a market in Tel Aviv filled with colourful fruits, vegetables, cheese, salted fish, and olives; the child who pulled on my clothes, asking me to buy a chocolate egg—that make me both incredulous and grateful that the Danhong Tang, who over ten years ago shot the film *Nightingale*, is already dead, or perhaps it’s better to say she is finally reborn...

Do You Know Who She Is?

She is who upon a single human face?

She is what upon a single flower?

She is how in your arms?

She is the light of death getting an erection—

She is what has been cut, sliced disintegrated—

In her own womb—

In the basement of heaven—

I saw you hurdling, pole vaulting.

I saw your blackness and all of your beauty.

Do you know who she is?

She is one of your girlfriends and lovers.

She is I, Danhong—

your cousin or aunt.

She is our family of incest.

Time passed and Tang became a mother herself, living in de-facto exile in Israel. Tang Danhong recalls her mother writing a memoir and a letter in response to the film *Nightingale*:

[B]ecause I made *Nightingale*, accusing her of not protecting me, so she wanted to tell me the sufferings and struggles she went through, to make me understand... (Zeng and Tang 2021, p. 234)

Through the memoir, Tang realises that her mother had sealed herself in her childhood for self-protection and the mother's traumatic memory has had a long-term impact on their family's relational practice. In the memoir, Tang's mother says that as a child during the 1950s Land Reform movement, she was taken by the Communist Party cadres to search for her own landlord mother, so that her mother could be persecuted. At the end of more than one month searching without finding her mother, Tang's mother witnessed her grandmother's head being violently cut and robbed from the tomb by angry cadres, right in front of the eyes of Tang's mother, then a young school girl.

Right before the 'Desiring China' screening, I re-read my mother's autobiographic text, and started to understand the relationship between her fate and mine ... She thought everything was her fault, a sin she was born with. So she cut off her connection with her [landlord] mother and sisters ... (Tang Danhong in: Zeng and Tang 2021, p. 234)

In the family relational practice, the mother admires her husband so much, looking to him for protection, and interpreting his domestic violence as a form of love for their child, Tang Danhong.

The year-long before-screening conversation between me (the curator) and Tang Danhong, and the after-screening discussion between Tang Danhong and her audiences in Hong Kong (Zeng and Tang 2021, pp. 228-237), has channelled Tang into re-dealing with her wounds 'being perplexed stitched' by the film's editing and ending.¹² Afterwards, Tang worked on family memory in connection with political trauma in her ongoing writings and filmmaking, about the stories of Tang herself, her mother, and her natal aunties (Zeng and Tang 2021, p. 232). Her focus attempts to build a new female kinship in healing personal traumas and revisiting family history during China's political movements since the 1949, from the position of female family members and their lived experience (Zhang 2020, pp. 7, 10, 12, and 17).

7. Positions of representing in politics vs. in arts in a digital era

Most Chinese documentary ethical controversies argue for different interpretations of authorship (auteur attitude vs. partnership), (informal) informed consent, and new values emerging in the film in contrast to mainstream values or state ideology (Edwards 2015b; Sniadecki 2015). However, the internal tensions of film's position of representation in politics versus in arts in the digital era have not yet been directly addressed, though film scholar Lü Xinyu's (吕新雨) 2018 article points at the problem of feminism in discussing the ethical controversy of *Wheat Harvest*. The notorious *Wheat Harvest* controversy (Edwards 2015b; Sniadecki 2015; Lü 2018), nonetheless reflects a power struggle between the filmmaker and distribution participants, and protagonists and their supporters

(sex workers, sex work NGOs in Taiwan and Hong Kong, feminist groups), on the issue of informed consent, the invasion of sex workers' privacy, the endangerment of protagonists' lives through the exhibiting of the documentary, and the shifting power dynamics around representing sex workers. Protagonists of the film have claimed that they did not know Xu Tong was shooting a film (they mis-understood the filmmaker as a [potential] client) until the documentary premiered in 2009 at Yunnan Multiculture Visual Festival.¹³ From my feminist point of view, *Wheat Harvest* provides a powerful on-screen portrait of a rural woman (protagonist M) gaining her independence and agency through sex work on the outskirts of cosmopolitan Beijing.¹⁴ M's own subjectivity as a modern Chinese woman from the bottom social strata emerges through images of her life travelling between her rural hometown and urban Beijing. However, sex work is illegal in China, and participants are discriminated against by the public, which poses great legal risks, threats of gender-based violence, and moral challenges for the protagonists. If protagonists have other choices of work, would they still choose sex work for financially beneficial sexual pleasure or self-liberation? ¹⁵ Furthermore, and distinct from Ye Haiyan's case, the protagonists of *Wheat Harvest* are sex workers rather than activists who have multiple identities and income sources.

Despite three requirements from his protagonists—'deleting online advertisement, prohibiting screening in mainland China, screening the film for [protagonists]', (Nü quan zhi sheng 2012) — Xu Tong, who is famous in director's statements for discussing his documentary representation of vulnerable people in Chinese society, or for taking advantages of the vulnerable protagonists through his voyeuristic camera (Kraicer 2011), continues to screen *Wheat Harvest*, with support from some curators, distributors, and scholars in the independent film realm (Lü 2018). Though Xu Tong promised the documentary would not be shown in the PRC and on internet (Lü 2018, p. 303), later on, the film has been uploaded on multiple internet platforms for public viewing (still accessible now), such as YouTube, Bilibili, and Sohu Video Channel. Sex work and activist groups have backed up the protagonists' prohibition of screenings of *Wheat Harvest*, by interrupting offline screening events and a 2011 academic conference at Fudan University, documented in Lü's article (Lü 2018). Feminists were in fury, for the protagonists' 'no' to screenings as a principle was interpreted as arguable permission in the name of filmmaking or the academy. Lü questioned the feminist intolerance of *Wheat Harvest* based on 'moral judgement' or 'moral trial' by hostile attitudes, and an unwillingness for open discussion (Lü 2018, pp. 296-308). Back to the documentary: it is regretful and questionable that director Xu Tong and his supporters refused to recognise his protagonists' deep anxiety as connected to sex workers' off-screen social status on the social margins, not to mention not showing the documentary to the protagonists. Xu's rejection of his protagonists' requests, partially a reaction toward feminist hostility against the film, is also reflected in the documentary's representational strategies and the filmmaker's arrogant and

exploitative attitude toward his protagonist's request in the digital era. For example, it is not a documentary narrative challenge to remove a protagonist's detailed home village address from the film (protection of privacy), not to mention striking the balance between the risk of online streaming and the desire for distribution.

Furthermore, the tension between sex workers' subjectivity in *Wheat Harvest*, and activist groups' political actions in supporting protagonists' pleas for banning the film's screening, illustrates the aesthetic and political dilemmas of social activism. Ye Haiyan, protagonist of *Hooligan Sparrow*, felt relief when the documentary did not receive an Academy Award, which, in her everyday life, would not relieve her political oppression and isolation (Marchetti 2020, p. 42). Ye Haiyan uses 'silence' as a strategy of (self-) censorship (Ristivojevic 2021, pp. 165-169; Ye 2021, pp. 153-156), a practice of activism with a long-term vision prioritising everyday survival under political isolation and oppression (Cui 2012, pp. 79-94). Representation of the oppressed in politics, using the political logic of social activism and the practical goals of worldly life, might partially sacrifice the voice of the subaltern; in philosophy and in arts (Spivak 1988; Zeng 2013), it is vice versa. The *Wheat Harvest* controversy nonetheless invites filmmakers to reflect on their care for their protagonists' worldly lives. It also urges activists to problematise the political representation of the subaltern, therefore, to discover and represent the voices of deprived groups, as in arts and in philosophy.

A Poem to Liu Xia was made with the motivation of representing Liu Xia as in arts and in politics. Liu Xia is, first of all, a forbidden artist (poet, photographer, and painter) in China, and the widow of Nobel Peace Prize laureate Liu Xiaobo (刘晓波), who passed away in 2017 while serving his eleven years prison term for 'inciting subversion of state power'. Liu Xia had been living under house arrest since Liu Xiaobo's last detention in 2008 until her exile to Germany in 2018. However, over the past decades, she has been mentioned by NGOs, media, and the general public as merely 'the wife' of a political dissent, while her own subjectivity has faded and even been erased from such discourses. I wrote a script and used Liu Xia's own photography, collaborating with visual artist Trish McAdam and her 3D animation team, to represent Liu Xia as if she speaks for herself through her own art, first of all, as a forbidden artist, a victim and survivor of political violence, and then as the wife of Liu Xiaobo. The decision to use 3D animation was based on controlling political risks for my interviewees—interview footage became my research material for the initially proposed feature. The short animation was released on 2015 International Women's Day online, in a gallery and at Irish Arts Council events, to deliver a message to Liu Xia that she and her art are not forgotten, and she is very much being loved and cared about by friends around the world. The short animation, together with a small camera to facilitate her photography work while under house arrest, were successfully delivered to her through activist means which cannot be detailed at this

moment.

The feminist solidarity forged around *Hooligan Sparrow* and *A Poem to Liu Xia* on/off-screen, care and support in particular, manifests in the aesthetic rejection of the violent aspects of social activist logics, the representation as merely speaking for in politics, and the camera's intrusion into the protagonists' vulnerabilities in real life—all in the name of filmmaking.

8. Tensions between theory and practice

Discussion of documentarian's positions often triggers tension between filmmakers and scholars (Kraicer 2011; Sniadecki 2014; Edwards 2015b). This tension reveals feminist questions regarding 1) gendered asymmetries in intellectualism regardless the biological sex of debate participants (Evans 2009; Kirkpatrick 2019); 2) the suppression of female documentary participants' voices and the insensitivity of gendered bias and violence in representing feminine experience; and 3) a duplication of dominating-being dominated and interpreting/representing-being interpreted/represented relationship in scholar/critic-filmmaker-activist, filmmaker-protagonist, protagonist-activist interactions. Criticisms of film scholar Lü Xinyu (though biologically a woman), in general reflect the tension between documentary ethics theory (with masculinity) and practice (with fluidity, individuality, diversity, and discontinuity). At the eighth China Independent Film Festival (中国独立影像年度展) in 2011, filmmakers felt alienated by scholar Lü Xinyu's analytic language when discussing the representation of subaltern *diceng* (底层) in Chinese documentary, while filmmakers did not have opportunity to speak for themselves on the panel (Kraicer 2011). This tension provoked the directors' emotional statement 'Shamans · Animals' in the form of big character posters (大字报), detailing the variety of directors' positions, in their own language (Kraicer 2011): rejecting the projection of filming the 'low' (*diceng*) from a superior 'high' position (directors' addressing equal position), denial of recognising protagonists as mutually creative participants (directors' dominant attitude toward authorship), and (practitioners') denouncing the relevance of 1990s and early 2000s' theoretical approaches for current discursive documentary practice. At the 2011 Fudan University academic conference, which planned to screen *Wheat Harvest*, feminists (the leading voice was Lü Pin [吕频], editor in chief of *Feminist Voices* [女权之声], exiled to the USA after the detention of the 'Feminist Five' in 2015. See Karl *et al.* 2015; Wang 2015) and scholar Lü Xinyu debated on who has the right to use 'we' and attacked the opposite numbers for their (and the filmmaker's) middle-class representation of sex workers (Lü 2018). Their debates on the one hand attempted to open a space for the reconfiguration of intellectualism, and on the other hand attempted to seize the power of representation for intellectuals. The film's sex worker protagonist's simple, clear, and principle voice of 'no' against screening was faded out by the rhetoric of academy and filmmaking, and inaction of specific

distribution control in the digital era. Lü Xinyu intends to resume ‘class’ and ‘socialism’ theories in feminist debates and to question ‘Why there is no feminist Chinese female director’ (2018). This is another example that the communication between certain feminist filmmakers and certain schools of scholars somehow fail. Practitioners are reluctant to use abstract, grand, or arguably class struggle concepts in independent filmmaking – often individual, from the perspective of margins and personal, and enquiring history in dis-contiguity (Veg 2019). Nuanced strategies are used by many female filmmakers and scholars, to deal with the pressure of working in male dominated intellectual and filmmaking communities (Wang 2021).

My question for filmmakers, critics, scholars, protagonists, and activists encountering documentary ethics controversies is what and how to provide specific techniques of care (as in worldly life and as in cinematic language) to documentary participants in practice, situated in relation to specific cases and contexts, rather than generalising abstract concepts as the tools of problem solving and theorising.¹⁶ As a feminist scholar, I am aware that the cancelling of gender categories and the ambiguity of gender in visual arts and in theory could be used as a strategy to critique essentialism. In doing so, biologically different humans do not need to perform their behaviour according to gender norms (as ideally stated by Judith Butler). However, documentary film is an art involving real people in real life who are sustained with an ethics of care. People are the ends of documentary filmmaking rather than tools of the art. Furthermore, historical and contemporary social structures of intellectualism cannot deny gendered relations with knowledge by not ‘seeing’ gender (Evans 2009). Mary Evans’ provoked question ‘Can Women be Intellectuals’ has pointed out the institutional ‘marginalisation of women and the feminine in intellectual traditions’ (Evans 2009, p. 39). So it is in the documentary realm. My feminist approach toward the question is to further open up as many public spaces and alternative spaces as possible, and to problematise the relationship between gender and theories of documentary ethics.

9. Toward a feminist positionality

This article has analysed the different positions of documentary filmmakers, protagonists, scholars, and activists in dealing with desire, privacy, self-transformation, violence, trauma, memory, the vulnerability of social groups on the margins, as well as tensions between theory and practice. A feminist approach of care, support, and solidarity will serve future documentary relational practices and representation strategies, thus democratising the filmmaking process—documentary as a method of social investigation—and equalising the relations between filmmakers and protagonists, as well as scholar-filmmaker and activist-protagonist relations. This article promotes a feminist positionality, respecting protagonists equally as filmmaking partners, even if their voice might be

low; mutually developing protagonist's subjectivity on-screen and documentary authorship in de-facto collaborative filmmaking; centring care and support if violence will further penetrate into the protagonist's everyday life due to the making and distributing of the documentary film; situating and contextualising theories rather than directly applying theory to a specific case study. On the issue of representational strategies, as a filmmaker and writer, I believe all the limitations of documentary shooting and editing can be transferred into potential elements for the innovation of cinematic language. This feminist positionality responds to the classical question of 'Can the Subaltern Speak?' (Spivak 1988), by advancing the representation of the social margins, women in particular, both as in arts and as in politics.

Acknowledgements

I am grateful to Dr Bao Hongwei, Dr Sabrina Qiong Yu (余琼), Dr Flora Lichaa, and anonymous external reviewers for their comments, which have improved my writing.

Notes

1 The series was curated by me (then a PhD candidate in Gender and Sexuality) and my PhD advisor Professor Sik Ying Ho, Department of Social Work and Social Administration, the University of Hong Kong (HKU). It was organised by the Chinese Independent Documentary Lab (CIDL, Hong Kong, 2014-2020) and sponsored by several film and university bodies: HKU, the University Service Centre for China Studies at the Chinese University of Hong Kong, CNEX (Chinese Next and See Next) Hong Kong, and CCFD-Terre Solidaire (Paris). The series transcript and editing was sponsored by the China Media Project, HKU.

2 Words from curators in the 2016 'Desiring China' catalogue. Related citations from Chinese are translated by me, except those with additional explanations.

3 For discussions on how women's cultural/intellectual work being shadowed, undermined, and arguably erased by their male partners, see (Evans 2009; Kirkpatrick 2019). This dimension is to be further discussed in the section on the relationship between theory and practice.

4 The role of 'broker' is discussed regarding Ai Weiwei's position as an activist and artist (Callahan 2014; Cheek 2014). Ai Weiwei serves as the inspiration for Wang Nanfu's filmmaking and transnational activism (Marchetti 2020).

5 Personal communication, 15 April 2021. Ai Weiwei purchased Ye Haiyan's belongings which were abandoned by the police during her forced eviction in 2013 after Ye's protest, and made a 'Ye Haiyan's Belongings' 2014 Brooklyn Museum installation.

6 Zhang Zhanbo also reflected on *The Interceptor from My Hometown* 有一种静叫庄严 (2012), which documents a local government official intercepting hometown petitioners in Beijing in the context of a dysfunctional legal system. 'Petitioning is a phenomenon dating back to dynastic times in China, when any subject theoretically had the right to petition the emperor if he or she felt an injustice had been perpetrated by officials in their local area' (Edwards 2015b, p. 145). The practice of interception, arbitrarily along with violence, is widely accepted in Chinese context as an extra-legal means of achieving the government's pressing political agenda: stability maintenance (Lee and Zhang 2013). For example, Ai Weiwei's 2013 documentary *Stay Home* 喜梅 depicts local government officials living with the woman protagonist Ximei—an HIV/AIDS patient and activist—to stop her petitioning. Male officials even sleep on the same bed *kang* (炕) as her. The protagonist interceptor in Zhang Zhanbo's documentary offers details of interception and his own criticism in the documentary, which might have a devastating impact on his life and work, including public criticism of the unethical and extra-legal practice of interception, and government punishment for his 'private' criticism on the widely

practiced interception. Edwards' article discussed ethics issue in the documentary *Petition* 上访 (dir. Zhao Liang 赵亮, 2009). On-screen petitioners mother-daughter relationship, and the tension between traditional Chinese womanhood and woman petitioners' quest for modern citizen rights (e.g. director Feng Yan's [冯艳] 2007 documentary *Bing Ai* 秉爱), are discussed in my book (Zeng 2016b).

7 Hu Xinyu's explanation to me (the curator) for why *Sister* could not accept the invitation to be part of the 2016 'Desiring China' series.

8 Hu Xinyu, personal communication, 16 April 2021. This is the same source for the quotations that follow in this paragraph.

9 Except Hu Xinyu's brother knows he is making film and his sister knows of the documentary film *Sister*.

10 Filmmaker Zhao Liang said in an after-screening discussion of *Petition*, his extra-ordinary enlarged framing of an aged petitioner's face and another sickness' legs and eyes, is the filmmaker's 'gentle touch' of his protagonists when they are in pain and difficulty. An audience member argued that the enlarged framing of the protagonists' cruel reality is the cruelty of the documentary camera in reproducing suffering and the cruelty of filmmaker in representing his relationship with the film's protagonists. CIDL's after-screening transcript, 25 July 2015.

11 Consent for using her two Facebook posts for this article is given by Tang Danhong. I am grateful to poet and artist Ian Boyden. He translated Tang's two posts from Chinese into English for this article.

12 Poet Zhai Yongming's words, cited in (Zeng and Tang 2021).

13 See discussions in (Edwards 2015b; Sniadecki 2015; *Nüquan zhi sheng* 2012).

14 For discussions on sex worker's agency, see (Ding 2008 and 2012; Ding and Ho 2012)

15 Sex liberation and sex work rights advocate Ye Haiyan has given accounts of the complexity of representing female sexuality and the identity politics in advocating for sex workers. See (Zeng 2016a; Ye 2021).

16 Technique is a term used by Michel Foucault in relation to the study of the Greek ethos of care. See (Foucault 1988b and 1988a and 1999; Heubel 2010).

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关键词：伦理与女权主义 中国独立纪录片的女性欲望

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概要

本文通过分析 2016 年在香港大学举办的“情欲中国：性与女性主体”展映纪录片，以及受邀但因伦理问题未参展的影片，探讨中国独立纪录片电影在处理隐私、性别、暴力、创伤等议题时的女权主义立场性：1) 电影人的关怀伦理立场，以及与影片主人公形成（亲密）团结立场；2) 影片主人公从坦白和渴求的立场出发，从基于性别的暴力和歧视中重宣自主；3) 电影人与影片主人公从不同的立场出发，通过发行控制来降低纪录片对主人公个人生活可能造成的负面影响；4) 片中人物与电影人自我转变的演进，因此恢复一度禁止的放映；5) 从活跃分子立场出发的政治代言，以及从电影人立场出发的艺术意义上的再现；6) 理论与实践之间的紧张关系要求学者、电影人和活跃分子反思性别与知识生产的传统关系，置身于具体处境中进行讨论和落实纪录片伦理。

本文认为在制作、展映、评论中国关于女性的纪录片时，有必要采取女权主义的关怀伦理。本文鼓励在纪录片电影参与者之间形成多重意义上的平等关系，以及通过电影语言的创新来处理中国独立纪录片电影面临的伦理困境、和电影制作与展映可能遇到的限制。

“情欲中国：性与女性主体”

2016 年 10 月 15 日至 11 月 19 日的每周六，我与何式凝在香港大学策划了以“情欲中国：性与女性主体”为主题的中国独立纪录片展映及研讨会。¹ 受《欲望中国》（Rofel 2007）和《情欲、伦理与权力：香港两性问题研究报告》（Ho and Tsang 2012）这两本书的启发，这一系列展映探讨了中国独立纪录片中对性、性别以及女性主体的再现。在《欲望中国》一书中，罗丽莎（Lisa Rofel）用福柯的理论详述了由市场经济主导的新自由主义治理逻辑，并主要研究了这种无所不在的、分散的和规训的权力对个人日常经验的影响（2007）。在国家重新塑造公民身份的过程中，个体对物质、性和感情的欲望已在公共文化中被主观化（Rofel 2007）。通过调研



“情欲中国”海报（设计者：王我）根据女权主义活动家叶海燕为倡导妇女和儿童权利进行裸体表演的照片而设计。

香港及中国内地的性和欲望的个体经验 (Ho and Tsang 2012) , 何式凝与曾家达的《情欲、伦理与权力: 香港两性问题研究报告》描述了个人的性和欲望在广义的中国背景下如何受(后)殖民主义力量、跨国力量及各种社会政治力量影响。参考这两项关于中国和香港的欲望研究 (Rofel 2007; Ho and Tsang 2012) , 这一系列展映从福柯理论的角度探讨了社会权力如何通过性的规训来实现对个体的型塑, 而欲望则被视为一种反抗的力量, 在银幕上表现为“通过改造自我来改变自身所处的社会”。² 在这篇文章中, 我的福柯式探究不仅聚焦于纪录片参与者之间的权力关系, 还详细研究了知识分子活动和再现 (representation) 政治中, 权力结构的再生产, 区分了掠夺性的权力, 将伙伴关系和抵抗看做积极的力量。

自 1990 年代末以来, 产生了越来越多以欲望 (具有颠覆因素的能动性) 和 (在世俗生活于文化 / 思想生产中被压制的) 女性主体性为主题的中国独立纪录片 (Yu and Lebow 2020)。然而, 考虑到隐私、尚存的纪录片伦理争议, 或者电影人和影片主人公之间的矛盾与冲突, 该系列展映根据主题的相关性、影像上的成就及影片获取可能性进行权衡, 放映了八部纪录片 / 纪录影像。在这八部影片中, 包宏伟已讨论过《女人 50 分钟》 (*Women Fifty Minutes*, 导演: 石头, 2006) (Bao 2019) 中的酷儿空间及《我们在这里》 (*We Are Here*, 导演: 赵静与石头, 2015) (Bao 2020) 中的酷儿女权记忆。本文将基于其余六部影像, 讨论中国纪录片中女权问题。这六部影像包括:

1. 夜莺不是唯一的歌喉, *Nightingale, Not the Only Voice*, 导演: 唐丹鸿, 2000
2. 老安, *The Love Life of Lao An*, 导演: 杨荔钠, 2008
3. 恋曲, *A Song of Love, Maybe*, 导演: 张赞波, 2010
4. 流氓燕, *Hooligan Sparrow*, 导演: 王男胤, 2016; 同时放映《2010年8月26日对叶海燕 (流氓燕) 的采访》 *Ai Weiwei's Interview with Ye Haiyan on August 26*, 导演: 艾未未, 2013
5. 3D动画短片《致刘霞》 *A Poem to Liu Xia*, 导演: Trish McAdam, 2015, 在每次活动的影片展映前放映。

另外, 本文也会详细讨论由《姐姐》 (*Sister*, 导演: 胡新宇, 2007) 及《麦收》 (*Wheat Harvest*, 导演: 徐童, 2008) 所引发的纪录片伦理困境, 这两部纪录片由于伦理方面的考虑没有在该系列展映 (Sniadecki 2014, 2015 ; Edwards 2015b; Lü 2018) 。

我与纪录片参与者 (电影人, 影片主人公, 或两种身份兼而有之) 进行反思性的对话, 为研究中国独立纪录片中的伦理议题开辟了讨论空间。讨论的议题包括: 影片主人公在拍摄前、拍摄中及拍摄后的不同待遇; 知情同意的问题; 电影人对 (影片主人公) 的支持及其积极推动社会活动的决心; 对展现家庭暴力及其他虐待行为的影片进行发行和展映的伦理思考; 以及如何平衡隐私和公众知情权的关系问题。这些讨论都涉及到纪录片参与者立场的复杂性, 以及隐私 (即涉及内心的、个人的、家庭的, 而且“私”也指私利或“不道德的”不宜公开的私欲 [McDougall and Hansson 2002, 3–24 页])、痛苦和创伤在纪录片中的再现问题。本文用女权主义的方式来理解性、基于性别的暴力、女

性主体性在纪录片中的再现，以及电影人的伦理问题。这种女权主义视角区别于男性气质的、男性主导的、具有性别不对称性特点的影像再现（Evans 2009, 29–40 页）。性别不对称性甚至体现在描绘弱势群体的纪录片和文学作品中（如《麦收》的伦理争议）。女权主义视角在影像再现与论证（reasoning）中，承认女性气质和纪录片弱势参与者的经验。

将纪录片参与者的位置性理论化，需要我们在具体案例中的考量伦理实践而非泛泛而论（Nash 2012, 318–331 页）。通过分析我与纪录片参与者的对话、纪录片文本本身以及在港大举办的“情欲中国”系列活动中的映后交流记录，本文是对本土实践和电影人自我反思的经验研究，也是我对电影人、影片主人公、策展人、学者和女权主义活动家的立场进行理论化的尝试，希望借此可以推动纪录片参与者和研究者之间关于电影伦理的建设性对话。

本文提供了不同的视角来探讨中国独立纪录片中的女权主义立场性。1) 电影人的关怀伦理立场，以及与影片主人公形成（亲密）团结立场；2) 影片主人公从坦白和渴求的立场出发，从基于性别的暴力和歧视中重宣自主；3) 电影人与影片主人公从不同的立场出发，通过发行控制来降低纪录片对主人公个人生活可能造成的负面影响；4) 片中人物与电影人自我转变的演进，因此恢复一度禁止的放喉；5) 从活跃分子立场出发的政治代言，以及从电影人立场出发的艺术意义上的再现（Spivak 1988）；6) 理论与实践之间的紧张关系要求学者、电影人和活跃分子反思性别与知识生产的传统关系，置身于具体处境中进行讨论和落实纪录片伦理。

我认为在制作、展映、评论当下中国关于女性的纪录片中，有必要采取女权主义的关怀伦理。本文鼓励在纪录片电影参与者之间形成多重意义上的平等关系，以及通过电影语言的创新来处理中国独立纪录片面临的伦理困境和电影制作与展映可能遇到的限制。

关怀与女权主义团结立场

电影人、学者史杰鹏（JP Sniadecki）鼓励我们将“关怀”、“责任感”和“人性”放在电影人与影片主人公关系的中心，特别是针对那些记录、探讨中国社会的暴力、痛苦和不公正议题的影像（Snaidecki 2014, 54, 57 页）。关怀，作为女权主义团结的一个关键品质，可以在中国女权主义电影的突破性研究中看到，包括通过第一



在《喊叫与耳语》（Outcry and Whisper, 导演：闻海、曾金燕和 Trish McAdam, 2020）中，我对着镜头自言自语，保护自己免于崩溃，被软禁的记忆以及曾经遭受的政治和性别暴力让我极其痛苦。这种反复的自言自语，以视频日记的形式，表现出对一个脆弱的年轻女性的隐私、尊严和力量的触觉关怀及保护，以及她在绝望时对善意和爱的渴望。作为本文作者，我自身的立场也兼具电影人、影片主人公、策展人、学者和女权主义活动家等多重身份。

人称视角纪录女性应对父权、专制及跨国权力的经历 (Marchetti 2020; Yu 2020; Yu and Lebow 2020; Zhang 2020)。在张真的研究中 (2020)，文慧，作为资深电影人，先锋舞蹈家、舞台编导及多媒体艺术家，长期生活在她的前伴侣吴文光的阴影之下。文慧对草场地工作室及其著名的“民间记忆计划”的思想和艺术贡献一直被低估。³ 在这种情况下，文慧导演了《听三奶奶讲过去的事情》 (*Third Grandma's Stories*, 2012) 与《和三奶奶跳舞》 (*Dancing with Third Grandma*, 2015)。文慧将她“被遗忘的”三奶奶和自己的身体转换成了一个日常的舞台，通过激活、表演和存档自传性影像而重构父权制之外的女性亲缘关系，同时治愈文慧现在的和三奶奶过去的创伤。女性表达在这两部纪录片中得到了集中体现，主人公的亲缘关系通过女性对出生、家庭关系、记忆和日常生活中的一系列经验得以重建。文慧和三奶奶在镜头前的日常对话、游戏、玩乐及与家庭用品互动的身体动作 / 表演中，传递着对彼此的触觉关怀。因此，这两部纪录片创建了一种亲密的公共空间 (Zhang 2020)，一种超越公共、半公共和私人的新的电影社会空间 (Berry and Lü and Rofel 2010; Robison 2010; Robinson 2012; Edwards 2015a)。

《流氓燕》表现了女权主义抗争儿童性侵犯的抗争及当局对活动家的政治打压 (Marchetti, 2020)。年轻的纽约华裔电影人王男猷并没有将她自己的电影制作经历加入早期剪辑中 (Zeng and Tan 2019, 126–133 页)。后来，她把自己的拍摄过程作为影片的一条故事线来呈现，这是对导演本人女权主义自我觉醒的记录，也是对本土女权主义活动家对抗强奸文化和政府系统不作为的见证，还是女权主义活动家在艺术与社会活动、中国与世界间进行文化协商。⁴ 在银幕上，导演是作为影片主人公的女权主义电影人。在银幕下，王男猷不仅成功地将电影故事带到了世界，还将十几岁的雅欣——主人公叶海燕的女儿，由于当局对其社会活动的惩罚，叶海燕多次被审查，被强行赶出家门，被禁止国际旅行 (Ye 2021, 153–156 页)——带到美国读中学。之后，王男猷编辑了短视频，呼吁释放当时被监禁的律师王宇和业余电影人晃 (即活跃人士邓传彬，又名晃晃，片中名为晃)，他们也参与了《流氓燕》中女权主义活动。影片主人公“我”、“她”及“ta 们”的女权主义抗争成为了“我们的”抗争，在银幕内外相互支持照顾，团结一心 (Marchetti 2020)。

文慧纪录片中具有触感的影像再现将关怀集中在女性的表达上，建构了历史的和女性亲缘关系的“民间” (在人民之间的，非官方的，非机构的，见 (Veg 2019))。电影人在《流氓燕》中对主人公的生活和女权主义活动的投入，展示了女权主义的团结伦理。标题“流氓燕”也取自主人公叶海燕的网名。在《2010 年 8 月 26 日对叶海燕的采访》一片里，尽管叶海燕曾经遭受了很多基于性别的暴力，她在艾未未的视频采访中呈现的恢复女性自主的自白，打动了采访者和观众。

主人公坦白与渴求的立场

艾未未说，《2010 年 8 月 26 日对叶海燕的采访》 (简称《采访》) 是在“关于她 (叶海燕) 有很多争议，我了解她”的前提下进行的。⁵ 这部纪录片于 2013 年 6 月 3 日在 YouTube 上发布，当时叶海燕因抗议《流氓燕》中纪录的儿童性侵而被拘留。为了对叶海燕这一人物进行更丰富的再现和探索，“情

欲中国”展映系列一起放映了这两部纪录片，进一步探讨基于性别的暴力、性、性资本、欲望和纪录片再现等议题（Zeng 2016a）。《采访》是一部访谈式的视频纪录影像。叶海燕坐在艾未未北京工作室的椅子上，面对固定不动的摄像机。艾未未的采访问题则通过字幕呈现，这使得叶海燕的谈话类似于个人独白。艾未未的采访问题引导叶海燕做自我介绍；解释她的离婚以及对婚姻和衰老的看法；分享其他女性遭遇的性暴力经历；回忆她的性别觉醒过程；详细介绍性工作的收入和策略；讨论她作为单亲母亲的经历；讨论她对女性歧视现象的态度；讲述针对性工作者的暴力和警察的反应；解释她的性工作合法化主张和警察对性工作者的打压。

在《采访》中，叶海燕讲述并反思了她与性暴力受害者污名化作斗争的经历。她详细介绍了自己的身份：性工作者、倡导性工作者权利的活动家，性解放先锋以及享受性快感的“荡妇”。她认为自己是一个积极主动的活动家，为其他遭遇性暴力和歧视的性工作“姐妹们”说话；是一个自学成才的民间非盈利组织工作人员，能够进行民间组织和独立思考；是一个思想开放的，在各个层面上解放了自己的独立女性。在讲述自己公开转变为性工作者的经历时，她回忆起一位香港性工作者活动家的问题：你能不能接受自己是一个性工作者，（如果）你连自己都不能够接受，你怎么样去反对对性工作者的歧视？（3’55’’）。叶海燕解释说，为了帮那些来自贫困家庭、在暴力和不安全环境下工作的性工作者做宣传，她开始做性工作，并公开宣称自己是性工作者。

在我 2016 年对叶海燕的采访中，叶海燕说，她不仅仅是艾未未的崇拜者，艾未未还是她理想中的伴侣类型。她还开“玩笑”说，有一天她可能会和艾未未上床，这是一种“转发（retweet）”艾未未的艺术家戏谑者角色（Callahan 2014; Qian 2014）。《采访》在某种程度上可以看作是叶海燕写给艾未未的微妙情书。通过分享她对做性工作时身心分离的理解（Ning 2002, 2004, 2006），她传达了自己有能力保持自主性的信息，表达寻找像艾未未那样的知己的愿望。采访者艾未未和被访者叶海燕之间想象的和实际的关系，促使叶海燕在视频采访中呈现出她内心最真实的自我，从而对采访者和观众产生了强烈的诉求。在艾未未的凝视下，同时也是作为社会强者的男性凝视下，她在这封半个人半公开的视频信中成为了一个渴望得到采访者对等回应的自白者。

尽管有上述处境，叶海燕在《采访》中的自白很有力量，因为它采用了非政府组织赋权的方式和词汇，描述了基层女性的集体痛苦，尤其是她们在面对性暴力时的脆弱。叶海燕的诉求立场立足于展示女性在认识女性欲望、处理性暴力和建立自主权方面的能动性。像叶海燕这样的女性即使经历了性暴力和歧视，但仍能够自愈，并组织他人进行自助和互助，动员公众进行社会变革，倡导人人平等，尤其是女孩、女性和性工作者应该享有的平等地位。

由于叶海燕在网上公开为性工作者、妇女和儿童争取权益，《采访》在网上广泛流传。关于发行，也有不同的情况和考虑，一些电影人担心对“非常规的”欲望和亲密生活的记录会对主人公的生活产生负面影响，因此严格控制影片的发行。

电影人的立场：知情同意与发行风险

纪录片主人公们，是否真的了解向电影人提供拍摄的知情同意对他们的生活可能产生何种影响？主人公们是否了解自己的影像会用于什么样的语境？电影人，特别是民族志电影人，在拍摄过程中是否清楚地知道他们将做出的影片是怎样的？最后，纪录片主人公们真的能控制自己的影像通过何种方式（线上及线下）传播吗？虽然纪录片主人公几乎没有直接参与过伦理问题的讨论（除了涉及论题的场景被剪辑进影片的情况），但有些电影人确实为影片主人公进行了这些考虑。电影人杨荔钠（《老安》）和张赞波（《恋曲》）在2016年“情欲中国”系列活动中反思了纪录片的伦理困境。⁶ 这两部纪录片都从传统意义上“不道德的”婚外恋角度表现情感和欲望故事。两位电影人透露，她/他们在剪辑过程中都邀请了主人公观看被拍摄的影像，从而使主人公了解影像中的自己。因此，随着这种微妙的知情同意的不断发展，电影人和主人公共同创作了纪录片。这两位电影人都严格控制放映，选择不在中国内地发行影片，以减少政治力量及社会舆论对主人公个人生活的影响。杨荔钠在《老安》的映后讨论中明确表示（CIDL的记录稿，2016年10月22日）：

这些当事人都很不介意我放映。但是我很清楚他们对于媒体的理解肯定不是我们想像的那样，他们想不到那种传播的力量。

当影片主人公们选择向公众展示自己“不道德的”立场时，她/他们从自己的角度挑衅公众或有目的地使她/他们有争议的行为合法化。这种观点往往与其他影片主人公的利益相左，比如那些面对丈夫有婚外情的妻子。如果电影人从一个影片主人公的利益出发，则可能会对其他主人公造成伤害，或者往往利害兼具。因此，严格控制发行成为一些电影人的选择，而影片主人公们可能没有意识到这样的关怀伦理。

主人公的立场：禁止放映

隐私一词传达了一个内在的、个人的和家庭的概念（Zarrow 2002, 121–146 页；Yuan and Feng and Danowski 2013, 1011–1031 页），这是一个不允许被外人干预的领域，特别是当下在个体化和跨国主义的语境下生活的中产女性有这样明确的隐私观念（Yan 2003, 2010; Zheng 2013）。说到隐私问题，《姐姐》的主人公，也是纪录片导演胡新宇的姐姐，明确表示，如果导演继续放映《姐姐》，他将被起诉。⁷ 对于拍摄过程，胡新宇的家人认为他是随意拍着“玩”的。⁸ 他们并不知道胡新宇作为一个电影人的身份，也不知道他的纪录片《姐姐》、《家庭恐惧》（Family Phobia, 导演：胡新宇，2008）及他正在进行的基于家庭影像的制作计划。⁹ 对胡新宇来说，他不喜欢摄像机作为“上帝的眼睛”，而是“享受摄像机前后的平等关系”——根据胡新宇的解释，他的主人公并不知道这些镜头将被用于影片中促成了这种相对平等。他承认，在年青一代的眼光来看，这种处理纪录片电影人和主人公关系的方式可能存在“道德”问题。但对于“像我这样在人文领域工作多年的老人”，胡新宇说他更关心的是把电影创作视为一种艺术。他声称电影人和电影都没有立场。胡新宇把他的私人影像称为“抽

屈电影”，不是为了现在发行，而是为了在将来观看。

《姐姐》详细描述了一段紧张的母女关系。这部影片记录了之前一直在日本和中国、与她的中国父亲和日本继母生活的一个青春期女孩，刚搬到美国，与她的母亲和美国继父开始一起生活的经历。在处理这些母女关系冲突时，作为母亲的主人公在前一段婚姻中长期经历家庭暴力的记忆被唤醒了。

《姐姐》确实带来了治愈和救赎——产生一系列基于新的现代家庭价值观的救赎行为：美国丈夫决定不再保持沉默，在与继女的对话中，表达对妻子的关心和爱护，说“我崇拜这个女人”，他也尊重继女作为一个平等沟通而非有代际权威差别的对话者。女儿明确表示，她希望作为女儿得到母亲的理解和认可，而不是作为父亲（曾经虐待母亲）的附属品，她关心母亲（比如省钱），而并非通过提及她与父亲和继母的生活经历来伤害母亲。例如，她很喜欢日本继母做的食物，因为她是一个全职家庭主妇，日本继母做的食物比在美国工作的母亲做的好吃。母亲在与女儿的谈话中承诺，在这个新的华裔美国人家中的日常生活中，忘记这些小事（以及过去的创伤），并调整自己在处理母女关系中的错误方式。

母女俩在片中与对方和解，在跨国的语境下，用爱和关怀疗愈对方的痛苦，构建新的母女关系。《姐姐》表现了现代中国和日本社会中的传统父权文化，特别是在导演的系列纪录片《家庭恐惧症》里，我们可以看到原生家庭的互动也是明显具有暴力内容与形式的亲密关系模式。同时，治愈和救赎是由片中的美国丈夫来调解的，而非中国导演平静（或冷酷）的观察性镜头。在镜头前，导演偶尔会与新来的东亚少女合谋谴责她母亲的“错误行为”。拍摄者从一个与他姐姐的观点相左的角度为他的侄女提供了情感支持，反之亦然。同时，有一个片段是导演从相对远的距离拍摄另一场激烈的母女争吵——显然是在主人公没有意识到的情况下。导演突然放大争吵后姐姐独处时的脸部特写，摄像机镜头晃动，让观众体会到姐姐的痛苦和情绪波动，以及可能是导演自己的情感表达——试图透过镜头安慰他心爱的姐姐。¹⁰ 然而，《姐姐》中这种短暂且罕见的触觉温柔——类似的影像并没有在《家庭恐惧症》及其平静的观察性镜头中出现——也并没有改变主人公姐姐禁止发行的决定。考虑到自己的个人生活有可能会被对家庭暴力、家庭和亲密关系持有传统观念的公众评判，《姐姐》中的母亲主人公决心运用法律手段禁止影片发行放映。在银幕外，新家庭关系的关怀伦理预告着母女之间的和解。

演变的立场：片中人物与电影人自我转变

纪录片可以作为一面镜子，让主人公看到自己、记忆和个人 / 集体的创伤（Jin 2013, 209–222 页）。在处理记忆和痛苦的过程中，影片可能是一些主人公的盾牌，也可能是其他主人公的利剑——特别是对那些（不）愿意接受自我和自我转变的主人公。唐丹鸿，《夜莺不是唯一的歌喉》的导演同时也是主人公之一，决定在 2016 年的“情欲中国”活动中重新放映这部纪录片。在此之前，这部电影大约有 15 年没有公开放映，原因是为了减轻唐丹鸿的痛苦，避免她和父母之间的关系进一步紧张，尽管“私密的悲痛并不真的私密”（Tang Danhong in Zeng and Tang 2021, 236 页）。在影片中，

唐丹鸿要求她的父母给她一个可以接受的答案，来解释在儿童时期父母对她的虐待。在文化大革命期间，身为知识分子的父母遭受了公共政治暴力。父母解释了他们过去的经历，与解释唐丹鸿作为一个孩子被虐待的经历没有什么不同。他们用被迫害的政治经历为自己的家庭互动辩护——在唐丹鸿看来，这两者都是暴力的。她的父母对这部纪录片充满了敌意。

在前往香港参加放映活动之前，唐丹鸿于 2016 年 9 月 21 日在她的 Facebook 账户上写道。¹¹

有些瞬间，比如死海白得刺目的盐岸，干燥荒凉的内盖夫沙漠，摆满斑斓果蔬、干酪、腌鱼和腌橄榄的特拉维夫市场，或揪住衣角要我买巧克力蛋的孩子...都会让我怀疑和庆幸，十多年前拍《夜莺》的那个唐丹鸿已经死了，或者说终于重生。



在大约十五年没有放映/观看影片后，唐丹鸿在2016年“情欲中国”的展映中观看自己的影像。放映结束后，唐丹鸿于2016年10月17日在Facebook上转发了一首写于2002年8月的诗与这张照片（图3），以评论她在香港放映时的银幕形象。

《你知道她是谁吗》

她是一张人脸上的谁？
她是一朵花上的什么？
她是你怀中的怎样？
她是死亡的光芒正在勃起——
她是被切割的，被分解的——
在自己的子宫——
在天堂的地下室——
看见你跨栏，撑杆一跳
看见了你的黑和全部的美
你知道她是谁吗？
她是你的爱人和女友中的一个

是丹鸿我——
你的表妹或婶婶
是我们乱伦的全家

若干年后，唐丹鸿自己也成了母亲，在以色列过着流亡生活。唐丹鸿回忆说，她的母亲写了一本回忆录和一封信来回应电影《夜莺》：“正是因为我拍了《夜莺》，指责她不保护我，所以她要告诉我她经历的磨难和奋斗，要让我领悟……”（Zeng and Tang 2021, 234 页）。通过回忆录，唐丹鸿意识到她的母亲为了自我保护，在童年时期把自己封闭起来，母亲的创伤性记忆对他们家庭关系产生了深远影响。在回忆录中，唐的母亲说，在 20 世纪 50 年代的土改运动中，她还是个孩子，被共产党的干部带走寻找自己躲起来免得被批斗迫害的地主母亲。在找了一个多月都没有找到母亲的情况下，唐丹鸿的妈妈亲眼看到，愤怒的干部粗暴地从坟墓中铲下她祖母的头，而当时她还只是一个年幼的女学生。“就在‘情欲中国’放映前，我重读了母亲的这篇自传性文字，开始领悟她的命运与我的命运的关系……她一直以为自己所遭遇的一切，是她的错，生而有罪。她逐渐断绝了与母亲和姐姐的关系……”（Tang Danhong in Zeng and Tang 2021, 234 页）。在家庭关系中，母亲非常崇拜她的丈夫，期待他的保护，并把他的家庭暴力解释为对他们的孩子唐丹鸿的一种爱。

我（策展人）和唐丹鸿之间进行了长达一年的映前对话，以及唐丹鸿和她在香港的观众之间的一次映后讨论（Zeng and Tang 2021, 228–237 页），让唐丹鸿得以重新处理她因电影的剪辑和结局而“心烦意乱地缝合”的伤口。¹² 之后，唐丹鸿在她的写作和电影创作中，致力于研究与政治创伤有关的家庭记忆，关于她自己、她的母亲和她的姨妈们的故事（Zeng and Tang 2021, 232 页）。从女性家庭成员的立场和生活经历出发，她尝试在治愈个人创伤和书写 1949 年以来中国政治运动的家庭历史时，建立一种新的女性亲缘关系（Zhang 2020, 7, 10, 12, 17 页）。

数字时代：政治代言的立场与艺术再现的立场

大多数关于中国纪录片的伦理争议都集中在对以下几个概念的不同解读：作者性（导演作为作者，另一种是导演视片中人物为创作上的合作伙伴），（非正式的）知情同意，以及片中传达的与主流价值观或国家意识形态相悖的新价值观（Edwards 2015b; Sniadecki 2015）。然而，在数字时代，电影自身作为政治代言的立场与其艺术再现的立场之间的紧张关系不但没有很好地解决，而且容易更加紧张。电影学者吕新雨在她 2018 年的文章中讨论《麦收》的伦理争议时，认为中国的女权主义本身有问题。《麦收》的争议（Edwards 2015b; Sniadecki 2015; Lü 2018），除了涉及电影导演和发行人员与影片主人公和她们的支持者（性工作者，台湾和香港的性工作者非政府组织，以及女权团体）之间的权力斗争；同时涉及知情同意问题、对性工作者隐私的侵犯、由于纪录片的播放影片主人公可能会遭受安全威胁，以及围绕代言性工作者产生的一系列权力转移变化等问题。影片主人公们声称，直到该片 2009 年在云之南纪录影像展首映时，她们才知道徐童在拍摄电影（她们之前误以为电影人是潜在的客户）。¹³ 从我的女性主义视角来看，《麦收》强有力地展现了一位农村

女性（主人公 M）的银幕形象，她通过在国际大都市北京郊区从事性工作获得了个体独立和能动性。¹⁴ 作为一个来自社会底层的现代中国女性，M 的主体性通过她在农村家乡和北京城市之间活动的影像浮现出来。然而，性工作在中国是非法的，参与者受到公众歧视，这给主人公带来了巨大的法律风险、遭受基于性别的暴力的威胁（《采访》中叶海燕详述了针对“小姐”即性工作者的暴力）和道德挑战。如果主人公有其他的工作选择，她们会为了有报偿的性快感选择继续从事性工作或是自我解放呢？¹⁵ 此外，与叶海燕当时的情况不同的是，《麦收》的主人公们只是性工作者，而非拥有多重身份和收入来源的活动家。

尽管《麦收》的主人公们提出了三点要求——“删除网上宣传、禁止大陆播映、（给主人公们）看片”，在独立电影界的一些策展人、发行商和学者的支持下，徐童选择继续放映《麦收》。¹⁶ 徐童以他代言社会底层弱势群体的纪录片声明而闻名，或者用谢枫的话来说（Kraicer 2011），实质是通过镜头偷窥，站在一个优势位置上剥削了主人公。虽然徐童承诺这部纪录片不会在中国与网上放映（Lü 2018, 303 页），但这部影片后来被上传到多个互联网平台供公众观看（现在仍然可以看到），如 YouTube、Bilibili 和搜狐视频。支持影片主人公们禁止放映《麦收》的性工作者活动团体，采取行动干扰其线下放映活动及 2011 年在复旦大学举行的学术会议，吕新雨的文章中记录了这些过程（Lü 2018）。女权主义者怒不可遏，因为“不同意”放映是影片主人公们的原则，但却被阐释为在电影制作或学术讨论的名义下进行的放映是获得许可的。吕新雨质疑女性主义者对《麦收》的不容忍，是基于“道德判断”或“道德审判”的敌对态度，以及缺乏公开讨论的意愿（Lü 2018, 296–308 页）。回到关于这部纪录片的基本情况：令人遗憾和质疑的是，导演徐童和他的支持者们拒绝承认影片主人公的深层焦虑与性工作者在屏幕外的边缘社会地位相关，也没有向主人公展示这部纪录片。徐童对主人公们诉求的拒绝，一定程度上也是他对女权主义者敌视这部电影的应激反应，同时这也反映在这部纪录片的再现策略上，以及数字时代电影人对主人公傲慢和剥削的态度。例如，从影片中删除主人公家乡的详细地址（用来保护隐私）并非纪录片的叙事难题，更不用说在发行和流媒体放映的风险中寻求平衡。

此外，《麦收》中性工作者的主体性与社会团体支持主人公请求禁止影片放映的政治行动之间也存在紧张的关系，这也说明了活跃分子的审美和政治困境。在得知《流氓燕》获得奥斯卡提名但没有获奖时，主人公叶海燕感到某种压力的缓解，但这并不能缓解她在日常生活中所遭受的政治压迫和孤立（Marchetti 2020, 42 页）。最近几年，由于政府压制叶海燕无法开展组织化、网络化的行动，叶海燕的网络言论也受到严密审查、删除发表流通严重受限，她转向画画等独立艺术创作。叶海燕把“沉默”作为一种（自我）审查的策略（Ristivojevic 2021, 165–169 页；Ye 2021, 153–156 页），这是一种具有长远眼光的行动主义实践，她把政治孤立和压迫下的日常生存放在首位（Cui 2012, 79–94 页）。在政治学中，根据社会活动的政治逻辑和世俗生活的现实目标来代言被压迫者，可能会以牺牲底层人民自己的声音为代价；在哲学和艺术中，斯皮瓦克肯定了底层无需政治代言也可以自己发声（Spivak 1988；Zeng 2013）。《麦收》的争议应该促使电影人反思自己对主人公世俗生活的关怀。它也促使活动家们注意为底层的政治代言的问题，学会在工作中让被剥夺群体的声音得

到再现而非被代言淹没——在艺术与哲学意义上的再现。

《致刘霞》这部影片是为了从艺术和政治上表现刘霞而创作。首先，刘霞在中国是被禁的艺术家（诗人、摄影师和画家），也是诺贝尔和平奖得主刘晓波的遗孀。2017年，刘晓波因“煽动颠覆国家政权”罪被判入狱11年，服刑期间去世。自2008年刘晓波最后一次被捕以来，刘霞一直处于被软禁状态，直到2018年流亡到德国。在过去的几十年里，她被非政府组织、媒体和公众反复提及，但往往、仅仅是作为一个政治异见者的“妻子”，而她自己的主体性已被淡化，甚至被从这种论述中抹去。我写了一个脚本，与视觉艺术家 Trish McAdam 和她的3D动画团队合作，用刘霞的摄影作品表现她自己，以便她通过自己的视觉作品为自己发声。她首先是一位被禁的艺术家，一位政治暴力的直接受害者和幸存者，然后才是刘晓波的妻子。考虑到我的采访对象可能面对的政治风险，我们决定使用3D动画——采访视频影像则成为创作的研究材料。这部动画短片于2015年国际妇女节发布。通过网络传播、画廊放映和爱尔兰艺术委员会活动的方式，我们向刘霞传递了一个信息：她和她的艺术没有被遗忘，她受到世界各地朋友的深切喜爱和关心。这部动画短片，连同一台小型相机，通过活动家的途径成功地送到了她的手中，以方便她在被软禁期间进行摄影工作，具体细节现在还不能详细说明。

女权主义团结立场，特别是（女权主义者的）关怀和支持，在《流氓燕》和《致刘霞》的银幕上下形成，这表现为从审美的角度拒绝社会运动作为一种体制的逻辑具有暴力的一面，拒绝仅仅为政治目的而进行的代言，以及拒绝摄像机对主人公脆弱的现实生活的侵入——所有这些都是以电影制作的名义。

理论与实践之间的紧张关系

对纪录片作者立场的讨论往往会引发电影人和学者之间的紧张关系（Kraicer 2011; Sniadecki 2014; Edwards 2015b）。这种紧张关系揭示了女权主义的问题：1）无论参与者是何种生理性别，智识主义，抑或说文化和思想的生产的传统，存在性别不对称（Evans 2009; Kirkpatrick 2019）；2）压制女性纪录片参与者的声音，以及在表现女性经验时对性别偏见和暴力的不敏感；3）在学者/批评家 – 电影人 – 活动家、电影人 – 影片主人公、影片主人公 – 活动家的互动中，支配与被支配关系主导了解读和被解读、代言和被代言的关系。对电影学者吕新雨（虽然其生理上是女性）的批评，总体上反映了（具有男性气质的）纪录片伦理理论和（具有流动性、个体性、多样性和不连续性的）实践之间的紧张关系。在2011年第八届中国独立影像展上，电影人在讨论中国纪录片中“底层”人的再现时，对学者吕新雨的分析性语言倍感疏离、隔阂，但他们却没有机会在研讨会正式议程上发言表达自己的观点（Kraicer 2011）。这种紧张关系引发了导演们以大字报的形式起草“萨满·动物”声明，用自己的语言详细描述了导演的种种立场（Kraicer 2011）：拒绝从一个充满优越感的“高”立场对“底层”进行拍摄（导演主张平等的立场），拒绝承认影片主人公也是影像创作的参与者（作者态度占主导），以及（从业者）质疑90年代和21世纪初的理论方法与当前散漫的纪录片实践的相关性。

2011年复旦大学的学术会议原本计划放映《麦收》，女权主义者（主要由《女权之声》的主编吕频发声，吕频在2015年“女权五人组”被捕后流亡美国（Karl et al. 2015; Wang 2015）与学者吕新雨就谁有权使用“我们”进行了辩论，都批评对方（和电影人）站在中产阶级立场上再现性工作者（Lü 2018）。她们的争论一方面为智识主义的重构开拓了一个思辨的空间，另一方面也试图为知识分子夺取代言的话语权。影片中的性工作者主人公们只有一个简单明确的原则，就是对放映说“不”，但这一声音在数字时代的学院派和电影制作的修辞中，以及不作为的发行管理中被淡化。吕新雨旨在恢复女权主义中的“阶级”和“社会主义”相关理论，并质疑“为什么中国没有女权主义女性导演”（2018）。这又是一个女权主义者、电影人和某些学院派学者沟通失败的例子。实践者不愿意在独立电影制作中使用抽象的、宏大的、或是说是阶级（斗争）的概念，而往往是从个体出发，尤其是从边缘人物的视角着手，在非连续性中探究历史（Veg 2019）。许多女性电影人和学者也使用种种微妙的（妥协性的）策略，以应对在男性主导的知识界和电影制作界工作的压力（Wang 2021）。

我对遭遇纪录片伦理争议的电影人、评论家、学者、影片主人公和活动家提出的问题是，在实践中，我们要采用什么样的方式关怀纪录片参与者（从世俗生活和电影语言的角度）？要如何结合具体的案例和背景来落实关怀，而不是仅仅将抽象的概念作为解决问题和将问题理论化的工具？¹⁷ 作为一个女权主义学者，我理解在视觉艺术和理论中，取消性别类别和模糊性别可以作为一种批判本质主义的策略。这样一来，生理性别不同的人类就不需要按照性别规范来演绎自己的行为（正如朱迪·巴特勒所主张的）。然而，纪录片是一门涉及现实生活中真实人物的艺术，真实的人与生活是依靠关怀伦理维系的。人是纪录片制作的目的，而不是艺术的工具。此外，历史和当代社会结构中的智识主义，不能通过不“看到”性别来否认知识生产与性别的关系（Evans 2009）。伊万斯（Mary Evans）提出“女性能成为知识分子吗”这一问题，并指出体制性的“在思想传统中女性以及女性气质被边缘化”（Evans 2009, 39 页）。在纪录片领域也是如此。我解决这一问题的女权主义方法是，进一步打开尽可能多的公共空间和另类空间，并针对现有规范问题化（problematise）性别和纪录片伦理理论之间的关系。

迈向女权主义立场性

本文分析了纪录片导演、影片主人公、学者和活动家在处理欲望、隐私、自我转变、暴力、创伤、记忆、边缘社会群体的脆弱性以及理论与实践之间紧张关系等方面的不同立场。女权主义的关怀、支持和团结的方法，将服务于未来的纪录片关系实践和再现策略，从而使电影制作过程民主化——纪录片作为一种社会调查的方法——并使电影人和影片主人公，学者-电影人和活动家-影片主人公之间的关系平等化。本文提倡女权主义的立场性，平等地尊重作为电影制作伙伴的影片主人公，即使她们的声音可能很微弱；在电影人和影片主人公合作的电影制作中，共同探索主人公的主体性和纪录片的作者身份；以关怀和支持为实践的核心，避免因纪录片的制作和发行而产生的暴力进一步渗透到影片主人公的日常生活中；将理论置于具体语境中分析，而不是将抽象的理论直接应用于具体案例。在再现策略的问题上，作为电影人和作家，我认为纪录片拍摄和剪辑的所有限制，都可以转变成电

影语言创新的潜在元素，在艺术与政治意义上，推进对社会边缘群体尤其是女性的再现——这种女权主义的立场性回应了“底层能发声吗”这一经典问题 (Spivak 1988)。

致谢

感谢包宏伟博士、余琼博士、李风华博士与匿名审稿人的意见，这些意见完善了我的文章。

注释

- 1 这一系列展映是由我（当时的性别与性研究博士生）和我的博士生导师、香港大学社会工作及社会行政学系的何式凝教授共同策展的。它由中国独立纪录片研究会 (CIDL, 香港, 2014-2020年) 组织, 并由几个机构和高校赞助, 包括: 香港大学、香港中文大学中国研究服务中心、香港CNEX (Chinese Next and See Next) 和CCFD-Terre Solidaire (巴黎)。该系列的文字记录和后期编辑得到香港大学的中国传媒项目支持。
- 2 来自2016年“情欲中国”场刊中策展人的话。
- 3 关于女性的文化/思想工作如何被其男性伴侣所削弱, 甚至被抹杀的讨论, 见Evans (2009) 和Kirkpatrick (2019)。我将在“理论与实践之间的紧张关系”章节进一步讨论。
- 4 艾未未作为活动家和艺术家的角色被学者用“中介”这一概念来讨论 (Callahan 2014; Cheek 2014)。艾未未是王男楦电影制作和跨国社会活动的灵感来源 (Marchetti 2020)。
- 5 个人交流, 2021年4月15日。艾未未购买了2013年叶海燕抗议后被警察强制驱逐时遗弃的物品, 并于2014年在布鲁克林博物馆展出名为《叶海燕的物品》的装置艺术。
- 6 张赞波的纪录片《有一种静叫庄严》(2012) 讲述了一个地方政府官员在法律体系失调的情况下, 在北京拦截家乡的上访者。“上访这一现象可以追溯到中国各个朝代, 当时任何臣民如果觉得当地官员有不公正的行为, 理论上都有权利向皇帝请愿” (Edwards, 2015b, p. 145)。政府拦截(上访)的做法常常伴随着暴力, 这在中国的语境下被广泛接受并被看做是政府迫切实施政治议程的法外手段: 维稳 (Lee and Zhang, 2013)。例如, 艾未未工作室2013年的纪录片《喜梅》描述了当地政府官员为了阻止女主人公喜梅上访而与她同住。喜梅是一名艾滋病患者及活动家, 而男性官员居然与她睡在同一张炕上。张赞波的主人公截访者在纪录片中提供了截访的细节和他自己的看法, 包括公开批评超越法律和道德底线的截访行为, 以及政府对截访行为进行“私人”批评的惩罚, 这些都可能会对他的生活和工作产生毁灭性的影响。Edwards的文章讨论了赵亮的纪录片《上访》(2009) 的伦理问题。在我的书中, 我讨论了银幕中上访者的母女关系, 以及中国传统女性身份(和美德)与女性上访者对现代公民权利的追求之间的紧张关系(例如导演冯艳2007年的纪录片《秉爱》)(Zeng, 2016b)。
- 7 胡新宇对我(策展人)解释《姐姐》不能接受2016年“情欲中国”系列邀请的原因。
- 8 胡新宇, 个人交流, 2021年4月16日。这也是本段后面引文的来源。
- 9 胡新宇的哥哥知道他在拍电影, 他的姐姐知道《姐姐》这部纪录片。
- 10 电影人赵亮在《上访》的映后讨论中说, 他对一个年迈的上访者的脸和另一个病人的腿和眼睛的超常规特写, 是电影人对遭受苦难的主人公的“温柔触摸”。一位观众认为, 对主人公残酷现实进行放大体现了纪录片的残酷, 也体现了电影人在表现他与影片主人公的关系时的残酷。来自CIDL的映后交流记录, 2015年7月25日。
- 11 唐丹鸿同意在本文中使用她的这两篇Facebook帖子。感谢诗人和艺术家Ian Boyden将唐丹鸿的两篇帖子翻译成英文。
- 12 引自诗人翟永明的话, 转引自Zeng and Tang (2021)。
- 13 见Edwards (2015b); Sniadecki (2015) 和Nüquan zhi sheng (2012) 的讨论。
- 14 关于性工作者能动性的讨论, 见Ding (2008, 2012); Ding and Ho (2012)。
- 15 性解放和性工作者权利倡导者叶海燕已对女性性行为的复杂性和倡导性工作者的身份政治进行论述。见Zeng (2016a); Ye (2021)。
- 16 Nüquan zhi sheng (2012)。
- 17 技术是Michel Foucault在研究希腊的关怀精神时使用的一个术语。见Foucault (1988b, 1988a, 1999); Heubel (2010)。

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Keyword: Ethics

Author: WANG Xiaolu 王小鲁 Translator: FAN Xiang 樊响

Abstract

This article briefly introduces and evaluates the ethical issues Chinese independent cinema has encountered since it was born. I examine the changes in the boundaries of ethics in defining the concept of ‘Chinese independent cinema’.

Does Chinese independent cinema have its own unique ethics? I think at least it has its own unique ethical issues. When we have defined the term ‘independent’, independent cinema has set itself up with corresponding ethical requirements. The connotation of independence in independent cinema has different meanings in different countries. In the field of Chinese independent cinema, the early concept of independence was derived from a specific historical background. It meant that the production of films was no longer dependent on the old television system and the state-run film studios. It developed its own, new production path, and it also required the subjectivity of the filmmakers. ‘I made an independent film’ – the question is, is it really an independent film that you made? Can you really call yourself ‘independent’? Are you praising yourself for the purity of your filmmaking process, your good motivations, and your ability to make unique works of art?

Therefore, independent cinema does not only require the filmmaker to just be intellectual in terms of the filmmaker's subjectivity and qualification, but it also requires moral awareness. For the limited audience of Chinese independent cinema, independent cinema, which emerged in a unique historical context, must be truthful. It means that it should not endorse certain political ideas but measure and reset everything based on individual experiences and insights. It must express one's own unique experience and individuals' real struggles – all within a particular historical context. It also requires the filmmaker's talent, as well as their courage.

The filmmakers' artistic cultivation, perspicacity, moral awareness, and courage of expression are significant indicators for Chinese independent cinema, in which ethical issues are very firmly embedded. China's unique history of film and television development determines that the independent film, which emerged around 1990, has an important reference; it has its own enemy, the counterpart it must oppose and transcend – the film studio or television station. The primary ethical relationship

behind this is cinema's adherence to reality. I used to call Chinese independent cinema 'honest cinema' (诚实电影). Although since its beginning independent cinema has developed multiple dimensions, this very stringent requirement for realism dominated the ethos of independent cinema for a long time.

Perhaps today, one would use philosophical terminology to discern the relationship between artistic creation and reality, debating in very profound terms about how unprecedented it is to bind cinema to reality. But that is how the history of independent cinema unfolded back then. It had a tremendous cultural impact at the time. And realism still has extraordinary meaning today. Although we cannot impose it on the filmmakers, we must provide space for its existence.

After its production practices and aesthetics had developed further, independent cinema began to be treated with more scepticism. The aesthetic issue was also an ethical issue. At the time, people thought that independent films were too keen on using long takes to present marginalised characters, the poor, and the vulnerable, such as thieves, prostitutes, and gangsters, which in fact indicated their lack of care for reality. Today, perhaps it still conveys the interests of male filmmakers, although caring for the bottom rungs of society is still their principal value.

Independent cinema began to shift gradually. It became more concerned with the 'mainstream' groups in society, with structural issues such as national politics, moving its camera to a certain extent from the poor, the vulnerable, and the suburbs, to the cities and the so-called mainstream groups.

Later on, after 2010, the primary ethical debates in the field of Chinese independent cinema mainly related to documentaries. In particular, the emergence of Xu Tong's (徐童) documentaries gradually brought about an awakening and a long-term debate on the ethics of Chinese independent documentaries. The work of other filmmakers, such as Wei Xiaobo (魏晓波), has also been discussed on various occasions. Can we 'exploit' the subject on such a scale and show the privacy of others to the audience? Of course, some asked, what if everything was done by consent but not by force? From my point of view, people had previously had some private conversations about independent documentaries. Still, ethical discussions had not become widespread, and ethical issues were rarely raised publicly, out of affection for, and in defence of, independent film. In screenings in Hong Kong and the documentary forum of the China Independent Film Festival (中国独立影像年度展) (CIFF) in 2011, this issue was brought up, which stimulated extensive discussion. In particular, the 2011 CIFF established a 'Real Character Award' (真实人物奖) (the first one went to Tang Xiaoyan [唐小雁] in *Fortune Teller* 算命 [dir. Xu Tong, 2009] and *Old Mr Tang* 老唐头 [dir. Xu Tong, 2011], the second to Lao Hao in *Born in Beijing* 京生 [dir. Ma Li 马莉, 2011]), encouraging film subjects to come to the

fore and discuss together the ethical issues in documentaries, as well as the ontological issues such as the relationship between objective truth and represented truth in documentaries. The topic of ethics has since become more and more public. In terms of practice, the independent documentary circle has become more cautious when it comes to relevant subject matter and subjects, which in fact indicates that since then, people have gone through a process of ethical reflection.

Ethical issues in Chinese independent cinema are very complex, especially after independent film festivals were forced to shut down and independent production became increasingly difficult. Moreover, many independent filmmakers have extended their works into the (mainstream) theatrical realm, so the perception of ethics and the sense of self-discipline are also changing. The intervention of commercial capital and higher authorities has placed the field's ethical issues in a larger context, complicating them further. Many issues become increasingly unclear in changing contexts. I suggest that we do not generalise about the ethical issues of Chinese independent cinema but rather analyse them in the context of specific cases. We should consider the context of the time, historical change, and the development of a domestic moral consciousness. In this way, we could obtain constructive views rather than applying an absolute standard and value to everything.

Appendix: Explanation of the annual 'Real Character Award' (Wang Xiaolu, 2011)

The CIFF has created an award for the subjects filmed in documentaries: the annual 'Real Character Award'.

We mean by 'real character' here is a concept of 'archetypal character' (原型人物) that focuses on documentaries' subjects. The term 'archetypal character' is used here in recognition of the relationship between documentary and reality. This relationship is sometimes inevitable and ontological and sometimes unethical. When the archetypal character comes and communicates with us, we can see a reverse intervention. In documentary history, we are familiar with the director using footage of the subject to complete their intervention or interpretation of reality. Nowadays, the subject's presence often has the power to deconstruct the director's work. Of course, this is not necessarily the case.

The purpose of our annual 'Real Character Award' is therefore obvious – above all, we hope it could deepen our understanding of documentary ontology. Of course, we do not necessarily assume that the truth, as stated by the archetypal character, contains a higher authority than the truth as interpreted by the filmmaker. Meanwhile, this does not diminish the subjectivity of the documentary director, nor

does it deprive their right to subjective expression.

The establishment of the ‘Real Character Award’ is also based on recognising the particular stage which Chinese documentaries are at. With the development of Chinese independent documentaries over the past twenty years, more and more ethical disputes have emerged. We do not shy away from the fact that the ‘Real Character Award’ is intended to balance the filmmaker’s authority in interpreting the footage. But we do not advocate an overly strict ethic; we want to create an atmosphere of negotiation.

Again, this ‘Real Character’ will bring out more dimensions of reality. We are willing to trace reality more deeply, to interact and facilitate dialogue with a richer reality. This intention seems to derive from outside the ontology of documentary. This is not the case. We hope that certain realities can be more fully expressed and presented. And the archetypal character has that power.

The above is part of our intention. So how do we choose the annual ‘Real Character’ – or the archetypal character? We want to see if the archetypal character can generate a certain kind of on-the-spot dialogue. He/she should potentially stimulate aesthetic and social discourse in academia.

We also consider how well he/she is represented as an archetypal character, both in his/her own life and in the documentary. We sometimes also need to consider the symbolic force he/she has in history and society, such as their profound representation of a certain aspect of contemporary reality. Of course, he/she may also be a historical figure.

The award does not encourage the artistic creativity of the filmmaker or the performance of the subject. It is more about looking at the archetypal character as a medium to expand scholarly discourse, calling for a warm and caring touch, and inspiring a kind of power to intervene in the present.

Tang Xiaoyan, winner of the first ‘Real Character Award’, as noted below:

We’re inspired by her expression in the film, that is, her courage to live, by the rich social issues she conveyed and by our doubts about her way of living in the film. Her presence will help explore the questions of the ontology and ethics of documentary, as well as to indicate our own existential situation.

关键词：伦理

王小鲁

概要

本词条主要对中国独立电影自产生以来所遭遇的伦理问题进行了简要介绍和评价，并且对“中国独立电影”这个概念在其定义过程中，其伦理性界定的变迁进行了简单梳理。

中国独立电影有自己独特的伦理吗？我觉得至少它有着自己独特的伦理问题。尤其是当我们确定了“独立”这个定语，那么独立电影就为自己设立了相应的伦理要求。而且独立电影的独立内涵，在不同国家并非一致。在中国独立电影领域，早期独立概念的产生有其厚重的历史背景，这个独立是指电影的生产不再依附于旧有的电视台体制和旧有的国营制片厂，所以它要有自己新的生产路径，而且它也对于创作者的主体性有所要求。“我制作了一部独立电影”——问题是，你所制作的真的是独立电影吗？你是否真的可以自称“独立”？你是否自我赞美了自己制作过程的纯粹性和美好的动机，赞美了自己在艺术方面独树一帜的能力？

所以独立电影对于创作者提出的不仅仅是智识上的要求，不仅仅对导演的主体性和个人素质有着很高的期待，其实也对导演的道德意识有所要求。对于中国独立电影的有限的接受者来说，在独特历史背景下产生的独立电影，必须不再充满谎言，不再为某些先验政治理念背书，它要用个人的经验和精神来衡量和重置一切，要表达自己独特的真实的体验，要看到个体的真实的痛苦——而这全都有着—一个非常具体的历史背景。而且有时候，它在需要导演的才能的同时，还需要他们的勇气。

创作者的艺术修养、洞察力、道德素质以及表达的勇气，这些都被列入进来，作为考量中国独立电影的重要指标，伦理问题也十分强烈地蕴含在其中。中国独特的电影和电视的发展史决定了，1990年前后出现的独立电影有一个重要的参考项，它有自己的敌人，它有着自己必须反对和超越的对象——电影厂或电视台。这背后的主要的伦理关系则在于，电影对于现实的忠诚。我曾称中国独立电影为“诚实电影”。虽然独立电影之初，就发展出了多种维度，但在当时，这种十分决绝的现实主义要求，曾经统领了独立电影思潮很长时间。

也许今天的人会用哲学语言来辨析艺术创作与现实的关系，会用非常深刻的词句来论定将电影和现实的绑定是多么的不高级，但当年的独立电影史就是如此展开的，而且这在当时也有着非常重大的

文化意义。而现实主义至今仍然具有非凡的价值，虽然我们不能以此强制创作者，但要给予它一个宽裕的存在空间。

独立电影早期的创作倾向以及美学积累了一段时间之后，也曾遭遇多方质疑。美学问题也是伦理问题。当时人们觉得独立电影过于热衷于边缘人物，热衷于老少边穷，热衷于穷山恶水长镜头、小偷妓女黑社会，这其实是指出了其对现实关照的不足。今天来看，也许其中还包含着男性导演的趣味性，虽然它们是以底层关怀为其主要的价值取向。

独立电影后来逐渐开始转向。更为关注社会“主流群体”，关注国家政治等结构性问题，一定程度上也将镜头从老少边穷，从郊区，摇向城市和所谓主流人群。

往后发展，2010年之后，中国独立电影领域的主要的伦理讨论，多是与纪录片有关。尤其是徐童纪录片的出现，逐渐带来了中国独立纪录片伦理的觉醒和长期争论。其他导演比如魏晓波的作品，也在各种场合被讨论。我们是否可以以如此大的尺度地去“剥削”被拍摄者，去将别人的隐私展现在观众面前？当然，也有人提出，如果一切出于被拍摄者的自愿而非强制呢？以我的视点来看，其实在之前，人们也会在私下议论某些独立纪录片的问题，但并未上升到一个普遍性的伦理讨论，而且出于对独立电影的感情和保护，伦理问题很少被公开提出。某次香港放映、南京影展（CIFF）2011年的纪录片主论坛，曾经将这个问题明确地提出，并激发了广泛的讨论。尤其是2011年的南京影展设立了一个“真实人物奖”（第一届颁给《算命》和《老唐头》里面的唐小雁，第二届颁给《京生》里面的老郝），鼓励被拍摄者走到前台，一起讨论纪录片的伦理问题，以及纪录片客观真实与再现真实的关系等本体问题。之后的伦理话题逐渐公开化。从后来的实践来看，独立纪录片界在涉及相关题材和拍摄对象时更为谨慎，这其实说明之后或多或少大家曾经历一个伦理反思的阶段。

中国独立电影的伦理问题是非常复杂的，尤其是当后来独立影展被强制关停，独立创作日益困难。而且很多独立电影导演将自己的创作延伸到院线领域，所以对于伦理的认知和自我约束的意识也在变化。商业资本和更高权力的介入，使得这一领域的伦理问题被放置于更大的景别当中，也变得更加浑浊和复杂。很多问题在变换的语境中，似乎越来越说不清楚。我建议我们不要笼统地言说中国独立电影的伦理问题，而是要面对具体个案进行分析，当然这个过程中我们要考虑到时代背景、历史变迁，看到本土和国人普遍的道德意识发展阶段，这样我们才能获得有建设性的观点，而不是用一种绝对化的标准和观念横贯一切。

附录

对“年度真实人物”的阐释（王小鲁，2011年）

中国独立影像展针对纪录片中的被拍摄者，设立了一个奖：“年度真实人物”。

我们这里说的“真实人物”，其实是一个“原型人物”的概念，它主要针对纪录片中的被拍摄者。这里使用“原型人物”这个词，是认识到纪录片作品与现实之间游离的关系。这种关系有时是必然的、本体性的，有时是违背伦理规范的。当原型人物带着自己的肉身走出来，与我们交流，我们将看到一种反向的介入。在纪录片历史上，我们习惯于作者使用被拍摄者的素材，完成其对于现实的介入或诠释。现在，被拍摄者的出现往往具有对作者作品性的拆解性的力量。当然，并非必然如此。

因此，我们的年度真实人物的设立目的是明显的——首先，我们希望它能深化我们对于纪录片本体的认识。当然，我们并不必然地认定原型人物所阐释的真实比纪录片作者阐释的真实具有更高的权威性。同时，这并不能降低纪录片作者的主体性，也不能取消其主观表达的权利。

“年度真实人物”的设立其实还有基于对中国纪录片发展的特殊阶段的认识。中国独立纪录片发展了20年了，其伦理纠纷越来越多。我们并不避讳年度真实人物具有平衡导演权威阐释素材的意愿。但我们并不提倡一种过于严厉的道德观，我们希望营造一种协商的氛围。

再次，这个真实人物将带来更多的现实的维度。它会把现实的更多层次带出来，我们愿意更深入地跟踪现实，与更丰富的现实有所交集和对话。这一层意愿似乎来自于纪录片本体之外。其实并非如此。我们希望某些现实得到更加充分的言说和展现。而原型人物具有这种力量。

以上是我们的意愿的一部分。那么如何来选出每年的真实人物——或者原型人物？我们要看这个原型人物是否具有带来某种对话现场的能力。他/她应该具有激发美学思辨与社会思辨的学术潜力。

我们还要看他/她作为一个原型人物，在自己的生活中和在纪录片作品中的表现力，应该综合考量这个表现力。我们有时候还要考量他/她在历史和社会中所具有的象征性能量，比如他对当下现实的某个方面所具有的深刻的代表性。当然，他也可能是一个历史人物。

这个奖项并不是鼓励导演的艺术创造力，也不是鼓励被拍者的表演欲。它更多是以原型人物为媒介，拓展一种学术思辨，呼唤一种温暖的关怀，并且启发一种介入当下的力量。

第一届“真实人物奖”获得者唐小雁 授奖词：

“有感于她在影片中的表现力即她的勇敢生活的能力，有感于她所携带的社会议题的丰富性以及我们对于她在影片中的存在方式的疑惑，她的出现将有助于探讨纪录片本体问题和纪录片伦理问题，也有助于揭示我们自身的生存境遇。”

PERSONAL ESSAYS 个人论文

Keyword: Censorship | The ‘Black Hand Army’ of the Silver Screen and ‘Work Honestly and You Will Have a Happy Life’: Two Memories of Film Censorship

关键词：审查 | 银幕“黑手党”与“诚实劳动换来幸福生活”——关于“电影审查”的两则往事

ZHANG Zanbo 张赞波 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Independence | The Road to Independence

关键词：独立 | 独立之路

GAN Xiao'er 甘小二 Translator 译者：WU Bo 吴波

Keywords: Independence → Freedom → Activism

关键词：独立 → 自由 → 行动

WU Wenguang 吴文光 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Individual

关键词：个人

CONG Feng 丛峰 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Individual | My Individual Creative Experience

关键词：个人 | 我的个人创作实践

ZOU Xueping 邹雪平 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Memory

关键词：记忆

LIN Xin 林鑫 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Pixelation

关键词：马赛克

LI Xiaofeng 黎小锋 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Public-Interest Images | My public-interest Films and Me

关键词：公益影像 | 我与我的公益影像作品

JIANG Nengjie 蒋能杰 Translator 译者：ZHANG Qianqi 张倩绮

Keyword: Workshop | ‘Feelings guide the way, rational though lights the way’: My Workshop Notes

关键词：工作坊 | “感性引路，理性照亮”——我的工作坊纪事

ZHANG Mengqi 章梦奇 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Censorship

The 'Black Hand Army' of the Silver Screen and 'Work Honestly and You Will Have a Happy Life': Two Memories of Film Censorship

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Abstract

Even though many people who are engaged in it would not admit it, film censorship has always been a reality for Chinese film and filmmakers. Zhang Zanbo is an independent filmmaker who has encountered censorship restrictions on multiple occasions. He discusses the issue from his own experience, recalling two instances of film censorship when studying and working at the Beijing Film Academy. One occurred in a theatre and the other occurred while working on his final project. Although these memories are somewhat old and they seem to be private and trivial, they have some significance in revealing the reality of China today.

A few years ago, Mei Feng (梅峰), a professor at Beijing Film Academy, and his colleagues wrote a book about censorship in film around the world. The first name for it was *The Historical Evolution and Establishment of World Cinema Censorship* (世界电影审查的历史沿革与建制), then they changed it. Perhaps they were affected by the ideas of market-oriented publishing agencies. No matter how many times they changed the title and the cover they always went for a catchy and fashionable name. The final title was *Film Censorship: All the Things You Always Wanted to Know But Didn't Know Where to Ask* (电影审查: 你一直想知道却没处问的事儿). Mei Feng wrote the screenplays for *Summer Palace* 颐和园 (dir. Lou Ye 娄烨, 2006) and *Spring Fever* 春风沉醉的夜晚 (dir. Lou Ye, 2009). Both of these films were deemed 'politically incorrect' and were hammered by the iron fist of censorship, becoming banned films. The former film touched on the June Fourth incident; as a result, the Chinese government awarded Lou Ye with a five-year ban on filming. A book with such a tempting title is not only appealing for its surface meaning, but also because the reader thinks of the creative situation of the author, Mei Feng, and his colleague, director Lou Ye. The title sends a subtle message that suggests that the book must be some kind of insider story about Chinese film censorship from Mei's own perspective.

But when the reader opens the book, they discover that those assumptions are totally wrong. The

book is highly structured, and the content is nothing out of the ordinary. Each of the twelve chapters introduces film censorship in a particular country or region, with chapters devoted to the United States, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Poland, Spain, South Korea, India, Thailand, Taiwan, and Hong Kong. The only country that is conspicuously absent is the People's Republic of China. This country has incredibly unique characteristics and has a strong censorship system, and yet it is missing from a book about censorship! Is the implication that China is not a part of this world, but exists in a different universe? It is impossible to be sure, but I'm curious to know if Mei Feng and the other authors wrote a chapter on China that was ultimately cut out by the editorial reviewers working at the publisher. Or perhaps they never intended to write that chapter at all? Did their knowledge of self-censorship, honed over a long period of work in the Chinese film industry, allow them to deliberately avoid this treacherous reef? No matter what happened, the whole thing sounded like a Soviet-era joke: a book written about censorship was itself subject to censorship or self-censorship, and the authors had no choice but to leave a big gap in the book. All of these things that the readers always wanted to know would remain unanswered. There was still nowhere to ask them.

