行政院國家科學委員會專題研究計畫 期末報告

參與式的社會住宅設計:低收入單親母親家庭與平價住宅 改造計畫

計畫類別:個別型

計 畫 編 號 : NSC 101-2629-H-002-001-

執 行 期 間 : 101年08月01日至102年07月31日

執 行 單 位 : 國立臺灣大學建築與城鄉研究所

計畫主持人: 畢恆達 共同主持人: 陳怡伶

報告 附件: 出席國際會議研究心得報告及發表論文

公 開 資 訊 : 本計畫可公開查詢

中華民國 102年08月31日

中文摘要: 台灣的住宅體系是建立在一個自由市場的架構之上,政府的 干預手段在於強化住宅的商品性質,以提高房屋自有率為首 要目標。在此制度設計下,台灣的住宅有三個特色:高自有 率、高房價和高空屋率。本文探討台灣為何會建構出一個極 度商品化和自由市場的住宅體系。以政治經濟的分析來回顧 台灣住宅政策的發展歷程,將臺灣的國民住宅政策發展分為 三個階段來分析,最後則探討目前這個商品化的制度下造成 的問題,以及 2010 年興起的社會住宅運動。

中文關鍵詞: 住宅、住宅政策、社會住宅、新自由主義、平價住宅、單親母親

英文摘要: The inadequacies of Taiwan's land tax system and, since the mid-1980s, pro-market housing policies have led to the commoditization of housing in Taiwan (Chen, 2011), resulting in a unique combination of high homeownership rates, high vacancy rates and high housing prices, and making it difficult for the housing system to react to social change or to fulfill social needs.

This paper begins by specifying the role of the state in the housing system, including its means of intervention and its relation to the housing market. Socioeconomic, political and demographic changes since the 1990s are then analyzed in terms of their effect on the housing system. This is followed by an investigation of the housing affordability crisis beginning in 2005 and the social rental housing movement. Finally, we highlights the high degree of commoditization of Taiwan's housing and suggests that the state should reform the property tax system, be more responsive to demographic changes, and place more emphasis on social justice.

英文關鍵詞: housing, housing policy, social housing, neoliberalism, low income housing, single mother

國科會專題研究計畫成果報告撰寫格式

101年1月4日本會第348次學術會報修正通過

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- 二、報告格式:依序為封面、目錄、中英文摘要及關鍵詞、報告內容、參考文獻、計畫成果自 評、可供推廣之研發成果資料表、附錄。
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 - (五)頁碼編寫:請對摘要及目錄部分用羅馬字 | 、Ⅱ、 Ⅲ.....標在每頁下方中央;報告內容 至附錄部分請以阿拉伯數字 1.2.3......順序標在每頁下方中央。
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行政院國家科學委員會補助專題研究計畫

□期中進度報告 ■期末報告

參與式的社會住宅設計:低收入單親母親家庭與平價住宅改造計畫

計畫類別:■個別型計畫 □整合型計畫

計畫編號: NSC 101-2629-H-002 -001 -

執行期間: 101 年 8 月 1 日至 102 年 7 月 31 日

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計畫主持人:國立臺灣大學 畢恆達 教授(建築與城鄉研究所)

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計畫參與人員:詹竣傑

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中 華 民 國 102 年 7月 28 日

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1.	請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估
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	專利:□已獲得 □申請中 □無
	技轉:□已技轉 □洽談中 □無
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	值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)(以
	500 字為限)
	本研究成果發表論文四篇,一篇以英文發表,將會在"Housing in East Asia"
	刊出,另外三篇中文,分別在中國重要的都市規劃期刊,台灣的建築師雜
	誌,以及網路期刊"跨界"中刊出,在論述上,貢獻對於住宅的政治經濟以
	及女性主義的分析。在實踐上,本研究一直與社會住宅聯盟以及都市專業
	者改革組織合作,參與安康平宅的改建計畫,在改建過程中,一直貢獻以
	單親母親觀點的規劃設計和參與的想法,對目前的安康平宅改建提出建
	議,也透過這過程提出性別觀點的社會住宅建議。所以,總結來說,這一
	年的國科會計畫成果相當充實,在論述和實踐上,本計畫皆有一些具有影
	響力的成果產出。
	首刀形以不住山。

研究論述的成果

本研究產生四篇發表的文章,分別是:

- ` Chen, Yi-Ling and Herng-Dar Bih. Forthcoming, "The Pro-Market Housing System and Demographic Change in Taiwan," In: *Housing in East Asia* (John Doling and Richard Ronald (eds.)), Palgrave MacMillan.
- 二、陳怡伶,即將出版,台灣的住宅體系:自由市場和住宅商品化下的居住危機,"国际城市规划""规划与社会变迁:台湾经验"專輯,中國北京出版 http://www.upi-planning.org/
- 三、陳怡伶,2013,一個新家的想像:從女性主義建築談起,建築師雜誌,2013年6月號
- 四、陳怡伶,2012,韓國社會住宅之行,跨界:大學與社會參與。第二期。

http://www.interlocution.tw/contributeDetail other.php?2H73gugs1GqZD6jo89dX7M9Ysr%2F9

四篇文章的摘要如下,因為即將出版的兩篇論文已經進入排版階段,僅能以摘要為主。

— • Chen, Yi-Ling & Herng-Dar Bih (Forthcoming). The pro-market housing system and demographic change in Taiwan. In J. Doling & R. Ronald (Eds.), *Housing in East Asia*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

The inadequacies of Taiwan's land tax system and, since the mid-1980s, pro-market housing policies have led to the commoditization of housing in Taiwan (Chen, 2011), resulting in a unique combination of high homeownership rates, high vacancy rates and high housing prices, and making it difficult for the housing system to react to social change or to fulfill social needs.

This chapter focuses on the interaction of the three major actors in the Taiwanese housing system - the state, the housing market, and the family. The state has played a passive role not only as a supplier but also as a regulator of housing. Government-supplied housing contributes only 5.3 per cent of all housing stock, and is primarily built for sale rather than rental (Chen & Li, 2011), while only 0.08 per cent of housing stock is public rental housing (Social Housing Advocacy Consortium [SHAC], 2010). The design of the tax system and a lack of transparency in real housing transaction prices lead to speculation. Low housing transaction taxes encourage investment in housing, while low property taxes reduce the cost of maintaining property. As a result, many housing units are left empty as a store of wealth, and vacant housing in Taiwan is remarkable not only for its prevalence but also for its skyrocketing prices.

In this system, it falls to individual families to seek individual solutions and shoulder the primary responsibility to secure shelter. Since the mid-1980s, families have found themselves increasingly exposed to housing affordability issues due to economic restructuring, widening social inequality and faulty housing policy. In response to increasing economic pressures, families have also gradually experienced great changes including delayed marriage, a dropping marriage rate, and a dropping fertility rate. In 2010, Taiwan's birth rate dropped to 0.9, among the lowest in the world. These changes occur in the context of a generation gap, with young people lacking the economic means to accumulate the levels of wealth enjoyed by their parents, and responding by having smaller families later in life. A recently published book, The Falling Generation (Lin, et al, 2011), captures the essence of this crisis and lays part of the blame on Taiwan's speculative housing system.

This chapter begins by specifying the role of the state in the housing system, including its means of

intervention and its relation to the housing market. Socioeconomic, political and demographic changes since the 1990s are then analyzed in terms of their effect on the housing system. This is followed by an investigation of the housing affordability crisis beginning in 2005 and the social rental housing movement. Finally, the chapter highlights the high degree of commoditization of Taiwan's housing and suggests that the state should reform the property tax system, be more responsive to demographic changes, and place more emphasis on social justice.

二、陳怡伶,即將出版,台灣的住宅體系:自由市場和住宅商品化下的居住危機,"国际城市规划" "规划与社会变迁:台湾经验"專輯,中國北京出版 http://www.upi-planning.org/

摘要

台灣的住宅體系是建立在一個自由市場的架構之上,政府的干預手段在於強化住宅的商品性質,以提高房屋自有率為首要目標。在此制度設計下,台灣的住宅有三個特色:高自有率、高房價和高空屋率。本文探討台灣為何會建構出一個極度商品化和自由市場的住宅體系。以政治經濟的分析來回顧台灣住宅政策的發展歷程,將臺灣的國民住宅政策發展分為三個階段來分析,最後則探討目前這個商品化的制度下造成的問題,以及2010年興起的社會住宅運動。

三、陳怡伶,2013,一個新家的想像:從女性主義建築談起,建築師雜誌,2013年6月號。 http://www.twarchitect.org.tw/

全文

巴西庫里奇巴市長傑米雷勒是一個很會激發想像力的人,曾經被邀請來台,他在演講中說,做為市長的他最喜歡和三種人作朋友,第一是藝術家,因為藝術家(據他說)有很薄的皮膚,對外界很敏感,比所有人對社會變化先有感應;第二是哲學家或詩人,這些人很能夠把各種混雜的現象,變成簡單精簡的文字,一語中的,幫助大家瞭解現實;第三是記者,因為記者做事的習慣是今日事、今日畢。可能大家對記者的看法不一樣,但是傑米雷勒的三種朋友,讓人瞭解為何庫里奇巴可以成為開發中國家的城市奇蹟。

因為傑米雷勒市長可以很快針對都市問題提出解決方式,從普羅的大眾運輸,垃圾,貧民窟的改建和自力造屋。「都市不是問題,都市是解決方式。」 他說,一個令人激賞的反向創意思考 (註一)。

不過重點是,我們真的有意識到自己的都市問題是甚麼?還是有很多迷思遮掩了真正問題所在,讓我們失去了解決問題的方法?

從報紙中,很多新聞已經反應目前住宅設計的問題。遊民、都市底層的問題時有所聞,但有些新的問題很令人驚訝,例如住好幾千萬豪宅的母女,女兒突然心臟病突發去世,坐輪椅的母親餓死;或是老父突然死亡,患憂鬱症的女兒餓死,皆在死亡多天之後才被鄰居發現。貧窮的人有嚴重的居住問題,住豪宅的人也有居住問題,這兩種看似迴異的問題有一個共同點,就是社會互助的體系,在住宅極度

商品化的過程中,被新的空間的營造方式一點一滴地消蝕掉。

在寸土寸金的都市中,消費者計較的是房屋實坪有多少,房屋內的各種設計、採光、景觀,一樓的大廳光鮮亮綠,卻很少成為居民駐足停留的社區集會點,很少有兒童遊戲場,也很少可以讓老人可以久座聊天的地方。公共空間常被認為是虛坪,能減少就減少,建築的設計很少以如何加強社區關係的整體觀念作設計,這是商品設計的限制,也是住宅極度商品化下消費者的盲點。

很多住宅的研究者都用_「有錢的窮人」來形容台灣的居住狀況,金錢與價格的思考已經蓋過一切,住宅的品質卻遠遠跟不上價格。

用穿衣服打比喻,我們的居住狀況讓我們很像一個不懂穿衣服的人,因為_「有錢的窮人」通常有三種穿衣服的模式:第一種全身穿戴名牌、但怎樣都不搭調,這種人對自己的體型、習性和需要不太敏感,不知道要選擇適合自己的衣服;第二種是明明很有錢但喜歡全身邋褟,不太注重房屋的外觀和共用空間的整體品質;第三種是穿著美麗但場合不對,穿著不注重各種當地習俗和環境等,因此常看到的是和當地景觀不協調的突兀建築,有些是更粗暴地將好山好水破壞掉。

這裏要談的是第一種,有關蓋一個適合自己的房子。什麼是適合自己需要的房子呢?

