研究論文

文化資本、傳播賦權與「藝術家」都市空間抗爭:對J市藝術區拆遷集體維權行動的研究¹

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摘要

在當代中國,儘管存在強大的威權管制,都市抗爭仍然受到市場化大眾媒體的關注和支持,實現了媒介近用和傳播賦權。這種關係形態迥異於學者們在西方成熟資本主義社會的觀察。但是,關於為甚麼抗爭活動能夠近用媒體並實現傳播賦權,現有的解釋較為粗放,並主要指向傳媒一方;仍然缺乏關於抗爭一方,即對抗爭主體的屬性和禀賦及其與傳媒之互動關係的充分考察。以J市藝術區「藝術家」群體面對拆遷所採取的集體維權行動為案例,本文希望為上述問題提供觀察。基本發現是:文化資本是推動這一社群實現傳播賦權的關鍵因素:首先,「藝術家」作為知識精英的社會身分是吸引媒體高度和持續關注的前提,這一主體身分為在市場化之傳播格局下日趨疲軟的「拆遷/抗

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爭」議題注入了「新聞價值」,同時也是市場化媒體階級意識形態偏向的一種折射;其次,「藝術」擁有的非功利之「純粹性」為其在中國語境下獲得了「去政治」的象徵身分,這一身分不僅為該群體的抗爭行動本身,也為抗爭行為進入威權體制下的媒體報道提供了正當性外衣;再次,該群體擁有內化的文化資本,即職業化的高度符號化的表意實踐能力,不僅善於運用高度濃縮的視覺符號來進行自傳播和吸引大眾媒體,而且有能力創造「藝術展」這樣的媒介事件,因而能夠嵌入於市場化條件下大眾媒體的需要;另外,這一職業社區所擁有的物質化的文化資本也發揮了作用,藝術界的「行業媒體」、這一職業群體成員擁有的博客等自媒體以及與大眾媒體之間的形成的常規互動網絡都是他們實現媒介近用的關鍵。然而,傳播賦權仍然存在邊界,當抗爭行動進一步「激進化」和「政治化」,文化資本即不再能夠為該社群的抗爭行動進行傳播賦權,上述觀察的傳播賦因而權僅僅存在於特定政治經濟格局之下。文章在最後則討論了從社群視角探討未來關於媒體與抗爭之關係形態研究的新路向。

關鍵詞:文化資本、傳播賦權、媒介近用、社會抗爭、藝術家

Research Article

Cultural Capital and Communicative Empowerment: A Case Study of the Contentious Action of Artists in Contemporary China

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Abstract

In contemporary China, although the regime exerts powerful control, the contentious activities of society have always succeeded in attracting media attention and becoming empowered by their access to media. This "coempowerment" type of media–movement relationship differs from that of their counterparts in western society, where movements are always marginalized by media. However, the why question still remains unanswered. The current explanation has focused more on the media side and left the side of social action untouched. This case study aims to fill the knowledge gap by observing a group of artists' contentious action and their interaction with media in safeguarding their spatial rights in City J.

The finding is that cultural capital is key to enabling the artists' media access and empowerment. First, it was the social identity of this group that made the news topic of "social contention" fresh and valuable, enabling the

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marketized media in a competitive news environment to pay attention to them. Second, it was the symbolic identity of "pureness" of the arts that depoliticized and justified the artists' activities of resistance in the still-rigid political environment. Third, the group's professional capabilities in visual practices and their ability to create a media event like an "art exhibition" also enabled their action in entering into the media agenda and rhythm. Finally, the objectified cultural capital also worked when the group members used the trade media and the "me media," such as blogs in social mobilization and cultivated good network with the mass media. However, the group could no longer get media access when the members tried to radicalize and politicize their action further. Communicative empowerment thus only occurs within a specific structure of political economy. In the final part, we also discussed new approaches of social class in studying media-movement relationship in current China context.

Keywords: cultural capital, communicative empowerment, media access, social contention, artists

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