Some people might associate film censorship with banned films, underground films, political taboos, ethical challenges, heavily censored film scripts, television shows and films that are pulled off the shelves, films that are withdrawn from competitions, independent film festivals that find their power has been cut, and independent directors that have been admonished and punished. Of course, this is part of the reality of the censorship system in China—in fact it is a large part of the system. No matter how many times this system is written about, recorded and explained to people, it will never be enough. I don't want to talk about that situation today. I wanted to describe two instances when I experienced censorship first-hand at my Beijing Film Academy, as an audience member and as a student. This does not have a direct causal relationship with me becoming a director of banned films; however, there is a broader sense of meaning that is associated with it.

About fifteen or sixteen years ago, a Finnish film festival was held while I was studying at Beijing Film Academy. It was probably an academic screening collaboratively organized by the Academy and the Finnish Embassy or the Finnish Cultural Centre or something like that. At that time, the Academy regularly held events of that nature. They screened art films and new releases in their theatre that is built to industry specifications and has a capacity of 800. Most of them were rare films on celluloid film. Sometimes members of the main creative team would come from halfway around the world to Beijing and hold a talk after the screening. Whenever that happened, it was an exciting day for film buffs like me. We sat down on the plush chairs of the theatre, looking forward to immersing ourselves in a new Finnish film called *Frozen Land* (dir. Aku Louhimies, 2005). But

then something strange happened that left us dumbfounded. A man and a woman began to make love, but the moment that the naked couple appeared intertwined on the bed, the screen went black. Surprisingly, the sounds of lovemaking could still be heard. This only happened for a brief moment; the picture quickly reappeared. At this point the scene had already changed to a different man who was wearing clothes—it was clear that he was peeping at the couple having sex. The camera moved back to the couple making love and the screen swiftly went black. It wasn't fully black though. An irregular shape seemed to be blocking the screen, and it allowed some of the image to come through at times. At this point, it finally dawned on the audience that the original film did not have a black screen during the lovemaking scenes, rather someone's hand was causing the image to be covered. No longer engrossed in the plot, we whipped our heads around to the booth and saw that someone was stretching out their hand to hastily cover the light emitted from the projector. Boos and whistles erupted as the crowd protested against the primitive and backward censorship tactics at play. But the mysterious member of the 'black hand army' was undeterred. He continued with his selective blackout method until the lovemaking scenes ended. It was an eye-opening day for me. I had seen films in that theatre for years, and I had watched plenty of art films with the sex scenes retained. This was the first time I had come across something like this. I was stunned that someone would use an improvisational method to cover up 'indecent' scenes during a screening. It was as if a grown-up had noticed that his own children were seeing things that they 'shouldn't see' or that 'weren't appropriate' so he quickly used his hands to cover their eyes. Who endowed this soldier of the 'black hand army' with a superior ethical awareness? (I later learned the answer: he was a mediocre department secretary who was in charge of running the film festival.) What made him so confident that he was the grown up and we were all the children in this situation?

This ridiculous experience is a symbol (and a plainly obvious one) that inadvertently illustrates the essential aspect of film censorship in a totalitarian state: the censors have a sense of moral and intellectual superiority over the people. Which is why he did not see anything wrong in deciding what content was appropriate for the general audience (or, for that matter, the manner through which that content was delivered). This uses the same psychological approach as was used for 'internal reference films' *neican dianying* (内参电影). Taboos and rules were applicable to ordinary people—they were not applicable to high-level officials or their relatives, who could ignore taboos and rules with impunity. This measure clearly has authoritarian elements—the mind and heart of one person was placed above the minds and hearts of many others. The power of one person eclipsed the rights of all others.

After the experience with the 'black hand army' I had my first experience of censorship of my own work. I was finishing the third year of my postgraduate degree in directing at the Beijing Film

Academy and was preparing to film the collaborative graduation project. This was a tradition that had been going on for a long time. Graduates, including directing students, would submit their own projects in their graduation year and apply to film a production that would be co-produced with the graduates from other departments. Then the university would select the best submissions and provide the winners with equipment and financial support for pre- and post-production. (It could be a short film or a feature film. They used to use film, but by the time I graduated everything was already digital.) The final products would be presented to the public and were regarded as the Academy's educational achievements of that year. All of the winning submissions would be screened in the theatre and a deluxe DVD set with gold lettering on the packaging would be produced by the Academy's audiovisual producer. The luckiest candidates would be invited to attend domestic and international film festivals, where they would come home with gold and silver awards.

I remember that I had written a realist story about a father and child who ran a photography studio in a small town, describing both their hardships and the apathy of others. At that time, I was interested in the lives of those from the lowest levels of society, and I even wrote a series of narrative poems about them during my postgraduate studies, but I did not have a clear, self-conscious political and cultural critical thinking ability as I do today. More than anything else, I was a sentimental artistic youth that wanted to express my strong emotions. I handed my script of roughly sixty scenes to my supervisor. Not only was he a senior professor in the directing department, but he was a member of the Fourth Generation of directors and one of the most experienced judges on the panel for the collaborative graduation project. (The judging panel included the president of the college, the secretary of the party committee, and the heads of various departments—their names had to appear at the beginning or end of all collaborative graduation projects.) It is worth mentioning that this teacher just so happened to work part time on the film censorship committee for the China Film Administration, so he was a bona fide censor. This was something that all of the teachers and students in the department knew about, because this teacher did not hide the fact that he worked there. In fact, he was candid and even seemed to be proud of it, because along with being a director and a professor, being a censor endowed him with additional authority.

At that time I didn't perceive the fact that he censored films part time to be important. I thought that it had nothing to do with me. I was an artistic youth born in a town hundreds of miles from Beijing and when I achieved my dream of getting into film school and became a film youth living in the capital, I had visions of making a film of my own (a drama, not a documentary, mind you). Back then I had no grasp of the censorship system. I was so thrilled to be getting into the Academy that I subconsciously chose not to ponder the elephant in the room, which of course I had to face sooner or later. That was why I knew nothing about the process or method of his censorship work then. I didn't know how the committee was established, who his colleagues were, whether they were paid or not, how

often they censored things, where they censored things, how many committee members participate at a time, what the review criteria were, how films were scored, or anything like that. I knew practically nothing. I remembered that sometimes when he taught a class after reviewing a film, he would tell us about some of the scenes or the details with great enthusiasm. He might tell us how he gave a ‘rotten film’ a low score, or that he conducted the censorship work in the China Central Television (CCTV)-6 Movie Channel building next to the Academy, things like that. But his experiences were purely bits and pieces of information, like a hazy mass of clouds and fog—it didn’t tell us the way things really were. I wasn’t the least bit interested in those things back then. Several years later, I am chagrined every time I think of this. If I knew then what I know now, I would have continued to ask questions until I got to the heart of the matter. Perhaps I would have been able to learn some valuable tricks about dealing with totalitarian censorship. At that time, the film censorship committee had a good reputation, but it did not release a members list to the public. They were like mysterious people hiding behind a mask of nationalism, that everyone knew about but had never seen. To think that I knew one personally and was taught by him, what an honour! It would still be a few years before anyone could go online and find a list of names of the film censorship committee members. Perhaps there had been a welcome trend to promote ‘open government’ or perhaps some well-intentioned individual decided to disclose the names. Either way, when I saw the name of my teacher on that list in black and white, next to the names of twenty or more authorities in the film world, I had mixed feelings.

The only times when I felt that film censorship had an impact on my life was when I was supposed to have class with this teacher, and a class representative or another teacher in the department would tell us that class was cancelled. Either we would go to a different class, or we had self-study, or we could do whatever we wanted. The reason class was cancelled was because he went to censor a film. It was plainly obvious that when it came to these two roles, his censorship work was more important and more urgent than his teaching. There was another detail about this teacher that upset me somewhat: when I first arrived at the directing department, I inadvertently discovered a rather interesting discrepancy between the identities of my two supervisors. One was my actual supervisor, Zhang Ming, whose debut work *Rainclouds over Wushan* 巫山云雨 (dir. Zhang Ming 章明, 1996) was banned multiple times. The film was selected for the Tokyo International Film Festival three years in a row, and the China Film Administration refused to allow it to be screened, arguing that the film was ‘of poor artistic quality, of an obscure style, and too grim in tone’. Later, he aspired to make the best suspense thriller China had ever seen and wrote a script called *17 Hours 57 Minutes 38 Seconds* (17小时57分38秒). But he was stymied by the censors yet again. The China Film Administration said it was ‘too terrifying and reprised elements of the Cultural Revolution’ and therefore did not allow filming. Forced to make hasty changes to the script, he ended up with a very different film—a

romantic psychological drama that was neither scary nor set in the Cultural Revolution. Even the title changed to *Weekend Plot* 秘语十七小时 (dir. Zhang Ming, 2002). When it was released, it was met with a lukewarm reception. My other supervisor was this part-time censor. Even though I wasn't technically one of his students, in reality he and Zhang Ming were both my supervisors. Usually he and Zhang Ming would take turns teaching classes for the graduate students in the department and guiding our film assignments. There is no evidence to prove it was my censor-teacher's work that led directly to Zhang Ming's unfortunate encounter with the censors. Still, the fact that a part-time censor and a director who had been censored worked in the same department, both acting as my supervisors, teaching the same students, and sharing the same curriculum, couldn't have been a magical stroke of serendipity. Not when you really think about it. Of course, words like magical and serendipity are hardly appropriate to describe someone's fate, but that person doesn't have the luxury to decide what words should be used.

When he had read my script, my part-time censor/part-time teacher smiled and said:

This script of yours is well written, in fact it's probably one of the best amongst your classmates, but it certainly won't pass. The tone is too grim.

Upon hearing his prediction, I felt that the words were vaguely familiar. Then it clicked—they said the same thing about Zhang Ming's work, that it was too grim! Zhang Ming couldn't possibly have been the first director to have been treated that way. Zhang Yuan (张元), Wang Xiaoshuai (王小帅), Lou Ye, Jia Zhangke (贾樟柯) and other Sixth Generation filmmakers who started out as 'underground directors' all seem to have received similar reviews. It was much later that the censors got wise and found a more neutral and convincing, but in fact more ambiguous and uninformed pretext – 'technical problems' – to replace the original clichés that could easily expose their aesthetic and intellectual shortcomings. So, the emperor wasn't wearing any clothes, but that didn't mean that they couldn't continue to fashion terrible outfits for him. All the while, they would call the outfits gorgeous and grand.

My teacher explained:

You know what? According to the main melody film template, the kind of story you have written can only end in one way: work honestly and you will have a happy life. But your story gets it backwards, because they work hard but they don't have a happy life. That won't work at all.

Just like that, my graduation film that had not yet reached infancy, ended up on the cutting room

floor, thanks to the elephant in the room.

‘Work honestly and you will have a happy life.’ My teacher enunciated each word carefully in his rich, clear voice, so much so that when I think of the moment all these years later, it still sounds like yesterday, and the words still ring in my ears. Besides the overt meaning imparted by this sentence, there were also two other layers of meaning: ‘work dishonestly to have a happy life’ and ‘working honestly to have an unhappy life’ were not allowed. They were unlawful ways of living. It was an unquestionable truth like a strict mathematical formula: honesty + labour = happy life. In the same way that $1+1=2$ meant that $1+1=1$, $1+1=3$, $1+1=4$ and all the other possibilities were wrong.

It seemed that censorship was not only a set of political views and ethics, but an entire worldview. Not only was it sensitive to ideology and ethical standards, it had something to say about everything in life. It was like an overbearing life designer for everyone in the world, dictating their path in life. It was like a judge of a diving competition only allowing a simple straight dive off the platform. Even the splash made by the athlete had to be a specific size and shape. Any deviation from the established path, no matter how slight, would be a departure from the norm and would have to be corrected and punished.

This absurd method not only infringes on people’s freedom and rights, but also deprives people of the possibilities and richness of life. Eventually the vast and vibrant ocean of art will become a pool of trite, stagnant water. It’s not like they haven’t done something like this before—think of the eight revolutionary operas.

When I think back on these events, I don’t want to and shouldn’t be too hard on my teacher. In that moment his suggestions were not simply personal advice, because he also represented the other people in the review panel. The long list of names that appeared in the opening and closing credits of the collaborative graduation project ended up being the first ‘film censorship board’ I had ever encountered. The people on that list did not simply represent themselves, but the predictable and obstinate system that stood behind them. In this way, they were moralists, and they were also conservative at the deepest level. They censored assiduously, not only to show their determination to defend the established order, but also to maintain the legitimacy of their own power. They only ever had to think about the power entrusted to them—they never had to consider the feelings and situation of the person under scrutiny. Ironically, a true committee, as the name implies, must receive a mandate from the public, and not the other way around—to gain rights and power by swearing allegiance to the One in the dark box. Of course, if they realized this level of logic, they wouldn’t be who they were. The system of censorship would fall apart. In this land, censorship and totalitarianism

accompany each other. If the skin cannot survive, what will the hair attach itself to?

While the system is still strong in China, the censors are not only official members of a committee and are not necessarily wielding the scissors of power, cutting your film script into tatters. They might not limit themselves to the field of film, either. In reality, they are everywhere, just like the Monkey King who is able to pluck his hair and duplicate himself. If they like, they can rapidly clone copies of themselves with uncannily similar faces and DNA. Then they can take over everything: the real world, the spiritual world, the film industry, the publishing industry, online discussions, and everyday speech.

Of course, feelings about censorship vary from person to person, as people are likely to have extremely different values. Some people consider the dragon seal to be disgraceful and offensive; others consider it to be an honour or an achievement. When I was still on Weibo, before my account was blocked, I would see directors, including so-called independent directors, excitedly flashing their projecting license or their filming license. Every time they did that, plenty of people would like it or congratulate the director. And that wasn't even the funniest part. Recently, an experienced, former independent documentary filmmaker made a new film that was granted a dragon seal. When the film was screened at a youth art film festival in China, the audience clapped and cheered while the gold dragon seal glittered on the screen (note, the dragon seal is always the first image in a publicly-screened film and is the icon representing the spirit and power of censorship). The director, for his part, posted on social media saying that was a monumental moment in his life. I agree that everyone has the freedom to make personal choices in everything, but when I think of the totalitarian system that the golden dragon represents and what it has done to independent film and Chinese film in general, I can't help but feel sad. As an example, I watched a veteran documentary filmmaker being openly questioned by mainland filmmakers at a post-screening discussion of one of his films at a film festival in Taiwan. They asked why he was exhibiting a film without a dragon seal and showing the dark side of his homeland to outsiders. Over a decade ago, students in the Academy theatre could still boo the spiritual censor, while just over a decade later, young audiences at art film festivals clap and cheer when they are greeted with a totalitarian icon, one that represents the true act of censorship and achieves the surrender of any shred of independent spirit by means of coercion. This is nothing less than the fall of the world; that's all there is to it.

关键词：审查

银幕“黑手党”与“诚实劳动换来幸福生活” ——关于“电影审查”的两则往事

张赞波

概要

尽管很多当事人对此讳莫如深，但“电影审查”一直是中国电影和电影人所面对的一种强大的现实境遇。作者作为一位略遭禁忌的独立纪录片导演，从亲身经历出发，回忆了在北京电影学院学习与工作时所遭遇到的两次“电影审查”：一次是在影院里，一次是在毕业创作时。这些略显久远的记忆，看似是私人和琐碎的，却对于揭示当下中国的现实具有某种公共意义。

几年前，北京电影学院的梅峰老师和他的同事们合作编写过一本有关世界范畴内的电影审查概况的书，先是取了一个比较学术化的名字：《世界电影审查的历史沿革与建制》，后来改了版，也许是受市场化出版机构的营销思路影响，无论包装和书名都脱胎换骨，书名摇身一变为一个琅琅上口、听起来也更很有吸引力的时髦名字：《电影审查：你一直想知道却没处问的事儿》。梅峰老师是电影《颐和园》（2006）和《春风沉醉的夜晚》（2009）的编剧，众所周知，这两部“政治不正确”的电影都遭受了电影审查的铁拳，变成了名副其实的“禁片”。前者因为涉及“六四”背景，还为导演娄烨带来了禁拍五年的处罚。所以，当看到一本有着这样一个名字的书，不光是其书名的字面意义吸引人，它难免还会和作者梅峰老师（以及娄烨导演）个人的创作境遇形成关联，产生某种“弦外之音”，让读者以为此书一定会以他的亲历者视角，去讲述中国电影审查的某种“内幕”。

然而，翻开书，你很快就会发现自已大错特错了。这本书结构非常规整，内容也比较平实，一共十二章，每一章都介绍了一个国家（或地区）的电影审查状况，分别有美国、英国、法国、德国、意大利、波兰、西班牙、韩国、印度、泰国，以及华语地区的台湾和香港。但，独独没有中华人民共和国。这个地球上最具特色、最强大的审查王国就这样缺席于一本描述世界电影审查制度面貌的书里！难道是在暗讽中国就不是世界的一部分，而只是宇宙中的二次元王国？虽然并不能确定，究竟是梅峰老师和合写者们原本撰写了中国部分，但最后被出版部门的编审“咔嚓”掉了？还是他们压根儿就没有动笔，是他们长期在中国电影圈里历练出的自我审查意识，让他们自觉绕开了这块凶多吉少的暗礁？不管怎样，最后的结果，无论怎么看都像一则“苏联政治笑话”：一本写审查的书，遭遇了无法回避的审查或自我审查，最后只得在书里开了一个大大的“天窗”；而“你一直想知道却没处问的事儿”，仍然

没处问，更不会有人给出答案。

一提到“电影审查”，人们可能会第一时间想起：禁片、地下电影、政治禁忌、道德挑战、被删节得七零八落的电影文本、被下架的影视作品、被撤展的参赛片、被拉闸断电的独立影展、被训诫和被处罚的独立导演们……当然，这些的确是中国审查语境下的现实与真相的一部分，甚至是很大的一部分。关于它们，再怎么被反复讲述、书写和记录都不为过。但今天，我暂时不想讲述这些，我想讲两则我在电影学院时作为普通的观众和学生，在日常中曾亲身感受到审查现实，这一切，和我此时作为一位所谓的“禁片导演”虽没有直接的因果关系，却很可能有着一种更广义上的意义关联。

大概十五、六年前，我还在北京电影学院工作的时候，学院举办了一场芬兰影展，应该是电影学院和芬兰使馆或者类似“芬兰文化中心”这样的机构合办的学术放映活动。那时候，电影学院时不时开展类似活动，在八百座的“标放”大厅放映一些世界范畴的艺术电影，既有经典老片，也有新片。大多是难得一见的原版胶片放映，有时候还有远道而来的主创团队出席映后谈。每到这种时刻，就是我们这些影迷们的盛宴。然而，当我们幸福地坐在“标放”的沙发椅上，心身投入地欣赏一部叫《冰冻之地》（Frozen Land, 2005）的芬兰新片的时候，发生了一件令人目瞪口呆的怪事。银幕上出现了一对男女做爱的镜头，但镜头刚一对着那两具缠绕在床上的身体时，银幕就突然黑了下去，但做爱的声音却一直在持续；只过了片刻，银幕又亮了起来，这时镜头已切换到旁边另一位有衣服遮体的男子身上——他显然正在窥视着前边那对做爱男女。但一会儿，镜头又朝做爱男女切了过去，银幕又再次迅疾地黑了下去。那种黑不是严严实实、整整齐齐的黑，而像被一个不规则的东西遮挡了银幕，有点半灰半透明，有时还遗漏出局部的影像来。到这时，正沉浸于电影剧情的我们恍然大悟：原来并不是影片自带的“黑场”技法，而是有人在做手脚！我们立马回头张望电影院的“后窗”，发现果然有人正在放映室里伸出自己的手掌，忙不迭地遮住那束从里投射出来的“电影之光”。“标放”里随即嘘声和口哨一片，显然大伙对眼前这种原始落后的审查手段表示抗议。但那个神秘的“黑手党”丝毫不受干扰，坚定不移地实施他的选择性“黑场”手法（确是名副其实的“手法”：手之法），直到做爱段落完成为止。无疑，那是我大开眼界的一天，我在电影学院的标放里看了好几年的电影，也看过不少内含性爱场景却未经删节的原版艺术电影，却头一次碰到这样的事情——竟然有人会在放映时根据片中内容即兴遮挡“不雅”镜头，就像一位大人，在看到自家小孩看到“不该看到的”、“儿童不宜的”场景时，慌乱地用手掌遮挡住他的眼睛一般。可是，是谁赋予这位“黑手党”老兄（事后知道他只是某系一位负责本次影展事务的普通“系秘”）这么高的道德觉悟，让他认定自己是大人而我们观众们就是小孩？

这样的荒诞一幕分明像一个隐喻（近乎明喻的隐喻），不经意间折射了极权国家里的电影审查的本质：面对民众，审查者有一种道德和智识上的优越感，所以他觉得由他来选择和决定将什么内容（以及以什么方式）提供给观众是合理的，无可非议的。这和以前的“内参电影”的存在遵循一样的心理逻辑。禁忌和律法只对普通民众有效，而对于高官们——甚至连同他们的亲属们，是无效的，可以轻易逾越的。显然，这些举措里分泌出了专制的因子：一个人的大脑和心灵凌驾于很多人、以及所有人的

大脑和心灵之上；一个人的权力掩盖了其他人以及所有人的权益。

除了遭遇这次银幕上的“黑手党”，我还在电影学院遭遇到了人生第一次“电影审查”。当时我在导演系念“研三”，准备筹备拍摄所谓的“联合毕业作业”——这是电影学院很久以来的一个传统，就是包括导演系学生在内的毕业生可以在毕业那年提交自己创作的剧本，申请拍摄一部将和其它系的毕业生联合制作完成的毕业作品，而学校从中择优选拔，给入选者提供用于前后期的机器设备和资金支持（可以拍摄短片，也可以是长片，以前的拍摄介质是胶片，到了我毕业那一年，已经与时俱进全部变为数码了）。最终的完成作品将被学院当作当年的教学成果高调公诸于世：除了会在“标放”大厅里统一进行盛大展映，还会被学院下属的音像出版社发行在碟盒上印有烫金大字的豪华版 DVD 套装。其中一些更幸运的幸运儿还会被学院推荐去参加国际国内的电影节，在电影节上摘金获银，载誉而归。

记得我当时写了一个比较生活化的现实主义故事，讲述了一对在小城市开小照相馆的父子，如何体会到生活的艰辛和人情的冷暖。当时我就对底层小人物的日常命运比较感兴趣，在读研究生的时期里，也写过一系列关于底层小人物的叙事诗，却并没有像如今这样，有着清晰而自觉的政治和文化层面的批判思想，心底涌动更多的也许只是：文艺青年式的感怀和喟叹。我把写好的剧本（大概有六十余场戏）交给了我当时的专业指导老师，他是导演系的资深教授，是一位有名的第四代导演，也是“联合毕业作业”项目的资深评审之一（记得评审组还有学院院长、党委书记以及各系主任等权威人士，他们的名字会郑重地出现在所有“联合毕业作业”的片头或片尾）。值得一提的是，我这位老师恰巧在国家电影局“电影审查委员会”兼职，是一位名副其实的电影审查官。这是一个导演系师生都熟知的事实，热情直爽的他对此也毫不避讳，甚至说起时还隐隐传递出自豪感，因为这是他在导演和教授身份之外的另一种权威。

但那时候，我对我老师的这份兼职工作——“电影审查”压根儿没有什么认知，总觉得和自己没有什么关系。当一位外省文学青年终于如愿以偿考上电影学院，摇身一变为进京的电影青年，满脑子都憧憬着拍出一部自己的电影（是剧情片而不是纪录片）的时候，对这个总有一天会成为你“房间里的大象”的现实境遇自动遮蔽了。所以，我当时对他的审查工作的具体程序和方式一无所知，包括他所属的委员会是如何成立的，有什么同事，有无薪水俸禄，多久审查一次，在哪里审查，每次多少个委员参与，审查标准是什么，如何打分评级，等等，几乎一概不明。只记得偶尔他审片归来，会在课堂上饶有兴趣地主动透露一点情节或细节，比如他给某部“烂片”打了低分，比如这次的审查场所是在学院旁边的电影频道办公楼，诸如此类，但纯属只鳞片爪，让人雾里看花，云山雾罩，构不成庐山真面目。而我当时对之也完全没有好奇心。以至于时隔多年后，我一想起这点就有点懊恼，如果换成现在的我，想必一定会打破沙锅纹（问）到底，没准能从老师口里套出一点有关极权审查的珍贵的一手资料。记得当时，这个电影审查委员会尽管声名在外，成员名单却并没有对外公布，江湖上对此是只闻其声不见其人，他们就像一个个隐匿在国家主义面具下的神秘的隐身人——而我竟然认识且受教于其中一人，多么与有荣焉！网上能查到完整的电影审查委员会名单应该是几年后的事情。不知道是因为吹拂了“政务公开”的春风，还是有好事者存心泄露了出去。总之，当我后来看

到白纸黑字的名单上清楚地印着我这位老师的大名，和其他二十多位电影界的权威人士的名字挨在一起时，我心底顿时百感交集。

而当时唯一感受到“电影审查”和自己的生活和学习相关联的是，有时候，本来轮到我的这位审查官老师给我们上课，却临时通过班干部或系里老师传来一则简短消息：课不上了，换成其它课或者自习，或者自由活动。因为，他要去审片了。可见，在我老师负载的这两项职能中，审片工作的重要性和紧迫性要高于教学。除此之外，关于我老师的这个身份，勉强算对自己产生了一点心理波动的另一个情节是，我刚进导演系的时候，无意中觉察到在我的两个导师的身份之间，存在着一种比较有趣的“落差”：一个是我实际上的导师章明，他是第六代导演，他拍的处女作《巫山云雨》（1996）几成禁片，被东京电影节连续三年邀请参展，都被电影局以该片“艺术质量差，风格晦涩，调子灰暗”为由拒不放行。后来，他立志拍出中国最好看的悬疑惊悚片，写出了新片剧本《17小时57分38秒》，却再次遭遇审查，被电影局以“过于恐怖，对文化大革命重新涉及”之名不予立项拍摄。逼得他只得仓促修改剧本，最终拍摄成了一部迥异于初衷的爱情心理剧，既不恐怖，文革背景也荡然无存。片名也改了，叫《秘语十七小时》（2002），影片面世后反响冷清，寂寂无名。另一个导师就是我的这位审查官老师，尽管我名义上不算他门下的正式研究生，但实际上他算我的联合导师，平日里和章明老师轮换着给我们导演系研究生上课、指导拍摄作业。虽然没有任何的事实证明，是我的这位审查官老师的审查工作直接导致了章明老师的不那么美妙的被审查遭遇，但一位审查者和另一位被审查者同处一系，互为同事，而且同时担纲我们的导师，共同面对同一拨学生，共同承担同一套课程体系。细究起来，这不能说不是件魔幻而神奇的事情。当然，魔幻和神奇这样的字眼，用来形容他人的命运尚还勉强合适，要是当事人置换成自己，恐怕就不会有这么好的闲情雅致了。

看了我提交的剧本后，我的审查官老师很坦诚地笑着告诉我：“虽然你的这个剧本写得不错，甚至是你们同学中最好的，但肯定通不过。因为，调子太灰暗了。”听到这里，我依稀觉得这套话语体系比较耳熟。对的，他们给章明老师的作品评语里就出现过这么一条：调子灰暗。章明老师也并非第一个得到这样待遇的导演。张元、王小帅、娄烨、以及贾樟柯等曾以“地下导演”身份出道的第六代电影人，貌似都得到过大同小异的评价。只是，到了更久远的后来，审查者们学聪明了，找到了一个看似更中性、更有说服力但实则更模糊和不知所云的托词——“技术问题”，来替代原有这套很容易暴露他们在美学和思想上的弊病的陈词滥调。皇帝尽管什么也没穿，但并不妨碍他们不断为他编织出最绚烂多姿的新装，且不断地赞美它的美丽气派。

“你知道吗？你这样的故事类型，按国家的主旋律，只能是：诚实劳动换来幸福生活，”审查官老师紧接着向我解释，“而你的故事显然相反：诚实劳动也没换来幸福生活。这样肯定不行。”这样，我的尚在萌芽状态的毕业作业，就被那只“房间里的大象”的无形之手“咔嚓”掉了。

“诚实劳动换来幸福生活”——当时我的老师用他中气十足的浑厚嗓音几乎一字一顿地念出这句话，以至于时隔经年，我只要一想起这一幕，依然宛如昨日，这十个字犹在耳边掷地有声，余音不绝。

这句话除了它在字面上直接呈现出的意思，至少还意味着另两层言外之意：“不诚实劳动换来幸福生活”，或者“诚实劳动换来悲催生活”，都是不被允许甚至非法的。它已然成为一则不容置疑的真理，就像一道严谨而排他的数学公式：诚实 + 劳动 = 幸福生活。就像， $1+1=2$ ，那就意味着， $1+1=1$ ， $1+1=3$ ， $1+1=4$ ……以及其它所有，都是错的。

看来，审查不光是一种政治观和道德观，也是一种世界观。它不光只是敏感于意识形态和道德水准，它还要对宽广而日常的生活发言，它就像这个世界的一位“生活的总设计师”，霸道地规定了所有人的所有生活路径。就像一位跳水项目的裁判员，只允许所有的运动员都用一个单调而死板的姿态跳水入池，甚至连被溅起的水花的大小形状都要经过规定和修饰。而且，任何一点对既有路径的偏离都将被视为离经叛道，必须得到修正和惩处。这样的荒谬做法，显然既侵犯了人们的自由和权益，也剥夺了生活的丰富性和可能性，迟早有一天，会把浩瀚而鲜活的艺术海洋，变成一个虚假而陈腐的死水泥潭。他们以前并不是没这么干过，八个样板戏就是明证。

在回忆这一幕往事之时，我并不要也不应该过于苛责我的老师。那一刻，他所传达出的意见，并非只是他的个人意见，显然无形中也代表了评审委员会的其他人——经常出现在“联合毕业作业”片头片尾字幕里的那一长串闪亮的名字，就是它们构成了我人生中遭遇到的第一个“电影审查委员会”。但是，这个名单里的他们也并非只是代表自己，而是他们背后的那种习见而冥顽不化的制度和文化的。从这个意义上说，审查者既是天生的卫道士，也是骨子里的保守派，他们孜孜不倦地审查，就是为了体现其捍卫既有秩序和制度的决心，以及维护权力之威严的努力。自始至终，他们只需对那个委之以重任的权力负责，而无需考虑被审查者的感受和处境——尽管真正的“委员会”，顾名思义，必须接受全体民众于阳光下的公开委托，而不是相反，于暗箱里效忠一尊，它才能有此资格和权力。当然，如果他们意识到或在意这层逻辑，他们就不是他们了，审查也就瓦解了。在这片土地上，审查和极权如影相随，皮之不存，毛将焉附？

甚至，在瓦解之前，审查官并非只是委员会的正式成员，也不一定就是那些举起权力的剪刀对着你的电影文本“咔嚓咔嚓”的“剪刀手”，甚至都不一定只限于电影领域。实际上，他们无处不在，像孙悟空一样具有拔毛变身的能力。只要他们愿意，他们就可以迅速地克隆出无数个有着惊人相似面貌和DNA的化身，占领所有空间阵地——无论现实层面，还是精神层面；无论电影领域，还是出版行业；无论网络舆论，还是日常发言……

当然，关于审查的感受因人而异，因为人与人之间的价值观念很可能大相径庭。有人把龙标当作耻辱和冒犯，有人却视之为荣耀和嘉奖。以前，在我的微博还没有被销号的时候，就经常会看到一些导演，包括所谓的独立导演，在微博上喜不自禁地晒出刚拿到手的准映许可证或者拍摄许可证，而且每次，都会收获一大帮点赞或者祝贺之声。这还不算最滑稽的。前不久，一位资深的前独立纪录片导演的新作首次获得了龙标，在中国的某青年艺术影展上放映时，观众们面对片头里金光闪闪的龙标（龙标是公映片永远的第一镜头，也是审查精神和审查权力当之无愧的偶像物），长时间热烈

鼓掌欢呼，而导演本人，也将其视之为深具纪念意义的人生瞬间在社交媒介上昭告天下。尽管，我认同每个人在每件事上均有其作出个人选择的自由，但只要一想起，这条金龙背后的极权特质，以及近些年，它对独立电影以及中国电影做了些什么（就说这位资深纪录片导演吧，我曾亲眼见过在有一年的台湾某影展上，他在参加自己的一部片子的映后交流时，被大陆的体制内电影人公然质问为什么要拿这部没有龙标的片子来参展、从而以祖国的阴暗面示与外人），我就难免不觉得悲哀。回想十多年前，电影学院放映厅里的学子们尚且还能将嘘声送予那位黑手遮光的精神审查官，而短短十多年后，艺术电影展上的年轻观众们却对着一具极权的偶像物——以及其承载的一次真刀实剪的审查行为和一种对独立精神的招安手段——鼓掌和欢呼，想来世界沦落，也不过如此了罢。

Keyword: Independence

The Road to Independence

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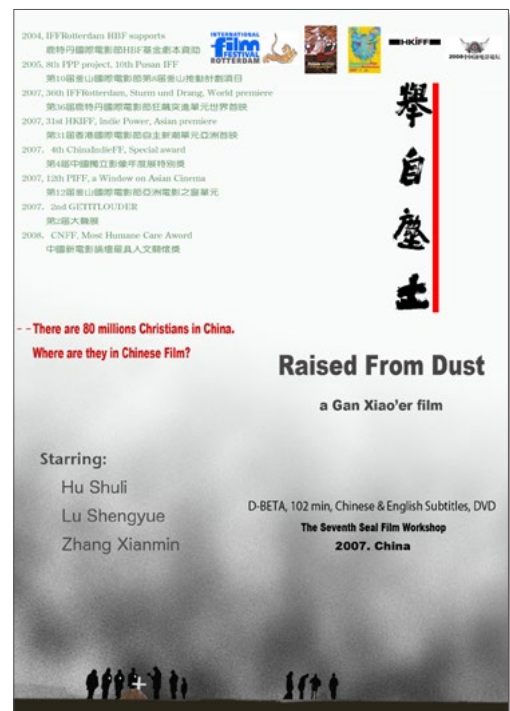
Abstract

The author describes the profile of peasant Christian audiences in China through the screening of his own independent film *Raised From Dust* 举自尘土 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2007) in Henan province in 2007, and also represents the discussions at the China Independent Film Festival (中国独立影像年度展) (CIFF) in Nanjing in the same year. It is suggested that the concept of 'independent film' should be based on the true sense of the production mode, that is, the kind of production as an addition to those in the major state studios. 'Chinese independent film' is likely to become a historical term, referring to the production of independent films in China in the past thirty years, because the underground film model is unsustainable. However, what is really sad is not the banning of the independent film festivals, but the fact that no excellent independent films were produced in the past few years. The author also shares the frustrating situation of the production of his first licensed, 'dragon seal' film.

1. Eighty million vs. one

In the summer of 2007, I, together with some students, showed my second feature film *Raised From Dust* 举自尘土 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2007) in rural churches in Henan province. The first screening was in a church of Xinxiang, my hometown, and also the place where the film was shot.

Raised From Dust is about an overwhelming plight that a peasant Christian family encounters in their life: the village church choir member Xiaoli's (小丽) husband was dying of silicosis in the hospital, and her daughter was dismissed from the school because the family could not afford the tuition fee. Xiaoli chose to give up treatment for her husband who died on the way out of the hospital. The introduction



Poster of *Raised From Dust*

to the film at the thirty third Hong Kong International Film Festival (香港国际电影节) (HKIFF) in 2007 said: ‘Giving up treatment means to kill the husband. Did Xiaoli violate the will of God, or should God be more forgiving?’

The local church elders presided over the film showing, and over thirty local church members watched the film. At the end, we received heated criticism which, while not without good intentions, was full of dissatisfaction.



A scene during the 2007 screening tour of *Raised From Dust* in Henan rural churches

The film was considered by professionals and the film crew members as over-filled with religious elements, while peasant church members complained about the lack of religious power:

People in the film don't sing when they should sing, and don't pray when they should pray... The protagonist died rather than being saved. Where did God's salvation and power go?

My documentary *Church Cinema* 教堂电影院 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2008) was presented to the audience right after this film screening in Henan.

When I wrote in my director's notes of *Raised From Dust*, 'There are 80 million Christians in China, but where are they in Chinese films?', I was expecting a very positive feedback from Christians to this film, but the result turned out to be totally the opposite. I had to weakly defend myself against the questions of dozens of peasant believers. Because they were used to three kinds of films (gospel propaganda films, Chinese TV series, and commercial films), they took it for



Church Cinema is a 80-minute-long documentary by Gan Xiao'er of the 2007 screening tour of *Raised From Dust* in Henan rural churches. In 2008, it was first shown at New York University and Yale University, and then at the Taipei Film Festival together with *Raised From Dust*.

granted that my film would be another popular and good-looking gospel film praising the Grace of God, and thus politically correct in that sense. My film, as an independent one, was not ‘presenting the story as it should be presented’, and thus was not well accepted by the audience. But I stressed that I meant to bring my audience a different film.

Two things are certain: first, the fiction film series that my colleagues and I made, named the *Seven Seals* 七封印 series, are not gospel films but films about the situation of Christianity in China. Second, Xiao Wu does not watch *Xiao Wu* 小武 (dir. Jia Zhangke 贾樟柯, 1997),¹ which means that many independent films cannot reach the target that filmmakers are concerned about. Independent films are ridiculed by many audiences, and independent filmmakers self-depreciate themselves as those who write, direct, act, and finally watch their own films. And in the case of the screening tour of *Raised From Dust*, I went a step further, which was showing the film by myself.

That filmmakers show their films to intended audience is very important, because independent films should not only be introduced to judges of film festivals, intellectual groups, and ‘high-level audiences’ of art films. After the screening of *Raised From Dust* in another church, a sister who had attended the first one came to me and said that she suddenly understood the film in watching it for the second time. The sister: ‘Even if your film had only one audience, God will know your hard work.’

What the sister said was, among all the questions and doubts, the greatest encouragement to me. If there is any expectation for the encounter between films and audiences, the sister’s words could comfort and gratify many independent filmmakers. It is that one audience, the imaginary audience in my heart who motivated my creation.

Elite cultures are not meant to target common audiences but a very selected group. However, their refined style and content and low profile in presentation will finally reach their true audience, even if there is only one.

2. What, if not my films, is to be shown in film theatres?

Three months before the screening of *Raised From Dust* in the rural churches of Henan, the fourth CIFF was held in Nanjing in a private art museum, the main venue of the festival. At the same time, classrooms in some colleges and universities of Nanjing were used as supplementary venues for film screenings. This was the first time that CIFF officially invited all filmmakers, and later published the collected edition of papers and essays from the first three festivals. In front of the venue of the Nanjing University, an old professor passed by and asked why the film festival was entitled ‘China Independent’? ‘Isn’t China an independent country?’,

he asked. CIFF co-founder Cao Kai (曹恺) and volunteers had to explain constantly in response to similar questioning that it was not films of 'Chinese independence', but Chinese 'independent films'. This became a sort of passive promotion. The film festival was not a gathering of elite filmmakers and producers, nor was it only a talk show. In that year, Chinese independent films made a big splash in Nanjing colleges and universities, and achieved unprecedented prosperity.

Since I 'have no enemies' and probably because I am easy going and always get along well with other people, the organising committee asked me and another director to co-host a seminar.

If there should be an annual topic for independent cinema in 2007, I think it was the debate over going public versus remaining underground, namely getting a dragon seal or remaining independent. At that time, several well-known independent filmmakers had produced officially approved works or were in the process of applying for the dragon seal. They were criticised by the media and the art film audience for being officially 'recruited', and scoffed at by many other independent filmmakers. During the seminar, participants from Shanghai strongly disagreed with those from Beijing on whether the official license should be applied: Shanghai participants spoke for the acceptance of the dragon seal, while their Beijing counterparts strongly resisted it. The debates finally ended in quarrels, slapping the table, and almost physical conflicts

At the last minute, Zhang Xianmin (张献民), a professor at the Beijing Film Academy and chairman of the organising committee of the festival concluded: 'Where there is a Golden Rooster, there is independence'. Everyone laughed and joined the gathering at Nanjing food stalls after the seminar. Later, Professor Zhang continued to put forward his opinion quoting 'A hundred flowers bloom in one time' by Chairman Mao Zedong, speaking for showing independent films in art film theatres on a nationwide level.² Professor Zhang proposed that independent films and licensed films should not exclude each other and should be harmonious in co-existence. With his far-sightedness and efficient efforts, Professor Zhang was worthily dubbed chairman of 'the Second Film Bureau of China'.

What is my opinion?

From my debut feature film *The Only Sons* 山清水秀 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2002), I realised that the conflict between independent films and licensed films very much resembles that between the Three-Self Patriotic Movement and the House Church, fundamentalism and postmodernism, the extreme left and the extreme right, and the dominant and the marginal. The conflict is full of mutual contempt, ridicule, personal attacks, and slander. Each so-called position will go to such extremes that it does not care about the true situation of your life but whether you are a member of the Three-Self Patriotic Movement or the House Church; neither does it care about the artistic achievement of your film, but whether or not it is licensed with a dragon seal.

At the Nanjing film festival, Cui Hong (崔红), a film producer and Wang Xiaolu (王小鲁), a film critic, interviewed me on this topic.

Me: What, if not my films, should be shown in film theatres? If currently film theatres are full of trash, why not replace them with our better independent films?

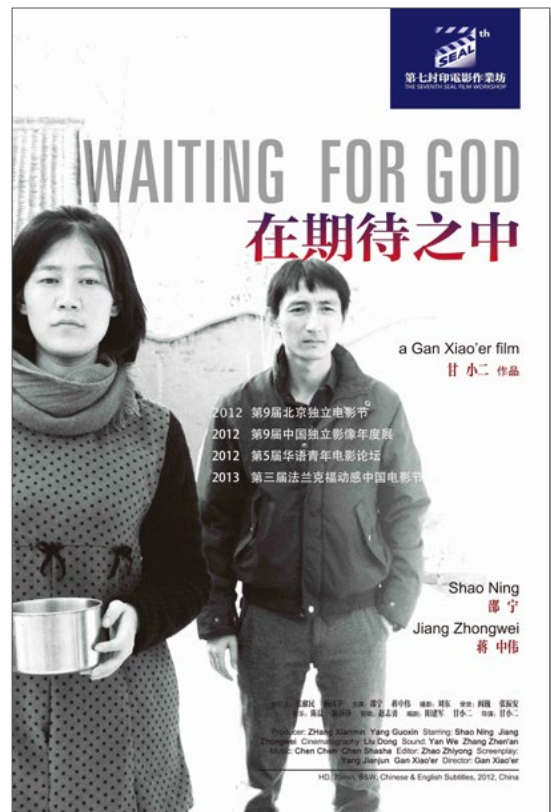
Having said that, I started work on my 'third seal' film *Waiting for God*, which was received by even fewer and more isolated audiences. Another ten years passed when my film *Country Far Away* 樺卯 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2017) got the dragon seal, the first of my works to be licensed.

I insist that in the long run, independent films should be an important element in the overall film industry, resuming their mode of production with low budgets outside of major film studios. The immediate association of Chinese independent films as being underground and resistant would become historical. Otherwise, if being independent means being underground, the new generation of filmmakers have to break the Film Industry Promotion Law (电影产业促进法) in order to produce independent films.

Since 2008, the Nanjing film festival has set up a 'dragon seal section' to show licensed independent films, while the Beijing Independent Film Festival (北京独立影像展) has always adhered to the principle that being independent is being underground. In my opinion, what is sad was not the final ban of both festivals in 2015, but that no good drama films were found in the drama film contest section of either.

3. Independent filmmaking is my personal expenditure

In the winter of 2005, before the boot of *Raised From Dust*, my friend brother Hui asked what was the gap in total investment. Before that, he had been urging me to find possible investors. As a project supported by the Hubert Bals Fund of the International Film Festival Rotterdam and the Busan Promotion Plan fund of the Busan International Film Festival, *Raised From Dust* also received some friendly investment from brother Hui at the last minute.



Waiting for God 在期待之中 (dir. Gan Xiao'er, 2012): the diary of a Chinese female village priest. Maria Jiang Xiaoyang (玛利亚·蒋晓阳), the priest of a village church, was suffering pressure from members and other priests of her church and from her own faith because her husband refused to be converted to Christianity.

When the film was in post-production, brother Hui came to visit me, which made me feel huge pressure.

Brother Hui: Pressure? Who put pressure on you?

Me: You are my investor after all.

Brother Hui: Why don't you understand, Gan Xiao'er? Do you think I would have given you the money if I saw the film as an investment?

My friend's consolation did not relieve my feelings of guilt because I thought my film was too dull and mediocre to be worthy of my physicist friend's investment.

Every single expenditure in this world must be covered by someone, either you or me. In my case, the production of independent films was my personal consumption, in the same sense that somebody else would buy cars and luxury items for themselves. When it comes to the production of a film, it might be acceptable to receive help from the like-minded with their time and talent, but it is definitely immoral to ask others to pay for your film that will definitely make no profit.

Three years later, I paid back brother Hui's money. And the entire cost of my next film, *Waiting for God*, shot in 2010, was covered with my personal savings.

It is hard for independent films to continuously develop if they remain underground.

4. What is film to me when I started to produce a licensed film?

I will never forget the scene in *Underground* (dir. Emir Kusturica, 1995): the underground anti-fascist fighters slaughtered the temporary part-time actors playing fascist soldiers on the film set. What anti-fascist soldiers did was reasonable and satisfying to them, being true to and always mindful of their own mission, although the story was very absurd and surreal.

Then what about me? An independent filmmaker, who has long believed in the creed of being faithful to myself for 'that one audience' and embracing the dream that one day my film will enter cinemas, finally came above ground and began to be obsessed with such ideas such as: 'I'm finally going to make a film for ordinary audiences!'; 'This movie must survive censorship!'; and, 'I should be responsible to my investor.' ...

In an instant I fell in a trance in which all my values had been shaken and my previous understandings of film were being questioned. When I was filming, I didn't know where I was, what my film was about and what should the film be like in its proper sense.



At the scene of shooting his first licensed movie with the dragon seal, Gan Xia'er was exhausted both physically and mentally.

I also don't know if anyone has the same experience as me: I admire those colleagues who are able to maintain a certain degree of artistic quality when they come above ground, and I also envy those young filmmakers who started their career making licensed dragon seal films without the interference of an initial experience of independent filmmaking.

Chen Kaige (陈凯歌) was asked in an interview: Which of your works do you think is the best?

Chen Kaige: All are good!

I have not fallen to the point where I dare not admit to failure. I am truer to myself than Chen Kaige. Of course, I, unlike him, do not suffer the huge pressure of tremendous investments. I do not know if that is good luck or a failure in my life.

I have been advocating for the concept of independent film as a production mode, and I stick to my pursuit of making independent films of my own, which, though, might mean the acceptance of a limited audience. In this case, I think Ingmar Bergman's strategy could be a good reference in that he categorised some of his works as 'gags' (插科打诨), like *A Lesson in Love* (1954), *The Devil's Eye* (1960), and *All These Women* (1964). These lesser-known films had very good box office, while at the same time, he made use of every opportunity to produce serious films that stood up to his own criteria. I think I myself will produce good independent films in the future, the ones that will reach my own expectations.

'Even if your film has only one audience member', if the filmmaker pursues and advertises this as the mission of their creation, he might have forgotten that it will be a disaster for investors and producers. I think those more considerate film producers will feel angry with and hopeless about the



A Screenshot of Gan Xiao'er's debut feature film *The Only Sons*. The missionary has come to the protagonist's village for the first time, and lectures that God gave his only son, Jesus, to help people not to perish but have eternal life.

waywardness, carelessness, and coquetry of some independent filmmakers, which is also the stereotyped impression that independent filmmakers have given to other professionals 'in the film industry'.

My new film will be completed the next year, twenty years after my debut feature film. I hope my future works are good ones.

Notes

- 1 Xiao Wu, the protagonist of Jia Zhangke's film of the same name, was the epitome of young men of very ordinary families of small towns in China. Xiao Wu likes to watch films such as *A Better Tomorrow* 英雄本色 (dir. John Woo 吴宇森, 1986) and *The Killer* 喋血双雄 (dir. John Woo, 1989). The film *Xiao Wu* was widely acclaimed.
- 2 Golden Rooster Independence is a famous Chinese martial arts move. The martial arts master stands with one leg raised up like a rooster, and attacks the enemy with two hands and one leg. The top official award for Chinese films is called the Golden Rooster Award, so the golden rooster becomes the symbol of officially licensed films. The posture of standing with one leg raised up is called *duli* (独立) in Chinese, which could be understood as 'independence' in other contexts. 'Let a hundred flowers bloom,' meaning to pursue diversity, was the national policy advocated by Chairman Mao Zedong in the fields of literature and arts. Another top official awards for Chinese licensed films is the Hundred Flowers Award.

关键词：独立 独立之路

甘小二

概要

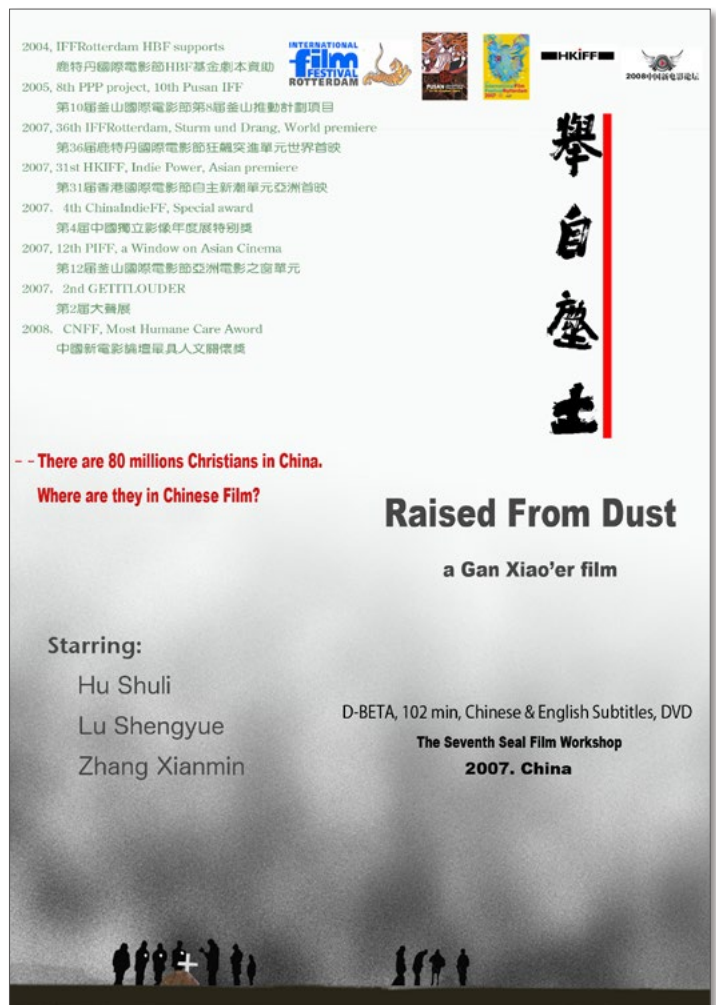
作者通过 2007 年自己独立电影的放映描述了农民基督徒的观众情况，记述了当年南京中国独立影像年度展的讨论。建议独立电影的概念应该回到制片模式的意义上，即大制片厂之外的制作。“中国独立电影”可能会趋于一个历史性的称呼，特别指称约 30 年来的中国独立电影创作。地下电影的模式难以为继。真正可悲的不是独立影展被叫停，而是后期几乎选不出优秀的独立作品。作者也坦承了自己首部龙标电影创作中的糟糕状况。

一、八千万与一个

2007 年暑假，我带着几位学生去河南农村教会巡回放映我的第二部剧情长片《举自尘土》（Raised From Dust, 2007），首场放映是在影片的拍摄地，我家乡河南省新乡县的一间教会。

《举自尘土》讲述一个农民基督徒家庭遇到的困境。乡村教会诗班成员小丽，丈夫患矽肺病在医院奄奄一息，女儿因为拖欠学费被学校劝退，小丽选择了对丈夫放弃治疗，丈夫死于出院途中。2007 年第 31 届香港国际电影节场刊对影片的介绍说，“放弃治疗等于杀死了丈夫。是小丽违背了神旨，还是上帝应该更宽容？”

当地教会长老亲自主持，我们与来自各教会和堂点的 30 多位同工进行了一场映后交流，结果我收获了一场不乏善意但更多是恨铁不成钢的批斗会。



《举自尘土》海报

《举自尘土》曾被一些专业人士和剧组同仁认为可能各种宗教元素的成分太重，农民信徒们则认为影片在这方面几乎没有什么表现，“该唱诗的时候不唱诗，该祷告的时候不祷告”，“主人公信徒最后不是得到医治而是死掉了，神的救恩与大能去哪儿了？”这场映后交流放入了我的纪录片《教堂电影院》（2008）。



2007《举自尘土》河南农村教会巡回放映某教会现场。

当初我在《举自尘土》的导演阐述里写下“中国有八千万基督徒，

中国电影中他们在哪里？”，您可以想象我满怀的对于观众特别是基督信徒将会关注和喜爱这部影片的期待。未料情况却完全相反。在几十位农民信徒的围攻之下，我只能无力地辩解说，大家平素主要观看三种影像：福音宣传片、电视剧和商业片，事实上农民信徒观众对《举自尘土》的期待更甚，他们一直认为我拍的是一部“主旋律”的福音电影，一部宣扬主恩的政治正确的通俗好看的电影。独立电影对大家来说的确是“该怎样不怎样”，让人不堪卒读，难以下咽。但我强调，我仍然希望大家可以看到不同的电影。

我更坚定了两个看法：第一，我与同仁拍摄的关于福音在中国的状况的剧情片系列，叫做“七封印”系列，不是福音电影，而是关于福音在中国的状况的电影。第二，小武不看《小武》（1998）¹，意味很多作品不能到达作者真正关心的人物那里。独立电影被许多观众讽刺，也被独立作者自嘲为自编、自导、自演、自看，我们此次河南教会巡回放映更进一步，就是自放。

自放很重要，独立电影不能只给电影节评委、知识分子群体、和艺术电影的“高级观众”看，还需要放映给普通观众看。在另一间教会放映之后，有一位参加过首场放映研讨会的姊妹主动找到我，她说她第是二次观看了，突然看懂了这片子。

姊妹：“哪怕你的电影只有一个观众，神都会纪念你



《教堂电影院》（Church Cinema），是甘小二2007河南乡村教会巡回放映《举自尘土》的纪录片，片长80分钟，2008年首次在纽约大学和耶鲁大学放映，同年与《举自尘土》一起参加了台北电影节。

的劳苦。”

姊妹的这句话成为了我饱受质疑之中得到的最大鼓励。如果说对于作品与观众的相遇有什么样的期许，这句话可以令很多独立电影作者感到欣慰与激动吧。我表达，或者某种程度上支撑我坚持表达的，不是八千万，而是那一个观众，那个假想的读者。

高山流水、知音难觅的故事总是给我们很多感受：高格低调，可以寂寞，但绝不会落寞。

二、我不入院线谁入院线？

《举自尘土》河南农村教会巡回放映的三个月前，第四届南京中国独立影像年度展（China Independent Film Festival）在南京举行，以一家私立美术馆为主会场，若干南京高校其实就是一些高校的教室为分会场。这是南京影展第一次正式邀请了所有作者，并推出了前三届的场刊合集。南大老教授路过，会问为什么影展的名字是“中国独立”？难道中国不是独立的国家吗？组委会的南京中国独立影像年度展联合发起人曹恺老师和志愿者需要不断地作出解释，不是“中国独立”的电影，而是中国的“独立电影”，这成为一种被动的普及。不仅仅是雅集，不仅仅是穷聊，这一年独立电影在南京高校轰轰烈烈登堂入室，呈现出空前繁荣的状况。

鉴于我“没有敌人”，大概就是与人为善的原因，组委会委托我和另一位导演共同主持了一场研讨会。

若是为 2007 年确定一个年度电影话题，我会选择关于地上还是地下、独立还是龙标的争论。那时几位知名的独立导演都有了地上的作品，或者正在申请龙标，很多媒体和艺术电影观众批之为“被招安”，多数独立电影人对此行径嗤之以鼻。研讨会上，两位代表在南京激烈争吵，上海代表主张接受龙标，北京代表坚决抵制龙标，后来演变为对骂、拍桌子，局面失控，眼看着就要打起来了。

最后一分钟的紧要时刻，当作组委会主席的北京电影学院教授张献民来了，听了双方各几句话，主席说：“有金鸡就有独立嘛。”² 众人哄笑，会后大家继续开启了南京小吃摊的欢聚模式。后来，张主席还将主席的话继续发扬光大：“有百花就有齐放嘛。”齐放，就是全国各地都举行独立电影的放映，意图开启一种艺术院线的模式。张献民的意思就是地上地下可以并存，不必你死我活。有了这些高瞻远瞩和实际行动，张献民被戏称为“电影二局”局座，确是实至名归。

我个人的观点呢？

从我的长片处女作《山清水秀》（2002）开始，我意识到地下电影与地上电影之争，一度像极了三自教会与家庭教会之争，原教旨与后现代，极左与极右，主流与非主流，不乏互相鄙视、揶揄、攻讦和诋毁。所谓立场，到了一定程度就会这样，不在乎一个人的真实生命如何，只在乎你委身的教

会是三自还是家庭；不在乎作品的艺术成色如何，只在乎你的片头有没有龙标。

南京影展上，电影制片人崔红和影评人王小鲁就此问题采访我。

我：“我不入院线谁入院线？如果院线充斥着垃圾，为什么不争取用我们更好的电影取代它们呢？”

话虽如此，随后我即致力于自己的第三封印《在期待之中》（2012），这是一部更寂寞、更小众的独立电影。等我自己的首部院线电影《樺卯》（2017）拿到龙标，已经是整整十年之后的事情了。

我仍然坚持，长远地看，独立电影应该恢复其在制片模式上的意义，即大制片厂之外的小制作。中国独立电影所指代的那场运动和相关创作，可能会趋于成为一个历史性的称呼。不然，如果必须地下才算独立，在《电影产业促进法》之下，难道这是要逼迫新一代的作者冒险去违法吗？

2008 年始，南京影展开设了“龙标单元”，北京独立影像展（Beijing Independent Film Festival）则一直坚持独立就是地下的原则。事实上，我觉得可悲的不是这些影展被叫停，³ 而是剧情长片竞赛单元几乎选不出优秀的影片来。

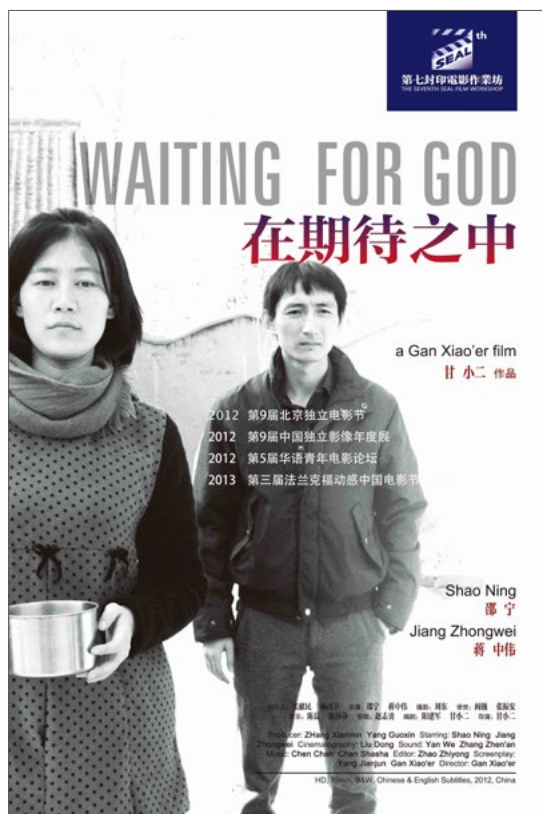
三、独立电影创作是我个人的一项消费

2005 年冬，《举自尘土》开机之前，朋友辉哥问我还差多少钱，此前他一直督促我去找可能的投资人。作为鹿特丹国际电影节 HBF 基金扶持项目和釜山国际电影节 PPP 项目，《举自尘土》最后时刻拿到了辉哥的友情投资。

后期制作中，辉哥来看我。他的到来令我感到压力。

辉哥：“压力？谁给你压力？”

我：“您毕竟是我的投资人嘛。”



《在期待之中》（Waiting for God），中国女乡村牧师日记。因为丈夫不信主，乡村教会堂点负责人玛利亚·蒋笑阳遭到了来自平信徒、教会牧师的责备，更有来自信仰的压迫。而这一天内不断增大的身孕，构成她了极大的内心焦虑。

辉哥：“甘小二你怎么就不明白呢？要是当成投资的话，我能给你钱吗？”

朋友是这样宽慰我，但丝毫不能减少我的愧疚。我觉得自己的影片乏善可陈，过于平庸，只能自己为自己负责，不能拖累了这位学物理的朋友。

世界上任何花费都需要有人买单，不是你买就是我买。事实上独立电影创作是我个人的一项消费，如同有人有钱了可以去为自己买几辆汽车，几件奢侈品。拍片子这件事，让别人为你出人出力也就罢了，姑且算是志同道合；让别人为你出钱，为你买来一部不能卖钱的作品，实在是很不道德。

三年后，我还掉了李辉的钱。2010 年拍摄《在期待之中》，直接花费全部来自我的个人积蓄。

独立电影等于地下电影的话，多半是难以为继的。

四、初到地上，电影是什么？

难忘库斯图里卡的《地下》（1995）里，那些长期处在地下的反法西斯战士们终于来到地上，对着反法西斯电影片场的纳粹士兵群众演员大开杀戒的情景。这真的很合理，很痛快，很荒谬，很超现实，很不忘初心，很牢记使命。

然而我呢？一个独立电影作者，长期信奉为了“那一个观众”而忠于自我表达的信条，怀抱着终有一天我要进入院线的梦想，终于来到地上，心里却开始不断嘀咕：“我终于要拍一部给普通观众看的影片了！”“这部电影要过审！”“我要为投资人负责！”.....



首部龙标电影现场，甘小二自觉恍惚彷徨，身心俱疲。



甘小二长片处女作《山清水秀》(The Only Sons) 截屏: 传教士第一次来到主人公的村庄, 讲神赐下独生子耶稣, 叫人不至灭亡, 反得永生。

一刹那间我就恍惚了, 所有的价值观都动摇了, 所有对于电影的认识都被改变了, 拍片子的时候更多情况是不知道自己身处何处, 不知道电影是什么, 什么是电影。

我也不知道是否有人有和我一样的经验。十分钦佩那些来到地上仍然可以保持一定的艺术质量的同仁, 甚至也很羡慕没有地下长片经验的青年导演, 一开始就计划自己的龙标电影。

读过陈凯歌的采访, 他被问到“您觉得您的哪部作品最好?”

陈凯歌: “都好!”

我还没有堕落到这种不敢承认失败的地步, 算是比较真诚; 当然我也无需承受他所承受的巨大投资的压力, 不知道这算是幸运还是失败。

回到我主张的制片模式上的独立电影的概念, 以前我以寂寞为荣, 我想它仍然存在于我的骨子里。不过, 伯格曼的策略可能会是很好的参考, 他将自己的一部分作品归为“插科打诨”, 类似《爱情课堂》(1954)、《恶魔之眼》(1960)、《女人们》(1964) 之类, 这些名不见经传的影片都有不错的票房, 同时他利用一切机会来创作自己心目中严肃的作品。我认为我还会拍出好的独立电影, 那些我心目中的严肃的电影。

“哪怕你的电影只有一个观众”, 如果一个作者将这句话当做是创作的使命来奉行和标榜, 他可能会忽略这对于投资人和制片人来说是一场灾难。我想相对成熟的监制或者制片人可能对于某些独立电

影作者的任性、无理和撒娇应该会感到愤怒和无奈。这是独立电影作者群体给“业内”人士的另外一种印象。

明年我的新片将面世，距离剧情长片处女作已经 20 年。我希望自己可以拍出好的作品来。

注释

- 1 小武是贾樟柯导演《小武》的主人公,一个小镇青年,指代类似的大批中国青年。小武更喜欢看的是吴宇森导演的《英雄本色》(1986)和《喋血双雄》(1989)。电影《小武》在世界范围内广受好评,作者也似乎并无意愿去放映给他的主人公群体。
- 2 金鸡独立是中国武术的一个招式,人似金鸡单足站立,两只手与抬起的一条腿可以攻击对手。中国电影的官方最高奖项是金鸡奖,这里代表官方认可的电影。单足站立,也称独立,与独立电影之独立是同一个词。下文的“百花齐放”,是毛泽东倡导的文艺方针,其实就是要多元化。中国电影的另外一个官方认可的所谓观众评审的最高奖项是“百花奖”,花的开放,与放映的“放”是同一个字。
- 3 南京中国独立影像年度展(CIFF),北京独立影像展(BIFF),均始于2003年,南北呼应,是中国独立电影最重要的两个电影节。期间经常不能正常举办,均于2015年被官方正式叫停。之后还有两年私下活动,2017年彻底停办。

Keywords: Independence → Freedom → Activism

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Abstract

‘Independence’, ‘freedom’, and ‘activism’ are three keywords that define my thirty years of independent filmmaking.

Flora (Flora Lichaa of Université Rennes 2) sent me an email saying that she was editing the third issue of *Chinese Independent Cinema Observer* and the focus of the issue was the key words of the last thirty years of Chinese independent film. Flora attached an editor’s note which listed the key words, including ‘underground’, ‘independent’, ‘folk’, ‘digital video’, ‘individual’, ‘direct cinema’, ‘on-the-spot’, ‘ethics’, ‘auteur’, ‘activism’, ‘film festival’, ‘archives,’ ‘margins’, ‘lowest levels of society’, ‘censorship’, and ‘queer film’. I counted twenty-six key words in all.

I am deeply familiar with most of these key words and I could write a long essay about each of them. For example, ‘film festival’ can be described in two parts: one part is international film festivals, which was the only outlet for independent films in the 1990s, and another part is domestic independent film festivals, which was the spark that led to many independent films after 2000. Another example is ‘direct cinema,’ which became the documentary style I pursued in the 1990s because I liked the works of Frederick Wiseman so much. Another example is ‘queer cinema,’ which I understand to be an alternative name for films about homosexual people. I filmed homosexuals, both male and female, around 2000, but I never turned the footage into films because I felt like I was stealing a story that was better told by someone else. Upon reflection, I think I would hate myself for turning them into films. Then there are words that I know all too well but that I do not have a direct connection with, such as ‘censorship’. I have never had any of my films censored. Even though I do not have a direct connection with censorship, I still have an indirect connection with it. Just because my films have not been censored does not mean that I can evade the censors, or that I am able to escape the censorship and monitoring that are present in other parts of my life.

When Flora sent the key words over, I felt that each one represented an important milestone of the thirty-year journey of Chinese independent cinema. These words contained all kinds of different stories. Flora said I

should pick one word and write an essay about it. My instinct told me to choose ‘activism’ (and it was also my first choice), because I have always wanted to talk about the work I created in the period from 2005 to 2020 and because I have a special fondness for this word.

Yet when I started writing, I instinctively remembered the muddled way in which I started filming *Bumming in Beijing* 流浪北京 (dir. Wu Wenguang, 1990) in 1988. I realised that over the past thirty odd years I gradually became someone that embraces activism, but there is a string of words that run through my career. I changed my mind, deciding that I would write about independence, freedom, and activism.

The first key word, ‘independence’ was the most important key word for me in the 1990s. When I started filming *Bumming in Beijing*, I had the vague impulse to film whatever I wanted to film, but I had no idea how to go about filming it. I didn’t even know the word ‘documentary’, much less what it meant. Similarly, I didn’t know what it was to be an independent filmmaker or that this type of person existed. When I went to the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival in 1991, I learned the English word ‘independent’. Later one of my most commonly used English sentences was ‘I’m an independent filmmaker.’

At the end of 1991, director Zhang Yuan (张元) was preparing to attend his first international film festival. His first film, *Mama* 妈妈 (1990), was to be screened at the Nantes Film Festival in France. I had only met Zhang Yuan a short time earlier. Before leaving for Nantes, he invited me to eat at a little restaurant near his house on Xidan Second Hutong. He told me his English was terrible and asked me to teach him a few basic English phrases. I wrote about this story in my book, *1990*. I mention it here because I want to explain how I embraced the word ‘independent’ then, and how I used it to define myself---what kind of person I was and what kind of person I was not.

‘Independent filmmaker’ is another important key word to me. You could say that it gave me the confidence and conviction to continue filming the things that I wanted to film in the 1990s. Looking back, I realise that when I left my job at a state television station, I needed a new and meaningful way to describe my identity, something that had a nice ring to it. That was my attitude and it seemed to be the attitude of my friends, like Zhang Yuan, Jiang Yue (蒋樾), and Duan Jinchuan (段锦川). This word was the reason that my friends and I stuck together.

Is ‘independent’ just a label? Or has it gradually evolved into a slogan, a flag that is waved, or even a leather jacket that is draped around us? How did ‘independent’ come to represent consistent creation and not just a label? In 1993 I filmed my second film, *1966, My Time in the Red Guards* 我的1966 (1993). In 1995, after I made my third film, *At Home in the World* 四海为家 (1995), I felt like I was stuck in a mire. The way I made documentaries fell into a pattern: find more money, make a

bigger production, go to more film festivals, get more exposure and more awards. If I kept going on this trajectory, wouldn't I just be a slave to a different master? The reason why I left a state television station was to film the things that I wanted to film, so I asked myself, how could I ensure that I continued to achieve this aspiration?

I then asked myself, what is the core meaning of 'independent'? I decided that it was 'freedom.'

This brings me to the second key word I would like to discuss— 'freedom'. Although this wasn't one of the twenty-six key words that Flora sent me, I believe that it was one of the key words for my work after 'independence', as I have explained above. My relationship with this word started in 1998, which was when I used a digital video camera to make *Jiang Hu* 江湖 (1999).

And so, 'independent' returned to its original meaning, which is the freedom to decide things. 'Independent' was not just a flag that was raised, and it was not an empty slogan or unfulfilled aspiration. 'Independent' was a practical and real word, something that could be translated into action.

Thanks to digital video, I didn't have to worry about trivial things like making a proposal, choosing a topic, and talking about money. Using a handheld camera, I could film by myself. I could film what I wanted, for as long as I wanted. So 'filming freely' was not just a dream, it was an idea with legs. After *Jiang Hu*, I made *Diary: Snow on 21 November 1998* 日记: 1998年11月21日, 雪 (1999), *Public Space* 公共空间 (2000), *Dancing with Farmworkers* 和民工一起跳舞 (2001), *Xunzhao Hamuleite* 寻找哈姆雷特 (2002), *You Are Foreigners* 你的名字叫外地人 (2003), and *Fuck Cinema* 操他妈电影 (2005).

I continued in this way until 2004, when I struggled with a new problem. Why did I create things? What was the ultimate goal of creating things? At that point, I hit a stumbling point in my life as I turned fifty. My colleagues were encountering new problems. Perhaps this was the unproductive period of my middle age. My struggles were related to the subjects of my film, that is, the vulnerable groups in society, such as wandering performers and the lower-level migrant workers. I encountered ethical criticism and ethical problems. Was I helping the subjects of my films by filming them? Who was being exploited and who profited? The one behind the camera or the film subject? How much have filmmakers been alert to this or reflected critically about this?

I couldn't find answers, so I stopped making films. I didn't make any new films between 2005 and 2009.

At this time, I got involved in social projects. In 2005, I founded the Caochangdi Workstation (草场地工作站), a space for discussing and learning about film and theatre. In the same year, I started a project called the Village Documentary Project (村民自治影像计划). I made video cameras available to ten villagers. One year later, all of the villagers had finished their short films and the official project came to an end. This project gave me a new sense of purpose. Watching people who normally carried hoes and sickles pick up video cameras to make films that would never be made or imitated by ‘professionals’ helped me realise what gave film its vitality. The upshot was that the villagers did not stop filming in 2006. The project continued in a different form.

When a rock rolls downhill it can take another rock along with it. The rock that was brought into motion after the Village Documentary Project was a project that took place in summer 2010. Ten people returned to their home villages and interviewed people who were affected by the three-year famine and those people a documentary out of the interviews. Many of the participants were documentary filmmakers and art school students born after 1980, and of course the filmmakers from the Village Documentary Project also participated. I was one of the dozen or so people who visited a village, but instead of going to my home village, I went to the village where I was an educated youth *zhiquing* (知青) during the Cultural Revolution. This was the start of a project that was later called the Folk Memory Project (民间记忆计划). It was first called the Starving Project (饥饿计划), because of the two kinds of nourishment that people lacked—historical memory and creation.

The Folk Memory Project was brought into being thanks to the Village Documentary Project; it celebrated its tenth year in 2020. A total of twenty-seven directors have completed sixty-one documentaries.

New questions have cropped up during our ten-year journey:

If interviewing old people about their memories is not merely a temporary expedient for further creation, then what value does the project have?

How should we deal with realities such as lonely older people and children that are left behind in the countryside?

If the reason filmmakers return for their village is not just for making a film, then what other things can they do while they are there?

If art can become a way to be involved with real life problems, then how can art turn into action?

Usually the phrase ‘art activism’ refers to opposition and protest. This kind of activism should always be respected. In a similar vein, if the aim of art activism is to build things for the future, then don’t

we need builders as well as fighters?

Art is intertwined in the realities of villages and makes change possible. For those returning to their village for the Folk Memory Project, this was an attempt at activism.

As of 2018, 222 participants have visited 339 villages and conducted 1532 interviews with older people, which was compiled into an oral history database called the Folk Memory Archive.

In 2013, five participants solicited donations for the installation of a memorial honouring deaths from the Great Famine.

In 2013, five of the participants set up reading rooms in their villages.

In 2020, Zhang Mengqi (章梦奇) created a public space called the Blue House (蓝房子) in her village.

In 2021, Hao Yongbo (郝永博) created a space called the Hao Zhaozhuang Museum (郝赵庄博物馆) in his village.

The Folk Memory Project is still ongoing, and my questions have not been fully answered. Perhaps they can never be fully answered; perhaps new questions will continue to crop up. I am excited that I am able to collaborate with young people and fully appreciate the power of art.

关键词：独立→自由→行动

吴文光

概要

“独立”、“自由”、“行动”，构成我的 30 年独立影像的三个关键词。

风华来邮件说她正在编辑《华语独立影像观察》第三期，焦点是“30 年中国独立电影关键词”，风华邮件附上的编辑说明中列举了一连串关键词，包括：“地下”、“独立”、“民间”、“DV”、“个人”、“直接电影”、“现场”、“伦理”、“作者”、“行动主义”、“电影节”、“档案”、“边缘”、“底层”、“审查”、“档案”、“酷儿影像”等。我数了一下，有 26 个。

我对这 26 个词中大部分都非常熟悉，每一个词我都可以写一篇与之相关的故事，而且很长，比如“电影节”（之一是“国际电影节”，这是整个九十年代独立电影的唯一出口；之二是“国内独立影展”，这是 2000 后直接刺激“独立影像”创作之熊熊炉火），比如“直接电影”（因为喜欢怀斯曼电影，“直接电影”成为我九十年代追随的纪录片方式），比如“酷儿影像”（我理解这是“同性恋电影”的另一种说法，我也拍过同性恋，2000 年前后，男同女同都拍过，后来没有拿出片子，源于我对自己“小偷一样捕猎题材”心态与行为反思至自我厌恶）。还有个别词我听着很熟悉但和我不是直接发生关系，比如“审查”，因为我拍的片子从不送审。当然，不直接发生关系也避免不了间接关系，不送审不等于片子躲过审查，更不等于你逃得脱无处不在的人生审查监视器。

风华发来的这些关键词，我觉得涵盖了整个 30 年中国独立电影之路，每个词都可以说是这条路上一个醒目标识，背后写着各种各样的故事。风华约稿说，可以选择一个关键词写一篇文章，我的第一直接反应想选择的词是“行动主义”（事实上我也回复风华说我选择该词），我最近 15 年（2005 以后）与影像之事，让我对这个词情有独钟，有一肚子话想说。

当我开始写时，本能地回头想我 1988 年懵懵懂懂中开始拍《流浪北京》（1990），30 余年过来，走到如今成为拥抱“行动”者，是一连串关键词贯穿其间。我改主意了，打算挑选三个关键词来写，它们是：独立，自由，行动。

第一个词“独立”，这是我在九十年代的一个重要“关键词”。拍摄《流浪北京》始于“拍自己想拍的但

不知道怎么拍”的朦胧冲动，那时不知道“纪录片”一词及概念，更无从知道“独立影像作者”这一身份或标识的存在。1991去了山形影展后，我学到的常用英文单词有一个是“independent”，英文常用语中有“I'm an independent filmmaker”。

1991年底，张元在准备他的第一次出国电影节之行，他拍的第一部片子《妈妈》（1990）收到法国南特电影节邀请。那时我刚和张元认识不久，张元去南特前约我在他当时西单二条胡同家附近一家小饭馆吃饭。张元说他要出国但英语不行，我说知道几个最关键的英文词就行，比如自我介绍：I'm an independent filmmaker from China。这个故事我写在《1990》书中。我讲述它是想说明当初我如何拥抱independent这个词，并以它自我界定——“我是什么样的人”及“我不是什么样的人”。

“独立影像作者”这个词对我非常重要，可以说是支撑我在九十年代持续拍自己想拍的片子的信心与信念来源之一。我现在回头想当时的认知是，从体制媒体“逃窜”出来，需要一种新的、富有趣味并响亮好听的身份标识。我是这种心态，我理解周围那帮哥们儿也是如此，比如张元、蒋樾、段锦川等。也因为这个词让我和这帮人当时成为同路人。

“独立”仅仅只是一种身份标识吗？或者逐渐地演变成一种口号、一面旗帜、一件披在外面的皮夹克？“独立”如何成为一个落实下来的持续创作，而不只是一种身份标识？我1993年拍了第二部片子《我的1966》，1995年做了第三部片子《四海为家》后，创作陷入沼泽。纪录片如此拍下去的势头是：找更多的钱、做更大的制作、去更多电影节、更多曝光并获奖……顺着滑下去我是不是被捆绑在“另一辆战车”？内心问自己：当初离开体制媒体是为“拍自己想拍的”，如何把这种愿望变成一个持续动作呢？

追问下去，“独立”的核心意义究竟是什么？是“自由”——我认定。

这就是我接着想谈的与我们有关的第二关键词——“自由”。这个词没有出现在风华发给我的26个关键词中，但我认作是我的影像创作中继“独立”之后的一个关键词，理由上面已经表明。这个关键词和我发生关系是在1998年，即我第一次使用DV拍摄《江湖》（1999）。

由此，“独立”回归其实质——“自由”；由此，“独立”不再只是一面旗帜，“自由”也不仅仅是口号或愿望；“自由”落地成行，转换为一个具体的动作。

因为DV，再无投案选题、谈钱尾款等等这些屁事揪扯，手持DV，一个人的影像，随心所欲拍想拍之人与事，“自由影像”不再只是梦中追求，可以成为脚下行走。我在《江湖》之后，再有：《日记：1998年11月21日，雪》（1999）、《公共空间》（2000）、《和民工一起跳舞》（2001）、《寻找哈姆雷特》（2002）、《你的名字叫外地人》（2003）、《操他妈电影》（2005）。

如此走到 2004，我又被新的困惑纠缠：为什么创作？什么是创作最终追求？这个时候，我人生迈入 50 门槛，老同志遭遇新问题，或者也属于我的“创作中年枯燥疲惫期”。困惑之源也与拍摄所谓社会弱势群体“江湖大棚”、“底层民工”有关，遭遇道德指责与伦理纠缠——是否对被拍摄对象有所帮助？拍摄者与被拍摄者谁获利、谁被剥削？影片作者对此有否警醒反思并到何种程度？

我没找到解药。拍片停滞。2005–2009 没做出新的片子。

此期间较多介入“社会工作”。2005 年建立“草场地工作站”，一个涉及影像与剧场学习的交流空间；同年接手一个“村民自治影像计划”项目，把 DV 发给村民拍片，十个村民报名参与。次年，十个村民十部短片完成，为期一年的项目结束。此事给我的极大刺激是：目击那些握惯锄头镰刀粗糙的手现在握住 DV，并拍出无法被“专业影像人”复制或模仿的生动镜头，使我悟到影像生命力所在。刺激促成的结果是，2006 年以后村民拍片这个事没有结束，转为“村民影像计划”继续下去。

一个石头滚下坡并卷动另一块石头。被村民影像计划带动的另一块石头，就是 2010 年夏天，10 多人返回村子，采访“三年饥饿”记忆，并在其间拍摄纪录片。参与其中的多为 80 后纪录片作者及美院影像学生，村民影像计划作者自然也在其中。我也是 10 多个回村者之一，我“返回”的村子是我文革时当知青的村子。这就是后来定名为“民间记忆计划”的肇始，当时命名“饥饿计划”，源于对“历史记忆”以及“创作”的“双重饥饿”。

“民间记忆计划”因“村民影像计划”卷动而起，至 2020 持续 10 年，27 个作者完成 61 部纪录片。

十年行走路上，新问题接踵而至——

采访的老人记忆不只是“创作的敲门砖”的话，更应该有的价值是什么？

如何面对村子里孤寂老人、留守儿童的现实？

回村如果不只是为了影片拍摄，还可以做些什么？

“艺术”是否 / 如何成为“介入现实改变行动”？

有关“艺术行动主义”指向，以往多体现为“反对”、“抗议”。这种行动永远值得尊敬。继续想下去，如果“艺术行动”目的是朝向“未来建设”的话，除了“战斗者”，是不是也需要“建设者”？

艺术介入村子现实、并做可能的改变，成为民间记忆计划回村者的行动尝试——

- 出自 222 人采访、来自 339 个村子 1532 个老人记忆口述被整理为“民间记忆档案”（截止 2018）
- 五个回村者分别与村民募捐共同建立“三年饥饿逝者纪念碑”（截止 2013）
- 五个回村者分别在村里建立“图书室”（截止 2013）

- 章梦奇在村里建立取名“蓝房子”公共空间（2020）
- 郝永博在村里建立“郝赵庄博物馆”（2021）

民间记忆计划在行走中，问题并没有完美答案——可能永远没有完美答案，并可能还会不断有新问题出现。我感觉兴奋刺激的是：我和年轻人同行并体会着——艺术终究还是存在着一种力量。

Keyword: Individual

Author: CONG Feng 丛峰 Translator: Michelle DEETER

Abstract

This article attempts to point out a need for separation and division, and the need to build a new kind of solidarity—more comrades are slowly forming, unseen. It is possible to generate new forms of strength without relying on yesterday. To separate is to divorce oneself as much as possible from institutions—whether it is the institutions within the institution or another institution outside the institution that claims to be independent. This article advocates a return to the individual, rather than individualism, where one can move away from the individual/collective dichotomy and build ‘islands’. The archipelago is a multitude. The first step to becoming a multitude is to return to the individual, to dismantle the ‘collective’, which is both convenient and illusory.