女性主義的空間設計

美國二位著名的女性主義住宅學者 Jacqueline Leavitt 和 Susan Saegert,研究 1990 年代的紐約哈林區,她們發現低收入戶社區以單親母親家庭居多,這些社區形成一種互相幫助的鄰里關係,對資源不多的低收入者來說,這些互助的網絡像救生艇一樣,她們用「社區家戶」來形容這樣的社區關係,也就是整個社區就像一個大家庭一樣(註二)。

這讓我想到小時候的嘉義竹崎村的街道,那時候每家的小孩都很多,街道的車輛還很少,鄰居大家互相熟識,小時候一家家去玩,傍晚吃飯前,媽媽們就會在家門口喊叫小孩回家吃飯。前年去東京,在放學的時候經過一個小學,看到一群小學生在寬廣的人行道互相追逐回家,沒有大人接送,突然有一種超想念的感覺。

女性主義空間研究的興起源於美國一九六 O 年代的民權運動,這些性別的角度提供非常多的洞見,例如,美國的都市是男人的都市。

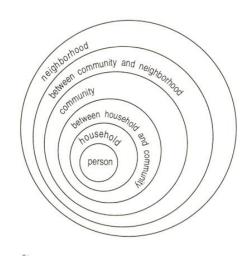
我在 1990 年時和一群女學生組讀書會,讀這些性別與空間的著作時,發現這樣的說法真是開了一個新的視野,不過,當時感受最深的是都市夜晚的安全問題。當了媽媽以後,有時背著小孩、有時推著嬰兒車在都市行走,深深體會什麼叫做男性的都市。政府蓋大樓、蓋巨蛋,但不願意廣設高品質的社區托兒所和兒童遊戲場,台北市的無障礙設施尚可,但出了台北市,嬰兒車真是寸步難行,很難想像行走不便的老人或身障者該怎麼辦,當我抬起整個嬰兒車爬地下道時,總是想起某一本性別空間書本裡的類似圖像,只是,真不知道爬這麼一層樓梯,可以留下這麼多的汗水。

在一九六0年代的美國,即使是再好的大學畢業的女生,都被期望進入家庭,過家庭主婦的生活,職

場最好的女性工作是當女秘書,女性沒有任何升遷的機會。在這樣清楚的性別分工下,都市的設計是以工作的男主人而設計,都市的交通路線安排是為了方便男性在辦公室和家之間快速通勤,家的設計預設有一位全職的家庭主婦獨力負責所有的家務,所以家所處的社區是一個「純睡房」的設計,也就是一個純粹休息睡覺的地方。社區裏沒有任何商店,沒有托兒所,也沒有太多公共空間。一個有清楚和絕對性別分工的社會,整個都市和家的設計也呈現出這樣的性別分工的空間配置。

因此,女性主義的空間設計一直在思索的問題是:如何設計一個家,可以打破刻板的性別分工,將婦女從繁重的家務工作中解放出來。

這樣的思考模式,開啟了新的設計方式,從家的內部開始,到社區以及整個和都市的重新設計。目的在於減少家庭的家務,將許多養老、育幼、打掃、煮食、維護的工作,變成公共的事務,藉由社區或公共的服務來解決。因此,家的設計擴大為一個鄰里的設計,從個人的私密空間,到家庭的單元,家和社區的介面,社區,社區和整個鄰里的介面,以及整個鄰里,有各種空間層級的思考,在每個層級中做特別的空間處理,既可以保有私密、但又享有社區的共同生活(註三)。



圖說: 女性主義空間專業者強調更多不同空間層級的思考模式,處理從私密到公共空間的細緻轉換。

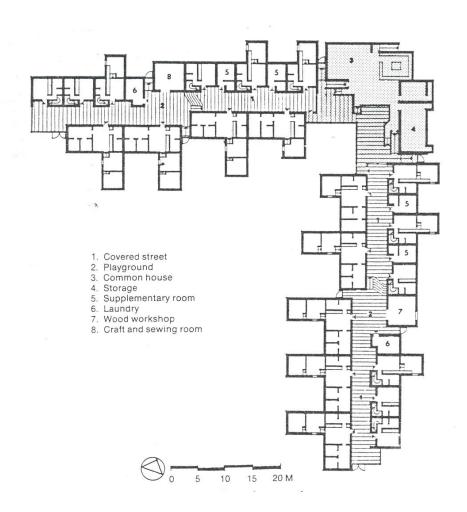
台灣近年流行豪宅式的門禁社區,將整個大樓和社區鄰里隔離,這種隔離阻斷了和社區的互動,也阻隔了各種社區可以產生的互助力量。

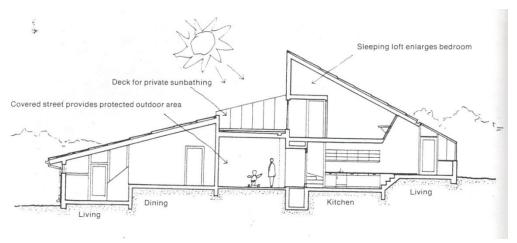
和以往的設計不同之處,女性主義的空間設計,有極大的企圖要翻轉社會對公共和私密領域的定義,在這裡尋求性別關係的調整。

因此整個設計思考裏,多了很多的空間介面。在家裡面,每個人都擁有一個自己的空間,但家內部的設計鼓勵家人可把家事變成一起參與的共同活動。家融入在一個社區之中,因此,處理在家門以外的空間,讓家和社區可以產生互動。社區和鄰里的介面,也同樣地設計這樣可以經常互動和交流的公共空間,只是規模變大,空間設計的手法必須更為細緻。

這樣的思考模式也鼓勵很多新的建築形式產生。像是一九七〇年代歐美國家合作式住宅的興起 (cohousing),這個丹麥 Savvæket 住宅就是一例。北歐的冬天寒冷,這合作住宅將住戶之間的中央走道加蓋屋頂,兒童的遊戲場在中間的走道中,每戶的廚房和餐廳朝向中間走道,這樣每戶的家長可以一

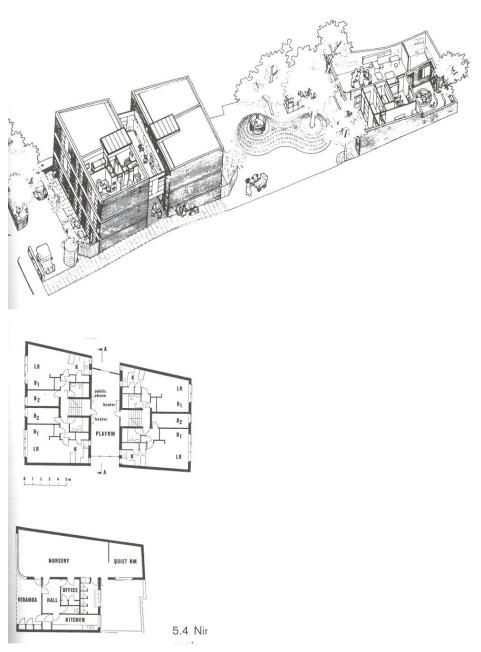
邊做家事,一邊看小孩在外面玩耍,大家可以互相照應。社區有一個大的共同活動中心,附設一個共同厨房,也有一個共用的儲藏空間,有時家中客人來訪可能房間不夠,所以社區有兩間公用套房,可以給客人暫住,也可以作為社區小型活動的使用空間。社區還有洗衣間、木工和縫紉的工作坊(註四)。





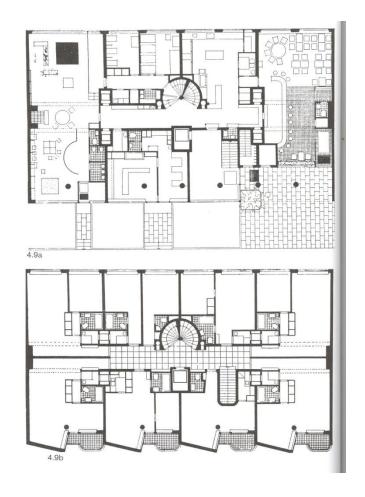
圖說:丹麥 Savvæket 住宅

另一個被很多女性主義空間專業者所稱讚的例子是英國 Nina West Home,是由單親母親 Nina West 在 1972 年號召一群單親母親所興建的住宅。這個住宅的前半段是家,中間是遊戲場,後面是由單親母親 經營的托育中心,這樣的住宅形式,讓單親母親都有工作,有的可以出外工作,有的在托育中心就業。 有一段 Nina West Home 的早期紀錄影片是小孩在遊戲場的情景。我在台北的平價住宅裡,很少看到小孩子在社區裏快樂的遊玩,不過平價住宅裡沒有兒童遊戲場倒是真的(註五)。



圖說: 英國 Nina West Home 單親母親住宅

女性主義的空間學者也回溯歷史,發現以往就存在的各種不同的住宅形式。美國著名的女性建築史家 Dolores Hayden 在「重建美國夢」一書中,寫到 1935 年斯德哥爾摩的集合住宅(Scen Markelius's and Alva Myrdal's Collective House),在二次世界大戰時被美國的生活雜誌推為建築的典範,因為當時美國男人出外打仗,國內的工業生產必須號召大批婦女參與,為了讓單獨照顧小孩的母親可以工作,出現了很多類似的集合住宅形式,住宅社區中提供托兒中心,還有公共廚房。最讚的是,每個公寓單元有一個專門輸送三餐的小電梯(有可能是手動的),可以直接將廚房煮的食物送到每個家裡面。這樣家的設計聽起來真像是女人的天堂,很可惜的是,1940 年中期大戰結束之後男人回家,美國又開始回頭鼓勵傳統郊區的核心、「男主外、女主內」的獨棟住宅形式,也為 1960 年代的婦女運動留下了伏筆。



圖說: 1935 年斯德哥爾摩的集合住宅(Scen Markelius's and Alva Myrdal's Collective House)

美國拉樂明小鎮的社會住宅

台灣一般認為只有在台北才需要社會住宅,但是,如果仔細去探訪各鄉鎮角落,其實隱藏很多貧窮人口的住宅問題。

在懷俄明大學所在的拉樂明小鎮,有三萬人口,在這樣小規模的城鎮中,也有五處由美國聯邦政府住宅與都市發展局(HUD)補助、私人興建的社會出租住宅,二處以低收入身障者為主,一個是低收入老人,二處是低收入家庭。住戶付的租金是每月工作所得扣掉撫養依賴人口支出之後的 30%,聯邦政府補貼市場租金的差額,這些叫做 Section 8 住宅。除此之外,合乎資格的低收入戶也可以選擇 Section 8 的租屋券,到一般的出租住宅去找房子(註六)。

University Height 公寓,就是以低收入家庭為主的低收入住宅,共有66户。社區的中心是兒童遊戲場和社區的洗衣間,每戶的窗戶都面對著兒童遊戲場,下午放學時間,小孩和老人都在這遊戲場活動。

美國的出租公寓都要有一個「平等住宅機會」的標章,這是聯邦政府的平等住宅法明訂,出租的公寓不可以有任何的偏好、限制或歧視不同的種族、膚色、身障、家庭狀況、或不同國家的人。因為有這樣的法律,如果房客覺得被歧視,就可以向政府申訴,地方政府的住宅機構平時也會雇用臨時人員假裝租屋,調查是否有歧視的情形產生。





圖說: University Height 低收入家庭公寓中間的兒童遊戲場

另外一個例子是 River Run 公寓,雖然是以一般家戶為主,但低收入者有優先權,而且住宅是無障礙設計。社區有更多的公共設施,像社區的公共廚房等,除了可以經常舉辦社區活動之外,租屋者也可以借用來辦大型的親朋好友聚會(註七)。



圖說: River Run 公寓,這個招牌強調 EOH,就是平等住宅機會,還有無障礙的設計。



圖說:夏天傍晚的時候,這條小巷子就會很熱鬧,大家在外面烤肉,小孩子在外面玩,很多青少年在陽台互相交談,大家的門口面對面,但不會太近,可以互相照應,又保有隱私,這樣的社區完全不需要警衛。





圖說:一樣的社區設計,家的入口面對兒童遊戲場,這樣小孩子在玩的時候,各戶的家長都可以從家裡看出去,幫忙看顧。

最令人驚訝的是,拉樂明小鎮竟然有十二處終生收容腦部損傷的團體家戶,每一個團體家戶有大約八 到十位住戶,二十四小時雇人看護,這樣的團體家戶竟然已經運作了五十年以上。

方舟民間機構(ARK Regional Service)在 1956 年就成立,除了運作團體家戶之外,還提供居家服務等各種支持的服務。經費的來源來自聯邦,地方政府和大量的民間捐款。不過,這幾年美國經濟不景氣,刪減福利預算,對方舟這樣的組織衝擊不小,原本收容者的家庭可以有足夠的補貼,不用付費,但最近要分攤一些經費。

