

結構下的行動——高雄柴山果農面對 人猴關係轉變之調適與抵抗

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本文欲探討高雄柴山野保法公布前後及近年成立壽山自然公園等事件下，果農與獼猴間關係的轉變，擬就「結構下的行動」之視角，強調具有主從的二元性思維，並以保育獼猴即是保障其空間權力之觀點，發展果農的調適與抵抗，採質性取向之文獻回顧、環境調查、參與觀察及深入訪談等方法進行。研究發現野保法公布前，人類是柴山的支配者，獼猴因可販賣遂成資源；野保法施行後，果農失去空間的支配權，獼猴反為災害，研發果園防猴策略，也產生了持續種作、棄耕、轉型等被動調適行為。果農行為乍看是由個體決定，事實上卻受土地權非自有、壽山自然公園束縛與綠色團體監督等結構力量所扞格，鑑於補救措施不如預期，持續溝通請求無效，更以抗議、訴訟等積極行動、雜以少數非法作為從事抵抗，為最終取得空間權力而奮鬥。未來將保育放在社會脈絡的規範下，應是努力的方向。

關鍵字：結構、行動、空間權力、人猴關係、柴山

Human Action in Oppressive Structure: The Adjustment and Resistance of Fruit Farmers to the Shift in Human-monkey Relationships at Chaishan in Kaohsiung

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ABSTRACT

This study discusses the shift in human-monkey relationships before and after the passage of the Wildlife Conservation Law, as well as the issue of foundation of Shoushan Natural Park in Chaishan. The researchers approach this topic from the perspective of the duality of human action in an oppressive structure, emphasizing their subordinate and principal positions in order, and adopt the point of view that conserving the monkeys is the same as protecting their spatial rights, interpreting the intention of a variety of human actions. The qualitative methods of literature review, environment investigation, participation observation and in-depth interviews were used. It was found that fruit farmers were dominant over Chaishan before the passage of the law. A program by the government to purchase *Macaca cyclopis* monkeys captured by the farmers did help the farmers. After passage of the law, people lost their dominance over this area. *Macaca cyclopis* became a hazard. The farmers' responses were to develop devices to scare the monkeys away, then to make advanced decisions including carrying on their cultivation, abandoning their planting or transforming to other land uses. In theory, the adjustment of the farmers was decided by themselves, but many restrictions for the farmers in fact remained, such as no land rights, the limits of environmental laws, the

intervention of green organizations, and so on. Due to these major differences between the farmers' expectations and the practical reality of compensation, the farmers presented petitions, protested to the government, fought in the courts, and engaged in some illegal behaviors to resist the power from the oppressive structure. In the future, the new consideration that initiates a social context could be a possible way to mitigate such conflicts.

Key Words: structure, action, power of space, human-monkey relationships, Chaishan