Part I

Critics and researchers often attempt to create an overall picture of their area of expertise. ‘Chinese independent film’ (Chinese and independent), ‘independent cinema since year X’, and ‘overall trends in film since year X’ are a few examples. They create this picture, but it does not exist in reality, because the picture is constantly updating and it cannot be captured in such a linear fashion. To put it another way, the thing that is captured is a dead, static image. It is an out-of-date snapshot of a dead teenager that cannot wait to get the picture over with. People are eager to perform the collective funeral of the past, burying it as hastily as they can; at the same time, they are intensely focused on the arrival of the future. However, time and history are interwoven, like a large piece of fabric that folds in on itself again and again. This fabric can be opened and refolded in an unlimited number of ways. History is assumed to be ‘in the past’ but it is always being recreated. It is constantly encroaching on the future. Although it is fuzzy and indistinct, many eager historians have raked the barren land of contemporary history countless times.

Critics depend on reviewing big names in order to become sought after. Not many critics can intuit the works that are being created or detect the subtle changes in the atmosphere. Most critics are only

able to smell the stiffening corpses of recently dead works. People hope to turn things into specimens as quickly as possible, by soaking them into formaldehyde or mounting them in a museum, so that they can be crammed into so-called contemporary art history/film history. People don't worry about art history thawing once it has been frozen into a solid block. Instead, people worry that it will fall apart, or will bounce like a bad cheque. History needs to be carefully protected, otherwise it will cause a tsunami of career crises, life crises, and economic crises.

Rather than focusing on art itself, people focus on art history. Art is living and cannot be fixed in one place, while the books on art history tend to cement the subject so that it can no longer change. It is as if the subject is alive but is digging its own grave at the same time.

More than a few critics merely want to acquire the specimens of dead dinosaurs. They want things that are predictable and have been recognised by art history, so that they are safe. In contrast, artists are only interested in the unknown.

People are more concerned about the systematic, the monolithic, and the familiar because these are conducive to interpretation. They would rather avoid contrasting things. Art history without contrasting elements, or art history that has replaced the progressive tense with past perfect tense, is a warm and fuzzy history that puts readers to sleep. Most textbooks will be filled with this boring stuff.

The formation of culture is a simultaneous process of reterritorialization and deterritorialization, but we prefer to look at those who are passionate about reterritorialization rather than those who are passionate about deterritorialization. People love to conclude a matter on the spot, to immediately find the unifying theme, to immediately make a conclusion on an era, so much so that it seems that the current era no longer belongs to the people living in it. The current era is not important—people are eager to push history as close as possible to the present.

Part II

I remember the feeling I had when I attended my first independent film festival in China, in 2007. Before attending that event, I knew nothing about the community. That was my first time meeting many people who later became my friends—I suddenly felt like I had met many comrades. In the years between my first film festival and the period when film festivals were banned in China, the sense of camaraderie was very strong. This feeling has dissipated, and a lot of people are not (or are no longer) my comrades. I feel a need for separatism and division; at the same time, I feel a need to

build a new kind of solidarity. More comrades are emerging from places where they were previously unseen. They do not rely on yesterday, and they are capable of building new forms of power.

I only identify some people as sharing the same views as me. Even if we share the same views, there is a distance between us. Our ideas are different and as a result, we form an archipelago. Rather than taking a distant view and seeing one continuous area in a vast ocean, we recognize that each part is not only independent from the others, but also, due to an appropriate form, linked together. Rather than calling it a collective, it makes more sense to call it an archipelago. So I prefer the term ‘archipelago’ to ‘camp’ (see my previous article ‘Archipelagos: In support of separatist film’ posted in my WeChat account on 16 January 2018). The establishment of a collective is linear and two-dimensional, while the establishment of an archipelago is multidimensional. Individualism extends in different directions, which allows for the creation of a space of difference.

When I say individual, I do not mean degenerate individualism, or individualism as defined in opposition to collectivism. I want to return to the individual, rather than individualism. We should break free from the dichotomy of the individual versus the collective and foster archipelagos. Using this term, we can say that the Chinese magazine *Film Auteur* (电影作者) is not a collective but rather an archipelago. An archipelago is a multitude. The first step to becoming a multitude is returning to the individual, so that the convenient but illusory ‘collective’ can be broken up.

Being classified by an inappropriate framework is not a pleasant thing. Many years ago, there were several film festivals that specifically encouraged the collective construct called ‘Chinese independent cinema’. Unfortunately, every festival came to a premature end. Today, the filmmakers covered by the umbrella term ‘Chinese independent cinema’ are a disorderly mob; generally speaking, they do not have too much in common. Most collectives are really only ‘scattered sand collectives’ (to borrow a term from a friend who is currently imprisoned); they are bundled together by outsiders, but there is no coherent logic that keeps them together. The ‘scattered sand’ approach is vastly inferior to the archipelago approach. Grains of sand rub against each other, becoming smaller, rounder and smoother. Every island of an archipelago is solid and substantial. Looking at the surface of the water, each island seems independent. Beneath the water, each island is rooted into the lithosphere, making a geologic entity that has common geological attributes and is built upon the same foundation.

Returning to the individual is a subjective and conscious choice. It allows cinema to return to the true situation where limitless numbers of individual differences can be appreciated.

Part III

Independent film has never achieved the state of independence that it claims to have. As ‘independent film’ gradually becomes inaccessible on public platforms, it has been replaced by film produced by young directors. These ‘young’ films do not exhibit any youthful features, in the same way that ‘independent’ films are unable to find a foothold that allows them to be independent, causing them to lose their sense of direction. We associate youth with docility and independence with brilliance—have the words split from their meanings or have the split from the thing that they are meant to represent?

Underground culture is seductive because it is self-taught. Even though underground culture is rejected by mainstream culture and has to use non-mainstream cultural resources, it is able to make full use of its potential and explore all resources and possibilities. The closed environment and lack of information that characterises underground culture can cause misunderstandings, but before the information deluge there was plenty of space to digest ideas, imagine and create. At that time it was possible to shape the ambitious creativity of the individual. In 1990, young people achieved self-awareness by listening to rock music on surplus stock cassettes. By 2000, young people enlightened themselves about world cinema by watching pirated DVDs. It was always about the experience of self-education, unrestricted communication, and self-development.

It is only possible to be independent when one is wild and outside of the mainstream, otherwise one is guided by the market or by authoritative voices or by trends. Before an individual’s wildness is firmly fixed, the individual will be pressured to quickly find their group, and just as quickly lose their so-called independence. Individuality is the precondition for affecting society. Of course, this is only true if one wants to contribute something new to the overall understanding of society, instead of copying the clichés used by others.

Part IV

The word ‘audience’ *guanzhong* (观众) does not leave me with a positive impression, because the second character in *guanzhong*, *zhong*, reawakens that illusion of structure and organization, also known as the collective. This collective not nearly polarized enough to oppose the power of the silver screen. Compared with the ‘collective’ (which is only determined by arrangement of rows of seats), the ‘viewer’ is equipped with individual judgment and is therefore the generator, rather than the passive receiver of the images radiating from the screen.

We should return to individual members of the ‘audience’ rather than a collective that is made up of atoms without any personality. Only a group (*zhong*) that has individuality, or a multitude, is able to form a united power that can affect society. A mass of people unable to think for themselves cannot achieve this. It is difficult to break down and rebuild a tough continent by relying on external forces. It is better to allow water to trickle down; after sustained geological movements, the hard earth will be loosened and can become mobile. The multitude can exert a certain kind of power that is similar to iron filings in a magnetic field—they quickly line up the direction of the magnetic lines of force.

When ‘independence’ becomes more like hot air than a true ideal, it is actually not as powerful as the concept of ‘isolation’. On this piece of land, assimilating into society has been vaunted as a supreme ability. Perhaps we should praise and nurture the ability to not assimilate into society, instead. Separatism is to separate oneself from the system as much as possible—whether that is the real system or a system that claims to be independent of the system.

关键词：个人

丛峰

概要

本文尝试指出一种分离主义的、分裂的需要，和建立一种新的团结的需要——更多的同志正慢慢地在不可见中形成。不依赖于昨天，仍旧能凝聚出新的力量形式。分离主义，是把自己尽可能地从体制中剥离出去——无论是体制中的体制，还是体制之外的号称独立的另一种体制。本文提倡是回到个人，而不是个人主义，可以从个人／集体的二元对立中走出去，去构建“群岛”。群岛是诸众。成为诸众的第一步是回到个人，解体那个既方便又虚幻的“集体”。

评论家和研究者常常企图生成一个总体图像：“中国独立电影”（中国的，独立的），“XX 年以来的独立影像”，“XX 年代电影的总体趋势”……也就是生成一个实际上不存在的总体的图像——这一总体图像始终处于生成之中，完全无法被这种单一线性的意图所捕获，或者说，被捕获下来的只是一幅死亡了的固定图像，一幅在一个生命的青年期就迫不及待地拍好了的遗像。人们渴盼着隆重的集体葬礼，以便草草埋葬昨天，并焦虑地期盼着明天的到来。然而时间和历史是交织缠绕、翻来覆去地相互覆盖的褶子结构，可以用无限种方式打开、无限种方式叠合。“已经过去的”历史从未过去，仍在不间断地生成，仍在突进未来，仍旧模糊不确定，但跃跃欲试的史学家们已经把贫瘠的当代史土壤耙了无数遍。

人名是评论家手里的硬通货。很少有评论家能直觉到正在生成之物，正在到来之物，嗅到正在形成的微妙氛围与气息，而非刚死的正在变僵硬的那些事物。人们希望的是不断将活物尽快标本化、福尔马林化、博物馆化，以便充塞进所谓的当代艺术史 / 电影史——有多少人担心已经冻好了的硬邦邦的艺术史遇热融化！担心它走向破产，成为空头支票。这是多么需要精心呵护的历史，它的破产会导致一场海啸式的事业危机、人生危机和经济危机。

更受关注的不是“艺术”本身，而是“艺术史”。艺术是活的，无法强制固定下来的，对“艺术史”的书写则充满水泥化倾向，仿佛一边在生活一边在砌筑坟墓。相当一部分评论家希望获得的只是死亡的恐龙标本，是可预知的，被艺术史确认了的，因而是安全的——而艺术家只对未知感兴趣。

人们更关心系统性、统一性、熟悉性，利于阐释性——而不是差异性。没有差异的艺术史，或者取消充满差异的进行时、代之以完成时的艺术史，是一部暖洋洋的催眠的历史，将构成大多数乏味无

聊的教科书的内容。文化的形成是一个结域和不断解域的过程，但是我们更多地看到的是热衷于结域而非解域的人。人们是如此喜欢现在就盖棺定论，现在就找到统一性，现在就为一个时代下结论，好像这个时代已经不再属于自己，不再重要——人们迫不及待地“推动着”历史。

二

我还记得 2007 年我第一次参加国内独立影展时的感觉。那之前我对这个圈子几乎一无所知，那是第一次和很多后来的朋友相遇，也突然感觉遇到了很多同志。那之后的几年间，直到各影展被消失，同志情谊弥漫。今天已经不复再有这种感觉，很多人不是、或不再是同志。我感到一种分离主义的、分裂的需要，和建立一种新的团结的需要——更多的同志正慢慢地不可见中形成。不依赖于昨天，仍旧能凝聚出新的力量形式。

我只在具体的人中辨识我的同道者——即使是同道者，也是有距离的，彼此观念是有差异的，因而，这就是群岛——远远望过去是大洋中的一片连续区域，实则每一块都各自独立，同时又依某种恰切的形式关联在一起。集体，不如称作群岛，我用“群岛”来代替“阵营”（参见 2018 年 1 月 16 日在我的公众号上发表的一篇文章《群岛：为了一种分离主义电影》）。集体构建的是一条直线，一个平面，群岛构建的是多向度的空间。个体性沿着不同向度的伸展，才能生成出差异性空间。

我说的个人并非是退化的个人主义，并非是和集体主义相对的那种个人主义。回到个人，而不是个人主义。可以从个人 / 集体的二元对立中走出去，去构建“群岛”（在这个意义上，可以说《电影作者》杂志不是一个集体，是一个群岛）。群岛是诸众。成为诸众的第一步是回到个人，解体那个既方便又虚幻的“集体”。

被一个不恰当的框架所定义并不是一件愉快的事情。此前数年，曾有过数个专门的影展活动来推动“中国独立电影”这个集体的建构，但不幸纷纷夭折了。如今，在“中国独立电影”这个伞盖之下聚集的只是乌合之众，总的来说没有太多共同点。大多数的“集体”都只是“散沙共同体”（挪用一位如今身陷囹圄的朋友的话），仅仅被外在的目光所归拢，并不由连贯的逻辑聚合吸引在一起。散沙远远劣于群岛——散沙相互打磨，既变小，又变圆滑。群岛中的每一成员都是牢固的，坚实的，在可见的水面之上，群岛各自独立；在可见的水面之下，他们根植的岩石圈连接为一个地质共同体，具有共同的地质属性和基座。

回到个人是主观的自觉的选择，是影像返回无限的个体差异性现实的可能。

三

独立电影从来没有达到它所标榜的那种独立状态。当“独立电影”渐渐在公开平台上消失，“青年电影”

似乎取而代之。但是这样的“青年”电影没有显示出任何青年性，就像今天的“独立”电影不知道该向何处去寻觅独立的落脚点，丧失了可靠的指向。青年显得如此驯服，独立显得如此光滑，是词语分裂了，还是词语指示的事物自身走向分裂？

地下文化的迷人之处是自我教育，在被主流文化排斥的状态下，在主流文化资源之外充分调动潜能，挖掘一切资源与可能。封闭状态与资讯的缺乏或许导致部分误读，但在资讯的过剩到来之前，有足够的消化、想象与创造的空间，可以充分锻造个人的野生创造力。1990年代青年通过听摇滚乐听打口带进行自我觉醒，2000年代通过盗版DVD电影进行电影启蒙，都是自我教育、自由交流、自我生成的经验。

处于野生的非主流状态，才能称为独立，否则，不是被市场主导，就是被权威主导，就是被潮流主导，这一切在个人的野生性足够牢固之前，都会让人迅速找到组织，同时迅速丧失那个所谓独立性。个人性是抵达社会性的前提——如果是希望为社会的总体认知贡献一些新的东西，而不是复制一些陈词滥调的话。

四

“观众”是个不能让我产生太多好感的词汇，因为“众”再次唤起了那个虚幻的结构组成：集体。这个集体远远没有产生分化，不足以对抗屏幕。和由一排排座椅决定的集体相比，具备个体判断的“观看者”才是生成者，而非景观辐照的被动接收者。

回到个人的“观众”，不是无个性的原子组成的集体。个性化了的“众”，诸众，才足以形成一股联合的社会性力量，并非群氓的那种力量。使板结的大陆瓦解重组，难以借助外力，只有通过水的不断浸润渗透，通过持久的地质运动，坚硬的土层才会再度活化，具备可流动性。诸众有可能聚合出一种力量，如同铁屑在磁场中迅速排列出磁力线的走向。

当“独立”听上去越来越像口水，它甚至没有“孤立”更决绝，更有力量。在这片土地上，适应社会一直被宣扬为一种最高能力，实际上，不去适应社会或许是更值得赞扬和培养的能力。分离主义，是把自己尽可能地从体制中剥离出去——无论是体制的体制，还是体制之外的号称独立的另一种体制。

Keyword: Individual

My Individual Creative Experience

Author: ZOU Xueping 邹雪平 Translator: Michelle DEETER

Abstract

My understanding of the word individual means that one person or one independent creative team works in a completely free environment. My creative works tell stories from the perspective of the documentary subject. I start with myself and my story, emphasizing authorship and subjectivity in my work. I include my life, my experience, my performance, and even my body in my films; as a result, my personal story becomes a part of the film. I observe the possibilities that are created between the individual and the realities of village life, the lives of the documentary subjects, and their history and memories. Through these films, I hope to have a dialogue with the audience, build new connections, and elicit empathy.

At the end of last year, a teacher from Shanghai University named Yang Yishu (杨弋枢) invited me to write an article about one of the key words that defines Chinese independent film. Out of many words, I chose the word ‘individual’.

Actually, the reason why I’m interested in the word ‘individual’ is because I have been making all of my documentary work independently, ever since I began making documentaries. My understanding of the word individual means that one person or one independent creative team works in a completely free environment. Fortunately, I have always been able to work in this way.

All of my films have been told from the perspective of the subject of the film. I include my life, my experience, my performance, and even my body in my films; as a result, my personal story becomes a part of the film. I did not know what genre my personal films fit into at first. Later, during discussions and screenings, I started hearing words that were used to describe my films, such as ‘prose style film’, ‘diary style’, ‘autobiographical non-fiction documentary’, and ‘private film’. I have not yet found a clear way to disentangle the relationships between these genres. During the creative process, my intention was to return to my home village and start with myself and my story. I emphasize

authorship and subjectivity in my work, putting clips of daily life together to compose a story. This becomes a form of self-expression of my personal writings. The authorship that I emphasize refers to the identity and conspicuous position of the author. The camera is treated as a pen (or a paintbrush) that is used to create the author's own story.

My creative method has been influenced by Wu Wenguang (吴文光). He opened the door for the development of Chinese documentaries. In the 1990s, an earlier generation of documentary producers, including Wu Wenguang, began creating. They gathered together and formed the New Documentary Movement. They valued the independence of the filmmaking process. This was when the concept of independent documentary was born. After the New Documentary Movement, a wave of independent documentary filmmakers created their own works. For example, Wu's *Bumming in Beijing* 流浪北京 (1990) and Jiang Yue's (蒋樾) *The Other Bank* 彼岸 (1995) were filmed using independent funds. When digital videos arrived in 1999, the expression of these independent documentaries became freer. This era of individual expression resulted in a new, independent spirit of exploration that has persisted to this day.

After 2000, documentary directors focused on marginalized groups and the lower levels of society. The topics of the films changed to reflect social realities and authorship featured more prominently in the director's creative approach. This may be related to the medium of digital video, because a lot of directors used this particular audio-visual language to express the social issues that became apparent at that time. For example, Yang Lina's (杨荔纳) *Old Men* 老头 (1999) accurately represented the living situation of the old people who lived in Beijing, while Du Haibin's (杜海滨) *Along the Railway* 铁路沿线 (2000) recorded the lives of the vagrants who lived near the railway station in Baoji, a city in China. The directors observed their subjects from an individual perspective, using their subjects to express their own ideas. This audiovisual mode became the way that the authors shared their subjective expressions of social realities. Later, documentaries developed in multiple directions, and terms like 'private film' and 'non-fiction film' appeared. As a result, the content and form of documentaries experienced new breakthroughs. The creative direction transitioned towards a focus on individuals and emotions, giving agency to the author and, more importantly, ushering the start of an era of individual expression. I have a deep interest in this type of expression, which is why documentaries have continued to be one of the main formats that I work in.

My first introduction to documentaries was in 2008. I was at art school then, and I was overwhelmed by the broad scope of modern arts, from installation art, to animation, to photography, to sound art. I was surrounded by modern art and I lost my sense of direction—I couldn't find my place in it all. It wasn't until later that I learned about documentaries and how fun they were to make. By diving into

people's real lives, I could observe people, discover new things, and make positive change. The first time I picked up my camera, I filmed my mother. That was the first time I had ever spent so much time with her, talking to her and following her around. I edited our humdrum lives into a documentary that included sharing meals, sleeping, ear cleaning, hair cutting, and talking about life. Our days were normal, not spectacular. The film had a simple structure and was told from the perspective of the subjects. I discovered after filming that I was the one who benefitted most from the film. The film changed my understanding of my mother, who had a specific influence and standing in the family as a woman living in the countryside. I also reframed my relationship with her after I grasped her understanding of life. After I finished my first documentary, I gradually discovered the appeal of documentaries.

I graduated from university in 2009 and decided to learn more about documentaries at Caochangdi Workstation (草场地工作站). Caochangdi Workstation was a studio owned by teachers Wu Wenguang and Wen Hui (文慧); it was located outside of Beijing's Fifth Ring Road, in Caochangdi Art Village. Every year, the Caochangdi Workstation holds two art festivals: the May Art Festival (五月艺术节) and the October Crossing Art Festival (交叉艺术节). Each art festival has two parts: a documentary screening and a theatre performance. These events convinced me to come here. Besides Wu and Wen, there were about ten other creators that lived at the workstation—they were all born after 1985. Everybody made documentaries, wrote individual plays, and contributed to a group play at the same time. I was the oldest creator who lived there back then.

After arriving at the Caochangdi Workstation, my lifestyle changed without me noticing. In 2010, I decided to participate in Wu Wenguang's Folk Memory Project (民间记忆影像计划), so I went back to my home village to start filming. We all came together at the Workstation to form an independent, utopia-like group. We lived and ate and worked together. When it was almost Chinese New Year, we would all go back to the villages where we had a connection, most of us staying for two to four months. Then we would come back to Caochangdi Workstation and start editing our footage. While editing, we would organize impromptu editing workshops and view and discuss everyone's work-in-progress together. We would keep doing this until we completed our films. This was our attempt at collective creation. This process revealed the power of the collective. Everyone was a colleague but also a companion. There was a force that pushed us to keep moving forward. In the group, the individual is also extremely important. We encouraged the constant reinvention of the old self and exploration of new ways of making art. The authors who participated in the Folk Memory Project were able to see how they expressed themselves differently. For example, Wen Hui's *Listening to Third Grandmother's Stories* 听三奶奶讲过去的事情 (2011) uses oral history to tell the life story of Third Grandmother. Luo Bing's (罗兵) *Luo's House: Me and Ren Dingqi* 罗家屋: 我和任定其

(2011) is told from the perspective of the subject to search for Ren Dingqi's innermost thoughts and feelings. In *Attacking Zhanggao Village* 进攻张高村 (2012), directed by Wang Hai'an (王海安), Wang treats his return to his village like an attack on a fortress, and ultimately fails in his attack. Each of these films carries the personality of the author—in other words, the personal way in which the author is unique. The collective and the individual complement each other, and are completed through joint effort. This is why so many people know about the Folk Memory Project and know about some of the works of the authors.

In the five years that I lived at Caochangdi Workstation, from 2009 to 2014, I completed a five-part series entitled *Family Zou Village* (邹家村系列). Besides making documentaries, we also wrote plays collectively every year. For example, we wrote a piece on the Great Chinese Famine called *Memory, Famine* 回忆·饥饿 (2012).

Looking back, my return to my home village allowed me to explore historical memory and put ideas into practice. My camera became the pen that recorded and portrayed the story of the Zou family. The first film, *The Starving Village* 饥饿的村子 (2010), was entirely composed of old people recounting their experiences and their memories. Specifically, it was composed of my eighty-year-old grandmother describing her agonies and struggles as she approached death and other old people of the village relating the history of the famine that occurred fifty years ago. The second film in the series, *The Satiated Village* 吃饱的村子 (2011), recorded the realities that I experienced because I was looking for these memories. Fifty years after this village experienced an extremely tragic disaster, they were able to satisfy their hunger and lived much better than before. My most important question was, although the famine ended fifty years ago, was the village still living through the famine on a psychological level? My third film, *The Children's Village* 孩子的村子 (2012), collected information



Figure 1. Still image for *The Satiated Village*

about the people who died because of the Great Chinese Famine and constructed a memorial for those people. A group of ten-to fifteen-year-olds were learning about the history of their village for the first time. They interviewed me, gathered information, and followed me with their cameras. As a result, I no longer felt lonely and I had hope for the future.



Figure 2. Still image from *The Idiot's Village*

Trash Village 垃圾的村子 (2013) was the fourth film in my series. In this film I faced hardship for criticizing the situation in the village. Once again, this film records my difficult journey to find a different direction for my future. The fifth film was called *The Idiot's Village* 傻子的村子 (2014). Perhaps in the eyes of the 'normal' people in the village, I should be called a village idiot.

Every time I return to my home village, my questions become harder to answer and I feel a greater sense of powerlessness. I constantly reflect on questions such as 'How do documentaries solve problems for the filmmaker?' and 'What impact do the individual stories of the documentary subjects have on my life?' and 'What can I do for my documentary subjects?' I reflect on these questions as a result of making these documentaries. Sometimes, filming those familiar faces is like looking into a stark mirror. The process drives me to consider the person that I was and the person that I am, urging me to reflect on my identity and my place in society. Even today, the answers are suspended in mid-air, indistinct. This may be the thing that keeps me going.

In my creative practice, I observe the possibilities that are created between the individual and the realities of village life, the lives of the documentary subjects, and their history and memories.

Through these films, I hope to have a dialogue with the audience, build new connections, and elicit empathy. My films have been selected for different screenings and film festivals. I have also visited universities in China and abroad to screen my films and discuss them with the audience. The empathy and questions I receive after every post-film discussion have become part of my motivation for making my next creative work.

When many important independent film festivals in China were cancelled around 2014, I struggled to find other independent film festivals. Independent documentary filmmakers have fewer opportunities to screen their films and discuss them with viewers. We don't have the ability to change the

realities of the world, but we can attempt to change ourselves. When I screened the films in my home village, the subjects of the documentary became the viewers. New connections and conversations were created as a result, and these dual identities increased the power of the film.

Over the past two years, I have seen other independent documentary filmmakers finding new ways to keep going. For example, when Gu Tao (顾桃) made *The Last Moose of Aoluguya* 犴达罕 (2013), he travelled to different spaces in different cities and screened his film wherever he could. He created a new way of screening documentary film. When Mao Chenyu (毛晨雨) made his film about rice paddies, he went to his home village in Hunan. He planted rice, fermented wine, and filmed at the same time, rolling the rice, wine, and film into one. This is also a new form of personal creation and lifestyle.

After the pandemic hit, the environment for creators changed dramatically. Nearly all offline events were cancelled, and everyone started communicating online. No matter what kind of environment we work in, we will always find a way to keep creating, in whatever way works for us. This is because the independent spirit is always influencing creators.

关键词：个人

我的个人创作实践

邹雪平

概述

我对“个人”的理解是：一个人或者独立创作的团队，在完全自由的状态下创作。我的创作方式以第一人称的视角来叙事，从个人出发，强调作者性和主观性，把我的生活、经验、表演或者身体也放入影片，个人故事也变成片子的一部分。我更关注个人和乡村现实之间如何发生一些可能性，关注被拍摄者的生活以及他们的历史和记忆。我希望通过这种个人化的影片和观众对话，试图建立联系和共鸣。

去年年底，上海大学的杨弋枢老师邀请我写一篇关于中国独立电影的关键词的文章，在众多的关键词中，我选中了“个人”这个词。

其实，我对“个人”这个词非常感兴趣，是因为从事纪录片以来，所有的作品都是独立完成的。我对“个人”的理解是：一个人或者独立创作的团队，在完全自由的状态下创作。很庆幸，我到目前为止，还在坚持这样的状态。

我的所有作品中的呈现方式，都以第一人称的视角来叙事。我把我的生活、经验、表演或者身体也放入影片，个人故事也变成片子的一部分。以前我不知道这种非常个人的片子如何归类，后来我在放映交流的时候，开始听到一些词来描述我的片子，比如“散文式影像”、“日记式”、“自传体非虚构纪录片”和“私影像”等，我目前没有很清晰的思路去理清这些类型之间的关系。我的创作方式初衷是，返回到家乡，从个人出发，强调作者性和主观性，把日常生活的片段，拼贴在一起构成片子的故事，这成为我的个人书写与自我表达。我所强调的作者性，是指作者的身份和位置突出，把摄像机作为手中的笔（或者画笔），来创作属于自己的故事。

我的创作方式深受吴文光老师的影响，他为中国纪录片的发展打开了一扇大门。90年代开始一些纪录片的前辈们（包括吴在内）聚集在一起，开启了“新纪录片运动”。他们提倡强调制作的独立性，独立纪录片的概念就在那时产生。而“新纪录片运动”之后，一批独立的纪录片作者也开始了自己的创作。比如吴文光老师的作品《流浪北京》（1990），蒋樾的《彼岸》（1995），它们都是独立的状态下完成的。到1999年DV时代的带来，独立纪录片的表达变得更加自由，更加注重个人表达，一种独立精神探索的新形式由此伴随到现在。

2000年之后,纪录片导演开始专注边缘的人群、生活在底层的人,在题材上呈现了对社会现实的关注,在创作上更具有作者性。这也许和DV这个媒介有关,很多导演开始运用影像语言来反映当时出现的一些社会问题。比如杨荔纳的《老头》(1999),真实地再现了一群居住在北京城的老头们的生活状态;杜海滨的《铁路沿线》(2000),记录了宝鸡市火车站附近流浪汉的生存状态。他们通过自己的视角去观察这些被拍摄者,通过被拍摄对象来表达自己的想法,影像成为作者对社会现实的主观表达。之后纪录片的创作方向更加丰富,像“私影像”、“非虚构影像”这些概念陆续的出现,也让纪录片的创作内容和形式有了新的突破。纪录片的创作方向开始转向注重个人和情感的表达,呈现作者的主体性,更是一种个人化表达时代的开始。我正是因为对这种表达有浓厚的兴趣,才开始把纪录片变成我持续创作的方式之一。

我从2008年开始接触纪录片,那时我在艺术院校里面。当代艺术的范畴很大,装置、动画、摄像、声音等,我被笼罩在当代艺术的氛围下,迷失了方向,感受不到自己的存在。后来我有机会接触到纪录片,才发现记录的乐趣,可以深入现实的生活中,去观察、发现和改变。我第一次拿起摄像机,拍摄的人物是我娘。这也是我上学离家后第一次单独和娘相处陪伴的一段日子。我把我们的日常生活剪辑成了一部纪录片,如吃饭、睡觉、帮她掏耳朵、剪头发、谈心等,日子平淡无奇,片子的结构很简单,以第一人称的方式呈现了出来。拍完之后,受益最大的是我自己,首先我改变了对娘的认识,尤其关于一位农村妇女在家庭中的作用和位置,同时重新梳理了我和她之间的关系,以及懂得了她对生活的认知和理解。做完第一部纪录片,我慢慢地发现记录的魅力。

2009年,我大学毕业,决定到北京草场地工作站继续学习纪录片创作。这是吴文光老师和文慧老师的工作室,它在北京东北五环外,位于草场地艺术村的村头。草场地工作站每年都会定期举办两次艺术节活动:五月艺术节和十月“交叉”艺术节。每次艺术节都会有两个单元,一个是关于纪录片的活动,另一个是关于剧场表演,吸引我的就是这里的活动。在这个空间,除了吴老师和文老师住在这创作之外,还有10多位85后年轻的创作者也在这驻站,大家一边做着个人的纪录片,一边创作着集体剧场作品和个人剧场作品,我当时就成了驻站者中年龄最大的创作者。

我进入草场地工作站之后,不知不觉生活方式也随之发生了变化。一年后(2010年),我参加了吴老师策划的“民间记忆影像计划”,开始返回家乡拍摄纪录片。在草场地工作站,我们每个人聚集在一起,组成了一个类似“乌托邦”独立的团体。我们吃住工作在一起,每当快到过年时,我们会各自返回到和自己有关系的村子拍摄,一般都会待两到四个月,再集体返回到草场地工作站开始看素材剪辑。在剪辑过程中,我们会不定期组织剪辑工作坊,集体看大家的作品讨论,直到最终完成片子,这是我们集体创作的一种尝试。在这个过程中会看到集体的力量,大家既是同行者,又是陪伴者,有一股精神推动着大家一起往前走。在集体中,个人也非常重要。我们提倡不断地突破原先的自我,探索创作的新方式。当时参与民间记忆计划的作者,在作品中也会看到自我表达的不同。比如像文慧老师的《听三奶奶过去的事情》(2011),以一种口述历史的纪录方式来讲述三奶奶的人生故事;罗兵的《罗家屋:我和任定其》(2011),以“第一人称”展开叙述的“侦探”方式进入任定其的内心世界;

王海安的《进攻张高村》（2012），他以“攻打”堡垒的方式回到自己的村子，最终成了“进攻”家乡的“失败者”。这些片子每一部都有作者自身的气质在里面，也就是作者独特性的个人方式。集体和个人之间是相辅相成的，共同成就的。所以很多人知道“民间记忆影像计划”，也知道计划当中的一些作者的作品。

2009 年到 2014 年，我在五年草场地驻站期间，完成了返回家乡的五部曲——“邹家村系列”。除了创作纪录片，我们每年也会尝试创作集体剧场，比如有关饥饿的作品《回忆·饥饿》（2012）。



图1《吃饱的村子》剧照

回顾我在返回乡村实践和探寻历史记忆的路上，摄影机成为我手中的笔，记录和描绘着我在邹家村的故事。第一部《饥饿的村子》（2010）中，整部片子都是由老人构成，由我那临近死亡时煎熬和挣扎的 80 岁的奶奶与那些讲述 50 年前饥饿历史的老人共同构成。第二部《吃饱的村子》（2011）记录了我因为寻找记忆所遭遇的现实。我最大的疑问是，这个村子经历过惨绝人寰的饥饿灾难，五十年后的现在，肚子是能吃饱了，日子也比以前好过多了，但这个村子的精神是否依然还在饥饿中？第三部片子《孩子的村子》（2012），调查统计“三年饥饿”逝者信息，为村里那些“三年饥饿逝者”建立纪念碑。村子里一群 10 岁到 15 岁第一次在行动中学习和了解自己村子的历史，询问、统计、拍摄伴随着我，我在村子里不再感觉孤单，也看到未来和希望。

《垃圾的村子》（2012）是我的第四部片子，这部片子是我再次抨击现实高墙，重新定位自己未来的一段艰难内心历程的印证。第五部片子《傻子的村子》（2014），在那些所谓的正常人眼里，我是否是村子的另一个傻子呢？



图2《傻子的村子》剧照

每走进一次村子，发现我的疑问更加措

手不及，也越觉得自己无能为力。所以我时常会有：“纪录片如何解决自身的问题？这些被拍摄者中的一个个人的故事，对我的生活又在产生怎样的作用？我能为他们做些什么呢？”这些问题也是创作带给我的思考。我拍的那些熟悉的面孔有时就像一面现实的镜子，促使我去面对和回看当下和过去的自己，去思考在社会中的身份和位置。其实到现在答案依然像浮在半空中，很不清晰，但也许这就是让我不断前行的原因。

在我的创作实践中，我更关注个人和乡村现实之间如何产生一些可能性，关注被拍摄者的生活以及他们的历史和记忆。我希望通过这种个人化的影片，和观众对话，建立起联系和共鸣。我的片子参加过不同的影展放映，也去过一些国内外的大学放映讨论。每一次映后谈，观众的共鸣和疑问，也会成为我创作下一部作品的动力。

大概从 2014 年之后，国内的几个重要的独立影展被停止后，很难再找到独立的影展，对于我们这些独立纪录片作者来说，片子放映和交流的机会也越来越少。当然我们没有能力去改变现实，但我们可以尝试改变自己。我把片子带回邹家村放映，那些被拍摄者又变成了观众，两者之间产生了对话和链接，双重身份的出现，似乎为片子增加了另一种力量。

这两年我也看到现在一些独立的纪录片作者，正通过其他方式在前行，比如顾桃的犴达罕大篷车计划（2014），他开始游走在不同的城市、空间，开始放映他的作品，开启了一种新的放映方式。毛晨雨的稻电影，身体力行地返回到湖南老家，一边种水稻一边酿酒拍片子，把大米、酒和电影结合在了一起，这也是一种新的个人创作和生活方式。

从去年疫情开始后，整个大环境对创作者又带来一些影响，线下活动基本关闭，大家开始线上沟通和交流。不管在什么样的环境中，独立创作者都会找到适合自己的方式去前行，因为独立的精神一直在影响着我们。

Keyword: Memory

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Abstract

The following article is a reflection and discussion on the practice of filming documentaries which salvage memories. It attempts to use documentaries, words, images, and film materials to build a city containing individual imaged-based memories and a database.

Memory traces back to a time that has already passed. Apart from the time that one experiences in the moment, all descriptions of events and expressions of feelings are reconstructions of time. These are shaped by the particular characteristics of memory. Memory does not preserve all the evidence of an event. It is impossible to create a one-hundred-percent accurate representation of time that has passed, because of the effects that filtering mechanisms and time have on memory. They erase countless disorderly and trivial bits of information and details. The individual memories that are ultimately capable of being preserved and said aloud are always key moments and turning points in our lives that we are unable to move on from. If we take different individual memories and save them in the form of documentaries, texts, film materials, and images, and if we compile, archive, share, and acknowledge them, we would ultimately be able to build a collective memory, a historical record, and an image database of a particular time. Countless memories will never be preserved—when the individual possessing them demises, those memories are submerged in the endless darkness of time and no longer exist. This also highlights the necessity, urgency, and significance of the personal, image-based recording of memories.

1. The violent cutting, obscuring, and salvaging of memories

Documentary film related to memory not only feels solid and real, but also enables creators to face ideological tensions and various obstacles in their continually deepening practice. The preservation of memories and the salvation of memories that are about to disappear are the temptations and challenges that documentary filmmakers need to face from time to time. As we film, we observe the active, violent cutting of memories and the passive process of memories being obscured; this always

exists as a part of memory. At certain points in history, due to political and ideological expectations, reality is often cut out and obscured by exaggerated grand narratives using public opinion guidance and other propaganda. The texts that remain are altered, distorted and inaccurate due to their historical limitations. Still, seen from another perspective, could this not be an alternative portrayal of the true situation of that time? It has been refracted through a prism and passed through both system filters and individual filters, but it is still a portrayal. Those who come later can trace, salvage, and revise the memories distorted by features of a time period and the passage of time by reconstructing different individual memories and collective memories, and using common sense. In this way, they can gradually restore part or more of the true colours and facts of an event. People say that history is a young lady that is dressed up by other people, but there is always a truth in history. Taking overlapping individual memories, checking the witness statements and material evidence, and removing the layers of camouflage and masks that hide the truth to finally build a true history and the common memory of the people is a complicated and arduous task. In an era where the winner takes all and values are diverse, neither the logic of the winner nor the dichotomy of justice and injustice are able to clarify things. When independent filmmakers produce documentary images and texts, they attempt to preserve memory faithfully, without allowing capital or power to intrude on the process. The effectiveness of their attempts depends on whether they can break through the barriers caused by utilitarianism and ideology, transform life into moving images, and ensure the depth and accuracy of the documentary. The faithful presentation of facts and preservation of memory is not helped by market-oriented operations, consciously or subconsciously catering to ideological preferences, or stylistic trickery. Although it is often neglected, 'simplicity' is an effective and positive word in this context.

Every individual retains clear and fresh memories from certain periods when they were pushed by the times or their destinies. However, a greater portion of an individual's lives and experiences are mediocre or even boring; due to the lack of impression-forming thorns, they disappear into the chaos of memory. Some individuals will face struggles, entering into a period of difficulty where there seems to be no light at the end of the tunnel. Those unbearable spiritual wounds are filtered and covered by time, then gradually buried in the individual's subconscious. Those experiences are not forgotten, but they are not recalled and are unable to wake up again, like a silent and dormant volcano. Perhaps at a certain time and a certain place, the individual will encounter a trigger, like Marcel Proust did while eating madeleines. The action will activate a deep memory from their subconscious, and a series of connected memories will be dredged up as well. An event, a picture, a sentence, or even a smell, can cause a distant memory to be connected to the present reality, and the buried memory can erupt like a volcano. That not only causes the resurrection of a memory, but its treatment and release. Memory always exists and has different layers and dimensions. Memories that have been deliberately erased will leave infinitesimal scraps of information, declaring the past to us.

Memory is a storage device and forgetting is a filter as well as the opposite of memory. When an individual feels choked by the pressure in their real lives, they will instinctively decide to forget and ignore the existence of certain memories. People need to survive, so in this case, numbness is a positive, effective thing. They might argue, 'Is the truth important? Knowing the truth, I increase my pain and I'm unable to change anything. I want to live; I don't want to know about these things.' When dealing with a frank, desperate and helpless person, I am unable to experience the weight or pain he feels. Still, I understand that my desperate efforts to record the truth are not as sad as being forced to turn one's back on the truth and forget. That is a hopeless and dark mire, and due to my experience and circumstances, I am still unable deeply explore and sympathize with that. In terms of sympathy, one must have a high degree of overlap with one's own life experience for one to feel emotional resonance, be spiritually touched. Only then can sympathy for someone else become part of the nutrients that promote one's continual growth.

For more people, the preservation of memory provides the possibility of finding their predecessors and fellow travellers in different places and stages of life and being comforted and encouraged by them. This also shows the inevitability and serendipity that every reader has when struggling to find their own author. In the same way, every film strives to find its audience. Opportunity and the right encounter are not necessarily in sync. The wrong timing can cause an opportunity to not be identified, or to be permanently missed. Although they do not recognise each other, they both continue to exist. Different individuals make different choices and take different actions corresponding to their different types. Their loyalties and their reflective natures are also fiendishly difficult to decipher. It is only possible if one has a clear understanding and the willingness to self-examine; even then, the environment needs to help and allow things to happen. Silence, whether active or passive, is a choice that has to be made. Where there is no sound, every subtle change in expression in the faces that are observed is a silent narration, a growth ring of time and memory. Faces are mirrors of the soul. Clues pointing to complicated emotions can be captured by the changes in faces. When a memory is suppressed in the depths of the subconscious and cannot surface, it can also appear in a deformed way in dreams; this is the reflection and mirror image of reality.

Not every memory can be recorded and restored. Individuals may have trouble speaking or may silently endure things, so that some memories are hidden behind a suit of armour that prevents them from being touched. That is the weakest part of an individual's heart. Others cannot approach it and it cannot be released. Perhaps, after a long time, the memory can gradually be dealt with. When these hidden memories are finally revealed, the narrator's tension is relieved or healed to some extent. An important social function of the practice of turning memory into images is allowing it to link to and interact with the current reality. Still, some memories may never be able to be spoken or recorded—they can only stay in the depths of memory. The bottom of memory is dark and complicated, and as

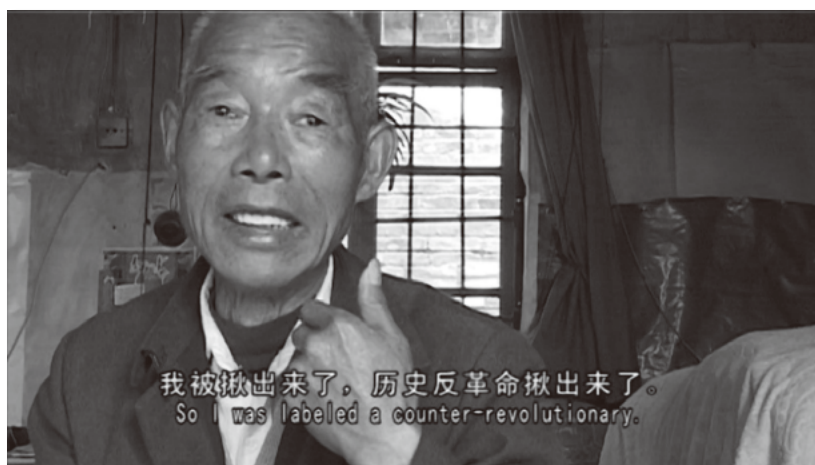
endless as life itself. All of the literature on memory has its limitations due to its circumstances—any clear thinking conceals the complex chaos of memory and society itself. The coherent narration in history books is due to the refinement and sorting carried out by historians. Although this allows readers to get a clear historical picture, it also simplifies the complicated threads and multiple folds that cannot be sorted out in life. Memory works this way too.

Words provide important detail in the restoration and recording of memory. The choice of different words in a narration matches the narrator's judgment and feelings towards the facts. In the documentary *Single Women* 单身女人 (dir. Lin Xin, 2019), one of the women says, 'I can live brilliantly without men and I should be able to live happily without love.' In this sentence, 'can' is an expression of confirmation, while 'should' is an expression of hope without confirmation. People's inner feelings are revealed through the gaps between words. The woman may not have deliberately thought about the differences between these words, but intuition makes these seemingly random, everyday words accurately express their social and emotional cognition. The different expressions of these details are her definitions and judgments of reality given to her by her life experience. The truth of memory is often hidden behind these words in a hazy place, which is the inner world that is vast and difficult to fully display. By paying attention to different words, the person recording can experience a deeper taste of life and reality that exists underneath memory. Even with some deviations in detail and intentional or unintentional cover-ups in a statement about memory, the state and feeling of that narrative remain true.

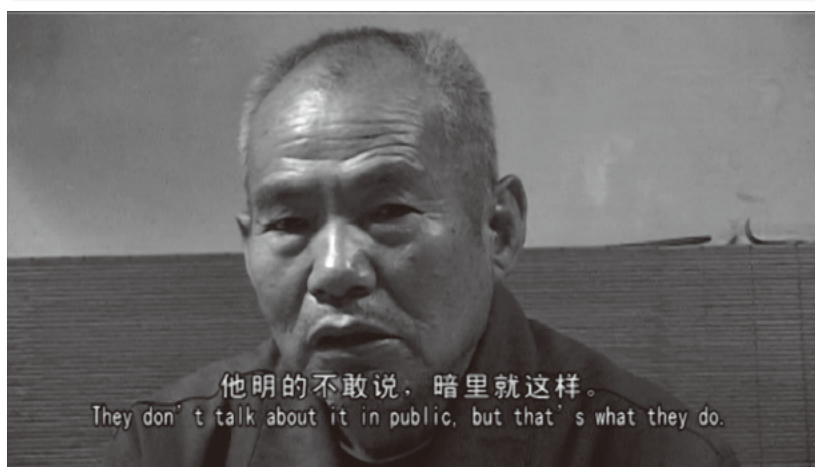
The memory of history is often expressed and transmitted through different media. For example, in the documentary *Silent Landscape* 沉默的风景 (dir. Lin Xin, 2020), a popular song from a certain time period was reused by the same generation of people but in a different time period. Thus, they counteracted the original political meaning and didactic nature of those songs. After being filtered through time, a song that was played as part of a collective sleepwalking action changes. Rather than representing discomfort with the present, it becomes a reflection on a lost era and youth. After the cruel realities of the past and present were painted in ideal and dreamlike colours, the generation was able to escape from its predicament. Their ability to judge reality is based on their own situation and cognition; it is also closely related to whether their experience and vision are closed off or not.

2. A case study of the typology of turning memory into images

Forgetting is the opposite of memory. The passage of time and aging can both cause an individual's memory to become fuzzy. The details of time periods and events experienced by certain groups are inconsistent in the memories of individuals; this is due to the different filtering mechanisms and forgetfulness of those individuals. For example, in *Sanlidong* 三里洞 (dir. Lin Xin, 2007),



Screenshot from documentary *Sanlidong*; Tong Guang (童光) is speaking



Screenshot from *Sanlidong*; Ding Fuzhen (丁福珍) is speaking



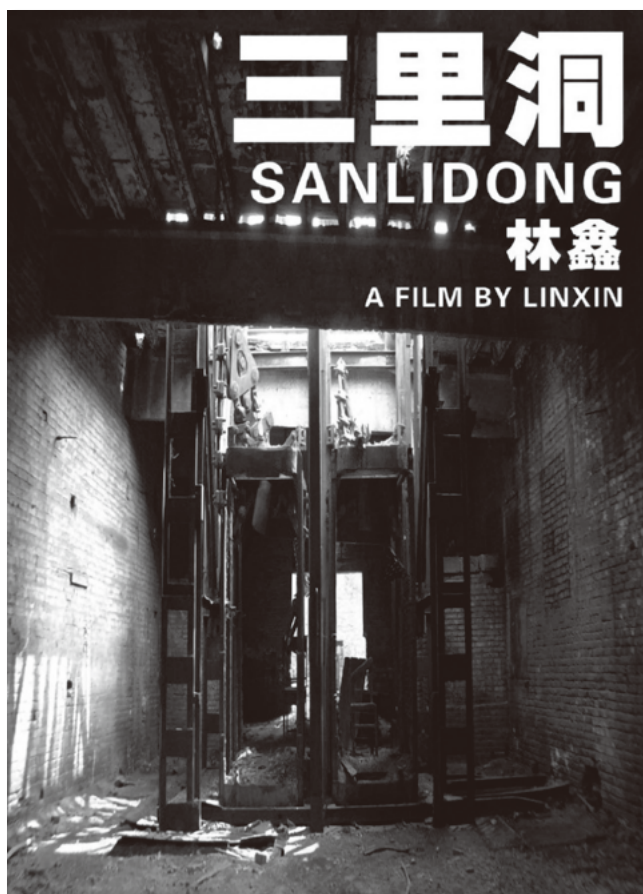
Screenshot from *Sanlidong*; Sui Shijun (罗世俊) is speaking



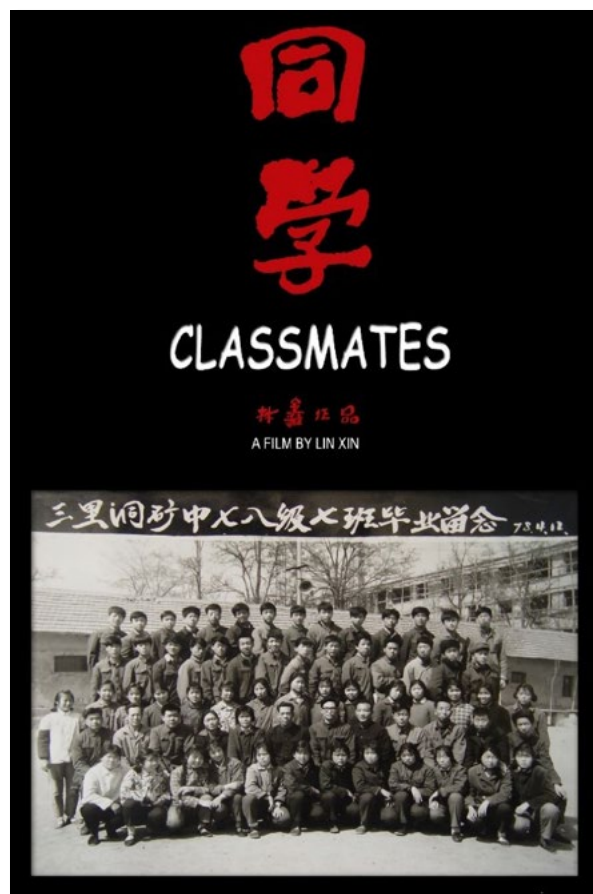
Screenshot from *Sanlidong*; Shen Longgen (沈龙根) is speaking

different people recall different dates and a different total number of young people who travelled from Shanghai to the mine in Tongchuan, Shaanxi province. By remembering the event as a group, a relatively accurate time and sequence of events can be determined. Unlike rational thought, memory is specific and alive. Both *Sanlidong*, the documentary, and *Sanlidong: The Image History of Migrant Miners from Shanghai* 三里洞: 上海支边矿工的影像史 (2017), the book of several hundred thousand characters, salvage the history and memory of the miners in Sanlidong mine buried deep in the tunnels of time through film, image, and text. As these witnesses continue to pass away, their testimonies and images of the mine ruins become increasingly important and persuasive. As a testimony of the times, a single memory may only be an individual case—it is not enough to support the time and space of history. Going from individual memory to collective memory, it is necessary to confirm facts through the repeated verification of multiple memories of many people. The separate narratives with a shared path shared by different individuals at different times and places can ultimately preserve historical facts that are about to disappear. Memory can never be completely erased. No matter what method is used, it is not possible to wipe it away completely—some faint piece of information will arrive from the other side and reintegrate to become a shared memory. Even if some of the links are missing, it will not affect people's basic judgment of facts. Eras cannot be separated from individuals. Every individual is a hostage of the era in which they live and is genetically imprinted and encoded by that era. And everyone's thinking and actions will, to a greater or lesser extent, assist an era to move forward or backward. Ordinary evil and inner goodness will always be both tangled and acting in opposition, making people numb or wide awake.

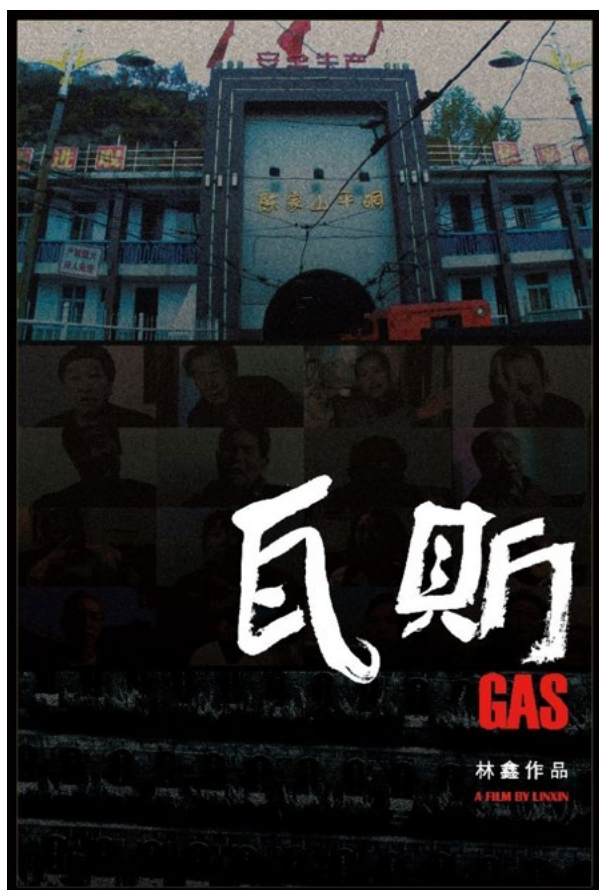
After filming *Sanlidong*, I made a documentary about the individual fates of a second generation of miners who worked during the reform and opening up from 1978 to 2008 in a film called *Classmates* 同学 (dir. Lin Xin, 2009). Then I made a documentary about mining accidents called *Gas* 瓦斯 (dir. Lin Xin, 2011), then I made a documentary about Christians called *Preachers* 传道人 (dir. Lin Xin, 2014) and a documentary about the history of the migration of a multi-generation family called *Riverbed* 河床 (dir. Lin Xin, 2017). All of them discuss the theme of the continual salvation and preservation of memory. After filming documentaries for nearly twenty years, I transitioned from the topography of a city, *Silent Landscape* 沉默的风景 (dir. Lin Xin, 2020), to typological images in *Memory Landscape* 记忆的风景 (dir. Lin Xin, 2021). These two films can be compared and contrasted. The theme of *Silent Landscape* is landforms and landscapes, while *Memory Landscape* consists entirely of oral history—the four mirror interludes are inserted to offer a breath of fresh air between the intense narrative. The focus of these two films is completely different, but composed of chapters to create a structure. *Silent Landscape* uses the four natural seasons and the four stages of life as chapters, while *Memory Landscape* uses film material accumulated over the years to show the different stages of life. These individual memories are told separately and have passed through the filter of time, so that all of the water has been drained out. The core of the memory is all that is left.



Poster for *Sanlidong* documentary



Poster for *Classmates* documentary



Poster for *Gas* documentary



Poster for *Riverbed* documentary

Seemingly careless remarks show the combined power of word and image when they are extracted and reorganised. This is one way of building a collective memory from individual memories; it helps people to resist forgetting.

The markers in the film all represent the stages of life, and what they tell about the past includes our experiences. Even though the plot and the content might be different, the struggle for survival is the same. The different narrations from different characters in different time periods allows the themes of the chapters to have different levels of reflection and tension across time, across different perspectives. Using an extremely simple method and focusing on key points in time, from survival until death, from the past to the present, an individual life is like a drifting boat bobbing up and down on the river of time.

An inexhaustive outline of the text associated with this memory turned into image text, which mainly consists of oral history, is as follows:

Chapter titles: Childhood, Going to School, Falling in Love, Making it, Sickness, Belief, Old Age, Death

Time period: 1940 to 2010s

Age of narrators: From 20 to over 80

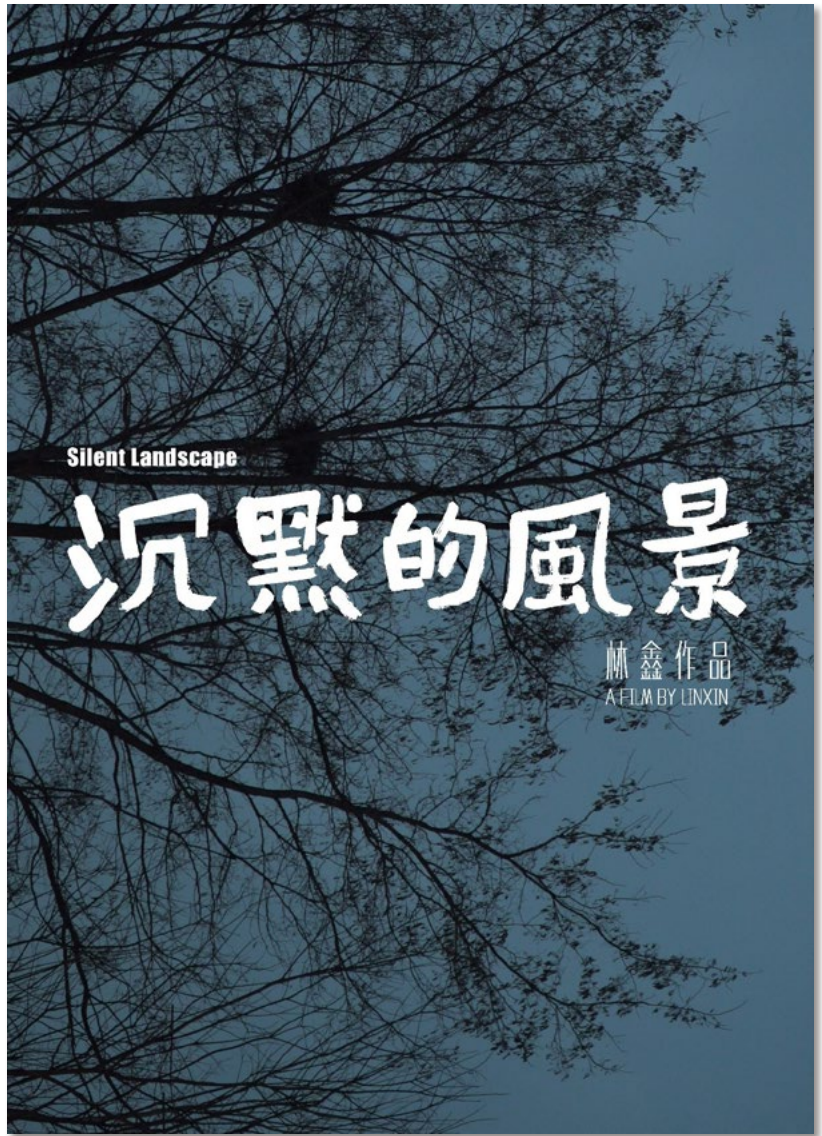
Occupation of narrators: Teacher, office worker, government worker, preacher, author, artist, worker, farmer.

Relationship status: Unmarried, married, single, divorced, living alone.

Each chapter corresponds to a particular key word. For example, in the chapter 'Death', people of different identities and ages recall deaths due to accidents or diseases of their mother-in-law, grandfather, father, neighbour, son, or colleague, at different times and places. The relationship between the narrator and the deceased and the experience of the narrator directly influences the depth of involvement. The film is about memory so there is no set. The camera always faces the speaker, recording their emotional fluctuations and their memory landscape. The emotional experience of death is different for different people. A loved one departing is heart-wrenching, however there are also supernatural events that cannot be judged rationally. Since they did not experience it directly, these spectators watch as things beyond their daily experience occur, and feel amazement or confusion. At this point they appreciate their insignificance in relation to the world.

The majority of the narrators are people from my previous works. The entire work was composed of film materials that were never used before because I wanted to show as many facets and perspectives of society as possible. The different life stories are not fully explained; they are only briefly touched

upon. Some people reappear, and this not only helps the story move along, but also strengthens the connection and continuation of the regional chronicle of images. The stories of people from different areas, different ages, and different backgrounds are juxtaposed in an attempt by the individual image writer to preserve the individual memories. The combination of documentary images, texts, and material archives will help the devastated memory riverbed go beyond the barriers of space, time, and ideology. It will become a regional image memory and a microcosm of the life of ordinary people in this small western Chinese city that spans more than half a century.



Poster for documentary *Silent Landscape*



Lin Xin on the shooting of the documentary *Sanlidong* in 2005

关键词：记忆

林鑫

概要

本文是作者关于打捞记忆的纪录片拍摄实践与思考，试图通过纪录片、文字、图片和影像素材等方式，建立起一座城市不同人群的个人影像记忆和数据库。

记忆，是对已经过去的时间的一种追溯。除了当下正在经历的时间，事后的陈述以及感受的表达，都是一种时间的重建，这是由记忆的特性所决定的。记忆不是现场，无法 1:1 精确还原已经消逝的时间，记忆的过滤机制和时间，也会不断地抹去无数繁杂无序的次要信息和枝蔓。而最终能够在记忆中保留并被说出的个体记忆，往往是其生命中无法越过的关键时刻和那些特殊的时间节点。把众多不同的个体记忆，通过纪录片、文字、影像素材、图片等媒介存留并聚合在一起，并经过整理、存档、传播、认同等环节，最终会凝成一个时代的集体记忆、历史文献和影像数据库。而那些没有机会保存下来的无数记忆，则随着个体的消亡，淹没在时间的无尽黑暗中，不复存在。这也凸显出关于记忆的个人影像纪录工作在当下的必要性、紧迫性和意义之所在。

一 记忆的阉割、遮蔽和打捞

和记忆相关的纪录影像，不仅有着坚硬的现实质地，也使创作者在不断深入的实践中随时面对意识形态的张力和各种拦阻。记忆的保存和对即将消失的记忆的打捞，是纪录影像制作者时时需要面对的诱惑和挑战。在拍摄中我们会发现，主动的阉割和被动的遮蔽，在记忆中也一直存在。由于特定时期政治和意识形态的需要，现实常常被夸张的宏大叙事用舆论导向等宣传手段阉割和遮蔽，而当时留下的一些文本也往往由于其历史的局限，是变形扭曲的，不准确的。但从另外一个视角看，这又何尝不是一个时期真实境况的另类写照，尽管经过了棱镜的折射以及体制和个人的双重过滤。在时过境迁之后，后来者可以通过重建不同的个体记忆、集体记忆及常识来对被时代和时间扭曲变形的记忆进行追溯、打捞和修正，逐步还原出部分或更多现实的本来面目和事实真相。尽管人们说历史是任人打扮的小姑娘，但毕竟事实是始终存在的。如何通过多重交叉的个体记忆，在人证和物证的反复质检下，去除真相之上被层层遮盖的伪装和面具，构建起真实的历史和人们的共同记忆，是一项十分艰巨复杂和困难重重的工作。在一个赢者通吃和价值观多元的年代，也远不是胜者的逻辑或正义、非正义这样简单的两分法可以厘清。个人独立制作的纪录影像文本，是试图避开资本和权力的侵扰，尽可能忠实地保存记忆的一种努力，其效果取决于制作者是否能够突破功利和意识形态

的拦阻，将生活转化为影像，并保证其纪录的深度和准确性。市场化运作、有意无意的意识形态迎合以及形式上的花样翻新，都无助于事实的忠实呈现和记忆的保存。质朴，在这里仍然是一个被忽略但重要、并始终有效的褒义词。

每个个体，在被时代、命运驱使的不同时段，仍然保存有一部分清晰和鲜活的记忆，而更多的时间和经历，则因其庸常和无趣，或没有可令人铭记的刺点，隐没到记忆的混沌之中。个体生命有时也会在不断地挣扎中陷入某种暗无天日的困境，那些无法承受的心灵创痛，会被时间过滤和遮蔽，压入无意识的深处。不是忘却，只是不再想起和无力唤醒，像沉默的火山一样沉睡。或许在很久以后的某个时间和地点，一个特定的触点，像普鲁斯特的玛德琳点心一样被激活，从而复活出掩埋在潜意识深层的记忆，一系列与之相关的记忆也同时被带出。一个事件、一张图片、一句话、甚至是一种气味，都会使遥远的记忆和当下的现实发生关联，并使埋藏的记忆重新像火山一样喷发，那是记忆的复活，也是治疗和释放。记忆始终存在，并有不同的层次和维度，那些被刻意抹去的记忆，也总会留下各种微弱的信息，向我们昭示出曾经的过往。

记忆是一个保存装置，而遗忘是一种过滤系统，是记忆的反面。当个体在现实中被生命中不能承受之重压迫到将要窒息的时候，本能会选择遗忘并忽略掉这些存在。因为要生存下去，麻木在这里是积极的、有效的。“真相重要吗？知道真相，我很痛苦，又无法改变。我要活下去，我不想知道这些。”面对这样一张坦诚、绝望又无奈的面孔，我无法体会他全部的沉重和痛苦。但我明白，比我拼命努力去记录真相更加悲哀的，是不得不背对真相，选择忘却。那是一个更加无望和晦暗的沼泽地带，我个人的生命感悟和境遇，尚无法深入地探测和感同身受。而感同身受，也一定是和自己的某些生命体验有了高度的重合，才可能与之发生情感的共振，并触动你的灵魂，成为自己不断成长的养分。

记忆的保存，为更多人提供了这样一种可能，你可以在不同的生命阶段，在更大的空间和时间范围内寻找你的前行者和同路人，并得到慰藉和激励。这也是每个读者在努力地寻找自己的作者，每部影像作品能否有机会抵达自己观众的必然性和偶然性。机遇和相遇，不一定同步，时间的错位，使认同被错过，或永远错过。鸡同鸭讲，也永远会存在。不同个体的选择和行动，会将之与其同类死死地捆绑在一起，其中的背叛和反省，也十分艰难。除非其自身有着清醒的认识和自省的意愿，况且还需要环境的许可和助力。而沉默，不管是主动的还是被动的，都是不得已的选择。无声之处，那些被注视的面孔，每一个细微的表情变化，都是无言的述说，是时间和记忆的年轮。面孔，是心灵的镜子，那些复杂的心境，依然可以从沧桑的面容中捕捉到蛛丝马迹。当记忆被压在潜意识的深处而无法浮出时，也会通过变形的方式出现在梦中，那是现实的倒影和镜像。

不是每一段记忆都可以被记录和还原，个体的难言和隐忍，使某些记忆披上盔甲深深地隐藏起来，避免被触碰到。那是一个人内心最软弱的部分，既无法靠近也无法释放。也许要经过漫长的时间，才可以逐步地坦然面对。当这些隐秘的记忆最终得以披露的瞬间，讲述者的紧张也在某种程度上得到了缓解或治愈。这是记忆影像实践的一个重要社会功能，与当下的现实发生勾连和互动。但某些

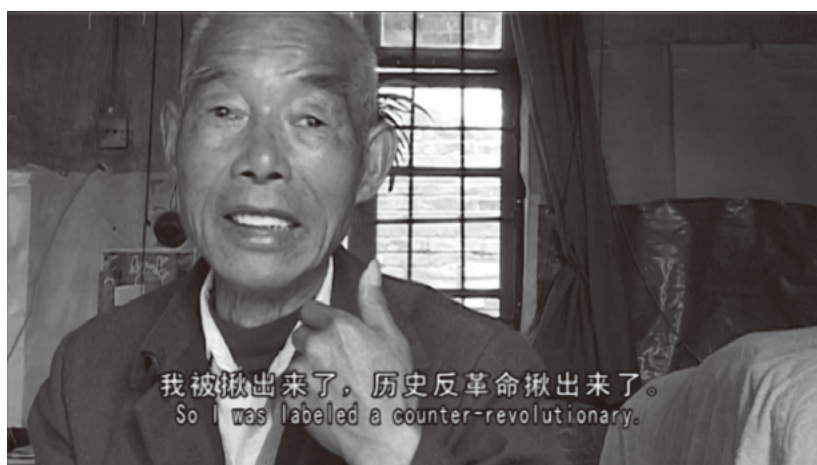
记忆可能永远也无法被说出和记录，只能停留在记忆的深处。记忆的底部是晦暗复杂的，就像生活一样无法穷尽。所有关于记忆的文献，实际上都是在某种特定条件下达成的有限文本，其清晰的思路，掩盖了记忆和社会本身的复杂混沌。史书上条理分明的叙述，经过史学家的提纯和梳理，在使读者得到明晰历史图景的同时，也简化了生活中无法理清的繁杂线索和层层褶皱。历史是如此，记忆也一样。

记忆的还原和纪录，一个重要的细节是语词，在陈述中不同词语的选择，与讲述者对事实的判断和心境匹配。当纪录片《单身女人》（2019）中一个单身女人说出：“没有男人，我可以活得很精彩；没有爱情，我也应该活得很快乐。”这样一段语句的时候，“可以”这个词是一个确定的表达，而“应该”则是一种希望达到而又无法确定的心境。人物的内心通过词语的缝隙显现出来，讲述者或许没有刻意去想这些语词的差异，但是直觉使这些貌似随意选择的日常语词，精确地道出其对社会和情感的认知。这些细节上的不同表述，是生活经验给予她对现实的界定和判断。记忆的真实微茫处，也常常隐匿在这些词语的背后，那是宽阔而难以全部展现的内心世界。记录者可以通过不同的语词，感受到记忆下面更深层次的人生况味和现实处境。即便在关于记忆的陈述中出现某些细节上的偏差和有意无意的遮掩，但那种叙述的状态和感受依然是真实的。

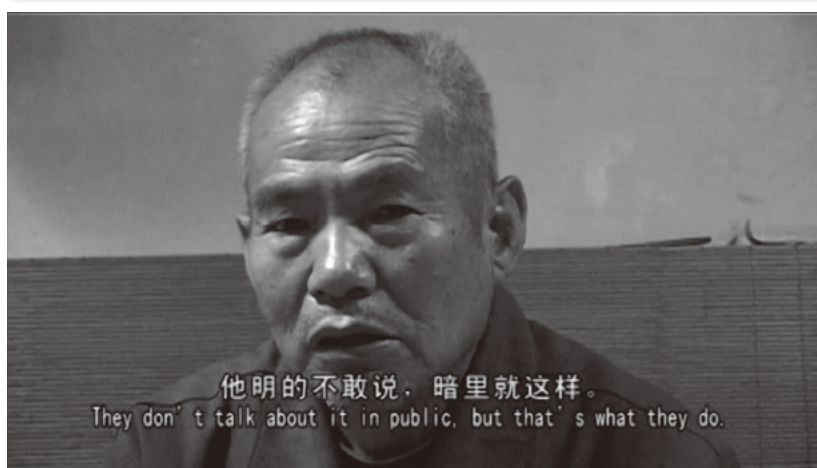
关于历史的记忆，常常会借助不同的媒介物表达和传递，纪录片《沉默的风景》（2020）中一个特定时期流行的歌曲，在另外一个时代被同代人再次唤起，则已然消解了那些歌曲本来的政治含义和说教性质。经过时间过滤之后，在一种集体梦游式的放歌中，从对当下的不适转换到对一个消逝的时代和青春的回望。过去与现在同样残酷的现实，在这里被赋予了一种理想和梦幻的色彩，使其从当下的窘迫中逃逸。他们对现实的判断基于自身处境和认知，也与其经历和视野的封闭与否息息相关。

二 记忆影像的类型学实践个案

遗忘是记忆的反面，时间延宕和年龄因素都会使个体的记忆逐渐变得模糊，某些群体共同经历的一些时间和事件，也由于过滤机制和遗忘对记忆的影响，在不同个体的记忆中并不一致。例如在纪录片《三里洞》（2007）中关于这批矿工从上海到铜川的具体日期和人数说法不一，而通过一个群体的记忆，基本可以确定相对准确的时间和还原事件的过程。不同于理性思辨，记忆总是具体的、鲜活的。纪录片《三里洞》和数十万字的《三里洞：上海支边矿工的影像史》（2017），乃是通过影像、图片、文本等对一段深埋在时间隧道中的三里洞煤矿工人的历史和记忆的打捞，随着这些亲历者的不断离世，其留下的证言和矿山废墟的影像日益显得重要和具有说服力。作为时代的见证，单个的个体记忆或许只是个案和孤证，尚不足以撑起历史的时间和空间。从个体记忆到集体记忆，需要通过众人多重记忆的反复验证来确定事实的存在。不同个体在不同时间地点的分别述说和共同指向，最终可以使即将消失的史实得以存留。记忆无法被彻底抹去，不管用什么样的手段，都做不到滴水不漏，也总会有微弱的讯息抵达对岸，最终由后来者将这些孤立散乱的信息，重新整合为人们的共同记忆。即便其中有部分环节缺失，也不会影响人们对事实的基本判断。时代和个人是无法切割的，



纪录片《三里洞》截图 童侑在讲述中



纪录片《三里洞》截图 丁福珍在讲述中



纪录片《三里洞》截图 罗世俊在讲述中



纪录片《三里洞》截图 沈龙根在讲述中

每个个体都是他所处时代的人质，并拥有那个时代的基因和代码。而每个人的思考和行动本身，都或多或少地会成为一个时代前行或后退的助力，平庸的恶和内心的善也始终会在一种对立和缠绕的纠结中，使人麻木或清醒。

在《三里洞》之后，我先后拍摄了矿工第二代在1978–2008年改革开放三十年中不同个体命运的《同学》（2009）、关于矿难的《瓦斯》（2010）、关于基督教的《传道人》（2014）以及关于一家几代人迁徙的家庭史《河床》（2016）等一系列纪录片，都是关于记忆这一主题的持续打捞和保存。

在拍摄了近二十年纪录片之后，我从一座城市的地形学影像《沉默的风景》（2020），转到了类型学影像《记忆的风景》（2021）。这是两部能够互文和对照的影片。《沉默的风景》主体是地貌景观，《记忆的风景》全部是口述堆积，四段间奏曲空镜插入章节间，是对纷至沓来的密集叙事的换气和缓冲。这两部作品的重心和关注点是相反的，但都用章节的方式结构全片。《沉默的风景》通过自然四季和生命四季的双重变奏组成章节，《记忆的风景》则延用多年累积的影像素材来表现生命的不同阶段。这些分别讲述的个体记忆，经过时间的过滤，已滤干水分，只剩下硬核。而貌似不经意的诉说，从文本中抽出重组后，显现出语言和形像的合力，这是用个体记忆构建集体记忆并抵抗遗忘的一种方式。

影片的段落标签，是一个个生命驿站。而他们述说的往事，也有我们的体验。情节、内容或各不相同，而生存的不易和挣扎，在本质上是一样的。众多人物在不同时空的讲述，使章节主题有了多重视角的交叉映照和时间张力。用极简的方式，注目于那些关键的时间节点，从生存到死亡，从过去到当下，个体生命始终如一叶漂泊不定的小舟，在时代的洪流中沉浮。

这部由口述构建的记忆影像文本，其内在骨架如下：

章节标签：包括童年、上学、婚恋、生存、疾病、信仰、老年、死亡等。

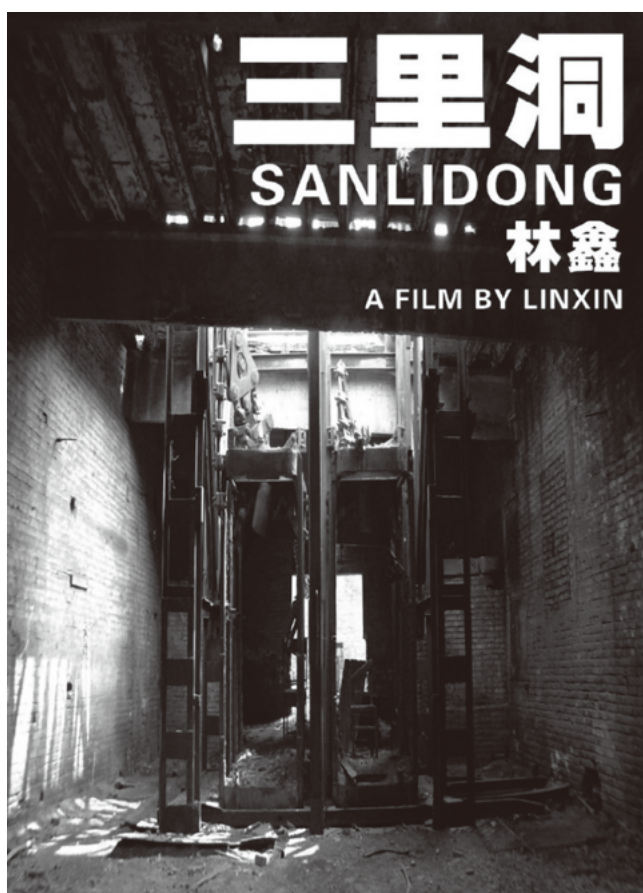
涵盖的时间：1940——2010年代；

口述者年龄：二十多岁到八十多岁；

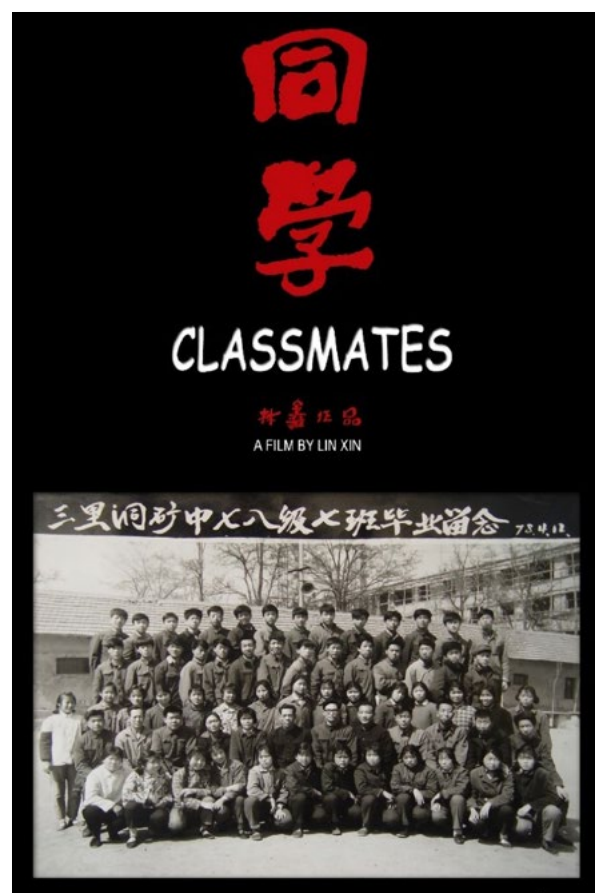
口述者职业：教师、职员、公务员、传道人、作家、艺术家、工人、农民等；

口述者状态：未婚、已婚、单身、离婚、独居等；

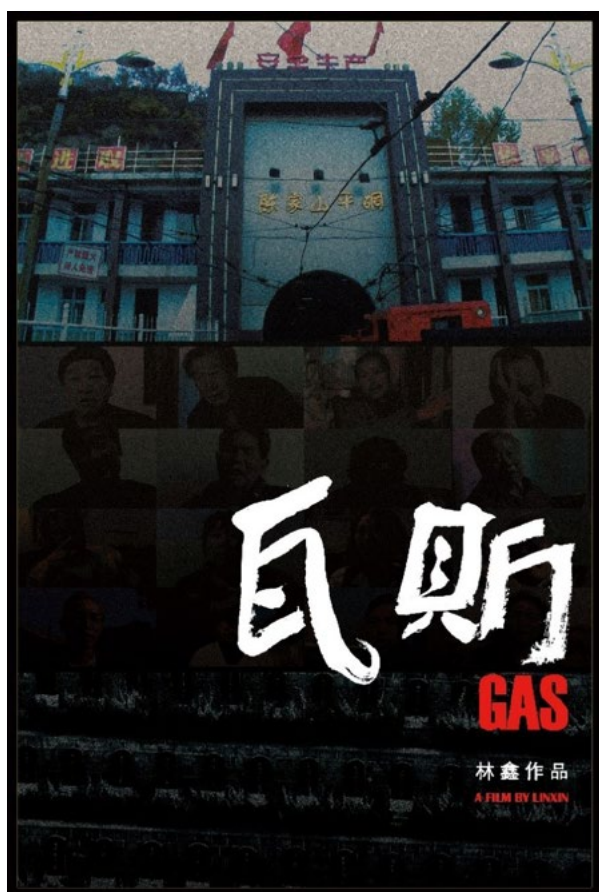
每个章节对应一个关键词。例如“死亡”一章，是不同身份、年龄的人分别对岳母、祖父、父亲、邻居、儿子、同事等在不同时间、地点，因意外事件或疾病等原因造成死亡的追忆。而叙述者与逝者的关系以及其本身的经历，直接影响到介入的深度。作为一部关于记忆的影片，片中没有现场，镜头始终对着讲述者的面孔，记录下心潮起伏的记忆风景。不同人对死亡的感受是不一样的，除了揪心的离别，还有无法用理性判断的灵异事件。由于没有切身体验，旁观者只能带着惊异和困惑，注视着超出日常认知的意外，并感受到自身在面对世界时的渺小。



纪录片《三里洞》海报



纪录片《同学》海报



纪录片《瓦斯》海报



纪录片《河床》海报

片中大多数讲述者，是我以前作品中的人物，而这次全部选取没有用过的影像素材，是力图展示更多的社会面向和角度。不同的生命故事没有完全展开，只以极简的方式点到为止。人物的重复出场，不仅有叙事的递进，也强化了地方志系列影像的关联和延续。把这些不同年代、不同年龄、不同履历的人物口述叠加在一起，是个人影像书写者为保存个体记忆所做的努力。而纪录影像、文本和素材档案的三位一体，会使满目疮痍的记忆河床，越过空间、时间和意识形态的阻隔，成为这座中国西部小城半个多世纪普通人生活的缩影和一个地域的影像记忆。



纪录片《沉默的风景》海报



林鑫2005年在纪录片《三里洞》拍摄中

Keyword: Pixelation

Author: LI Xiaofeng 黎小锋 Translator: Michelle DEETER

Abstract

Pixelation might represent the weathering or deterioration of independent documentary films. Or, it might mean something more.