這樣的團體家戶讓人見識到社區的力量,讓原本必須照顧家人終生的親屬,可以擁有自己的人生,而 不用背負沈重的照顧責任,減少很多社會的悲劇(註八)。

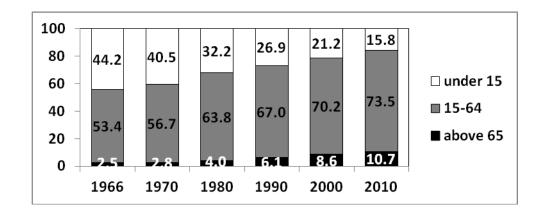
美國不是福利國家,他們各種福利措施有很多令人詬病的地方。所幸的是,美國的民間力量非常的自主,他們習慣自行組織團體,針對需要來建立各種的互助組織。

例如鎮上有許多社團專門是以照顧小小孩的父母為主,每星期固定有小孩的遊樂時間,輪流在每個人家裡舉辦。有些媽媽利用網路成立社團,建立輪流照顧的系統,感興趣的媽媽必須通過會員的推薦才能參加,媽媽們一旦有事需要別人幫忙照顧小孩時,就在網路尋找有空的家長,為了公平起見,這系統建立點數的計算,像是社區貨幣一樣,幫別人照顧小孩可以得到點數,可以再依此花點數請別的媽媽幫忙照顧。有時媽媽們想要一起出去玩,就可以共同請臨時保姆,分擔費用。媽媽也常常需要休息、可以自己一個人出去玩,這是完全合理的理由。

台灣未來的社會和未來的住宅

台灣少子化和社會老化是一個可預見的未來,經濟不穩定、托兒支持體系欠缺、高房價,是促成年輕人無法組成家庭的重要原因。不婚人口增加、婚姻關係的不穩定,讓傳統的核心家庭甚至是三代以上家庭漸漸減少,家庭的形式比以往多樣、但也不穩定很多,這意味家庭已經無法繼續扮演的養老育幼功能。

社會老化的問題,用人口的統計表解釋最清楚。1966 到 2010 年,十五歲以下人口從 44.2%減少到 15.8%, 六十五歲以上老人從 2.5%增加到 10.7%。現在開始興建的住宅,應該就要為老年化的社會作準備。新的住宅設計應該要有社區家戶的概念,鼓勵社區支持系統建立。



資料來源:行政院主計處 2010 年住宅及戶口普查。

鄰里關係的建立不是一天兩天的事,台灣推動社區總體營造多年,社區參與公共事務的習慣在都市地區還是很有限。住宅的極度商品化,轉變了一般人對住宅的概念,金錢的價值蓋過一切,昂貴的房價讓大家對公共空間斤斤計較。然而,社區的共同空間是社區關係建立的場所,沒有共同可以常常碰面、聊天、玩耍的地方,社區關係便無從建立。

住宅社會化的可能性

社會住宅在 **2010** 年提出時引起了社會很大的迴響,第一次在台灣,住宅終於有一種不同聲音。不過這推動的過程中,並不是那麼的容易(註十)。

去年都市專業者改革組織舉辦安康公營住宅國際工作坊,分三梯次邀請不同國家的社會住宅專家來台,第一梯次的四位荷蘭社會住宅專家給予很多的建議。我參與荷蘭的工作坊,受到很多的啟發。荷蘭的專家在工作坊中一直地不停提出許多疑問。印象最深刻的是一個質疑是:為何台北的低收入無住屋者那麼多,而台北只有這麼少的社會住宅。工作坊的一個討論重點是:進住社會住宅的資格、租期多久、租金多少。他們用一個比喻來形容這樣的討論設定,無助於真正解決低收入者的問題,這個比喻就是:有一百個飢餓的人,但只有一碗飯,不管用怎樣的規則分配這一碗飯,頂多只有一個人不會餓死。

荷蘭的專家對社會住宅被社區排擠的憤怒程度,也讓我非常驚訝。阿姆斯特丹是都市計畫界有名的公平正義之都,除了有歐洲最高比例的社會住宅以外,社會的包容度也是歐洲最高的國家之一。台灣社會其實也有很高的包容度和愛心,但住宅價格的高漲,金錢的衡量突然變得比什麼都重要。

社會住宅遭到預定地居民的反對,是社會住宅運動的一個轉折。這樣的反對過程也增加了社區和政府的互動,讓新的社會住宅設計可以和社區融合,藉由社會住宅的建立,增加當地社區的福利服務,最終,這些社區將會瞭解這是一個福氣,因為社區增加了許多養老育幼的各種家庭服務,也增加了社區的公共空間。

比較令人擔心的是安康公營住宅旗艦計畫已經啟動,將在郝龍斌市長第二任期滿前完工,將可以容納 256 戶。很可惜的是,市政府已經為了安康平宅改建舉辦多次國際工作坊,但第一期的興建卻沒有納 入太多的新構想,在以戶數最多的考量之下,大樓設計其實和一般的商品房無異,將公共空間極度擠壓,沒有社區家戶的思考模式。這個規模最大的公營住宅,沒有太多未來社會的前瞻性,喪失一個社會改造的機會,實在很可惜。

結語:

社會住宅運動對台灣最大的貢獻,就是開啟一個新的家的想像,讓我們可以在極度商品化的都市中,重新思考住宅的意義。也讓被商業化擠壓到失去理想性格的建築專業,得以重拾想像,創造一個新的家的建築形式。

一九七 O 年代興起的女性主義的空間學者,是社會的藝術家,她們從比別人早些感知的痛楚之中,提出新的家的想像,從自己的房間開始、到家、到社區、鄰里、都市,甚至到全球的視野,提出一個新的空間設計的思考,她們知道穿一件舒服、合適的衣服,其實比較重要,就像選擇一個適合自己的人生一樣。

註解:

註一:我曾在聽完演講之後寫下網誌「庫里奇巴的傳奇」: http://www.wretch.cc/blog/hualien2008/9782330

註二:Jacqueline Leavitt 和 Susan Saegert 合寫的書為:From Abandonment to Hope: Community-Households in Harlem (Columbia University Press), 1990 年出版。

註三:不同空間層級的思考,資料來自 Joan Forrester Sprague 在 1991 年所寫的: More Than Housing: Lifeboats for Women and Children. Butterworth Architecture 出版,頁 46。

註四: 丹麥 Savvæket 住宅[,]資料來自 Karen A. Frank 和 Sherry Ahrentzen 所編輯的: New Households, New Housing. 1989 年由紐約的出版社 Van Nostrand Reinhold 出版,頁 108。

註五:Nina West Home 單親母親住宅簡介網址:
http://www.csmonitor.com/1981/0423/042320.html/(page)/2

Nina West Home 早期紀錄片的網址:

http://www.britishpathe.com/video/nina-west-childrens-home/query/playground

註六:美國各地的低收入住宅,可透過這個網站查詢。http://www.publichousing.com/zip.php?zip=82070

註七:River Run 公寓的網址:http://riverrunwyoming.com/ 網站有更清楚公寓設施介紹,裡面也有申請表格,從申請表格中,可以看到公寓評估住戶優先入住的評點條件。

註八:非營利機構方舟團體家戶以及居住協助的網址是: http://www.arkregionalservices.com/history.html

註九:安康公營住宅國際工作坊網址:http://ankanghousing.blogspot.com/ 裡面有荷蘭專家提供的報告和簡報資料。

註十:我在蘋果日報有寫過一篇文章「合宜住宅不要再蓋了」, http://www.appledaily.com.tw/appledaily/article//20120211/34017803/

四、陳怡伶,2012,韓國社會住宅之行,跨界:大學與社會參與。第二期。

http://www.interlocution.tw/contributeDetail other.php?2H73gugs1GqZD6jo89dX7M9Ysr%2F9 也是出國的報告。

研究實踐的成果

只許成功且無所不用其極的假戲真做-淺談民間團體參與安康公營住宅旗艦計畫

摘要

本文分析民間團體參與安康公營住宅計畫改建之過程,以省思社會住宅運動與安康作為第一案既有低收入出租住宅改建指標性意義。安康社區為北市最大平價住宅社區,由於建物老舊與標籤化,長期以來改建呼聲不絕;適逢 2010 年起社會住宅運動趁高房價與居住正義議題而起,郝市長決議推動「安康公營住宅旗艦計畫」。不過,相關配套皆不足,遂使民間團體以代表者身分由政治體制內群起倡議與公部門召開會議商討並承接計畫介入,但始終具難以突破之極限。因此,民間團體去年底起組織居民,由下而上修正既有政策與凝聚長久永續治理動能。一切正在進行中,但目前來看安康仍為倡議與介入相對成功者,關鍵因素在於其清楚組織標的、社會位置與多元介入。

一、前言

安康平宅社區(以下簡稱安康) 興建於 1975 年,坐落於台北市南郊(如圖一),為十一棟四層建築物,共 1024 戶,提供社會局管理的無自有住宅低收入戶申請入住,為北市數量最多也是最集中的一批平價住宅¹。興建多年後,由於當初設計不佳、營運管理機制設計不當及社會普遍對於弱勢之歧視,造成品質不佳、維修不易、難以管理及對低收入群居的社區標籤等。因此,改建呼聲不段,自 1980 年代末期即傳出改建更新訊息²,爾後更進行「台北市平價住宅改建先期規劃」,針對北市平宅社區進行現況實質調查與居民訪談,並於分析後提擬相對應之五個改建政策方案、低收入住宅規劃設計建議與模式範例參考等。然而,雖改建呼聲不斷,但因社會福利與住宅政策難以進入政治決策議程中,長期被視為非公共事務且住宅市場萬能論買串其中,使得平宅改建與福利輸送為核心的弱勢居住議題及相對應的住宅政策難以討論。

一切就在研考會 2009 年的民怨調查及社會住宅推動聯盟自 2010 起倡議後逐步產生改變。2009 年時任行政院院長吳敦義指示研考會了解民怨所在,經調查後,發現都會地區房價過高、電話與詐騙氾濫、求職不易與失業、毒品充斥與民生物價過高等;故可知居住議題在政府以「市場萬能論」的放任邏輯下,房價與薪水成為不成比例漲幅與落差,遂使不再僅是最底層民眾,而是過往認為「努力就買得起房」的社會中產階級³,居住議題始進入政治議題之討論。另一方面,民間團體聯合組成「社會住

¹ 平價住宅專供北市社會局列管低收入戶申請入住,除安康外,今尚有大同之家(61 戶)、福民平宅(340 戶)、福德平宅(504 戶),現已拆除)與延吉平宅(120 戶),共 3073 戶。

² 改善早期國宅平宅 將由基建工作支援,聯合報,1987.07.29。

³ 此次調查以網路調查為主,換言之,其反應一定年齡層與具特定社會經濟資本者。

宅推動聯盟⁴」(以下簡稱住盟),寄望於台灣目前面臨房價不合理飆漲與社會分配二極化的雙重現況,倡議興建服務弱勢之公共出住宅與改善健全住宅市場。住盟以多重取徑進行政策倡議,如國際交流積極引介先進諸國經驗、舉辦記者會監督政策、參與修法會議推動等。其中較指標性意義者,乃為 2010 年入總統府拜訪遊說馬英九總統,並成功其宣示開始興辦社會住宅,命內政部於台北市與新北市共選五處興建;另藉由倡議與遊說,於 2011 年底完成「住宅法」立法,廢止既有國宅條例,督促中央及地方政府開始推動社會住宅。

社會住宅推動鄰避效應鉅,促使既有安康平宅為改建標的,但配套不足。因為對房價、生活品質影響疑慮與既有國民住宅刻版印象造成的對政府不信任,政策推行中,由總統御筆欽點的五處基地與北市規畫推動者招引周邊居民強烈抗議⁵,一度使政策推行暫緩。此時,由於既有社會住宅興建計畫遭到反對,市府便將興建目標轉移至既有建物改建。如前所述,安康是規模最大,群聚造成標籤較嚴重者,周邊社區反對阻力小,因此被選為既有公共出租住宅的改建標的第一例⁶。這是安康平宅改建的背景。其改建固然是美事一件,但相關配套不足,遂使民間團體進入倡議與租之居民。因此,我將會在下一小節介紹改建概要,並於第三小節與第四小節分別描述民間團體如何進行體制內挑戰與社區組織動員,最後將凝聚結論與討論安康改建過程民間團體介入相對順利之因素。