1. A beehive of time

When watching films from a hundred years ago, viewers see that the blacks and whites have lost their gradation. The image might be blurry or damaged. When watching a reused tape from several decades ago, a magenta mist may float across the image. Even a film that was taped a mere six years ago might be marred by disappointing amounts of pixelation.

The people that I had observed from behind the camera might become a series of splotchy forms after a few years, as if they were captured on a security camera. They overlap and are impossible to distinguish, like a beehive of time. These films are the repositories of faces both lively and uninteresting, of fragments that happen unexpectedly and are unclear. However, the audience can no longer decipher any of the secrets.

2. Who thinks documentaries are meaningful?

It's not the people being filmed. The documentaries do not bring them anything helpful—on the contrary, they can often cause trouble. Those being filmed might think that the pixelation of documentary materials is an ideal fate for the film. Then the evidence of their personal pain and sorrow will no longer exist.

It's not the audience, either. They are only interested in going on a journey for an hour or two, to feel someone else's happiness and pain. At the end they stand up and stretch and finally leave.

My own experience tells me that documentaries are only meaningful to the filmmaker. Making a documentary is similar to writing or drawing—it is a personal activity. Before the work is completed, the artist is tortured to the point of being unable to eat or sleep, and yet after it is completed, the artist still feels deep psychological effects.

3. Making documentaries is a struggle against time

We filmed *My Last Secret* 我最后的秘密 (dir. Li Xiaofeng and Jia Kai 贾恺, 2007), *The Shoeshiner's Journey* 昨日狂想曲 (dir. Li Xiaofeng and Jia Kai, 2016), *Ballad of Roaming Spirits* 游神考 (dir. Li Xiaofeng and Jia Kai, 2019) and indeed all of our documentaries over a period of years. They lasted three years, five years, eight years, or even longer. I must admit that I try to extend the time I spend making each film and accumulate as much material as possible.



My Last Secret

I have a simple desire to work on one film for my entire life. The film should never be finished and never have a final edit. I should always feel that there are more things I can do to surprise the viewer, or that the film could be more reflective of reality.

I believe that while filmmakers can become more technically competent, they should have the attitude of an amateur. This is the only way that they will not begrudge the time and energy spent on a film and will actually enjoy the process of making a documentary. It's not possible to expect much more out of filmmaking. Surely, it is best to have the following attitude:

No matter what happens to the film, eventually it will become pixelated.

4. Pixelation as evidence

I went into the mines three times in order to film the mine scenes for *Gold Underground* 遍地乌金 (dir. Li Xiaofeng and Jia Kai, 2011). On the second time, my camera was taken away by the security

guard of the private mine as soon as I came back up. To make matters worse, it was formatted right before my eyes. After much heartache, I asked a data recovery company in Xi'an to help me recover the materials. Every second of the mining footage was hard-won. Although the company had superb skills (it was even said that they had successfully restored the core data of a precious artifact), after ten hours of work, the material had been restored, but the quality was blurry. The heads did not line up with the bodies and the colours were mixed together as if pixelated.

You can probably appreciate my frustration. I had no choice but to go through the effort of finding another mine and filming everything again.



Poster for *Gold Underground*

Curiously, I opened the pixelated version and scrubbed backwards and forwards, watching the footage again and again. The more I watched, the more I believed that this pixelated version had a unique meaning. I wouldn't edit it into my documentary, of course—at that time I didn't have the courage to do that. But what if it were placed in an art gallery? That might be a good idea.

This reminded me that our documentaries are not simply made up of intact film materials but also damaged film materials. Pixelation is a reminder and a form of evidence. What if we changed our perspective? Isn't it possible to say that the pixelated version is closer to reality, or closer to truth?

5. Pixelation as part of the scenery

It goes without saying that in film, pixelation has another meaning. On television, legal commentary shows often use pixelation. Typically the aim is to protect the identity of the person being filmed, and there is nothing wrong with that. The problem is that the pixelation is so sloppy, those familiar with the person would still be able to identify them.

Documentaries that are shown in cinemas will self-censor. The film will not need to use pixelation

because anything sensitive would have already been removed.

Pixel eyes.

Pixel bodies.

Pixel personalities.

Pixelation has already become an inescapable part of a film's scenery.

We might as well go straight to pixelating these objects:

Flowers

Trees

Wooden boats

Cut pears

Rivers flowing into seas

Skyscrapers

Perfume bottles

Toothbrushes

Guns

6. Turning into pixels

In the next five or ten years, or perhaps longer than that, I will work hard to continue making the films that I want to make. I might disseminate them and distribute them, but it is still OK if I do not disseminate or distribute them. If I show them to my friends, or only share them with family, that still has meaning for me. The seasons turn, and lights and shadows move. What harm is there in projecting a film on the wall of one's home? Everything is alive ... how do we know that the chairs, tables, and cups are not watching my film? When the refrigerator rumbles, how can I be sure that it is not expressing its opinion?

Let me be guzzled by time, willing to sink down, willing to be alone, willing to be with all of the things that are indisputable and indestructible—

Let's all turn into pixels.

关键词：马赛克

黎小锋

概要

马赛克，或许代表独立影像中被风化、被销蚀的那一部分。

一、犹如时间的蜂巢

看一百年前的电影资料，黑与白失去了影调层次，图像模糊、残缺不全；看十几年前翻录的录像资料，画幅之间弥漫着品红色的雾；而就在六、七年前拍摄的影像（磁带）素材，竟然出现多处让人绝望的马赛克。

我曾经在镜头后面关注的那些人物，也许要不了多少年，就都变成了监视器里一堆一堆色彩斑斓、混沌不清的马赛克。它们密密匝匝、数不胜数，犹如时间的蜂巢，存储着一张张或者生动或者无趣的面孔，存储着某些在不期然中发生、充满不确定性的片段——但是，观众再也无法破译其中的任何秘密。

二、纪录片到底对谁有意义？

不会是被拍摄者，因为纪录片未必能带来他们需要的任何东西，相反，麻烦事情或许更多一些。所以，对于被拍摄者来说，马赛克或许就是纪录影像的最佳归宿——那些纯私人性的，与痛苦、忧伤相关的隐秘证据不复存在。

也不会是观众。他们感兴趣的只是在一、两个多小时里“心游他境”，经历他人的幸福与苦难，然后伸个懒腰，全身而退。

就我个人体验而言，纪录片只对制作者本人有意义。它是一种类似写作、绘画的个人行为，完成之前让人寝食难安、备受折磨，完成之后仍会在作者内心产生巨大回响。

三、做纪录片是在与时间拔河

我们的每部纪录片，从《我最后的秘密》（2007）、《昨日狂想曲》（2016）到《游神考》（2019），

拍摄时间都在三五年、七八年，甚至更长。必须承认，尽可能拉长制作时间，尽最大可能积累素材，我是故意的。

我一直有个朴素的愿望，就是希望一个片子能做一辈子，永远都拍不完，永远都剪不完，永远都觉得后面还有更出乎你意料，更逼近生命真相的素材出现……



我觉得，技术上可以专业一些，但心态上必须是业余的。只有这样，才不会计较时间和精力的付出，才能体会做纪录片本身的乐趣。毕竟，过程才是最让人愉快和幸福的。其他的实在不能奢望太多。退一万步讲，不妨抱持这么一种心态：管它遭遇如何呢，反正迟早会成为马赛克的。

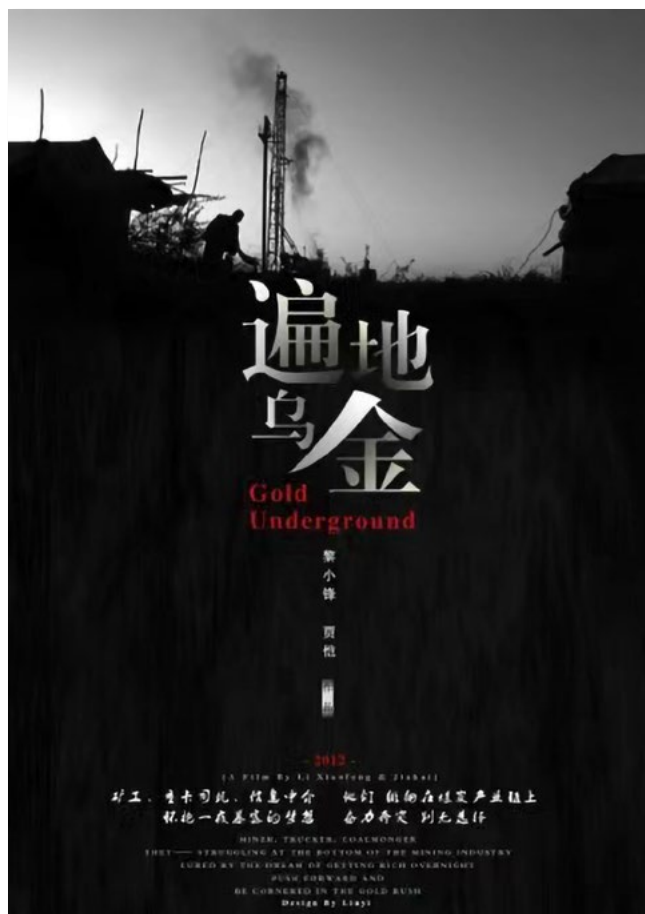
四、马赛克，作为证据

在拍摄《遍地乌金》（2011）煤矿部分时，我曾经下井三次。第二次刚出井口，摄像机就被私人煤矿的保安强行夺去，并当着我的面，将素材全部格式化了。心痛之余，我去西安找到一家数据恢复公司，希望对方能够帮我找回那些素材，毕竟每一帧画面都来之不易。尽管对方本领高超（据说成功恢复过某某神器的核心数据），忙活了十几个小时后，素材倒是恢复了，但却是一些模糊不清的，脑袋和身体错位的，各种色彩搅合在一起的……马赛克！

当时的沮丧可想而知。我不得不费尽周折另外找到一家煤矿，重新下井拍摄。

后来，神使鬼差，我忍不住将“马赛克”输出到时间线上，翻来覆去，一遍一遍地看，越看越觉得，这些马赛克别有趣味！当然，剪进纪录片里，起码在当时，我下不了决心，但若放在美术馆呢？说不定是个好主意。

这给了我一个提醒。我们的纪录片，不仅来自那些完整的素材，同样也来自那些残损的素材。马赛克其实是一个提示，是一种证据，换个角度来



《遍地乌金》海报

看，何尝就不接近现实，不接近本真？

五、马赛克，作为景观

毋须讳言，在影像领域，马赛克往往是另有所指的。电视法制节目上常常能够看到马赛克，一般都是为了保护被拍摄者隐私，这没有什么问题。有问题的是，马赛克往往打得非常草率，熟人朋友一望便知。而在当前的院线纪录片里，出于自我审查原因，往往都不用在后期采取技术手段进行处理，观众自然也看不到马赛克。

马赛克 – 眼睛。

马赛克 – 身体。

马赛克 – 人格。

马赛克，已经成为一种无力挣脱的景观。

干脆，给这些事物打上马赛克吧——

花

树杈

小木船

梨的切面

江河入海口

摩天大楼

香水瓶

牙刷

枪

六 变成马赛克

在今后五年、十年，或者更长的时间段里，我仍将努力做自己想做的影像作品，可以传播、发行；也可以不传播、不发行。对我来说，放给朋友看看，或者只和家人分享，都是有意义的。季节轮回，光影流转，投影在自家白墙上又有何妨。万物有灵，桌子、椅子、杯子……就不会看电影？冰箱嗡嗡作响，你敢确定它不是在发表影评？

且让我把自己耗在时间里，自甘沉沦，自甘寂寞，和一切不容置疑的东西、一切坚不可摧的东西——

一起变成马赛克吧。

Keyword: Public-Interest Images

My Public-Interest Films and Me

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Abstract

Looking back on my filmmaking journey, I'm very fortunate to find an ideal way of expressing myself. For the past dozen years, many people have influenced me and changed my perception of this society. The production of each work allowed me to grow, develop, get closer to the audience, have more interactions, and impact one another. I still have something to say about this society with anger and hope. In my non-for-profit films, I have sought to contemplate questions about what I am angry about, what I hope for, and what kind of society is my ideal. Not only do I think about these, but I also hope to bring thoughts to the audience.

It has been a decade or so since my series of works were termed 'public-interest film'. I can't recall who it was that influenced or inspired me to do so, and I don't remember when it was exactly that I started calling my documentaries 'public interest documentaries'. It's actually appropriate to call my works 'independent documentaries', because basically none of my documentaries have passed censorship, and some of them have never been submitted to censorship at all. I don't like to play games with censorship, this feeling of resistance is growing stronger and stronger now; and I don't want to humiliate myself, because I feel that filmmaking is part of my freedom of expression. *Yunjie* 矮婆 (dir. Jiang Nengjie, 2018) is my first feature film that has been publicly screened in mainland cinemas, as a matter of fact it is the only one that has acquired the dragon seal. It was released in 2021 and it is a film



Screenshot of Jiang Nengjie's film catalogue on Douban

focusing on rural and left-behind children. It is a film of public-interest matters as well.

People always ask me what it means by ‘public-interest film’. It is actually pretty close to the connotation of ‘public interest’, which is to focus on the disadvantaged and the underprivileged. Public welfare institutions and the public-spirited activists would explore, improve, advocate and actually try to solve social problems, while what public-interest films should do is to record, speak and advocate with moving images. In mainland China, lots of disadvantaged and underprivileged people find it difficult to make their voices heard, so public interest film should not just to record, moreover, it should make a sound, to be seen, so that the wide public could notice and face up to the existence of the problems; and this, is how improvements and changes start to take place.

My career started in 2008 and I made my first documentary in 2009, which is *Road* 路. This film was shortlisted for the China Documentary Film Festival (中国纪录片交流周) in 2010. I attended the film festival in Songzhuang and watched many of my peers and predecessors’ works – it was an inspiring journey, and I was deeply impressed. My earlier works, *Road* and *Children at a Village School* 村小的孩子 (dir. Jiang Nengjie, 2014), both focused on people and events in my home village. If we have to categorise them, then both films focused on left-behind children and rural education. *Children at a Village School* was completed in early 2014, the environment was better at that time, which means, the space and freedom for expression was much better than today. This film was screened in hundreds of universities, and there were many private independent screening venues back then. This would be very difficult to realise today, especially in universities – even works of public-interest matters would be pretty difficult to be shown in higher education institutes.



On the shooting of the documentary *Jia Yi* 加一 (dir. Jiang Nengjie, 2016)

My early works are related to my own origin and upbringing. It's probably because I went to university and spent some time in the urban, so, after experiencing that, when I look back at my hometown, I became less accustomed to the realities there. Why are there so many left-behind children in my hometown? Why is the rural education still undeveloped? Why are the school buildings always jerry-built? And why can't the temporary substitute teachers get regular payment and get the pay arrears fixed despite repeated petitions? I know that it may be difficult to disseminate and promote my works if they focus on these contents and matters, so I thought of such a title: the public-interest documentaries. I am really concerned with issues in the public sphere, which in fact, are regards to the interests of a large group of people. Adding the word 'public-interest' on it was largely due to the purpose of desensitisation, in this way, it would be easier to facilitate dissemination and publicity.

Later on, due to my interest in history, I produced a trilogy of films on war veterans. And in recent years, I started to pay more attention to subjects such as mental disorders and homosexuality. In terms of subject matter, most of my works are basically of public interest, and the organisations we work with are also public welfare organisations. Even though public welfare organisations cannot offer us much money, but they have no problem providing a few tens of thousands of yuan to start up. Their support mostly lies in thorough assistance, such as recommending a number of cases that can be filmed, providing basic accommodation and food, as well as contacting and arranging the filming, sometimes they even help take care of the licensing of the portrait rights... they basically have done half the job of a producer.



Main poster of the documentary *Miners, the Horsekeeper, Pneumoconiosis*

My documentaries have always been shot and run on a low budget, averagely at a cost of a hundred or two hundred thousand yuan per piece, but it's more about time cost. I'm often asked how much one of my documentary costs. Actually, I can't give the answer because, I don't know how to calculate the cost of my time, how much is my daily salary, how many days did it take – I have no answer for all of these questions, and I have never thought about them. Sometimes, in order to save money I would pick up the camera and shot materials myself. My hands would be itchy if I hadn't held the camera for a while; but it's more about the familiarity to the materials: if I knew what I had shoot, it would be more efficient. Because if I knew the contents I wanted and the direction I wanted to take, it would be much easier for post-producing.

Many people may know me for my work *Miners, the Horsekeeper, Pneumoconiosis* 矿民、马夫、尘肺病 (dir. Jiang Nengjie, 2019), a documentary on the subject of pneumoconiosis. In 2020, the unintended COVID-19 pandemic took place. During the lock-down, my fellow countrymen were idle, we had to stay at home, which means that we were unable to go shopping, unable to go out, unable to date and unable to go to cinemas... we spent a lot of time playing with the mobile phones and were addicted to the Internet. Also, during that time, those WeChat official accounts of film and television contents had to rest on the shelf because there weren't new films to promote; there wasn't any new film in the cinema, and you just couldn't keep selling the same old stuff. So when my film appeared through the Netdisk, it spread out immediately. The tone of promotion was sad-fishing. Indeed, it is really difficult to live as an independent documentary maker, it is rather miserable. And there are not many people who insist on creating independent images, especially in recent years. The



Main poster of the documentary *We Will Have Everything* 一切都会有的 (dir. Jiang Nengjie, 2020)

control is tightened, it is not easy to create freely, plus the atmosphere and environment in market are pretty depressed. Even if there are some good works in the industry, it is still hard for them to reach the audience and cinephiles.

As for the dissemination of public-interest films, a good subject matter has its advantages. First of all, the public might be interested in them, and there could be scholars and institutions researching them. Take the subject of mental disorders that I am concerned with as an example, there are people such as social anthropology scholars, social work majors and those who work in social work agencies who would pay attention to it; in addition, people who studies psychology, medicine and works in disability associations would also be interested in it. Also including those who have mental disorder patient(s) in their family, they would also be interested and would seek to see it. For another example – the film I shot on sexual minorities – the sexual minority is, in fact, a huge group, so even when we were still filming, there were already lots of people asking when the film would be ready to view. After seeing the film, they would spread it around if they liked it. And I always encourage them to spread, because the process of spreading over is, in fact, the process of making a sound and making it heard. Although the video sites are strictly censored, it is just as possible to spread it via Netdisk. The two groups, the mentally challenged and sexual minorities, are very large, but many people find that there are not many of them around. It's mainly because of the unfriendly environment, the overwhelming prejudice and discrimination make them step back and not be able to be their true selves, besides, they are not allowed to enjoy the sunshine and freedom like the others. I guess how a nation treats the disadvantaged and minority groups tells the level of its social civilisation, right?

I have never thought that my series of public-interest films were awesome, what made them good were the subjects, as well as the perspective; because what I focused on were the ordinary people and mundane occurrences... those are good subjects, and besides, these kinds of subjects are easier to get involved, to keep a low budget and to raise money. Moreover, a good subject matter has its natural attraction towards the public, it would be easier for the audience to connect to the story, and the media would be willing to report and publicise it. It is a huge advantage.

I hope that my public-interest films can promote understanding and trust between people and eliminate prejudice and discrimination. For example, after watching our documentary on left-behind children, I hope people could be kinder to these kids – they are the future after all. If the large number of left-behind children in the village are not allowed to grow up healthily, there will be bad consequences that society has to bare. For example, I hope that we can be kinder to the parents of the left-behind children, that is, be kinder to the migrant workers in the city, and try not to hold their payments in arrears. It would hit my nerve whenever I heard about people saying that somebody's



Picture of Jiang Nengjie shooting in his hometown

‘maliciously asking for their salary’. Is wage arrear out of good will? But this society is lack of common sense, which makes it easy to confuse right with wrong. My parents themselves used to be rural migrant workers. I get very angry at the end of the year whenever I see the news of demanding payments because it would make me think of the elderly parents and young children behind these unpaid migrant workers. Anger drives my creating, but I don’t have that much hatred in my mind, and I hate teaching hatred; hatred makes me lose my mind. And my works don’t promote hatred, it’s more about understanding and love.

I was totally a science major student, so I am actually not good at doing art and playing with the fancy concepts when making films, what I can only do is to tell stories with honesty. Long time span is a feature of my works, I usually spend several years to follow a project, sometimes even a decade. The main reason is that instead of shooting one film at a time, I often work on several films at the same time; that is, when there are money-making commercial commissions, I would work on that, but when there is not, I would work on my own stuff. I often shoot a film for a while, let it go for a while, and then continue to shoot it for some more time. It’s because shooting



While shooting, Jiang Nengjie participated in work during the busy farming season

costs money, and if I run out of money, I would have to make some money first. Making documentaries is very interesting, as time goes by, you can witness a lot of changes in the people and events you are filming, and this is a very interesting thing to document.

As for the fact that I always shoot the underprivileged, it is probably because I was born at the bottom of the society. I was born in a remote village. And as a child I liked to read books, which had a great influence on me. Later on, when I gained some resources and support from my films, I consolidated the resources and started a library in my hometown. My biggest pressure is that I have to raise more than 100,000 yuan per year to keep the library running, to cover the rent and the librarian's salary. But in the five years since I started the library, more than 3,000 children have registered for library cards and the book circulation rate has been pretty good, which indeed gives me a lot of comfort, and I hope that the books will influence the children in my hometown. The documentaries I make are more about documenting, presenting and speaking out, by this I hope more people can see where the problems are in the society. Starting this library is my little efforts on public service. I try to make some improvements and changes by doing this, and it helps relieve some of my guilt and remorse.



Picture of Jiang Nengjie shooting *Yunjie*

Documentaries are not that powerful, and there is no need to be afraid of them. They may be able to influence a few people, and of course we need that in our lives, but I don't believe that independent film is powerful enough to change the world. But a truly insightful documentary do have a profound impact and its power cannot be ignored. I always feel that what is needed for this society to function properly is the real rule of law, as well as true civilisation and firm comprehensive strength; and of course, the prerequisite for all of that is - freedom.

I've always wanted to make some films that would last, that is, films of vitality. Now I think a lot of things are mere worldly possessions, and the only thing that would remain, or the only thing I could offer to the future generations, is perhaps my film. That's why I require a high degree of creative freedom for my works. The works that I really have some reputation for, or those with high Douban ratings, are all made in a free-creating state at beginning. I'm very cautious about the involvement of funding, the premise is that it should not interfere with my creative freedom. Otherwise I'd rather do

some purely commercial works, which are mainly to satisfy the needs of my clients, and for me, it's just to earn some money. I just need to be paid and make the clients satisfied, and I prefer not having my name appeared, because it is not really my work, and I rarely mention those works to anyone. So in the twelve years' career as filmmaker, I have been balancing the ideal with the reality, sometimes I would go a bit more ideal and sometimes less... only with such a balance can life go on in a better way.

While my film has its lens fixed on the society, the society also turns to me: in my twelve-year career of filmmaking, I have received donations from individuals, as well as a few corporate sponsorship and foundation support. Although what they could offer was little, they do not ask for much in return; for the most of the times, they just need their names appeared in the film. In most cases, my films can be viewed and screened for free, it's because I own the copyright for most of my works, and also because I believe that public-interest films are more valuable when they are widely distributed; and it may also help them to speak out. But of course, I advocate paying for knowledge and rewarding filmmakers for their work – just like those articles published on WeChat public account, you may award the author at the end of the article; and what's the difference between an article and a film, the film that I have spent years to produce, and why can't I put a QR code at the end of the film for others' to reward me? But this is all voluntary. The reward income has become one of my major sources of income in recent two years, it's a virtuous cycle for my works.

The last thing I would like to say is, filmmaking is my way to pursue freedom; documentary is just



Jiang Nengjie meeting a friend at his studio in Guangzhou

a tool for me, and it's the only way I found, for the time being, to express myself. Indeed, the reason why I have insisted on creating public-interest films is that I am concerned about the society. And the more I stay with the lower strata of society, the more I find them easy to get along with. I hate hypocrisy and polite formulas, I hate the false sense of mightiness and glory, and I hate the so-called elites who are so shrewd and calculative... but most important of all, I don't want to become the person that I hate.

Human is born with natural rights and human has every right to speak; and filmmaking is a way for me to speak. The purpose of making public-interest film is to let the audience see the lives of the others, especially those of the lower class. Many of them have difficulties in making their voices heard and are marginalised, while the public media acts more as a mouthpiece and does not really shoulder the responsibility of the media. Although there isn't much commercial value in my public-interest films, and perhaps it's still very difficult to speak out their appeals through these films; I hope they have some value as documentary archives, and may at least have the potential to give future generations an understanding of how we lived in the times of change, the era of rapid economic growth, as well as what life is like for left-behind children, substitute teachers, the pneumoconiosis patients, the mentally challenged and so on.

History has its complexities and cannot be generalised. May independent documentary raise questions on the simple and crude conclusions of history, and may my fellow countrymen live with more dignity and security in this land.

关键词：公益影像

我与我的公益影像作品

蒋能杰

概要

回想自己从事影像之路,感觉自己很幸运,找到一种能承载自己理想的表达方式。这十几年一直在创作,很多人、很多事影响了我,改变了我对这个社会的认知。每部作品的创作,让我成长,让我成熟,让我离观众越来越近,接触的机会越来越多,而且相互影响。我对这个社会还有话要说,还有愤怒,还抱有希望。希望得到什么,什么样的社会是我理想中的社会,这是我和我公益影像作品一直在思考的,不只是我在思考,我也希望给观众带来思考。

统称我的系列作品为公益影像作品,有十来年了吧,最开始这么称呼,我也不记得受谁的影响和启发,我甚至不记得啥时候开始管自己的纪录片叫公益纪录片。其实叫独立纪录片很合适,因为我纪录片作品基本都没过审查,或者压根就没去送审,越来越不想跟审查制度玩,不想自取其辱,因为我觉得影像创作是我言论自由的一部分。2021年在大陆院线上映的首部剧情片《矮婆》,是我唯一一部龙标电影,关注乡村和留守儿童题材,也是公益题材。

很多人问过我啥叫公益影像,其实跟公益的理念有接近,关注弱势,关注底层。公益人士和公益机构切实地去探索、去改善、去倡导、甚至解决社会问题,公益影像主要是用影像的方式去记录和发声,更多的是倡导。很多弱势和底层,在中国大陆发声困难,公益影像不只是一个记录,更主要的是发声,让更多人看见,看见和正视问题的存在,才是改善和改变的开始。

我2008年开始工作,2009年拍了第一部纪录片作品,就是纪录片《路》,还入围了2010年的中国纪录片交流周。我在



蒋能杰作品目录豆瓣截图



纪录片《加一》(2016) 工作照

宋庄参加影展，看了很多同行和前辈的作品，其实很受影响和启发。我早期作品《路》和《村小的孩子》关注的都是老家村里的人和事，硬要扯一个主题，就是关注留守儿童和乡村教育。《村小的孩子》是2014年年初完成的，那会儿环境氛围比较好，言论空间和自由度比当今好很多，该片在上百所高校放映，民间独立放映也不少。这搁当今，是很难实现的，特别是高校，哪怕是公益题材作品，也很难在高校里放映。

我的早期作品跟自己的出生和成长相关，也可能因为自己上过大学，在大城市呆过，回头看自己的老家，就没那么习以为常了。为什么老家这么多留守儿童，乡村教育这么落后，学校校舍豆腐渣工程，



纪录片《一切都会有的》(2020) 主海报

代课老师多次上访也没法解决自己转正和工资拖欠问题？自知自己作品如果主打这些内容和主题，可能很难传播和宣传，所以想了个公益纪录片名头。我确实关注的是公共领域的议题，也是关注很大一个群体的利益，贴上公益两字，最主要的还是想去敏感化，利于传播和宣传。

后来由于自己对历史感兴趣，我陆续摄制了抗战老兵题材三部曲，近几年又关注了心智障碍和同性恋题材。从题材来讲，基本是公益题材，合作的机构也是公益机构，公益机构给不了太多资金，但给个几万启动资金还是没啥问题的。最主要的还是给与我们充分的协助，比如推荐大量可以拍摄的案例，给予基本的食宿安排，以及联系和安排拍摄事宜，甚至把拍摄肖像权授权等事宜也搞定了，充当了半个制片人的角色。

我的纪录片一直是低成本拍摄和运作，一部也就十几二十万，更多的是时间成本。常被问到成本多少钱一部，我也没法给予回答，因为我的时间成本怎么算，算多少钱一天合适，具体花了多少天，我都不知道，也没想去算这个。有时为了省钱，自己拿起机器拍摄，很久不拿机器，手痒，关键对自己拍摄的素材了解，而且拍摄更有效率，因为自己更清楚自己想要的内容，以及创作方向，这样后期就轻松很多。

可能很多人知道我，是因为我关注尘肺病题材的纪录片《矿民、马夫、尘肺病》（2019），这个片子碰到了2020年可遇不可求的新冠疫情，国人同胞更多闲下来，封闭在家，逛不了街，出不了门，约不了会，进不了电影院，大量时间在玩手机，和沉迷于网络。还有就是大量的影视类公众号闲置，没啥新片可推，不可能老炒冷饭，影院没上啥新片，所以我片子通过网盘出现，一下子就传开来。传播的基调就是卖惨，做独立纪录片活命确实困难，是比较惨，坚持独立影像创作的也不多，特别



纪录片《矿民、马夫、尘肺病》主海报

最近几年，管控收紧，想自由创作不容易，再加上市场氛围环境也确实糟糕。就算同行有不少好作品，怎么顺利地抵达到观众和影迷眼前，也是一件很有难度的事情。

关于公益影像的传播，其实题材好很占优势，首先社会大众感兴趣的多，研究的人和机构也多，比如我关注心智障碍题材，高校社会人类学、社工专业的，社工机构的，甚至心理学、医学、残联等，都会有关注。包括家人里有心智障碍者，他们也会感兴趣，会找来看。再比如我拍摄性少数题材的，本来性少数群体庞大，片子摄制过程中，就不断有人来问，啥时候出片，片子出来，如果他们喜欢，他们自己会传播，我也鼓励他们传播，因为通过传播才能更好的发声。虽视频网站审查严格，但网盘形式一样可以传播。心智障碍和性少数这两个群体很庞大，但是很多人发现身边并不多，主要是这环境氛围很不好，太多人的偏见和歧视，让他们不敢走出来，做真我，不能一样地享受阳光和自由。一个真正文明国家，如何对待弱势群体和少数人群，应该是文明的标志吧。

一直不觉得我的系列公益影像作品有多好，题材好而已，关注的也是身边的人和事，因为容易介入、成本低、题材好，找钱筹钱也相对容易。再者由于作品的题材好，关注的人比较多，也容易产生共鸣，媒体也愿意去报道和宣传，这是很占便宜的事情。

希望我的公益影像作品更多地增进人与人的了解和信任，消除偏见和歧视。比如看了我们留守儿童纪录片，希望对儿童友好些，他们可是未来。如果让太多乡村留守儿童不能健康成长，这将是一枚恶果，需要社会慢慢品尝。比如希望对留守儿童的父母，也就是进城务工的农民工朋友善点，少拖欠工资，恶意讨薪这样的事听起来我就冒火，难道欠薪就是善意的？不过这社会常识缺乏，是非也容易混淆。因为我们父母也是多年的农民工，年底看到讨薪的新闻出现就会愤怒，我会想到这欠薪的农民工背后有年迈的父母和年幼的孩子。愤怒让我去创作，但我没那么多仇恨，也很讨厌仇恨教育，仇恨会让我失去理智，包括我作品也没有宣扬仇恨，更多宣扬的是理解 and 爱。



蒋能杰在老家乡间拍摄工作照

我本是理工科出生，拍片也玩不了艺术和概念，只能老老实实在地讲故事。我的作品时间跨度长，动不动好几年跟拍，甚至十年，主要是我不是光拍一个片子，常常几个片子同时进行，交叉拍摄，有赚钱的商业拍摄就去忙商业拍摄，没有就好好拍自己的作品。常常一个片子拍一阵，放一阵，又接着拍摄，因为拍着拍着，没钱了，总得去挣点钱。纪录片这个东西很有意思，时间变化，可以见证你拍摄的人和事发生很多变化，这个记录下来就很有故事，也有意思。



蒋能杰导演拍摄期间，农忙时参与劳作

至于我老拍底层，可能因为我本来就出生于底层，出生于偏远乡村，小时候喜欢看书，书对我影响比较大。后来做作品带来一些资源，我整合一下，在老家创办了图书馆。我的压力就是每年得化缘十几万元来维持图书屋的运作，解决房租和图书管理员工资。但创建图书屋这五年里，有超过三千孩子办理借书证，借阅量不错，给了我不少慰藉，希望书能影响老家的孩子们。我拍的纪录片，更多的是记录、呈现、发声，让更多人看清社会问题所在，从而力所能及地做点公益，去尝试做点改善和改变，也是了却我一些愧疚和自责吧。

纪录片其实没那么大的力量，也不用惧怕纪录片，它或许可以影响一些人，生活中也需要这个，但是要改变这个世界，我不太相信独立影像有这么大的力量。但是真正有思想的纪录片，影响深远，力量仍然不可忽视。一直觉得这个社会正常运转，需要的还是真正的法治吧，真正的文明和强大，前提还是需要两个字——自由。

我一直想做一些能留得下来的作品，也就是有生命力的作品。现在我觉得很多东西都是身外之物，能留下来的，或者能给后代留下来的，或许就只有我的作品了。所以我对自己的创作自由度要求很高，我真正有点口碑的作品，或者豆瓣评分比较高的作品，前期都是在自由创作的状态中。我对资金的介入很谨慎，前提是不能干预我的自由创作。要么我就是纯粹点，做点商业视频，商业视频更主要的是满足客户的需求，我主要是挣点钱，钱给我了，拍摄的作品令客户满意了，最好不要署名我的作品，因为不是真正属于我的作品，我也很少提及这是我的作品。所以这十二年的影像创作生涯，我一直在平衡理想与现实，哪怕多一点，



电影《矮婆》蒋能杰导演工作照

哪怕少一点，平衡好了，生活才能更好地继续。

我的作品关注社会的同时，社会也很关注我，所以创作这十几年来，接受了不少个人的捐赠，也有企业赞助和基金会支持，虽然不多，他们没要求太多回报，很多时候也就是署名而已。片子很多时候可以公开免费传播，因为大部分版权在我手上，公益影像作品只有传播才更有价值，才能更好地发声。当然，我也倡导知识付费，随喜打赏，别人写一篇文章都可以文末打赏，我花几年时间拍摄的纪录片，为什么不可以片尾付个二维码方便打赏？但这个全凭自愿。通过打赏收入，也成为我最近两年的一个收入来源之一，让我的创作能更好地良性循环。

最后想说的是，影像创作是我追求自由的一种方式，纪录片只是我一个工具而已，暂时我只能找到这种方式表达自己。坚持公益影像创作，确实也是因为我很关注社会，接触更多的社会底层，发现他们更好相处。我讨厌虚伪和客套，讨厌伟光正与高大上，也讨厌精明得要死的所谓精英，主要还是不想活成自己讨厌的样子。

天赋人权，人要讲话，影像创作就是我讲话的一种方式。关注社会的公益影像作品是为了让观众看到更多人的生活，特别是底层百姓的生活。他们中很多人发声困难，被边缘化，而公共媒体更多地充当喉舌，没有真正肩负起媒体的责任。虽然我的公益影像作品的商业价值不高，或许想通过它们发声也非常困难，但愿它们有一定的文献价值，至少有可能让后人了解我们所经历的变革时代，经济高速时代，还有留守儿童、代课老师、尘肺病群体、心智障碍人士等，他们是如何生活的。

历史有它的复杂性，不能一概而论。愿独立纪录片让大家对简单粗暴的历史结论产生了质疑，愿我的同胞们在这片国土上活得更有尊严、更有安全感。



蒋能杰导演在广州的工作室会见朋友

Keyword: Workshop

‘Feelings guide the way, rational thought lights the way’:
My Workshop notes

Author: ZHANG Mengqi 章梦奇 Translator: Michelle DEETER

Abstract

I learned how to create things, live, communicate, and collaborate at workshops. I used this opportunity to go through my notes from the workshops and reflect on the following questions: what is a workshop? Why do we need workshops? What else can they do?

This is the eleventh year that I have made films. It was only after Flora (Lichaa) asked me to write an article that I realized I had graduated from stumbling through projects to being a part of the Chinese independent cinema scene.

I didn't start out in film studies, and I never studied film in a formal setting. Everything I have learned is from the workshops I have done. When I went to university, the word 'workshop' was strange and unfamiliar to me. It was a rich source of knowledge and it became both my film school and my art school. Participating in different workshops helped me see and reflect. Why did we need to express ourselves, how could we express ourselves and how could we transition from being an individual author to inspiring creativity with multiple authors?

Flora provided a list of words related to independent film, but the word 'workshop' did not appear. I took this opportunity to go through the film workshops I have participated in and the workshops I participated in and organized at the Caochangdi Workstation (草场地工作站). This is an opportunity to ask the following questions: what is a workshop? Why do we need workshops? What else can they do?

With these questions in my mind as I engage in my creative work, I cast my memory back thirteen years.

1. The field hospital

When I graduated from university in 2008, participating in workshops was a way to dip my toe into the real world. At that time, I had only participated in workshops related to dance. One day in April, after attending a Japanese dance workshop at the Chaoyang 9 Theatre, I followed a Chinese theatre company and two Japanese theatre companies to the Caochangdi Workstation, which was located by the road that went to the airport. It was dark outside and the place looked strange, like a warehouse. But it wasn't a warehouse—it had a stage, a cinema, a canteen inside. 'If it's called a workstation, then it will definitely have a workshop,' I remember telling myself.

Workshops were first held at Caochangdi Workstation in 2005.¹ The key period for workshops were during the May Art Festival (五月艺术节) and the October Crossing Art Festival (交叉艺术节). Apart from the national and international film screenings and theatrical performances on various themes, the stage and screening rooms on either side of the black curtain on the ground floor were packed with the theatre and documentary workshops. I went barefoot to a body workshop, and then I put on my shoes and went to a documentary workshop. The workshop was free and open to the public. As I repeatedly took off and put on my shoes, I discovered a new world.

I was more curious about the documentary workshops because it was the first time I had heard of that type of film. Entering the dark screening room, I would experience the world of the silver screen. When the lights were turned back on, I saw a room full of odd faces, all gazing upward. The room was 120 square metres and it was rammed with people whenever there was a screening. The most vivid description I can give is that when it was really crowded, we wished that we could have people watching while hanging from the ceiling lights. Apparently in May 2008, Wu Wenguang (吴文光) and Frank Scheffer (the Dutch documentary filmmaker) hosted a workshop and over eighty people attended.² I later learned that these people came from all different backgrounds—students, farmers, journalists, designers, people who moved to Beijing for work, teachers, and old guys from neighbourhood communities. The workshop turned into a marathon that started at sunrise and went until sunset and then sunrise again. Those who attended until late in the night forgot to eat, had dark circles under their eyes, blubbered as they cried, rolled on the floor laughing, shouldered heavy computer bags, and even brought suitcases to the workshop. But everyone ate well, because from the very beginning, Caochangdi Workstation offered a cheap buffet (the original price of ten yuan per person never changed). Everyone spoke loudly about the world of the silver screen, until one reality replaced another. It was more like fantasy than fiction.

Each one-week art festival felt like an era. Later I read an article where the host of the documentary

workshop Wu Wenguang said:

I hope to provide filmmakers of personal films and documentaries a place where they can get together, a place where they can communicate and discuss.

I heard Tian Gebing (田戈兵), a stage director and good friend of Wu Wenguang who frequently attended the workshops, describe it as ‘the largest field hospital for art in the country’.

2. The searchlight

In May 2009, at Caochangdi Workstation, Swiss documentary director Edna Politi’s workshop lasted until two in the morning. The atmosphere was heavy. Her film, *Anou Banou or the Daughters of Utopia* (1983), was about Zionist Jewish women who work on a kibbutz to achieve their dream of building a new nation. It stimulated a discussion on historical awareness and historical reflection. One of the participants of the Village Documentary Project (村民影像计划), 58-year-old Jia Zhitan (贾之坦), sat in the front row as he described his memories of the people’s communes and of famine. He was usually fast asleep at this hour. The story about hunger reminded the audience of their hunger for understanding their history. People began to discuss their hometowns, the countryside, their elders whose full names they did not know, and not knowing what their own grandparents had experienced in their lives. That night’s workshop became a searchlight that shone a light on a return to history and to the villages. Wu Wenguang later recalled that Jia Zhitan’s speech was what motivated him to propose the Folk Memory Project (民间记忆计划).³

The participants of more than ten workshops returned to Shandong, Hunan, Yunnan, Hubei, Hebei, and Henan, each participant visiting a village that they had a relationship with. Some went to the village where they were born, the village where their grandfather lived, or the village where they had been an educated youth *zhiqing* (知青) during the Cultural Revolution.

The Folk Memory Project started in the summer of 2010. I returned to my grandfather’s village, Diaoyutai village in Yindian township in Suizhou city in Hubei province.

In September, the participants brought back to Caochangdi Workstation the materials they had filmed of old people describing the Great Famine. A series of workshops focusing on ‘returning to memory’ was held. Originally, the festival workshops were designed for general documentary lovers, but gradually this shifted to regular workshops focusing on memory and returning to the village to create.

Some of these workshops included an interviewing workshop, an oral history compilation workshop, a first-cut editing workshop, a body and memory workshop, a paper-based editing workshop, a workshop on preparing supplementary materials, a workshop on preparing to go to a village, and a workshop on small-talk in villages.

These workshops were not only an opportunity for people from different backgrounds with similar interests to get together, but also a chance for people to work side by side and make things. These workshops produced a series of films and plays for the Folk Memory Project. My own work came out of the workshops from this period. I changed from someone who used dance to express other people's ideas to someone who used film to express my own ideas.

3. The boat to 2020

At the start of 2020, everyone was stuck in lockdown. Previously we might have faced abstract limits but now we had real limits that restricted us to our living rooms. Everyone had a direct experience of losing their freedom. Whatever we were working on had to be put on hold, and any activities that involved going outside were cancelled. My plan to continue filming in my grandfather's village was delayed indefinitely. But a rule of survival for independent creators is to never sit still. Thanks to modern technology, we do not have to be limited by time or distance—I'm not sure if that's a good thing or a bad thing. But perhaps if we use the tools available to us that's a good thing.

At the end of January, the Caochangdi mailing list, which had been our normal form of communication for the Folk Memory Project, was renamed 'Getting through 2020' (2020度过). We collected notes and ideas about filming and creating that were scattered in different places. Towards the end of February, I restarted the Sunday yoga class and book club through the email list. That was something that we had done in person on Sunday mornings in 2018 and 2019, and now it is called 'Sundays Online'. We were lonely and we were stuck, but we met up on QQ and found a tacit understanding while breathing together during yoga class. Remembering to breathe was especially important at this time. Rereading *The Plague* (1947) by Camus became a highlight of our book club.

Lockdown was lifted for Suizhou city on March 15, where I had been stuck. The next day I went to the place where I had been shooting and staying, Diaoyutai village, which I liked to call '47km' (47公里).⁴ We were all doing different things then. When the pandemic hit, Wei Xuan (魏轩) spent two months filming at the entrance of Magongdian village in Suqian, Jiangsu province because he was not allowed to enter. Hao Yongbo (郝永博) from Haozhaozhuang, Heze, Shandong province, was allowed to leave the village where his relatives lived and return home. Gao Ang (高昂) spent the

first few months of the pandemic in Henan and then went to Newcastle; while she was in isolation, she re-watched the footage of her hometown and worked out what she wanted to say with her film. Liu Xiaolei (刘晓雷) had to be the guardian of his family's 'fortress' due to the double blockade in Beijing. Hu Sanshou (胡涛) helped his family build a tomb for his ancestors in Xiangzidian village, Weinan, Shaanxi province, filming with a handheld camera all the while. Zhang Ping (张苹) and her mother moved from their hometown in Hunan to their place in Beijing, showing their health QR codes along the way, where they had to undergo a new period of isolation. Shao Yuzhen (邵玉珍), who had participated in the Villager's Video Project in 2005 and was now seventy years old, continued to record a video diary in Shaziying village, Beijing. Luo Luo (洛洛) from Miyi village, Sichuan province, interviewed her father about the disaster that occurred sixty years ago. Anthropology major Yu Shuang (俞爽) put her books down and observed reality in new rural village ruins. Finally, Wu Wenguang filmed a piece called *Free Everyday* 每日自白 (2020) in his home in Kunming, using his own voice to fight the pervasive waves of fear.

But 2020 was just getting started. A group of us learned how to help each other and get through the pandemic through creative work. On 8 April, Wu Wenguang created the Online Footage-Watching Workshop (线上阅读素材工作坊). This workshop was in a completely different format and followed new rules. Rather than having a mentor hosting the event, all the participants took turns hosting. The idea was to let each participant go back to the most basic and most detailed actions.

The method was as follows: each person had ten minutes to play some of their original footage and get some brief feedback from the group. The next person to play footage would note the content of the previous discussion. After each participant's material had been played, the whole group held a one-hour discussion, with one person moderating the overall discussion.

By 19 August, we had held twenty-three sessions of the Online Footage-Watching Workshop. We started by meeting twice a week, but then we went to meeting once a week. We went from combining footage to focusing on individual footage. We also transitioned from focusing on the outside world to focusing on inner reflection. The footage was ordinary, nowhere near perfect, and it seemed like nothing was happening. But we could still make a breakthrough and achieve something imaginative and creative.

The Online Footage-Watching Workshop motivated us to create new films. By the end of 2020, eight filmmakers had created something new.

The following works are debut films for the filmmaker:

Luo Luo's Fear 洛洛的恐惧 (2020) by Luo Luo, which was entered into the Asian film competition portion of the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival.

Farewell My 19 告别19岁 (dir. Hao Yongbo, 2020)

Reading Jiaoxing Village I 焦邢庄之论 I (dir. Gao Ang, 2020)

Old Mei in Huangpotan Village 黄婆滩的老妹妹 (dir. Yu Shuang, 2020)

The following works are not debut films:

My Village 我的村子2020 (dir. Shao Yuzhen, 2020)

The Burrows 地洞 (dir. Hu Sanshou, 2020), which was entered into the prospective competition at the Amsterdam International Documentary Film Festival

Riding Through Chapter One: Entrapment 度过一章: 围困 (dir. Wu Wenguang, 2020)

Self Portrait: A Fairy Tale in 47km 自画像: 47公里童话 (dir. Zhang Mengqi, 2020), which earned the Best Documentary Award at the Busan International Film Festival

The workshops also attracted a lot of people who came to listen. Zhao Shuyi (赵书仪) and Ke Wujun (柯芜君), who are studying in Japan and the United States respectively, listened to the workshops. Our old friend Ao Dai (奥黛), who is currently in Philadelphia, also attended from the very beginning until we started bringing in footage to watch. We heard her stories from the other side of the globe, learning about hundred-year-old trees and historical memories. Experienced Chinese independent film researcher Akiyama Tamako attended our meetings from Japan. She gave a talk at the Covid Period Art Report seminar, where she evaluated our Online Footage-Watching Workshop. Akiyama said:

They create new possibilities in the midst of many limitations; they save, write, and film the new memories that are being formed in this incredibly important period.

4. Reshaping location

The Online Footage-Watching Workshop started last year [2020], and the original reason was related to the lockdowns during the pandemic. Since we were unable to breathe normally during the lockdowns, we decided to attempt something else that we wouldn't consider under normal circumstances: looking at each other's footage and talking about it.

This quote was taken from the Caochangdi Workstation Station B public account.⁵ In 2021, we started a second season of the Online Footage-Watching Workshop, where we focused on creating new work. This season started on 23 June and went until November, with a plan to hold twenty

sessions. We met once weekly online, with each session lasting three hours.

We had twelve participants this season, with the oldest participant being seventy-one-year-old villager Shao Yuzhen and the youngest being twenty-year-old university student Zhang Dun (张盾). The footage included a family history, the reality of life in rural China, the demolition of urban villages, an investigation into the identity and life of a person who was found frozen to death, and a co-creation by a mother and son. The twelve participants shared the footage that they needed to edit and the group discussed it. Just like the first season, there was no mentor for the workshop. We simply wanted to see if we could ignite a spark of inspiration and help each other on the road to creation. Unlike the first season, we opened the workshop to many people who simply wanted to listen. We did not limit the number of meeting participants, and about thirty to forty people came to listen to each meeting.

People shared their experiences and discussed the creation of real images, preparation before filming and working methods while on location. Still, watching the materials was the most important step between shooting the raw footage and editing. Many filmmakers were conscientious about saving their footage on a hard drive, but they didn't open the files again while they worked. They had to slog through mountains of material all by themselves as they tried to find a way to make the footage work as a film.

Today, the participants of the Folk Memory Project are based all over China and even the world:

Shao Yuzhen is in Shaziying Village, Beijing; Luo Luo is in Miyi County, Sichuan; Wu Wenguang is in Kunming, Yunnan; Hu Sanshou is in Xiangzidian village, Shaanxi; Yu Shuang is in Huangpotan village, Zhejiang; Gao Ang is in Newcastle upon Tyne, England; Liu Shaoqing (刘晓倩) is in Baijiashan village in Shanxi; Zhang Dun is in Wuhan, Hubei; Dai Xu (戴旭) is in Gejiu, Yunnan; Liu Tong (刘通) is in Mingli village in Bengbu, Anhui; and Jia Zhitan is in Jiemingqiao village, Shimen, Hunan.

As the Chinese name of the workshop (literally Reading Materials Workshop [阅读素材工作坊]) suggests, 'reading material' is not just about watching film footage but about reading and understanding life. The Online Footage-Watching Workshop was a new way of coming together and inviting filmmakers to step into each other's shoes. In this way, we were able to understand our vastly different lives and the on-the-ground changes of an era.

The Online Footage-Watching Workshop of 2021 was built on the basis of the previous year and

created a more specific methodology and rules. A new direction was proposed: rather than deciding if certain material was good or bad, we would aim to understand multiple layers of meaning in the material. Before the filmmaker shared their materials with the rest of the workshop, they needed to sort them into categories, identifying which clip was closest to the core of the work. Every time the focus was on a single angle, we started at the periphery and gradually moved towards the centre.

This brought a new challenge: the participants needed to ‘read’ the footage rather than simply ‘watch’ it. They should not only talk about film language, and they should not simply describe their emotional response. They should try to find key words or themes to reflect upon in the works they were discussing. In this way, it would be possible to establish a clear connection between the work and real life. At the same time that the filmmakers attended the workshop and discussed their interpretation of the footage, they could accumulate experience on interpreting the world around them.

A wide range of themes emerged during our discussions: inside and outside; location and relationships; the understanding of partial imagination; special locations created by time; creation and life becoming support points; the metaphor of space; image and memory; the seen and the unseen; real time and inner time; and the reshaping and presentation of location—these concepts were all discussed in the workshops. The scattered thoughts and feelings of life were shared and analysed by the filmmakers to create a focus for reflection. I think this can be described as ‘Feelings guide the way, rational thought lights the way.’

No matter what happens, the act of recording goes on. We instinctively find ways to make breakthroughs together. The online world is full of ambiguous events and the age of isolation has turned physical bodies into a problem. How can concrete people be seen and understood? When we are forced to disconnect physically, how can we ensure that individuals are not consumed by a grand narrative? How can we bring memories to life, rather than keeping them in the past? As we ‘read’ each other’s footage, I could appreciate the truth of these people. Every documentary author is contesting with time and space and hoping to create a location that belongs to them. A person, a family, a village, and a new location that specifically belongs to us can be reshaped.

Notes

1 Caochangdi Workstation was an artistic space located at 105 Caochangdi Art Village, Airport Auxiliary Road, Chaoyang District, Beijing and active from 2005 to 2014. It was founded by Wu Wenguang and Wen Hui (文慧). From 2014 to today, Caochangdi Workstation is no longer a physical location, but rather a name for the creators working on the Folk Memory Project.

2 Wu Wenguang and Frank Scheffer held a documentary workshop where the participants all made short films. Later the pair started a fund for young directors called the Frank-Wu Documentary Fund, which supported the travel costs, accommodation and post-production costs of workshop participants.

3 Wu Wenguang's Folk Memory Project focuses on artistic practice. It began in summer 2010 at Caochangdi, and participants returned to villages that they were connected to, whether it was their birthplace, their parent's or grandparent's birthplace, or the place where they were sent as educated youth. They used oral histories to make documentaries. The Great Famine (1959 to 1961) was their first subject. After that, the oral histories covered land reform, the Great Leap Forward, the Socialist Education Movement and the Cultural Revolution. Caochangdi cooperated with Duke University Libraries to create the Memory Project (<https://repository.duke.edu/dc/memoryproject>). An important part of the project was that all participants were also creators, and their creative works included films, stage plays and writings.

4 47km is my nickname of Diaoyutai village, Yidian town, Suizhou city, Hubei. It is the home of my father's family and is the nickname for the village in *Self Portrait*.

5 Caochangdi Workstation Station B is the second account of the Folk Memory Project and the online platform for group events and sharing files. It went online in July 2016. Its predecessor, Caochangdi Workstation, was shut down along with the corresponding blog of the same name in June 2016.

Appendix

The following is a record of the completed films by participants of the workshops of Caochangdi Workstation and the Folk Memory Project, which lasted from 2005 to 2021. There are a total of 37 authors and 90 films:

Song Tian (宋田). *Tian Li* 天里 (2005); *Flowers* 花朵 (2008).
Shao Yuzhen. *My Village*, 7-part series, (2005-2020).
Jia Zhitan. *My Village*, 8-part series 我的村子, (2005-2014).
Zhang Huancai (张焕财). *My Village*, 7-part series 我的村子, (2005-2017).
Wang Wei (王伟). *My Village*, 3-part series 我的村子, (2005-2010).
Xie Lina (谢丽娜). *Mom* 妈妈 (2007).
Liu Heng 刘衡. *Back to Daxian* 回到达县 (2008).
Odette Scott. *Falling from Sky* 从天而降 (2010).
Li Ning (李凝). *Tape* 胶带 (2010).
Zou Xueping 邹雪平. *Zou Village*, 5-part series 邹家村系列, (2010-2014).
Luo Bing 罗兵. *Luo Village*, 3-part series 罗家屋系列, (2011-2013).
Li Xinmin 李新民. *Huamulin Village*, 3-part series 花木林系列, (2011-2013).
Jia Nannan 贾楠楠. *Jia Fukui's Winter* 贾福奎的冬天 (2011).
Shu Qiao 舒侨. *Shuangjing Village*, 3-part series 双井村系列, (2012-2014).
Wang Hai'an 王海安. *Attacking Zhanggao Village* 进攻张高村 信仰张高村 (2012-2013).
Wen Hui 文慧. *Listening to Third Grandmother's Stories* 听三奶奶讲过去的事情 (2012).
Guo Rui 郭睿. *The Rivers and Sisterhood* 河流与女人的吟唱 (2014).
Zhang Xinwei 张新伟. *Mr. Tang* 唐老师 (2012).
Zhang Ci 张慈. *The Faith in Ailao Mountain* 哀牢山的信仰 (2013).
Ye Zuyi 叶祖艺. *The Gleaners* 拾穗 (2014).
Li Youjie 李有杰. *A-Lao's Village* 阿佬的村庄 (2014).
Jiang Jijie 姜纪杰. *The Mulberry Story* 二十四 (2014).
Hu Sanshou. *Mountain Village* 山旮旯 (2014); *Legend* 古精 (2015); *Dumb Men* 偷羞子 (2018); *The Burrows* (2021).
Zhang Ping. *No Land* 冬天回家 (2013); *Herb* 土制没药 (2017).
Rong Guangrong 荣光荣. *Children Do Not Fear Death, But Fear the Devil* 孩子不惧怕死亡, 但是害怕魔鬼 (2015).
Ma Guijie 马桂洁. *The Train Flies Across My Village* 火车飞过我的村子 (2016).
Du Guan 杜冠. *Goodbye Winter* 再见冬天 (2016).
Liu Xiaolei. *A True Believer* 狂热自白 (2017).
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关键词：工作坊

“感性引路，理性照亮”——我的工作坊纪事

章梦奇

概要

我在工作坊中学习创作，学习生活，学习沟通，学习共建。借此文梳理我的工作坊纪事，也再度发问与自问工作坊是什么？为什么需要工作坊？工作坊还能做什么？

今年是我影像创作的第 11 年，因为风华的约稿才发现自己从最初的误打误撞，也居然进入了“中国独立影像 30 年”的板块之中。

我不是影像科班出身，没有一天正规影像专业的学习，所有对于影像的知识和实践都来自各种工作坊。读大学时，工作坊是一个生僻词，是一个囊括了丰富知识源的现场，也是我的“电影学校”或“艺术学校”。参与各种工作坊的过程让我看到并思考，为什么表达，如何表达，以及从成为一个作者，到与更多的作者共同激发创作的过程。

在风华提供的一系列关于独立影像的名词中，并没有出现“工作坊”，那我借此梳理一下过去参与过的影像工作坊，以及在草场地工作站最新参与和组织的工作坊。借此再度发问工作坊是什么？为什么需要工作坊？工作坊还能做什么？

带着这些始终盘旋在我创作过程中的问题，记忆需拉回 13 年前。

一、战地医院

2008 年我即将大学毕业，去校外参加工作坊是“半只脚踏出校外看世界”的途径之一，那时候我的所有工作坊经验只和舞蹈有关。4 月的一天在“朝阳 9 剧场”参加完一个日本舞蹈工作坊之后，我跟着一行中日剧场人摸黑去到了机场辅路边上的“草场地工作站”，一个酷似仓库又绝不是仓库的、有剧场、有电影院、还有食堂的奇怪地方。既然是工作站，也一定有工作坊，我当时是这么想的。

“草场地工作站”¹的工作坊传统始于 2005 年。每年 5 月的“五月艺术节”和 10 月的“交叉艺术节”，

这两大节日是工作坊黄金周。除去国内外的各种专题放映和剧场展演，一层黑幕布两边的舞台和放映厅里，几乎卡点进行着剧场与纪录片两个主擂台工作坊。光着脚就去身体工作坊，穿上鞋就去纪录片工作坊。工作坊免费，没有门槛。在穿鞋脱鞋之间，新的世界被打开。

我对纪录片工作坊更好奇，那也是我第一次知道有种电影叫“纪录片”。钻进漆黑的放映厅就进入银幕中的另一世界，一开灯满是仰着头奇形怪状的脸，120 平米的放映厅里上上下下塞满了人。最形象的比喻是：人最多的时候，恨不得屋顶灯上都挂着人。据说在 2008 年五月的吴文光与弗兰克·谢菲尔（荷兰纪录片导演）共同主持的纪录片工作坊，² 报名参加者达 80 人之多。后来知道，这些人都是各行各业，学生、农民、记者、设计师、北漂、教师、居委会大爷。工作坊做成了马拉松，从日出到日落再到日出，熬瘦的、黑眼圈的、说哭的、笑到地上的、扛着电脑来的、带着旅行箱的……在人人都能吃得起吃得饱且吃得好的食堂里（2005 年开始就没变过的“十元自助餐”），大声谈论银幕中的那个世界，一个现实取代了另一个现实，比虚构还梦幻。

往往一个星期的艺术节像一个世纪。后来在一篇文章读到，主持纪录片工作坊的吴文光说：“希望给个人方式独立制作纪录片的人提供聚合的平台，即给他们提供交流和讨论的场合。”我听到另一种解释来自吴文光老师的好友，同样也是工作坊常客的戏剧导演田戈兵：“全国最大的艺术战地医院。”

二、探照灯

2009 年 5 月，在草场地工作站，瑞士纪录片导演恩娜·波里蒂的工作坊进行到深夜 2 点，气氛凝重。一部讲述犹太女性投身集体农庄实现复国梦的《乌托邦的女儿们》（1983）唤起在座参与者对于历史认知与历史反思的讨论。58 岁的“村民影像计划”³ 作者贾之坦坐最前排激动谈起“人民公社”与“饥饿”记忆，通常这个时间他已经熟睡。“饥饿”故事唤起了在场人的“历史饥饿感”，大家谈起家乡，谈起乡村，谈起叫不出全名的爷爷奶奶，谈起了对自己完全空白的祖辈经历。那一夜的工作坊像一束探照灯，照亮了返回历史、返回村子的路。后来吴文光回忆，那一晚贾之坦的发言是刺激他提出“民间记忆计划”⁴ 的源头。

山东、湖南、云南、湖北、河北、河南……十多个工作坊的参与者陆陆续续返回到自己有关系的一个村子，有出生的村子，有爷爷的村子，有文革下乡当知青的村子。“民间记忆计划”在 2010 年夏天悄然开启。我回的是爷爷的村子，湖北省随州市殷店镇钓鱼台村。

9 月，回村者们带着从村子拍摄的老人讲述“三年饥饿”素材回到“草场地工作站”。一系列关于“返回记忆”的工作坊开始了。原本面向广大纪录片爱好者的节日工作坊，逐渐转向聚焦“记忆与回村创作”的常态工作坊。

比如：“采访工作坊”、“口述整理工作坊”、“初剪工作坊”、“身体与记忆工作坊”、“纸上剪辑工作坊”、

“补充素材工作坊”、“回村准备工作坊”、“闲聊村事工作坊”……

“工作坊”不只是不同生活背景的人因共同爱好相聚的缘由，更是一群人捆绑在一起冶炼的过程。这个时期的工作坊产生了一批“民间记忆计划”的系列影像和剧场作品，我的创作就是从这一时期的工作坊中走出来，也是我从舞蹈演员转向个人表达的过程。

三、2020 方舟

2020 年初所有人被围困家中，抽象的“限制”落地到自家客厅，“失去”自由是每一个人的切身体验。手头上工作被迫暂停，外出活动也取消，我原本要返回村子继续拍摄的计划也变得遥遥无期。不坐以待毙，是独立创作人一贯以来的必备生存法则，现代科技让时间和距离不再受到空间的限制，至今不知是好事还是坏事。如果用起来就是好事。

1 月底，草场地邮件组（民间记忆计划常规交流方式）以“2020 度过”为名，汇集来自分散在各地作者的拍摄笔记和创作笔记。二月下旬，我在邮件组中发起恢复周日的瑜伽与读书会，这个只发生在礼拜天上午的聚会活动持续了两年（2018–2019），如今转变成“线上礼拜天”。孤独与不自由的大家在 QQ 视频中重聚，默契地在瑜伽体式中找到共同的呼吸节奏，保持呼与吸在这个时候尤其重要。重读加缪《鼠疫》成了读书分享重头戏。

3 月 15 日，我所在的湖北随州市解封，第二天我回到自己的拍摄和新的居住地“47 公里”村子⁵。在这之前，江苏宿迁马公店村的魏轩驻守在自己村子的关卡处已经拍摄了近两个月时间；山东菏泽郝赵庄的郝永博也终于通过了自家亲戚看守的关卡回到自己家中；在河南打了上半场，回到纽卡斯尔打下半场的高昂，在隔离中重新阅读老家拍摄素材试图打出自己的主场；在北京的刘晓雷成为双重封锁之下的家庭堡垒的守护人；在陕西渭南湘子店村的胡涛，一手拿摄像机，一手搬砖给家里祖辈搭建墓地；湖南的张苹母子揣着安全码从湖南老家回到北京开始新的隔离；2005 年即参加村民影像计划的 70 岁的邵玉珍在北京沙子营村里持续日记式记录；四川米易的洛洛在家中采访老父亲谈论 60 年前的灾难；人类学专业的俞爽从书本走到现实中的新农村废墟；吴文光在昆明家里拍摄“每日自白”，试图用自己的声音抗衡无孔不入的恐惧浪潮。

2020 的故事才刚刚开始，一群人如何在创作中协助并共同渡过。4 月 8 日，吴文光发起了“线上阅读素材工作坊”。这个工作坊是全新的方式与规则，形式上从以往的导师主持到参与者轮流主持，试图让每一个参与者回到最基本也最细节的动作中。

方法是：每个人 10 分钟的时间，选择播放一段原始素材 + 集体简短回馈，并由下一个播放素材的成员记录讨论内容。每个成员的素材播放结束后，进入一小时时间的集体讨论，由一人认领整体讨论内容。

8月19日“2020线上阅读素材工作坊”进行到第23轮。从一开始的每周两回，到每周一回；从组合素材到单个素材；从向外的视线到向内的沉思。在阅读最日常、最不完美、看似最无事发生的单元素材中，从现实突围，想象与飞翔。

“阅读素材工作坊”直接刺激的是新作品出炉，2020年末有8个作者完成新作品：

《洛洛的恐惧》（作者：洛洛，入围“日本山形国际纪录片电影节”亚洲竞赛单元）

《告别19岁》（作者：郝永博）

《焦邢庄之论I》（作者：高昂）

《黄婆滩的老妹妹》（作者：俞爽）

（以上为“处女作”完成作者）

《我的村子2020》（作者：邵玉珍）

《地洞》（作者：胡涛，入围“阿姆斯特丹国际纪录片电影节”展望竞赛单元）

《度过一章：围困》（作者：吴文光）

《自画像：47公里童话》（作者：章梦奇，获得“釜山国际电影节最佳纪录片奖”）

（以上为新片完成“老作者”）

工作坊的进程中也吸引了一些旁听的朋友。有在日本和美国读电影研究的赵书仪和柯芜君，还有在美国费城的老朋友奥黛，她从一开始旁听到带着素材参与阅读。我们跨越地域跟随她一起阅读地球对面的百年古树与历史记忆。还有在日本的资深中国独立电影研究人秋山珠子，她在“新冠时期的艺术报告”研讨会中发表演讲，对“线上阅读素材工作坊”的评价是：“他们在限制当中开辟新的可能性，并给这个巨大时代变化留下、写下、拍下了正在萌芽的不同记忆。”

四、重塑现场

“阅读素材工作坊”始于去年（2020），原始起因与“2020疫情封锁”相关，既然我们在疫情封锁下无法正常呼吸，何不尝试做“正常日子”中绝对不会做的“一起看素材并谈素材”。

上面的话截自“草场地工作坊B站”⁶的公众号，2021年朝向新片创作的“阅读素材工作坊”第二季上线。从6月23日开始至11月，计划进行20期。每周一次，3个小时，线上方式。

本季12位参与作者，最年长者，71岁村民作者邵玉珍，最年轻者，生于2001大二在读张盾。素材涉及，家庭史、乡村现实、城中村拆迁、一个逝者的调查、母与子的共同创作……12位作者们带着自己将要剪辑成片素材，共同分享并讨论。工作坊依旧无导师，追求集体摩擦起电，创作路上互助。一个新的变化是，本季的“阅读素材工作坊”对有兴趣旁听旁观者开门迎接，不限人数，通常会有30-40人旁听。

关于真实影像的创作，前期准备以及现场拍摄的工作方式有不少讨论和经验介绍，但“素材的阅读”是介于拍摄和剪辑之间最重要的一步，通常作者把现场记录的素材小心翼翼存至硬盘后，闭关埋头苦干，孤独地在素材大山之中攀爬，寻找可行之路。

至今“民间记忆计划”创作者依旧身处地图的南北东西：

北京沙子营村——邵玉珍，四川米易县——洛洛，云南昆明——吴文光，陕西湘子店村——胡涛，浙江黄婆滩村——俞爽，英国纽卡斯尔——高昂，山西忻州白家山村——刘晓倩，武汉——张盾，云南个旧——戴旭，安徽蚌埠名利集——刘通，湖南石门鸡鸣桥村——贾之坦……

顾名思义，阅读素材也是阅读生活。“阅读素材工作坊”作为一种新的聚合方式，邀请作者们一起来阅读彼此身处迥异的生活现场，即阅读一个时代的现场。

2021年的“阅读素材工作坊”在前一年的基础上落实更具体的方法和规则。提出新的方向：素材无好坏之分，意在读出多层面。作者们在提供工作坊分享的素材前，需要提前分类别类，选择更靠近自己“作品核”的素材，每一次聚焦在单个镜头，强调从局部着手，层层探进现实内核。

参与者面临的一个新挑战是，是“阅读”素材不是“看”素材，不单谈镜头语言，也不简单抒发感慨，在谈论彼此素材时寻找关键词或思考焦点，试图打通创作与生活的纬度。所以在每一轮参与工作坊的作者们在谈论彼此素材的读解时，也是在建立自己阅读现实生活的视角和经验。

“内与外”、“位置与关系”、“对局部想象式的理解”、“由时间的搭建特殊现场”、“创作与生活互为支点”、“空间的隐喻”、“图像与记忆”、“可见与不可见”、“现实时间与内心时间”、“现场的重塑与呈现”……生活现场的散点感触在作者群体的分享与分析中，凝聚成思考的焦点，可谓“感性引路，理性照亮”。

记录的动作始终继续，主动寻找共同突围的方式是本能。网络世界充斥着语焉不详的事件，隔离时代让身体成为新的难题，具体的人如何被看见、被阅读？当现场被迫失联，个体如何不沦落在宏大叙事中？又如何让记忆不成为过去式？在素材阅读的过程中，我感受到真切的人，每一个记录者在时间和空间的博弈中，夺回属于自己的身体现场！一个人、一个家、一个村，一个个具体来自“我们”的新现场得以重塑。

注释

- 1 草场地工作站: 2005——2014年位于北京朝阳区机场辅路草场地艺术村105号的艺术空间, 由吴文光和文慧共同发起创办。2014年至今“草场地工作站”不再是物理名称, 是“民间记忆计划”的创作者群体代称。
- 2 吴文光与弗兰克·谢菲尔策划的纪录片工作坊, 80位报名参与工作坊的成员, 每个人在此工作坊里创作出一部短片。后来发展出一个支持年轻作者的基金“Frank-Wu纪录片基金”, 以支持参加工作坊成员的旅费、食宿和后期。
- 3 “村民影像计划”是吴文光策划的由普通村民参与拍摄和创作的影像计划。2005年9月通过报纸、网络等媒体面向社会公开招募, 之后项目组从来自全国各地的数百报名者及申报计划中评选出各10个村民作者。参与至今依然持续在自己村子里拍摄的村民作者有邵玉珍(北京顺义沙子营村村民)、张焕财(陕西蓝田史家寨村村民)、贾之坦(湖南石门鸡鸣桥村村民)。
- 4 “民间记忆计划”是吴文光策划的艺术实践项目。2010年夏天在“草场地工作站”开始, 参与该计划的成员分别返回“和自己有关”的村子——或出生成长地, 或父母、祖父母所在地, 或与之前生活有过关系(如下乡插队)的村子, 以口述历史方式进行影像记录。“1959-1961年的大饥荒”是该计划的记录的切入点。而后, “民间记忆计划”口述历史的档案, 包括了土地改革、大跃进、四清运动、文革等历史记忆。“美国杜克大学图书馆”与“草场地工作站”合作创建了“民间记忆计划口述档案馆”(https://repository.duke.edu/dc/memoryproject)。“民间记忆计划”的另一重要特点是, 所有参与者亦是创作者, 他们创作方式为影像、剧场以及书写。
- 5 “47公里”是湖北省随州市殷店镇钓鱼台村, 章梦奇父辈的村子, 是其“自画像系列”创作中对村子的代称。
- 6 “草场地工作B站”是草场地工作站/民间记忆计划的第二个微信公众号, 也是集活动、文档与现场的主要网络发布平台。2016年7月上线。其前身“草场地工作站”微信公众号, 于2016年6月连同名博客一并被关闭。

附录

以下为 2005-2021 (16 年) 间参与“草场地工作站及民间记忆计划”工作坊的参与者及完成影片统计 (共 37 作者并完成影片 90 部):

宋田: 《天里》2005、《花朵》2008
SONG Tian: *Tian Li* (2005), *Flowers* (2008)

邵玉珍: “我的村子”系列, 7 部, 2005-2020
SHAO Yuzhen: ‘My Village’ series (2005-2020)

贾之坦: “我的村子”系列, 8 部, 2005-2014
JIA Zhitan: ‘My Village’ series (2005-2014)

张焕财: “我的村子”系列, 7 部, 2005-2017
ZHANG Huancai: ‘My Village’ series (2005-2017)

王伟: “我的村子”系列, 3 部, 2005-2010
WANG Wei: ‘My Village’ series (2005-2010)

谢丽娜: 《妈妈》2007
XIE Lina: *Mom* (2007)

刘蘅: 《回到达县》2008
LIU Heng: *Back to Daxian* (2008)

奥黛: 《从天而降》2010
ODETTE Scott: *Falling from Sky* (2010)

李凝: 《胶带》2010
LI Ning: *Tape* (2010)

邹雪平：“邹家村系列”，5部，2010-2014
 ZOU Xueping: ‘Zou Village’ series (2010-2014)

罗兵：“罗家屋系列”，3部，2011-2013
 LUO Bing: ‘Luo Village’ series (2011-2013)

李新民：“花木林系列”，3部，2011-2013
 LI Xinmin: ‘Huamulin Village’ series (2011-2013)

贾楠楠：《贾福奎的冬天》2011
 JIA Nannan: *Jia Fukui’s Winter* (2011)

舒侨：“双井村系列”，3部，2012-2014
 SHU Qiao: ‘Shuangjing Village’ series (2012-2014)

王海安：《进攻张高村》2012、《信仰张高村》2013
 WANG Haian: ‘Zhanggao Village’ series (2012-2013)

文慧：《听三奶奶讲过去的事情》2012
 WEN Hui: *Listening to Third Grandmother’s Stories* (2012)

郭睿：《河流与女人的吟唱》2014
 GUO Rui: *The Rivers and Sisterhood* (2014)

张新伟：《唐老师》2012
 ZHANG Xinwei: *Mr. Tang* (2012)

张慈：《哀牢山的信仰》2013
 ZHANG Ci: *The Faith in Ailao Mountain* (2013)

叶祖艺：《拾穗》2014
 YE Zuyi: *The Gleaners* (2014)

李有杰：《阿佬的村庄》2014
 LI Youjie: *Alao’s Village* (2014)

姜纪杰：《二十四》2014
 JIANG Jijie: *The Mulberry Story* (2014)

胡涛：《山脊》2014、《古精》2015、《偷羞子》2018、《地洞》2021
 HU Sanshou: *Mountain village* (2014), *Legend* (2015), *Dumb Men* (2018), *The Burrows* (2021)

张苹：《冬天回家》2015、《土制没药》2017
 ZHANG Ping: *No Land* (2013), *Herb* (2017)

荣光荣：《孩子不惧怕死亡，但是害怕魔鬼》2015
 RONG Guangrong: *Children do not fear death, but fear the devil* (2015)

马桂洁：《火车飞过我的村子》2016
 MA Guijie: *The Train Fly Across My Village* (2016)

杜冠：《再见冬天》2016
 DU Guan: *Goodbye Winter* (2016)

刘晓雷：《狂热自白》2017
 LIU Xiaolei: *A True Believer* (2017)

王佳萌：《饥饿的女人》2017

WANG Jiameng: *Hungry Woman* (2017)

屈玉凤: 《我奶奶》 2017

QU Yufeng: *My grandma* (2017)

张会洋: 《张大营 1989》 2017

ZHANG Huiyang: *Zhang Daying Village 1989* (2017)

詹荣荣: 《日子》 2017

ZHAN Rongrong: *Days* (2017)

吴文光: 《调查父亲》 2017、《自传: 穿过》 2017、《自传: 挣扎》 2018、《自传: 证据》 2019、《度过一章: 围困》 2020

WU Wenguang : *Investigating My Father* (2017), *Autobiography: Pass Through* (2017), *Autobiography: Struggles* (2018), *Autobiography: Evidence* (2019), *Riding Through Chapter One: Entrapment* (2020)

郝永博: 《告别十九岁》 2020

HAO Yongbo: *Farewell My 19* (2020)

洛洛: 《洛洛的恐惧》 2020

LUO Luo: *Luo Luo's Fear* (2020)

高昂: 《焦邢庄之论 1》 2021

GAO Ang: *Reading Jiaoxing Village I* (2021)

俞爽: 《黄婆滩的老妹妹》 2021

YU Shuang: *Old Mei in Huangpotan Village* (2021)

章梦奇: “自画像系列” 10 部, 2010-2021

ZHANG Mengqi: 'Self-Portrait' series (2010-2021)

FILM REVIEWS AND FILM ANALYSES 影评与电影分析

Keyword: Independent | Independent as Affect: A Discussion of the Negotiation Scene in *Bing'ai*

关键词：独立 | 独立作为情动 —— 以《秉爱》的交涉戏为中心

WEN Hao 闻豪 Translator 译者：Michelle DEETER

Keyword: Feminism | The DV Gaze before the Age of the Selfie: On Yang Mingming's *Female Directors* (2012)

关键词：女性主义 | 前自拍时代的 DV 凝视 —— 谈杨明明的《女导演》（2012）

Zoe Meng JIANG 江萌 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Feminism | Female Agency in Li Yu's *Lost in Beijing*: From 'Object of the Look' to 'Subject Who Looks'

关键词：女性主义 | 李玉《迷失北京》中的女性能动性：从“被注视的对象”到“注视的主体”

Bérénice M. REYNAUD 雷贝丽 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Memory | Reading the Gospel in Miao: Christian Memories of Development in *Songs From Maidichong*

关键词：记忆 | 阅读苗族福音书：《麦地冲的歌声》中的基督教发展记忆

Max BERWALD 柏麦仁 Translator 译者：FAN Xiang 樊响

Keyword: Subalternity | Giving Voice or Reinforcing Subalternity? Spatialising the Chinese Rural Subject in *Falling from the Sky* by Zhang Zhanbo

关键词：底层群体 | 为其发声还是强化从属性？张赞波纪录片《天降》中空间化的中国农村主体

XU Kaiyang 徐开阳

Keyword: Independent Independence as Affect: A Discussion of the Negotiation Scene in *Bing'ai*

Author: WEN Hao 闻豪 Translator: Michelle DEETER

Abstract

In this film review, I mainly focus on selected scenes of negotiation in Feng Yan's (冯艳) documentary *Bing'ai* 秉爱 (2007), treating independence as a form of philosophical affect and using this as a basis for analysis. Using the narrative of the documentary, decisions regarding the camera angle, and interviews with director Feng Yan as evidence, I argue that the independent spirit of the subject, Zhang Bing'ai (张秉爱), and *Bing'ai*, the independent documentary, have a mutually complementary and reflective relationship. Through in-depth analysis of the secretly filmed negotiation scene, I propose that independence serves as an affective link between the subject and the documentarist. The unpolished, powerful sense of participating in the action helps to affect the audience and strengthens our understanding and acceptance of independent films.

In the second half of *Bing'ai* (2007), directed by Feng Yan, there is a roughly eighteen-minute-long negotiation scene (1:22:59-1:40:21). The water levels of the Three Gorges Reservoir are rising, and Zhang Bing'ai, the subject of the film, has been ordered by the local government to resettle to a location halfway up the mountain, where the land is poor. In this scene, Zhang and her husband Xiong Yunjian (熊云建) are squatting on the land that may become their future home. They are animatedly debating various topics with the local cadres, including their resettlement compensation, their requirements for building a house, and land redistribution. It is important to note that in this scene, the filming technique uses a hidden camera to provide a view of the debate. The angle is skewed and the camera has troubles focusing on the people involved in the debate. At the start of the scene, the camera lens is temporarily blocked and everything goes black after one of the cadres warns 'No filming, OK?' An interview with Feng Yan after filming took place confirms what the viewer can already imagine: the shot was constructed in that way due to the intervention of another person—the director had no choice but to use that shot (Shi 2009).

As mentioned in the opening paragraph, the negotiation scene does not merely present the intratextual feelings and responses of the subject as she faces contradictions and difficult situations. There is also an extratextual or intratextual force that causes the person behind the camera to be drawn into the story. Thus, the process of filming becomes a part of the negotiation. In this film review, I attempt to analyse both the story of Zhang Bing'ai, and Zhang and Feng's involvement in the negotiation scene, to re-evaluate the possible scope and the multiple layers of the meaning of 'independent'. The general public tends to consider the word 'independent' without careful thought, assuming it is a word that represents positivity, resistance, and correctness. For this reason, the discussion about the aesthetics and the political possibilities that the word contains remains inadequate. I hope that by analysing specific passages of *Bing'ai* I can provide an affect theory approach to independence that can escape abstract clichés and can increase awareness and inspire future actions. Given that documentaries aim to discuss and explore the boundaries of reality, it is important to discuss how independence can become an affect that influences the relationship between the person behind the camera, the subject, and the viewers.

The first twenty-seven minutes of *Bing'ai* describe events that occurred in 1996. Guilin village, a village located in Hubei province in the Three Gorges Reservoir Region, faced resettlement at that time. The cadres mobilized the people to move away in order to prepare for the construction of the Three Gorges Dam. Young documentary director Feng Yan was conducting research in the Three Gorges Reservoir Region when she met a group of villagers seeking compensation for leaving their homeland. This was how Feng 'discovered' Zhang Bing'ai. The latter was in her home, energetically arguing with the cadres and the villagers while protecting her husband, who had trouble with his legs and would have difficulty moving to a new home. From the very beginning, the independence championed by Bing'ai was contradictory and ambiguous. On the one hand, she bravely steps in front of her husband to protect the livelihoods and the land of her small family, demonstrating her fierce personality throughout the film. But on the other hand, as an individual, she had already dealt with many restrictions in her life. Her family forced her to separate from the person she loved and marry Xiong Yunjian, in the expectation that marrying into a family that owned land along the Yangtze River would be an opportunity to improve her financial situation.



In 1996, Zhang Bing'ai argues with the cadres and the villagers who try to convince her to move; her husband is seated in the foreground with his back to the camera

Feng Yan revisited Guilin village six years later (this makes up the rest of the film, after the twenty-seven-minute mark), and found Bing'ai looking more distressed than before. Bing'ai decided to stay in her home rather than participate in the first wave of the resettlement programme. She also had to represent her family while negotiating their participation in the second wave of the move. The portion that was filmed in 1996 was mainly filmed in Zhang's home, while the portion filmed in 2002 contains more outdoor scenes. This was partially because Feng and Zhang had become more familiar, and Feng felt it was important to focus on Zhang's determination. This was also because Zhang had once again taken it upon herself to be the spokesperson and link between her family and the outside world. As a result, the second part of the film portrays emotional elements including multiple scenes of Zhang walking on her own. Zhang is unable to gain the acceptance of the majority, and as a result of her independence she is forced to act alone. There are two layers to Zhang's loneliness. She did not move with the other villagers in the first waves of resettlement, causing her to become a marginalized person in society. At the same time, because her husband is unable to take responsibility to care for the family or negotiate with the outside world, Zhang must take on this burden.

Somewhat counterintuitively, these restrictions in Zhang's life gave her the ability to act and think independently, which influenced others to be more independent. She clearly understands the problems that she faces and she fights tirelessly for the tiniest shred of rights for her family. The viewers see scenes of her going to a temporary office based at the side of a major road, asking for permission to rent a bit of land to act as a temporary staging ground. The viewers also watch her attending resettlement meetings, calmly observing the villagers as they share their ideas and opinions. She actively participates in plans for her family's future by fully supporting her son going to university but respecting his wishes and not giving him unnecessary pressure. She flatly refuses to move to the city, where she knows that the living conditions would damage her daughter's mental and physical health. She protects the current and future interests of her family; at the same time, she never stops looking back and reflecting on her life. She trusts her true emotions from that time and she has never doubted herself or made compromises due to the passage of time. The fact that she can face the camera and candidly describe the wonderful period when she loved someone that she chose herself while expressing the bitterness that she holds because she was not free to choose her own husband shows that she has an accurate understanding of her situation.

In an interview, Feng said:

The thing that makes Bing'ai different from other Chinese women is that she does not passively accept her fate. She has her own opinions and she is fully capable of assessing the overall situation. The reason why she decides to stay is because she wants to lead a life with dignity...

She often says, ‘When I get old, I want to get an education and write down my life story.’ This shows a certain consciousness. At the risk of sounding hyperbolic, I can see the awakening of the Chinese farmer in Bing’ai (Cui 2007).

Feng’s comment not only shows that Zhang is aware of her independent spirit, but shows that the reason for this independence is the affect resulting from the interaction between the documentarist and the subject. This in turn influenced the documentarist’s understanding of herself and others. The independent Zhang thus becomes the complement and reflection of the independent film, *Bing’ai*. Zhang’s firm insistence on retaining her homeland is the reason that the film exists. Interviews with Feng show how the inexperienced director must have been shocked by the farmers in the Three Gorges Dam Region who were willing to give up their homeland for a bit of cash and how Feng felt ‘close to and equal to’ (Cui 2007) Zhang, who fought resolutely to keep her land but was neither conciliatory nor arrogant. According to Feng, the reason why she returned to Guilin to shoot in 2002 was partly because Zhang’s son wrote to her about the plight of the family (Shi 2009). We should not hold the oversimplified view that the relationship between Feng and Zhang is ‘the one holding the camera and the one in front of the camera’ or ‘the one discovering and the one being discovered’. Instead, we should view the relationship as one that is mutually informative, interactive, and mutually empowering. In the negotiation scene of *Bing’ai*, viewers see how Feng’s presence provides a degree of physical and spiritual support to Zhang. At one point, Zhang asks Feng for paper and pen to record evidence of the results of the negotiation.

The energy resulting from negotiation is not only found between the documentarist and the subject, but between the recorded image and the viewers. In *Images in Spite of All*, scholar Georges Didi-Huberman discusses photographs that were secretly taken by *Sonderkommandos*, Jewish inmates who were forced to exterminate fellow Jews during the Holocaust. Didi-Huberman uses the four photographs taken by *Sonderkommandos* at Auschwitz to discuss the relationship between the composition and the ethics of recorded images. According to Didi-Huberman, these images were ‘snatched from hell’ and should not exist in the world. Not only did the images portray scenes of bodies burned by Nazis that were unable to be seen otherwise, but their skewed composition showed that the photographer faced physical limitations and possessed incredible tenacity. As a result, the viewers can use these traces of evidence to experience the truth of the Holocaust—a historical period so terrible as to be ‘unimaginable’ (Didi-Huberman 2012, pp. 3-17). Compared with the simple argument that the camera is more important than the subject, these distorted scenes complicate the intricate relationship between the documentary auteur, the camera, the subject, and the heterogeneous elements within the subject. By viewing and experiencing these rare images that were captured at great risk, we, as the audience, are further influenced by the affect of the shooting process, and

even absorb it as our own political nourishment.

Similarly, in the negotiation scene of *Bing'ai*, we may use Feng's imperfectly aimed composition of the subject and the secretive nature of the shooting to experience her fear at that moment.¹ But unlike the 'primitive human impulse' that compelled the photographer to record the atrocities of the Nazis, it was the uncovering of Zhang's true emotion, her hatred at being oppressed by a strong power and her sadness at being in such an unbearable situation, that compelled Feng to record. This was an invitation to join in a conspiracy that caused Feng to look past the risks and document this fleeting moment. In the first issue of the *Chinese Independent Cinema Observer*, Feng provided an attestation to her mental state while filming the scene: 'At that time, I was worried that Bing'ai would be impulsive and make a poor choice, and at the same time, I was worried that my actions would be exposed. My legs were shaking' (Feng 2021, p. 121). Both the subject and the documentarist are completely and utterly affected. At this point an outward-facing, community was briefly formed that provided support and help in life and in the creative work. When this energy reaches the audience, the meaning of negotiation is extended.



Feng Yan's camera angle is skewed in order to capture the secret shot

Perhaps understanding independence as affect helps to explain why, after viewing this independent film, so many viewers are strongly affected. Some viewers embark on the journey of watching more and more independent film, one after the other, making films an opportunity for solidarity. When considering the rich possibilities of the term 'independent film', *Bing'ai* provides an affective interpretation that breaks away from the existing system of symbols. The negotiation scene of *Bing'ai* tackles conflicts head-on and is full of uncertainty; this strengthens the sense of participating in the action, allowing the affect between the director and the subject to be directly perceived by the audience.

Notes

1 In the process of writing, I realized that the risks that the *Sonderkommando* photographer and Feng Yan took during shooting and their situations are not the same. Despite these differences, I wanted to borrow Didi-Huberman's sharp criticism of emotions in the discussion to promote the formation of my point of view.

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关键词：独立

独立作为情动——以《秉爱》的交涉戏为中心

闻豪

概要

在这篇影评中我以冯艳导演的纪录片《秉爱》(2007) 中的几场交涉戏为中心将“独立”作为一种情动并加以分析。结合影片的叙事、镜头、以及影片外冯艳 (Feng Yan) 导演的访谈, 我认为主人公张秉爱 (Zhang Bing'ai) 自身所具有的“独立”精神与《秉爱》作为一部“独立”纪录片之间存在一种互相补充、互相映照的关系。通过对片中一场暗中拍摄的交涉戏的镜头进行深入分析, 我提出“独立”作为情动联系起了被摄体与摄影者之间的共同性, 在未加修饰的强大现场感的辅助下进一步感染观众, 并强化了我们对于独立电影的认知与接受。

在冯艳导演的纪录片《秉爱》(2007) 的后半部分, 有一段长约 18 分钟 (1:22:59–1:40:21) 的交涉戏: 因为三峡库区水位上涨, 本片的主人公张秉爱一家被当地政府勒令迁房至半山腰的烂草地。在这段交涉戏里, 秉爱和丈夫熊云建 (Xiong Yunjian) 蹲坐在可能会成为她们未来住所的草地上, 激烈地与当地的干部官员们辩论着有关搬迁补偿、建房需求、土地调剂等问题。更值得注意的是, 在这段戏里, 镜头一直都是以一种类似“窥视”的方式歪斜而艰难地聚集在几位人物身上。实际上, 在该片段的开头, 电影画面就曾因为受到相关干部的警告——“不摄了好不好?”——而短暂变黑过几秒。结合冯艳导演日后的采访,¹ 我们不难想象这样的构图呈现是为了应对拍摄时的人为干扰而做出的无奈选择。

如开篇段落所示, 交涉戏不仅在文本内凝缩了主人公在面临矛盾与困境时的感情与应对, 在文本间 / 文本外也强势地将拍摄者牵扯进故事之中, 使得摄制本身成为“交涉”的一部分。在这篇影评中, 我试图通过分析《秉爱》的主角张秉爱自身的故事以及其与本片导演冯艳在几段交涉戏, 来重新思考并提示“独立”可能覆盖的、多层次的意涵。如果说在大众话语中, “独立”这个词通常被不加分辨地作为一种“正向的”、“反抗的”、甚至“正确的”概念所运用的话, 那么对于其蕴含的美学、及随之而来的政治可能的探讨, 明显仍然是不足的。通过对《秉爱》的具体段落分析, 我希望提供一种让“独立”走出抽象的窠臼、并成为可以被感知以及激发后续行动的情动的思考方法。尤其是在纪录片这样一种旨在讨论并探索“真实”边界的媒介中, “独立”如何可以作为一种情动, 影响并串联起摄制者、被摄者、甚至是观众间的关系, 是非常值得讨论的话题。

《秉爱》的前 27 分钟讲述的是发生在 1996 年的故事。位于三峡库区的湖北省桂林村正面临搬迁，干部动员群众外迁以顺应三峡工程建设的需求。正在三峡做调研的年轻纪录片导演冯艳从一众期盼着借机获取赔偿金并离开故土的村民里“发现”了一位名为秉爱的年轻女性——她正站在屋里激动地与前来劝说的干部以及村民们争辩，护着她那腿脚不灵便因而不适宜外迁的丈夫。从故事的一开头，秉爱的“独立”就是非常矛盾且模棱两可的。一方面，她勇敢地冲在男人面前维护着小家在故土上的



1996年，秉爱与劝说其一家搬迁的村民、干部争辩，背后坐着她的丈夫。

的存续，在整部影片中给人留下了强悍的印象。但另一方面，作为个体的她却面临着诸多限制：其原生家庭出于经济考虑逼迫她与之前的恋人分开并嫁到熊家，以换取在江边相对宽裕的生活。

六年后（影片 27 分钟后的所有部分），当冯艳再访桂林村时，秉爱明显变得更加沧桑了。在第一次迁移中选择留下的她，又要代表小家去与人交涉有关于第二次迁移的问题。比起 1996 年几乎所有的镜头都是在秉爱家中完成，2002 年的部分多了许多外景。一来是因为冯艳与秉爱之间变得更加熟悉，也更坚定了前者要把聚焦对准后者的决心；二来也是因为秉爱要再一次作为家庭与外界的纽带去负责进行沟通。因此，画面上留下了许多秉爱独自行走的身影——“独立”中必然有着因为无法得到“大多数”的承认而被迫孤独的情感元素。秉爱的孤独是双重的，她既因为几次三番无法与村民们一起搬迁而成为了大社会里的边缘人，也因为丈夫无法承担照顾家庭及与外界交涉的相应责任从而成为了小家庭里的独行者。

但这种种限制也确实给了秉爱独立行动与思考的能力以及感染他者的独立气质。她很清楚自己面临的主要困境是什么，为了家庭奔波劳累去争取微不足道的权益——我们可以看到她一个人出现在公路边临时搭建的工作室，去询问能否租借这块地作为临时据点的片段；也可以看到她悄然置身于村里的搬迁讨论会上，冷静观察村民们的想法和意见的场景。她对未来不是没有主动的想法——在全身心支持儿子升大学之余又不向其施加过多的压力，充分尊重对方的意见；对城市里的生活会如何剥削女儿的身心也心知肚明，保留着自己的一点否决权。在维护家庭的现在与未来的同时，她也从未放下过对自己人生的体悟与回顾，坚信自己当年最坦诚的心情而不随着时间的推移向历史妥协——能够面对着镜头毫不避讳地讲述自己之前自由恋爱时期的美好，并吐露对这桩本不自主的婚事仍然憋着的那一口气，就清楚地证明了她对自身境遇的准确认识。

导演冯艳在采访中曾提到：“秉爱和传统的中国女性不同，是她对命运并没有逆来顺受，她是一个有主见，能审时度势的人，她之所以选择留下，是因为要过一种有尊严的生活……她经常说：等我老了，

一定要学文化，把自己的一生都写下来。这是一种意识，夸张点说，我从秉爱身上，看到了中国农民的觉醒。”² 冯艳的话不仅印证了秉爱有所自知的“独立”精神，更是反映了“独立”缘何通过拍摄者与被摄体的互动而作为一种情动传染开来，影响了拍摄者对自身与他者的理解。因此，“独立”的秉爱正是对作为“独立电影”的《秉爱》的补充和映照。首先，秉爱对故土的坚持本身就是本片之所以能存在的要因。通过访谈记录，我们可以想象初出茅庐的冯艳在下到三峡库区时是如何被为了金钱而放弃故土的农民们所震惊，又是如何在看到一个既坚守土地、又对自己不卑不亢的秉爱时感到了“亲近和平等”。³ 而根据冯艳日后的回忆，2002年她之所以回到桂林村去拍摄，也是因为秉爱的儿子先给她写了信讲述家里的困境。⁴ 因此，我们也不应简单地认为冯艳与秉爱之间是“拍摄与被拍摄”、“发现与被发现”的关系，而是把它想象成一种互相提示、互相影响、互相赋能的连结。在《秉爱》那场18分钟的交涉戏中，我们也可以看到冯艳的在场如何为秉爱提供了一定程度上的物理与精神支持——在某个镜头中，秉爱向冯艳求助纸笔以写下交涉结果作为证明。

“交涉”所带来的动能不仅存在于拍摄者与被摄体之间，也充盈于纪录影像与观看者之间。在 *Image in Spite of All* (2012) 一书中，学者迪迪·于贝尔曼 (Georges Didi-Huberman 2012, pp.3-17) 通过四张被犹太特别指挥队偷偷拍下的纳粹焚烧犹太人尸体的照片，对纪录影像构图与纪录伦理之间的关联进行了论述。对于贝尔曼来说，这是本不该存在于世间的、从“地狱中被拯救出来的”影像。它不仅描绘出了“无法被看到的”纳粹焚尸画面、也通过其歪曲的构图反映出了拍摄者的物理局限与精神张力。进而，观者们得以透过这些蛛丝马迹去体验“无法被想象的”历史真相。⁵ 相比起摄影机凌驾于被摄体之上的简单论述，这些歪曲的镜头更是复杂化了纪录片作者、摄影机、被摄体、以及被摄体内部的异质性之间错综缠绕的关系。而通过观看并体验这种受到限制且充满偶然的影像，作为观众的我们被拍摄时的情动所进一步影响，甚至将其吸取为自身的政治养分。

类似的，在《秉爱》那场18分钟的交涉戏中，我们也可以透过冯艳歪斜的、窥视被摄体的构图去体会她那一时刻的胆战心惊。但与记录纳粹暴行的“作为人的原始冲动”不同，应当是秉爱在那一刻的真情流露——对于被强权压迫的悔恨以及对于自身不堪境遇的难过——作为一种“共谋”的邀约，激发起了冯艳的“记录冲动”，使冯艳不顾风险地去记录下了这个瞬间。在《华语独立影像观察》创刊号中，冯艳对自己拍摄这段镜头时心境的描述就是最好的证明：“当时我一边担心秉爱冲动之下做出不利选择，一边担心自己的举止被人看出破绽，腿都在抖 (Feng 2021, p.121)。”⁶ 在这里，情动贯穿了摄影者与被摄体，使得一种面向外界的、



2002年，冯艳导演歪斜的“窥视”镜头。

短暂的、为彼此提供（生活上及创作上）支持与协助的“共同体”诞生。当这种动能传至观众，“交涉”的意义便进一步渲染开来。

把“独立”看作情动，或许也能更好地解释为什么有那么多观众在看完独立电影后前仆后继地踏入了这趟充满孤独的旅程——电影本身成为了一种团结的契机。在考虑“独立电影”这个词本身含有的丰富的可能性时，《秉爱》向我们传递出一种跳脱了现有符号体系的、情动的解释。而“交涉戏”作为《秉爱》里直面冲突、充满了不确定性的部分，更是强化了现场感，使得这种情动可以直接为观众所感知。

注释

- 1 见施雨华. “冯艳: 至高无上的幸福”. <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/cul/2009-03-20/115517447704.shtml>, 引用日期 2021/04/14.
- 2 见崔卫平. “山形电影节获奖者冯艳: 慎用你手里的机器”. <http://www.infzm.com/content/6818>, 引用日期 2021/04/14.
- 3 同上。
- 4 见施雨华. “冯艳: 至高无上的幸福”. <http://news.sina.com.cn/c/cul/2009-03-20/115517447704.shtml>, 引用日期 2021/04/14.
- 5 Didi-Huberman, G. *Images in Spite of All: FOUR PHOTOGRAPHS FROM AUSCHWITZ*. The University of Chicago Press, 2012. 在撰写过程中, 我也意识到两者在拍摄时承担的风险和情境不可同日而语, 只是在论述上借用于贝尔曼对于情动的尖锐指摘来促进我观点的形成。
- 6 冯艳. 《相遇（日本、纪录片、那些人、那些事）》. 《华语独立影像观察》, 2021, No.1: 114-124.

Keyword: Feminism

The DV Gaze before the Age of the Selfie: On Yang Mingming's *Female Directors* (2012)

Zoe Meng JIANG 江萌

Abstract

It is debatable if women making sexualized images of women – either themselves or others – is deflecting or perpetuating the male gaze. Does it matter whether sexualized images of women are made by a man or a woman? It certainly does, as proved by Yang Mingming's *Female Directors*, made right before the rise of Instagram selfies and YouTube vloggers. Simultaneously writing, filming, and performing this mockumentary, Yang both reenacts and subverts the sexual power dynamics deeply embedded in the act of filming. Specifically, she creates a dual authorship of filmmaking by constantly turning over the lightweight and portable digital video camera in between the perspective of two women in conflicts. This article sees Yang's DV camera not as the objective lens revealing realities but as a means through which women, with an acute sense of what they are up against, are experimenting, activating, and moulding their own truth about friendship and emancipation.

Yang Mingming's (杨明明) 40-minute mockumentary *Female Directors* 女导演 (2012) is packed with scopophilia and voyeuristic pleasures. The film presents itself as a story of two unemployed film school graduates in Beijing making a documentary about themselves, and the project is interrupted by a discovery that they have been in sexual relationships with the same man. There is a fundamental pleasure in simply looking at the two young, attractive, and indomitable women (Ah Ming 阿明, played by the director herself, and Yueyue 月月, played by Guo Yue), especially when most of the time their faces and bodies are filmed with great intimacy in extreme close-ups. The film also offers voyeuristic pleasures: the girls blatantly talk about their desires and sexual experiences, expressing rapid swirls of emotions of anger, humility, sadness, jealousy, and very often, sheer joy. Fetishistic scopophilia and sadistic voyeurism, defined by Laura Mulvey in the 1970s as the two kinds of pleasures sought by the male gaze in cinema, have become what women collectively produce and share in our contemporary age of the selfie (Mulvey 1989, pp. 21-29). It is debatable if women making images of women – both themselves and others – is deflecting or perpetuating the male gaze. Does it matter whether sexualized images of women are made by a man or a woman? It certainly does,

as proved by Yang's film made before the rise of Instagram selfies and YouTube vloggers.

The blithe, undaunted, and spontaneous vibe in *Female Directors*, plus the scandalous story of a love triangle, obscure the fact that this film is meticulously designed and executed. Yang is hyperaware of the traditions of the male gaze in both Asian and Western cinema. In one scene, Ah Ming films Yueyue watching a sequence from Edward Yang's (杨德昌) *A Brighter Summer Day* 牯岭街少年杀人事件 (1991), which shows a director in a movie set, yelling at an actress: 'I told you to change. So change!' In another scene, the two girls take turns to film each other in the exact infamous position as in the poster of Michelangelo Antonioni's *Blow-up* (1966): the male photographer takes photos and gives commands while sitting straddled upon the model as she's lying on her back. But Yang revises and plays with the power dynamic in this position: Antonioni's dandy photographer looks at women but doesn't see them, turning each photo session into an occasion for callous foreplay and sexual exploitation; whereas, Yang continues to direct the camera even when she is the one seen lying in bed from Yueyue's point-of-view: 'I want a bird's-eye shot!' And when Yueyue is filmed in the lying position, we hear Yang (Ah Ming) whispering offscreen: 'Who says women have to moan in bed? You're still beautiful when you're silent... You're prettier than me.' The two women perform in front of the camera (stripping and self-touching), trying to seduce the camera in ways that are no less flirtatious than Antonioni's model. Yet, instead of acts of self-objectification, Ah Ming and Yueyue's images of themselves are rather invitations to female validation and connection. One might argue for the difference of male gazes in art film and in Hollywood, that the former pertains to various degrees of awareness of the gendered camera. Nevertheless, male auteurs like Edward Yang and Antonioni still sustain an ambiguity of whether gendered violence is cinematically exposed or reenacted. In this regard, Yang actively uses the DV camera as a tool of empowerment in cinematic moments when the woman is usually the most vulnerable.

In a way the curation of self-images in *Female Directors* prefigures the prevalent phenomenon of selfies. Despite common criticism against 'selfie-objectification' as an emblem of our appearance-obsessed culture, it is undeniable that the selfie-shooter controls the viewer's gaze (to some extent), and her relinquishment of privacy is rewarded with social validation and connection – ends that are all in line with Yang's pre-social media endeavours. It is tempting to compile a progressive historiography of the decentralization of image-making technologies – from male auteurs' sexualizing cameras, to Yang's self-defining DV camera, and ending with mass-produced selfies on social networks. Yet such a narrative overlooks the multifaceted ways in which image-making technologies work on and through us. Every video(photo)graphic moment inscribes certain kind(s) of power transaction, and the power of the male gaze can be easily traded off for another form of power. In the case of the selfie, social validation and connection sometimes come at the cost of self-deception, facilitated by 'filters', one of the many baits of the patriarchal technocapitalism. Every selfie is taken with a consciousness of its potential publicness, and it is posted online with an understanding that it will become vulnerable to both the gaze of an algorithmically regulated public and data surveillance. A user

has no leverage over online platforms. She clicks ‘agree’ to all their terms and conditions.

Female Directors is not so much a story of an illicit triangular affair as it is about two women competing for the right to storytelling and bargaining the terms and conditions of that storytelling. Yang’s ambition is to control not only what is inside the frame but also how the images will be consumed. The film begins with a shot from the third person perspective, showing the two girls hanging out in one frame. Once they find out they are sleeping with the same married man, there is no more outsider’s perspective, and the rest of the film consists almost entirely of point of view shots of Ah Ming and Yueyue, who are both unreliable narrators. Each girl tries to interrogate the other when she’s behind the camera and perform truth-telling when she’s in front of the camera. It is an intellectual as well as a physical game – the premise of the film narrative shift every time the camera is seized and reversed.

Ah Ming tries to dominate the narrative by taking the moral high ground, that she treats the wealthy man as ‘just a fuck buddy’, implying Yueyue’s been selling herself. In one of the major scenes of conflict, when Yueyue reveals her thrill at having gotten a Beijing household registration through the man, Ah Ming responds in a cruel and provoking way: ‘You traded pussy for a housing registration.’ They both lash out in anger, visibly struggling to maintain their cavalier and casual veneer in front of the camera. Yueyue brings up the privileges Ah Ming has as a Beijinger, and the difficulties and embarrassment for her of drifting in Beijing as a migrant, deprived of the rights to local house ownership, medical care, and education. These unmediated confrontations are at once troubling and cathartic to watch, like watching the process of draining a festering abscess. They avow the intricately ingrained layers of inequality placed on female relationships that feed female competitiveness and aggression. Yueyue assails Ah Ming back, no less provokingly: ‘didn’t you borrow money from him as well? Are you jealous that he’s giving more to me than to you? Do you want me to ask him for money in your place?’ Ah Ming loses her composure and flees the camera, but Yueyue chases her until she extracts her confession that she doesn’t have a Beijing registration either. Ah Ming’s father is a Beijinger, but he died before applying for a registration, when she was eight. So yes, she does know the difficulties and embarrassment of being a non-Beijing resident. This intense sequence ends with a sudden and playful jump cut to a shot of the two in a restaurant enjoying braised pork with bone marrow. They just made up.

In the last and the most intense confrontation, both girls again slut-shame each other for continuing to see the man. But this time, their monstrous resentment at each other is sparked by something other than the married man – Yueyue in fact hasn’t seen him, and Ah Ming only meets him to repay his money. Yueyue’s monologue hits home when she again brings up the issue of making a film about themselves:

I think it’s love that I’ve always wanted. Even immoral love. But you can’t use that to attack me, to

interrogate my soul. You've got this empty moral stance. The moment you claim that stance you betray your dream and your innocence. If it is the soul itself that I want, what you want is to make use of the soul. If one day my soul draws together something strong and powerful, I don't know we'll ever be able to speak again.

This seemingly stagey monologue strikes as the most sincere and sober critique of their own project. Yueyue is saying, if Ah Ming goes after a sexually scandalous woman for her film project, like male directors always do, then she cannot take the moral high ground. What Ah Ming trades for cinema is no more innocent than what Yueyue trades for love or for material gain. Yueyue is also admitting that she might be flawed, but it is this very status of being a flawed woman that binds the two of them together. Aren't women all flawed in a man's world? If Yueyue becomes truly strong and powerful, then there's no longer the condition for their collaborative project.

We're not unfamiliar with movies that unfold via conflicting or contradictory points of views. From Kurosawa's *Rashomon* (1950) to Baumbach's *Marriage Story* (2019), cinema has served as the judge or mediator that only confirms the fact that taking sides is futile folly. This type of film often turns to the power of religion (*Rashomon*) or law (*Marriage Story*) in quest of proper closure. But Yang is not interested in any juristic power external to the two girls' relationship. Even the only man involved has no actual presence or agency in this film. The lightweight, portable DV camera is restricted in the intersubjective space between Ah Ming and Yueyue. It is not a documentary camera meant to reveal objective realities, nor a camera of domestic melodrama meant to reveal emotional realities. The camera is above all a means through which women, with an acute sense of what they are up against, are experimenting, activating, and molding their *own* truth about friendship.

Situated somewhere between cinema and the home movie, DV is the perfect medium to draw out the tension between what one wants from filmmaking and what one wants from real life. When the two girls come to an agreement over this tension, they also achieve eventual reconciliation. Ah Ming points out that the clarity of Yueyue's recorded monologue demonstrates Yueyue's acceptance of the DV camera, hence affirming the legitimacy of the film, which Yueyue does not deny. She goes ahead and finalizes their reconciliation by calling the cheating man and announcing the girls' joint breakups with him. She then asks, with a whimsical smile: 'Is there any friendship left between us?' Ah Ming replies with an equally naughty affirmation: 'This might mean we can keep filming.' They want both friendship, and a way to break up with cinema's male gaze.

The final ten minutes of the film settle into a joyful travelogue of the two women playing around Beijing, with Ah Ming accompanying Yueyue through frightening, yet totally ordinary ordeals of abortion and moving. From John Ford to John Woo, it is a tradition for male directors to disavow the role of women in order to

create their all-male universe. In the last ten minutes of *Female Director*, Yang again reverses the mainstream formula and proves that a female world is still fundamentally pleasurable to watch.

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关键词：女性主义

前自拍时代的 DV 凝视——谈杨明明的《女导演》(2012)

作者：江萌 Zoe Meng JIANG 译者：樊响

概要

女性拍摄性化女性的影像——无论对象是她们自己还是其他人——这种行为转移着还是延续着男性凝视 (male gaze)? 女性的性化形象是由男性还是女性塑造的, 这个区别重要吗? 当然重要, 杨明明在 Instagram 自拍和 YouTube 视频博客兴起之前创作的《女导演》就证明了这一点。杨明明自编自导自演的这部虚拟纪录片再现并颠覆了深深嵌入艺术电影传统中的性别权力结构。轻巧便携的数码摄像机在两位女性的冲突视角之间反复切换, 参与生成电影文本中的双重作者身份。本文认为杨的 DV 摄像机带来的不是揭示现实的客观镜头, 而是一种知识生产方式, 对自身性别处境有着敏锐共识的女性们用这种方式实验、激发并塑造了她们自己关于友谊和解放的真实性。

杨明明的 40 分钟虚拟纪录片《女导演》(2012) 充满了观看和偷窥的快感。这部片子看起来是北京两位失业的电影学院毕业生开始拍摄关于她们自己的纪录片, 但这个项目很快因为她们发现两人与同一位男性都有性关系而中断。观看这两位年轻、漂亮、不服输的女性 (阿明, 由导演本人扮演, 月月, 由郭月扮演) 本身就带来一种快感, 尤其大多数镜头都是呈现她们脸庞和身体的亲密的特写。影片还带来一种偷窥的快感: 女孩们公开谈论她们的欲望和性经历, 直接地表达她们的愤怒、屈辱、悲伤、嫉妒、还有纯粹的喜悦等等变化的情绪。在一九七十年代, 劳拉·穆尔维 (Laura Mulvey) 将恋物和窥视定义为电影中男性凝视 (male gaze) 所追求的两种快感, 在当下的自拍时代, 这两种快感已经成为女性集体生产和分享的经验。女性拍摄性化女性的影像——无论对象是她们自己还是其他人——这种行为转移着还是延续着男性凝视? 女性的性化形象是由男性还是女性塑造的, 这个区别重要吗? 当然重要, 杨明明在 Instagram 自拍和 YouTube 视频博客兴起之前创作的《女导演》就证明了这一点。

《女导演》中的轻松、无畏和自然的氛围, 加上三角恋的轶事, 掩盖了这部电影是经过精心设计的事实。杨明明对亚洲和西方的电影中男性凝视的传统有很强的意识。在一个场景中, 阿明拍摄了月月观看杨德昌的《牯岭街少年杀人事件》(1991) 中的一个片段, 该片段中, 一名导演在片场对一位女演员大喊大叫: “我叫你换你就换!” 在另一个场景中, 两个女孩轮流以米开朗基罗·安东尼奥尼的《放大》(1966) 海报中著名的姿势拍摄对方: 男摄影师跨坐在模特身上, 她仰面躺着, 他拍照的同时

发出指令。但杨明明改变了这个姿势中的权力关系。当安东尼奥尼的花花公子摄影师注视女人的时候，他并没有看到她们，而是若无其事地把每次拍照都变成前戏和性剥削的机会；而杨明明仰面躺在镜头前的时候，还不忘通过月月的视角指挥镜头：“我想要一个大俯拍！”当月月躺在镜头前，我们听到画外的阿明的低语：“谁说女人在床上必须要叫？不叫也很漂亮……你比我漂亮。”两个女人在镜头前表演（脱衣和自抚），诱惑力不亚于安东尼奥尼镜头下的模特。阿明和月月的举动不是自我物化，而是二人的相互邀请，旨在女性间的认可和连结。有人认为艺术电影中和好莱坞电影中的男性凝视存在着区别，前者对镜头前的性别关系有着不同程度的自我认识。然而，像杨德昌和安东尼奥尼这样的男性作者导演在电影里有意维持着一种暧昧，让人分不清他们是在揭露还是在重演性别暴力。相比之下，杨明明的DV摄像机成为女性自我赋权的工具，在她镜头前表达欲望的女性不再是脆弱的。

在某种程度上，《女导演》中对自我形象的展演预示了后来盛行的自拍。尽管人们常常批评“自我（拍）物化”是我们过度迷恋外表的文化症候，但不可否认的是，自拍者（在一定意义上）能够掌控观众的凝视，她以放弃隐私为代价，获取社会认可及社会关系——这与杨明明在前社交媒体时代的自拍有相似的意义。我们似乎可以描绘一段影像制作技术的去中心化的历史——从男性导演的性化镜头，到杨明明开始自我定义的DV镜头，再到社交网络上大规模生产的自拍。不过此类叙述忽略了影像制作技术如何多维度地对我们产生影响。每一个视频（图像）时刻都伴随着某种权力交换，男性凝视的权力可以轻易被置换成另一种形式的权力。在自拍的实例中，获取社会认可和社会关系有时以自我欺骗为代价，“滤镜”是父权技术资本主义的众多诱饵之一。每张自拍都是在对图像潜在的公开性的意识中生产的，而且是在被算法管制的公众和数据监控凝视的意识中发布到网上的。用户对网络平台没有任何控制权。她对他们所有的条款和条件都必须点击“同意”。

《女导演》乍看好像是一段三角关系的俗套故事，但实际上它展示的是两位女性拒绝遵从讲故事的附加条款和条件，并且争取到她们讲述自己故事的权利这一过程。杨明明的抱负在于她不仅要掌控镜头里的内容，还要掌控影像被观看的方式。影片以一个客观镜头开始，两个女孩在同一个画面中玩笑。一旦她们发现两人和同一个已婚男人有性关系，局外人的视角就消失了，剩下的影片几乎完全是阿明和月月的主观视角镜头的交替。她们都是不可靠的叙述者，一旦在镜头后面就开始审问对方，在镜头前面就开始表演说真话。这是一个智力游戏，也是一个体力游戏——每次她俩争夺和翻转摄像机，故事的走向就会发生变化。

阿明试图通过站在道德制高点来主导叙事，她表示这个有钱男人只是她的“炮友”，并暗示月月在出卖自己。第一个主要冲突发生时，月月高兴地透露，她通过这个男人得到了北京户口，阿明以一种残酷且挑衅的方式回应：“你是用逼换户口的人。”尽管仍在镜头前努力保持着满不在乎的形象，她们俩都明显愤怒起来。月月提起阿明作为北京人享有的特权，和她自己作为北漂的困难与窘迫——她没有当地房屋所有权，也被剥夺了公平的医疗和受教育的权利。这些直接的对峙让人感到既不安又痛快，就好像在看挤开化脓伤口的过程。这场冲突指认了埋在女性关系中根深蒂固又层层交错的各种不平等，这些不平等滋生了女性之间的竞争性和攻击性。月月反击阿明，同样地挑衅：“你不也

是向他借钱吗？你是嫉妒我他给我的比给你的多是吗？你想让我替你向他要钱吗？”阿明失去冷静，想逃离镜头，但月月紧追不放，直到逼她说出她也没有北京户口。原来阿明的父亲是北京人，但在她八岁时还没来得及给她申请北京户口就去世了。所以，她其实知道没有北京户口的困难和窘迫。这段紧张的情节以一个突然且俏皮的跳切结束，下一个镜头里两人在餐馆里一起啃着棒骨。她们就这么和好了。

在最后一次也是最激烈的对峙中，两位女孩再次互相羞辱。但这一次，她们对对方的滔天怨念不再围绕着那名已婚男士——事实上，月月没有再见过他，而阿明和他见面只不过是为了还钱。月月提起她们合作的这部电影，一段独白直击要害：

“我觉得我一直追求的是爱，哪怕是不道德的爱。但你不能抓住我这个痛脚，你就指责我，你拷问我的灵魂。你那是虚张声势的道德观。当你在认可道德的那一刻，你已经出卖了你的幻想和童真。如果说，我追求是灵魂的本身，那么你追求的就是灵魂的功能。如果有一天我的灵魂无比强大无比坚定地聚集在一起，那我觉得我们永远都不能再对话了。”

这段看似戏剧性的独白却是她对两人的拍摄项目最真诚、最清醒的批评。月月的意思是，如果阿明像很多男性导演那样，为了自己的电影项目特意去拍一个有性丑闻的女人，那么她就不能站在道德的制高点。阿明为电影所做的交易并不比月月为爱情或物质所做的交易更纯洁。月月也在承认，她或许有缺陷，但正是这种有缺陷的女性的身份将两人联系在一起。在这个男性主导的世界里，女性不总是有缺陷的那一方吗？如果月月真的变得强大起来，那么她们合作的基础就不复存在了。

用互相冲突的视角交替展开电影作品的作品并不少见。从黑泽明的《罗生门》（1950）到鲍姆巴赫的《婚姻故事》（2019），电影一直充当着法官或调解人的角色，并且一再印证了冲突视角的不可调和性，偏向任何一方往往都是徒劳且愚蠢的。这种类型的电影经常寻求宗教（《罗生门》）或法律（《婚姻故事》）的力量，以寻求合适的结局。但是，杨明明对两个女孩的关系之外的任何仲裁力量都不感兴趣。即使是牵涉其中的唯一一位男性，在片中既没有出现也不具备任何能动性。轻便的DV摄像机被限定在阿明和月月的主体之间。DV摄像机带来的不是揭示现实的客观镜头，而是一种知识生产方式，对自身性别处境有着敏锐共识的女性们用这种方式实验、激发并塑造了她们自己关于友谊和解放的真实性。

在电影和家庭录像这两种形式之间存在的DV摄像机，尤其适合用来描绘创作追求与生活追求二者之间的张力。当两个女孩就这种张力达成协议时，她们也实现了最终的和解。阿明指出，月月镜头前清醒的独白表明她是乐于接受DV拍摄的，从而肯定了电影的合理性，月月并没有否认这一点。她接下来给出轨的男人打电话，两个女孩同时宣布与他分手，实现了和解的最后一步。然后，她带着淘气的微笑问道：“那咱们之间到底有没有友谊呢？”阿明用同样顽皮的方式肯定道：“这也许能成为我们继续拍摄的理由。”她们既要友谊，又要与男性凝视的电影传统决裂。

影片的最后 10 分钟是两个女孩在北京玩耍的游记，阿明陪着月月经历了堕胎和搬家这些骇人又平凡的考验。从约翰·福特到吴宇森，男性导演的一个传统是排除女性角色以创造他们全员男性的世界。在《女导演》的最后 10 分钟里，杨明明再次颠覆了主流模式，证明了观看全员女性的世界依然能带来根本性的乐趣。

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Keyword: Feminism

Female Agency in Li Yu's *Lost in Beijing*: From 'Object of the Look' to 'Subject Who Looks'

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Abstract

This article examines female agency in Li Yu's *Lost in Beijing* (2007). Unlike most commentators on the film, I argue, through a close reading of the *mise-en-scène*, that the heroine isn't a passive character subjugated to the male gaze and that, on the contrary, the filmmaker uses displays of the male gaze to better subvert them. Lauren Elkin's definition of the *flâneuse* and Jenn Marie Nunes's discussion on active vanishing and the agency contained in invisibility provide a theoretical framework to analyse how the heroine not only stops the performing of the male gaze, but also successfully subverts the patriarchal and capitalist domination that was oppressing her.

Released in 2007, Li Yu's (李玉) third fiction film, *Lost in Beijing* 迷失北京, addresses numerous women's issues regarding gender and socio-economic discriminations in contemporary China. It tells the story of Pingguo (苹果), a female migrant worker employed in a massage parlour, who has come to Beijing with her husband. One day, when she arrives at work while drunk, her boss, Lin Dong (林东), rapes her. Her husband An Kun (安坤) happens to witness the scene, and also rapes her the same night. When Pingguo gets pregnant, her husband negotiates with her boss to sell him the baby if the latter is indeed his child. Lin Dong's wife has no choice but to agree to her husband's plan as she is infertile. When a son is born, An Kun bribes the doctor to change the birth certificate of the new-born and get his money from Lin Dong. In accordance with the contract's terms, Pingguo temporarily settles at Lin Dong and his wife's apartment to serve as a nanny for the child. On the side, An Kun and Lin Dong's wife, Wang Mei (王梅), start an affair in order to get revenge against their partners. An Kun soon becomes envious of Lin and kidnaps the child. A DNA test performed by the police reveals that An Kun is indeed the child's father, subsequently breaking the contract. While Wang Mei divorces Lin Dong, Pingguo decides to take her son as well as the contract money, and leave.

Born in Shandong, Li Yu is one of the most famous women directors in China. After a few documentaries, she directed the first mainland Chinese lesbian film, *Fish and Elephant* 今年夏天 (2001), and has stuck to fiction since. All her films focus on women's issues, and with the making of *Lost in Beijing*, she has openly criticized how the male gaze usually portrays women on screen (Jiang 2007).¹ However, most scholars in and outside China either see the film as a failure for its misogynistic representation of women, or as a work effectively denouncing women's status in contemporary China but without necessarily subverting the patriarchal structure (Li 2008; Yin 2009; Cui 2011; Yuan and Ye 2011; Zhu 2011; Donald 2008; Ho 2015).² Pingguo is seen as a victim, and, in Cui Shuqin's words, as a 'passive character' in 'a narrative governed by male desire' (Cui 2011, pp. 225, 227). While it is true that male desire plays a major part in the different steps of the narrative, and that there are several displays of a voyeuristic male gaze throughout the film, I will argue that a close reading of the film's *mise-en-scène* shows that female agency isn't as absent as Cui presents it, and that these same elements are actually subverted by Pingguo's final departure.

The concept of male gaze was first introduced by Laura Mulvey in 1975 (Mulvey 1975). Commenting on Hollywood classic cinema, she criticized the omnipotence of the duality between active male and passive female. Following this binary logic, male characters are not only the bearers of the look, but they are also the driving force of the narrative, while women are characterized by their 'to-be-looked-at-ness' and associated with 'moments of spectacle'—moments that do not advance the plot—for the visual pleasure of the male characters and, through them, the spectators'. The male gaze not only objectifies women but also sexualizes them, often in a voyeuristic manner (looking at an unaware woman undressing through the keyhole of a door is a famous example). The concept has been widely discussed since then but remains helpful for film analysis since, as Anne Ross Muir states, 'the masculine point of view is prevalent simply because men control the industry' (Muir 1989, p. 143). The Chinese cinematic industry is no exception, and Li Yu is one of the few successful female directors in the country. 'What happens when the bearer of the look is female and the object is female?' then asks Zoe Dirse (Dirse 2013, p. 18). In *Lost in Beijing*, I think the director treads a fine line, profiting from the male gaze and its codes on the one hand, but also disrupting it on the other hand.

Li Yu is aware of how the male gaze works. She explicitly mentions that she used Fan Bingbing's (范冰冰) beauty—the actress who plays Pingguo—to attract audience, more particularly 'men's eyes'. She further explains that the purpose was to make them watch the film so they would leave with 'something more': 'a different judgement and feeling' (Li and Zuo 2011, p. 75).³ In the same way Li Yu has tried to draw the audience to see her film using her main actress' beauty (although the efficiency of this strategy has been discussed), I believe she displays male voyeuristic gazes on the

character to better subvert them later through Pingguo's scenes of *flânerie* in Beijing and her final departure.

I will first tackle on how the male gaze is articulated throughout the film, before analysing the three scenes where Pingguo takes a walk in the city using Lauren Elkin's definition of the *flâneuse*, and then I will discuss the last scene of the film to show its disruptive potential for the oppression exerted on the heroine.

1. Demonstrations of the male gaze

As a female migrant worker in a patriarchal society and a capitalist economy, compared to her husband Pingguo is more likely to be exploited for her body than her labour. Like many young Chinese women with few professional qualifications and skills, she works in a service industry where she is constantly sexualized. This is represented through the sexual harassment she endures at her workplace, a massage salon where the border between a regular massage and sex work can easily be crossed. The way her boss lays his hand on his employee also demonstrates this exploitation. Pingguo nonetheless insists on keeping her job at the salon after her assault. She and her husband have an agricultural household registration *hukou* (户口) and without a job in the capital, they aren't eligible to transfer to an urban one, which is very difficult to achieve even with a local job, but represents for them an opportunity for social mobility. Until then, they are in a precarious position where they can be evicted anytime and have no rights to housing or social protection like healthcare. Consequently, Pingguo needs to keep her job in order to stay in Beijing. In other words, because of her gender and her social background, she is more prone to be objectified and exploited, but the narrative emphasizes her objectification even more.

Li Yu doesn't necessarily use the male gaze to shoot her film but she exposes the voyeuristic gaze of Pingguo's husband and boss on the female character. Both their gaze on her and the way they see her play a crucial part in the narrative. Indeed, their gaze has power over her. They sexualize and objectify her: they see her as a sexual partner as well as a body they can capitalize on, like An Kun selling the baby she is pregnant with. An Kun's job, as a window cleaner, gives him a privileged voyeuristic position as he works outside buildings, which is how he witnesses the rape. Before that, he monitors his wife by coming to see her at her workplace even though they are supposed to hide their marriage for the sake of Pingguo's job (she has to appear 'available' in the eyes of her customers, another instance of the male gaze). In contrast, when he deems her not worthy of him anymore because she was raped, he refuses to look at her. And when he assaults her later, he avoids looking at her face. Lin Dong in turn is shown spying on Pingguo while she takes a shower or looking under her

skirt when she is drunk.

Another watchful gaze on Pingguo that needs to be addressed is Wang Mei's, Lin Dong's wife, who fears being replaced by the young and fertile woman. Openly hostile to the heroine, she is waiting for any signs of adultery, and punishes Pingguo when she discovers her husband spying on her. For most of the film, she sees Pingguo as a temptress in her own home, instead of a victim or an ally in a situation where both women are shown powerless to make their husbands change their minds about their plans and grudgingly give in. It is only when the contract is broken that she realizes her mistake and acknowledges Pingguo's position.

Next, when the two men rape Pingguo, they indicate that they see her as a sexual object at their disposal. From this perspective, the setting of each rape exhibits a different form of domination. For Lin Dong, he thinks he has the right to lay hands on his employee as her superior. He argues that she seduced him—which supposedly denies his own responsibility—and that since she started it (while she was drunk, she first thought he was her husband), she must finish it, even though she protests vehemently and keeps asking him to stop. In the case of An Kun, he is reclaiming his 'property' after another man has enjoyed it. In the end, it is a matter of ego: as he rapes her, he keeps comparing his performance to Lin Dong's. After all, as his wife, Pingguo owes him sex and cannot refuse him, even though she protests.

To shoot these scenes, the filmmaker explained that she tried to be as close as possible to the action to avoid a voyeuristic gaze and make the audience feel involved (Yang and Wei 2009, p. 252).⁴ However, the first scene doesn't fully comply with this statement since the audience briefly adopts An Kun's point of view, who witnesses the act through the window. That the image's axis is always inclined and the characters sometimes out of focus in the frame certainly reflects Pingguo's confusion and drunk state of mind, but the *mise-en-scène* of the second scene is much more effective in denouncing the male character's assault. This time Pingguo doesn't verbally protest, even though she tries to push her husband away from her before giving up. The handheld camera stays focused on her petrified face and her hand tightly grabbing the side of the bed in the foreground. This time, the film's soundtrack can be heard, emphasizing the tragic situation. In this case, the camera being this close to the action prevents the audience from embracing a voyeuristic gaze and drawing any visual pleasure from it. On the contrary, the audience empathizes with Pingguo, which makes the scene even more painful to watch.

Even though she is confronted with this violence, I will argue next that Pingguo cannot be considered a passive victim as she later proves her resilience and gradually demonstrates some agency.

2. Flâneuse or ‘the liberating possibilities of a good walk’

The original Chinese title of the film is *Mishi Beijing* 迷失北京⁵, *mishi* meaning ‘to lose’ or ‘to get lost’. G. Andrew Stuckey has pointed out that this feeling of being lost is expressed on the one hand by the drifting handheld camerawork and the drifting of the characters in the frame, leaving and returning as if the camera’s briefly lost them, and on the other hand by the aimless wandering of the same characters in the capital city, whether on foot, on a bike, or in a car, depending on their social status (Stuckey 2018, pp. 104-105). As I will demonstrate, in this film wandering in the city has a symbolic meaning. Lin Dong and Wang Mei, as rich entrepreneurs, both own a car and drive separately around the city, while An Kun is seen on foot or on a bike, and Pingguo goes exclusively on foot, which emphasizes her inferior social status compared to the other characters. In addition, the couple first wanders together, but as soon as An Kun signs the contract with Lin Dong, we never see them walking together anymore, which suggests the deterioration of their relationship. Their attitude when they wander separately also reflects their respective situations: if An Kun is shown wandering with a dejected, bored, or dazed expression meaning that he has nothing better to do, Pingguo actually reclaims her agency when she takes a walk.

In her book *Flâneuse: Women Walk the City in Paris, New York, Tokyo, Venice, and London* (2017), Lauren Elkin defines the *flâneuse* not as a female version of the *flâneur* but as a completely distinct figure.

I found her using cities . . . as places to liberate herself from oppression or to help those who are oppressed; as places to declare her independence . . . She voyages out and goes where she’s not supposed to . . . She is a determined, resourceful individual keenly attuned to the creative potential of the city and the liberating possibilities of a good walk (Elkin 2017, p. 25).

The *flâneuse* thus becomes a feminist figure who not only reclaims the urban space but also achieves more agency through her walks.

One of the *flâneuses* Elkin discusses about is the heroine of Agnès Varda’s film *Cléo from 5 to 7* (*Cléo de 5 à 7*, 1962) and I find that she and Pingguo go through a similar process in their respective films. Varda’s film follows a young woman named Cléo for two hours as she waits for the results of a biopsy. In the first part of the film, Cléo is an admired singer who receives a lot of attention from her entourage, but in the second part, she chooses to go outside and walk in the streets of Paris. The camera adopts her point of view on the city and, as Varda said, the heroine goes then from being ‘the object of the look’ to ‘the subject who looks’ (Elkin 2017, p. 177). Elkin comments that ‘[t]he city acts

like a 'mirror' on Cléo, or a tarot card, in which she doesn't see her future, but herself' (Elkin 2019, p. 257, emphasis added).⁶ This idea of a mirror, or more precisely, a reflecting surface that helps the character to reflect on herself in turn, seems particularly striking. Indeed, in each of the three scenes where Pingguo walks alone in Beijing, she is faced with a reflective surface which allows her to ponder on her situation. In those moments, Pingguo ceases to be the object of the look of the male characters but sees herself with her own eyes and thus becomes a subject, a subject who looks.

Stuckey comments on the scene where Pingguo is shown catching her reflection in a mirror in the street by saying that it allows her to 'come to a fuller understanding of her own affective state' (Stuckey 2018, p. 105). I will argue that this scene isn't the only one and is actually part of a process the character is going through throughout the film, a personal journey to reclaim some agency that will lead her to leave at the end of the story. Embedded in this process, the character's departure makes more sense.

Each of the three scenes takes place right before a turning point in the plot: the first scene precedes the revelation of Pingguo's pregnancy, the second one precedes the signature of the contract between her husband and her employer, and the third one takes place before her final departure with her child and the money of said contract. In two of these scenes, the character crosses a bridge, which also conveys an idea of transition and therefore of personal evolution.

The first scene is the briefest one. It takes place after Pingguo's two consecutive rapes. She was able to negotiate with her boss in order to keep her job and hopes this is the end of the story. The young woman is first shot sitting on the edge of a bridge crossing one of Beijing's canals [Figure 1]. She appears a bit tired and lost in thought. The shot next cuts to another one of her exiting the bridge and



[Figure 1] Pingguo on the bridge

eventually leaving the frame. She seems to have decided to do something after taking some time to think about it. And indeed, in the next scene, a pregnancy test reveals that she is pregnant. The reflecting surface here, the ‘mirror’ provided by the city, is the water of the canal behind her, where she could see herself. However, she turns her back to it and leaves.

The second scene occurs shortly after and precedes the signature of the contract between An Kun and Lin Dong. The first shot of the scene presents a very unstable image of the character captured on a diagonal axis. The swivelling of the camera reveals that we are in fact looking at a mirror carried by some workers [Figure 2]. The Pingguo that is seen in that shot is actually her reflection, as she’s walking next to it. When she recognizes herself in the mirror, the young woman starts adjusting a lock of her hair and her jacket before looking away, not contemplating herself any further. Right after she is finished, the camera swivels, allowing us to understand the unusual nature of the camera angle until now.

The scene next cuts to Pingguo scanning the ads plastered on a wall as she looks for a clandestine abortion clinic. After writing down a phone number on her hand, she keeps walking and crosses another bridge. The transition to the next shot is abrupt as the character is suddenly awakened by the cry of pain of a young girl.



Pingguo had fallen asleep in the waiting room of a clandestine clinic and the patient’s scream brings her back to reality. She gets up and follows this young girl who just escaped. She finds her a little further on, furiously tearing off the clinic’s advertisements on an electric pole. Noticing Pingguo’s presence, the girl pushes her to the ground before running away again. Pingguo gets up but she is too distraught and has to lean on the pole to catch her breath. The film’s original soundtrack, a repetitive and dramatic piano rhythm that has remained constant up to this point, now takes on a melancholic and slower tone to emphasize the character’s emotions on her face as she is filmed in close-up. Her distress is clear as she understands that she won’t be able to abort: she doesn’t have enough money to go to a hospital and the illegal clinic seems too dangerous for her life.

The third scene comes near the end of the film, after the police, who just arrested An Kun for kidnapping, reveals that he is the real father of the child. Pingguo is reunited with her son but her future is now uncertain considering that the contract is consequently broken. She then receives a call from the morgue asking her to come and identify the body of her friend Xiao Mei, who previously worked

with her at the salon but ended up working as a prostitute after being fired. The first shot shows the back of Pingguo walking slowly in the corridors of the morgue as the camera follows her. The focus is on her, which makes her surroundings blurred. In the next shot, a morgue drawer is opened to reveal the corpse of her friend. The camera pans back to Pingguo's face when she is asked to identify her. As soon as she nods, the policeman starts to close the body bag, but she interrupts him. The camera then moves back down to Xiao Mei and shows Pingguo's hands gently touching her friend's cheek and removing a lock of hair that has got caught in her mouth. The camera pans back again to Pingguo's face as she asks how Xiao Mei died. The policeman tells her that she was most likely robbed and murdered by one of her clients, while he puts the body away for good this time. Once the drawer is closed, a close-up shows Pingguo pressing her forehead against the metallic surface of the furniture and closing her eyes.

In this last scene, Pingguo encounters two 'mirrors'. The first one is the corpse of her deceased friend Xiao Mei: the back and forth of the camera between their two faces establishes a parallel between them. Moreover, Pingguo's gesture to remove the lock of hair echoes her own in the previous wandering scene, which adds the identification of one character with the other. Xiao Mei's dead body constitutes a symbolic mirror and a tragic reminder of their precarious position. As female migrant workers in a capitalist and patriarchal society, they are the most vulnerable. The death of her friend can thus be interpreted as a warning of what could happen to her in the future. Finally, the second mirror appears as Pingguo leans against the morgue's cabinet in grief and the metallic surface reflects a blurred image of her pale face [Figure 3].



[Figure 3] Pingguo leaning on the morgue's cabinet

Therefore, in each of these three scenes, the city provides a mirror allowing the character to see herself through her own eyes and not through someone else's, and thus to reflect on her situation. As we have seen, there is a linear evolution in Pingguo's attitude towards the reflecting surfaces she encounters. In the first scene, she takes some time to gather her thoughts but turns her back to the water, thus unable to see her reflection. In the second scene, she briefly acknowledges her reflection in the mirror but is more focused on finding an abortion clinic. Finally, in the third and last scene, confronted with her friend's corpse, she identifies with her and ponders on this connection.

This evolution mirrors her inner one. At first, she doesn't do anything. In the second scene, she decides to abort, which would jeopardize all the arrangements An Kun and Lin Dong have made

without her. So, even though she fails to go through with it, this is a definite attempt to reclaim control on her body and her future. Finally, in the third scene, she stops the policeman when he tries to put her friend's corpse away. With this gesture, not only does she protest against this man's lack of decency towards the dead woman, but we also witness her succeeding at standing up against a male figure for the first time.

Therefore, each walk slowly leads her to more awareness and more ability to make decisions for herself. Like Cléo, who goes from being an object to a subject through her wandering in Paris, Pingguo is gradually able to assert herself against what oppresses her. Until now, she has often found herself powerless against her husband and employer's words and actions, but now she finally dares to oppose them. After her visit to the morgue, she refuses to go home to her husband when he tries to get her and their child, and slams the door in his face. This last gesture establishes a physical separation between them, and, more importantly, the end of his authority over her. Her developing agency culminates with her departure at the end of the film, which thus marks another physical separation with every male authority figure in her life. With these three scenes, 'the liberating possibilities of a good walk', as Elkin says, deeply resonates with Pingguo's storyline. Furthermore, the other female characters also participate in this emancipation process.

When the contract is broken, Wang Mei divorces her husband and obtains half of their property. Right after Pingguo chases her husband out, Wang Mei stops by Pingguo's room as she is about to leave the apartment for good. Even though she previously only treated her as a rival and was even mean to her, she sits next to her on the bed and gently takes her hands in her own. The two women remain silent but one can feel the emotion when they cry and seemingly resent everything that happened to them. After this scene, Pingguo leaves with her child and the contract money previously returned by her husband.

Seeing Xiao Mei's dead body is a shock to Pingguo, reminding her of how vulnerable she is, but the silent communion with Wang Mei is the reassurance she needs. She may not help her in the future, but I argue that Wang Mei is the final push she needed to leave. The solidarity between women, although brief, is nevertheless crucial for them. Their social background may be different, but they share a gendered oppression. As they cry, they both acknowledge the failure of their respective marriages and the maternity that was forced upon them, since one is infertile while the other was raped. In a way, Xiao Mei is sacrificed so that Pingguo can be saved, and Wang Mei shows Pingguo the way out, giving her approval by holding her hands. The *flâneuse* is then not necessarily a lone figure, but can find support in other women, exchanging comfort and tears.

Thanks to these walks and the support of other women, Pingguo is able to resist the oppression exerted on her and also undermine how the (mostly male) characters envision her. When she leaves, like a *flâneuse*, she relies on the crowd to escape the eyes of the two men coming after her.

3. Agency and ‘active vanishing’

Some commentators have rightfully argued that Pingguo is still living in a capitalist and patriarchal society and that her departure doesn’t change her situation that much. Indeed, she remains vulnerable, even more now with a baby to take care of on her own. However, she takes with her a considerable amount of money, and more importantly, the final scene of the film, as I will argue, represents another marker of the character’s agency and definitely subverts her systemic oppression.

The final scene begins when the credits start rolling, right after Pingguo’s departure from Lin Dong’s apartment. It is divided into two parts: the first is a nearly-one minute long editing of various shots of Beijing’s dwellers in the streets or at the train station, and the second shows a highway congested with cars filmed from the top of a bridge. A car suddenly stops in the middle of traffic, turns on its warning lights, and the two passengers get out to push the vehicle to the side of the road. We are then able to identify the two men: Lin Dong and An Kun, most likely brought together to look for Pingguo. Soon, the image fades to black as the credits keep on rolling. In this scene, Pingguo is missing and thus no longer visible on screen, but as we will see, her absence combined with the car’s breakdown has many consequences for the male characters, which can be divided in three layers of interpretation.

Firstly, the breakdown of the car suggests that the heroine successfully escaped the two men. Pingguo is fleeing on foot while being chased by a car. The two men being physically stopped in their pursuit gives her an advantage by allowing her more time to escape. Besides, while most of the scene is shot in daylight, the very last shot is shot at night, which means that the two men have spent a substantial amount of time pushing the car. Moreover, as G. Andrew Stuckey has rightly remarked, the car represents Lin Dong’s economic power (Stuckey 2018, pp. 106-108). The brand and the type of the car indicates his social and economic achievements. It facilitates his actions and movement while being a source of envy from An Kun. He uses it to assert his dominance over women while negotiating with Pingguo and Wang Mei by trapping them in the car. The fact that the car fails him when he needs it the most then considerably undermines his authority and prestige. Finally, I will add that even if the two men have joined forces to find Pingguo, they are nevertheless rendered powerless by the car’s breakdown, moving even slower than her, which again highlights the disruption of their authority.

Secondly, the heroine's departure disrupts the male gaze. In the first part of the scene, every shot seems to be taken from a car, which suggests that we are watching through the eyes of Lin Dong and An Kun, looking for Pingguo while driving. We are then adopting the point of view of the male gaze, the same that repeatedly objectified the heroine. Therefore, the breakdown of the car not only interrupts the men's search but also stops the performance of the male gaze. Without the object of their attention—the missing woman—their gaze is subverted. They no longer find satisfaction nor pleasure in looking, and now the breakdown prevents them looking any further. In addition, in the last shots of the scene, the point of view is reversed: we are now watching the two men from afar. The bridge where the camera is set is commonly used by pedestrians to cross the road safely, so we could even imagine that this is actually Pingguo's point of view, watching them trying to manoeuvre the car in the middle of a traffic jam and maybe exulting while doing so. Finally, the car ceases to be an advantage and becomes a deadweight for the two characters, significantly limiting their range of action compared to the rest of the film. They are then no longer a 'driving force' of the narrative.

Thirdly, I argue that Pingguo still possesses some agency even though she is invisible on screen. Commenting on the ending of another film by Li Yu, *Fish and Elephant*, Jenn Marie Nunes uses the concept of 'active vanishing' (original emphasis) to attribute more agency to the absent characters (Nunes 2018). Her concept is inspired by both Peggy Phelan and Cheng Meiling's works. For Phelan, the 'active vanishing' of a given minority (in her case, women) means choosing to remain invisible. She considers invisibility as a mean to subvert the mainstream and to resist being controlled by it because, as she says, visibility 'can mean surveillance and regulation of the representational image by dominant cultural producers' (Nunes 2018, p. 5; Phelan 1993). In other words, invisibility prevents any manipulation and domestication from the mainstream not willing to question itself. Meanwhile, Cheng Meiling argues that invisibility is only efficient when the absence of a given minority is *felt* (Cheng 1999). Jenn Marie Nunes further elaborates: 'For invisibility to function as a source of power that interferes with the hegemony, it cannot simply mean avoiding surveillance, but must also be felt and in a sense "seen" by the dominant culture' (Nunes 2018, p. 6). Thus, invisibility must still be 'visible' in a way. Nunes then talks about an active, palpable absence that comes to disrupt the mainstream, in her case, heteronormativity.

Like Nunes did for the lesbian couple in *Fish and Elephant*, I argue that Pingguo's departure, which renders her invisible on screen, is another marker of her agency. She is no longer visible on screen but, in a way, she is still present since the two men are looking for her. They deeply *feel* her absence, and Pingguo's vanishing is active because she willingly decided to disappear.

With the departure of both Pingguo and Wang Mei and so their palpable absence, the mainstream,

or the privileged position of the two men here, is disrupted. The end of their respective relationships marks the end of the men's influence on their wives, both emotionally and financially as they are now independent—a situation hard to achieve for many Chinese women, as research has shown (Li 2015; Fincher 2014).⁷ With Pingguo gone, An Kun and Lin Dong can no longer exploit her and profit from her. In the same way, each wife takes with her what represents for each of the men a considerable amount of money.

Money has been mostly represented as corrupting in *Lost in Beijing*. It was always obtained while using violence and manipulation to satisfy greed and pride, and, in the end, it doesn't fulfil the characters' emotional needs. In comparison, when Pingguo takes the contract money, she does so in order to sustain herself and her child. In doing so, she reclaims the money made from her exploitation, which is a powerful action.

Finally, by taking her son with her, Pingguo not only claims to be the best parent to take care of him but also interrupts the patrilineal tradition by separating the fathers and their son. Thus, to some extent, we can consider that she also interrupts the transmission of patriarchal patterns between men.

In the end, the breakdown of the car following Pingguo's departure, combined with her absence, on the one hand successfully undermines both the male gaze and the male characters' leading part in the narrative, and on the other hand, undeniably subverts the performance of the patriarchal and capitalist domination of the female character. The ending of *Lost in Beijing* thus allows a glimpse of hope for Pingguo's fate.

In conclusion, the scenes analysed in this paper suggest that Pingguo isn't a passive character subjugated to men, but that her resilience and agency are in fact much stronger than expected. Through her walks in Beijing and the reflections she finds there, she gradually stops being the object of the looks of the other characters to become a subject who looks and who is able to stand for herself. Last but not least, the final scene of *Lost in Beijing* can be considered as successfully undermining the patriarchal structure, whether materially, symbolically, or cinematically.

All translations are the author's.

Acknowledgments

I thank my two anonymous reviewers for their input and references, Flora Lichaa for her precious editor's work and my friend and colleague Virginie Pfeiffer for her proofreading.

Notes

- 1 “国内对于女性命运的探究的影片还是太少，女性被过多的男性目光审视，成为被宰割、被操纵的对象。” (Jiang 2007).
- 2 G. Andrew Stuckey's work in *Metacinema in Contemporary Chinese Film* (2018), which will be quoted in this article, is one notable exception.
- 3 “我有一种潜在的想法，我想用冰冰的美丽先吸引男性的目光，但是当他们在看这部电影的时候不光是看到了这种美丽，要看到的是整部电影。... 观众先被她吸引去看电影，就会得出另外一个不同的判断和感觉。我想让观众看到她美丽之外的东西。” (Li and Zuo 2014, p. 75).
- 4 “连亏是的角度都没有，直接就是参与感的” (Yang and Wei 2009, p. 252).
- 5 After going through censorship, the film was renamed *Pingguo* for its domestic release, as all mentions to the capital were cut.
- 6 ‘La ville agit comme un miroir sur Cléo, ou une carte de tarot, dans laquelle elle voit non pas son avenir, mais elle-même.’ (Elkin 2019, p. 257). Curiously, this sentence appears in the French edition of Elkin's book, but not in the first edition in English.
- 7 Research has shown that women tend to stay in abusive relationships as legal remedies represent little help for them or find themselves deprived of most of their assets, besides the stigmatization of being a divorced woman (Li 2015; Fincher 2014).

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关键词：女性主义

李玉《苹果》中的女性能动性： 从“被注视的对象”到“注视的主体”

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概要

本文研究了李玉的《苹果》(2007) 中的女性能动性。与大多数批评不同,我通过对该片场面调度的仔细解读,认为女主角并不是一个屈从于男性凝视的被动角色,相反,电影导演利用男性凝视从而更好地颠覆他们。劳伦·埃尔金对“漫游女子”的定义和詹·玛丽·努内斯对主动消失和隐身所包含的能动性的讨论为本文提供了一个理论框架,用以分析女主角如何不仅中断了对她的男性凝视,而且成功地颠覆了压迫她的父权制和资本主义统治。

李玉的第三部剧情片《苹果》(Lost in Beijing) 于2007年上映,表现了当代中国有关性别和社会经济歧视等众多女性问题。影片讲述了苹果的故事,苹果是一名移民女工,随丈夫来到北京打工,在一家按摩店工作。有一天,她醉醺醺地去上班,她的老板林东强暴了她。她的丈夫安坤目睹了这一幕,也在当天晚上强暴了她。苹果怀孕后,她的丈夫与她的老板谈判,如果孩子真的是他的,就把孩子卖给他。林东的妻子没有选择,只能同意她丈夫的提议,因为她不能生育。苹果的儿子出生后,安坤贿赂医生更改新生儿的出生证明,并从林东那里拿到钱。根据合同条款,苹果暂居在林东夫妇的公寓,担任孩子的保姆。另一方面,安坤和林东的妻子王梅为了报复他们各自的伴侣也开始了一段恋情。安坤很快对林东心生嫉妒,并绑架了孩子。警方进行的DNA测试显示,安坤确实是孩子的父亲,随后解除了合同。当王梅与林东离婚时,苹果决定带着她的儿子以及合同的钱离开。

李玉出生于山东,是中国最著名的女导演之一。在拍摄了几部纪录片之后,她执导了中国大陆第一部女同性恋电影《今年夏天》(Fish and Elephant, 2001),并到现在一直坚持拍摄剧情片。她所有的电影都关注女性问题。随着《苹果》的拍摄,她公开批评了男性凝视在银幕上对女性的塑造(Jiang, 2007)。¹ 然而,国内外大多数学者要么认为这部电影是一次对厌女再现的失败尝试,要么认为这部作品有效地谴责了当代中国的女性地位,但却并不能颠覆父权制结构(Li 2008; Yin 2009; Cui 2011; Yuan and Ye 2011; Zhu 2011; Donald, 2008; Ho 2015)。² 苹果被看作是一个受害者,用崔淑琴的话说,她是“一个由男性欲望支配的叙事中的‘被动角色’”(Cui 2011, pp. 225 and 227)。虽然男性欲望确实在叙事的不同环节扮演了重要的角色,而且在整部影片中多次出现了男性的窥视目光,但我想要论证,通过认真分析影片的场面调度,就会发现女性能动性并不像崔所说的那样不存在,崔谈到的那些元素实际上被苹果的最后离开所颠覆。

男性凝视的概念是由劳拉·穆维尔(Laura Mulvey)在1975年首次提出的。她批评了主动的男性和被动的女性之间的二元对立在好莱坞经典电影中的绝对主导。按照这种二元逻辑,男性角色不仅是注视的承载者,而且是叙事的驱动力,而女性的特点是“被注视”,并与“奇观时刻”——不推动情节发展的时刻——联系在一起,为男性角色提供视觉快感,并通过他们为观众提供视觉快感。男性凝视不仅物化女性,而且还将她们性化,往往是以一种窥视的方式(通过门上的钥匙孔偷看一个对此不知情的女人脱衣服就是一个著名的例子)。此后,这一概念被广泛讨论,对电影分析仍有深远影响,因为正如安妮·罗斯·穆尔(Anne Ross Muir)所说,“男性气质的观点之所以盛行,只是因为这个行业由男性控制”(Muir 1989, p. 143)。中国的电影业也不例外,李玉是中国少数成功的女导演之一。“当女性成为注视的承载者,而被注视对象也是女性时,会发生什么呢?”佐伊·迪尔塞(Zoe Dirse)发问道(Dirse 2013, p.18)。我认为,在《苹果》中,导演一方面从男性凝视及其行为规范中获利,另一方面也破坏了它。

李玉意识到了男性凝视的作用。她明确提到,她利用范冰冰的美貌——扮演苹果的女演员——来吸引观众,特别是“男人的眼睛”。她进一步解释说,其目的是让他们来看电影,以便他们离开影院时能带走“更多的东西”:“不同的判断和感觉”(Li and Zuo 2011, p. 75)。³ 就像李玉试图利用女主角的美貌来吸引观众来看她的电影一样(尽管这种策略的效果已经被讨论过),我相信她展示男性对(女性)角色的窥视,是为了后面通过苹果在北京的漫游场景和她最后的离开来更好地颠覆这些凝视。

我将首先讨论整个影片中男性凝视的衔接问题,然后用劳伦·埃尔金对“漫游女子”的定义来分析苹果在城市中漫步的三个场景,然后我将讨论影片的最后一个场景是如何给女主角反抗其所受到的压迫提供可能性。

男性凝视的表现

作为身处父权制社会和资本主义经济中的女性移民工人,苹果,与她的丈夫相比,更有可能因为身体而被剥削,而非仅仅是劳动力。像许多没有什么专业资格和技能的中国年轻女性一样,她在服务行业工作,在那里她不断地被性化。这表现在她在工作场所面对的性骚扰上,在这家按摩院,普通按摩和性工作之间的界限很容易被跨越。她的老板对其雇员的骚扰也表明了这种剥削。然而,苹果在受到性侵后仍坚持在按摩院工作。她和丈夫是农村户口,如果在首都没有工作,他们就没有资格转成城市户口,即使在当地工作也很难拿到城市户口,但这对他们来说是一个社会流动的机会。在此之前,他们的生活一直处于不稳定的状态,随时可能被驱逐,没有获得住房或社会保护如医疗保健的权利。因此,为了留在北京,苹果需要保住她的工作。换句话说,由于她的性别和社会背景,她更容易被物化和剥削,但叙事中更强调了她被物化。

李玉不一定用男性凝视来拍摄电影,但她暴露了苹果的丈夫和老板对女性角色的偷窥凝视。他们对她的凝视和注视她的方式在叙事中都起到了关键作用。事实上,他们的凝视给她带来影响。他们将她性化和物化:他们将她视为性伴侣,可以随时利用的身体,就像安坤卖掉她怀中的孩子。安坤的

工作是窗户清洁工，这让他能在楼外工作时有了偷窥的特权，这就是他能目睹强暴的原因。在此之前，他到妻子的工作场所看她来达到监视她的目的，尽管为了苹果的工作，他们本应隐瞒他们的婚姻关系（她必须在客户眼中显得“可以使用”，这是男性凝视的另一典型例子）。相反，当他认为她因为被强暴而不再配得上他时，他拒绝再看她。而当他后来强暴她时，他避开看她的脸。而林东则在苹果洗澡时偷窥她，或在她喝醉时偷看她的裙底。

值得一提的是，另一种针对苹果的凝视来自林东的妻子王梅，她害怕被这个年轻且能生育的女人所取代。她公开敌视女主角，等着发现任何通奸的迹象，并在发现她的丈夫在偷窥她时惩罚了苹果。在影片的大部分时间里，她把苹果看作是自己家里的诱惑者，而不是受害者或盟友，在这种情况下，两个女人都表现得无能为力，无法改变她们的丈夫，所以只能勉强屈服。只有当合同被终止时，她才意识到自己的错误，承认苹果的立场。

接下来，当这两个男人强暴苹果时，他们将苹果视为可供他们支配的性客体。从这个角度来看，每次强暴的环境都表现为不同形式的支配。对于林东来说，他认为自己作为员工的上司，有权利对她动手动脚。他认为她是她先勾引了他——这应该就是否认了他自己的责任——既然是她先开始的（当她喝醉时，她以为他是她的丈夫），她就必须完成（性行为），尽管她强烈抗议并不断要求他停止。对安坤来说，他是在另一个男人享受了他的“财产”之后，收回自己的“财产”。归根结底，这是一个关于自尊的问题：在他强暴她的时候，他不断地将自己的表现与林东的表现相比较。毕竟，作为他的妻子，苹果就应该和他性交，即使她抗议，也不能拒绝。

为了拍摄这些场景，导演解释说，她试图尽可能近的拍摄，从而避免任何偷窥凝视，并使观众感到参与其中(Yang and Wei, 2009, p. 252)。⁴ 然而，第一个场景并不完全符合这一说法，因为观众短暂地采用了安坤的视角，通过窗户目睹了这一行为。画面的轴线始终是倾斜的，画面中的人物有时是失焦的，这当然也反映了苹果的困惑和醉酒的状态。但第二个场景的场面调度更有效地谴责了男性角色的性侵行为。这一次，苹果没有提出口头抗议，尽管她在放弃反抗之前曾试图将她的丈夫推开。手持摄像机一直聚焦在她惊恐的脸上，她的手紧紧抓住床边则作为前景。这时，配乐的出现，强调了苹果的凄惨状况。在这种情况下，摄像机如此近的拍摄，使观众无法通过窥视凝视来获得任何视觉快感。相反，观众对苹果感同身受，使这一幕让人格外痛苦。

尽管苹果面对的是这种暴力，但我接下来要论证的是，苹果不能被视为一个被动的受害者，因为她后来证明了自己的韧性，并逐渐表现出一些能动性。

漫游女子或“良好漫步的解放可能性”

这部电影的中文原名是《迷失北京》⁵，迷失的意思是“失去”或“迷路”。G·安德鲁·斯塔克(G. Andrew Stuckey)指出，这种迷失的感觉一方面通过移动的手持摄像机画面和人物在画面内外的游

移来实现，他们走出去又走回来，好像摄像机短暂地失去了他们；另一方面通过人物们在首都漫无目的的漫游来实现，步行也好，骑车或是开车也好，都取决于他们的社会地位(Stuckey 2018, pp. 104–105)。正如我即将证明的那样，在这部电影中，在城市中的漫游有一种象征意义。林东和王梅，作为富有的企业家，都拥有一辆汽车，并分别开车在城市里游荡；而安坤是步行或骑自行车，苹果则完全是步行，这强调了她与其他角色相比更低下的社会地位。此外，这对夫妇最初是一起散步的，但当安坤与林东签订合同后，我们就再也看不到他们一起散步了，这表明他们关系的恶化。他们分别漫游时的态度也反映了他们各自的处境：如果安坤在漫游时表现出沮丧、无聊或茫然的表情，意味着他没有更好的事情可做，那么苹果在漫步时实际上是重新获得她的能动性。

在劳伦·埃尔金的书《漫游女子：徜徉在巴黎、纽约、东京、威尼斯和伦敦》(2017)中，她对“漫游女子”的定义并不是女性的漫游者，而是一个完全不同的人物。

我发现她利用城市.....将其看作为从压迫中解放自己或帮助被压迫者的地方；作为宣布自己独立的地方。她出去冒险，去她不应该去的地方.....她是一个坚定且聪慧的人，可以敏锐地注意到城市的创新潜力和良好的漫步的解放可能性(Elkin 2017, p.25)。

因此，漫游女子成为一个女性主义人物，不仅重新获得了城市空间，而且通过她的行走获得了更多的能动性。

埃尔金所讨论的漫游女子之一是阿涅斯·瓦尔达的电影《五至七时的克莱奥》(Cléo from 5 to 7, 1962)的女主角，我发现她和苹果在各自的电影中有着类似的经历。瓦尔达的电影跟拍了一位名叫克莱奥的年轻女子等待体检结果的两个小时。在影片的第一部分，克莱奥是一位备受瞩目的歌手，时刻被身边随行人员关注，但在第二部分，她选择到外面去，在巴黎的街头漫步。镜头采用了她对城市的观点，正如瓦尔达所说，女主角从此从“被注视的客体”变成了“注视的主体”(Elkin 2017, p. 177)。埃尔金评论说，“城市就像克莱奥身上的一面镜子，或者一张塔罗牌，她在里面看到的不是她的未来，而是她自己”(Elkin 2019, p.257)。⁶ 这个关于镜子的想法，或者更准确地说，一个帮助角色反思自己的镜面，似乎格外引人深思。事实上，在苹果独自在北京漫步的三个场景中，她都面对着一个镜面，让她思考自己的处境。在这些时刻，苹果不再是男性角色的注视对象，而是用自己的眼睛看自己，从而成为一个主体，一个主动注视的主体。就苹果在街上从镜子中捕捉到自己倒影的场景来说，斯塔克评论道，这让她“对自己的情感状态有了更充分的了解”(Stuckey, 2018, p. 105)。我认为这并不是唯一的一幕，实际上是这个角色在整个影片中所经历的过程的一部分，一个重新获得一些能动性的个人之旅，这将导致她在故事最后的离开。在这个过程中，这个角色的离开就更有意义了。

这三个漫游场景中的每一个都发生在情节转折点之前：第一个场景发生在苹果得知自己怀孕之前，第二个场景发生在她丈夫和她老板签署合同之前，第三个场景发生在她带着孩子和合同的钱最后离开之前。在其中的两个场景中，人物都走过了一座桥，这也传达了一个过渡的概念，因此也是个人



【图1】桥上的苹果

成长的概念。

第一个场景是最简短的一场。它发生在苹果连续两次被强暴之后。她能够与她的老板谈判，以保住她的工作，并希望这就是这件事的结局。这名年轻女子首先被拍到坐在横跨北京运河的一座桥边上

【图1】。她显得有些疲惫和迷茫。接下来的镜头切到她离开桥并最终走出画面。她似乎花了些时间思考后下定决心要做什么。而事实上，在下一个场景中，验孕棒显示她已经怀孕。这里的镜面，即城市提供的“镜子”正是她身后的运河水，在那里她可以看到自己。然而，她背对着它离开了。

第二个场景发生在安坤和林东签署合同前不久。这个场景的第一个镜头以对角线为轴心进行拍摄，呈现了一个非常不稳定的人物形象画面。旋转的镜头让我们看到一些工人携带的镜子【图2】。在那个镜头中看到的苹果其实是她的镜中映像，因为她正在镜子旁边行走。当她认出镜子里的自己时，这个年轻女人开始整理她的头发和外套，然后就转过头去，不再注视自己。就在她完成这一系列动作后，镜头旋转，这才让我们感受到镜头角度的不寻常性。

接下来，画面切换到苹果扫描贴在墙上的广告，她在寻找一家秘密堕胎诊所。在手上写下一个电话号码后，她继续走，穿过另一座桥。转入下一个镜头的过程很突然，因为这个人物突然被一个年轻女孩的痛哭声惊醒。苹果在一个秘密诊所的等候室里睡着了，病人的尖叫声把她拉回了现实。她站起身来，跟踪这个刚逃出来的年轻女孩。她在远一点的地方发现她正在愤怒地撕下诊所在电杆上的广告。这个女孩注意到苹果的存在，把她推倒在地上，然后又跑开了。苹果站了起来，但她太心烦意乱了，不得不靠在电线杆上喘息。影片在此之前一直重复播放



【图2】苹果在镜子里看到自己

充满戏剧感的钢琴配乐，现在则开始采用了忧郁和缓慢的音调，以强调角色在被拍到特写时脸上的情绪。她很苦恼，因为她明白自己将无法堕胎：她没有足够的钱去医院，而非法诊所似乎又太危险了。

第三个场景是在影片接近尾声时，刚刚以绑架罪逮捕安坤的警察透露了他才是孩子的真正父亲。苹果与儿子团聚，但考虑到合同因此被终止，她的未来是不确定的。随后，她接到停尸房的电话，请她来辨认她的朋友小梅的尸体。小梅以前和她一起在美容院工作，但在被解雇后，最后做了妓女。第一个镜头跟着苹果在停尸房的走廊里缓慢行走的背影。镜头焦点集中在她身上，这使得她周围的环境变得模糊不清。在下一个镜头中，一个停尸房的抽屉被打开，露出她朋友的尸体。当苹果被要求确认她的身份时，镜头转回苹果的脸。她一点头，警察就开始关闭尸袋，但她打断了他。然后，镜头再次移回到小梅的身上，苹果的手轻轻地抚摸着她朋友的脸颊，并取出夹在她嘴里的一绺头发。镜头再次转回到苹果的脸上，她询问小梅的死因。警察告诉她，她很可能是被一个客人抢劫谋杀的，然后他把尸体永远地收了起来。抽屉一关上，一个特写镜头显示苹果将她的额头按在那个金属柜子表面，并闭上了眼睛。

在这最后一幕中，苹果遇到了两面“镜子”。第一面是她死去的朋友小梅的尸体：镜头在他们两个人的脸上来回切换，建立了他们之间的平行关系。此外，苹果摘下头发的手势与她在前一个漫游场景中的手势相呼应，这增加了角色对对方的认同。小美的尸体构成了一面象征性的镜子，也是对她们不稳定地位的悲痛提醒。在资本主义和父权制社会中生存的女性移民工人是最脆弱的。因此，她朋友的死亡可以被解释为对她未来可能发生事情的警告。最后，当苹果悲伤地靠在停尸房的柜子上时，第二面镜子出现了，金属表面反射出她苍白的脸的模糊图像【图3】。

因此，在这三个场景中，城市提供了一面镜子，让人物通过自己的眼睛而不是通过别人的眼睛注视自己，从而反思自己的处境。正如我们所看到的，苹果对她所遇到的镜面态度有一个线性演变。在第一个场景中，她花了一些时间来收集她的想法，但却背对着水面，因此无法看到自己的倒影。在第二个场景中，她大概承认了她在镜子中的映像，但更专注于寻找一家堕胎诊所。最后，在第三个也是最后一个场景中，面对她朋友的尸体，她把自己和她联系起来，并加以思考。

这种演变反映了她的内心。起初，她什么都不做。在第二个场景中，她决定堕胎，这将危及安坤和林东在未经她同意的情况下做出的所有安排。因此，尽管她没能坚持下去，但这无疑是对重新掌控她的身体和未来的一次尝试。最后，在第三个场景中，当警察试图把她朋友的尸体收走时，她阻止了警察。通过这个姿态，她不仅抗议这个男人对死去



【图3】倚在停尸房柜子上的苹果

的女人缺乏尊重，而且我们还见证了她第一次成功站起来反抗一个男性人物。

因此，每一次漫步都会让她慢慢地有更多的主观意识和能力来为自己做决定。就像克莱奥通过在巴黎的漫步从客体变成主体一样，苹果逐渐能够坚持自己的立场，反对压迫她的事物。在此之前，她经常发现自己对丈夫和老板的言行无能为力，但现在，她终于敢于反抗他们了。从停尸房回来后，当她丈夫试图找她和孩子时，她拒绝回家，并当面摔门而去。这个最后的姿态在他们之间建立了一个物理上的分离，更重要的是，他对她的权威到此结束。她的能动性随着她在影片结束时的离开而达到顶峰，这也标志着她与生活中每一个男性权威人物的又一次物理分离。通过这三个场景，埃尔金所说的“良好的散步的解放可能性”与苹果故事情节产生了深刻的共鸣。此外，其他女性角色也参与到了这个解放的过程。

合同终止后，王梅与她的丈夫离婚并获得了一半的财产。就在苹果把她丈夫赶走之后，在苹果准备永远离开自己的公寓前，王梅来拜访她。尽管她以前只把她当作敌人，甚至对她很刻薄，但她还是坐在她旁边的床上，轻轻地握住她的手。这两个女人相默无言，但人们可以感受到她们的情绪，她们的眼泪以及对发生在自己身上的一切的厌恶。这一幕之后，苹果带着她的孩子和她丈夫之前归还的合同款离开。

看到小美的尸体对苹果来说是个打击，这提醒了她自己是多么的脆弱，但与王梅的无声交流给予了她肯定。她将来可能不会帮助她，但我认为，王梅是她决定离开的最后推动力。女性之间的团结，虽然短暂，但对她们来说是至关重要的。她们的社会背景可能不同，但她们共同受到性别压迫。当她们哭泣时，她们都承认她们各自婚姻的失败及被迫生育，因为一个是不孕不育，另一个是被强暴。在某种程度上，小美的牺牲是为了让苹果能够获救，而王梅为苹果指明了出路，通过握住她的手给予了她的认可。这样一来，漫游女子就不一定是一个孤独的形象，而是可以在其他女性身上找到支持并相互慰藉。

由于这些漫步和其他女性的支持，苹果能够抵抗施加在她身上的压迫，也颠覆了(大部分是男性)角色对她的想象。当她离开时，就像一个漫游女子，靠人群来躲避追赶她的那两个男性的目光。

能动性和“主动消失”

一些评论家理所当然地认为，苹果仍然生活在一个资本主义和父权制社会中，她的离开并没有给她的处境带来多大的改变。的确，她仍然很脆弱，现在更有一个孩子需要她自己来照顾。然而，她带走了相当多的钱。更重要的是，正如我即将论证的那样，影片的最后一幕标志着这个角色能动性的发展，颠覆了对她的系统性压迫。

最后一幕是在字幕开始滚动时开始的，就在苹果离开林东的公寓之后。这个场景分为两部分：第一

部分是对北京居民在街头或火车站的各种镜头的剪辑，时长近一分钟；第二部分是在桥顶拍摄的高速公路上拥挤的车辆。一辆汽车突然停在车流中间，打开了警示灯，两名乘客下车将车辆停到路边。然后我们能够确定这两个人的身份：林东和安坤，很可能是为了寻找苹果而聚到了一起。很快，随着字幕的不断滚动，画面渐渐变黑。在这一幕中，苹果失踪了，因此在屏幕上不再可见，但正如我们将看到的，她的缺席加上汽车的故障对男性角色产生了许多影响，这可以通过三层含义来解释。

首先，汽车故障表明，女主人公成功地逃脱了两人的追捕。苹果是在被汽车追赶的情况下徒步逃离的。两个人追捕过程中断带来的好处是，让她有更多的时间逃跑。此外，虽然大部分场景是在白天拍摄的，但最后一个镜头却是在晚上拍摄的，也就是这两个人花了相当多的时间来驱动汽车。此外，正如G·安德鲁·斯塔克所言，汽车代表了林东的经济实力(Stuckey 2018, p. 106–108)。汽车的品牌和类型表明他的社会和经济成就。它为他的行动和行为提供了便利，同时也是安坤嫉妒的来源。在与苹果和王梅谈判时，他用它来宣布对女性的支配，即把她们困在车里。在他最需要汽车的时候，汽车却让他失望，这大大削弱了他的权力和威信。最后，我想补充的是，即使两个人合力寻找苹果，但他们还是因为汽车故障而变得措手不及，甚至比她走得更慢，这再次强调了他们的权威受到了破坏。

其次，女主角的离开打乱了男性凝视。在这一场景的前半部分，每个镜头似乎都是从车上拍摄的，这表明我们是通过林东和安坤的眼睛看，在车上寻找苹果。这样我们就用了男性凝视的视角，也就是反复物化女主角的视角。因此，汽车的故障不仅打断了男人们的追寻，也中止了男性凝视。没有了他们关注的对象——失踪的女人，他们的凝视就此被颠覆。他们不再在注视中找到满足或快感，而现在，汽车故障使他们无法再注视下去。此外，在这一场景的最后几个镜头中，视角被颠倒，因为我们现在是从远处看这两个人。镜头所在的桥通常是行人用来安全过马路的，所以我们甚至可以想象，这其实是苹果的视角，看着他们在交通堵塞中努力驱动汽车，也许她在看她们的时候还很得意。最后，汽车不再是一种优势，而成为两个人物的累赘，与影片其他部分相比，大大限制了他们的行动范围。这样他们就不再是叙事的“驱动力”了。

第三，我认为，即使苹果在屏幕上缺席，她仍然拥有一些能动性。在评论李玉的另一部电影《今年夏天》的结局时，詹·玛丽·努内(Jenn Marie Nunes)使用了“主动消失”(原文强调)的概念，将更多的能动性赋予缺席的人物(Nunes 2018)。她的概念受到佩吉·费伦(Peggy Phelan)和郑美玲作品的启发。对费伦来说，一个特定的少数群体（在她的文章中是指女性）的“主动消失”意味着选择保持不为人所见的状态。她认为这种状态是颠覆主流和抵制被主流控制的一种手段，因为正如她所说，可见性“可能意味着主导文化生产者对典型形象的监视和管制”(Nunes 2018, p. 5; Phelan 1993)。换句话说，不可见性可以防止任何来自主流的操纵和驯化。同时，郑美玲认为，只有在感受到某个少数群体的缺席时，不可见性才是有效的(Cheng 1999)。詹·玛丽·努内进一步阐述说。要使不可见性作为干扰霸权的权力来源发挥作用，它不能简单地意味着避免监视，还必须被主导文化感受到，

并在某种意义上被“看到”(Nunes 2018, p.6)。因此, 不可见性在某种程度上仍然必须是“可见”的。然后, 努内谈到了一种主动的、可感知到的缺席, 来破坏主流, 这种主流对她来说就是异性恋正统性。

就像努内为《今年夏天》中的女同性恋情侣论证的那样, 我认为, 苹果的离开, 使她在屏幕上不可见, 是她的能动性发展的另一个标志。她在屏幕上不再可见, 但在某种程度上, 她仍然存在, 因为那两个男人还在寻找她。他们深深地感受到她的缺席, 苹果的消息是主动的, 因为她自愿决定消失。

随着苹果和王梅的离开, 以及他们明显的缺席, 主流, 或者说这里的两个男人的特权地位, 被打破了。他们各自关系的结束标志着男人对妻子的影响的终止, 无论是在情感上还是在经济上, 因为她们现在是独立的。正如研究表明的那样, 这种情况对许多中国女性来说是难以实现的 (Li 2015; Fincher 2014)。⁷ 随着苹果的离去, 安坤和林东不能再剥削她, 从她身上获利。同样地, 每个妻子都带走了对男人来说相当大的一笔金钱。

在《苹果》中, 金钱大多代表腐败与堕落。它总是在通过暴力和操纵来满足贪婪和自尊的情况下获得, 而且, 最终, 它并没有满足人物的情感需求。相比之下, 当苹果拿着合同款离开时, 她这样做是为了维持自己和孩子的生活。此外, 通过这样做, 她收回了她被剥削所获得的赔偿, 这是一个强有力的立场。

最后, 苹果带着儿子离开, 不仅声称自己是照顾儿子的最佳人选, 而且还通过将父亲和儿子分开来打断了父系传统。因此, 在某种程度上, 我们可以认为她也中断了男性代际相传的父权制模式。最后, 苹果离开后的汽车故障加上她的缺席, 一方面成功地破坏了男性凝视和男性角色在叙事中的主导地位, 另一方面, 不可否认地颠覆了父权和资本主义统治对女性角色的压迫。因此, 《苹果》的结尾让人看到苹果命运的一丝希望。

总之, 在本文所分析的场景中, 苹果并不是一个被动地屈从于男人的角色, 她的韧性和能动性实际上要比预期的强得多。通过她在北京的漫步和反思, 她逐渐不再是其他角色的凝视对象, 而是成为一个能主动注视并为自己代言的主体。从物质、象征手法和影像的角度上, 《苹果》的最后一幕可以被理解为成功地破坏了父权制结构。⁸

致谢

感谢两位匿名审稿人的意见, 感谢编辑李风华(Flora Lichaa)的辛勤工作, 感谢我的朋友和同事Virginie Pfeiffer帮助校对。

注释

- 1 “国内对于女性命运的探究的影片还是太少，女性被过多的男性凝视审视，成为被宰割、被操纵的对象。”（Jiang 2007）。
- 2 本文即将引用的G·安德鲁·斯塔克在《当代中国电影中的元电影》（2018）中的文章除外。
- 3 “我有一种潜在的想法，我想用冰冰的美丽先吸引男性的目光，但是当他们看这部电影的时候不光是看到了这种美丽，要看到的是整部电影……观众先被她吸引去看电影，就会得出另外一个不同的判断和感觉。我想让观众看到她美丽之外的东西。”（Li and Zuo 2014, p. 75）
- 4 “连亏是的角度都没有，直接就是参与感的”（Yang and Wei 2009 , p. 252）
- 5 在通过审查后，该片在国内发行时被改名为《苹果》，所有提到首都的地方都被删除。
- 6 “La ville agit comme un miroir sur Cléo, ou une carte de tarot, dans laquelle elle voit non pas son avenir, mais elle-même”（Elkin 2019, p. 257）. 奇怪的是，这句话出现在埃尔金书的法文版中，但没有出现在英文第一版中。
- 7 研究表明，女性倾向于留在虐待关系中，因为法律补救措施对她们没有什么帮助，或者发现自己会被剥夺大部分资产，此外，还有作为一个离婚女性的耻辱感（Li 2015; Fincher 2014）。
- 8 所有翻译出自作者。

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Keyword: Memory

Reading the Gospel in Miao: Christian Memories of Development in *Songs From Maidichong*

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Abstract

In this review I discuss Hu Jie's 2016 film *Songs From Maidichong*. The review focuses on the film's framing of developmental logics and memories of development. It also attempts to contextualize *Songs*' portrait of Christian devotion in relation to the role played by Christian iconography in earlier films by Hu Jie, exploring how Christian devotion within the film unsettles conventional logics of development.