二、安康公營住宅旗艦計畫

圖一 安康社區與北市相對位置



安康平宅改建為安康公營住宅,預計將原本 1024 戶的社區,透過都市計畫變更逕行將容積率從原先 225%提升至 450%,建蔽率維持 45%,計畫採分期分區,初步估計興建 3300 戶,規劃願景與基地現況如下圖二與圖三。

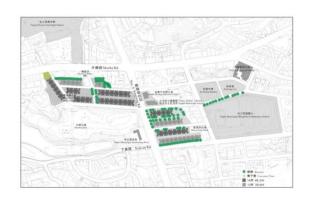
⁴ 於 2010 年 8 月 26 日成立,倡議推動公共出租住宅提供弱勢居住,由關注社會福利與住宅議題者共同組成,成員有中華民國智障者家長總會、中華民國殘障者聯盟、中華民國老人福利聯盟、台灣勞工陣線、台灣少年權益與福利促進聯盟、台灣社會福利總盟、專業者都市改革組織、康復之友聯盟、台灣社區居住與獨立生活聯盟、財團法人伊甸社會福利基金會、財團法人勵馨社會福利基金會、財團法人崔媽媽基金會、財團法人陽光社會福利基金會等,共十三個團體。(網站:http://socialhousingtw.blogspot.tw/)

^{5 「}社宅拖垮治安」 松山居民抗議,聯合報,**2010.11.19**。

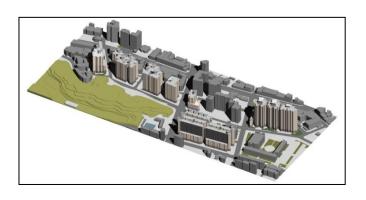
中和蓋社會住宅 地方不歡迎,聯合報,2010.11.19。

居民場外抗議 議會談公宅 郝:萬利已成案,聯合報,2011.05.17。

⁶ 公營住宅選地 屢碰釘 議員:改建平宅出租 郝贊成,聯合報,2011.05.27。



未來 3300 戶皆作為公營出租住宅,適用新的入住對象、租金租期標準與營運管理機制,並由不同收入等級的對象混居,以混合使用為規畫原則。



圖三 安康先期規劃 資料來源:安康社區「文山區華興段 1 小段 318 地號等基地委託初步規劃技術服務勞務採購案」

增加規劃彈性,都市計畫變更要求須集中,各基地容積可互相調配運用,移入容積上限不得超過接受基地面積 30%;公共設施設置於地面層為原則,並因應社區基本商業需求;指定開放空間既有生長良好樹木需保留。



圖四 分期分區改建示意圖

目前規畫與興建由市府負責編列預算進行,採分期分區進行(如圖四),第一期總經費預估為 140 億,將改建 D 基地、停車場與市場,預計興建共九百戶。其中,D 基地已發包由潤弘精密工程負責施工,興建兩棟十八層樓高樓,包含一房、二房、三房等多重選擇⁷。停車場與市場已委託建築師設計。預計 2015 年完工。

⁷ 安康公營住宅動工 104 年入住,中國時報,102.07.18。

改建固然為美事一件,然相關配套不足未見長遠規劃。政府面對高度正當性政治事件總是以「施捨」心態推動,並有侷限地認為僅硬體改善後,既有標籤與破敗意象得以去除,但針對弱勢居住與福利服務輸送議題皆未提及,僅針對未來「數量」計算而為思考永續治理機制。具體而言,政策擬定過程過於草率,並未針對如入住對象、興辦模式、財務規劃、社區融合與營運管理等面向進行討論便直接落入都市計畫變更與空間配置規畫設計。因此,民間團體便群起介入倡議遊說。

三、民間團體的體制內介入

民間團體必須證明其「不只會吵,也會做」,因此住盟透過民意代表召開公聽會,並與社會局召開 多次會議,且承接都市發展局相關規畫構想案,期望從政治體制內部挑戰且修正既有政策。然而,民 間團體身為弱勢居住議題代表者,始終無法挑戰關鍵核心議題,故於下一階段進入社區組織挑戰既有 政策與試探未來營造之可能。

首先,住盟與民意代表共同召開公聽會,促請相關單位跨局處溝通執行細節。改建事宜的不明確,住盟倡議由民意代表邀請都市發展局與社會局舉辦「安康平宅更新改建」公聽會(如圖五),由李新、厲耿與李慶元議員共同舉辦,具體要求市府於實質規劃設計與施工前,應先確認此計畫基本社會目標及相應方案;若未詳細討論便進入硬體規劃,恐對改建後產生無法逆轉之後果。公聽會決議社會局須於三個月內召集社福、建築、都計相關專家及民間團體密集召開會議且舉辦地方說明會,使原居民、周邊居民與市民得以了解改建細節⁸。





社會局邀請民間團體與專業者舉辦五次會議商討初步改建建議。由公 聽會後,社會局密集與民間團體與專業者召開改建會議(如圖六),討論改 建定位、營運管理機制、弱勢家戶基本設定、規劃設計原則、社區活化機 制(社區融合)等議題形塑初步共識,無法獲得確認者須帶更大的政治動員 挑戰。



不只社會局召開會議討論,都市發展局也規劃補助案推動改建設計構想凝聚,但僅為設計構想,與實際規劃脫鉤。為爭取「2016世界設計之都」,市府補助「國內大學或非營利團體都市規劃設計國際交流合作計畫」,設定安康平宅改建為補助標的之一。當然,住盟與都市改革組織長期關注改建事宜,幸運地獲得「安康公營住宅國際設計工作坊」補助,邀請來自荷蘭、美國、日本的國外團隊與淡江大學建築所、中原景觀所與台灣大學建築與城鄉研究所共同進行三階段工作坊(如圖七與圖八),期望藉

³ 「安康平宅更新改建」公聽會會後聲明稿,社會住宅推動聯盟,2012.03.22。



由整體規劃(master plan)、綠帶串聯與社區鄰里空間規劃等面向提擬可操作的建議。本計畫執行與 2012 年 5 月至 11 月,定位為「國際交流」規劃構想案,因此,與安康第一期改建時程並不存相對應關係。且其由不同科室管理,雖最後要求第一期承包商須「參考」,但並無強制力。不過,民間團體透過此機會更加凝聚後續參與式設計與組織社區動能。









既去年國際交流合作計畫,雖第一期相關計畫已發包,但都發局仍以競逐世界設計之都為目標推行公營住宅參與式規劃案,民間團體再次試圖由體制內影響。由於現實政治時程壓力與條件限制,時任市長任期結束前必須興建完成或至少發包第一期工程,但市府又同時急需彰顯其「民眾參與規劃」之意象。故於第一期已發包的 2013 年又同時邀請民間進行「公營住宅參與式設計」,明顯其並未將民眾參與列為整體改建核心位置,而是僅為爭取世界設計之都釋出資源以彰顯其愛民與傾聽民意。然而,身為倡議團體,此仍為體制提供良機「見縫插針」與「假戲真做」,透過參與式設計過程擾動社區,邀請社區不同群體,討論未來不同尺度規劃(如圖九與圖十),使得未來規劃得以更符合居住者需求。

民間團體以代表者身分倡議有限⁹,從政治體制內的會議與專案計畫執行終須更強的在地動員驅動。自 2012 年的公聽會以降,民間團體透過公聽會、社會局會議、國際交流補助案與參與式規劃案等得以進行相當程度介入,然而,對於更新改建核心議題始終無法挑戰,諸如居民最關心的租金、租期、資格等關鍵課題,抑或是規畫期程等無法進一部獲得共識;僅能於未來營運管理、硬體設計與社區融合等進行遊說。因此,都市改革組織自去年底進入社區,期望透過軟性活動與改建議題討論凝聚社區

⁹ 社會住宅推動聯盟組成主要為社會福利與住宅團體,其並未有明顯群眾標的,而是尤其具影響力之團體運作。

四、進入社區組織居民

都市改革組織自去年底始進入社區組織,其標的為七月暑期工作坊與九月延藤安弘團隊訪談之居民,透過社區改建事項討論與軟性情誼組織活動,設立在的工作站,形塑社區意識,修正既有政策與凝聚未來永續治理基礎,成功地於4月13日由市議員代為邀請都市發展局與社會局舉辦地方說明會,並具體承諾關鍵議題,即租金、租期與資格,將於年底公布。居民組織中,以單親母親為大宗,其為社區相對經濟社會資本較為雄厚者,對於資訊掌握及公共事務活耀程度較高,也是未來社區組織動員





最重要的基礎。

社區組織之基礎透過去年兩次大 規模訪調匯集較具潛力者。社區 組織動員需與在地居民連結,都 市改革組織與去年組織大專院校 學生進入社區訪調,共訪三十位

家戶,彙整為工作坊討論基礎。另外,於九月邀請日本延藤安弘教授,訪問十八位住戶並提出改建建議。社區組織便期望由訪談接觸過者為基礎(如圖十一與圖十二)。

動員過程討論居民關切事務與發行社區報等使社區組織與改建議題開始在社區發散。由於社區居民長期處於社會底層,對於訊息接收及反應自身需求較不如,導致居民對於相關的重要改建訊息無法掌握¹⁰,都是「看報紙才知道」。換言之,市府並未主動公開及透明的將改建訊息正式通知居民。然而,我們認為居民參與和政策透明才是改建推動的永續之道。因此進入社區,與居民討論共同關心的議題,如租金租期、脫貧課程、社區綠美化建議等等(如圖十三與圖十四)。同時,更進一步於社區發行社區報,將改建事官與社區討論現況資訊散佈至整體社區(如圖十五)。





軟性活動的辦理使社區居民感情融洽臻使組織更為順利。康旻杰老師於去年討論會議中,建議社區可辦理「一家一菜」,不僅能使社區交流互動更為融洽,更能藉此展示社會底層的多元文化現況。此軟性活動舉辦更是作為改建議題討論之緩衝與提升甫進入社區組織討論成員之認同(如圖十六與圖十

¹⁰ 改建訊息主要為 2012 年 5 月 30 日郝市長宣布安康公營住宅旗艦計畫啟動與 2013 年 7 月 17 日安康公營住宅第一期 D 基地動工。然而,根據與居民的訪談與互動,居民直至當天才於社區中瞥見郝龍斌市長蒞臨社區發表記者會,且會後才於媒體得知改建訊息。



經過社區組織運作,必須具階段性可操作事件,故凝聚共識,透過居民連署邀請市政府於 4 月 13 日舉辦改建說明會。社區討論會議中,居民對於不斷的討論但毫無實際作為感到社區參與的無力,因此,於 3 月初開始社區有史以來第一次由居民自發起的連署,並由民意代表代為邀約市府相關局處召開公開說明會。透過居民的努力,從 3 月7日至 3 月 28 日,在現住戶 796 戶中連署 235 戶。最終於 4 月 13 日之說明會現場人數爆滿¹¹,社工表示「從沒在學藝中心看過那麼多人」。也於會議中具體要求社會局於年底前公布租金租期等關鍵規定及

必須固定召開公開說明會對現住戶講解改建事官(如圖十八)。



輕負擔以及找尋生活之出路。

組織過程中,單親家庭(尤其單親媽媽)扮演重要角色。長期參與社區討論的主要成員,以女性為主,尤其因為社區組成特性,又以單親媽媽為多。討論過程中,其較為主動表達意見與參與討論,也較願意為社區付出與組織貢獻。推測一方面其相較於社區中其他群體,是經濟社會資本較為雄厚者,故位階較適合引領社區動員,但其同時也因為時常臨界低收入臨界規範而面臨流動之現況;另一方面,單親母親較為關心子女和家庭教育與未來發展,故較願意奉獻社區,為家與社區守護,期望藉由互相守護減