After leaving the military, where he had trained as a painter, Hu Jie (胡杰) went through a process of self-questioning. Dissatisfied with his creative output, he asked himself, 'who are the people?' and 'when the people face problems, how can we help them?' In Rita Andreetti's recent film, *The Observer* (2019), Hu reflects that, 'when you think about such questions, you will find that your art becomes closely linked to the people.'¹ It was in this context that he came to the Mini-DV camcorder and began to make documentary films.

Many of Hu's best known documentaries take up historical subjects, with *Searching For Lin Zhao's Soul* 寻找林昭的灵魂 (dir. Hu Jie, 2005) asking explicitly, 'will our history enter our memory? How will it enter our memory?' Li Jie has even made the case for reading *Though I Am Gone* 我虽死去 (dir. Hu Jie, 2007), as a kind of cinematic museum (Li 2009). Hu's 2016 film, *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声 (dir. Hu Jie, 2016), takes up a historical subject but, because it concerns the history of a Christian devotional community, could be said to possess an extra historical dimension: residents of Maidichong, Yunnan see their lives as playing out between Christ's crucifixion and their joining the Lord in heaven. Traveling to the village, Hu interviews locals about the history of their faith and its place in the life of their community.

Stylistically, Hu's interest in oral history is on display here, with interviews making up much of the film. Archival footage is largely absent, but there's an interest throughout in historical texts (a 1937 Miao textbook, the bible in Miao, the journal of a cadre) and photographs (portraits of religious leaders, group photos of Miao gatherings). Some may see in the repeated closeups and freeze-frames given to such objects echoes of the preoccupation, in works like *Searching For Lin Zhao's Soul* and, to a lesser extent, *Spark* 星火 (dir. Hu

Jie, 2013), with the materiality of texts. These two forms— interviews and historical media— stitch together sequences of the people of Maidichong praying, working and singing hymns. The film's fascination with the singing of Christian songs, signalled in its title, is probably its most distinct formal aspect within Hu's oeuvre, and space is made for performances throughout.

Films like *Searching, Though I Am Gone, Spark, East Wind State Farm* 国营东风农场 (dir. Hu Jie, 2010), *My Mother, Wang Peiying* 我的母亲王佩英 (dir. Hu Jie, 2012), *Book of the Gulag* 格拉古之书 (dir. Hu Jie, 2013) and *Liaoxi Memento Mori* 辽西记事 (dir. Hu Jie, 2017) use talking-head interviews to intervene in histories of death, suffering and martyrdom. In this way, they offer memories of crisis as a counterpoint to the triumphalist accounts of development and modernity found in more official history documentary films and programmes, such as those on China Central Television (CCTV). *Songs* is certainly interested in martyrdom but, in contrast to this grouping, the film's focus is on the *life* of a community. Hu's interview subjects at times speak of the dead, of calamity and of martyrdom, but the style of *Songs* also allows residents of Maidichong to reflect on their art, work, faith, studies, recovery (as from the Great Leap), habits, skills and futures. The frequent musical sequences, as collective celebrations of divine grace, likewise offer a counterpoint to individual oral narrations of suffering and death. Such moments bring historical narrative to a halt.

Songs finds Hu interviewing plenty of residents, a reverend, an itinerant dentist and a veteran cadre on the history of Christianity in Maidichong, as well as probing the village's contemporary life. The film is tightly geographically bounded but temporally slippery: village seniors recount tales from the Cultural Revolution and their childhoods, worry about the future, and offer glimpses into past generations. Throughout, Hu pesters his subjects with demands for clarity, elaboration, and performance: 'Could you read me a bit of the Miao Bible?'² 'Do you have a schedule for who sweeps on what day?'³ 'How much do you generally make in a year from the flue-cured tobacco?'⁴ 'What are you carrying on your back?'⁵ 'So they brought these watermelons here, for everyone to eat?'⁶ This mode, familiar in fragments from other films, is prevalent in *Songs*. The result— as evidenced by the nature of the above questions— is not a portrait of a community in crisis. Nor do such questions force a reckoning with a traumatic past, as in *Searching, Spark, Liaoxi*, etc. What the resolutely ordinary responses to such questions produce is a sense of a community that, perhaps, *has* come to terms with its past, to the extent that such things are ever possible.

Early on, locals Long Dezhong (龙德忠) and Zhang Jifu (张寄福) characterize the area's pre-Christian religion as the veneration of boulders and 'belief in demons'. With the 1903 arrival of Samuel Pollard, a Methodist missionary, they came to accept the sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Since then, at least one martyrdom within their own community has become a historical reference point for courage in the face of death— the transcendence of *something* over worldly concerns: Hu's film opens, a bracing performance of *Amazing Grace* in Miao notwithstanding, with a discussion of the life, works and martyrdom of, not Christ, but the

Reverend Wang Zhiming (王志明). Unwilling to renounce his faith, Wang was executed late in the Cultural Revolution. As we will see, his death marked a moment of violent confrontation between two competing modernization programs: Christian missionary modernization, itself part of a colonial project, and nationalist, communist modernization. Both were interested in bringing literacy and modern healthcare to Maidichong—both regarded as key social indicators of development to this day—and both claimed the authority to name the sacred.

The village of Maidichong has since been granted explicit freedom of religious practice. As Long fondly recalls traveling to Kunming in April of 1980 for a meeting with the provincial government, he notes that the good news he received there had to be written up and mailed back home, as there were not then any telephones in Maidichong. It's one of many gestures to a history of rural economic development throughout the film. For locals, memories of development are complicated by an uneasy mixture of secular nationalist development (first in the ROC and then in the PRC) and Methodist missionary work. Literacy and Western medicine first arrived in Maidichong in the context of an effort to convert Miao peoples to a foreign faith. Imagine the consternation of Republican officials realizing the local Miao *were* becoming literate, but not in the national language: Pollard had sufficiently familiarized himself with the local Miao language by 1906 to develop a script. Textbooks followed, predictably using scripture and psalms to teach the new abugida. Emblematic of this admixture of different pressures and desires to develop—some national and external and others spiritual and local—Pollard apparently returned to England at some point to study dentistry, then came back to Yunnan and offered dental care to the people of Maidichong.

This according to former Yunnan Provincial Party Committee Secretary Zhou Ziren (周孜仁), a unique character in the film. Zhou was a cadre who seems to have visited the community frequently in the 1960s and 70s in the course of political work. Over the course of the film, it becomes clear that for Zhou the whole story of Miao conversion is one of development: he describes how, reading Pollard's diaries, he came to see that it was his bringing modern dentistry to the local Miao that allowed him to gain their trust and convert them to Christianity. British missionaries appear here as competing with the CCP to enter into a familiar transaction: modernity in exchange for loyalty to a political project. Hu cuts from Zhou explaining his reading of the situation to an itinerant doctor doing outdoor dental work in contemporary Maidichong. In so doing he evokes the barefoot doctors, an iconic program by which the CCP brought basic medical care to vast swaths of countryside some fifty years after Pollard first began pulling teeth in Yunnan. The juxtaposition begs comparison of the past to the present through memory. As Vinay Lal writes, within the logic of development 'the present of the developing world is none other than the past... of the developed world' (Lal 2002, p. 114). How development is *remembered* in the past is a determining factor in how it will be evaluated in the future, not by planners or policymakers, but by people like those living in Maidichong. One of Elder Zhang Guode's (张国德) memories places literacy and hygiene side by side as markers of progress: 'When the gospel

came to this place, the illiterate learned to read, and those who didn't wash their faces started washing their faces.' ⁷ One detects here, as in the descriptions of pre-Christian local religion, a disdain for the remembered past. This is why I insist throughout this review on the word 'development', as opposed to, say, 'modernization'. Development encodes notions of a desirable teleology within its very name. Who could wish to remain undeveloped, since to develop is almost definitionally to progress? The framework of development also allows us to read the memories presented in Hu's film beside contemporary struggles that likewise take up the logics of development, such as the campaign to eliminate absolute poverty that the CCP concluded in 2021.

An earlier sequence also produces literacy as a key battleground for development. An interview subject, identified only as the wife of Pan Wenxing, an elder imprisoned nine years for his faith, sits beside her grown son. In the course of the interview, she notes that her son is illiterate because she was unable to send him to school. It is unclear but, it seems to me, implied, that this inability was at least partially due to the imprisonment of her husband. Hu cuts from this sequence to a shot of a mother and two young boys, both in backpacks, walking up a road in present day Maidichong. 'Going to school?' asks Hu, from behind the camera. 'Yes', the mother replies.⁸ Missionaries tried to use literacy to effect a change in the consciousness of the people of Maidichong. This change in consciousness, at times opposed by the state, resulted in persecution that also deprived one young boy of his own education and literacy. In the present day, Hu suggests, this has been overcome: young boys are going off to school as they ought to. Where missionary modernity ultimately failed, a certain postsocialist modernity has succeeded. Hu takes a memory— orally recounted— and holds it up to the present— both recorded in action (the woman and her children walking down the road), and confirmed orally by their confirmation: yes, we are going to school.

Hu's attraction to Christian martyrdom has been established in earlier films. It's a marked part of the Lin Zhao saga (itself a passion narrative) that Hu narrates in his formative breakout, *Searching For Lin Zhao's Soul*. In that film, Hu explores the life and death of a young communist who fell afoul of the Party during the 1957 Anti-Rightist Campaign. While in prison, Lin wrote hundreds of thousands of characters, many in her own blood, addressing herself to the editors of the People's Daily, the CCP itself, future generations and god in heaven. Lin received a Christian missionary education as a child (Jinghai Missionary School of Suzhou) and later embraced the faith in the wake of her persecution. That is, while she had previously been devoted to the Party, sneaking away from home to join the underground in 1948 and later participating in land reform, Lin increasingly turned to Christianity after being branded a dissident. Hu's film, five years in the making, changed its maker. After 2005, Hu becomes a more conspicuously active presence in his own films. In works like *Distant Mountains* 远山 (dir. Hu Jie, 1995) and *Beside the Sea* 在海边 (dir. Hu Jie, 2000), he asks questions, and his personality thus enters and inflects these films, but the impression is still of a cameraman turning up in a place and recording the people who work there. *Distant Mountains*, for instance, includes no music, minimal voiceover, and no archival footage. Philip P. Pan writes that Hu felt he would have

to become a greater presence in *Searching* in order to make the film he wanted to make, and so consciously took on 'a more active role' (Pan 2008, p. 51). Ever since he has made much freer use of music, voiceover, archival footage, illustration, on-screen text, and a variety of other strategies.

But his subject's faith also left a mark on Hu Jie. The film employs choral passion music, Christian imagery, and climaxes with a moment of sacred rupture: Hu Jie forces a silent confrontation between the viewer and Lin Zhao's physical remains, holding a lock of her hair to the camera's lens. On one level, I see the importance of this iconography for Hu's project as that of a mnemonic tool: Christian martyrdom is mobilized by Hu to organize dissident histories while troubling more official ones. In his films, notions of the sacred pass from traditions of socialist martyrdom into a Christian one. We can see this not only in Hu's acute interest in Lin Zhao's faith and the formal strategies noted above, but in a film like *Though I Am Gone*. That film is structured by the testimony of Wang Jingyao (王晶焱), whose wife, Bian Zhongyun (卞仲耘) was murdered by her students in the August of 1966, at the beginning of the Cultural Revolution. Wang purchased a camera and photographed her remains, and has since carefully preserved Bian's bloodied clothing, materials he describes as evidence. Throughout the film, Hu films Christian art hanging on Wang's walls, including the Last Supper. What is most striking in both films is not so much any particular instance of Christian imagery, but the fashioning of relics: the remains of the dead accrue meaning here in relation to martyrs. Not the red martyrs of Chinese communism, but victims of post-1949 political violence. The departure of *Songs From Maidichong* is that while the film *does* mobilize Christian martyrdom in its passing exploration of Wang Zhiming's life and death, its sustained focus is the *life* of the Christian community as such.

Christianity is not here a mere resource but part of the film's true subject. As with work like *Distant Mountains*, which follows illegal coal miners in Qinghai, and *Beside the Sea*, which follows a family of seaweed gatherers scraping by on a Shandong beach, the film is an exercise in centering the experiences of marginalized peoples. The Miao of Maidichong live at the intersection of rural poverty and ethicised minority status and, if the testimonies gathered in Hu's film are any indication, their struggle long predates any nationalist movement. Unlike those films, *Songs* is also interested in preparing a history. Given the centering of Christianity in that history, this is no doubt Hu at his least palatable for a European or North American festival set– or indeed for an anti-imperialist Left: how can memories of Christian missionary work ever be mobilized *on behalf of* a history of resistance by oppressed peoples?

But scripture can and has been so mobilized by oppressed peoples around the world. We should recognize that texts are capable of transcending the political projects by which they were originally instrumentalized. Indeed, isn't a certain radical instability of meaning part of what makes scripture *scripture*? This draws us back to Reverend Wang Zhiming's execution. The intransigence of those for whom spiritual commitments are nonnegotiable can perhaps become revolutionary– hence the ambivalence of certain national

projects towards those who do make them. In the film, Reverend Jiang Zhulin (江祝林) describes how Christian doctrine appealed particularly to the Hua Miao (大华苗族). A subgroup of the Miao with their own identity, Jiang characterizes the Hua Miao, looking back to the Qing Dynasty and beyond, as among the most exploited and impoverished of Miao peoples in the region. Zhang Guode relates the perspective of a production team leader, around 1976. Preparing to participate in a struggle session against Zhang, who had insisted on holding services for worship, the team leader remarked that 'if you don't stop these people, they'll be out of control.'⁹ Something about hearing this case put forward so forcefully and directly does make one wonder: is it true? The assertion certainly confirms that the battle over which commitments are sacred (to the Party, to the people, to a Christian god) is perceived as immensely consequential to power. But what does it mean that, as soon as freedom of worship was guaranteed to the community, the threat of this 'loss of control' vanished?

At the time Hu was shooting in Maidichong, the fraying link between development and Christian devotion was a source of anxiety for local elders. In a late scene, Zhang Guode expresses his concern that young people are failing to embrace the faith and the choir. The reasons cited are as familiar as they are unsatisfyingly pat: now that TV and movies have reached Maidichong, material culture is asserting itself and distracting the youth. In fact, Zhang tells Hu, this was foretold by party members as early as the 1960s: 'The second thing he [a county level government official] said was, they came to believe in this religion because science is not well developed here... when science is well developed, and other things such as movies and television are well developed, they will stop believing in religion.'¹⁰ Modern dentistry and the promise of literacy were used by missionaries to draw locals into the Church. Now Elder Zhang Guode worries that yet other technologies like television will draw the next generation *out* of the church. What is constant in this trajectory are the imperatives of modernization and economic integration within a large and non-Miao state. Literacy and a foreign faith must have offered the Hua Miao of Maidichong certain advantages in an era of dueling state formations (European empires, the KMT, the CCP) and now consumer electronics are attractive within the borders of the twenty first century PRC. Taking a cue from Ou Ning (欧宁), Chris Berry and Lisa Rofel have described a tendency in independent Chinese documentary to produce alternative archives (Berry and Rofel 2010). Alternative archives preserve and present materials that official archives may neglect. In doing so they don't necessarily confront official archives so much as supplement them. In moments like this last one, from the final interview with Zhang Guode, one senses Hu's self-conscious construction of such an archive. That is, the faith of this community appears starkly contingent, with the film offering neither an indictment of the imperialism of British missionaries or of any state formation. Rather, what we have is a Christian community freely practicing its faith and remembering particular histories. *Songs From Maidichong* does not stoop to preach, insisting only 'this too', and forsaking polemical fury as it does so. How radical such an approach appears depends on the audience.

Notes

- 1 *The Observer*, dir. Rita Andreotti (2019, New York: Icarus Films), digital copy: 00:18:53. “这些东西你去思考的时候，你会发现你的艺术就和人民联系在了一起。”
- 2 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:28:20.
- 3 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:35:39.
- 4 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:39:40.
- 5 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:45:45.
- 6 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 01:01:27.
- 7 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:19:35.
- 8 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 00:44:40.
- 9 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 01:11:13.
- 10 *Songs From Maidichong* 麦地冲的歌声, dir. Hu Jie 胡杰 (2016), digital copy: 01:12:01.

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关键词：记忆

阅读苗族福音书：《麦地冲的歌声》中的基督教发展记忆

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概要

在这篇评论中我讨论了胡杰2016年的影像《麦地冲的歌声》文章主要关注该片对发展逻辑和发展记忆的架构。我试图将《歌声》中对基督徒奉献的描述与胡杰早期影像中的具有基督教象征的角色联系起来，并探讨影像中的基督奉献是如何颠覆传统发展逻辑的。

胡杰在军队服役期间曾学习油画专业，离开军队后，他经历了一个自我怀疑的过程。他对自己的创作成果不满意并扪心自问：“谁才是人民？”，以及“当人民面临问题时，我们该如何帮助他们？”在丽塔·安德烈蒂（Rita Andreetti）最近的影像《观察者》（*The Observer*, 2019）中，胡杰反思道，“这些东西你去思考的时候，你会发现你的艺术就和人民联系在了一起。”¹正是在这样的背景下，他接触到了迷你数码摄像机，并开始拍摄纪录片。

胡杰许多最著名的纪录片都是以历史为主题，《寻找林昭的灵魂》（*Searching For Lin Zhao's Soul*, 2005）明确提出“我们的历史是否会进入我们的记忆？它将如何进入我们的记忆？”李洁甚至提出了将《我虽死去》（*Though I Am Gone*, 2007）作为一种影像博物馆来解读（Li, 2009）。胡杰2016年的影像《麦地冲的歌声》（*Songs From Maidichong*, 2016）也采用了一个历史题材，但由于它涉及到一个虔诚的基督教社区的历史，这可以说是开拓了另外一种历史维度：云南麦地冲的居民认为他们的生活处于基督受难以及他们在天堂与主会合之间。胡杰前往该村并采访了当地人，了解了他们的信仰历史及其在社区生活中的地位。

从风格上看，胡杰对口述历史的兴趣在这里得到了展示，采访占据了影像的大部分。片中几乎没有历史档案素材，但却表现出了（胡杰）对历史文本（一本1937年的苗族教科书、苗文圣经、一个干部的日记）和照片（宗教领袖的肖像、苗族集会的集体照片）的兴趣。在类似《寻找林昭的灵魂》等作品中，我们可能也会注意到（胡杰）对此类物体进行反复特写和定格的执念，在《星火》（*Spark*, 2013）中，这些物品则与对文本的物质性形成呼应。这两种形式——采访及历史媒介——将麦地冲人的祈祷、工作及唱赞美诗的片段拼接在一起。正如影像标题显示的那样，这部片子中对唱基督教歌曲的执着可能是胡杰作品中最为独特的形式，并且在整个过程中为表演提供了空间。

胡杰导演的影像《寻找》、《我虽死去》、《星火》、《国营东风农场》（*East Wind State Farm*, 2010）、《我的母亲王佩英》（*My Mother, Wang Peiying*, 2012）、《格拉古之书》（*Book of the Gulag*, 2013）和《辽西记事》（*Liaoxi Memento Mori*, 2017）等都采用了谈话头式的方式，对死亡、苦难和殉难的历史进行干预。通过这种方式，他们提供了对（历史）危机的回忆，并将其作为对官方（如在中央电视台CCTV播出的）历史纪录片和节目中关于发展和现代性胜利主义描述的反驳。《歌声》当然对殉道感兴趣，但相比之下，该片还是重点关注一个社区的生活。胡杰的采访对象有时会谈到死亡、灾难和殉道，但《歌声》的风格也让麦地冲的居民去反思他们的艺术、工作、信仰、学习、（如大跃进后的）恢复、习惯、技能和未来。频繁的音乐序列是作为对神恩的集体庆祝，同样也为个人对痛苦和死亡的口述提供了一个对立面。这样的时刻使历史叙事停顿下来。

《歌声》中，为了了解基督教在麦地冲的历史并探究村子的当代生活，胡杰采访了很多居民，其中包括一位牧师、一位乡村游医和一位老干部。这部影像在地理上有很强的约束性，但在时间上却很随意：村里的老人讲述了文革和他们童年的故事，他们担忧未来，并对过去几代人的历史掠影进行回顾。在整个拍摄过程中，胡杰对他的对象提出了清晰、详细和表演的要求：“你用苗族读一段圣经”；²“你们扫地是每天都有安排人来扫吗？”；³“烤烟一般一年能有多少收入呀？”；⁴“你背的什么东西呀？”；⁵“大家把东西（西瓜）都拿来给大家吃？”。⁶ 这种在其他影像中零星存在的模式，在《歌声》中却很普遍。其结果——正如上述问题的性质所证明的那样——并不是对一个危机重重的社区的描述。这些问题也没有像《寻找》、《星火》、《辽西》等影片那样，迫使人们回顾过去的创伤。对此类问题坚定且平淡的回答产生了一种社区的感觉，也许在可能的前提下，（此社区）已接受自己的过去。

早期，当地人龙德忠和张寄福将该地区的前基督教宗教描述为对巨石的崇拜和对恶魔的信仰。1903年循道会传教士塞缪尔·伯格理的到来让他们开始相信耶稣基督的牺牲。从那时起，他们的社区里至少有一名殉教者成为不惧死亡的历史参照——一种超越世俗的东西。虽然胡杰拍摄了精彩的《奇异恩典》苗族表演，但基督并非该片的主旨，影像以讨论王志明牧师的生活、工作和殉道为开场。由于不愿意放弃自己的信仰，王志明在文化大革命后期被处决。正如我们后来见证的那样，他的死标志着两个相互竞争的现代化计划之间的激烈斗争，即基督教传教士的现代化，其本身就是殖民计划的一部分，以及民族主义、共产主义的现代化。两者都想把文化教育和现代医疗带到麦地冲——至今都被视为关键的社会发展指标——并且都声称对宗教的领导权。

此后，麦地冲村明显获得了宗教活动自由。龙德忠深情地回忆了1980年4月前往昆明与省政府会面的情景。他说，他在那里收到的好消息必须写下来邮寄回家，因为当时麦地冲没有电话。这是整部影像中对农村经济发展历史的众多表现之一。对于当地人来说，他们对发展的记忆因世俗民族主义的发展（先是中华民国，随后是中华人民共和国）和循道会的传教工作的不协调而变得复杂。文化教育和西医第一次来到麦地冲，是为了使苗族皈依外国信仰。想象一下，当民国官员意识到当地苗族已经开始识字但却非本国语言时，他们会有多么惊愕。到了1906年，伯格理已经充分熟

悉了当地苗族语言，并创造了一套新的（苗族）文字。随之而来的教科书则可能利用圣经和诗篇来教授新的元音附标文字。伯格理后来回到英国学习牙科，然后又回到云南，为麦地冲人提供牙科护理，这体现了不同的压力和发展愿望的结合——有些是国家的和外部的，有些则是精神的和地方的。

这是根据前云南省委书记周孜仁的说辞而来。他是影片中的一个独特的人物。周孜仁是一名干部，他在六七十年代时似乎经常访问这个社区来做政治工作。在影片中，我们可以清楚地看到，对周孜仁来说，整个苗族人（宗教）皈依的故事是一个发展的过程：他描述自己在阅读伯格理的日记时，发现正是他把现代牙科技术带给了当地苗族人，才使他获得了他们的信任并使他们皈依基督教。在这里，英国传教士与中国共产党进行竞争，从而达成了一项熟悉的交易：以现代性换取政治的忠诚。从周孜仁解释自己对目前在麦地冲一位乡村游医的了解切入，胡杰引起赤脚医生的话题，一个中国共产党把基本医疗服务带到了广大农村地区的标志性项目，该项目在伯格理第一次在云南开始拔牙的五十年后开启。这种并列关系需要通过记忆来比较过去与现在。正如维奈·拉尔（Vinay Lal）所写，在发展的逻辑中，“发展中世界的现在与发达世界的……过去没有什么不同”（Lal 2002, p.114）。如何记住过去的发展是未来如何评价发展的决定性因素，这不是由规划者或政策制定者、而是由那些生活在麦地冲的普通人决定的。在张国德长老的记忆中，文化教育和卫生都是进步的标志：“福音传到这个地方时，这个地方就变成不识字的人就读了书识字，不会洗脸的人成为会洗脸的。”⁷ 正如对前基督教时期的地方宗教描述的那样，我们可以发现（当局）对过去记忆的不屑一顾。这就是为什么我在这篇评论中坚持使用“发展”一词，而非“现代化”。“发展”一词蕴含了理想目的论的含义。发展几乎就等同于进步，谁会希望保持不发展？发展的框架也让我们能够在当代斗争中解读胡杰影像中的记忆，这些斗争也同样采用了发展的逻辑，例如中国共产党在 2021 年完成消除绝对贫困的运动。

影片前期的一个镜头也将文化教育作为发展的一个关键战场。采访对象是因信仰而被监禁九年的潘文兴长老的妻子，她坐在自己长大的儿子身边。在采访过程中，她指出，她的儿子不识字，因为她没法送他去读书。具体细节虽然并不清楚，但在我看来是在暗示这种无能为力至少有一部分是由于她丈夫的监禁。随后胡杰切入到一个母亲和两个小男孩的镜头，他们都背着书包，走在今天麦地冲的一条路上。“今天是上学吗？”胡杰从摄像机后面问道。“是的，”母亲回答道。⁸ 传教士试图利用识字来改变麦地冲人的观念。这种观念上的改变，有时受到国家的反对，导致了迫害，也剥夺了一个小男孩的读书识字的机会。胡杰认为，在今天，这个问题已被克服：男孩们在去上学，这正是他们该做的事。传教士现代性的失败标志着某种后社会主义的现代性的成功。胡杰把一段口述记忆延伸到当下——既记录在行动中（妇女和她的孩子们走在路上），又由他们口头确认：是的，我们要去上学。

胡杰对基督教殉道的兴趣在他早期的影像中已经有所表现，这是胡杰的成名作《寻找林昭的灵魂》中对林昭的传奇故事（本身就是一个激情叙事）的叙述的一个重要组成部分。在那部影像中，胡杰探讨了一位年轻共产党员的生与死。她在 1957 年的反右运动中与党发生了冲突，在狱中，林昭写了

几十万字的文章，其中许多文章是用她自己的血写的。这些文章写给了《人民日报》的编辑、中国共产党、将来的后代和天上的神。林昭从小接受过基督教传教士的教育（曾就读于苏州静海传教士学校），遭受迫害后接受了信仰。也就是说，虽然她以前一直忠于党，在 1948 年偷偷离家加入地下党，后来又参加了土地改革，但在被打成异见人士后，她越来越多地投向了基督教。经过五年的酝酿，胡杰的影像也改变了他自己。2005 年后，胡杰在自己的影像中显现出更积极的存在感。在《远山》（*Distant Mountains*, 1995）和《海边》（*Beside the Sea*, 2000）等作品中，他提出了问题，他的个性也因此进入并影响了这些影像，但他给人的印象仍然是一个在当地记录当地人的摄影师。例如，《远山》中没有音乐，只有极少的解说，也没有档案资料。潘公凯（Philip P. Pan）写道，为了拍出他想拍的影像，胡杰觉得他必须在《寻找》中有更强的存在感，因此有意识地承担了“一个更积极的角色”（2008, p. 51）。从那时起，他就更自由地使用音乐、解说、档案资料、配图、屏幕上的文字及其他各种策略。

采访对象的信仰也影响了胡杰。影像采用了耶稣受难曲合唱和基督教的意象，并在神圣的进发的时刻达到高潮：胡杰把林昭的一绺头发举到摄像机镜头前，强迫观众与她的遗体进行无声的对峙。在一个层面上，我认为这种象征手法对胡杰影像的重要性在于它是一种记忆工具：基督教殉教被胡杰调动起来，用以组建异见者的历史，同时挑战官方历史。在他的影像中，神圣的概念从社会主义殉道的传统转变成了基督教的概念。就这一点而言，我们不仅可以从胡杰对林昭信仰的浓厚兴趣及上述的形式策略中看出，还可以从《我虽死去》这样的影像中看出。那部影像是由王晶垚的证词构成的，他的妻子卞仲耘在 1966 年 8 月文化大革命开始时被她的学生杀害。王晶垚买了一台相机，拍下了她的遗体，将卞仲耘带血的衣服小心翼翼地保存起来，并将这些材料称为证据。在整部影像中，胡杰拍摄了挂在王家墙上的基督教艺术品，包括《最后的晚餐》。在这两部影像中，最引人注目的不是那些特定的基督教图像，而是对遗物的塑造：死者的遗体在这里产生了与殉道者相似的意义。他们不是中国共产主义的红色烈士，而是 1949 年后政治暴力的受害者。《麦地冲的歌声》的不同之处在于，虽然影像在对王志明生死的探讨中确实调动了基督教的殉道精神，但它持续关注的是基督教社区的生活。

基督教在这里不是一个单纯的资源，而是影像真正主题的一部分。就像《远山》（关注青海的非法煤矿工人）和《海边》（关注在山东海滩上勉强度日的海藻采集者家庭）这样的作品一样，这部影像也是以边缘群体的经历为中心进行的实践。麦地冲的苗人生活在贫困乡村和少数民族身份的交汇点上，如果胡杰在影像中收集的证词有任何指向的话，他们的苦难在任何民族主义运动之前就已经开始了。与那些影像不同的是，《歌声》也对编写历史感兴趣。鉴于基督教在这段历史中的中心地位，这无疑是胡杰在欧洲或北美电影节上最不讨好的地方——或者说是反帝国主义的左派而言：对基督教传教士工作的记忆怎么能够代表被压迫民族的反抗历史？

但圣经可以而且已经将世界各地的受压迫人民动员起来。我们应该认识到，文本有能力超越它们最初为之服务的政治项目。事实上，圣经之所以成为圣经的一部分原因不正是其具备某种激进的不稳

定性吗？这让我们回到了王志明牧师的死刑。那些对精神奉献没有商量余地的人们的不妥协也许会成为革命性的——因此，某些国家项目对那些做奉献的人的态度是矛盾的。片中，江祝林牧师描述了基督教教义是如何吸引大华苗族的。大华苗族是苗族的一个分支，有自己的身份，江祝林将大华苗族描述为该地区最受剥削和最穷困的苗族群体。张国德讲述了1976年左右一个生产队队长的视角。在准备批斗张国德的时候，这位队长说：“这些人你再不制止就管不了他们。”⁹ 这段叙述直接且强有力，确实让人怀疑：这是真的吗？这一论断当然证实了关于哪种奉献（对党、对人民、或对基督教神）才是神圣的的争论，其被认为对权力有巨大的影响。但是，一旦社区信仰自由得到保障，这种“失去控制”的威胁就会消失，这意味着什么呢？

胡杰在麦地冲拍摄时，发展与基督教奉献之间联系的破裂，是当地长老的焦虑之源。在影片后边的一个场景中，张国德表达了他对年轻人摒弃信仰和唱诗班的担忧。他所列举的理由既熟悉又难以令人信服：现在电视和电影已经传到了麦地冲，物质文化的兴盛吸引了年轻人的注意力。事实上，张告诉胡，早在1960年代就有党员预言：“他（一位县级政府官员）说的第二件事是，现在科学不发达，他们才信这个教……以后科学发达，样样都发达，电影电视发达，他们就不信教了。”¹⁰ 现代牙医和文化教育曾被传教士用来吸引当地人加入教会。现在张国德长老担心，电视等其他技术会促使下一代人远离教堂。在这一轨迹中不变的是，现代化和经济一体化始终是这个非苗族的国家的重中之重。在国家形态对立的时代（欧洲帝国、国民党、中国共产党），识字和外国信仰肯定为麦地冲的大华苗族提供了某些优势，但现在消费电子产品在二十一世纪的中国境内也很有吸引力。

以欧宁为线索，裴开瑞（Chris Berry）和罗丽莎（Lisa Rofel）（2010）描述了中国独立纪录片中生产另类档案的趋势。另类档案保存和展示官方档案可能忽略的资料。他们并非与官方档案对抗，而是对官方档案进行补充。在最后这段与张国德的访谈中，我们可以感受到胡杰在自觉地构建这种档案。也就是说，这个社区信仰显得非常偶然，影片既没有对英国传教士的帝国主义进行谴责，也没有对任何国家的形成进行谴责。相反，我们所看到的是一个自由实践其信仰，并铭记特定历史的基督教社区。《麦地冲的歌声》没有俯身说教，只坚持“这也是”，并放弃了论战的愤怒。这种做法有多激进，取决于观众的看法。

注释

1 《观察者》，导演：在丽塔·安德烈蒂(2019,纽约: Icarus Films), 数码拷贝。00:18:53.

2 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:28:20.

3 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:35:39.

4 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:39:40.

5 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:45:45.

6 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，01:01:27.

7 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:19:35.

8 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，00:44:40.

9 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，01:11:13.

10 《麦地冲的歌声》，导演：胡杰（2016），数码拷贝，01:12:01.

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Keyword: Subalternity

关键词：底层群体

Giving Voice or Reinforcing Subalternity? Spatialising the Chinese Rural Subject in

Falling from the Sky by Zhang Zanbo¹

为其发声还是强化从属性？

张赞波纪录片《天降》中空间化的中国农村主体

XU Kaiyang 徐开阳

Abstract

Falling from the Sky 天降 (2009), by Chinese independent documentary filmmaker Zhang Zanbo, reveals how rocket debris frequently falling from the sky during the launch of satellites impacts the rural population in Suining, Hunan province. In this documentary, the discursive relationship between moving image, written text, and spoken language/verbal narration in representing the cinematically coded natural scenes (sky and land), modern constructions (rocket debris), and multiple media spaces (the black screen, photograph, television, video) anchors a documentary space speaking to Edward Soja's concept of 'Thirdspace' (1996): one that is open, hybrid, and discursive. The filmmaker spatialises the negotiation between the underprivileged rural population and state power, which complicates and challenges the notion of subalternity. By avoiding a gesture of giving voice, *Falling from the Sky* deconstructs and shifts subalternity into a productive representation of rural lives in postsocialist China.

概要

由中国独立纪录片导演张赞波拍摄的纪录长片《天降》(2009)记录了中国卫星发射过程中从天而降的火箭碎片对湖南省绥宁地区村民的影响。片中影像、书面文本、口头叙述共同构成的复线关系在表现自然场景(天空和陆地)、现代建构(火箭碎片)和多种媒体空间(黑屏、照片、电视、视频)的过程中,锚定了一个如爱德华·索亚(Edward Soja)的“第三空间”(1996)一般开放多元的记录影像空间。张赞波导演将农村底层民众与国家权力之间的协商交涉空间化,从而充分探讨了“底层”这一概念的复杂性及其内在问题。通过避免“为底层发声”的姿态,《天降》解构“底层”这一概念并创造性地想象了当代中国乡村的能动性。

1. Introduction

In *Falling from the Sky* 天降 (2009), by Chinese independent documentary filmmaker Zhang Zanbo (张赞波), the director mainly reveals how the rocket debris frequently falling from the sky during satellite launches impacts peasant life in a remote village in Suining, Hunan province. The falling debris destroys houses, crops, and even claim lives, filling the peasants' daily lives with unpredictable dangers. Intriguing stories arise from the peasants' claims for compensation, and the local government's propaganda and actions in educating the peasants to be co-operative on the issue of receiving the debris. At the peculiar encounter between modern space technologies and primitive agriculture, the sense of amusement and absurdity rising from the opening dialogue points out the primary concern of the documentary: the tension between the individual's fate and the interests of the state. 'Individuals' in *Falling from the Sky* are peasants rendered subaltern. As Lü Xinyu comments, Chinese workers and peasants have somehow become the 'subaltern class' in postsocialist China (Zhao 2010, p. 9). Through the documentary, what can also be studied is the subaltern-filmmaker relationship mediating the subaltern-state relationship. I recognise that it is precisely the mediating power of the filmmaker who usually comes from a relatively elite background and embraces humanitarian concerns that risks reinforcing the subalternity of the rural population and exploiting that concept by overemphasising the binary structure of the 'subaltern' versus state power. However, I argue that in *Falling from the Sky*, Zhang Zanbo avoids reinforcing subalternity by opening up various cinematic spaces for reimagining Chinese rural dynamics in negotiation with state power.

The focus on the tension between peasants and state power in rural areas embodies the humanitarian concern prevailing in Chinese independent documentary filmmaking. This concern can be problematic. Consciously or unconsciously, documentary filmmakers may give the subaltern a voice but meanwhile justify their works and positions *over* them. The ideal of giving voice through documentary representation thus falls into the slippage between literal 're-presentation' of the subaltern and 'representation' as 'speaking for' them (Spivak 2010, p. 28). Due to their lack of linguistic agency, Gayatri Spivak believes that subalterns are elusive figures who cannot really speak. One derivative consequence of the encounter between the elusive subaltern and the documentary filmmakers who want to give them voice is that, in 'representation', the subaltern could easily be dragged into the discourse of opposition between domination and 'subordinated people'. Giving voice thus becomes reinforcing subalternity. Scholars in the Subaltern Studies Group have made it evident that to think subalternity as an attribute is far less productive than interpreting it as a relational structure. Subalternity should be understood in relation to elites (Chakrabarty 2000) and the social structures that render 'the subaltern' not simply socially or economically underprivileged but also unable to access institutions of utterance and recognition by themselves (Spivak 2010, p. 228). Subalternity is

given to 'the subaltern' and thus they 'cannot speak' and 'do not have the institutional means of having their voice registered and recognised' (Sun 2014, p. 23). In the Chinese context, Gail Hershatter (1993), in her study of Chinese subaltern women, also appeals to us to carefully examine the relationship between subalterns and the elites who give rise to their subaltern status.

Hence, subalternity exists in both the dichotomy between the subaltern and those who want to represent them—in this case, the documentary filmmaker—and between the subaltern and the dominant, or state power in this article. These two pairs of relationships bolster and inform each other. As Edward Soja insightfully points out when addressing the issue of the subaltern being trapped in the discourse against hegemony and the dominant, to build a binary relationship between the knowledge production of the powerful group and the subaltern as a category of 'subordinated people' is an act of othering. Subjugated individuals only have two options in that case: they either accept their identity as the subaltern, or they transform powerlessness (or let their powerlessness be transformed) into a discourse that reaffirms social divisions. Hence, their 'assigned "otherness"' is predestined to 'struggle against this power-filled imposition' (Soja 1996, p. 87). Such identity politics 'builds upon the empowerment of the "subaltern" against the "hegemon"' (Soja 1996, p. 90).

However, I interpret *Falling from the Sky* as an alternative way of rethinking subalternity. Although Zhang adopts an activist attitude towards the impact of the state's mass infrastructure construction on peasants, and shows sympathy towards them, his way of dealing with space reserves avenues to break with subalternity as a condition characterized in a binary manner as being against state power. Zhang tackles a discursive relationship between moving image, written text, spoken language, and sound in various cinematic spaces, navigating back and forth between natural scenery (sky and land), industrial constructions (rocket debris), and various forms of media (the black screen, photograph, television, and video). With the sky symbolising state power and the land symbolising the peasants' life, Zhang spatialises the relationship between the subaltern and state power and complicates that relationship in multiple spatial dimensions. This hybrid cinematic space created by, but running beyond, the director's complete control, enables the spectator to rethink subalternity both as mediated, and as challenged by the interactions between the filmmaker, peasants, and state power that are incarnated in spatial dynamics.

The spatialisation of the power dynamics enriches film as a form that is primarily temporal. In this cinematic space, real space and virtual space, reality and fiction, collage in a spatial reflection on voice-giving as the reinforcing of subalternity. Between the filmmaker and the filmed subjects, the film becomes a 'Thirdspace' (Soja, 1996), a way to think through space as a critical framework to break binary structures. Thirdspace is 'a space of extraordinary openness' with the potential 'to encompass

a multiplicity of perspectives that have heretofore been considered by the epistemological referees to be incompatible, uncombinable' (Soja 1996, p. 5). Thirdspace is hybrid and expansive enough to break the temporality-oriented understanding of history and society, as well as binary epistemological structures. Similarly, filmmaking as a type of spatialisation shows that the subaltern is not necessarily the opposite of power, waiting to be represented by the documentary filmmaker. In this article I study Zhang's use of black screens, the non-correspondence of sound and image, and media within media. I argue that *Falling from the Sky* exhibits subalternity as a porous structure formed, deconstructed, and transformed through the spatial interactions between peasants, state power, and the filmmaker. Subalternity can be considered a site to rethink how modernisation as well as knowledge production configure rural life.

2. Visual-textual configuration and the black screen

Filmed shortly before and during the 2008 Beijing Olympic Games, Zhang shows in *Falling from the Sky* that the peasants simultaneously complain about their endangered life and feel proud of their country. As shown in interviews, some peasants happily say 'Go Beijing. Go China. Come on Beijing Olympic Games!' Some actively adjust the television signals, ironically received from the very satellites that threaten their lives during launching, to watch the opening ceremony, while some struggle with the loss of property and the sorrow of the death of a family member due to the fallen debris. There is also a peasant who says indifferently that 'I heard our country is holding the Olympics today. I just heard it is luxurious and exciting.' The relation between state power and peasants becomes even more intriguing when some peasants critique the government for building the launch base while busily harvesting their crops, while others show off that 'the country's leaders eat our products' and deny the destruction caused by the debris. There are also peasants who are very curious about the debris and actively collect it as the fetishized evidence of their witnessing falling rocket debris. Some among them even turn the collected debris into products to sell. Diverse and mutually contradictory reactions to state power emerge simultaneously. Multiple paired spaces, including the sky and the land, the political centre of Beijing and the subaltern village, the agricultural land and the market, also become entangled, which challenges the binaries of the 'subaltern' and the dominant.

The complexity of the peasants' life is unveiled by the documentary's form. The way subtitles emerge spatialises the power dynamics of the encounter between state interests and the rural population. The documentary is divided by subtitles into four chapters: 'Home', 'Homeland', 'Land', and 'Sky'. Appearing at the corner of the black screen as markers of transition, the smallness of the subtitles and the emptiness of the screen contrast with the implosion of events regarding the fallen debris addressed before. Such a contrast breaks the audience's emotional continuity. Refusing

to indulge in an excessive, linear impression of the 'people subordinated' and 'oppressive power', the filmmaker uses black screens with subtitles as virtual spaces, and asks spectators to reimagine life in postsocialist Chinese rural space as porous. Viewers are encouraged to rethink to what extent, and in what ways, the peasants' plight is related to China's rapid development. Are they truly unsatisfied with or proud of their country? Who is responsible for all the problems? Reflections thus open up a space of imagination off screen. The ultimate mapping and comprehension of all the issues should be generated from an aloof, invisible, and pervasive structure, and can only be traced if we resist defining a privileged central viewpoint from which to understand power dynamics. As Pooja Rangan says, 'disenfranchised humanity is repeatedly enlisted and commodified to corroborate documentary's privileged connection with the real' (2017, p. 2) even though that connection can be deceptive. As the Scottish filmmaker and theorist John Grierson theorised, documentaries have a 'social mission' to alert the public about social crises such as corruption and poverty. This mission overrides questions of reality and aesthetics. To complete this central mission, documentary filmmakers may equip themselves with a central viewpoint of representing the underprivileged as social victims in order to give them a voice, regardless of the latter's own understanding of their life and their potential agency to negotiate with state power. Subalternity is therefore produced and given to the underprivileged through a process of patronising-as-othering.

However, by adopting the black screen and requiring further spatial imagination of the viewer, Zhang refuses to maintain any visual consistency to 'the subaltern' and instead deconstructs this category. In the film, black screens also serve as spaces where intertitles emerge. These intertitles are transcription of the peasants' words (see figures 1 and 2). Most of the black screens carrying intertitles bump up during the film and cut into the narrative flow, effectively drawing the spectators' attention back to the peasants' words. The insertion of the black screen shifts the film from being time-oriented to spatially-unfolded at the moments when the screen appears. It takes away the time spent on filming subaltern images and provides a spatial break from subjugating the peasants under the othering device of the camera.



Figure 1.



Figure 2.

The words of the peasants selected to be transcribed are rather arbitrary and simple in terms of content. For example, a peasant who maintains the temple on the top the mountain tells the filmmaker that 'It is the 8th today. Tomorrow is the 9th, and then 10th. I burn incense, cut grass, feed pigs, and cook. That's all.' Another peasant tells the filmmaker about his newly bought television for watching the Beijing Olympic Games. He mumbles that 'There is no image on TV. I can't make it work.' Considering that it is quite easy for peasants who keep tolerating the lethal falling debris to be portrayed in an oversimplified way as the subaltern, the transcription of the peasants' words suffers the risk of further 'performatively' turning 'the addressed subject' into 'the submissive' (Benthien 2012, p. 327). As Judith Butler argues, 'certain kinds of utterances, when delivered by those in positions of power ... have the effect of resubordinating those to whom such utterances are addressed' (1997, p. 26). However, Zhang's method of selectively addressing his subjects' words can be read as challenging such patterns of transcription. He avoids repeating the peasants' word critiquing government policy on the black screen, but rather repeats words that seems irrelevant to the tension between the peasants and the state. By resisting meaning to a certain extent, this choice gesture towards resisting any form of giving voice that in fact affirms the abjection of the dominated.

The use of written texts on black screens also disturbs the visualisation of the so-called subaltern. 'The subaltern' is, or is often viewed as, less educated. Their assumed distance from a literati and written culture that celebrates the depth of meaning can easily confine them to the status of superficial 'primitive' figures that arouse privileged people's problematic humanitarian concerns. In other words, while visual culture is fashioned as a conduit for those who cannot speak via writing to speak through images, it risks flattening the problems of image-making itself. The powerful effect of the subaltern's images may not come from the social critique of these images but from the othering capacity of image-making that affirms instead of subverting the hierarchy of knowledge production. However, in Zhang's case, he juxtaposes the cinematic space of the rural land fraught with tension with 'meaningless' texts without depth on black screens. This subtly exposes and resists the power-filtered division between visual culture and written culture in postsocialist China. Furthermore, he may find it awkward to transcribe peasants' words that are too formal or pertinent to the struggles against state power, because this may ironically generate doubt: how could these peasants as subaltern people who are supposed to be powerless express themselves in such educated ways? Isn't this staged? Yet the opposite may again point to a dead end: the way of being empowered via images in fact subjugates the peasants under the filmmakers' and spectators' feeling of sympathy, or their suspicion of whether the peasants are turned into visual instruments of political resistance to state power. Here I find the significance of Zhang's black screens with their connection to real space: they spatialise both the dilemma of being subalterns who cannot really speak, and the filmmaker's own struggle to find an appropriate way for them to express themselves.

In addition to transcribing the peasants' words, Zhang also selectively transcribes the words of certain officials that are calculated to propagandise the great revolutionary history of Suining and the achievements of the local government. The transcription of these words onto black screens as virtual space is connected with the actual space the local officials occupy. Every time Zhang films an official, the latter formally sits or stands by a desk or in front of revolutionary slogans. They talk about the significance of supporting government policy, and how the revolutionary history of Suining grants it the characteristic of endorsing the great leaders of the nation. Here are some examples of the officials' words: 'Venezuela is a country. We are going to launch a commercial satellite for Venezuela. It will improve our space industry and comprehensive national strength'; 'Villagers can't be fed as lions, [though] of course they can't take loss without compensation'; 'Trouble doesn't exist. As long as the debris chooses your precious land, trouble can't be avoided.' These words are often 'too relevant' in persuading peasants to accept the status quo compared to the spontaneity of the peasants' words. Through this contrast, Zhang demonstrates the irony of state power without directly positioning the relationship between the state and peasants as that of the dominant versus the subaltern. Instead, this comparison exposes the power-filled spatial relations between the sky/state power and the land/the peasants that embodies how knowledge engenders the division of space between the subaltern and Us: without knowing Venezuela is a country, and only sketchily understanding what's a 'satellite', the 'space industry', and 'comprehensive national strength', the peasants' bodies are bits of space subjected to governmentality and othering representations, just as their land receives the devastating fallen debris.

By adding these black screens in postproduction, Zhang also sets himself up in relation to such spatial relations as a 'third'. This position of 'third' can go two ways: being a translator who is simultaneously capable and incapable. He is capable in the way that his black screens do not confine the peasants in a closed entity that passively awaits to be included into the binary between the subaltern and the state power. Instead, they carry the mutual translation undertaken by Zhang and the peasants. This translation process does not block the light of the peasants' own words but allows them to flow into a knowledge landscape opening into, and engaging with, other sources of knowledge production. But meanwhile, the black screen, as a blackened mirror, though it does not block the light of verbs, blocks us from seeing the image. This semi-blocked institution reserves the uncertainty of fully understanding subalternity and what has happened in postsocialist China, which encourages the spectator to remain critical of Zhang's position and their own judgement. Black screens as opaque mirrors reflect the uncertainty of fully depicting and understanding 'the subaltern' peasants, through either images or words. In this sense, Zhang is both capable of such visual translation and incapable of completely controlling the translation, because the black screen is also a 'third' in the cinematic space, in which the peasants are neither completely represented nor represent themselves, but can

communicate across spatial confinements laced with power dynamics.

This striking use of the black screen, which disturbs documentary realism and the film's narrative flow, also suggests the intermediality of written text, image, and spoken language. Like a mirror that is ironically not transparent, the black screen indicates the slipperiness of the state to be grasped. Indeed, we can also interpret the textualisation of the peasants' word on black screens as an over-articulation and overdetermination of what they mean that restricts communication between the filmmaker, the peasants, and the spectators. But it can also be comprehended in other ways: a moment of alienation that denies the problematic, patronising gaze, a struggle to spatialise the complex that creates the discourse of the subaltern, a form of cultural translation that rethinks subalternity ... I put ellipsis here because there are other ways to understand the use of the black screen. Or the ellipsis could mean ways of using black screens that exceed those I can currently imagine. This ambiguity in the scholarly analysis of the black screen parallels the flexible utilisation of the technique in the documentary. The point is, this manipulation of the black screen can be understood from multiple perspectives. This logic of 'both' rather than 'either/or' is precisely what Soja picks from Lefebvre's journey of discovering 'an-Other alternative' marked by 'the openness of the both/and also'. This 'also' reverberates back to disrupt the categorical closures embedded in the 'either/or logic' (1996, p. 7).

3. Spoken language's departure from the moving image

Verbal narration, a specific form of sound, functions as a guide for our sight as well as to the movement of images in cinema. Following the narration, spectators travel toward a goal, a destination, a guided understanding of the filmed subject. But when the verbal narration does not correspond with the moving image, its departure allows a space where we can rethink what is designated by language and time-oriented cinematic movement. This space is what Gilles Deleuze calls 'any-space-what-ever' (1986, p. 111), a space 'extracted from a given state of things' in which movement is uncertain of where to go. Any-space-whatever fashions a space that is 'an amorphous set ... a collection of locations or positions which coexist independently of the temporal order which moves from one part to the other' (1986, p. 120). This means space is no longer determined and governed by time and its linked orientations of events. In this sense, Deleuze's any-space-whatever specifically deals with how cinematic space can refuse the epistemological or philosophical binary structure of knowing, which speaks to Soja's Thirdspace and can be applied to my reflections on subalternity. Since any-space-whatever delinks the connection between the start- and end-point of movement, between images and the institutional forces that order them, it destabilises the narrative that leads people to identify clear arguments grounded on oppositions, such as the opposition between the hegemony and anti-hegemony, between the state power and the subaltern.

Three scenes in *Falling from the Sky* in which verbal narration does not coincide with moving image precisely open such any-space-whatever. In the first scene, the camera is placed on a moving vehicle, sweeping across peasants' ramshackle houses, the precipitous mountains, the vast farming land, and the sketchy slogan 'The Party on Behalf of the People' (人民的党). A news broadcast about satellite launching is inserted as background sound. The news says: 'China has sent Venezuela 1 broadcasting satellite into orbit successfully by launching the Long March 3B carrier rocket in Xichang Launch Centre. It is China's first contract to manufacture and launch a satellite for a Latin American country ... The orbiter, named Venezuela 1 Telecom Satellite, is Venezuela's first telecoms satellite.' Zhang does not comment on this fissure between the peasants' lives at risk and the country's glorious launch mission. Instead, he lets the fissure emerge poetically from the gap between image and sound. His silent gesture allows what lies between sound and image to speak for itself and develop into an 'any-space-whatever' in which the spectator's panoramic understanding may be facilitated. Finally, the fissure further falls back on Zhang and suggests his self-reflexivity, because this gap between sound and image can only be realised in post-production. Through post-production and editing, Zhang exposes himself as a vehicle, a medium for documentary that is also a medium. He lets image and sound speak, but also establishes his position within them. His position as a 'third' brings attention to the split between image and sound that interrogates the fissure between state power and the peasants. Nevertheless, being the 'third' instead of merging with either the state or the peasants, he remains alert to the identification of an absolute fissure that may lead to an ideological misreading of humanism and categorise the peasants as permanently abject.

Second, in the final shot of the documentary, Zhang films fog rising in the mountains. He introduces a verbal narration cut from different peasants' comments on the fallen debris into the empty and desolate scene. Their words are, for example: 'The government should build defence facilities for people and for areas like ours which have to receive debris over the long term. People should be evacuated into safe facilities. But we don't have that'; 'We ordinary people can do nothing but trust in fate'; 'They just hope that not too many people will get injured'; 'We'd better not gather the whole family in one place. If the place is hit, it will be all over. If the whole family is killed, we can't even hold a funeral, because there will be no-one left'; 'If I am hit, I have to take it. That is my fate.' This narration is not related to the image of the foggy valley. In other words, the words depart from the image. At this moment of departure, a sensual space is opened that does not designate any single privileged image. As Deleuze states, the human eye cannot surmount its 'relative immobility as a reception organ', which suggests that 'all images vary for a single one, in relation to a privileged image' (1986, p. 81). This 'privileged image' can become an instrument through which documentary filmmakers claim rights for their subjects, because it reduces a whole picture involving many complicated factors to a single point on which an argument like 'they are the oppressed' can easily be

based. But Deleuze also points out that 'camera is montage' (1986, p. 81). By letting the camera see the natural scene by itself and allowing the peasants' words to emerge from this foggy, empty space, Zhang leads the spectators towards a 'gaseous perception' (1986, p. 80), seeing the discursive truth rather than a restricted understanding of rural life bounded by the filmmaker's humanitarian perspective. In other words, the fluidity of this 'gaseous' space refuses to overemphasise the victimhood of the peasants and overpower their own configurations of their lives.

The third example is related to close-ups. Though the face in close-ups risks being deterritorialised as a partial object sacrificed for the spectator's visual organ—the eye—the face can also become an affective entity 'crossing space, setting fire to the unjust state of things' (Deleuze 1986, p. 105). Therefore, by bringing faces into the cinematic space, close-ups introduce a sense of affective performativity that subverts the problematic norms, the 'unjust state of things' people perceive, act, and get used to in reality—that the peasants are supposed to be the subaltern. A dialogue can thus be formed between Deleuze and Soja on the openness of space in relation to close-ups. The close-up as a form of cinematic spatialisation does not necessarily serve as an othering technique to isolate and categorise the peasants as the subaltern.

There are moments in *Falling from the Sky* in which close-ups mediate a gateway for reading the subject beyond the definability of subalternity. Zhang's camera zooms in to give close-up shots of the peasants' withered faces. In many circumstances such operations suggest the filmmaker's commitment to his/her subjects, which nonetheless inevitably and customarily demands subjects 'to be recognised as possessing the attributes of humanity by others who already possess these attributes' (Rangan 2017, 192). However, these close-ups are not steady in Zhang's case. They are destabilised by the nondiegetic sound and camera movements. For instance, the close-ups of the withered faces are disturbed by the panning camera that films a group of peasants working in the field and by the superimposed nondiegetic sound of the Beijing Olympic Games opening ceremony. This montage of different types of shots and sound blends the filmmaker's identification with the peasants into their everyday life, connoting nothing special, and the Olympic games, connoting a significant national moment. In this discursive spatial relation constituted by sound and close-ups that do not conform with each other, an affective space rises, and it is 'distinct from every individuated state of things' in Deleuze's words (1986, p. 98). This more fluid affective space 'abstracts the face from the person to which it belongs in the state of things' (1986, p. 97), which is crucial for acting against the faces excessively depicted to symbolise subalternity. Furthermore, by introducing the distracting nondiegetic sound—the news broadcast—hinting at the social background, and by frequently shifting the camera's angle, the connection between faces and the camera is weakened. To some extent, the faces of peasants are freed from what abstracts them from the whole picture and gain the potential

to 'disappear' from the filmmaker's potentially patronising eyes that may trap them in the identity of 'subaltern'. In addition, the camera pans towards the land, the geese, and cattle, while one peasant says that 'We little peasants have no choice but this bitter life.' This camera panning avoids identifying with this 'bitterness' culturally imposed upon the peasants' mind. What is left is the natural scenery spatialising an affective image that dissolves the face and thus shuns a humanitarian misreading.

This disjunction between spoken language and moving image challenges the uniformity of cinematic space and summons an 'any-space-whatever' where the binaries between state power and the peasants are deconstructed. What is forming is a new entity of knowledge production that is quite porous. It is a system that does not reinforce subalternity in the name of giving voice. Instead, it allows open and diverse interpretations of the peasants' situations and the rural dynamics that exceed the opinion of the filmmaker.

4. Spaces of media within media

In *Falling from the Sky*, Zhang retains his sensitivity while filming audio-visual media within the gaze of the camera. He turns the camera lens onto photos, pictures, television, and video, forming a sense of self-reflexivity in relation to multiple layers of thickened media presence. Such hybridity in cinematic space foregrounds how audio-visual media, as the bearer of knowledge and power, constructs subalternity in a dichotomous relationship with 'the dominant', but, in their negotiation within the cinematic space, also suggests the potential to challenge it.

When introducing Suining as a place with revolutionary history, Zhang interviews some peasants. During the interview, Zhang keeps his attention on the old photos showing how the interviewed peasants contributed to the country as loyal soldiers in their youth. According to Erika Fám, 'the picture-within-the-picture always rearranges the focal point of the host image; more precisely, it expropriates it' (2011, p. 285). This argument also applies to photos included in a film. In the documentary, the photos open new spaces in another temporality. However, as André Bazin contends, the frame of the photo is essential for their emphasising of 'the difference between the microcosm of the picture and the macrocosm of the natural world' (1967, p. 165); this indicates the new space and temporality opened by photographs are also fragmentary versions of the world. These fragments, in Susan Sontag's argument, are pieces of reality that 'anyone can make or acquire' (1977, p. 4). Therefore, the more the old photos are emphasised in *Falling from the Sky*, the more they highlight the division between the embalmed past in photographs and reality. This division is also the split between being loyal soldiers in the past and the cruel fact of losing family member and property from falling debris.

Though he shows the sorrow of the peasants when filming them looking at photographs of their past, Zhang simultaneously denies the fragmentary version in photographs that may lead to an oversimplified understanding of state power and the peasants as in opposition to one another. Throughout the film, the director brings out dynamic juxtapositions of photographic and cinematic space. Hence, viewers are guided to shuttle back and forth between multiple spectacles and spaces where they can imagine various ways to understand the peasants' life. For instance, Zhang juxtaposes a shot of photographs with scenes in which peasants are dining under a portrait of Chairman Mao, or indifferently passing by a slogan propagandising national development policy. This juxtaposition reveals that the memory of being loyal soldiers in the past, embedded in photographs, and the reality of getting used to, and sometimes agreeing with, national propaganda, coexist with the peasants' endangered lives under the wheels of national development. This co-existence reimagines how power does not just possess the peasant's past and present but moreover *lives with* as well as *through* their everyday spaces and memories. What gives subalternity to the peasants is not just state power but also mutual media experiences, part of which is the peasants' own absorption and internalisation of the power hierarchy.

Television is another important visual space that Zhang rethinks through cinematic space. The confrontation between televisions and the peasants is spatialised in Zhang's documentaries through metaphor and absurdity. Television carries moving images within the documentary film. It is a space of moving images within the moving image, which contrasts with the stillness and silence of the peasants, who sit at a distance from the television, or get close up and fix their eyes on the screen. One example in *Falling from the Sky* is of family members gathering around a small television that is specially set up to watch the opening ceremony of the Beijing Olympic Games. The family members, apparently aware of the existence of the camera, sit stiffly with a sense of unease. The mother breaks the awkward silence: 'Sons, you must learn English well. You see, they speak English on TV!' Such words stress three things: their pride in China's development and willingness to experience empowerment through watching the glorious opening ceremony; the family's performativity, rendered by the spatial closure exerted by both the camera and the television; and their subalternity, equivalated to the spatial gap between the world on television and world of their reality. Such a spatial configuration embodies the peculiar encounter between state power and its receiver and conveys an irony: these peasants can watch television thanks to the satellite that transmits television signals, but they also have to be prepared to 'welcome' dangerous satellite debris on a daily basis. Nevertheless, the peasants still choose to live on their land, and sometimes enjoy the visual experiences brought by the television, even though spectators may pity these peasants and attribute subalternity to them.

I am not trying to deny the fact that the peasants' lives are threatened by the falling debris and

that they lack opportunities to claim their rights. What I want to emphasise is that the gesture of giving voice without understanding the peasants' own choices and situations will further render them subaltern. I should also note that while Zhang avoids attributing subalternity to the peasants, he still unveils how Chinese media such as television spread knowledge as a vehicle of state power. He uses a close-up shot to shoot the news broadcast of a satellite launch in another family television-watching scene. The television frame disappears in the close-up shot, and thus the documentary itself becomes the news broadcast. Zhang willingly emphasises how the continuity of cinematic space in his documentaries is thrust upon and even possessed by television screens, through which he exhibits the overwhelming power emitting from China Central Television news, and unravels how media redefine the spatial relationship between the peasants and state power. The peasants are thus educated by the media and persuaded to themselves become the receivers of mediating state power, distant yet always above and ready to fall from the sky.

Spatial mapping also entails temporality. At the end of *Falling from the Sky*, Zhang includes a video that shows the flashing falling debris sweeping across the black sky at night. The video was shot by a peasant using their phone. The filming of the falling debris indicates that the on-going process of filming as witnessing emphasises amorphous time: the villagers have to wake up at night when they are supposed to be asleep. The peasant's filming substantiates this amorphous time by filling it with a hand-held device: the phone. They thus try to normalise their distorted time by spatialising it in the camera phone that offers a frame, a frame that possesses and thus eliminates the threatening effect of the debris. This time is given, in the form of the falling debris, by state power and the policy of developing space technology. However, in the documentary, the peasants are in fact excited about going out of the house to see the debris fall, and film it voluntarily rather than be forced to do so. In that sense, the peasant who films the falling debris is not being given a piece of distorted time by the country, but actively embraces an opportunity within an emergency to give time to themselves. The peasant now becomes the producer of a certain kind of knowledge that weakens and questions subalternity. Therefore, this video-filming scene can be regarded as a hallmark of the trialectical image exchange between the state, the peasants, and the filmmaker. To be sure, the state's satellite debris is turned into images by the peasant's filming activity and then recoded into Zhang's documentary. In such exchanges, the boundaries between centre and periphery, the powerful and the powerless, who is looking and who is being looked get blurred. This exchange is precisely where Zhang's documentary can be re-evaluated as not *giving* voice, not *giving* time, and not *giving* subalternity to the peasants. Such an exchange is further spatialised in Zhang's post-production because he puts this video taken at night on the black screen; the two black spaces thus merge into one and the video becomes the film. This hybrid space embodies the peasants' fluid relationship to state power, the filmmaker, and knowledge production, which points to the macroscope of

Thirdspace where binary structures are largely dissolved.

The camera's curiosity in examining other forms of visual media internalises a reflexive gesture. By shifting the focus to photos, pictures, and slogans, Zhang encourages spectators to ask a question: can we assume a full understanding of other people, and their past and memories, especially when we understand them as 'subaltern'? By filming the peasants watching television, the contrasts between mobility and stillness, between loudness and silence, are foregrounded to address the gap between rural life and dazzling economic development. In this process, Zhang also indicates that subalternity should not be given to the peasants simply because spectators with patronising eyes are searching for the 'subaltern' left behind by the modernisation process. By including the video filmed by the camera phone, Zhang foregrounds the peasants' potential agency in the spatialised negotiation with state power and the representation of rural life. Navigating through different layers of media, spectators are requested to feel 'a shattering of the world into pieces of media representations or the experience of some kind of juxtapositions, jumps, loops or foldings between the media representations and what we perceive as cinematic reality' (Pethő 1994, p. 5). This shattered world wipes binaries and categorisation in multiple layers of media experiences.

5. Conclusion

Navigating back to the opening scene of *Falling from the Sky*, the officials refer to the debris of rockets and say: 'It is very auspicious, isn't it?' 'Before falling from the sky, it was the soldier descending from Heaven.' In using 'auspicious' (辟邪) and 'descending from Heaven' (天兵天将), they attach a traditional religious notion of life and death entangled in fate to the fallen debris. Furthermore, at the end of the film, a sentence responding to the debris cut from a peasant's previous interview appears: 'If I am attacked [by the debris], that's my fate. I have to take it.' Fate, a concept that recurs several times throughout the film, connotes the peasants' attempt to ward off their powerlessness through compromising with state power. It is what the peasants choose to accept to normalise their peculiar encounter with various modern constructions. Does this fate trap the peasants in a dichotomy between them and state power, between their subalternity and the documentary's, as well as our, sympathetic gaze? *Falling from the Sky* reveals the complexity of the peasants' relations to the state and the filmmaker by spatialising them into a dynamic flow of moving images, written text, and verbal narration. The documentary in fact reveals, destabilises, and deconstructs this sense of fate. This 'fate' is not given but produced and reproduced around knowledge and power in reciprocal spatial interactions between state power, the documentary maker, spectators, and the peasants themselves. The documentary reimagines these complexities and opens up the potential for reconsidering post-socialist rural transformations.

Specifically, first, black screens connecting the filmmaker and the peasants expose the power structures that reinforce subalternity. Yet they also serve as the virtual space for mutual translation between the peasants' life experiences and the filmmaker's perspective. Second, nondiegetic sound, the voice of state power, does not always coincide with the moving images addressing the hardship peasants go through, which highlights the hierarchical gaps between state power and the peasants. Yet this gap also destabilises discourses of subalternity by refusing the continuity of verbal narration. Finally, the intermedial spaces chart how the media, as bearer of knowledge and power, penetrates peasants' lives but also creates possibilities for them to create knowledge. All these ways of spatialising how subalternity is formed transcend the dichotomy between the imaged hegemony and subalternity, discovering a Thirdspace for reimagining rural liveness.

Zhang Zanbo, focusing on subaltern life, somehow becomes a subaltern filmmaker himself. Without much external support, investment, or accesses to exhibition in mainland China, *Falling from the Sky*, to a large extent, is an individual project that connotes his own dilemma regarding gaining agency through utterance. However, his position far from the power centre allows him to think independently. As Guo Jing (郭净) (2003, pp. 3–4) states, 'Independent thinking and marginal images constitute a visual space of multiplicity, where various perspectives are allowed to coexist, different voices are articulated, and real dialogue is realised.' Zhang self-reflexively exploits his flexible position to facilitate a journey into Thirdspace, where the dichotomy between the filmmaker and the filmed subjects is potentially dissolved, and the subalternity reinforced by the gaze of the camera may be challenged.

Notes 注释

1 Zhang Zanbo, born in 1975 in Hunan province, China, graduated from Beijing Film Academy in 2005 with an MFA degree. He made *Falling from the Sky* as his debut documentary feature in 2009. His later documentary feature *The Road* 大陆朝天 (2015) was nominated for Best Documentary Feature at the 53rd Golden Horse Awards.

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ARCHIVES 档案

Deconstructing Tradition, Inheriting Tradition: A Conversation about Documentary

解构传统，延续传统 —— 一场关于纪录片的对话

Translator 译者： FAN Xiang 樊响

Jiang Hu: Life on the Road. Q&A with Wu Wenguang by the Practice Society

《江湖》问答 —— 吴文光和实践社

Translator 译者： FAN Xiang 樊响

Duan Jinchuan on *No.16 Barkhor South Street* and *The Square*

段锦川谈《八廓南街 16 号》和《广场》

Translator 译者： FAN Xiang 樊响

About *Along the Railway* and *Stories along the Railway* (Abridged)

关于《铁路沿线》与铁路沿线的故事（有删节）

Translator 译者： FAN Xiang 樊响

Deconstructing Tradition, Inheriting Tradition A Conversation about Documentary

Translator: FAN Xiang 樊响

First published in: DU Qingchun 杜庆春, ed., 2000. Practice Handbook 实践手册, 1, 5-11

Time: 30 April 2000

Venue: 50 Huang Tingzi Bar

Screening Content: Ju Anqi (唯安奇) *There's a Strong Wind in Beijing* 北京的风很大 (2000)

Zhu Chuanming (朱传明) *Beijing Cotton-Fluffer* 北京弹匠 (1999)

Zhu: The shooting process took about three months, from October 1998 until he left Beijing. I filmed the life of a cotton-fluffing worker in Beijing. His role as a cotton-fluffing worker is not important to me. My main concern is him as a human being who has emotion, confusion and frustration just like other ordinary people. The film was shot on High 8mm and later converted to Beta tape after the editing. I like listening to someone expressing themselves in front of the camera, and I enjoy such face-to-face honest communication. The editing was done at a friend's studio and it took two days, so the cuts were quite rough.

This film participated in the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival in Japan. First of all, I would like to thank Jia Zhangke (贾樟柯), who brought me there. In addition, I am very grateful to Wu Wenguang (吴文光). All the liaison with me over there was through his email.

Ju: The shooting of *There's a Strong Wind in Beijing* was completed in 1999, at the end of 1999. The film was supposed to enter a film festival in Australia. At that time the film festival had not yet started. It started in February this year. However, as there were a lot of comments about the film on the internet, the programmer from the Berlinale decided to take the film. The most straightforward thing throughout the production was in defence of my intuition. This is something I always wanted to do, and I felt very much in need of doing so. I filmed two short fiction films before, but my immediate thought afterwards was to make an attempt to do documentary. I expected to discover some new perspectives and techniques during the process of making a documentary.

The concept of the wind is very rich and informative. I wanted to break the rules. I have watched a lot of traditional documentaries and tried to make something similar by myself. But I found many

lies existed in that kind of thing. I felt really tired in the process of doing it. I don't want to mess with things like that anymore. I want to do something by following my intuition, my understanding and opinion of reality. I think this is the most significant thing for me.

So my starting point was quite straightforward. I didn't have too many complicated ideas. Before the filming started, other fellows and I were at my home. They had no idea about what to shoot. I told them to shoot duvets, all kinds of duvets, the duvets in the hospital, and the duvets at home. I didn't want to give them any exact ideas of the visual images in advance. Yonghong (永红) once asked me to provide a script, but I declined that idea. When he arrived at my place with the camera, I talked to him about my plan: just follow my instruction and shoot.

The whole shooting process took over three days. I don't want to stress the (poor) production condition, but the problem existed. It was quite difficult. But I couldn't care less about this stuff. Many people are talking about politics and money, or how they are affected by ideology or capital. I don't think this debate is necessary. The problem is just always there. I think independent production in foreign countries is a style, which has the greatest impact on me. But, in China, is there really a concrete idea about independence? Absolutely not. We're not there yet. We only had more than twenty minutes of film, I just kept shooting until it ran out. But at the end of the film we captured a couple whose child was dying. I didn't prepare anything during the shooting, but I had a little bit idea ahead of time. The question in my head prior to shooting was, 'Is there a strong wind in Beijing?' During the shooting, if there was anything touching me, I would record it straightaway and maybe push back the shooting of this film to another day. I thought after three minutes of shooting with the question 'Do you think there is a strong wind in Beijing?', the remaining twenty minutes might be just like a traditional documentary. I didn't have much judgment on this matter. I didn't need it anyway. After the shooting, I used two home video recorders to do the editing. After the film converted to videotape, the footage was only over twenty minutes long. But I was very touched while watching it. Our sound was intact as I never made the audio recording stop, although the images had to be disrupted from time to time due to the shortage of film. I might take a month or so to sort out all the footage and audio recording. I watched them repetitively. It was an arduous process. I felt there're so many possibilities, because I can arrange the footage however I like. This took me about two to three months, plus the post-production, which in total cost three to four months. Then we successfully got accepted into a film festival, and then some comments came along. Basically, that's it.

Question: I want to ask director Ju a question. In my opinion, your documentary is an attempt to deconstruct the form of traditional documentary. And the way that you took the camera to the street and interviewed the local residents with the questions such as 'Are you happy?' reminds me of French

filmmaker Jean Rouch's cinéma vérité, *Chronicle of a Summer* (*Chronique d'un été*, 1961), in which he also posed such questions. I don't know if your documentary is also concerned with the notion of reality. In the traditional concept, documentary is the record of reality. It seems naturally to possess the essence of reality. But is it really exposing the truth or concealing the truth? There are many sequences in your documentary only containing sound and subtitles but without visual images of the people who are actually speaking. Does this style imply your reflexion on the notions of truth and reality in documentary?

Ju: It's because there was not enough film. I used all the footage in the film, with a shooting ratio of 1:1. Personally I think there are some problems with traditional documentary. Many people are talking about the objectivity of documentary, but during the filming process, I found fabrication alongside objectivity. I had never made a documentary before. As I said before, making documentary serves as a defence of my intuition. When I see something interesting, I want to shoot it no matter if I'm sitting on a bus or walking on the street. When talking about documentary, Krzysztof Kieślowski said, we don't imagine life, but represent it. Of course, what I want to do is to represent it, and this piece is not an objective documentary. It is subjective. It's my documentary.

I think the film representation is more powerful. It doesn't matter how long the film is or how long the shot is. Many people are talking about long take these days, which I really hate. The key is how powerful a five-second shot and a fifty-second shot can be.

Question: But documentary needs to take a closer look at one's life and emotion. For example, you captured a couple whose kid was dying. You could have gone deeper, but you didn't, why is that?

Ju: It depends on my own judgment. I am quite flexible with both space and time. If I think I can go deeper, then I will do it, but if I don't think I can, I just... This is a problem. I don't think focusing on a single (social) issue is very meaningful. What I wanted to present is the lives of a city.

In-depth investigation like Zhu Chuanming's work also requires the filmmaker's judgement. It is difficult to define 'in-depth', because everyone's work is based on their own judgement.

Wu (Wu Wenguang): Personally I'm more inclined to traditional documentary. Like Zhu Chuanming, I'd try my best to approach a person or a group of people, and then capturing their life details as much as possible. But as we know, the so-called truth and objectivity are in fact quite problematic. You can't simply apply your understanding of the truth and objectivity to replace other people's life history. But I think different people have sought to see different things in their own eyes, and then representing

them in this way. Ju Anqi's film is very refreshing to me. He allows me to see things through a new vision, which inspires people like me who makes documentaries in a completely different way from him. For example, sound over a black screen and the use of silence, the composition of these two film techniques impresses me as imaginative and poignant. I think such liberal styles give a lot of space for our ears, eyes, and souls to find something that corresponds to ourselves. Maybe ultimately we cannot make exactly the same film as Ju Anqi's, but it is still the best outcome we can achieve. Personally, I still would like to make every effort to learn something new that can inspire me to change my filmmaking style. It's like a person who is used to eating very spicy food, it is difficult to change the taste. Of course, when seeing such new thing, I'm not in position of rejecting it. I once saw a two-hour documentary about winter in Moscow, filmed by a Belgian filmmaker. The whole documentary is composed by the street scenes in Moscow, like people walking around and waiting for the bus at dusk. That is all to make up this two-hour documentary. There is no narrative nor dialogue. I have forgotten many films that have arresting storylines, but the scenes of this documentary that I watched four years ago have deeply impressed me until today.

Question: I want to ask director Ju, you just said that you made this film to defend your intuition. What is your intuition?

Ju: The term intuition is quite vague. I think it's just about my understanding of reality. After those two short fiction films, it's very important for me to resolve some issues. I am not very keen on film techniques. This is also my first time making a documentary. It turned out that this is a unique and irreproducible experience. At that time, I wanted to seek a new perspective in the process of making the documentary. But now the people around me and myself are all somehow affected by the documentary. It directly affect my conception of my next film. The next one is not a documentary and I will capture a lot of different things. This current work serves as a learning process to me.

Question: I think no matter documentary or documentary [feature film] they both have a certain connection with reality. You just mentioned the notion of reality, what kind of relationship between you and reality do you think this film has defined? Or what is your perception of reality?

Ju: First, let me make it straightforward, I want to subvert the traditional way of making documentary. The second point I want to make is that no matter it is a traditional documentary or something like this, it is crucial to stand by my opinion. The reality is very vague. No matter it is a feature film or a documentary, its ultimate goal is the same, that is, to represent reality. What I want to represent is my own understanding of reality.

Question: While watching this documentary, I had two impressions on it. First, it's coarse. You just wanted to use a question to embarrass people. There must be some interesting responses. So you just edited them together. I feel that your film does not represent the nature of reality. It's just a simple reflection or superficial representation. I don't think you have achieved your goal. And I don't think your film techniques, including those abrupt questions and candid shooting, have contributed to the deconstruction of traditional documentary method. I think this is still a very traditional way. And this way itself is problematic, which ruthlessly abuses the ethic of documentary. I think your documentary does not contribute to a sort of deconstruction in this way. If you treated it as an experimental work, I think it is not experimental enough.

Ju: How do you define the idea of experiment?

Answer: I don't have a very clear understanding of experiment. At least it should be something that has never appeared before.

Ju: You said that you didn't see reality and you didn't see the truth. It's from an audience's point of view to talk about this matter. It's difficult to say if I have seen reality, but this documentary has accomplished what I wanted to say.

Question: Does your understanding represent the truth?

Ju: What is recorded in my work is my reality.

Question: I think it is very likely that your way has dismissed the problem. Because once there's a black screen, a voice talks about several attributes and requirements. When some people were informed about your method of making this film, they asked you to stand aside and not to invade their personal space thoroughly. So when you did this, it is very likely that at that time the truth has gone. In fact, it is not coarse, it is about a matter of power. We don't seem to have the power to ask others such questions, especially like questions like 'are you happy?'.

Question: I think this is precisely the ethical issue of documentary, that is, what kind of relationship is between you, your camera and your subject. Do you think this can constitute a kind of (power) abuse? If so, there should be a limit. What is this limit?

Ju: I don't know what this limit is. For me, I feel that I am subjective when I'm shooting, and I possess a kind of power.

Question: I want to ask the director two questions. The first one is, do you think the wind in Beijing is strong?

Ju: I think the wind in Beijing is very strong.

Question: The second one is, when shooting that toilet, did you think of shooting the women's bathroom?

Ju: I didn't think of it.

Question: I mean, if there happened to be women's bathroom, would you do it?

Ju: My immediate idea at the time was to shoot the men's bathroom.

Question: Why was *Beijing Cotton-Fluffer* made into black-and-white?

Zhu: It just happened by chance. The film was shot in colour, but in the post-production process, two equipments were mixed up. It should have been in colour but turned out to be black-and-white. My friend Liu Aiguo (刘爱国), who is a photographer, told me that black-and-white is really striking, reinforcing the interpretation of reality. As a photographer myself, I agreed with him, so I used the black-and-white version. It just happened accidentally. I didn't mean to make it in black-and-white in the first place.

Question: There are two excerpts in *Beijing Cotton-Fluffer*. One is him travelling to Tiananmen Square to see the snow, and the other is him visiting his schoolmates in Beijing Forestry University. Did you induce him to do so?

Zhu: When I met him for the first time, he really wanted to show me something he was proud of. So he showed me his passbook. I didn't bring the camera with me at that time.

One of the most awkward things while making a documentary is that once you turn on the camera, it immediately forms a relationship between the observer and the observed. In this case, I might have hurt him to some extent. He told me that a schoolmate was studying in a university, who used to be his best friend. I just thought life is so absurd. A few years ago, they went to the same school together. A few years later, one went to university in Beijing and the other fluffing cotton on the street. Before meeting me, he didn't even want to look for that schoolmate. I encouraged him to take

me there, because it can represent the dramatic attribute of life.

Question: But this hurt him, and you are the one responsible for the cause of this hurt.

Zhu: Yes, it might make me a screenwriter for real life. I induced, but everything happened afterwards is real. If it is a representation of reality, then it is real. I ignited this drama in his life, but then everything just happened in that way, without other intervention from me.

Question: If it wasn't for you, this kind of thing will never happen in his life. So one question is, do you think 'constraint' is necessary in the documentary?

Zhu: We often expect something dramatic happening in our lives, as long as this drama is not made up by us deliberately. Sometimes we unexpectedly reunion with some old friends, the haunting and emotional moment becomes a part of our lives. This is a representation of reality.

Question: I remember several scenes in which you were shooting him in the face and he was telling you something heartfelt. When he was saying these things, such as messing with girls, relationship with his brothers, didn't you induce?

Zhu: I didn't. He poured out his pain and suffering to me, because I was his friend.

Question: You mean such relationship on the screen was all from his own articulation, and there's nothing to deal with his social relationship.

Zhu: Yes. Personally, I like people to be chatty. I like my characters to express themselves to the camera.

Question: Wouldn't this be a loss? An individual is connected to the society. The value of documentary is supposed to unveil a social situation, not an individual. You just separate them apart.

Zhu: In the film, I also captured his relationship with society. For example, he took water from the bathroom tap in the medical university, and he went to Tiananmen Square to draw a portrait with a computer. Especially the bathroom tap scene shows the vulnerability of a marginal person's self-esteem in front of reality, and it was recorded by my camera.

Question: Did you intentionally avoid filming something at the same time? For example, the

policemen and neighbourhood committee mentioned earlier. Or as a marginal person, is his relationship with society actually quite lame?

Zhu: I didn't come across it, and if I did, I wouldn't hesitate to film it. My only function was to stand aside and record what I saw.

Question: To what extent is the documentary director involved in the process of truthfully recording reality? What is the limit?

Wu: I don't know. I have seen Li Hong's (李虹) *Out of Phoenix Bridge* 凤凰桥 (1997), which is about a young nanny in Beijing returning to her hometown. Whilst filming her on her way back home, the documentary doesn't simply show what her hometown outside of Beijing is like, but also her family life and her relationship with the community outside of her village. For example, a place in the village where her stepfather shaves his head is actually a public place in the village, just like a teahouse, where everyone gathers to chat. Her film captures how they talk about these girls who work in Beijing and how they are doing. We can see how the folks think about their girls working in Beijing, such as how much money they can earn, how they land a rich man, and gossiping about other girls. This gives you the impression that the young nanny must have very large social networks in Beijing. This feeling is very good.

Question: Director Ju, what preparations did you have before shooting, such as the structure, rhythm, and music, how many random thoughts did you come across during the shooting? Some street scenes seem to be a bit overexposed. Was it the director's intention or was the film out of date?

Ju: I didn't think about the structure, rhythm and music of the film these things at first, because it didn't exist yet. I quite enjoyed my intervention to the film. Once someone commented that it feels like a performance art. After the shooting was finished, I watched it at home, on videotape, and that's when my intervention to the film actually started. I was able to grapple with the structure and other aspects. It was basically just some random ideas.

Question: The way you asked questions on the street seems quite presumptuous. Did you ever get embarrassed by their answers?

Ju: I don't think their answers are awkward. I don't know what is that feeling. Because for me it is a mutual intervention. While filming their answers, I was actually expecting something.

Question: One scene that struck me is, a kid in Tiananmen Square – it seems to be a very young voice – cried, after being asked a few questions. Why was that? Were you touched at that time?

Ju: Of course, I was having a conversation with him, and I was touched. I also wanted to know why.

Question: Directors, would you like to meet the people you filmed right now?

Ju: It's really interesting that I often run into them on the street. Yesterday I ran into the guy crossing the street (in the documentary), the foreigner and his girlfriend. And then we bumped into each other again near the art museum, and we said hello and had some small talks. It wasn't anything expected, it was all random. I enjoy that feeling.

Zhu: I stayed with the guy in my film for three months. I should say that we have established a friendship. In terms of meeting him again, hope and dread battle within me. I hope to see him because we haven't been in touch since he left, and he hasn't seen the film I made. If one day we bumped into each other on the street or something, we'd be really thrilled. I can anticipate the excitement and astonishment when we meet. But I'm also afraid of meeting him. Because when I met him, I'd have to show him the film, and that might hurt him badly. As I was just shooting some stuff randomly, he wouldn't expect it to be a real film. I'm sure he wouldn't want his embarrassing situation to be witnessed by so many people. It's the cruel nature of documentary. We can't avoid it. We have to face it.

Wu: I stayed with the performing farmers in the summer of 1998, and we've kept in touch until today. We went to their tent again last month. As I said last time, this documentary is an outcome of my fieldwork. As I'm writing the book, I'll keep in touch with them if possible. It's not a question of whether you look forward to it or not, it's a question about your connection with them after spending some life together with each other. It's hard to cut off the connection completely. Last time when I was in Shanxi, I stayed with them for another twenty days or so. We experienced some very strange things, which were not captured in the film, for example, how they got arrested by the police, fined by the Cultural Station and had their stuff confiscated. When I mediated with them on this issue, I also called home in Beijing. It was a very strange feeling as if Beijing was a place you had no relationship with. But I don't want to say that our relationship is as close as kinship. In fact, as I had to leave soon, what I filmed has made no change to their lives. When the film is finished, you can show it to others, talk to others, you can hear some criticism and praise, you go abroad, you take a free flight, but they still carry on with their lives on the road. I also second with what Zhu Chuanming just said. That feeling is quite complicated, especially when you filmed some unbearable things happened in your life or the people live on the margin of society. Because the fact is that you've been using the footage

and these things, and you end up with gaining something, but there is nothing for them, because you are not going to improve their lives by this film. For example, you made a film about a Hope Primary School, and the next day a truck drove over and delivered loads of stuff there, and then everyone in that place could go to school. It doesn't happen this way. You know you can't change anything, what can we do? So I'm going to shoot an experimental work next.

Question: To Wu Wenguang and Zhu Chuanming, towards the end of the shooting, did you have the impulse to hand over the camera to the subjects and let them become directors themselves?

Wu: I've got a lot of this kind of stuff in my footage. I didn't teach them. They asked me at the beginning, how much is this (camera)? I wanted to say it a bit cheaper to make them think that this thing is not very powerful. So I said, a few thousand yuan. They said even my motorbike back home is worth more than yours. They just held it in their hands and played with it. It seemed that they just thought this thing is like a big silly equipment. It's not a big deal for them.

Zhu: When I turned on the camera, it immediately constituted an unequal relationship between me and the subject. Because when you set up the camera and when you pointed it at a person, you invariably established an unequal relationship of gazing and being gazed, shooting and being shot. You can't avoid it. If you're trying to avoid it, it only means that you can't be true to yourself. They cannot point the camera to me, because our relationship, under the veneer of what I called a seemingly equal conversation between friends, is actually an unequal filmmaking relationship, in which I am looking at their life, not me looking at myself.

I am hidden, and they are exposed.

解构传统，延续传统：一场关于纪录片的对话

首次发表于：杜庆春（主编），《实践手册》，2000年，第1期，5-11页

时间：2000年4月30日

地点：黄亭子五十号酒吧

现场观摩内容：睢安奇《北京的风很大》，朱传明《北京弹匠》

朱：片子是98年10月份开始拍的，断断续续持续了三个月，一个直到他离开北京结束了。拍了这么一个弹棉花的人在北京的一段生活。他作为一个弹棉花的人的身份对我来说并不重要，我主要关注他是这么样的个人，这么样的一个普通人在情感上的一些困惑以及内心世界的失落，这样一些东西。片子是用超8拍的，剪了以后转成beta带做的。我比较喜欢一个人对着镜头倾诉他内心的情感世界，我比较喜欢真诚的面对、倾诉。后期剪辑在一个朋友那里，花了两天时间，所以剪辑也比较粗糙。

这部片子参加了日本的山形纪录电影节。这首先要感谢贾樟柯，是他给我带过去的。另外联系的过程我特别感谢吴文光老师，那边所有跟我的联系都是通过他的E-mail。

睢：《北京的风很大》是99年拍完的，99年底就做完了。当时的片子在澳洲的一个影展里，那时影展还没有开始，今年2月份开始，但网上评论有很多，柏林那边选片人就把片子拿走了。整个制作说的话呢，我自己来说，最直接的就是捍卫自己的直觉。这东西是一直想做，我觉得非常需要的一个东西。前面我拍过的是两个故事短片，但是拍完以后很直接的想法就是希望能有一次拍纪录片的尝试。我希望能拍纪录片的过程中找到一些新的视角和方法。

风的概念非常丰富，之前我想打破很多框框，包括传统纪录片，我也看过很多，也曾经尝试做，可那种东西我觉得有很多谎言存在，再做的过程中我感觉非常疲惫。我不想再要乱七八糟这样的东西。我想就用我自己的直觉，我对这个现实的理解，我思考一些所谓成见，我拿这个东西来做。我觉得这对我来说是最重要的。

所以出发点我更直接一些，我没有太多杂七杂八的想法。开拍前我跟我的同伴在我的家里，之前他们还不知道拍什么东西，因为我跟他们说拍被子，拍所有的被子，医院里的被子，家里的被子。我不想给他们什么想像，一开始告诉他们。永红也曾问过我一些大纲吧，我觉得没法提供。头一天到我家里，他拿着机器过来的时候，我跟他谈到这个想法，就是拍吧，按我这个想法。

整个片子拍了三天多，我不太想强调条件，虽然条件确实比较艰苦一点，但我一直对这个东西不感

兴趣。很多人在谈政治，在谈钱，或者受意识形态影响，或者受钱的影响，我觉得都不要再谈了，这都是存在的。在国外，我觉得独立制片是一种方式，这是对我最大的影响。而在国内来说，真的有独立这个观念吗？根本没有。还不存在。我们只有 20 多分钟的胶片，我就是拍，把它拍完为止。但是片子最后也有夫妇俩，他们的孩子快死了。片子拍的时候没有任何的准备，但是拍摄之前我倒有一点点这样的想法，在拍之前带给我的也是一个问题，就是“北京的风大吗”？在拍的过程中，如果说有什么东西能触动我的话，那我把它记录下来。也许这个片子换到另外一天拍，我觉得这个片子拍了 3 分钟的“你觉得北京的风大吗？”，问完这个问题以后，剩下的 20 多分钟可能全都是一个传统纪录片。对这东西我没有太多判断，我不需要。拍完以后我在家里先是用两个家用录像机一直在编，胶片转成磁带以后只有 20 多分钟，但我看了我非常触动，因为录音是我自己，声音一直没有断，画面在不停地断，因为胶片很少。我们的画面是断了，但是我们的声音一直是没断，我一直录下来了。可能有一个月的时间我在整理我的录音素材和片子，我不停地在看，做的也比较艰苦。我觉得这种可能性也非常大，因为那些素材，你怎么编排都可以。做了两三个月吧，连后期的话可能三四个月，然后比较顺利地参加了一个还没有开始的电影展，也有评论。基本上就是这样的。

问：我想问睢导演一个问题。在我的观念里，您的纪录片的形式是对传统纪录片形式的一种解构。而那种街头提问的方式，您带着机器到街头问路过的行人一个同样的问题，包括“您觉得幸福吗？”。这样的问题都让我想起法国让·鲁什的真实电影，他当年拍《夏日记事》的时候，也正是这样的方式，这样的问题。所以我不知道您这部片子是不是也是对真实的一种追问？在我们传统的观念里，纪录片是对现实的一种实录，这使它仿佛天然就具备了真实的精神。但它究竟是暴露真实呢，还是在遮蔽真实？您的片子里面也有很多段落，无画面但有声音和字幕，这个时候说话的人是不在场的。我不知道您的影像方式是不是蕴含了对纪录片真实精神的一种反思？

睢：没有画面是当时没有胶片。这个片子所有的素材我都用上了，1:1 的片比。我自己来说，我觉得传统的纪录片也存在一些问题。很多人在谈纪录片的客观性，但是在拍的过程中我发现就变质了，有一些谎言存在。我之前也没有拍过纪录片，拍纪录片我刚才说了，是对我直觉的捍卫。每天看到一些东西，我坐在小公共上也想拍，走在街上也想拍，基耶洛夫斯基谈到纪录片的时候说过一句话，他说，我们不是把生命想象出来，而是把生命呈现出来。我希望做的当然是呈现出来，而且这部片子，我不想说它是一部客观的纪录片，它就是主观的。是我自己的纪录片。我觉得表象更具有张力，不在于这个片子要拍多长，一个镜头有多长。很多人在空泛地谈长镜头的观念，我很讨厌。关键是一个五秒钟的镜头和一个五十秒钟镜头它具备的张力有多大。

问：但是纪录片更深入地观察一个人的生活，一个人的内心，就象你拍到一对夫妇，他们的孩子得了病，快要死了，这个时候是有深入下去的可能性的，但是你没有，这是为什么？

睢：这就看我自己的判断了，我比较自由，在空间和时间上都比较自由，我觉得我可以把它深入下去我就把它拍下去，不能深入我就……，这是一个问题，就是说你要单个的

问题的话，我觉得意义也不是特别大，我要呈现的是一个城市，整个的一个生活形态。就是深入的话，象朱传明这样的，他也是要判断，很难说怎么深入，因为每个人拍摄下来的东西也就是他自己判断的东西。

吴(吴文光)：从我个人来说。我可能属于传统一类，可能跟朱传明有同样的方式，对一个人，对一群人，用尽可能的方式接近他们，然后尽可能地拍到一些他们的生活的东西。但大家都知道，所谓真实和客观性其实都是打引号的，你不能用你的真实性和所谓客观性来代替别人的东西。但我想不同的人都在自己的眼睛里尝试看到不同的东西，然后用这种方式表达出来。睢安奇的片子让我觉得非常新鲜。他使我看到另外一种新的视觉，这种视觉对我这样跟他以完全不同方式拍纪录片的人是有启发的。比如说一个黑场的没有高的声音，还有完全没有看到的画面，这两种方式的构成让我感觉到一个可以想象和深入的东西，我想可能在他的片子这种比较自由的方式，留下了很大的空间，让我们自己的耳朵自己的眼睛自己的心灵去寻找跟自己吻合的东西。可能跟睢安奇的片子最终的效果不一定一样，但也是这种片子它的最好的效果。我个人还是希望尽可能地学习到一种新的东西，能够对我的片子的方式有一种补充或者是改变，但就象一个人吃惯了很辣的东西就很难换口味。当然我在看这种新的东西的时候我不是一种拒绝的方式，就象我曾经看到过一部完全是街景构成的长达两个小时的纪录片一样的，那是一个比利时人拍莫斯科的冬天，没有一个具体的个人和一个具体的故事，也没有一句对话，全是在傍晚黄昏的时候在街边行走和等车的人来构成他两个小时的电影。这部电影我在四年前看过，很多电影的故事情节非常生动，我都忘记了，但这部电影中的场景让我至今记忆深刻。

问：我想问睢导演刚才您说您拍这部片子是为了捍卫您的直觉，那您的直觉是什么？

睢：直觉这个词也比较空。我觉得就是我对现实的理解。拍了两个故事短片以后从我自己来说非常需要，有很多东西还没有解决，在方法上各方面，而我自己也不是特别热衷，也不是说我已经拍过纪录片，这就是我的第一次拍的纪录片，从现在来说这一次也是不可重复的。当时还有一个想法，就是能在拍摄纪录片的过程中找到一种新的方法视角，而现在拍完以后我和周围这些人都受到一些影响，对我更直接的就是说对我下一个片子，下个片子不是纪录片，我会抓住很多东西，从现在这部片子里，对我来说是个学习。

问：我认为无论纪录片还是剧情片都和现实建立了某种关系，刚才你说到了一个现实的词，那你觉得这部片子解决了或者说界定了你跟现实的什么关系，或表达了你对现实的什么看法？

睢：第一点我更直接的说是传统纪录片方法的一个颠覆。第二点我要拍的话，不管是传统还是象现在这样的片子，要有我自己的一个态度，现实也很空，不管故事片还是纪录片，都是一样的，我觉得最终是要呈现现实。我要呈现的就是我自己对现实的理解。

问：我看这个片子有两个感觉，第一个就是粗暴，你就是想用一个问题激起普通人的尴尬，这些反

映肯定是有趣味性的，你把它们剪在一块儿。我就觉得你这部片子并没有呈现一种真实，仅仅是一种反映或一种表象，我觉得你并没有达到你的目的；包括突然提问，偷拍，我觉得并不能构成对传统纪录片方法的一种解构，我觉得这是一种很传统的方式，而且这种方式本身我觉得是有问题的，就是说纪录片也是有伦理的，而这种粗暴的方式其实是一种侵害，我觉得你用这种方式并不能构成一个解构。就这部片子我觉得它的实验性还是不够，如果你把它当成一个实验作品来拍。

睢：那你怎么界定实验？

答：我对实验没有一个很清晰的概念，最起码从来没出现过的东西。

睢：你刚才说没有看到现实也没有看到真实的东西，那是从一个观众的角度来谈这个问题，我很难说我有没有看见，但这部片子完成了我所想说的东西。

问：你想的是不是真实的？

睢：我片子记录下来就是我的真实。

问：我觉得很可能是你这种方式造成这种问题不存在。因为有一次黑场的时候，有一个声音就谈到几种性质，几种要求。很多人在听到你用这种方式来做你这个片子的时候，他要求你站他外头，要求你不要这样彻底的去侵犯他，所以你这样做的时候，很可能在那时候，真实就已经不在了。其实也不是粗暴，这是一个权力的问题。我们似乎没有这样的权力去对别人提出这样的问题，尤其是你幸福吗？这样的问题？

我觉得这恰恰就是纪录片的伦理问题，就是你和你的机器跟你的拍摄对象之间是一种什么样的关系，你觉得这是一种侵犯吗？如果是，那么它应该有一个限度，你觉得这个限度在哪里？

睢：我不知道这个限度在哪里。对我来说，我觉得我在拍的时候我是主观的，我是一种权力。

问：我想问导演两个问题。第一个就是你觉得北京的风大吗？

睢：我觉得北京的风很大。

问：第二个就是你在拍那个厕所的时候，你会不会想到进女厕所拍？

睢：我没有想。

问：我问你会不会呢？如果当时凑巧有女厕所。

雎：我当时直接的想法就是去男厕所拍。

问：《北京弹匠》为什么拍成黑白片？

朱：这是一个很偶然的原因。因为我拍的时候就是彩色，但做后期的时候，两台机器搞反了，出的时候应该是彩色的，我弄成出的时候是黑白的。我那个朋友刘爱国，他是拍图片的，他就告诉我说，黑白的东西特别有震撼力，有真实的质感。我也是学图片的，我赞同他，后来就用了黑白的。这是一个偶然的因素，我没有想把它拍成黑白的，不小心弄成了黑白的。

问：《北京弹匠》有两个片段，一个是到天安门去观雪景，一个是林业大学去看他的同学。这两个细节有没有你启发的因素？

朱：我一次见他的时候，他特别想把他感觉到骄傲的东西展示出来，他把他的存折拿给我看。我当时没带机器。

拍摄纪录片的时候一个最让我尴尬的事情就是首先你把机器举起来的时候，就和人构成了个审视和被审视的关系，我可能对他就构成了一种伤害。

他跟我说我有一个高中同学，也在读大学，而且他说是他最好的朋友。我就觉得人生的经验是很莫名其妙的，几年前他们是同学，几年后一个在北京读大学，一个在街边弹棉花，他在遇到我之前他根本就没有想过去找那个同学，这个是我启发他的，我说你带我一块儿去，因为这可就在生活中构成一种戏剧性。

问：但是这些成了对他的伤害，而且这个伤害是具体引发的。

朱：对，这可能使我成为生活中的一个编剧，是我引了一下，但是后面所有的东西是真实的呈现，如果它是真实的呈现，那它就是真实的。因为这么一个戏剧性的东西，是我给他点燃起来的，最后的发展是顺其自然的，没在丝毫的干涉。

问：如果不是你，这种东西永远不会出现在他的生活状态里边。所以一个问题就是你觉得纪录片里边需要克制吗？

朱：我们常常期待着生活中有戏剧性，只要这种戏剧性不是我们刻意编造的。就好比生活中我们有意外的重逢，有让我们激动的很难忘的戏剧性的时刻，它就是生活的一部分，是一种真实的呈现。

问：我记得里边好几段你对着他的脸拍，他跟你说一些所谓掏心窝子的话，在他说那些话的时候，比如说他玩儿姑妙响，哥哥不好弟弟怎么样啊，你就没有诱导吗？

朱：那些我没有。那些就是他向我把他内心所谓的伤痕扯露出来。因为我和他成了朋友。

问：这种关系在镜头里面完全是通过他的自诉来表现，而他和社会的关系几乎没有。

朱：是这样的，就我个人来说，我是一个比较喜欢人家聊天，我喜欢我的人物对着摄影机镜头向大家倾诉。

问：那这会不会造成一种损失，一个人是和社会连到一起的，而且纪录片的价值是它表现一种社会的状况，而不是一个个人的，你把它割开了。

朱：因为是这样，我在片子里，我也写了他和社会的关系，比如说他去医科大学的厕所打水，去天安门用电脑画像，尤其是打水，这都能表现出一个小人物，他的自尊在现实面前不堪一击，而且被我的摄像机记录下来。

问：你有意让你的摄像机回避过一些东西吗？比如刚才说到的片儿警啊，居委会啊，还是他作为一个小人物，他与社会的关系原本就很薄弱呢？

朱：我确实是没有碰到，如果碰到，我会毫不犹豫地拍下来。我唯一的功能就是在旁边，记录下来。

问：纪录片导演在忠实的记录过程中，会对记录有多大的参与性？它的限度在哪儿？

吴：不知道。我看过李红拍的《凤凰桥》，北京的小保姆回到她的老家，可到老家以后呢，实际上并不是就看到北京以外的她的老家是什么样的，片子是把她的家庭生活和她的村子以外的社区生活都在她回家的过程里展示出来了。比如说村子里她的继父剃头的一个地方，实际上成为村子里的一个公共场合，就象茶馆一样的，他们就集中在那儿聊天。但她的片子用的是谈这些在北京打工的女孩，她们怎么怎么样。我们可以看到一个北京小保姆，她的家里是怎么看待孩子在北京打工的，比如说她们可以挣到什么钱，她们可以傍到大款，谁谁的女孩怎么样。那种世界让你感到在北京打工的这个保姆也有非常非常深厚的背景，这种感觉是很好的。

问：睢导演，拍摄前你有什么准备工作，比如说结构、节奏、音乐处理，在拍摄的过程中有多少随机的想法？有些街景的戏都显得有些曝光过度，是导演意图还是胶片过期？

睢：对片子的结构节奏音乐处理，一开始我没有想这些东西，因为那东西还不存在，我没办法考虑

节奏啊音乐这些，拍这部片子，我自己那种感觉，那种介入我觉得非常舒服，上次有个人说有点象行为艺术。片子拍完以后，我在家里，转到磁带上，看的时候，那会儿我就开始介入这个片子。对结构各方面才能够有些把握，基本上就是随机的想法。

问：你在街上问问题这种方式显得很冒昧，他们的回答让你尴尬过吗？

雎：我觉得不一定是尴尬吧。我不知道是什么。因为对我来说是互相的一种介入。我把镜头给他，其实我也在期待。

问：有一个让我印象深刻，就是天安门广场上一个小孩，好像是很年轻的声音，他哭了，接连几个问题问下来，为什么，就是你问的几个问题，那时候你感动了吗？

雎：我当然感动了，因为我在跟他对话，我当然触动。我想知道为什么。

问：各位导演，你们现在想见到被你们拍摄的人吗？

雎：我现在感觉越来越有意思，因为经常在街上，我会碰到他们。昨天我在街上第一次碰见过马路的那个人，跟那个老外，和他的女朋友，在美术馆那条街上我们又见面了，而且打招呼、说话。不是什么期待，一切顺其自然。我觉得非常好，那种感觉。

朱：我和我片子里的人在一起三个月。应该说建立了朋友的关系。我现在既希望见到他，又害怕见到他。我希望见到他，是因为他离开以后我们没有联系过，他没有看过我做的片子，如果有一天我们在街上或什么地方不期而遇的话，我们都会非常高兴，我能够预期我们见面时候那种兴奋和惊讶。但是我又很害怕见到他，因为我见到他的时候，我有必要把这个片子给他看，而这可能对他构成一次很大的伤害，因为我拍的时候只是随便记录，他不会想到我剪成了这么一部片子，我相信他不会愿意被这么多人目睹他被伤害和尴尬的境地。这是纪录片的一个很残酷的事情，我们没有办法回避，我们必须面对。

吴：我 98 年夏天正式跟大棚人在一起，到现在我们都保持着联系，上个月我们又去了他们的大棚。上次我也说过，这个纪录片是我做田野调查的一个结果，然后我在写书，有可能的话，我会跟他们保持联络。我跟他们在一起的这种感觉，实际上从我最早拍纪录片，我都跟他们保持着联系，这不是一个你期待不期待的问题，是彼此间经历过一些生活以后，你很难再和他们没有关系。上次在山西，我跟他们在一起又待了 20 多天，经过一些非常奇怪的事情，那些片子的镜头没有剪到这个里边，他们怎么样被派出所扣压，被文化站罚款、收东西，然后跟他们调解这个问题的时候，我也是往北京家里边打电话，很奇怪的一种感觉，感觉到北京是一个跟你没有关系的地方。但我也不能说我跟他们的关系就融洽得跟兄弟一样，事实上我肯定很快就要离开，你拍的东西对他们的生活事实上没有

任何的改变。等这个片子完了，你可以给别人看，跟别人谈，你听到一些批评，听到一些赞扬，你去了国外，你坐了免费的飞机，但是他们依然继续着在路上的生活。朱传明说的感觉我也非常有同感，特别当是你记录了你生活中一些不可忍受的东西的时候，比较边缘的这一类人的时候，那种感受是比较复杂。因为事实上你在利用这些素材，利用这些东西，最后得到一些东西，但是对他们来说，他们一无所有，因为你不会因为拍了这个片子而拯救他们，比如说你拍了一个希望小学，第二天一卡车东西就拉过去了，然后那个地方大家都上学了。不可能的。你也知道你改变不了什么东西，那我们能怎么办呢？所以下面我也打算拍个实验的东西。

问：吴文光、朱传明你们拍到最后，有没有把机器交给被拍摄对象，让他们自己去拍导演的冲动呢？

吴：我的素材里边有好多这种东西，都不是我教给他们，他们一开始就会问，你这个家伙多少钱，我想说得便宜一点是让他们觉得这个东西不是很厉害，我说几千块钱，他说我家里的摩托也比你的值钱，他们就拿在手里玩，那种感觉就是他们后来觉得这个东西就象一个大傻瓜机一样的，没什么了不起的。

朱：我把机器拿起来的时候，我和他之间就构成了一个不平等的关系，是不可能避免的。因为你把机器架起来的时候，你对着一个人的时候，你无形中就建立了一种审视与被审视、拍摄与被拍摄、一种不平等的关系，这是你回避不了的，如果回避那只能说明你不能真实面对自己这种心态。他不可能把机器对准我，因为我们之间的关系，是那种平等的朋友人谈话这样一件外衣下，进行着一种不平等的摄制的关系，是我在审视他的生活，而不是他在审视我的生活。

我是隐藏起来的，他是暴露的。

Jiang Hu: Life on the Road. Q&A with Wu Wenguang by the Practice Society

Translator: FAN Xiang 樊响

First published in: DU Qingchun 杜庆春, ed., 2000. Practice Handbook 实践手册, 1, 11-17

Question: Can you tell us briefly when and how you shot the film?

Answer: The film was filmed from the summer of 1998, and I actually came into contact with the [performing] tent a few years before. The earliest tent I saw was similar to this one. It was called a singing and dancing tent, and the way they performed it felt like the CCTV Spring Festival Gala, but they copied it. So I felt like watching a 'pigsty' version of the CCTV Spring Festival Gala, just for fun. Then I saw a friend's work, a video art piece, in which he used some video footage of a tent. This work inspired me at the time. But in this video art-work, many details and procedures were omitted and his art was installed in his work. Looking back at the tent I had seen before, I wonder why I, like many city dwellers, thought that the art was vulgar, their performance was mediocre, and the [performing] environment was terrible, and I just laughed it off. Why did I disregard the tent as something irrelevant to my life from the beginning?

Then my assistant Xiao Su (小苏), the one with the camera, and I set out separately to find a tent that we wanted to film. It was in the summer of 1998, in July and August. We had some setbacks, as some tents didn't want to be filmed. Then after some contact, we started to go in and then continued until Actually, we are still in touch with this tent. Last month, two of us went to their hometown in Henan. It's a kind of feeling that you can never forget. Later on, during the [filming] process, it felt that documentary was not something specifically made for one purpose, and maybe there was something else that could be done in it. If we always look at thing from the vision of a documentary filmmaker, it's hard to explain the process and the content of their lives in one documentary. We then prepared a text, recorded interviews with many people in the tent and filmed a lot of things, but we didn't use the footage in the documentary (*Jiang Hu*) but in a book called *Jianghu Report* (江湖报告), which was serialised in Hunan's *Furong* (芙蓉) magazine from last year. I still have some of the materials for the next book, but I don't know what to do with it yet, so that's probably the process.

Question: Did your previous documentaries have something in the form of text? What kind of

relationship do you want to establish between the literary and visual texts?

Answer: After I finished *Bumming in Beijing* 流浪北京 (dir. Wu Wenguang, 1990), I also wrote a book called *Bumming in Beijing*. At that time, my simple wish was that visual image was a very limited practice, and I felt that there were more meaningful things hidden behind the image and the camera. And then later on when I felt that documentaries should highlight a kind of process and detail, then visual image became even more limited. That's one of the reasons why it's so difficult for me to make a documentary of less than two hours. So I hope that the text can be a kind of compensation.

Another important reason is that it's very difficult for my films to have a proper channel to reach many viewers in China. The desire is very strong, but you can't really change the status quo. It's not that our system of film exhibition and management is not encouraging and promoting the discovery of new things. Even though our system was already very liberal, in fact, it's still very difficult to find a channel anywhere in the world for a more personal and subjective, more serious documentary. It's a barrier that we can't all get past in the contemporary world. Perhaps another form of finding this is through reading.

Question: So the literary text is a way of expanding the path of communication.

Answer: I think so, but what is implied within the texts is perhaps even more powerful than the images.

Question: You said in *Jianghu Report* that you had the desire to do a kind of anthropological fieldwork. Do you think that a kind of cultural anthropological fieldwork is the ultimate goal or the ultimate meaning of your documentary?

Answer: I have had a concrete idea regarding a social reality that I have encountered as a kind of fieldwork since a year ago. *Jiang Hu* is a practice of this idea. It is not comparable to or a substitute for a documentary. But it is true that in China there are too few ways to show the reality of our society at the grassroots level through other channels. There may be many reasons for this. But I think perhaps the most important one is that we Chinese people have a natural instinct to avoid facing the truth of certain realities.

When I was abroad, I visited some countries that have a very short history, for example, Singapore. Two years ago I collaborated on a theatre production with them, which was about rickshaw drivers

in Singapore. They took me to the National Archives and I could easily find some fundamental materials about how the rickshaw drivers came here half a century ago or even before the 1980s. Those materials were actually just some recordings, interviews, pictures, no moving images. When listening to the voice of a boy of seven or eight years old talking on a tape recorder, I didn't understand Minnan [dialect], but I could feel a living person telling me the history through his voice on the tape. But can you find such archives in China now where you can see and hear the voices that existed half a century ago or in the 1960s or just twenty or thirty years ago? In such a large country, with a so-called long history, we cannot find such materials.

I have some sociologist friends, but I feel that they are always talking in grand terms in the academy or in the research institutes about what is going on, what is the way-out for China, where is China going, and what is the crisis in China. But it is difficult for us to access the basic data and conditions of the bottom of society [they discovered] in the field. Many anthropologists or sociologists abroad I know spent a lot of time in the field, at least when they were young, and did a lot of meaningful works. But in China, how many good books like these can we see now? Wang Mingming's (王铭铭) investigation of rural tribes (Note: Wang Mingming, *Five Essays on Three Villages in Fujian and Taiwan* [闽台三村五论], Sanlian Press) is one, and Pan Suiming's (潘绥铭) *Existence and Absurdity* (存在与荒谬) about the sex industry in China, which is a very good book. But how many of these kinds of books have you seen in China? This is a really strange thing. It's not that there is a problem with our system, but that our so-called researcher's eyes have a kind of 'farsighted' problem that makes us ignore the vast quotidian realities that exist around us.

Question: You enter their lives as an observer. You are an 'other' to them, so there is a question, how did you minimise the impact of you and your camera's intervention on them, on the people and events you observed and recorded in the field.

Answer: When the two of us, Su (小苏) and I, approached them, they first wanted to find out if you were from the newspaper or if you were from the TV station. The way we did it was to drink together [with them]. In terms of our appearance, I looked like this, and Su's hair was as short as mine. He had an earring in his left ear. So we definitely looked different from those state officials in their perception, and they felt that we were not hostile or harmful to them. This is the story of our initial contact. But it's very difficult to eliminate the identity of the so-called 'otherness'. You're always an outsider. Even though you lived with them, ate with them, laughed and joked with them, and even help them solve some problems they had at the police station or whatever, but you always had to leave the tent. That's something we can't change.

Question: Do you think there are some subtle differences between what is shown in your film and what you saw in the tent at the time?

Answer: It's not subtle, but enormous. The richness and diversity of life and the kind of process are something that you can't record with binoculars, with the widest lenses, with dozens of cameras. So in the end, we just used the footage we have actually filmed and then named it with the so-called 'jiang hu', expressing the reality we felt in it.

I would like to add that today is a very happy occasion for me. Since we finished the film in September 1998, there has not been a suitable channel or way for us to watch it in a public space, and by space, I don't mean in my house or in a place where a few of my friends are gathered, but in a place where a lot of people I don't know can look at it and communicate with each other through images. The only two times I showed it was once at an anthropology institute at Yunnan University with more than ten viewers, and the second time was last month at a seminar called 'Towards Documentary' in Beijing. But on those two occasions, the first time there were fewer people and the second time there were about a hundred, but they all watched it on the closed-circuit television of the hotel. So I didn't watch it together with them from beginning to end like we did today. Today I felt very happy to watch my film together with the audience as if I was watching it for the first time. This feeling I could never find in film festivals in Berlin, Amsterdam or Japan. And from your reaction, I can tell that I didn't make something bad, or something that I don't like at all. I feel there is a certain resonance and connection with you. I can't get this feeling of happiness at the most famous film festivals.

Question: Did you hide the camera during the shoot? Like when a kid tells you he only has one yuan and twenty cents in his pocket?

Answer: Do you see my camera (pointing to a digital video camera on the table)? Yes, it's set up exactly like that. You didn't actually have to hide it in that situation, there's not much psychological burden for them to choose to say those things or to decide to do something. It's very handy and I've actually kept it on until now. The other person knew I was holding the camera, but I was not carrying a huge one, which made you look very professional. Like I filmed my mum like that once, my mum was so scared she didn't sleep for half the night. But when I do it like this, my mum thinks I'm just having fun. So people might think that I'm not serious, but in the process of not being serious, I think something might come out of it. Maybe we'd lose some of the stability of the quality of the images, or the beauty of the composition, or the correctness of the light ratio, but we get the most genuine things in the details of life, which was lost in the past, including in my own films.

Question: How long did the post-production take?

Answer: It was quite a long time. From 1998, we started shooting and meanwhile sorting out the footage. At the same time, I set up a personal digital non-linear workstation and spent about 30,000 yuan for a basic start, and then added (to) about 50,000 to 60,000 yuan. But what makes me feel happy the most is, when I wake up, I only need to walk five steps to get to my machine. I can get up in the middle of the night and look at it. I can look at it while I'm eating, and if I don't want to look at it, I can just leave it there. It's just a computer with a hard disk, a DV, and a hard drive or two.

Everything is not what I was concerned about before when I had to work for 300 to 400 yuan per hour, and there was an irrelevant person walking around and you couldn't even smoke. It's not really about smoking. It's just a habit. When I'm making a film in an environment that I'm not familiar with, it feels like I'm in a prison cell. So I'm not very efficient. But now I can just work next to my pillow and it's a really good feeling. Of course, it sounds very amateurish to some people.

So as we shot and arranged [the footage] throughout the process, I don't know exactly how long it took. It was finally finished in September.

Question: It looks like the editing was not done in exact chronological order of filming...

Answer: Yeah, it's not following the so-called procedure of life. It's pretty much focused on what happens over three months, with some things changing before and after. And that change was first of all about their life itself, which was basically two days of playing, setting up and taking down the tent, then moving away. But there were some things that often happened in the process, such as dealing with the local authorities, then starting to prepare for the show, things that happened during the show, how to spend the days afterwards, how to pass the time, playing cards, humming some songs, and watching videos. As the editor was able to operate non-linearly editing freely, my perception of following the filming procedure was turned down. Among the vast similar footage, I found something meaningful inherent in it.

Question: There is a very interesting shot of a man whispering something to the author that he doesn't want others to hear. At this time I clearly felt that the author had entered our... I'm very interested in this shot. Another issue is, I think the spirit of documentary is to try not to expose people's privacy. There is a person in the film, that boss. When venting with people, chasing them to the train station, he says, the guy stole two motorbikes, I know what he has done before. I would love to hear what you think about things like this.

Answer: They seem don't care too much about this part of life. How can I explain? The perception of privacy is very different between urban people and rural people. For some people whose attributes are quite straightforward, I think their bottom line of private is something like sex. This is called privacy for them, which cannot be filmed. But they are not so shy about their interpersonal relationship with each other. For example, he once talked about how he was a gangster at home and owed loan sharks a lot of money, and then the police arrested him. The loan shark betrayed him, which was very damaging to his self-esteem. So in turn when he talked about this person, he would say he has something in my hands or so.

Question: Actually, when it comes to privacy issues, it also deals with the ethics of documentary. What you have just said is from their point of view. From your own perspective, what do you think about the ethics of documentary? Is there a boundary? If so, where is the boundary?

Answer: In fact, documentary itself deals with pain and things that ultimately cause pain. If our film is not something that has nothing to do with pain and sorrow, we will be facing the most fundamental and darkest things in life. When facing these darkest things, we can't avoid using some footage, some things in life to make a film. This is also a heated topic that is being debated a lot internationally. I think we are all working with the reflexivity of ourselves constantly, and the only way to avoid this [pain] is to do nothing. But when want to make something not simply about love and romance, not a feature film about a certain phenomenon in life, we have to face the cruellest side of life. Because the fact is that what you're making is not going to change their life or help them in any way. So what is the benefit of it? I am still confused. After he filmed the cotton fluffers, Zhu Chuanming (朱传明) also talked to me about his feelings. After the film was finished, the young guy from Hunan who fluffed cotton on the street left Beijing. Zhu tried to look for him many times, but he could not. He just disappeared into the big city. Then his film was shown and people discussed it, but it had nothing to do with the main character who was filmed. He also felt it was a double-edged sword. I still couldn't figure it out clearly, but constantly keeping it on my mind.

Question: What do you feel about your role when you are on set? A documentarian? Or something else, an artist? A cultural anthropologist in a broad sense?

Answer: My identity is that of a man whose name is Wu Wenguang. I see a lot of things in my life and then I filmed something. That is who I am.

Question: So where does your greatest passion come from? What drives you into the field?

Answer: I can't get to live in a situation of hypocrisy or false reality. [The reality] of many things we see in our lives is veiled, and that's what interests me about documentary.

Question: How much did the entire process of *Jiang Hu* cost approximately, from the prep to post-production?

Answer: I bought this camera, which cost me about 10,000 yuan or so, and then that camera (pointing to the camera Su Ming [苏明] holds) cost a little over 30,000 yuan. When we started shooting, we hadn't bought these cameras yet. So we just rented or borrowed things from friends. For example, Tian Gebing (田戈兵), who I thanked at the beginning, had a Panasonic camera called... and we used it for free for a while. Usually we ate, drank and lived with the people in the tent, so you can anticipate the cost. A tape, 50 to 60 yuan, could last for an hour.

Question: And how much footage did you film?

Answer: We now have a total of 80 to 90 tapes.

Question: What was the threshold throughout the shoot that you felt was roughly enough to make something like this of two and a half hours? There's a trade-off, what's the principle of that trade-off?

Answer: One was after I had the title *Jiang Hu* in mind. Before that, we had been compiling and arranging the footage, and we didn't know when we could finish the film. But when the word 'jianghu' came up, I felt the film was done. After the word 'jianghu' came up, I felt that it was not about a certain kind of people in a tent from Henan who had nothing to do with our lives, but our lives were in it too. And I even felt that I was filming my own autobiography, and my life was in it. Looking at some of their talks and conversations, I can feel that very similar scenes have occurred in my life too. I then felt very satisfied that it could constitute a film.

I can't say that I didn't have any spectators, viewers, or readers in my mind when I was shooting and editing, but what excited and thrilled me the most is when I was immersed in the footage in the darkness. So when I walked out of that darkness, I figured out that there were people like you in the darkness too, and it felt like there was a certain connection between us. I wish more people could see it and demonstrate their approval by applause and cheers. But it's hard for me to guarantee that.

My camera is always on. I don't know what kind of things it can form. But this is something that happened in a public space, in this bar at No. 50 Huang Tingzi on 23 April 2000. I don't know

if it will form an unprecedentedly magnificent documentary or something insignificant, but I am recording it. This is probably one of the changes I have made in the last two or three years: I have found joy in filming through the elimination of the topic, the conception and the purpose.

Question: We just saw two of your things. The first one you used images to write a diary, is this purely a game?

Answer: That thing came to me on an occasion like today. With post-production, I was able to work freely, and I made it up in this way as I was putting the footage together. It's certainly not something that can be measured by the standards of a so-called professional documentary. But it also has a very playful attribute.

Question: So it's just a game to you apart from work?

Answer: I don't think it's a game. I'm very serious. So serious that some art festivals and fine art exhibitions will actually use this for their shows. So I've got my foot in the door of video art. I've done special exhibitions in Beijing, Hong Kong, Amsterdam, and this November in Chicago because I have countless diaries like this.

But I like the word 'game'. We can understand it as a kind of game, very relaxed, not as something that is meant to be made significant carried with a kind of historical responsibility.

I think one basic thing remains the same. It is to see things through my eyes and it has the attribute of documentary in it.

Question: Why did you later change it to that form?

Answer: For fun.

Question: But my understanding is that you use this form to bring out the absurdity implicit in the event itself, and that's what my question is about: it was exhibited as video art in various exhibitions abroad, so do you think there's an ideological element in it?

Answer: We live in a time when ideology is as dense as air in our lives, and I cannot say that I have nothing to do with ideology or politics. It is part of our life. But it's hard for me to say what I'm against or what I'm for. Maybe I witness something, I see something, and then I show what I see to others.

Question: I read in a magazine that you said that there's no documentary in China and that documentary starts with you ...

Answer: I don't think I wrote it.

Question: You didn't write it. It quoted your words on it. Is that how you understand it?

Answer: I'm glad that this is not what I said. The words, starting with who or whatsoever, are not very meaningful. I think I was able to make something after taking in nutrition from predecessors and others. And my first instinct when hearing someone say they are making a documentary is to hug them. I think there are a lot of people like that in my life, who are either younger than me or about my age.

Question: What kind of foreign documentary form do you link?

Answer: Wiseman in the US is one of my most admired documentarians. He started making documentaries from '67 until now. 33 years, one documentary per year, 33 pieces in total. He has always insisted on filming in his own way, without interruption or intervention, just observing jobless people, or some scene that takes place inside a building, like a hospital, school, prison, government welfare office, or residential building. Just watching one or two films alone we may not feel the power of this man. But after thirty years, you find that this man is reflecting the history of the second half of the last century through his works. There's a recent review about him in the *New York Times* titled 'Wiseman: Constructing an American History'. History is constructed through his images. His achievement is like those directors who pop up in our mind immediately like Tarantino. But after ten, twenty, or thirty years, someone like Wiseman is like a wine that improves with age, and we can taste many things. This is one of my favourite directors.

Question: And what you just said about no interruption or intervention, but observing or even immersed in the field for a prolonged time, can you guarantee its absolute objectivity?

Answer: Definitely not. Because none of us is God, none of us has an omniscient point of view of seeing things. But it represents what Wiseman sees, or you make one that represents what you see. What I see in it represents my point of view.

Question: So there's actually a very strong authorial signature in this?

Answer: It's not made by a machine but by a human being. The agency of the human being plays a

big part in it. My eyes are minus 600 degrees and I can see things normally with my glasses, but I still have my limitations. I am looking at you now, which means I can't see others. But after looking at you intently for five minutes, I can see what is happening inside these five minutes.

Question: When watching it, I was constantly asking myself questions about my own state of being, like you said earlier, you were actually filming yourself. But because I'm a woman, I'm particularly concerned about the female characters in the film, those young girls, in their youth, dancing on stage in bikinis. I found that when you shot these scenes, you rarely gave reflective shots of the audience, whereas for the men they're quite voluptuous. What the mindset of these girls is like is not very clear in your film. Is it because you are a male documenting their lives that you might have some regrets about building relationships with women? I mean, there are a lot of subjects that you shoot, but do you think you'd rather shoot men?

Answer: The same question was asked by an audience in the Berlinale in February. In the West, they really like asking such questions, especially women audience. The question was also concerned with this issue, which was similar to yours. My answer at the time was that I had actually shot these things. Our camera recorded the Chinese life we are familiar with that it's very difficult for women to have a say or to dominate things. It's a big tent, full of sweat, labour, and struggle, so women will never play a big role in it. Unless I'm filming in a house of prostitution. But in a tent like that, the men play a big role. They have to move and carry stuff, do as many performances as they can, and deal with a lot of stuff from the outside which can be sorted by those men. Women are hardly given many opportunities to have their voice in making decisions. But as you're a female author, you can get in and shoot specifically for some of these women. I think that's probably one of the differences between male and female authors. I can't get as close to them as you do.

Question: So is it possible that you don't really take this aspect very seriously but spend most of your time with men, so you ignored the stories around women and their emotions?

Answer: I'd love to tell you that one of the women in the tent fell in love with me, but I don't think fictionalising such a story is meaningful, and besides, the fiction wouldn't change the fact whether I could shoot more about women. I can't deny that I am looking at things from a male perspective, which I think might distinguish me from women authors. Like in Yang Lina's (杨丽娜) work *Old Men* 老头 (1999), she filmed all the male elders. If I was to shoot it, I would never be able to shoot it like the way she did, which is full of... I can feel how her gentle gaze is reflected through the camera. It's hard to explain in theory or in any other words.

《江湖》问答：吴文光和实践社

首次发表于：杜庆春（主编），《实践手册》，2000年，第1期，11-17页

问：请您简单介绍一下拍摄的时间和经过。

答：片子是 98 年夏天开始拍的，这个大棚实际上在几年前就有接触。原来最早看过的大棚也跟这个差不多，他们叫歌舞大棚，演出方式感觉跟中央台的春节晚会是一样的，但是是由他们把它拷贝下来，我觉得就像看了一个中央电视台春节晚会的“猪圈版”，然后笑一笑就完了。后来我又看到一个朋友在作品中，是一个录像艺术，在其中他用了几个大棚的录像镜头。当时这个作品给我一个启发。但是在这个录像艺术的作品里面，好多细节和过程被省略掉了，他的艺术被装置在他的作品里。回头再想看我之前看过的那个大棚，我想为什么我会像许多城里人一样的，觉得它艺术比较抵挡，演出比较平庸，环境比较糟糕，笑一笑就过去了，为什么我一开始把这个大棚当作跟我生活没有关系的东西给忽略掉呢？

然后我跟我的助手小苏，拿摄像机的这个，我们两个就出去，分头去找我们想要拍摄的这样的大棚。那是 98 年的夏天，7、8 月份。中间有些挫折，有些大棚它不愿意被拍。后来接触以后，开始进去，然后就一直持续到……实际到现在，我们跟这个大棚还一直保持着关系。在上个月，我们俩去河南他们老家那边又去了一趟。它有一种让你难以割舍、难忘的一种感觉。后来在过程中，就觉得纪录片好像不是专门的一个东西，也许在里边可以做一些另外的东西。原来老是以纪录片眼光来看的东西，他们做生活的过程和内容，许多可能都是纪录片难以说清楚的。后来我们就做了一个文字的准备，对大棚里面的很多人都做了录音的访问，也拍了很多东西，但是都没有在（纪录片《江湖》）里面用，作为一本书叫《江湖报告》，从去年开始在湖南《芙蓉》杂志上面连载。就是一本的形式，接下来的一些素材我还有，但我不知道该怎么办，大概过程就是这样。

问：您以前的纪录片有文字形式的东西吗？你要在文字文本和形象文本之间建立一种什么样的关系？

答：《流浪北京》我做完以后呢，曾经也写过一本叫做《流浪北京》的书。当时比较朴素的愿望是，一种影像是非常有限的，但是被隐蔽在影像后面和镜头后面的很多东西是我觉得更丰富更广大的。再后来我觉得纪录片应该更突出一种过程和细节的时候，这种影像就更加有限了。所以我很难把纪录片做到两个小时以下，这也是一个原因。所以希望文字能够作为一种弥补吧。

还有一个重要原因是我做的片子在中国很难有一个合适的渠道跟很多人见面。这个愿望很强烈，但

是你实在又不能改变现状。这个现状并非就是说我们的放映体制和影视的管理体制不是在鼓励和推动这种发现，即便我们的体制已经非常自由了，实际上，作为一种比较个人的、自己的想法比较强烈的、比较严肃一点的纪录片，在世界任何地方都很难找到一种管道能够顺利流通出来。这是当代我们大家都不能逾越的一个障碍。找到另外一种形式也许它就是阅读吧。

问：所以文字是扩展交流途径的一种方式。

答：我想是这样，但文字里面隐含的东西也许比影像还很厉害。

问：您在《江湖报告》里面说，有做一种人类学似的田野调查的愿望。那您觉得一种文化人类学似的田野调查是您拍摄纪录片的最终目的或终极意义所在吗？

答：把自己所接触到的一种社会现实作为一种田野调查是差不多我从一年多前开始有的一种具体的想法。《江湖》是一个具体实施。它不能跟纪录片相提并论或者说相互替代。但确实在中国关于我们社会的最基层的现实能够通过其它的管道能够让大家看到，这种途径太少了。原因可能有很多种。但我想可能最重要的一个是我们中国人在面对一些现实的这种真实的时候，都有一种自然回避的本能。

我在国外看到一些历史很短的国家，比如说新加坡，两年前我曾经跟他们合作做一个戏剧的演出，是关于人力车夫在新加坡怎么样的一个故事。他们带我到他们国家的档案馆里面，我可以很容易地找到半个世纪甚至 80 年代以前那些人力车夫怎么样到这边来的一些最基本的材料。那些材料实际上就是一些录音、访问、图片、没有影像。当你听到一个七八岁的男人的口音在录音机里边讲述的时候，我听不懂闽南话，但是我感觉到一个活着的人通过他的声音然后再磁带里边让你感受到历史是怎么存活的。但现在在中国你能找到这样的一个档案馆，能看到听到我们在半个世纪或者六十年代、或者就在二十年前三十年前那样的一些声音存在吗？这样大的一个中国，那样一个所谓历史悠久的国家，我们找不到这样一个数据的材料。

我有些社会学家的朋友，但我感觉他们总是在学府或者研究所里边在高谈一些怎么样，中国是一种什么出路，中国应该走向何方，中国的危机是什么样的，用一些很宏大的术语。但是我们很难发现大量的关于田野和社会底层所呈现的一些最基本的数据和状况能够通过不同的方式让我们看到。在国外很多像我熟悉的一些人类学家或者社会学家，他们，至少在年轻的时候，是花费了很多的时间在田野里边做出很多东西的。但是在中国，我们现在能看到这样的书好一点的有几本呢？王铭铭的，关于乡村部落的调查（注：王铭铭《闽台三村五论》，三联出版社，1997）这是一本，还有潘绥铭的《存在与荒谬》（1999），是关于性产业在中国的。这是非常好的书。但是在中国这样的书你们看到多少本呢？这是特别奇怪的一个事情。这种奇怪的事情并不是说我们的体制存在问题，而是我们所谓研究学家的眼睛居然有一种“远视”的毛病，使我们忽略了我们身边大量存在的日常事实。

问：您作为一个旁观者进入他们的生活，对于他们来说，你是一个“他者”，所以就有一个问题是，在现场，您如何尽量缩减你和你们机器的介入对于他们，对于你所观察和记录的人和事件的影响。

答：我跟小苏两个人一开始跟他们接触，他们先看你是不是报社的，是不是电视台的。我们的方式就是（跟他们）在一起喝酒。然后我们俩的形象，我就这个样子，那小苏的头发也像我那么短，他左耳有个耳环，这样肯定跟那些国家人员（不一样），从他们的形象里给排斥开了，他们觉得我们对他们是没有敌意和危害的。这是我们最初接触的故事。但是在里边你很难把所谓“他者”那种身份给拍离开，你始终是一个外来人，你即便跟他住在一起，吃在一起，你跟他们说笑打闹，甚至帮他们解决一些他们在派出所或者什么地方碰到的麻烦，但始终你总要离开这个大棚的。这是我们所不能改变的。

问：在你片子里表现出来的和你当时在大棚里看到的情况你觉得有一些细微的差别吗？

答：不仅细微差别，应该是巨大的。生活的丰富和它的多样，还有它的那种过程是你用望远镜，用最广的镜头，几十台机器也没有办法把它全过程实录下来的。所以最后我们只是根据我们所实际拍到的素材然后再用所谓“江湖”给它命名以后，在里边表现出我们所感受到的一种现实而已。

我补充说一下，今天是我非常高兴的一个场合。我们 98 年 9 月份完成这个片子以后，一直没有一个合适的渠道和方式能够在一个公众的空间，我所说的空间，不是像以前一样的，在我家里边啊，在我几个朋友聚集的地方啊。看一看，是能够有很多我不认识的人，我们通过影像看，然后互相交流。仅有的两次是，一次在云南大学的一个人类学研究所，有十多个人，第二次是上个月，在北京开的一个叫“走向纪录片”的研讨会，放给他们看了。但是那两次呢，第一次人数少一些，第二次大概有一百多人，但他们都是在饭店的闭路电视里面看的，所以我没有像今天一样跟大家一样从头到尾看下来。然后今天我从头到尾跟大家像第一次看我的片子一样的，感觉是非常非常幸福的，之前在柏林呀，阿姆斯特丹，日本的电影节上，从来找不到这种感觉。而且大家的反映里，我觉得我并没有拍一些乱七八糟的东西，我自己根本不喜欢的东西。我觉得跟大家还是有某种共鸣，有某种相通的渠道是连着的。这种幸福的感觉在名气最大的电影节我也获得不了。

问：在拍摄过程中你是不是把镜头隐藏起来？比如有一个小孩跟你说他口袋里只有一块二毛钱的时候？

答：你看到我的机器了吗？（指手边桌上的一架数码摄像机）对，它就是像这样搁着。其实那种情况你没有必要藏，他们选择说那些东西或他们决定做一些事情，并没有太多的心理负担。它很方便，实际上到现在我都一直在开着机。对方知道我拿着摄像机，但我没有对他扛着一个巨大无比的，让你感觉特别专业，像我那样拍我妈的话呢，我妈都吓得有半夜没睡好觉。但是我像现在这样，我妈就觉得我是在玩儿。所以大家有可能觉得我非常不严肃，但在这种不严肃的过程里边，我想可能一

种东西就产生了。也许我们会失掉画质的一些稳定性，或者构图的美丽性，光比的正确性，但我们得到了生活里面细节里面最真切的一些东西，它恰恰是以前包括我的片子里面都丧失掉的。

问：片子的后期编辑花了多长时间？

答：这个时间比较长。差不多我们从 98 年开始一边拍摄一边就整理素材。同时，我也建立了一个个人的数码非线性工作站，花了大概三万多快做了一个基本的起步工作，然后加了（到）大概五、六万块钱。但是现在我最幸福的事就是下床以后走五步就可以走到我的机器面前，我可以半夜起床看一看，我可以吃着饭的时候看一看，不想看呢可以在那儿搁着。就是一个电脑，加一个硬卡，DV，再挂一两个硬盘。

一切从来我所担忧的：我每工作一个小时要三百块，四百块，旁边有一个莫名其妙的人转来转去，你还不能抽烟，并不是真的要抽烟，它是一个习惯；在一个我不熟悉的环境里边编片，我就像关在一个监牢里面一样的，所以效率很低。但现在我就像在枕头面前工作一样，这种感觉真是好极了。当然这在一些人看来非常业余。

所以持续下来我们边拍边整理，陆陆续续我也不知道多长，一直到最后九月份完成。

问：看起来编辑不是完全按照拍摄的时间顺序来制作的？

答：对，不是按照所谓生活的流程来走的。差不多是集中在三个月发生的事情，前后还有些东西改变了，这种改变首先是他们的生活本身，基本是演两天，起棚落棚，搬家走人。但是这个过程里边发生了一些经常发生的事，比如跟当地的部门打交道，然后开始准备演出，演出过程中发生的一些事，完了之后怎么打发日子，打发时光，打牌、哼点歌、看录像。编辑能够自由地使用非线性的话，同一开始我想当然的按照流程的编法就破掉了。我在这种大量的相似或类似的素材镜头里边，发现了它们内在的一种我觉得有道理存在的东西。

问：有一个镜头非常有意思，就是有一个人悄悄地跟作者说了一些怕别人听到的话。这个时候我明显感到作者已经进入我们的……这个镜头我比较感兴趣。还有一个问题，我觉得作为纪录片精神，就是尽量不要去暴露别人的隐私。片子里有一个人，就是那个老板，老板跟人家发泄的时候，追到火车站，他不是谈吗，说小子偷了两辆摩托车，我知道他老底……，比如像这样的事情，我很想听听你怎么想的。

答：这段生活，好像他们并不太在乎。怎么说这个呢？关于隐私这种概念我们城里人跟乡下人有很大的不同。还有一些本质比较直接的这样一种人，在他们概念里边我想最后的隐私就是上床这样的事，这叫隐私，是不能随便可以拍的。但是他们之间那种交往关系里面，他不太忌讳这个。比如说，曾经

在闹的时候，他也说到了他原来在家里面是走黑道的，欠人家高利贷，然后公安局抓他，高利贷的人一种背叛，对他自尊心是非常伤害的。所以反过来他会说到这个人，他有把柄在我手里，怎么样怎么样。

问：其实谈到隐私问题也就涉及到纪录片的伦理问题。您刚才说的这些都是从他们的角度来谈的。那您从自己的角度来考虑，您认为纪录片的伦理应该是什么？它有边界吗？如果有，那么这个边界在哪里？

答：事实上纪录片是一个涉及到伤害与伤害之间构成的东西。如果我们拍的不是一个不关痛痒的东西的话，我们将面对生活里面最本质最黑暗的东西。在面对这些最本质最黑暗的东西的时候，我们无疑逃脱不了在利用一些素材，利用生活中的一些东西来构成一部片子。这也是在当前国际上关于纪录片讨论得非常热烈的一个话题。我想我们都是不断地在工作，不断地检讨自己，唯一可能避免这个事情的就是什么都不做。但是当我们要做一个东西，不是那种风花雪月的，不是在把生活中的一些现象构成一个故事片的时候，我们将面对生活里面最残酷的那一面。因为事实上你拍的东西，改变不了他们什么，也帮助不了他们什么。而它的好处在什么地方？我现在也困惑。朱传明拍了那个弹棉花匠以后他也跟我谈了他的感慨。拍完了片子以后，那个街头上弹棉花的湖南小伙子离开了北京。他很多次很想找他，但是没有找到，他消失了，在这个大城市。然后他的片子放映，别人在讨论，但是跟被拍的这个主人公是没有任何关系的。他也觉得这是一柄双刃剑。这种东西我没有想得太明白，但也不是不断地在想。

问：当你在现场的时候，你觉得你的身份是什么？一个纪录片作者？还是其他，艺术家？广义上的文化人类学家？

答：我的身份就是一个姓吴叫吴文光的人。我在生活中看到了很多东西，然后我拍下了一些东西。这就是我的身份。

问：那你最大的激情来自哪里？是什么促使您进入现场？

答：我没有办法生活在一种非常虚伪或伪真实的一种情况里面。我们生活里看到的很多东西都是被遮掩下的，这就是我对纪录片比较感兴趣的地方。

问：整个《江湖》从前期到后期的投入费用大概有多少？

答：这个机器，我买的，一万多块钱，然后那个机器（指苏明拿的机器）三万多一点。我们在开始拍的时候都还没有买到这些机器，就是连租带借，或者朋友给的。比如说我开头感谢的田戈兵，他当时有一台松下的机器，我免费用了一段时间。平时我们跟大棚里的人吃、喝、住，差不多都混在一起，这个费用你们可以推想而知。一盒带子，五六十块钱，可以拍一个小时。

问：那大概素材拍了多少？

答：我们现在总共的素材有八、九十盘。

问：在整个拍摄过程中，有一个什么样的界限，您觉得大致够了，可以编出这样一个两个半小时的东西了？这有一个取舍，取舍的原则是什么？

答：一个是我有了“江湖”这个题目以后。之前我们一直不断地在编在整理素材，也不知道什么时候可以拍完，到后来有“江湖”这个词出现了，我觉得这个片子就可以告成。“江湖”这个词出现以后，我想它不是讲的一个纯粹的跟我们的生活毫无关系的从河南来的大棚里的这么一种人，而是我们的生活也在里边，我甚至可以感觉到我是拍我的一种自传，我的生活也在里边。我看他们一些人的讲话、对话，我觉得我的生活也出现过类似的场景。我就非常满意地觉得可以构成一个片子了。

我自己在拍在编辑的时候，不能说心里边没有任何旁观者、或者观众，或者读者，但我最激动最兴奋的时候更多是沉浸在黑暗里，面对素材的时候。所以当我走出这种黑暗时，我发现在黑暗里边也有像你这样的人，感觉心灵上有可以沟通的东西。我希望有更多的观众更多的人喜欢看，看了以后都热烈鼓掌欢呼。但我很难做这样的保证。

我的机器一直开着。我不知道它能构成什么东西。但这是在某一个公共空间里面曾经发生过的，2000年4月23日在黄亭子五十号这个酒吧发生了这一件事。这件事我不知道以后能不能构成一个空前伟大或者无比渺小的纪录片，但是我正在记录着。这可能是我最近两三年的一个变化：消灭主题、消灭构思和意图以后我找到拍摄的快乐。

问：我们刚才看了你的两个东西。前面那个您用影像来写了一篇日记，这纯粹是一个游戏吗？

答：那个东西是在一个像今天一样的场合里边，我碰到的。为有了后期编辑，我可以随便工作，我就在整理素材的时候用这个方式，编了这个东西。它肯定不是一种所谓非常专业的纪录片的标准可以衡量的。但是它也有一种很好玩的东西在里面。

问：就是说这对您来说就是工作之余的一个游戏？

答：我想不是游戏，我很严肃。严肃到一些艺术节还有一些美展居然会用我这个去参加展览。所以我一脚就跨到录像艺术这个圈子里面去了。曾经在北京、香港、阿姆斯特丹，今年十一月份在芝加哥专门做了它的一个展览，因为我有无数篇这样的日记。

但“游戏”这个词我很喜欢。我们可以理解它是一种玩，很轻松，不是在肩扛着一种历史道义拍一种

振聋发聩的东西。

我想有个基本东西是不变的。它是通过我的眼睛看到的，它有非常纪录的色彩在里边。

问：那后来您怎么把它改成那样的形式？

答：为了好玩。

问：但我的理解是您用这种形式恰好凸现了事件本身所隐含的荒诞感，而这也正是我的问题所在：它是作为一个录像艺术参加国外的各种展览，那您觉得这里面包含意识形态的因素吗？

答：我们就生活在这一个意识形态像空气一样密布在我们生活中的时代，我跟你说我是跟意识形态跟政治毫无关系的。它是我们生活的一部分。但我也很难说我要反对什么，或者支持什么。可能我见证一些东西，我看到一些东西，然后我把我看到的再给别人看。

问：我在杂志上看到您说中国没有纪录片，纪录片从您开始……

答：不是我写的吧。

问：不是您写的。引用您的话说的。您是不是这样理解的，这是您的观念吗？

答：我跟高兴这话不是我说的。这个话好像意义不是很大，从谁开始或者怎么样的。我想我是在吸收了前人和他人的营养之后，能拍一些东西。而且听某人说他拍纪录片的时候，我的第一个直觉是想和他拥抱。我想我生活中存在一大批这样的人，他们或者年轻或者跟我岁数差不多。

问：你比较欣赏的国外的纪录片形态是什么样的形态？

答：美国的怀斯曼可以说是我最崇拜的一个做纪录片的人。他的纪录片从 67年开始到现在，33年的时间，每年一部作品，33部作品。他始终坚持以他的一种方式来拍摄，不打断，不干扰，旁观，来看待一些没有职业的人物，或在某个建筑里面发生的一些场景，比如医院，比如学校，比如监狱，比如政府的福利所，比如一栋住宅区。单看一两部片子我们可能感觉不到这个人的强大，但是过了三十年以后呢，你发现这个人是在把上个世纪下半叶的历史通过他的影像反映出来。最近《纽约时报》有一篇关于他的评论，叫做：怀斯曼，在构造一部美国的历史。历史通过他的影像被构造出来，他的伟大就像我们在谈论塔伦蒂诺，谈论一些马上冒出来的导演，但是在十年二十年三十年后以后，怀斯曼这样的人就像一坛时间越长越魅力无穷的酒一样，我们会品味出很多很多东西。这是我最喜欢的一个导演。

问：那您刚才说的不打断，不干扰，旁观，甚至长时间的进入，能够完全保证它的客观性吗？

答：我想肯定不能。因为大家都不是上帝，我们都没有办法用一种全知的眼光来看待一切。但这代表怀斯曼看到的，或是你拍一部代表你看到的，我在里面看到了什么，我就看到了什么。

问：那实际上这里面有很强烈的作者痕迹？

答：它不是机器做的，人在里面是会起很大作用。我的眼睛是六百度，戴了眼镜校正以后可以正常看了，但是我还是有我的界限，我现在看到你却看不到其他的，但是我在专注地看你五分钟以后，可以看到五分钟里面会发生的東西。

问：我在看的时候对着那些影像不断地在追问我自己生存状态，就像你刚才说的，你其实是在拍摄你自己。但是因为我是个女性，所以我特别关注片子里的那些女性角色，她们都是一些年轻的女孩子，青春年华，她们穿着三点式在舞台上跳舞。我发现你在拍这些镜头时，很少用到观众的反映镜头，而对那些男性她们是比较丰满的。这些女孩子，她们的心态是怎麼样的，不是特别的清晰。是不是因为你是一个男性在记录她们的生活，所以对于和女性关系的建立上有些遗憾？我是说，在你拍摄时其实有很多题材，但是你觉得你还是更愿意去拍摄一些关于男性的？

答：同样的问题在二月份柏林电影节放完以后有观众问到，因为在西方，他们是非常喜欢问这样的问题的，特别是女观众。同样的问题也针对这个，她的问题跟你差不多，我当时的回答是，事实上我就拍了这些东西。在我们的镜头里边，就像我们所熟悉的中国生活一样的，实际上女性她们是很难有发言权或去主宰一些东西。一个大棚，就是充满汗味、劳作、搏斗这样一个大棚，所以女性永远不会在里面起很大作用的。除非我拍的是一个三陪的地方。但是在这样一个大棚里边，男性是起很大作用的，他们要搬，要走，要演多少场，怎么对付外面发生的很多东西，必须要靠这些男性来对付。女性几乎没有太多让她们发言决定的机会。但如果说你是一个女性作者，你可以进去以后专门针对这样一些女性来拍。我想这可能是男性作者和女性作者的区别之一。我没有办法像你一样地更接近她们。

问：那你是不是并不是很重视这方面的尝试，大部分时间是和男性在一起，所以会忽略她们身边的故事，她们的情感？

答：我很想告诉你里面的某个女性爱上了我，但是我觉得虚构这样的故事意义不大，况且我虚构以后呢也改变不了我是否能拍到关于女性的更多的东西。我不能否认可能在心里面我在以男性的眼光来看待事物，但是我想这可能是和女性作者拍的东西的区别。像杨荔钠拍的叫《老头》的片子，她拍的全是男性的老头，如果我去拍，我绝对不能拍的像她拍的一样，这里面充满……我可以感觉到她那种温柔的眼光怎么样通过镜头来反映出来，这很难用理论或用什么话来理解的。

Duan Jinchuan on *No.16 Barkhor South Street* and *The Square*

八廓南街 16 号 (dir. Duan Jinchuan 段锦川, 1996)

广场 (dir. Duan Jinchuan and Zhang Yuan 张元, 1994)

Author: Distorsion Translator: FAN Xiang 樊响

ZHANG Yaxuan 张亚璇, ed., 2000. *Practice Handbook* 实践手册, 2, unpaginated

A new scientific truth triumphs, not by convincing its opponents and thus making them recognise it, but because its opponents finally die and a new generation that is familiar with the truth grows up. (Paul Samuelson in *Economics*, quoting Max Planck from *Scientific Autobiography, and Other Papers*)

Question: I think the film *No.16 Barkhor South Street* is very much concerned with recording the time of everyday life, and it's very well recorded. The camera can easily intervene in the course of events. Some films rely on narration, confession, and even re-enactment to ensure the integrity [of the event], which causes the time of everyday life to become more and more like a story. How do you record everyday temporality in its totality? Is this a question that you have answered before?

Answer: This is an interesting question, and I hadn't considered it from this perspective before. Your question contains these concepts:

1. The relationship between the recorder and the person being recorded;
2. The relationship between real life and film;
3. The way in which life is represented;
4. What is the rationale for this approach;

Let's start with the easy ones, which are the last two questions.

No.16 Barkhor South Street, as well as some of my other films, including *The Square* co-produced with Zhang Yuan, and even Zhang Yuan's *Crazy English* 疯狂英语 (1999), all adopt an observative approach, that is, keeping a certain distance between the camera and the subject, without intervention, preferably striving to minimise the impact of the camera on the subject, and to represent the characters and events as they are, as fully and truly as possible. First of all, from a technical aspect, it

attempts to avoid expressing the author's emotions and ethical orientation. This is the concept of the so-called 'direct film' in documentaries. This concept emerged in the 1960s and is still used by many directors today.

The rationale for this approach is extensive, and it simply relates to some of the inherent flaws in our traditional culture, the rape of our culture and art by ideology over the years, and of course the Party's control over our minds and everything, which has led people's minds towards a kind of ossification filled with falsehoods and lies. At the beginning of the so-called 'New Documentary [Movement]', some independent filmmakers wanted to make an effort in this direction. In the beginning, we made documentaries according to our enthusiasm, intuition, and belief, then gradually discovered supporting and practicable theories. Direct film is certainly a good way to resolve this issue. It rejects everything that might interfere with the audience's reception, such as narration, voice-over, music, and even interviews, the techniques applied in most documentaries. 'Direct film' is in fact a kind of epistemology based on the philosophical term 'scepticism', and it does not offer a consequence that can be easily judged. Everything is open, and the viewer must think and draw their own conclusions.

Of course, this method has its limitations, and it cannot be a panacea. Especially, it has the shortcoming in expressing the characters' inner self and emotions, and the audience can be overwhelmed by that intense sense of uncertainty in the reception process. However, for me, this method is sufficient.

When it comes to the integrity of the event, it is a question of the relationship between art and life. There are two kinds of perceptions in this regard: we all understand the complexity of life, but in the process of representation people tend to adopt a simplistic approach that merely interprets life as a certain concept. Under this premise, life itself is not important. The other kind of perception is that life should be complex. I am prone to this 'complexitivism'. Of course, it is not that I want to restore life. This is not necessary. And I do not emphasise certain concepts in my works, but the so-called themes and concepts are hidden quite deep and implicitly.