五、結論

安康平宅為北市規模最大的平宅社區,由於民間團體的倡議與社會政治經濟局勢轉變,成為北市第一例既有低收入公共出租住宅改建案例。在面臨社會住宅推動遭到抗議之際,乃為民間團體唯一且最大的機會。故其透過政治體制內的公聽會、討論會議及規劃構想設計案介入,但由於參與式設計與民眾參與不符既有規劃時程與政治情勢,雖有相關專案執行,但與實際計畫時程與建築設計脫節。是故,身為倡議團體,期望藉由居民組織討論改建議題,得以凝聚共識,一方面得以使整體政策規劃設計更符合現住戶與未來居住者需求,另一方面得以為未來社區營運之永續性積累基礎。而社區組織動員過程,以單親為主要參與者,初步歸納為:(1)社會經濟資本較足夠且社會位階較高;(2)較關心子女與家庭教育,願意奉獻改善既有環境守護家園。

最後,安康平宅改建就現階段而言,可視為民間團體參與介入相對成功者,初步歸納如下:

(1)組織標的明顯:既有政策介入時,民間團體以代表者身分介入,其產生之政治壓力於現實運作並不顯著。安康社區由於現住戶繁多,且改建事關身切,故較易組織居民修正既有政策之執行。

¹¹ 場佈當天,對於原先僅擺約六十張椅子,長期於安康服務的社工表示「已經非常足夠」,學藝中心不會來那麼多人。

- (2)居民原先即為公部門照顧戶:安康平宅住戶皆為社會局列管低收入戶,換言之,其為政府法定照顧者且已經落於社會最底層,使得主管機關較具同理心且意識不可隨意處理。
- (3)多元取徑的使用:民間團體透過體制內多元計畫與社區組織,由體制內外和居民動員等多重方式介入政策。

參考文獻

台北市平價住宅改建先期規劃(1991),臺北市政府社會局委託,台灣大學慶齡工業研究中心主辦,國立台灣大學建築與城鄉研究所規劃室執行。

社會住宅推動聯盟網站(http://socialhousingtw.blogspot.tw/))

研究反省:

研究與實踐的拉扯之我、社區與改建

詹竣傑

改建之際,透過民間團體接線進入社區調查研究突破既有迷思。去年中成為本計畫研究助理,適 逢專業者都市改革組織(OURs)舉辦「安康公營住宅暑期調查工作坊」,組織大專院校學生及關切此議題 人士進入社區訪談,期望於改建之際了解社區並反應於相關計畫進程。回想第一次進入社區,衣物外 掛的街道、狹窄陡峭的樓梯、擺滿回收物的走道的確容易使甫進入者感到錯置與莫名不安。然而,熱 情的受訪居民以及了解過往制度與建築設計缺失使我認知到既有貧窮弱勢的破敗標籤源自刻版印象、 制度缺失與社會扭曲認知,而非完全來自居住於其中者,此更堅定研究者進入社區發掘之意念。

田野的互動與自我折衝是一個不斷對話的過程,必須堅定初衷與思考自我定位。研究者是蒐集資料、發現現象,並整理凝聚後回應既有理論的行動者,但現有研究者常僅將田野視為消耗品,使其過於頻繁被打擾而彈性疲乏。居民對於研究者時常表示「你們都只是說說問問就走啦!」、「跟你說有甚麼用!為什麼要跟你說?」另外,研究者也非政策制定者(政府)、也不是未來設計改建的建築師、更不是營造廠或社福團體。因此,每一次的訪談與互動,「我可以給他們甚麼?」都是必須自我挑戰的問題。研究固然能推進國科會計畫及積累現有知識,但現實而言,受訪者最關心者仍為其居住權益維繫,但既有確認訊息的不透明,居民對改建事宜也是「看報紙才知道」,許多政府已確認之細節雖已於內部工作會議確認但毫無與居民溝通管道。所以,研究者於互動過程僅能透漏目前已確定方案以免造成社區恐慌及以訛傳訛,但面對居民引頸期盼外來較具社會經濟資本者提供更新訊息的渴望眼神,在每一次的互動中都必須不斷告誡與警惕自己。

學術研究與實踐結合更能貼近現實以改善現有困境,單親家庭為社區較為活耀群體。都市改革組織自去年年底進入組織居民,透過改建更新議題討論與軟性活動凝聚社區意識,作為挑戰既有政策及未來永續治理之基礎。研究者雖為學術研究,但學術研究與實踐不可分割。藉由活動參與觀察與協助組織,更再一次破除既有弱勢組織障礙標籤之迷思。其並未無法組織,而是亟需專業者進入協助,研究者必須與實踐者共同進入組織推動,臻使改建能更符合入住者未來需求破除既有標籤。社區組織過程,頻繁參與討論與提供建議者幾乎是單親家庭(又以單親母親家庭為主),據推測其為平宅中較有機會脫貧者且其對資訊、子女教育與社區公共事務等較願意站出來主動表達意見。最後,寄望在研究資源投入之後,可以為事件發展產生正向影響,使得過程更透明,居民能參與,成果能回應現實政治現況與需求,不僅為本計畫針對之低收入單親母親家庭,更能為整體社區未來永續發展。

Housing and social change in Taiwan

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the interaction of the three major actors in the Taiwanese housing system -- the state, the housing market, and the family. The state has played a passive role not only as a supplier but also as a regulator of housing. Government-supplied housing contributes only 5.3 % of all housing stock, and is primarily built for sale rather than rental (Chen & Li, 2011), while only 0.08% of housing stock is public rental housing (Social Housing Advocacy Consortium [SHAC], 2010.10.4). The design of the tax system and a lack of transparency in real housing transaction prices lead to speculation. Low housing transaction taxes encourage investment in housing, while low property taxes reduce the cost of maintaining property. As a result, many housing units are left empty as a store of wealth, and vacant housing in Taiwan is remarkable not only for its prevalence but also for its skyrocketing value in the face of insufficient state intervention. The inadequacies of Taiwan's land tax system and, since the mid 1980s, pro-market housing policies have led to the commodification of housing in Taiwan (Chen, 2011), resulting in a unique combination of high homeownership rates, high vacancy rates, and high housing prices, and making it difficult for the housing system to react to social change or to readily fulfill social needs.

Historic Context

State intervention has played a strong role in the economic development of Asia's four little tigers (i.e., Singapore, Hong Kong, South Korea, and Taiwan), but have played very different roles in the development of their respective housing systems, with public housing being considerably less emphasized in Taiwan and South Korea than in Singapore and Hong Kong. Both Taiwan and South Korea embarked on programs of political democratization beginning in the late 1980s, and their respective governments have responded to the pressure of political competition by promoting expanded social policies (Wong, 2004; Ramesh, 2003). Peng and Wong (2010) argued that Japan, Korea, and Taiwan have gradually formed inclusive social insurance which is unlike the individualistic social protection in Hong Kong and Singapore. In recent years, the governments of South Korea and Taiwan have also begun to initiate social housing projects. The number of households renting government housing in South Korea has rose rapidly to 6.3 % of all housing stock in 2010 (Kim, 2011). Meanwhile, a strong social rental housing movement did not begin in Taiwan until 2010. Whether the state in Taiwan will play a bigger role in the housing system or whether the social characteristics of housing will continue to expand is still uncertain. What is certain, however, is that housing will continue to be at the center of social contention in Taiwan.

The development of Taiwan's housing system can be divided into three stages, with the state changing its role and means of intervention over time. These three stages are referred to as laissez-faire, regulation and promotion. In Taiwan, 'public housing' refers to housing provided by the state that primarily is for sale, as opposed to rent.

Laissez-faire housing system from 1949 to the mid-1970s

In 1949, Taiwan experienced a massive influx of war refugees from China's civil war. These refugees concentrated in Taiwan's cities, precipitating a serious housing shortage. The Kuomintang government was also new to Taiwan and found itself incapable of managing the initial chaos during which refugees built illegal squatter settlements, which expanded later as industrialization attracted rural migrants to the cities. Public

housing was only provided to civil servants working for the central government and to very poor people. In the 1950s, the government began to emphasize economic development, taking control of financial institutions and directing investment towards key industries. However, housing was not a high priority for financial policy. Thus, though the state controlled the banks, there was no mechanism for providing loans to private property developers or homebuyers.

Without any institutional intervention or financial support from the state, private developers created an informal pre-sale housing system to address the housing finance problem. In this pre-sale scheme consumers paid a certain proportion of the housing price prior to construction, and paid the balance when the project was completed, thus providing the developers the funds to complete construction (Wu & Wu, 2004). However, buying pre-sale housing was highly risky because of a lack of legal protections. The creation of the pre-sale system was a manifestation of the absence of state intervention (Li, 1998).

Before the mid-1970s, the KMT state intervened minimally in social welfare, adopting a laissez-faire position in the housing market. Demand for housing prompted the formation of a private housing market, but much of this market was informal and characterized by construction without permits, unlicensed architects and pre-sale housing. While the state failed to establish formal financial and legal systems to facilitate and regulate the housing market, the informal housing sector helped mitigate the housing shortage and reduce the cost of social reproduction, for example through the use of pre-sale financing and the development of squatters' settlements. However, key drawbacks included the lack of legal protections for consumers and the fact that, absent consumer loans and state assistance, each family had put up the purchase price in cash through saving or borrowing through their kinship network.

The era of state promises: from the 1970s to the mid-1980s

The mid-1970s marked a major change in social policy as well as in housing policy. The KMT government enacted the "Public Housing Act" in 1975 and incorporated the "Six-year Housing Construction Program" (1976-1981) into the national economic plan, aiming to provide 100,000 units of public housing. The driving force for this large-scale housing project came not from labor or social movements, but rather in response to two oil crises and diplomatic isolation (Mi, 1988, 113; 141-142). In 1971 Taiwan lost her seat in the United Nations to China and the United States terminated diplomatic relations in 1979, leaving the KMT government without a valid claim to sovereignty over Mainland China. Meanwhile, domestic democratic movements emerged to question the legitimacy of the authoritarian state. The KMT state faced a severe confidence crisis, and the situation was worsened when the two oil shocks of the 1970s hit Taiwan's import-based, energy-dependent economy. The resulting rapid inflation, combined with rapid GDP growth and an increase in the money supply contributed to a housing boom. Upper-income families, seeking to preserve their wealth in real estate, drove up housing prices so quickly that middle-income people suddenly found themselves even less able to afford housing. Introducing the public housing program therefore served the help the government restore political legitimacy (Mi, 1988). These public construction projects also served to prop up domestic construction companies, and thus stimulate the economy in imitation of Singapore.

However, Taiwan experienced considerable difficulty implementing the Singaporean model. First, urban land in Taiwan was mostly in private hands, making the cost of land acquisition prohibitive, especially given that Taiwan had no source of funding equivalent to Singapore's Central Provident Fund. Taiwan's housing authority had planned to build low-cost housing for sale to low-income families, but the high cost of land boosted the final price of the flats out of the reach of the target consumers. Rather than further subsidize the price, the government relaxed the income ceiling. In the end, many of the flats built for low-income families were purchased by middle and upper-income consumers (Housing Department of Taipei City Government, 1987: 86). The purchase price was still lower than the market price, attracting speculators who resold the flats at a profit.

Taiwan's public housing was almost entirely built for sale, not rent. In this sense, these large-scale housing projects in the 1970s established lasting trends in housing policy: housing was treated as a commodity, and not built for those who most needed access to public assistance.

The massive housing construction program did mark a change in the state's attitude towards the housing market. The state began to take action to control the housing market by direct involvement in

housing construction, aiming to increase the housing supply and lower housing prices. In addition, the state also began to control funding for housing purchases and adjusting taxes related to housing sales. The purpose of these actions was to put a stop to unruly housing development and speculation. The authoritarian state could impose these measures with little opposition and speculation soon cooled down. Nevertheless, these actions were only temporary as the state still had no intention of establishing comprehensive regulations for the housing market.

The nature of state intervention in housing from the 1970s to the mid-1980s was regulatory and Keynesian. The state began to take action to regulate the housing market but did not intend to establish long-term market regulations. Although housing policy was incorporated into the national economic plan, its contribution to economic development was limited, and the social welfare aspect housing was largely ignored.