Another point is the perception of storyline or dramatic effect by people, including the creators themselves and the audience. It's not that documentaries don't consider dramatic effect at all. Real life may or may not contain dramatic effect, which depends on your luck. There is never a lack of dramatic scenes in real life, but that doesn't matter. Many creators don't understand this. They regard strong conflict as dramatic effect, while a lack of conflict is not good or even unsuccessful. What I understand by dramatic effect is a matter of structure, whether the film is well structured, whether the motivation of the events makes sense, whether the turn and the conflict are necessary, whether the relations between the characters and the timing are correct, and so on. These are the

most fundamental things that structure dramatic effect. What is important in filming is the author's choice and judgement of events, and this is when the integrity of the events becomes an important condition.

For example, during the shooting of *No.16 Barkhor South Street*, although it took a very long time, my actual time spent filming was short, and the ratio of film shot was about 4 or 4.5 to 1. That is to say, I knew exactly what I was going to shoot, how I was going to shoot it, and even how I was going to structure the film. And I did a lot of preliminary research, so I knew exactly what was going to happen in the setting, which characters were going to appear, how things were going to develop, and so on. So the rest was just a matter of making a quick judgement on the spot, if something was or wasn't what I needed. As for the approach, I had communicated with the cameraman beforehand. So the shooting process was a very easy and pleasant experience.

Question: The main reason I love documentaries is that they document things that happen in everyday life. Objective documentation has always been stigmatised and rejected in our culture. From a young age, we were told not to write things like a chronicle of events. Ideas don't mean anything to a child, and as a result, we learn to talk about other people's ideas as if they were our own. In social science research methods, the questions of 'what' and 'how' are strictly distinguished. Documentary focuses on the former, while propaganda film on the latter. It's [documentary] all about what the audience gives it. *No.16 Barkhor South Street* makes me feel able to give a lot of thought to it.

This is the first time I have heard of the idea that 'direct film' is in fact an epistemological approach based on the philosophy of 'scepticism'. Indeed, philosophical scepticism helps us to talk more about problems than theories. One of the major differences between social science and natural science is that theories in social science are difficult to verify, and many things that have never existed can become articles of faith. In this respect, we cannot avoid the situation of 'living on lies'. Since life is full of lies, can a director make a documentary using an interrogative approach?

There are two aspects to the documentary's interrogative attribute: the interrogative content and method. In developed countries where democracy is relatively well established, all kinds of interrogation are present in everyday life, and it is easy to obtain interrogative content for documentaries. In contrast, our country does not advocate ethical interrogation – 'don't talk too much,' 'don't rip your face off,' 'it's all in the words' – and there is a lack of various interrogative systems in life, including justice. The director's ability to film interrogative content depends on the state of society. My concern is whether or not a director can shoot in an interrogative way. Once the director adopts an interrogative approach to filming, it becomes an intervention. It is easier to get something real than

via observation, and it can be dramatic. For some reason, I haven't seen any documentary director questioning their subjects like a judge. It is easy to see it in some TV programmes. For example, the director of *Focus Hour* (焦点时刻) interviewed the public about their opinions on something and the leadership about their explanation of the matter, then cross-cut the two accounts. Another example is a programme on Hunan TV. The host asked a guy if his girlfriend would leave him for a better guy, and then showed a video of how his girlfriend gave her phone number to the impostor Prince Charming. The question of flirting between men and women suddenly comes true.

Answer: The kind of interrogation you mentioned can be found in some documentaries, but not very often. It's mostly seen in television programmes, especially those involving cases or investigations of events. The most typical one is the type of programme hosted by Cronkite or Dan Rather. It seems to be more closely linked to the news. *Focus Hour* and *News Probe* (新闻调查) also use this approach. I have the impression that television documentaries in North America are prone to the interrogative approach, while the European ones are less so.

I have a quite large collection of works by the Japanese director Ogawa Shinsuke and the American Wiseman. Their works are long and even a little boring, but they're undeniably masters.

Question: I think *The Square* and *No.16 Barkhor South Street* were shot with ease. I think the reason is that the events in these two films are mostly recurring, so you can observe them over and over again before shooting, and you can even choose the camera position [ahead of time], unlike the news, which just captures as much as possible of a breaking event. I felt this way when I first encountered [Joris] Ivens' *Rain* (*Regen*, 1929). The rain is a recurring event that gave the filmmaker the opportunity to find the visually appealing part in the rain and eventually edit the various rain scenes into one long, elegant, rhythmic piece, *Rain*. I think this is one of the reasons for the low ratio of *No.16 Barkhor South Street*.

Here are some questions about the technical aspects of *The Square*. How many cameras did you use to shoot?

Answer: *The Square* used one. An AFLEX 35 MM BL-3 and an MKH416 microphone, a SONY TC D-10 portable digital recorder, and a small tricycle. This was all the equipment. The vast majority of the footage was shot at short focal lengths, meaning that the distance between the camera and the subject was quite close. And most of the people being filmed were aware that the camera was running and that they were being filmed. Not many people were able to ignore [the existence of the camera]. In fact, this is an important basis for the film: *The Square* is like a huge stage where the

show has never stopped for a moment, from long ago till now.

Question: Did the people being filmed notice the camera, or did they just ignore it [since they're very familiar with it]?

Answer: This is a rather complex question. It is about the question of 'direct film' we just discussed. While 'direct film' certainly refers to an open structure and mindset, and emphasising audience participation, can we imagine what would be the consequence of excessive openness and uncertainty? Perhaps nothing at all, but just a live broadcast. The denominator of good 'direct films' is the extensive and accurate use of 'metaphor'. From the scenes they choose to shoot, the structure of the film, to the characters' activities, they are all full of metaphors.

So, what is the square? The surface of the square is like the tip of a huge iceberg peeking out of the water. All the different characters that appear on the square and the various events that take place on the square have an extremely complex relationship with the iceberg beneath the surface of the water. With such a foundation, it is possible to understand the motivations of the people performing on this stage.

You can do this experiment. Go to a square alone at any time of the day, and look carefully at different people in the square. You will find that the majority of people are in a kind of highly exhilarated mood. Even if you're there just to observe the change of light and the texture of the air, you will feel an inexplicable force there. So there is really no fundamental difference between the extensive rituals in the film and the seemingly careless wanderers. What's more, the desire to perform is stimulated by that inexplicable force. We also deliberately emphasised the connotation of such performance, the kites, the skateboards between the memorial and the monument, even the innocent children! If one is willing to think more deeply, what do these performances have to do with?

In this sense, is the subject ignoring or forgetting about the camera? My view is that either the presence or the absence of the camera is not an issue.

Question: Were most of the shots taken on a stand?

Answer: Most of the shots were done on a tripod. Technically speaking, very few people can carry a 35mm BL-3 with a 1000ft large film box on their shoulders, and even a 400ft box wouldn't last long for an ordinary person. Also, as you said, everything on the square [was filmed] so calmly because we had enough time to choose the camera positions and adjust the aperture. If you went to the square

today, you'd be surprised at how it's still the same square.

Question: Was it 'a fox exploiting a tiger's might' kind of sneak peek?

Answer: We pretended to be the powerful [state journalists] sometimes, but there were hardly any sneak peeks. I reject sneak peeks. Strictly speaking, there should be no sneak peek in documentaries. We were real 'foxes' but some people thought that we were 'tigers'. Haha, that's funny.

Question: Why did you make it in black-and-white? Was it because the images were less clear than you anticipated?

Answer: The film used was a Leica black-and-white film made in China, with an exposure index of 100 ASA. In terms of the meaning, it refers to a sense of representing the truth, a texture of history. It's also concerned with the issues of visual representation, even the image quality. I once posted an article called 'Memories of Developing' on *Qing Yun* (清韵) about the developing conditions of this film. I don't know if I can still find it. The print was finally done at a film developing place. The work was a bit shoddy, and perhaps the quality of the film was a problem too?

Question: How long did the on-site filming take? What is the film ratio?

Answer: On-site filming took two months. It was impossible to shoot during the most stressful days, so we took a week or so off. I went to shoot an MTV for an Italian singer, also in black and white, hehe. The ratio was about 3 to 1 or 4 to 1, I don't remember exactly. But it took a long time to cut the film. It took place in a basement for about five months. It was a semi-basement, and the only thing that we could see out of the windows were fat and thin, big and small feet. We were cutting it and muttering, it's a fucking underground film.

In a sense, *No.16 Barkhor South Street* is an extension of *The Square*. Personally, I think *No.16 Barkhor South Street* is more mature and better made.

段锦川谈《八廓南街 16 号》和《广场》

作者 Distorsion

首次发表于：张亚璇（主编），《实践手册》，2000年，第2期，未分页

“一项新的科学真理取得胜利，并不是通过说服它的对手从而使他们认识到了这一真理，而是由于它的对手最后死了，而熟悉这一真理的一代新人成长起来。”

——萨缪而森在《经济学》一书中引用普朗克《科学自传》中的一段话

问：我觉得影片《八廓街》(1996) 非常注重记录生活中的时间，而且记录得也很完整。摄影机很容易干扰事件的进程。有的影片为了保证完整性，依靠旁白、自白甚至搬演，结果生活中的时间越来越像故事，如何完整地记录生活中的时间？这个问题你是否回答过？

答：你这个问题挺有意思，之前我还没有从这个角度去考虑过。你的问题当中大致包含这样几个概念：

- 1, 记录者与被记录者之间的关系；
- 2, 生活与影片的关系；
- 3, 用什么样的方式来表现生活；
- 4, 采用这种方式的理由是什么；

先从简单的说起吧，也就是后面的两个问题。

《八廓南街 16 号》也包括我其它一些片子，还有与张元合作的《广场》(1994)，甚至是张元的《疯狂英语》(1999) 都采用的是一种旁观的方式，也就是摄影机与被拍摄者之间保持一定的距离，不介入，不干预，最好是争取把摄影机对被拍摄者的影响降到最低，尽量完整地真实地表现人物与事件的本来面目，首先从技术的角度就尽力避免表露作者的感情色彩和道德取向。这是纪录片中所谓“直接电影”(DIRECT FILM) 的理念。这种观念从 60 年代出现，至今仍然有许多作者使用。

使用这种方法的理由说起来话就长了，简单地讲它涉及到我们传统文化中的一些与生俱来的缺陷，也涉及到多年来我们的文化艺术被意识形态强奸的现实，当然还有党政治对思想、对一切的控制，这些问题带来的后果就是人们思想的僵化，被替代，以及虚假与谎言的充斥。在所谓“新纪录片”兴起之初，一些独立电影人的初衷就是希望在这些方面作出努力。一开始的时候大家只是凭着一种热

情、直觉和自信去创作，后来慢慢地寻找到一些可以支撑，可以实施的理论。“直接电影”无疑是解决这个问题的不错方式。它比较排斥一切观众在接受过程可能受到干扰的因素，比如说旁白、解说或者自白、音乐，甚至排斥大多数纪录片中使用的访谈这种技巧。“直接电影”其实是建立在“怀疑主义”哲学基础上的认识方法，它也不提供一种可以轻易判断的结果。所有的一切都是开放的，观众必须自己去思考去下结论。

当然这种方法有它的局限性，它也不可能是万能的。尤其在表现人物内心活动，情感方面有许多欠缺，观众在接受过程也可能因为那种强烈的不确定性而无所适从。但是，对我而言，这种方法已经足够了。

说到事件的完整性，其实涉及到一个艺术与生活的关系问题。在这一点人们无非有两种认识，生活的复杂是大家都了解的，但是在表现的过程中有人会采取一种简单化的处理，将生活简单地理解成某一种概念，这种前提之下，生活本身并不重要了：另外一种认识是应该复杂的生活。我是复杂论者。当然，不是说我希望还原生活再现生活，那没有必要，而且我的作品中我也不是不强调概念，只不过所谓主题也好概念也好都藏得比较深比较隐蔽罢了。

再有一点是人们包括创作者自己和观众对情节或者说对戏剧性的认识。纪录片不是不讲戏剧性，原生态的生活也许有戏剧性也许没有戏剧性，这要看你拍摄的时候的运气了。其实生活当中是不会缺乏富有戏剧性场面出现的可能的，但这一点并不重要。许多创作者并不明白这个道理，他们以为强烈的冲突就是戏剧性，缺乏冲突就是不好看甚至不成功。我理解的戏剧性是结构问题，影片的结构是否合理，发展的动机是否合理，转折、冲突是否必要，人物关系，时间安排是否正确等等才是结构成戏剧性最根本的东西。那么在拍摄的时候重要的是作者对事件的选取和判断，这时候，事件的完整就成了一个重要的条件了。

比如说，在拍《八廓街》的时候，虽然时间很漫长，但是我真正开机拍摄的时候却极少极少，这部片子的片比大概是4或者4.5比1。也就是说，拍摄之前，我非常清楚我要拍什么，怎么拍，甚至怎么结构影片，而我的前期调研工作也非常充分，在这个环境里会发生什么事情，会有哪些人物出现，事情发展的过程大致会是什么样子等等，我都很清楚，所以，剩下只是在现场迅速地作出判断，这是或者不是我需要的。至于方法事先跟摄影师都很好地沟通。所以这部片子的拍摄真是一个很轻松很愉快的经验。

问：我热爱纪录片的主要原因在于记录了日常生活中发生的事件。而客观记录在我们的文化中一直遭到鄙视、排斥。从小我们就被告诫写东西不要写成流水账。对一个孩子来讲有什么思想可谈，结果我们学会把别人的思想当作自己的思想来谈。在社会科学研究方法中，“是什么”与“怎么办”这两个问题是严格区分的。纪录片关注前者，宣传片关注后者。而在于观众赋予它什么思想。《八廓南街16号》让我感到能赋予许多思想。

“直接电影”其实是建立在“怀疑主义”哲学基础上的认识方法的说法，我是第一次听说。确实，怀疑主义哲学有助于多谈问题不谈主义。社会科学与自然科学的一大差别就是社会科学的理论、观点很难验证，甚至许多未曾有过的东西也会成为信条。从这点而言，我们避免不了“依靠谎言生活”的局面。既然生活中充满谎言，那么导演能不能用质证的方法拍纪录片？

纪录片的质证性包括两个方面：质证性的内容和质证性的方法。发达国家民主制度比较完善，各式各样的质证贯穿于日常生活中，纪录片很容易获得质证性的内容。反观我国，从道德上就不主张质证，“话不多说了”、“不要撕破脸皮”、“尽在不言中”，生活中也缺乏各种质证制度，包括司法。导演不能拍到质证性的内容，取决于社会的状况。导演能不能用质证的方式拍这是我所关心的。导演一旦采用质证的方式去拍，就会是一种介入。这种介入比旁观更容易获得真实性的东西，也会充满戏剧性。不知什么原因我好像没有看见哪个纪录片导演像法官那样在当事人之间质证。在一些电视节目中是很容易看到的。例如《焦点时刻》导演先采访群众对某事的意见，再采访领导对该事的解释，将两种说法交叉剪辑。又如湖南卫视中的一个节目。主持人问一个男生他的女友会不会遇到更好的男生会离他而去，随后放上一段他的女友如何给冒牌的白马王子留电话号码的录像。本来男女生之间的打情骂俏的问题一下给写实了。

答：你说的质证在纪录片片中有的，但却是不多。更多的是电视节目中出现，尤其是涉及到案件或者事件调查之类节目。最典型是克朗凯特主持的或者丹·拉瑟那一类节目。它和新闻联系似乎更紧密一些。《焦点时刻》、《新闻调查》也是用这样的方法。我印象中北美的比较电视化的纪录片喜欢使用质证的方法，而欧洲的纪录片较少一些。

我手里有比较多的日本导演小用绅介和美国的怀斯曼的作品，他们的作品都很长，甚至有些闷，但不可否认的是他们是大师。

问：我觉得《广场》和《八廓南街 16 号》拍得比较从容。我想原因在于这两部片子中的事件大多是重复发生的，拍摄前可以反复观察，甚至可以选定机位，不像新闻片拍突发事件，能搂到东西就是好的。当初我看伊文思的《雨》（1929）就是这种感受。雨是重复发生的事件，可以让拍摄者有机会寻找雨景中富有视觉效果的部分，最终将各场雨中的镜头剪辑成一部优雅而充满韵律的《雨》。我想这也是《八廓南街 16 号》片比低的一个原因吧。下面一些问题关于《广场》的技术操作层面。你是用几台机器拍的？

答：《广场》是用一部机器的，AFLEX 35 MM BL-3 和一只 MKH416 话筒，一台 Sony TC D-10 便携式数码录音机，还有一辆小三轮车。这是全部设备。绝大部分的镜头是短焦距拍摄，也就是摄影机和被拍摄人物之间的距离相当贴近。而且绝大多数的被拍摄者都知道拍摄机在运转，他们正在被拍摄。真正能够熟视无睹的人不多。其实，这也是这部影片的一个重要基础：广场犹如一个巨大的舞台，从过去很长时间到如今，这里的表演从来未曾有一刻停止过。

问：拍摄的时候被拍的人是否察觉到，还是熟视无睹？

答：这个问题相当复杂。我们问到以前曾经讨论过的“直接电影”的问题。“直接电影”固然是种开放的结构和思维，也强调观众的参与，但是，设想一种过度的开放和不确定性带来什么样的结果？也许什么都没有，真的就是实况转播了。所以，好的“直接电影”都拥有一个共性，那就是大量地、准确地使用“隐喻”。从影片选取的拍摄场景，到影片的结构，人物活动等等元素都充满了“隐喻”。

那么，广场是什么呢？广场的表象就犹如一座巨大的冰山露出水面的一角。所有出现在广场上形形色色的人物，发生在广场上的林林总总的事件，和水面下的冰山有着极其复杂的关系。有这样一个基础，就可以理解人们在这个舞台上表演的动机了。所以，影片当中人为的仪式和看上去漫不经心的游人其实没有本质的差别。更何况，在那种莫名其妙的力量的作用下，人们的表演欲望被激发出来了。我们也有意识地强调了这样一种表演的暗示，那些风筝、纪念堂和纪念碑之间的滑板，甚至那些天真未凿的孩子！假如愿意更深入地思考的话，这些表演与什么有关呢？

从这样一种意义上讲，被拍摄者对摄影机是视而不见还是熟视无睹呢？我的观点是，这时候摄影机存在或者不存在都不是一个问题。

问：大部分镜头是否是支架拍的？

答：大部分地镜头是在三脚架上完成的。从技术上讲，35 毫米的 BL-3 装上了 1000 英尺的大片盒，很少有人能够用肩扛，即使是 400 英尺的片盒一般人也坚持不了多长时间了。另外，就像你说的，广场上的一切都那么从容，我们有足够的事件来选择机位，调整光圈。你今天再去广场，你会惊讶怎么还是这个广场呢。

问：是否是狐假虎威式的偷拍？

答：“狐假虎威”的时候有，但是几乎没有偷拍。我反对偷拍。严格意义上的纪录片都没有偷拍的。我们是真的“狐狸”，有人却以为是“老虎”，哈哈，好玩。

问：为何用黑白片？画面比印象中的要脏？

答：用的是国产的“乐凯”黑白胶片，感光指数 100 ASA。意义嘛，有去伪存真的意思，有历史感的考虑，也涉及影像方面的因素。甚至面质的问题，我曾经在“清韵”跟贴过一篇“洗印的回忆”，讲了这部片子的洗印条件，不知道还能不能翻出来。拷贝最后在洗印厂做的，活儿有点糙，胶片质量也是问题？

问：现场拍了多长时间？片比是多少？

答：现场拍了两个月。其中最紧张的那几天实在无法拍摄，休息了一周左右。跑去给一个意大利歌手拍了一个 MTV，也是黑白，嘿嘿。片比大约是 3 比 1 或者 4 比 1，我记得不是很清楚了。但是，剪这部片子花了很长时间。在一间地下室里熬了 5 个多月吧。那是一间半地下，从窗户看出去只有胖瘦大小不一的脚，我们一边剪一边嘀咕，真他娘是地下电影。

从某种意义上说，《八廓街》是《广场》的延伸，就我个人而言，《八》完成得更好，更成熟。

About *Along the Railway* and Stories along the Railway (Abridged)

Translator: FAN Xiang 樊响

ZHANG Yaxuan 张亚璇, ed., 2000. *Practice Handbook* 实践手册, 4, 56-57, 63-67

About *Along the Railway*

Du Haibin: This is a film that documents the life of vagabonds in the ‘real’ sense.

Around the Chinese New Year 2000, just as I was actively preparing to shoot my first DV film, I came across this group of people. To be precise, they are vagabonds, who were unable to return home. A strong sense of introspection forced me to put aside my plans for that DV film and start an extemporaneous but exciting work with my Panasonic VHS. I enjoyed it.

They gradually let down their guard and I became friends with every one of them. I hid my purpose for filming. I suppose I would hardly be able to do so elsewhere. They had all sorts of speculations about who I was. Some thought I was a TV journalist doing investigations; Fire Fox, the nine-year old kid in the film, said I was a policeman who was here to find clues for crimes. But even so, they were still friendly to me.

This made the whole filmmaking process a process of getting to know them, trusting each other and even becoming ‘buddies’. I was aware that this could destroy the relationship between the observing and being observed, which would ultimately deprive me of some natural advantage behind the camera and cause unnecessary problems for the film. But I couldn’t help it. This situation always got out of hand. So I just gave up.

Some people think the author is feckless if their interview with the subjects appears in the documentary. But in the context of such subject matter, I couldn’t stop my strong impulse to communicate with them directly. On the contrary, I felt that concealing myself and the presence of the camera became a lame tactic. So I just did whatever I wanted to do on set, as I couldn’t always keep calm unfeelingly when a child was recounting their misadventures.

In order to not inundate our conversations with too much misery and wretchedness, I tried to make them recollect some happy memories after talking about their misfortunes, like the families or friendships they used to have – which should be a part of life for every human being, an essential need. Even though such efforts were ineffective most of the time.

Someone said that I have inadvertently captured one of the most powerful metaphors, which is the recurring landscape of the railways and of trains going by from the opening scene. This scene refers to a metaphor for current life in China. I didn't think of such a grand proposition. I just thought that if the railway was a boundary, then the group of people I filmed and myself were demarcated on the left and right side, and our lives would never cross. The people on this side of the railway will never know what the people on the other side are thinking and how they live, and some of them may avoid [the vagabonds]. Because the real situation might hurt us, and not everyone dares to face it. I'm not indifferent to the existence of this distinction and I've never thought of hiding it. I believe we are fundamentally different, and how can I say that I belong to the same underclass as them and that we are the same kind of people, compared to what they have lost and what they are able to get?

On New Year's Eve, these people gathered together by the railway, piling up twigs and broken plastic bags for a fire to keep each other warm. Thief King sang a song called *We are All Wanderers* when a train happened to be passing by. The lights from the train provided people with images of home. And at that moment, outside the train, there was this song.

It was as if these people had been thrown off the speeding train and they would never be able to get back on. I inadvertently caught sight of them wandering around. As a documentarian, every day when I went back home and looked at the footage I'd shot, my role somehow shifted to that of a problem solver and a decision-maker. In the end, I found that it was not a matter that could be easily interpreted as a certain ideological or cultural form. I couldn't explain exactly what it was like. But in the end, I figured out that what I could do was just to record their lives and conversations, my reactions and intuitions behind the camera, then present them to more people who could think together with me about what I couldn't figure out.

Nowadays, some people have seen my film. However, people who have always wanted to see what they would look like on TV couldn't see themselves as much as they should. The hurt is happening once again and I don't know how to face it yet.

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Stories along the Railway (Abridged)

LI Xun (李迅), DU Haibin, ZHANG Yaxuan (张亚璇)

Time: 2 pm – 4 pm, 27 November 2000

Venue: *Culture in China* (文化在中国) website chat room

Li Xun: Today we have a young director, Du Haibin, in our film programme, who made a new documentary called *Along the Railway*. I have seen the film and found it very interesting. We also have a guest, Zhang Yaxuan, to talk about his filmmaking experience. I've never seen this [type of] film before. Last year there was a film in Canada about a group of vagabonds in Toronto, and now we have a film like this in our country too. The film has received very good reviews in our circle. Please talk to us about what made you want to film something along the railway.

Du Haibin: I didn't prepare anything in advance for this documentary. My original plan was to shoot a fiction film in Shaanxi. You can see there is a white building by the railway in the film, and this is where we were at the time. We just took a camera like this and filmed some landscapes. I saw a kid with a small [toy] gun, and what attracted me most at first was the [toy] gun. So I went to talk to him, and then I realised that he was a homeless kid who spoke Mandarin, but with a Xinjiang or northwestern accent. In fact, this language brought me closer to him, because I knew that everyone would change when coming to another environment. This broke down the inconvenience of communication that used to be caused by language barriers. I think there was another reason [that I managed to get closer to him]. Because before this they were in our world, and this time I entered their world. For them, it meant that they were able to protect themselves. Another important reason for protecting themselves was that they didn't understand the camera and they wondered why I was so interested in their lives, whether I was from the police or a TV station. This is what they told me during the filming process. That was how I met them on the first day, and all of a sudden I felt the urge to film something. They weren't afraid, and they were willing to talk. I think in that situation if they weren't very expressive, nobody would be able to force them to speak. It was a good start.

Li Xun: What kind of clothes were you wearing? Was it something ordinary?

Du Haibin: Just ordinary stuff. It was funny that one day I wore a hat and a kid looked at me, saying, 'You're wearing make-up'. I said how did you know and he said you were wearing a hat.

Li Xun: There is a big gap between how people behave in front of the camera [and who they actually are]. Sometimes this performance doesn't represent reality. I think the best one is *Big Sichuan*, at least from the viewer's point of view, who experiences a process of change. It is a good process, and it can also be counted as a record of local places in contemporary China, which is very meaningful.

Zhang Yaxuan: We did a screening of Du Haibin's film at the Academy of Fine Arts, and one person asked if what they said was true, referring to the people in the film, and he was questioning whether there's a certain sense of playacting in these people's performances. Du Haibin later answered this question. I also said that it is inevitable that sometimes the subjects playact a bit, and this is something that cannot be overcome by the filmmakers. We, including the author, are capable of making such judgements, but what does documentary bring to us? It does not give you a result of a fixed answer, but takes you on a journey and provides you with the possibility to judge and think. In this sense, the reflection of the subject is not so important, but that their reflection is shown through the film rather than concealed by it, which makes us think and ponder.

Du Haibin: Another issue is to do with the filmmaker themselves. The idea used to be that we minimised the impact of the camera on people, that the director had to navigate that on location, and that it could be done technically in a way that made it believable. That was the way it used to be accepted by everyone, that the audience shouldn't feel the camera was on location. I think what I've tried to do is to let people see the interaction between the camera and the subject because it's closer to the real state of the relationship between the filmmaker and the people being filmed.

Zhang Yaxuan: As Du Haibin just said, I personally think the filmmaker's attitude is something very precious. And one of the most valuable aspects of this film is that he does not hide on location, but communicates with his subjects in a comfortable and relaxed way, encouraging them [to speak]. I think this is a valuable approach to documentary filmmaking in China today. It's an attitude that manifests not only in the filmmaking process but also in post-production. Most documentary filmmakers in China usually make documentaries in the way that we can hardly see the on-site impact of the filmmaker and the camera from the images, including some works of the New Documentary Movement (新纪录片运动) in the early 1990s, shorts from *Living Space* (生活空间), and some works by young filmmakers that have been widely discussed recently. They all have this tendency. The impact [of the filmmaker and the camera] exists but is eliminated in the editing. But Du Haibin did it differently. What is the significance of this attitude? I think anyone with a little theoretical background knows that it is impossible to eliminate the impact of the filmmaker and the camera on the subject. You are part of the scene. So when you present this impact, it is actually closer to the truth than that of hiding it. It first brings out the multiple meanings of the scene, and then it is also a

more ethical gesture if we agree that the essence of documentary is truthfulness.

Li Xun: It's about different ways of making documentaries. And how much the audience can see depends on their thought and judgement.

Du Haibin: Yes!

Li Xun: But it is really interesting that very often the audience's attitude is contingent. The objectivity of the author is an important aspect that affects the audience's understanding of the film. From filmmaking's perspective, it's a very complex thing, because it has its own way of intervening and its own operating process. If it's done well, it would be able to explain itself, but the downside may be a lack of guidance. For example, if some people you encounter have [hazy] recollections of their life or [exaggerate] something that happens to them, the audience will figure out the flaws over time. There are a few people that I still haven't figured out who is who.

Zhang Yaxuan: I still insist on the point that even if the way Du Haibin shot provides us with a sense of multiplicity, he doesn't make our judgement become one-dimensional. After watching the film, you will have your own opinion about it, and it will not necessarily be the director's opinion.

Du Haibin: I think it's also a judgement I made on location. Because there's a lot of turnover in that place, and it's possible that today this person is there and tomorrow he or she is gone. If this happened in the film, I would cut it out. I will subtitle the names of the people who appear in the film. There are some people I may have interviewed. But they're like a symbol that doesn't mean much to the film. Because you can't emphasise everyone, although there might be interesting stuff in there. For example, I encountered one of the people when I went to film for the second time. But as it's the second time I went to shoot, it didn't feel like [I was following his story] from the beginning to the end, so I just gave up. Because if this person appears [in the film], there would need to be an explanation. And the feeling has passed. But his appearance was quite unexpected to me. During our conversation, he just told me everything about who he was and his past. This man was actually the most educated among all the kids. He had finished secondary school, knew some foreign languages. He also participated in some kind of competition in Sichuan. He spoke Mandarin well and seemed to have participated in a recruitment test for Mianyang Radio Station, but it was unsuccessful. Later he took some Sichuan girls to a cabaret in Xi'an. He said that in the process of modernisation, one problem is people and the other is society, but the most fundamental factor is society. He said this many times. His sister was in Baoji, married to a local man and had a child. I asked, do you go and see them? You're an uncle. He said, you know, interpersonal relationships nowadays are all about money.

There was another point. He said many of us Sichuanese are engaged in the construction industry, but in fact, we Sichuanese are in all walks of life. Suddenly he stopped and said that there's one thing he felt quite embarrassed about because most of the sex workers in the club were Sichuanese girls. As a person with some life experience, he told us his own understanding and point of view. This is very valuable, only we didn't highlight him.

Li Xun: I think this film is really artistic. First of all, the trains are everywhere, and there's no extra editing of the sounds and images. It's all natural. Staying natural is actually intentional. I especially like the scene when the boy is talking by the railway. As there is a train passing, he paused and waited. His facial expression is really touching. I want to ask you a question: in terms of the aesthetic aspect of documentary, is the aesthetic attribute infinite? To what extent does the aesthetic attribute detract from [the realist attribute of] the documentaries?

Zhang Yaxuan: First of all, I don't deny that documentaries have aesthetic attributes, but aesthetics is a very ambiguous concept for documentaries. Mr Li just talked about artistic technique [of the documentary] with a focus on train imagery. My understanding is, perhaps the author inadvertently encountered and captured such a scene, and it became a metaphor for life in China, the process of modernisation that China is going through at the moment. Because the train imagery has appeared in many dramas, and it has been deemed a symbol of modernity and process.

Li Xun: Some things need to be arranged artificially in a feature film, how do you deal with these scenes and techniques in a documentary?

Du Haibin: Actually, I think this kind of attitude has existed in my film from the very beginning. It's hard to say whether it's artistic or not. If a film requires a certain [artistic] atmosphere, I still don't avoid the fact that documentaries should respect reality.

But moving images should have visual effects. My film is constituted of these two elements. In that respect, I think it depends if I can accept it. If you can do it in a way that makes other people feel what you have, I think it's artistic. It's hard to define it within a certain excerpt or scene, but I still wanted the whole piece to establish a bigger vision on top of its visuals.

There is something inherent in the way you shoot and present it, and the viewer will judge it by themselves with an artistic or non-artistic point of view. This [the judgement] is all brought to the film by the viewer, not something that the film itself conveys. From this aspect, I want to make this film for others to view, no matter who they are, whether they are the general public or celebrities. I

have this desire. I don't know which groups of people I'm making the film for, but I definitely want to reflect my own style that at least can be accepted by myself.

Zhang Yaxuan: I think nowadays because there's no tradition of [making] documentaries in China, we don't have the experience of watching documentaries either. It's easy for us to look at documentaries according to our experience with feature films. When I was at the Central Academy of Fine Arts, some of the questions they asked were ridiculous. They asked how did you design such a happy ending? For a documentary, the ending cannot be made up by the author. It is real. It represents reality. This is one of the most basic rules of documentary. This means that documentaries have their own norms and standards. Perhaps it's also because the characters' lives are so dramatic in this film, and it raises the question of whether documentaries don't need dramatic effect, or whether they are born to be flat. Some documentaries are very vivid, but that doesn't make them like feature films. Documentaries are perfectly capable of incorporating something relevant to the times and reality. If feature films in China nowadays are quite disappointing, then the revitalisation of documentaries in a way can be said to be born out of necessity, and it is also in line with our expectations for images. In this sense, I think documentaries should never be hands-off because they are a way of intervening in reality. A Taiwanese teacher said something that really impressed me. She said that when you pick up a camera, there must be something that you want to say; if you don't have something to say, why pick up the camera? It is a very expensive thing.

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关于《铁路沿线》与铁路沿线的故事（有删节）

首次发表于：张亚璇（主编），《实践手册》，2000年，第4期，56-57页，63-67页

关于《铁路沿线》

杜海滨：这是一部记录“实在”意义上的流浪汉的生活的电影。

将近2000年春节，就在积极准备拍摄我的第一DV电影的时候，我碰到了这样一群人，一群准确地说是有家难回的流浪人。一种强大的自省使我暂时搁置那部DV电影的计划，用当时采景用的家用松下VHS掌中宝开始了一场毫无准备又充满刺激的工作。现在看来，我喜欢这样的工作。

慢慢地，他们放松了对我的警惕，我与他们每个人都成为朋友。我一直隐瞒自己的拍摄目的，我想这是我在其他地方很难做到的。他们对我的身份又各种猜测，有人认为我是电视台来搞调查的，火狐狸——片中那个9岁的小孩说我是公安，被派来这里找破案线索。但即使是这样，他们对我一样友好。

这使得整个拍片过程，成为我与他们认识然后熟悉了解，相互信任乃至成为哥们儿的过程。我深知这样会破坏一种审视与被审视的关系，最终会使摄影机后面的我丧失某种天然的优势，以至给拍片带来不必要的麻烦。但是，我没办法，这方面总是失控，最后索性放弃。

有人说在纪录片现场出现作者的采访是一种无能的表现。但是在这样一个题材的环境中，我无法掩饰自己强烈的、直接的想与之交流的冲动。相反，我倒觉得掩饰自己和摄像机的存在这里成为一种蹩脚的手段。因此在现场，想说就说，想哼就哼，我不能面对一个孩子在讲述他的不幸经历的时候，始终保持一种近乎无情的冷静。

为了不使谈话过于沉重，我努力使他们在讲述自己的不幸经历之后能够回忆起这样的生活里也存在乐趣，回忆起他们也曾拥有过的亲情或友情——对任何一个人，这都应是他生活的一部分，一种起码的需求。尽管这种努力在多数时候是无效的。

有人说我无意中捕捉到了一个最为有力的隐喻，那就是从片头开始就不断反复出现的铁路和火车驶过的景观。这种场景是对当下中国生活的隐喻。我没有想这么宏大的命题，我只是想，如果以铁路为界，我和被我记录的这群人其实是在左右两边的，它们永远也不会交叉。铁路这边的人其实永远

不会知道铁路那边的人在想些什么，他们又如何生活，更有一些人会回避。因为真实的情形会伤害我们，并不是每个人都有勇气面对。我不漠视这种差别的存在，也没有想过遮掩。我想我们有质的差别，同他们失去和能拥有的东西相比，我有什么资格说我们同属底层，我同他们是一样的呢？

新年的夜晚，这样人在铁路边聚在一起，拣来一堆树枝，破塑料袋生火取暖。贼王唱了一首歌《我们都是流浪的人》，这时恰好有一列火车驶过，车上的灯光让人有一种对家的想象。而此时，车下，有这样一首歌。

这群人就像被飞驰而过的列车甩了下来，他们永远也无法再回到车上。我无意中窥见了他们的游荡，作为记录者，当我把每天拍完的素材拿到家中回放时，作为记录的角色就不由地转换，成为一个具体问题的解决者，裁判者。最后我发现，这绝非一个简单的意识形态，文化类型等能够解释的问题。我说不清楚那是一种什么样的东西。但最终我知道能够做的也只不过是记录他们的生活和谈话，记录摄像机后面我的反应和直觉，然后把它们呈现给更多的人，让这些人和我一起想，我想不清楚的东西。

如今，一些人看到了我的片子。而一直想看到自己在电视上是什么样的人却没有如期看到他们自己的样子。伤害再一次发生，我还不知道怎样面对。

[.....]

铁路沿线故事 (有删节)

李迅 杜海滨 张亚璇

时间:2000年11月27日下午2:00-4:00

地点:文化在中国网站聊天室

李迅:今天我们电影栏目请来了一位年轻的导演杜海滨，他拍了一个新的纪录片《铁路沿线》(2001)，我看过，觉得非常有意思，还有一位嘉宾张亚璇，一起来谈他的创作经历。这个片子以前没见过，正好去年加拿大也有一部片子是拍一帮多伦多的流浪汉，现在在咱们国家也出现这样的片子，圈子里的反映不错，请你先跟大家谈一谈是怎么想到铁路边上拍片子。

杜海滨:这个纪录片实际前期是没有准备的，原计划在陕西拍的是一个剧情片。现在片子里铁路边上有一个白色的楼，当时我们在那里采景，就拿了一个这样的机器，拍些那样的环境。我看见有个

孩子拿着一把小型枪，一开始最吸引我的就是那把枪，我就上去和他搭话，后来就知道是一个流浪的孩子，他说的是普通话，但带有新疆口音，或是西北口音，其实这种语言拉近了我跟他的距离，因为我知道任何一个人到另外的环境会发生改变。这样就打破了以往因为语言障碍带来的交流的不便。我觉得另外还有一个原因（让我成功地接近了他），因为以前都是他们在我们的世界里面，而这次是我走进了他们的世界，对于他们来讲，就有能力有资格保护自己。他们这种保护，还有一个重要原因，就是他们对摄像机不理解，他们会觉得我是为什么对他们的生活那么感兴趣，我是不是公安局的，是不是电视台的，这是在拍片过程中他们告诉我的。第一天是这样认识的，一下子我觉得带给我的东西很冲动，他不怕，他愿意跟你讲。我觉得在那样的环境中，如果不是一个很不会表达自己的人，任何一个人都不会勉强。这是一个很好的开始，

李迅：你穿什么服装，是普通的吗？

杜海滨：普通的。有一天特别逗，我戴了一个帽子，一个小孩看着我，说“你化妆了”，我说你怎么知道，他说你戴了一个帽子。

李迅：人在镜头前的表现有很大的差距，有时候这种表现并不见得是真实的，我觉得最好的是大四川，至少从观众的角度上看，他有一个变化的过程，这个过程很好，也算给中国当代地方做了一个纪录，非常有意义。

张亚璇：我们在美院做过一次展映，杜海滨的片子，有一个人问，他们说的都是真的吗，他是指这片子里的人，他在质疑那些人的表现是不是有作秀的成分。后来杜海滨回答这个问题，我也说，在现场的时候，被拍对象有做秀的成分是必然的，这种东西不是拍摄者努力能克服的，他们有时候说的不是真话，我们，包括作者都能够作出这种判断，但是记录能给予我们的是什么呢，它并不是要给你一个结果，一个固定的答案，它只是带你到一段路上，带给你自己判断和思考的可能性，从这种意义上说，被拍摄者的反映不是那么重要，重要的是这种反映通过片子展现出来了，它没有被遮蔽，它能引起我们的疑问和思考。

杜海滨：还有一个问题就是作者的问题。以前我们的观念是尽量减少摄影机对人的影响，导演在现场要这么做，而且技术上也可以做到让人相信的程度。这也是以前大家都接受的方式，就是不应该让观众感觉到摄影机在现场。我觉得我尽量去尝试做的是让大家看到摄影机与人的互动，因为这更接近拍摄者与拍摄者，他们关系的真实状况。

张亚璇：对于作者的态度，杜海滨刚才谈的，我自己觉得是很珍贵的东西，而且也是这部片子比较可贵的一面，就是他在现场不隐藏自己，他以一种自在从容的方式跟拍摄对象交流，激发他们。我觉得这种方式在中国当前的纪录片创作中是比较可贵的。这是一种态度，它不仅表现在前期拍摄的过程，也表现在后期剪辑的时候，中国的大部分纪录片工作者通常是用那种方式创作，就是我们很

难在画面里看到拍摄者和机器对现场的影响，九十年代前期新纪录片运动的一些片子，生活空间的短片，还有现在被大家谈论的一些年轻作者的作品，都有这种倾向，这种影响并非不存在，更多是在剪辑的时候处理掉了，而杜海滨是用另一种方式。这种态度有什么意义呢？我想稍微有一点理论背景的人都知道，拍摄者和机器对被拍摄对象的影响是不可能消除的，你就是这个现场的一部分，所以当你把这种影响展现出来的时候，反而比隐藏它更能够接近真实，一方面它会带来场景的多义性，另一方面如果我们认同纪录片的本质是真实的话，那这也是一种更道德的状态。

李迅：这涉及到纪录片的不同创作方式，完全让观众组织和判断，你们看出多少算多少。

杜海滨：对！

李迅：但特别有意思，经常观众的态度不一致，作者的客观性是一个重要的方面，这一点的确影响了观众对影片的理解。从创作的角度来说，这是一个很复杂的东西，它有自己的介入的方式，有一个操作的过程，如果做得好会解释自己的问题，缺点可能是一种缺乏引导的方式。比方碰到一些人，他们对自己身世的回顾或者后来发生一些事，在很长的时间段里，观众会看出一些毛病，有几个人我现在还没有搞清楚谁是谁。

张亚璇：我还是坚持一点，哪怕是像杜海滨的拍摄方式也给了我们多面性，他并没有让我们的判断更单一。你看了片子以后，你会对它有个看法，而这不一定是作者的看法。

杜海滨：我觉得这也是我在现场的一种判断，因为在那个地方，本身就是这样，人员流动大，有可能今天这个人在，明天就走掉了。如果片子里出现这种情况，我会剪掉，在片子里出现的人，我要出字幕，打上他的名字。有的人可能我也采访过。但他就像一个符号一样，对片子的意义不是很大。因为你不可能把每个人都拿来，虽然里边还有很精彩的内容。比如其中一个人是走第二次去拍摄的时候遇到的，但是因为当时没有开始，可能第二次让他出现没有自始至终的感觉，所以就算了。因为这个人出来会带来一个解释，现在的感觉就是过去了，但他的出现也是我没有想到的，我们是在聊的过程中一下子把他的身份，他的过去全说出来了。这个人实际上在那帮孩子里边是学历最高的一个，上完了中专，懂一点外语，曾参加过四川的什么比赛，普通话比较好，好像参加绵阳广播电台的招聘。他没招聘成功，后来把四川的女孩带到西安歌厅去。他说在现代的一个进程当中，一个是人员，一个是社会，最根本的原因是社会的原因，他说了很多次，他的姐姐在宝鸡，嫁给了当地的一个人，生了孩子，我说你去看他们吗？你还是舅舅呢。他说你知道在人和人的关系吗，现在人与人的关系就是金钱关系。还有一个问题，他说我们四川人很多都搞建筑，其实各行各业都有我们四川人，突然他停住，他说有一点他挺没面子，歌厅里的小姐大多都是四川的女孩。我觉得作为一个有一点点阅历的人，都会有这样的认识，只不过我们没有把他提炼出来，他讲出了他自己的认识，他的观点，这是很可贵的。

李迅：我觉得这部片子真是很艺术化，首先火车无处不在，声音和画面都没动过，是自然的，自然

实际就是有意的，我特别喜欢那个男孩子在铁路上谈，有一辆火车过去，他就等着，那种表情特别感人，我要问你一个问题：关于纪录片的艺术性的问题，这种艺术性是不是无止境的，艺术到什么程度有损于这些影片？

张亚璇：首先，我不否认纪录片有艺术性，但对于纪录片来说，艺术性是一个很暧昧的概念。李老师刚才所说的艺术，你对火车意象的注重，我的理解是，也许是在不经意间，作者遇到并且抓住了这样的一个场景，而它恰恰成为对当下中国正在经历的现代性进程的隐喻，成为对中国生活的隐喻，因为火车的意象也在很多剧情片里出现，它是一个象征现代和过程的符号。

李迅：故事片里需要人为对准一些东西，在纪录片里你是怎么处理这些场景和技巧的？

杜海滨：其实我觉得我片子里的这种意识，是一种最开始有的态度。它是不是艺术的这个很难讲，如果某个片子需要一种气氛，其实我不回避说纪录片应该尊重现实。

但影像的东西就应该有视觉的效果。我的片子就有这两方面构成。这样的话我觉得，包括我自己也要看我能不能接受。如果你能做到让别人感受到你的东西，我觉得这是艺术的，这很难界定在某一个片段或场景，但整个片子还是想把它处理成一个是觉得，在这个视觉基础上建立一个更大的视野。

你在拍的时候和你呈现出来的时候，它与生俱来就有一种东西，看的人自己对它会有判断，这时可能会带有艺术或者非艺术的眼光，这都是审视者给这个片子带来的，而不是这个片子本身具有的。从这一点来讲，我要拍这个东西是给别人看的，不管是谁，不论是普通大众还是名人，我是有这个欲望的，我不知道是为哪一方，但我肯定是要体现自己的风格，我起码自己能接受。

张亚璇：我觉得现在，因为中国没有纪录片的传统，所以也没有观看纪录片的经验，我们很容易用看故事片的经验来看纪录片，我们经常从故事片出发来谈一个纪录片怎么样。在中央美院的时候，他们有的问题很可笑，他们说你设计这种大团圆的结局是怎么考虑的。作为纪录片，这个结局不可能是作者编的，它是真实的，现实情形就这样。这是纪录片一个最基本的准则。这一方面是说纪录片有它自己的规范和判断标准，另一方面可能也是因为这个片子里人物命运有多戏剧性，所以就涉及到另外一个问题是，难道纪录片就是不需要戏剧性的东西吗，它天生就是贫乏的吗，有的纪录片是很生动，但是不能因此就说它像故事片。纪录片完全可以容纳一些东西，跟时代有关，跟现实有关的东西，如果说现在中国的故事片让人觉得失望的话，那纪录片在某种程度上的复兴可以说是应运而生，它的出现符合我们对于影像的期待。也是在这种意义上，我觉得纪录片绝不应该是无为的，因为纪录片是介入现实的一种方式，以前台湾老师说过一句话让我印象深刻，她说，你拿起机器来，一定是有话要说，如果没有话说，为什么要拿起机器呢，它是一个很昂贵的东西。

[.....]

APPENDIX 附录

Biographies 个人简介

Biographies 个人简介

Chris BERRY is Professor of Film Studies at King's College London. His research focuses on Chinese cinema, and he is currently a co-investigator on the AHRC-funded 'Independent Cinema in China 1990-2017: State, Market and Film Culture' project. His publications include (co-edited with Lu Xinyu and Lisa Rofel), *The New Chinese Documentary Film Movement: For the Public Record* (Hong Kong: Hong Kong University Press, 2010).

裴开瑞是伦敦大学国王学院的电影学教授，重点研究华语领域电影。目前，他是英国艺术与人文科学研究署 (AHRC) 资助的学术研究项目“中国独立电影：国家、市场和电影文化”的核心成员之一。他的学术著作包括（与吕新雨和罗丽莎合编的）《新中国纪录片运动：公共记录》（香港，香港大学出版社，2010）等。

Max BERWALD is a PhD student in Cinema and Media Studies at the University of Southern California. Before coming to USC, he lived and worked in Beijing and Taipei. His research focuses on media and culture in East Asia with a special interest in the popular cinema of greater China, as well as its interactions with US film culture.

柏麦仁是南加州大学电影与媒体研究专业的博士研究生。来南加州大学求学前，他曾在北京和台北工作生活。他主要研究东亚媒体与文化，尤其是大中华区的流行电影，及其与美国电影文化的相互影响。

CHAO Shi-Yan is a research fellow at Chulalongkorn University in Bangkok. He holds a PhD in Cinema Studies from New York University, and was an INTERACT postdoctoral fellow at Columbia University. In addition to NYU and Columbia, he has also taught at Hong Kong Baptist University and Lingnan University. His recent publications include the monograph *Queer Representations in Chinese-language Film and the Cultural Landscape* (Amsterdam University Press, 2020), along with articles on transnational media, independent cinema, film history, creative/media industries, and vocal performance, in academic journals such as *Communication, Culture & Critique*, *International Journal of Cultural Policy* and *Transgender Studies Quarterly*, and anthologies such as *Sino-Enchantment: The Fantastic in Contemporary Chinese Cinemas* and *Curating Taiwan Cinema: Thirty-two New Takes*.

赵锡彦，曼谷朱拉隆功大学的研究员，纽约大学的电影研究博士，曾任哥伦比亚大学 INTERACT 博士后研究员。除了纽约大学和哥伦比亚大学，他还曾任教于香港浸会大学和岭南大学。他著有专著《华语电影中的酷儿再现及其文化地景》（阿姆斯特丹大学出版社，2020 年）。他近期关于跨国媒介、独立电影、电影史、创意 / 媒体产业和声音表演等议题的文章发表于《传播、文化与批评》、《文化政策国际期刊》及《跨性别研究季刊》等学术期刊，以及《幻魅中国：当代华语电影中的奇幻展演》、

Karin CHIEN is a multi-faceted producer and distributor committed to bold voices, innovative forms, and radical practices of ethical filmmaking. Karin is the recipient of the Independent Spirit Producers Award, the Sundance Humanitas Prize, and the Cinereach Producing Award. Karin is currently producing in collaboration with Louverture Films. Karin has produced ten independent features as well as multiple art installations and interactive media. Karin co-founded and is president of dGenerate Films, the leading collection of independent Chinese cinema. She has led the global production services company Art & Action Productions for the past fifteen years. Karin is the director of the Nevada City Film Festival Filmmaker Residency, the sole artist residency for producers. Karin co-founded and directed the CAAM (Center for Asian American Media) Fellowship for its first five years. Karin is a founding core member of Distribution Advocates. Karin consults for major studios, independent companies, and nonprofit organizations and has taught independent film producing for the past fourteen years.

钱盈是一位制片人和发行商，她致力于制作发行大胆创新的影像形式及激进的伦理电影创作实践。钱盈曾获独立精神制片人奖、圣丹斯人文奖和 Cinereach 制片人奖。钱盈目前在与 Louverture Films 合作制作。钱盈已经制作了十部独立电影，以及多个艺术装置和互动媒体。钱盈是发行中国独立电影的公司 dGenerate Films 的联合创始人和负责人。在过去的十五年里，她一直领导着国际制作服务公司 Art & Action Productions。钱盈是内华达市电影节导演驻地的负责人，这是唯一为制片人提供的艺术家驻地。钱盈共同创立了 CAAM（亚裔美国人媒体中心）奖学金，并负责其最初的五年的运营。钱盈是发行倡导者的核心创始成员，为大型电影公司、独立公司和非营利组织提供咨询，并在过去十四年中教授独立电影制作。

CONG Feng was born in 1972 in Chengde, Hebei province. He is a writer, a director, and a photographer. He currently lives in Beijing, where he is the editor for *Film Auteur*. Some of the previous works he edited include ‘Against Cinema: Guy Debord Film Special’ and ‘Venom and Eternity: The Lettrism Film Special’. His poetry collections include *There Is a Train That I Cannot See* and *An Elegant and Popular Literary Work, Thank You I Think So Too*. His main film works include *Religion*; *Doctor Ma’s Country Clinic*; *The Unfinished History of Life*, *Room with Mao’s Images*, *Stratum 1: The Visitors*; *Stratum 2: Asthenosphere*; *What Is A Film: Stratum 2 Critique*; and *On the Passage of a Few Persons through a Rather Brief Unity of Time*. His works have won a number of awards, including the Network for the Promotion of Asian Cinema Award (NETPAC Award) of the Youth Film Forum at the 59th Berlin International Film Festival, the Directors’ Guild of Japan Award at the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, the White Chameleon Award at the Cinema Digital Seoul Film Festival, and the Bronze Award of the Visual Anthropology Exhibition at Yunfest. In 2020, he held a solo video exhibition entitled ‘We Have Never Been Modern’ at Lanzhou Gucang Contemporary Art Museum.

丛峰, 1972 年出生于河北承德, 写作者、电影作者、摄影师。现居北京, 为《电影作者》(Film Auteur) 编委, 编有《反对电影: 居伊·德波电影特辑》以及《毒液与永恒: 字母主义电影特辑》。著有诗集《那里有一列我看不见的火车》、《一部雅俗共赏的文学作品谢谢我也这么认为》; 主要电影作品包括《信仰》、《马大夫的诊所》、《未完成的生活史》、《有毛的房间》《地层 1: 来客》、《地层 2: 软流层》、《电影是什么: 地层 2 评论》、《关于短时间内的某几个人的经过》等。作品曾获第 59 届柏林国际电影节青年电影论坛 NETPAC 奖, 日本山形国际纪录片电影节日本导演协会奖, 首尔数码电影节白变色龙奖, 云之南人类学影像展青铜大奖等奖项。2020 年在兰州谷仓当代艺术馆举办《我们从未现代过》个人影像作品展。

Michelle DEETER is a freelance translator and interpreter. She has interpreted for numerous directors and is a part-time lecturer at Newcastle University.

狄敏霞, 自由职业译员。她为多名电影导演提供翻译, 并在纽卡斯尔大学当兼职讲师。

FAN Xiang received her Ph.D. in Film Studies from Goldsmiths, University of London. Her thesis focused on the production of art cinema culture in China since the turn of the twenty-first century. Her research interests also include Chinese independent cinema and women's cinema. She is Associate Lecturer in the Department of Media Communications and Cultural Studies at Goldsmiths, University of London, and the subjects she teaches involve film theory and politics in audiovisual media.

樊响, 英国伦敦大学金史密斯学院电影学博士。她的博士论文主要关注新世纪以来中国艺术电影文化的构建。她的研究方向也包括中国独立电影及女性主义电影。作为伦敦大学金史密斯学院媒体传播与文化研究系的副讲师, 她教授的课程涉及电影理论和视听媒体中的政治研究。

GAN Xiao'er, film writer and director. He graduated from the Literature Department of the Beijing Film Academy in 1998 with a Master of Arts degree. He is Associate Professor, Dean of the Department of Digital Media Art, and Dean of the Film Production Research Centre of the School of Fine Arts of South China Normal University. In 2000, he founded the Seventh Seals Film Workshop to produce the *Seven Seals* series of feature films. So far, he has completed three, *The Only Sons* (2002), *Raised From Dust* (2007), and *Waiting for God* (2012). He also produced documentaries and experimental films. His first licensed film, *Country Far Away* (2017), was released in 2019. His second one, *The Silent Minority*, the winner of the Outstanding Script Award for National Films at the 33rd Golden Rooster Film Festival in 2020, is in preparation.

甘小二, 电影编剧、导演。1998 年毕业于北京电影学院文学系, 获文学硕士学位。华南师范大学美术学院数字媒体艺术系主任, 电影创作研究中心主任, 副教授, 硕士生导师。2000 年创立第七封印电影作业坊, 致力于“七封印”系列剧情长片创作。目前完成三部, 《山清水秀》(2002), 《举自尘土》(2007), 《在期待之中》(2012)。并有纪录长片和实验影像创作。个人首部院线电影

作品《榫卯》（2017），于 2019 年上映。第二部院线作品《沉默的极少数》筹备中，该项目曾获 2020 年第 33 届金鸡电影节民族电影优秀剧本奖。

JIANG Nengjie, independent filmmaker, documentary director, founder of Mianhua Sha Film Studio and Mianhua Sha Village Library. His work focuses on left-behind children, war veterans, pneumoconiosis patients, psychiatric patients, sexual minorities, and other underprivileged groups. He is the director of *Children at a Village School*, *The Ninth Grade*, *Yunjie*, *Miners—the Horsekeeper—Pneumoconiosis*, *Anti-Japanese War Veteran*, *The Guardian of the General Veteran: Tang Menglong*, *Rainbow Cruise of Love*, amongst others. His works have been selected for the Shanghai International Film Festival, Warsaw Film Festival, Beijing International Film Festival, and other film festivals in China and abroad.

蒋能杰，独立制片人、纪录片工作者、导演。棉花沙影像工作室、棉花沙乡村图书屋创始人。创作的题材有关留守儿童、抗战老兵、尘肺病、心智障碍、性少数等群体。代表作：《村小的孩子》、《初三》、《矮婆》、《矿民、马夫、尘肺病》、《龙老》、《将军的卫士》、《彩虹邮轮》。作品有入围上海国际电影节、华沙国际电影节、北京国际电影节等国内外影展。

LI Xiaofeng is a documentary director. His main works include *Ballad of Roaming Spirits*, *The Shoeshiner's Journey*, *Gold Underground*, *My Last Secret*, and *Walk in the Dark*. He has published a book entitled *Direct Cinema as a Creative Method* and a collection of poems entitled *Fierce Floods and Savage Beasts in a Dream*.

黎小锋，纪录片导演，主要作品有《游神考》、《昨日狂想曲》、《遍地乌金》、《我最后的秘密》、《夜行人》等。著作有《作为一种创作方法的“直接电影”》、《梦中的洪水猛兽》（诗集）等。

Flora LICHAA is Maître de Conférences (Senior Lecturer) in Chinese Studies at the University of Rennes 2 (FR). Her PhD dissertation entitled '*Documentary in China (1905-2017): Between Artistic Autonomy and Political Concerns*' received a thesis prize from the French Association of Chinese Studies. After her PhD, she started a new research project on Contemporary Chinese Art Cinema during her Marie Skłodowska-Curie postdoctoral fellowship at the ULB Centre for East Asian Studies in Brussels. She was the Director of the Shadows Chinese Independent Film Festival in Paris from 2009 to 2015, and has curated numerous screenings and lectures related to Chinese cinema in academic and cultural institutions.

李风华是法国雷恩第二大学中国研究专业的高级讲师。她的博士论文《中国的纪录片（1905-2017）：在艺术独立与政治权衡之间》获得了法国汉学协会的博士论文奖。博士毕业后，她在布鲁塞尔自由大学东亚研究中心做玛丽·居里博士后期间，开始了关于中国当代艺术电影的研究项目。她于 2009 年至 2015 年在巴黎举办了 Shadows 中国独立电影节，并在学术和文化机构策划了多次与中国电影有关的放映和讲座。

LIN Xin was born in 1960. He has held several solo exhibitions in various locations, including the National Art Museum of China and in Xi'an. He began filming documentaries in 2003, and his documentary films include *Chen Lu* (2005), *Sanlidong* (2007), *Classmates* (2009), *Gas* (2011), *Preachers* (2014), *Koudelka* (2015), *Chen Jiayong* (2015), *Riverbed* (2017), *Single Women* (2019), *Silent Landscape* (2020) and *Juno (Nuonuo)* (2021). Lin Xin published a book entitled *Sanlidong: The Image History of Migrant Miners from Shanghai* (2017), a collection of poems entitled *Ah Father! Black Memories* (2000) and a painting catalogue. In 2020, he wrote 'Tongchuan Local Chronicles: A Micro History of Personal Images', which was featured in *Film Auteur*.

林鑫, 1960 年生, 曾在北京中国美术馆和西安等地举办个人书画展。2003 年开始拍摄纪录片, 主要纪录片作品有《陈炉》(2005)、《三里洞》(2007)、《同学》(2009)、《瓦斯》(2011)、《传道人》(2014)、《寇德卡》(2015)、《陈笳咏》(2015)、《河床》(2017)、《单身女人》(2019)、《沉默的风景》(2020)、《诺诺》(2021) 等。出版有专著《三里洞: 上海支边矿工的影像史》(2017)、诗集《噢! 父亲——黑色的记忆》(2000) 和画册。2020 年《电影作者》推出《铜川方志: 个人影像的微观史》特刊。

Zoe MENG Jiang is a PhD candidate at the Department of Cinema Studies at New York University. She has published in English and Chinese on media theory and history, social practice, gender and feminism, and moving-image arts. Her recent publications have appeared in *Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art*, *Chinese Independent Cinema*, *The Brooklyn Rail*, *Artforum China*, and *LEAP*, among others. She is the co-editor of the 'Chaotic Formats' issue of *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*, and was the assistant editor of the journal *World Records*, published by UnionDocs Center for Documentary Art. From 2018-2019 she was the chief curator at SLEEPCENTER, an independent non-profit art space in New York City.

江萌是纽约大学电影研究系的博士候选人, 研究领域为媒介史和媒介理论, 同时关注社会实践艺术、女性主义和影像艺术, 最近的文章发表在 *Journal of Contemporary Chinese Art*, *The Brooklyn Rail*, *Indiewire*, 《中国独立电影》, 《艺术论坛》, 《艺术界》等刊。她是 *Journal of Chinese Cinemas* 的特刊 'Chaotic Formats' 的编者, 也曾经担任纽约 UnionDocs 纪录片艺术中心出版的学术期刊 *World Records* 的编辑, 以及纽约非盈利艺术空间 SLEEPCENTER 的主策展人。

Paul G. PICKOWICZ is Distinguished Professor Emeritus of History and Chinese Studies at the University of California, San Diego, and inaugural holder of the UC San Diego Endowed Chair in Modern Chinese History. His books (authored, coauthored, and coedited) include *Marxist Literary Thought in China* (1981), *Unofficial China* (1989), *Chinese Village, Socialist State* (1992, winner of the Joseph R. Levenson Prize of the Association for Asian Studies), *New Chinese Cinemas* (1994), *Popular China* (2002), *Revolution, Resistance, and Reform in Village China* (2005), *From Underground to Independent* (2006), *The Chinese Cultural Revolution as History* (2006), *Dilemmas of Victory* (2007), *China on the Margins* (2010), *Radicalism, Revolution, and*

Reform in Modern China (2011), *China on Film* (2012), *Restless China* (2013), *Liangyou: Kaleidoscopic Modernity and the Shanghai Global Metropolis* (2013) *Filming the Everyday* (2017), *China Tripping* (2019), *A Sensational Encounter with High Socialist China* (2019), and *Locating Taiwan Cinema in the Twenty-First Century* (2020). He has won three distinguished teaching awards: UC San Diego Alumni Association (1998), Chancellor's Associates (2009), and Academic Senate (2003). He has been invited to teach his course on the history of Chinese silent cinema at the University of Edinburgh, the University of Heidelberg, and Renmin University (Beijing). In 2012 he taught the same course in Chinese at East China Normal University (Shanghai). Pickowicz has graduated 37 PhD students. He has held visiting appointments at the University of Oxford, National University of Singapore, University of Edinburgh, University of Heidelberg, East China Normal University, City University of Hong Kong, Ecole Normale Supérieure (Lyon, France), Hong Kong Institute of Education, and Tsinghua University. He is associate producer of the documentary films *China in Revolution, 1911-1949* (1989) and *The Mao Years, 1949-1976* (1994). Pickowicz was honored by the German government in 2016 when it presented him with a Humboldt Research Award for lifetime accomplishments in research and teaching.

毕克伟是加州大学圣地亚哥分校中国历史研究的名誉教授，也是加州大学圣地亚哥分校首位现代中国史的讲座教授。他的著作（包括独著，合著及合编）包括《中国的马克思主义文学思想》（1981）、《非官方中国》（1989）、《中国乡村，社会主义国家》（1992年获得亚洲研究协会“约瑟夫·列文森奖”）、《新中国电影》（1994）、《大众中国》（2002）、《中国乡村的革命、反抗和改革》（2005）、《从地下到独立》（2006）、《作为历史的中国文化大革命》（2006）、《胜利的困境》（2007）、《边缘中国》（2010）、《现代中国的激进主义、革命和改革》（2011）、《电影中的中国》（2012）、《不安的中国》（2013）、《良友：万花筒式的现代性和作为全球大都市的上海》（2013）、《拍摄日常》（2017）、《中国之旅》（2019）、《与高度社会主义中国的邂逅》（2019）和《二十一世纪的台湾电影》（2020）。他曾获得三个杰出教学奖，包括加州大学圣地亚哥分校校友会奖（1998），校长协会奖（2009）和学术委员会奖（2003）。他曾被邀请在爱丁堡大学，海德堡大学和中国人民大学教授中国无声电影史课程。2012年，他在华东师范大学用中文教授同一门课程。毕克伟已经有37名博士生毕业。他曾在牛津大学、新加坡国立大学、爱丁堡大学、海德堡大学、华东师范大学、香港城市大学、法国里昂高等师范学院、香港教育学院和清华大学担任访问学者。他是纪录片《革命中的中国，1911-1949》（1989）和《毛泽东时代，1949-1976》（1994）的副制片人。毕克伟于2016年被德国政府授予洪堡研究奖，以表彰他在研究和教学方面的终身成就。

Luisa PRUDENTINO is a sinologist and specialist in Chinese cinema. Author of numerous articles and essays on the subject, she has organised numerous festivals and conferences on Asian cinema and teaches the History of Chinese cinema, among other courses, at INALCO (Paris) and at the Institut de Sciences Po in Le Havre. Her most recent contributions include chapters in *Le dictionnaire du cinéma chinois : Chine, Hong Kong, Taiwan* (*The Dictionary of Chinese Cinema: China, Hong Kong, Taiwan*, 2019) and 'Chine/USA: regards croisés à travers le cinéma' ('China/USA: Crossroads through Cinema'), in the journal *Questions Internationales* (2020).

路易莎是一位汉学家和中国电影专家。她在法国国立东方语言文化学院（巴黎）及巴黎政治学院教授中国电影史。她曾组织策划过许多关于亚洲电影的电影节和学术会议。她发表过许多关于中国电影的论文，最近的作品包括《中国电影词典：中国，香港，台湾》（2019）和《中国 / 美国：通往电影的十字路口》载于《国际问题》（2020）期刊。

Bérénice M. REYNAUD holds a PhD in Chinese Studies from Université Jean Moulin Lyon 3. Her research focuses on women filmmaking, feminism and gender in China. She has previously published in *Monde Chinois-Nouvelle Asie*.

雷贝丽，里昂第三大学中国研究博士。她的研究重点在中国的女性电影创作、女性主义和性别研究。她曾在《中文世界：新亚洲》发表文章。

Luke ROBINSON is Senior Lecturer in Film Studies in the Department of Media and Film, University of Sussex, UK. He is the author of *Independent Chinese Documentary: From the Studio to the Street* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), and the editor, with Chris Berry, of *Chinese Film Festivals: Sites of Translation* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017). His writing has appeared in books and journals including *DV-made China*, *The New Chinese Documentary Movement*, *Vocal Projections*, *Screening China's Soft Power*, *positions: asia cultures critique*, *Film Studies*, *Screen*, and *Journal of Chinese Cinemas*.

卢克·罗宾逊是英国苏塞克斯大学媒体与电影系电影研究专业副教授。他著有专著《从摄影棚到街头：中国独立纪录片研究》（Palgrave Macmillan 出版社，2013），并与裴开瑞（Chris Berry）合编《中国电影节：翻译的场所》（Palgrave Macmillan 出版社，2017）。他发表在各类书籍和期刊上的文章，包括《DV 制造中国》、《中国新纪录片电影运动》、《投影之音》、《影像中国软实力》、《立场：亚洲文化批评》、《电影研究》、《银幕》和《中国电影期刊》。

WANG Xiaolu, film critic, scholar and curator. He graduated from the Beijing Film Academy and holds a PhD degree in Film Studies. He is Senior Researcher at the China Film Archive. His research interests include film history and independent documentaries. He is the author of *Diseases of Our Time: Witnessing Independent Film Culture* (2008), *The Politics of the Cinema* (2014), and *The Will of the Cinema* (2019).

王小鲁，学者，策展人，电影学博士，毕业于北京电影学院文学系。从事中国电影史、独立纪录片研究，出版有《电影与时代病》（2008）、《电影政治》（2014）、《电影意志》（2019）等专著。

WEN Hao is studying for a PhD in the Co-Tutelle PhD programme at Nagoya University and University of Warwick. Having previously researched Japanese independent cinema and the production of auteurs, Wen currently explores cultural policy, film practice, and the representation of the city of Tokyo in the age of globalization. Using the online

moniker Methy, Wen publishes film reviews, film festival reports, interviews with filmmakers, and film festival curation.

闻豪就读于日本名古屋大学与英国华威大学联合博士项目。曾研究日本独立电影与作者的生产，现阶段研究主题为电影中的东京与全球化时代的城市政治。化名 Methy 进行电影评论、电影节报告、电影人采访及影展策展等多重活动。

WU Bo has a PhD in Translation Studies. He is an Associate Professor and currently lives in Budapest. he is the translator of over ten books on academic and cultural topics, and the author of a monograph, several textbooks, and more than ten academic papers.

吴波，翻译学博士，副教授，国际汉语教师，现居布达佩斯。出版英汉 - 汉英学术文化类译著多部，英文专著一部，主编和参编教材若干部，发表论文十多篇。

WU Wenguang was born in south-western China's Yunnan province in 1956. After graduating from high school in 1974, Wu was sent to the countryside, where he worked as a farmer for four years. Between 1978 and 1982, he studied Chinese Literature at Yunnan University. After university, Wu worked as a teacher at a junior high school for three years, and later, in television as a journalist for four years. Wu left television and moved to Beijing in 1988 to be an independent documentary filmmaker, freelance writer, and creator and producer of dance/theatre. Wu has made the documentaries: *Bumming in Beijing* (1990), *1966: My Time in the Red Guards* (1993), *Jiang Hu: Life on the Road* (1999), *Fuck Cinema* (2005), *Bare Your Staff* (2010), *Treating* (2010), *Because of Hunger* (2013), *Investigating My Father* (2016), *Autobiography: Pass Through* (2017), *Autobiography: Struggle* (2018) *Autobiography: Fear* (2019), and *Riding Through* (2020), which have screened in many film festivals around the world. Wu also has made short videos, including *Diary: Snow, 21 Nov, 1998* (1999), *Public Space* (2000), and *Search: Hamlet in China* (2002). Wu has directed the theatre pieces *Treating* (2009), *Memory: Hunger* (2010), *Investigating My Father* (2013), and *Reading Hunger* (2016), *Reading Father* (2019). He has also published non-fiction books (*Bumming in Beijing*, *1966: Revolution Scene*, and *Report on Jianghu*). In 2005, Wu founded the Village Documentary Project, and in 2010, the Folk Memory Project .

吴文光，1956 年出生云南昆明，1974 年中学毕业后到农村当“知识青年”务农至 1978 年；1982 年毕业于云南大学中文系；之后在昆明和新疆尼勒克二牧场任中学教师三年，在电视台做记者、编辑四年。1988 年至今，作为自由职业者居住北京。纪录片作品：《流浪北京》（1990 年）、《我的 1966》（1993 年）、《四海为家》（1995 年）、《江湖》（1999 年）、《和民工跳舞》（2001 年）、《你的名字叫外地人》（2003 年）、《操他妈电影》（2005 年）、《亮出你的家伙》（2010）、《治疗》（2010）、《因为饥饿》（2013）、《调查父亲》（2016）、《之间》（2017）、《自传：穿过》（2017）、《自传：挣扎》（2018）、《自传：恐惧》（2019）、《度过：1 章→围困》（2020）。短片：《日记：1998 年 11 月 21 日，雪》、《公共空间》（2000 年）、《寻找哈姆雷特》（2002 年）剧场作品：《治疗》（2009）、《回忆饥饿》（2010）、《调查父亲》（2013）、《阅读饥饿》（2016）、

《阅读父亲》(2019) 著作:《流浪北京》、《革命现场 1966》、《江湖报告》、《镜头像眼睛一样》; 主编《现场》(出版三卷)。2005 年, 策划与组织村民影像计划。2010 年, 策划与组织民间记忆计划。

XU Kaiyang received a BA in History from Nankai University, China and an MA in East Asian Studies from Duke University. She is currently a PhD student in East Asian Languages and Cultures at the University of Southern California. Her research interests lie in contemporary Chinese cinema and media studies, critical race theory, and tourism studies. She has done research on the Sixth Generation of Chinese filmmakers, Chinese film studios, digital media and self-made videos as an empowering genre, and the China-Africa mediascape. In March 2020, she co-organized an online panel “In the Clouds: COVID-19, Dystopian Reality and Online Carnival” and discussed online solidarity during the pandemic. The edited panel transcript was published by the MCLC Resource Center in May 2020.

徐开阳, 南开大学历史学学士, 美国杜克大学东亚研究硕士, 现为美国南加州大学东亚语言与文化系博士生。主要研究方向为当代中国电影与媒体研究, 批判性种族理论研究, 旅游学研究。对中国第六代导演作品, 中国影视城与影视产业, 新媒体与短视频, 以及中非媒体交流等议题进行过研究。于 2020 年合作组织“在云端: 新冠病毒流行, 反乌托邦与网络狂欢”主题研讨会, 会议记录于 2020 年五月在 MCLC 资源中心发表。

YANG Yishu is Professor at the Shanghai Film Academy of Shanghai University, China. She taught at Nanjing University between 2007 and 2019. She started filmmaking in 2002 and her main works include two documentaries, *Who is Haoran?* (2006) and *On the Road* (2010), and two fiction films, *One Summer* (2014) and *Lush Reeds* (2018). She has published the monograph *Film Within Film: Study of Meta-Film* (2012), and her research focuses on cultural studies, film studies, and gender studies.

杨弋樞, 学者、导演, 现居南京。2002 年开始拍摄电影, 作品有纪录片《浩然是谁》(2006)、《路上》(2010), 剧情片《一个夏天》(2014)、《之子于归》(2018)。学术专著有《电影中的电影: 元电影研究》, 研究方向包括文化研究、电影本体研究、电影中的性别研究。

YU Yaqin, media practitioner, film critic and curator. Her critiques have been published in *Southern Weekend*, *The Beijing News*, and other well-known media outlets. Since 2018, she has been involved in programming a series of documentary screenings, co-organised with the Goethe-Institut Beijing and the Leipzig Film Festival; in 2021, she curated the special section for the 13th Shanghai Biennale, ‘Close-up—Reflections and Practices of Contemporary Moving Images’.

余雅琴, 媒体人、影评人、策展人。评论作品见于《南方周末》《新京报》等知名媒体。自 2018 年起参与策划北京歌德学院与莱比锡电影节联合主办的一系列纪录片展映活动; 2021 年策划第十三届

上海双年展特别单元“特写——当代影像的思考与实践（Close-up）”。

ZENG Jinyan, scholar, writer, documentary filmmaker, is a Post-doctoral Fellow at Lund University, Sweden (2021-2023). Zeng was awarded her PhD at the University of Hong Kong in 2017 (PRC), worked as the 2017 Oak Fellow (film and photography) at Colby College (USA), and the 2020 Post-doctoral Fellow at the University of Haifa (Israel). Zeng specializes in gender and sexuality, culture and politics, intellectual identity and social activism, and ethnicity, with particular emphasis on China. Her book *Feminism and Genesis of the Citizen Intelligentsia in China* (CN, 276 pp) (City University of Hong Kong Press, 2016) received a Publishing Award in the Social Science category of the 2017 Hong Kong Publishing Biennial Awards. Zeng produced and co-directed the documentaries *Prisoners in Freedom City* (Hu Jia, Zeng Jinyan 2007) and *Outcry and Whisper* (Wen Hai, Zeng Jinyan, Trish McAdam 2020), wrote the script for the short 3D animation *A Poem to Liu Xia* (Trish McAdam 2015), and produced the feature documentary film *We the Workers* (Wen Hai 2017).

曾金燕，学者、作家、纪录片导演，瑞典隆德大学历史系东亚与东南亚研究中心博士后研究员（2021-2023）。曾金燕于2017年在香港大学获得博士学位，2017年在美国科尔比学院任橡木学人（电影和摄影），2020年在以色列海法大学任博士后研究员。主要研究中国的社会性别与性、文化与政治、知识分子身份与社会行动，以及民族问题。专著《中国女权：公民知识分子的诞生》（276页）（香港城市大学出版社，2016年）获2017年香港出版双年奖颁发的社会科学类出版奖。参与制作、导演了纪录片《自由城的囚徒》（胡佳、曾金燕，2007）和《喊叫与耳语》（闻海、曾金燕、Trish McAdam，2020），为3D动画短片《致刘霞》（Trish McAdam，2015）撰写剧本，并制作纪录片《凶年之畔》（闻海，2017）。创作发表了小说（中文、法文）与诗歌（中文、英文）等。

ZHANG Mengqi was born in 1987. A filmmaker and choreographer, and member of the Folk Memory Project, Mengqi has made nine feature-length documentary films in her village in Hubei Province, known as her “Self-Portrait” series. Her films have been selected by, amongst others, the Yamagata International Documentary Film Festival, Cinéma du Réel, and Visions du Réel. Her films have won the ‘White Goose Award’ at the DMZ International Documentary Film Festival, and the ‘BIFF Mecenat Award’ at the Busan International Film Festival. Her choreographic work has been performed at the Rencontres Chorégraphiques Internationales de Seine-Saint-Denis (France), ImPuls Tanz (Austria), Eurokaz (Croatia), and the Künstlerhaus Mousonturm (Germany).

章梦奇，1987年出生。电影和舞蹈剧场导演，草场地工作站的“民间记忆计划”成员。章梦奇在湖北家乡的村子拍摄了9部“自画像”系列纪录片。她的作品曾在日本山形国际纪录片电影节、法国真实电影节、瑞士真实影展等展映。她的影片还获得DMZ国际纪录片电影节的“白鹅奖”，以及釜山国际电影节的“最佳纪录片奖”。她的舞蹈剧场作品曾在法国塞纳-圣但尼国际编舞家艺术节、奥地利维也纳国际舞蹈节、克罗地亚国际新剧场艺术节、德国法兰克福艺术之家等演出。

ZHANG Qianqi received her BA in Journalism from Beijing Language and Culture University and an MA in Media and Communications from Goldsmiths, University of London. Her research interests lie in East Asian independent film, film auteurs, and international film festival circuit. She is also interested in gender performativity studies and body studies. In addition to studying and researching, she is a translator, photographer, and event planner. She has published translated works such as *Relativity* (Beijing Institute of Technology Press, 2017) and *Dear Theo* (Beijing Institute of Technology Press, 2020).

张倩琦，北京语言大学新闻学学士，伦敦大学金史密斯学院媒体与传播硕士。主要研究兴趣为东亚独立影像，作者电影以及国际电影节体系，此外亦对性别表现，身体研究等方向有执着的兴趣。学习和研究之外是一名译者、摄影师、活动策划人，出版有译著《相对论》（北京理工大学出版社，2017）和《亲爱的提奥》（北京理工大学出版社，2020）。

ZHANG Yaxuan graduated in film history and film theory from the Institute of the Arts at Beijing Normal University and has been active since 2000 in the world of creative images as a film critic and curator. Her articles on Chinese independent film have been widely published in China and internationally, and she has actively promoted Chinese independent cinema through her work as an initiator and organiser of independent film festivals. In recent years she has also engaged directly with the world of film production as an independent producer.

张亚璇，毕业于北京师范大学艺术学院电影历史和理论专业。自 2000 年开始在创造性影像领域展开她的批评和策展实践，并始终跟进这一时期中国独立影像的发展，在国内和国外多种杂志和出版物发表了一系列相关文章，同时也通过在本土创办和组织独立影展，和与国外节展合作发展专题项目的方式，积极介入到中国独立影像推广的工作中。近年来也作为独立制片人从事电影制片工作。

ZHANG Zanbo is an independent documentary director and a non-fiction writer. His films include: *Falling from the Sky* (2009), *A Song of Love, Maybe* (2010), *The Interceptor from My Hometown* (2011) and *The Road* (2015). His non-fiction book *The Road* was published in traditional Chinese by Gusa Publishing in August 2014. In November 2015, the Chinese name was changed and the book was published in simplified Chinese by Guangxi Normal University Press. Approximately two months later, the book was pulled from the shelves by the State Administration of Press, Publication, Radio, Film and Television (now called the National Radio and Television Administration).

张赞波，独立纪录片导演，非虚构作家。纪录电影作品有《天降》（2009）、《恋曲》（2010）、《有一种静叫庄严》（2011）、《大路朝天》（2015）。2014 年 8 月在台湾八旗出版社出版非虚构著作《大路：高速中国里的低速人生》，2015 年 11 月更名为《大路：高速中国里的工地记事》在广西师范大学出版社出版简体字版，两个月后被当时的中国国家新闻出版广电总局“勒令下架”。

ZOU Xueping is a documentary filmmaker, theatre worker, and educator who graduated from the China Academy of Art. She was a resident at the Caochangdi Workstation from 2009 to 2014 and participated in the Folk Memory Project. Her documentaries include *Mom*, *The Starving Village*, *The Satiated Village*, *The Children's Village*, *Trash Village*, and *The Idiot's Village*. The latter five films compose a series entitled *Family Zou Village*. Her films have been screened all over the world, including at the Beijing Caochangdi October Crossing Art Festival, the Taiwan International Documentary Festival, the Tampere Film Festival in Finland, the Beijing Independent Film Festival, the Hong Kong Independent Film Festival, the 'China's 25th Anniversary Most Important Independent Films' event at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, the Caliria Asian Film Festival, the South Taiwan Film Festival, Harvard University, and Edinburgh University.

邹雪平, 纪录片、剧场和教育工作者, 毕业于中国美术学院。2009-2014年曾在北京草场地工作站驻站, 参与“民间记忆影像计划”。创作的纪录片《娘》、《饥饿的村子》、《吃饱的村子》、《孩子的村子》、《垃圾的村子》、《傻子的村子》, 其中五部村子作品构成“邹家村系列”。作品参加北京草场地十月“交叉”艺术节、台湾国际纪录片电影节、芬兰坦佩雷国际电影节、北京独立影展、香港独立影展、纽约 MOMA 现代艺术博物馆“中国 25 周年最重要的独立电影”开幕影片展映、卡利里亚亚洲电影节、台湾南方影展、哈佛大学、爱丁堡大学等放映交流。

华 语 独 立 影 像 观 察

C H I N E S E

I N D E P E N D E N T

C I N E M A

O B S E R V E R