Liberalization from the mid-1980s

In the early 1980s, the United States responded to its surging trade deficits by instituting protectionist trade policies. Taiwan came under pressure from the Reagan administration to open its markets to international trade (Mi, 1988: 138). Under US pressure, Taiwan's currency appreciated by about 40% against the US dollar between 1986 and 1989 (C.-O. Chang, 1995: 203). Foreign exchange restrictions were loosened in 1987, allowing foreign capital to surge into Taiwan's financial markets for investment in Taiwanese dollars (Hsiao & Liu, 1993: 5). With a savings rate of about 30% of GNP through the 1980s, Taiwan had a large supply of idle money to further fuel property speculation. Taiwan's government responded to calls for economic liberalization from the US and large domestic enterprises by privatizing state-owned enterprises, abolishing controls on interest rates and exchange rates, and reducing tariffs. The government deregulated financial markets in the mid-1980s and interest rates began to drop (Li, 1998: 136). Investors could get more funding from banks and depositors were seeking better returns than those available from banks, so the decrease of interest rates intensified housing speculation. The government also moved from controlling the housing market to establishing regulations to stimulate it. This included such measures as encouraging banks to provide mortgages and facilitating the establishment of real estate management firms to intervene in housing investment, consumption and finance to ameliorate the problems associated with pre-sale housing (Mi, 1988: 138).

1986 also saw the establishment of Taiwan's first formal opposition party, the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP). The forces of economic liberalization and political democratization gradually challenged the authoritarian KMT state and its top-down relationship with the market. The government lost control of the housing market and prices more than tripled in the six years from 1986 to 1992 (C.-O. Chang, 1995: 162-172).

Rampant land speculation in the late-1980s provoked Taiwan's first popular housing movement which pushed the government to increase the construction of public housing and improve financial controls on loans to private developers. These actions successfully slowed the rise of housing prices.

Economic liberalization again became popular in the 1990s as Taiwan applied to join the World Trade Organization. Taiwan applied for the membership in 1992 before WTO was formally established, and finally became a member in 2002. Public policies in the 1990s were more explicitly aimed at economic liberalization and deregulation to promote Taiwan's WTO bid. In housing, the KMT government sought ways to balance the demands of voters and the goal of liberalization, partially through the development of housing mortgage programs. In 1990, the government established various mortgage subsidy programs for different groups of people. Although state employees and military personnel still enjoyed the best housing welfare, benefits were extended to a broader population including workers, aboriginals and first time home buyers. The government began to play an active role in channelling money from banks to the housing market (Construction and Planning Agency [CPA], 2006: 27).

Under popular pressure the state began to promote different mortgage programs for different groups of borrowers, greatly increasing the total number of beneficiaries of public housing. These mortgage programs were further boosted in 2000 under the DPP presidential administration which created a mortgage program specifically targeting people between 20 to 40 years old. Thus, since the early 2000s, mortgage programs have become the key element in housing policy with the goal of promoting the housing market. In 2008, the

KMT regained the power and continued this policy.

In contrast to the neoliberal reforms in many European and North American countries, Taiwan's state intervention in the housing market increased in the 1990s, but the logic of housing intervention gradually shifted towards market mechanisms and neoliberal principles as the state strategically applied neoliberal reforms (Chen & Li, 2011). While state intervention in housing had been minimal previously, following 1990 the state began to increasingly intervene, moving from the construction of public housing to encouraging home ownership through the liberalization of mortgage policies. The increased availability of mortgages and subsidized interest rates allowed more consumers to enter the private housing market, boosting the real estate and financial markets. State policy has also explicitly encouraged the commoditization of housing, while public rental housing remains a marginal component of the overall housing system.

Socioeconomic, political and demographic changes since the 1990s

Despite these attempts to promote home ownership, since the 1990s, the housing market has faced a growing schism. Economic restructuring increased social inequality, while housing policies favour the continued growth of the housing market and prevent the decline of housing prices. Taiwan's wealthy have taken advantage of these conditions to invest their wealth in real estate, while middle and low income families increasingly struggle to afford housing in the face of eroding incomes and rising housing prices. Since the 1990s, socioeconomic, political and demographic changes have exerted a strong impact on housing and future housing policies, but the high degree of commoditization of housing prevents the government from effectively addressing these issues. Dependence on the private housing market to provide solutions also signals that the government has no intention to control housing prices or assist those who have little chance of achieving home ownership.

Recent Development

Housing affordability crises since 2005

Taiwan's housing boom, beginning in 2005, came as something of a surprise given the volatility of the economy. Pre-sale housing prices increased 74% from 2005 to 2010 and show no signs of slowing down. The major cause was the massive return of Taiwanese overseas capital due to the uncertainty of global financial markets, compounded by a reduction in the inheritance tax. The estate and gift tax was revised in 2008, reducing the inheritance tax rate from 50% to 10% (China Times, 2010.3.7). Low interest rates on mortgages (below 2% since February 2009) have also contributed (Central Bank of Taiwan, 2011). On June 29, 2010, Taiwan and China signed a preferential trade agreement (the Economic Cooperation Framework Agreement, or ECFA), and anticipation of future economic growth and increasing capital from China stimulated investment in residential housing and office buildings. Taiwan still imposes stringent residency restrictions on people from the People's Republic of China, which has limited the absolute number of housing sales to mainland Chinese. However, many real estate investments are conducted through transnational corporations, which may include Chinese shareholders, making the real impact of Chinese capital in Taiwan's real estate market difficult to ascertain. However, the influence of this capital influx has been publicly exaggerated, which fuelled speculation as local property investors anticipate future buying by Chinese nationals.

<Figure 3 here>

The resulting housing bubble has significantly worsened housing affordability. Real housing transaction prices are not transparent, and the primary sources of housing price information are academic surveys or data released by real estate companies. Table 3 shows survey data on recent homebuyers in six major Taiwanese cities. These homebuyers were able to make a down payment, which runs around 30% of the total price. However, even for these people of relatively significant means, in 2011 the average house price in Taipei City was the equivalent of 14.3 times their annual income, while the multiple for the average of the six cities was 9.2. In Taipei, the new homebuyers paid 46.6% of their monthly household income toward their mortgage, compared to an average of 34.6% for the six major cities (Table 2). At this level, housing prices are considered unaffordable for these recent homebuyers, let alone for people who are still trying to save money

for the down payment. This implies that home ownership has been further restricted to higher income groups in recent years.

<Table 2 here>

Even given high housing prices, simultaneous high rates of home ownership and vacancies presents an apparent contradiction. Taiwan's rate of home ownership reached 89.3% in 2010, against a vacancy rate of 19.3% (Table 1). In Taipei City, Taiwan's most expensive area, home ownership was lower at 75.2% with a vacancy rate of 13.4%. How can these simultaneously high rates of home ownership rate, vacancies, and housing prices be interpreted? Several Taiwanese economists have attributed this to cultural phenomena, specifically the premium that Chinese people have traditionally placed on land as an asset that holds its value. However, structural factors play a more direct role by creating a housing system that is highly commoditized, seriously neglects social justice, and promotes speculation.

The lack of a sound social welfare system means that people must seek individual solutions to their housing problems. Also, the housing system provides little in the way of protection for non-homeowners. There is no social housing system to speak of, and the state barely regulates the rental housing market. Rental housing practices do not provide adequate protections for either landlords or tenants, but tenants are especially vulnerable. Despite the cost, owning a home is still the best way for families to ensure stable and secure housing conditions.

Housing has also provided investors with a useful tool for preserving and expanding wealth. A 2011 survey of new home buyers showed that 15.8% of recent home purchases were primarily made for investment. Among these, 41.8% of purchases were not made primarily to rent, but to resell at a profit (IPPI, 2011). Due to low property taxes, many homeowners prefer to leave their investment properties vacant, then sell when prices are good or when they need money. This explains the high rate of vacancy, despite the high housing prices. The transaction tax is calculated according to a property's assessed value (Announced Present Value, APV). This value, as calculated by the government, is far below the real market price, thus the actual transaction tax incurred by investors and speculators is low.

Housing is also seen as a good investment because abrupt drops in housing prices are largely unknown in living memory. Figure 3 shows real pre-sale housing prices in Taipei City from 1987 to 2010. Two big surges can be seen since the late 1980s. Between these two surges, housing prices stayed relatively stable despite slowing economic growth (see Figs. 1 and 3). Pre-sale housing includes only newly constructed housing, so the price is higher than the average. Since the mid-1990s, Taiwan has experience four sharp drops of economic growth: the Asian financial crisis in 1997, the 9/11 incident in 2001, the SARs outbreak in 2003, and the global financial crisis in 2008. Throughout this time, the unemployment rate has risen steadily. Taiwan was not as badly hit by the 1997 Asian financial crisis as other Asian countries because the domestic financial system was relatively less open at the time. The pro-market housing policies enacted since 1990 have played an important role in sustaining the housing market. During these four economic slumps, the government provided additional funds for low-interest mortgages. In 2001, the land value incremental tax rate was reduced by half, which also helped to sustain the housing market.

Conclusion

Taiwan's housing system has evolved through three stages from laissez-faire, through market regulation, to market promotion. The government has played a very limited role in the provision of affordable or low-income housing. In the end of the 1980s, housing policy emphasized promoting homeownership and was highly reliant on market-based mechanisms, in particular through subsidizing mortgages. This approach was successful in increasing home ownership but also intensified the commoditization of housing. The state lacks adequate mechanisms to counter speculation and control skyrocketing housing prices. Simultaneously high housing prices, home ownership rates and vacancy rates show that the current housing system is unable to effectively distribute housing resources.

The current housing system neglects people at the bottom of the economic ladder - those unable to

afford own a home and even have difficulty to find decent rental accommodation. A rapid process of economic restructuring widened social inequality and expanded poverty, thus further intensifying housing problems. Since the 1980s, these neoliberal trends in housing policy have resulted in further commoditization of housing, served the interests of developers and investors, and sacrificed the disadvantaged.

Policies related to social welfare and social reproduction have positioned families as the major providers of social services. Women, increasingly working outside the home but still largely responsible for housework, are overwhelmed by their role in social reproduction. Thus, as women increase their economic status, they have increasingly delayed marriage and opted out of parenthood. Welfare and housing policies have also been very slow to tackle the problems of an aging society, relying on market solutions and subsidies to help families purchase required social services. However, the profit motive inherent in private market services conflicts with the needs of low-income people, and the subsidies available for rent, childcare, and elderly care are too small and not readily enough available to ensure the disadvantaged are treated well in the private market. A lack of regulations on rental housing, along with a lack of public social welfare facilities also exacerbates the social pressure endured by individuals and families. More public assistance and intervention are urgently needed.

Increasing housing prices in the face of economic recession has triggered mounting social unrest, and the media critics have increasingly criticized housing prices. In 2010, a nonprofit organization called the 'Social Housing Advocacy Consortium' was founded to advocate for affordable housing, and serious public debates have begun to raise the issue of social rental housing. The new discourse on social housing seems to be creating possibilities for disadvantaged people who have little chance of becoming homeowners (Chen, 2011). The movement is still advancing and has provoked policy debates among different interest groups.

Democratization in Taiwan invites broader social participation, and disadvantaged people have formed advocacy groups to press the government to enact policy reforms. A new government agency, the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare, will be established in the near future, and future trends in social welfare policy is expected to move in the direction of de-familization, with the public sector taking a larger role in social reproduction and families ceding some responsibility for care of children and the elderly. The social housing movement will continue to demand additional social rental housing and, hopefully, this continued pressure will result in meaningful reforms in the future.

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國科會補助專題研究計畫項下出席國際學術會議心 得報告

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計畫名稱 參與式的社會住宅設計:低收入單親母親家庭與平價住

宅改造計畫

姓名 陳怡伶 構及職

稱

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「礒时间 日至 18 日 點

(中文) 住宅福利和公共政策國際會議

會議名稱 (英文) International Conference on Housing Welfare and

Public Policy

發表論文 (中文) 台灣的住宅與社會變遷

題目 (英文) Housing and social change in Taiwan

韓國社會住宅之行

陳怡伶 助理教授 東華大學自然資源與環境學系 2012 年 10 月 25 日 跨界:大學與社會參與。第二期。

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韓國有百分之六以上的社會出租住宅,而且朝野都有一個共識,就是這個數量還要增加到百分之十二以上。去年社會住宅聯盟(住盟)舉辦的國際會議中,邀請了美國、德國、荷蘭、日本和韓國的專家。韓國的金秀顯教授介紹韓國的經驗時,在座的台灣聽眾印象非常深刻。社會住宅聯盟的召集人陳美玲說,當台灣一般人聽到歐美的個案時,有些人會認為歐美的民情不同,不適用於台灣,但是韓國是一直和台灣並行發展的國家,為何韓國有這麼多的社會住宅,這引起了很大的疑惑。

為了讓住盟的十多個團體更了解韓國的社會住宅,住盟安排了一個韓國社會住宅之旅,金秀顯教授給予很大的協助。在四整天的參訪中,參觀了首爾市的住宅公司(SH)和韓國的土地及住宅公司(LH)興建的各種社會住宅,SH 和 LH 都是大型的國營企業,底下都有住宅營建的部門、經營管理和住宅福利部門和研發部門。也到首爾市政府的住宅部門以及首爾市成立的非營利、獨立的研究機構--首爾研究院。首爾研究院等於是首爾市政的研發機構,有兩百五十位研究員,其中有七十幾位是博士。住盟也到民間的住宅組織訪問。

各式各樣的社會住宅計劃

為了這次參訪,住盟舉辦了兩次讀書會,又幫大家整理住宅政策的演變列表,然而,到韓國參訪的第一天,這些不同名詞的社會住宅還是令人昏頭轉向,像是永久賃貸住宅、國民賃貸住宅、公共賃貸住宅等等。永久賃貸住宅租期五十年,對象是低收入戶;國民賃貸住宅租期為三十年,住戶為中低收入戶;公共賃貸住宅則是先以租為主,十到二十年後賣給原租戶。除此之外,為了增加社會住宅的供給,韓國政府還嘗試各種可行的方式,像是政府買下民間空屋,再委託社福團體經營以弱勢者為主的社會住宅,這些住宅案的規模比較小。有些方法以台灣來看簡直是個天方夜譚,例如規定所有都市更新案,必須提出百分之十七的社會住宅。我們的住宅法只規定"政府興建的住宅"要提供百分之十的比例,這是去年成立住宅法時其中一個重大挫敗。



圖一:清溪國民賃貸住宅,混合出租和出售住宅,出租部分以中低收入者為主, 為韓國土地和住宅公營(LH)公司所興建。



圖二: Su-seo 永久賃貸住宅,興建二十年,以低收入者為主,租期五十年,房子大多約十坪左右。因為租期很長,所以居民大多會自己裝潢,讓空間充分利用。這是早期在以增加數量為主時蓋的住宅,後來興建的社會住宅坪數加大,社區的公共設施也變多。



圖三:由首爾住宅公司(SH)興建的住宅,混合出租和出售,SH 直接隸屬於首爾市之下,和 LH 一樣都是負責興建管理社會住宅的國營公司。大部分的社會住宅都有很好的兒童遊樂場。

住宅與福利會議

我之後接著參加了韓國土地和住宅公營公司(Land and Housing Corporation, 簡稱 LH)和首爾大學共同舉辦的住宅與福利會議。韓國的學者左右派勢力相當,輪流影響政局。LH在李明博政府影響下,是以右傾為主,但這個第一屆住宅福利會議的組織者們,左右皆有,而主講者是一個偏右派學者,強調市場機制,因此會議火光閃閃是可以預期的。

左右住宅政策爭辯

韓國的主講者 Kim, Jeong-Ho 教授,檢討目前韓國政府直接興建社會住宅所面臨的問題,他建議韓國政府應該開始將責任分擔給民間部門。他的論點立刻被美國和丹麥的兩位學者強烈質疑,美國 UCLA 的教授 William Clark 認為,私部門的營運以營利為主,沒有利潤就沒有辦法吸引私部門參與,但以營利為主的私部門來參與社會住宅興建,中間的問題重重。

Kim, Jeong-Ho 又主張住宅政策應採用下濾的政策,鼓勵住戶向上流動,最後可以去購屋,照顧可以逐漸脫貧的住戶,並且採用租金補貼的方式,讓一些住戶可以到租屋市場去租屋,下濾的想法是先照顧比較有能力的人,這些人站起來後可以產生一些經濟效益,往下惠及比較弱勢的人,以住宅來說,就是這些一旦脫貧,就可以把房子空出來繼續照顧下層的人。William Clark 則以美國的經驗來說,下濾並沒有達到想像的效果。丹麥的學者 Lotte Jensen 一樣質疑下濾的說法,更明白地批評這種以補貼中產階級或較可能脫貧的低收入戶為優先的政策,只有加

劇社會的不平等,這和韓國政府想達成的社會融合互相矛盾。Lotte 強烈反對以市場做為解決的方法,這也難怪,歐洲國家福利制度之所以興起,就是他們早就知道市場一定會失靈,政府必須要解決市場無法解決的問題,以照顧普遍人民的居住問題、維護高品質的居住環境為優先,這是以營利為目標的市場無法做到的事。

Lotte Jensen 也很質疑 Kim, Jeong-Ho 所說的市民社會和第三部門參與只有指涉為市場的說法,Lotte 認為租屋者組織也是重要的第三部門組織,不能排除在整體的參與過程之外,Lotte Jensen 也在她之後的報告中,介紹北歐的住宅體系,北歐的最大特色就是強大的租屋者組織。這也讓我想到荷蘭的都市更新,必須得到百分之七十的住戶同意,租屋者也是可以投票的住戶之一。想想也是,如果社會融合是重要目標的話,所有人都要有參與權,要不然怎麼融合呢?

從歐洲經驗出發看韓國的社會住宅政策

Richard Ronald 在阿姆斯特丹大學任教,他曾在神戶大學作五年的博士後研究,日文很好,很年輕,是少數歐美住宅研究者熟知亞洲住宅體系的人,是明日之星。他的 keynote 演講非常有趣,他比較英國和荷蘭的政策轉變,英國和美國都是新自由主義的發起國家,英國在柴契爾夫人主政下,開始鼓勵房屋自有,將大量的社會住宅出售給中低收入者,造成社會住宅大量減少。荷蘭的政府也受到新自由主義思潮的影響,也將社會住宅的責任下放給住宅協會,住宅協會必須在經費上自主,也是住宅協會開始同步興建出租和出售的住宅,利用出售的住宅來經費自主,但是,荷蘭政府並沒有完全不管社會住宅,相反的還是透過充分的低利貸款以及廉價的土地來支撐住宅協會。不過荷蘭也開始提供大量的低利貸款給中產階級,鼓勵購屋,Richard Ronald 提到荷蘭政府對於購屋貸款的補貼金額,其實是對低收入住宅津貼的補助的四倍。為何是四倍之多?是因為住宅協會可以自主經營,幫政府解決很多低收入居住的問題,因此荷蘭政府不需要對低收入者花大量的金額補貼,住宅協會的運作實質上減少很多政府的開銷,政府花在中產階級購屋補貼的金額,實際上遠遠大於對低收入者的補貼。

Richard Ronald 的文章還有更多對住宅體系的分析,包括住宅是否為社會的安全網還是只是暫時的緊急救助而已。英國顯然是朝暫時性的緊急救助為主,面對 2008 之後接連而來的經濟危機,英國的社會不平等加劇,低收入者愈來愈失去一個社會安全網的保護,因為私有化市場化,很多人開始繳不起貸款、甚至是無法付出私人租屋市場的房租而流離失所,社會不穩定很多。相對起來,荷蘭和德國大量社會住宅安全網的設置,大多人不會因為經濟變動而沒有地方住,社會相對穩定很多。

照 Richard Ronald 的計算,韓國的社會住宅的比例在 2008 年就已經達到 9.7%,不久就會達到 12%。這個數字會有變動是因為計算方式不同,還有一些住宅先以租賃為主但最後將轉售。韓國政府在 1990 之後能夠這麼大量的興建社會住宅,廣庇大量的都市人口,以低收入者為優先,實在是現今世界上少見的奇蹟,

這個奇蹟其實連很多韓國的人都不曉得它的偉大之處,特別是在一個新自由主義巨大無比、無遠弗屆的年代,這是我們在會後交換的心得。

我想到 2010 年去芬蘭參加歐洲規劃學院年會,北歐學者就把英國視為一個 缺乏抵抗力的國家(non-resilient),因為英國在面對經濟衰退時的作法就是自由市場化和私有化,以放棄對社會弱勢者的救助為主要目的(表面理由是要鼓勵弱勢者獨立自強),整個國家就像已經受到疾病侵襲的病患,不事先保護最脆弱、最容易受感染的器官,還要讓生病的身體拼命賽跑,最後病情只有加重。芬蘭的學者就很驕傲說,北歐國家就是很誠實地面對經濟低成長的事實,先保護社會最脆弱的部分,以建立社會整體的抵抗力為首要目標。如果大家有印象,應該記得芬蘭的教育目標建立在把下面的學生拉起來,一個都不能少的哲學上。抵抗力真是一個很好的形容概念。

韓國住宅官員的不同思考模式

在會場中,我碰到 LH 住宅福利部門下,出租住宅供給與管理組的呂哲基組長,這位自學中文、講一口標準北京腔的長官說,他的工作內容是"替窮人想辦法",唉,這種簡單的形容詞真令人動容。他說政府的角色是想辦法補充市場失敗的結果,因為市場供给的住宅不管有多少,都無法解决低收入階層的居住問題,因為他們無法負擔得起,政府必須有計畫並且大量建設租賃住宅。這位學工商管理出身的長官,想的是政府如何補充市場失敗的作為,相對於台灣的經濟相關專業訓練下的專業者,深陷在公平與效率的思考框框中,無法跳脫市場機制的想像,真是差別很大。



圖四:LH 和首爾大學合辦的住宅福利會議,因為LH 是韓國相當大的國營公司, 會議開場由首爾大學的校長致詞,主要報紙都有報導。

為何韓國和台灣的住宅政策發展方向不同

為何台灣和韓國一樣,在戰後成就了經濟奇蹟,又在 1990 年同時經歷政治 民主化,卻有那麼不同的住宅政策? 1990 年以後,韓國政府大量興建出租國宅, 台灣卻轉向購屋貸款,以所謂的"市場機制"來解決住宅問題。在這個會議中, 香港大學的趙麗霞教授在比較亞州的住宅政策時,形容台灣是亞洲最自由市場的 住宅體系,換句話說,在亞洲的國家中,台灣的政府對住宅是沒有作為的。

為何韓國有這麼多種不同類型的出租國宅?我最後整理出來的心得就是,第一、最先推出來的出租國宅是以低收入這為主,後來擴展到中低所得者。第二、不同的總統會想辦法推出新的住宅計畫,以彰顯自己任內的政績。第三、每一任總統所做出來的政治承諾,都有一定要達成的政治壓力,所以開出來的社會住宅數量,都必須想辦法達到七、八成以上,為了要達成這個數量,底下的政治執行者必須想各種辦法去達成,所以韓國的住宅方案很多樣。還有一個重要感想是,韓國是多黨制,選舉以政見取勝,左派的政黨因而也有勝選的機會,但是政見是政治承諾,如果達不到就有很大的下台壓力。總結來說,政見取勝和信守承諾是韓國政治和台灣的很大不同之處,這樣講有點悲哀,台灣真的是一個被藍綠綁架的社會。

為什麼台灣的社會住宅只有 0.08%?為什麼馬政府在選前規劃的五處僅僅的 1661 戶社會住宅,沒有一棟真正在蓋,而且就目前規劃來說,這五處的社會住宅好像也不會是真的社會住宅?好多好多的為什麼。我腦中浮現出首爾違建戶,為了抗議拆遷,蓋起了綁滿了汽油彈的遼望台。我想起接待我們的金秀顯教授,這位隨著違建戶抗爭,之後變成首爾市長重要幕僚的左派學者,拼命推動八萬戶社會住宅的政治承諾。想起韓國左右派學者,雖然對住宅干預手段有歧見,但一致認為必須要提供大量的可負擔住宅,解決無住屋者的住宅問題。

在往仁川機場的路上,因問路碰到一位到韓國學韓文的台灣女生,在跟她說明韓國行目的之後,她指著地鐵看板一則韓國政府的文宣,"我們要幫助彼此",兩星期的韓國社會住宅之旅,一直不停冒出來的各種疑問,好像就此得到解答。

還很想補充一下韓國政府的研發能力,首爾市政府下就有一個兩百多位研究員的首爾研究院,LH 也有研究員。台灣一直抱怨高級人才供給過剩,卻一直不想擴充各級政府的研發能力,研發能力不是只有企業才需要而已,也難怪台灣老是出現一些急就章、想像力貧乏的"台北曼哈頓"、"台北六本木"計畫,老實說,應該叫做"台北五味屋"計畫,五味屋是由東華環境學院顧瑜君老師所推動的大學小革命行動,創造一個極為感人的另類在地發展經驗。

為社會住宅助唸。

後記一:想知道 Richard Ronald 真面目的話,可以從網路看到他最近的演講。 http://www.canal-u.tv/video/universite toulouse ii le mirail/public private and social housing in post crisis east asia richard ronald.7588

(他演講引用的台灣資料,是我最近寫得有關台灣社會住宅運動的論文,他

去年十二月時向我詢問馬英九總統當選之後,五處社會住宅會不會蓋,我跟他說 這是馬總統的選前承諾,而且土地都有著落了,不可能不會蓋,真不好意思,可 見我對台灣的政治現況真的不甚了解)

後記二:會議論文的 PDF 檔已經交給 OURS,可以向 OURS 索取。會議論文有一些韓國學者寫的論文,可以做參考。其中有各大洲的住宅政策比較,也有很多值得參考的文章。

後記三: 台大城鄉所的黃麗玲所長說,韓國和日本的學者在幾年前成立一個住宅福祉的學會,將住宅和社會福利結合。住宅在台灣是一個很難定位的學科,在社會福利單位,住宅被視為都市相關的專業,但在都市計畫相關領域,住宅的名詞卻紛紛被改不動產研究,住宅變成一個三不管的地帶。這也反映在台北市給低收入住的平價住宅之上,平價住宅好像一直是一個燙手山芋,社會局認為是都市發展局的業務,但都市發展局又認為是社會局的業務。

後記四: 公共電視台的 NGO 觀點播出兩集韓國的社會住宅節目:從韓國看台灣! 幸福家園夢可期?

http://ngoview.pts.org.tw/2012/10/blog-post 3.html

Opening Ceremony

• Key-note and Plenary Sessions

SESSION.1

Social Housing: Institution, Organizations and Governance

PM 1:00~3:10, Mugunghwa Hall / 무궁화(2F, Convention Bldg.)

• Chair Chiu, Rebecca (The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

Plenary Key-Note Speech

The Transformation of Social Housing in the US: Neo-liberalizing Public Housing

Goetz, Edward G. / University of Minnesota, United States of America

Discussant/ Kim, Brian Hong Sok (Seoul National University, Republic of Korea)

Policy on Rural Housing in the New Territories of the Hong Kong Special Administrative Region, The People's Republic of China

Fung, Philip Sing-sang & Lee, Almand Sze-man / Hong Kong Institute of Land Administration (HKILA), Hong Kong

• Discussant/ Donoghue, Jed (University of Tasmania, Australia)

Public Housing and Social Capital in Australia

Donoghue, Jed & Tranter, Bruce / University of Tasmania, Australia

Discussant/ Goetz, Edward (University of Minnesota, United States of America)

How to Improve Affordability and Financial Viability in Korea's Public Rental Housing Sector Jin, Meeyoun / Land & Housing Institute (LHI), Republic of Korea

• Discussant/ Fung, Philip Sing-sang (HKILA, Hong Kong)

SESSION.2

Housing Policy and Welfare

PM 1:00~3:10, Water lily / 수련(1F, Convention Bldg.)

• Chair Hirayama, Yosuke (Kobe University, Japan)

Plenary Key-Note Speech

Housing Welfare Policies in Scandinavia: A Comparative Perspective on a Transition Era Jensen, Lotte / Copenhagen Business School (CBS), Denmark

• Discussant/ Choi, Mack-Joong (Seoul National University, Republic of Korea)

Abandoned and Incomplete Buildings in Korea and Policy Alternatives

Lee, Man-Hyung & Kim, Kwang-Ju / Chungbuk National University, Republic of Korea

• Discussant/ Jun, Myung-Jin (Chung-Ang University, Republic of Korea)

The Future of Housing Welfare: For Harmonious Community

Choi, Eunhee / Land & Housing Institute (LHI), Republic of Korea

• Discussant/ Lee, Man-Hyung (Chungbuk National University, Republic of Korea)

An Integrated Housing Subsidy Approach: An Introduction to the Housing Subsidy of Macau Wong, Kam leng / The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

• Discussant/ Chugg, Pattie (ShelterTas, Australia)

International Conference on Housing Welfare and Public Policy

Program

Time Contents Site

09:30~10:00 • Opening Ceremony Mugunghwa

10:00~10:50 • Key-note Speech 1 Mugunghwa

10:50~11:00 • Break -

11:00~11:50 • Key-note Speech 2 Mugunghwa

12:00~13:00 • Luncheon Crystal

13:00~15:10

• Paper Session

Session 1 Mugunghwa

Session 2 Water lily

Session 3 Camellia

15:10~15:30 Coffee Break -15:30~17:40

Session 4 Mugunghwa

Session 5 Water lily

Session 6 Camellia

17:40~18:00 • Break -

18:00~20:00 • Dinner Banquet Crystal

SESSION.4

Comparative Housing Market

PM 3:30~5:40, Mugunghwa Hall / 무궁화(2F, Convention Bldg.)

• ChairRonald, Richard (University of Amsterdam, Netherlands)

Plenary Key-Note Speech

Housing in an Era of Uncertainty: Access, Affordability and Inequality in European and US Contexts

Clark, William A. V. / University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), United States of America

• Discussant/ Lee, Jong-Kwon (Land & Housing Institute, Republic of Korea)

From Excluded Ghettos to Exclusionary Enclaves: A Private Sector Initiative in Guangzhou, China

Chen, Huiwei, Roger, C. K. & He, Qicong / The University of Hong Kong & City University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

Discussant/ Clark, William A. V. (UCLA, United States of America)

Housing Finance and Government Expenditure for Housing Welfare in South Korea Lee, Jong-Kwon / Land & Housing Institute (LHI), Republic of Korea

• Discussant/ CHEN, Huiwei (The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

SESSION.5

Housing and Sustainable Community

PM 3:30~5:40, Water lily / 수련(1F, Convention Bldg.)

• Chair Goetz, Edward (University of Minnesota, United States of America)
Plenary Key-Note Speech

A Comparison of Housing Welfare Policies Among Major Asian Countries in the Modern Era Chiu, Rebecca L.H. / The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong

• Discussant/ Ma, Kang-Rae (Chung-Ang University, Republic of Korea)

Factors Influencing Housing Welfare for Fishing Neighborhood in "Kenjeran", Urban Fringe of Surabaya, Indonesia

Arifin, Lilianny S., Hedy C Indrani, & Marsefio, H. / Petra Christian University, Indonesia

Discussant/ Chiu, Rebecca (The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

An Analysis on the Time Taken to Enter First Homeownership: Examining Individual and Household Differences through Duration Modeling

Ma, Kang-Rae & Kang, Eun-Taek / Chung-Ang University & Seo-Nam University, Republic of Korea

• Discussant/ Arifin, Lilianny S. (Petra Christian University, Indonesia)

Effect of Purchased Rental Housing as Social Housing in South Korea

Park, Kun-Suk & Kwon, Hyuck-Sam / Land & Housing Institute (LHI), Republic of Korea

Discussant/ WONG, Kam leng (The University of Hong Kong, Hong Kong)

SESSION.6

Housing Policies for Marginalized Population

PM 3:30~5:40, Camellia / 동백(1F, Convention Bldg.)

ChairJensen, Lotte (Copenhagen Business School, Denmark)

Plenary Key-Note Speech

Neoliberalism and Low-income Housing in Japan

Hirayama, Yosuke / Kobe University, Japan

• Discussant/ Ha, Seong-Kyu (Chung-Ang University, Republic of Korea)

The Problem of Housing: The Case of the Marginalized in the City of Bangalore, India Gowda, Krishne & Sridhara, M. V. / University of Mysore, India

• Discussant/ Hirayama, Yosuke (Kobe University, Japan)

An Exploration of the Impacts of a Market Ethos on Aged Residential Care in New Zealand Severinsen, C. A., Martin Woods, & Suzanne Phibbs / Massey University, New Zealand

• Discussant/ Gowda, Krishne (University of Mysore, India)
Residential Location Patterns and Determinants of Korean Chinese in Seoul
Jun, Myung-Jin, Ha, Seong-Kyu, & Jung, Ji-Eun / Chung-Ang Univers

國科會補助計畫衍生研發成果推廣資料表

日期:2013/08/31

國科會補助計畫

計畫名稱:參與式的社會住宅設計:低收入單親母親家庭與平價住宅改造計畫

計畫主持人: 畢恆達

計畫編號: 101-2629-H-002-001- 學門領域: 性別研究

無研發成果推廣資料

101 年度專題研究計畫研究成果彙整表

計畫主持人: 畢恆達 計畫編號:101-2629-H-002-001-

計畫名稱:參與式的社會住宅設計:低收入單親母親家庭與平價住宅改造計畫							
成果項目			實際已達成 數(被接受 或已發表)	量化 預期總達成 數(含實際已 達成數)		單位	備註(質化說明:如數個計畫 共同成果、成果 列為該期刊之 對面故事 等)
	論文著作	期刊論文 研究報告/技術報告 研討會論文 專書	0 3 0 0	0 0 0	100% 100% 100% 100%	篇	
	專利	申請中件數 已獲得件數	0	0	100% 100%	件	
國內	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (本國籍)	碩士生 博士生 博士後研究員 專任助理	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	100% 100% 100% 100%	人次	
國外	論文著作	期刊論文 研究報告/技術報告 研討會論文 專書	0 0 0	0 0 0 0	100% 100% 100% 100%	篇章/本	
	專利	申請中件數已獲得件數	0 0	0 0	100%	件	
	技術移轉	件數	0	0	100%	件	
		權利金	0	0	100%	千元	
	參與計畫人力 (外國籍)	碩士生 博士生 博士後研究員 專任助理	0 0 0 0	0 0 0 0	100% 100% 100% 100%	人次	

無

列。)

	成果項目	量化	名稱或內容性質簡述
科	測驗工具(含質性與量性)	0	
教	課程/模組	0	
處	電腦及網路系統或工具	0	
計畫	教材	0	
鱼加	舉辦之活動/競賽	0	
	研討會/工作坊	0	
項	電子報、網站	0	
目	計畫成果推廣之參與(閱聽)人數	0	

國科會補助專題研究計畫成果報告自評表

請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況、研究成果之學術或應用價值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)、是否適合在學術期刊發表或申請專利、主要發現或其他有關價值等,作一綜合評估。

ľ	1.	請就研究內容與原計畫相符程度、達成預期目標情況作一綜合評估
		■達成目標
		□未達成目標(請說明,以100字為限)
		□實驗失敗
		□因故實驗中斷
		□其他原因
		說明:
2	2.	研究成果在學術期刊發表或申請專利等情形:
		論文:■已發表 □未發表之文稿 □撰寫中 □無
		專利:□已獲得 □申請中 ■無
		技轉:□已技轉 □洽談中 ■無
		其他:(以100字為限)
;	3.	請依學術成就、技術創新、社會影響等方面,評估研究成果之學術或應用價
		值(簡要敘述成果所代表之意義、價值、影響或進一步發展之可能性)(以
		500 字為限)
		本研究成果發表論文四篇,一篇以英文發表,將會在'Housing in East Asia'刊出,另
		外三篇中文,分別在中國重要的都市規劃期刊,台灣的建築師雜誌,以及網路期刊'跨界'
		中刊出,在論述上,貢獻對於住宅的政治經濟以及女性主義的分析。在實踐上,本研究一
		直與社會住宅聯盟以及都市專業者改革組織合作,參與安康平宅的改建計畫,在改建過程
		中,一直貢獻以單親母親觀點的規劃設計和參與的想法,對目前的安康平宅改建提出建
		議,也透過這過程提出性別觀點的社會住宅建議。所以,總結來說,這一年的國科會計畫
		成果相當充實,在論述和實踐上,本計畫皆有一些具有影響力的成果產出。